

**A diachronic perspective on early Japanese adjectival morphology:
Some more pre-Old Japanese copulas**
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***T-* ~ *n-* copula alternants**

(1)
(Cf. Bjarke Frellesvig. 2001. “A common Korean and Japanese copula”. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 10/1, 1-35)

	<i>t-</i>	<i>n-</i>
Copula	<i>to, tu</i>	<i>ni, no</i>
Oblique case and conjunctive particles	<i>to</i>	<i>ni, nite</i>
Genitive particle	<i>tu</i>	<i>no</i>
Gerund	<i>-te</i>	
Perfective	<i>-te-</i>	<i>-n-</i>
Continuative	<i>-tutu</i>	

(2) Semblative ('be like') *nasu ~ nosu*
*-zi < *nV(-)si*

a. *nasu* ~ (EOJ) *nosu*

朝日奈須
asapi *nasu*
morning-sun like
'like the morning sun' (MYS 13.3234)

b. adjectival derivational formant *-zi < *nV(-)si*

ipyezi 'like (this) house' (*ipye* 'house'); *omozi* 'close (as if from same mother)' (*omo* 'mother'); *onazi* ~ *oyazi* 'same, similar'; *warezi* 'like me' (*ware* 'I').

N-zi mono 'like (a) N, typical of (a) N, as befits (a) N'

馬自物
uma-*zi* mono
'like a horse' (MYS 13.3276)

(also with *inu* 'dog', *i* 'cormorant', *uma* 'horse', *kakwo* 'fawn', *kamwo* 'duck', *sisi* 'wild animal', *toko* 'bed', *tori* 'bird', *yuki* 'snow', *wotokwo* 'man')

Adjectives in Old Japanese

(3) Predicative use, bare stem

於曾也是君

oso ya, ko no kimi

stupid EXCL this GEN lord

'he is stupid, this man!' (MYS 9.1741)

(4) Attributive use

a. (compounded)

夜須伊

yasu-i

easy-sleep

'good, sound sleep' (MYS 15.3771)

阿賀波斯豆摩

a ga pasi-duma

I GEN dear-spouse

'my dear wife' (KK 59)

b. (bare stem)

予能等保臂等

[*yo no topo*] *pito*

age GEN distant person

'person of old age;' (NSK 62)

和賀美賀本斯久迹波

[*wa ga mi ga posi*] *kuni*

I GEN see GEN want] country

'the country I long to see' (KK 58)

波毘呂久麻加斯

[*pa-biro*] *kumakasi*

leaf-wide great.oak

'wide-leaved great oak' (KK 91)

c. (followed by a form of the copula)

等保能久爾

[*topo no*] *kuni*

distant COP.ADN land

'distant land' (MYS 15.3688)

登保都比等

[*topo tu*] *pito*

distant COP.ADN person

'distant person' (MYS 17.3947)

(5) Adverbial use

a. (compounded)

tika-duk- ‘approach; close/near-touch/stick to’

b. (bare stem)

波也許

paya ko

quick come.IMP

‘come quickly!’ (MYS 15.3636)

c. (followed by a form of the copula)

麻用賀岐

maywo-gaki

eyebrow-paint

許迓加岐多禮

ko ni kaki-tare

thick COP.INF paint-drip

‘paint the eyebrows thickly’ (KK42)

(6) Used with the ‘**adjectival copula**’

a. Predicative use, conclusive form (終止形) **-si**

安我牟祢伊多之

a ga mune ita-si

I GEN heart painful-ACOP.CONCL

‘my heart aches’ (MYS 15.3767)

b. Attributive use, adnominal form (連体形) **-ki**

久路岐美祁斯

kurwo-ki mi-kyesi

black.ACOP.ADN HON-clothes

‘black clothes’ (KK 4)

c. Attributive use, adnominal or conclusive form

迦具漏伎可美

kagurwo-ki kami

black-ACOP.ADN hair

‘black hair’ (MYS 5.804)

蚊黑爲髮

kagurwo-si kami

black-ACOP.CONCL hair

‘black hair’ (MYS 16.3791)

d. adverbial use, infinitive (≈連用形) **-ku**

岐美賀由岐

kimi ga yuki

my.lord GEN go

氣那賀久那理奴

ke naga-ku nari-nu

day long.ACOP.INF become-PERF.CONCL

it has been a long time since you left’ (KK 88)

(7) OJ forms

	a.	b.	c.
		Ku	Shiku
		<i>aka</i>	<i>kanasi</i>
Finite			
Conclusive (終止形)	<i>si</i>	<i>akasi</i>	<i>kanasi</i>
Adnominal (連体形)	<i>ki</i>	<i>akaki</i>	<i>kanasiki</i>
Exclamatory-1	<i>sa</i>	<i>akasa</i>	<i>kanasisa</i>
Exclamatory-2 (已然形)	<i>kyere</i>	<i>akakyere</i>	<i>kanasikyere</i>
Nonfinite			
Infinitive-1 (連用形)	<i>ku</i>	<i>akaku</i>	<i>kanasiku</i>
Infinitive-2	<i>mi</i>	<i>akami</i>	<i>kanasimi</i>
Gerund-1	<i>kute</i>	<i>akakute</i>	<i>kanasikute</i>
Gerund-2	<i>mito</i>	<i>akamito</i>	<i>kanasimito</i>
Conditional-1	<i>kyeba</i>	<i>akakyeba</i>	<i>kanasikyeba</i>
Conditional-2	<i>kupa</i>	<i>akakupa</i>	<i>kanasikupa</i>
Provisional-1	<i>kyeba</i>	<i>akakyeba</i>	<i>kanasikyeba</i>
Provisional-2	<i>kyereba</i>	<i>akakyereba</i>	<i>kanasikyereba</i>
Concessive-1	<i>kyedo</i>	<i>akakyedo</i>	<i>kanasikyedo</i>
Concessive-2	<i>kyeredo</i>	<i>akakyeredo</i>	<i>kanasikyeredo</i>
Nominal (ク語法)	<i>kyeku</i>	<i>akakyeku</i>	<i>kanasikyeku</i>
Negative nominal (+否定の助動詞+ク語法)	<i>kye-naku</i>	<i>akakyenaku</i>	<i>kanasikyenaku</i>
Conjectural (+推量の助動詞)	<i>kye-mu</i>	<i>akakyemu</i>	<i>kanasikyemu</i>

(8) Main EMJ forms

Conclusive	<i>si</i>
Adnominal	<i>ki ~ i</i>
Exclamatory	<i>kere</i>
Infinitive	<i>ku/u</i>
Gerund	<i>kute/ute</i>
Conditional	<i>kupa/upa (> kuwa/uwa)</i>
Provisional	<i>kereba</i>
Concessive	<i>keredo</i>

(9) Analytic forms.

a. *ku ar-*

岐美何余曾比斯 多布斗久阿理祁理
kimi ga yosopi si *taputwo-ku* *ari-kyeri*
 my.lord GEN attire EMPH admirable-ACOP.INF exist-MPST.CONCL
 'your attire, it is admirable, my lord!' (KK 7)

b. *ni ar-*

伊麻許曾婆 和杼理迺阿良米
ima koso pa *wa-dori ni* *ara-me*
 now FOC TOP I-bird COP.INF exist-CONJ.EXCL
 'Now, I am my own' (KK 3)

(10) Abbreviated analytic forms (in EMJ giving rise to a secondary conjugation カリ活用):

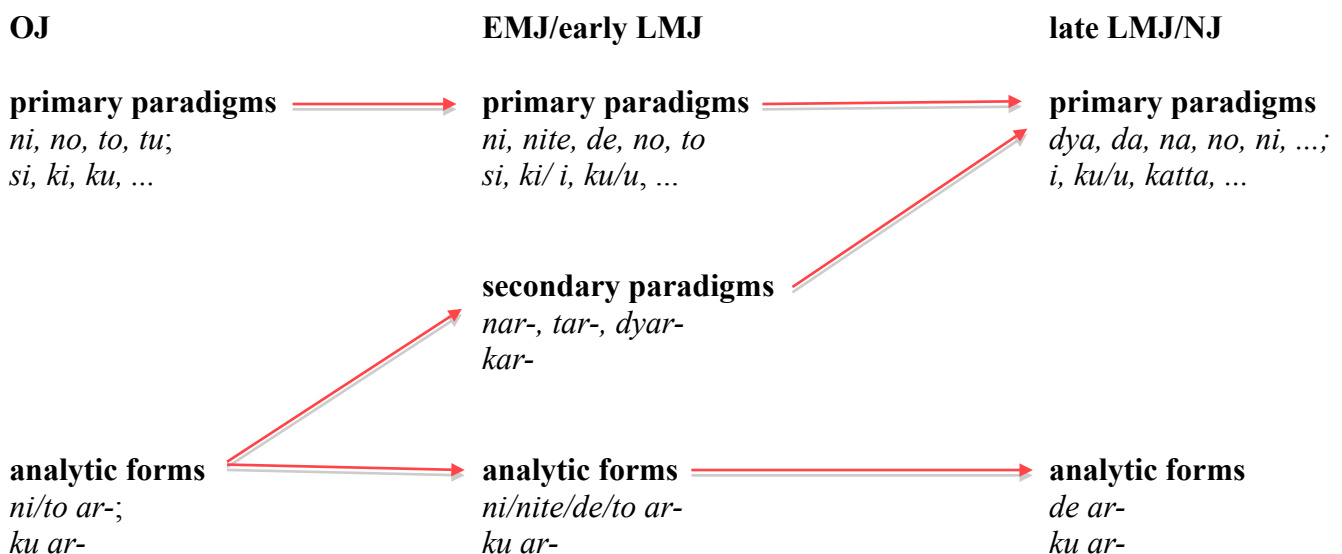
a. *ku ar-* => *kar-*

伊麻乃久須理師 多布止可理家利
ima no kusurisi *taputwo-kari-kyeri*
 now COP.ADN master.of.medicine admirable-ACOP-MPST.CONCL
 'the present master of medicine is worthy of praise!' (*Bussoku* 15)

b. *ni ar-* => *nar-*

烏梅能波奈 伊麻佐可利奈理
ume no pana *ima sakari nari*
 plum GEN blossom now in.bloom COP.CONCL
 'The plum blossom is in bloom now' (MYS 5.850)

(11) Parallelism in development between regular and adjectival copula



(12) Summary so far:

- a. The so-called inflectional endings of adjectives in Japanese are really a restricted and suppletive copula: ‘**adjectival copula**’
(Cf. also for example Nishiyama, Kunio. 1998. “A Unified Analysis of Japanese Adjectives”. *Japanese and Korean Linguistics* vol. 8).
- b. Its main forms exhibit an alternation *k-* ~ *s-*.

Grammatical morphemes which may be related to the adjectival copula *k-* ~ *s-*

(13) Past tense auxiliaries

Widespread form identity of the *si* and *ki* based forms of the adjectival copula with forms of the two past tense auxiliaries: *ki* simple past and *kyer-* modal past.
Grammaticalization of tense markers from copula are frequently proposed in the grammaticalization literature (and earlier; e.g. Franz Bopp who posited copula origins for many conjugational endings in Sanskrit).

(14) Paradigm of the simple past tense

Conclusive	<i>ki</i>
Adnominal	<i>si</i>
Exclamatory	<i>sika</i>
Conditional	<i>seba / kyeba</i>
Concessive	<i>sikado</i>
Provisional	<i>sikaba</i>
Nominal	<i>siku / kyeku</i>
Conjectural	<i>kyemu</i>

(15) Paradigm of the modal past

Conclusive	<i>kyeri</i>
Adnominal	<i>kyeru</i>
Exclamatory	<i>kyere</i>
Concessive	<i>kyereba</i>
Provisional	<i>kyeredo</i>
Nominal	<i>kyeraku</i>

(16) Form overlap

Adjectival copula

si

Simple past

si (*sika, sikado, sikaba*;
siku; seba (< **si-amu-pa*))

ki

Simple past

ki

kyeba (< **ki-amu-pa*)
kyeku (< **ki-aku*)
kyemu (< **ki-amu*)

kyeba
kyeku
kyemu

kyere (< **ki-are*)
kyeredo
kyereba

Modal past

kyere
kyeredo
kyereba

(17) **The adverbial/stative formant *su**

Given the *k-* ~ *s-* alternation, an alternation may be proposed between two formants with remarkably similar morphology and syntax: adverbial copula ***ku*** and the adverbial/stative formant ***su** which forms part of the semblative copula (*nasu* / *nosu*) and the negative auxiliary *-zu*.

Adjectival copula

ku

Semblative

nasu < **na-su*

ku

kute
kupa

Negative

-(a)zu < **ani-su*
-(a)zute < **ani-su-te*
-(a)zupa < **ani-su-pa*

(18) **Further related grammatical forms?**

Demonstratives:	<i>ko</i> ‘speaker dem.’	<i>so</i> ‘non-speaker dem.’
Focus particles:	<i>ka</i>	<i>so</i>
Grammatical verbs:	<i>ko-</i> ‘come’	<i>se-</i> ‘do’

(19) A possible relation between copula and demonstratives is well known;
e.g. modern Chinese *shì* 是 which originally was a demonstrative.

(20) A focus construction can be thought of as establishing a predicational, copular relation between focus and presupposition.

a. 吾戀 君曾 伎賊乃夜 夢所見鶴
 wa ga kwopuru # **kimi so** kizo no ywo # ime ni mi-ye-*туру*
 I GEN love.ADN my.lord SO last.night GEN night dream DAT see-PASS-PERF.ADN
 ‘It was you, my beloved lord, that I saw last night in a dream’ (MYS 2:150)

b. ..月乎 白妙乃 雲香 隱流
 ..tukwi wo # sirwotape no # **kumo ka** kakus-*eru*
 moon ACC white.cloth COP.ADN cloud KA hide-STAT.ADN
 ‘Is it white clouds that are hiding the moon?’ (MYS 7.1079)

c.	Focus	IS	presupposition
	[wa ga kwopuru kimi so] you my beloved lord	IS	[kizo no ywo ime ni miyeturu] (what) I saw last night in a dream
	[sirwotape no kumo ka] white clouds	IS	[kakuseru] (what) are hiding (it)

(21) The verb *se-* (< *sə-) ‘do’ (為) functioned mainly, if not exclusively, in OJ as a grammatical and light verb, with functions very similar to those of a copula (‘dummy verb’; predication).

賢跡	物言從者
sakasi-mito	mono ipu ywori pa
wise-ACOP.GER	thing say.ADN ABL TOP

酒飲而	醉哭為師	益有良之
sake nomite	wepi-naki suru si	masari-taru rasi
saké drink.GER	get.drunk-cry do.ADN EMPH	be.superior-STAT PCONJ

‘Rather than speaking sensibly, it must be better to get drunk on saké and cry’

(22) Comparative point:

The Korean ‘do’ verb, MK *ho-* > NK *ha-ta*, is easier to compare with OJ *se-* if OJ *se-* reflects a root *k-* ~ *s-*.

Summary

The so-called inflectional endings of adjectives in Japanese are better understood as a restricted and suppletive copula: ‘**adjectival copula**’ whose main forms exhibit an alternation *k-* ~ *s-*.

The OJ adjectival copula reflects an earlier (copula) root **k-* ~ **s-* which is also reflected in a number of other grammatical forms in OJ:

	<i>*k-</i>	<i>*s-</i>
adjectival copula	<i>ku, kute, kupa</i> <i>ki</i> <i>kyeba, kyedo, kyeku</i> <i>kye-naku, kye-mu</i> <i>kyere, kyereba, kyeredo</i>	<i>sa</i> <i>si</i> <i>seba</i>
simple past tense	<i>ki</i> <i>kyeba, kyeku, kyemu</i>	<i>si, sika, sikado, sikaba, siku</i> <i>seba</i>
modal past tense	<i>kyeri, kyeru, kyere,</i> <i>kyeredo, kyereba, kyeraku</i>	
semblative		<i>na-su</i>
negative		<i>-zu</i> < <i>*ani-su</i>
focus particles	<i>ka</i>	<i>so</i>
demonstratives	<i>ko</i>	<i>so</i>
grammatical verbs	<i>ko-</i>	<i>se-</i> (< <i>*so-</i>)

Afterthought: Lexical *k* ~ *s* alternation candidates

(23)

toki (2.3) ‘time’
aka(-) (A; ?2.5<2.1) ‘bright, red’
okure- (A) ‘be (left) behind’

kosi (2.1) ‘loins’
kapa (2.2) ‘river’
kup- (B) ‘eat’

tosi (2.3) ‘year’
asa (2.5) ‘morning’
oso- (A) ‘late’

se ~ *so-* (1.2) ‘back’
sapa (2.1) ‘marsh’
sup- (A) ‘imbibe, inhale’

Appendix: Transcription systems for OJ

Syllable type	Index notation	Ohno	Modified Mathias-Miller	Yale	Frellesvig & Whitman
<i>Kô-rui</i>	i ₁	i	î	yi	i
<i>Otsu-rui</i>	i ₂	ï	ï	iy	wi
neutral	i	i	i	i	i
<i>Kô-rui</i>	e ₁	e	ê	ye	ye
<i>Otsu-rui</i>	e ₂	ë	ë	ey	e
neutral	e	e	e	e	e
<i>Kô-rui</i>	o ₁	o	ô	wo	wo
<i>Otsu-rui</i>	o ₂	ö	ö	<u>o</u>	o
neutral	o	o	o	o	o

Examples

Gloss	cNJ	Frellesvig & Whitman	Index notation	Yale	M&M	Ohno
‘sun’ 日	hi	pi	pi ₁	pyi	pî	pi
‘fire’ 火	hi	pwi	pi ₂	piy	pï	pï
‘blood’ 血	chi	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti
‘woman’ 女	me	mye	me ₁	mye	mê	me
‘eye’ 目	me	me	me ₂	mey	më	më
‘hand’ 手	te	te	te	te	te	te
‘child’ 子	ko	kwo	ko ₁	kwo	kô	ko
‘this’ 此	ko	ko	ko ₂	<u>k</u> o	kö	kö
‘ear (of rice)’ 穗	ho	po	po	po	po	po

Representation of phonographic (表音) and logographic (表語) writing

Phonographic writing 表音文字 (万葉仮名): *italic type*

Logographic writing 表語文字: **plain type**

Example (MYS 1.1):

籠毛與

kwo mo yo

basket ETOP EMPH

美籠母乳

mi-kwo moti

HON-basket hold.INF

布久思毛與

pukusi mo yo

shovel ETOP EMPH

美夫君志持

mi-bukusi moti

HON-shovel hold.INF