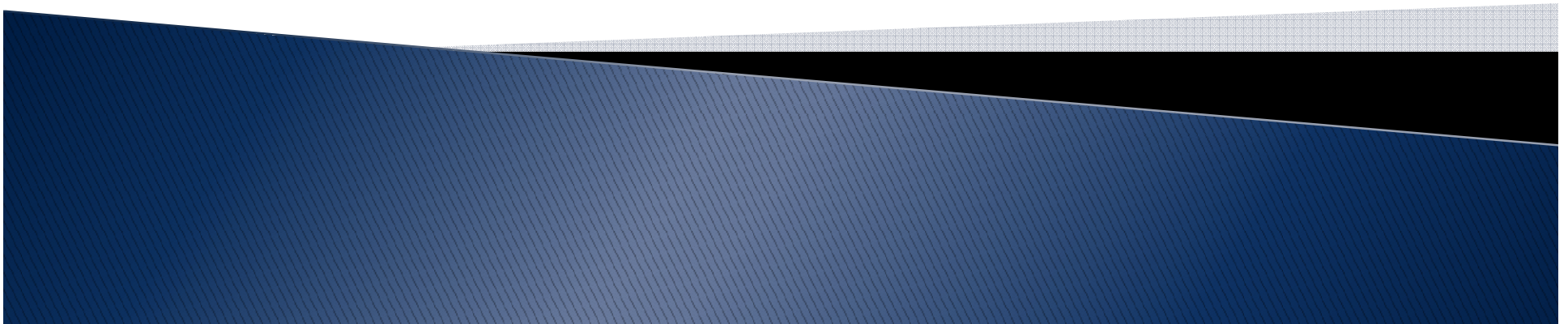


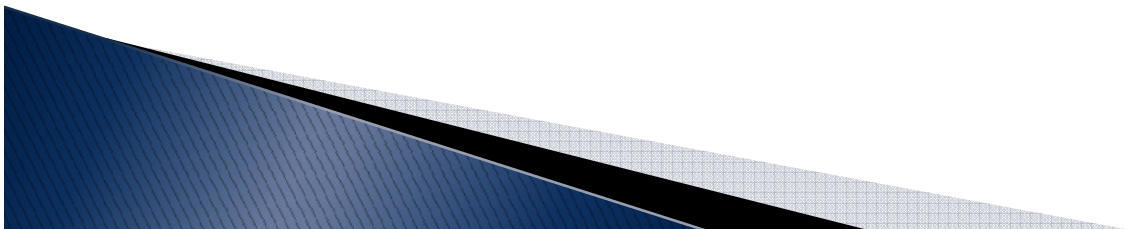
The verb ‘to do’ (*suru*) in Old Japanese

A corpus based study

Bjarke Frellesvig

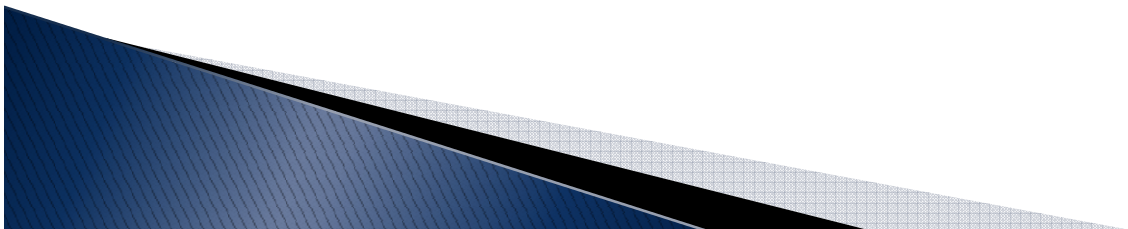


- ▶ Japanese language history
- ▶ Verb semantics and argument realization in pre-modern Japanese
- ▶ Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese
- ▶ *Suru* ‘to do’ in Modern Japanese
- ▶ *Suru* ‘to do’ in Old Japanese
 - Is OJ *suru* a ‘light verb’?
 - Is OJ *suru* grammaticalized from a lexical verb



The linguistic periods of Japanese

Old Japanese (OJ)	700 – 800
Early Middle Japanese (EMJ)	800 – 1200
Late Middle Japanese (LMJ)	1200 – 1600
Modern Japanese (NJ)	1600 –



Main changes to affect Japanese 1

Internal (‘evolutive’) change

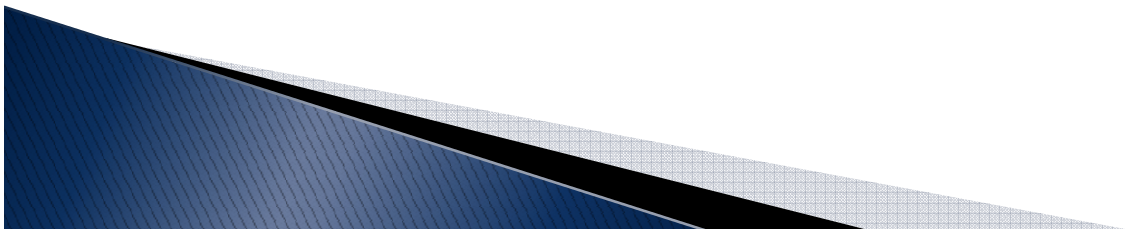
Sound changes (late OJ through EMJ)

segmental changes and introduction of quantity sensitivity

dissyllabic OJ *kwo.pwi* ‘love’ > EMJ *kwo.pi* > *ko.pi* > *ko.wi* >
mono-syllabic *koi*

Morpho-syntactic changes (mainly LMJ)

extensive changes to verbal morphological categories,
nominalization, focus constructions



Main changes to affect Japanese 2

Contact-induced (‘adaptive’) change

Sinification (pre-OJ through EMJ; contact with Chinese)
loanwords (e.g. *kyō* ‘sutra’, *netzu* ‘fever’, *nikki* ‘diary’);
phonological and some grammatical influence

Westernization (from mid-16th, but especially 20th century;
contact with European languages)
loanwords (e.g. *pan* ‘bread’, *hōku*, fork);
phonological and some grammatical influence



**Verb semantics and argument realization in
pre-modern Japanese:
A comprehensive study of the basic syntax of
pre-modern Japanese**

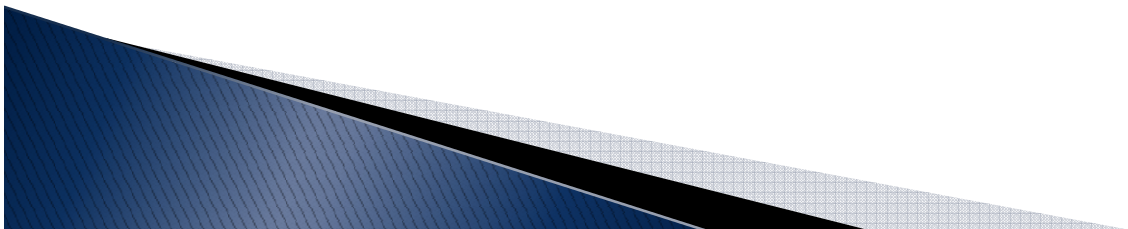
funded by the

Arts and Humanities Research Council, UK

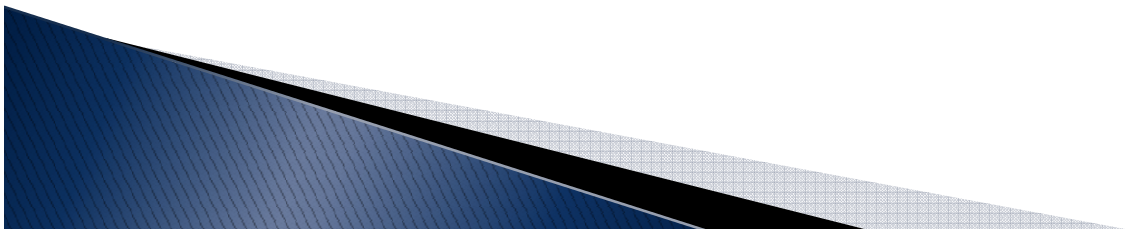


People

- ▶ Bjarke Frellesvig (Principal Investigator)
- ▶ Peter Sells (Co-Investigator; York)
- ▶ Mary Dalrymple
- ▶ Postdoctoral Researchers
 - Stephen Wright Horn
 - Kerri L Russell
- ▶ Doctoral students
 - Zixi You (Split intransitivity in Old Japanese)
 - Daniel Trott (Tense and aspect in Old Japanese)



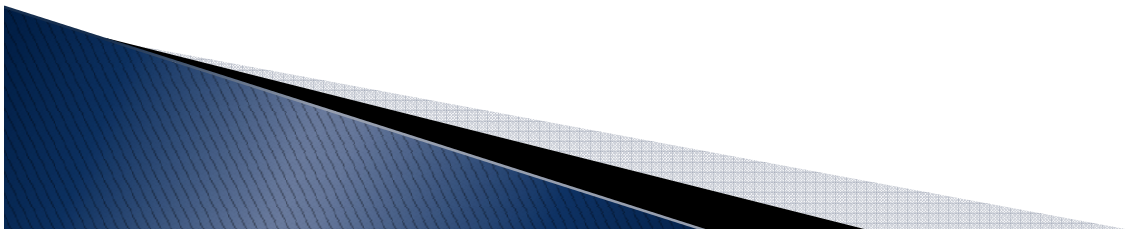
Kerri Russell and Stephen Horn



People

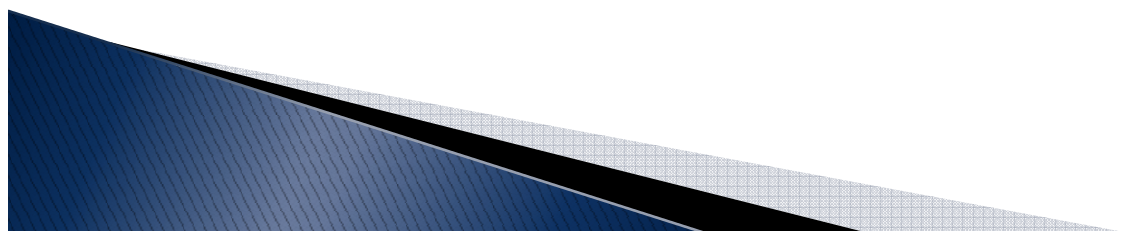
External members

- ▶ Anton Antonov (INALCO and CRLAO, Paris)
- ▶ Satoshi Kinsui (Osaka University)
- ▶ Tomohide Kinuhata (Fukuoka University)
- ▶ Yasuhiro Kondo (Aoyama Gakuin/NINJAL)
- ▶ Masayoshi Shibatani (Rice University)
- ▶ Akira Watanabe (University of Tokyo)
- ▶ John Whitman (Cornell University/NINJAL)
- ▶ Yuko Yanagida (Tsukuba University)

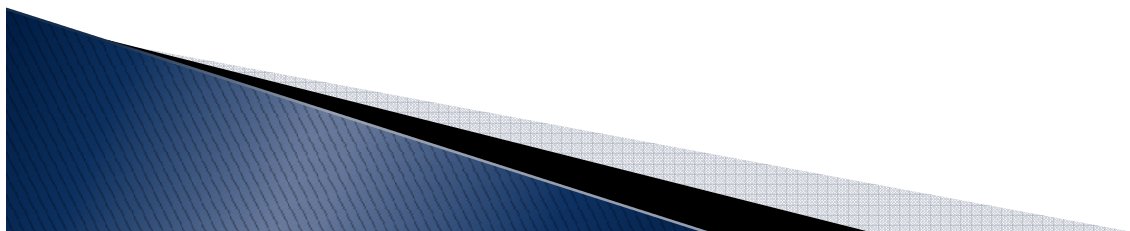


Collaboration with the
National Institute for Japanese Language
and Linguistics

NINJAL
国立国語研究所



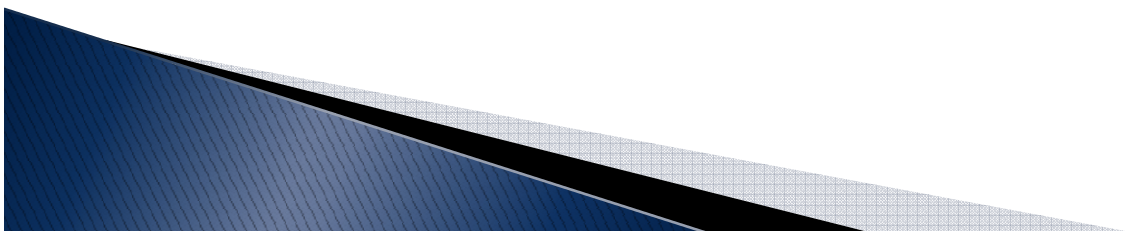
The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese



Historical linguistics is corpus linguistics

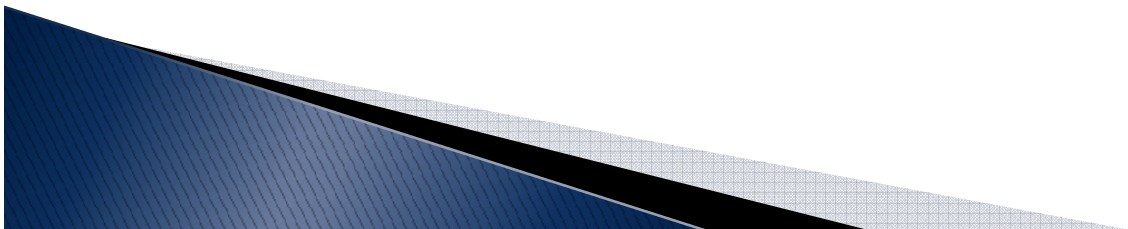
No recourse to native speaker intuition or directed testing with informants.

The only data are closed sets of texts in dead languages.



Electronic texts and corpora

- ▶ Access and searchability
- ▶ Encoding of linguistic information

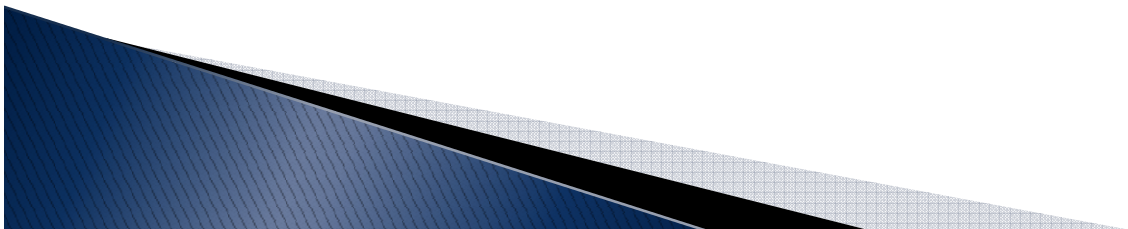


Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Comprises all poetic texts from the Old Japanese period

approximately 90,000 words

website: <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/>

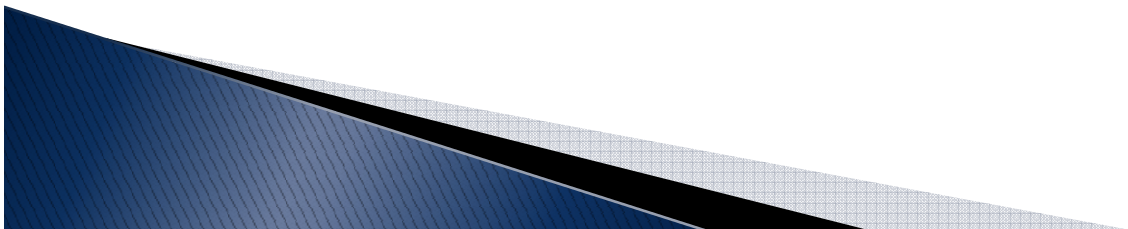


Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Manual tagging

XML mark-up following the standards of the Text
Encoding Initiative (**TEI**)

Phonemic transcription and original script, noting
logographic and phonographic writing



Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

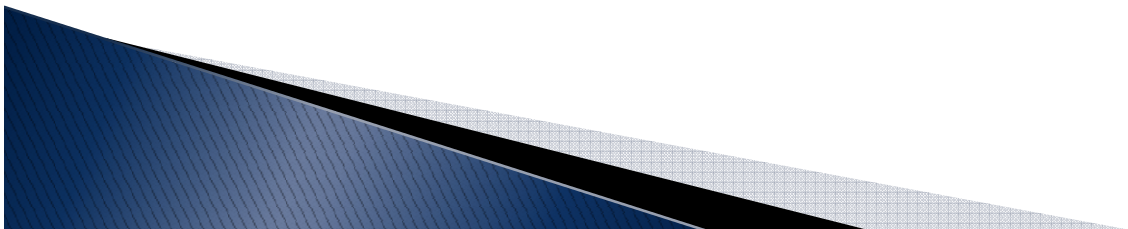
Annotation

Lexeme and morpheme ID

Lexicon

Part of speech

Morphology



Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Annotation

Syntactic constituency:

noun phrases

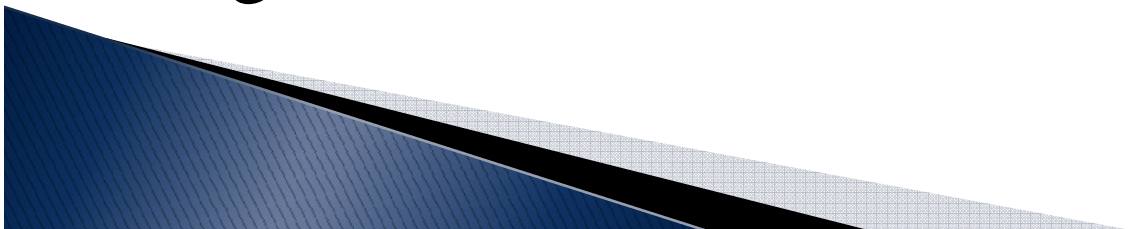
clauses

topics

right dislocated elements

(Almost) no empty elements

Argumenthood



{Clauses} and <Phrases> arguments and adjuncts

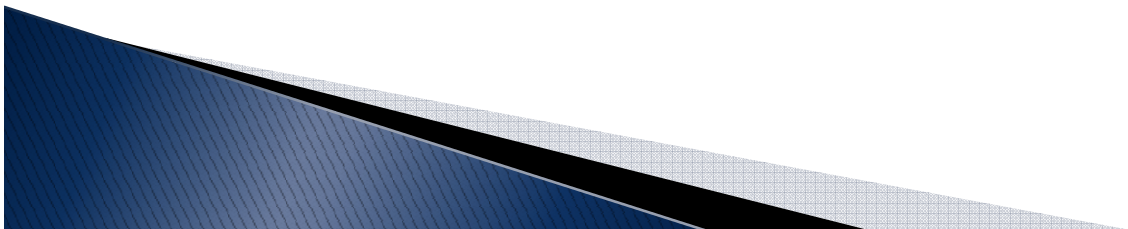
{ { { < kimi_(noun) > matu_(verb, adnconc) to_(particle, conj) }
 < wa_(pronoun) ga_(particle, case, gen) > kwopwi_(verb, infinitive) woreba_(verb, provisional) }
 { < wa_(pronoun) ga_(particle, case, gen) yadwo_(noun) no_(particle, case, gen)
 sudare_(noun) > ugwokasi_(verb, infinitive) }
 < aki_(noun) no_(particle, case, gen) kaze_(noun) > puku_(verb, adnconc) }

```

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type="verb" inflection="adnconc" ana="#L031644"> <c type="logo">matu</c> </w>
<w type="particle" subtype="conj" ana="#L000541"> <c type="phon">to</c> </w>
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```

Modern Japanese *suru*



Modern Japanese *suru*

Pro-verb

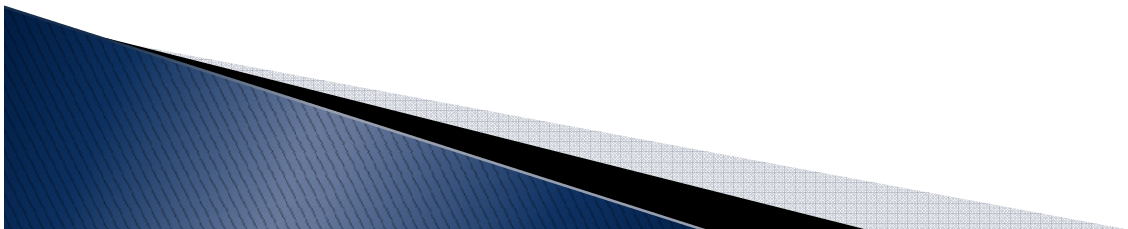
Noun + *suru*

Verbal Noun + *suru*

Verb (de)focus

Resultative

Intention/imminence



Modern Japanese *suru* *Pro-verb*

doo shiyoo

how **do**.VOL

‘what shall we/I do?’

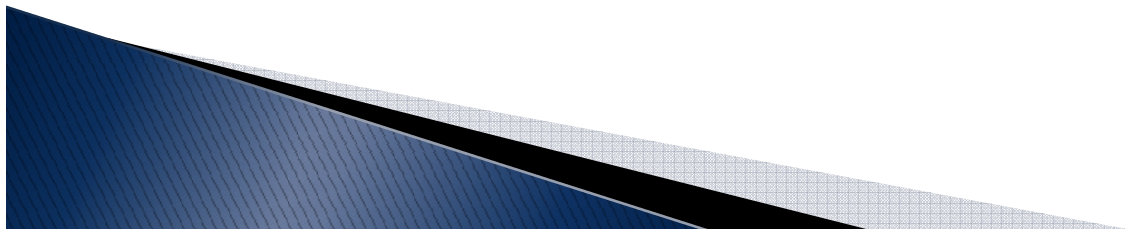
gohan o tabenasai.

food ACC eat.IMP

‘Eat your food. I’ll get cross if you don’t’

shi-nai to, okoru yo.

do-NEG if get.angry FP



Modern Japanese *suru* *Pro-verb*

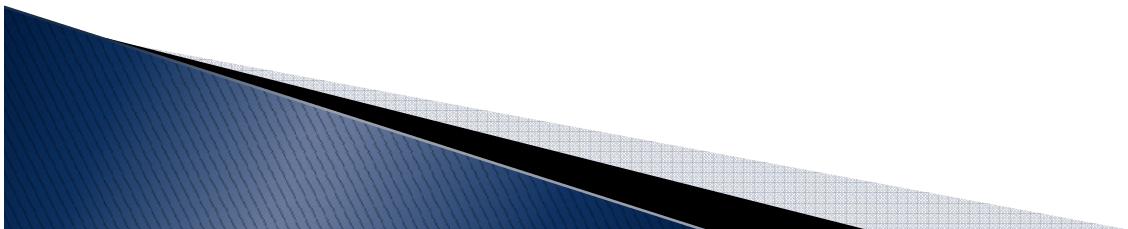
taiyoo wa mainichi noboru.

sun TOP everyday rise

shi-nakattara komaru.

do-if.not be.troublesome

‘The sun rises every day. It would be a problem if it
didn’t’



Modern Japanese *suru*

Noun + *suru*

osushi o suru

sushi ACC **do**

‘make sushi’

tenisu o suru

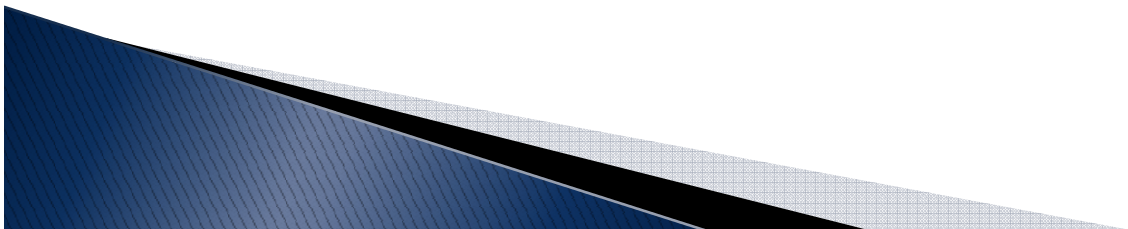
tennis ACC **do**

‘play tennis’

booshi o suru

hat ACC **do**

‘wear a hat’



Modern Japanese *suru*

Noun + *suru*

henna kao o suru

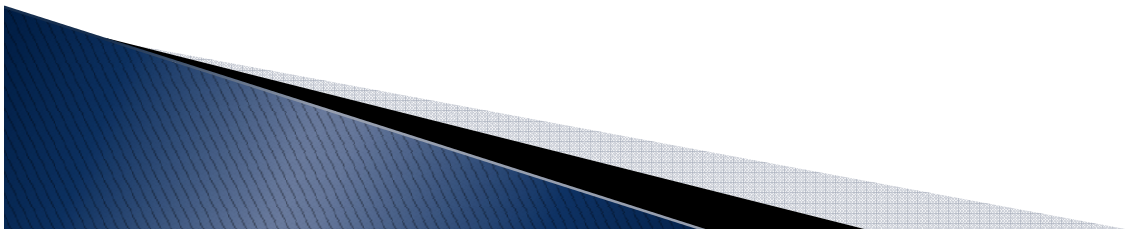
strange face ACC **do**

‘look strange’

henna nioi ga suru

strange smell NOM **do**

‘smell strange; there is a strange smell’



Modern Japanese *suru*

Verbal Noun + *suru*

VN-*suru*

nihongo o

Japanese ACC

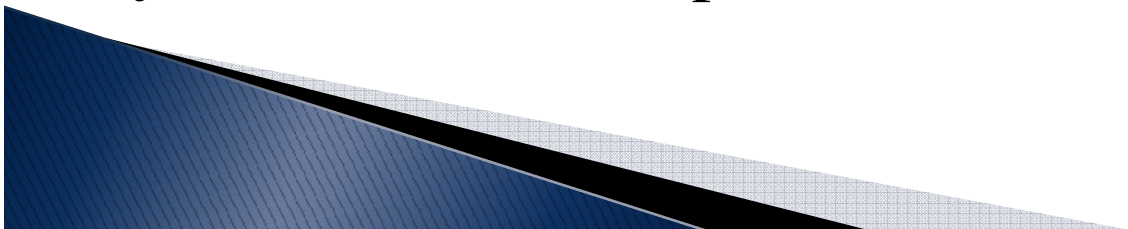
‘study Japanese’

benkyoo-suru

study-do

rikon-suru ‘divorce’

joohatsu-suru ‘evaporate’



Modern Japanese *suru*

Verbal Noun + *suru*

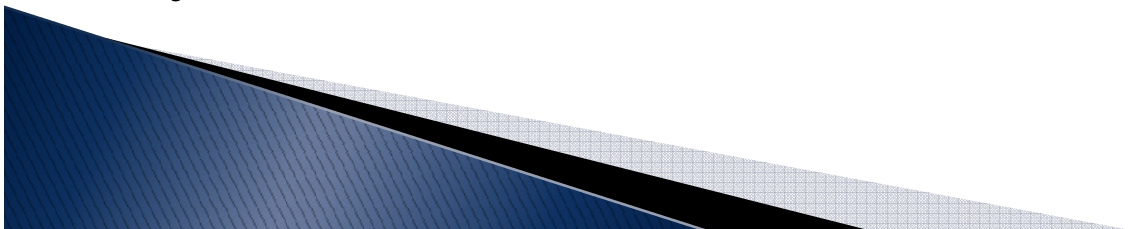
VN *o suru*

nihongo no benkyoo o suru

Japanese GEN study ACC do
'study (Japanese)'

rikon o suru

**joohatsu o suru*



Modern Japanese *suru* Verb (de)focus

osushi o tabe mo shi-nai

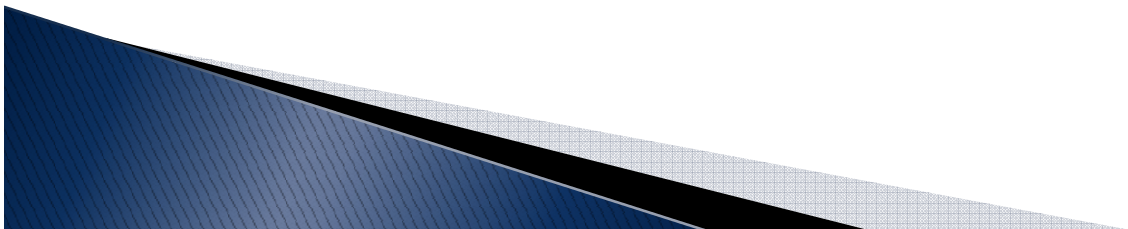
sushi ACC eat FOC do-NEG

‘I don’t even eat sushi [but I do like making it]’

osushi o tabe wa suru

sushi ACC eat TOP do

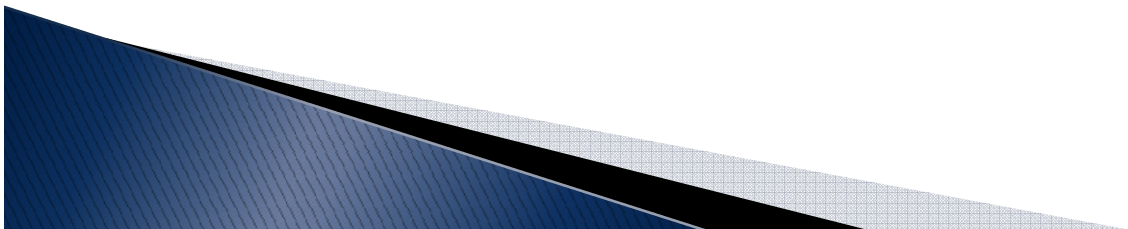
‘I do eat sushi’



Modern Japanese *suru* Resultative

kodomo o isha ni suru
child ACC physician COP.INF do
‘make a physician of one’s child’

koohii o atsu-ku suru
coffee ACC hot-INF do
‘make the coffee hot; heat up the coffee’



Modern Japanese *suru* Intention/imminence

osushi o tabeyoo to shita

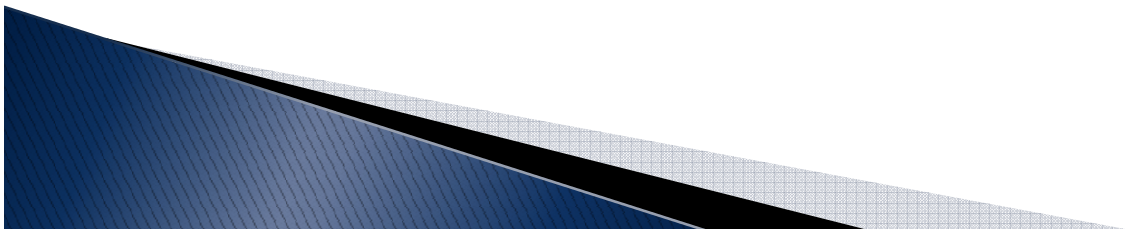
sushi ACC eat.VOL TO do.PAST

‘I wanted to eat sushi’

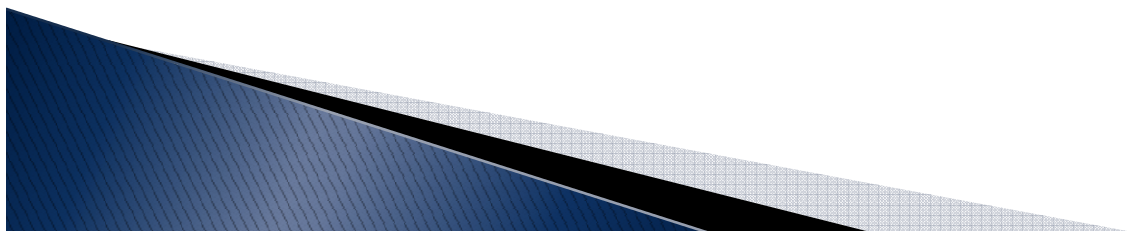
hana wa sakoo to shi-teiru

flower TOP bloom.VOL TO do-STAT

‘the flowers are about to bloom’



Old Japanese *suru*



The 10 most frequent verbs in Old Japanese

1298 *mi-* ‘see, look’

975 *ar-* ‘be, exist’

858 *omop-* ‘think (of)’

802 *ko-* ‘come’

689 *yuk-* ‘go’

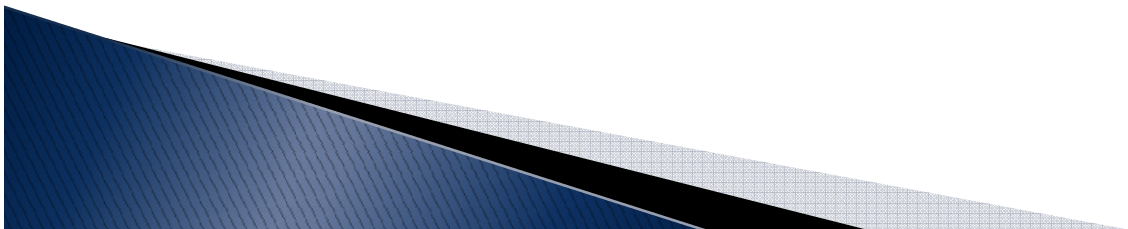
637 *kwopwi-* ‘love’

608 *se-* ‘**do**’ = *suru*

501 *nak-* ‘cry (out)’

498 *tat-* ‘stand (up), set out’

454 *ap-* ‘meet’



Old Japanese *suru*

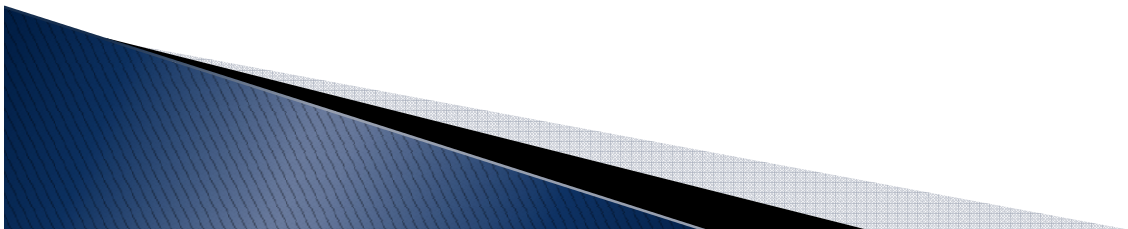
Number of occurrences in Central OJ: 574

Written phonographically: 189

Written logographically: 385

Number of occurrences in Eastern OJ: 34

Written phonographically: 34



Old Japanese *suru*

COJ / EOJ

stems (213 / 17)

se-, *si-*, *s-*

conclusive (74 / 1)

su

adnominal (128 / 3)

suru

exclamatory (11 / 2)

sure

imperative (14 / 5)

seyo / *se*, *sero*, *seyo*

negative conjectural (2)

sezi

optative (4)

sena

prohibitive (2)

na se so

infinitive (12)

si

gerund (42 / 3)

site

continuative (32 / 2)

situtu / *susu*

conditional (7 / 1)

seba

provisional (15)

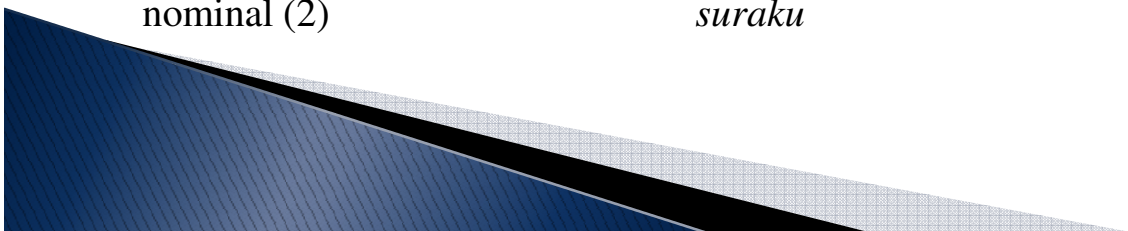
sureba

concessive (16)

suredo

nominal (2)

suraku



OJ *suru*: Pro-verb

和我 許呂母弓乎 奴礼弓

wa ga koromode wo nurete

I GEN sleeve ACC being.wet

伊可爾

ika ni

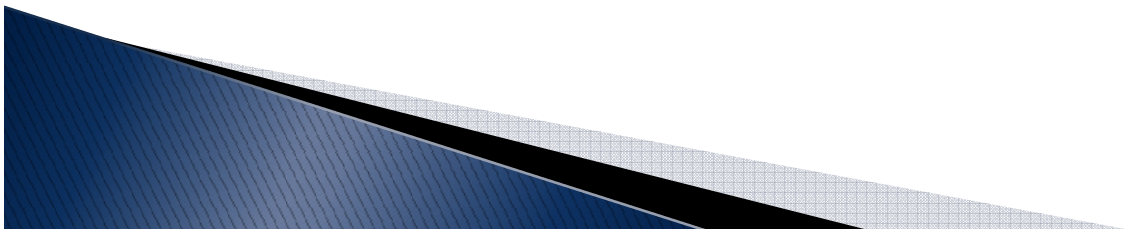
how COP.INF do-CONJ

勢牟

se-mu

‘What shall I do about my sleeve, it being wet’

(MYS.15.3712)



OJ *suru*: Pro-verb

伊波牟須弊

ipa-mu subye

say-CONJ way

世武須弊

se-mu subye

do-CONJ way

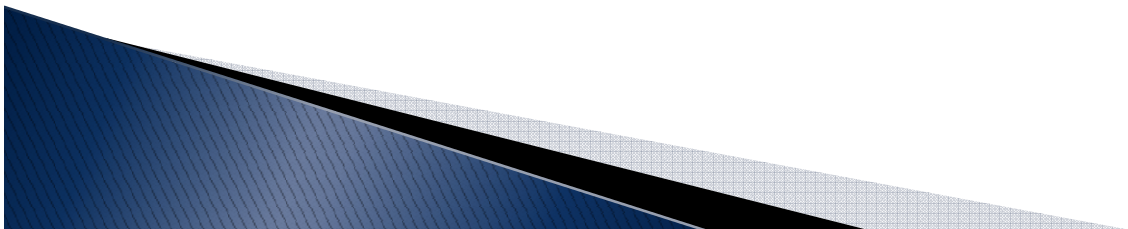
斯良爾

sira-ni

know-NEG

‘I don't know what to say or what to do’

(MYS 5.794)



OJ *suru*: Pro-verb

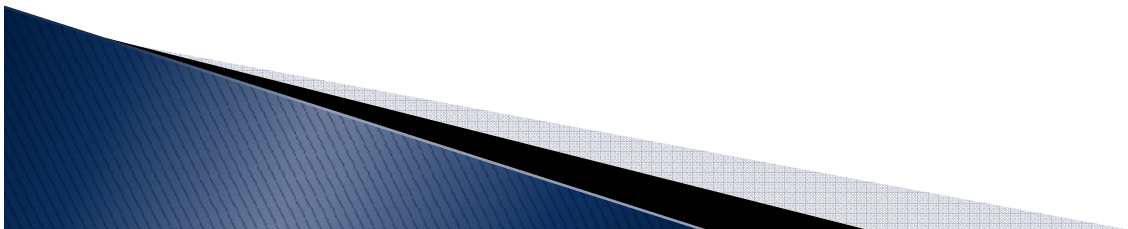
烏麼野始爾 倭例烏
wo-bayasi ni ware wo
small-wood DAT I ACC

比岐例底
pikirete
drag.into

制始 比騰能
se-si pito no
do-PST person GEN

於謀提母 始羅孺
omote mo sira-zu
looks even know-NEG

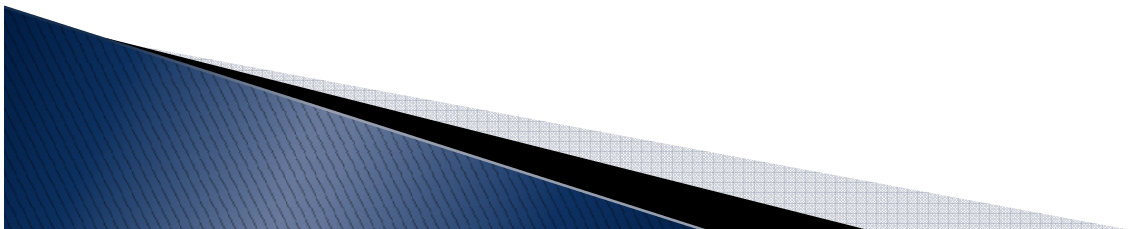
‘I don’t even know the looks of the person who draggged me into the little wood and did it (/me)’ (NSK 111)



OJ *suru*: Pro-verb

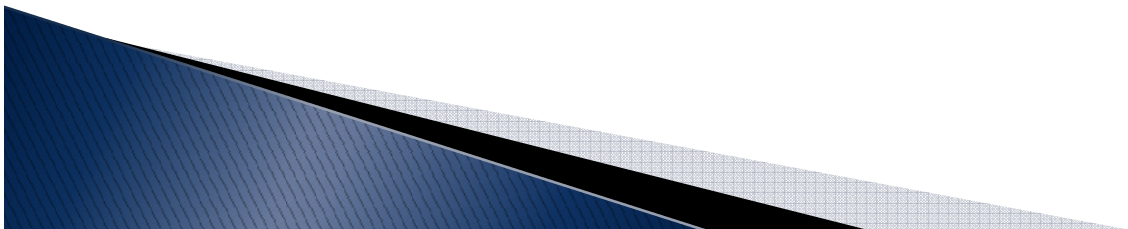
人 目 乎	為 乍	戀	繁 口
PITO-ME wo	SITUTU	KWOPWI	SIGEKYEku
person-eye ACC	do.CONT	love	be.much

‘While worrying about being seen by others, I am full of love’
(MYS.12.2876)



Old Japanese *suru*

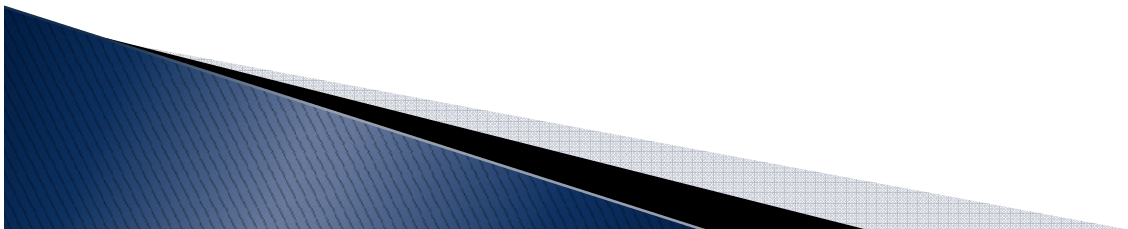
**The problem with logographic writing:
Identification**



Old Japanese *suru*

**The problem with logographic writing:
Identification**

為者



Old Japanese *suru*

**The problem with logographic writing:
Identification**

為者

sure-ba

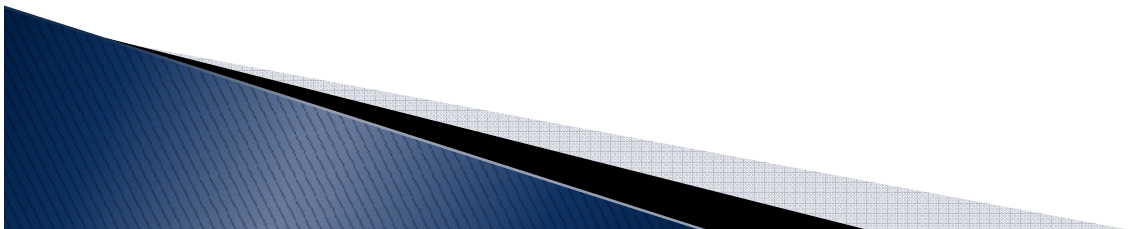
provisional
‘as, when’

se-ba

conditional
‘if’

suru pa

adnominal + TOP



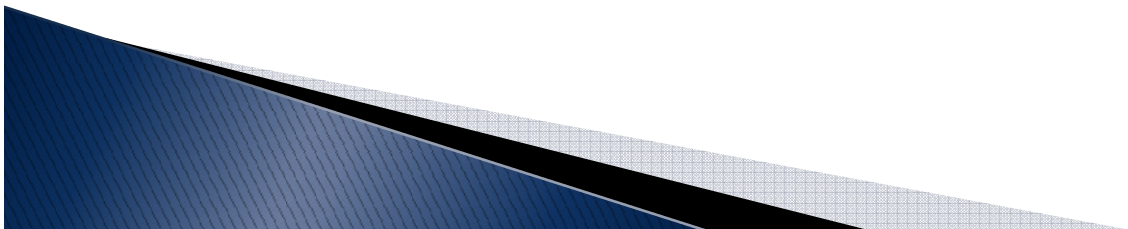
Old Japanese *suru*

Logographic writing of *suru* in Old Japanese texts

爲

wéi (EMC *wiə/wi)

‘do, make; act as, constitute, become, be’

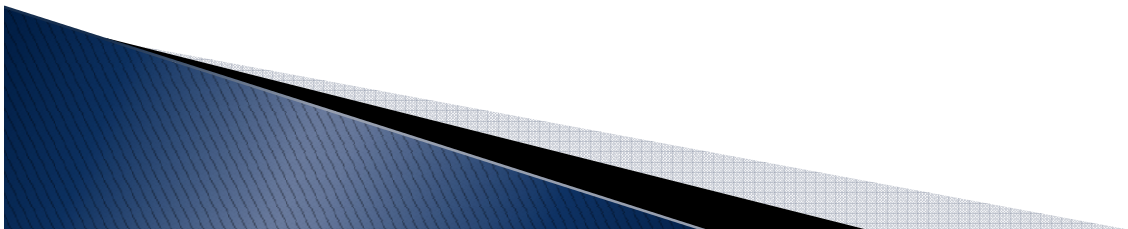


OJ *suru*: Pro-verb

須我麻久良	安是加	麻可左武	許呂	勢	多麻久良
suga- makura	aze ka	maka -sa-mu	kworo	se	ta-makura
sedge-pillow	why FP	roll	darling	do	arm-pillow

‘why are you lying with a pillow made of sedge? darling, lie
with my arms as your pillow’

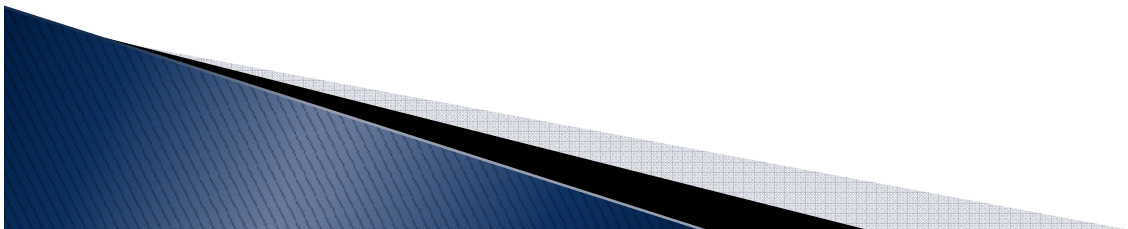
(MYS 14.3369, EOJ)



OJ *suru*: Noun + *suru*

夕	名	寸	尔	梶	音	爲	乍
YUPU	-nagi	ni		KADI	NO	TO	SITUTU
evening-calm	DAT		oar	GEN	sound		doing

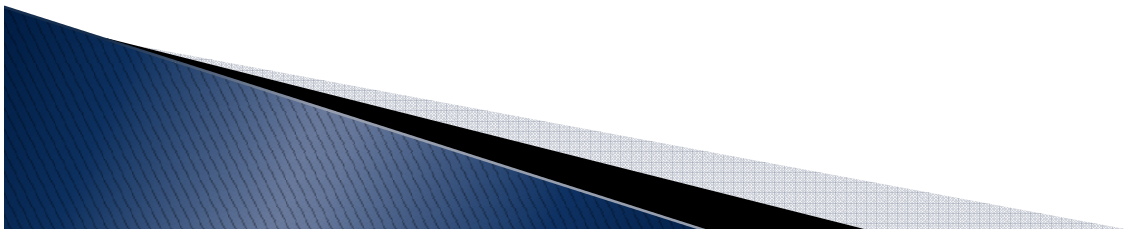
‘with the sound of the oars in the evening calm’
(MYS 13.3333)



OJ *suru*: Noun + *suru*

月	夜	尔波	門	尔	出立	足卜	乎	曾	為之
TUKU-YWO	ni	pa	KADWO	ni	IDETATI	A-URA	wo	so	SE-si
moon-night	DAT	TOP	gate	DAT	go-out	foot-	ACC	FP	do-PST
						divination			

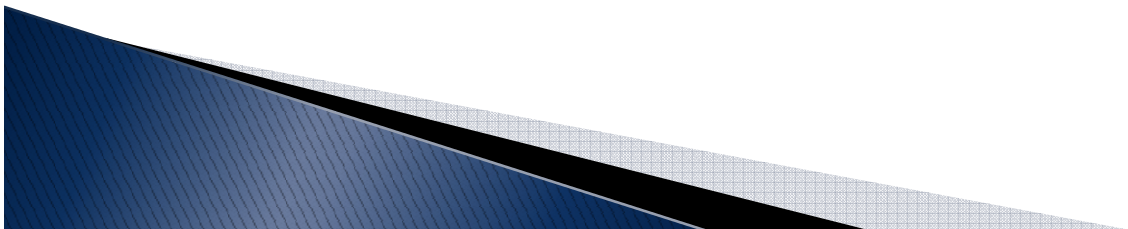
‘on the moonlit night I went out to the gate and divined by stepping’
(MYS 4.736)



OJ *suru*: Verb Infinitive + *suru*

伊都礼乃	思麻爾	伊保里	世武	和礼
idure no	sima ni	ipori	se-mu	ware
which COP	island DAT	lodging	do-CONJ	I
		in.a.hut		

‘me, on which island shall I live in a hut’
(MYS 15.3593)



OJ *suru*: Verb Infinitive + *suru*

伊射里 須流 安麻能

izari **suru** ama no

fishing do diver GEN

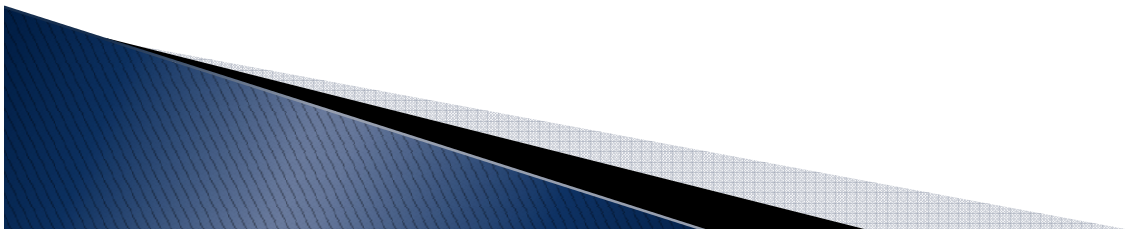
都里船

turi-BUNE

fishing-boat

‘the fishing boats of the divers who are fishing’

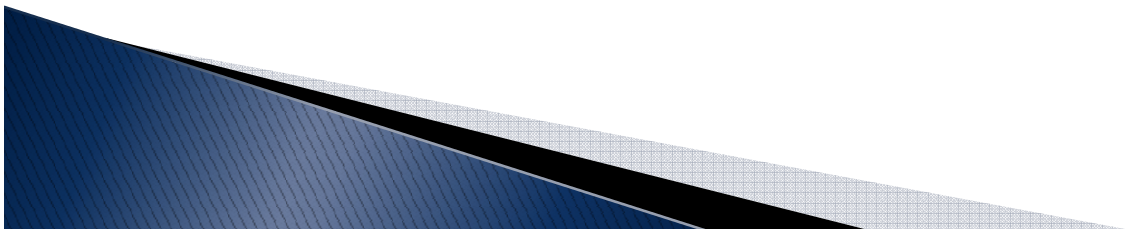
(MYS 15.3609)



OJ *suru*: Verb Infinitive + *suru*

安米能	布流日乎	等我理	須
ame no	puru PI wo	togari	su
rain GEN	fall day ACC	hunting.with.falcons	do

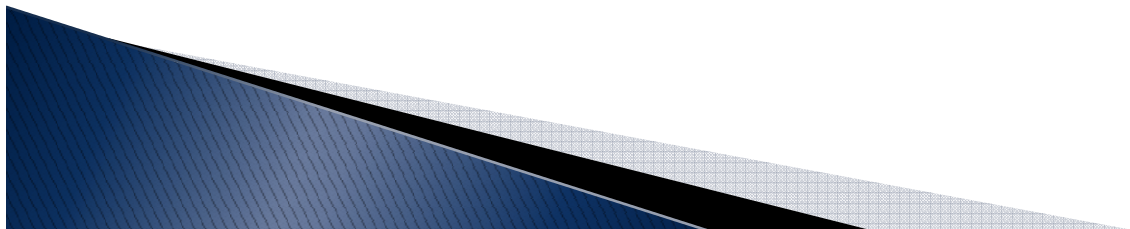
‘you are hunting with falcons on a rainy day’
(MYS 17.4011)



OJ *suru*: Verb Infinitive + *suru*

國	見	乎	為	者
KUNI-MI	wo		SUREBA	
land-seeing	ACC		do.PROV	

‘as I survey the land’
(MYS 1.2)



OJ *suru*: Resultative

烏梅能波奈	佐岐多流	曾能能	阿遠夜疑遠
ume no pana	saki-taru	sono no	awo-yagwi wo
plum GEN blossom	bloom-garden GEN		green-willow ACC
	STAT		

加豆良	爾	志都都
kadura	ni	situtu
hair.decoration	COP.INF	do.CONT

‘making the green (leafy) willow in the garden where the
plumtrees are blooming into a hair-decoration’

(MYS 5.825)



OJ *suru*: NP (*wo*) ADJ-*mi suru*

安賀 於毛布

a ga omopu

I GENthink.fondly.of lord ACC

伎美乎

kimī wo

奈都可之美

natukasi-mi

affectionate-INF

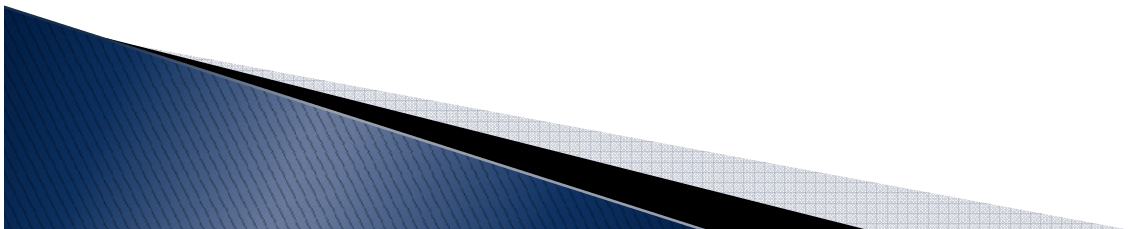
勢余

seyo

do.IMP

‘treat my lord, whom I am care for, affectionately’

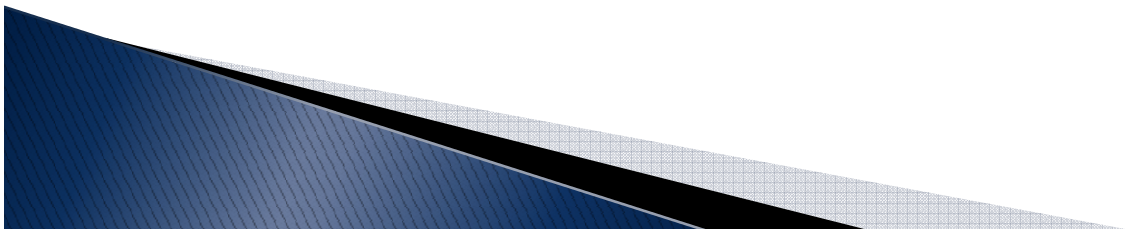
(MYS 17.4009)



OJ *suru*: Intention/imminence

加是布加牟	登	須
kaze puka- mu	to	su
wind blow- CONJ	TO	do

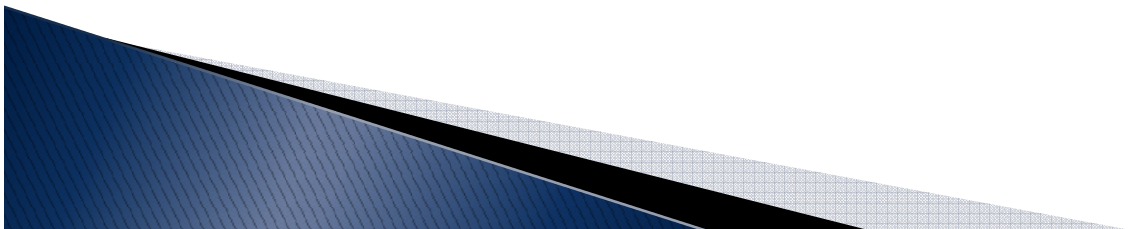
‘the wind is about to start blowing’
(KK 20)



OJ *suru*: Intention/imminence

許呂佐務	苔	須羅句	塙	志羅珥	比賣那素寐	殊
korosa-mu	to	suraku	wo	sira-ni	pimye-n-aswobi	su
kill-CONJ	TO	do.NMNL	ACC	know-	girl-'s-play	do
				NEG		

‘not knowing that somebody intends to kill you, you are flirting with girls’ (NSK 18)



OJ *suru*

Pro-verb

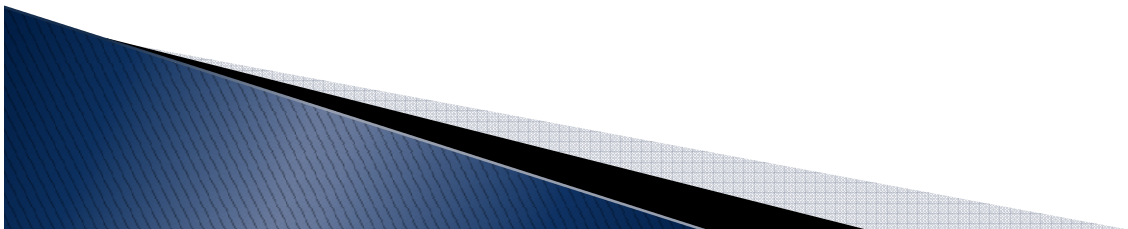
Noun + *suru*

Verb Infinitive + *suru*

Resultative

Adj-*mi* + *suru*

Intention/imminence

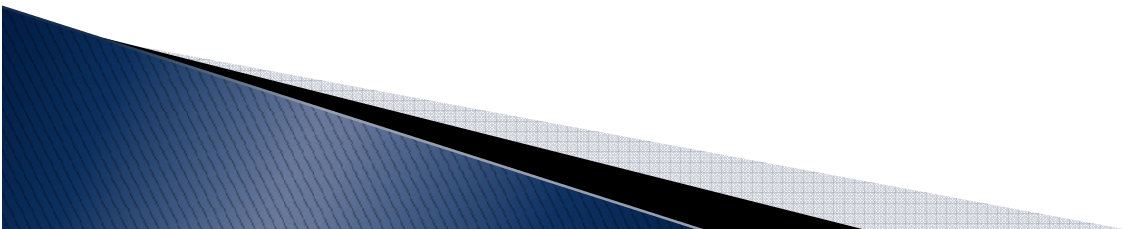


OJ *suru*

Noun + *suru*

Verb Infinitive + *suru*

Suru and accusative case marking



OJ *suru*: Nouns with *suru*

subye ‘means, way of’; *koto* ‘thing; nominalizer’; *waza* ‘act, deed’; *tapa-waza* ‘foolishness, nonsense’ (*tapa-* ‘foolish’); *mazi-waza* ‘spell, curse’; *mazi-mono* ‘spell, curse’; *nori-goto* ‘(imperial) command, proclamation; proclaim-word/speech’; *tapa-koto* ‘nonsense; foolish-word/speech’; *warapa-goto* ‘childish word/speech’ (*warapa* ‘child’).

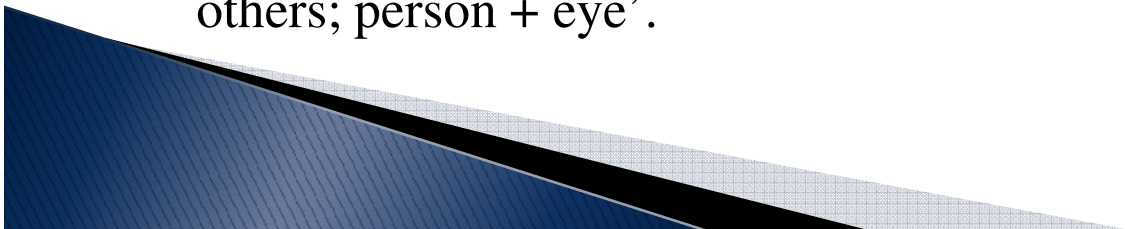
asi-ura / *a-ura* ‘divination by stepping; foot-divination’.

sakasira ‘trying to appear wise’.

oto ‘sound’; *kowe* ‘voice, sound’.

koromo ‘clothes, garment’; *kadura* ‘hair ornament/decoration’; *pana-kadura* ‘hair decoration of flower(s)’ (*pana* ‘flower’); *pane-kadura* ‘hair ornament/decoration worn by young girls who have just come of age (shape and material unknown)’ (*pane* meaning unclear).

ta-makura ‘using arm as pillow; arm-pillow’; *pito-me* ‘being noticed by others; person + eye’.



OJ *suru*: Nouns with *suru*

挂 畏
KAKEMAKU MO KASIKWOKI
speaking.of even awesome

天皇
SUMYERA GA
imperial.highness GEN

大御髮 乎
OPOMI-KAMI wo
HON-hair ACC

盜 給 波利旦
NUSUMI-TAMAp_{arite}
steal-HUM

岐多奈伎 佐保川
kitanaki sapoGAPA
dirty Saogawa

乃
NO
GEN

髑髏 尔
PITOGASIRA ni
skull DAT

入 旦
IREte
put.into

大宮
OPOMIYA NO
palace GEN

内 尔
UTI ni
inside DAT

持 参入 来 旦
MOTI-MAWIRI-KIte
hold-enter.HUM-come.GER

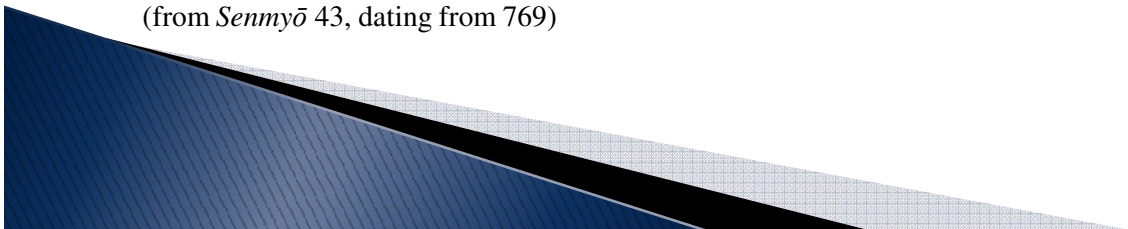
厭魅 為 流
MAZIWAZA
spell/curse do-STAT

S-Eru
NMLZ

已止
koto MI-TABI
three-times do-STAT

三度 世利
s-eri

‘They [the evil conspirators] stole hair of the unspeakably awesome imperial highness [Empress Shōtoku (*r.* 764-770) who was the ruling empress at the time], put it inside a skull from the dirty Saogawa River, took it inside the palace, and cast spells three times’ (from *Senmyō* 43, dating from 769)

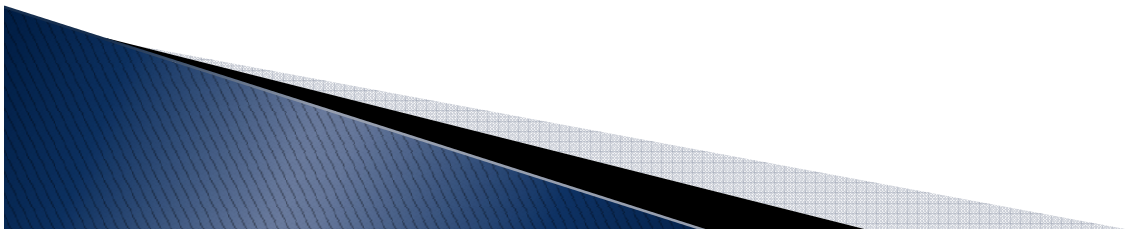


OJ *suru*: Nouns with *suru*

賢	良 乎	為	跡	酒	不飲
SAKASIra	wo	SU	to	SAKE	NOMA-NU
	ACC	do	PURP	saké	drink-NEG

人	乎	熟	見者	猿	二 鴨	似
PITO	wo	YOKU	MIREBA	SARU	ni kamo	NI-MU
person	ACC	well	look.PROV	monkey	DAT FP	resemble- CONJ

‘Looking closely at someone who doesn’t drink in order to
appear wise, they look like a monkey or something’
(MYS 3.344)



OJ *suru*: Nouns with *suru*

葉根 縵

pane-KADURA

今

IMA

now

為

SURU

do

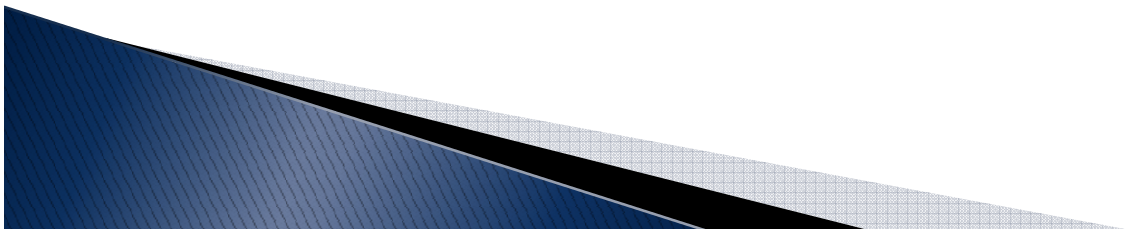
妹

IMO

beloved

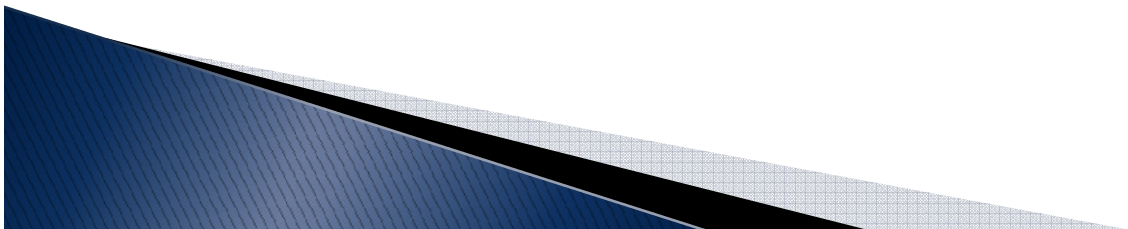
‘My beloved who is now wearing her *pane-kadura* [ceremonial coming of age headgear]’

(MYS 4.705)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

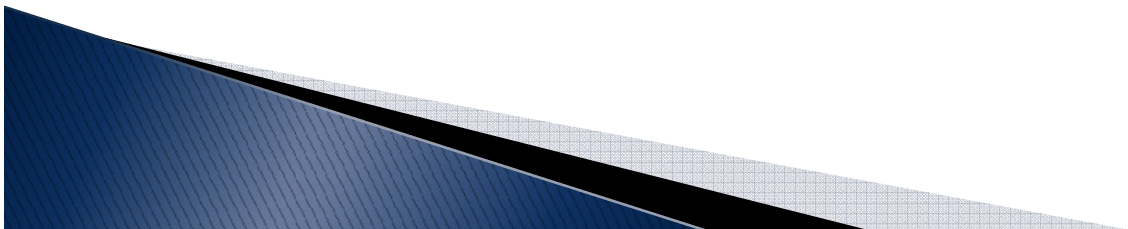
arasi 'letting grow over'; *asari* 'getting food'; *ata-yumapi* 'sudden illness'; *ayamati* 'being mistaken'; *ipori* 'lodging in hut'; *itupari* 'lying'; *izari* 'fishing'; *kaduki* 'diving'; *kapyeri-mi* 'looking back; (re)turn-look/see'; *kare* 'withering'; *kari* 'hunting' (also with honorific prefix *mi-*: *mi-kari*); *katarapi* 'talking'; *kogi* 'rowing'; *kwopwi* 'loving'; *kwopwi-musubi* 'continuing loving; love-be.connected'; *mapi* 'dancing'; *maro-ne* 'sleeping with one's clothes on; wrap-sleep'; *midare* 'being in disarray'; *mi-tata-si* 'setting out; HON-set.out-RESP'; *misogi* 'purifying oneself'; *midare-kwopwi* 'being in love; be.confused/chaotic-love'; *miti-kake* 'waxing and waning'; *momiti* '(leaves) turning red'; *mwi* 'turning'; *naga-kwopwi* 'loving for a long time; long-love'; *nageki* 'sighing'; *naki* 'crying'; *nare* 'getting used to'; *nari* 'working'; *-ni* NEGATIVE; *nipopi* 'being colourful, fragrant'; *oi* 'growing old'; *okina-sabwi* 'being like an old man'; *omopi* 'thinking of (with sadness)'; *padi* 'being shameful'; *paye* 'growing'; *piki-de* 'pulling out; pull-go.out'; *pori* 'wanting, desiring'; *sini* 'dying'; *tamukapi* 'turning against'; *tamuke* 'making offerings'; *tati-basiri* 'running out; set.out-run'; *taye* 'breaking (intr.), ending'; *turi* 'fishing'; *utusi* 'dyeing, colouring'; *wabwi* 'being desolate, sad'; *wabwi-naki* 'being sad and crying'; *wakare* 'being apart'; *wasure* 'forgetting'; *wepi-naki* 'getting drunk and crying'; *wosimi* 'being sad'; *wotokwo-sabwi* 'being manlike'; *wotomye-sabwi* 'being womanlike'; *ywobapi* 'proposing marriage' (also with reciprocal prefix *api-* *ywobapi* 'proposing marriage to each other').



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

奈呉 能	安麻能	都里	須流	布祢波
nagwo no	ama no	turi	suru	pune pa
Nago GEN	diver GEN	fishing do		boat TOP

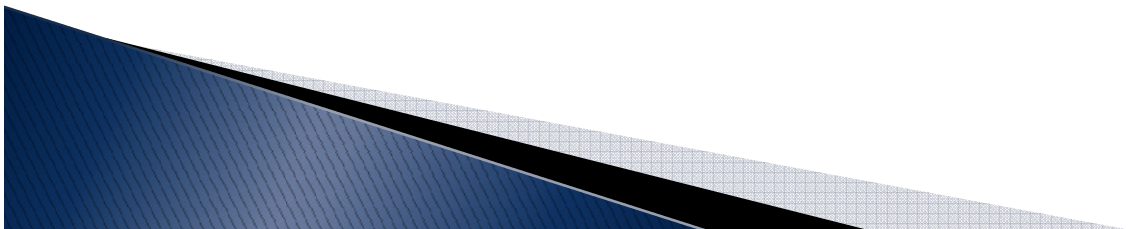
‘the boat where the divers of Nago are fishing’
(MYS 17.3956)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

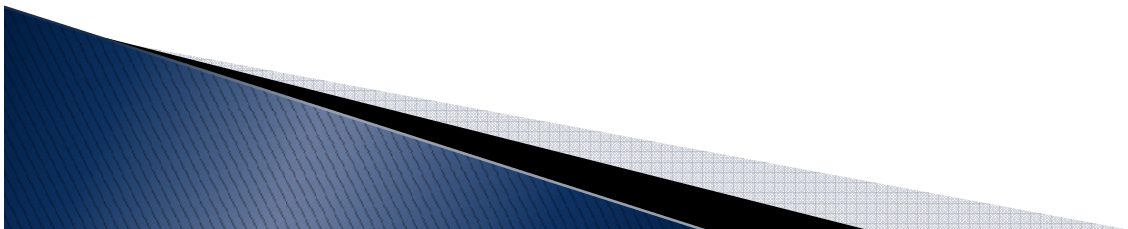
藤江	能	宇良爾	須受吉	都流	安
PUZIYE	no	ura ni	suzuki	туру	ama
Fujie	GEN	bay DAT	sea.bass	fish	diver

‘The divers fishing sea-bass in the Fujie bay’
(MYS 15.3607)




OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

a(-)biki ‘casting a net’; *ama-tutumi* ‘being held up by the rain’; *asa-biraki* ‘setting sail early in the morning; morning-open’; *asa-dati* ‘setting out in the morning’; *asa-nagi* ‘being calm in the morning; morning-calm’; *asi-yosopi* ‘wearing a string on the leg as an auspicious decoration; leg-adorn’; *asi-zuri* ‘stamping your feet in frustration; foot-rub’; *ipyede* ‘leaving home to become a monk; house-go.out [translation of Ch. 出家]; *iswo-mwi* ‘going round along a rocky shore; rock(y shore)-turn’; *kadwo-de* ‘leaving the house; gate-go.out’; *kamu-toke* ‘thundering; spirit-come loose’; *kata-kwopwi* ‘unrequited love’; *kata-mopi* ‘unrequited affection’; *kaza-mamori* ‘waiting for good wind to set sail; wind-watch’; *kaza-maturi* ‘praying to avoid bad winds (for farming); wind-offer’; *koto-age* ‘speaking out; word-raise’; *koto-dopi* ‘talking together; word-talk.at’; *koto-pakari* ‘planning, arranging; thing-plan’; *koto-togame* ‘reproaching, rebuking; word-censure’; *kuni-magi* ‘looking for a country to live; country-seek’; *kuni-mi* ‘surveying the land; land-see’; *miwo-biki* ‘piloting (a boat); waterway-pull’; *miya-de* ‘leaving the court; palace-go.out’; *miya-dukape* ‘serving at court; palace-serve’; *mono-gatari* ‘story-telling’ thing-tell’;



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

omo-gapari ‘changing facial appearance; face-change’ [also EOJ *ome-kapari*]; ***omo-kakusi*** ‘hiding one’s face (in shame); face-hiding’; ***omo-wasure*** ‘forgetting somebody’s face; face-forget’; ***pimye-n-aswobi*** ‘flirting with girls; maid-GEN-play’; ***puna-de*** ‘setting sail, sailing out’; ***puna-kazari*** ‘decorating a boat; boat-decorate’; ***puna-nori*** ‘riding a boat; boat-ride’; ***puna-pate*** ‘lying at anchor; boat-end’; ***simamwi*** ‘sailing around an island; island-circle’; ***simo-gumori*** ‘being foggy with frost; frost-get.cloudy’; ***tabi-ne*** ‘sleeping away from home; travel-sleep’; ***to-gari*** ‘hunting for birds (with a falcon)’ [also *patu-to-gari*, i.e. with nominal prefix]; ***tono-wi*** ‘staying overnight in the palace; palace-sit/live’; ***tumadopi*** ‘seeking a wife, mate; spouse-seek’; ***tumadwori*** ‘taking hold of the hem; hem-take’; ***tumagwopwi*** ‘loving one’s spouse; spouse-love’; ***uki-ne*** ‘sleeping floating on water, sleeping restlessly; float-sleep’; ***ura-gare*** ‘withering; end-wither’; ***uragwopwi*** ‘loving secretly; inside/heart-love’; ***uramwi*** ‘sailing inside a bay; inside-circle’; ***uranake*** ‘crying to oneself; inside/heart-cry’; ***wo-daye*** ‘cord of a necklace breaking; cord-break (intr.)’; ***yadori*** ‘lodging; house-take’; ***ywonaki*** ‘crying at night; night-cry’; ***yuki-ge*** ‘snow melting; snow-melt’.



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

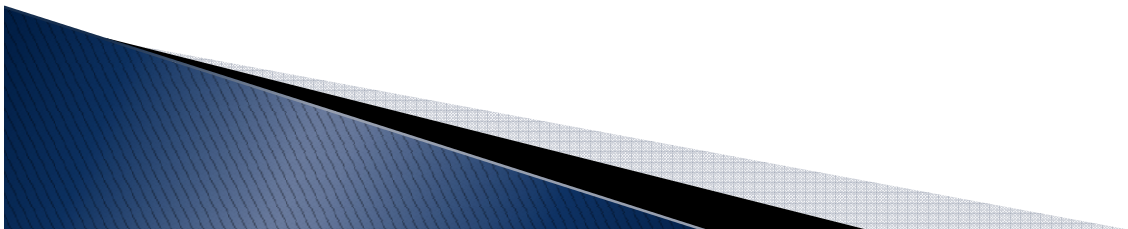
Verb focus or simple predication?

念 曾 吾 為類

OMOPI so WA GA SUru

thinking FP I GEN do

‘it is sad I am’ (MYS 4.788)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

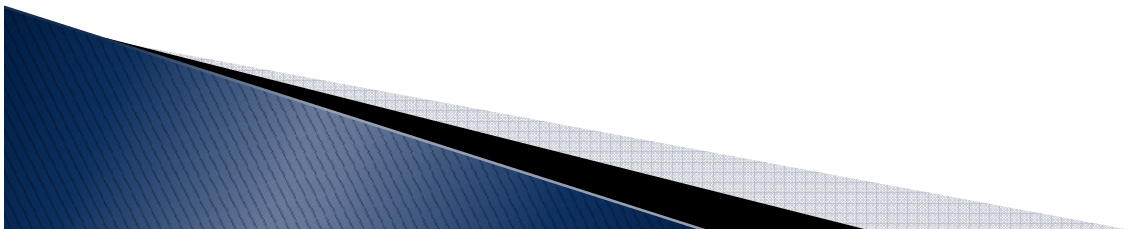
Arguments of the infinitive

Wo-marked object (1 example)

佐保治乎婆	安良之	也	之弓牟
sapo-di woba	arasi	ya	si-te-mu
Sao-way ACC.TOP	let.grow.over	FOC	do-PERF-CONJ

‘should I let the road to Sao grow over [by not using it]?’

(MYS 20.4477)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Arguments of the infinitive

Ni-marked indirect object ('to') (4 examples, all with *tamuke suru* 'make offering')

葦原 笑水 穂之國 丹

ASI-PARA no MIDUPO NO **KUNI ni**

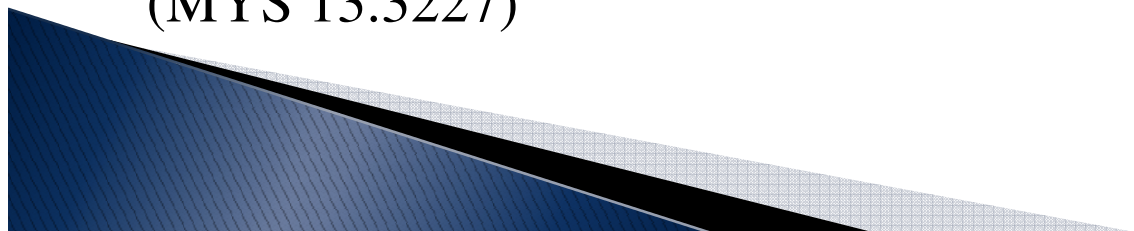
Ashihara GEN Mizuho GEN land DAT

手向 爲 跡

tamuke su to

offering do PURP

'In order to make offerings to the land of Ashihara no Mizuho'
(MYS 13.3227)



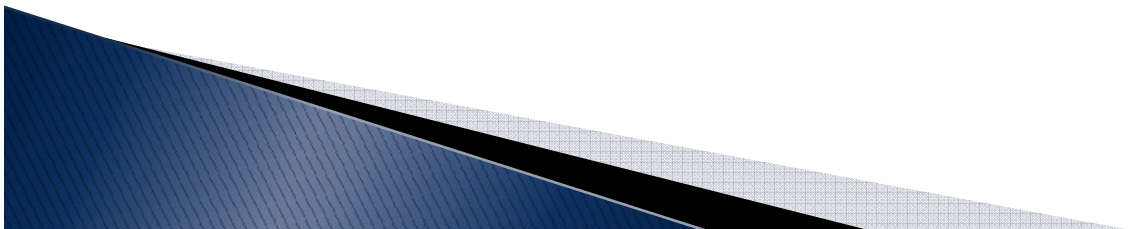
OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Arguments of the infinitive

yu/ywori-marked direction ('from, along') (5 exx)

神	嶋	乃	伊素未	乃	宇良由	船	出	須	和礼波
KAMWISIMA	no	iswomwi	no	ura	yu	PUNADE	su	ware	pa
Kamishima	GEN	rocky	COP	bay	ABL	set.sail	do	I	TOP

'Me, I will sail out from the rocky bay on Kamishima'
(MYS 15.3599)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Arguments of the infinitive

yu/ywori-marked direction ('from, along') (5 exx)

保里江 欲里

pori-YE ywori

canal ABL

水乎妣吉

MIwobiki

piloting

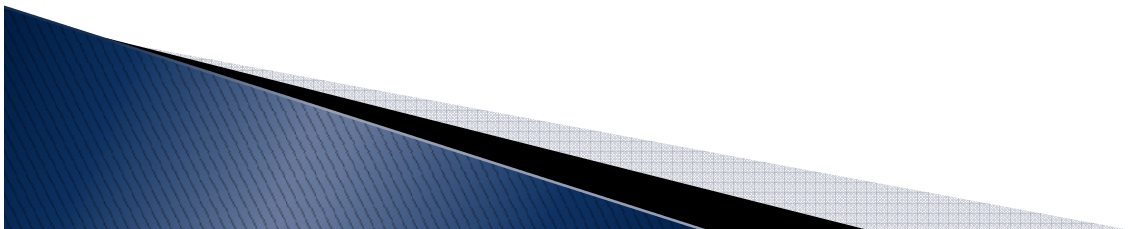
之都追

situtu

do.CONT

'while piloting along the canal'

(MYS 18.4061)



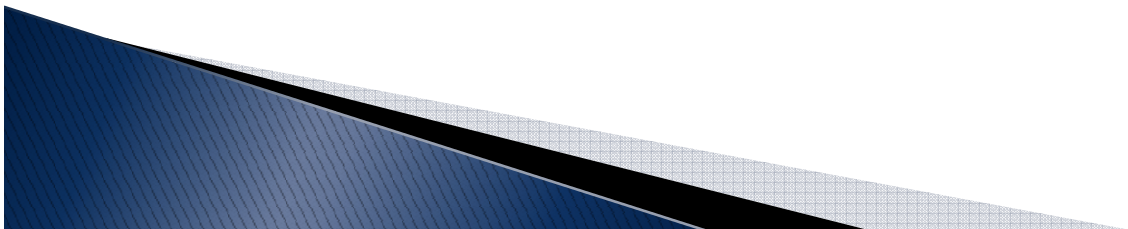
OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Arguments of the infinitive

Purpose-of-motion (1 example)

海	末通女	奥	藻	苳	尔	舟	出	為	等思
AMAwotoMYE	OKITUMO	KARI	ni	PUNADE	SU	razi			
diver.girl	seaweed	cut	PURP	set.sail	do	seem			

‘the diver girls seem to be sailing out to cut seaweed’
(MYS 7.1152)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Perfective auxiliary selection with *suru*

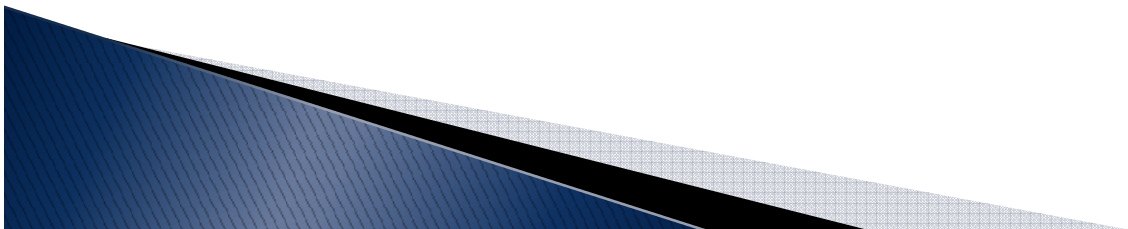
Distribution of OJ perfective auxiliaries

Transitives/Unergatives

-(*i*)*te*-

Unaccusatives

-(*i*)*n*-



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Perfective auxiliary selection with *suru*

-(*i*)*te*- (3 examples)

加射之

kazasi

hair-decoration

爾

ni

COP

斯弓奈

si-**tena**

do-PERF.OPT

‘I want to make them [plum flowers] into a hair decoration’ (MYS 5.820)

padi ‘being ashamed, *arasi* ‘letting grow over’



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Perfective auxiliary selection with *suru*

-(i)n- (5 examples)

吾羽

WA pa

I TOP

‘I was sad’ (MYS 4.644)

和備 曾

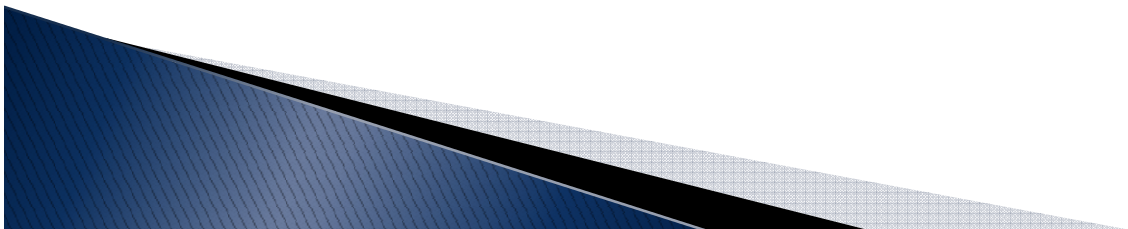
wabwi so

being.sad FOC

四二結類

si-**ni**-kyeru

do-PERF-MPST



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Perfective auxiliary selection with *suru*

-(i)n- (5 examples)

眞珠	者	緒絶	爲尔伎登
SIRA-TAMA PA		WO-DAYE	SI-ni-ki
white-pearl	TOP	string-break	do-PERF-PST

‘As for the white pearl necklace, the string broke’
(MYS 16.3814)

naki ‘crying’, *midare* ‘being in disarray’, *punade* ‘setting sail’



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Suru and accusative case marking

Resultatives (8 examples, including (20), (25))

Other raising constructions (4 examples, including (26))

Nouns (8 examples)

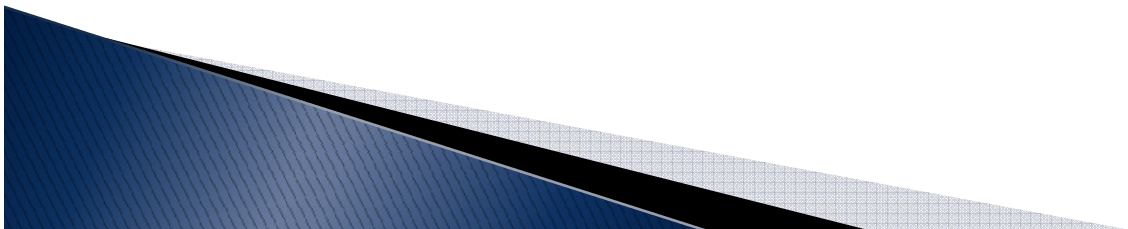
Activity ‘nouns’ (3 examples: *sakasira*, *a-ura*, *pitome*, cf. (29))

Locative and temporal adjuncts (4 examples)

Causee (1 example)

Verb Infinitives (19 examples):

itupari ‘lying’ (1); *kadwo-de* ‘leaving the house’ (2); *kata-kwopwi* ‘unrequited love’ (1); *kata-mopi* ‘unrequited affection’ (1); *kuni-mi* ‘surveying the land’ (2), cf. (19); *kwopwi* ‘love’ (4); *maro-ne* ‘sleeping dressed’ (2); *nari* ‘working’ (1); *uki-ne* ‘sleeping floating’ (3); *ywo-naki* ‘crying at night’ (2)

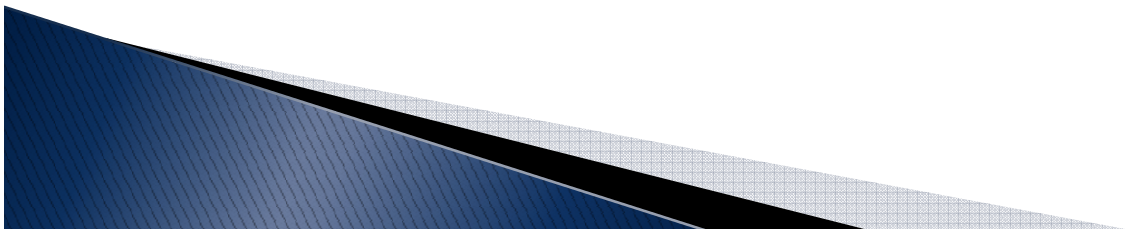


OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

Suru and accusative case marking

為便 毛 無 片戀 乎 為
subye mo NA-KI KATAKWOPWI wo SU
use even not.exist-ADN unrequited.love ACC do
'I harbour a useless unrequited love' (MYS 12.3111)

戀 乎 吾 為
KWOPWI wo WA GA SURU
love ACC I GEN do
'I love' (MYS 10.2311)



OJ *suru*: Infinitives used with *suru*

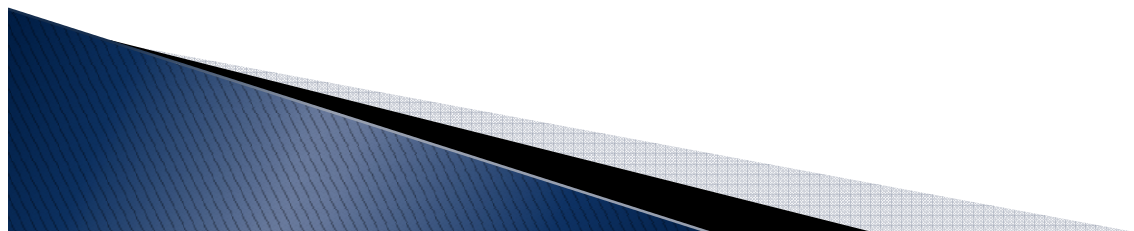
Suru and accusative case marking

可良伎 孤悲 乎 母
kara-ki kwopwi wo mo
sad-ADN love ACC also

安レ波
are pa
I TOP

須流 香母
suru kamo
do EMPH

‘I hold a very sad love’
(MYS 15.3652)



OJ *suru*

Pro-verb

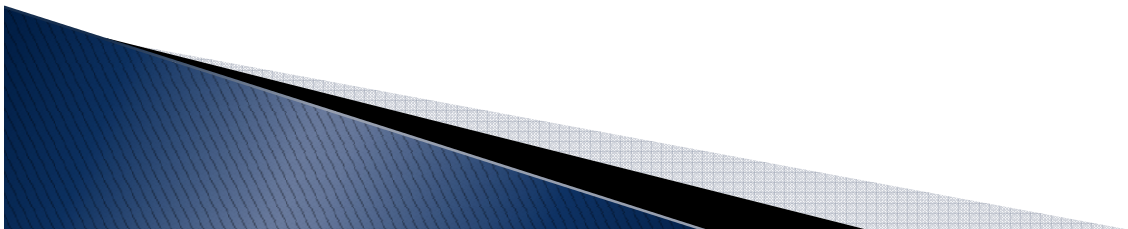
Noun + *suru*

Verb Infinitive + *suru*

Resultative

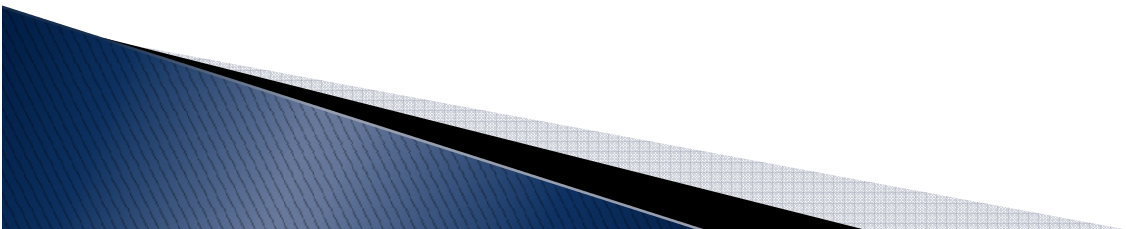
Adj-*mi* + *suru*

Intention/imminence



Is OJ *suru* a light verb?

Is OJ *suru* grammaticalized
from a lexical verb?



Verbal Noun (VN) + *suru*

a. VN-*suru*

nihongo o benkyoo-suru ‘study Japanese’

rikon-suru ‘divorce’

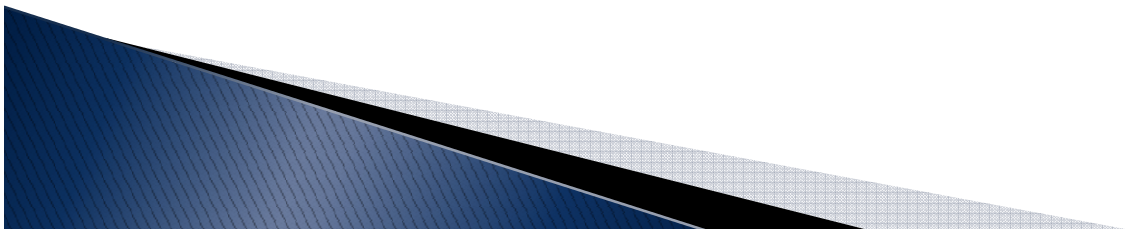
joohatsu-suru ‘evaporate’

b. VN *o suru*

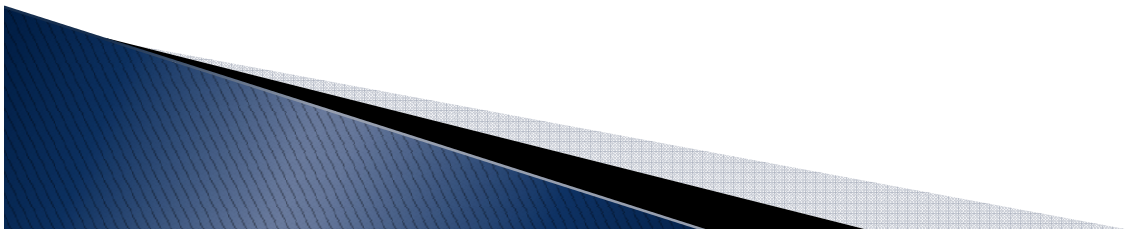
nihongo no benkyoo o suru

rikon o suru

**joohatsu o suru*



Is OJ *suru* a light verb, Otto?



The most usual meaning of s[u]b[stantive]s derived from and identical in form with a v[er]b is the action or an isolated instance of the action. This is particularly frequent in such everyday combinations as those illustrated in the following paragraphs after *have* and similar **‘light’ verbs**. They are in accordance with the general tendency of Mod[ern]E[n]glish to place an insignificant verb, to which the marks of person and tense are attached, before the really important idea ... Such constructions also offer an easy means of adding some descriptive trait in the form of an adjunct: we had *a delightful bathe*, *a quiet smoke*, etc. They thus in some way form a parallel to those with ‘cognate object’: *fight the good fight*, etc.

Jespersen 1942:117 (my bold emphasis, BF)

A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, vol. VI
(Morphology)

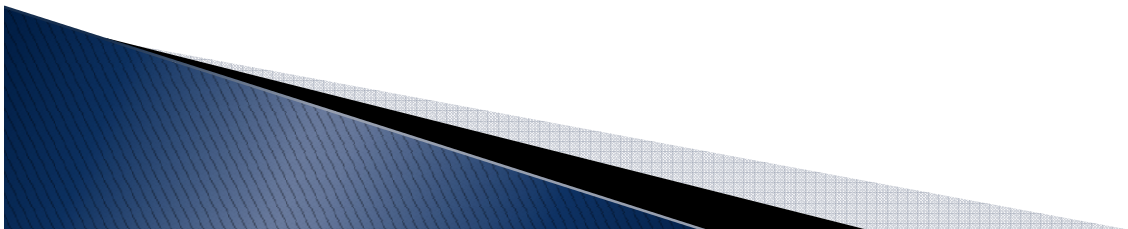
Chapter VII: ‘Substantives from Verbs without Change’



A central characteristic of light verbs is that they are always **form identical** to a main verb of the language. [...] Even though the light verbs clearly do not have the same predicational content as their full/main verb counterparts, they are always exactly form identical to a full verb and inflect exactly like that full verb.

Butt 2010: [5] (emphasis in original)

Butt, Miriam. 2010. The light verb jungle: Still hacking away. *Complex Predicates in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, ed. by M. Amberber, M. Harvey and B. Baker, 48-78. Cambridge University Press.



Modern Japanese

osushi o suru

sushi ACC do

‘make sushi’

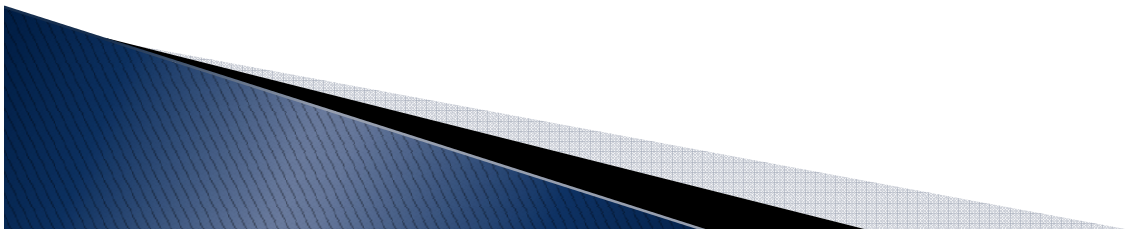
Early Middle Japanese

wotoko mo su naru nikki to ipu mono

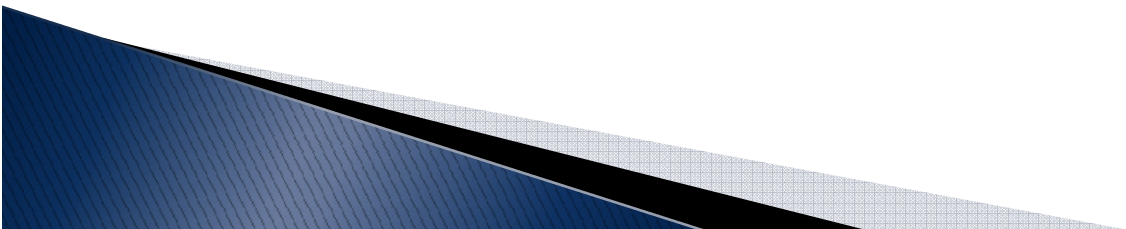
man also do EVID diary COMP call.ADN thing

‘The thing called diary which men are said to keep’

(*Tosa nikki*, c. 935)

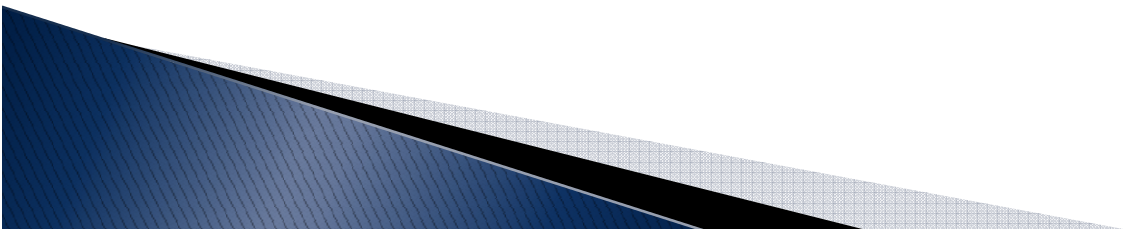


Is OJ *suru* a light verb?

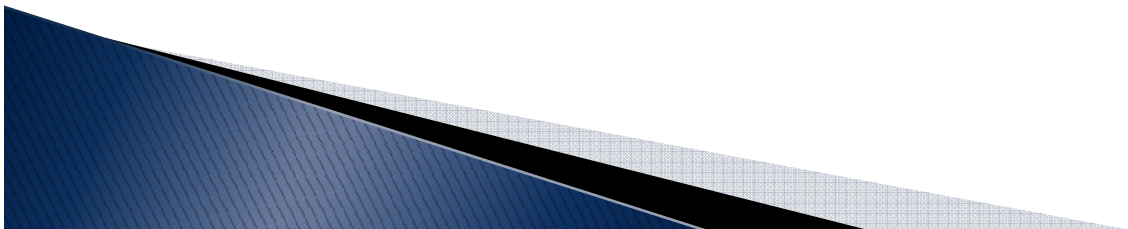


Is OJ *suru* a light verb?

NO, it's not



Is OJ *suru* grammaticalized
from a lexical verb?



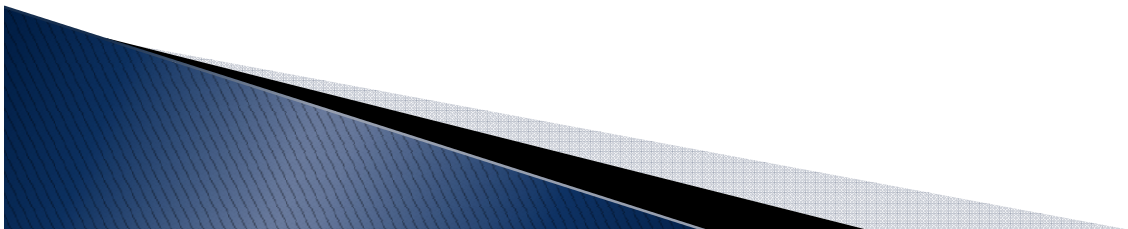
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supervised by
Carl Darling Buck



**A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE VERBS OF DOING AND
MAKING IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES**

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT AND INDO-EUROPEAN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY)

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

That such a vague, general notion as that of 'do' or 'make' is secondary and rests upon some more specific force, is an assumption demanded by all psychological probability and fully confirmed by linguistic evidence. The purpose of this dissertation is to show what are the various specific forces from which come the verbs of doing and making in the Indo-European languages. Attention is given primarily to the commonest words of this kind in the several languages,—those which are the usual equivalents of English *do* or *make*; and it is hoped that none of these has been overlooked. But words in which such a general meaning is only occasional, the more specific sense being commonly preserved, as well as words which, though not verbs of doing and making in the strictest sense, come very near to this meaning, are equally instructive as showing the possibilities of development in this direction; and many of these have been considered. In this regard, however, it is obviously impossible to aim at completeness, which could be attained only in a study devoted to a single language.

Verbs of doing and making are treated together for the simple reason that it is impossible to keep them apart. It is true that the distinction which exists in English, where *do* refers to an action *per se*, while *make* contains the notion of result, is common to many languages; but the line of demarcation is a vague one, and never quite the same even in languages which have precisely the same pair of words as German and English. Compare *Was macht er?* = *What is he doing?*

INTRODUCTION - - - - -	PAGE 7
VERBS OF DOING AND MAKING	

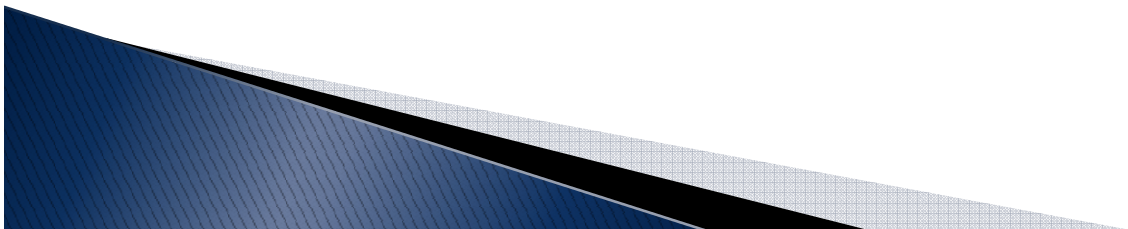
I. FROM WORDS DENOTING SUCH SPECIFIC
ACTIONS AS,

1. Put in place - - - - -	11
2. Put in order, arrange - - - - -	12
3. Set right, straight - - - - -	14
4. Make ready, prepare - - - - -	14
5. Handle - - - - -	15
6. Take hold of - - - - -	15
7. Fit, suit - - - - -	16
8. Fasten - - - - -	18
9. Distribute - - - - -	18
10. Cut - - - - -	18
11. Mark off - - - - -	19
12. Plow, till the soil - - - - -	19
13. Knead - - - - -	20
14. Bake - - - - -	20

II. FROM WORDS DENOTING ACTIVITY (EXER-
TION AND MOTION) AS,

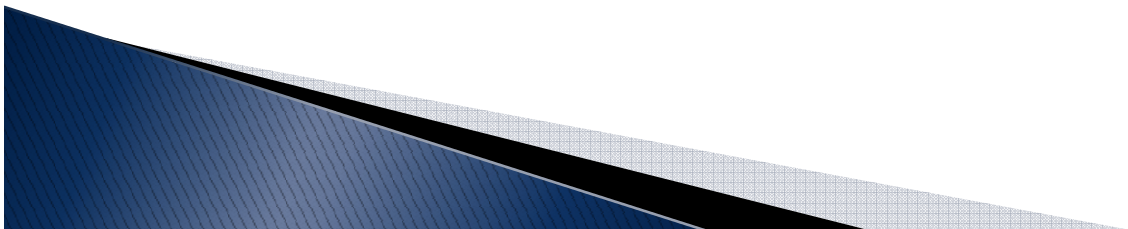
15. Exert one's self, work, toil - - - - -	20
16. Be attentive, observant - - - - -	22
17. Take care of - - - - -	23
18. Remain, remain firm - - - - -	23
19. Stretch - - - - -	23
20. Join together - - - - -	24
21. Be active, stirring - - - - -	24
22. Run - - - - -	25
23. Turn - - - - -	26

Is OJ *suru* grammaticalized
from a lexical verb?



Is OJ *suru* grammaticalized
from a lexical verb?

NO, it's not



ご清聴ありがとうございました
Goseichō arigatō gozaimashita

(Humble thanks for
your kind attention)

