

A diachronic perspective on early Japanese morphology:

Some more Japanese copulas

Bjarke Frellesvig

bjarke.frellesvig@orinst.ox.ac.uk

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 conj. 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 < *nVsi*

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

asapi *nasu* (MYS 13.3234)

b. adjectival derivational formant *-zi < *-nVsi*

ipyezi 'like (this) house' (*ipy* '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' (e.g. *uma-zi mono* 'like a horse' (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

- a. *ana omosirwo* 'how wonderful!' (*Kogoshûi*)
- b. *oso ya*, kono kimi 'he is stupid, this man!' (MYS 9.1741)

(4) Attributive use

- a. *yasu-i* 'good, sound sleep'
pasi-duma 'dear, beloved wife'
- b. [yo no *topo*] *pito* 'person of old age; [age GEN distant] person' (NSK 62)
[mi ga *posi*] *kuni* 'the country I long to see; [see GEN want] country' (KK 58)
pa-biro kumakasi 'wide-leaved great oak' (KK 91)
- c. *topo no kuni* 'distant country' (MYS 15.3688)
ikasi no miyo 'abundant reign' (EN 27)
topo tu pito 'distant person' (MYS 17.3947)

(5) Adverbial use

- a. *tika-duku* 'approach; close/near-touch/stick to'
- b. *paya ko* 'come quickly!' (MYS 15.3636)
- c. *ko ni kaki* 'paint thickly' (KK42)

(6)

- a. *a ga mune ita-si*
I GEN heart painful-ACOP.CONCL
'my heart aches' (MYS 15.3767)
- b. *kurwo-ki mi-kyesi*
black.ACOP.ADN HON-clothes
'black clothes' (KK 4)
- c. *kagurwo-ki kami* 'black hair; black-ACOP.ADN hair' (MYS 5.804)
kagurwo-si kami 'black hair; black-ACOP.CONCL hair' (MYS 16.3791)

(7) OJ forms

	a.	b.	c.
		Ku	Shiku
		<i>topo</i>	<i>kwopwisi</i>
Finite			
Conclusive	<i>-si</i>	<i>toposi</i>	<i>kwopwisi</i>
Adnominal	<i>-ki (~ -si)</i>	<i>topoki</i>	<i>kwopwisiki</i>
Exclamatory-1	<i>-sa</i>	<i>toposa</i>	<i>kwopwisisa</i>
Exclamatory-2	<i>-kyere</i>	<i>topokyere</i>	<i>kwopwisikyere</i>
Nonfinite			
Infinitive-1	<i>-ku</i>	<i>topoku</i>	<i>kwopwisiku</i>
Infinitive-2	<i>-mi</i>	<i>topomi</i>	<i>kwopwisimi</i>
Gerund-1	<i>-kute</i>	<i>topokute</i>	<i>kwopwisikute</i>
Gerund-2	<i>-mito</i>	<i>topomito</i>	<i>kwopwisimito</i>
Conditional-1	<i>-kyeba</i>	<i>topokyeba</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeba</i>
Conditional-2	<i>-kupa</i>	<i>topokupa</i>	<i>kwopwisikupa</i>
Provisional-1	<i>-kyeba</i>	<i>topokyeba</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeba</i>
Provisional-2	<i>-kyereba</i>	<i>topokyereba</i>	<i>kwopwisikyereba</i>
Concessive-1	<i>-kyedo</i>	<i>topokyedo</i>	<i>kwopwisikyedo</i>
Concessive-2	<i>-kyeredo</i>	<i>topokyeredo</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeredo</i>
Nominal	<i>-kyeku</i>	<i>topokyeku</i>	<i>kwopwisikyeku</i>
Negative nominal	<i>-kyenaku</i>	<i>topokyenaku</i>	<i>kwopwisikyenaku</i>
Conjectural	<i>-kyem-</i>	<i>topokyem-</i>	<i>kwopwisikyem-</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; *-ku ar-*.

- a. *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, NSK 6)

- b. *ima koso pa wa-dori ni ara-me* (KK 3)
 now FOC TOP me-bird COP.INF exist-CONF.EXCL
 'Now, I am my own'

(10) **Abbreviated analytic forms** (in EMJ giving rise to a secondary conjugation カリ活用):
 -ku ar- => -kar-

- a. *ima no kusurisi taputwo-kari-kyeri*
 now COP.ADN master.of.medicine admirable-ACOP-MPST.CONL
 'the present master of medicine is worthy of praise!' (*Bussoku* 15)
- b. *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

OJ	EMJ/early LMJ	late LMJ/NJ
primary paradigms <i>ni, no, to, tu;</i> <i>-si, -ki, -ku, ...</i>	primary paradigms <i>ni, nite, de, no, to</i> <i>-si, -ki ~- i, -ku ~ -u, ...</i>	primary paradigms <i>dya, da, na, no, ni, ...;</i> <i>-i, -ku ~ -u, -katta, ...</i>
	secondary paradigms <i>nar-, tar-, dyar-</i> <i>-kar-</i>	
analytic forms <i>ni/to ar-;</i> <i>-ku ar-</i>	analytic forms <i>ni/nite/de/to ar-</i> <i>-ku ar-</i>	analytic forms <i>de ar-</i> <i>ku ar-</i>

(12) Summary so far:

- a. The so-called inflectional endings of adjectives in Japanese are really a restricted and highly suppletive copula: '**adjectival copula**'.
- b. Its main forms exhibit an alternation *k-* ~ *s-*.

Possible relation with some other grammatical morphemes.

See Appendix 1.

Other related grammatical forms?

(13)

Verbs:	<i>ko-</i> ‘come’	<i>se-</i> ‘do’
Demonstratives:	<i>ko</i> ‘speaker’	<i>so</i> ‘non-speaker’
Focus particles:	<i>ka</i>	<i>so</i>

(14)

- a. *wa ga kwopuru # kimi so* *kizo no ywo # ime ni mi-ye-turu*
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. *tukwi wo # sirwotape no # kumo ka* *kakus-eru*
moon ACC white.cloth COP.ADN cloud KA hide-STAT.ADN sky-GEN-mist KAMO
‘Is it white clouds that are hiding the moon?’ (MYS 7.1079)

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

Conclusion

Afterthought: Lexical k ~ s alternation candidates

(17)

<i>toki</i> (2.3) ‘time’	<i>tosi</i> (2.3) ‘year’
<i>aka(-)</i> (A; ?2.5<2.1) ‘bright, red’	<i>asa</i> (2.5) ‘morning’
<i>okure-</i> (A) ‘be (left) behind’	<i>oso-</i> (A) ‘late’
<i>kapa</i> (2.2) ‘river’	<i>sapa</i> (2.1) ‘marsh’
<i>kosi</i> (2.1) ‘loins’	<i>se ~ so-</i> (1.2) ‘back’
<i>kup-</i> (B) ‘eat’	<i>sup-</i> (A) ‘imbibe, inhale’

Appendix 1: Adjectival copula forms

Conclusive Adnominal Exclamatory	-sa	-si -si	-ki -ki	-kyere < *ki-are	
Infinitive Gerund Conditional Concessive Provisional			-kyeba < *ki-amu-pa -kyedo -kyeba	-kyeredo -kyereba	-ku -kute -kupa
Nominal			-kyeku < *ki-aku		
Conjectural Negative (nom.)			-kyem- < *ki-am- -kyenaku < *ki-anu-aku		

		Simple Past		Modal Past	Negative	Semblative
Conclusive Adnominal Exclamatory		-si -si -sika	-ki	-kyeri < *ki-ari -kyeru -kyere	-(a)zu < *ani-su	nosu < no-su
Infinitive Gerund Conditional Concessive Provisional		-seba -sikado -sikaba	-kyeba (< *-ki-amu-pa)	-kyeredo -kyereba	-(a)zu < *ani-su -(a)zute < *ani-su-te -(a)zupa < *ani-su-pa	nosu < no-su
Nominalized		-siku	-kyeku (< *-ki-aku)	-kyeraku		
Conjectural			-kyem- (< *-ki-am-)			

OJ adjectival copula and other grammatical morphemes

Appendix 2: 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	ĩ	ĩ	iy	wi
neutral	i	i	i	i	i
<i>Kô-rui</i>	e ₁	e	ê	ye	ye
<i>Otsu-rui</i>	e ₂	ě	ě	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
	u	u	u	u	u
	a	a	a	a	a

Examples

Gloss	cNJ	Frellesvig & Whitman	Index notation	Yale	Modified Mathias-Miller	Ohno
‘sun’	hi	pi	pi ₁	pyi	pî	pi
‘fire’	hi	pwi	pi ₂	piy	pĩ	pĩ
‘blood’	chi	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti
‘woman’	me	mye	me ₁	mye	mê	me
‘eye’	me	me	me ₂	mey	mě	mě
‘hand’	te	te	te	te	te	te
‘child’	ko	kwo	ko ₁	kwo	kô	ko
‘this’	ko	ko	ko ₂	<u>k</u> o	kö	kö
‘ear (of rice)’	ho	po	po	po	po	po