

Split Intransitivity in Old Japanese

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Abstract

According to the *Unaccusative Hypothesis* (Perlmutter 1978), intransitive verbs fall in two distinct classes: the **unaccusatives** (whose subjects originate as direct objects) and the **unergatives** (whose subjects originate as subjects). Although there are studies of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese and European languages, very few exist for earlier stages of Japanese. To fill in part of this gap, this thesis presents a comprehensive investigation of split intransitivity in Old Japanese (largely, 8th century Japanese).

The descriptive and analytic work of this research is based on the newly developed ‘Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese’ (OCOJ). It consists of original and romanized Old Japanese texts, with a wide range of information including the original orthography, part-of-speech, morphology and syntactic constituency in the form of XML tags following TEI conventions. It is part of a larger collaborative research project: ‘Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese: A comprehensive study of the basic syntax of pre-modern Japanese’, in which my DPhil project is situated. As part of my DPhil project, I took part in the analysis and tagging of the OCOJ, in addition to contributing to translation.

My original contribution to knowledge is a comprehensive investigation and in-depth analysis of the lexical-semantic aspects of split intransitivity in relation to its morpho-syntactic expressions in Old Japanese. This includes: exploring to what extent intransitive verbs could be classified as unaccusative and unergative, what factors are involved in the classification, how they interact, what are the possible

ways of representation, and the theoretical implications it brings to linguistic theory in general. Syntactically, I looked into manifestations specific to Old Japanese (e.g. perfective auxiliary selection), and also examined to what extent diagnostics – which show split intransitivity in English, Italian and Modern Japanese (e.g. N+V compounding and resultative construction) – could be applied to Old Japanese. Semantically, I investigated various semantic factors and proposed basic and complex models of the interaction between intentionality and affectedness in Old Japanese. I also proposed a ‘complex format for representing simple event structures’ which enhances the understanding of semantic aspects of split intransitivity. As such, the results of my research not only contribute to a detailed understanding of Old Japanese verbs, but also have implications for linguistic theory in general.

Overview: A brief description of the contents of each chapter

There are six chapters in this thesis. Apart from Chapter 6, which is a conclusion of the whole thesis, each chapter concludes with a brief summary.

Chapter 1 introduces the language, research topic, and research scope, with explicated definitions of key concepts involved in the discussion of split intransitivity in this thesis, as well as typical properties of the two sub-sets of intransitive verbs, unaccusatives and unergatives. This chapter also includes a literature review of significant previous literature on split intransitivity, exemplifying typical split intransitivity manifestations in three well-investigated languages, and summarizing different approaches towards split intransitivity.

Chapter 2 explains the research methodology and the development of the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese. It also considers various limitations and advantages of corpus-based research on dead languages such as Old Japanese.

Chapter 3 shows evidence for split intransitivity in Old Japanese, and more importantly, suggests a list of manifestations and co-relates of split intransitivity in Old Japanese, namely, the selection of the perfective auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, the compatibility of N+V compounds, the selection of the verbal prefixes *i-* and *sa-(ta-)*, and the possibility of appearing in resultative constructions, VP-preposing and *wo...se-* constructions. In addition, the combination patterns of V1+V2 compounds are also strongly relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese. These are presented one by one in Chapter 3, and most of them include exhaustive lists of verbs that are attested in the OCOJ. In order to facilitate the discussion in this thesis and benefit

future relevant research, these verb lists and supporting linguistic information are presented in clearly labeled appendixes at the end of the thesis.

Chapter 4 looks more closely at individual verbs, which are classified into 34 semantic groups, and presents a comprehensive survey of intransitive verbs in Old Japanese in the light of split intransitivity. It describes and discusses not only typical (core) unaccusative/unergative verbs but also those showing variation and mismatches. This chapter is expected to provide the foundations for semantic analysis in the following chapter, and also contribute valuable empirical data for future related research.

Chapter 5, building on the results of Chapter 3 and 4, presents a more in-depth semantic account of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. The factors that are discussed in this chapter particularly include agentivity, telicity, animacy, intention, control, volition and affectedness. These factors are studied and examined individually with proposals of relevant hierarchies, which leads to an understanding of the basic and complex models of the interaction between intentionality and affectedness that play the most crucial role in delimitating unaccusatives and unergatives in Old Japanese. This chapter also addresses how syntax and semantics interact and facilitate each other in grounding split intransitivity in Old Japanese, the importance of a hierarchical view of split intransitivity, as well as deconstructing mismatches. A complex format for simple event structure representation was proposed as an alternative way of representing the semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese: it is the way how BECOME and CAUSE combines that delimitates unaccusatives and unergatives in Old Japanese.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by summarizing major results and theoretical implications of the study, pointing out limitations of this thesis, and provides suggestions for future research.

Following the list of references, the last part of the thesis includes seven appendixes: Appendix I Core unaccusative and unergative verbs in Old Japanese, Appendix II Intransitive verbs in Old Japanese, Appendix III Single Old Japanese verbs that select only *-(i)n-*, Appendix IV Single Old Japanese verbs that select only *-(i)te-*, Appendix V Single Old Japanese verbs that select both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, Appendix VI Single Old Japanese verbs that select *i-*, Appendix VII Single Old Japanese verbs that select *sa-(ta-)*, Appendix VIII N+V compounds in Old Japanese, and Appendix VIII V1+V2 compounds in Old Japanese. In these appendixes, on top of the verbs, nouns, prefixes, auxiliaries, and so on, I have also added classes and definitions of verbs, definitions of nouns in N+V compounds, and examples for the comprehensive lists. These Appendixes are very relevant to the discussions in the body text of this thesis. Moreover, on their own, they are very valuable contributions to the understanding of the Old Japanese language and to future academic research.

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACOP	adjectival copula
ADJ	adjective
ADN	adnominal
aff	affectedness
ALL	allative
Aux.	auxiliary
BS	<i>Bussokuseki-ka</i>
CL	classifier
CNJ	conjunctive
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONC	concessive
CONCL	conclusive
CONJ	conjunctive
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
ctrl	controllable
DAT	dative
def.	definition
EMPH	emphatic
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclamatory
FINL	final particle
Flec.	flection (in the appendixes only)
FOC	focus
FK	<i>Fudoki Kayô</i>
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
HON	honorific (prefix)
hon.	honorific
hum.	humble

IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
int	intentional/intentionality
INTJ	interjection
intr.	intransitive
JDB	<i>Jidai-betsu Kokugo Daijiten (Jôdai-hen)</i>
KK	<i>Kojiki kayô</i> (songs/poems in the <i>Kojiki</i>)
l	logographic (in the appendixes only)
LB	lower brigade (<i>shimo nidan</i>)
LM	lower monograde (<i>shimo ichidan</i>)
M	masculine
MPST	modal past
MYS	<i>Man'yôshû</i>
N	noun
n	non-logographic (in the appendixes only)
NECE	necessitive
NEG	negative
NKBT	<i>Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei</i>
NOM	nominative
OCOJ	Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese
OPT	optative
p	phonographic (in the appendixes only)
PASS	passive
PERF	perfective
PL	pluralizer
PP	past participle
PRF	prefix
PCONJ	present conjectural
PROG	progressive
PROV	provisional
PSUM	presumptive
PST	past
PURP	purposive
QD	quadrigrade (<i>yodan</i>)
RES	restrictive

RESP	respect
SEM	semblative (suffix)
sent	sentient
SG	singular
SPST	simple past
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subjunctive
TOP	topic particle
tr.	transitive
UB	upper bigrade (<i>kami nidan</i>)
UM	upper monograde (<i>kami ichidan</i>)
V	verb
vol	volitional
VSARPJ	'Verb semantics and argument realization in Pre-modern Japanese' project

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Chapter 1 Ch1 Introduction

1.1 The language of Old Japanese

Old Japanese is the oldest attested stage of the Japanese language, spoken around 700-800 AD, which corresponds to the political period of *Nara* (712-794 AD). This thesis adopts the following terms of periodization, which is used in *A History of the Japanese Language* (Frellesvig 2010) and also presented in Martin (1987), which devised the translations for original Japanese terms used by Japanese Scholars.

(1)	Linguistic periods	Political periods
	Old Japanese 700-800	<i>Nara</i> 712-794
	Early Middle Japanese 800-1200	<i>Heian</i> 794-1185
	Late Middle Japanese 1200-1600	<i>Kamakura</i> 1185-1333, <i>Muromachi</i> 1333-1573
	Modern Japanese 1600-present	<i>Edo</i> 1603-1868, <i>Meiji</i> 1868-1912, <i>Taishô</i> 1912-1926, <i>Shôwa</i> 1926- 1989, <i>Heisei</i> 1989-present

Old Japanese kept two types of syllables that were distinct from each other, *kô-rui* and *otsu-rui*, which merged in the transition to Early Middle Japanese. This distinction is presented in the transcription of examples in the thesis. For more details about transcription conventions, please refer to Section 1.7. Throughout the

Old Japanese period, Japanese was written in *Kanji* characters entirely. The use of *Kanji* can be either phonographic or logographic. For example, in the following sentence, 花 and 咲 which carry meaning are used logographically. On the other hand, 尔, 家 and 里 which indicate the pronunciation instead of carrying meaning are used phonographically. In addition, the same character can have both phonographic use and logographical use. For example, 家 is used not only to represent the syllable *kye*, as in the following sentence, but also *ipyē* in some other places where it carries the meaning of ‘home’ (e.g. MYS.17.3895 and MYS.13.3268).

- (2) 花 咲尔家里
 pana saki-*ni*-kyeri
 flower bloom-PERF-MPST.CONCL
 ‘the flowers have bloomed’
 (MYS.8.1423)

Old Japanese is, like Modern Japanese, an agglutinative language with basic word order SOV. Based on context, arguments of verbs may be dropped. Its case system has been an issue of some contention, but the basic pattern has been observed by Wrona and Frellesvig (2010) as such: subjects in are not case marked in main clauses, but are marked by the genitive case particle *ga* or *no* in subordinate

clauses; objects can be marked by the accusative case particle *wo*, or unmarked especially when being adjacent to the predicate.

Verbs in Old Japanese have five morphemic layers.

(3) root - derivative - auxiliary verb - auxiliary - flective

Finite verb forms include conclusive, adnominal, exclamatory, imperative, negative conjunctural, optative, and prohibitive. Non-finite verb forms include infinitive, gerund, continuative, conditional, provisional and concessive. There is also a nominal form which expresses nominalization. The basic grammatical terms and categorization applied in this thesis follow Frellesvig's *A History of the Japanese Language* (2010).

In terms of dialects, the overwhelming majority of Old Japanese sources are from the capital *Nara* and the surrounding areas, the dialect of which is referred to as 'Central Old Japanese'. There is also smaller quantity of sources from various dialects spoken in eastern Japan. These are collectively referred to as 'Eastern Old Japanese'.

1.2 Source and materials

To gain a sound empirical foundation for my research on split intransitivity in Old Japanese, a nearly exhaustive investigation was carried out. Below are listed all texts from Old Japanese that were covered in this research. Unless noted separately, all of the examples cited in this thesis follow the version adopted in

OCOJ, which in turn adopted the version of *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (NKBT) published by *Iwanami Shoten* in 1959.

1.2.1 *Bussokuseki-ka* 仏足石歌

Bussokuseki-ka ('Footprints of the Buddha poems') is a series of 21 poems inscribed on a stone at the *Yakushi-dera* Temple in Nara. The date is uncertain, but is roughly after 759. Examples from *Bussokuseki-ka* are cited as BS followed by the poem number. All poems were written phonographically.

1.2.2 *Fudoki kayô* 風土記歌謡

Fudoki ('Record of wind and earth'), which is a collection of topographies from various provinces in Japan, was compiled under the order of Empress *Genmei* in 713. Not all of them survived, and *Fudoki kayô* refers to the 20 poems that we have access to today. The poems were written phonographically, and are cited as F plus poem numbers.

1.2.3 *Kojiki kayô* 古事記歌謡

Kojiki kayô ('Songs in the record of ancient matters') refers to the 112 songs in *Kojiki* ('Record of the ancient matters'), which is a history of Japan compiled in 712. The poems were written phonographically. When citing examples from *Kojiki*, I abbreviate it as K, which is followed by a number from 1 to 122.

1.2.4 *Jôgû shôtoku hôô teisetsu* 上宮聖徳法王帝説

Jôgû shôtoku hôô teisetsu ('The imperial record of *Shôtoku*') is a biography of *Shôtoku Taishi*. The date of *Jôgû shôtoku hôô teisetsu* is unknown (maybe early *Heian*). It contains 4 poems, and is abbreviated as JSHT plus poem numbers.

1.2.5 *Man'yôshû* 万葉集

Man'yôshû ('Collection of myriad leaves') is the major source for Old Japanese language. It is a collection of more than 4500 poems, instead of a single piece, composed between the middle of the 5th century and the middle of the 8th century. Some of the poems were written phonographically, but the most of them were written with a mixture of both phonographic and logographic writing. Most poems reflect the Central Old Japanese dialect, but there are smaller number of poems representing the Eastern Old Japanese dialect (e.g. *Aduma uta* 'Eastern poems' in Book 14 and *Sakimori uta* 'border guard poems' in Book 20). Following the conventions of OCOJ, when citing examples from *Man'yôshû*, I abbreviate it as MYS followed by the book number and poem number. (E.g. MYS.12.3214 refers to *Man'yôshû*, book 12, poem 3214.) Some of the poems have two versions in NKBT and also OCOJ. In that case, the different versions are marked as 'a' or 'b' at the end of the poem number. When doing statistical counting, two versions of a poem were counted as two poems.

1.2.6 *Nihonshoki kayô* 日本書紀歌謠

Like *Kojiki kayô*, *Nihonshoki kayô* refers to the songs found in *Nihonshoki* (‘Chronicles of Japan’), a history of Japan compiled in 720. There are altogether 112 songs, written entirely phonographically. When used as examples, they are abbreviated as NSK followed by poem numbers from 1 to 112.

1.2.7 *Shoku Nihongi kayô* 続日本紀歌謠

Shoku Nihongi kayô refers to 8 songs in *Shoku Nihongi*, a continuation of *Nihon Shoki*. It is an official record of events at the Japanese Imperial court between 697 and 771, compiled in 797. The poems were written entirely phonographically, and are cited as SNK followed by poem number.

1.3 Split intransitivity, unaccusatives and unergatives: Terminology and typical properties

1.3.1 Intransitives and transitives

Before going into the introduction of split intransitivity, this section gives a brief and loose definition of intransitive verbs and transitive verbs. In this thesis, by ‘intransitive verb’ and ‘intransitives’, I mean ‘one-place predicate’ (a predicate that has only one argument, for example, *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’, *ne-* ‘sleep’ and *nak-* ‘cry’). By ‘transitive verb’ or ‘transitives’, I mean ‘two-place predicate’ or a predicate that has more than one argument in general, but to be more precise, I include verbs that

take direct objects (for example, *kar-* ‘cut’ and *mi-* ‘see’), and exclude verbs that take traversal objects or cognate objects (for example, *ne-* ‘sleep’ in Old Japanese).

1.3.2 Previous definition of split intransitivity

My research aims at providing a neutral and comprehensive investigation of Old Japanese. Therefore, I use the term ‘split intransitivity’ for its simplicity and lack of bias compared with other possible terms which may have semantic or syntactic clues in nature.

As a term, ‘split intransitivity’ has been widely adopted since it was used by Van Valin in the paper ‘Semantic parameters of split intransitivity’ (1996). Similar to Van Valin (1996), Creissels (2008) gave a more detailed definition of split intransitivity. According to Creissels, if a term T of a construction C and a term T’ of a construction C’ show the same characteristics with respect to a given property, they are said to be aligned for that property, and the main concern of alignment typology has been the systematic investigation of the fact that alignment of S (single argument of semantically monovalent verbs) with the core terms of the prototypical transitive construction, A (agent) and P (patient). For each property giving rise to a contrast between A and P, there could be accusative alignment (S aligned with A), or ergative alignment (S aligned with P), or tripartite alignment (S show different characteristics from A or P). Creissels defined *split intransitivity* in the following way (2008, 142):

- (4) Split intransitivity [... refers] to situations in which verbs occurring in intransitive constructions divide into two classes characterized by a contrast in the way their single core argument S is aligned with the two core terms of the transitive construction, A and P.

‘Split intransitivity’ is also frequently mentioned in studies related to several other terms such as unaccusativity/unergativity, split S, agentive alignment, active-stative alignment, and semantic alignment that are applied by various syntactic and semantic frameworks. But with respect to the last three of these, they are very different notions from ‘split intransitivity’ which I use in this thesis. All languages have (at least one) alignment, but it does not correlate directly with split intransitivity. English, Italian, and Japanese have accusative alignment and manifest split intransitivity (see Section 1.4.1); Guarani has active alignment and also manifests split intransitivity.

1.3.3 Split intransitivity: Terminology and key concepts in this thesis

Similar to but not exactly the same as Creissel’s definition, in my thesis, ‘split intransitivity’ refers to the fundamental dichotomy within intransitive verbs. It is not limited to the overt marking of sole arguments of the verb, and it is also not so broad as to harbor any heterogeneity, such as a split of intransitive verbs in terms of being applicable / not applicable with a certain adverb. Rather, my thesis studies the split of two sub-sets of intransitive verbs that show a group of systematic distinctive morpho-syntactic behaviours with similar semantic grounds for each sub-set. The two sub-sets are labeled as ‘unaccusative verbs’ and ‘unergative verbs’. Generally speaking, unaccusatives and unergatives have the following features and properties.

1.3.4 Typical properties of unaccusative and unergative verbs

The unaccusative/unergative distinction has aroused interest and triggered heated debates among both semanticists and syntacticians. Syntactically, from the Government-Binding perspective¹, unaccusative verbs have a D-Structure object that surfaces as a subject (i.e., those verbs subcategorize only for an object NP which then moved to the subject), whereas unergative verbs take D-Structure subjects that surface also as subjects (Burzio 1986), as shown below.

- (5) a. Unergative verb: NP [_{VP} V]
b. Unaccusative verb: ___ [_{VP} V NP/CP]

In terms of argument structure that distinguishes between external and internal arguments (proposed by Williams in 1981), an unaccusative verb has a direct internal argument but no external argument, while unergative verb has an external argument but no direct internal argument. In terms of alignment, unaccusatives and unergatives refer to intransitive verbs whose S argument is aligned with P and intransitive verbs whose S argument is aligned with A respectively. (To avoid specific reference to ‘alignment’, which is relevant but not primary for this research, the verb ‘pattern (with)’ is used instead of ‘align (with)’ in this thesis.)

¹ The distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives was first characterized by Perlmutter in the framework of relational grammar in 1978. For details please refer to Perlmutter’s paper (1978) and Section 1.4.2.1 of this thesis.

Semantically, an unaccusative verb is typically telic, uncontrollable, and its single argument is patient-like (non-volitional and affected), e.g. English verbs *arrive, fall, scatter, drop, melt, freeze, brighten, redden, split, grow, open, burst, vanish, disappear*, etc. On the other hand, an unergative verb is typically atelic, controllable, and its single argument is agent-like (volitional and unaffected), e.g. English verbs *work, play, swim, walk, whisper, roar* (voluntary), etc.

More detailed review on the syntactic and semantic aspects of split intransitivity can be found in Section 1.4.2.1, before which I provide examples and samples to illustrate how split intransitivity is manifested in three well-investigated modern languages.

1.4 Previous scholarship

This section consists of two parts. Firstly, I give samples of typical manifestations of split intransitivity in Italian, English and Modern Japanese, and secondly I summarize the up-to-date major approaches to split intransitivity.

1.4.1 Samples of typical manifestations of split intransitivity

Split intransitivity is manifested in a variety of ways, from coding characteristics of core arguments to a variety of syntactic mechanisms. So far, some languages have been well investigated, e.g. Italian, English, and Modern Japanese, while others have not, especially other Asian languages and dead languages. Before I present my detailed investigation into manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese, I give below three samples of how split intransitivity is manifested in

individual languages that are well-studied in previous literature. I will not discuss them into much detail, but it is worth unfolding the manifestations in these three languages, because they represent most typical manifestations of split intransitivity that have been investigated and recognized by linguists.

1.4.1.1 Italian

Research on split intransitivity in Italian has a relatively long tradition. Burzio (1986) investigated the language extensively, and noted the structural difference between unaccusative and unergative verbs in the Government-and-Binding framework. Twenty years later, Bentley (2006) made another comprehensive investigation based on but not identical with La Fauci (1984; 1988) in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. According to Burzio, Bentley, Van Valin (1990), Sorace (2000; 2004) and Babara (2002), split intransitivity in Italian is observed to have been manifested in terms of auxiliary selection, *ne*-cliticization, past participle agreement, impersonal *si* construction and so on. Dini (1995) also discussed a list of unaccusative behaviours in Italian. Typical examples of the above manifestations are given below.

1.4.1.1.1 Auxiliary selection

In Italian, there are two auxiliaries: *essere* (BE) and *avere* (HAVE). According to Burzio, a verb selects BE ‘whenever a binding relation exists between the subject and a direct object of the verb’. Unaccusative verbs, whose subjects are

derived from the underlying object position, select BE, whereas unergative verbs and transitive verbs select HAVE.

(6) a. Transitive:

L'artiglieria ha affondato due navi nemiche.²

'The artillery has (HAVE) sunk two enemy ships.'

b. Unergative:

Giovanni ha telefonato.

'Giovanni has (HAVE) telephoned.'

c. Unaccusative:

Due navi nemiche sono affondate.

'Two enemy ships have (BE) sunk.'

Moreover, in passive sentences, it is always BE that is selected.

(7) Passive:

Maria è esta accusata.

Maria is been accused

'Maria has (BE) been accused.'

² Glosses and translations of cited example sentences are kept the same as the original ones unless explained elsewhere.

(Burzio 1986, 54)

There have been reports on variations and mis-matches, both cross-linguistically and within individual language, and Italian is one of them. More examples and proposals from different approaches to the selection can be found in Section 3.1.

1.4.1.1.2 *Ne-cliticization*

In Italian, *ne* is a clitic pronominal element that must be associated with a head. It is observed that *ne-cliticization* applies to both direct objects of transitives and subjects of unaccusatives (Burzio 1996).

(8) a. Direct object:

Giovanni *ne* inviterà molti.

Giovanni of-them will invite many

‘Giovanni will invite many of them.’

(Burzio 1986, 23)

b. Unaccusative:

Ne aniveranno molti.

of-them will arrive many

‘Many of them will arrive.’

(Burzio 1986, 22)

On the other hand, *ne*-cliticization does not apply to subjects of unergatives or transitives (Burzio 1986).

(9) a. Unergative:

*Ne telefoneranno molti.

of-them will telephone many

‘Many of them will telephone.’

(Burzio 1986, 22)

b. Transitive :

*Ne esamineranno il caso molti.

of-them will examine the case many

‘Many of them will be invited.’

(Burzio 1986, 22)

Furthermore, passive sentences pattern with unaccusatives in the grammaticality of *ne*-cliticization, as shown in the following example.

(10) Passive:

Ne saranno invitati molti.

of-them will be invited many

‘Many of them will be invited.’

(Burzio 1986, 23)

In GB theory, which Burzio adopted, the above examples clearly show that that *ne*-cliticization applies only to the direct object position, which supports the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978). Regardless of GB framework, the above patterning clearly manifests the split among Italian intransitive verbs, with the subjects of one group patterning with direct objects of transitives and the others patterning with the subjects of transitives with regard to *ne*-cliticization.

1.4.1.1.3 Past participle agreement

In Italian, the past participle is used in two ways: in compound tenses with perfective auxiliary, and as a verb form on its own (Proudfoot and Cardo 1997, 68). When used in the first way, intransitive verbs show split behaviour.

For verbs selecting *essere* (BE), the past participle always agrees with the gender and number of the subject.

- (11) a. È arrivato il mio stipendio?
‘Has my salary arrived?’
- b. È arrivata la posta?
‘Has the mail arrived?’

(Proudfoot and Cardo 1997, 69)

For verbs selecting *avere* (HAVE), unless the verb is preceded by a direct object pronoun, the participle always ends in masculine singular *-o*, and does not change to agree with the subject of the verb (Proudfoot and Cardo 1997, 68-69).

(12) a. L'avv. Serpe non aveva capito il suo problema e la sig.ra Brandi gli ha scritto un pro-memoria.

'Dr Serpe did not understand her problem so Mrs Brandi wrote a memorandum for him.'

b. Sandro e Lucia hanno lavorato bene.

'Sandro and Lucia did a good job.'

(Proudfoot and Cardo 1997, 68)

c. Avete visto quelle pratiche? Sì, le abbiamo viste.

'Did you see those files? Yes, we have seen them.'

d. Hai visto Elisa? Sì, l'ho vista.

'Did you see Elisa? Yes, I saw her.'

(Proudfoot and Cardo 1997, 69)

1.4.1.1.4 Impersonal *si*-construction

In Italian, *si* has various functions. The impersonal *si* is used as the subject of intransitive verbs and verbs of knowledge and opinion.

- (13) a. Si dice che sia una donna ricca.
‘People say / It is said / One says that she is a rich woman.’
- b. Non *sis* a mai.
‘One never knows.’
- c. Si vociferava che un fantasma s’aggirasse nel castello.
‘Rumor had it that a ghost haunted the castle.’

(Messora 1992, 87)

The split among intransitives with regard to auxiliary selection and past participle agreement is also found in the *si*-construction. If the verb is used in a compound tense with a perfective auxiliary, the auxiliary is *essere* (BE) in the third person singular. For an intransitive verb which usually selects *avere* (HAVE), the past participle is masculine singular.

- (14) a. Ho creduto che fosse (subj.) un UFO.
‘I believed it was an UFO.’

- b. Si è creduto che fosse un UFO
'It was thought it was an UFO.'

(Messora 1992, 87)

For an intransitive verb which usually selects *essere* (BE), the past participle is masculine plural even though the verb is used in the third person singular.

- (15) a. È partito.
'He has left.'
b. Si è partiti in ritardo.
'We have left late. / We left late.'

(Messora 1992. 87)

1.4.1.2 English

Up to now, the most detailed survey of split intransitivity in English is Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995). It studies split intransitivity at the syntax and lexical semantics interface in the light of Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978). Split intransitivity manifestations that Levin and Rappaport Hovav mention for Modern English include resultative construction, prepositional passive construction, *there*-construction, cognate objects, X's-way construction and causative alternation. All of these manifestations are summarized briefly below.

1.4.1.2.1 Resultative construction

Resultative construction involves a resultative phrase that denotes the state as a result of the action denoted by the verb. According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), in transitive sentences in Modern English, it is the objects but not the subjects that are modified by the resultative phrase in transitive sentences. Take the following sentence for example, it is the steak but not John that became black, as a result of burning.

(16) John burned the steak black.

In intransitive sentences, however, Modern English shows a split with regard to resultative construction. Unaccusative verbs can take a resultative phrase directly, while unergatives cannot.

(17) Unaccusatives:

- a. The pool froze solid.
- b. The can broke open.

(18) Unergatives:

- a. *The man laughed hoarse.
- b. *The boy ran tired.

In fact, in Modern English, unergative verbs that cannot take a resultative phrase directly can only take a resultative phrase with the addition of a fake reflexive object, as shown below.

- (19) a. The man laughed himself hoarse.
b. The boy ran himself tired.

Furthermore, in a passive sentence, it is grammatical when the surface subject is modified by a resultative phrase, like the single argument of an unaccusative verb.

- (20) The steak was burnt black.

To sum up, in Modern English, the single argument of unaccusative verbs can be modified by a resultative phrase, like the direct object of a transitive verb, while the single argument of unergative verbs cannot, patterning with the subject of transitive verb, and this clearly manifests split intransitivity in Modern English.

1.4.1.2.2 Prepositional passive construction

The prepositional passive construction, also known as pseudopassive, involves the movement of an oblique argument of the verb to the subject position. It has been reported that prepositional passive construction distinguish unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs in the way that unergatives allow prepositional construction whereas unaccusatives do not (Perlmutter and Postal 1984).

(21) Unaccusatives:

- a. *The bed was fallen on by dust.
- b. *The package was accumulated on by dust.

(Perlmutter and Postal 1984, 100)

(22) Unergatives:

- a. This track has been run on by our finest young athletes.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 157)

- b. This hall has been played in by some of the finest orchestras in Europe.

(Perlmutter and Postal 1984, 100)

Such distinction is characterized in GB theory by arguing that unaccusatives, which have already had their single argument moving to the subject position from the object position, do not allow further movement to the subject position.

Semantically, it was shown in both Perlmutter and Postal's study (1984) and Levin and Rappaport Hovav's study (1995) that the prepositional passive construction only available for agentive/animate subjects. This shows the uniformity of syntactic and semantic perspectives of split intransitivity. In other words, split intransitivity can be characterized both syntactically and semantically.

(23) a. The closet was slid into by Ted. (Ted did so intentionally.)

- b. *The closet was slid into by the soap.

(adapted from Perlmutter and Postal 1984, 101-102)

1.4.1.2.3 *There*-construction

The *there*-construction is so far the only surface unaccusativity manifestation, according to Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), which distinguishes surface unaccusativity (single argument remaining in the object position in both D-structure and S- structure) from deep unaccusativity (single argument of the verb being moved from D-structure object position to S-structure subject position). The *there*-construction in English takes the form of ‘*there* V NP PP’, and it is only applicable with unaccusative verbs, as shown in the following examples.

- (24) a. Unaccusative:

There appeared a ship on the horizon.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 121)

- b. Unergative:

*There ran a runner on the track.

As Levin and Rappaport Hovav have pointed out, there are semantic limitations with regard to the compatibility with *there*-construction among unaccusative verbs. In other words, only a sub-set of unaccusative verbs can be involved in *there*-construction. Furthermore, and not surprisingly, only agentive

reading is possible for verbs that have both agentive and non-agentive senses in *there*-construction.

(25) Agentive:

- a. Two men remained in the room.
- b. *There remained two men in the room.

(adapted from Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 152)

(26) Non-agentive:

- a. Two men remained in the room.
- b. There remained two men in the room.

(adapted from Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 152)

1.4.1.2.4 Cognate objects

Cognate objects generally refer to an object that is etymologically related to the verb (and the verb is ordinarily intransitive). Examples of such pairs in English include: dream/dream, sleep/sleep, arrive/arrival, etc.

It has been observed in English that unergative verbs are able to take cognate objects whereas unaccusative verbs cannot (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

(27) a. Unergative:

Louisa slept a restful sleep.

Malinda smiled her most enigmatic smile.

b. Unaccusative:

*The glass broke a crooked break.

*She arrived a glamorous arrival.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 40)

This distinction is explainable in GB when assuming that unaccusative verbs cannot assign accusative case (Burzio 1986), whereas unergatives can do so.

1.4.1.2.5 *X's-way* construction

In an *X's-way* construction, the phrase *x's way* is preceded by a verb and followed by a prepositional phrase. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue that *x's way* construction involves only unergative verb but not unaccusative verb, as exemplified in the following two sentences.

(28) a. Unergative:

Kelly laughed her way out of the room.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 198)

b. Unaccusative:

*The apples fell their way into the crates.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 148)

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) attribute the phenomenon to the fact that, in English, unaccusative verbs cannot assign accusative case to the post-verbal NP, whereas unergative verbs have such ability. There are semantic restrictions to verbs that can be involved in *x's-way* construction: it does not apply to achievement verbs or stative verbs. Since unaccusative verbs are typically achievement verbs and unergative verbs are not typically stative verbs, the semantic restrictions does not deny the fact that *x's-way* construction manifests split intransitivity.

1.4.1.2.6 Causative alternation

Verbs that participate in causative alternation in English show transitive and intransitive uses. According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), English is one of the languages in which typical unaccusative verbs participate in causative alternation, and typical unergative verbs do not, as shown below. In terms of semantic relationship between the two variants, the subject of the intransitive variant bears the same semantic role as the direct object of the transitive variant.

- (29) a. The window broke. (unaccusative)
 b. Pat broke the window.

(adapted from Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 79)

- (30) a. The crowd laughed. (unergative)

b. *The comedian laughed the crowd.

(cf. The comedian made the crowd laugh.)

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 80)

Most of the unaccusative verbs involved in causative alternation are change-of-state verbs. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) further proposed a causative analysis of alternating unaccusative verbs. The following example shows the difference between the verbs *break* and *laugh*. Verbs like *break*, in both transitive and intransitive use, involve two sub-events that are both arguments of the predicate CAUSE, whereas verbs like *laugh* do not involve the predicate CAUSE in its lexical semantic representation.

(31) a. *break*: [[*x* DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [*y* BECOME BROKEN]]

b. *laugh*: [*x* LAUGH]

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 80)

1.4.1.3 Modern Japanese

Researchers have found a number of manifestations of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese, which include floating numeral quantifiers, *ake*-construction, resultative construction, case drop, indirect passives, causative-passives, *takusan*-construction, *rokuna-nai* construction, and several morpho-syntactic ones, including N+V compounds, V+V compounds, light verb *suru* construction, *-teiru* construction,

etc. (Kageyama 1993; 1996; Tsujimura 1999; Miyagawa 1989; Kishimoto 1996; among others). I present here the major manifestations which are frequently discussed for Modern Japanese yet lack significant attestations in Old Japanese, namely, floating numeral quantifiers, the *kake*-construction, adverb *takusan*, *rokunai* construction, indirect passives and case drop. More manifestations, i.e., V1+V2 compounds, N+V compounds, resultative construction, VP-preposing and the *suru*-construction will be presented in Section 2.2, Section 2.3, Section 2.5.1, Section 2.5.2 and Section 2.5.3 respectively, because they are more relevant to the manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese that will be discussed in this thesis.

1.4.1.3.1 Floating numeral quantifiers

The ‘numeral quantifier’ in Modern Japanese consists of a numeral and a classifier. They often appear next to the noun phrase that it modifies, but can also be separated. Miyagawa (1989) claims that split intransitivity is manifested by the behavior of the numeral quantifiers, in the way that object oriented numeral quantifiers (i.e. those modifying subjects of unaccusative verbs, objects of transitive verbs, and subjects of passives) can be separated from the noun phrase, whereas subject oriented numeral quantifiers (i.e. those modifying subjects of transitive verbs and unergative verbs) cannot be separated from the noun phrase, as shown in the following examples.

(32) a. Unaccusative subject:

Onna ga butai ni hitori agatta.
 woman NOM stage to one.person went.up
 ‘One woman went up onto the stage.’

(Miyagawa 1989, 43)

b. Transitive object:

2-tu, kodomo ga kozutumi o okutta.
 2-CL child NOM packages ACC sent
 ‘The child sent two packages.’

(Miyagawa 1989, 50)

c. Passive subject:

Yûbe, 2-dai, dorobô ni,
 last night 2-CL thief by
 kuruma ga nusum-are-ta.
 cars NOM steal-PASS-PST
 ‘Last night, two cars were stolen by a thief.’

(Miyagawa 1989, 52)

d. Transitive subject:

?* 2-ri, hon o gakusei ga katta.
 2-CL books ACC students NOM bought
 ‘Two students bought a book.’

(Miyagawa 1989, 50)

e. Unergative subject:

*2-ri kawa o otoko ga oyoida.

2-CL river ACC men NOM swam

Lit: 'Two, the river, men swam.'

(Miyagawa 1989, 52)

1.4.1.3.2 *Kake*-construction (Deverbal nominalization)

In his semantic account of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese, Kishimoto (1996) discusses how the split is manifested in the *kake*-construction (deverbal nominalization).

In Modern Japanese, *-kake* is an aspectual suffix attaching to a verb, adding in the meaning of 'be about to, do half way'. *Kake*-construction can be both used to modify a noun or be predicated of a noun.

(33) a. nomi-kake no bîru
 drink-KAKE GEN beer
 'the half-drunk beer'

b. kono-bîru wa nomi-kake da.
 this-beer TOP drink-KAKE COP
 'This beer is half drunk.'

(adapted from Kishimoto 1996, 253)

According to Kishimoto, *kake*-construction can modify the direct object of a transitive verb and the subject of an unaccusative verb, but not the subject of a transitive verb or unergative verb.

(34) a. The subject of an unaccusative verb

aki-kake	no	doa
open (intr.)-KAKE	GEN	door
‘the door, slightly ajar’		

b. The direct object of a transitive verb:

ake-kake	no	doa
open (tr.)-KAKE	GEN	door
‘the door, opened halfway’		

c. The subject of an unergative verb:

*hasiri-kake	no	rannâ
run-KAKE	GEN	runner
‘the runner, almost running’		

d. The subject of a transitive verb:

*ake-kake	no	Tarô
open (tr.)-KAKE	GEN	Taro
‘Taro, half opening’		

(adapted from Kishimoto 1996, 255-256)

Furthermore, the *kake*-construction is applicable to the surface subject of a passivized transitive verb.

(35)	sikar-are-kake	no	Tarô
	scold-PASS-KAKE	GEN	Taro
	‘Taro, almost scolded’		

(Kishimoto 1996, 258)

The above examples show that *kake*-construction manifests split intransitivity in Modern Japanese in that subjects of unaccusatives, direct objects of transitives and surface subjects of passivized transitive verbs behave alike, whereas subjects of unergatives and transitives pattern with each other.

1.4.1.3.3 Adverb *takusan*

In Modern Japanese, there is an adverb *takusan* that means ‘a lot’. It is observed by Kageyama (1993) that it only modifies the direct object of a transitive verb, rather than the subject. For example, in the following sentence without an

overt subject, it indicates ‘someone broke a lot of things’, instead of ‘many people broke something’.

- (36) Takusan kowasi-ta.
 a.lot break(tr.)-PST
 ‘(Someone) broke a lot (of things).’

In the responding passive sentence, *takusan* modifies the surface subject of *kowas-* ‘break’ (tr.). The following sentence is interpreted as ‘a lot of things were broken’, instead of ‘something was broken by a lot (of people)’.

- (37) Takusan kowas-are-ta.
 a.lot break (tr.)-PASS-PST
 ‘A lot (of things) were broken.’

Kageyama (1993) further observed that subject of an unaccusative verb can be modified by *takusan*.

- (38) Takusan koware-ta.
 a.lot break (intr.)-PST
 ‘A lot (of things) broke.’

Unergative verbs, though grammatical when used with *takusan*, have different interpretations. The following sentence, for example, indicates ‘someone cried a lot’, instead of ‘a lot of people cried’.

- (39) Takusan nai-ta.
 a.lot cry-PST
 ‘Somebody cried a lot.’

With regard to the particular usage of *takusan* (i.e. ability of modifying the argument), the patterning of unaccusative subject and direct object on the one hand and unergative subject and transitive subject on the other hand manifests split intransitivity in Modern Japanese.

1.4.1.3.4 *Rokuna...nai* construction

Rokuna...nai construction meaning ‘not so good’ consists of two parts: *rokuna*, which means ‘any good’, and *nai* (negation), which is the ending of the negative form of a verb. Similar to *takusan*, *rokuna-nai* construction is also used to modify direct object of a transitive verb, subject of an unaccusative verb, and subject of a transitive verb in its passive form. It is, on the other hand, not applicable to subject of a transitive verb or unergative verb, as shown in the following examples (Nishigauchi 1993).

- (40) a. Direct object:

Gakusei-ga rokuna ronbun-o kak-anai.
 student-NOM very good paper-ACC write-NEG
 ‘Students do not write very good papers.’

b. Unaccusative subject:

Rokuna mono-ga oti-te-nak-atta.
 very good thing-NOM fall-TE-NEG-PST.
 ‘Not very good things have fallen on the ground.’

c. Passive subject:

Rokuna mono-ga ur-are-te-inai.
 very good thing-NOM sell-PASS-TE-NEG
 ‘Not very good things are sold.’

d. Transitive subject:

*Rokuna gakusei-ga ronbun-o kak-anai.
 very good student-NOM paper-ACC write-NEG
 ‘Not very good students write papers’

e. Unergative subject:

*Rokuna talento-ga fuzake-nak-atta.
 very good actors-NOM play-NEG-PST
 ‘Not very good actors played around.’

(adapted from Hirakawa 2003, 59-60)

1.4.1.3.5 Case drop

Like the *there*-construction in English, case drop is a manifestation of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese which shows surface unaccusativity. In other words, the single argument of an unaccusative verb does not move but stays in the object position in the S-structure. According to Kageyama (1993), in colloquial Japanese, the nominative case marker *ga* cannot be dropped from the subject of a transitive verb, but the accusative case marker *o* can be dropped from the direct object of a transitive verb.

- (41) a. Kodomotati ga hon (o) yomu.
 children GEN book (ACC) read
 no mita koto nai.
 nominalizer see.PST thing NEG
 ‘(I) have not seen the children read any book.’
- b. *Kodomotati () hon o yomu.
 children (GEN) book ACC read
 no mita koto nai.
 nominalizer see.PST thing NEG
 ‘(I) have not seen the children read any book.’

(adapted from Kageyama 1993, 56)

There is parallel asymmetry among intransitive verbs. Unaccusative verbs, on the one hand, can have the nominative case marker *ga* dropped from their subject, and on the other hand, unergative verbs must not drop *ga* from their subjects.

(42) a. Unaccusatives:

Tanaka-san (ga) nakunatta no sir-anakatta.

Tanaka-san NOM die.PST nominalizer know-NEG.PST

‘I did not know that Tanaka-san passed away.’

b. Unergatives:

*Tanaka-san () odotta no sir-anakatta.

Tanaka-san NOM dance.PST nominalizer know-NEG.PST

‘I did not know that Tanaka-san danced.’

(adapted from Kageyama 1993, 56)

In addition, unlike deep unaccusativity where passivized transitive subjects behave alike unaccusative subjects, passivized transitives cannot have the nominative case marker dropped from their subjects, because subjects of passives are moved out of the VP.

- (43) *kodomotati () sika-rare-ta no mita koto nai.
children scold-PASS-PST nominalizer thing NEG

(adapted from Hirakawa 2003, 74)

Nonetheless, the patterning between unaccusative subjects and direct objects of transitives on one hand and unergative subjects and transitive subjects on the other hand manifests split intransitivity in Modern Japanese.

Cross-linguistically, some manifestations are shared by different languages, e.g. resultative constructions in Italian, English and Japanese, yet many others are unique to individual languages. In Chapter 3 of the thesis, I will investigate Old Japanese language in detail, find out how split intransitivity is manifested, and construct a list of manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese like what has been done for Italian, English and Modern Japanese as reviewed above.

1.4.2 Approaches to split intransitivity

Regarding split intransitivity, the debates among linguists mainly fall into three aspects: whether the split is of a syntactic or semantic nature, whether the approach should be lexically principled or purely structural, and whether split intransitivity should be viewed as binary or gradient. This section provides a review of contemporary approaches and theories that conceive of split intransitivity from a variety of perspectives.

1.4.2.1 Syntactic approach vs. semantic approach

The earliest proposal of split intransitivity is probably Hall (1965, cited in Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995) which claims that there is a subclass of intransitive verbs whose surface subjects are underlying objects. However, large amount of research was triggered after the launch of Unaccusative Hypothesis, which was formulated first by Perlmutter (1978) in the frame work of Relational Grammar, and later adopted by Burzio (1986) in the context of Government-Binding Theory. In Relational Grammar, unaccusative structures involve final 1s that are not initial 1s, and unergative structures involve final 1s that are also initial 1s (Perlmutter 1978). From the Government-Binding perspective, unaccusative verbs have a D-Structure object that surfaces as a subject (in other words, those verbs subcategorize only for an object NP which then moved to the subject), whereas unergative verbs take D-Structure subjects that surfaces also as subjects (Burzio 1986):

- (44) a. Unergative verb: NP [_{VP} V]
b. Unaccusative verb : __ [_{VP} V NP/CP]

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 3)

This has also been viewed in terms of argument structure that distinguishes between *external* and *internal* arguments (proposed by Williams in 1981): an unaccusative

verb has a direct internal argument but no external argument, while an unergative verb, on the contrary, has an external argument but no direct internal argument.

The approach based on syntax claims that syntactic configurations are the primitives from which meaning can be deduced. Rosen (1984) maintains that what the unaccusative verbs have in common is a particular syntactic configuration, though without completely denying that there are certain correspondences between the meaning and the split. Some other current theories have also adopted the syntactic view (e.g. Bresnan and Zaenen 1990).

Contrasting to the syntactic approach, the semantic approach assumes that semantic features are primitives and that the syntax depends on a set of linking rules. Dowty (1991) developed a theory mapping thematic roles to syntactic argument positions based on their semantic properties, and used proto-role properties for unaccusative/unergative distinction. More persistently, Van Valin (1990) claims that ‘the phenomena which the Unaccusative Hypothesis strived to explain in syntactic term are better explained in semantic terms’, and that all unaccusative diagnostics can receive a semantic explanation. Based on four aspectual classes (states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments), he argues that the unaccusatives and unergatives are divided according to aspectual criteria. His basic idea is that, from the perspective of the Aktionsart (lexical aspect), whenever an intransitive verb is atelic (a process or an activity) it is realized as an unergative; on the other hand, whenever an intransitive verb is telic (or bounded, like for achievements), it is realized as an unaccusative.

On the interface of syntax and lexical semantics, there are also studies which conceive the split as both syntactically encoded and semantically predictable. Two of the major works taking this point of view by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Sorace (2000) are to be reviewed in the following sections.

1.4.2.2 Projectionist model vs. constructionist model

Within the theories on the syntax and lexical semantics interface, two models proposed for the mapping are distinguished. One of them is the well-established *projectionist* approach; the other is a relatively new *constructionist* approach. In the projectionists' analysis, the lexical meaning of a verb serves as the basis of the syntactic classification of its arguments; unaccusatives and unergatives are mapped onto distinct configurations by linking rules (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995). The constructionists, on the other hand, view the split from a sentential level, and argue that it is the clusters of properties derived from the syntactic configurations in which verbs appear, rather than lexical properties of verbs, which determine the aspectual interpretation (see van Hout 2000; McClure 1995; Zaenen 1993).

1.4.2.3 Linking Rules vs. Split Intransitivity Hierarchy

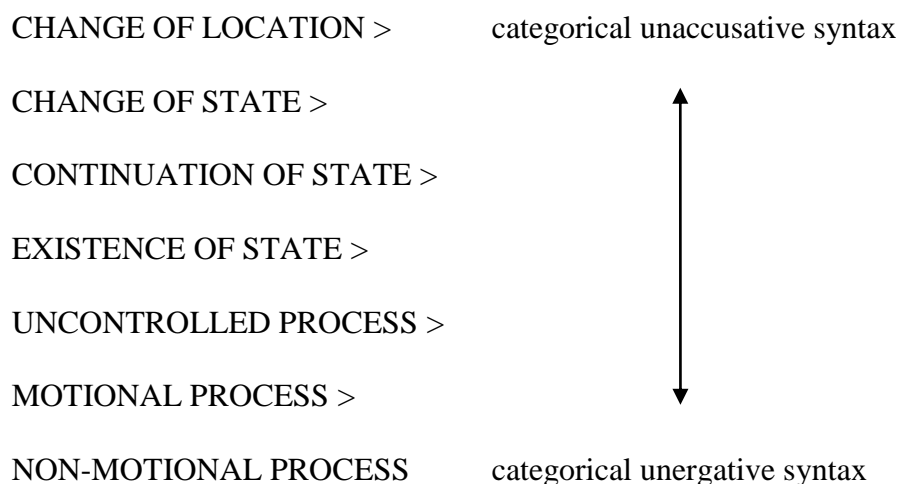
Similar to Dowty's proposal, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) worked out a group of linking rules for the mapping of lexical semantic representations of verbs onto argument structure positions (instead of grammatical functions). Regarding the syntax of split intransitivity, three semantic factors are assumed to be relevant, namely, *direct change*, *appearance/experience*, and *immediate causation*.

- (45) a. Immediate Cause Linking Rule:
The argument of a verb that denotes the immediate cause of the eventuality described by that verb is its external argument
- b. Directed Change Linking Rule:
The argument of a verb that corresponds to the entity undergoing the directed change described by the verb is its direct internal argument
- c. Existence Linking Rule:
The argument of a verb whose existence is asserted or denied is its direct internal argument
- d. Default Linking Rule:
An argument of a verb that does not fall under the scope of any of the other linking rules is its direct internal argument

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)

These linking rules apply to both transitive and intransitive verbs. In the cases of intransitive verbs, they will be unergative if the verbs falls in (45a), and unaccusative in (45b), (45c) and (45d).

However, Sorace (2000) pointed out that the linking rules did not seem to capture the variation attested in her study of auxiliary selection, and further proposed a Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (Sorace 2000; 2004), defined primarily by aspectual notions (telicity/atelicity), and secondarily by the degree of agentivity of the verb:

Figure 1. Sorace's Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (2004)

In this Hierarchy, the closer a verb is to either end, the more determinate its syntactic status is as either unaccusative or unergative; verb categories adjacent to the minimal trigger exhibit a higher degree of syntactic variation. Compositional factors also affect the distance of a verb from the ends of the hierarchy. Although distinct from Levin and Rappaport Hovav's linking rules, this hierarchical approach can also be considered a refinement of Dowty's (1991) view on the distinction of unaccusatives and unergatives based on his Proto-Patient and Proto-Agent theory.

My research which investigates a typologically different language in a neutral way on the syntax-semantics interface will provide an ideal ground for testing these alternative hypotheses.

1.5 Theoretical frameworks in this thesis

This thesis agrees with the larger VSARPJ project in applying basic linguistic theory, avoiding particular theoretical frameworks or theory-internal analysis. I am not denying the possibility that an excellent theoretical framework may give the research a deeper insightful view from the beginning. However, Old Japanese is a less known/studied language, with no access to native speakers, and I do not want to take the risk that the data will be overshadowed by a certain theoretical framework from the very beginning.

Although this thesis is not confined in a particular theoretical framework, it reviews and examines a variety of relevant syntax and semantics theories on split intransitivity and the linking between syntax and semantics, for example, Sorace's Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (2000; 2004), Kageyama's Transitivity Harmony (1993), Dowty's Proto-roles theory (1991), Silverstein's Hierarchy (1976) and so on.

With the above theories discussed and examined, basic linguistic theory allows and helps bring fresh data from Old Japanese to contribute to the understanding of split intransitivity and the interaction between syntax and semantics, providing foundational descriptive data for revised and brand new theories.

In addition, I would like my data, analysis and arguments to be accessible, understandable and transferable for linguists in a wide range of fields and schools. Therefore, when addressing particular ways of analysing, I will provide clear reference for the particular framework and theory which are involved in.

1.6 Research questions, contributions and research scope

This thesis intends to explore the following research questions.

- 1) Is there morpho-syntactic evidence of split intransitivity in Old Japanese?
- 2) If so, in which ways do unaccusatives and unergatives behave differently?
- 3) Do verbs behave consistently, or variably? If there is variation, what is the distribution of the variants?
- 4) Which semantic groups of verbs harbour the most variations? How do similar verbs differ from each other?
- 5) What are the semantic factors that are most relevant to the delimitation of unergatives and unergatives of Old Japanese?
- 6) Do the semantic factors act independently or interactively, and how?
- 7) How to understand the exceptions, variations and ‘mismatches’?
- 8) What does the data in Old Japanese brings to the understanding of split intransitivity, and more generally, the linking between syntax and semantics?
- 9) How are the semantic factors of split intransitivity reflected in event structures of the verbs?

By answering the above questions, the original contribution of this thesis can be grouped into two aspects:

- 1) Empirically, it provides a comprehensive description of intransitive verbs in Old Japanese, which contributes to the understanding of Japanese language from its first attested stage.
- 2) Theoretically, through in-depth analysis, it tests out modern linguistic theories on an ancient dead language and bring implications back into modern linguistic theories.

In the course of answering the research questions, this thesis also sheds light on 1) to what extent manifestations of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese are found in Old Japanese period, and 2) some differences between Old Japanese, English, Italian, etc. However, this thesis does not intend to be a detailed comparative or contrastive study. The main focus of this thesis is Old Japanese only.

1.7 Conventions of transcription, segmentation, gloss and translation

This section summarizes conventions used in this thesis in the following aspects.

1.7.1 Transcription

The Frellesvig & Whitman system, which has been introduced and applied in *A History of the Japanese Language* (Frellesvig 2010), is used for transcription of Old Japanese in this thesis (as well as in OCOJ). The following table exemplifies the notation of the distinction between *kô-ru* (甲類) and *otsu-ru* (乙類) syllables in this system in contrast with the index notation.

Table 1. Transcription for Old Japanese

Syllable type	index notation	transcriptions
<i>Kô-ru</i>	i ₁	i
<i>Otsu-ru</i>	i ₂	wi
<i>neutral</i>	i	i
<i>Kô-ru</i>	e ₁	ye
<i>Otsu-ru</i>	e ₂	e
<i>neutral</i>	e	e
<i>Kô-ru</i>	o ₁	wo
<i>Otsu-ru</i>	o ₂	o
<i>neutral</i>	o	o
	u	u
	a	a

1.7.2 Phonographic, logographic and non-logographic writing

In Old Japanese text examples, logographically written text portions are in roman type; phonographically written text are in italics; and elements without overt representing character in the original text (known as ‘non-logographic’) are underlined. These non-logographic portions are based on reading traditions, which, together with original scripts and phonographic/logographic information, follows the edition of *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* (NBKT) published by *Iwanami Shoten* in 1959.

Text elements that are given in boldface have nothing to do with the orthography information. They are for emphasizing and explanation purpose only.

1.7.3 Segmentation

A single space is inserted between two words, and a hyphen is used within a word after 1) an adjective stem, 2) a numeral, 3) a prefix, and between 1) verb and auxiliaries, 2) two members of a compound word (e.g. verb-verb, noun-verb).

1.7.4 Gloss

In most cases, glosses are given below the romanized transcription of the original script, responding to the particular word above it. The English translation of individual words follows the Lexicon in OCOJ, unless a change is necessary for relevant discussion. Where there are more than one English words corresponding to one Old Japanese word, a dot is used to separate the English words, and a dot is also used to separate English words for translating a single Old Japanese word and for

separating inflection forms. For example, ‘be.permeated-PERF-CONJ.CONCL’ indicates that this is a verb meaning ‘be permeated’, followed by a perfective auxiliary and then by a conjectural auxiliary in its conclusive form.

1.7.5 Translation

OCOJ is in the progress of adding translations for the texts from both internal member’s work and external sources. In this thesis, English translations of example sentences were done by me unless other source is cited.

1.8 Summary

This chapter gave an overall introduction of the research presented in this thesis. (Research methodology will be introduced on its own in Chapter 2.)

Firstly, Section 1.1 briefly introduced various aspects and features of Old Japanese language, especially those that were relevant to the discussion in this thesis. This was followed by Section 1.2, which listed source and materials from the Old Japanese period, which was also included in the investigation presented in this thesis.

Section 1.3 defined key concepts and basic terms used in this thesis, including ‘intransitives’, ‘transitives’, ‘split intransitivity’, ‘unaccusatives’, ‘unergatives’. On top of these, it explained typical properties of the unaccusatives and unergatives.

Section 1.4 first summarized manifestations of split intransitivity in three languages that were well-investigated in previous literature: English, Italian, and

Modern Japanese. Then it introduced major approaches toward split intransitivity that were taken by linguists so far.

Section 1.5 explained the reason why this thesis used basic linguistics theory instead of being confined within any specific syntax or semantics framework. Section 1.6 stated the research questions covered in this thesis, original contributions, and emphasized the scope of this thesis.

Finally, Section 1.7 introduced the conventions of transcription, segmentation, gloss and translation.

Chapter 2 Ch2. Methodology

As the first stage of my DPhil project, I took part in the development of the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ), which was also the initial part of the larger VSARPJ project. My mark-ups included orthographical, part of speech, morphological and syntactical information with the addition of some translations. Furthermore, I fully marked all verbs with perfective auxiliaries in Old Japanese, which provided important information with regard to split intransitivity in Old Japanese. The empirical data presented in this thesis is entirely based on OCOJ. Texts from the Old Japanese period were nearly exhaustively investigated as the empirical foundation of this research.

Section 2.1.1 introduces the sources and materials included in the investigation. The rest of Section 2.1 introduces the components and tagging of the OCOJ. Section 2.2 states limitations of corpus-based study. Software such as Oxygen XML Editor and Xaira were used for building the OCOJ and extracting data. Microsoft Excel was used for sorting out the data.

2.1 The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ)

As the initial part of the larger project ‘Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese: A comprehensive study of the basic syntax of pre-modern Japanese’, an electronic database of old Japanese texts (known as OCOJ) was built with transcription and tagging for a wide range of linguistic information.

2.1.1 Texts and size

All the Old Japanese texts mentioned in Section 1.2 are included in OCOJ, with both original script and phonemic transcription. Below summarizes the texts and gives detailed statistics about the size of each text.

Table 2. Texts and size of OCOJ³

Title of texts	Approximate dates	No. of poems	No. of words
<i>Bussokuseki-ka</i>	after 753	21	337
<i>Fudoki kayô</i>	730s	20	271
<i>Kojiki kayô</i>	712	112	2527
<i>Jôgû shôtoku hôô teisetsu</i>	unknown	4	60
<i>Man'yôshû</i>	after 759	4685	83706
<i>Nihon shoki kayô</i>	720	133	2444
<i>Shoku nihongi kayô</i>	797	8	134
Total		4983	89479

³ More recently, *Engishiki Norito* (延喜式祝詞) (approx. 6,500 words) and *Shoku nihongi Senmyô* (続日本紀宣命; 797) (approx. 14,000 words) were added into OCOJ, with phonemic transcription only.

Figure 2. Proportion of each source in OCOJ in terms of poem number

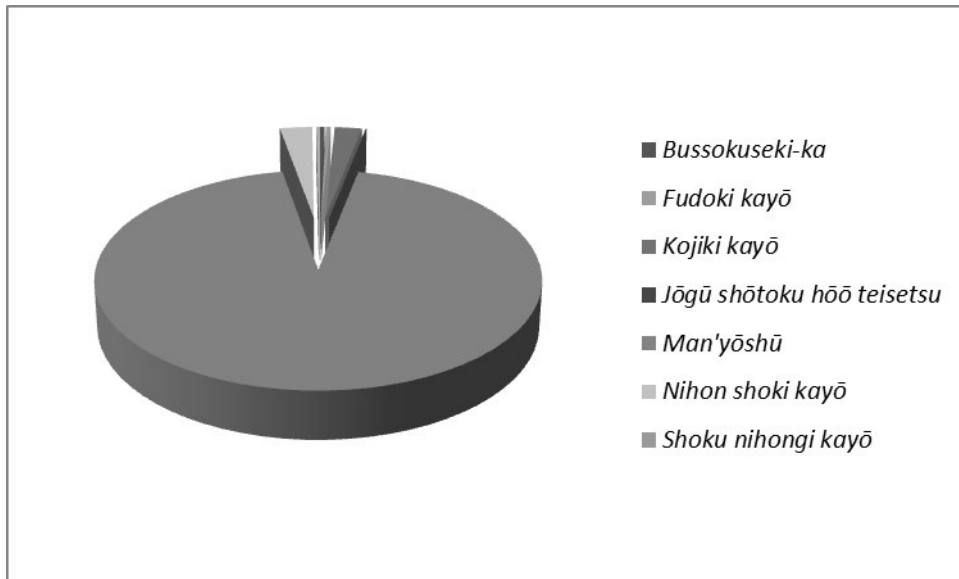
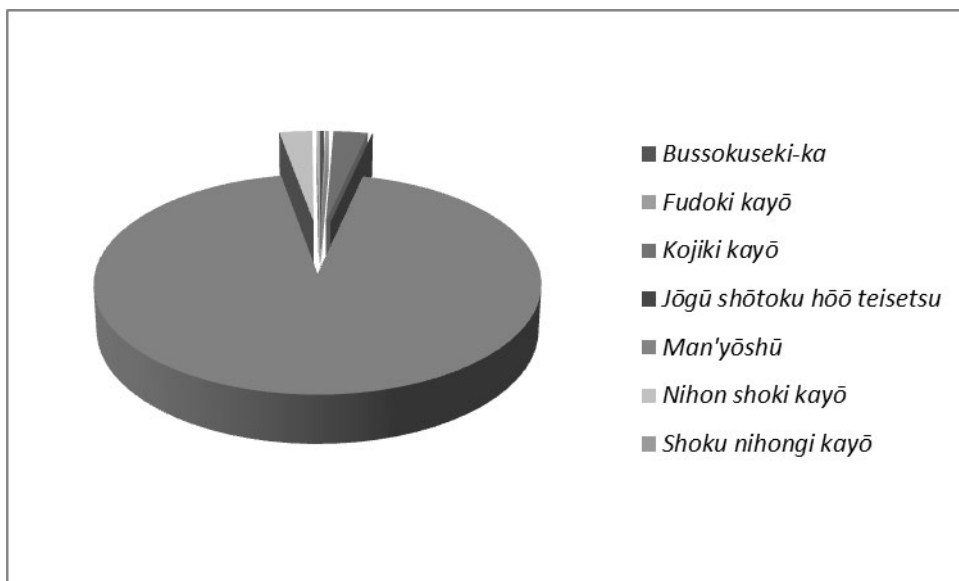


Figure 3. Proportion of each source in OCOJ in terms of number of words

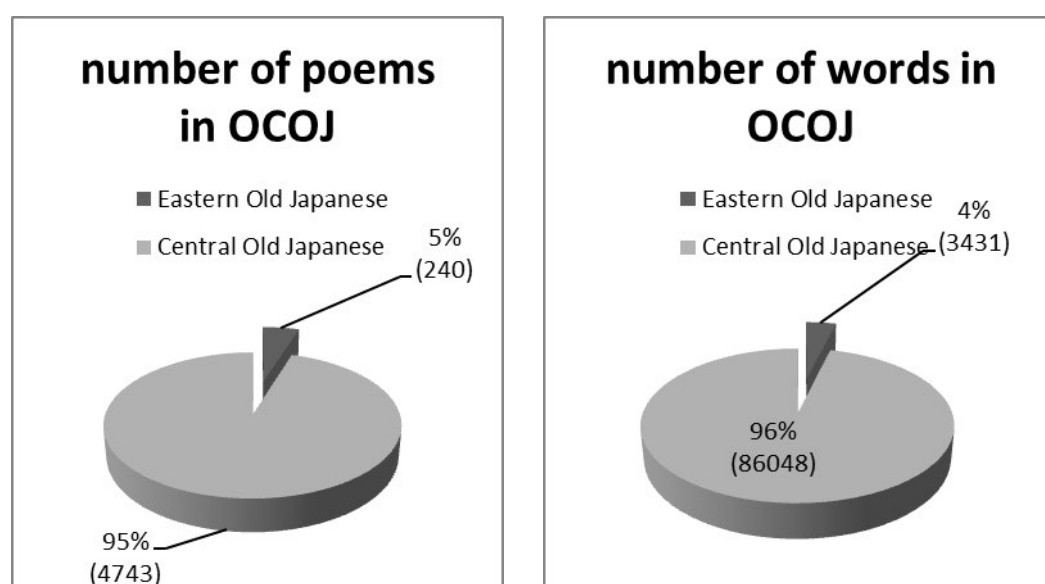


Among them, there are 240 poems (3431 words) of Eastern Old Japanese in the following parts of *Man'yōshū*:

(46) *Azuma-uta* (東歌) (174 poems; 2110 words)

Sakimori-uta (防人歌) (66 poems; 1321 words)

Figure 4. The proportions of Eastern Old Japanese and Central Old Japanese in OCOJ



2.1.2 Phonemic transcription

Alongside the original script, the texts in the OCOJ are romanized in a phonemic transcription which reflects the phonology at the time of composition of the texts. The transcription of Old Japanese texts in both OCOJ and my thesis adopt the Frellesvig & Whitman system of transcription used in Frellesvig's book (2010).

More details are given in Section 1.7 Conventions of transcription, segmentation, gloss and translation.

2.1.3 Tagging

The OCOJ is marked up in the coding language XML, which is currently one of the most efficient ways of storing and transforming data. Some of the coding can be automated to a certain extent, but some of them needed being checked manually, and most of the coding is entered manually by using the XML editor Oxygen. The coding follows the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI)⁴, which has a small set of tags, and in each tag, a portion of text can be further marked up in terms of a variety of attributes, such as type, subtype, function, inflection, etc. Although it is not designed exclusively of linguistic mark-ups, it is well-suited for encoding of linguistic features of texts, e.g. orthography, part of speech, morphology and syntax.

2.1.3.1 Orthography

Unlike later stages in which texts were written in a mixture of *kanji* and *hiragana* or *katakana*, in Old Japanese period, Japanese was written entirely in *kanji*,

⁴ According to the TEI official website, ‘[t]he Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is a consortium which collectively develops and maintains a standard for the representation of texts in digital form. Its chief deliverable is a set of Guidelines which specify encoding methods for machine-readable texts, chiefly in the humanities, social sciences and linguistics. Since 1994, the TEI Guidelines have been widely used by libraries, museums, publishers, and individual scholars to present texts for online research, teaching, and preservation’ (<http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>, accessed on 3 May, 2013). By following the TEI conventions, OCOJ is capable and expected to incorporate more information (e.g. literary, biographical, historical, geographical, etc.) to benefit more academic communities in the future.

which were used either logographically or phonographically. The OCOJ indicates whether strings of text are written logographically or phonographically in the original Japanese script by assigning ‘logo’ or ‘phon’ attribute in the <c/> tags. Characters that are not orthographically represented in the text, but are rendered based on reading traditions are marked as ‘noLogo’.

2.1.3.2 Part of speech and morphology

Each word in the texts is tagged for its part-of-speech, which includes adjectival nouns, adjectives, adverbs, copula, verbal extensions, interjections, modifiers, nouns, numbers, particles, pronouns, and verbs. For inflecting words and morphemes, full information of inflection is provided. Compounding is also reflected in the OCOJ. The classification of words and naming of inflections follows those in Frellesvig (2010).

2.1.3.3 Syntax

As a result of syntactic analysis, the OCOJ marks sentences <s/>, clauses <cl/>⁵ and phrases <phr/>⁶. For clauses and phrases, it marks relation types, namely, ‘argument’ and ‘adjunct’. At this stage, there exist a number of phrases are not assigned with any relation types because of the lack of an unambiguous analysis, but

⁵ A clause contains elements corresponding to a root predicate, overt arguments and complements, modifying expressions, modal extensions, and conjunctive particles.

⁶ A phrase includes nominal expressions directly contained by clauses, and nominal expressions that take pre-nominal modifiers.

alongside the investigation and research of the larger project, the OCOJ will show the final results.

Below is an example of a fully marked poem (KK.75) from OCOJ:

(47)

```

<text>
  <body xml:id="KK.75">
    <div>
      <ab type="original" xml:lang="ojp"> 多遲比怒迹 <lb xml:id="KK.75-orig_1" corresp="#KK.75-trans_1"/> 泥牟登斯理勢波 <lb xml:id="KK.75-orig_2" corresp="#KK.75-trans_2"/> 多都碁母母 <lb xml:id="KK.75-orig_3" corresp="#KK.75-trans_3"/> 母知 弓許 麻志 母能 <lb xml:id="KK.75-orig_4" corresp="#KK.75-trans_4"/> 泥牟登斯理勢婆
      </ab>
      <ab type="transliteration" xml:lang="ojp-Latn">
        <s>
          <cl part="I">
            <cl>
              <cl type="arg">
                <phr>
                  <w>
                    <w>
                      <c type="phon">tadipi</c>
                    </w>
                  <w>
                    <c type="phon">nwo</c>
                  </w>
                </w>
                <w type="particle" subtype="case" function="dat" lemma="L000519" lemmaRef="28178">
                  <c type="phon">ni</c>
                </w>
              </phr>
              <lb xml:id="KK.75-trans_1" corresp="#KK.75-orig_1"/>
              <w>
                <w type="verb" inflection="stem" lemma="L031342a" lemmaRef="28921">

```

```

        <c type="phon">ne</c>
      </w>
      <m type="auxiliary"
        function="conjectural"
        lemma="L000002"
        inflection="adnconc"
        lemmaRef="36983">
        <c type="phon">mu</c>
      </m>
    </w>
    <w type="particle" subtype="comp" lemma="L000530"
lemmaRef="25826">
      <c type="phon">to</c>
    </w>
  </cl>
<w>
  <w type="verb" inflection="stem" lemma="L031967a">
    <c type="phon">siri</c>
  </w>
  <m type="auxiliary"
    function="simplePast"
    lemma="L000015"
    inflection="conditional"
    lemmaRef="8246">
    <c type="phon">seba</c>
  </m>
</w>
</cl>
</cl>
<lb xml:id="KK.75-trans_2" corresp="#KK.75-orig_2"/>
<phr type="arg" role="theme">
  <w>
    <w>
      <c type="phon">tatu</c>
    </w>
    <w>
      <c type="phon">gomo</c>
    </w>
  </w>
  <w type="particle" subtype="top" lemma="L000514">
    <c type="phon">mo</c>
  </w>
</phr>
<lb xml:id="KK.75-trans_3" corresp="#KK.75-orig_3"/>
<cl part="F">

```

```

</cl>
  <cl>
    <w type="verb" inflection="gerund" lemma="L031761a">
      <c type="phon">motite</c>
    </w>
  </cl>
  <w>
    <w type="verb" inflection="stem" lemma="L030612a"
lemmaRef="10518">
      <c type="phon">ko</c>
    </w>
    <m lemma="L000004"
type="auxiliary"
inflection="adnconc"
lemmaRef="97558"
function="subjunctive">
      <c type="phon">masi</c>
    </m>
  </w>
  <w type="particle" subtype="conj" lemma="L000516"
lemmaRef="37873">
    <c type="phon">mono</c>
  </w>
</cl>
<lb xml:id="KK.75-trans_4" corresp="#KK.75-orig_4"/>
<cl type="arg">
  <w>
    <w type="verb" inflection="stem" lemma="L031342a"
lemmaRef="28921">
      <c type="phon">ne</c>
    </w>
    <m type="auxiliary"
function="conjunctural"
lemma="L000002"
inflection="adnconc"
lemmaRef="36983">
      <c type="phon">mu</c>
    </m>
  </w>
  <w type="particle" subtype="comp" lemma="L000530"
lemmaRef="25826">
    <c type="phon">to</c>
  </w>
</cl>
<w>

```

```

    <w type="verb" inflection="stem" lemma="L031967a">
      <c type="phon">siri</c>
    </w>
    <m type="auxiliary"
      function="simplePast"
      lemma="L000015"
      inflection="conditional"
      lemmaRef="8246">
      <c type="phon">seba</c>
    </m>
  </w>
</cl>
</s>
</ab>
<ab type="translation"
  who="Philippi"
  subtype="copyright"
  typedby="You"
  xml:lang="en">If I had known that I would sleep on the plain of Tadipi, I
  would have brought a matting windbreak -- if I had
  known that I would sleep.</ab>
</div></body>
</text>

```

2.1.4 Translation

OCOJ is in the progress of adding translations for the texts from both internal member's work and external sources. In this thesis, however, English translations of example sentences were done by me unless another source is cited. This is because most of the existing English translations for the poems are not sufficient for linguistic studies (i.e. lack of clear indications on tense and aspect, etc.) but rather focus on the poetic style and images of the poems. My translations in this thesis, on the other hand, may not be as natural as some other English versions from a literary perspective, but I endeavor to explicate as many linguistic aspects of the

original language as possible in the English translations for the purpose of linguistic study.

2.1.5 The Lexicon

In order to identify and search for words and morphemes, a dictionary file, namely, the ‘Lexicon’, is created separately in OCOJ to store the information of lexical and grammatical items that may or may not have different forms and functions over time. This includes: sound shape at various points in time, part-of-speech, function/definition (with multiple senses in some cases), conjugation class for inflecting words and other relevant morphological information. A verb and a noun derived from it are normally grouped in the same lexical entry. Related lexical items are also traceable in the Lexicon.

The Lexicon is created using the TEI dictionaries module, and each lexeme and morpheme in the OCOJ is assigned a unique identification number in the form of ‘Lxxxxxx (six-digit number)’, which is encoded in the text as a @ana attribute in the initial stages and @lemma in the later stage. This enables searches of the same item with different inflectional forms and shapes. In the due course, a bilingual Old Japanese - English dictionary will be developed based on the Lexicon, which is linked to the texts and enables cross-reference in OCOJ.

At the moment there is a simple online version of OCOJ with original script and a phonemic transcription of the texts (without syntactic information). The OCOJ is continuously updated, and will be published with a searchable interface.

2.2 Limitations of a corpus-based study of Old Japanese

Concerning a corpus-based study of Old Japanese, there are inevitable limitations. This section discusses the limitations of this methodology and explains why the current resource and method is chosen for this study.

Generally, contemporary linguistic studies rely to a large extent on the native speaker's judgment of either the linguist or informants of the languages under investigation. For a dead language, unfortunately, there is no access to native speaker judgments, and linguists have to rely on existing texts of the period and to understand various aspects of the language based on limited sources. The lack of native speakers is a minus point for studies on ancient languages, but on the other hand, it verifies the importance of building and making use of a large and well-established corpus for the purpose of investigation. Native speakers are able to judge some constructions as unacceptable or ungrammatical. However, negative evidence of a corpus provides only indirect access to the grammaticality judgments of native speakers of a dead language (i.e., not attested does not imply not acceptable). Chapters 3 to 5 show from time to time that with the entire corpus searched, some phenomena/constructions are not found for certain verbs. It has not been assumed that they are ungrammatical. In the extreme cases of some rare verbs, they occur in the OCOJ only once. Such verbs will therefore be only involved in one grammatical construction with one morphological form. It is clear that the verb cannot be said, on the basis of such evidence, not to allow other constructions and forms.

In this thesis, care has been taken not to place unwarranted emphasis on negative evidence but to base arguments more on positive evidence. Nonetheless, a

single example from the 8th century Japanese is still weak evidence that such sentences were grammatical for all speakers of the language at that period. Keeping this in mind, in Chapter 4 in particular, balance was kept between the representative types and number of attestations. Rare or unusual examples are noted in addition to common and frequently attested patterns. Conclusions were drawn with care.

As Atkins, Levin and Song pointed out, '[w]hile a corpus cannot tell us definitively what the language can or cannot do, it can tell us what the language has done, with some indication of how common that behavior is' (1996, 3). A safer assumption is better based on looking at the data on a statistical basis, or observing verbs of a group together and grasping the similarities and differences. Therefore, where applicable, concrete numbers are provided in my descriptions and discussions.

Specific to Old Japanese, there are two more limitations with regard to the source: the size and the genre. Compared with many well-known corpora for European languages and modern languages, OCOJ is not a large corpus. Some of the words are attested only once or twice. However, viewed from another perspective, OCOJ nearly exhausts all material that survived from Old Japanese period of time.

In terms of genre, OCOJ includes poetry only. The main resources for prose texts that are available but excluded from my investigation and the early stage of OCOJ are *Senmyô* (宣命 'imperial edicts', 697-791) and *Norito* (祝詞 'liturgies', dates unknown, compiled in 927), which have also been less regarded in studies of Old Japanese syntax. Since most of the texts attested so far from the period of Old Japanese are poetry, it would have contributed to the exhaustiveness and diversity of the OCOJ and investigation if the prose texts, *Senmyô* and *Norito*, were included.

However, both of them were written in *senmyô-gaki*, which is mostly logographic, with only grammatical items and some vocabulary written phonographically. These texts may have value for, e.g., syntactic study of case particles, lexical studies, or research on the Chinese influence of Old Japanese. However, with concern to the phenomena related to split intransitivity, the phonographic portion of these prose texts are far from contributive, and if the large logographic portion is counted into the investigation, there will be a high risk of messing up the data and statistics.

In addition, the data in the OCOJ may have also been influenced by modern editors and personal judgments of different members of the research team who did the analysis and tagging. These have been taken into consideration and examined before a sentence is put down as an example in this thesis. During the writing-up of the thesis, errors and arguable ways of analysis have been reported back to the research team or discussed with individual member who were in charge of that particular part of corpus.

2.3 Summary

This chapter introduced the methodology of the research. The major part was Section 2.1, which gave a detailed description of the development and feature of the ‘Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese’, on which this research was based on. The information provided in this section included texts and size of the corpus, phonemic transcription, translation, tagging of orthography, part of speech, morphology, syntax, as well as the Lexicon of the corpus. At the end of this chapter, Section 2.2

stated the limitations as well as the advantages of corpus-based study on ancient languages such as Old Japanese.

Chapter 3 Ch3. Manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese

Like many other typologically different languages and Modern Japanese, Old Japanese shows evidence of split intransitivity. Some of the manifestations are unique to Old Japanese, while others are similar to those in other languages, with or without subtle differences. In this section, I present and discuss seven manifestations and co-relates of split intransitivity in Old Japanese, namely, the selection of the perfective auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, the compatibility of N+V compounds, the selection of the verbal prefixes *i-* and *sa-(ta-)*, the combining pattern of V1+V2 compounds, and the possibility of the involvement in resultative constructions, VP-preposing and (*wo...*) *se-* constructions. At the end of this chapter, I will further explain the features of split intransitivity manifestations in Old Japanese.

3.1 Perfective auxiliary selection

Auxiliary selection is one of the most widely discussed phenomena associated with split intransitivity. However, the studies so far are heavily based on modern European languages, with very few concerning Asian languages or dead languages. In this section, I will first review some of the key facts and major approaches to auxiliary selection in European languages, and then present my comprehensive investigation into all verbs that occur with perfective auxiliaries in OCOJ, showing how split intransitivity is manifested in terms of perfective auxiliary selection.

3.1.1 Previous scholarship

3.1.1.1 Auxiliary selection in European languages

Perfective auxiliaries BE and HAVE are commonly observed across European languages.

(48)

	BE	HAVE
German	<i>sein</i>	<i>haben</i>
French	<i>être</i>	<i>avoir</i>
Dutch	<i>zijn</i>	<i>hebben</i>
Italian	<i>essere</i>	<i>avere</i>
Spanish	<i>estar</i>	<i>haber</i>

In terms of distribution, the consistency in the selection of one or the other differs cross-linguistically. Take Romance languages and variations for example: there are languages that show no contrast of BE and HAVE, e.g. Spanish, and languages that show a binary contrast, e.g. French, as shown below.

(49) *Spanish*

- a. Pilar ha comido (la sopa)
 ‘Pilar has eaten (the soup).’

- b. Pilar ha llegado
‘Pilar has arrived.’

(Loporcaro, 2007, 174)

(50) *French*

- a. Marie a mangé (la soupe)
Marie has eaten (the soup)
‘Marie has eaten (the soup).’

- b. Marie est arrivée
Marie is arrived
‘Marie has arrived.’

(Loporcaro, 2007, 173)

Among languages that show binary contrast, the ‘boundary’ (or the ‘scope’ of each auxiliary) may not necessarily be the same. For example, the scope of BE in French only constitutes a subset of BE in Italian, as shown below.

(51) *French*

- a. Marc est sorti.
Mark be.3SG go.out.PP.MSG

‘Mark has gone out.’

- b. Marc a rougi.
 Mark have.3SG blush.PP.MSG

‘Mark has blushed.’

(Vincent 1982)

(52) *Italian*

- a. Marco è uscito.
 Mark be.3SG go.out.PP.MSG

‘Mark has gone out.’

- b. Marco è arrossito.
 Mark be.3SG blush.PP.MSG (Italian)

‘Mark has blushed.’

(Vincent 1982)

In languages like Italian, the selection of BE and HAVE is considered to be a manifestation of split intransitivity: unaccusatives and passives select BE, whereas unergatives and transitives select HAVE.

(53) a. Transitive:

L'artiglieria ha affondato due navi nemiche.

'The artillery has (HAVE) sunk two enemy ships.'

b. Unergative:

Giovanni ha telefonato.

'Giovanni has (HAVE) telephoned.'

c. Unaccusative:

Due navi nemiche sono affondate.

'Two enemy ships have (BE) sunk.'

d. Passive:

Maria è esta accusata.

Maria is been accused

'Maria has (BE) been accused.'

(Burzio 1986, 54)

In addition, it has also been observed within individual European languages that some verbs tend to select the same auxiliary consistently, while others vary the consistency to different extents. Selections are sometimes sensitive to the context in which they occur, but this is not always the case. Those who have discussed the sensitiveness to compositional factors of auxiliary selection include Hoekstra and

Mulder (1990), and Pustejovsky and Busa (1995). A major work on the gradience of auxiliary selection is Sorace's paper (2000) which will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

With the awareness of the above patterns that emerge from European language data, I investigate the scope of the two perfective auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* in Old Japanese, and explain how the distribution of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* manifests split intransitivity in Old Japanese. As stated in Chapter 1, concerning that the scope and focus of this thesis is only Old Japanese, I am will not do any detailed cross-linguistic analysis. For a good comparative study of Old Japanese and Dutch, please refer to Washio (2002; 2004).

3.1.1.2 Approaches to auxiliary selection

In this section I will review major approaches towards auxiliary selection.

3.1.1.2.1 Syntax and semantics approaches

Auxiliary selection is widely discussed in the case European languages, mainly because it is believed to have potential important implications for two opposing approaches to split intransitivity: the syntax approach and the semantic approach. On the one hand, auxiliary selection is considered to be explainable by its syntactic nature under the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986), i.e., unaccusative verbs, which are assigned underlying objects, select BE, whereas unergative verbs, which are assigned underlying subjects, select HAVE. On the other hand, in the semantic approach, verbs selecting BE or HAVE are based on the

sharing of properties that are characterized in semantic terms. Semantic factors that have been claimed to determine the choice of BE vs. HAVE include inferable position or state and telicity in Dutch (Lieber and Baayen 1997; Zaenen 1993), patient-like (affected) subject in Old Spanish (Aranovich 2004), lexical aspects in Italian (Van Valin 1990), aspectual properties of the predicate and thematic relations, e.g. telicity and agentivity, in Romance and Germanic languages (Sorace 2000) and so on. In my thesis, I explore to what extent auxiliary selection together with a variety of other co-relates of split intransitivity in Old Japanese can be explained from syntax and semantics perspectives. While this chapter is more focused on syntactic expressions and typical verb behaviors, Chapter 4 and 5 will deal with semantic features and mismatches in more detail.

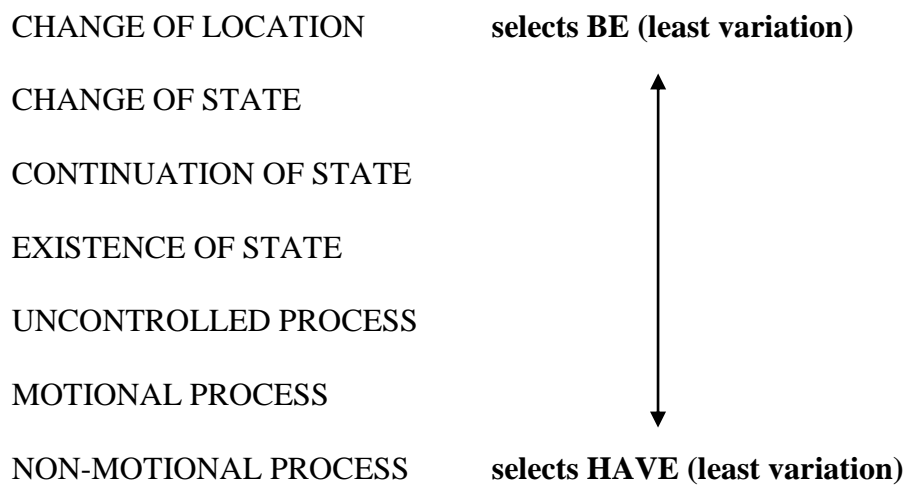
3.1.1.2.2 Binary, ternary and hierarchical views

As what was presented in previous sections, a binary view of auxiliary selection is adopted by most researchers on Romance and Germanic languages. However, Loporcaro (2007) further proposed a third type, i.e., *triple auxiliiation*, built on the approach to Romance auxiliiation of Perlmutter (1989), and based on investigation of several groups of Italo-Romance dialectal varieties that he claims to show three-way choices (e.g. Colonna, a dialect spoken in central Italy).

Opposite to the idea that auxiliary selection is always clear-cut, Sorace (2000) argues that auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs shows gradience. Based on experimental data from Western European languages, Sorace has observed that there is orderly variation in the choice of perfective auxiliaries, which is sensitive to a

hierarchy of ‘aspectual/thematic’ verb types. Depending on their positions on the hierarchy, some verbs select a given auxiliary categorically, whereas others allow both auxiliaries to a greater or lesser extent, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. The Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy



(Sorace 2000, 863)

In the following sections, I will investigate verbs that select perfective auxiliaries in OCOJ exhaustively, and find out which view best characterizes Old Japanese data: whether the selection is binary, ternary, or hierarchical, and if hierarchical, further pursue to what extent Sorace’s Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy can be applied to Old Japanese language. (Details on variation can be also found in Section 5.5.2.2.1.)

3.1.1.3 Perfective auxiliaries in Old Japanese

Before diving into further investigation and exemplification, it is necessary to first review briefly the nature and functions of the perfective auxiliaries. In Old Japanese, the *auxiliaries* are inflecting suffixes that express optional categories for which verbs can inflect (whereas obligatory inflectional categories are expressed by *flectives*). Its position among the five main morphemic layers that a verb may have is shown below. One or more auxiliaries can be attached to a verb, and they appear in the order of Voice (causative or passive), Aspect/Negation (perfective, stative, or negative), and Tense/Mood (modal past, simple past, conjectural, or subjunctive).

- (54) a. root - derivative - auxiliary verb - **auxiliary** - flective
 b. *wasura -si -na-mu*
 forget-RESP-PERF-CONJ.CONCL

The *perfective* belongs to the subsystem of Old Japanese auxiliaries that expresses aspect and negation. It never combines with the other two types of auxiliaries in the subsystem (the *stative* and the *negative*). According to Frellesvig (2010), the *perfectives* have two major functions. First, it suggests the entirety of a situation, including beginning, middle and end (in other words, both ingressive (inceptive) and completive uses are possible).

- (55) a. *naki-nu*
 sing-PERF.CONCL

‘begin to sing’

b. tiri-nu

fall-PERF.CONCL

‘has fallen’

Secondly, it asserts or affirms the state of affairs expressed by the verb, with a function that ‘fits well a development from or relation to a copula’ (Frellesvig 2001, 14). In this function, the perfective often combines with the conjectural, *m-*, or assumes a modal form, e.g., with the optative.

(56) a. miti-ki-na-mu

rise-come-PERF-CONJ.CONCL

‘(the tide) will surely rise’

(MYS 2.121)

b. kari-tena

cut-PERF.OPT

‘I want to cut (seaweed)!’

(MYS 2.121)

The perfective in Old Japanese has two variants, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*⁷. As has been pointed out by Frellesvig (2010, 67), *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* belong closely together for the reasons that they 1) are mutually exclusive; 2) occupy the same position in a verb system; 3) do not occur with the *stative* or *negative*; and 4) exhibit mostly the same inflected forms.

Regarding the distribution of the two variants of perfectives in Old Japanese, there have been different proposals in the last two centuries. In Classical Japanese, this phenomenon was discovered in Moto'ori's *Tama-arare* (1792), a book on the grammar and usage of Classical Japanese. He proposed a three-way classification according to his observation that there were verbs that never combined in the other way (like *mi-tu* 'have seen' and *tiri-nu* 'fallen'), and verbs that are possible with either of the two perfective auxiliaries. Concerning the regularity of the distribution, one of the earliest suggestions was from Narukawa (1864), who generalized *-(i)te-*⁸ to go with transitive and causative clauses, and *-(i)n-* to go with intransitive, spontaneous and passive clauses.

The transitivity theory was challenged by many exceptions from both directions, and researchers began to find alternative ways. Ogamino (1899), for example, suggests that verbs taking *-(i)te-* express intentional activity; verbs taking *-(i)n-* describe 'happenings in nature'; and verbs which are compatible with either -

⁷ The two variants *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* no longer exist as auxiliaries in later stages of the language (Frellesvig 2010).

⁸ Different traditions may have cited the two variants *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* as e.g. *-nuru* and *-turu*, by using the adnominal form. Here and throughout this section, I have changed them to the stems *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* where appropriate for the purpose of consistency.

(i)n- or *-(i)te-* are generally susceptible of either intentional or non-intentional interpretation. This is an idea that comes close to a unergative/unaccusative distinction, especially in terms of a semantic account.

After comparing distributional correspondence in core cases as well as certain exceptional cases, Washio (2002) claims that auxiliary selection is not a phenomenon confined to European languages: the perfect auxiliary selection in Old Japanese is essentially the same phenomenon as the selection of European auxiliaries HAVE and BE, especially *hebben* and *zijn* in Dutch.

In his study on ‘A common Korean and Japanese copula’, Frellesvig points out that *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* in Old Japanese are ‘conditioned covariants’ of the perfective (2001, 14), and claims further in his *A History of the Japanese Language* (2010) that there are ‘discernible, strong tendencies in the distribution of *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* in terms of semantico-syntactic properties of the host verb, particularly when refining this in terms of split intransitivity’ (2010, 67).⁹

(57)	Transitives	Intransitives	
		unergatives	unaccusatives
	<i>-(i)te-</i>	<i>-(i)te-</i>	<i>-(i)n-</i>

My work takes this point as its starting. Through an exhaustive investigation of all verbs that occur with perfective auxiliaries in OCOJ, I not only find out to what extent this generation categorizes the data on a morpho-syntactic level, but also

⁹ According to Frellesvig (2010, 67), ‘this suggestion is due to John Whitman (p.c.)’.

explore and specify the subtle semantic elements that affect the selection of the perfectives, which contribute to the understanding of the split of intransitive verbs. The former will be presented mainly in this chapter, and the latter will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.1.2 An exhaustive investigation of verbs preceding perfective auxiliaries in OCOJ

As part of the construction of the OCOJ, I marked up all the occurrences of perfective auxiliaries, and assigned the '@ana' attribute to all verbs preceding them in the same word. Based on these data, three exhaustive lists of verbs (single verbs that select only *-(i)n-*, only *-(i)te-*, and both) were sorted, as presented in Appendix III, IV and V. I also added English definitions to the verbs according to the Lexicon of the OCOJ, though the original Old Japanese verbs may not necessarily have the exactly same property and usage as what the corresponding English verbs may suggest.

3.1.2.1 Verbs that only select¹⁰ *-(i)n-*

In OCOJ, there are 786 tokens of verbs that are attested to only precede the perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-* instead of *-(i)te-*. Among them, 141 are compound verbs¹¹, and 645 are single verbs¹². In terms of types¹³, there are 194 different verbs attested, 73 compounds and 121 single verbs. For an exhaustive list of all single verbs that are only attested with *-(i)n-*, please refer to Appendix III. (The verbs are listed in alphabetical order.)

In my investigation, I have also distinguished and noted down how every perfective auxiliary is written according to the original script which consists of Chinese characters, i.e. ‘phonographic’, ‘logographic’, or ‘non-logographic’. The reason for noting down such orthographic information is that phonographic, logographic and non-logographic data which are considered to have different levels of reliability. Phonographic data is most reliable compared with logographic and

¹⁰ By ‘verbs that only select *-(i)n-*’ I mean verbs that are attested to combine only with *-(i)n-* instead of *-(i)te-* when they are attached by perfective auxiliaries. Admittedly, due to limited attestation of a dead language, one cannot be 100% sure that a verb ‘select only’ *-(i)n-* or *-(i)te-*. ‘Select’ is used in this thesis to avoid the confusion that may be caused by other terms, e.g. ‘combine’, because apart from perfectives, a verb can also combine with a verb, a noun, and other auxiliaries. Also, based on the statistics and analysis presented in this thesis, one can also predict that there may probably be such selection among intransitives, in terms of choosing auxiliaries systematically.

¹¹ By ‘compound verb’, I refer to a word in OCOJ that contains more than one element that has been categorized as a word, among which at least one word is a verb.

¹² By ‘single verb’, I refer to a verb in isolation in the OCOJ, with or without prefixes or auxiliaries, but do not have a word next to it that forms together a compound word.

¹³ Types are counted by the unique ID number (@lemma) assigned to the verbs. For example, *ide-* and *de-* which share the same lemma number are counted as one type rather than two.

‘non-logo’ data, because the characters indicate the original pronunciation of the language directly. Second, the logographic data are results of interpretation based on the meaning of the Chinese characters that were used in the original text, though one can always question whether the original language was like what people have interpreted in later stages. Lastly, the least reliable data are those written with no character presented on behalf of the auxiliary in the original text.¹⁴ These distinctions also apply to other verb lists for V1+V2 compounds, N+V compounds, and verbs selecting *i-*, *sa-* and *ta-*. I will refer to orthography from time to time in my discussion.

As shown in Appendix III, most of the single verbs that select only *-(i)n-* take single argument, and they lack agentivity, volitionality and control over the events or stages that the verbs denote, and many of the verbs are telic. Among them are verbs that express ‘change of location’ (e.g. *ide-(de-)* ‘go out’, *ir-* ‘enter’, *ko-* ‘come’, and *aye-* ‘fall’), ‘change of state’ (e.g. *uturop-* ‘change’, *oi-* ‘age’, *nag-* ‘become calm’, and *opwi-* ‘grow’) and ‘existence of state’ (e.g. *tagap-* ‘differ’ and *uturop-* ‘be aloof’). This matches well with the top half of Sorace’s Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (2000) and Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (2004) which illustrate typical unaccusative properties. On this list there are also compound verbs that combine change-of-state verbs and change-of-location verbs (e.g. *ake-sar-* ‘dawn +

¹⁴ This is true in general. However, for auxiliaries, logographic and non-logographic data do not differ much, because these mark-ups merely followed the orthographic information of the hosting verb, rather than the auxiliary itself. Nonetheless, phonographic data which indicates the pronunciation of the auxiliary are definitely more reliable than logographic and non-logographic ones.

move on’), existence-of-state verb and change-of-state verbs (e.g. *tati-nure-* ‘stand + get soaked’¹⁵), and two change-of-state-verbs (e.g. *ke-use-* ‘vanish + get lost’).

3.1.2.2 Verbs that only select *-(i)te-*

There are 257 tokens of verbs that are attested to only precede perfective auxiliary *-(i)te-*, among which 76 are compound verbs, and 181 are single verbs. As for the types, there are 107 different verbs attested: 36 compound verbs and 71 single verbs. Single verbs that are attached by *-(i)te-* can be grouped according to their transitivity, as listed below.

(58) Transitive verbs which precede perfective *-(i)te-*:

age- ‘give, raise’, *akas-* ‘let brighten, pass the night’, *e-* ‘obtain, be able’, *imase-* ‘cause to be’, *inor-* ‘pray’, *ipap-* ‘worship, keep pure’, *kake-* ‘hang (tr.)’, *kak-* ‘scratch’, *kapas-* ‘do together, shift (tr.)’, *kap-* ‘transfer’, *kapyes-* ‘turn, return (tr.)’, *kar-* ‘cut, split’, *katame-* ‘harden (tr.)’, *katar-* ‘tell, relate’, *kazas-* ‘adorn’, *kik-* ‘hear’, *kise-* ‘dress’, *kotide-* ‘speak’, *kuras-* ‘let time pass’, *magape-* ‘confuse (someone)’, *mak-* ‘twist’, *matur-* ‘serve’, *midar-* ‘confuse’, *mise-* ‘show’, *musub-* ‘bind’, *musub-* ‘scoop’, *nagusame-* ‘set at ease’, *nas-* ‘do, make’, *negap-* ‘pray, hope’, *nor-* ‘say’, *omop-* ‘think’, *or-* ‘weave’, *parape-* ‘repent’, *pirip-* ‘pick up’, *pum-* ‘tread’, *pur-* ‘shake’, *pure-* ‘touch (tr.)’, *pyedate-* ‘put away’, *sadame-* ‘decide, pacify’, *sir-* ‘rub, scrape’, *sugus-* ‘let pass’, *sute-* ‘discard’, *suwe-* ‘make sit’, *tadune-* ‘ask, seek’, *tiras-*

¹⁵ *tat-* here is also arguably a prefix of the verb *nur-*.

‘scatter (tr.)’, *tobas-* ‘make fly’, *todome-* ‘stop (tr.)’, *torape-* ‘seize’, *tuge-* ‘report, tell’, *tuke-* ‘attach’, *tukus-* ‘use up’, *tum-* ‘pluck’, *ukep-* ‘pray for’, *uwe-* ‘plant’, *wosame-* ‘settle (tr.), control’, *yar-* ‘send away’, *yosope-* ‘follow’, *yup-* ‘bind’, *yurus-* ‘slacken, pardon’

(59) Intransitive verbs which precede perfective *-(i)te-*:

aswob- ‘play’, *kane-* ‘be unable’, *kikoye-* ‘be heard’, *mawi-* ‘go [hum]’, *misog-* ‘purify body’, *nagek-* ‘sigh, weep’, *ni-* ‘resemble’, *sime-* ‘permeate’, *watar-* ‘go across’, *wem-* ‘laugh’, *ukep-* ‘pray for’

For an exhaustive list of all single verbs that only occur with *-(i)te-* with example citations, please refer to Appendix IV. (Again, the verbs are listed in alphabetical order.)

Unlike verbs that occur only with *-(i)n-*, most verbs that occur only with *-(i)te-* have a subject with strong agentivity, volitionality and control over the event that the verb denotes (e.g. *tiras-* ‘scatter (tr.)’, *kake-* ‘hang (tr.)’, *nuras-* ‘soak (tr.)’, *aswob-* ‘play’, etc.), with an exception of *sime-* ‘permeate’. Moreover, when taking a closer look at verbs taking single arguments on the list of occurring only with *-(i)te-*, one finds that the dominant ones are ‘non-motional process’ verbs (e.g. *ukep-* ‘pray for’, *aswob-* ‘play’, etc.) and ‘uncontrolled process’ verbs (e.g. *wem-* ‘laugh’, *nagek-* ‘sigh, weep’, etc.), which agrees with the bottom half of Sorace’s Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (2000) and Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (2004) that illustrate typical unergative properties. Such verbs further form compound verbs that only

select *-(i)te-*, for example, N + V compound *mono-mop-* ‘thing + tell’, V1 + V2 compound *kaki-re-* ‘scratch + put in’ and so on.

Very interestingly, there is apparently a counter-example to the above generation that the single arguments of intransitive verbs that only select *-(i)te-* are often agentive, volitional and have control over the event, and that is the verb *kane-* ‘be unable’. There is a large number of *kane-* functioning as a V2 in the compounds, and also 9 tokens as single verbs on the list of verbs that select only *-(i)te-*. Although its English translation suggests strong sense of patienthood rather than agenthood, and it is very obviously un-controllable, it is worth noting that this Old Japanese verb often indicates that the single argument has a strong motivation against what is being disabled, as in ‘no matter how much one want to do X, one cannot...’, which differentiate it from verbs of non-volitional, e.g. *ot-* ‘fall’, which does not indicate that the thing that falls would like to stay ‘un-fall’. In other words, *-(i)te-* is more likely motivated by the verb denoting X, instead *kane-* itself, such as in *omopi mo kane-tu* (MYS.11.2802a), and *tukapi mo kane-tu* (MYS.18.4094a). Considering cross-linguistically, among potential modals, abilitatives usually show unergative rather than unaccusative behavior. Thus while English *can* is a raising verb (typical unaccusative behavior), *be able* is a control verb (typical unergative behavior):

- (60) a. There can be a party in the garden.
 b. The cat can be out of the bag. (idiom reading)
 c. *There is able to be a party in the garden.
 d. The cat is able to be out of the bag (non-idiom reading only).

In the due course I will track it on other verb lists of split intransitivity manifestations, and see whether it behave differently from other ‘existence-of-state’ verbs or not. Nonetheless, existence-of-state verbs is in the middle part of Sorace’s Hierarchies, and from this perspective, the verb is not a counter example, but rather an example that support the idea that verb classes in the middle of the Hierarchy exhibit more inconsistency in the selection.

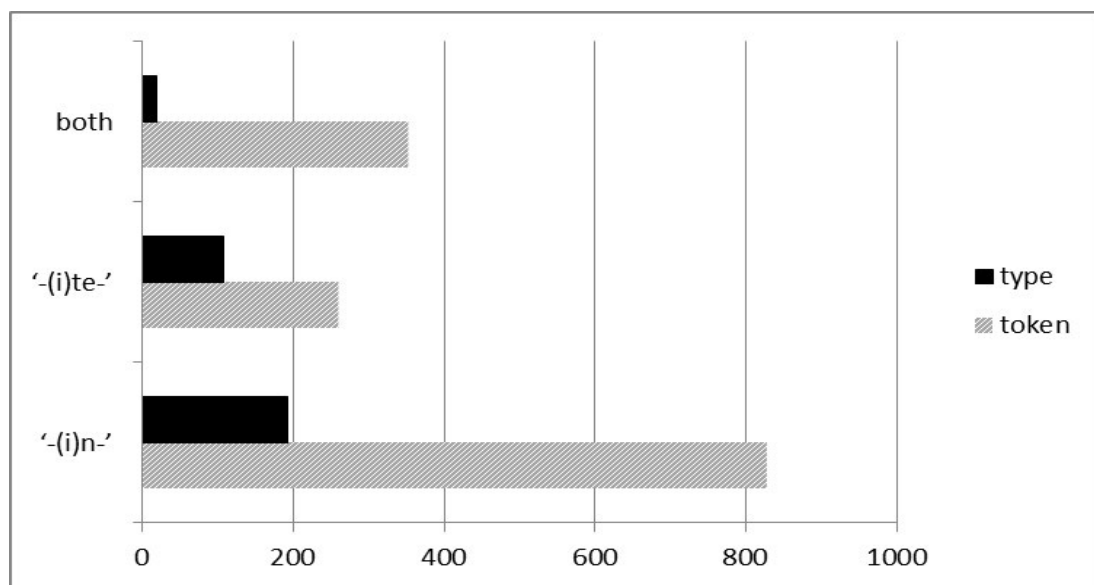
3.1.2.3 Verbs that select both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*

Throughout the OCOJ, there are altogether 352 tokens of verbs that occur both with *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*. There are only 4 tokens of compound verbs as compared to 348 tokens of single verbs. These verbs fall into 19 types (two compound verbs and 17 single verbs). Appendix V lists all single verbs that are attested to be followed by both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* in OCOJ in an alphabetical order. A chart comparing the numbers of tokens/types of the three verb lists are presented below. As one can see from the graph, unlike the other two lists, there are very few types of verbs that are attested with both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*; however, in terms of token numbers, verbs selecting both auxiliary exceed verbs selecting only *-(i)te-*, which might yield the applicability of a ternary view of auxiliary selection from a quantitative perspective.

One of the interesting pieces of data on this verb list is the verb *nar-* ‘become’ which is the only verb in OCOJ that is attested with *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* at the same time, as *nari-ni-te* ‘become-PERF-PERF’. Understandably, this attestation is

followed immediately by *-si ka*, which, together with *-(i)te*, forms a relatively fixed optative expression in Old Japanese as *-te-si ka*. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 and 5.

Figure 6. Token/type numbers of verbs selecting only *-(i)n-*, only *-(i)te-* and both

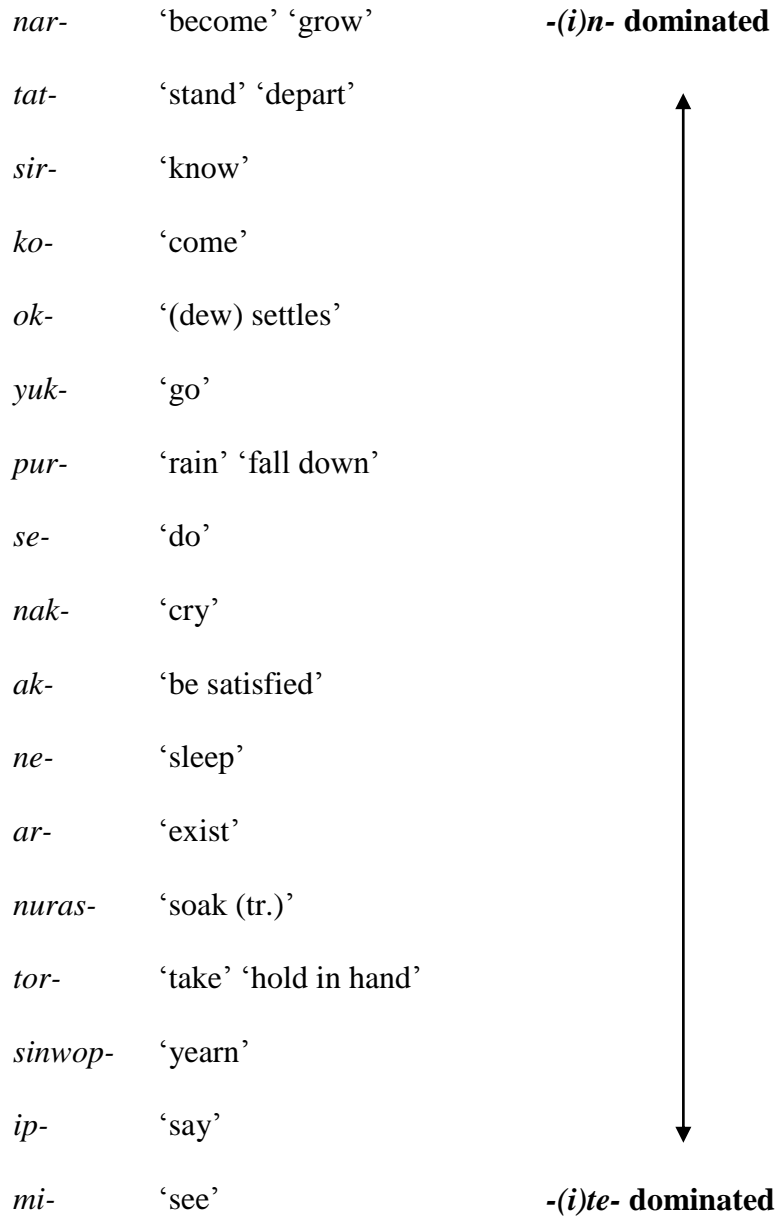


Another relevant and interesting result emerged when comparing the 'T/N ratios' of each verb that selects both auxiliaries. (N= the number of attestations with *-(i)n-*, and T= the number of attestations with *-(i)te-*.) For each type of single verb that occurs with *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-*, I first counted the actual number of the occurrences with *-(i)te-* and *-(i)n-* respectively, as shown in Table 3, and then listed them on a hierarchy according to the T/N ratios, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Table 3. T/N ratios of single Old Japanese verbs that select both perfective auxiliaries (including all orthography types)

T	N	T+N	T/N	V	def.
2	69	71	0.03	<i>nar-</i>	‘become’ ‘grow’
1	20	21	0.05	<i>tat-</i>	‘stand’ ‘depart’
1	19	20	0.05	<i>sir-</i>	‘know’
2	55	57	0.04	<i>ko-</i>	‘come’
2	11	13	0.18	<i>ok-</i>	‘(dew) settles’
1	4	5	0.25	<i>yuk-</i>	‘go’
1	3	4	0.33	<i>pur-</i>	‘rain’ ‘fall down’
4	6	10	0.67	<i>se-</i>	‘do’
6	8	14	0.75	<i>nak-</i>	‘cry’
1	1	2	1	<i>ak-</i>	‘be satisfied’
9	6	15	1.5	<i>ne-</i>	‘sleep’
4	2	6	2	<i>ar-</i>	‘exist’
3	1	4	3	<i>nuras-</i>	‘soak t’
3	1	4	3	<i>tor-</i>	‘take’ ‘hold in hand’
6	1	7	6	<i>sinwop-</i>	‘yearn’
10	1	11	10	<i>ip-</i>	‘say’
79	1	80	79	<i>mi-</i>	‘see’

Figure 7. Hierarchy of single Old Japanese verbs that select both perfective auxiliaries (including all orthography types)



On this hierarchy, the top ones tend more to occur with *-(i)n-*, and the bottom ones tend more to occur with *-(i)te-*, while the middle ones demonstrate a balanced

tendency. After a comparison between the verb groups they fell and those in Sorace's Hierarchy (2000), we see that Old Japanese data is consonant especially with the top half of the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, in that verbs of change of state and change of location that select both auxiliaries show stronger tendency in favouring *-(i)n-* compared with other classes of verbs. The bottom part shows less agreement, a reason of which is that Sorace's Hierarchy is based on intransitive verbs thus lack of indicators for transitive verbs. An interesting spot is, however, that in Old Japanese, verb of 'existence of state' *ar-* exceeds verb of 'uncontrolled process' *ne-* 'sleep'. This may be due to the relatively few attestations of both verbs with perfectives, but there are also other important factors that result in this hierarchy. I will come back to this hierarchy later in Chapter 5.

3.1.3 The selection of perfectives and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

The previous section described verbs that occur with only *-(i)n-*, only *-(i)te-*, and both, in terms of attestations and semantic properties in very general terms (more on semantics will be presented in Chapter 4 and 5). It revealed how perfective selection data in Old Japanese agrees with Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, and by comparing against Split Intransitivity Hierarchy, it shows that intransitive verbs selecting only *-(i)n-* have the semantic properties of a typical unaccusative verb, verbs selecting only *-(i)te-* have the semantic properties of a typical unergative verb, and those select both show either unaccusative or unergative tendency in terms of frequency ratio. In this section, I will discuss the selection of perfectives as manifestation of split intransitivity by examining the syntactic behavior of four types

of predicates with respect to perfective auxiliary selection. The discussions focus on single verbs, i.e., verbs in isolation. In addition, in Section 5.5.2.2.1, I will discuss more about the distribution of verbs that select both perfective auxiliaries.

3.1.3.1 Transitives

In Old Japanese, transitive verbs that are attested with perfective auxiliaries predominantly occur only with *-(i)te-*.

- (61) a. 磨師 情 乎
 twogi -si *kokoro* *wo*
 whet-SPST.ADN heart ACC

縦手師

yurusi-te-si

slacken-PERF-SPST.ADN

‘(I) had loosened (my) nervous heart’

(MYS. 4.619)

- b. 何 此 夜
 ika *ni* *ko* *no* *ywo* *wo*
 how COP.INF this GEN night ACC

明

鴨

akasi -te -mu

kamo

pass.the.night-PERF-CONJ.CONCL EMPH

‘how can I pass this night’

(MYS.11.2458)

- c. 磐代 乃 岡之 草根 乎
 ipasiro no woka no kusane wo
 Ipasiro GEN hill GEN grass.root ACC
 去来 結手名
 *iza **musubi -tena***
 INTJ bind-PERF.OPT
 ‘please bind the grass roots on the Ipasiro Hill’

(MYS.1.10)

There are only very few exceptions of transitives that occur only with *-(i)n-*. One of them is the word *mat-* ‘wait’. It occurred only once with perfective auxiliary in the OCOJ, as shown below. It could be possible that the word *mat-* ‘wait’ actually favored *-(i)te-*, in which case the word should have been categorized into the group that can select both perfective auxiliaries, but not such text survived till now. Nonetheless, it stands out as evidence that the word *mat-* ‘wait’ can take *-(i)n-* at least in this particular context. (Also notice that the perfective is written phonographically.) It is worth noting that, unlike most of the transitive verbs that select *-(i)te-* consistently, when A waits for B, A actually has less power over the

event. (A can choose until when to wait, but normally it is B's showing-up that ends the event of waiting.) Also, as in this poem, it is A (the waiter) rather than B (the waitee) that is undergoing negative effect as a patient. (In the context, the night deepening, and the moon leaning, both indicate that speaker has to wait for a long time.)

(62) *mat-* 'wait' (1 token)

如是 谷 裳

kaku *dani mo*

this.way RES TOP

妹 乎 待南

imo *wo mati-na-mu*

beloved.girl ACC wait-PERF-CONJ.CONCL

左夜 深而 出來 月 之

sa-ywo pukete ide-ko-si tukwi no

PRF-night deepen.GER go.out-come-SPST.ADN moon GEN

傾 二手荷

katabuku *madeni*

lean.CONCL RES

'I will wait for my beloved girl, at least in this way until the night deepens and the moon that came out leans over'

(MYS.11.2820)

The same is true for *kwopwi-* ‘love, long for’, which consistently chooses *(i)n-* (22 tokens) when occur with perfective auxiliary. Although it is often translated as ‘love’, which is transitive in English, when the beloved is shown overtly in other context, they are mostly marked by the dative *ni* rather than the accusative *wo* (the *wo* preceding *kwopwi-* are in many cases marking the time and location rather than the beloved one). Semantically, in Old Japanese, it is often expressed in the poem that the single argument of the verb is affected and has hardly any control of the suffering from the emotion of ‘fallen in love’ or ‘longing for’, like a patient rather than an agent, as shown in the following examples.

- (63) a. 半手 不忘
katate wasure-zu
on.one.hand forget-NEG.INF
猶 戀在
napo **kwopwi -ni-kyeri**
even.more long.for-PERF-MPST.CONCL
‘(I) cannot forget but long for (my beloved) even more’
(MYS.11.2383)

- b. 何時 之 間 曾 母
itu no ma ni zo mo

when COP.ADN time.period DAT FOC TOP

吾 戀尔來

wa ga kwopwi -ni -kyeru

I GEN long.for-PERF-MPSP.ADN

‘I long for my beloved no matter what time period it is’

(MYS.13.3264)

Another exceptional example is *wasur-* / *wasure-* ‘forget’, with two tokens each in the OCOJ that occur with perfective auxiliary, selecting *-(i)n-* rather than *-(i)te-*.

(64) a. ***wasur-* ‘forget’ (2 tokens)**

多都多 夜麻 美麻 知可豆加婆

tatuta yama mi -ma tikadukaba

Tatuta mountain PRF-horse approach.COND

和周良志奈牟 迦

wasura -si -na-mu ka

forget-RESP-PERF-CONJ.CONCL FOC

‘will you forget (about us) when your horse approaches Tatuta Mountain?’

(MYS.5.877)

b. *wasure-* ‘forget’ (2 tokens)

忘西	其	黄葉	乃
<i>wasure-ni-si</i>	so	<u>no</u>	<i>momitiba no</i>
forget-PERF-SPST.ADN	that	GEN	yellow.leaves GEN
所思	君		
<i>omopoyuraku</i>	<i>ni</i>		
be.thought.NOM	COP.INF		

‘like the yellow leaves that I had forgotten but then remembered’

(MYS.10.2184)

Again, the few attestations and the subject undergoing negative effect resemble the word *mat-* ‘wait’. Four tokens attested all written phonographically is strong evidence that transitive words can take *-(i)n-*. However, it can only be considered as exception, because comparing with the attestations of transitives taking *-(i)te-*, it is far from sufficient to say that transitive verbs generally selects both perfective auxiliaries. Regarding *wasur-*, Washio (2004, 233) suggests that transitives can ‘exceptionally select B’ (B refers to *-(i)n-* in the case of Old Japanese) ‘only if they have a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of the class of B-taking intransitive verbs’. This seems to be able to explain most of the exceptions -- another example of transitive verb taking *-(i)n-* is *tabar-* ‘receive’, the subject of which is also lack of agentivity, like the subject of an unaccusative verb. There is also one verb *kog-* ‘row’, the English translation of which has agentive

sense. It is attested three times with *-(i)n-* in OCOJ, with the perfective written phonographically. In fact, the subject of Old Japanese *kog-* may possibly be the boat (as in ‘the boat rows across the bay’), rather than the people who rows that boat. It does not take overt theme object in any of the three occurrences, and there is directional indication in the contexts, which attributes to the telicity of the whole predicate. In addition, the attestations are all among Eastern Old Japanese, which may be different from the majority of Western Old Japanese, though there are too few data of Eastern Old Japanese to establish any systematic difference with regard to perfective auxiliary selection.

3.1.3.2 Passives

In Old Japanese, passives are expressed by passive auxiliaries¹⁶. Compare the transitive and passive sentence pairs in the following examples:

- (65) a. Transitive:
- | | | |
|---------------|------------|-----------|
| 和藝毛 | 故 | 尔 |
| <i>wagimo</i> | <i>kwo</i> | <i>ni</i> |
| my.love | girl | DAT |
| 美勢牟 | 我 | 多米 尔 |

¹⁶ Passive auxiliaries (PASS) in Old Japanese can also function as middle voice and potential. When mentioned in this chapter, they refer to passive auxiliaries in passive use. Also, any lexicalized verb (listed as a main entry with unique ID in the Lexicon of the OCOJ) that includes passives in its stem (*kikoye-* ‘be heard’) is considered as one entry on its own as an intransitive verb, rather than the passive of a transitive verb.

mise-mu *ga* *tame* *ni*
 show-CONJ.ADN GEN sake COP.INF

母美知 等里氏牟

momiti ***tori-te-mu***
 red.leaf take -PERF-CONJ.CONCL

‘in order to show to my beloved girl, I will take (a piece of) red leaf’

(MYS.19.4222)

b. Passive:

燎木 伐 殆之國
taki.gwi *kori* *potopotosiku -ni*
 firewood cut.wood.INF nearly-COP.INF

手 斧 所取奴

te *wono* ***tora -ye-nu***
 hand axe take-PASS-PERF.CONCL

‘I have almost reached the point of having the hand ax taken to cut

the fire wood’

(MYS.7.1403)

(66) a. Transitive:

妹 似 相武 登
imo *ni* *apa-mu* *to*

beloved.girl DAT meet-CONJ.CONCL COMP

言義之 鬼尾

ipi -te-si monowo

say-PERF-SPST.ADN although

‘although I had said “I shall meet my beloved girl”’

(MYS.4.664)

b. Passive:

有雙 不得 叙

arinami e-zu zo

pair.INF be.able-NEG.CONCL FOC

所言西 我 身

ipa -ye-ni-si wa ga mwi

say-PASS-PERF-SPST.ADN I GEN body

‘my body, of which was said that it could not be matched’

(MYS.13.3300)

It is observed that whenever there is a passive auxiliary in the word, the verb selects *-(i)n-*.

Unsurprisingly, *wasur-* ‘forget’ which takes *-(i)n-* when used in an active voice also takes *-(i)n-* when followed by a passive auxiliary.

(67)	比奈	爾	伊都等世	周麻比都都
	<i>pina</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>itu-tose</i>	<i>sumapitutu</i>
	countryside	DAT	five-year	reside.CONT
	美夜故	能	提夫利	和周良延爾家利
	<i>miyakwo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>teburi</i>	<i>wasura -ye -ni -kyeri</i>
	capital	GEN	gesture ¹⁷	forget-PASS-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘(with my) living in the countryside for five years, the gestures in capital are forgotten’

(MYS.5.880)

There is only one exceptional case, and that is the passive form of *mi-* ‘see’: *mi-ye-*. ‘see-PASS’. It is attested to be followed by both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*. This will be discussed in more detail together with other verbs that select both auxiliaries in Section 5.5.2.2.1.

3.1.3.3 Unergative intransitives

As has emerged from previous sections, intransitive verbs in Old Japanese do not select the same perfective auxiliary that distinguishes them from transitive verbs. Rather, they split into two groups: one group selects *-(i)te-* like the transitives, while the other selects *-(i)n-* like the passives. Most unergative intransitive verbs patterns with transitives and consistently select *-(i)te-*.

¹⁷ *Teburi* can also refer to habits or traditions.

- (68) a. 打越来而 曾
 uti -kwoye -kite so
 PRF-pass.over-come.GER FOC
 瀧 尔 遊鶴
 taki ni **aswobi -turu**
 water.fall DAT play-PERF.ADN
 ‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’

(MYS.7.1104)

- b. 安比 之 惠美天婆
 api si **wemi -teba**
 meet.INF RES laugh-PERF.COND
 等积自家米 也 母
 tokizi -kye-me ya mo
 out.of.time-ACOP-CONJ.EXCL FOC TOP
 ‘if we meet and smile to each other, won’t it be the right time’

(MYS.18.4137)

- c. 嶋 尔 下座而
 sima ni ori -wite
 island DAT go.down-sit.GER

嘆鶴鴨

nageki -*туру* *kamo*

sigh-PERF.ADN EMPH

‘have gone down the island and sighed there’

(MYS.2.188)

Apart from those unergative verbs that consistently select *-(i)te-*, there are also very few other unergative verbs that can select both auxiliaries but favor *-(i)te-* more than *-(i)n-* (e.g. *ne-* ‘sleep’, with 8 tokens occurring with *-(i)te-* and 4 tokens occurring with *-(i)n-*). Again, these will be discussed the section on verbs that select both auxiliaries (Section 5.5.2.2.1).

3.1.3.4 Unaccusative intransitives

Contrasting with the unergatives are the unaccusatives that selects *-(i)n-*, as in the following example. The unaccusatives take up the majority of the types on the list of *-(i)n-*, with the rest being passives and the very few exceptional cases mentioned in previous section.

- (69) a. 惠具志 爾 和禮 惠比迩祁理
wegusi *ni* *ware* ***wepi-ni-kyeri***
 smiling.wine Dat I get.drunk-PERF-MPST.CONCL
 ‘I became drunk on the wine of smiles!’

(KK.49)

- b. 岐美 賀 由岐
kimi *ga* *yuki*
 my.lord GEN go.INF
- 気 那賀久 那理奴
ke *naga-ku* *nari-nu*
 day long-ACOP.INF become-PERF.CONCL
- ‘many days have passed since you, my lord, left’

(KK.88)

- c. 雖明¹⁸
- ake-nu** *tomo*
 dawn-PERF.CONCL *although*
- 将相 等 念 夜
apa-mu *to* *mope* *ya*
 meet-CONJ.CONCL COMP think.EXCL FOC
- ‘although it has dawned, (I) think (we) will meet’

(MYS.10.2020)

¹⁸ Here the first character corresponds with *tomo*, while the second character corresponds with *ake-nu*.

No typical unaccusative verbs are found to select *-(i)te-*, though there is one ‘exception’ that is attested with both auxiliaries, i.e., the verb *yuk-* ‘go’. It has been taken to be example of typical unaccusative and even typical unergative in previous studies on related topics (e.g. Yanagida and Whitman 2009). Based on its selection of both auxiliaries and its meaning (the possibility of being telic on the one hand, and the single argument being volitional and have control on the other hand), I am not taking it as example of either typical unaccusative or unergative, but will leave it for further discussion in Chapter 4.

Up to now, with four types of predicates investigated, there has been a clear pattern that transitive and unergative verbs strongly favor *-(i)te-*, whereas unaccusatives and passives strongly favor *-(i)n-*. The very few exceptions can mostly be explained on semantic grounds of behaving differently from other verbs in the same group. Considering that the surface subjects of unergatives and transitives are generated in subject position, while the surface subjects of unaccusatives and passives are generated in object position, the primary patterning in Old Japanese is explainable under Burzio’s assumption that whenever a binding relation exists between the subject and a direct object of the verb, BE (i.e. *-(i)n-*, in the case of Old Japanese) is selected. There are also examples emerged from this exhaustive investigation to support Washio’s claim about the circumstance where a transitive verb can select *-(i)n-*. (Refined rules, together with subtle semantic elements that affect the delimitation, will be presented in Chapter 5.)

3.2 N+V compounding

In this section, I discuss another manifestation of split intransitivity in Old Japanese, namely, ‘N+V compounding’. ‘Compounding’ is a type of word formation, and ‘compound’ is short for ‘compound word’, which refers to a word that consists of more than two elements that are words rather than morphemes. In Old Japanese, a compound may consist of a verb and a verb, a noun and a verb, an adjective and a verb, or a compound word and a verb, or two nouns, etc.

I apply three criteria in defining N+V compounds in Old Japanese in this thesis. Any adjacent noun and verb, with the noun immediately preceding the verb that satisfies any of the following criteria are treated as an N+V compound.

- 1) The initial consonant of the verb is voiced (also known as *rendaku*), e.g. *tuk-* ‘attach’ vs. *na-duk-* ‘name+attach’.
- 2) The noun is in its embedded form (also known as *hifukukei*), e.g. *te* ‘hand’ vs. *ta-nigir-* ‘hand+grasp’.
- 3) There is an entry of the N+V as a whole in *Jidai-betsu Kokugo Daijiten (Jōdai-hen)*.

In OCOJ, an N+V compound is marked as one word with two elements that are also words but with different ‘type’ attributes: ‘noun’ and ‘verb’. (The verb may include auxiliaries or other types of morphemes). In my research, I focused on single noun and single verb compounds. Unless expressed specifically, ‘N+V’ refers to ‘single noun + single verb’ compound in this chapter.

3.2.1 Previous scholarship

3.2.1.1 N+V compounds in Modern Japanese

Before diving into Old Japanese data, I first review a relevant fact of N+V compounds in Modern Japanese. In Modern Japanese, among all kinds of N+V compounds, ‘object + transitive’ compounds are considered to be well-formed, whereas ‘subject + transitive’ compounds are considered to be ill-formed (Kageyama 1996), as shown in the following examples.

- (70) a. *gakusei-ga* *sinbun-o* *tukuru.*
 students-NOM newspaper-ACC make
 ‘Students make newspapers.’
- b. **object + transitive**
 gakusei-no [*sinbun-tukuri*]
 students-GEN newspaper-make
 ‘students’ making of newspapers’
- c. **subject + transitive**
 **sinbun-no* [*gakusei-tukuri*]
 newspaper-GEN students-make
 ‘newspapers’ making by students’

(adapted from Kageyama 1996, 24)

Kageyama (1993; 1996) further points out that, in Modern Japanese, unaccusative subjects can combine with their verbs to form an N+V compound, like the object of a transitive, whereas unergative subjects cannot do so, like the subject of a transitive.

(71) **subject + unaccusative**

- a. ji-suberi
 ‘land-slide’

(adapted from Kageyama 1993, 50)

- b. ne-agari
 ‘price-rising’
- c. yuki-doke
 ‘snow-thawing’

(Hirakawa 2003, 64)

(72) **subject + unergative**

- a. * inu-hoe
 ‘dog-barking’
- b. *kodomo-odori

‘child-dancing’

c. *otokonoko-asobi

‘boy-playing’

(Hirakawa 2003, 64)

In the following sections, I investigate all N+V compounds in OCOJ to see whether the same constraint exist in Old Japanese, and also explore to what extent it is consonant with what I have found with regard to perfective auxiliary selection.

3.2.2 An exhaustive investigation of N+V compounds in OCOJ

I did an exhaustive investigation of N+V compounds in OCOJ. There are 53 tokens attested in the form of N1+N2+V and N+V1+V2. I keep the record of them for future reference, but exclude them in my discussion in this chapter for the purpose of capturing the basic pattern of N+V compounds. In terms of corpus mark-ups, I focused on words (compounds) that consist of exactly one word (whose part-of-speech is a noun) followed by one word (whose part-of-speech is a verb) in OCOJ.

There are altogether 551 token (184 types) of such N+V compounds, as presented in Appendix VIII. It is arranged alphabetically firstly according to the noun and secondly to the verb.

Among the attested N+V compounds in OCOJ, there are six basic combining patterns (from the perspective of semantic relations) as what are summarized below.

3.2.2.1 ‘Patient/theme + Verb’

Throughout OCOJ, strong evidence of ‘agent + V’ is not found among N+V compounds. On the contrary, ‘patient/theme + V’ is a very common combination. Examples of such combination include *mono-gatar-* ‘tell stories’ (MYS.12.2845), *koto-age-* ‘say words’ (MYS.13.3253), *aki-duk-* ‘autumn arrives’ (MYS.10.2272), *yuki-ge-* ‘snow vanish’ (MYS.3.382), and *pana-dir-* ‘flowers fall’ (MYS.18.4092). Sentences with glosses and translation containing the above N+V compounds can be found in Section 3.2.3.

3.2.2.2 ‘Instrument + Verb’

‘Instrument’ is also a frequently attested combination among N+V compounds in Old Japanese. In fact, many N+V compounds that seem to be ‘agent + V’ or ‘theme + V’ are actually ‘instrument + V’. These include *ta-nigir-* ‘grasp by hand’ (MYS.11.2573), *ta-wor-* ‘fold by hand’ (MYS.13.3223), *a-gak-* ‘scratch by leg’ (MYS.7.1141) and *asi-zur-* ‘rub, scrape by leg’ (MYS.9.1740). For example, in MYS.5.804a, *satuyumi wo ta-nigiri motite* means ‘hold the bow by hand’ (with the hand being instrument in a broad sense, not the object).

3.2.2.3 ‘Time/space + Verb’

Many N+V compounds with the N referring to a certain time or space are found in OCOJ, for example, *asa-dat-* ‘depart in the morning’ and *yupu-duk-* ‘arrive in the evening’. Similarly, there are combinations where the noun indicates space, such as *ama-gaker-* ‘soar in the sky’ (MYS.2.145).

3.2.2.4 ‘Source + Verb’

‘Source + V’ compounds are found with motion verbs in OCOJ. Typical examples include *ama-kudar-* ‘go down from the heaven’ (MYS.18.4094a), *ipye-de-* ‘go out of home’ (MYS.13.3265) and *ipye-zakar-* ‘be away from home’ (MYS.19.4211).

3.2.2.5 ‘Target + Verb’

Like ‘Source + V’ compounds, ‘Target + V’ compounds are also found with motion verbs, such as *ipye-tuk-* ‘arrive home’ (MYS.15.3720). On top of that, ‘Target + V’ compounds also involves non-motional verbs, such as *ama-sosor-* ‘tower (point) into the heaven’ (MYS.17.4003).

3.2.2.6 ‘Manner + Verb’

While many ‘Instrument + V’ compounds could be considered as ‘Manner + V’ in a broader sense, in a narrower sense, ‘Manner + V’ compounds typically include verbs such as *kata-mop-* ‘think on one side’ (MYS.11.2472a), and *kaka-nak-* ‘cry, sounding ‘kaka’’ (MYS.14.3390).

After detailed examination of all the above combination patterns, I discovered that ‘patient/theme+V’ is relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese. Combining patterns of ‘time/space/instrument/source/target/manner + V’ are not relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

3.2.3 Capability of ‘N+V’ compounding and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

In this section, I will examine the possibility of the compounding of subjects with transitives / unergatives / unaccusatives, and the compounding of direct object with transitives in to more detail, and explain the relation between N(Subject/Object)+V compounding and split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

3.2.3.1 Subject + transitive V

Throughout the OCOJ, subjects of transitives are not found to be combined with the verbs. There are compounds like *ta-nigir-* ‘hand+grasp’, *ta-wor-* (‘hand+fold (tr.)’) and *asi-zur-* ‘leg + rub, scrape’, where the noun seem to deliver the action denoted by the verbs. However, the noun is only a part of the subject, i.e. the human, and do not have agentivity. As stated in Section 3.2.2.2, they are better considered as instruments rather than the agent argument of a transitive verb.

3.2.3.2 Direct object + transitive V

Direct objects, on the other hand, are found very commonly combined with their transitive verbs.

(73) **object+transitive**

a. *mono+gatar-* ‘things+tell’

忘	哉	語	
wasuru	ya	<u>to</u>	mono-gatari site
forget.CONCL	FOC	COMP	thing-tell.INF do.GER

‘saying, “Could I forget?”, as I talk over things’

(MYS.12.2845)

b. *kuni+mi-* ‘country+view’

雨間	開而		
ama-ma	akete		
rain-gap	begin.GER		
國見	毛	將為	乎
kuni-mi	<i>mo</i>	se-mu	<i>wo</i>
country-view.INF	TOP	do-CONJ	CNJ

‘although I will also view the country when the rain stops’

(MYS.10.1971)

In addition, verbs in N+V compounds that select only *-(i)te-* in isolation are all transitives when the noun is the theme or patient.

3.2.3.3 Subject + unaccusative V

Like direct objects of transitives, subjects of unaccusatives are also very commonly combined with the verbs, as shown in the following examples. Such compounds also include *ko-dar-* ‘tree+hang(intr.)’ (MYS.14.3433), *iro-duk-* ‘colour+adhere (intr.)’ (MYS. 10.2190), and so on.

(74) subject+unaccusative

- a. *yuki+ge-* ‘snow+vanish’

雪消	為	山道
yuki-ge	suru	yama-miti
snow-vanish.INF	do.ADN	mountain-path

‘the snow-melting mountain paths’

(MYS.3.382)

- b. *pana+dir-* ‘flower+scatter (intr.)’

橘	乃	播奈治流	等吉	爾
tatibana	no	pana-diru	toki	ni
orange	GEN	flower-scatter (vi.).ADN	time	COP

‘when the orange flowers fall’

(MYS.18.4092)

The attestations of perfective auxiliary selection further enhance the compatibility of ‘subject+unaccusative’. Verbs that select only *-(i)n-* in isolation are observed to be combined with their single argument.

3.2.3.4 Subject + unergative V

Contrasting with unaccusative verbs, unergatives and their subjects do not combine to form N+V compounds in the OCOJ. There are, like the transitives, example of body part + unergative, as in *pana-pwi-* ‘nose+sneeze’. Again, this does not count as a ‘subject+unergative’ example.

There is, however, one example that does seem to illustrate the combination of ‘subject+unergative’, at least by one of its interpretations, as shown below.

(75) 布奈芸保布 保利江 乃 可波

puna-gipopu *poriye* *no* *kapa*

boat-rival.ADN Poriye GEN river

‘the Poriye River where boats are rivaling with each other’

‘the Poriye River where (people) are rivaling with (their) boats’

(MYS.20.4462)

There are two possible interpretations. In the first interpretation, the boats are personalized to rival with each other, whereas in the second interpretation, boats are

tools that people use to rival. There is no direct evidence from this particular poem to favour either interpretation. However, there is another token of *puna-gipop-* in the OCOJ, which supports the second interpretation, because the subject is overtly expressed in the sentence. Therefore, the example supporting ‘subject+unergative’ is eliminated.¹⁹

(76)	大宮人	者	船	並	弓
	opo-miyapito		pa	pune	namete
	PRF-palace.people	TOP	boat	line.up.GER	
	旦	川	渡	舟	競
	asa	kapa	watari	puna-gipopi	
	morning	river	cross.INF	boat-rival.INF	

‘in the morning, the palace people line up their boats and cross the river, rivalling with their boats’

(MYS.1.36)

Another candidate for ‘subject + unergative verb’ is *ipa-basir-* ‘stone+run’ (MYS.6.991). *Ipa-basir-* can be considered as a rare example for ‘subject + unergative verb’ in Old Japanese. However, it is by no means a very typical example. Although ‘run’ is a typical unergative verb when it refers to a human’s activity,

¹⁹ Kinuhata (2010) also categorized the ‘boats’ to be ‘tools’ in *puna-gipop-* in his analysis of noun incorporation.

combining with non-animate *ipa* (stone) dramatically reduces the actual intentionality, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Before drawing any further conclusion, I want to draw attention to the verb *ne-* ‘sleep’, which is in the middle of the Split Intransitivity Hierarchy, and is attested with both perfective auxiliaries. On the N+V verb list, *ne-* ‘sleep’ is attested taking an object *i*, which is a noun that also means ‘sleep’. In fact, as will be presented in the next section, *ne-* (the verb) is also attested to be combined with *sa-ne* ‘PRF-sleep (noun)’. As has been mentioned in Chapter 1, cognate object has been regarded as manifestation of split intransitivity in other languages, in the way that only unergative verb, rather than unaccusative verb, can take a cognate object. In this sense, this is an evidence of cognate object in Old Japanese related to split intransitivity.

After investigating the above four possibilities of N+V compounds, one sees very clearly that direct objects of transitives and subjects of unaccusatives combine commonly with their verbs to form N+V compounds, while subjects of unergatives and transitives do not. Such phenomena could be explained if we assume that only internal arguments can be incorporated with the verbs (i.e. the subject of an unaccusative verb, or the object of a transitive verb, in contrast with the subject of unergative or transitive verb). The different patterning of the single argument of the two types of intransitive verbs in the possibility of forming N+V compounds manifests split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

3.3 Verbal prefix selection

Old Japanese has a number of prefixes: *i-*, *ka-*, *sa-*, *ta-*, *so-* and *mi-* (Yamada 1959; among others). However, the selection or the compatibility of verbs and verbal prefixes is among the least investigated topics on Old Japanese language. Unlike other types of prefixes, verbal prefixes in dictionaries are more often than not listed with very brief information such as ‘un-known meaning’ or ‘rhythmic function only’. I propose the possibility that the following three prefixes, *i-*, *sa-*, *ta-* (with *ta-* being considered as a variation of *sa-*), are relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese, and the compatibility of verbal prefixes and verbs, which manifests the distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives, could in turn be possibly better captured from the perspective of split intransitivity.

3.3.1 Previous scholarship

3.3.1.1 Verbal prefix *i-*

In Old Japanese, *i-* only attaches to verbs. There are comparatively more literature on this verbal prefix than on others. For instance, Yanagida and Whitman (2009) propose that *i-* attaches to active verbs, and Russel (2006) proposes that *i-* indicates a goal of a movement. Nevertheless, there has not been agreement on the criteria of selecting *i-* yet.

3.3.1.2 Verbal prefix *sa-*

Sa- is a prefix that attaches to verbs, nouns and adjectives. Most of the major dictionaries (e.g. *Jidaibetu-kokugo-jiten (joudai-hen)*) point out that, when used as a verbal prefix, *sa-* is more frequently found in poems than in prose. Yanagida and Whitman's study on alignment and word order (2009) suggests that *sa-* attaches to inactive verbs.

3.3.1.3 Verbal prefix *ta-*

Ta- attaches to verbs as well as adjectives. Due to relatively few attestations, it is not at all clearly understood so far. In the Lexicon of OCOJ, it is treated as a possible variation of *sa-*. I followed this treatment and included *ta-* in my investigation, but in this thesis I am not intending to peruse the origin of this prefix beyond its relation to split intransitivity with *sa-*.

3.3.2 An exhaustive investigation of verbs following *i-*, and *sa-* (*ta-*) in OCOJ

I looked at all instances of verbal prefixes *i-*, *sa-* and *ta-* in the OCOJ, and found the following distribution.

3.3.2.1 Verbal prefix *i-*

There are altogether 98 tokens of phonographically written verbal prefix *i-* followed by verbs (50 compounds and 48 single verbs), and they fall into 39 types (17 compounds and 22 single verbs).

3.3.2.2 Verbal prefix *sa-(ta-)*

The attestations of verbal prefix *sa-* are 63 tokens (four compounds and 59 single verbs) in 15 types (three compounds and 12 single verbs). (Attestations of *sa-* are checked in particular to make sure that they were not used as noun prefixes in the OCOJ.) The attestations of verbal prefix *ta-* are 7 tokens (three compounds and four single verbs) in 5 types (two compounds and three single verbs).

Appendix VI and VII list all single verbs attested with *i-* and *sa-(ta-)* respectively in alphabetical order. I have also kept record of the orthographic information of the prefixes and how the verbs choose perfective auxiliary when they are used in isolation. Considering the uncertainty emerged from the literature so far on the verbal prefixes and the fact that there are no characters that can convey the difference between *i-*, and *sa-(ta-)* logographically, my investigation focused on phonographic data only, i.e., when the ‘*i-*’, or ‘*sa-(ta-)*’ part of the verb were explicitly indicated by different characters according to their pronunciations. Also, though previous researches have involved compounds in discussion as examples, I choose to focus on single verbs with prefixes, for the reason that it is very hard to judge whether the prefix is combined with only V1 or with V1 and V2 as a whole in the case of PRF+V1+V2.

3.3.3 Verbal prefixes *i-*, *sa-(ta-)* and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

After the exhaustive investigation is done, clear patterns emerged from the verb lists. Especially when compared with the verbs lists of perfective auxiliary

selection, verbal prefixes *i-* and *sa-(ta-)* selection demonstrate certain relationship with split intransitivity.

Firstly, unergative verbs are found to select both *sa-* and *ta-*, but not *i-*. For example, *pasir-* ‘run’ selects *sa-* and *ta-*; *wodor-* ‘jump’ is also attested with *sa-*.

(77) *sa-* + unergative verbs

- a. 和伎霸 能 佐刀 能 加波度 爾 波
wagipyē no satwo no kapatwo ni pa
 my.home GEN village GEN river.ford DAT TOP
 阿由故 佐婆斯留
ayukwo sa-basiru
 baby.sweetfish PRF-run.CONCL
 ‘baby sweetfish run at the river ford of my home village’

(MYS.5.859)

- b. 梶 野 尔
sugwi no now ni
 cedar GEN field DAT
 左乎騰流 雉
sa-wodoru kigisi
 PRF-jump.ADN pheasant
 ‘pheasant that jump (dance) on the cedar field’

(MYS.19.4148)

(78) **ta- + unergative verb**

霜 上 爾 安良礼多 婆之里

simo no upe ni arare **ta-basiri**

frost GEN top DAT hail.stone PRF-jump.INF

伊夜 麻之 爾

iya masi ni

increasingly increase.INF COP.INF

‘like the hail stones jumping and increasing on the frost’

(MYS.20.4298)

In addition, among verbs selecting *sa-* are those selecting only *-(i)te-* or both perfective auxiliaries. There is no verb that select only *-(i)n-* and also *sa-*.

On the other hand, unaccusative verbs seems to favor *i-*, as in the following example, instead of *sa-* or *ta-*. (In the following example, though the English translation of *kakur-*, ‘hide (intr.)’, is arguably unergative in English language, *kakur-* is unaccusative in Old Japanese according to my investigation and analysis. It always selects perfective *-(i)n-*, never *-(i)te-*.)

(79) **i-+unaccusative verbs**

袁登賣 能 伊加久流 袁加

wotomye no i-kakuru woka

maiden GEN PRF-hide(intr.).ADN hill

‘the hill where the maiden hides’

(KK.99)

In addition, in an *i*-+V1+V2 compound, though there is no strong evidence whether *i*- combines with V1 first or with the two verbs as a whole, most of the V1s are unaccusative.

(80) 四良名美 乃 五十開廻有

siranami no i-saki-megur-eru

white.wave GEN PRF-bloom-move.around-STAT.ADN

住吉 能 濱

suminoye no pama

Suminoye GEN beach

‘the beach of Suminoye where white waves of water bloom (like flowers)
and move around’

(MYS.6.931)

There are two unaccusative verbs in OCOJ that follow phonographic *sa*-: *kumor*- ‘cloud’ (1 token) and *maywop*- ‘fray; get lost’ (1 token). A closer looking at the original text reveals that the second one is actually an error: it should be

analyzed as *samaywop-* ‘moan’ rather than *sa-maywop-* ‘PRF+fray, get lost’. In addition, intransitives which select *i-* and are also attested with the perfectives are either those selecting only *-(i)n-* and those selecting both.

Up to now, there has been evidence showing that verbal prefixes selection manifests split intransitivity in the way that unergative verbs favor *i-* whereas unergative verbs favor *sa-(ta-)*. This might be undermined by the fact that transitives are also found to follow *i-*. However, with several manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese discussed in the previous sections, the behavior of transitives in verbal prefix selection is now not as surprising as it may have seemed when one look at the selection of verbal prefix in isolation. Recall that in the examination of perfective auxiliary selection, transitives such as *wasur-/wasure-* ‘forget’ are found to select *-(i)n-* instead of *-(i)te-*, with the possible reason that it they have semantic features which plays essential roles in the classification of unaccusative intransitive verbs as opposite to unergative verbs. It is very possible that there are one or more features that played essential roles in determining the selection of *i-*, and the attested transitive verbs happen to have these features. The data suggest that this feature is possibly a sense of ‘change’ of location or state involved in the event donated by the verb, which is a feature of typical unaccusatives but in a slight different sense in cases of transitives, as in *i-pure* ‘PRF+touch’ (MYS.3.435), *i-tukus-* ‘PRF+use up’ (MYS.18.4122), etc.

In addition, when the distribution of verbal prefix *i-* and *sa-(ta-)* is compared with the distribution of perfectives *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, interesting results come out that *kog-* is also among the transitives that select *i-*, very much like what it does in

selecting *-(i)n-* instead of *-(i)te-*. *Watar-* ‘go across’ selects both prefixes, and will be discussed in the next Chapter.

From Section 3.1 to Section 3.3, I discussed three manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese based on exhaustive investigations of OCOJ. In the next three sections, I will go on discussing about more manifestations revealed by the data in OCOJ. Unlike those presented in the previous sections, the manifestations presented in the following three sections are either based on non-exhaustive investigations of the OCOJ, or are supported by fewer attestations to draw firm conclusion on single unaccusative or unergative verb behaviours. Nonetheless, the possibility of these being manifestations of split intransitivity and the value of comparing these data with other manifestations should not be undervalued.

3.4 Resultative constructions

3.4.1 Previous scholarship

As briefly mentioned in the introduction section, the resultative construction is one of the split intransitivity manifestations that were discussed to a great extent in previous literature for many languages, including English and Modern Japanese (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Tsujimura 1990; Kageyama 1996). It is observed in both languages that resultative phrase can only modify the internal argument of a verb, as shown in the Japanese example and its English translation below.

- (81) John-ga niku-o makkuro-ni yai-ta.
John-NOM steak-ACC black-into burn-PST
'John burned the steak black.'

(Hirakawa 2003, 58)

The above sentence shows an object being modified by a resultative phrase, and the following example shows a well-formed unaccusative sentence, in which the subject (John) is modified by a resultative phrase 'sunburned black'.

- (82) John-ga makkuro-ni yake-ta.
John-NOM black-into burn-PST
(lit.) 'John sunburned black.'

(Hirakawa 2003, 58)

Unergative verbs, however, fail in resultative construction in both Modern Japanese and English (though in English, they can do so by taking an additional fake reflexive object). For example, the subject of the unergative verb 'play' cannot be modified by a resultative phrase in the way shown in the following sentence.

- (83) *John-ga makkuro-ni asonda.
John-NOM black-into play-PST
'John played black.'

(Hirakawa 2003, 58)

3.4.2 Resultative constructions and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

What has been found with regard to resultative construction in English and Modern Japanese is also true for Old Japanese, i.e., the objects of transitives are found to be modified by resultative phrases. For example, in the following poem, the clouds are treaded and destroyed, and as a result, the clouds (rather than the one that did the action) become into pieces.

(84) **object of transitive verb**

天雲	乎	
amakumo	wo	
cloud.in.the.sky	ACC	

富呂 尔 布美安太之

poro ni pumi-adasi

in.pieces COP.INF tread-destroy.INF

‘tread and destroy the clouds in the sky into pieces’

(MYS.19.4235)

Subjects of unaccusative verbs are also very frequently found to be modified by resultative phrases. Note that in the first example, the verb is also followed by a perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-*.

(85) **subjects of unaccusative verbs**

- a. 道 之 志婆 草
 miti no *siba* kusa
 road GEN turf grass
 長 生尔異煎
 naga-ku opwi-ni-kyeri
 long-ACOP.INF grow-PERF-MPST.CONCL
 ‘the grass on the road has grown long’

(MYS.6.1048)

- b. 黒 髪 之
 kurwo kami no
 black hair GEN
 白 成 左右
 sirwo-ku naru made
 white.ACOP.INF become.CONCL RES
 ‘until the black hair becomes white’

(MYS.7.1411)

More attested unaccusative verbs in resultative constructions include *puk-* ‘blow (MYS.17.4018)’, *sakar-* ‘separated from’ (MYS.15.3688), etc. No transitive

subject or unergative subject has been found to be modified by a resultative phrase on the one hand, but transitive objects / unaccusative subjects are frequently modified by resultative phrase on the other hand, showing that the resultative construction is a manifestation of split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

3.5 VP-preposing

3.5.1 Previous scholarship

In Modern Japanese, if a verb is attached to a focus particle, the whole verb phrase (not just the verb itself) can be fronted to the pre-subject position (Hasegawa 1990). In the following group of example sentences, (a) gives a basic word order with *sae* being the focus particle; (b) shows the preposed VP; and (c) is ungrammatical because only the verb is moved:

- (86) a. John-ga [susi-o tabe-sae] sita.
 John-NOM susi-Acc eat-even did
 ‘John did even eat susi.’
- b. [susi-o tabe-sae]_i John-ga t_i sita.
 susi-ACC eat-even John-NOM did
 ‘Even eat susi, John did.’
- c. *[Tabe]_i-sae John-ga susi-o t_i sita.

eat-even John-Nom susi-ACC did

(lit.) ‘Even eat, John did susi.’

(Hirakawa 2003, 60)

VP-preposing is considered to be a manifestation of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese. It is observed in Modern Japanese that VP-preposing applies to unergative verbs, but not to unaccusative verbs.

(87) **VP-preposing with unergative verb**

a. Gakusei-ga [UBC-ni osiiri-sae] si-ta.
 student-NOM UBC-in break.into-even do-PST

‘The student did even break into UBC.’

b. [UBC-ni osiiri-sae]_i gakusei-ga t_i si-ta.
 UBC-in break.into-even student-NOM do-PST

‘Even break into UBC, the student did.’

(Hoji, Miyagawa and Tada 1989, cited in Hirakawa 2003, 61)

(88) **VP-preposing with unaccusative verb**

a. Taro_i-ga [_{VP} Narita-ni t_i tuki-sae] si-ta.
 Taro-NOM Narita-at arrive-even do-PST

‘Taro did even arrive at Narita.’

-
- b. *_i[_{VP} Narita-ni t_i tuki-sae]_j Taro_i-ga t_j si-ta.
 Narita-at arrive-even Taro-NOM do-PST
 ‘Even arrive at Narita, Taro did.’

(Hasegawa 1990, 250)

3.5.2 VP-preposing and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

After investigating all verbs whose ‘following-sibling’ is a phrase in the OCOJ, I found 12 examples of verbs (one V1+V2 compound, two N+V compounds and 9 single verbs) that were involved in such construction, as listed below.

(89)

- mati-gate-* ‘wait+ be-difficult’
koto-age- ‘thing+ raise’
ta-wor- ‘hand+fold (tr.)’
omop- ‘think’
kwopwi- ‘love’
tamuke- ‘make offerings’
tum- ‘pluck’
pum- ‘tread’
por- ‘desire’
mi- ‘see’
motome- ‘seek’

ywobap- ‘call often’

As shown in the above list, most of the verbs are single transitive verbs and ‘object+ transitive’ verb compounds.

(90) 辞擧 叙 吾 爲
 koto-age zo wa ga suru
 word-raise.INF FOC I GEN do.ADN
 ‘say it out, I do’

(MYS.13.3253)

The result does not deny the assumption that VP preposing can be a manifestation of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. After all, transitives are commonly found in such constructions, whereas unaccusative verbs are not. However, there is not enough attestation of unergative verbs involved in such construction, though the word *omop-* ‘think’ may have an unergative interpretation in many cases. It takes overt objects in many other places in the OCOJ, but very interestingly, when occurring in a VP-preposing construction, it does not take overt object. Actually, the verb could be probably better translated as ‘actively worrying about’ in the following poem among others, which is a different sense as compared to that in *kimi wo a ga mopu* ‘I think of my lord’ (MYS.20.4301).

(91)	斑鳩	之	因可	乃	池	之
	<i>ikaruga</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>yoruka</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ike</i>	<i>no</i>
	Ikaruga	GEN	Yoruka	GEN	pool	COP.INF
	宜		毛 君	乎	不言者	
	<i>yorosiku</i>		<i>mo</i> <i>kimi</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>ipa-neba</i>	
	ADJ-ACOP.INF	TOP	lord	ACC	say-NEG.PROV	
	念	衣	吾	為流		
	omopi	<i>so</i>	<i>wa</i>	<u><i>ga</i></u>	<i>suru</i>	
	think.INF	FOC	I	GEN	do.ADN	

‘because people are not speaking well of you, I worry’

(MYS.12.3020)

Due to the few attestations of intransitive verbs involved in VP-preposing, I do not consider it to be a major manifestation of split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

3.6 The (*wo...*) *se-* construction

3.6.1 Previous scholarship

Grimshaw and Mester (1988) claimed that the light verb *suru* in Modern Japanese does not have argument structure by itself, but may receive theta-marking ability and Case assigning ability from a deverbal nominal to which *suru* is attached. It is observed in Tsujimura (1990) that the nominal must be incorporated into the

light verb if it is based on an unaccusative verb, but if based on unergative or transitive verb, it is grammatical to be un-incorporated, as shown in the following examples.

- (92) a. sanpo-o suru
 walk-ACC suru
 ‘take a walk’
- b. sanpo-suru
 walk-suru
 ‘take a walk’

(adapted from Tsujimura 1990)

- (93) a. *John-wa butyô-ni shôsin-o si-ta.
 John-TOP section.chief-to promotion-ACC suru-PST
 ‘John obtained a promotion to section chief.’
- b. John-wa butyô-ni shôsin si-ta.
 John-TOP section.chief-to promotion suru-PST
 ‘John obtained a promotion to section chief.’

(Grimshaw and Mester 1988, 213)

3.6.2 (wo...) se-construction and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

It is interesting to have found a similar phenomenon, i.e. the (wo...) *se*-construction in Old Japanese. In this construction, the *wo* is the accusative case particle and *se-* is the verb stem for ‘do’, an equivalence of *suru* in the *suru* construction. I did an exhaustive search of OCOJ and discovered that, unlike all verb lists relevant to other manifestations, verbs involved in the *wo...se-* construction were predominantly compound verbs.

- (94) a. 國見 乎 為者
kuni-mi *wo* sureba
 country-see ACC do.PROV
 ‘as (he) looked over the country’

(MYS.1.2)

- b. 丸寐 乎 爲者
maro-ne *wo* sureba
 round-sleep ACC do.PROV
 ‘since (they) slept with clothes on’

(MYS.9.1787)

If these compound verbs are considered as a whole, it is arguable that they have an unergative feature, in that the single arguments of *kuni-mi-*, *maro-ne-* have control over the activity, not significantly affected, and the verbs are atelic.

Single unergative verbs attested in *se*-construction include *itupar-* ‘lie’ (MYS.12.2943) and *nar-* ‘work’ (MYS.5.801).

On the other hand, no attestation for single unaccusative verbs in *wo...se*-construction. They are found in *se*-construction without *wo*.

- (95) a. 黄葉 為 時
momiti **suru** toki
 leaves.turn.autumn.colour do.ADN time
 ‘the time that leaves turn autumn colours’

(MYS.10.2202)

- b. 海 者 潮 干而
 umi pa sipo pwite
 sea TOP tide dry.GER
 山 者 枯 為礼
 yama pa **kare** **sure**
 mountain TOP wither.INF do.EXCL

‘The sea tide dries and the mountain withers!’

(MYS.16.3852)

3.7 V1+V2 compounding

In the previous section, I discussed how combination patterns of N+V compounding manifests split intransitivity in Old Japanese. In this section, I will examine another frequently observed type of compound verbs in Old Japanese, namely, the ‘V1+V2’ compounds. It is not a manifestation of split intransitivity in the way like perfective auxiliary selection, etc., but it is strongly relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

The ‘V1+V2’ compound in this section refers to a word that consists of only two words, the types of which are both verbs. (The first one is referred to as V1, and the second verb is referred to as V2). I am using ‘V1+V2 compound’ as a general term, which may contain serial verb constructions. A V1+V2 compound may as well contain prefixes and auxiliaries. However, I excluded verbs with prefixes in the discussion in current chapter due to the less well-known functions of verbal prefixes which may change the meaning to a certain extent. In addition, I do not consider ‘V1 + particle + V2’ to be a compound in this thesis.

In my discussion, I also use the term ‘single verb’ and ‘verb in isolation’, and both of them refer to a verb (with or without prefixes and auxiliaries) being in the situation that it is not forming a compound with other words (verbs, nouns, adjectives). In terms of OCOJ mark-up convention, this means it is not a child of a word.

Unlike previous sections, there is no clear-cut indicators of two distinct types of verb behaviors (e.g. selecting *-(i)n-* v.s. *-(i)te-*, *-i* v.s. *-sa/-ta*) with regard to

V1+V2 compounds. In fact, it is strongly related to split intransitivity in terms of different tendency of combining patterns of V1+V2. I will demonstrate what I mean by ‘combining patterns’ in next two sections.

3.7.1 Previous scholarship

3.7.1.1 The Transitivity Harmony Principle

It is observed in Modern Japanese that different classes of verbs (transitive, unergative, and unaccusative verbs) do not combine freely with each other in a V1+V2 compound (Kageyama 1993; 1996). The following examples show various constrains of V1+V2 compounds in Modern Japanese (adapted from Kageyama 1993, 51).

(96) *-naosu* ‘redo/fix’ (transitive)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| a. | transitive + <i>naosu</i> | <i>tutumi-naosu</i> ‘wrap-redo’
<i>tukuri-naosu</i> ‘make-redo’ |
| b. | unergative + <i>naosu</i> | <i>suwari-naosu</i> ‘sit-redo’
<i>narabi-naosu</i> ‘line up-redo’ |
| c. | *unaccusative + <i>naosu</i> | * <i>korobi-naosu</i> ‘fall-redo’
* <i>moe-naosu</i> ‘burn-redo’ |

(97) *-mawaru* ‘go/move around’ (unergative)

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---|
| a. | transitive + <i>mawaru</i> | <i>sagasi-mawaru</i> ‘search-go around’ |
|----|----------------------------|---|

-
- | | | |
|----|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | kai-mawaru ‘buy-go around’ |
| b. | unergative + mawaru | aruki-marwaru ‘walk-go around’ |
| | | ugoki-mawaru ‘move-go around’ |
| c. | *unaccusative + mawaru | *oti-mawaru ‘fall-go around’ |
| | | *nagare-mawaru ‘flow-go around’ |
- (98) -otiru ‘fall’ (unaccusative)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | *transitive + otiru | *arai-otiru ‘wash-fall’ |
| | | *kiri-otiru ‘cut-fall’ |
| b. | *unergative + otiru | *hasiri-otiru ‘run-fall’ |
| | | *odori-otiru ‘dance-fall’ |
| c. | unaccusative + otiru | kuzure-otiru ‘collapse-fall’ |
| | | moe-otiru ‘burn-fall’ |

As stated briefly in Section 1.3, the two types of intransitive verbs, i.e. the unaccusatives and unergatives, can be distinguished in terms of argument structure which indicates external and internal arguments, as shown below.

- (99) a. transitive verbs: (x<y>)
- b. unergative intransitive verbs: (x<>)
- c. unaccusative intransitive verbs: <y>

(adapted from Kageyama 1999, 309)

Based on the above structures, for Modern Japanese language, Kageyama proposed a *Transitivity Harmony Principle* which generalizes lexical verbal compounds²⁰ in the way that ‘lexical compounds are built by combining two verbs either both with external arguments or both without’ (Kageyama 1999, 309). That is to say, in Modern Japanese, transitive verbs can combine freely with transitive verbs or unergative verbs; unergative verbs can combine freely with unergative verbs or transitive verbs; but unaccusative verbs can only combine with unaccusative verbs.

- (100) transitive+transitive
 unergative+unergative
 unaccusative+unaccusative
 ?transitive+unergative
 ?unergative+transitive
 *transitive+unaccusative
 *unaccusative+transitive
 *unergative+unaccusative
 *unaccusative+unergative

3.7.1.2 The Cline of Transitivity Harmony

In 2010, in purpose of delimiting the class of auxiliary verbs in Old Japanese, Frellesvig, Horn, Russell and Sells (2010) tested the Transitivity Harmony Principle

²⁰ For the distinction between lexical and syntactic compound verbs, please refer to Kageyama (1999).

against Old Japanese, and discovered that the restraints for V1+V2 compounds in Old Japanese are not exactly the same as those suggested by Kageyama for Modern Japanese. They pointed out that, for instance, the ‘transitive + unaccusative’ compound which is ruled out by *Transitivity Harmony Principle* is found unambiguously in Old Japanese.

(101) *kiki-matwop*- ‘hear-get lost’ (transitive + unaccusative)

敵	見有	虎	可	口 𠵼 ²¹ 吼	登
ata	mi-taru	twora	ka	poyuru	to
enemy	see-STAT.ADN	tiger	FOC	howl.ADN	COMP
諸人	之	聞或	麻泥		
moropito	no	kiki-matwopu	<i>made-ni</i>		
everyone	GEN	hear-get lost.ADN	ALL-COP.INF		

‘until everyone misheard it to be the howling of a tiger that sees an enemy’

(MYS 2.199)

(102) *puki-midar*- ‘blow-make’ (unaccusative + transitive)

柳		絲	乎	吹乱	風
yanagwi	<u>no</u>	ito	wo	puki-midaru	kaze
willow	GEN	thread	ACC	blow-make.confused.ADN	wind

‘wind that blows into confusion the threads of the willow’

²¹ 𠵼 is one character.

(MYS 10.1856)

Very much like Kageyama's consideration about argument structures, Frellesvig et al. (2010) pointed out that unaccusative verbs and transitive verbs are actually similar in that they both select internal arguments. Considering also external argument as a factor, they formed a *cline of Transitivity Harmony*, predicting that 'like combines best with like, verbs that share some structure but not all structure are less likely to combine, and verbs that share no structure are ruled out at the bottom of the cline' (Frellesvig et al. 2010).

- (103) transitive+transitive
- unergative+unergative
- unaccusative+unaccusative
- ?transitive+unaccusative
- ?unaccusative+transitive
- ?transitive+unergative
- ?unergative+transitive
- *unergative+unaccusative
- *unaccusative+unergative

(Frellesvig et al. 2010, 18)

In the following sections, I first test the above prediction by an exhaustive investigation of all V1+V2 compounds in OCOJ. As my focus is the relationship

between V1+V2 compounding and split intransitivity rather than auxiliary verbs, and considering that verbs which can function as auxiliary verbs do not necessarily always function as an auxiliary verb, and that the inventory of auxiliary verbs are not very clearly defined yet (though Frellesvig et al. (2010) made a significant contribution to this matter), I will not try to judge V2 to be or not be an auxiliary verb in the first instance. In other words, I consider lexical compounds and non-lexical/syntactic compounds together in general (for definitions please refer to Frellesvig et al. (2010) and Kageyama (1999)).

However, I make a distinction that was not attached much importance in previous literature, i.e., whether or not a passive auxiliary is involved in a compound. Due to the important role that passives play in finding out the patterning of the single argument of unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs, I considered V1+V2 with passive auxiliaries separately on their own right. In addition, I have done an exhaustive comparison of verbs involved in V1+V2 compounds and their selection of the perfective auxiliaries when used in isolation (more details to be exposed in the next few sections).

3.7.2 An exhaustive investigation of V1+V2 compounds in OCOJ

Throughout OCOJ, words are part-of-speech marked. I investigated every word that contains and only contains two ‘word’ elements that have both been assigned ‘verb’ value for their ‘type’ attribute. There are potentially V1+V2+V3 compounds, [_v V1+V2]+V3 compounds and V1+[_v V2+V3] compounds, etc., in the OCOJ. However, considering the relatively loose mark-up criteria for compounds

that consist of more than two verbs, I choose to focus on V1+V2 compounds at this stage.

There are altogether 2576 tokens of V1+V2 compounds in the OCOJ. 27 of them involve passive auxiliaries, and 2549 of them do not involve passive auxiliaries. In term of types, there 1056 different V1+V2 compounds: 4 with passive auxiliary and 1052 without. The combination patterns will be discussed in the next section.

Furthermore, I checked each V1 and V2 against the perfective auxiliary selection lists, and noted down whether they select only *-(i)te-*, only *-(i)n-* or both when used in isolation. Not all but a good proportion of the verbs are attested with the perfective auxiliary in isolation: 42 of the V1s select only *-(i)te-*, 56 of the V1s select only *-(i)n-*, 9 of the V1s select both; on the other hand, 54 of the V2s select only *-(i)te-*, 69 of the V2s select only *-(i)n-*, and 81 are attested with both perfective auxiliaries. Appendix VIII lists all types of V1+V2 compounds (listed alphabetically firstly according to V1 and secondly according to V2) that will be referred to from time to time in the following discussions.

3.7.3 The combination patterns of V1+V2 compounds and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

In this section, I examine the combination patterns of V1+V2 compounds, and explain how this is related to the split among intransitive verbs in Old Japanese.

3.7.3.1 Transitives

In OCOJ, transitive verbs are generally most frequently found to be combined with transitive verbs. Among V1s that are transitive and are attested with only *-(i)te-*. It is also transitive V2 selecting only *-(i)te-* that they mostly combine with.

(104) transitive V1 + transitive V2

- a. 玉匣 開阿氣津 跡
 tamakusige **piraki-ake-tu** *to*
 combbox open-open-PERF.CONCL COMP
 夢 西 所見
 ime *ni si* mi-yuru
 dream DAT RES see-PASS.ADN

‘I dreamt that I opened a comb box’

(MYS.4.591)

- b. 垣津幡 衣 尔 揩著
kakitupata kinu *ni* **suri-tuke**
 Iris coat DAT scrape-attach.INF

‘scrape and attach Iris to a coat’

(MYS.7.1361)

When combining with intransitives, transitives are mostly found to combine with classes of verbs in the middle of the Split Intransitivity Harmony e.g. *osi-ter-* ‘push-shine’, *tarapasi-ter-* ‘fill-shine’, *maki-ne-* ‘bundle-sleep’, and verbs that are attested with both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* when used in isolation.

(105) *yuki* ‘go’ + *pure* ‘touch’

御袖	往觸之	松
opo-mi-swode	yuki-pure-si	matu
HON-HON-sleeve	go-touch-SPST.ADN	pine
‘the pine tree that (the prince’s) sleeves brushed past’		

(MYS.13.3324a)

Far less frequent but still observable are transitive verbs combining with typical unergative verbs, e.g. *piki-nobor-* ‘pull-climb’, *wemi-mi-* ‘laugh-see’, and transitive verbs combining with typical unaccusative verbs, e.g. *mi-matwop-* ‘see-get.lost’ and *puki-midar-* ‘blow-make.confused’. (For properties of typical unaccusatives and unergatives, please refer to Section 1.3.4.)

(106) a. **transitive V1 + unergative V2**

難波	乃	埼	尔	引登
<i>nanipa</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>saki</i>	<i>ni</i>	piki-noboru
Nanipa	GEN	cape	DAT	pull-climb.ADN

赤 曾朋舟

aka no *sopobune*

read COP red.boat

‘the red boat that (is pulled by people and) climbs upstream at the
Nanipa Cape’

(MYS.13.3300)

b. **unergative V1 + transitive V2**

咲見 慍見

wemi-mi **ikari-mi**

laugh-try.INF angry-try.INF

着四 紐 解

tuke-*si* pimo toku

attach-SPST.ADN string untie.CONCL

‘(she) sometimes seems to be laughing, sometimes seems to be angry,
and unties the attached strings’

(MYS.11.2627)

c. **transitive V1 + unaccusative V2**

颯 可 毛

tumuzi *ka mo*

whirlwind FOC TOP

伊卷渡			等
<i>i-maki-wataru</i>			<i>to</i>
PRF-bundle-go.across.CONCL			COMP
諸人	見或		麻イ豆 ²²
<i>moropito</i>	<u>no</u>	mi-matwopu	<i>madeni</i>
everyone	GEN	see-get.lost.CONCL	ALL

‘until everyone saw and mistook it to be a whirlwind rolling across’

(MYS.2.199b)

d. **unaccusative V1 + transitive V2**

柳		絲	乎
<i>yanagwi</i>	<u>no</u>	<i>ito</i>	<i>wo</i>
willow	GEN	thread	ACC
吹乱		風	
puki-midaru		<i>kaze</i>	
blow-make.confused.ADN		wind	

‘the wind that blows into confusion the threads of the willows’

(MYS.10.1856)

As shown in the above examples, all possible combinations ‘transitive V1 + unergative V2’, ‘unergative V1+ transitive V2’, ‘transitive V1 + unaccusative V2’

²² イ豆 is one character.

and ‘unaccusative V1 + transitive V2’ exist in the OCOJ. However, in terms of frequency they are very rare compared with ‘transitive V1 + transitive V2’ pattern.

Transitive verbs are not attested to combine with any verb taking a passive auxiliary²³.

In addition, when compared with the perfective auxiliary selection verb lists, there also exists very few instances of V1+V2 compounds in which a transitive verb that is attested to only take *-(i)te-* in isolation is combined with a verb that takes only *-(i)n-* in isolation. Most of these verbs taking *-(i)n-* are actually exceptions of transitive verbs taking *-(i)n-*, rather than typical unaccusative verbs taking *-(i)n-*, e.g. *kapyesi-tabar-* ‘return-receive’ (MYS.16.3809).

3.7.3.2 Passives

In my investigation, I considered both V1+PASS+V2 and V1+V2+PASS to be compounds.

- (107) a. V1+PASS+V2
 mi- + ye- + kapyer-
 ‘see’ + PASS+ ‘return’

²³ The only example of a transitive verb combining with verb taking passive auxiliary in the current version of OCOJ is *puri-mi-ye-* ‘shake-see-PASS’ (1 token). After checking the original poem (FK.7), I found that this actually should not be marked as a compound, but rather, it should be a clause (including the *wo*-marked object *wa*) ending in the infinitive verb *pur-* (and the whole clause is followed by *mi-ye-*).

- b. V1+V2+PASS
 pur- + mi- + ye-
 ‘shake’ + ‘see’ + PASS

In fact, the only token of V1+V2+PASS found in the current version of the OCOJ was considered not to be a compound as has been explained in the footnote for ‘puri-mi-ye’. However, there are 27 tokens of V1+PASS+V2 compounds, in which case the passive auxiliary is considered to attach to V1, as in [_v V1+PASS]+V2, rather than passivizing the whole compound. Although there has not been any V1+PASS+V2+PASS attested, and thus no evidence of passives combining with passives, it is very clear that verbs with passive auxiliary combine with unaccusative verbs, as in (44), but never with typical unergative verbs or transitives. (For properties of typical and non-typical unergative verbs and unaccusative verbs, please refer back to the explanations in Chapter 1.)

- (108) a. 吾 背子 之
 wa ga sekwo ga
 I GEN beloved.boy GEN
 夢 尔 夢 西
 ime ni ime ni si
 dream DAT dream DAT RES
 所見還 良武

mi-ye-kapyeru*ramu*

see-PASS-return.CONCL PCONJ.CONCL

‘my beloved boy will only return and be visible in my dream’

(MYS.12.2890)

b. 彼 夢

so no ime ni dani

that GEN dream DAT RES

見繼 哉

mi-ye-tugu ya

see-PASS-CONT FOC

‘only continue showing up in those dreams’

(MYS.12.2849)

The two V2s in the above examples are both attested with only *-(i)n-* when used in isolation. Another two V2s with the perfective attestations are both among those selecting both auxiliaries. Very interestingly, there was one instance of *nor-* ‘scold’ with passive auxiliary combining with *kane-* ‘be unable’, which consistently takes *-(i)te-*, and was discussed in Section 3.1.

3.7.3.3 Unergative intransitives

Unsurprisingly, typical unergative verbs are most frequently combined with unergative verbs, as in (45). Like transitives, unergative verbs do not combine with verbs that take passive auxiliaries.

(109) unergative V1 +unergative V2

aswob- ‘play’ + *aruk-* ‘walk’

山 尔 毛 野 尔 母

yama *ni* *mo* now *ni* *mo*

mountain DAT TOP field DAT TOP

打行而 遊往杼

uti-yukite **aswobi-arukedo**

prefix-go.GER play-walk.CONC

‘although I go and play in the mountains and fields’

(MYS.8.1629)

Typical unergative verbs also do not combine with typical unaccusative verbs. One marginal example is *yorine-* ‘approach+sleep’, and another exception is *tiritobu* ‘scatter (intr.) -fly’ (one token), as in the poem below. In this sentence, the single argument of *tob-* ‘fly’ is the yellow leaf, rather than a bird or other animals / human beings. A leaf does not have volitionality or control of ‘flying’, thus declines the typical unergative properties that *tob-* ‘fly’ often indicates in other instances.

(110) **unaccusative V1 + unergative V2***tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’+*tob-* ‘fly’

黄葉 乃 散飛 見乍

momitiba *no* **tiri-tobu** mitutu

yellow.leaf GEN scatter(vi.)-fly.CONCL see.CONT

‘while I see the yellow leaves scattering and flying’

(MYS.4.543)

While typical unergatives and typical unaccusatives hardly combine with each other, there are unergatives combining with less typical unaccusatives. Also, unergative verbs are observed to combine with verbs that select both perfective auxiliaries, such as *yuk-* ‘go’.

(111) *yuk-* ‘go’+*tukare-* ‘get tired’

道 行疲

miti **yuki-tukare**

road go-get.tired.EXCL

‘I go on the road, tired’

(MYS.11.2643)

3.7.3.4 Unaccusative intransitives

In OCOJ, again, unaccusatives are most frequently found to combine with other unaccusative verbs, and very interestingly, an unaccusative verb *yase-* ‘get thin’ is observed to combine with itself, meaning ‘continue getting thin’.

(112) unaccusative V1 + unaccusative V2

- a. *ke-* ‘vanish’ + *use-* ‘get lost’

頓	情	消失奴
tatimatini	kokoro	ke-use-nu
suddenly	hear	vanish-get.lost-PERF.CONCL

‘suddenly, (his) heart faltered’

(MYS.9.1740)

- b. *yase-* ‘get thin’ + *yase-* ‘get thin’

瘦々		母
yasu-yasu		<i>mo</i>
get.thin-get.thin.CONCL		TOP
生有者	將在	乎
ik-yeraba	ara-mu	<i>wo</i>
live-STAT.COND	exist-CONJ.CONCL	CNJ

‘continuously get thinner and thinner, though it is fine as long as being alive’

(MYS.16.3854)

As can be concluded from what was stated in the above three sections, unaccusatives seldom combine with transitives or unergatives (one marginal example being *yorine-* ‘approach+sleep’), but take up a significant proportion of the V2s when V1 is followed by a passive, whereas typical unergatives most frequently combine with unergatives, do not combine with typical unaccusative verbs, or with verbs that take passive auxiliaries.

With four types of verbs (transitives, unergatives, passives and unaccusatives) exhaustively investigated in the OCOJ, one can consider again the Transitivity Harmony Principle (Kageyama 1993; 1999) and the cline of Transitivity Harmony (Frellesvig et. al 2010) in the following way.

- 1) Data in OCOJ agree with both Transitivity Harmony Principle and the cline of Transitivity Harmony Principle that verbs of the same type of argument structure combine most frequently.
- 2) Data in OCOJ support the cline of Transitivity Harmony, against the Transitivity Harmony Principle, that there does exist combination patterns such as ‘unaccusative + transitive’, which were ruled out by the Transitivity Harmony Principle.
- 3) Data in OCOJ further support the cline of Transitivity Harmony by an example of lexical compound ‘unaccusative V1 + unergative V2’,

which was not figured out in their original study. Admittedly, such examples are very rare.

In addition, my investigation further reveals the following aspects of V1+V2 compounding that are not explicated by the Transitivity Harmony Principle or the cline of Transitivity Harmony Principle:

- 1) Verbs taking passive auxiliaries combine with unaccusatives but not typical unergatives or transitives.
- 2) For a given V1, attested V2 types do not show contrastive difference in perfective auxiliary selection.
- 3) Intransitive verbs do not combine with transitives at the same tendency: intransitive verbs that fell into the verb classes in the middle part of the Split Intransitivity Hierarchy and verbs that select both perfective auxiliaries are more likely to combine with transitives than those at the far end of the hierarchy or those consistently choosing one perfective auxiliary.

3.8 Features of manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese

The above sections presented and discussed seven manifestations and correlates of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. In this section, I present an overview of them, and figure out the features of manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese from various perspectives.

Firstly, split intransitivity in Old Japanese is manifested in mainly two ways: the split behaviour of intransitive verbs and the patterning of the single arguments of unaccusative and unergative verbs with transitive subject and transitive object / passive subject respectively. The former includes phenomena such as perfective auxiliary selection, verbal prefix selection, V1+V2 compounding, VP preposing, *wo...se* construction, and the latter includes N+V compounding and resultative construction. Although such distinction could be made, the two ways of manifestations are syntactically related and semantically coherent. More explanations will be provided once the semantic aspects of the split are unpacked in more detail.

Second, as illustrated in this chapter, split intransitivity in Old Japanese is manifested in a wide range of levels: from the selection of perfective auxiliaries, verbal prefixes, to morphological combination patterns, compatibility and the applicability of various other morpho-syntactic and syntactic constructions.

Third, according to Creissels (2008), intransitivity splits may involve ‘the coding characteristics of core arguments (case marking, argument indexation, and/or constituent order -- ‘*overt* split intransitivity’), or ‘their behaviour in various syntactic mechanisms’ (auxiliary selection, resultative construction, etc. -- ‘*covert* split intransitivity’). In this sense, Old Japanese so far demonstrates covert split intransitivity. (For further explanation and examples regarding the above distinction, please refer to Creissels’s paper (2008).)

Fourth, if Levin and Rappaport Hovav’s distinction between ‘deep unaccusativity’ and ‘surface unaccusativity’ (1995, 17) is adopted, then Old

Japanese data so far only shows deep unaccusativity, i.e., there has not been strong evidence showing S-structure object status of the subjects of unaccusatives, like what *there*-insertion construction and locative inversion construction in English manifest²⁴. (For more details please refer to Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995).) Interestingly, Modern Japanese is observed to have evidence for surface unaccusativity. For a summary of related studies please refer to Hirakawa (2003). This may suggest a change of manifestations of split intransitivity over time. I am pursuing this topic in some other related researches, but large-scale comparative or diachronic research is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Lastly, most of the manifestations in Old Japanese show gradience and variation. They capture different lists of verbs which are not necessarily identical. With more than one manifestation considered, there exist verbs that behave idiosyncratically or less consistently within and across manifestations. This is actually very common in many other languages, too. These verbs, together with factors that affect the variations, will be perused in more detail in Chapter 5.

3.9 Summary

This chapter showed evidence for split intransitivity in Old Japanese, and also proposed and discussed a variety of morpho-syntactic manifestations and relevant phenomena of split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

²⁴ E.g. ‘There appeared a ship on the horizon’ (there construction) and ‘Into the room came a man’ (locative inversion).

Section 3.1 to Section 3.3 presented exhaustive investigations of perfective selection, N+V compounds and verbal prefix selection of intransitive verbs in Old Japanese. It illustrated that the selection of the perfective auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, the compatibility of N+V compounds, and the selection of the verbal prefixes *i-* and *sa-(ta-)* manifested split intransitivity, with perfective selection being supported by the most attestations.

Section 3.4 to Section 3.6 looked into more constructions that had been claimed to show split intransitivity in English and Modern Japanese, and figured out that the possibility of appearing in resultative constructions, VP-preposing and (*wo...*) *se-* constructions also manifested split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

Section 3.7 presented an exhaustive investigation of V1+V2 compounds in OCOJ, and illustrated that the combination patterns of V1+V2 compounds were strongly relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese to some extent.

This chapter also concluded features of manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese from five different perspectives in Section 3.8.

Alongside the discussions, relevant theories were explained and examined, with new approaches to some verbs proposed. Exhaustive lists of verbs that were mentioned in this chapter are presented from Appendix III to Appendix VIII.

Chapter 4 Ch4. A comprehensive investigation of individual intransitive verbs in Old Japanese

In this chapter, intransitive verbs in Old Japanese are grouped and discussed in terms of loose semantic groups, in order to compare different facets of similar events that verbs denote and their impact on the split behaviour and classification of intransitive verbs. Verb groups are listed according to alphabetic order in this chapter. There are two selection criteria for verb groups to be presented in this chapter. First, verbs with relatively higher frequency and more relevant information are chosen for discussion than those with fewer attestations and less relevant information in OCOJ. Second, very few groups have little information and few attestations in OCOJ. However, they are frequently cited in previous literature of split intransitivity in English, Modern Japanese, etc., thus it worth recording the Old Japanese equivalent for researchers doing comparative studies. The determination of each entry of the verbs is based on the Lexicon of OCOJ, i.e., I consider a verb with a unique ID number in the Lexicon to be one entry (in this chapter, but not necessarily in the following chapter). I will also discuss different senses of a verb when it is relevant to the discussion.

4.1 ‘Approach’ verbs

Yor-

The main intransitive verb denoting ‘approach’ in Old Japanese is *yor-*, which has a transitivity relationship with *yos-* ‘draw close (tr.)’, *yose-* ‘draw close (tr.)’, *yosar-* ‘draw close (tr.)’ and *yosor-* ‘let come near’. *Yor-* is attested 138 times

in OCOJ, mostly in its stem form (58 tokens). Among its 136 attestations in Central Old Japanese, 42 were written phonographically. It is also attested two times in Eastern Old Japanese²⁵.

Yor- selects *-(i)n-* and never *-(i)te-* when occurring with a perfective auxiliary. When followed by *-(i)n-*, it is also frequently followed by the simple past *-ki-* and the conjectural auxiliary *-m-*, as in *yori-ni-si* (10 tokens) and *yori-na-mu* (7 tokens).

(113)	吾妹	兒	尔	心	毛	身	副
	wagimo	kwo	ni	kokoro	mo	mwi	mo
	my.love	child	DAT	heart	TOP	body	TOP
	縁西				鬼尾		
	yori-ni-si				monowo		
	approach-PERF-SPST.ADN				CNJ		

‘though my heart and body had approached my beloved girl’

(MYS.4.547)

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *yor-* combines with the following verbs.

(114) *yor-* + V2

²⁵ Eastern Old Japanese were all written phonographically in OCOJ.

伊余理陀多志	由布斗
<i>i-yori-data-si-si</i>	<i>yuputwo</i>
PRF-approach-stand-RESP-SPST.ADN	evening
爾 波 伊余理陀多須	和岐豆紀
<i>ni pa i-yori-data-su</i>	<i>wakidukwi</i>
DAT TOP PRF-approach-stand-RESP.ADN	arm-rest

‘the arm-rest which our great lord leans upon every morning and evening’

(KK.104)

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *yor-* combines with the following verbs.

(117) V1 + *yor-*

ko- ‘come’, *nipop-* ‘be red, colourful, fragrant’, *omop-* ‘think’, *tadwor-* ‘go visit’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *yuk-* ‘go’

Again, verbal prefix *i-* is attested with a compound, i.e. *i-tadwori-yor-* (2 tokens in two versions of the same poem, MYS.5.804).

Yor- combines with only one noun in OCOJ to form an N+V compound, and that is *kata-yor-* ‘lean to side’. In this compound, *kata* is the goal of *yor-*. (The only attestation of *katayor-* is in MYS.14.3565.)

Tikaduk-

Other than *yor-*, *tikaduk-* (15 attestations in OCOJ, with 5 written phonographically) also means ‘to approach’. It is a combination of *tika* ‘near’ and *tuk-* ‘arrive’. (For more details of *tuk-*, please refer to the following section.) Same as *yor-*, *tika-duk-* only selects *-(i)n-* when it is followed by a perfective auxiliary.

- (118) 我妹 兒 何 家 門
 wagimo kwo *ga* ipye no kadwo ni si
 my.love child GEN house GEN door DAT RES

近春二家里

tika-duki-ni-kyeri

near-arrive-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘my beloved gird had come near to the door of my house’

(MYS.9.1775)

4.2 ‘Arrive’ verbs

In this group, there are two main members: *itar-* and *tuk-*.

Itar-

The intransitive verb *itar-* ‘arrive’, which is related to *itas-* ‘make move’, is attested 43 times in OCOJ, with 26 times written logographically and 15 times

phonographically, including two attestations from Eastern Old Japanese. It is most frequently used in its stem form (15 tokens).

Itar-, when used as a single verb, is not attested prefixed by verbal prefix *i-* or *sa-(ta-)*. *Itar-* is followed by perfective auxiliary once in OCOJ, and it is the perfective *-(i)n-*, not *-(i)te-*, that *itar-* selects.

- (119) 不召 尔 門 至奴
 ywoba-naku *ni* kadwo *ni* **itari-*nu***
 call-neg.NOM COP.INF door DAT arrive-PERF.CONCL

‘(my beloved girl) has arrived at the door without being called’

(MYS.9.1738)

Itar- is not used as V1 of V1+V2 compound in OCOJ. When used as V2, it combines with motion verbs, such as *yuk-* ‘go’, *ko-* ‘come’, and *mawi-* ‘go [hum.]’. When combined with *yuk-*, the compound *yuk-itar-* is prefixed by *i-* once (in MYS.1.79). *Itar-* is not found in an N+V compound.

Tuk-

Another relatively frequent verb with the sense of ‘arrive’ in Old Japanese is *tuk-*, which also has the sense of ‘adhere’ (108 tokens in OCOJ in total, most frequently in its stem form). Like *itar-*, *tuk-* occurs with the perfective *-(i)n-*, and never with *-(i)te-* in OCOJ. When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *tuk-* combines with *amas-* ‘leave excess’, *matur-* ‘serve’ and *tamap-* ‘give’. When used as V2 in a

V1+V2 compound, *tuk-* combines with *amori-* ‘descend from heaven’, *ni-* ‘resemble’, *oi-* ‘age’ and *tor-* ‘take, hold in hand’.

Furthermore, in N+V compounds, *tuk-* combines with the following nouns.

(120) N + *tuk-*

iro ‘colour’, *kamo* ‘duck’, *asa* ‘morning’, *yupu* ‘evening’, *aki* ‘autumn’, *na* ‘name’, *kata* ‘side’, *ipye* ‘house’ and *makura* ‘pillow’

Among them, *iro*, *aki*, etc. are the theme of *tuk-*, rather than those denoting time and space that an event takes place. Having its single argument incorporated, N+*tuk-* still selects *-(i)n-* consistently when followed by a perfective auxiliary.

(121)	庭草	尔	村雨	落而	蟋蟀	之
	nipukusa	<i>ni</i>	murasame	purite	koporogi	no
	yard.grass	DAT	village.rain	fall.GER	cricket	GEN
	鳴	音	聞者	秋付尔家里		
	naku	kowe	kikeba	aki-duki-ni-kyeri		
	cry.ADN	sound	hear.PROV	autumn-arrive-PERF-MPST.CONCL		

‘With the village rain falling on the grass in the yard, as (we) hear the sound of cricket’s crying, autumn must have arrived.’

(MYS.10.2160)

Other verbs

There are also other verbs, e.g. *twok-* (1 token), meaning ‘arrive’ in OCOJ. They are very scarcely attested with less relevant information, thus will not be discussed in detail here.

4.3 ‘Be satisfied’ verbs

Ak-

There is only one member in this group, i.e. *ak-* ‘be satisfied’. It is attested 91 times in OCOJ, with 24 written phonographically (one of which is from Eastern Old Japanese), and 67 written logographically.

Ak- is attested with both perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-* (1 token) and *-(i)te-* (1 token), as shown below. Comparing the two sentences, one can find out that, when the single argument is patient-like (i.e., affected, lack of intentionality and control of the event), *ak-* selects *-(i)n-*. On the other hand, when the single argument is agent-like (with intentionality and control over the event), *ak-* selects *-(i)te-*.

(122) a.	咲	花	毛
	saku	pana	mo
	bloom.ADN	flower	TOP
	乎曾呂	波	馱
	wosoro	pa	aki-nu
	early.blooming	TOP	be.satisfied-PERF.CONCL

‘early blooming of flowers is already much enough’

(MYS.8.1548)

b.	月	夜	安伎氏牟
	tuku	ywo	<i>aki-te-mu</i>
	moon	night	be.satisfied-PERF-CONJ.CONCL
	馬	之末時	停息
	uma	<i>simasi</i>	tome
	horse	a.while	stop.IMP

‘I will appreciate the moonlit night to a satisfying extent. Stop the horse for a while!’

(MYS.19.4206)

In OCOJ, *ak-* is attested only in two types of V1+V2 compounds. When used as V1, it combines with *tar-* (sometimes in the form of *dar-*) ‘suffice’ (12 tokens). When used as V2, it combines with *mi-* ‘see’ (2 tokens).

Ak- is attested in *se-*construction once, as shown below. There is no accusative case particle used between *ak-* and *se-*.

(123)	烏梅	乃	花	美夜万	等	之美爾
	<i>ume</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>mi-yama</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>simi-ni</i>
	plum	GEN	flower	PRF-mountain	COP.INF	prosperous-COP.INF

安里	登母 也	如此	乃未 君 波
<i>ari</i>	<i>tomo ya</i>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>nomwi kimi pa</i>
be.INF	CNJ FOC	this.way	RES lord TOP
見礼登	安可爾	勢牟	
<i>miredo</i>	<i>aka-ni</i>	<i>se-mu</i>	
see.CONC	be.satisfied-PERF.INF	do-CONJ.ADN	

‘Even though you see the plum flowers are prospering like mountains, you will not be satisfied.’

(MYS.17.3902)

4.4 ‘Become/grow’ verbs

Nar-

The most frequent verb denoting ‘become/grow’ in Old Japanese is *nar-*, which is related to the transitive *nas-* ‘do’. *Nar-* is attested 142 times in OCOJ, mostly in its stem form, with 107 written logographically, and 35 written phonographically (including 7 tokens from Eastern Old Japanese).

Nar- is not attested with verbal prefix *i-* or *sa-(ta-)*. When occurring with the perfective auxiliary, *nar-* is predominately followed by *-(i)n-* (55 tokens).

(124)	岐美	賀 由岐
	<i>kimi</i>	<i>ga yuki</i>
	my.lord	GEN go.INF

気	那賀久	那理奴
<i>ke</i>	<i>naga-ku</i>	<i>nari-nu</i>
day	long-ACOP.INF	become-PERF.CONCL

‘many days have passed since you, my lord, left’

(KK.88)

The only two occasions where *nar-* is followed by *-(i)te-* both involve the set phrase *-te-si ka* which has an optative meaning ‘would like to... / it would be great if...’, and it always refers to the will of the 1st person. An extreme example is the only occurrence where a verb is followed by both perfective *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*²⁶, as shown in the second example below.

(125) a.	阿佐奈佐奈	安我流	比婆理	爾
	<i>asanasana</i>	<i>agaru</i>	<i>pibari</i>	<i>ni</i>
	every.morning	rise.ADN	skylark	COP.INF
	奈里弓之		可	
	<i>nari-te-si</i>		<i>ka</i>	
	become-PERF-SPST.ADN		FOC	

‘Would that I became a skylark that rises every morning.’

(MYS.20.4433)

²⁶ It is possible to analyze it as *nite*, the gerund form of *-(i)n-*, plus *-si ka*, but my analysis follows NKBT in treating it as the stem of *-(i)n-* plus *-te-si ka*, in which *-te-si ka* is analyzed the same way as all other occurrences.

b.	酒壺		二		
	sakatubo		<i>ni</i>		
	jar.containing.alcohol		COP.INF		
	成而			師	鴨
	<i>nari-ni-te-si</i>			<i>ka</i>	<i>mo</i>
	become-PERF-PERF-SPST.ADN		FOC	TOP	
	酒	二	染嘗		
	sake	<i>ni</i>	<i>simi-na-mu</i>		
	alcohol	DAT	be.permeated-PERF-CONJ.CONCL		

‘Would that I became a sake jar, so that I could be permeated by alcohol.’

(MYS.3.343)

Nar- combines with *(i)de-* ‘go out’, *ko-* ‘come’, and *(i)mas-* ‘be, come, go [hon]’ when used as V1, and with *kwopwi-* ‘love’ when used as V2 in a V1+V2 compound. In an N+V compound, *nar-* only combines with *koto* ‘word’ which is the single argument of *nar-*.

Opwi-

Apart from *nar-*, a word frequently denoting ‘grow’ is an upper bi-grade verb *opwi-*. It is related to the transitive *opos-* ‘cultivate’ and the adjective *opo-* ‘big’.

It is attested 87 times in OCOJ, including 4 times in Eastern Old Japanese, mostly in its stem and adnominal forms. *Opwi-* selects perfective *-(i)n-* only, and is not attested with verbal prefixes *i-* or *sa-* (*ta-*).

Opwi- is one of the verbs attested in resultative constructions.

(126) 道 之 志婆 草

miti no siba kusa

road GEN turf grass

長 生尔異煎

naga-ku opwi-ni-kyeri

long-ACOP.INF grow-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘the grass on the road has grown long’

(MYS.6.1048)

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *opwi-* combines with the following verbs.

(127) *opwi-* + V2

tat- (*dat-*) ‘stand, depart’, *ide-* ‘go out’, *nabik-* ‘bow’, *sik-* ‘(waves, etc.)

repeatedly approach, (plants, etc.) thicken’, *tame-* (meaning unclear, possibly

‘accumulate water’), *tug-* ‘pass on’, *wowor-* ‘bow’

Opwi- is not attested being used as a second member of either V1+V2 compounds or N+V compounds.

Other verbs

Verbs denoting ‘becoming dark’, ‘changing colour’, etc., are discussed in separate groups of this chapter. In addition to those, less frequent verbs, such as *mus-* ‘grow’, *nagwi-* ‘become calm’ and *otorope-* ‘become weak’ always chooses *-(i)n-* when followed by a perfective auxiliary.

4.5 ‘Begin’ verbs

Pazimar-

Among intransitive verbs in Old Japanese, there is one verb meaning ‘begin (intr.)’, and that is *pazimar-*. It is related to the transitive *pazime-* ‘begin (tr.)’, which is attested 8 times in OCOJ. However, the intransitive *pazimar-* is only attested in prose texts according to JDB, not in OCOJ.

4.6 ‘Bloom/flourish’ verbs

Sak-

Sak- ‘bloom’ is a relatively frequent intransitive verb in Old Japanese (227 attestations in OCOJ), maybe due to the fact that flowers and petals are among the most popular subjects described and mentioned in Old Japanese poems. Most of the attestations (167 of them) are written logographically. When used in isolation, it is attested with perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-* for 27 times, and never with *-(i)te-*. Among

these attestations with *-(i)n-*, *saki-ni-kye-* ‘bloom-PERF-MPST’ is the most frequent pattern (17 in total).

- (128) 吾 屋外 之 若樹 梅 者
 wa ga yadwo no wakakwi no ume pa
 I GEN house GEN young.tree GEN plum TOP
 花 咲尔家里
 pana **saki-ni-kyeri**
 flower bloom-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘Flowers of the plum tree outside my house have bloomed.’

(MYS.8.1423)

When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *sak-* combines with 11 types of V2, as shown below.

(129) *sak-* + V2

(i)de- ‘go out’, *susabwi-* ‘wither’, *some-* ‘begin’, *tir-* ‘scatter i’, *tug-* ‘pass on’, *nipop-* ‘be red, colourful, fragrant’, *masar-* ‘excel’, *megur-* ‘move around (intr.)’, *yuk-* ‘go’, *watar-* ‘go across’, *wowor-* ‘bow’

Four of these V2s are attested with only *-(i)n-*, two of them select both perfectives, and three not attested with perfectives. None of the V2s select only *-(i)te-*.

Sak- is not attested to function as V2 in any V1+V2 compound. It is neither attested to be involved in any N+V compound.

Sak- is observed with verbal prefix *i-* when it is used as V1 in a V1+V2 (more precisely, PRF+V1+V2) compound in OCOJ (1 token). It is not attested with verbal prefixes *sa-* or *ta-* in any forms.

(130) 四良名美 乃 五十開廻有

siranami no i-saki-megur-eru

white.wave GEN PRF-bloom-move.around-STAT.ADN

住吉 能 濱

suminoye no pama

Suminoye GEN beach

‘the beach of Suminoye where white waves of water bloom (like flowers)
and move around’

(MYS.6.931)

Wem-* and *susabwi-

In addition to *sak-*, *wem-*, which is included in the ‘laugh/smile’ group, can also be used to mean the blooming of flowers. *Susabwi-*, on the other hand, means the ‘flourish’ of grasses rather than flowers. It is observed to occur with *saki-* ‘bloom’ and the stative *tar-* in a compound only (one token, in MYS.10.2281).

4.7 ‘Blow’ verbs

Puk-

The main verb in this group is *puk-* ‘blow’. It occurs 112 times in Central Old Japanese (including 25 times written phonographically) and 6 times in Eastern Old Japanese. It always selects *-(i)n-* when is followed by a perfective auxiliary.

- (131) a. 秋風 乃 吹西 日 従
 akikaze no **puki-ni-si** pi ywori
 autumn.wind GEN blow-PERF-SPST.ADN day ABL
 ‘from the day that autumn wind had blown’

(MYS.10.2083)

- b. 乎加備 可良 秋風 吹奴
 wokabwi kara akikaze **puki-nu**
 hill.side ABL autumn.wind blow-PERF.CONCL
 ‘the autumn wind has blown from the side of the hill’

(MYS.17.3946)

Puk- is never used as a second member of V1+V2 or N+V compounds. When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, it combines with the following verbs.

- (132) *puk-* + V2

age- ‘give, raise’, *kapyes-* ‘turn, return’, *ko-* ‘come’, *kwos-* ‘make pass over’,
tadayopas- ‘make float’, *tate-* ‘erect, stand’, *tok-* ‘untie’, *nas-* ‘make sing,
 cry’, *nabiu-* ‘bow’, *nobor-* ‘climb’, *matwopas-* ‘make get lost’, *midar-*
 ‘confuse’, *kapyerap-* ‘return’

Very interestingly, though the single argument of *puk-* is normally *kaze* ‘wind’ which has no control or intention of blowing like a human, it frequently combines with transitive verbs e.g. *age-* ‘give, raise’, *kapyes-* ‘turn (tr.)’, *kwos-* ‘make pass over’, *tadayopas-* ‘make float’, *tate-* ‘erect, stand’, etc. This may be explainable by a specific semantic feature of ‘blow’. Compare the blowing of wind with the darkening of a day or the blooming of a flower, for example, one could figure out the feature of ‘blowing’ is that the wind, very often than not, changes the state or location of other entities as a result of ‘blowing’ (as in the following two examples), while the blooming of a flower does not often have impact on other entities, thus not combining with such V2s. It is also possible that *puki-age-* etc. are serial verb constructions, with *puk-* being the manner of the main verb.

- (133) a. 姦女 乃 袖 吹反
 unemye no swode **puki-kapyesu**
 maid GEN sleeve blow-turn.ADN
 明日 香風
 asuka kaze

Asuka wind

‘the Asuka wind that blows and turns the sleeves of maids’

(MYS.1.51)

b. 秋風 吹漂蕩 白雲
 akikaze no **puki-tadayopasu** sirakumo
 autumn.wind GEN blow.make.float.ADN white.cloud

‘the white cloud, which the autumn wind blows, floating by’

(MYS.10.2041)

In addition, *puk-* is one of the verbs attested in resultative constructions (MYS.17.4018).

Other verbs

Other than wind’s blowing, *usomuk-* and *usobuk-* are used in Old Japanese indicating human’s blowing by mouth. *Usomuk-* is not attested in OCOJ, and *usomuk-* has one attestation, in which it is used as V1 combining with *nobor-* ‘climb’.

4.8 ‘Colour’ verbs

While verbs related to ‘brightness’ are discussed in ‘dawn’ and ‘darken’ verb groups, this section collects intransitive verbs related to ‘colour’ in Old Japanese.

Red is the most frequently addressed colour among all ‘colour’ verbs. There is *akar-* indicating ‘redden’ in a narrower sense, and also several other verbs indicating ‘turn reddish/colourful’ in a broader sense.

Akar-

The intransitive verb *akar-* ‘redden’, which is related to the transitive *akas-* ‘let brighten’ and intransitive *ake-* ‘dawn’, is attested twice in OCOJ, both in relative clauses. One of them is written phonographically, modifying *tatibana* ‘orange’:

- (134) 嶋山 尔 安可流 橘
 simayama *ni* *akaru* *tatibana*
 Sima.mountain DAT redden.ADN orange
 ‘the oranges that turned red on Sima-mountain’

(MYS.19.4266)

The other is also written phonographically, followed by the stative auxiliary *-yer-*, and the head that it modifies is (the face of) *wotomye* ‘maiden’.

Nipop-

More frequently attested than *akar-* is the verb *nipop-* ‘be red, colourful, fragrant’. It is related to *nipopas-* ‘dye beautifully’, *nipope-* ‘dye’ and *nipoye-* ‘be red’. It is attested 62 times in OCOJ, all among Central Old Japanese, and most of them (54 tokens) are written phonographically.

When used in isolation, it is most frequently followed by the stative auxiliary, especially in the adnominal form *nipop-yeru* (13 tokens). When followed by perfective auxiliary, it is *-(i)n-* but not *-(i)te-* that is selected.

When using as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *nipop-* combines with the following verbs.

(135) *nipop-* + V2

some- ‘dye’ (2 tokens), *yor-* ‘approach’ (2 tokens), *ide-* ‘go out’ (1 token),
pidut- ‘get muddy’ (token), desiderative *kose-* (1 token)

When used as V2, it combines only with *sak-* ‘bloom’ (6 tokens).

Nipop- is not attested with verbal prefixes or incorporated nouns, but it is observed in the resultative construction.

(136) 春 苑 紅 尔保布
 paru no sono kurenawi *nipopu*
 spring GEN yard red be.red.ADN
 桃 花
 momo no pana

‘the peach flowers that are red in the spring yard’

(MYS.19.4139)

It is also observed in *se*-construction, with the topic particle *pa* between *nipop*- and *se*-.

(137)	紅	尔	染而之	衣		
	kuranawi	<i>ni</i>	some-te- <i>si</i>	koromo		
	red	DAT	dye-PERF-SPST.ADN	coat		
	雨	零而	尔保比	波	雖	爲
	ame	purite	<i>nipop</i>	pa	su	tomo
	rain	rain.GER	be.colourful.INF	TOP	do.CONCL	CNJ
	移波米		也	毛		
	uturopa- <i>me</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>mo</i>		
	change-CONJ.EXCL		FOC	TOP		

‘The coat that was dyed red -- even though it is colourful in the rain, how could it be changed?!’

(MYS.16.3877)

Nipoye-

Related to *nipop*- is *nipoye*- ‘be red, colourful, fragrant’. It is attested only once in OCOJ, as V1 in the compound *nipoye-sakaye*-, with *sakaye*- meaning ‘prosper’. The compound is in its gerund form in the poem (MYS.19.4211).

Momit-* and *momitap-

Apart from red colour, there are verbs that indicate other colours, for example, orange or yellow (though red is also one of the colours that can be included in), e.g. *momit-* and *momitap-* ‘being autumn coloured’. *Momiti-* is attested 20 times in OCOJ, 19 in Central Old Japanese and 1 in Eastern Old Japanese, mostly logographically written (17 tokens). It selects *-(i)n-* (5 tokens) but not *-(i)te-*. It is not used as V2, but when used as V1, it combines with *some-* ‘dye’ and *pazime-* ‘start’. *Momiti-* is observed once in *se-* construction, with no particle intervening between *momit-* and *se-*.

(138)	黄葉	為	時
	momiti	suru	toki
	leaves.turn.autumn.colour	do.ADN	time
	‘the time that leaves turn autumn colours’		

(MYS.10.2202)

Related to *momiti-*, *momitiap-* is attested twice in OCOJ, with one attestation with *-(i)n-* but not with *-(i)te-*.

Sirake-

Sirake- is a verb denoting ‘whiten (intr.)’ (3 tokens). It is observed to have selected the perfective *-(i)n-*, but not *-(i)te-*.

Iroduk-

More generally, *iroduk-* means ‘turn colour’, and is attested 28 times, all in Central Old Japanese, with 27 of them written logographically. *Iroduk-* is followed by the perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-* in all 28 attestations. A majority (twenty-five) of them are then followed by the model past auxiliary *-kyer-*. Below is one example of the 25 attestations.

- (139) 芽子 之 下葉 者
 pagwi no sitaba pa
 clover GEN bottom.leaf TOP
 色付来

iroduki-ni-kyeri

turn.colour-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘the bottom leaves of clover has turned their colour’

(MYS.10.2204)

Uturop-

On the contrary to *iroduk-*, *uturop-* means ‘(colour) fade’ or other changes towards a negative direction. It is attested 29 times, all in Central Old Japanese, with 17 written logographically. It selects *-(i)n-* and never *-(i)te-*. When used as V1, it combines with *yuk-* ‘go’. It is not used as V2, or combined with any nouns.

b.

孫星		嘆須		孀	
pikwoposi	<u>pa</u>	nageka- <i>su</i>		tuma	<u>ni</u>
Altair	TOP	sigh-RESP.ADN		wife	DAT
事	谷	毛	告	尔	叙
koto	<i>dani</i>	<i>mo</i>	tuge	<i>ni</i>	<i>zo</i>
word	RES	TOP	tell.INF	DAT	FOC
来鶴		見者		苦弥	
ki-turu		mireba		kurusi- <i>mi</i>	
come-PERF.ADN		see.PROV		bitter-ACOP.INF	

‘Even viewing this is bitter: the Altair has come to at least say some words to the sighing wife.’

(MYS.10.2006)

Compared with *imas-*, which will be discussed in ‘go’ verb group, first person does not alter the preference of perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-*, as shown in the following sentence.

(141)

於保保思久		見都々		曾	伎奴流
<i>opoposi-ku</i>		<i>mitutu</i>		<i>so</i>	ki-nuru
absentminded-ACOP.INF		see.CONT		FOC	come-PERF.ADN
許	能	美知	乃	安比太	

ko no miti no apida
this GEN road GEN middle

‘(I) have absentmindedly come to the middle of this road’

(MYS.14.3571)

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *ko-* combines with the following verbs.

(142) *ko-* + V2

ir- ‘enter’, *kane-* ‘be unable’, *kaywop-* ‘move across (intr.)’, *mas-* ‘be, come, go [hon]’, *mukap-* ‘face (intr.)’, *nak-* ‘cry’, *panare-* ‘be separate’, *pe-* ‘elapse’, *pyenar-* ‘be apart’, *tar-* ‘arrive’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *tug-* ‘pass on’, *wi-* ‘be at, sit’, *yor-* ‘approach’, *yose-* ‘draw close (tr.)’, *yuk-* ‘go’, *ywob-* ‘call’

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *ko-* combines with verbs listed below.

(143) V1 + *ko-*

ake- ‘dawn’, *are-* ‘give birth’, *aswob-* ‘play’, *kapyer-* ‘return’, *ide-* ‘go out’, *ik-* ‘live, breathe’, *ipap-* ‘worship, keep pure’, *ip-* ‘say’, *ir-* ‘enter’, *kaduk-* ‘dive’, *kakur-* ‘be hidden’, *kakurwop-* ‘be hidden’, *kaperi-* ‘do together, shift (tr.)’, *kar-* ‘cut, split’, *kikoye-* ‘be heard’, *kog-* ‘row’, *kor-*

‘cut wood’, *kudar-* ‘go down’, *kwopwi-* ‘love’, *kwoye-* ‘pass over’, *matur-* ‘serve’, *mawi-* ‘go [hon]’, *mawir-* ‘go, come [hum.]’, *maywop-* ‘fray, get lost’, *mek-* ‘be driven away’, *midare-* ‘be confused’, *mit-* ‘be full’, *mi-ye-* ‘see-PASS’, *nadum-* ‘bog down’, *nadusap-* ‘be buffeted’, *nagarape-* ‘fall, pass’, *nagare-* ‘flow’, *nak-* ‘cry’, *nar-* ‘become, grow’, *nayam-* ‘worry, suffer’, *omop-* ‘think’, *op-* ‘bear’, *op-* ‘chase’, *por-* ‘desire’, *puk-* ‘blow’, *pur-* ‘rain, fall down’, *sakar-* ‘be apart’, *sar-* ‘move on, leave’, *sinwop-* ‘yearn’, *sir-* ‘own, rule’, *sitap-* ‘fall in love with’, *tadune-* ‘ask, seek’, *tar-* ‘hang (intr.), drip’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *tayutap-* ‘be unsettled by movement’, *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’, *tor-* ‘take, hold in hand’, *tuge-* ‘report, tell’, *tukape-* ‘serve’, *tum-* ‘pluck’, *wakare-* ‘be split, be parted’, *wasur-* ‘forget’, *wasure-* ‘forget’, *watar-* ‘go across’, *wor-* ‘fold (tr.)’, *yor-* ‘approach’, *yose-* ‘draw close (tr.)’, *yuk-* ‘go’

Like *yuk-* ‘go’, *ko-* ‘come’ combines with a variety type of verbs. In Frellesvig et al. (2010), both verbs were included in their list of auxiliary verb, as a result of a preliminary study based on OCOJ. This thesis will not pursue the boundary or property of auxiliary verbs in Old Japanese, but rather attributes such flexible ability to the original meaning of both physical change of location and metaphorical change of state, plus certain level of both intentionality and affectedness, of these two verbs and some other members of the verb groups that these two verbs represent.

Among these compounds involving *ko-*, it is worth noting that four of them are attested with verbal prefix *i-*, whereas none of them (or *ko-* itself) is attested with *sa-* or *ta-*.

(144) four compounds involving *ko-* and attached by *i-*

i-k(g)apyeri-ko- (KK.86, NSK.70), *i-kari-moti-ko-* (MYS.13.3323), *i-piripi-moti-ko-* (MYS.16.3880), *i-tori-ko-* (MYS.13.3245)

Again, similar to *yuk-* ‘go’, *ko-* is not attested in any N+V compounds in OCOJ.

4.10 ‘Cry’ verbs

Nak-

The main verb denoting ‘cry’ in Old Japanese is *nak-*, which is related to the transitive *nake-* ‘make cry’. Like the English verb ‘cry’, it can refer to both human and animal’s crying. It is attested 504 times in OCOJ, with 140 written phonographically, and 7 in Eastern Old Japanese.

Nak- is one of the verbs that show variations in selecting perfective auxiliaries. It is attested with the perfectives 14 times: 6 times with *-(i)te-* and 8 times with *-(i)n-*. Among the 8 attestations with *nak-* selecting *-(i)n-*, single arguments are all animals rather than human-beings, as in the following example.

(145) *nak-* ‘cry’ *+(i)n-* (8 tokens)

高圓	尔	鶯	鳴沼
takamatwo	<i>ni</i>	ugupisu	naki-<i>nu</i>
Takamatwo	DAT	nightingale	cry-PERF.CONCL

‘nightingales have cried at Takamatwo’

(MYS.6.948)

On the other hand, attestations with *nak-* selecting *-(i)te-* show variation on whether the single argument is human or animal. Among the six attestations, one of them has a human as the subject, and the other five have animals as the subjects. First, consider the only one existence of a human being the subject (not expressed explicitly in the sentence, but indicated in the context) when *nak-* is followed by a perfective auxiliary:

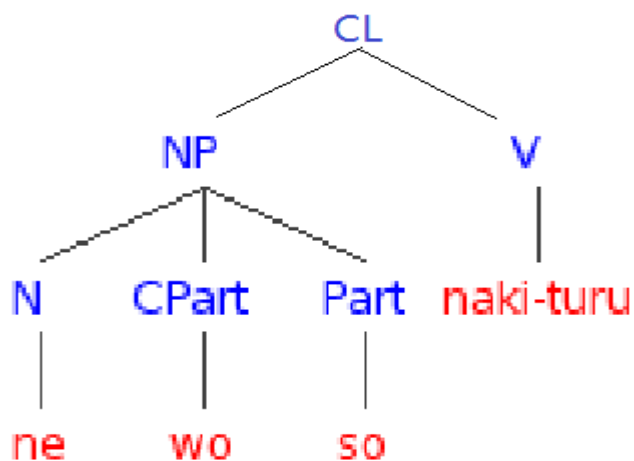
(146)	哭	乎	曾	奈伎都流
	<i>ne</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>so</i>	naki-<i>туру</i>
	cry	ACC	FOC	cry-PERF.ADN

‘(I) have cried’

(MYS.14.3485)

In the above example, *ne* is a noun meaning ‘cry’, and *wo* is the accusative particle. It is an example of Old Japanese verb *ne-* taking a cognate object.

(147)



Next, compare the contexts where ‘animal subject + *nak-* + *-(i)te-*’, as shown in the following sentence, and ‘animal subject + *nak-* + *-(i)n-*’ as illustrated previously in (145).

(148) *nak-* ‘cry’ +*-(i)te-* (6 tokens)

吾	門	之	柳	乃	宇礼	尔	
wa	<u>ga</u>	kadwo	no	yanagwi	no	ure	ni
I	GEN	door	GEN	willow	GEN	new.shoots	DAT
鶯	鳴都						
ugupisu	naki-tu						
nightingale	cry-PERF.CONCL						

‘Nightingales have cried on the new shoots of the willows at my door.’

(MYS.10.1819)

There is hardly any difference between them in terms of the property of the subjects and the events that *nak-* denoted. There is vague difference lying between occurrences with *nak-n-* and *nak-te-* that when the event serve as a background information, it is more likely that *nak-* is followed by *-(i)n-*, whereas when the event is a focused major event that the poem is talking about, it is more likely that *nak-* is followed by *-(i)te-*. Nonetheless, it is clear that when the subject is human-being, *nak-* chooses *-(i)te-*, but when the subject is animal, the selection varies. In the discussion of ‘sigh verbs’, it is observed that *nagek-* ‘sigh’ always selects *-(i)te-* and is never attested with *-(i)n-*. Considering that sigh and cry are all sounds made by body, but sigh only apply to human-beings, it is possible that ‘human vs. non-human animal’ distinction is relevant to the variable perfective selection of *nak-*, or any element similar to that. More discussions will be presented in Chapter 5.

As V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *nak-* combines with the following verbs.

(149) *nak-* + V2

ko- ‘come’, *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’, *toyom-* ‘(re)sound’, *toyome-* ‘make sound’,
toyomos- ‘cause to sound’, *nuras-* ‘unfasten’, *yuk-* ‘go’, *wakare-* ‘be split, be
parted’, *watar-* ‘go across’, *kapyerap-* ‘return’

It is worth noting that the *toyom-* ‘(re)sound’, *toyome-* ‘make sound’, and *toyomos-* ‘cause to sound’ are all attested to combine with *nak-*, and the subjects are all birds.

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *nak-* combines with the following verbs.

(150) V1 + *nak-*

ko- ‘come’, *kop-* ‘seek, pray for’, *sawak-* ‘rustle’, *pidut-* ‘get muddy’, *wake-* ‘split (tr.)’, *wabwi-* ‘be embarrassed, disappointed’, *wep-* ‘get drunk’

It is worth noting that, among them, there are intransitive verbs indicating change of state verbs (e.g. *pidut-* ‘get muddy’ and *wep-* ‘get drunk’) as well as transitive verbs such as *wake-* ‘split (tr.)’.

Nak-, when used as a single verb, is not attested in *se-*construction. However, the compound *wabwi-nak-* with *wabwi-* meaning ‘be embarrassed, disappointed’ and *wepi-nak-* with *wep-* meaning ‘get drunk’ occurred in *se-*construction for 2 and 3 times respectively, without any particle between the compound verb and *se-*.

(151) a. 飲 酒而 醉泣 為
 sake nomite **wepi-naki** **suru**
 alcohol drink.GER get.drunk-cry.INF do.ADN
 ‘get drunk and cry while drinking alcohol’

(MYS.3.341)

b. 左小壯鹿 者 和備鳴

sawosika *pa* ***wabwi-naki***
 male.deer TOP be.disappointed-cry.INF
 將為 名
se-mu *na*
 do-CONJ.CONCL FINL
 ‘male deer will cry disappointedly’

(MYS.10.2152)

Other verbs

Relating to *nak-*, there are several other verbs in the OCOJ denoting ‘cry’, in the form of ‘[manner] + *nak-*’:

- (152) *kakanak-* ‘(eagles) cry’ (with *kaka* meaning sound of eagle crying),
 sibanak- ‘cry often’, and *uranake-* ‘cry to oneself’

Among them, *sibanak-* is observed occurring with phonographic perfective *-(i)n-* once, with the subject being a bird.

- (153) 鶯波之波奈吉尔之乎

ugupisu *pa* ***sibanaki-ni-si*** *wo*
 nightingale TOP often.cry-PERF-SPST CONJ
 ‘though the nightingale had often cried’

(MYS.19.4286)

On the contrary, *uranake-* which literarily means ‘make oneself cry’ is followed by perfective *-(i)te-* (though not attested in isolation but rather in a compound form *uranake-mas-*). It is also attested in *se-*construction without an intervening particle, as in *uranake situtu* (MYS.17.3978), with the subject being a bird.

In addition, *inak-* ‘neigh’ (with *i* meaning sound of horse crying), and *isati-* ‘cry violently’ also denotes crying in Old Japanese. They are not attested in OCOJ, thus will not be discussed here.

4.11 ‘Darken’ verbs

In OCOJ, there are three intransitive verbs denoting ‘darken (intr.)’. They all refer to the darkening of sky in the evening.

Kure-

The verb *kure-* ‘grow dark’, is related to the transitive verb *kuras-* ‘let time pass (till the day gets dark)’ and the adjective *kura-* ‘dark’. It is attested 11 times in OCOJ (9 written logographically and 2 phonographically).

Kure- is not attested with any verbal prefixes. However, it frequently occurs with the perfective *-(i)n-* (6 out of 7 attestations with auxiliaries). The most frequent form is the provisional *kure-nureba*, as in the following example sentence. It never occurs with perfective *-(i)te-*.

(154) 日 之 昏去者

pi no **kure-nureba**

day GEN grow.dark-PERF.PROV

妹 食 序 念

imo wo si so omopu

beloved.girl ACC RES FOC think.CONCL

‘as the day has become dark, I only think about my beloved girl’

(MYS.12.3219)

Kure- does not combine with any nouns or any V1 in a compound, but it combines as V1 with the verb *yuk-* ‘go’ in its provisional form.

(155) 日 能 久礼由気婆

pi no **kure-yukeba**

day GEN grow.dark-go.PROV

家 乎 之 曾 於毛布

ipye wo si so omopu

home ACC RES FOC think.CONCL

‘as the day grows dark, I only think about home’

(MYS.17.3895)

Other verbs

Apart from *kure-*, there are two compounds which are supposed to have been lexicalized (listed as main entries in JDB and have their unique ID numbers in OCOJ) suggesting ‘day gets dark’. One of them is *yupusar-* ‘become evening’, with *yupu* meaning ‘evening’ and *sar-* meaning ‘move on’, and the other is *yupuduk-* ‘become evening’ with *duk-* being the *hifukukei* (embedded form) of *tuk-* meaning ‘adhere’. *Yupusar-* is attested 35 times in OCOJ, all in the provisional form of *yupusareba*, and *yupuduk-* is attested only once in OCOJ, written logographically and in its adnominal form, modifying *pi* ‘day’ (MYS.16.3820).

In addition to the above verbs, *pisike-* ‘(sun) darkens’ is listed in JDB (with one example in its gerund form), though not attested in OCOJ.

4.12 ‘Dawn’ verbs

There are four intransitive verbs in Old Japanese denoting ‘dawn’, namely, *ake-*, *akesar-* and *aketat-*.

Ake-

The verb *ake-*, in relation to the transitive *akas-* ‘let brighten’, is the most frequently used one among the three. It is attested 57 times in OCOJ, and the majority of them (39 tokens) were written logographically. It is not attested with any verbal prefixes, but with perfective auxiliary *-(i)n-* (19 times). The most frequent combination is *ake-nu* ‘dawn-PERF.CONCL’, and the second frequent combination is *ake-ni-kyeru* ‘dawn-PERF-MPST.CONCL’. It never occur with the perfective *-(i)te-*.

- (156) 左夜 深而 今 者 明奴
sa-ywo *pukete* *ima* *pa* ***ake-nu***
 PRF-night deepen.GER now TOP dawn-PERF.CONCL
 ‘the night deepens, and it has now dawned’

(MYS.13.3321)

- (157) 大刀 之 緒 毛 未 解者
tati *ga* *wo* *mo* *imada* *tokaneba*
 big.sword GEN thread TOP yet untie.NEG.PROV
 左夜 曾 明家流
sa-ywo *so* ***ake-ni-kyeru***
 PRF-night FOC dawn-PERF-MPST.ADN
 ‘when (I) had not even untied the thongs of the sword, (I discovered that) the
 night dawned’

(MYS.12.2906)

Ake- is not attested to form any N+V compound. When used in a V1+V2 compound, *ake-* only serves as V1, not as V2. The most frequent V2 that combines with *ake-* is *ko-* ‘come’ (which selects both perfective auxiliaries when used in isolation) in its provisional form *kureba*, i.e. *ake-kureba* (8 attestations). Other V2 that combine with *ake-* in OCOJ include *sar-* ‘move on, leave’ (3 tokens), *yuk-* ‘go’

(1 token) and *tat-* ‘stand, depart’ (1 token). When *ake-* is combined with *sar-* and *yuk-*, the compounds are observed to have selected the perfective *-(i)n-* only.

- (158) 夜 者 昶去奴
 ywo pa **ake-yuki-nu**
 night TOP dawn-go-PERF.CONCL
 ‘the night has gone bright’

(MYS.13.3312)

Other verbs

In JDB, *akesar-* and *aketat-* are both listed as individual entries as *ake-*. They are also given unique ID numbers in OCOJ. Neither of them has many attestations, as stated above. Adding to *ake-*, *sar-* indicates the process of brighten. *Akesar-* is not attested selecting any verbal prefixes, but the compound selects *-(i)n-* only, like *ake-yuk-*.

Regarding *aketat-*, JDB suggests that *tat-* indicates the pass of time. However, I argue that it is better interpreted as the ‘coming-up (of brightness)’, as in *kasumi tatu; kumotatu*, etc. *Tat-* as a single verb will be discussed in ‘stand’ verb group.

4.13 ‘Decrease’ verbs

In a narrower sense, there is hardly any verb in OCOJ denoting purely ‘decrease (in amount)’. JDB listed the verb *pes-* ‘decrease (tr.)’ with examples from

prose texts other than those in OCOJ, and indicated that the intransitive ‘decrease’ **per-* is not observed with any example sentences. However, in a broader sense, there exist many verbs denoting decrease, e.g. ‘go down’, which are discussed among the ‘go’ verbs in the ‘go out/in/up/down/across/back’ verbs section of this chapter.

4.14 ‘Exist’ verbs

Ar-

The main verb denoting ‘exist’ in Old Japanese is *ar-*. It is attested 1018 times in OCOJ, mostly in stem and adnominal forms. 308 of the attested *ar-* are written phonographically and 24 of them are in Eastern Old Japanese.

Ar- occurred with perfectives 6 times in OCOJ: 4 times with *-(i)te-* and 2 times with *-(i)n-*. When *ar-* occurs with *-(i)te-*, the subjects are human, bird, and situation, and one of them is in the form of *ari-te-si ka*, in which *-te-si ka* is a set phrase (optative expression) meaning ‘would like to... / it would be great if...’. When *ar-* occurs with *-(i)n-*, the subjects are situations. Like many other verbs that show variation in perfective selection, when the single argument is animate (especially human), the verb prefers *-(i)te-* to *-(i)n-*. However, it is very hard to tell any difference between the selection of *-(i)te-* and the selection of *-(i)n-* with the single argument of *ar-* being a situation, as illustrated in the following sentences. It is possible that it is a free variation.

(159) a. 多婢 奈礼婆 於毛比多要弓 毛

<i>tabi</i>	<i>nareba</i>	<i>omopi-tayete</i>	<i>mo</i>
trip	become.PROV	think.stop.GER	TOP

安里都礼杼

ari-turedo

exist-PERF.CONC

‘although, as I am on a trip, there have been the time when I stop
thinking’

(MYS.15.3686)

b.	不相		然	
	<i>apa-naku</i>	<u><i>pa</i></u>	<i>sika</i>	<u><i>mo</i></u>
	meet-NEG.NOM	TOP	like.this	TOP

将有

ari-na-mu

exist-PERF-CONJ.CONCL

‘there have existed the situation in which we do not meet’

(MYS.12.3103)

When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *ar-* combines with the following verbs (and in a more general sense, with *kose-*, the desiderative verbal auxiliary), which covers a variety of verb types.

(160) *ar-* + V2

e- ‘obtain, be able’, *kat-* ‘win’, *kate-* ‘be difficult’, *kane-* ‘be unable’, *mat-* ‘wait’, *watar-* ‘go across’

Ar- is not used as V2 in a V1+V2 compound, but it combines with *kokoro* ‘heart’ as in *kokoro-ar-* (7 tokens), and *kokoro* is the single argument (theme) of *ar-*.

Arik-

There is another verb meaning ‘continue to exist’, i.e. *arik-*. It is attested only once in OCOJ, with a phonographically written perfective *-(i)n-*.

(161) 遊吉 波 布里於吉弓 伊爾之辺 遊

yuki pa puri-okite inisipye yu

snow TOP fall-settle.GEN ancient.time from

阿理吉仁家礼婆

ariki-ni-kyereba

continue.to.exist-PERF-MPST.PROV

‘snow falls and settles down, and the mountain has endured ever since the ancient time’

(MYS.17.4003)

Unlike ‘continuation of state’ verbs discussed in Sorace’s hierarchy, *ariko-* does not indicate any agentivity or the like, but rather an objective description of a long-lasting event, i.e. ‘snow falls and settles’.

Apart from *ariko-*, *arisar-* also means ‘continue to exist’ in Old Japanese. However, it is not attested in OCOJ.

4.15 ‘Fly’ verbs

Tob-

In OCOJ, the main verb meaning ‘fly’ is *tob-*. It is attested 53 times in OCOJ, all in Central Old Japanese, with 16 written phonographically and 37 written logographically.

Tob- is not attached by any verbal prefix or followed by perfective auxiliary when it is used in isolation. As a member of a compound, it is followed by perfective *-(i)te-* once in OCOJ, as in *tobi-tati-kane-tu* ‘fly-stand-be.unable-PERF’ (MYS.5.893), the single argument of which is a human.

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *tob-* combines with verbs that denote certain direction:

(162) *agar-* ‘rise’, *kapyer-* ‘return’, *kwoye-* ‘pass over’, *watar-* ‘go across’

and verb that denotes body activity: *kaker-* ‘soar’ and *kuk-* ‘creep through’.

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *tob-* combines with the verb *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’, with the single argument being a leaf (MYS.4.543). *Tob-* is also

attested in *ama-tob-* ‘sky-fly’ and *taka-tob-* ‘high-fly’, which indicates the place and manner of ‘fly’.

Other verbs

Another verb denoting ‘fly’ in OCOJ is *kaker-* ‘soar’. It has fewer attestations (11 tokens), and combines with *tob-* as V2 for three times. In addition, *pipir-* also means ‘soar’ in Old Japanese according to JDB. However, it is not attested in OCOJ.

4.16 ‘Finish’ verbs

In OCOJ, like ‘begin’ verbs, there has hardly been any verb denoting barely ‘finish (intr.)’, though the meaning is arguably found in verbs involving the adverb *tana* (or its embedded form *tono*) meaning ‘completely’. In these verbs, *tana* combines with weather verbs such as *tonogumor-* ‘cloud up completely’, *tanagwirap-* ‘be completely foggy’, and also with other verbs such as in *tanasir-* ‘know completely’.

Tanagumor-

The intransitive *tanagumor-* (1 token) and *tonogumor-* (3 tokens) are not attested with any auxiliary or prefix. When used in a compound, it is attested once to have combined with *ap-*, which basically means ‘meet’, but is better translated as ‘gather (intr.)’. When used in isolation, *ap-* selects only *-(i)n-* when it is followed by a perfective auxiliary.

Tanagwirap-

The intransitive *tanagwirap-* is attested only once in OCOJ, in its infinitive form. It is very hard to tell whether it denotes the finishing of fogging, or the extent to which it fogs. It might be the dominated application of perfective auxiliary in Old Japanese that preclude the usage of verbs denoting ‘finish’ like *owar-* ‘finish’ in Modern Japanese.

4.17 ‘Flow’ verbs

There are four verbs denoting ‘flow’ in Old Japanese: *nagare-* ‘flow’, *tagit-* ‘flow fast’, *tanabik-* ‘(snow, fog) flow’ and *minagirap-* ‘keep flowing’.

Nagare-

Nagare- is attested 29 times in total, only in Central Old Japanese, with 21 of them written logographically. It is related to the transitive *nagas-* ‘make flow’. It is not observed to have taken perfective auxiliary or verbal prefix.

When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *nagare-* combines with *ko-* ‘come’, *yuk-* ‘go’ and *purabape-* ‘be touching’ (in which case the single argument is riverweed). When used as V2, it combines with *tagit-* ‘flow fast’.

Tagit-

Tagit-, another verb denoting ‘flow’, has the feature of fast speed. It is attested 24 times in Central Old Japanese, with 20 of them written phonographically.

When used as V1 of a compound, it occurs with *yuk-* ‘go’ and *nagare-* ‘flow’. When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, it combines with *oti-* ‘fall’ only.

Tanabik-

Tanabik- indicates the flowing of snow, fog, etc., and is attested 81 times in OCOJ (77 times in Central Old Japanese and 4 times in Eastern Old Japanese), with 22 of them written logographically. It occurs only with *-(i)n-* when followed by a perfective auxiliary.

(163)	白雲	之	自	箱	出而
	sirakumo	no	pakwo	yworì	idete
	white.cloud	GEN	box	ABL	go.out.GER
	常世邊		棚引去者		
	tokoyopye		nitanabiki-nureba		
	forever.land.side	DAT	flow-PERF.PROV		

‘as the white cloud go out from the box and has flowed to the side of Forever-land’

(MYS.9.1740)

Tanabik- occurs six times with the prohibitive prefix *na-*, but not attested with *i-*, *sa-* or *ta-*. It is not used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound. When used as V2, it occurs with *yuk-* ‘go’ and *tat-* ‘stand’. In addition, *tonobik-*, which may be an eastern

variation of *tanabik-*, is attested once in OCOJ in its adnominal form (MYS.20.4403, a poem of Shinano, Southern Eastern Old Japanese).

Minagirap-

Minagirap- ‘keep flowing’ is attested twice in OCOJ, with *mina* meaning ‘water’. Neither of its two attestations in OCOJ is followed by any auxiliaries or combined with other verbs.

4.18 ‘Go’ verbs (general)

Yuk-

The main verb denoting ‘go’ in a general sense in Old Japanese is *yuk-* ‘go’. It is attested 691 times in OCOJ, with 476 written logographically, and 202 written phonographically (including 35 from Eastern Old Japanese).

Yuk- is followed by perfective auxiliary for five times in OCOJ: four times with *-(i)n-*, and once with *-(i)te-*. The only occurrence with *-(i)te-* is in the form of *yuki-te-si ka*, with *-te-si ka* being a set optative expression meaning ‘(I) would like to... / it would be great if...’.

Yuk- is prefixed by *i-* for ten times in OCOJ, but never by *sa-* or *ta-*. When attached with *i-*, *yuk-* is observed to have selected the perfective *-(i)n-*, which suggests the overlapping of the criteria for perfective auxiliaries selection and verbal prefixes selection. (As shown in the following example sentence, both the verbal prefix and perfective auxiliary are written phonographically.)

- (164) 雲居 有 海山 超而
 kumowi n(i) aru umiyama kwoyete
 distant.place DAT exist.ADN sea.mountain pass.over.GER
 伊徃名者

i-yuki-naba

PRF-go-PERF.COND

‘if I have gone, passing over the sea and mountain in the distant place’

(MYS.12.3190)

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *yuk-* combines with the following verbs.

(165) *yuk-* + V2

api- ‘meet’, *ape-* ‘join’, *itar-* ‘arrive’, *kakur-* ‘be hidden’, *kagure-* ‘[unknown]’, *kat-* ‘win’, *kate-* ‘be difficult’, *kapar-* ‘change (intr.)’, *kapyer-* ‘return’, *kaywop-* ‘move across (intr.)’, *ko-* ‘come’, *kuras-* ‘let time pass’, *sagukum-* ‘push apart’, *sakum-* ‘push way through’, *sugwi-* ‘pass time’, *sop-* ‘be next to’, *tagap-* ‘differ’, *tanabik-* ‘snow, fog flows’, *tukare-* ‘tire (intr.)’, *tudwop-* ‘gather (intr.)’, *topor-* ‘pass through’, *pabakar-* ‘be hampered’, *pur-* ‘rain, fall down’, *pure-* ‘touch (tr.)’, *mak-* ‘twist’, *masar-* ‘excel’, *mamorap-* ‘watch over’, *mwi-* ‘turn’, *mukap-* ‘face (intr.)’, *megur-* ‘move around’,

motopor- ‘go back’, *yuk-* ‘go’, *yor-* ‘approach’, *wakare-* ‘be split, be parted’,
water- ‘go across’, *kosoir-* (desiderative verbal auxiliary), *kapyerap-* ‘return’

Many of the above compounds are attached by the verbal prefix *i-*, as in the following example.

- (166) 吾 袖 尔 零鶴 雪 毛
 wa ga swode ni puri-turu yuki mo
 I GEN sleeve DAT fall-PERF.ADN snow TOP
 流去而 妹 之 手本
 nagare-yukite imo ga tamoto ni
 flow-go.GEN girl GEN cuff DAT
 伊行觸 糰
i-yuki-pure-nu ka
 PRF-go-touch-NEG.CONCL FOC
 ‘The snow that has fallen on my sleeve does not flow and go touch
 my girl’s cuff, does it?’

(MYS.10.2320)

When used as a V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *yuk-* combines with the following verbs.

- (167) V1 + *yuk-*

ake- ‘dawn’, *are-* ‘lay waste’, *tak-* (meaning unclear: maybe something to do with riding a boat or riding horses), *tat-* ‘stand’, ‘depart’, *ide-* ‘go out’, *kakur-* ‘be hidden’, *kakuroop-* ‘be hidden’, *kamusabwi-* ‘appear godlike’, *kasamar-* ‘increase (intr.)’, *ko-* ‘come’, *kikoye-* ‘be heard’, *kir-* ‘cut’, *kog-* ‘row’, *koye-* ‘pass over’, *kure-* ‘vanish’, *kure-* ‘grow dark’, *kwopwi-* ‘love’, *mit-* ‘be full’, *mot-* ‘hold’, *nadum-* ‘bog down’, *nadusap-* ‘be buffeted’, *nagare-* ‘flow’, *nak-* ‘cry’, *nuganapye-* ‘fall, pass’ *nwoganapye-* ‘fall, pass’, *op-* ‘chase’, *pe-* ‘elapse’, *puke-* ‘grow late’, *puri-* ‘get old’, *sakar-* ‘be apart’, *sakaye-* ‘prosper’, *sak-* ‘bloom’, *sar-* ‘move on’, ‘leave’, *sinwopa-ye* ‘yearn-PASS’ *sugwi-* ‘pass time’, *tadusapar-* ‘join hands’, *tagit-* ‘flow fast’, *tar-* ‘suffice’, *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’, *tok-* ‘untie’, *tome-* ‘stop (tr.)’, *toyom-* ‘resound’, *tug-* ‘pass on’, *ukab-* ‘float (intr.)’, *use-* ‘get lost’, *usure-* ‘get thin’, *utur-* ‘change (intr.)’, *uturop-* ‘change’, *wakare-* ‘be split, be parted’, *wasure-* ‘forget’, *watar-* ‘go across’, *wi-* ‘lead’, *yoropop-* ‘zigzag’, *yuk-* ‘go’

As one can see from the above, *yuk-* combines relative freely with a variety type of verbs, including verbs denoting change of location, change of state, body process, as well as transitive verbs, but the most frequent types are still ‘change of state’ and ‘change of location’ verbs.

(I)mas- and mawi-

(I)mas-, the honorific form of ‘go, come, be’, is also frequently attested in OCOJ (266 tokens in Central Old Japanese and 8 in Eastern Old Japanese). When

followed by a perfective auxiliary, it selects *-(i)n-* only in OCOJ. *Mawi-*, the humble form of ‘go’, is attested 12 times in OCOJ. Unlike *(i)mas-*, the only attestation of *mawi-* with perfective auxiliary is with *-(i)te-*.

- (168) a. 安之我良 乃 夜敞也麻 故要弓
asigara no yapyeyama kwoyete
 Asigara GEN Yapye.mountain pass.over.GER
 伊麻之奈波 多礼 乎 可 伎美 等
imasi-naba tare wo ka kimi to
 go-PERF.COND who ACC FOC lord COP.INF
 弥都都 志努波牟
mitutu sinwopa-mu
 see.CONT yearn-CONJ.CONCL

‘If my lord has gone out of the Yapye mountain of Asigara, whom shall I yearn as my lord?’

(MYS.20.4440)

- b. 与伎 比止 乃 伊麻須 久爾
yo-ki pito no imasu kuni
 good-ACOP.ADN people GEN sit.ADN country
 爾 波 和礼 毛 麻胃弓牟
ni pa ware mo mawi-te-mu

DAT TOP I TOP go-PERF-CONJ.CONCL

‘I will also have gone to the country where good person is.’

(BS.8)

Note here the single argument of *mawi-* is human (first person with strong intention), while the two occurrences of *imasi-(i)n-* involve third person being the single argument. This is understandable because, generally speaking, humble form in Japanese is used more often for first person, whereas respectful (honorable) form is seldom used for first person, but for lord, god, etc.

Other verbs

Verbs denoting ‘go across’, ‘go back’, ‘go up’, ‘go down’, etc. will be discussed in the next section. Other verbs denoting ‘go’ in Old Japanese, e.g. *turanuk-* ‘go through’ (1 token), have very few or none attestations in OCOJ. It is worth noting that *tadwor-* ‘go visit’ (2 tokens) is followed by the verbal prefix *i-* twice when combined with *yor-* ‘approach’, as in *i-tadwori-yor-* (MYS.5.804a and b).

4.19 ‘Go out/in/up/down/across/back’ verbs

This group discusses ‘go’ verbs with specified directions indicated, which are not included in the ‘go (general)’ group. The main verbs in this group are: *(i)de-* ‘go out, exit’, *ir-* ‘go in, enter’, *agar-* ‘go up’, *kudar-* ‘go down’, *watar-* ‘go across’, *kapyer-* ‘return’, and *motopor-* ‘go back’.

(I)de- and ir-

(I)de- ‘go out, exit’, which is related to *idas-* ‘put out’, is attested 304 times in OCOJ. 212 of them are written logographically, and 83 of them are written phonographically, including 17 instances in Eastern Old Japanese. On the other hand, *ir-*, the main verb denoting ‘go in, enter’, is attested 49 times in OCOJ, with 35 written phonographically (including one instance in Eastern Old Japanese).

Both *ide-* and *ir-* consistently choose perfective *-(i)n-* instead of *-(i)te-* in OCOJ.

- (169) a. 三船 出者
 mi-pune **ide-naba**
 three-boat go.out-PERF.COND
 ‘if three boats go out’

(MYS.9.1780)

- b. 入西 妹 者
iri-ni-si imo pa
 enter-PERF-SPST.ADM beloved TOP
 待 不来
 matedo ki-masa-zu
 wait.CONC come-be-NEG.CONCL

‘my beloved girl who had gone into (the mountains) (i.e. buried there)
will not come (to me), even if I wait’

(MYS.7.1409)

It is worth noting that, when occurring with perfective auxiliary, *ide-* does not always mean the physical ‘go out / exit’ of a person or boat. In most of the cases, it refers to the coming out of a colour (as a metaphor of love becoming noticeable to other people) (MYS.3.395 among others), sound (MYS.4.790), people’s words (MYS.14.3497), etc.

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *ide-* combines with both motional intransitive verbs and non-motional intransitive verbs as shown below.

(170) *ide-* + V2

yuk- ‘go’, *kapyer-* ‘return’, *ko-* ‘come’, *masaz-* ‘be, come, go [hon]’, *kate-* ‘be difficult’, *mukap-* ‘face (intr.)’, *nure-* ‘get soaked, stained’, *tat-* ‘stand’, *wi-* ‘be at, sit’

Ir- also combines with both motional and non-motional intransitive V2s, as listed below.

(171) *ir-* + V2

imase- ‘cause to be, go [hon]’, *kate-* ‘be difficult’, *ko-* ‘come’, *mas-* ‘be, come, go [hon]’, *midare-* ‘be confused’, *somete-* ‘begin’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *wi-* UM ‘be at, sit’, *wor-* ‘be sitting’

Unlike *ide-*, *ir-* does not combine with any transitive verbs in OCOJ.

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *ide-* combines with even more kinds of verbs, including both intransitive verbs and transitive verbs.

(172) V1 + *ide-*

asar- ‘get food’, *kaduk-* ‘dive’, *kog-* ‘row’, *makar-* ‘recede’, *mat-* ‘wait’, *mawi-* ‘go [hum.]’, *midare-* ‘be confused’, *moye-* ‘sprout’, *nar-* ‘become, grow’, *nipop-* ‘be red, colourful, fragrant’, *nuk-* ‘pluck, poke’, *omop-* ‘think’, *opwi-* ‘grow’, *pik-* ‘pull’, *sak-* ‘bloom’, *sas-* ‘(natural phenomena) happen, shine, (clouds) rise, (plants) grow (up)’, *tas-* ‘stand, depart’, *ter-* ‘shine’, *uk-* ‘float (intr.)’, *umare-* ‘be born’

On the other hand, *ir-*, when used as a V2, combines only with *ko-* ‘come’. In addition, in V1+V2+V3 compounds, *ir-* is attested in *kogi-ri-ko-* ‘row-enter-come’ (MYS.13.3225) and in *mawi-ri-ko-* ‘go [hum.]-enter-come’ (MYS.16.3886).

While *ir-* does not combine with any nouns to form an N+V compound, *ide-* combines with *pune* ‘boat’ for 18 times in OCOJ (in the form of *puna-de-*), where *puna* is the theme and sometimes instrument of *de-*. *Ide-* also combines with *ipye*

‘house’ (1 token) and *miya* ‘palace’ (1 token), with *ipyē* being the source of *ide-* and *miya* being the goal of *ide-*.

V1+V2 and N+V compounds with *de-* as the second member are further attested in *se-* constructions for 17 times. (This number is relatively high compared with other verbs occurring in *se-* constructions.) Among the attestations, *se-* shows in a variety of forms, including conclusive, infinitive, gerund, adnominal, conditional, as well as followed by auxiliaries (conjunctive, negative, stative), extensions (*be-si*, *rasi*) and particles (focus and restrictive). Both accusative particle and topic particle are attested intervening between V(N)+*de-* and *se-*.

- (173) a. 神嶋 乃 伊素未 乃
 kamwisima no iswomwi no
 Kamwisima GEN meandering.rocky.beach GEN
 宇良 由 船出 須 和礼 波
 ura yu **puna-de** su ware pa
 inlet from boat-go.out.INF do.CONCL I TOP
 ‘I sail out the boat from the inlet of the meandering rocky beach of
 Kamwisima’

(MYS.15.3599)

- b. 鬱悒 宮出 毛 為
 opoposi-ku **miya-de** mo suru

gloomy-ACOP.INF palace-go.out.INF TOP do.ADN

鹿 佐日 之 隈廻 乎

ka sapi no kumawi wo

FOC Sapi GEN turing.corner ACC

‘turning at the corner of Sapi, I gloomily go to work as the guard of the palace’

(MYS.2.175)

c. 門出 乎 須礼婆

kadwo-de wo sureba

door-go.out ACC do.PROV

‘as (I) exited’

(MYS.20.4398)

Agar-* and *kudar-

Agar- ‘rise’, which is related to the transitive *age-* ‘give, raise’, is attested only 6 times in OCOJ (with 4 written phonographically, 2 written logographically, all in Central Old Japanese). It is never followed by perfective *-(i)te-*, but by perfective *-(i)n-*, when *agar-* is in the compound *agar-imas-*. *Agar-imas-* is also the only example where *agar-* is used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound. When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *agar-* is attested in the N+V compound *kamu-agar-* (‘god’ +

‘rise’) and V1+V2 compound *tobi-agar-* (‘fly’ + ‘rise’) where the single argument is flower.

- (174) 梅 乃 落 花 之 安米 爾
 ume no tiru pana no ame ni
 plum GEN fall.ADN flower GEN heaven DAT
 登妣安我里 雪 登 敷里家牟
tobi-agari yuki to *puri-kye-mu*
 fly-go.up.INF snow COP.INF fall-MPST-CONJ.CONCL
 ‘falling flowers of plum trees, having flown up to heaven, must fall back
 down as snow’

(MYS.17.3906)

Kudar- ‘go down’ is attested 11 times in OCOJ (10 phonographic attestations and 1 logographic attestation, all in Central Old Japanese, mostly in its infinitive form). It is related to the transitive *kudas-* ‘take down’. It is not observed occurring with perfectives or verbal prefixes. When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *kudar-* combines with *ko-* ‘come’ only (2 tokens). When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, it combines with *sas-* ‘pierce’ and *nobor-* ‘climb’. *Kudar-* further combines with the nouns *kamu* ‘god’, *ama* ‘sky, heaven’ and *una* ‘sea’ in N+V compounds.

Kapyer-* and *motopor-

In this group, there are two verbs that denote similar events, namely *kapyer-* ‘return’, and *motopor-* ‘go back’. *Kapyer-* has almost 6 times more attestations than *motopor-*. To be more precise, there are 130 of *kapyer-* in OCOJ, with 88 written phonographically (including one attestation from Eastern Old Japanese), mostly in the stem form (91 tokens). *Motopor-*, on the other hand, has only 23 attestations (with 11 written phonographically), all in Central Old Japanese, and mostly in its infinitive form (17 tokens).

Motopor- never occurs with perfectives in OCOJ, but *kapyer-* does, and it selects *-(i)n-* only (4 tokens). There are two of them followed by the simple past auxiliary, one of them followed by the conjectural auxiliary, and another one ends in the conclusive form of perfective *-(i)n-* with nothing attached. Below shows one of the examples of *kapyer-* followed by a perfective plus a simple past auxiliary.

- (175) 思管 還尔之 人
 omopitutu **kapyeri-ni-si** pito pa
 think.GER return-PERF-SPST.ADN people TOP
 家 尔 到伎 也
 ipye ni itari-ki ya
 home DAT reach-SPST.CONCL FOC
 ‘the one who had been thinking of me has returned: hasn’t he arrived
 home?’

(MYS.13.3268)

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *kapyer-* combines with the following verbs.

(176) *kapyer-* + V2

ko- ‘come’, *makar-* ‘recede’, *mas-* ‘be, come, go [hon]’, *mi-* ‘see’, *mise-* ‘show’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *wi-* ‘be at, sit’

Among them, *kapyer-mi* (‘return-see’, i.e., ‘look back’) is attested in *se-* construction for 9 times, and none of them involves any intervening particle between *kapyer-* and *se-*.

(177) a. 可弊里美 之都都
 kapyeri-mi *situtu*
 return-see.INF do.CONT
 ‘while looking back’

(MYS.20.4398)

b. 念乍 顧 為騰
 omopitutu **kayeri-mi** **suredo**
 think.CONT return-see.INF do.CONC

‘though I look back while thinking’

(MYS.2.135a)

This is not contradictory to the assertion that transitives / unergatives can take an accusative particle while unaccusatives cannot in *se*-construction. The fact that *kapyeri-mi* never takes *wo* in the OCOJ may be due to the constraint of number of syllables that each line contains (i.e. seven syllables, in the cases of *kapyer-mi* in *se*-construction). While examples of ‘extra syllable’ are observable in the OCOJ, most of them do not have an alternative way of wording in five or seven syllables without changing the meaning, unlike *kapyer-mi situtu* vs. (the possible) *kapyeri-mi wo situtu*.

When used as V2 in a V1+V2 compound, *kapyer-* combines with the following verbs.

(178) V1 + *kapyer-*

ide- ‘go out’, *mi-ye-* ‘see-PASS’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *tob-* ‘fly’, *woti-* ‘regain youth, revive’, *yuk-* ‘go’

It also combines with a noun, i.e., *matu* ‘pine tree’, in *matu-gapyeri*, which is used twice as *makura kotoba* in OCOJ, with unclear meaning.

Motopor- does not form any V1+V2 compound as V1. However, it is attested as V2 combining with the verbs *ipap-* ‘worship, keep pure’, *pap-* ‘stretch

(intr.), crawl’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’ and *yuk-* ‘go’. Unlike *kapyer-*, *motopor-* is not observed in any N+V compounds.

Both *kapyer-* and *motopor-* is observed with verbal prefixes. Interestingly, though with similar meanings, *kapyer-* consistently selects *i-* while *motopor-* consistently selects *ta-*. *I-kapyer-* is in the compound form of *i-kayeri-ko-*, one of them is written phonographically with a voiced initial consonant.

(179)	意富岐美	袁	斯麻	爾	波夫良婆
	<i>opo-kimi</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>sima</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>paburaba</i>
	great-lord	ACC	island	DAT	send.away.COND
	布那阿麻理	伊賀弊理許牟			叙
	<i>punaamari</i>	<i>i-gapyeri-ko-mu</i>			<i>zo</i>
	[unknown]	PRF-return-come-CONJ.CONCL			FOC

‘If the great lord is exiled to an island, there are ships by which I will return.’

(KK.86)

On the other hand, *motopor-* is observed selecting *ta-* and never *i-* both when used in isolation and in compound forms as V2 (e.g. *kogi-ta-motopor-*, *tobi-ta-motopor-*, etc). Different from *i-kapyer-*, which indicates one-way change of location, *ta-motopor-* indicates directional achievement with explicit intention, or non-directional activity, i.e. meaning ‘go back and forth’, with or without explicit reason,

as shown in the following phonographic examples. More logographic examples includes 徘徊(MYS.4.619), 廻(MYS.11.2379), 徊俳(MYS.11.2541) etc.

- (180) a. 之夫多爾 能 佐吉 多母登保理
sibutani no saki ta-motopori
 Sibutani GEN small.peninsula PRF-go.back.INF
 ‘going back and forth at the small peninsula of Sibutani’
 (MYS.17.3991)

- b. 乎敷 乃 佐吉 許芸多母等保理
wopu no saki kogi-ta-motopori
 Wopu GEN small.peninsula row-PRF-go.back.INF
 ‘row around the small peninsula of Wopu’
 (MYS.18.4037a)

Watar-

The last member in this group is *watar-* ‘go across’, which has transitivity relationship with *watas-* ‘make go across’. It is attested 254 times in OCOJ, with 75 written phonographically and 5 in Eastern Old Japanese. It never combines with the perfective *-(i)n-*. However, the only combination with the perfective *-(i)te-* was in the *-te-si ka* construction. There is thus no strong evidence that *watar-* prefers *-(i)te-* rather than *-(i)n-*.

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *watar-* combines with *kane-* ‘be unable’, *ko-* ‘come’ and *yuk-* ‘go’.

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *watar-* combines with a variety types of verbs.

(181) V1 + *watar-*

ar- ‘exist’, *ikiduk-* ‘pant’, *ipap-* ‘worship, keep pure’, *kak-* ‘scratch’, *kamusabwi-* ‘appear godlike’, *kog-* ‘row’, *kopor-* ‘seek, pray for’, *kwopwi-* ‘love’, *mak-* ‘twist’, *mit-* ‘be full’, *mot-* ‘hold’, *nadusap-* ‘be buffeted’, *nagarape-* ‘fall, pass’, *nagek-* ‘sigh, weep’, *nak-* ‘cry’, *omop-* ‘think’, *pum-* ‘tread’, *sak-* ‘bloom’, *saye-* ‘become intensely cold’, *sinwop-* ‘yearn’, *sum-* ‘live at’, *tat-* ‘stand, depart’, *tob-* ‘fly’, *ukep-* ‘pray for’, *yuk-* ‘go’

Watar- is not attested in any N+V compounds, but there is an attestation where *watar-* is following the numeral *puta* ‘two’, in *puta-watar-* ‘across two (valleys)’ (NSK.2).

Watar- is one of the verbs that are observed to have selected both verbal prefixes *i-* and *sa-*. Again, like *kapyer-* and *motopor-*, it is likely to be true if we assume that *i-watar-* describes one-way directional motion (from one side to the other), whereas *sa-watar-* refers to the activity of going across sky, etc., without necessarily focusing on one direction.

(182) a. 織女 之 伊渡左牟

tanabata no *i-watara-sa-mu*
 Weaver GEN PRF-go.across-RESP-CONCJ.CONCL
 ‘the Weaver goes across (the Milky Way)’

(MYS.10.2081)

b. 宇能花 乃 咲落
 unopana *no* *saki-tiru*
 Uno.follower GEN bloom-fall.ADN
 岳 從 霍公鳥 鳴而 沙度
 woka yu pototogisu nakite *sa-wataru*
 hill ABL nightingale cry.GER PRF-go.across.CONCL
 ‘From the hill where Uno flowers bloom and fall, nightingales
 cry and cross overhead.’

(MYS.10.1976)

4.20 ‘Increase’ verbs

There are many verbs in Old Japanese denoting ‘increase’ in a broader sense, and most of them are discussed in the group of ‘grow’ verbs. This section only discusses ‘increase’ in a narrower sense, and includes two verbs: *mas-* ‘excel; increase’ and *kasamar-* ‘increase (intr.)’.

Mas-

The verb *mas-* has two senses. One of them is ‘excel’ and the other is ‘increase (in amount) (intr.)’. It is attested 27 times, mostly logographically written (16 tokens), and is attested in a variety of inflections. It is not observed to have taken any perfective auxiliary or verbal prefix.

It is only used as V2 among all compounds, with the V1 being *(o)mop-* ‘think’ (3 tokens) and *sik-* ‘(waves, etc.) repeatedly approach’ (1 token, with the subject being ‘sigh’, as in the sentence below.)

- (183) 比登 乃 伊布 奈宜吉 思 毛
pito no ipu nageki si mo
 people GEN say.ADN sigh RES TOP
 伊夜 之伎麻須 毛
iya siki-masu mo
 more repeatedly.approach-increase.CONCL TOP
 ‘the sighs that people made increased even more’

(MYS.18.4135)

Kasanar-

Kasanar- ‘increase (intr.)’ is related to the transitive verb *kasane-* which means ‘pile up’. It is attested 5 times in OCOJ, with 4 written logographically and 1 written phonographically. It is not attested with any auxiliaries or prefixes.

When used in a compound, *kasamar-* is observed only once as V1 in the compound *kasamar-yuk-* meaning ‘(days) go increasing’ (MYS.9.1792). It is not used as V2 in a V1+V2 compound or the V in an N+V compound.

4.21 ‘Jump’ verbs

There are two verbs in Old Japanese denoting ‘jump’. One is *wodor-* ‘jump’, the other is *tonakar-* ‘jump up’.

Wodor-

There are two attestations of *wodor-* in OCOJ, both written phonographically. One of them is with the verbal prefix *sa-* in an adnominal clause.

- (184) 梶野 尔 左乎騰流 雉
 sugwi no nwo ni *sa-wodoru* kigisi
 Sugwi GEN field DAT PRF-jump.ADN pheasant
 ‘the pheasant that jumps on the Sugwi field’

(MYS.19.4148)

The other is marked as a V2 in a V1+V2 compound *tati-wodori* ‘stand-jump.INF’, though *tati-* is also arguably a prefix.

Tonakar-

Wem- is not observed to take any verbal prefixes, and is never used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound. It is not attested in any N+V compound neither. However, *wem-*, as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, is attested combining with *sakaye-* ‘prosper’, *mi-* ‘see’ and *magar-* ‘be bent’. When combined with *sakaye-*, *wem-* refers to the bloom of flower instead of smiling or laughing of a human.

Other verbs

Related to *wem-* in this group are the verbs *sitawem-* ‘be joyful’ (not in OCOJ), *wemimagar-* ‘bending over laughing’ (1 token) and maybe also *wemap-* ‘smile’ (1 token) in Old Japanese.

Apart from those related to *wem-*, *warap-* also means ‘laugh’ in Old Japanese. It is not attested in OCOJ. However, *azawarap-* ‘laugh at’ is attested phonographically (1 token in KK.9), used in isolation. In addition, *werak-* means ‘laughing joyfully’, though it is not attested in OCOJ.

4.23 ‘Play’ verbs

Aswob-

The most frequent verb meaning ‘play’ in Old Japanese is *aswob-*, which is attested 41 times in OCOJ (all in Central Old Japanese, with 21 written logographically and 20 written phonographically, mainly in its stem form.)

Aswob- is not attached by any verbal prefixes in OCOJ. When followed by a perfective auxiliary, it is *-(i)te-* but not *-(i)n-* that is selected.

(186)	打越来而	曾	瀧	尔	遊鶴
	uti -kwoye -kite	so	taki	ni	aswobi -<i>туру</i>
	PRF-pass.over-come.GER	FOC	water.fall	DAT	play-PERF.ADN
	‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’				

(MYS.7.1104)

Aswob- combines with *tamap-* ‘give’, *nagwi-* ‘become calm’, *nom-* ‘drink’ and *aruk-* ‘walk’. It does not combine with any other verb or noun as a second member of a compound.

Other verbs

Other verbs denoting ‘run’ include *tapabure-*, *nabur-* and *aswobap-*. These are only seldomly attested in OCOJ (1~2 tokens).

4.24 ‘Rain/snow’ verbs

Pur-

The main verb in this group is *pur-* ‘rain (snow, fog, dew) fall down’, which is attested 257 times in Central Old Japanese with 207 written logographically and three times in Eastern Old Japanese. It is one of the verbs that frequently occur with the circumfix *na...so(ne)* (18 tokens).

Very interestingly, *pur-* selects *-(i)n-* three times but also select *-(i)te-* once when occurring with the perfective. Below shows one example from the three tokens with *-(i)n-* and the only one example when *pur-* selects *-(i)te-*.

(187) a. *pur-* + *-(i)n-*

十月	雨間	毛	不置
kamunadukwi	amama	mo	oka-zu
October	rain.break	TOP	put-NEG.INF
零尔西者	誰	里	之
puri-ni-seba	idure	<u>no</u>	satwo no
rain-PERF-SPST.COND	who	GEN	home GEN
宿	可	借益	
yadwo	ka	kara-masi	
lodge	FOC	borrow-SUBJ.ADN	

‘If it were the case that rain had fallen without a break in October, whose home would be the one that I could have borrowed and stayed overnight?’

(MYS.12.3214)

b. *pur-* + *-(i)te-*

吾	袖	尔	零鶴	雪	毛
wa	<u>ga</u>	swode	puri-turu	yuki	mo
I	GEN	sleeve	DAT	fall-PERF.ADN	snow TOP
流去而	妹	之	手本		
nagare-yukite	imo	ga	tamoto	<u>ni</u>	

flow-go.GEN	girl	GEN	cuff	DAT
伊行觸			裊	
<i>i-yuki-pure-nu</i>			<i>ka</i>	
PRF-go-touch-NEG.CONCL			FOC	

‘The snow that has fallen on my sleeve does not flow and go to touch my girl’s cuff, does it?’

(MYS.10.2320)

As shown in the above two sentences, the single argument of *pur-* being ‘rain’ and ‘snow’, this is among the vaguest contrast one can make when comparing the contexts of *-(i)n-* vs. *-(i)te-* selection. However, when the whole poem is taken into consideration, the subtle difference emerges. In (a), the falling of rain is natural background information, not in focus, and not personalized. Whereas in (b), the snow is the major subject matter of the poem, and snow’s touching the girl is a metaphor for the speaker touching the girl. It is anthropomorphized, hence the subtle senses of controllability and intentionality.

When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *pur-* combines with the following verbs.

(188) *pur-* + V2

ok- ‘(dew) settles’, *opopi-* ‘hide’, *ko-* ‘come’, *sikir-* ‘be repeated, continuous’, *sik-* ‘repeatedly approach, thicken’, *nadum-* ‘bog down’, *magap-* ‘confuse’, *pur-* ‘rain (snow, fog, dew) fall down’

Note that *pur-* combines with even *pur-* itself, as in *puri-pura-zu* (MYS.3.370) and *puru-puru* (MYS.10.1932).

(189)	春雨	之	不止	零々
	parusame	no	yama-zu	puru-puru
	spring.rain	GEN	stop.NEG.INF	fall-fall.CONCL
	‘the rain falls and falls, without stopping’			

(MYS.10.1932)

When used as V2, apart from *pur-* itself, *pur-* also combines with *yuk-* ‘go’ and *sik-* ‘repeatedly approach, thicken’.

Other verbs

Related to *pur-* are verbs like *sopopur-* ‘humidly rain’, *purinadum-* ‘rain hard’, *purisik-* ‘rain hard’, which selects *-(i)n-* only, and *amepur-* ‘rain’. It is worth noting that *ame* ‘rain’ (with the embedded form being *ama*) combines with not only *pur-* but also *komor-* ‘be wrapped’ and *tutum-* ‘be hindered’ to form N+V compounds *amagomor-* and *amatutum-*.

4.25 ‘Roll’ verbs

There are two intransitive verbs whose meaning deals with ‘rolling’ in Old Japanese. One of them is *towi-* ‘roll, swell’, the other one is *yapyewor-* ‘(waves) roll in many layers’.

Towi-

Towi- is attested four times in OCOJ, with two written logographically and two written phonographically under the category of Central Old Japanese. One of the single arguments that *towi-* take is *kumwo* ‘cloud’ (with *towi* in its infinitive form), and in the other three occurrences, *nami* ‘wave’, in the form of *towi-nami*.

(190) 跡座浪 之 立塞 道
towi-nami no tati-sapu miti
 roll-wave GEN stand-plug.CONCL road
 ‘the road where the rolling waves stand and obstruct’

(MYS.13.3335)

Yapyewor-

Yapyewor- consists of *ya* ‘eight’, *pye* ‘layer’ and *wor-* ‘fold’. It is attested twice in OCOJ, one logographically written and one phonographically written, both with the single argument being *sira-nami* ‘white-wave’.

- (191) 白浪 之 八重折 之 於 丹
 sira-nami no **yapyeworu** ga pye ni
 white-wave GEN roll.in.eight.layers.ADN GEN on DAT
 ‘on the white waves that roll in many layers’

(MYS.7.1168)

4.26 ‘Rot’ verbs

The attestations of intransitive verbs denoting ‘rot’ are very rare. The upper bigrade verb *kuti-* ‘rot’, related to the transitive *kutas-* ‘let rot’, is the only one attested in OCOJ, with only one attestation, attested in isolation, followed by the conjectural particle.

Apart from *kuti-*, *kusar-* and *azare-* denoting ‘rot’ are also listed in JDB. However, they are not attested in OCOJ.

4.27 ‘Run’ verbs

Pasir-

The intransitive verb *pasir-* ‘run’ is related to the transitive *pasase-* and *pase-* ‘make run’. In OCOJ, it is attested 20 times in Central Old Japanese, with 13 written logographically. It is not attested with any perfective auxiliary. However, it frequently occurs with the verbal prefix *sa-(ta-)*.

- (192) a. *sa- + pasir-* (4 tokens)

佐保川	尔	小騾	千鳥
<i>sapogapa</i>	<i>ni</i>	sa-basiru	<i>tidworī</i>
Sapo.river	DAT	PRF-run.ADN	plover

‘the plover that runs at the Sapo River’

(MYS.7.1124)

b. *ta-* + *pasir-* (2 tokens)

我	袖	尔	雹	手走
<i>wa</i>	<u><i>ga</i></u>	<i>swode</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>arare</i> <i>ta-basiru</i>
I	GEN	sleeve	DAT	hail PRF-run.CONCL

‘On my sleeves, hail balls run.’

(MYS.10.2312)

Pasir- never occurs with the verbal prefix *i-*.

Pasir- is not used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound. It is observed in *ide-pasiri-inana* ‘go.out-run-go.away.OPT’ (MYS.5.899), and also in *tati-pasir-* and *tati-basir-*, in which *tat-* is explainable as either a verb meaning ‘stand’ or a prefix. *Tati-basir-* as a whole is attested in *se-*construction, without any particle between the verb and *se-*.

(193)	難破津	爾	美船	泊農	等
	<i>nanipatu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>mi-bune</i>	<i>pate-nu</i>	<i>to</i>

Nanipa.harbour DAT PRF-boat dock-PERF.CONCL COMP

吉許延 許婆 紐 解佐気豆

kikoye *koba* pimo *toki-sakete*

be.heard.INF come.COND string untie-be.apart.GER

多知婆志利 勢武

tati-basiri ***se-mu***

stand-run.INF do-CONJ.CONCL

‘If the news that the boat have docked at Nanipa harbour comes to my ear, (I) will stand and run (to meet) with the strings untied.’

(MYS.5.896)

In addition, *wasir-* ‘run’ is found in prose texts in Old Japanese, though it is not attested in OCOJ.

4.28 ‘Scatter (intr.)’ verbs

Tir-

The main verb denoting scatter (intr.) in Old Japanese is *tir-*, which is attested 182 times (with 136 written logographically) in OCOJ, and all of its attestations are among Central Old Japanese. *Tir-* is related to the transitive *tiras-*. In OCOJ, most of the occurrences of *tir-* are in their stem form (107 times).

Tir- selects only *-(i)n-* when occurring with the perfective auxiliary in OCOJ, and *-(i)n-* is attested in a variety of inflectional forms, including conclusive,

adnominal, gerund, conditional, and with different auxiliaries such as simple past -*ki*-, modal past -*kyer*-, and conjectural -*m*-.

- (194) a. 秋芽子 者 露 霜 負而
 akipagwi pa tuyu simo opite
 autumn.clover TOP dew frost settle.GER
 落去之 物乎
tiri-ni-si *monowo*
 scatter-PERF-SPST.ADN CNJ
 ‘although the autumn clovers, (born down with) dew and frost,
 had scattered’

(MYS.8.1580)

- b. 烏梅 能 波奈 佐企弓 知理奈波
ume no pana sakite tiri-naba
 plum GEN flower bloom.GEN scatter-PERF.COND
 佐久良婆那 都伎弓 佐久
sakurabana tugite saku
 cherry.flower pass.on.GER bloom.CONCL
 倍久 奈利爾弓 阿良受
be-ku nari-nite ara-zu
 NECE-ACOP.INF become-PERF.GER exist-NEG.CONCL

也

ya

FOC

‘When plum flowers has bloomed and scattered, won’t the cherry
flowers necessarily continue to bloom?’

(MYS.5.829)

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *tir-* combines with the following verbs.

(195) *tir-* + V2

ko- ‘come’, *kos-* ‘wake, raise’, *kose-* ‘(desiderative verbal auxiliary)’,
magap- ‘get mixed, be confused’, *magapur-* ‘confuse (someone)’, *midare-*
‘be confused’, *sugure-* ‘excel’, *sugwi-* ‘pass time’, *sugur-* ‘pass’, *tob-* ‘fly’,
yuk- ‘go-’

As one can see from the above list of V2s, most of the verbs combining with *tir-* are not controllable and denote change (of either state or position). Although verbs *tob-* and *yuk-* can denote controllable events with human subjects, in the context of *tiri-tob-* and *tiri-yuk-*, the single arguments are non-animate, with no control or volition of the event or movement. Moreover, *tiri-sugwi-* ‘scatter and vanish’ is also attested occurring with perfective *-(i)n-* for five times, and not any with *-(i)te-*.

- (196) 瀧 上 之 櫻 花 者
 taki no upe no sakura no pana pa
 water.fall GEN top GEN cherry GEN flower TOP
 開有 者 落過祁里
 saki-taru pa **tiri-sugwi-ni-kyeri**
 bloom-STAT.ADN TOP scatter-pass.time-PERF-MPST.CONCL
 ‘the cherry flowers that bloom on top of the waterfall had scattered and
 vanished’

(MYS.9.1749)

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, *tir-* combines with *nagarape-* ‘fall, pass’, *nak-* ‘cry’ and *sak-* ‘bloom’.

Furthermore, *tir-* is attested in N+V compounds, where N is the single argument of *tir-*, i.e. *pana* ‘flower’. There is one phonographic attestation of *panadirap-* in OCOJ, with *ap-* being a durative suffix.

- (197) 波奈治良布 己 能 牟可 都
pana-dirapu ko no muka tu
 flower-scatter.ADN this GEN opposite GEN
 乎 乃 乎那 能 乎
 wo no wona no wo
 peak GEN Wona GEN peak

‘the facing Woka peak where flowers scatter’

(MYS.14.3448)

Tir- is not attested with any verbal prefix, or any other constructions discussed in Chapter 3.

4.29 ‘Shine/glow’ verbs

Among ‘emission verbs’ in Old Japanese, ‘shine/glow’ verbs are relatively more frequently attested than others, thus chosen to be discussed in this section.

Ter-

The main verb denoting ‘shine’ is *ter-*, which is related to *teras-* ‘make shine’. There are 101 attestations of *ter-* in OCOJ, with 77 of them written logographically, and 24 of them written phonographically, including 2 instances Eastern Old Japanese.

Ter- selects *-(i)n-* only when it is followed by a perfective auxiliary.

(198) 奈我波麻 能 宇良 爾 都奇 低理爾家里

nagapama no ura ni tuki teri-ni-kyeri

Nagapama GEN inlet DAT moon shine-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘the moon had shone at the inlet of Nagapama’

(MYS.17.4029)

When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *ter-* combines with *imas-* ‘be, come, go [hon]’ and *ide-* ‘go out’. When used as V2 in a V1+V2 compound, *ter-* combines with *os-* ‘push’, *topor-* ‘pass through’ and *saki-de-* ‘bloom-go.out’.

Furthermore, *ter-* is one of the verbs that can incorporate their single arguments in N+V compounds, such as in *pi-ter-* ‘sun-shine’. (Although the initial consonant of *ter-* is not voiced among the three attestations in OCOJ, *pi-der-* is included in JDB as an entry meaning ‘the shining of sun, dry caused by sunshine’ with example sentences from Old Japanese prose texts that are not included in OCOJ.)

Apart from *ter-*, *sas-* also has the sense of ‘shine’, with other senses being ‘(natural phenomena) happen, (cloud) rise, (plant) grow’, and it selects perfective *(i)n-* only in OCOJ.

Niturap-*, *akarapik-* and *sitap-

There are three verbs meaning ‘glow red’ in Old Japanese, namely, *niturap-* (11 tokens), *akarapik-* (4 tokens) and *sitap-* (1 token). They are not attested with any perfective auxiliary. What worth noting is that *niturap-* is observed attached by verbal prefix *sa-* nine times in OCOJ. It can refer to both non-animate argument (e.g. leaf) and human. This agrees with data from many other languages that verbs of emission are among the most variable intransitives in the light of split intransitivity. This is possibly due to the lack of both intentionality and affectedness, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

- (199) a. 狭丹頰歴 黄葉 散乍
 sa-niturapu momiti tiritutu
 PRF.glow.red.ADN red.leaf scatter.CONT
 ‘leaves that glow red continue scattering’
 (MYS.6.1053)
- b. 左丹頰經 妹 乎 念
 sa-niturapu imo wo omopu
 PRF-glow.red.ADN beloved.girl ACC think.CONCL
 ‘(I) think of the red (face of) my beloved girl’
 (MYS.10.1911)

4.30 ‘Sigh’ verbs

Nagek-

The main verb denoting ‘sigh’ in Old Japanese is *nagek-* ‘sigh, weep’. It is related to the transitive *nagekase-* ‘make sigh’. In OCOJ, it is attested 93 times in Central Old Japanese and once in Eastern Old Japanese. 60 of them are written logographically. It selects the perfective *-(i)te-* (9 tokens), mostly in its adnominal form, but never selects *-(i)n-*.

- (200) 相視之 兒 故 千遍 嘆津
 api-mi-*si* kwo yuwe ti-tabi **nage-tu**

meet-see.SPST girl reason thousand-time sigh-PERF

‘because of the girl that I saw, I have sighed a thousand time’

(MYS.11.2565)

When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *nagek-* combines with the following verbs.

(201) *nagek-* + V2

pus- ‘lie prone’, *puse-* ‘lay prone’, *kwopwi-* ‘love’, *kopinom-* ‘beseech’,
watar- ‘go cross’, *notab-* ‘say [hon]’

When used as V2, *nagek-* combines with *tat-* ‘stand’. It is also attested in *puse-wi-nagek-*. When combined with *tat-* ‘stand’, the verbal prefix *i-* is attested to attach to them once (in poem MYS.9.1801).

Moreover, *nagek-* is observed in VP-preposing, as in the following sentence.

(202)	外	耳	為而	
	yoso	nomwi	nisite	
	other.place	RES	COP.GER	
	嘆	曾	吾	為
	nageki	so	wa	<u>ga</u> suru
	sigh.INF	FOC	I	GEN do.ADN

‘only ignore it and sigh, I do’

(MYS.4.714)

In addition to *nagek-*, *nagekap-* with *ap-* being durative, is also attested in OCOJ (4 tokens). Other than using in isolation, it is only attested to have combined with *omop-* ‘think’ in *omopi-nagekapi* (MYS.17.3969).

4.31 ‘Sit’ verbs

Wi- and *wor-*

There are mainly two verbs denoting ‘sit’ (‘be at’) in Old Japanese. One of them is *wi-* ‘sit, be at’, and the other one is *wor-* ‘be sitting’.

Wi-, semantically related to *suwe-* ‘make sit’, has 131 attestations in OCOJ, most frequently in its gerund form (71 tokens). Among 127 attestations in Central Old Japanese, 24 were written phonographically. *Wor-* is attested 154 times, all in Central Old Japanese, and 46 of them are written phonographically.

When used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, *wi-* combines with *akas-* ‘let brighten, pass the night’, *karas-* ‘dry (tr.)’ and *tiras-* ‘scatter (tr.)’. This is a rare case where an intransitive verb combines mainly with transitive verbs.

- (203) a. 本都延 波 登理 韋賀良斯
 potuye *pa* *tori* *wi-garasi*
 top.branch TOP bird sit-dry.INF

志豆延 波 比登 登理賀良斯

siduye pa pito tori-garasi

lower.branch TOP people take-dry.INF

‘(its) top branches are withered due to birds’ nesting; its lower
branches are withered due to people’s plucking’

(KK.43)

b. 居明而 君 乎者 将待

wi-akasite kimi woba mata-mu

sit-let.bright you ACC wait-CONJ.CONCL

‘I will wait for you without sleeping until it dawns.’

(MYS.2.89)

Unsurprisingly, the same is true with *wor-*, which combines also with *akas-*, instead of any intransitive verbs. In *wor-aks-*, as shown in the following sentence, *wor-* indicates the manner of how to pass the night, i.e. sitting (staying up late and keeping awake).

(204) 乎里安加之 母 許余比 波 能麻牟

wori-akasi mo koyopi pa noma-mu

sit-pass.night TOP tonight TOP drink-CONJ.CONCL

‘I will drink and stay up the whole night tonight.’

(MYS.18.4068)

When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, both *wi-* and *wor-* demonstrate flexibility of combining with a variety of types of verbs. V1s that combine with *wi-* include both motional and non-motional verbs, as listed below.

(205) V1 + *wi-*

ide- ‘go out’, *ir-* ‘enter’, *kapyer-* ‘return’, *ko-* ‘come’, *okwi-* ‘arise’, *ori-* ‘go down’, *timar-* ‘stop (intr.)’, *uk-* ‘float (intr.)’, and other verbs, etc. such as *kakur-* ‘be hidden’, *komor-* ‘be wrapped, be secluded’, *mukap-* ‘face (intr.)’, *muk-* ‘face (intr.)’, *mure-* ‘be many together’, *narab-* ‘be in line’, *okure-* ‘be left behind’, *panare-* ‘be separate’, *pus-* ‘lie prone’, *sakar-* ‘be apart’, *kakum-* ‘surround’, *tadusapar-* ‘join hands’, *unagaker-* ‘[unknown]’, *uzusumar-* ‘[unknown]’

V2s combining with *wor-* includes *ikiduk-* ‘pant’, *ir-* ‘enter’, *kwopwi-* ‘love’ and *wabwi-* ‘be embarrassed, disappointed’.

Both *wi-* and *wor-* are attested in N+V compounds, e.g. in *kumo-wi-*, *tono-wi-* and *ipye wor-*. All of the nouns, *kumo* ‘cloud’, *tono* ‘palace’ and *ipye* ‘house’, indicate the place/location of *wi-* and *wor-* (and thus show grammaticalization of *wi-* / *wor-* as existential verbs.)

Furthermore, *tono-wi-* ('palace - sit / be at' meaning 'night-guard, night-watch') is attested in *se*-construction twice, without any accusative case particle following *wi-*.

- (206) 佐田 乃 岡邊 尔
sada no *wokapye ni*
 Sada GEN hill.side DAT
 侍宿 為 尔 往
tono-wi *si ni yuku*
 palace-sit do DAT go.CONCL

'I go to do night-watch on the side of Sada Hill.'

(MYS.2.179)

Unlike most of the intransitive verbs discussed in this chapter, neither *wi-* nor *wor-* occurred with perfective auxiliary in OCOJ. They are not attested with verbal prefixes either.

4.32 'Sleep' verbs

Ne-

Ne- is the most frequent verb denoting 'sleep' in Old Japanese. It is related to the transitive *nas-* 'make sleep', and occurred 271 times in the OCOJ with 176

written logographically. It is attested in both Central Old Japanese (238 tokens) and Eastern Old Japanese (33 tokens).

Ne- is one of the verbs that can occur with both perfective auxiliaries *-(i)n-* (6 times) and *-(i)te-* (9 times). A closer look at the context of each occurrence with the perfective reveals that, apart from KK.25 which is unclear about the actual event that the verb denotes, all other occurrence with *-(i)te-* indicates ‘sleeping with someone’, rather than ‘sleeping alone’. On the other hand, when occurring with *-(i)n-*, the verb *ne-* denotes ‘sleeping alone’.

- (207) a. 安比太 欲 波 佐波太奈利努 乎
apida ywo pa sapada-nari-now wo
 gap night TOP many-COP-PERF.CONCL CNJ
 万多 祢天武 可聞
mata ne-te-mu kamo
 again sleep.together-PERF-CONJ.CONCL EMPH
 ‘it has been many nights since we slept last; we should sleep together again’

(MYS.14.3395)

- b. 名草目而 今夜 者
nagusamete koyopi pa
 set.at.east.GER tonight TOP

寐南

ne-na-mu

sleep.PERF-CONJ.CONCL

‘set at ease, I will sleep tonight’

(MYS.9.1728)

The 9 attestations with *-(i)te-* include 5 with the prefix *sa-*, as in *sa-ne-te-*. This is an interesting point where perfective selection and verbal prefix selection come across each other: when *ne-* is attested with both verbal prefix *sa-* and a perfective auxiliary, five out of six chose *-(i)te-*, and one of them chose *-(i)n-*.

(208) a. **sa- + ne- + -(i)te- (5 tokens)**

安良波路 万代 母

araparwo made mo

become.clear to TOP

佐祢 乎 佐祢弓婆

sane wo sa-ne-teba

sleep ACC PRF-sleep.together-PERF.GER

‘if we sleep together to the extent that it becomes clear (to people)’

(MYS.14.3414)

b. **sa- + ne- + -(i)n- (1 token)**

開而		左宿之
akete		sa-ne-ni-si
open.GER		PRF-sleep-PERF-SPST.ADN
吾	其	悔寸
ware	so	kuyasi-ki
I	FOC	regret-ACOP.ADN

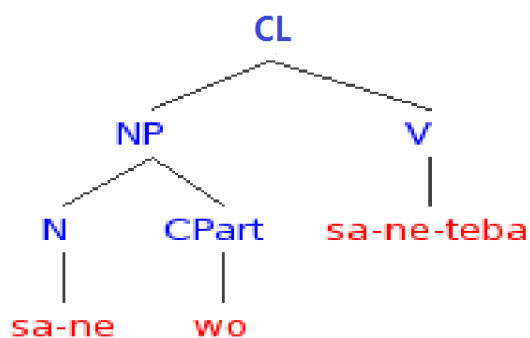
‘I had regretted having slept with the door open (to wait for you to come)’

(MYS.11.2678)

It is understandable that (207a) selects *-(i)te-* since it indicates ‘sleeping together with someone’, whereas (207b) selects *-(i)n-* since it is clear in the context that the person was sleeping along. However, both are attested with *sa-*, rather than *sa-* with *-(i)te-* and *i-* with *-(i)n-*. (There exists *ine* in OCOJ. However, *ne* in *ine* is the noun ‘sleep’ rather than the verb, and *i-* here is not a verbal prefix.) It is actually very common for languages manifesting split intransitivity to have such contradictory distribution or variation for verbs like ‘sleep’. In other words, ‘sleep’ as a verb is often considered to be near the unaccusative/unergative boundary that demonstrates variation, so is true for Old Japanese.

Also, as illustrated below, being able to take a cognate object further suggest that *ne-* has unergative syntactic configuration when being used in the sense of ‘sleep together with someone’.

(209)



Sometimes the accusative *wo* is found omitted from the cognate object construction:

(210) 左宿 佐寐弓 許曾

sane sa-ne-te koso

sleep PRF-sleep.together-PERF.GER FOC

已登爾弓爾思可

koto ni de-ni-sika

words DAT come.out-PERF-SPST.EXCL

‘it is because we sleep together again and again that rumors had come out’

(MYS.14.3497)

In a V1+V2 compound, when used as V1, *ne-* combines with the following verbs.

(211) *ne-* + V2

kate- (*gate-*) ‘be difficult’, *kane-* ‘be unable’, *some-* ‘begin’, *same-* (in the form of *zame-*) ‘wake’

When used as V2, *ne-* combines the following verbs.

(212) V1 + *ne-*

uk- ‘float (intr.)’, *kum-* ‘group (tr.)’, *kwopwi-* ‘love’, *sope-* ‘accompany’, *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’, *nabik-* ‘bow’, *mak-* ‘twist’, *makurak-* ‘use as pillow’, *mawos-* ‘speak [hum.]’, *yor-* ‘approach’, *wi-* ‘lead’

Among them, *yorine-* and *wine-* indicate ‘sleep together with someone’. *Wine-* is attested with *-(i)te-* only when used with a perfective auxiliary, which agrees with the split behaviour among the two different sense of ‘sleep’ of the main verb *ne-* in the circumstance of perfective selection.

Furthermore, *uki-ne-* ‘(people) sleeping in a ship; (bird) sleeping on the surface of the water’ is attested in *se-*construction in OCOJ (4 tokens). Although two of them mention ‘like a bird sleeping on the water’ in the contexts, all of them actually denote ‘people sleeping in a ship’, and *uki-ne-* in *se-*construction is attested both with and without an accusative case particle.

(213) a. 可母自毛能 宇伎祢 乎 須礼婆

kamo-zimono uki-ne wo sureba
 duck-SEM float-sleep.INF ACC do.PROV
 ‘as sleeping in a ship like a duck sleeping on water’

(MYS.15.3649)

b. 奈美 能 宇倍 爾

name no upe ni

wave GEN top DAT

宇伎祢 世之 欲比

uki-ne se-si ywopi

float-sleep.INF do-SPST.ADN night

‘the night that I slept in the ship on top of the waves’

(MYS.15.3639)

Optionally, *uki-ne-* in *se-*construction can take a focus particle:

(214) 浪 高之 奈何 梶執
nami taka-si ika ni kadi-tori
 wave high-ACOP.CONCL how COP.INF shipman
 水鳥 之 浮宿 也 應
midu-tori no uki-ne ya su
 water-bird COP float-sleep FOC do.CONCL

為 猶 哉 可 榜
 be-ki napo ya kogu be-ki
 NECE-ACOP.ADN again FOC row.CONCL NECE-ACOP.ADN

‘The waves are high. What should the shipmen do -- sleeping on the ship like water birds sleeping on water, or continuing rowing?’

(MYS.7.1235)

As a member of an N+V compound, *ne-* combines with *tabi* ‘tour’ in *tabi-ne-*, meaning ‘sleeping away from home; overnight stay when traveling’, and in *i-ne-* ‘sleep’, with *i-* being treated as a noun meaning ‘sleep’ in OCOJ. The compound *ine-* always indicates ‘sleeping alone’, and is attested with perfective *-(i)n-* only, not with *-(i)te-*.

Moreover, *i-ne-kate-* is attested in *se-*construction without an accusative case particle.

(215) 今 宿不勝 爲
 ima mo **i-ne-kate-ni** **suru**
 now TOP sleep-sleep-be.difficult-NEG.INF do.ADN

(MYS.11.2588)

Unlike *uki-ne-*, *i-ne-* or *i-ne-kate-* is never attested in *se-*construction both with an accusative case particle.

Other verbs

Apart from the above verbs, there are three more verbs denoting ‘sleep’ in Old Japanese: *katasik-* ‘spread one kimono, sleep alone’, *koropus-* ‘sleep alone (metaphor for death)’ and *nebur-* ‘sleep’. The first two verbs are tested three times and once respectively, only in their single forms, and *nebur-* is not attested in OCOJ, thus will not be discussed here.

4.33 ‘Stand’ verbs

Tat-

The main intransitive verb denoting ‘stand’ is *tat-*, which is related to the transitive *tate-*. *Tat-* is attested 501 times in OCOJ, with 182 times written phonographically including 21 attestations from Eastern Old Japanese.

Tat- is among the verbs to which both perfective auxiliaries, *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, can attach. However, the frequencies are dramatically different. 20 out of 21 time, *tat-* is followed by *-(i)n-*, and there is only one time that *tat-* is followed by *-(i)te-*. After all the 21 occurrences with perfectives were checked one by one, it becomes clear that, when the single argument is non-animate, e.g. wave, moon, fog, etc. *tat-* attaches invariably with *-(i)n-* rather than *-(i)te-*.

- (216) a. 痛足河 々 浪 立奴
anasigapa kapa nami tati-nu
 Anasi.River river wave stand-PERF.CONCL

‘the waves in Anasi River has risen’

(MYS.7.1087)

b.	荒石	毛	不所見
	araswo	mo	mi-ye-zu
	wild.stone	TOP	see-PASS-NEG.INF
	浪	立奴	
	nami	tati-nu	
	wave	stand-PERF.CONCL	

‘the waves have stood up with the wild stones invisible’

(MYS.7.1226)

Because the non-animate argument does not ‘act’ or ‘remain’ standing in an animal or human’s way with control or volition, in these cases, *tat-* is better understood as a ‘change of state’ verb rather than a ‘(existence of) state’ or ‘activity’ verb.

(217)	打霏	春	立奴	良志			
	<i>uti-nabiku</i>		<i>paru</i>	<i>tati-nu</i>	<i>rasi</i>		
	PRF-bow.ADN	spring	stand-PERF.CONCL	PSUM			
	吾	門	之	柳	乃	宇礼	尔
	wa	<u>ga</u>	kadwo no	uragwi	no	ure	ni
	I	GEN door	GEN willow	GEN shoot	DAT		

鶯	鳴都
ugupisu	naki- <i>tu</i>
nightingale	cry-PERF.CONCL

‘The spring has come. Nightingales has cried on new shoots of the willows at my door.’

(MYS.10.1819)

On the other hand, when the single argument is a human (animal subjects are not attested with ‘*tat*-PERF’), *tat*- shows variation in perfective selection, as shown below. There is one occurrence of *tat*- attached by *-(i)te-*, and one occurrence of *tat*- attached by *-(i)n-*, when the single argument is human. When occurring with *-(i)n-*, *tat*- is in a derived sense of ‘depart’ rather than the primary sense of ‘stand’. When attached by *-(i)te-*, *tat*- denotes an ‘existence of state’ that is controlled by its single argument. It has a sense of ‘change of location’, though also controllable by the single argument.

(218) a.	武士	登	所云	人	者
	mononopu	<i>to</i>	ipu	pito	pa
	military.officer	COMP	say.ADN	people	TOP
	[...] 母父	尔 妻	尔 子等	尔	
	omotiti	<i>ni tuma</i>	<i>ni kwo-domo</i>	<i>ni</i>	
	parents	DAT wife	DAT child-PL	DAT	

語而	立西	日	從
katarapite	tati-ni-si	pi	ywori
tell.GER	depart.PERF.SPST	day	from

‘from the day that the military officer had departed, telling his parents,
wife and children [...]

(MYS.3.443)

b.	吾	兄子	者
	wa	<u>ga</u>	sekwo pa
	I	GEN	beloved.boy TOP

二布夫	尔	咲而
<i>Nipupu</i>	<i>ni</i>	wemite
cheerfully	COP.INF	smile.GER

立麻爲	所見
tati-te-masu	miyu
stand-PERF-be.ADN	EVID

‘it is visible that my beloved boy has been standing there, smiling
wildly’

(MYS.16.3817)

Tat- is one of the verbs that are frequently observed in verbal compounds. When used as V1 in a V1+V2 compound, *tat-* is attested combining with more than

40 types of verbs. (Please refer to Appendix IV for a full list of verbs combining with *tat-* as V1 and V2.) Unlike most verbs, *tat-* combines with a variety type of V2s, including ‘change of location’ verbs, ‘change of state verbs’, etc., as shown below. Unsurprisingly, the verbs combining with *tat-* as V2 are observed to have selected *(i)n-*, *-(i)te-* or both of them when used in isolation. Note that in the second sentences of the following example, *ko-* ‘come’ can be interpreted either in its original meaning, or in a more metaphorical sense, as an auxiliary verb. In any case, the verb *tat-* is used in its verbal sense ‘stand’.

(219) a. ***tat-* + intransitive ‘change of state’ verb**

佐夜	深而	鷄鳴露	尔
<i>saywo</i>	<i>pukete</i>	<i>akatokituyu</i>	<i>ni</i>
night	deepen.GER	dawn.time.dew	DAT

吾 立所霑之

<i>ware</i>	<i>tati-nure-si</i>
I	stand-get.soaked-SPST.ADN

‘while the night goes deep, I stood and got soaked by the dew in dawn’

(MYS.2.105)

b. ***tat-* + intransitive ‘change of location’ verb**

於保夫祢 乎 許芸 和 我 由氣婆

<i>opo-pune</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>kogi</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>yukeba</i>
big-boat	ACC	row.INF	I	GEN	go.PROV
於伎		都		奈美	
<i>oki</i>		<i>tu</i>		<i>nami</i>	
open.sea		harbour		wave	
多可久		多知伎奴			
<i>taka-ku</i>		<i>tati-ki-nu</i>			
high-ACOP.INF		stand-come-PERF.CONCL			

‘as I go, rowing the big boat, the waves in the open sea of the harbour
has stood up high and come near’

(MYS.15.3627)

c. ***tat-* + intransitive ‘existence of state’ verb**

乎止賣良	爾	乎止古	多智蘇比
<i>wotomye-ra</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>wotokwo</i>	<i>tati-swopi</i>
maiden-PL	DAT	man	stand-be.next.to.INF

‘men standing next to maidens’

(SNK.6)

However, when combined with transitive verbs and intransitive ‘process’ verbs, *tat-* is more likely to function as a prefix indicating emphasis rather than a V1. As it may also retain its original meaning of ‘stand’, it is not always clear whether it is used as

a prefix or not. The following examples are among very few sentences where *tat-* can be arguably interpreted as a verb, rather than a prefix. Nonetheless, together with *tat-* as V2 in V1+V2 compounds data (about 20 types) in OCOJ investigated, it becomes clear that *tat-* combines most likely with typical unaccusative verbs ‘change of state’ verbs and ‘change of location’ verbs, secondly with non-typical unaccusative or unergative verbs (i.e. ‘existence of state’ verbs) and transitive verbs, and least likely with typical unergative (intransitive process) verbs.

(220) a. ***tat-* + transitive verb**

伊泥多知弓	和	我	多知弥礼婆
<i>ide-tatite</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>tati-mireba</i>
go.out-stand.GER	I	GEN	stand-see.PROV
‘going out, as I stand and see’			

(MYS.17.4006)

b. ***tat-* + intransitive ‘process’ verb**

保登等芸須	木際	多知久吉
<i>pototogesu</i>	<i>konoma</i>	<i>tati-kuki</i>
lesser.cuckoo	gap.between.trees	stand-creep.through.INF
奈可奴	日 波	奈之
<i>naki-nu</i>	<i>pi pa</i>	<i>na-si</i>
cry-NEG.ADN	day TOP	none-ADJ.CONCL

‘there is not a day when the lesser cuckoos do not stand, creep and
cry in the gap between trees’

(MYS.17.3911)

There are four different nouns that are attested incorporated with *tat-* in an
N+V compound:

(221) N + *tat-*

saki ‘ahead’, *mura* ‘crowd’, *asa* ‘morning’, *ywo* ‘night’

In the contexts, none of the nouns is the single argument of *tat-*. They indicate time
or manner of ‘stand’. *Mura-dati-*, for example, does not mean ‘the crowd stand’, but
rather ‘birds stand in crowds’ (MYS.9.1785). *Tat-* is not attested in *se*-construction
when used in isolation, but *asa-dati-* ‘morning-stand’ is attested in *se*-construction
(1 token) without the accusative case particle *wo*.

(222) 朝鳥 之 朝立 爲管
asatori no **asa-dati** **situtu**
morning.bird GEN morning-stand.INF do.CONT

‘morning birds continuously stand and sing in the morning’

(MYS.9.1785)

4.34 ‘Wither/wilt’ verbs

There are six verbs in Old Japanese denoting ‘wither’ or ‘wilt’. The main verbs are *kare-*, *urabure-*, and *sinaye-*.

Kare-

Kare- ‘wither’ has seven attestations in OCOJ. Three of them are written phonographically, and four of them are written logographically, all in the category of Central Old Japanese. It is attested with the perfective *-(i)n-* only, not with *-(i)te-*.

(224)	吾	屋戸	尔	韓藍	種生之
	wa	ga	yadwo	ni karaawi	uwe-oposi
	I	GEN	house	DAT Celosia.argentea	plant-cultivate.INF
	雖干		不懲而		亦 毛
	kare-nuredo		kori-zute		mata mo
	wither-PERF.CONC		learn.by.failure-NEG.GER		again TOP
	将蒔		登	曾 念	
	maka-mu		to	so omopu	
	sow-CONJ.CONCL		COMP	FOC think.CONCL	

‘Although the *Celosia argentea* I planted and cultivated outside my house has withered, I think I will sow it again instead of learning by failure.’

(MYS.3.384)

As V1 of a V1+V2 compound, it combines with *yuk-* ‘go’, and as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, it combines with *sibom-* ‘wilt’ and *yuk-* ‘go’, as in *sibomi-kare-yuk-* (MYS.18.4122).

Kare- is not attested with any verbal prefix or incorporated noun, but it is observed in se-construction without an accusative case particle *wo* in between them.

(225) 海 者 潮 干而

umi pa sipo pwite

sea TOP tide dry.GER

山 者 枯 爲礼

yama pa **kare** **sure**

mountain TOP wither.INF do.EXCL

‘The sea tide dries and the mountain withers!’

(MYS.16.3852)

Urabure-

Another verb meaning ‘wither’ is *urabure-*. It is attested 17 times in OCOJ under category COJ, with 10 times written phonographically. When occurring with perfective auxiliary, it selects *-(i)n-* only. It is not attested with any verbal prefix.

Urabure-, when used as V1 of a V1+V2 compound, is attested to have combined with *tat-* ‘stand’ (1 token only, in MYS.7.1119). When used as V2 of a V1+V2 compound, it combines with the following verbs.

(226) V1 + *urabure-*

sinaye- ‘wither’ (2 tokens), *omop-* ‘think’ (2 tokens) and *kwopwi-* (1 token).

It is worth noting that *kwopwi-urabure-* and *omopi-urabure-* are all attested taking the perfective *-(i)n-*, and the subjects are human rather than plants.

Sinaye-

Like *urabure-*, *sinaye-* ‘wither’ is also attested to combine with *omop-* ‘think’, as in *omopi-sinaye-* (5 tokens, all in gerund form), with the subject being human. *Sinaye-* only combines with *omop-* when used as V2, and only combine with *urabure-* ‘wither’ when used as V1 (2 tokens). It is not used in isolation in OCOJ. When combined with *sinaye-* the compound is attested to have been preposed before the subject, as in the sentence below.

(227)	於君	戀	之奈要浦觸		
	kimi	ni	kwopwi	<i>sinaye-urabure</i>	
	lord	DAT	love.INF	wither-wither.INF	
	吾		居者	秋風	吹而
	wa	<u>ga</u>	woreba	akikaze	pukite
	I	GEN	PROG.PROV	autumn.wind	blow.GER
	月		斜焉		

tukwi katabuki-nu
 moon lean-PERF.CONCL

‘As I love my lord, getting withered, the autumn wind is blowing and the moon has leaned.’

(MYS.10.2298)

Other verbs

In addition to the above verbs, *nape-* and *uragare-* are also listed in JDB with the similar meaning to ‘wither’, though not attested in OCOJ.

As mentioned above, *sibom-* means ‘wilt’, and it is attested to be combined with *kare-* and written phonographically in Central Old Japanese. This is, in fact, its only attestation in OCOJ. Also meaning ‘wilt’, *siwore-* is attested only once in OCOJ, written phonographically and used in isolation in its gerund form, describing the flower of plum withers under winter snow.

4.35 Summary

In this chapter, 34 groups of semantically related intransitive verbs in Old Japanese were presented in alphabetical order. For each group, detailed information were provided, including number of attestation, orthography distribution, and the attestation with auxiliary selection, V1+V2 compounding, N+V compounding, verbal prefix selection, and involvement in various constructions in OCOJ, such as resultative construction, *wo..se-* construction, that were proved to be strongly related to split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

Example sentences were provided with statements and discussions. Exceptions and variations were particularly recorded and analyzed, which, together with the typical/constant behaviours observed in Chapter 3, form the basis of further discussion in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 Ch5. Semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese

This chapter discusses various semantic factors that are related to split intransitivity in Old Japanese. First, I examine factors that were reported relevant to split intransitivity, especially those with relatively ample discussions and heated debates in previous literature. Then I propose semantic factors that play the most crucial roles in split intransitivity in Old Japanese, and models of the interaction between semantic factors, because I consider split intransitivity to be a phenomenon that should be accounted in a complex and comprehensive way. Finally, I expend my discussion towards the linking between syntax and semantics, a hierarchical view of split intransitivity in a more general sense, and suggest deconstruction of mismatches and alternative ways of representing semantic factors of split intransitivity.

5.1 General discussion: Agentivity, telicity and animacy**5.1.1 Agentivity and telicity**

The semantic factors relevant to split intransitivity can be grouped into two categories: 1) the semantic features of the predicate's participant, and 2) the (inherent) aspect of the predicate. These two are closely related to each other rather than isolated from each other. In this section, I will discuss one semantic feature of the predicate's participant, i.e., agentivity, one inherent aspect of the predicate, i.e., telicity, and also discuss the way they interact. The reason for choosing these two to

start the discussion is that they are frequently addressed and proposed in major literature on split intransitivity (Dowty 1991; Van Valin 1990; Sorace 2000; 2004; Kishimoto 1996; 1998; among others), and also captures Old Japanese data intuitively. Based on my detailed investigation in previous chapters, I will figure out to what extent these two factors are relevant to the split among intransitive verbs in Old Japanese, and explain the limitation and drawbacks of assuming them as the semantic factors for split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

5.1.1.1 Agentivity

5.1.1.1.1 Previous scholarship

Agentivity is one of the most important properties discussed in studies related to thematic role, argument realization, semantic alignment, and so on. Although some frameworks tend to avoid using the term of ‘agent’, similar terms are applied with an either narrower or broader sense than ‘agent’, e.g. ‘actor’ (Van Valin 1990), and inevitably, there remains an ‘agent’ extreme of the agent-patient hierarchy no matter how variable and debatable the boundary may be. However, ‘agentivity’, as a term, is often not clearly defined when it was mentioned in literature. In fact, it is very hard to define, and this brings in the risk of arguing against a point of view without referring to the same scope of subject matter. Regarding the definition of agentivity, Fillmore (1971) defined it as ‘the instigator of the event’, and more deliberately, Dowty (1991) made an effort in specifying the properties of ‘Prototypical Agent’ and ‘Prototypical Patient’, as listed below.

(228) Contributing properties for the Agent Proto-Role:

- a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)
- c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
- d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)

(Dowty 1991, 572)

(229) Contributing properties for the Patient Proto-Role:

- a. undergoes change of state
- b. incremental theme
- c. causally affected by another participant
- d. stationary relative to movement of another participant
- (e. does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

(Dowty 1991, 572)

As Dowty (1991) mentioned, these lists are not necessarily exhaustive, and there perhaps eventually be better way of partition. Nonetheless, he succeeded in decomposing the prototypical concept of Agent and Patient, and his decomposition has implications on the distinction between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs. Primus (1999, 90-100), for instance, proposed that ‘[t]he more Proto-Agent/Proto-Patient properties an intransitive predicate entails with respect to its sole argument,

the more likely the latter is to be encoded similarly to the Agent/Patient of the transitive predicate.’ Furthermore, Aldai (2008), in his study of semantic case marking in Basque, grouped intransitive subjects into four classes according to four different combinations of agentivity and patientivity, and claimed this to be crucial for the ‘correct analysis’ of the system of (Western) Basque:

(230) agents + non-patients: *work, dance, run*, etc.

agents + patients: *go, come*, etc.

non-agents + patients: *die, fall, (be+adjective)*, etc.

non-agents + non-patients: *shine, beep, roll*, etc.

(Aldai 2008, 200)

5.1.1.1.2 Agentivity and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

Concerning Old Japanese language, Primus’s proposal and Aldai’s classification seem to characterize the data to some extent. For example, intransitive subjects that fall in ‘agents + non-patients’ group (which also have more proto-agent properties) tend to behave like transitive agents, and those fall in ‘non-agents + patients’ group (which also have more proto-patient properties than proto-agent properties) behave like transitive objects.

(231) a. Agent + non-patient

打越来而 曾 瀧 尔

uti -kwoye -kite *so* taki *ni*
 PRF-pass.over-come.GER FOC water.fall DAT

遊鶴

aswobi -*туру*

play-PERF.ADN

‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’

(MYS.7.1104)

b. **Non-agent + patient**

吾 屋外 之 若樹 梅 者
 wa ga yadwo no wakakwi no ume pa
 I GEN house GEN young.tree GEN plum TOP

花 咲尔家里

pana **saki-*ni-kyeri***
 flower bloom-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘Flowers of the plum tree outside my house have bloomed.’

(MYS.8.1423)

Compared with Primis’s proposal, Aldai’s classification further facilitate the conclusion that sole arguments falling in ‘agents + patients’ and ‘non-agents + non-patients’ groups behave variably, with some patterning with transitive subjects and others patterning with transitive objects. However, it is still not sufficient and precise.

In order to capture the semantic factors of split intransitivity (starting from agentivity), one has to figure out:

- 1) which element(s) contributing to agentivity (not necessarily agreeing with Dowty's decomposition) is (are) relevant to split intransitivity;
- 2) how much weight the element(s) contribute(s), in other words, which is primary, which is secondary, and so forth; and
- 3) whether there exist semantic factor(s) other than agentivity that determines or influences the classification between unaccusatives and unergatives.

As the discussions goes on, I will answer these questions together with more complicated questions.

5.1.1.2 Telicity

5.1.1.2.1 Previous scholarship

Before moving on to examine the sub-elements/properties of agentivity, this section will talk about an aspectual factor, telicity, because while [+agentive] seems to describe core unergative verbs, [+telic] has been claimed as 'one of the semantic characteristics underlying unaccusativity (Tsuji-mura 1999, 329; see also Van Valin 1990).

Roughly speaking, verbs with natural endpoints are telic, and those without endpoints are atelic. Telicity is the difference between an Activity predicate and an Accomplishment predicate (for more details please refer to Dowty 1979). In his study on intransitive split in Tundra Nenets, Khanina (2008) also made use of ‘telic/atelic’ in his classification of intransitive verbs.

5.1.1.2.2 Telicity and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

Telicity seems to underlie a considerable proportion of unaccusative verbs in Old Japanese, e.g. *itar-* ‘arrive’ and *ake-* ‘dawn’.

- (232) a. 不召 尔 門
 ywoba-naku *ni* kadwo ni
 call-neg.NOM COP.INF door DAT

至奴

itari-*nu*

arrive-PERF.CONCL

‘(my beloved girl) has arrived at the door without being called’

(MYS.9.1738)

- b. 左夜 深而 今 者 明奴
sa-ywo pukete ima pa **ake-*nu***
 PRF-night deepen.GER now TOP dawn-PERF.CONCL

ki-turu	mireba	kurusi-mi
come-PERF.ADN	see.PROV	bitter-ACOP.INF

‘Even viewing this is bitter: the Altair has come to at least say some words to the sighing wife.’

(MYS.10.2006)

It is not to the extent that telicity should be excluded from the discussion of semantic factors of split intransitivity, but that telicity must be considered with some other factor. In other words, telicity itself is not sufficient in explaining the complex phenomenon of split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

5.1.1.3 The interaction of agentivity and telicity

5.1.1.3.1 Previous scholarship

Following the discussion of agentivity and telicity, which are proved relevant but not sufficient in capturing split intransitivity on their own, this section embarks on looking at the co-operation and interaction between agentivity and telicity. Actually, this combination is the most applauded one among major literature on semantic aspects of split intransitivity (Dowty 1991; Van Valin 1990; Sorace 2000; 2004; among others). I will evaluate a most well-known proposal by Dowty (1991), and figure out how his proposal can be improved in this section and the next section.

In the last part of Dowty’s paper on thematic proto-roles and argument selection (1991), he discussed about proto-roles and intransitives, and created the

following table. According to Dowty, verbs falling in cells 1 and 2 will be unergative if the primary distinction is between +/-agentivity; verbs in 2 and 4 will be unaccusative if the distinction between +/-telicity is the most important. Dowty further pointed that perhaps ‘active’ languages like Lakhota, are closer to exemplifying the former; Italian is more like the latter; and that

- (234) [a] prediction made by associating the proto-role hypothesis with unaccusativity is that, in any language which manifests unaccusativity, predicates that are “high” in agentivity AND “low” in patient properties are invariably unergative, while those low in agent properties and high in patient properties are invariably unaccusative; only those high in both kinds of entailments, or low in both, should be unstable.

(Dowty 1991, 608)

(235)

	Atelic	Telic
Agentive	1 definitely unergative	2 ?
Non-Agentive	3 ?	4 definitely unaccusative

(Dowty 1991, 607)

5.1.1.3.2 The interaction of agentivity and telicity in Old Japanese

Looking at new data from Old Japanese, the first question to ask is: is it really ‘invariably’ unergative/unaccusative in cells 1 and 4? As already shown in

think, study, speak *crawl, wrestle, jump* *bark, roar, quack*
marry, drive, smile, laugh *cough, hiccup*

(Kuya 2011)

More extensive are the Silverstain's Hierarchy (1976) and the 'extended animacy hierarchy' (Dixon 1979). According to Dixon, in languages with split ergativity, categories higher in the hierarchy are more animate/agentive and more likely to have nominative-accusative case marking, whereas categories lower in the hierarchy are less animate/agentive, and are more likely to have ergative-absolutive case marking. Languages differ with regard to exactly where to draw the boundary in the hierarchy, but they do not violate the hierarchal structure.

(237) **Extended Animacy Hierarchy**

first person / second person pronouns

third person pronouns

proper names

human common noun

non-human animate common noun

inanimate common noun

(Dixon 1979)

5.1.2.2 Animacy and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

Some of the data in Old Japanese seem to have relation with animacy hierarchy. For example, *sak-* ‘bloom’ with a non-animate subject always select *-(i)n-*, whereas *aswob-* ‘play’ with a human subject always select *-(i)te-*.

- (238) a. 吾 屋外 之 若樹 梅 者
 wa ga yadwo no wakakwi no ume pa
 I GEN house GEN young.tree GEN plum TOP
 花 咲尔家里
 pana **saki-ni-kyeri**
 flower bloom-PERF-MPST.CONCL

‘Flowers of the plum tree outside my house have bloomed.’

(MYS.8.1423)

- b. 打越来而 曾 瀧
 uti -kwoye -kite so taki
 PRF-pass.over-come.GER FOC water.fall
 尔 遊鶴
 ni **aswobi -turu**
 DAT play-PERF.ADN

‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’

(MYS.7.1104)

Also, *nar-* ‘become’, which mostly combines with perfective *-i(n)-*, only combines with perfective *-(i)te-* when it is involved in a optative expression expressing the will of a first person.

- (239) a. 岐美 賀 由岐
kimi *ga* *yuki*
 my.lord GEN go.INF
 気 那賀久 那理奴
ke *naga-ku* *nari-nu*
 day long-ACOP.INF become-PERF.CONCL
 ‘many days have passed since you, my lord, left’

(KK.88)

- b. 阿佐奈佐奈 安我流 比婆理 爾
asanasana *agaru* *pibari* *ni*
 every.morning rise.ADN skylark COP.INF
 奈里豆 之 可
nari-te *si* *ka*
 become-PERF.GER RES FOC
 ‘I wish to become a skylark that rises every morning.’

(MYS.20.4433)

no **ki-turu** kimi

GEN come-PERF.ADN lord

‘my lord who have sent the messenger for some purpose’

(MYS.4.629)

b. 於保保思久 見都々 曾

opoposi-ku *mitutu* *so*

absentminded-ACOP.INF see.CONT FOC

伎奴流

ki-nuru

come-PERF.ADN

許 能 美知 乃 安比太

ko *no* *miti* *no* *apida*

this GEN road GEN middle

‘(I) have absentmindedly come to the middle of this road’

(MYS.14.3571)

The following pair of sentences shows that a verb with a human subject, which is higher on the animacy hierarchy, may select *-(i)n-*. On the other hand, a verb with a non-human animate subject, which is lower than a human on animacy hierarchy, may select *-(i)te-*. This is again contradictory to what animacy hierarchy may predict.

- (242) a. 不召 尔 門
 ywoba-naku *ni* kadwo ni
 call-neg.NOM COP.INF door DAT
 至奴
itari-nu
 arrive-PERF.CONCL
 ‘(my beloved girl) has arrived at the door without being called’
 (MYS.9.1738)

- b. 吾 門 之 柳 乃 宇礼
 wa ga kadwo no yanagwi *no* *ure*
 I GEN door GEN willow GEN new.shoots
 尔 鶯 鳴都
ni ugupisu **naki-tu**
 DAT nightingale cry-PERF.CONCL
 ‘Nightingales have cried on the new shoots of the willows at my
 door.’
 (MYS.10.1819)

The third pair of example sentences shows that verbs with first person subjects can have different choices of perfective auxiliaries, which is hard to explain by animacy hierarchy.

- (243) a. 雲居 有 海山 超而
 kumowi n(i) aru umiyama kwoyete
 distant.place DAT exist.ADN sea.mountain pass.over.GER
 伊徃名者
i-yuki-naba
 PRF-go-PERF.COND
 ‘if I have gone, passing over the sea and mountain in the distant
 place’
 (MYS.12.3190)

- b. 打越来而 曾 瀧
 uti -kwoye -kite *so* taki
 PRF-pass.over-come.GER FOC water.fall
 尔 遊鶴
ni aswobi -turu
 DAT play-PERF.ADN
 ‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’
 (MYS.7.1104)

The above three pairs of example sentences will be explained in a better way in my intentionality-affectedness framework, which will be presented in the following section.

5.2 New proposal: A hierarchical view of intentionality and affectedness

This section goes to the core of the discussion of semantic factors at play in split intransitivity in Old Japanese. In the previous sections, I have shown that the factors which have been suggested and expected to have universal indications, only predict Old Japanese to some extent. They are either too broad, e.g. agentivity/patientivity, which embrace too many properties, some being relevant and others being irrelevant, or too narrow, e.g. animacy, which fails to tell the whole story on its own. The interaction of agentivity and telicity (as proposed by Sorace 2000; 2004; Dowty 1991) provides us with a 2-dimensional approach and allows for possible explanation of non-core verb classes. In this section I will figure out the primary semantic factors for split intransitivity in Old Japanese, namely, intentionality and affectedness, and propose models regarding how they interact with each other.

5.2.1 Intention, control and volition

5.2.1.1 Previous scholarship

Among various properties of agentivity, ‘intention’, ‘control’ and ‘volition’ have been pointed out to be relevant for unergativity in previous literature (Kageyama 1993; Washio 2004; Dowty 1991; Arkadiev 2008; Mithun 1991; Hopper & Thompson 1980; among others). Dowty (1991), for example, has made the following comment.

(244) From the list of Proto-Agent properties, the most important for the unergative/unaccusative contrast seems to be volition...Volition necessarily involves sentience, and verbs with both these entailments are ALWAYS unergative, it seems.

(Dowty 1991, 607)

Dowty (1991), in fact, was among the very few who actually tried to give a definition or at least examples for what he meant by ‘volition’. His perception can be understood by looking at the examples that he gave to illustrate the independence of Proto-Agent entailments (for subject NPs):

- (245) a. VOLITION ALONE: *John is being polite to Bill / is ignoring Mary.*
(cf. Dowty 1979, 164-66). *What he did was not eat [anything] for two days.* (Cruse 1973, 18).
- b. SENTIENCE/PERCEPTION ALONE: *John knows / believes / is disappointed at the statement, John sees/fears Mary.*

- c. CAUSATION ALONE: *His loneliness causes his unhappiness, Teenage unemployment causes delinquency.*
- d. MOVEMENT ALONE: *The rolling tumbleweed passed the rock, The bullet overtook the arrow, Water filled the boat, He accidentally fell.*
- e. INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE: *John needs a new car.*

(Dowty 1991, 572-573)

5.2.1.2 Proposal for definition and Intentionality Hierarchy

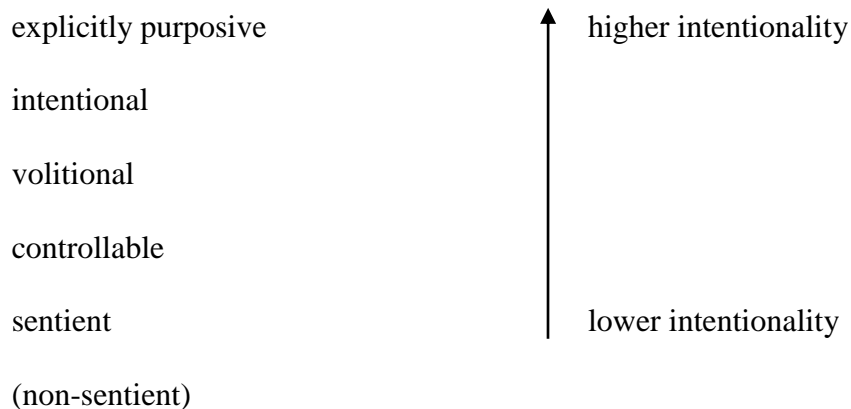
As far as I am aware, there has not been a comprehensive semantic analysis of split intransitivity or unergativity making use of (or explicating) the difference between ‘intention’, ‘control’ and ‘volition’. They are used separately by different linguists to refer to the same, similar, or very different semantic concepts. This causes confusion when one summarizes the studies on the semantic aspects of split intransitivity. Here I make the following definitions and distinctions.

- (246) a. ‘intentional’ (in its narrower sense): on purpose, with or without the purpose expressed overtly in the context
- b. ‘volitional’: with willingness, not necessary purposive
- c. ‘controllable’: having the ability of governing the happening, with no information of mental state, purpose or willingness
- d. ‘sentient’: being aware of the happening

(‘Happening’ here is a broad term, which includes events, actions, states, etc.)

Furthermore, I propose the following ‘Intentionality Hierarchy’, where ‘intentionality’ is a broader term, indicating the degree/extent, rather than corresponding to what was defined as ‘intentional’ in its narrower sense explained above.

(247) **The Intentionality Hierarchy**



(248) **Relation between intentionality hierarchy and unergativity:**

The higher the degree of intentionality, the higher the tendency of an unergative behaviour; the lower the degree of intentionality, the lower the tendency of an unergative behaviour.

On the intentionality hierarchy, X necessarily involves any Y if Y is lower than X. That is to say, ‘explicitly purposive’ necessarily involves intentionality, volitionality,

controllability and sentience; volitionality necessarily involves controllability and sentience; and there is no situation where the single argument is intentional but not sentient of the happening. Seemingly, there is one confusing case concerning this, i.e. when someone A intends to do something B, but A has no control over the happening of B. However, by control, I mean the control of intending, not the actual B which A intends. For example, A wants B to come to his house and waits for B. A have no control over whether B comes or not, but A has the control of ‘wanting’ and ‘waiting’. (Of course, ‘wanting’ or ‘falling in love with somebody’, like Old Japanese *kwopwi-*, can be considered as something ‘out of control’, yet ‘sentient’. This exactly explains why transitive *kwopwi-* behaves like unaccusative verbs.)

5.2.1.3 Intentionality and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

The intentionality hierarchy overlaps with the animacy hierarchy to some extent, because, in common sense, human has higher intentionality than non-human animate, in other words, a human can do something on purpose, while an animal cannot. Similarly, non-human animate normally has higher intentionality than non-animate, because an animal can have control and sentient, while a non-animate cannot.

However, when it comes to a particular context, intentionality hierarchy has more flexibility than the animacy hierarchy in explaining different behaviours of verbs.

First, example sentences that could be explained by animacy hierarchy can be explained by intentionality hierarchy. In the following pair of examples, *ke naga-*

ku nari-nu is non-scient, which is the lowest on the intentional hierarchy. On the other hand, *pibari ni nari-te* is strongly purposive, which is the highest on the intentionality hierarchy.

- (249) a. 岐美 賀 由岐
kimi ga yuki
 my.lord GEN go.INF
 氣 那賀久 那理奴
ke naga-ku nari-nu
 day long-ACOP.INF become-PERF.CONCL
 ‘many days have passed since you, my lord, left’

(KK.88)

- b. 阿佐奈佐奈 安我流 比婆理 爾
asanasana agaru pibari ni
 every.morning rise.ADN skylark COP.INF
 奈里豆 之 可
nari-te si ka
 become-PERF.GER RES FOC
 ‘I wish to become a skylark that rises every morning.’

(MYS.20.4433)

Second, coming back to the examples which denied the crucialness of animacy hierarchy for split intransitivity in Old Japanese, one can see that, without causing confusion, the two example sentences of *ko-* ‘come’ now demonstrate why the intentionality hierarchy works better in explaining the difference choice of perfective auxiliaries. In the first sentence, *ko-* is strongly purposive, with explicit *nani su to ka*, on the highest position of the intentionality. On the other hand, in the second sentence, *ko-* is not under control, and even arguably not sentient, on a very low position of the intentionality hierarchy.

(250) a. [+int] [+vol] [+ctrl] [+sent]

奈何			鹿	使
nani	su	<u>to</u>	ka	tukapi
what	do.CONCL	PURP	FOC	messenger
之	来流		君	
no	ki-turu		kimi	
GEN	come-PERF.ADN		lord	

‘my lord who have sent the messenger for some purpose’

(MYS.4.629)

b. [-int] [-vol] [-ctrl] [+sent]

於保保思久	見都々	曾
<i>opoposi-ku</i>	<i>mitutu</i>	<i>so</i>

absentminded-ACOP.INF see.CONT FOC

伎奴流

ki-nuru

come-PERF.ADN

許 能 美知 乃 安比太

ko no miti no apida

this GEN road GEN middle

‘(I) have absentmindedly come to the middle of this road’

(MYS.14.3571)

The intentionality hierarchy enables fine-grained semantic analysis, yet it is not the single factor for split intransitivity in Old Japanese. The second and third pair of example sentences that denied animacy hierarchy, for example, cannot be fully explained by the intentionality hierarchy only, but will need one more factor unpacked. Next section will introduce a new factor from the unaccusative side, and then two factors will compete and co-operate in forming the actual split among intransitive verbs in Old Japanese.

5.2.2 Affectedness

5.2.2.1 Previous scholarship

Unlike agentivity or telicity, ‘affectedness’ had not received detailed definition or investigation until the most recent decade when Beaver’s works came into being (Beaver 2006; 2007; 2010; etc.). However, this does not mean that affectedness was of less linguistic interest or value. On the contrary, many earlier well-known works have addressed affectedness or discussed issues partially overlapping with ‘affectedness’, for example, ‘change of state/location’, ‘telicity’, ‘incremental theme’ and so on (Fillmore 1968; Dowty 1979; Dowty 1991; Jackendoff 1990; among others). Similar to Dowty (1991) who proposed proto-patient properties which involve affectedness, Hopper & Thompson (1980) also included affectedness as one of the ten semantic transitivity parameters. Nevertheless, ‘affectedness’ itself was still used as a rather vague concept.

(251) **Parameters of Transitivity**

	High transitivity	Low transitivity
1. Participants	Two participants or more	One participant
2. Kinesis	Action	Nonaction
3. Aspect	Telic	Atelic
4. Punctuality	Punctual	Nonpunctual
5. Volitionality	Volitional	Nonvolitional
6. Affirmation	Affirmative	Negative
7. Mode	Realis	Irrealis
8. Agency	Agent high in potency	Agent low in potency
9. Affectedness of O	Object totally affected	Object not affected
10. Individuation of O	Object highly individuated	Object not individuated

(Hopper and Thompson 1980, 252)

In the literature of semantic alignment, though not among the most frequently mentioned factors, ‘affectedness’ was studied by Mithun (1991) and Arkadiev (2008), for instance, in their investigations of Central Pomo. Neither Mithun nor Arkadiev provided a detailed conceptualization of affectedness, but Mithun did comment that ‘[i]n Central Pomo, participants must be both out of control and significantly affected to be classified as patients’, and that ‘[t]he coming into being of a state is viewed as affecting a participant more than simply being in a

state' (Mithun 1991, 520-521). The latter quotation brings us to realize the necessity of a hierarchical view of affectedness.

More elaborately, Beaver defined affectedness to be 'a relationship between a theme x , scale s , and event e for predicate φ ' (Beaver 2007), and developed a 'model of affectedness':

- (252) A predicate of change φ is a relation between (at least) an event e of change, a theme x that undergoes the change, and a scale s that defines the change undergone by x . A scale is an ordered set of degrees of having a certain property... and a change of state is a transition of x from one degree of having that property to another. This transition in turn figures into aspectual properties of the predicate, including durativity and telicity.

(Beaver 2010, 282)

Beaver claims that all types of change (change of state / change of location / creation / consumption) can be analyzed under this single model. For example, 'John walked to the café' is a walking event, in which John reached a physical point (café) along a physical scale (path). 'John wiped the table clean' is a wiping event, in which the table reached the final state (completely clean) along a scale (cleanness). 'John ate the apple' is an eating event in which the apple reached its final' value (all of it is gone) along a scale (amount consumed) (represented by a function size' mapping entities to quantities).

- (253) a. John walked to the café.

$\exists e \exists s[\text{walking}'(j, e) \wedge \text{result}'(j, s, \text{café}, e)]$

- b. John wiped the table clean.

$\exists e \exists s[\text{wiping}'(j, t, e) \wedge \text{result}'(t, s, \text{clean}, e)]$

- c. John ate the apple.

$\exists e \exists s[\text{eating}'(j, a, e) \wedge \text{result}\exists(a, s, \text{size}'(a), e)]$

(Beaver 2010, 833)

A limit of this model, however, is that creation/consumption is defined as ‘a transition along a scale of the amount created/consumed’. There are many verbs such as ‘born’ and ‘die’ that cannot have ‘a scale with degrees’ intuitively.

Back to the temptation of a hierarchical view of affectedness, Tsunoda was perhaps the first in modern time to propose an Affectedness Scale, followed by Beaver (2006). (The directions of the scales were kept the same as the original proposals.)

(254) The Affectedness Scale

ACTION > PERCEPTION > PURSUIT > KNOWLEDGE > FEELING

(Tsunoda 1985)

(255) a. Affectedness scale: PARTICIPANT > IMPINGED > AFFECTED >

TOTALLY AFFECTED

b. Traversal scale: PARTICIPANT > TOTALLY TRAVERSED

c. Possession scale: PARTICIPANT > PROSPECTIVE POSSESSOR

(Beaver 2006)

Beaver (2007) further proposed an ‘Affectedness Hierarchy’. In his hierarchy, as exemplified by the following four sentences, ‘quantized’/‘non-quantized’ changes refer to events that entail a transition by a theme x between specific/non-specific initial and final points. ‘Impinged’, though not necessarily affect the theme, is higher than ‘unspecified’ on the hierarchy.

(256) The Affectedness Hierarchy

quantized > non-quantized > impinged > unspecified

- a. The tailor lengthened the jeans 5ins.
(quantized = definite, specific change)
- b. The tailor lengthened the jeans.
(non-quantized = non-specific change)
- c. John kicked the wall.
(wall impinged, not necessarily affected)
- d. John kicked at the wall.
(wall not necessarily even impinged)

(Beaver 2007)

According to Beaver (2007), ‘Affectedness Hierarchy’ is able to explain a variety of phenomena, such as NP-preposing, object realization, aspect and transitivity. Furthermore, Gaylord (2008) claims that the degrees of subject-affectedness ‘correlates with the likelihood of it participating in auxiliary selection across languages’. Although Old Japanese was among the languages that Gaylord (2008) used to support his analysis, especially in explaining the exceptional transitives that select the auxiliary BE (i.e., *-(i)n-*, in the Old Japanese case), ‘degrees of subject-affectedness’ cannot actually full-fill the job of predicting what have been observed for Old Japanese auxiliary selection and split intransitivity in my investigation. The usefulness and limitation of viewing affectedness as the sole factor of split intransitivity will be discussed in the next section, and a better proposal of the interaction of intentionality and affectedness will be presented in Section 5.3.

5.2.2.2 Proposal for Group of Affectedness Hierarchies

After an overview of what has been proposed for affectedness, one may ask one question: is there any other factor or sub-factor of affectedness that is not captured in Beaver’s Affectedness Hierarchy but is playing a role in split intransitivity?

Perhaps one of the sub-factors that are not attached importance by the Affectedness Hierarchy but relevant to auxiliary selection and split intransitivity is what I call ‘speaker’s emphasis’. Mithun has also pointed out for Central Pomo that ‘[n]ot all affectedness is of equal importance. Affected participants are cast as

grammatical patients only when the speaker chooses to express empathy with the affectedness' (1991, 521), and that '[e]ven when an event or state has a visible effect on a participant, the speaker may choose not to portray the affectedness and not use a patient case' (1991, 522).

Before I move on to discuss the importance of affectedness in split intransitivity in Old Japanese, I propose a 'Group of Affectedness Hierarchies' that look at affectedness from various angles, as shown below.

(257) **A Group of Affectedness Hierarchies**

- a. Negative effect (?> Positive effect) > Neutral effect
- b. Change of existence > Change of state > Change of location (?> Change of Possession)
- c. Emphasized affectedness > Non-emphasized affectedness > De-emphasized affectedness
- d. Focused affectedness > Unfocused affectedness
- e. Explicit affectedness > Inexplicit affectedness > Explicit un-affectedness

(258) **Relation between affectedness hierarchies and unaccusativity:**

The higher the degree of affectedness, the higher the tendency of an unaccusative behaviour; the lower the degree of affectedness, the lower the tendency of an unaccusative behaviour.

It is worth pointing out that, similar to ‘speaker’s emphasis’, which is very subjective to individual language user, whether an effect is ‘focused’ also matters, and it differs from ‘speaker’s emphasis’ in that it is a relatively common intuition coming from native speakers’ common understanding of the language. Compare the following two examples.

- (259) a. Mark broke the vase.
 b. If Mark did anything wrong on that day, his father would not let him eat dinner. Unfortunately, Mark broke the vase.

In the simple context, ‘Mark broke the vase’, the affectedness of the vase is commonly accepted to be ‘in focus’, whereas in the other context, the affectedness of Mark is more likely to be perceived in focus compared to the vase (and the ‘Mark’ in the first sentence).

5.2.2.3 Affectedness hierarchies and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

Looking at the data in OCOJ, affectedness can explain many evidences of split intransitivity, including the second pair of example sentences that could not be explained by the animacy hierarchy.

- (260) a. 不召 尔 門
 ywoba-naku ni kadwo ni
 call-neg.NOM COP.INF door DAT

至奴

itari-*nu*

arrive-PERF.CONCL

‘(my beloved girl) has arrived at the door without being called’

(MYS.9.1738)

- b. 吾 門 之 柳 乃 宇礼
 wa ga kadwo no yanagwi no ure
 I GEN door GEN willow GEN new.shoots
 尔 鶯 鳴都
 ni ugupisu **naki-*tu***
 DAT nightingale cry-PERF.CONCL

‘Nightingales have cried on the new shoots of the willows at my door.’

(MYS.10.1819)

In the first sentence, though the subject is a human, *itari-*nu** indicates change of location which indicates a high degree of affectedness. In the second sentence, though the subject is an animal, lower than human on the animacy hierarchy, there is only arguably a sense of change of state, with no evidence of change of location. Therefore, the first verb has a higher degree of affectedness than the second verb and they selected *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* respectively.

Like intentionality, affectedness on its own cannot predict all data relating to split intransitivity. At least, one should ask the following questions.

- 1) If affectedness determines the selection of the auxiliary BE *-(i)n-* or unaccusativity, then how does it work with the factor of ‘intentionality’ which motivates unergativity?
- 2) Is affectedness or intentionality the primary factor or the combination of the two?

The following section will discuss the above issues, and explain how intentionality and affectedness determine the split among intransitive verbs in Old Japanese together.

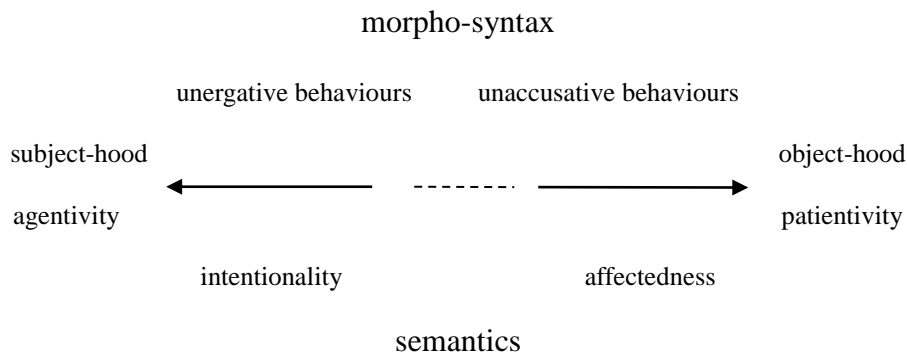
5.3 Determining split intransitivity in Old Japanese: The interaction of intentionality and affectedness

The previous discussions have revealed that split intransitivity in Old Japanese is relevant (to a greater or smaller extent) to a variety of semantic factors, among which intentionality and affectedness are the more precise elements of agentivity and patientivity that drive verbs into unergative and unaccusative groups. However, none of them can determine the split on their own. The interaction of intentionality and affectedness is what I claim to be primary to the semantic motivation for split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

5.3.1 Basic combination

First, let me start from a rough sketch of the basic model of combination, as shown below.

(261)



Among all properties contributing to agentivity, intentionality is the one that triggers unergative behaviors in Old Japanese. On the other hand, affectedness is the main engine for unaccusative behaviors, standing out from various other properties contributing to patientivity. It is not that agentivity and patientivity is not the semantic parameters of Old Japanese, but that agentivity and patientivity, like subject-hood and object-hood, have more universal, broader scope (and thus capacity) to harbor semantic factors of split intransitivity cross-linguistically. On the other hand, intentionality and affectedness are language specific properties of agentivity and patientivity to characterize individual language (Japanese), or, more precisely, an individual stage of a language (Old Japanese).

I am using a dotted line to link the two hierarchies on the left and right sides, rather than a straight line, because intentionality and affectedness are not just two halves of one continuum that connects smoothly. However, recall my intentionality hierarchy, one can see that they do have loose relation, in that the more intentional, the more ability of remaining less affected, and the less intentional, the more possibility of being affected and receiving negative effects. For example, in the event denoted by ‘Mark ate the apple’ the apple disappeared, while Mark gets full or less hungry, or at least gained an experience of eating an apple. Both are ‘affected’ (i.e. changed) in a broad sense. However, it is the apple that was affected to a greater extent (and a negative effect in common sense), compared with Mark who was affected to a less extent (and a positive effect in common sense). On the other hand, Mark has control over the event, and sentient, while the apple does not.

The basic combination model can explain some typical unergative and unaccusative behaviour, as shown in the following examples.

(262) **typical unergatives: high intentionality + low affectedness**

a.	打越来而	曾	瀧	尔
	uti -kwoye -kite	so	taki	ni
	PRF-pass.over-come.GER	FOC	water.fall	DAT
	遊鶴			
	aswobi -<i>туру</i>			
	play-PERF.ADN			

‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’

(MYS.7.1104)

b. 安比 之 惠美天婆

api si wemi-teba

meet.INF RES laugh-PERF.COND

等枳自家米 也 母

tokizi-kye-me ya mo

out.of.time-ACOP-CONJ.EXCL FOC TOP

‘if we meet and smile to each other, will it be out of time?!’

(MYS.18.4137)

(263) **typical unaccusatives: high affectedness + low intentionality**

a. 岐美 賀 由岐

kimi ga yuki

my.lord GEN go.INF

氣 那賀久 那理奴

ke naga-ku nari-nu

day long-ACOP.INF become-PERF.CONCL

‘many days have passed since you, my lord, left’

(KK.88)

b. 日 之 昏去者

pi no **kure-nureba**

day GEN grow.dark-PERF.PROV

妹 食 序 念

imo wo si so omopu

beloved.girl ACC RES FOC think.CONCL

‘as the day has become dark, I only think about my beloved girl’

(MYS.12.3219)

c. 吾 屋戸 尔 韓藍

wa ga yadwo ni karaawi

I GEN house DAT Celosia.argentea

種生之 雖干

uwe-oposi **kare-nuredo**

plant-cultivate.INF wither-PERF.CONC

‘although the Celosia argentea I planted and cultivated outside my house has withered’

(MYS.3.384)

d. 於保保思久 見都々 曾

opoposi-ku mitutu so

absentminded-ACOP.INF see.CONT FOC

伎奴流

ki-nuru

come-PERF.ADN

許 能 美知 乃 安比太

ko no miti no apida

this GEN road GEN middle

‘(I) have absentmindedly come to the middle of this road’

(MYS.14.3571)

More complex data will be explainable by the complex model which will be presented in the following section.

5.3.2 More complex interaction

5.3.2.1 One direction

Various ‘mismatches’ call for the understanding of more complex interaction between intentionality and affectedness. One of the mismatches in which a small number of unique two-place predicates (such as ‘forget’) have unaccusative behaviour in auxiliary selection, have been studied by Washio (2002; 2004) and Gaylord (2008) (which roughly agrees with Washio’s study). Washio (2004, 247) summarizes that

- (264) BE is never selected by transitive verbs (or intransitive clauses)’ in general, and ‘[t]ransitive verbs may exceptionally select BE only if they have a

semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of the class of BE-taking intransitive verbs.

(Washio 2004, 247)

Based on Dutch and Old Japanese data, he further suggests that ‘change of state feature plays a crucial role in the delimitation of the class of exceptional transitives’. Washio’s analysis has provided a flavour of one-way ‘transfer’ of the exceptional transitive verbs, from their expected transitive verb behaviour to the actually observed intransitive unaccusative behaviour, and an ‘extension’ of B-selection from intransitive unaccusative domain to transitive domain. From the perspective of split intransitivity, unergative subjects pattern with transitive subjects, therefore, based on Washio’s proposal, it is reasonable to further propose the following rule:

(265) Unergative verbs may exceptionally behave like unaccusative verbs only if they have a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of intransitive unaccusative verbs.

However, unergative verbs in Old Japanese differ from transitives described by Washio (2002; 2004) in the way that they can have exceptional unaccusative behaviour not only because of ‘gaining’ essential unaccusative semantic feature, but also by ‘losing’ essential unergative semantic feature, i.e., intentionality. For example, in V1+V2 compound *tiri-tob-* ‘scatter and fly’, with the subject being

yellow leaves in the context (MYS.4.543), it is not because of gaining affectedness, but losing intentionality, that *tob-* combines with *tir-*.

- (266) 黄葉 乃 散飛 見乍
 momitiba *no* **tiri-tobu** mitutu
 yellow.leaf GEN scatter(vi.)-fly.CONCL see.CONT
 ‘while I see the yellow leaves scattering and flying’

(MYS.4.543)

With this understanding of exceptional unergatives, looking back into exceptional auxiliary selection behaviour of transitives, restricted in Old Japanese data, it can well be looked from the opposite direction, and remove the word ‘only’ from Washio’s generation about exceptional transitives.

- (267) Transitive verbs may exceptionally select B if they are lack of a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of the class of H-taking intransitive verbs.

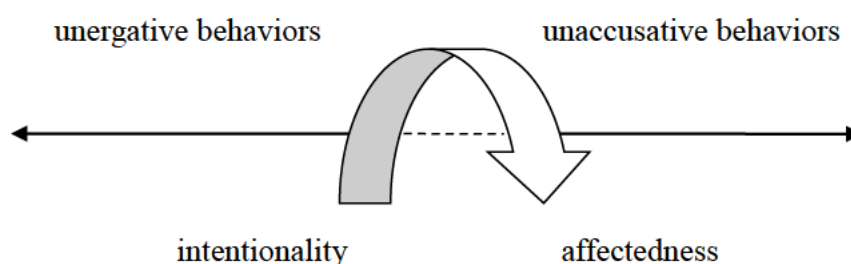
Again, take Old Japanese *wasur-/wasure-* ‘forget’ for example. In OCOJ, both of them were attested with perfective auxiliary, and neither of them took *-(i)te-*. *Wasur-* is attested with *-(i)n-* twice (in MYS. 5.877 with the respective auxiliary *-s-*, in and MYS.5.880 with the passive auxiliary *-ye-*), and *wasure-n-* is also found twice in OCOJ (MYS.10.2184 and MYS.11.2591). Although ‘forget’ can be expected to have

(MYS.11.2591)

Based on the above discussions on unergative and transitive verbs, the proposal of one direction of the interaction can be summarized as below:

(269) Unergative verbs may exceptionally behave like unaccusative verbs if they have a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of unaccusative verbs, or are lack of a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of the class of unergative verbs.

(270)



5.3.2.2 The other direction

Similarly, as another direction of the interaction, certain unaccusative verbs behave exceptionally like unergative verbs. For example, *ko-* ‘come’ overwhelmingly selects perfective *-(i)n-*, but it exceptionally choose *-(i)te-* when it is strongly purposive. The same is true for *ak-* ‘be satisfied’ (example re-cited below). When it means ‘naturally get satisfied’ or even ‘bored with something’,

which indicates change of state with negative effect (high on the affectedness hierarchy), sentient but lack of control (low on the intentionality hierarchy), it choose *-(i)n-*. On the other hand, when it is highly intentional and low on the affectedness hierarchies (with subjective intentionality of the first person, and positive effect), it selects *-(i)te-* instead.

- (271) a. 咲 花 毛
 saku pana *mo*
 bloom.ADN flower TOP
 乎曾呂 波 猷
 wosoro *pa* **aki-nu**
 early.blooming TOP be.satisfied-PERF.CONCL
 ‘early blooming of flowers is already much enough’

(MYS.8.1548)

- b. 月 夜 安伎氏牟
 tuku *ywo* **aki-te-mu**
 moon night be.satisfied-PERF-CONJ.CONCL
 馬 之末時 停息
 uma *simasi* *tome*
 horse a.while stop.IMP

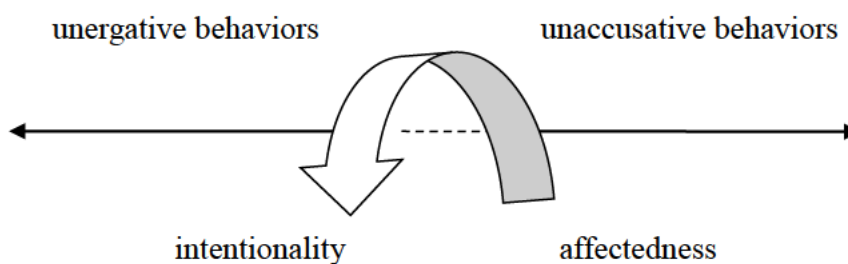
‘I will appreciate the moonlit night to a satisfying extent. Stop the horse for a while!’

(MYS.19.4206)

Now one can sketch a picture of the other direction of the interaction, i.e., unaccusatives behave like unergatives when gaining intentionality or losing affectedness.

(272) Unaccusative verbs may exceptionally behave like unergative verbs if they have a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of unergative verbs, or are lack of a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of the class of unaccusative verbs.

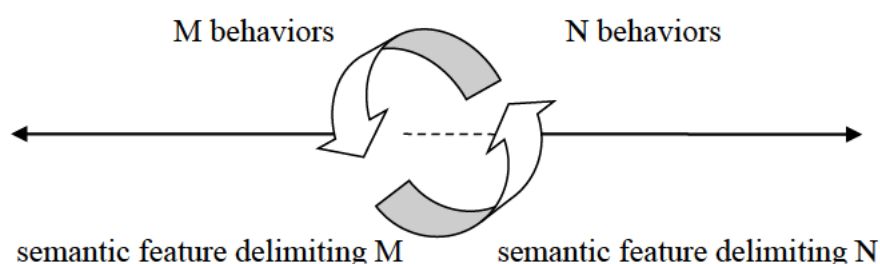
(273)



5.3.2.3 Both directions: the complex model

With each direction explained in the above two sections, the following generalization can be proposed.

- (274) An intransitive verb *V* which normally have *M* behaviours (*M* and *N* refers to two classes of intransitive verb, the unaccusatives and the unergatives) may exceptionally behave like class *N*, if it has a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of *N*, or is lack of a semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of the class *M*.



Now there comes a question. Since a verb can be both intentional and affected, or neither intentional nor affected (or hardly affected), how can these verbs be actually predicted through the interactive hierarchies?

To answer this question, it should be first re-emphasized that, in the above statements, semantic feature which plays an essential role in the delimitation of unaccusative verbs / unergative verbs (referring to affectedness and intentionality in Old Japanese) itself is hierarchical, as have been proposed in Section 5.2 that deals

with them individually. Therefore, I will not use [+int], [-int], [+aff] or [-aff]. Instead, I will use [↑ int], [↓ int], [↑ aff] and [↓ aff] to refer to higher or lower position on the intentionality hierarchy and affectedness hierarchies. With the hierarchical view in mind, there are four possible combinations, and it is the semantic factor that have more impact (the one before '>') that counts in motivating the morpho-syntactic behaviour of that verb (at least in that particular context).

- (275) a. [↑ int] + [↓ aff] ~ [int>aff].
 b. [↓ int] + [↑ aff] ~ [aff>int].
 c. [↓ aff] + [↓ int] ~ [aff>int] (if aff is more focused);
 [int>aff] (if int is more focused).
 d. [↑ aff] + [↑ int] ~ [aff>int] (if aff is more focused);
 [int>aff] (if int is more focused).

Take *ak-* 'be satisfied' for example, in *tuku ywo aki-te-mu* '(I want to) appreciate the moonlit night to a satisfying extent', it is the first person's intention that is more focused (emphasized), rather than the change of stage (affectedness). On the other hand, as in the following example, though the single argument (1st person) has sentience over the event, its affectedness outweighs its intentionality, and the verb manifests unaccusative behaviour.

(276) 吾妹 兒 尔 心 毛 身 副

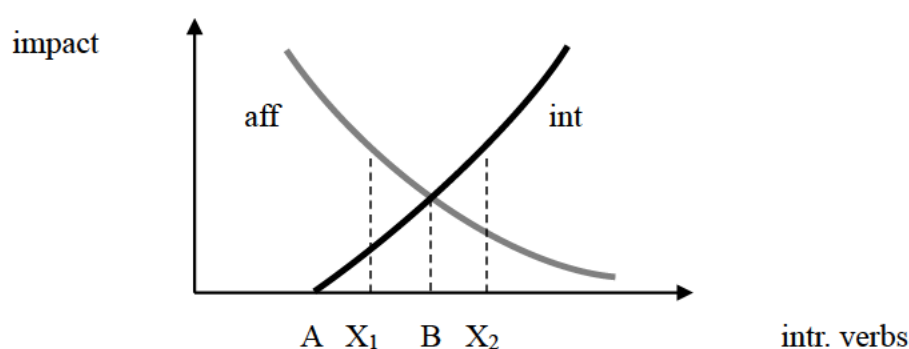
wagimo	kwo	ni	kokoro	mo	mwi	mo
my.love	child	DAT	heart	TOP	body	TOP
縁西				鬼尾		
yori-ni-si				monowo		
approach-PERF-SPST.ADN				CNJ		

‘though my heart and body had approached my beloved girl’

(MYS.4.547)

In fact, if we change the presentation of the two hierarchies and present them in a 2-dimensional graph as shown below, the answer becomes even clearer. (As I have discussed previously, the relationship between intentionality and affectedness are near to inverse proportion rather than direct proportion, thus the basic shape of the graph.)

(277)



In the above graph, X_1 and X_2 are two random intransitive verbs, whereas A and B are two special verbs. To be more precise, A, X_1 , B, X_2 can be, respectively, a

representative for a group of verbs that share the same point on the horizontal axis. In the case of A, it is the point where internality degree reduces to zero. However, I have not included a point on the horizontal axis where affectedness reduces to zero, as there exist a debate on whether a participant of an event can be absolutory unchanged (unaffected) beyond the scope of this research and even the realm of linguistics. I will leave this point open as it is not directly relevant to the discussion here. Verb B is special in that it represents the group of verb where the degree and emphasis of intentionality and affectedness are absolutely the same. This is the point where free variation of unaccusative/unergative is allowed. (Note that free variation is different from exception, e.g. ‘forget’ is an exception among transitive verbs. It consistently selects *-(i)n-* in Old Japanese, so it is not an example of free variation.)

The vertical axis, ‘impact’, can indicate not only the lexical ‘inherited degree’ of intentionality and affectedness, but also ‘temporary emphasis’, when there exists any relevant compositional element in the context, similar to what is called fluid-S (Dixon 1979, 80-83; see also Creissels 2008), or, not as an temporary interpretation according to context but as an individual ‘sense’ of a verb that is differentiated by intentionality or affectedness. In this way, the horizontal axis is actually a hierarchy of all verbs used in Old Japanese lining in order (not necessarily the same as the dictionary entries, and not necessarily smoothly connected). Some of them can be located onto multiple positions according to more than one sense and interpretations, and some of them can hold the same position as a group. Verbs to the left of B have unaccusative behaviour and verbs to the right of B have unergative behaviour.

之 来流 君
 no **ki-turu** kimi
 GEN come-PERF.ADN lord

‘my lord who have sent the messenger for some purpose’

(MYS.4.629)

b. [\downarrow int] + [\uparrow aff] ~ [aff>int]: unaccusative

於保保思久 見都々 曾
opoposi-ku mitutu so
 absentminded-ACOP.INF see.CONT FOC
 伎奴流

ki-nuru

come-PERF.ADN

許 能 美知 乃 安比太
ko no miti no apida
 this GEN road GEN middle

‘(I) have absentmindedly come to the middle of this road’

(MYS.14.3571)

(281) a. [\downarrow int] + [\uparrow aff] ~ [aff>int]: unaccusative

不召 尔 門
ywoba-naku ni kadwo ni

call-neg.NOM COP.INF door DAT

至奴

itari-nu

arrive-PERF.CONCL

‘(my beloved girl) has arrived at the door without being called’

(MYS.9.1738)

b. [↓ aff] + [↓ int]~ [int>aff] (if int is more focused): unergative

吾 門 之 柳 乃 宇礼

wa ga kadwo no yanagwi no ure

I GEN door GEN willow GEN new.shoots

尔 鶯 鳴都

ni ugupisu **naki-tu**

DAT nightingale cry-PERF.CONCL

‘Nightingales have cried on the new shoots of the willows at my door.’

(MYS.10.1819)

(282) a. [↑ aff] + [↑ int] ~ [aff>int] (if aff is more focused): unaccusative

雲居 有 海山 超而

kumowi n(i) aru umiyama kwoyete

distant.place DAT exist.ADN sea.mountain pass.over.GER

伊往名者

i-yuki-naba

PRF-go-PERF.COND

‘if I have gone, passing over the sea and mountain in the distant place’

(MYS.12.3190)

b. [↑ int] + [↓ aff] ~ [int>aff]: unergative

打越来而

曾 瀧

uti -kwoye -kite

so taki

PRF-pass.over-come.GER FOC water.fall

尔 遊鶴

ni aswobi -turu

DAT play-PERF.ADN

‘coming over here, we have played at the waterfall’

(MYS.7.1104)

The intentionality-affectedness framework can also explain exceptional behaviours of transitives:

(283) [↓ int] + [↑ aff] ~ [aff>int]: transitives behave alike unaccusatives

如是	谷	裳		
kaku	<i>dani</i>	<i>mo</i>		
this.way	RES	TOP		
妹	乎	待南		
imo	<i>wo</i>	mati-na-mu		
beloved.girl	ACC	wait-PERF-CONJ.CONCL		
左夜	深而	出來	月	之
<i>sa-ywo</i>	<i>pukete</i>	<i>ide-ko-si</i>	<i>tukwi</i>	<i>no</i>
PRF-night	deepen.GER	go.out-come-SPST.ADN	moon	GEN
傾	二手荷			
katabuku	<i>madeni</i>			
lean.CONCL	RES			

‘I will wait for my beloved girl, at least in this way until the night deepens and the moon that came out leans over’

(MYS.11.2820)

5.4 Interval summary

Up to now, this chapter has discussed about semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. Firstly, various semantic factors that were established in previous literature, namely, agentivity, telicity, animacy, intention, control, volition, and affectedness, and their role in delimitating unergatives/unergatives were introduced, applied, and evaluated against Old Japanese data. I showed that

most of the existing theories do not largely disagree with the major trend of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. However, they are lack of the comprehensiveness of capturing the full picture of the actual distribution. During the discussion of individual factor, I proposed ‘Hierarchy of intentionality’ and ‘Group of hierarchies of affectedness’, which were very important in understanding the interaction between the two factors. Based on my observation and analysis, I figured out the specific semantic features that play most crucial roles in split intransitivity in Old Japanese, namely, intentionality and affectedness, and set up both basic and complex models to explain the way in which they interact.

5.5 Further discussions

The previous sections in this chapter looked at language specific semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese and how they work. This section goes on to discuss how Old Japanese data contributes and what implications it brings to a more general understanding of split intransitivity: linking syntax and semantics, and how to understand mismatches, and a new way to represent semantic features.

5.5.1 Linking syntax and semantics: A general remark

As reviewed in Chapter 1, there has been a debate of whether syntax or semantics is the primary foundation of split intransitivity. Old Japanese, like many other languages, has shown both morpho-syntactic evidence of split intransitivity and the power of semantic factors in delimitating unaccusatives and unergatives.

This largely agrees with Levin and Rappaport Hovav's view (1995) that split intransitivity is 'semantically motivated and syntactically manifested'.

It is important that, when looking at the interaction between semantics and syntax, one should avoid fitting semantics theory with syntax theory, but pay more attention to empirical facts. Different semantic theories and ways of representation tend to only capture or highlight certain facets of the language, which in turn capture or highlight only certain facets of the event. The same is true for syntactic theories. The distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives was originally proposed in a syntactic framework, firstly in Relational Grammar (Perlmutter 1978) and later on in GB theory (Burzio 1986). However, as the syntactic theory changes, the syntactic way of capturing unaccusativity may change, and even disappear in frameworks that do not make the distinction.

As Dowty (1991, 611) has commented, 'the unaccusative advancement hypothesis must stand or fall on the SIMPLICITY of its syntactic analyses per se.' In any case, however, the change or collapse of a certain way of analysing syntactic unaccusativity does not necessarily eliminate the factual difference between unaccusatives and unergatives. I am not claiming that syntactic characterization of split intransitivity is pointless or of less use. Similar to semantic factors, which draw verbs to the poles of 'typical unaccusative' and 'typical unergative' efficiently, syntactic way of understanding split intransitivity, such as what has been proposed by Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1986), also successfully served to solve many puzzles and link phenomena in various aspects together, especially within their particular frameworks.

In many languages, a general and factual split among intransitive verbs exists, and can be characterized from both syntactic and semantic level. The existing syntax vs. semantics debate and argumentation is largely built on intra-language and cross-linguistic mismatches. In my view, the fact that there have been ‘mismatches’ does not necessarily deny the contribution of both syntactic characterization and semantic analysis, but rather should be studied in a systematic way, which will be illustrated in the next section.

5.5.2 Core verbs and ‘mismatches’

5.5.2.1 Core verbs

‘Core verbs’ and ‘mismatches’ are related concepts. ‘Core verb’ is a general short term for ‘core unaccusative verbs’ and ‘core unergative verbs’, which are typical representatives of unaccusative and unergative intransitive verb groups. They show least variation and tend to behave stable and constant with regard to the related morpho-syntax phenomena of split intransitivity. It is similar to what is called ‘categorical’ unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs in Sorace’s Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (2004). However, I do not totally adopt Sorace’s concept and terminology, because, based on my understanding and analysis of Old Japanese, it is not likely that there exist ‘categorical’ unaccusative or unergative verb that do not allow variation in its nature. Every verb has the potential of having an exceptional behavior when the impact of intentionality and affectedness changes according to a particular context.

The following verbs are the members of core unaccusatives and core unergatives in Old Japanese, and they can also be found in Appendix I. The selection is based on the attestations and analysis of OCOJ, and particularly based on their attestations with regard to the split intransitivity manifestations studied in this thesis.

(284) Core unaccusative verbs:

ake- ‘dawn’, *amar-* ‘be in excess’, *arabwi-* ‘be frustrated’, *are-* ‘lay waste’,
ase- ‘get shallow’, *aye-* ‘fall off’, *ir-* ‘enter’, *iswog-* ‘hurry’, *itar-* ‘arrive’,
kakur- ‘be hidden’, *kamubwi-* ‘appear godlike’, *kamusabwi-* ‘appear
godlike’, *kanap-* ‘be appropriate’, *kapyerap-* ‘reply’, *kare-* ‘wither’, *kare-* ‘be
parted)’, *katabuk-* ‘lean [intr.]’, *kaywop-* ‘move across [intr.]’, *ke-* ‘vanish’,
kiye- ‘vanish’, *komor-* ‘be wrapped; be secluded’, *kopore-* ‘be shattered’,
kori- ‘learn by failure’, *koyas-* ‘lie down [hon.]’, *kure-* ‘grow dark’, *kutat-*
‘come down; end [intr.]’, *kuye-* ‘crumble’, *kwoye-* ‘pass over’, *makar-*
‘recede’, *masar-* ‘excel’, *mit-* ‘be full’, *miyakwobwi-* ‘have air of’, *momit-*
‘(leaves) turn autumn colour’, *momitap-* ‘being autumn colored’, *mus-*
‘grow’, *nagarape-* ‘fall; pass’, *nagwi-* ‘become calm’, *nare-* ‘get used to’,
natuk- ‘get used to’, *nikibwi-* ‘get familiar (with)’, *nipop-* ‘be red; colorful;
fragrant’, *nure-* ‘get soaked; stained’, *oi-* ‘age’, *ok-* ‘(dew) settles’, *opwi-*
‘grow’, *oti-* ‘fall’, *otorope-* ‘become weak’, *pap-* ‘stretch [intr.]; crawl’, *pate-*
‘end’, *pe-* ‘elapse’, *pidut-* ‘get muddy’, *puke-* ‘grow late’, *puri-* ‘get old’,
pwi- ‘drain; dry’, *pyenar-* ‘be apart’, *sak-* ‘bloom’, *sak-* ‘(waves) break’,

sakar- ‘be apart’, *sar-* ‘move on; leave’, *sawak-* ‘rustle’, *sayag-* ‘rustle’, *sayar-* ‘block’, *sidum-* ‘sink [intr.]; get quiet’, *sim-* ‘be permeated’, *sirake-* ‘whiten [intr.]’, *siwam-* ‘wrinkle [intr.]’, *sok-* ‘be apart’, *sugwi-* ‘pass time’, *tagap-* ‘differ’, *tanabik-* ‘(snow, fog) flows’, *taye-* ‘be cut’, *tayutap-* ‘be unsettled by movement’, *tirimagap-* ‘be confused with’, *toke-* ‘come untied’, *tomar-* ‘stop [intr.]’, *tuk-* ‘adhere; arrive’, *tukwi-* ‘come to an end’, *tumor-* ‘pile up’, *urabure-* ‘wither’, *use-* ‘get lost’, *utur-* ‘change [intr.]’, *uturop-* ‘change’, *utwobwi-* ‘be aloof’, *uwe-* ‘starve’, *wabwi-* ‘be embarrassed; disappointed’, *wakare-* ‘be split; be parted’, *wep-* ‘get drunk’, *wi-* ‘be at; sit’, *woti-* ‘regain youth; revive’, *yador-* ‘lodge’, *yare-* ‘be broken’, *yase-* ‘get thin’, *yomwigaper-* ‘come back from dead’, *yor-* ‘approach’, *yutur-* ‘change’.

(285) Core unergative verbs:

wem- ‘laugh’, *nagek-* ‘sigh; weep’, *mawi-* ‘go [hum.]’, *aswob-* ‘play’, *inor-* ‘pray’, *ipap-* ‘worship; keep pure’, *ukep-* ‘pray for’, *kikoye-* ‘be heard’, *pus-* ‘lie prone’, *nobor-* ‘climb’.

There are many more verbs that can be potential candidates for core unaccusatives and unergatives in Old Japanese. However, they are lack of attestation in OCOJ with regard to the related language phenomena. In other words, it is possible that many examples of them did not survive till the modern time. These verbs are included in Appendix II, which is based on the semantic analysis of Old Japanese verbs and their existence in OCOJ (not necessarily found involved in the

language phenomena, such as perfective auxiliaries selection, N+V compound, etc., that are related to split intransitivity in Old Japanese and included in this study).

5.5.2.2 ‘Mismatches’

Considering the actual attestations of intransitive verbs in various phenomena related to split intransitivity in Old Japanese, one can see that the most ‘mismatches’ are found in auxiliary selection and V1+V2 compounding. I will look at these two one by one first, and then give more general comments in the end of this section. I am focusing on synchronic intra-language mismatches in this section. Cross-linguistic and diachronic mismatches and variations are suggested for future studies.

5.5.2.2.1 Perfective selection variations

It is very common for European languages that exhibit auxiliary selection to have a group of verbs showing inconstant behaviour or variations in the selection (for more details please refer to Sorace’s paper in 2000 among others) Chapter 3 has shown that the same is true with Old Japanese. As calculated in Section 3.3.2, there are 17 single verbs in Old Japanese that are attested with both perfective auxiliaries, and their tendency of choosing *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* are mapped to a hierarchy as presented in Figure 7. After the semantic aspect of split intransitivity was investigated on a finer ground, this section looks at them in a way that does not treat them all as the same kind of mismatch, and this is what I call ‘deconstructing mismatches’.

First, recall the discussions in section 3.1.3.2. There has been one auxiliary that have strong impact on the selection of perfective auxiliary, and that is the *passive* auxiliary (PASS). A transitive verb will favor *-(i)te-* without a passive auxiliary, but when it is with a passive auxiliary, it favors *-(i)n-*. The passive sense in a ‘V-PASS’ is not an inherent semantic element of the verb itself. With this factor taken into consideration, it has become necessary to re-examine the attestations to find out whether or not the variation of perfective auxiliary selection occurs only in the presence of a passive auxiliary. If a verb only selects *-(i)n-* in the presence of a passive auxiliary (otherwise selecting *-(i)te-*) it should be removed from the variation hierarchy, with the verb ‘V’ and its passive ‘V-PASS-’ joining ‘*-(i)te-* only’ and ‘*-(i)n-* only’ lists respectively. If the verb still shows variation in the selection without a passive, or even the ‘V-PASS’ shows any variation, the statistics should be separated, and both V and ‘V-PASS’ should be listed on the hierarchy.

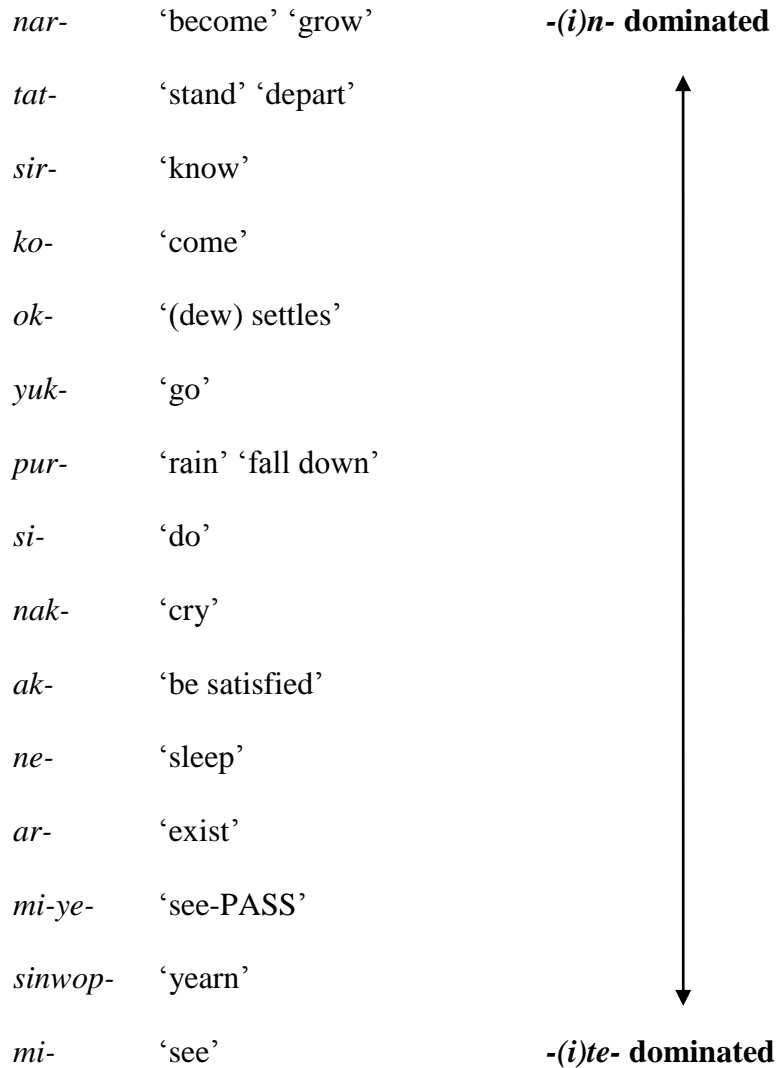
After each token of the verbs was checked, the former criterion matched the facts of *nuras-* ‘soak (tr.)’, *tor-* ‘take’ and *ip-* ‘say’. As for the later criterion, since I have already checked every ‘PASS-PERF’ in the OCOJ in Section 3.1.3.2, it is only *mi-* on the list that needs re-examination (and possibly consequential changing or splitting the position on the hierarchy). When not followed by the passive auxiliary, 72 tokens of *mi-* are attested with *-(i)te-*, and 1 token occur with *-(i)n-*; when followed by the passive auxiliary, 7 token are attested with the perfective *-(i)te-*, and 3 tokens with *-(i)n-*. As a result, T/N ratio of *mi-* becomes 72, keeping it at the bottom of the hierarchy, while the T/N ratio of *mi-ye-* ‘see-PASS’ is 2.33, finding its own position between *ar-* and *sinwop-* on the hierarchy. Revised table and hierarchy

according to the above adjustments are presented below (N= the number of attestations with *-(i)n-*, and T= the number of attestations with *-(i)te-*).

Table 4. T/N ratios of single Old Japanese verbs that select both perfective auxiliaries (including all orthography types, revised)

T	N	T+N	T/N	V	def
2	69	71	0.03	<i>nar-</i>	'become' 'grow'
1	20	21	0.05	<i>tat-</i>	'stand' 'depart'
1	19	20	0.05	<i>sir-</i>	'know'
2	55	57	0.04	<i>ko-</i>	'come'
2	11	13	0.18	<i>ok-</i>	'(dew) settles'
1	4	5	0.25	<i>yuk-</i>	'go'
1	3	4	0.33	<i>pur-</i>	'rain' 'fall down'
4	6	10	0.67	<i>se-</i>	'do'
6	8	14	0.75	<i>nak-</i>	'cry'
1	1	2	1	<i>ak-</i>	'be satisfied'
9	6	15	1.5	<i>ne-</i>	'sleep'
4	2	6	2	<i>ar-</i>	'exist'
7	3	10	2.33	<i>mi-ye-</i>	'see-PASS'
6	1	7	6	<i>sinwop-</i>	'yearn'
79	1	80	79	<i>mi-</i>	'see'

Figure 8. Revised hierarchy of perfective auxiliary selection variation for single Old Japanese verbs (including all orthography types)



In addition, on the one extreme of the selection hierarchy, the only attestation of *mi-* selecting *-(i)n-* is written logographically, which is a less reliable evidence than phonographic attestations, and the single argument is lack of control of the

event (i.e. very low on the intentionality hierarchy). On the other hand, among the two attestations of *nar-* selecting *-(i)te-*, one of them is written logographically, and the other one is only attestation where a verb selects both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-* at the same time (MYS.3.343).

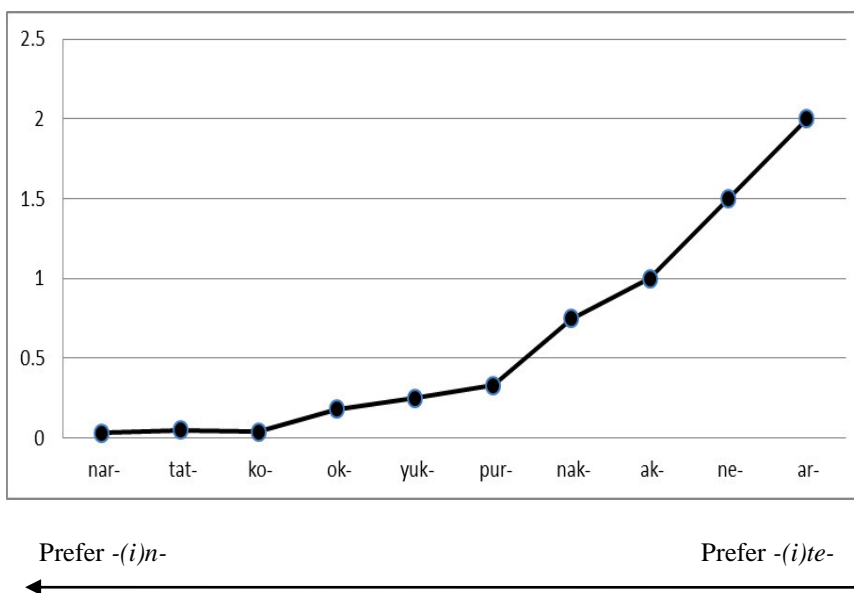
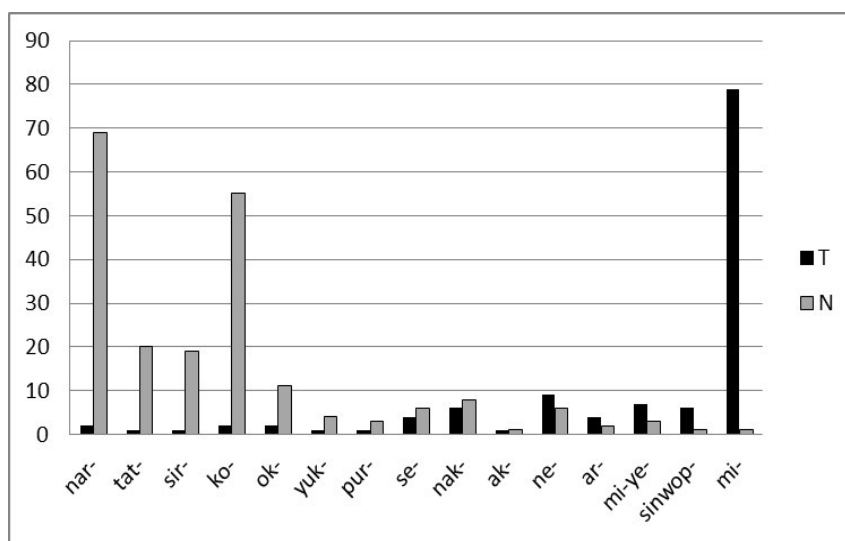
The T/N ratio that shows tendency of selecting *-(i)te-* vs. *-(i)n-* can be further demonstrated in the following chart, which not only shows the hierarchical order but also presents exactly how ‘strong’ the tendency of selection for each verb, enabling the comparison with its neighborhood and other verbs on the hierarchy. (The numbers on the left indicate numbers of tokens.)

Figure 9. Tendency of single Old Japanese verbs selecting both perfective auxiliaries (including all orthography types)

T/N (intransitive verbs that select both auxiliaries)

N: the number of attestations with *-(i)n-*

T: the number of attestations with *-(i)te-*



The hierarchy and the chart reveal the following facts.

- 1) In Old Japanese, not only verbs in the middle of Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy show variation, but also those on the extremes of the hierarchy. Therefore, there is no category of verbs on Sorace's hierarchy

that consistently selects either auxiliary, which disagrees with Sorace's generalization.

- 2) Old Japanese verbs that select both auxiliaries do not show equal extent of variation. Due to small number of attestations for some verbs, one cannot draw firm conclusion, but in terms of types of verbs that are attested with both auxiliaries, unaccusative verbs show more variation than unergative verbs.

Although very relevant and agrees to Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy to a certain extent, the nature of this hierarchy differs in three major ways.

- 1) It includes the data of transitive verbs, which not only capture important facet of auxiliary selection of Old Japanese in general, but also benefits the study of split intransitivity by not pre-excluding any possible patterning between transitive subject and unergative subject; and between transitive object and unaccusative / passive subject.
- 2) It focuses on verbs selecting both auxiliaries and examines the tendency of choosing either perfective auxiliary, the information of which is not actually reflected in Sorace's Hierarchy.
- 3) The accompanying chart reveals the actual 'strength' of the tendency of each verb that selects both auxiliaries.

What is also very relevant is: in what circumstance a verb that could select both auxiliaries tends to choose one over another, and why the verb classes in which these verbs fall are not identical with Sorace's Hierarchy. Section 5.3 has stated that when gaining intentionality or losing affectedness, unaccusatives can behave exceptionally like unergatives, and when gaining affectedness or losing intentionality, transitives and unergatives can exceptionally behave like unaccusatives. Free variation is allowed when the two hierarchies meet each other. With the above rule, mismatches no longer exist as mismatches, but become ordered and predictable behaviours. The above rule also explains why unaccusative verbs have less variation than unergative verbs: it is practically easier for unaccusatives to gain degree of intentionality than for the unergatives to lose degree of intentionality. A question may be followed as such: what about the verbs that do not show such variation in OCOJ? One possible answer would be that their variations are not attested in OCOJ, but may possibly be acceptable in the actual language period.

5.5.2.2.2 V1+V2 compound variations

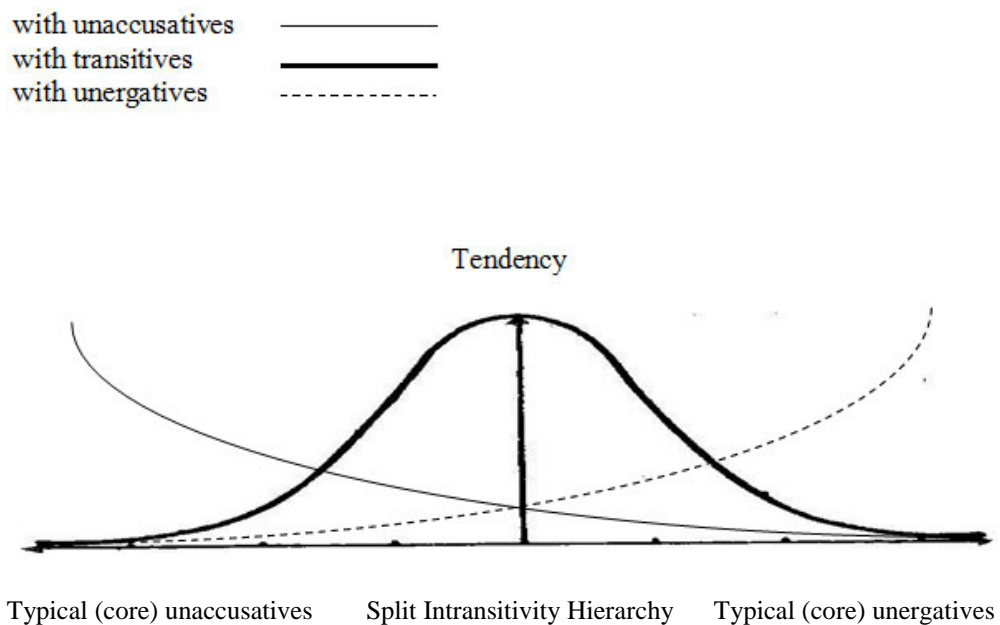
Chapter 3 has shown that V1+V2 compounding is relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese in mainly three ways.

- 1) There has been a clear pattern that intransitive verbs do not normally combine freely with each other. Unaccusatives tend more to combine with unaccusatives, and unergatives tend more to combine with unergatives.

- 2) Unaccusatives combine with verbs with passive auxiliary, while unergatives do not.
- 3) Typical unaccusatives and typical unergatives are less likely to combine with transitives compared with less typical ones.

The general tendency stated above is presented in the following figure.

Figure 10. Split Intransitivity Hierarchy and tendency of V1+V2 compounding patterns



Considering that verbs sharing no similarities in argument structure can combine with each other, and that combination patterns in the middle of the Transitivity Harmony Principle and its cline does not show an even tendency, I have

shown that the combining pattern of V1+V2 compound together with its variations are better understood with the hierarchical view in mind, while admitting the advantage of examining similarities of argument structures. (For detailed examples and discussions please refer back to Chapter 3 Section 3.7.)

5.5.2.2.3 ‘Deconstructing’ mismatches

Following the previous two sections, this section considers mismatches/variations in general.

Chapter 1 (especially Section 1.4) reviewed different approaches to split intransitivity ‘mismatches’. In my view, these approaches are not mutually exclusive. The data in Old Japanese vividly reflected many facets of split intransitivity that matches each approach. There are strong tendencies, visible gradience, systematic variations, free variations, and exceptions, which together form what is generally called ‘mismatches’. More precisely, gradience can be regarded as a kind of systematic variation, while free variation and exceptions form the rest of mismatches. Analysis of mismatches in perfective auxiliary selection in Old Japanese has shown the advantage of the break-down of mismatches, i.e., mismatch deconstruction.

What Old Japanese has also illustrated is that there are mismatches that are due to the inherent lexical semantics of the predicate, and others due to the specific context and emphasizing use. Sorace (2000), for example, has made similar comment on inherent lexical meaning and compositional factor. My analysis differs from Sorace’s view at the point that non-lexical factor is not necessarily the

secondary factor. In fact, it sometimes overrides the categorical behaviours of the verb.

Dixon (1979, 80-83; see also Creissels 2008) divides active languages into two groups: ‘split S’ languages and ‘fluid-S’ languages. In split-S languages, such as Tupi-Guarani, the two classes of intransitive verbs have fixed membership based on their inherent meaning. On the other hand, in ‘fluid-S’ languages, such as Batsbi, intransitive verbs behave differently depending on each particular context.

What I propose is a united view of split-S and fluid-S for Old Japanese. It is possible to regard fluid-S as a ‘chemical’ process in which a lexical item (intransitive verb) resolves in the context, getting new elements from the context and form a new substance that falls in the laws of split intransitivity that is based on inherent lexical semantics (i.e., within the scope of split-S). This is demonstrated by categorical unaccusative verbs gaining more intentionality and behaving like unergative verbs in Old Japanese. The other type of mismatch, e.g. *ne-* consistently behave like an unaccusative verb when referring to ‘sleeping alone’ and consistently like an unergative verb when referring to ‘sleeping with someone’, is explainable if we consider *ne-* as a ‘physical’ mixture of two different kinds of substance, with distinct syntax and semantics features. The ‘chemical’ and ‘physical’ procedures are linked to each other. Once a new item is formed chemically, it becomes physically different from other items in the same entry of a verb.

If an even broader cross-linguistic or diachronic view is taken, semantics/pragmatics will not be able to account for every instance of an intransitive verb behavior -- some of the syntactic behaviours can be purely conventional.

However, the conventions themselves seem to follow a semantic hierarchical route. It is beyond the scope of this thesis, but just to give an example, *-te-si ka* in Old Japanese is a relatively fixed optative expression. It is always *-(i)te-* but never *-(i)n-* that is used in this expression. It is associated with 1st person only in Old Japanese. There is not any case where such expression is fixed for 2nd person while having flexibility for 1st person. An unexplainable mismatch in a certain point of language may be conceivable as a product of successive development over time. A hierarchical view and a dynamic view are both necessary for accounting mismatches.

To sum-up, the so-called ‘mismatch’ is a result of considering unaccusative verbs, unergative verbs and each individual verb entry to be homogeneous, while actually they are often not so. Mismatch is better understood when it is further categorized into different types, with each of them studied in a systematic way.

5.5.3 An alternative way of representing the semantic factors of split intransitivity

In this section of the chapter, I discuss an alternative way of capturing the semantic factors of split intransitivity, based on two similar alternative ways of representing/decomposing lexical meanings.

5.5.3.1 BECOME, DO and split intransitivity

Kishimoto (1998) discussed one typical manifestation of split intransitivity in English, i.e., the resultative construction, and one typical manifestation of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese, i.e., the *kake*-construction (deverbal nominal

construction). Based on the way of lexical-semantic representation applied by Dowty (1979) among others, Kishimoto proposed and proved that the target for resultative predication is ‘restricted to direct internal arguments which fall under the scope of the operator BECOME’, whereas the target of deverbal nominal modification excludes the arguments which are ‘bounded by the operator DO’.

- (286) a. Unaccusative with the sole argument in the scope of BECOME:
 break: BECOME **broken**' (x)
- b. Causative with the direct object in the scope of BECOME:
 paint: [DO(x) **do**'(x)] CAUSE [BECOME **painted**'(y)]

(adapted from Kishimoto 1998, 19)

(287) Unergative with the sole argument in the scope of DO

- a. run: DO(x) [**run**'(x)]
- b. walk: DO(x) [**walk**'(x)]

(adapted from Kishimoto 1998, 29)

5.5.3.2 Event structure template

Similar to the above way of lexical-semantic representation, Levin (1999) proposed the following event templates for simple events and complex events:

- (288) Simple event structure templates:
- a. [x ACT<MANNER>] (activity)

b. [x <STATE>] (state)

c. [BECOME [x <STATE>]] (achievement)

(Levin 1999)

(289) Complex event structure template:

[[x ACT<MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <STATE>]]] (causative)

(Levin 1999)

As one can see from the above templates, ACT is used in a similar way as DO, and Kishimoto's conclusion for English and Modern Japanese can be converted into the event structure templates proposed by Levin without any problem. The unaccusative 'break' and the unergative 'run' are represented below.

(290) a. Unaccusative with the sole argument in the scope of BECOME:

break: BECOME [x <BROKEN>]

b. Causative with the direct object in the scope of BECOME:

break: [[x ACT<MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <BROKEN>]]]

(adapted from Levin 1999)

(291) Unergative with the sole argument in the scope of ACT:

run: [x ACT<RUN>]

(adapted from Levin 1999)

5.5.3.3 Application to Old Japanese and its limitations

Theoretically speaking, both of the above ways of lexical-semantics representation can be applied to Old Japanese. For example:

(292) *Pasir-* ‘run’: DO(x) [run’(x)] or [x ACT<RUN>]

However, when it comes to BECOME, it is not always clear whether a verb denotes the changing of the state or the result of the change, due to lack of access to native speaker’s intuition in Old Japanese. This does not prevent Old Japanese verbs from being lexical-semantically represented by operators. One could list possible representations. For example, *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’ has two possible event structures:

(293) a. *Tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’: [x <SCATTERED>] (state)

b. *Tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’: [BECOME [x <SCATTERED>]] (achievement)

As has been revealed by the data in OCOJ presented in Chapter 3 and 4, not only when x falls in the scope of BECOME, but also when x does not fall in the scope of BECOME, that *tir-* combines with the perfective *-(i)n-*. Therefore, BECOME alone cannot delimitate unaccusative verbs in Old Japanese. One cannot even say that when the sole argument x falls the scope of BECOME, the verb behaves like typical unaccusative verbs. This may be true for verbs which has zero degree of intentionality, since BECOME is strongly related to ‘affectedness’. However, once a verb has certain intentionality, BECOME is by no means the sole indicator. It has to

compete with intentionality. For example, *ak-* ‘be satisfied’, has two possible event structures:

- (294) a. [x <SATISFIED>] (state)
 b. [BECOME [x <SATISFIED>]] (achievement)

For the second possible event structure, BECOME fails in predicting the behaviour of the verb as always unaccusative. When it is lack of intentionality, it combines with the perfective *-(i)n-*. When it has a strong sense of intentionality, it combines with the perfective *-(i)te-*.

As discussed, the above two ways of representation with operators have limitations when dealing with split intransitivity in Old Japanese. An intuitive solution is to propose a new element to the representation convention, namely intentionality (perhaps abbreviated as INT and inserted to the foot of the argument x or the verb). However, this will result in different new elements (and INT is just one of them) for each individual languages where different semantic parameters are found for split intransitivity. What I propose in the following section is to alter the semantic representation of intransitive verbs, without introducing in new elements such as INT.

5.5.3.4 A new complex proposal for simple event representation

As I have explained in Section 5.3, split intransitivity in Old Japanese is influenced by the interaction of intentionality and affectedness. Among the four

major operators: BE, BECOME, DO (ACT), and CAUSE, it is CAUSE that is capable of indicating both affectedness and intentionality. CAUSE, as an operator, is used to typically represent two-place predicates which has a causal relationship between the two arguments x and y, such as in the following example:

(295) [[x ACT<MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [y <BROKEN>]]]

What I propose is to introduce CAUSE into the representation of one-place predicates, to indicate whether intentionality is involved or not, so that *ak-* ‘be satisfied’ now have three possible representations.

(296) *ak-*:

a. state

[x <SATISFIED>]

b. unintentional achievement

[BECOME [x <SATISFIED>]]

c. intentional achievement

[[x ACT<MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [x <SATISFIED>]]]

As can be seen from the above example, for an intentional achievement, x is the actor/agent/initiator in the major event, and also the undergoer/patient in the embedded event.

For intransitive activity verb which always involves intentionality, its lexical representation can be changed as below.

(297) *pasir-* ‘run’: [[x ACT<RUN>] CAUSE [x ACT<RUN>]]

The above representation can be abbreviated as:

(298) *pasir-* ‘run’: [x CAUSE [x ACT<RUN>]]

There are of course intransitive verbs which can never be semantically intentional, thus never applicable with CAUSE. These verbs keep their original representation with BECOME or BE.

(299) *tir-* ‘scatter (intr.)’: [BECOME [x <SATISFIED>]] (unintended achievement)

5.5.3.5 BECOME, CAUSE and split intransitivity in Old Japanese

In the above section, what I have proposed is applying Levin’s complex template to verbs which has potential intentionality but are characterized in simple templates in Levin’s analysis. It becomes clear that this proposal benefits the analysis of split intransitivity when all types of representations of intransitive verbs are listed out as below. (Note that the following examples refer to different senses

rather than the whole entry of the word. For example, *ak-* listed in Type C is only one possible sense of *ak-*.)

(300) Type A:

The sole argument *x* falls in the scope of BECOME but not bonded with CAUSE.

E.g. *tir-*: [BECOME [*x* <SATISFIED>]]

Type B:

The sole argument *x* does not fall in the scope of BECOME but is bonded with CAUSE.

E.g. *awob-*: [[*x* ACT<PLAY>] CAUSE [*x* ACT<PLAY>]]

Type C:

The sole argument *x* falls in the scope of BECOME and is also bonded with CAUSE.

E.g. *ak-*: [[*x* ACT<MANNER>] CAUSE [BECOME [*x* <SATISFIED>]]]

Type D:

The sole argument *x* neither falls in the scope of BECOME and nor is bonded with CAUSE.

E.g. *ar-*: [*x* <EXIST>]

Among the above possibilities, Type A verbs are definitely unaccusative, Type B verbs are definitely unergative, Type C verbs varies in their behaviours depending on whether the impact of affectedness is higher than intentionality or not, and Type D verbs show free variations.

By my proposed way of representation, i.e., abolishing ACT/DO and introducing CAUSE operated complex view of simple events, one can clearly see the patterning of the subject of unaccusative verb with the direct object of transitive verb, and the patterning of the subject of unergative verb with the subject of transitive verb.

5.5.3.6 Semantic factors of split intransitivity in Japanese: lexical or compositional

Kishimoto claimed for Modern Japanese that ‘the unergative-unaccusative distinction is not directly correlated with the possible meanings of the verbs, but with their proto-type meanings’ (1998, 28). From the discussions in the previous sections, I have shown that this is clearly not true for Old Japanese.

In Old Japanese, the unergative-unaccusative distinction is related with possible meanings (senses or usage) of the verbs. For example, there are three possible senses of *ak-*, therefore it has three possible event structures represented by different combinations of operators, and they each fell into different types, thus different morpho-syntactic behaviours observed relating to the unaccusative-unergative distinction.

There are two uncontradictory ways of answering the question whether the semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese is lexical or compositional. On the one hand, if we assume *ak-* is lexically un-intentional, but can gain intentionality from a compositional way, then the answer is that semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese is a combination of lexical meanings and compositional meanings. On the other hand, if we assume becoming satisfied with intentionality is a possible or potential candidate of a sense of *ak-*, then we could say that the semantic factor of split intransitivity in Old Japanese is lexical, and to determine which possible lexical representation to choose for a multi-sense verb, it is still the context that is helping with the decision.

Admittedly, not all verbs can be added in a sense of intentionality or increased affectedness by the context. In terms of the new way of representing event structures of intransitive verbs, Group 1 and 2 below are supposed to be core unaccusatives and core unergatives respectively, and Group 3 and 4 are verbs with potential variations. Among Group 3, if intentionality always overrides the impact of affectedness or vice versa, they can still be considered as typical (core) unergatives and unaccusatives respectively.

(301) Group 1: applicable with BECOME but not applicable with CAUSE

Group 2: not applicable with BECOME but applicable with CAUSE

Group 3: applicable with both BECOME and CAUSE

Group 4: applicable with neither BECOME nor CAUSE

5.6 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter, Section 5.1 discussed generally the relations between split intransitivity and agentivity, telicity and animacy. Section 5.2 further discussed intention, control, volition, and affectedness, and proposed ‘Intentionality hierarchy’ and ‘Groups of affectedness hierarchies’.

Section 5.3 pointed out that the interaction between intentionality and affectedness was the most important for understanding the semantic aspect of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. Based on observation and analysis presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, this section established both basic and complex models to explain how intentionality and affectedness interact and delimitate unaccusatives and unergatives in Old Japanese.

Following an interval summary (Section 5.4), the second half of this chapter started with a general remark on linking syntax and semantics in Section 5.5.1. Section 5.5.2 provided lists of core unaccusative/unergative verbs (in Section 5.5.2.1) as well as detailed discussion on variations and mismatches (Section 5.5.2.2). After a comprehensive analysis of variations observed in perfective auxiliary selection and V1+V2 compounding, it suggested that mismatches should be further deconstructed (i.e. categorized) and studied in a systematic way.

In the last part of the chapter, Section 5.5.3 provided an alternative way of representing semantic factors of split intransitivity, by making use of the operators BE, BECOME and CAUSE. It proposed applying complex event structure template to simple events, and explained how this benefits the understanding and analysis of split intransitivity in Old Japanese.

Chapter 6 Ch6. Conclusion

6.1 Conclusion

This thesis has presented a comprehensive study and in-depth analysis of the morpho-syntactic manifestations in relation to the semantic factors of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. All of the investigations are based on data collected from the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese.

The original contribution of this thesis lies in mainly two aspects.

Empirically, this thesis has provided a detailed description of intransitive verbs in Old Japanese, which contributes to the understanding of Japanese language from its first attested stage. It has shown evidence of split intransitivity in Old Japanese, with the morpho-syntactic manifestations being the selection of the perfective auxiliaries *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*, the compatibility of N+V compounds, the selection of the verbal prefixes *i-* and *sa-(ta-)*, and the possibility of appearing in resultative constructions, VP-preposing and *(wo...) se-* constructions. On top of them, the combination patterns of V1+V2 compounds are also strongly relevant to split intransitivity in Old Japanese. Exhaustive lists of verbs combined with the perfective auxiliaries, verbal prefixes, and lists of N+V compounds, V+V compounds are presented in six appendixes at the end of the thesis, together with lists of core unaccusatives/unergatives in Old Japanese, and a comprehensive semantic analysis of Old Japanese intransitive verbs attested in OCOJ.

The investigation has revealed features of manifestations of split intransitivity in Old Japanese from five different perspectives. Apart from the

general statistics and analysis, 34 groups of verbs are discussed in further details with information provided on attestations, unaccusative/unergative behaviours, consistency and variation. Verbs with similar meaning are also compared and discussed into details.

Based on the observations, statistics and analysis, two semantic factors, intentionality and affectedness, are found to be the most crucial among several seemingly relevant factors, which included agentivity, telicity, animacy, intention, control and volition. These factors, though well-established in previous major literature about their roles in delimitating unergatives/unergatives in other languages, failed to predict the actual distribution or lack of the comprehensiveness of capturing the whole picture of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. Intentionality and affectedness, when taken a hierarchical view, are capable of motivating split intransitivity in Old Japanese through combining and interacting with each other. To be more precise, in Old Japanese, if the impact of intentionality of an intransitive verb out-weights the impact of affectedness, it demonstrates unergative behavior. Otherwise, it demonstrates unaccusative behaviour. In the very rare case, when there is no emphasized difference of degree between the two, then the verb allows free variation. This can be represented by either the degree of affectedness and intentionality, or by BECOME and CAUSE, in my new proposal of a complex view of simple event structures.

Theoretically, this thesis has tested various modern linguistic theories and proposals of split intransitivity on Old Japanese, and brought inspiring feedbacks for the theories, with new approaches proposed. One of the main theories under

discussion was Sorace's Split Intransitivity Hierarchy (2000; 2004). Old Japanese data largely agreed with the top half of the hierarchy, with less evidence for the lower half, and showed variation even for the categories that Sorace claimed to have constant behaviour. Further than that, this study on Old Japanese has also discovered that 1) the variation itself is also gradient, and 2) the semantic factors delimitating unergatives/unaccusatives are better viewed hierarchically (as my proposals of 'Intentionality Hierarchy' and 'Group of Affectedness Hierarchies' have illustrated). Moreover, this study has emphasized the understanding of interaction between semantic factors and proposed basic and complex models of the interaction between intentionality and affectedness. Apart from Sorace's Hierarchy (2000; 2004), this thesis has also discussed Dowty's Proto-roles Theory (1991), Silverstein's Animacy Hierarchy (1976), Kageyama's Transitivity Harmony Principle (1999), Levin's simple and complex event structure (1999), and figured out their applicability and limitation with regard to Old Japanese data.

More generally, regarding the linking between syntax and semantics and mismatches, this thesis has suggested a neutral view as well as a deconstructing way of treating mismatches.

In addition, although this thesis is focused on Old Japanese and does not intend to do a large-scale comparative study, it has revealed that the Japanese language has changed its split intransitivity manifestation through time, with some of the Old Japanese ones fading out as time goes by, or become more restricted in the Modern period. The semantic factors of split intransitivity in Modern Japanese

also seems to be not identical to Old Japanese, with the former being proto-lexical (Kishimoto 1998), and later being both lexical and compositional.

6.2 Limitations

As an investigation of ancient language, the lack of native speakers' sense makes it harder to distinguish regular use from irregular use in a dead language. As a corpus-based study, the limitation of size and information restricts the extent to which one can gain insight to create a detailed picture, especially about the syntactic aspects of a language. (Limitations regarding methodology were stated in more detail in Section 2.2.)

In terms of genre, poems and songs may have more formulaic structures than prosed. There exist prose texts from the Old Japanese period, e.g. *Senmyô* and *Norito*, but they were not included in my investigation, because the overwhelming major proportion of logographic texts were likely to affect the understanding of the actual use of the language of Old Japanese to a large extent.

Old Japanese, as a less well-investigated language, has many properties that are lack of understanding but relevant to linguistic analysis. My interpretation of the poems as example sentences were based on NKBT, JDB and existing major works which were cited individually in the body texts. A more comprehensive advancement of our knowledge of the Old Japanese language, literature, history and culture will help make the interpretation more precise.

As was pointed out in Chapter 1, the scope of this thesis is limited to Old Japanese only, though it has revealed interesting difference between Old Japanese and Modern Japanese, and between Old Japanese and other European Languages.

6.3 Suggestions for future research

Based on what has been investigated so far, one could do further research to continue to investigate other possible co-relates of split intransitivity in Old Japanese. On top of this, though this thesis focuses on Old Japanese, it does show interesting similarities and differences between Old Japanese and Modern Japanese. Therefore, a major suggestion for future research is a diachronic project that studies split intransitivity of Early Middle Japanese and Late Middle Japanese, which can link Old Japanese and Modern Japanese, and help find out the development pathways for language change.

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Appendix I. Core unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs in Old Japanese

Based on the statistics and analysis of OCOJ, and particularly based on the split intransitivity manifestations studied in this thesis, the following verbs are the members of core unaccusatives and core unergatives in Old Japanese.

Part A: Core unaccusative verbs in Old Japanese

V stem	V class	V definition
<i>ake-</i>	LB	dawn
<i>amar-</i>	QD	be in excess
<i>arabwi-</i>	UB	be frustrated
<i>are-</i>	LB	lay waste
<i>ase-</i>	LB	get shallow
<i>aye-</i>	LB	fall off
<i>ir-</i>	QD	enter
<i>iswog-</i>	QD	hurry
<i>itar-</i>	QD	arrive
<i>kakur-</i>	QD	be hidden
<i>kamubwi-</i>	UB	appear godlike
<i>kamusabwi-</i>	UB	appear godlike
<i>kanap-</i>	QD	be appropriate
<i>kapyerap-</i>	LB	reply
<i>kare-</i>	LB	wither
<i>kare-</i>	LB	be parted)
<i>katabuk-</i>	QD	lean [intr.]
<i>kaywop-</i>	QD	move across [intr.]
<i>ke-</i>	LB	vanish
<i>kiye-</i>	LB	vanish
<i>komor-</i>	QD	be wrapped; be secluded
<i>kopore-</i>	LB	be shattered
<i>kori-</i>	UB	learn by failure
<i>koyas-</i>	QD	lie down [hon.]
<i>kure-</i>	LB	grow dark

<i>kutat-</i>	QD	come down; end [intr.]
<i>kuye-</i>	LB	crumble
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB	pass over
<i>makar-</i>	QD	recede
<i>masar-</i>	QD	excel
<i>mit-</i>	QD	be full
<i>miyakwobwi-</i>	UB	have air of
<i>momit-</i>	QD	(leaves) turn autumn colour
<i>momitap-</i>	QD	being autumn colored
<i>mus-</i>	QD	grow
<i>nagarape-</i>	LB	fall; pass
<i>nagwi-</i>	UB	become calm
<i>nare-</i>	LB	get used to
<i>natuk-</i>	QD	get used to
<i>nikibwi-</i>	UB	get familiar (with)
<i>nipop-</i>	QD	be red; colorful; fragrant
<i>nure-</i>	LB	get soaked; stained
<i>oi-</i>	UB	age
<i>ok-</i>	QD	(dew) settles
<i>opwi-</i>	UB	grow
<i>oti-</i>	UB	fall
<i>otorope-</i>	LB	become weak
<i>pap-</i>	QD	stretch [intr.]; crawl
<i>pate-</i>	LB	end
<i>pe-</i>	LB	elapse
<i>pidut-</i>	QD	get muddy
<i>puke-</i>	LB	grow late
<i>puri-</i>	UB	get old
<i>pwi-</i>	UM	drain; dry
<i>pyenar-</i>	QD	be apart
<i>sak-</i>	QD	bloom
<i>sak-</i>	QD	(waves) break
<i>sakar-</i>	QD	be apart
<i>sar-</i>	QD	move on; leave
<i>sawak-</i>	QD	rustle
<i>sayag-</i>	QD	rustle
<i>sayar-</i>	QD	block
<i>sidum-</i>	QD	sink [intr.]; get quiet
<i>sim-</i>	QD	be permeated
<i>sirake-</i>	LB	whiten [intr.]
<i>siwam-</i>	QD	wrinkle [intr.]

<i>sok-</i>	QD	be apart
<i>sugwi-</i>	UB	pass time
<i>tagap-</i>	QD	differ
<i>tanabik-</i>	QD	(snow, fog) flows
<i>taye-</i>	LB	be cut
<i>tayutap-</i>	QD	be unsettled by movement
<i>tirimagap-</i>	QD	be confused with
<i>toke-</i>	LB	come untied
<i>tomar-</i>	QD	stop [intr.]
<i>tuk-</i>	QD	adhere; arrive
<i>tukwi-</i>	UB	come to an end
<i>tumor-</i>	QD	pile up
<i>urabure-</i>	LB	wither
<i>use-</i>	LB	get lost
<i>utur-</i>	QD	change [intr.]
<i>uturop-</i>	QD	change
<i>utwobwi-</i>	UB	be aloof
<i>uwe-</i>	LB	starve
<i>wabwi-</i>	UB	be embarrassed; disappointed
<i>wakare-</i>	LB	be split; be parted
<i>wep-</i>	QD	get drunk
<i>wi-</i>	UM	be at; sit
<i>woti-</i>	UB	regain youth; revive
<i>yador-</i>	QD	lodge
<i>yare-</i>	LB	be broken
<i>yase-</i>	LB	get thin
<i>yomwigaper-</i>	QD	come back from dead
<i>yor-</i>	QD	approach
<i>yutur-</i>	QD	change

Part B: Core unergative verbs in Old Japanese

V stem	V class	V definition
<i>wem-</i>	QD	laugh
<i>nagek-</i>	QD	sigh; weep
<i>mawi-</i>	UB	go [hum.]
<i>aswob-</i>	QD	play

<i>inor-</i>	QD	pray
<i>ipap-</i>	QD	worship; keep pure
<i>ukep-</i>	QD	pray for
<i>kikoye-</i>	LB	be heard
<i>pus-</i>	QD	lie prone
<i>nobor-</i>	QD	climb

Note:

There are many more verbs that people would assume to be in the above list, as potential candidates for core unaccusatives and unergatives in Old Japanese. They are excluded from the above lists due to the lack of attestation in OCOJ with regard to the manifestations of split intransitivity presented in this thesis. (In other words, it is possible that many examples of them did not survive till the modern time.)

These possible candidates are included in Appendix II, which is based on the semantic analysis of Old Japanese verbs and their existence in OCOJ (not necessarily found involved in language phenomena such as perfective auxiliaries selection, N+V compound, etc. that are related to split intransitivity in Old Japanese and included in this study).

Appendix II: Intransitive verbs in Old Japanese

Notes:

Verbs in this appendix are sorted firstly by semantic group, and secondly by verb stem, in an alphabetic order. Considering the relevance to split intransitivity and the importance in previous literature, the following four aspectual semantic groups are divided.

- S: Change of state verbs
- L: Change of location verbs
- E: Existence of state verbs
- P: Process verbs

It is worthy pointing out that the boundary of Change of state verbs and the Existence of state verbs are in many cases very vague and hard to decide, as Change of state verbs in Old Japanese can also be used to refer to the resulted final state of the change.

On top of these four categories, two more semantic labels are attached to verbs in the following two groups. The reason for doing so is that body verbs and emission verbs are two important groups that embrace variations and cross-language mismatches.

- B: body verbs
- Em: Emission verbs

In addition, ‘Int’ refers to the degree of intentionality, and ‘Aff’ refers to the degree of affectedness. The Int-aff analysis is based on the lexical meaning of the verbs.

V stem	V class	V definition	Transitivity alternants	Semantic group	int~aff analysis	Perf. auxiliary selection	Verbal prefix selection	Combine with transitive verb as V1	Combine with transitive verb as V2
<i>akaramesas-</i>	Q D	blink		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ine-</i>	L B	sleep		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>koropus-</i>	Q D	sleep alone		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>marob-</i>	Q D	tumble		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>musep-</i>	Q D	be choked; sob		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>nas-</i>	Q D	sleep [hon.]	<i>ne-</i>	b	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>sa-</i>		
<i>nebur-</i>	Q D	sleep		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>pus-</i>	Q D	lie prone	<i>puse-</i>	b	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				yes
<i>tumatat-</i>	Q D	stand tiptoe		b	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>inak-</i>	Q D	neigh		b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kakanak-</i>	Q D	(eagles) cry		b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nagek-</i>	Q D	sigh; weep	<i>nagek</i> <i>ase-</i>	b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)te-</i>			
<i>nak-</i>	Q D	cry	<i>nake-</i>	b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)n-;</i> <i>-(i)te-</i>		yes	yes
<i>nenak-</i>	Q D	weep		b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>pwi-</i>	U M	sneeze		b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>samaywop-</i>	Q D	moan; wander		b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>utak-</i>	Q D	roar		b/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tat-</i>	Q D	stand; depart	<i>tate-</i>	b/l	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>	<i>i-</i>	yes	
<i>ne-</i>	L	sleep	<i>nas-</i>	b/p	int↓aff↑,	<i>-(i)n-;</i>	<i>sa-</i>		yes

	B				int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>sipabuk-</i>	Q D	cough		b/p	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>wem-</i>	Q D	laugh		b/p	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-		yes	
<i>wodor-</i>	Q D	jump		b/p	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff		sa-		
<i>sibanak-</i>	Q D	cry often		b/p/E m	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>akarab-</i>	Q D	be reddish		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>akarasib-</i>	Q D	feel keenly		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>ariko-</i>	ki rr	exist till now		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>arinagusame-</i>	L B	remain unperturbed		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>arisar-</i>	Q D	continue to exist		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>aritat-</i>	Q D	remain as is		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ibusem-</i>	Q D	be sad		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ipam-</i>	Q D	be full; many		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ipor-</i>	Q D	lodge in hut		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ipyewor-</i>	rIr r	be in house		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kagir-</i>	Q D	be limited to		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kakitat-</i>	Q D	stand like a wall		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				

<i>kakop-</i>	Q D	be surrounded		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kanap-</i>	Q D	be appropriate	<i>kanap</i> <i>e-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>kanasibwi-</i>	U B	be sad		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kanasim-</i>	Q D	be sad		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kane-</i>	L B	be unable		e	int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)te-</i>			yes
<i>kasum-</i>	Q D	be misty		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kate-</i>	L B	be difficult		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				yes
<i>kegare-</i>	L B	be sullied	<i>kegas</i> <i>-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kenokor-</i>	Q D	remain unmelted		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kiywomapar</i> <i>-</i>	Q D	keep pure	<i>kiywo</i> <i>me-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>komukap-</i>	Q D	face each other		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kukumor-</i>	Q D	be wrapped	<i>kuku</i> <i>m-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kumwobana</i> <i>re-</i>	L B	(clouds) are distant		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kwir-</i>	Q D	be misty	<i>kwira</i> <i>s-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kwirap-</i>	Q D	be cloudy		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kwirigomor-</i>	Q D	be wrapped in mist		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mekare-</i>	L B	be far from sight		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mit-</i>	Q D	be full	<i>mite-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>miyakwobwi</i> <i>-</i>	U B	have air of		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>momitap-</i>	Q D	being autumn colored		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>muk-</i>	Q D	face [intr.]	<i>muke-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mukap-</i>	Q D	face [intr.]	<i>muka</i> <i>pe-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>i-</i>			yes
<i>muragar-</i>	Q D	be many together		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mure-</i>	L B	be many together		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>musubore-</i>	L B	be contrite		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mutukar-</i>	Q D	be vexed		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>mwomwoda</i> <i>r-</i>	Q D	be plenty		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mwomwotid</i> <i>ar-</i>	Q D	be plenty		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nagusam-</i>	Q D	be at ease	<i>nagus</i> <i>ame-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>narab-</i>	Q D	be in line	<i>narab</i> <i>e-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>sa-</i>		
<i>netam-</i>	Q D	be jealous of; be envious of		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nituk-</i>	Q D	go well with		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>odi-</i>	U B	fear	<i>odoro</i> <i>k-</i> , <i>odoro</i> <i>kas-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>odorok-</i>	Q D	be surprised	<i>odoro</i> <i>kas-</i> , <i>odi-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>okotar-</i>	Q D	be lazy		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>omobuk-</i>	Q D	face [intr.]		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>omomuk-</i>	Q D	face [intr.]	<i>omom</i> <i>uke-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>omopoye-</i>	L B	be thought	<i>omop</i> -	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>osiper-</i>	Q D	be humble		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>otor-</i>	Q D	be inferior	<i>oti-</i> , <i>otos-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pagukumor-</i>	Q D	be wrapped in feathers		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pobikor-</i>	Q D	be wide		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>putukum-</i>	Q D	be angry		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sabwi-</i>	U B	be excited		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sapyenapye-</i>	L B	sadness at being parted from spouse		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sasimukap-</i>	Q D	be facing each other		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sinap-</i>	Q D	be supple		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sop-</i>	Q D	be next to		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>i-</i>		yes
<i>sudak-</i>	Q D	be many		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tagap-</i>	Q D	differ		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>-(i)n-</i>		

<i>takab-</i>	Q D	be proud		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>takar-</i>	Q D	be high		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>takyebwi-</i>	U B	be fierce		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tanwosim-</i>	Q D	be enjoyable		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>taubar-</i>	Q D	resemble		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tidar-</i>	Q D	be plenty		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>todokopor-</i>	Q D	be due		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>todorokos-</i>	Q D	be noisy	<i>todor ok-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>topozakar-</i>	Q D	be far apart		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tutap-</i>	Q D	be communicated	<i>tutap e-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>twom-</i>	Q D	be rich		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>urakas-</i>	Q D	be happy		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>uramop-</i>	Q D	be flustered		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>urup-</i>	Q D	be wet	<i>urupo s-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>urupop-</i>	Q D	be drenched		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>utwobwi-</i>	U B	be aloof		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>wi-</i>	U M	be at; sit		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>wor-</i>	rIr r	be sitting		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>wosamar-</i>	Q D	be under control	<i>wosa me-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>wosim-</i>	Q D	be sad		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yamasabwi-</i>	U B	be mountainous		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yasumar-</i>	Q D	be peaceful	<i>yasu m-, yasu me-</i>	e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yasumop-</i>	Q D	be rested		e	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nipop-</i>	Q D	be red; colorful; fragrant)	<i>nipop as-, nipop e-, nipoy</i>	e/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			

			<i>e-</i>						
<i>nipoye-</i>	L B	be red; colorful; fragrant	<i>nipop</i> -, <i>nipop</i> <i>e-</i> , <i>nipop</i> <i>as-</i>	e/Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sum-</i>	Q D	live at		e/p	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tanagwirap-</i>	Q D	be foggy		e/w	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>amater-</i>	Q D	shine		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kag-</i>	Q D	smell		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kakayak-</i>	Q D	gleam		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kawor-</i>	Q D	be smoky; fragrant		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>niturap-</i>	Q D	glow red		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>sa-</i>		
<i>pikar-</i>	Q D	shine		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pimukap-</i>	Q D	flash		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sawak-</i>	Q D	rustle		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>-(i)n-</i>		
<i>sitader-</i>	Q D	shine beautifully		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sitap-</i>	Q D	glow red		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ter-</i>	Q D	shine	<i>teras-</i>	Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>-(i)n-</i>		yes
<i>wemisakaye</i> -	L B	shine		Em	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>agar-</i>	Q D	rise		l	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>amakudar-</i>	Q D	come to earth	<i>amak</i> <i>udas-</i>	l	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>amatutap-</i>	Q D	descend from the sky		l	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>arigaywop-</i>	Q D	go straight ahead		l	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>arimegur-</i>	Q D	keep moving around		l	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>aye-</i>	L B	fall off		l	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>-(i)n-</i>		
<i>ide-</i>	L B	go out	<i>idas-</i>	l	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>-(i)n-</i>		yes

<i>ideir-</i>	Q D	go in and out		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>idemas-</i>	Q D	go out [hon.]		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>idetat-</i>	Q D	go and stand; stand		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>ik-</i>	Q D	go		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>i-</i>		
<i>imas-, mas-</i>	Q D	be; come; go [hon.]	<i>imase</i> -	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			yes
<i>ir-</i>	Q D	enter		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>iriide-</i>	L B	come and go		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>itar-</i>	Q D	arrive	<i>itas-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>iyatat-</i>	Q D	rise up strong		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kakure-</i>	L B	hide [intr.]	<i>kakur</i> -, <i>kakus</i> -	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>	<i>i-</i>		yes
<i>kamuagar-</i>	Q D	(gods) rise		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kamukudas-</i>	Q D	(gods) come down		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kamunobor-</i>	Q D	(gods) ascend		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kapyer-</i>	Q D	return	<i>kapye</i> <i>s-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			yes
<i>kaywop-</i>	Q D	move across [intr.]		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>	<i>i-</i>		
<i>kikaywop-</i>	Q D	go back and forth		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kimukap-</i>	Q D	approach		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kipanare-</i>	L	go away		1	int↓aff↑,				

	B				int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kiywob-</i>	Q D	come and call		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>ko-</i>	kI rr	come		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)n-; -(i)te-		yes	yes
<i>kogikakur-</i>	Q D	row out of sight		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kurikapyes-</i>	Q D	go back and do again		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kutat-</i>	Q D	come down; end [intr.]	<i>kudar</i> -	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kwoye-</i>	L B	pass over	<i>kwos-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kyer-</i>	rI r	be coming		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>makar-</i>	Q D	recede		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>masar-</i>	Q D	excel		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>maunobor-</i>	Q D	go to palace; be at palace		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mawi-</i>	U B	go [hum.]		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>mawide-</i>	L B	go [hum.]		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>mawir-</i>	Q D	go; come [hum.]		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mawitar-</i>	Q D	arrive [hum.]		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mazirap-</i>	Q D	change places		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mitas-</i>	Q D	go [hon.]; come [hon.]	<i>mitas</i> <i>e-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>mitase-</i>	L B	go [hon.]; come [hon.]	<i>mitas</i> -	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				

<i>motopor-</i>	Q D	go back	<i>moto</i> <i>pos-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>ta-</i>		
<i>nagarape-</i>	L B	fall; pass		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>nuganape-</i>	L B	fall; pass		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ori-</i>	U B	go down	<i>oros-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>oti-</i>	U B	fall	<i>otos-</i> , <i>otor-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>otiir-</i>	Q D	fall in place; fit		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sagar-</i>	Q D	go down		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sar-</i>	Q D	move on; leave		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>sasikome-</i>	L B	go in and close the door		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>sawatar-</i>	Q D	go across		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>sidum-</i>	Q D	sink [intr.]; get quiet		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>takayuk-</i>	Q D	go high		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tamotopor-</i>	Q D	go back and forth-		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tamwi-</i>	U B	turn		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>i-</i>		
<i>tatimotopor-</i>	Q D	go and return		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>toname-</i>	L B	go around in order		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tuk-</i>	Q D	adhere; arrive	<i>tuke-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>tukwi-</i>	U B	come to an end	<i>tukus-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>turanuk-</i>	Q D	go through		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>twok-</i>	Q D	arrive		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nwoganape-</i>	L	fall; pass		1	int↓aff↑,				

	B				int<aff				
<i>ugumot-</i>	Q D	rise		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>uk-</i>	Q D	float [intr.]	<i>uke-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ukab-</i>	Q D	float [intr.]	<i>ukabe</i> -	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>unakudar-</i>	Q D	go to sea		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>watar-</i>	Q D	go across	<i>watas</i> -	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)te-</i>	<i>i--;</i> <i>sa-</i>		yes
<i>watarap-</i>	Q D	go by crossing		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yomwigaper</i> -	Q D	come back from dead		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>yor-</i>	Q D	approach	<i>yos-</i> , <i>yose-</i>	1	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>yoriap-</i>	Q D	approach each other		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yuk-</i>	Q D	go		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff	<i>-(i)n-;</i> <i>-(i)te-</i>	<i>i-</i>	yes	yes
<i>yukikapyer-</i>	Q D	go and return		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yukikaywop-</i>	Q D	go back and forth		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yukiko-</i>	kI rr	go and come		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yukimwi-</i>	U B	go around		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yukitarap-</i>	Q D	go and succeed in mission		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff; int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>ywodat-</i> <i>yodat-</i>	Q D	go out into night		1	int↓aff↑, int<aff;				

					int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>in-</i>	nI rr	depart; die		l/s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>puk-</i>	Q D	blow		n/p	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-		yes	
<i>amakaker-</i>	Q D	fly		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>apidam-</i>	Q D	rest		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>arik-</i>	Q D	walk		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>aruk-</i>	Q D	walk		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>aswob-</i>	Q D	play		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>aswobap-</i>	Q D	play		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>atumar-</i>	Q D	collect [intr.]	<i>atume</i> -	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>e-</i>	L B	obtain; be able		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>ikop-</i>	Q D	rest		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>inor-</i>	Q D	pray		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>ipap-</i>	Q D	worship; keep pure		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>kabus-</i>	Q D	hang [intr.]		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kagap-</i>	Q D	dance and sing		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kagar-</i>	Q D	darn		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>i-</i>		
<i>kakar-</i>	Q D	hang [intr.]		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kaker-</i>	Q D	soar		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>kapyerap-</i>	L B	reply		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)n-			
<i>meguriaruk-</i>	Q D	ramble		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>mononarap-</i>	Q D	study		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>moteaswob-</i>	Q D	play		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>nabur-</i>	Q D	play		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>nobor-</i>	Q D	climb	<i>nobos</i> <i>e-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff			yes	
<i>nodoyop-</i>	Q D	whisper		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				

<i>pap-</i>	Q D	stretch [intr.]; crawl	<i>pape-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)n-			
<i>pasir-</i>	Q D	run	<i>pase-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>sa-</i>		
<i>patarak-</i>	Q D	work		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>pipir-</i>	Q D	soar		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>pukum-</i>	Q D	include [intr.]	<i>puku</i> <i>me-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>purup-</i>	Q D	tremble		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>sasurap-</i>	Q D	roam		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>sidar-</i>	Q D	hang [intr.]		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>sukup-</i>	Q D	roost		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tabasir-</i>	Q D	fly violently		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>takare-</i>	L B	collect [intr.]		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>takatob-</i>	Q D	fly high		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tapabure-</i>	L B	play		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tar-</i>	Q D	hang [intr.]; drip	<i>tare-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tob-</i>	Q D	fly		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tobikaker-</i>	Q D	fly high		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tonakar-</i>	Q D	jump up		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tudwop-</i>	Q D	gather [intr.]	<i>tudwo</i> <i>pe-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tuk-</i>	Q D	soak [intr.]	<i>tuke-</i> , <i>tukas-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tukap-</i> <i>dukap-</i>	Q D	attach		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tukare-</i>	L B	tire [intr.]	<i>tukar</i> <i>as-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tukiwi-tukii-</i>	U B	sit quickly		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tur-</i>	Q D	fish; angle		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff		<i>sa-</i>		
<i>tutayop-</i>	Q D	wander		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>tutuk-</i>	Q D	continue [intr.]	<i>tutuke</i> -	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>ukare-</i>	L B	amble		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				

<i>ukep-</i>	Q D	pray for		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff	-(i)te-			
<i>utap-</i>	Q D	sing		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>wasir-</i>	Q D	run	<i>wasis</i> <i>e-</i>	p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>wemap-</i>	Q D	smile		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>werak-</i>	Q D	smile		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>yorine-</i>	L B	sleep together		p	int↑aff↓, int>aff				
<i>ak-</i>	Q D	be satisfied		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-; -(i)te-			
<i>akar-</i>	Q D	brighten; redden	<i>akas-</i> , <i>ake-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>akarapik-</i>	Q D	glow red		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>akatuk-</i>	Q D	be tainted		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ake-</i>	L B	dawn	<i>akar-</i> , <i>akas-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>akitar-</i> , <i>akidar-</i>	Q D	be content		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>amagwirap-</i>	Q D	get cloudy		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>amar-</i>	Q D	be in excess	<i>amas-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>apure-</i>	L B	overflow		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ar-</i>	rIr r	exist		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-; -(i)te-		yes	
<i>arabi-</i>	U M	be frustrated	<i>arab</i> <i>wi-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>arabwi-</i>	U B	be frustrated	<i>arabi</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>arake-</i>	L B	fall to bits		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>arapare-</i>	L B	become clear; be expressed	<i>arapa</i> <i>s-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>are-</i>	L B	lay waste	<i>aras-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>aretug-</i>	Q D	be born; inherit		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ase-</i>	L B	get shallow		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>azapar-</i>	Q D	be knotted; entangled		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>azare-</i>	L B	rot		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ikar-</i>	Q D	be angry		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>iroduk-</i>	Q D	turn color		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>irotor- irodor-</i>	Q D	color; paint		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>iswog-</i>	Q D	hurry		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>itam-</i>	Q D	be sick		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>iwake-</i>	L B	be frustrated		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>iye-</i>	L B	get well		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>iye-</i>	L B	be shot		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kagamar-</i>	Q D	become bent		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kakur-</i>	Q D	be hidden	<i>kakus</i> -, <i>kakur</i> <i>e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-	<i>i-</i>		
<i>kakurwop-</i>	Q D	be hidden		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kamisabwi-</i>	U B	appear godlike		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kamubwi-</i>	U B	appear godlike		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kamusabwi-</i>	U B	appear godlike		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kapar-</i>	Q D	change [intr.]	<i>kape-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kare-</i>	L B	wither		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kare-</i>	L B	get hoarse		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kare-</i>	L B	be parted)		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kasane-</i>	L B	pile up	<i>kasan</i> <i>ar-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>katabuk-</i>	Q D	lean [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>katap-</i>	Q D	become intimate		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>katayor-</i>	Q D	lean to side		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kawak-</i>	Q D	get dry		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ke-</i>	L B	vanish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>keuse-</i>	L B	vanish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kikoye-</i>	L B	be heard		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)te-			

<i>kipar-</i>	Q D	wear out [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kire-</i>	L B	be cut	<i>kir-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kiye-kie-</i>	L B	vanish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kiyouse-</i>	L B	disappear		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kodar-</i>	Q D	grow lush		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kogor-</i>	Q D	freeze [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>koi-</i>	U B	freeze		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>koimarob-</i>	Q D	writhe		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>koipus-</i>	Q D	lie on side; writhe		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>komor-</i>	Q D	be wrapped; be secluded	<i>komw i-, kome-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kopor-</i>	Q D	freeze [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kopore-</i>	L B	be shattered	<i>kopot -</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kor-</i>	Q D	freeze [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>korare-</i>	Q D	be rebuked		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kori-</i>	U B	learn by failure		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>koyar-</i>	Q D	be lying down		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>koyas-</i>	Q D	lie down [hon.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kumogakur-</i>	Q D	be hidden by clouds		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kumowikaku r-, kumoikakur-</i>	Q D	be hidden by clouds		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kupapar-</i>	Q D	be added	<i>kupap e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kure-</i>	L B	grow dark	<i>kuras -</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>kurup-</i>	Q D	go mad	<i>kurup os-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kusar-</i>	Q D	be connected		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kusar-</i>	Q D	rot	<i>kutas-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kuye-</i>	L B	crumble		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			

<i>kwom-</i>	Q D	be flooded		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kwopwiama r-</i>	Q D	be infatuated		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>magap-</i>	Q D	get mixed; be confused	<i>maga pe-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>magure-</i>	L B	be engulfed		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mak-</i>	Q D	be driven away	<i>make-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mas-</i>	Q D	increase; excel		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>matwop-</i>	Q D	get lost [intr.]	<i>mato pas-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			yes
<i>matwopap-</i>	Q D	lost		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				yes
<i>mayup-</i>	Q D	fray; get lost		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>maywop-</i>	Q D	fray; get lost		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff		<i>sa-</i>		
<i>mazikor-</i>	Q D	be cursed		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mazipar-</i>	Q D	get mixed	<i>mazip e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>midare-</i>	L B	be confused	<i>midar -</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>		yes	yes
<i>miduk-</i>	Q D	be soaked		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mimisip-</i>	Q D	go deaf		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>miyabwi-</i>	U B	appear elegant		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>momit-</i>	Q D	(leaves) turn autumn colour		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>mus-</i>	Q D	grow		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>mutubwi-</i>	U B	get intimate		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>mwimakar-</i>	Q D	die		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nab-</i>	Q D	be hidden		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nabar-</i>	Q D	be hidden		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nadusap-</i>	Q D	be buffeted		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nagwi-</i>	U B	become calm		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>nakunar-</i>	Q D	die		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>namar-</i>	Q D	be hidden		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>nape-</i>	L B	wither		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nar-</i>	Q D	become; grow	<i>nas-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-; -(i)te-			
<i>nare-</i>	L B	get used to		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>natuk-</i>	Q D	get used to	<i>natuk</i> <i>e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>nedar-</i>	Q D	be rooted		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nigipap-</i>	Q D	flourish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nigor-</i>	Q D	get dirty		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nikibwi-</i>	U B	get familiar with		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>nikwom-</i>	Q D	get gentle		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nituk-</i>	Q D	redden with something		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>nure-</i>	L B	get soaked; stained	<i>nuras</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>obiye-</i>	L B	be scared		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>obopore-</i>	L B	drown [intr.]	<i>obop</i> <i>os-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>oi-</i>	U B	age		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>oiduk-</i>	Q D	age		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>omopisugwi</i> -	U B	be forgotten		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>omor-</i>	Q D	get heavy; get worse e.g., of an illness		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>opwi-</i>	U B	grow	<i>opos-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>opwisik-</i>	Q D	grow and thicken		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>opwitat-</i>	Q D	flourish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>otorope-</i>	L B	become weak		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>pabakar-</i>	Q D	be hampered		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>padi-</i>	U B	be ashamed		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>panar-</i>	Q D	be expelled		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>panare-</i>	L B	be separate	<i>panat</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pate-</i>	L B	end		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			

<i>paye-</i>	L B	grow	<i>payas</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pazimar-</i>	Q D	begin [intr.]	<i>pazim</i> <i>e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pe-</i>	L B	elapse		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>pidut-</i>	Q D	get muddy		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>pike-</i>	L B	be pulled	<i>pik-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pit-</i>	Q D	get drenched	<i>pitas-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>puke-</i>	L B	grow late		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>puri-</i>	U B	get old		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>purumek-</i>	Q D	appear old		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>pwi-</i>	U M	drain; dry	<i>pos-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>pyenar-</i>	Q D	be apart		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>sadamar-</i>	Q D	be fixed	<i>sada</i> <i>me-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sak-</i>	Q D	bloom		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>sak-</i>	Q D	(waves) break		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>sakar-</i>	Q D	be apart	<i>sak-</i> , <i>sake-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>sake-</i>	L B	be apart	<i>sak-</i> , <i>sakar</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sake-</i>	L B	be split in two	<i>sak-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sakitir-</i>	Q D	bloom and scatter		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sapar-</i>	Q D	be hindered		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>saparap-</i>	Q D	be hindered		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sasinarab-</i>	Q D	be lined up		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sasiyor-</i>	Q D	get close		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>satwor-</i>	Q D	be enlightened; fully understand		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sayag-</i>	Q D	rustle		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>sayar-</i>	Q D	block		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>saye-</i>	L B	become intensely cold		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>serare-</i>	L B	be done		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sibatat-</i>	Q D	happen often		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sibom-</i>	Q D	wilt		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>siduk-</i>	Q D	sink [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sidumar-</i>	Q D	get quiet	<i>sidum</i> -, <i>sidum</i> <i>e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>siger-</i>	Q D	flourish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sikir-</i>	Q D	be repeated; continuous		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sim-</i>	Q D	be permeated	<i>sime-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>simagakur-</i>	Q D	be hidden near an island		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sin-</i>	nI rr	die	<i>sise-</i>	S	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sinaye-</i>	L B	wither		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				yes
<i>sip-</i>	Q D	go mad		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sirake-</i>	L B	whiten [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>siwam-</i>	Q D	wrinkle [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>sizim-</i>	Q D	shrink [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sok-</i>	Q D	be apart		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>som-</i>	Q D	be dyed	<i>some-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>some-</i>	L B	begin		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				yes
<i>sonapar-</i>	Q D	be furnished; possess	<i>sonap</i> <i>e-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sopopur-</i>	Q D	rain		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sopoti-</i>	un k	be wet		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>sugwi-</i>	U B	pass time	<i>sugus</i> -, <i>sugw</i> <i>os-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	<i>-(i)n-</i>			
<i>sus-</i>	Q D	get sooty		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>susabwi-</i>	U B	wither		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>sutare-</i>	L B	become unusable	<i>sute-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>suyur-</i>	Q D	get sour		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>swor-</i>	Q D	get high		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tabure-</i>	L B	go mad		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>taker-</i>	Q D	get excited		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tamerap-</i>	Q D	calm down; gather your wits; hesitate		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tapirag-</i>	Q D	get peaceful	<i>tapira ge-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tatanaduk-</i>	Q D	pile up [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tatap-</i>	Q D	be filled		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tatematur-</i>	Q D	be given		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tatikapar-</i>	Q D	be renewed		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>taye-</i>	L B	be cut		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>tayutap-</i>	Q D	be unsettled by movement		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>tir-</i>	Q D	scatter [intr.]	<i>tiras-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tirimagap-</i>	Q D	be confused with		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>tirisugwi-</i>	U B	scatter and vanish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>toke-</i>	L B	come untied	<i>tok-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>tokimek-</i>	Q D	flourish		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tomar-</i>	Q D	stop [intr.]	<i>tome-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>toposok-</i>	Q D	be apart		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>totonopor-</i>	Q D	be arranged	<i>toton ope-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tubutat-</i>	Q D	grow		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tum-</i>	Q D	pile up; stuff	<i>tume- , tumor -</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tumor-</i>	Q D	pile up	<i>tum- , tume-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-	i-		
<i>ugonapar-</i>	Q D	gather [intr.]		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>uke-</i>	L B	be open; gape		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>urabure-</i>	L B	wither		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>urage-</i>	L B	get happy		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>use-</i>	L B	get lost		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>usuk-</i>	Q D	be flustered		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>usurag-</i>	Q D	get smaller		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>usure-</i>	L B	get thin		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>utuke-</i>	L B	get empty		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>utur-</i>	Q D	change [intr.]	<i>utus-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>uturop-</i>	Q D	change		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>uwe-</i>	L B	starve		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>wabwi-</i>	U B	be embarrassed; disappointed		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>wakare-</i>	L B	be split; be parted	<i>wak-</i> , <i>wake-</i> , <i>wakat</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>wakaye-</i>	L B	get younger		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>ware-</i>	L B	be split	<i>war-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>wep-</i>	Q D	get drunk		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>wepisamata re-</i>	L B	get sloppy		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>woti-</i>	U B	regain youth; revive		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>yabure-</i>	L B	be broken; lose	<i>yabur</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yador-</i>	Q D	lodge	<i>yados</i> -	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>yakusam-</i>	Q D	get sick		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yam-</i>	Q D	get sick		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yam-</i>	Q D	stop	<i>yame-</i>	s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			yes
<i>yare-</i>	L B	be broken		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>yasakam-</i>	Q D	get emaciated		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

<i>yase-</i>	L B	get thin		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>yaswosimag akur-</i>	Q D	be hidden amongst islands		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yature-</i>	L B	become shabby		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yupuduk-</i>	Q D	become evening		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yupusar-</i>	Q D	become evening		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>yutur-</i>	Q D	change		s	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>sagumor-</i>	Q D	get cloudy		s/w	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>amepur-</i>	Q D	rain		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>kumor-</i>	Q D	be cloudy		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff		sa-		
<i>ok-</i>	Q D	(dew) settles		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>pur-fur-</i>	Q D	rain; fall down		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-; -(i)te-			
<i>purinadum-</i>	Q D	rain hard		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>purisik-</i>	Q D	rain hard		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff				
<i>tanabik-</i>	Q D	(snow, fog) flows		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff	-(i)n-			
<i>tonobik-</i>	Q D	(snow, fog) flows		w	int↓aff↑, int<aff				

Appendix III. Single Old Japanese verbs that combine only with -(i)n-

Verb	Verb class (definition)	Example
<i>ake-</i>	LB (dawn)	MYS.4.548
<i>amar-</i>	QD (be in excess)	MYS.11.2492
<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.10.2080
<i>apiwakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.8.1454
<i>arabwi-</i>	UB (be frustrated)	MYS.11.2652
<i>are-</i>	LB (lay waste)	KK.64
<i>ase-</i>	LB (get shallow)	MYS.3.292
<i>aye-</i>	LB (fall off)	MYS.8.1507
<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.4.790
<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.20.4440
<i>ine-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.8.1511
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	MYS.14.3354
<i>iswog-</i>	QD (hurry)	MYS.20.4337
<i>itar-</i>	QD (arrive)	MYS.9.1738
<i>kakure-</i>	LB (hide i)	MYS.11.2463
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.2.210a
<i>kakus-</i>	QD (hide t)	MYS.10.2332
<i>kamubwi-</i>	UB (appear godlike)	MYS.10.1927
<i>kamusabwi-</i>	UB (appear godlike)	MYS.5.867
<i>kanap-</i>	QD (be appropriate)	MYS.1.8
<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.8.1559
<i>kare-</i>	LB (be parted)	MYS.12.2927
<i>kare-</i>	LB (wither)	MYS.3.384
<i>katabuk-</i>	QD (lean i)	MYS.1.48
<i>kaywop-</i>	QD (move across i)	MYS.10.1978
<i>ke-</i>	LB (vanish)	MYS.2.199a
<i>kiye-</i>	LB (vanish)	MYS.10.2345
<i>kobore-</i>	LB (be shattered)	MYS.11.2644
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	MYS.20.4384
<i>komor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	MYS.3.418
<i>kop-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	MYS.3.379
<i>kori-</i>	UB (learn by failure)	MYS.4.519
<i>koyas-</i>	QD (lie down [hon])	MYS.5.794
<i>kure-</i>	LB (grow dark)	MYS.3.275
<i>kutat-</i>	QD (come down) (end i)	MYS.5.847
<i>kuye-</i>	LB (crumble)	MYS.4.687

<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.11.2767
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	MYS.1.83
<i>makar-</i>	QD (recede)	MYS.6.973
<i>masar-</i>	QD (excel)	MYS.12.3135
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	MYS.11.2820
<i>matwop-</i>	QD (get lost i)	MYS.2.208a
<i>mayup-</i>	QD (bind)	MYS.11.2609
<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	MYS.11.2789
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	MYS.7.1144
<i>miyakwobwi-</i>	UB (have air of)	MYS.3.312
<i>momitap-</i>	QD (being autumn colored)	MYS.15.3697
<i>momit-</i>	QD ((leaves) turn)	MYS.8.1513
<i>moye-</i>	LB/UB (sprout)	MYS.10.1846
<i>mus-</i>	QD (grow)	MYS.7.1214
<i>nagarape-</i>	LB (fall) (pass)	MYS.8.1662
<i>nagwi-</i>	UB (become calm)	MYS.9.1781
<i>nare-</i>	LB (get used to)	MYS.6.947
<i>natuk-</i>	QD (get used to)	MYS.6.1049
<i>nikibwi-</i>	UB (get familiar (with))	MYS.1.79
<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	MYS.8.1532
<i>nor-</i>	QD (ride)	MYS.2.100
<i>nure-</i>	LB (get soaked) (stained)	MYS.10.2217
<i>oi-</i>	UB (age)	MYS.7.1349
<i>okure-</i>	LB (be left behind)	MYS.6.1031
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	MYS.16.3793
<i>oti-</i>	UB (fall)	KK.82
<i>otorope-</i>	LB (become weak)	MYS.12.2952
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	MYS.14.3434
<i>pate-</i>	LB (end)	MYS.7.1225
<i>pe-</i>	LB (elapse)	MYS.7.1390
<i>pidut-</i>	QD (get muddy)	MYS.7.1090
<i>puke-</i>	LB (grow late)	MYS.20.4313
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	MYS.3.462
<i>pur-</i>	UB (get old)	MYS.2.103
<i>pwi-</i>	UM (drain) (dry)	MYS.3.360
<i>pyenar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.12.3187
<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.2.131a
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	MYS.6.971
<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	MYS.10.1836
<i>sas-</i>	QD ((natural phenomena) happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up))	MYS.3.407

<i>sawag-</i>	QD (rustle)	MYS.15.3642
<i>sayag-</i>	QD (rustle)	KK.20
<i>sayar-</i>	QD (block)	MYS.5.899
<i>sedum-</i>	QD (sink i) (get quiet)	MYS.2.229
<i>sim-</i>	QD (be permeated)	MYS.3.343
<i>sir-</i>	QD (own) (rule)	MYS.2.202
<i>sirake-</i>	LB (whiten i)	MYS.9.1740
<i>siwami-</i>	QD (wrinkle i)	MYS.9.1740
<i>sugi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.14.3352
<i>tabar-</i>	QD (receive [hum])	MYS.14.3440b
<i>tagap-</i>	QD (differ)	MYS.2.176
<i>tanabik-</i>	QD ((snow, fog) flows)	MYS.9.1740
<i>taye-</i>	LB (be cut)	MYS.20.4404
<i>tayutap-</i>	QD (be unsettled by movement)	MYS.4.542
<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.18.4111
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	MYS.5.829
<i>toke-</i>	LB (come untied)	MYS.12.3145
<i>tomar-</i>	QD (stop i)	MYS.12.3179
<i>toposok-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.19.4258
<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.14.3360a
<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.20.4388
<i>tukwi-</i>	UB (come to an end)	MYS.8.1520a
<i>tumor-</i>	QD (pile up)	MYS.10.2303
<i>urabure-</i>	LB (wither)	MYS.10.2144
<i>use-</i>	LB (get lost)	MYS.12.3004
<i>utur-</i>	QD (change i)	MYS.8.1516
<i>uturop-</i>	QD (change)	MYS.8.1485
<i>uturop-</i>	UB (be aloof)	MYS.17.3916
<i>wabwi-</i>	UB (be embarrassed) (disappointed)	MYS.4.750
<i>wasur-</i>	QD (forget)	MYS.5.877
<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	MYS.11.2591
<i>we-</i>	LB (starve)	KK.14
<i>wep-</i>	QD (get drunk)	FK.6
<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	NSK.113
<i>woti-</i>	UB (regain youth) (revive)	MYS.5.848
<i>yador-</i>	QD (lodge)	MYS.3.249
<i>yam-</i>	QD (stop)	MYS.11.2487
<i>yare-</i>	LB (be broken)	MYS.13.3330
<i>yase-</i>	LB (get thin)	MYS.2.122
<i>yomwigaper-</i>	QD (come back from dead)	MYS.3.327
<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.11.2498

Appendix III. Single Old Japanese verbs that combine only with -(i)n-

<i>yutur-</i>	QD (change)	MYS.11.2670
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Appendix IV. Single Old Japanese verbs that combine only with *-(i)te-*

Verb	Verb class (definition)	Example
<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.10.2019
<i>akas-</i>	QD (let brighten) (pass the night)	MYS.11.2458
<i>aswob-</i>	QD (play)	MYS.7.1104
<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.15.3676
<i>i-</i>	UM (shoot)	MYS.3.364
<i>imase-</i>	LB (cause to be) (go [hon])	MYS.3.420
<i>inor-</i>	QD (pray)	MYS.13.3308
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	MYS.12.3217
<i>kake-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.20.4480
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	MYS.11.2575
<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.4.619
<i>kapas-</i>	QD (do together) (shift t)	MYS.8.1525
<i>kap-</i>	QD (transfer)	MYS.7.1264
<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	MYS.4.777
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	MYS.7.1343a
<i>katame-</i>	LB (harden t)	MYS.14.3559
<i>katar-</i>	QD (tell) (relate)	MYS.11.2719
<i>kazas-</i>	QD (adorn)	MYS.8.1586
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	MYS.15.3675
<i>kikoye-</i>	LB (be heard)	NSK.82
<i>kise-</i>	LB (dress)	MYS.7.1272
<i>kotide-</i>	LB (speak)	MYS.14.3371
<i>kuras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.7.1220
<i>magape-</i>	LB (confuse (someone))	MYS.8.1640
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	MYS.3.438
<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.16.3880
<i>mawi-</i>	UB (go [hum])	BS.8
<i>midar-</i>	QD (confuse)	MYS.11.2837
<i>mise-</i>	LB (show)	MYS.17.3967
<i>misog-</i>	QD (purify body)	MYS.3.420
<i>musub-</i>	QD (bind)	MYS.1.10
<i>musub-</i>	QD (scoop)	MYS.12.3181
<i>nagek-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	MYS.11.2565
<i>nagusame-</i>	LB (set at ease)	MYS.12.3135
<i>nas-</i>	QD (do) (make)	MYS.19.4260
<i>negap-</i>	QD (pray) (hope)	MYS.20.4470

<i>ni-</i>	UM (resemble)	MYS.2.207a
<i>nom-</i>	QD (drink)	MYS.7.1142
<i>nor-</i>	QD (say)	MYS.11.2747
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	MYS.19.4237
<i>or-</i>	QD (weave)	MYS.10.2027
<i>parape-</i>	LB (repent)	MYS.6.948
<i>pirip-</i>	QD (pick up)	MYS.7.1404
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	MYS.14.3400
<i>pur-</i>	QD (shake)	MYS.14.3402
<i>pure-</i>	LB (hitting, striking, and touching (touch t))	MYS.11.2578
<i>pyedate-</i>	LB (put away)	MYS.18.4076
<i>sadame-</i>	LB (decide) (pacify)	MYS.2.199a
<i>sime-</i>	LB (permeate)	MYS.16.3877
<i>sugus-</i>	QD (let pass)	MYS.20.4318
<i>sur-</i>	QD (rub) (scrape)	MYS.7.1281
<i>sute-</i>	LB (discard)	MYS.11.2531
<i>suwe-</i>	LB (make sit)	MYS.17.3927
<i>tadune-</i>	LB (ask) (seek)	MYS.20.4469
<i>tiras-</i>	QD (scatter t)	MYS.8.1486
<i>tobas-</i>	QD (make fly)	MYS.5.904
<i>todome-</i>	LB (stop t)	MYS.4.545
<i>torape-</i>	LB (seize)	NSK.31
<i>tuge-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	MYS.11.2570
<i>tuke-</i>	LB (attach)	MYS.4.516
<i>tukus-</i>	QD (use up)	MYS.4.661
<i>tum-</i>	QD (pluck)	MYS.6.957
<i>ukep-</i>	QD (pray for)	MYS.11.2433
<i>uwe-</i>	LB (plant)	MYS.20.4481
<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.7.1283
<i>wem-</i>	QD (laugh)	MYS.18.4137
<i>wosame-</i>	LB (settle t) (control)	MYS.16.3816
<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.11.2799
<i>yosop-</i>	QD (dress) (prepare a boat for departure)	MYS.8.1641
<i>yup-</i>	QD (bind)	MYS.9.1789
<i>yurus-</i>	QD (slacken) (pardon)	MYS.4.673

Appendix V. Single Old Japanese verbs that combine with both *-(i)n-* and *-(i)te-*

Verb	Verb class (definition)	Example
<i>ak-</i>	QD (be satisfied)	MYS.8.1548
<i>apimi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.13.3250
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	MYS.12.3103
<i>ariko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.17.4003
<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.14.3447
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	MYS.13.3300
<i>iyuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.12.3190
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.19.4183
<i>nar-</i>	QD (become) (grow)	MYS.3.399
<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.9.1728
<i>nuras-</i>	QD (soak t)	MYS.11.2429
<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.10.2175
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	MYS.10.2317
<i>se-</i>	sIrr (do)	MYS.11.2791
<i>sinwop-</i>	QD (yearn)	MYS.18.4119
<i>sir-</i>	QD (know)	MYS.3.475
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	MYS.7.1403

Appendix VI. Single Old Japanese verbs that combine with *i-*

Verb	Verb class (definition)	Example
<i>ik-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.12.3169
<i>kagar-</i>	QD (darn)	MYS.14.3518
<i>kakur-</i>	LB (hide i)	KK.99
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.1.17
<i>kaywop-</i>	QD (move across i)	MYS.8.1528
<i>kir-</i>	QD (cut)	KK.51
<i>kogitut-</i>	QD (row)	MYS.19.4254
<i>kozite-</i>	UB (dig out)	MYS.8.1423
<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.10.2089
<i>patur-</i>	QD (flay)	MYS.18.4122
<i>pure-</i>	LB (hitting, striking, and touching (touch t))	MYS.3.435
<i>sik-</i>	QD (reach) (chase)	KK.59
<i>swobap-</i>	QD (spoil [a person]) (be spoiled) (joke around)	MYS.13.3239
<i>swop-</i>	QD (be next to)	KK.42
<i>tamur-</i>	UB (turn)	MYS.20.4408
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.1.9
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	KK.51
<i>tugar-</i>	QD (tie)	MYS.9.1767
<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.14.3409
<i>tumor-</i>	QD (pile up)	MYS.1.17
<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.10.2081
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.1916

Appendix VII. Single Old Japanese verbs that combine with *sa-(ta-)*

Verb	Verb class (definition)	Example
<i>basir-</i>	QD (run)	MYS.3.475
<i>gumor-</i>	QD (be cloudy)	MYS.13.3310
<i>maywop-</i>	QD (fray) (get lost)	MYS.2.199a
<i>motopori-</i>	QD (go back)	MYS.17.4008
<i>narab-</i>	QD (be in line)	MYS.17.4011
<i>narak-</i>	QD (make sound)	MYS.14.3350b
<i>nas-</i>	QD (sleep [hon])	MYS.5.804a
<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	KK.27
<i>niturap-</i>	QD (fish) (angle)	MYS.11.2523
<i>niturap-</i>	QD (glow red)	MYS.10.1911
<i>wasurete-</i>	LB (forget)	MYS.3.392
<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.11.2804
<i>wodor-</i>	QD (jump)	MYS.19.4148
<i>ywobap-</i>	QD (call often)	KK.2

Appendix VIII. N+V compounds in Old Japanese

Noun	Noun definition	Verb	Verb class (definition)	Example
<i>a</i>	leg	<i>gak-</i>	QD (scratch)	MYS.7.1141
<i>aki</i>	fall, autumn	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.10.2272
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>dutap-</i>	LB (communicate)	MYS.17.3895
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>dutap-</i>	QD (be communicated)	MYS.7.1178a
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>gaker-</i>	QD (soar)	MYS.2.145
<i>ama</i>	rain	<i>gomor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	MYS.15.3782
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>gwirap-</i>	QD (be cloudy)	MYS.10.2345
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>gwiras-</i>	QD (make cloudy)	MYS.10.2340
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>kudar-</i>	QD (go down)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	NSK.3
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>sosor-</i>	QD (tower)	MYS.17.4003
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.15.3650
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	KK.85
<i>ama</i>	heaven	<i>tutum-</i>	QD (be hindered)	MYS.11.2684
<i>asa</i>	morning	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.9.1785
<i>asa</i>	morning	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.11.2500
<i>asa</i>	morning	<i>gumor-</i>	QD (be cloudy)	MYS.2.188
<i>asi</i>	leg	<i>zur-</i>	QD (rub) (scrape)	MYS.9.1740
<i>atwo</i>	foot	<i>dwor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	NSK.96
<i>iki</i>	breath	<i>duk-</i>	QD (poke) (pierce)	MYS.14.3547
<i>ipa</i>	stone	<i>basir-</i>	QD (run)	MYS.6.991
<i>ipa</i>	stone	<i>gukur-</i>	QD (leak out)	MYS.14.3554
<i>ipa</i>	stone	<i>sosok-</i>	QD (pour)	MYS.7.1388
<i>ipye</i>	house	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.13.3265
<i>ipye</i>	house	<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.15.3720
<i>ipye</i>	house	<i>wori-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.10.1820
<i>ipye</i>	house	<i>zakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.19.4211
<i>iro</i>	color	<i>dor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	MYS.7.1339
<i>iro</i>	color	<i>dukap-</i>	QD (attach)	MYS.10.2253
<i>iro</i>	color	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.10.2190
<i>iro</i>	color	<i>gyes-</i>	QD (wear [hon])	MYS.16.3875
<i>iswo</i>	rocks	<i>dutap-</i>	LB (communicate)	KK.37
<i>iswo</i>	rocks	<i>gakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.6.951

<i>iswo</i>	rocks	<i>mwi-</i>	UM (turn)	MYS.3.368
<i>kaka</i>	sound of eagle crying	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.14.3390
<i>kamo</i>	duck	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	NSK.5
<i>kamu</i>	god	<i>agar-</i>	QD (rise)	MYS.2.167a
<i>kamu</i>	god	<i>dumar-</i>	QD (congregate)	MYS.5.894
<i>kamu</i>	god	<i>kudas-</i>	QD (take down) (put down)	MYS.2.167a
<i>kamu</i>	god	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.2.167b
<i>kamu</i>	god	<i>pakar-</i>	QD (measure)	MYS.2.167a
<i>kamu</i>	god	<i>tudwop-</i>	QD (gather i)	MYS.2.167a
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.10.1842
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	MYS.10.2167
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.2.117
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>make-</i>	LB (prepare)	MYS.13.3255
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	MYS.17.4030
<i>kata</i>	shape	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.10.2119
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>mop-</i>	QD (think)	MYS.11.2472a
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	MYS.18.4101
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	MYS.11.2608
<i>kata</i>	bones, horns, shells, etc.	<i>yak-</i>	QD (roast)	MYS.15.3694
<i>kata</i>	side	<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.14.3565
<i>kaza</i>	wind	<i>matur-</i>	QD (celebrate)	MYS.9.1751
<i>ke</i>	daytime	<i>narab-</i>	QD (be in line)	MYS.11.2387
<i>ke</i>	daytime	<i>narabe-</i>	LB (line up)	MYS.3.263
<i>ki</i>	fangsteeth	<i>kam-</i>	QD (chew)	MYS.9.1809
<i>ko</i>	tree	<i>dar-</i>	QD (hang i) (drip)	MYS.14.3433
<i>ko</i>	tree	<i>dutape-</i>	LB (communicate)	MYS.19.4277
<i>ko</i>	tree	<i>tutap-</i>	QD (be communicated)	MYS.10.1873
<i>kokoro</i>	heart	<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	MYS.4.725
<i>kokoro</i>	heart	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.14.3536
<i>kokoro</i>	heart	<i>tukus-</i>	QD (use up)	MYS.12.3162
<i>konure</i>	end of branch	<i>gakur-</i>	LB (hide i)	MYS.5.827
<i>koro</i>	self	<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.2.220
<i>kosi</i>	waist	<i>dukurap-</i>	QD (make)	NSK.106
<i>kote</i>	thing	<i>tazuk-</i>	QD (strain i)	MYS.14.3553
<i>koto</i>	thing	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.12.2918
<i>koto</i>	thing	<i>date-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>koto</i>	thing	<i>dop-</i>	QD (ask)	MYS.5.811
<i>koto</i>	thing	<i>muke-</i>	LB (face t)	MYS.20.4465
<i>koto</i>	thing	<i>nas-</i>	QD (become) (grow)	MYS.14.3456

<i>koto</i>	thing	<i>yos-</i>	LB (draw close t)	MYS.18.4106
<i>kumo</i>	cloud	<i>banare-</i>	LB (be separate)	FK.13
<i>kumo</i>	cloud	<i>gakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.11.2464
<i>kumo</i>	cloud	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.9.1753
<i>kuni</i>	country	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.10.1971
<i>kuti</i>	mouth	<i>bipik-</i>	QD (sting) (smart)	NSK.14
<i>kwo</i>	child	<i>m-</i>	QD (give birth)	KK.71
<i>makura</i>	pillow	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.19.4154
<i>makura</i>	pillow	<i>dwor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	NSK.96
<i>matu</i>	pine tree	<i>gapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.17.4014
<i>maywo</i>	cocoon	<i>gomor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	MYS.11.2495
<i>mi</i>	water	<i>duk-</i>	QD (soak i)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>midu</i>	water	<i>kap-</i>	QD (raise) (rear (animals))	MYS.12.3097
<i>mina</i>	water	<i>gwirap-</i>	QD (be cloudy)	MYS.7.1401
<i>miwo</i>	rapids	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.20.4360
<i>miya</i>	palace	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.2.175
<i>miya</i>	palace	<i>dukape-</i>	LB (serve)	MYS.16.3855
<i>miyakwo</i>	capital	<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.3.312
<i>miyama</i>	mountain	<i>gakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	KK.112
<i>mo</i>	skirt	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.20.4491
<i>mono</i>	thing; person	<i>gatar-</i>	QD (tell) (relate)	MYS.12.2845
<i>mono</i>	thing; person	<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	MYS.3.341
<i>mono</i>	thing; person	<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	KK.62
<i>mono</i>	thing; person	<i>mop-</i>	QD (think)	MYS.3.333
<i>muna</i>	chest	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	KK.4
<i>muna</i>	chest	<i>wake-</i>	LB (split t)	MYS.20.4320
<i>mura</i>	crowd	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.9.1785
<i>na</i>	name	<i>duke-</i>	LB (attach)	MYS.3.466
<i>na</i>	name	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.6.977
<i>naka</i>	middle	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.9.1783
<i>natuso</i>	summer hemp	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.13.3255
<i>ne</i>	root	<i>bap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	KK.100
<i>ne</i>	root	<i>dar-</i>	QD (suffice)	KK.100
<i>ne</i>	weeping sound	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.3.352
<i>nuka</i>	forehead	<i>duk-</i>	QD (poke) (pierce)	MYS.5.904
<i>omo</i>	face	<i>gapar-</i>	QD (change i)	MYS.12.3217
<i>omo</i>	face	<i>kakus-</i>	QD (hide t)	MYS.12.2916
<i>pa</i>	feather	<i>buk-</i>	QD (swing (a sword)) (shake)	MYS.19.4141

<i>pa</i>	feather	<i>gukumor-</i>	QD (be wrapped)	MYS.15.3578
<i>pa</i>	feather	<i>gukum-</i>	QD (wrap) (tuck)	MYS.9.1791
<i>pana</i>	flower	<i>dirap-</i>	QD (scatter)	MYS.1.36
<i>pana</i>	flower	<i>dir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	MYS.18.4092
<i>pana</i>	nose	<i>pwi-</i>	UM (sneeze)	MYS.11.2408
<i>pane</i>	wing	<i>kwir-</i>	QD (be misty)	MYS.9.1744
<i>para</i>	belly	<i>bap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	MYS.19.4260
<i>pi</i>	day	<i>narab-</i>	LB (line up)	MYS.8.1425
<i>pi</i>	day	<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.2.177
<i>pina</i>	countryside	<i>zakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.13.3291a
<i>puna</i>	boat	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.1.39
<i>puna</i>	boat	<i>gipop-</i>	QD (rival)	MYS.1.36
<i>puna</i>	boat	<i>nor-</i>	QD (ride)	MYS.1.40
<i>puna</i>	boat	<i>pate-</i>	LB (end)	MYS.1.58
<i>puna</i>	boat	<i>yosop-</i>	QD (dress) (prepare a boat for departure)	MYS.10.2089
<i>puyu</i>	winter	<i>gomor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	MYS.2.199b
<i>saka</i>	alcohol	<i>miduk-</i>	QD (be soaked)	KK.102
<i>saki</i>	ahead	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.14.3353
<i>sawo</i>	cordstrap	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.14.3536
<i>sima</i>	island	<i>dutap-</i>	QD (be communicated)	MYS.13.3232
<i>sima</i>	island	<i>gakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.6.944
<i>sima</i>	island	<i>mwi-</i>	UM (turn)	MYS.6.943
<i>simo</i>	frost	<i>gumor-</i>	QD (be cloudy)	MYS.7.1083
<i>sina</i>	unknown	<i>zakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.17.3969
<i>sita</i>	below	<i>bape-</i>	LB (stretch t) (extend thoughts)	MYS.20.4457
<i>sita</i>	below	<i>der-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.18.4059
<i>sita</i>	below	<i>kwogare-</i>	LB (burn) (smolder)	MYS.11.2649
<i>sita</i>	below	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	KK.78
<i>so</i>	back	<i>muk-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.2.210a
<i>suswo</i>	fabric	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.11.2550
<i>swora</i>	unknown	<i>mit-</i>	QD ([unknown])	KK.71
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>basam-</i>	QD (hold between)	MYS.13.3302
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>dukur-</i>	QD (make)	MYS.17.4008
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>gwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	NSK.19
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>mudak-</i>	QD (embrace)	MYS.6.973
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>muke-</i>	LB (face t)	MYS.11.2418
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>nigir-</i>	QD (grasp)	MYS.5.804a
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>udak-</i>	QD ([unknown])	MYS.19.4254
<i>ta</i>	hand	<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	MYS.2.166

<i>tabi</i>	tour	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.12.3152
<i>tama</i>	sprit	<i>dipap-</i>	QD ((gods) help)	MYS.11.2661
<i>te</i>	hand	<i>banare-</i>	LB (be separate)	MYS.14.3569
<i>to</i>	bird	<i>gar-</i>	QD (hunt)	MYS.14.3438a
<i>tono</i>	palace	<i>gomor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	MYS.13.3326
<i>tono</i>	place	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.2.174
<i>tosi</i>	yearstime	<i>kipar-</i>	QD (wear out i)	MYS.11.2398
<i>tuma</i>	nail	<i>bik-</i>	QD (pull)	MYS.19.4214
<i>tuma</i>	spouse	<i>dop-</i>	QD (propose marriage)	MYS.10.2153
<i>tuma</i>	nail	<i>duk-</i>	QD (poke) (pierce)	MYS.13.3276
<i>tuma</i>	end	<i>dwor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	NSK.96
<i>tuma</i>	spouse	<i>gomor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	MYS.10.2178
<i>tuma</i>	spouse	<i>gwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.10.1937
<i>tuma</i>	nail	<i>pik-</i>	QD (pluck) (strum)	MYS.4.531
<i>tuma</i>	spouse	<i>ywobap-</i>	QD (call often)	MYS.3.257
<i>tura</i>	line	<i>name-</i>	LB (line up)	MYS.19.4187
<i>una</i>	head, neck	<i>kabus-</i>	QD (hang i)	KK.4
<i>una</i>	sea	<i>kudar-</i>	QD (go down)	NSK.120
<i>ura</i>	bay	<i>gakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.6.945
<i>ura</i>	inside	<i>gwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.17.3973
<i>ura</i>	inside	<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	MYS.20.4311
<i>ura</i>	bay	<i>mwi-</i>	UM (turn)	MYS.19.4202
<i>ura</i>	inside	<i>nake-</i>	LB (make cry)	MYS.1.5
<i>waki</i>	armpit	<i>basam-</i>	QD (hold between)	MYS.2.210a
<i>wo</i>	cord	<i>daye-</i>	LB (be cut)	MYS.16.3814
<i>yama</i>	mountain	<i>gomor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	KK.30
<i>yapye</i>	layer	<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	MYS.20.4360
<i>yaswosima</i>	many islands	<i>gakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.15.3613
<i>yoko</i>	across	<i>gir-</i>	QD (cut)	MYS.4.688
<i>yoko</i>	across	<i>sarap-</i>	QD (leave)	KK.42
<i>yuki</i>	snow	<i>ge-</i>	LB (vanish)	MYS.3.382
<i>yupu</i>	evening	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.16.3820
<i>yupu</i>	evening	<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	MYS.12.2922
<i>ywo</i>	night	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.14.3480
<i>ywo</i>	night	<i>gutat-</i>	QD (come down) (end i)	MYS.19.4147

Appendix VIII. V1+V2 compounds in Old Japanese

V1	V1 class (def.)	V2	V2 class (def.)	Example
<i>abur-</i>	QD (broil)	<i>pos-</i>	QD (drain t)	MYS.9.1688
<i>adomop-</i>	QD (take along)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.199a
<i>adomop-</i>	QD (take along)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.9.1780
<i>agar-</i>	QD (rise)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.2.167a
<i>akas-</i>	QD (let brighten) (pass the night)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.10.1981
<i>akas-</i>	QD (let brighten) (pass the night)	<i>tur-</i>	QD (fish) (angle)	MYS.15.3653
<i>ake-</i>	LB (dawn)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.138
<i>ake-</i>	LB (open t)	<i>make-</i>	LB (prepare)	MYS.4.744
<i>ake-</i>	LB (open t)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.11.2617
<i>ake-</i>	LB (dawn)	<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	MYS.19.4207
<i>ake-</i>	LB (dawn)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.19.4177
<i>ake-</i>	LB (dawn)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.13.3312
<i>akirame-</i>	LB (brighten) (clear)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>amori-</i>	UB (descend from heaven)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.2.199a
<i>amori-</i>	UB (descend from heaven)	<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.3.257
<i>apase-</i>	LB (join)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.19.4154
<i>ape-</i>	LB (join)	<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	MYS.17.4007
<i>ape-</i>	LB (join)	<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.20.4471
<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	<i>kat-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.2.225
<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	<i>kos-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.11.2375
<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2676
<i>apug-</i>	QD (revere)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.2.168
<i>arap-</i>	QD (wash)	<i>susug-</i>	QD (wash)	MYS.16.3880
<i>araswop-</i>	QD (fight)	<i>kanete-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.9.1804
<i>are-</i>	LB (give birth)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.3.379
<i>are-</i>	LB (give birth)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.6.1047
<i>are-</i>	LB (give birth)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.6.1053
<i>are-</i>	LB (lay waste)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.1049
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be)	MYS.2.207a

			able)	
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.3.383
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.11.2470
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>kat-</i>	QD (win)	MYS.4.723
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.2.119
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	MYS.20.4368
<i>ar-</i>	rIrr (exist)	<i>water-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.11.2504
<i>asar-</i>	QD (get food)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	NSK.95
<i>aswob-</i>	QD (play)	<i>aruk-</i>	QD (walk)	MYS.8.1629
<i>aswob-</i>	QD (play)	<i>kurasan-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.5.825
<i>aswob-</i>	QD (play)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	KK.108
<i>aswob-</i>	QD (play)	<i>nagure-</i>	UB (become calm)	MYS.18.4116
<i>aswob-</i>	QD (play)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.196a
<i>dak-</i>	QD ([meaning unclear: maybe something to do with riding a boat or riding horses])	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.19.4154
<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand (depart))	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.2.210a
<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand (depart))	<i>in-</i>	nIrr (depart) (die)	MYS.17.4008
<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand (depart))	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.1047
<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	NSK.102
<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	<i>gate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.2.95
<i>gapyer-</i>	QD (return)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	KK.86
<i>gaywop-</i>	QD (move across i)	<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.18.4099
<i>i-</i>	UM (shoot)	<i>watas-</i>	QD (make go across)	MYS.19.4164
<i>ibaye-</i>	LB (whinney)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.13.3327
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.7.1080
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.14.3534
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.6.980
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>kone-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.11.2519
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>masaz-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.8.1452
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.2.207a
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.20.4331

<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>nure-</i>	LB (get soaked) (stained)	MYS.7.1110
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.3.481
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.9.1740
<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.4.543
<i>ikar-</i>	QD (be angry)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2627
<i>ik-</i>	QD (live) (breathe)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.4.559
<i>ikiduk-</i>	QD (pant)	<i>akas-</i>	QD (let brighten) (pass the night)	MYS.2.210a
<i>ikiduk-</i>	QD (pant)	<i>amar-</i>	QD (be in excess)	MYS.7.1384
<i>ikiduk-</i>	QD (pant)	<i>water-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.13.3258
<i>ikiduk-</i>	QD (pant)	<i>wor-</i>	rIrr (be sitting)	MYS.8.1520a
<i>imase-</i>	LB (cause to be) (go [hon])	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.2.167a
<i>imas-</i>	QD (abstain)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.11.2351
<i>inor-</i>	QD (pray)	<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	MYS.20.4408
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3637
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	MYS.15.3636
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.13.3227
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>motopor-</i>	QD (go back)	MYS.3.239
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.5.813
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>water-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.13.3333
<i>ipap-</i>	QD (worship) (keep pure)	<i>worogam-</i>	QD (revere)	MYS.3.239
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.6.1034
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>parape-</i>	LB (repent)	MYS.17.4031
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.11.2680
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>tugap-</i>	unk ([unclear, possibly 'do in order'])	MYS.5.894
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>tuge-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	MYS.5.814
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.3.382
<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.4.543
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>imase-</i>	LB (cause to be) (go [hon])	MYS.4.759
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.2.186

<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.12.3117
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	NSK.96
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	MYS.1.57
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.7.1332
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.4.543
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.3.481
<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	<i>wor-</i>	rIrr (be sitting)	KK.10
<i>itadak-</i>	QD (carry on)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.5.894
<i>itop-</i>	QD (shun)	<i>sute-</i>	LB (discard)	BS.19
<i>ituk-</i>	QD (hold dear)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.3.420
<i>iyuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>sagukum-</i>	QD (push apart)	MYS.20.4331
<i>izanap-</i>	QD (invite)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>izar-</i>	QD (fish)	<i>tak-</i>	QD (kindle)	MYS.17.3899
<i>izar-</i>	QD (fish)	<i>tur-</i>	QD (fish) (angle)	MYS.20.4360
<i>kaduk-</i>	QD (dive)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.16.3869
<i>kaduk-</i>	QD (dive)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.16.3870
<i>kaduk-</i>	QD (dive)	<i>ikiduk-</i>	QD (pant)	KK.42
<i>kaduk-</i>	QD (dive)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.7.1203
<i>kaduk-</i>	QD (dive)	<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	MYS.12.3084
<i>kaker-</i>	QD (soar)	<i>in-</i>	nIrr (depart) (die)	MYS.17.4011
<i>kak-</i>	QD (hang t)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	KK.69
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	<i>nage-</i>	LB (throw)	MYS.9.1753
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	<i>sagur-</i>	QD (hunt for)	MYS.4.741
<i>kak-</i>	QD (hang t)	<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	<i>tar-</i>	QD (hang i) (drip)	MYS.16.3791
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	<i>wake-</i>	LB (split t)	MYS.13.3279
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	<i>wak-</i>	QD (distinguish)	MYS.2.167a
<i>kak-</i>	QD (scratch)	<i>water-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.8.1520a
<i>kakum-</i>	QD (surround)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.20.4408
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.136b
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.3.460
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>mase-</i>	LB (cause to be) (go [hon])	NSK.102
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.205
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.14.3383
<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.11.2510
<i>kakurop-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.10.2267
<i>kakurop-</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.918

<i>kakurwop</i>	QD (be hidden)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.135a
-				
<i>kam-</i>	QD (chew rice to make sake)	<i>nas-</i>	QD (do) (make)	MYS.16.3810
<i>kamusabw</i>	UB (appear godlike)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.5.813
<i>i-</i>		<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.6.990
<i>kamusabw</i>	UB (appear godlike)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.15.3621
<i>i-</i>		<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.3.322
<i>kamusabw</i>	UB (appear godlike)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.20.4408
<i>i-</i>		<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.9.1804
<i>kanasibwi</i>	UB (be sad)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (make one)	MYS.14.3487
-		<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.20.4398
<i>kanasibwi</i>	UB (be sad)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.20.4372
-		<i>topos-</i>	QD (let through)	MYS.19.4183
<i>kane-</i>	LB (make one)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.16.3791
<i>kaper-</i>	unk (maybe 'return')	<i>makar-</i>	QD (recede)	MYS.18.4116
<i>kaper-</i>	unk (maybe 'return')	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.15.3688
<i>kap-</i>	QD (raise) (rear (animals))	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.1.48
<i>kapyerap-</i>	QD (return)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.1.48
<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	<i>mise-</i>	LB (show)	MYS.20.4331
<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.16.3791
<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.2.187
<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	<i>tabar-</i>	QD (receive [hum])	MYS.16.3809
<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	<i>tamapan-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.1020.1021
<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.15.3627
<i>karas-</i>	QD (dry t)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.18.4111
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.14.3445
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.1.23
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>midar-</i>	QD (confuse)	MYS.8.1592
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>parap-</i>	QD (brush (away)) (suppress) (repent)	MYS.10.1984

<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>pos-</i>	QD (drain t)	MYS.4.521
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>puk-</i>	QD (thatch)	MYS.1.7
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	MYS.9.1677
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>soke-</i>	LB (put away)	MYS.14.3479
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>sope-</i>	LB (accompany)	MYS.10.2292
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>tum-</i>	QD (pile up) (stuff)	MYS.11.2748
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>wos-</i>	QD (eat) (rule)	MYS.1.24
<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	<i>kar-</i>	QD (cut) (split)	MYS.11.2743b
<i>kasamar-</i>	QD (increase i)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.9.1792
<i>kasane-</i>	LB (pile up)	<i>am-</i>	QD (weave)	MYS.12.2995
<i>katame-</i>	LB (harden t)	<i>ip-</i>	QD (say)	MYS.12.3113
<i>katane-</i>	LB (summarize)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.18.4116
<i>katarap-</i>	QD (swap stories)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.4.669
<i>katar-</i>	QD (tell) (relate)	<i>sake-</i>	LB (shun)	MYS.19.4154
<i>katar-</i>	QD (tell) (relate)	<i>tugap-</i>	unk ([unclear, possibly 'do in order'])	MYS.13.3329
<i>katar-</i>	QD (tell) (relate)	<i>tuge-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	MYS.3.448
<i>katar-</i>	QD (tell) (relate)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.3.317
<i>kazar-</i>	QD (adorn)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.13.3324a
<i>ke-</i>	LB (vanish)	<i>masar-</i>	QD (excel)	MYS.18.4106
<i>ke-</i>	LB (vanish)	<i>nokor-</i>	QD (remain)	MYS.19.4226
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>ir-</i>	QD (enter)	KK.63
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.9.1733
<i>ko-</i>	UM (wear)	<i>kasane-</i>	LB (pile up)	MYS.20.4351
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>kaywop-</i>	QD (move across i)	MYS.17.3973
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.8.1523
<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.15.3584
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.19.4180
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.17.3909
<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	<i>nare-</i>	LB (get used to)	MYS.12.3088
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>panare-</i>	LB (be separate)	MYS.17.4008
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>pe-</i>	LB (elapse)	MYS.15.3691
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>pyenar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.4.670
<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	<i>se-</i>	QD (do [hon])	MYS.14.3484
<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	<i>sop-</i>	QD (be next to)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	<i>swonap-</i>	QD ([unknown])	KK.97
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>tar-</i>	QD (arrive)	MYS.5.815
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.9.1739
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.6.948

<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.10.1954
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.7.1388
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>yose-</i>	LB (draw close t)	MYS.2.131a
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.13.3258
<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	MYS.11.2527
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.1050
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	<i>kos-</i>	QD (wake) (raise)	MYS.4.660
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.10.1937
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	<i>matwop-</i>	QD (get lost i)	MYS.2.199b
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.8.1495
<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.19.4165
<i>kikos-</i>	QD (say [hon])	<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.1.36
<i>kikos-</i>	QD (say [hon])	<i>wos-</i>	QD (eat) (rule)	MYS.5.800
<i>kikoye-</i>	LB (be heard)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.8.1614
<i>kikoye-</i>	LB (be heard)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.9.1677
<i>kipame-</i>	LB (make reach)	<i>tukus-</i>	QD (use up)	MYS.20.4465
<i>kipop-</i>	QD (rival)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (endure)	MYS.3.302
<i>kipop-</i>	QD (rival)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.10.2108
<i>kir-</i>	QD (cut)	<i>oros-</i>	QD (let down)	MYS.15.3603
<i>kir-</i>	QD (cut)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.3.391
<i>kise-</i>	LB (dress)	<i>gate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.5.901
<i>kise-</i>	LB (dress)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2682
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.7.1266
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.7.1068
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>kakur-</i>	LB (hide i)	MYS.3.272
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.153
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>megur-</i>	QD (move around)	MYS.19.4187
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.9.1740
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>mwi-</i>	UM (turn)	MYS.3.389
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>pate-</i>	LB (end)	MYS.3.274
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.7.1178b
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>tamwi-</i>	UB (turn)	MYS.6.942
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.3.254
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.7.1207
<i>kog-</i>	QD (row)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.9.1780
<i>koi-</i>	UB (lie down)	<i>marob-</i>	QD (tumble)	MYS.3.475
<i>koi-</i>	UB (lie down)	<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.17.3962
<i>komor-</i>	QD (be wrapped) (be secluded)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.13.3326
<i>komor-</i>	QD (be wrapped)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.17.3973

	(be secluded)			
<i>komor-</i>	QD (be wrapped)	<i>tutum-</i>	QD (be hindered)	MYS.18.4138
	(be secluded)			
<i>komor-</i>	QD (be wrapped)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.17.3969
	(be secluded)			
<i>komukap-</i>	QD (face each other)	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.18.4127
<i>kop-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.2.210a
<i>kop-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	<i>nomak-</i>	QD (pray)	MYS.17.4008
<i>kop-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.5.886a
<i>kopor-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.20.4478
<i>kopw-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	<i>sin-</i>	nIrr (die)	MYS.15.3747
<i>kopw-</i>	QD (seek) (pray for)	<i>yam-</i>	QD (stop)	MYS.15.3605
<i>kor-</i>	QD (cut wood)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.13.3232
<i>kotape-</i>	LB (reply)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.13.3276
<i>koyar-</i>	QD (be lying down)	<i>koyar-</i>	QD (be lying down)	KK.89
<i>koye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.7.1208
<i>kudar-</i>	QD (go down)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.17.3962
<i>kukur-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>yose-</i>	LB (draw close t)	MYS.11.2790
<i>kukur-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>yosure-</i>	LB (draw close t)	MYS.11.2448
<i>kum-</i>	QD (draw water)	<i>magap-</i>	QD (get mixed) (be confused)	MYS.19.4143
<i>kum-</i>	QD (group t)	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	KK.91
<i>kup-</i>	QD (hold in mouth) (eat)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.10.1821
<i>kure-</i>	LB (grow dark)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.17.3895
<i>kure-</i>	LB (vanish)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.2.207a
<i>kur-</i>	QD (reel) (haul)	<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	MYS.7.1316
<i>kur-</i>	QD (reel) (haul)	<i>tatane-</i>	LB (pile up t)	MYS.15.3724
<i>kutas-</i>	QD (let rot)	<i>sute-</i>	LB (discard)	MYS.5.900
<i>kwok-</i>	QD (stroke)	<i>re-</i>	LB (put in)	MYS.18.4111
<i>kwok-</i>	QD (stroke)	<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	MYS.18.4057b
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>amar-</i>	QD (be in excess)	MYS.12.3023
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3718
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>kikos-</i>	QD (say [hon])	KK.3
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>kuras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.10.1894

<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.4.661
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>masar-</i>	QD (excel)	MYS.10.1946
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	MYS.10.2171
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>nagusam-</i>	QD (be at ease)	MYS.11.2567
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>nar-</i>	QD (become) (grow)	MYS.4.707
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>nure-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.8.1461
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>sin-</i>	nIrr (die)	MYS.11.2370
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.4.642
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.4.696
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>tukusaz-</i>	QD (use up)	MYS.10.2120
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>urabure-</i>	LB (wither)	MYS.11.2501
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>wabwi-</i>	UB (be embarrassed) (disappointed)	MYS.11.2634
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.6.997
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>wor-</i>	rIrr (be sitting)	MYS.8.1606
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>yam-</i>	QD (stop)	MYS.2.88
<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.15.3690
<i>kwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	<i>gane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.14.3538a
<i>kwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	NSK.19
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>gane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.14.3442
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>ik-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.15.3722
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>in-</i>	nIrr (depart) (die)	MYS.12.3151
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.131a
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (get fat)	<i>mase-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.8.1460
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.1.45
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>pyenar-</i>	QD (be apart)	MYS.17.4006
<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.20.4398
<i>makar-</i>	QD (recede)	<i>dete-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.3.257
<i>makar-</i>	QD (recede)	<i>imase-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.5.894
<i>make-</i>	LB (dispatch) (drive away)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.199a
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.7.1292
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>kakus-</i>	QD (hide t)	MYS.10.2312
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	KK.2
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>kape-</i>	LB (do together) (shift t)	MYS.11.2830

<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.16.3791
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.7.1183
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.12.3148
<i>mak-</i>	QD (sow)	<i>opos-</i>	QD (cultivate)	MYS.18.4113
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>pos-</i>	QD (drain t)	MYS.10.2321
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>purus-</i>	QD (make old)	MYS.7.1326
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.11.2542
<i>mak-</i>	QD ([unclear, probably 'yield'])	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4113
<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.2.199a
<i>makurak-</i>	QD (use as pillow)	<i>nure-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.1.66
<i>mamor-</i>	QD (guard)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (endure)	MYS.11.2657
<i>mapar-</i>	QD (turn) (dance)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	BS.16
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>gat-</i>	QD (win)	MYS.3.370
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>gate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.5.859
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.11.2484
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.1.30
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.15.3653
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>twop-</i>	QD (ask)	MYS.6.976
<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	<i>yorokobwi</i>	UB (rejoice)	MYS.10.2264
		-		
<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	<i>das-</i>	QD (put out)	MYS.15.3765
<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	KK.39
<i>maus-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>mawi-</i>	UB (go [hum])	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.18.4111
<i>mawi-</i>	UB (go [hum])	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.20.4298
<i>mawi-</i>	UB (go [hum])	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.6.1022
<i>mawi-</i>	UB (go [hum])	<i>tar-</i>	QD (arrive)	BS.12
<i>mawir-</i>	QD (go) (come [hum])	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.19.4230
<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	<i>payasane-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.16.3885
<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	<i>tamapane</i>	QD (give)	MYS.5.879
		-		
<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.19.4211
<i>maywop-</i>	QD (fray) (get lost)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.14.3453
<i>megum-</i>	QD (love)	<i>tamapan-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.17.3930
<i>mek-</i>	QD (be driven away)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.20.4413
<i>met-</i>	QD (hold)	<i>yase-</i>	LB (get thin)	MYS.20.4343
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>ak-</i>	QD (be satisfied)	MYS.4.572

<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>akirame-</i>	LB (brighten) (clear)	MYS.19.4187
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>kakus-</i>	QD (hide t)	MYS.14.3362a
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.9.1740
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>mase-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.8.1507
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.4.579
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>matwop-</i>	QD (get lost i)	MYS.2.199b
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>nagwi-</i>	UB (become calm)	MYS.19.4177
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>nas-</i>	QD (do) (make)	MYS.4.690
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>okur-</i>	QD (see off) (dispatch)	MYS.20.4375
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>oros-</i>	QD (let down)	MYS.6.913
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>sakure-</i>	LB (shun)	MYS.19.4154
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>sas-</i>	QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.)) (occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point)	MYS.11.2830
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>sime-</i>	LB (permeate)	MYS.3.300
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.4.612
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>tamapye-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.3.376
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.14.3534
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.10.2075a
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	MYS.11.2380
<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	<i>watas-</i>	QD (make go across)	MYS.3.283
<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.3.256
<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.12.2927
<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.11.2474
<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.14.3360b
<i>mise-</i>	LB (show)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.13.3227
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	<i>kake-</i>	LB (lack)	MYS.3.442
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.121
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be in high spirits)	MYS.10.2233
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	<i>tarapas-</i>	QD (make full)	MYS.13.3329
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.14.3549
<i>mit-</i>	QD (be full)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.11.2382
<i>mitibik-</i>	QD (lead way)	<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	MYS.5.894

<i>mi-ye-</i>	UM (see)-PASS	<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.12.2890
<i>mi-ye-</i>	UM (see)-PASS	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.4.767
<i>mi-ye-</i>	UM (see)-PASS	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.4.615
<i>momit-</i>	QD ((leaves) turn)	<i>pazime-</i>	LB (begin t)	MYS.10.2211
<i>momit-</i>	QD ((leaves) turn)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.10.2194
<i>mop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (increase) (excel)	MYS.14.3557
<i>mor-</i>	QD (guard)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (endure)	MYS.11.2832
<i>mor-</i>	QD (break off)	<i>pam-</i>	QD (eat)	MYS.16.3872
<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.8.1457
<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	<i>kwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	MYS.1.50
<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	<i>nade-</i>	LB (pat)	MYS.20.4356
<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	FK.12
<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.3.327
<i>motome-</i>	LB (seek)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.17.4014
<i>moye-</i>	LB/UB (sprout)	<i>idure-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.8.1418
<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.18.4125
<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.4.665
<i>muke-</i>	LB (face t)	<i>tapirage-</i>	LB (quell) (rule)	MYS.5.813
<i>muk-</i>	QD (face i)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.8.1520a
<i>muk-</i>	QD (face i)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.10.2030
<i>mure-</i>	LB (be many together)	<i>in-</i>	nIrr (depart) (die)	KK.4
<i>mure-</i>	LB (be many together)	<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	MYS.9.1720
<i>mure-</i>	LB (be many together)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.2.177
<i>musub-</i>	QD (scoop)	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.11.2706
<i>musub-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>tare-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.11.2628a
<i>myesage-</i>	LB (summon to palace)	<i>tamapane</i>	QD (give)	MYS.5.882
<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	-		
<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	<i>akirame-</i>	LB (brighten) (clear)	MYS.3.478
<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.1.50
<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	<i>tudwope-</i>	LB (gather t)	MYS.3.478
<i>nabe-</i>	LB (line up t)	<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	MYS.14.3486
<i>nabik-</i>	QD (bow)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.2.194a
<i>nabik-</i>	QD (bow)	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.2.135a
<i>nade-</i>	LB (pat)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.19.4155

<i>nade-</i>	LB (pat)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>nadum-</i>	QD (bog down)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.210a
<i>nadum-</i>	QD (bog down)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.13.3316
<i>nadusap-</i>	QD (be buffeted)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3691
<i>nadusap-</i>	QD (be buffeted)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.19.4189
<i>nadusap-</i>	QD (be buffeted)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.9.1750
<i>nadusap-</i>	QD (be buffeted)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.4.509
<i>nagarape-</i>	LB (fall) (pass)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.19.4160
<i>nagarape-</i>	LB (fall) (pass)	<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	MYS.8.1420
<i>nagarape-</i>	LB (fall) (pass)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.10.2345
<i>nagare-</i>	LB (flow)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.11.2838
<i>nagare-</i>	LB (flow)	<i>purabape-</i>	LB (hitting, striking, and touching (be touching))	MYS.2.194a
<i>nagare-</i>	LB (flow)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.2320
<i>nage-</i>	LB (throw)	<i>kwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	MYS.8.1522
<i>nagekap-</i>	QD (say [hon])	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.19.4214
<i>nagekap-</i>	LB (throw)	<i>kuras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.5.897
<i>nagek-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.8.1629
<i>nagek-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	<i>notabak-</i>	QD (speak [hon])	MYS.20.4408
<i>nagek-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.5.886a
<i>nagek-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	<i>puse-</i>	LB (lay prone)	MYS.17.3962
<i>nagek-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.18.4075
<i>nagusame</i>	LB (set at ease)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.11.2814
-				
<i>nagusame</i>	LB (wake)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.2.194a
-				
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>kapyerap-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.2.192
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.11.2805
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>nuras-</i>	QD (unfasten)	MYS.20.4408
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	MYS.17.3966
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>toyome-</i>	LB (make sound)	MYS.19.4177
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>toyomos-</i>	QD (cause to sound)	MYS.10.1950
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>toyom-</i>	QD ((re)sound)	MYS.8.1474
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.10.1890
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.18.4068
<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.5.898

<i>narab-</i>	QD (be in line)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.3.466
<i>nar-</i>	QD (become) (grow)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.5.800
<i>nar-</i>	QD (become) (grow)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.6.942
<i>nar-</i>	QD (become) (grow)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.20.4386
<i>nas-</i>	QD (do) (make)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.16.3791
<i>nayam-</i>	QD (worry) (suffer)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3694
<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	<i>gate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.4.485
<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.12.3092
<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.11.2650
<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	<i>zame-</i>	LB (wake)	MYS.19.4146
<i>negap-</i>	QD (pray) (hope)	<i>kuras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.5.902
<i>negwi-</i>	UB (honor) (pray)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.20.4331
<i>ni-</i>	UM (resemble)	<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.4.771
<i>nige-</i>	LB (flee)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	KK.98
<i>ninap-</i>	QD (shoulder)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (endure)	MYS.18.4083
<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.11.2828
<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.10.1965
<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	<i>pidut-</i>	QD (get muddy)	MYS.17.3969
<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.10.2178
<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.16.3802
<i>nipoye-</i>	LB (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	<i>sakaye-</i>	LB (prosper)	MYS.19.4211
<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	<i>kudar-</i>	QD (go down)	MYS.10.1828
<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.1.2
<i>nokos-</i>	QD (leave t)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4111
<i>nora-ye-</i>	QD (scold)-PASS	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.16.3793
<i>nuganapy</i>	LB (fall)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.14.3476b
<i>e-</i>	(pass)<UEOJ>			

<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.13.3240
<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	<i>mazipe-</i>	LB (mix t)	MYS.3.423b
<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.8.1547
<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	<i>oros-</i>	QD (let down)	MYS.3.366
<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	<i>tare-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.13.3284
<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	<i>tar-</i>	QD (hang i) (drip)	MYS.3.379
<i>nuk-</i>	QD (strip)	<i>tur-</i>	LB (discard)	MYS.5.800
<i>nup-</i>	QD (sew)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (endure)	MYS.10.2065
<i>nup-</i>	QD (sew)	<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	MYS.16.3791
<i>nup-</i>	QD (sew)	<i>tuke-</i>	LB (attach)	MYS.16.3791
<i>nure-</i>	LB (get soaked) (stained)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (endure)	MYS.6.999
<i>nure-</i>	LB (get soaked) (stained)	<i>pid-</i>	QD (get drenched)	MYS.3.370
<i>nure-</i>	LB (get soaked) (stained)	<i>topor-</i>	QD (pass through)	MYS.10.2180
<i>nur-</i>	QD (paint)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.16.3886
<i>nure-</i>	LB (come loose)	<i>nure-</i>	LB (come loose)	MYS.14.3378
<i>nusum-</i>	QD (deceive) (steal)	<i>sise-</i>	LB (kill)	KK.22
<i>nwoganap</i>	LB (fall) (pass)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.14.3476a
<i>ye-</i>				
<i>oi-</i>	UB (age)	<i>duk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.19.4220
<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.5.813
<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	<i>purus-</i>	QD (make old)	MYS.11.2819
<i>okure-</i>	LB (be left behind)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.2.115
<i>okur-</i>	QD (see off) (dispatch)	<i>mawos-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	MYS.5.876
<i>okur-</i>	QD (see off) (dispatch)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.9.1806
<i>okwi-</i>	UB (arise)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.13.3312
<i>okwi-</i>	UB (arise)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.10.2262
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>(i)r-</i>	QD (scorch)	MYS.6.1047
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>pye-</i>	LB (join)	MYS.20.4389
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>amar-</i>	QD (be in excess)	MYS.7.1335
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	KK.51
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.11.2425
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.10.2089
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>kuras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.10.1934
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>kui-</i>	UB (regret)	MYS.11.2528
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>kwopwi-</i>	UB (love)	MYS.17.4011

<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>masar-</i>	QD (excel)	MYS.13.3306
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>mase-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.3.443
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>matupar-</i>	QD (be wrapped)	MYS.13.3248
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>matwopap</i>	QD (lost)	MYS.9.1804
		-		
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>matwop-</i>	QD (get lost i)	MYS.13.3344
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	MYS.4.679
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.12.2986
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>musubore</i>	LB (be contrite)	MYS.18.4116
		-		
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>nagekap-</i>	QD (sigh)	MYS.17.3969
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>nobe-</i>	LB (state) (extend t)	MYS.19.4154
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>pararakas</i>	QD (make flutter)	MYS.13.3326
		-		
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>pokor-</i>	QD (boast)	MYS.17.4011
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>sinaye-</i>	LB (wither)	MYS.2.131a
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>sin-</i>	nIrr (die)	MYS.4.683
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.11.2430
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.3.325
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>takyebwi-</i>	UB (be fierce)	MYS.11.2354b
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>tanom-</i>	QD (trust) (rely on)	MYS.13.3251
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>tanome-</i>	LB (make trust)	MYS.13.3281
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>tarapas-</i>	QD (make full)	MYS.13.3258
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>tawam-</i>	QD (bend i)	MYS.6.935
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>taye-</i>	LB (be cut)	MYS.4.750
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>urabure-</i>	LB (wither)	MYS.11.2465
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>wabwi-</i>	UB (be embarrassed) (disappointed)	MYS.15.3727
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>wabure-</i>	LB (be discouraging)	MYS.15.3759
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>wadurap-</i>	QD (suffer)	MYS.5.897
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	MYS.6.914
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.12.3045
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>yam-</i>	QD (stop)	MYS.2.149
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.1.5
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>yasum-</i>	QD (rest)	MYS.6.928
<i>omop-</i>	QD (think)	<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.11.2404
<i>omopos-</i>	QD (think [hon])	<i>myese-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.1.29a

<i>op-</i>	QD (bear)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.3.286
<i>op-</i>	QD (chase)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.5.804a
<i>op-</i>	QD (bear)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.3.481
<i>op-</i>	QD (bear)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>op-</i>	QD (bear)	<i>name-</i>	LB (line up)	MYS.13.3314
<i>op-</i>	QD (chase)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.4.545
<i>opop-</i>	QD (hide)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.199a
<i>opose-</i>	LB (make bear)	<i>mote-</i>	LB (make hold)	MYS.18.4081
<i>opuse-</i>	QD (make bear)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.20.4389
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	KK.57
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.11.2778
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>nabik-</i>	QD (bow)	MYS.2.196a
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>sik-</i>	QD ((waves, etc.) repeatedly approach) ((plants, etc.) thicken)	MYS.10.1984
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>tame-</i>	LB ([unclear, possibly 'accumulate water'])	MYS.13.3227
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.3.322
<i>opwi-</i>	UB (grow)	<i>wowor-</i>	QD (bow)	MYS.2.196a
<i>or-</i>	QD (weave)	<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	MYS.9.1807
<i>or-</i>	QD (weave)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.7.1298
<i>ori-</i>	UB (go down)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.2.188
<i>osape-</i>	LB (block)	<i>sas-</i>	QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.)) (occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point)	MYS.13.3295
<i>osape-</i>	LB (block)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.3.478
<i>osape-</i>	LB (block)	<i>todome-</i>	LB (stop t)	MYS.6.1002
<i>os-</i>	QD (push)	<i>birakane-</i>	QD (open t)	NSK.17
<i>os-</i>	QD (push)	<i>nabe-</i>	LB (make bow)	MYS.1.45
<i>os-</i>	QD (push)	<i>ner-</i>	QD (clutch) (knead)	MYS.9.1809
<i>os-</i>	QD (push)	<i>puse-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.11.2477
<i>os-</i>	QD (push)	<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.19.4245
<i>os-</i>	QD (push)	<i>wake-</i>	LB (split t)	MYS.17.4003
<i>oti-</i>	UB (fall)	<i>nadusap-</i>	QD (be buffeted)	KK.100
<i>oti-</i>	UB (fall)	<i>purabape-</i>	LB (hitting, striking, and	KK.100

			touching (be touching))	
<i>oti-</i>	UB (fall)	<i>tagit-</i>	QD (flow fast)	MYS.9.1714
<i>otos-</i>	QD (drop t)	<i>ire-</i>	LB (put in)	MYS.16.3878
<i>pabur-</i>	QD (send away)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.2.199a
<i>pabur-</i>	QD (send away)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.13.3324a
<i>pag-</i>	QD (peel)	<i>tar-</i>	QD (hang i) (drip)	MYS.16.3886
<i>pak-</i>	QD (sweep)	<i>kiywome-</i>	LB (purify)	MYS.20.4465
<i>pak-</i>	QD (string (bow)) (wear)	<i>sopur-</i>	LB (accompany)	MYS.11.2635
<i>panare-</i>	LB (be separate)	<i>sute-</i>	LB (discard)	BS.19
<i>panare-</i>	LB (be separate)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.18.4106
<i>panat-</i>	QD (separate t)	<i>idas-</i>	QD (put out)	BS.4
<i>pape-</i>	LB (stretch t) (extend thoughts)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.9.1809
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	<i>motopor-</i>	QD (go back)	KK.13
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	<i>motoporo</i>	QD (crawl around)	KK.13
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	<i>p-</i>		
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	<i>nor-</i>	QD (ride)	MYS.5.804a
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	<i>obotor-</i>	QD (blanket)	MYS.16.3855
<i>pap-</i>	QD (stretch i) (crawl)	<i>pusitut-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.2.199a
<i>parap-</i>	QD (brush (away)) (suppress) (repent)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.199b
<i>par-</i>	QD (stretch t)	<i>date-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	KK.89
<i>par-</i>	QD (stretch t)	<i>watas-</i>	QD (make go across)	NSK.3
<i>pazik-</i>	QD (retaliate) (unstring (bow))	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.14.3437
<i>pazime-</i>	LB (begin t)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.1.52
<i>pe-</i>	LB (elapse)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.2140
<i>pidut-</i>	QD (get muddy)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.3.475
<i>pidut-</i>	QD (get muddy)	<i>nake-</i>	LB (make cry)	MYS.13.3326
<i>pike-</i>	LB (be pulled)	<i>in-</i>	nIrr (depart) (die)	KK.4
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	NSK.115
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>kagapur-</i>	QD (cover head)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>kake-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.13.3239
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>kwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	MYS.11.2647

<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2640
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>musub-</i>	QD (bind)	MYS.2.141
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.13.3300
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>nuras-</i>	QD (unfasten)	MYS.11.2610
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>panat-</i>	QD (separate t)	MYS.2.199a
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>pos-</i>	QD (drain t)	MYS.9.1800
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>(i)re-</i>	LB (put in)	NSK.111
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>sope-</i>	LB (accompany)	MYS.16.3869
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>todome-</i>	LB (stop t)	MYS.20.4408
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>uwe-</i>	LB (plant)	MYS.18.4113
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	MYS.20.4331
<i>pik-</i>	QD (pull)	<i>yodi-</i>	UB (grab and pull away)	MYS.9.1683
<i>pirak-</i>	QD (open t)	<i>ake-</i>	LB (open t)	MYS.4.591
<i>pirak-</i>	QD (open t)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.16.3868
<i>pirip-</i>	QD (pick up)	<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	MYS.15.3627
<i>piror-</i>	QD (be widespread)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (abstain)	KK.101
<i>piror-</i>	QD (be widespread)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	KK.57
<i>pitaras-</i>	QD (mature)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.13.3324a
<i>pok-</i>	QD (pray)	<i>kurupos-</i>	QD (craze)	KK.39
<i>pok-</i>	QD (pray)	<i>motopos-</i>	QD (make go back)	NSK.32
<i>por-</i>	QD (desire)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.9.1724
<i>por-</i>	QD (scoop out)	<i>suwe-</i>	LB (make sit)	MYS.13.3284
<i>pos-</i>	QD (drain t)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.10.2012
<i>puke-</i>	LB (grow late)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.925
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	FK.13
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>kapyerap-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.10.2092
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	MYS.12.3068
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.10.2108
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>kwos-</i>	QD (make pass over)	MYS.20.4295
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>matwopas</i>	QD (make get lost)	MYS.2.199a
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	-		
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>midar-</i>	QD (confuse)	MYS.10.1856
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>nabik-</i>	QD (bow)	MYS.20.4515
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>nas-</i>	QD (make sing) (cry)	MYS.2.199a
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	NSK.98

<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>tadayopas</i>	QD (make float)	MYS.10.2041
		-		
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>puk-</i>	QD (blow)	<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	MYS.12.3056a
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>adas-</i>	QD ([unknown])	MYS.19.4235
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>karas-</i>	QD (dry t)	MYS.11.2776
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	MYS.19.4164
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>motome-</i>	LB (seek)	MYS.4.545
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>naras-</i>	QD (level)	MYS.6.1047
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>nuk-</i>	QD (pluck) (poke)	MYS.13.3295
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>nuke-</i>	LB (discard)	MYS.5.800
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	BS.7
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>okos-</i>	QD (wake) (raise)	MYS.3.478
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>sidum-</i>	QD (sink i) (get quiet)	MYS.11.2352
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.3.478
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>topor-</i>	QD (pass through)	MYS.20.4465
<i>pum-</i>	QD (tread)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.4.525
<i>pure-</i>	LB (wave)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	KK.74
<i>pur-</i>	QD (shake)	<i>kapas-</i>	QD (do together) (shift t)	MYS.5.804b
<i>pur-</i>	QD (shake)	<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	MYS.17.3993
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.13.3268
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>magape-</i>	LB (confuse (someone))	MYS.3.262
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>nadum-</i>	QD (bog down)	MYS.7.1116
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.8.1659
<i>pur-</i>	QD (shake)	<i>okose-</i>	QD (wake) (raise)	MYS.3.364
<i>pur-</i>	QD (shake)	<i>okos-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.20.4398
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>opop-</i>	QD (hide)	MYS.10.2243
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	MYS.3.370
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>sik-</i>	QD ((waves, etc.) repeatedly approach) ((plants, etc.) thicken)	MYS.8.1639
<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	<i>sikir-</i>	QD (be repeated) (continuous)	MYS.10.1834
<i>pur-</i>	QD (shake)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.7.1190

<i>puri-</i>	UB (get old)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.1884
<i>purisake-</i>	LB (revere)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	FK.17
<i>purisake-</i>	QD (shake)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.19.4160
<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	<i>apug-</i>	QD (revere)	MYS.5.904
<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.10.1924
<i>pyedate-</i>	LB (put away)	<i>am-</i>	QD (weave)	MYS.11.2777
<i>sadame-</i>	LB (decide) (pacify)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.18.4098
<i>saduke-</i>	LB (throw) (give)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.20.4465
<i>sakamidu</i>	QD ([unknown])	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.18.4059
<i>k-</i>		<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.950
<i>sakap-</i>	QD (fix boundaries)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.3.471
<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.138
<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	<i>sugur-</i>	QD (pass)	MYS.8.1559
<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be in high spirits)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.2.150
<i>sakar-</i>	QD (be apart)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.2.161
<i>sakaye-</i>	LB (prosper)	<i>imasane-</i>	QD (abstain)	MYS.19.4169
<i>sakaye-</i>	LB (prosper)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.3.261
<i>sakaye-</i>	LB (prosper)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.1047
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.10.2275
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>masar-</i>	QD (excel)	MYS.10.2104
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>megur-</i>	QD (move around)	MYS.6.931
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>nipop-</i>	QD (be red) (colorful) (fragrant)	MYS.10.1872
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>some-</i>	LB (begin)	MYS.10.1869
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>susabwi-</i>	UB (wither)	MYS.10.2281
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	MYS.10.1900
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.9.1749
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.5.830
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>wowor-</i>	QD (bow)	MYS.3.475
<i>sak-</i>	QD (bloom)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.8.1422
<i>sakyeb-</i>	QD (shout)	<i>orab-</i>	QD (wail)	MYS.9.1809
<i>samorap-</i>	QD (serve)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.2.199a
<i>sare-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	<i>arat-</i>	QD ([unknown])	NSK.40
<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.10.1865

<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.971
<i>sasage-</i>	LB (raise) (give)	<i>maus-</i>	QD (speak [hum])	BS.9
<i>sasap-</i>	QD (pierce)	<i>kasanap-</i>	QD (pile up)	MYS.16.3791
<i>sas-</i>	QD ((natural phenomena happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up))	<i>idure-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.11.2461
<i>sas-</i>	QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.)) (occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point)	<i>kape-</i>	LB (do together) (shift t)	MYS.5.804a
<i>sas-</i>	QD ((natural phenomena happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up))	<i>kape-</i>	LB (do together) (shift t)	MYS.15.3625
<i>sas-</i>	QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.)) (occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point)	<i>kudar-</i>	QD (go down)	MYS.20.4360
<i>sas-</i>	QD ((natural phenomena happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up))	<i>kumor-</i>	QD (be cloudy)	MYS.11.2513
<i>sas-</i>	QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.)) (occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point)	<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	KK.3
<i>sas-</i>	QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped	<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.9.1780

<i>sas-</i>	(by a net, web, trap, etc.)) (occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point) QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.))	<i>narab-</i>	QD (be in line)	MYS.6.1020.1021
<i>sas-</i>	(occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point) QD ((natural phenomena happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up)))	<i>narab-</i>	QD (be in line)	MYS.9.1738
<i>sas-</i>	(occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point) QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.))	<i>nobore-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.18.4062
<i>sas-</i>	(occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point) QD ((natural phenomena happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up)))	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.2.167b
<i>sas-</i>	(occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point) QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.))	<i>pak-</i>	QD (string (bow)) (wear)	MYS.16.3791
<i>sas-</i>	(occupy) (light (a fire)) (pour) (sew) (name) (point) QD (pierce) (pole a boat) (be trapped (by a net, web, trap, etc.))	<i>watas-</i>	QD (make go across)	MYS.19.4189

<i>sasup-</i>	QD (invite)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.16.3879
<i>sawag-</i>	QD (rustle)	<i>kipop-</i>	QD (rival)	MYS.20.4360
<i>sawak-</i>	QD (rustle)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.17.3962
<i>saye-</i>	LB (become intensely cold)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.13.3281
<i>sek-</i>	QD (dam)	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.8.1635
<i>sek-</i>	QD (dam)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (join)	MYS.7.1383
<i>serasimye</i>	QD (bend)	<i>k-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.14.3437
-	<NEOJ>			
<i>se-</i>	sIrr (do)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.11.2533
<i>se-</i>	sIrr (do)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.5.801
<i>se-</i>	sIrr (do)	<i>sir-</i>	QD (know)	MYS.17.3930
<i>sidumar-</i>	QD (get quiet)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.2.199a
<i>sidume-</i>	LB (sink t) (quiet t)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.2.190
<i>sidume-</i>	LB (sink t) (quiet t)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.5.813
<i>sigaram-</i>	QD ([unknown])	<i>tiras-</i>	QD (scatter t)	MYS.6.1047
<i>siger-</i>	QD (flourish)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.9.1795
<i>sigup-</i>	QD ([unknown])	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.16.3821
<i>sik-</i>	QD (reach) (chase)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	KK.59
<i>sik-</i>	QD (rule)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.3.235b
<i>sik-</i>	QD ((waves, etc.) repeatedly approach ((plants, etc.) thicken)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (increase) (excel)	MYS.18.4135
<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	<i>mite-</i>	LB (fill)	MYS.18.4057a
<i>sik-</i>	QD (rule)	<i>nabe-</i>	LB (make bow)	MYS.1.1
<i>sik-</i>	QD ((waves, etc.) repeatedly approach ((plants, etc.) thicken)	<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	MYS.4.786
<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	MYS.19.4205
<i>simar-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>motopos-</i>	QD (hold)	KK.109
<i>sime-</i>	LB (possess)	<i>sas-</i>	QD ((natural phenomena) happen) (shine) ((clouds) rise) ((plants) grow (up))	MYS.6.1051
<i>simes-</i>	QD (show)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.9.1753

<i>sim-</i>	QD (be permeated)	<i>topor-</i>	QD (pass through)	MYS.16.3811
<i>simisabwi</i> -	UB ([unknown])	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.1.52
<i>sinap-</i>	QD (be supple)	<i>sakaye-</i>	LB (prosper)	MYS.13.3234
<i>sinaye-</i>	LB (wither)	<i>urabure-</i>	LB (wither)	MYS.10.2298
<i>sinob-</i>	QD (yearn)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.11.2752
<i>sinobwi-</i>	UB/QD (endure) (hide)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.2.129b
<i>sinwopa-</i> <i>ye-</i>	QD (yearn)-PASS	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.1065
<i>sinwop-</i>	QD (yearn)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.19.4147
<i>sinwop-</i>	QD (yearn)	<i>watare-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.13.3329
<i>sipabure-</i>	LB (clear throat)	<i>tugure-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	MYS.17.4011
<i>sir-</i>	QD (own) (rule)	<i>imase-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.6.1047
<i>sir-</i>	QD (own) (rule)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>sir-</i>	QD (own) (rule)	<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.6.1053
<i>sir-</i>	QD (know)	<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.18.4094a
<i>sirase-</i>	LB (inform)	<i>myes-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.18.4098
<i>sir-</i>	QD (know)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.2.98
<i>sir-</i>	QD (know)	<i>mase-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.15.3580
<i>sirus-</i>	QD (mark)	<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	MYS.19.4254
<i>sirus-</i>	QD (mark)	<i>tume-</i>	LB (collect) (hoard)	MYS.16.3858
<i>sise-</i>	LB (kill)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	KK.3
<i>sitap-</i>	QD (fall in love with)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.5.796
<i>some-</i>	LB (dye)	<i>kake-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.10.1847
<i>some-</i>	LB (dye)	<i>tuke-</i>	LB (soak) (pickle t)	MYS.11.2827
<i>sope-</i>	LB (accompany)	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.2.194a
<i>se-</i>	sIrr (do)	<i>se-</i>	sIrr (do)	MYS.14.3487
<i>sugus-</i>	QD (let pass)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.13.3272
<i>sugus-</i>	QD (let pass)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.5.804a
<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	<i>kakure-</i>	LB (hide i)	MYS.7.1069
<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.5.885
<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.19.4211

<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.2209
<i>suk-</i>	QD (hoe)	<i>banure-</i>	LB (be separate)	KK.99
<i>sukup-</i>	QD (rescue)	<i>tamapan-</i>	QD (give)	BS.4
<i>sum-</i>	QD (live at)	<i>sum-</i>	QD (live at)	MYS.16.3850
<i>sum-</i>	QD (live at)	<i>watare-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.9.1755
<i>sur-</i>	QD (rub) (scrape)	<i>tuke-</i>	LB (attach)	MYS.7.1361
<i>suwe-</i>	LB (make sit)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.3.443
<i>tadak-</i>	QD (hitting, striking, and touching (hit) (strike))	<i>azapar-</i>	QD (be knotted) (entangled)	NSK.96
<i>tadak-</i>	QD (hitting, striking, and touching (hit) (strike))	<i>managar-</i>	QD ([unknown])	KK.3
<i>tadune-</i>	LB (ask) (seek)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.9.1746
<i>tadune-</i>	LB (ask) (seek)	<i>motome-</i>	LB (seek)	BS.8
<i>tadusapar-</i>	QD (join hands)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.10.2024
<i>tadusapar-</i>	QD (join hands)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.4.728
<i>tadwor-</i>	QD (go visit)	<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.5.804a
<i>tagit-</i>	QD (flow fast)	<i>nagarure-</i>	LB (flow)	MYS.6.991
<i>tagit-</i>	QD (flow fast)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.11.2718
<i>takupap-</i>	QD (lay up store)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.19.4220
<i>tanom-</i>	QD (trust) (rely on)	<i>sugus-</i>	QD (let pass)	MYS.9.1774
<i>taputwob</i>	UB ([unknown])	<i>negap-</i>	QD (pray) (hope)	MYS.5.904
<i>wi-</i>				
<i>tar-</i>	QD (hang i) (drip)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.16.3886
<i>tar-</i>	QD (suffice)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.2.220
<i>tas-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>de-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.20.4383
<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.10.2069
<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	<i>watas-</i>	QD (make go across)	MYS.6.926
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.6.1050
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>azar-</i>	QD ([unknown])	MYS.5.904
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>basir-</i>	QD (run)	MYS.5.896
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be)	MYS.11.2714a

	(depart)		able)	
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>gate-</i>	LB (join)	MYS.7.1139
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.10.1877
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kamusabw</i>	UB (appear	MYS.12.2863a
	(depart)	<i>i-</i>	godlike)	
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kapar-</i>	QD (change i)	MYS.6.1048
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.15.3759
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.19.4234
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3627
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kik-</i>	QD (hear)	MYS.2.207a
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>kuk-</i>	QD (creep through)	MYS.17.3911
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	MYS.13.3280
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>midaye-</i>	LB (be confused)	MYS.14.3563
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	KK.76
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>motopor-</i>	QD (go back)	MYS.11.2821
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.1.61
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>nagekap-</i>	QD (sigh) (weep)	MYS.9.1801
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>naras-</i>	QD (level)	MYS.9.1808
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.9.1760
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>nure-</i>	LB (get soaked)	MYS.2.105
	(depart)		(stained)	
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>sakay-</i>	LB (prosper)	MYS.7.1286
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>samorap-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.3.443
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>sape-</i>	LB (plug)	MYS.13.3335
	(depart)			
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand)	<i>sawak-</i>	QD (rustle)	MYS.3.388
	(depart)			

<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>sik-</i>	QD ((waves, etc.) repeatedly approach) ((plants, etc.) thicken)	MYS.18.4093
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>sinap-</i>	QD (be supple)	MYS.20.4441
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>swop-</i>	QD (be next to)	SNK.6
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>tanabik-</i>	QD ((snow, fog) flows)	MYS.17.3958
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.1.2
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>tomar-</i>	QD (stop i)	MYS.2.230
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.14.3375
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>watare-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.2.225
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>wodor-</i>	QD (jump)	MYS.5.904
<i>tat-</i>	QD (cut)	<i>yak-</i>	QD (roast)	MYS.4.755
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>yame-</i>	LB (stop t)	KK.81
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>yorane-</i>	QD (approach)	NSK.72
<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	<i>ywobap-</i>	QD (call often)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>tayutap-</i>	QD (be unsettled by movement)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3716
<i>terasap-</i>	QD (show)	<i>aruk-</i>	QD (walk)	MYS.18.4130
<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	<i>idure-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.11.2462
<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	KK.57
<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.1.15
<i>timar-</i>	QD (stop i)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.20.4372
<i>tipap-</i>	QD ((gods) help)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.9.1753
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>kone-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.10.2125
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>kos-</i>	QD (wake) (raise)	MYS.15.3702
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.8.1437
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.10.2325
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>magap-</i>	QD (get mixed) (be confused)	MYS.17.3993

<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>magapur-</i>	LB (confuse (someone))	MYS.10.1867
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>midare-</i>	LB (be confused)	MYS.9.1685
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>sugure-</i>	LB (excel)	MYS.9.1684
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>sugur-</i>	QD (pass)	MYS.20.4496
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.8.1489
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	MYS.4.543
<i>tir-</i>	QD (scatter i)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.1864
<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	<i>agar-</i>	QD (rise)	MYS.17.3906
<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	<i>kaker-</i>	QD (soar)	MYS.9.1755
<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.5.876
<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	<i>kuk-</i>	QD (creep through)	MYS.17.3969
<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	<i>kwoye-</i>	LB (pass over)	MYS.7.1175
<i>tob-</i>	QD (fly)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.19.4192
<i>todome-</i>	LB (stop t)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.3.461
<i>todome-</i>	LB (stop t)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.3.471
<i>todomwi-</i>	UB (stop)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.19.4224
<i>todomwi-</i>	UB (stop)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.5.804a
<i>togame-</i>	LB (censure)	<i>tamape-</i>	LB (receive [hum])	MYS.4.721
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>ake-</i>	LB (open t)	MYS.11.2405
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>arap-</i>	QD (wash)	MYS.12.3009
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>kapas-</i>	QD (do together) (shift t)	MYS.10.2090
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>kape-</i>	LB (do together) (shift t)	MYS.3.431
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>makene-</i>	LB (prepare)	MYS.8.1518a
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>midar-</i>	QD (confuse)	MYS.16.3791
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.12.2919
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>sake-</i>	LB (be apart)	MYS.5.896
<i>tok-</i>	QD (untie)	<i>yukan-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.2016
<i>tome-</i>	LB (stop t)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.9.1809
<i>tomonape</i>	LB (take along)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.19.4189
-				
<i>tomos-</i>	QD (kindle)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.15.3672
<i>tonogumo</i>	QD (cloud up completely)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.18.4122
<i>r-</i>				
<i>topor-</i>	QD (pass through)	<i>ter-</i>	QD (shine)	MYS.11.2354a
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.13.3324a
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.18.4129

<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>atapur-</i>	LB (give)	MYS.2.210a
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>garas-</i>	QD (dry t)	KK.43
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>kake-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.3.379
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>kape-</i>	LB (do together) (shift t)	MYS.16.3875
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>kazarap-</i>	QD (adorn)	MYS.16.3791
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>ki-</i>	UM (wear)	MYS.12.3112
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.13.3245
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>makasur-</i>	LB (let do)	MYS.2.213
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.14.3485
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.3.443
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>muk-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.1.62
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>myese-</i>	QD (see [hon]) (rule)	MYS.16.3853
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>nabike-</i>	LB (make bow)	MYS.9.1678
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>ob-</i>	QD (gird on)	MYS.2.199a
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.11.2356
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>op-</i>	QD (bear)	MYS.3.478
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>opose-</i>	LB (make bear)	MYS.20.4465
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>pake-</i>	LB (make string (bow)) (make wear)	MYS.2.99
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>pak-</i>	{QD} (string (bow)) (wear)	MYS.20.4413
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>panas-</i>	QD (separate t)	MYS.14.3420
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>sagur-</i>	QD (hunt for)	MYS.13.3302
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>sik-</i>	QD (spread)	MYS.16.3791
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>sop-</i>	QD (be next to)	MYS.4.604

	hand)			
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>swope-</i>	LB (accompany)	MYS.17.4011
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>todokopor-</i>	QD (be due)	MYS.4.492
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tukane-</i>	LB (bundle)	MYS.16.3791
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tuke-</i>	LB (attach)	MYS.6.1019
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	MYS.20.4398
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tukus-</i>	QD (use up)	MYS.11.2442
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tutuk-</i>	QD (continue i)	MYS.5.804a
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>yorop-</i>	QD (dress self)	MYS.1.2
<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>yosop-</i>	QD (dress) (prepare a boat for departure)	KK.4
<i>totonope-</i>	LB (arrange)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.19.4254
<i>toyom-</i>	QD ((re)sound)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.10.2162
<i>tudwop-</i>	QD (gather i)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.2.167b
<i>tugar-</i>	QD (tie)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.18.4106
<i>tuge-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.4.583
<i>tuge-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.7.1248
<i>tuge-</i>	LB (report) (tell)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.15.3640
<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.10.2057
<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	NSK.19
<i>tug-</i>	QD (pass on)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.3.443
<i>tukam-</i>	QD (grip)	<i>kakar-</i>	QD (hang i)	MYS.4.695
<i>tukape-</i>	LB (serve)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.13.3324a
<i>tukape-</i>	LB (serve)	<i>mat-</i>	QD (wait)	NSK.102
<i>tukape-</i>	LB (serve)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.17.3922
<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	<i>amas-</i>	QD (leave excess)	KK.94
<i>tuk-</i>	QD (pound) (hull)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (join)	MYS.16.3829
<i>tuk-</i>	QD (adhere) (arrive)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.1020.1021
<i>tukur-</i>	QD (make)	<i>kise-</i>	LB (dress)	MYS.9.1800

<i>tukur-</i>	QD (make)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	MYS.9.1809
<i>tukus-</i>	QD (use up)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.11.2442
<i>tum-</i>	QD (pluck)	<i>age-</i>	LB (give) (raise)	MYS.20.4408
<i>tum-</i>	QD (pluck)	<i>karas-</i>	QD (dry t)	MYS.14.3455
<i>tum-</i>	QD (pluck)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.20.4471
<i>tute-</i>	LB (communicate)	<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	MYS.17.3962
<i>tutuk-</i>	QD (peck at)	<i>yabur-</i>	QD (break) (defeat)	MYS.16.3880
<i>tutum-</i>	QD (wrap) (pile)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.7.1222
<i>tutwome-</i>	LB (work hard)	<i>tab-</i>	QD (give) (deign)	MYS.2.128
<i>twop-</i>	QD (ask)	<i>sakure-</i>	LB (be apart)	MYS.3.460
<i>twop-</i>	QD (ask)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.159
<i>twor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.20.4417
<i>twor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	<i>tudusirop-</i>	QD (eat in small bites)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>udak-</i>	QD ([unknown])	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.3.481
<i>ukabe-</i>	LB (float t)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.5.852a
<i>ukabe-</i>	LB (float t)	<i>nagas-</i>	QD (make flow)	MYS.1.50
<i>ukab-</i>	QD (float i)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.8.1587
<i>uke-</i>	LB (float t)	<i>suwe-</i>	LB (make sit)	MYS.9.1764
<i>ukep-</i>	QD (pray for)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.11.2479
<i>uk-</i>	QD (float i)	<i>idure-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.16.3878
<i>uk-</i>	QD (float i)	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.7.1235
<i>uk-</i>	QD (float i)	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.1.50
<i>umare-</i>	QD (give birth)	<i>ide-</i>	LB (go out)	MYS.5.904
<i>unagaker-</i>	QD ([unknown])	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	MYS.18.4125
<i>urabure-</i>	LB (wither)	<i>tat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	MYS.7.1119
<i>urasabwi-</i>	UB (lament)	<i>kuras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.2.159
<i>use-</i>	LB (get lost)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.7.1406
<i>usipak-</i>	QD (control)	<i>imas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.19.4245
<i>usipak-</i>	QD (control)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.1020.1021
<i>usobuk-</i>	QD (pucker and blow)	<i>nobor-</i>	QD (climb)	MYS.9.1753
<i>usure-</i>	LB (get thin)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.11.2674
<i>utur-</i>	QD (change i)	<i>sar-</i>	QD (move on) (leave)	BS.10
<i>utur-</i>	QD (change i)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.20.4483
<i>uturop-</i>	QD (change i)	<i>kapar-</i>	QD (change i)	MYS.6.1047

<i>uturop-</i>	QD (change)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.6.1054
<i>utus-</i>	QD (transfer)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	BS.13
<i>utus-</i>	QD (transfer)	<i>ok-</i>	QD ((dew) settles)	BS.9
<i>utute-</i>	LB (discard)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.11.2661
<i>uwe-</i>	LB (plant)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.15.3746
<i>uwe-</i>	LB (plant)	<i>opos-</i>	QD (cultivate)	MYS.3.384
<i>uyamap-</i>	QD (respect)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	BS.14
<i>uzusumar-</i>	QD ([unknown])	<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	KK.102
<i>wabwi-</i>	UB (be embarrassed) (disappointed)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.10.2152
<i>wabwi-</i>	UB (be embarrassed) (disappointed)	<i>wor-</i>	rIrr (be sitting)	MYS.4.618
<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.3.276
<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.20.4408
<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.2.133
<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.8.1453
<i>wake-</i>	LB (split t)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.20.4297
<i>wak-</i>	QD (distinguish)	<i>sir-</i>	QD (know)	MYS.10.1915
<i>wak-</i>	LB (split t)	<i>wake-</i>	LB (split t)	MYS.12.3099
<i>wasur-</i>	QD (forget)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.14.3394
<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.1.72
<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.14.3362a
<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.2.196a
<i>wasure-</i>	LB (forget)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.14.3362b
<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.4.643
<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.10.2085
<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.15.3627
<i>watas-</i>	QD (make go across)	<i>tamapan-</i>	QD (give)	BS.4
<i>wawake-</i>	LB (be frayed) (worn out)	<i>sagar-</i>	QD (go down)	MYS.5.892.q
<i>wem-</i>	QD (laugh)	<i>magar-</i>	QD (endure) (be bent)	MYS.19.4192
<i>wem-</i>	QD (laugh)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2627
<i>wep-</i>	QD (get drunk)	<i>nak-</i>	QD (cry)	MYS.3.341

<i>wer-</i>	QD (carve)	<i>tuke-</i>	LB (attach)	BS.3
<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	<i>akas-</i>	QD (let brighten) (pass the night)	MYS.2.89
<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	<i>garas-</i>	QD (dry t)	KK.43
<i>wi-</i>	UM (lead)	<i>ne-</i>	LB (sleep)	MYS.14.3388
<i>wi-</i>	UM (lead)	<i>sinwog-</i>	QD (pull through) (stave off) (endure)	MYS.7.1308
<i>wi-</i>	UM (be at) (sit)	<i>tiras-</i>	QD (scatter t)	MYS.9.1755
<i>wi-</i>	UM (lead)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.5.906
<i>wor-</i>	rIrr (be sitting)	<i>akas-</i>	QD (let brighten) (pass the night)	MYS.18.4068
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	MYS.12.2937
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>kazas-</i>	QD (adorn)	MYS.17.3966
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.8.1586
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>mazipe-</i>	LB (mix t)	MYS.10.1904
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>mot-</i>	QD (hold)	MYS.10.1891
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>payas-</i>	QD (make grow)	MYS.14.3406
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>puse-</i>	LB (lay prone)	MYS.4.500
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>pus-</i>	QD (lie prone)	MYS.3.379
<i>wor-</i>	QD (fold t)	<i>tak-</i>	QD (kindle)	MYS.7.1203
<i>wosame-</i>	LB (settle t) (control)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.928
<i>woti-</i>	UB (regain youth) (revive)	<i>e-</i>	LB (obtain) (be able)	MYS.13.3245
<i>woti-</i>	UB (regain youth) (revive)	<i>kapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.6.1046
<i>woti-</i>	UB (regain youth) (revive)	<i>mas-</i>	QD (be) (come) (go [hon])	MYS.4.650
<i>yak-</i>	QD (roast)	<i>porobos-</i>	QD (ruin)	MYS.15.3724
<i>yak-</i>	QD (roast)	<i>tar-</i>	QD (suffice)	MYS.7.1336
<i>yak-</i>	QD (roast)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.11.2742
<i>yame-</i>	LB (stop t)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	KK.2
<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.18.4111
<i>yar-</i>	QD (send away)	<i>swope-</i>	QD (be next to)	MYS.18.4085
<i>yase-</i>	LB (get thin)	<i>yase-</i>	LB (get thin)	MYS.16.3854
<i>yodi-</i>	UB (grab and pull away)	<i>tor-</i>	QD (take) (hold in hand)	MYS.19.4289
<i>yom-</i>	QD (read)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2641
<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.11.2351
<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	<i>dat-</i>	QD (stand) (depart)	KK.104
<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.7.1352
<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.13.3225

<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	<i>nete-</i>	LB (sleep)	KK.84
<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.6.1020.1 021
<i>yoropop-</i>	QD (zigzag)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	NSK.56
<i>yose-</i>	LB (draw close t)	<i>kane-</i>	LB (be unable)	MYS.7.1401
<i>yose-</i>	LB (draw close t)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.15.3629
<i>yos-</i>	QD (draw close t)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.9.1679a
<i>yosop-</i>	QD (dress) (prepare a boat for departure)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	MYS.2.199a
<i>yudur-</i>	QD (give) (transfer)	<i>matur-</i>	QD (serve)	BS.9
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>ape-</i>	LB (join)	KK.102
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>ap-</i>	QD (meet)	MYS.12.2946
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>gapyer-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.13.3301
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>guras-</i>	QD (let time pass)	MYS.17.4011
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>itar-</i>	QD (arrive)	MYS.1.79
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kagure-</i>	LB ([unknown])	MYS.9.1807
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kakur-</i>	QD (be hidden)	MYS.6.942
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kapar-</i>	QD (change i)	MYS.13.3231a
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kapyerap-</i>	QD (return)	MYS.7.1177
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kate-</i>	LB (be difficult)	MYS.7.1127
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kat-</i>	QD (win)	MYS.14.3353
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kaywop-</i>	QD (move across i)	MYS.3.261
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>kose-</i>	irr (desiderative verbal aux)	MYS.12.3154
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>ko-</i>	kIrr (come)	MYS.1.55
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>mak-</i>	QD (twist)	MYS.7.1268
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>mamorap-</i>	QD (watch over)	KK.14
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>masar-</i>	QD (excel)	MYS.11.2702
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>megur-</i>	QD (move around)	BS.14
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>motopor-</i>	QD (go back)	MYS.4.509
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>mukap-</i>	QD (face i)	MYS.13.3324a
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>mwi-</i>	UM (turn)	MYS.3.390
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>pabakar-</i>	QD (be hampered)	MYS.3.353
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>pure-</i>	LB (hitting, striking, and touching (touch t))	MYS.10.2320
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>pur-</i>	QD (rain) (fall down)	MYS.8.1532
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>sakum-</i>	QD (push way through)	MYS.6.971

<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>sop-</i>	QD (be next to)	MYS.1.38a
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>sugwi-</i>	UB (pass time)	MYS.17.3957
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>tagap-</i>	QD (differ)	KK.22
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>tanabik-</i>	QD ((snow, fog) flows)	MYS.16.3791
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>topor-</i>	QD (pass through)	MYS.11.2386
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>tudwop-</i>	QD (gather i)	MYS.9.1759
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>tukare-</i>	LB (tire i)	MYS.11.2643
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>wakare-</i>	LB (be split) (be parted)	MYS.2.155
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>watar-</i>	QD (go across)	MYS.18.4125
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>yor-</i>	QD (approach)	MYS.9.1801
<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	<i>yuk-</i>	QD (go)	MYS.11.2395
<i>yup-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>tare-</i>	LB (hang t)	MYS.13.3295
<i>yup-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.3.401
<i>yup-</i>	QD (bind)	<i>tuke-</i>	LB (attach)	MYS.15.3766
<i>yurupe-</i>	LB (make slack)	<i>mi-</i>	UM (see)	MYS.11.2640
<i>yurus-</i>	QD (slacken) (pardon)	<i>tamap-</i>	QD (give)	MYS.8.1657
<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	<i>kapas-</i>	QD (do together) (shift t)	MYS.17.4018a
<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	<i>kapyes-</i>	QD (turn) (return t)	MYS.10.1822
<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	<i>kos-</i>	LB (offer)	MYS.7.1289
<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	<i>tate-</i>	LB (erect) (stand)	MYS.20.4320
<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	<i>toyome-</i>	LB (make sound)	MYS.6.1050
<i>ywob-</i>	QD (call)	<i>yose-</i>	LB (draw close t)	MYS.15.3643a