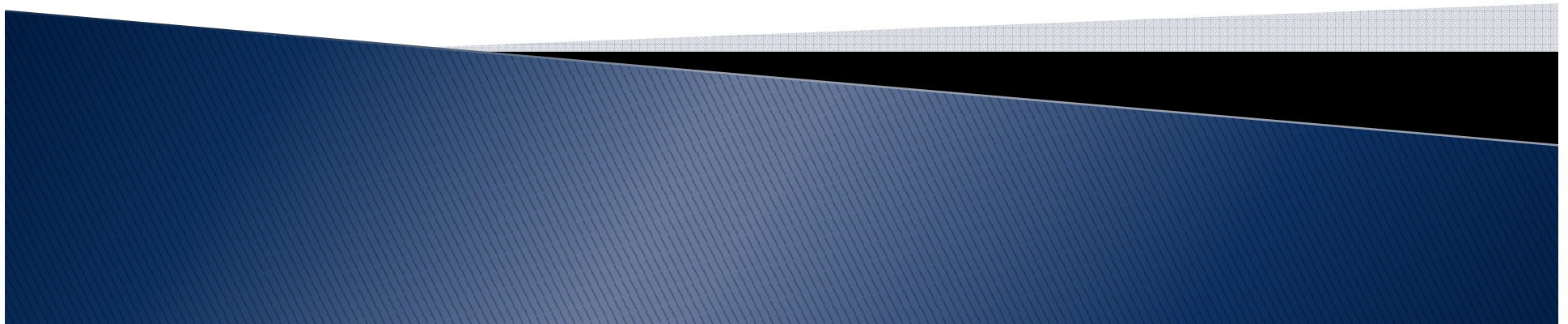


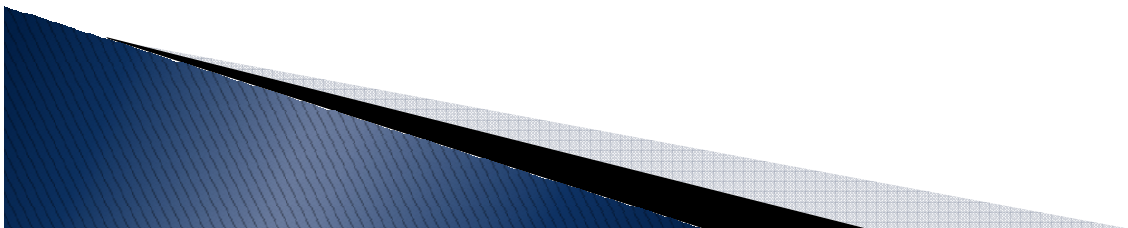
A diachronic perspective on early Japanese morphology: Evidence for reconstructing (at least) two more copulas in pre-Old Japanese

Bjarke Frellesvig
2 November 2009
CRLAO-INALCO



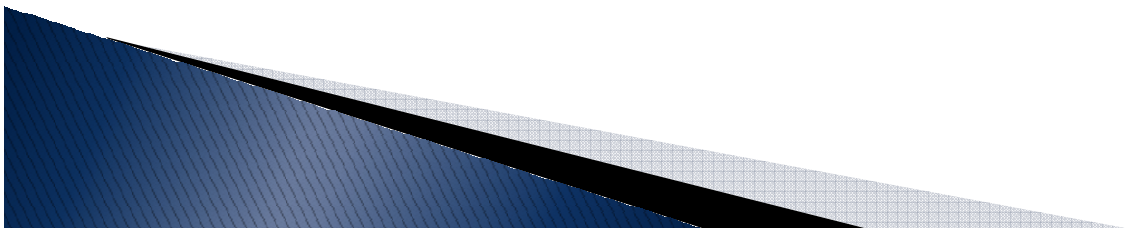
Japanese linguistic periods

700-800	Old Japanese	上代語	Nara
800-1200	Early Middle Japanese	中古語	Heian
1200-1600	Late Middle Japanese	中世語	Kamakura Muromachi
1600-	Modern Japanese	近世語 現代語	Edo Meiji etc



Main OJ texts

- ▶ *Kojiki* (古事記 ‘Record of ancient matters’, compiled in 712)
- ▶ *Nihon shoki* (日本書紀 ‘Chronicles of Japan’, compiled in 720)
- ▶ *Man'yôshû* (万葉集 ‘Collection of myriad leaves’, compiled after 759)
- ▶ *Norito* (祝詞 ‘liturgies’, ritual prayers and blessings)
- ▶ *Senmyô* (宣命, imperial edicts from the Nara period)



Phonographic writing

Text: 夜久毛多都伊豆毛夜幣賀岐都麻碁微爾夜幣賀岐都久流曾能夜幣賀岐馨

Interpretation:

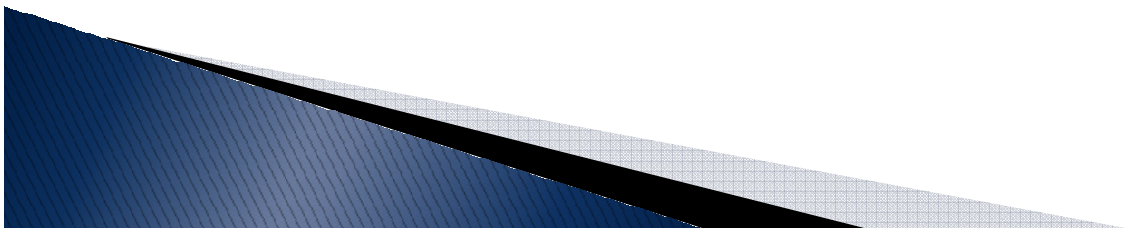
夜久毛多都 伊豆毛
ya-kumwo tatu idumwo
eight-cloud rise.ADN Izumo

夜幣賀岐 都麻碁微爾
ya-pye-gaki tuma-gomwi ni
eight-fold-fence wife-enclosing PURP

夜幣賀岐 都久流
ya-pye-gaki tukuru
eight-fold-fence make.CONCL

曾能 夜幣賀岐馨
so no ya-pye-gaki wo
that GEN eight-fold-fence EXCL

‘The many-fenced palace of Idumo # Of the many clouds rising - # To dwell there with my spouse ## Do I build a many-fenced palace: # Ah, that many-fenced palace!’ (KK 1)



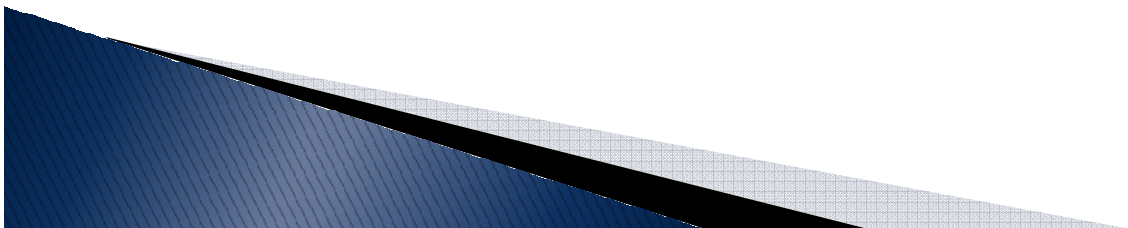
Mixed writing

Text: 簍毛與美簍母乳布久思毛與美夫君志持此岳尔菜採須兒家吉閑名告紗根

Interpretation:

簍 毛與	美 簍 母乳	布久思 毛 與	美夫君志 持
KWO <i>mo yo</i>	<i>mi</i> KWO <i>moti</i>	<i>pukusi mo yo</i>	<i>mibukusi</i> MOTI
basket FOC EMPH	HON-basket hold.INF	shovel FOC EMPH	HON-shovel hold.INF
此	岳尔	菜 採須	兒 家 吉閑名 告紗根
KO NO	WOKA <i>ni</i> NA	TUMA- <i>su</i>	KWO IPYE <i>kikana</i> NORA- <i>sane</i>
this GEN hill DAT	greens pinch-RESP.ADN	child home ask.OPT	tell-RESP.OPT

‘Girl with your basket, with your pretty basket, with your shovel, with your pretty shovel, gathering shoots on the hillside here, I want to ask your home. Tell me your name!’ (MYS 1.1)



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

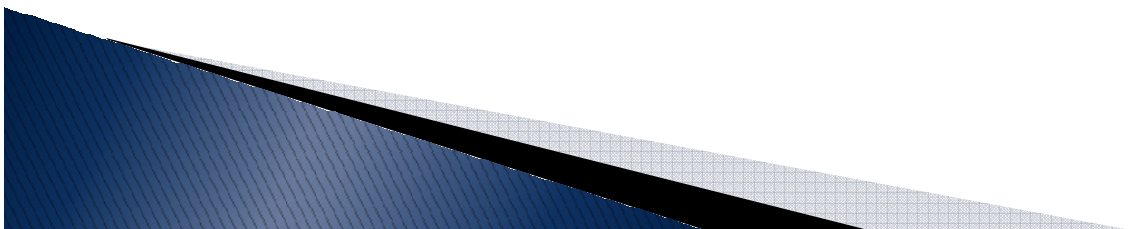
	t-	n-
Copula	to, tu	ni, no
Oblique case and conj. particles	to	ni, nite
Genitive particle	tu	no
Gerund	-te	
Perfective	-te-	-n-
Continuative	-tutu	

(2)

Semblative ('be like')

nasu ~ nosu

-zi < *nVsi



n- semblatives

- a. *nasu* ~ (EOJ) *nosu*
asapi nasu (MYS 13.3234)

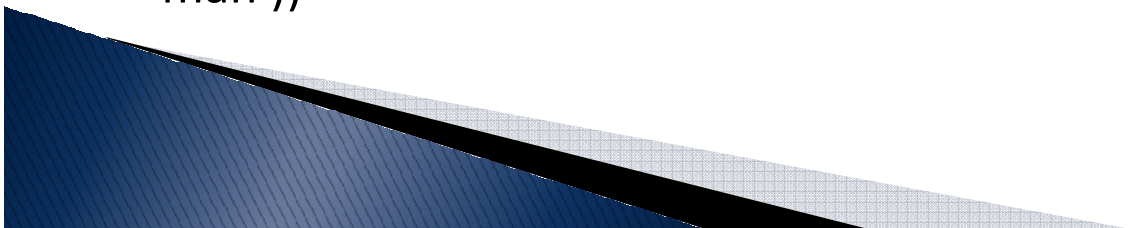
- b. adjectival derivational formant *-zi* < **-nVsi*

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

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

Adjectives in Old Japanese

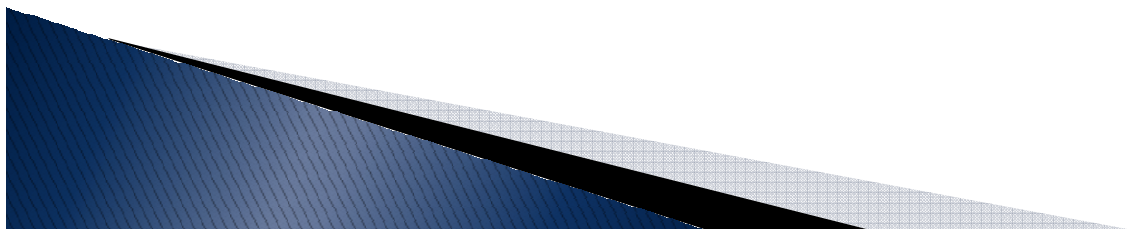
(6)

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-ACOP.ADN hair
'black hair' (MYS 5.804)

kagurwo-si *kami*
black-ACOP.CONCL hair
'black hair' (MYS 16.3791)



(7) OJ forms

Finite

Conclusive

Adnominal

Exclamatory-1

Exclamatory-2

a.

-si

-ki

-sa

-kyere

b.

Ku

topo-

toposi

topoki

toposa

topokyere

c.

Shiku

kwopwisi-

kwopwisi

kwopwisiki

kwopwisisa

kwopwisikyere

Nonfinite

Infinitive-1

Infinitive-2

Gerund-1

Gerund-2

Conditional-1

Conditional-2

Provisional-1

Provisional-2

Concessive-1

Concessive-2

-ku

-mi

-kute

-mito

-kyeba

-kupa

-kyeba

-kyereba

-kyedo

-kyeredo

topoku

topomi

topokute

topomito

topokyeba

topokupa

topokyeba

topokyereba

topokyedo

topokyeredo

kwopwisiku

kwopwisimi

kwopwisikute

kwopwisimito

kwopwisikyeba

kwopwisikupa

kwopwisikyeba

kwopwisikyereba

kwopwisikyedo

kwopwisikyeredo

Nominal

Negative nominal

Conjectural

-kyeku

-kyenaku

-kyem-

topokyeku

topokyenaku

topokyem-

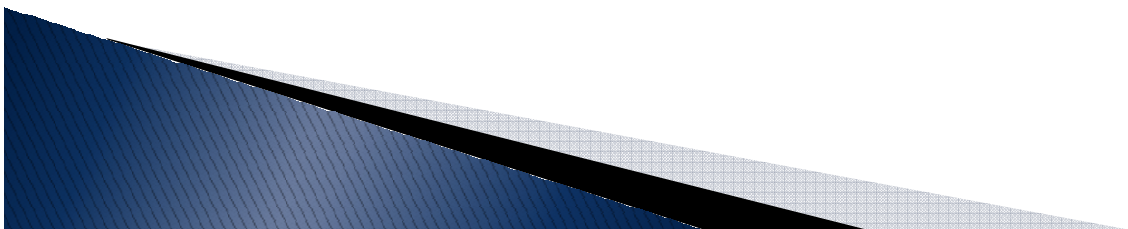
kwopwisikyeku

kwopwisikyenaku

kwopwisikyem-

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>



Adjectives in Old Japanese

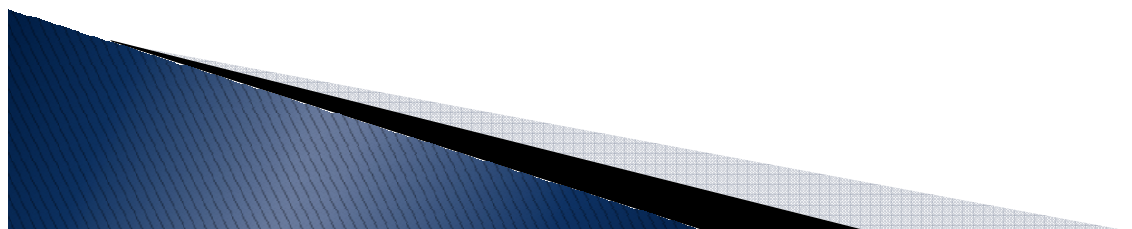
(9) Analytic forms; *-ku ar-*.

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
now FOC TOP me-bird COP.INF exist-CONJ.EXCL
'Now, I am my own bird' (KK 3)



Adjectives in Old Japanese

(10) Abbreviated analytic forms

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

a.

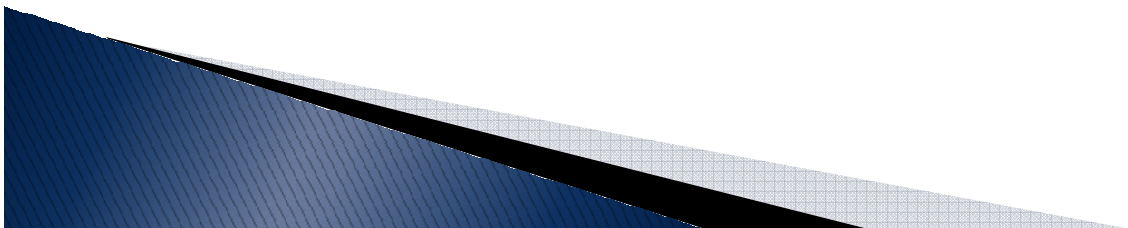
<i>ima</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>kusurisi</i>	<i>taputwo-kari-kyeri</i>
now	COP.ADN	master.of.medicine	admirable-ACOP-MPST.CONCL

'the present master of medicine is worthy of praise!' (*Bussoku* 15)

b.

<i>ume</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>sakari</i>	<i>nari</i>
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

primary paradigms

ni, no, to, tu
-si, -ki, -ku, ...

analytic forms

ni/to ar-
-ku ar-

EMJ/early LMJ

primary paradigms

ni, nite, de, no, to
-si, -ki ~ -i, -ku ~ -u, ...

secondary paradigms

nar-, tar-, dyar-
-kar-

analytic forms

ni/nite/de/to ar-
-ku ar-

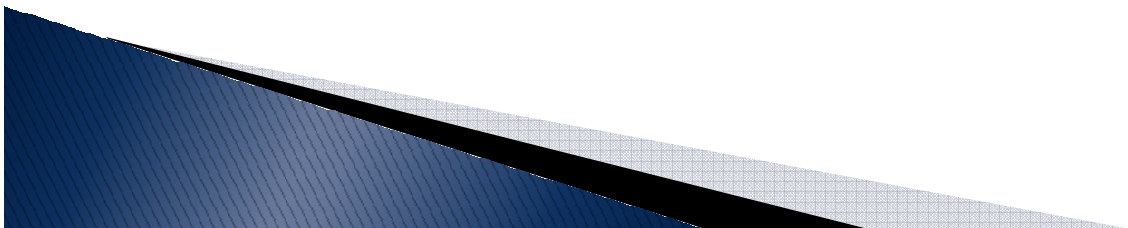
late LMJ/NJ

primary paradigms

dya, da, na, no, ni, ...
-i, -ku ~ -u, -katta, ...

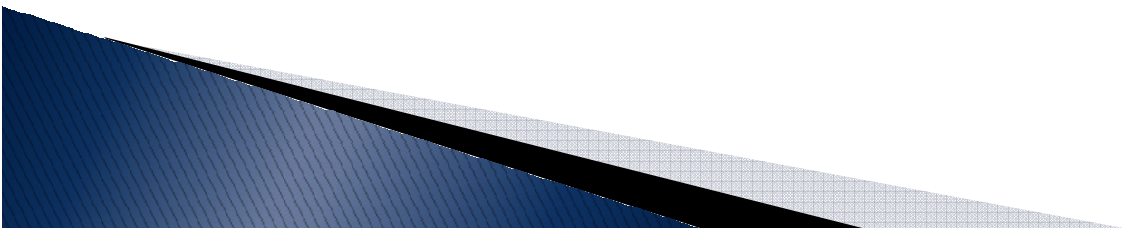
analytic forms

de ar-
ku ar-



Summary so far

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



Adjectival copula forms

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

Other possibly related grammatical morphemes

	Simple Past		Modal Past	Negative	Semblative
Conclusive	-si	-ki	-kyeri < *ki-ari	-(a)zu < *ani- su	
Adnominal	-si		-kyeru		nasu < na- su
Exclamatory	-sika		-kyere		
Infinitive				-(a)zu < *ani- su	nasu < na- su
Gerund				-(a)zute < *ani- su-te	
Conditional	-seba	-kyeba (< *-ki-amu-pa)		-(a)zupa < *ani- su-pa	
Concessive	-sikado		-kyeredo		
Provisional	-sikaba		-kyereba		
Nominalized	-siku	-kyeku (*-ki-aku)	-kyeraku		
Conjectural		-kyem- (*-ki-am-)			

More possibly related grammatical morphemes

(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>

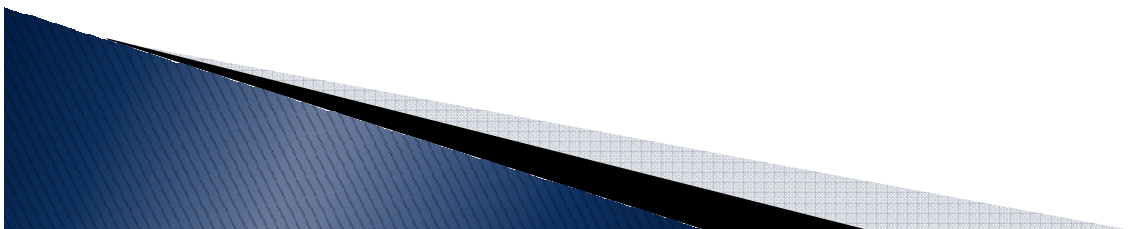
(14)

a.

wa ga kwopuru **kimi so** kizo no ywo ime ni mi-ye-**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.

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)



(15)

Focus

IS

presupposition

[wa ga kwopuru kimi so]
you my beloved lord

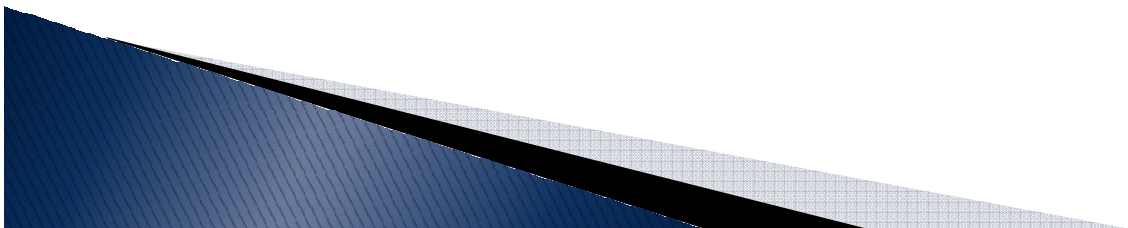
IS

[kizo no ywo ime ni miyeturu]
(what) I saw last night in a dream

[sirwotape no kumo ka]
white clouds

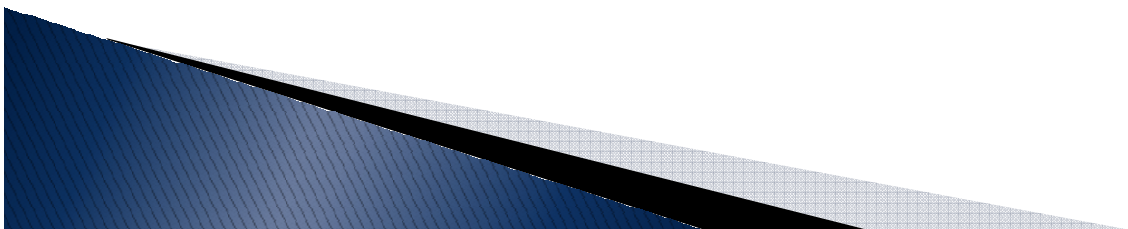
IS

[kakuseru]
(what) are hiding (it)



Conclusion

- ▶ The so-called inflectional endings of adjectives in Japanese are really a suppletive and highly restricted copula: ‘**adjectival copula**’.
- ▶ Its main forms exhibit an alternation *k-* ~ *s-*.
- ▶ The pre-OJ (adjectival) copula(s) in *k-* ~ *s-* is also reflected in a number of other grammatical morphemes, most closely the past tense markers (*-ki/-si/-kyeba/-kyem/-kyeku* and *-kyer-*) and the adverbial formant **-su* (~ *-ku*).



Afterthought

Lexical *k* ~ *s* alternation candidates

(17)

toki (2.3) 'time'

aka(-) (A; ?2.5<2.1) 'bright, red'

okure- (A) 'be (left) behind'

kapa (2.2) 'river'

kosi (2.1) 'loins'

kup- (B) 'eat'

koto 'word'

tosi (2.3) 'year'

asa (2.5) 'morning'

oso- (A) 'late'

sapa (2.1) 'marsh'

so- ~ *se* (1.2) 'back'

sup- (A) 'imbibe, inhale'

sita 'tongue'

