

Noun Incorporation in Old Japanese

上代日本語における名詞抱合について

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VSARPJ/NINJAL workshop

Outline

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ Semantic role (意味役割) of the incorporated noun (IN)
- ▶ Other semantic roles assigned by the incorporating verb (IV)
- ▶ Conclusion

Introduction

- ▶ What is noun incorporation?
 - There are various definitions of noun incorporation. This study is on incorporation from a morphological perspective.
 - The process where a noun is affixed to a verb resulting in a complex verb.
 - *puna*nor- 船乗る 'boat-ride; ride a boat'
- ▶ Why is noun incorporation significant?
 - As part of the VSARPJ project, we wanted to know about the argument structure of verbs which can incorporate nouns.

Introduction

- ▶ What can be incorporated in Old Japanese?
 - a noun
 - *puna-nor-* 船乗る ‘**boat**-ride; ride a boat’
 - a nominal prefix and a noun
 - *mi-yama-gakur-* 御山隠る ‘**HON-mountain**-be.hidden; be hidden in the mountains’
 - an adjectival stem and a noun
 - *yasu-i-ne-* 安眠寝る ‘**easy-sleep**-sleep; sleep peacefully’

Introduction

- ▶ What can be incorporated in Old Japanese?
 - a possessor and a noun
 - *akagwoma-no-a-gak-* 赤駒の足掻く ‘red.horse’s-leg-scratch;
scratch with red horse’s leg’
 - a relative clause and a noun
 - *yo-no-pito-no-taturu-koto-date-* 世の人の立つる言立てる
‘world-GEN-people declare words-declare; declare the words,
that the people declare’

Introduction

- ▶ Today's talk will focus on the semantic roles assigned to IN.
- ▶ The Data
 - only included items if there was at least one phonographic attestation
 - Criteria for determining whether nouns are incorporated in OJ:
 1. positive evidence for incorporation
 2. positive evidence against incorporation
 3. absence of evidence against incorporation

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 1: positive evidence for incorporation
 - Bound form of noun
 - *amater-* ~ *amader-* 天照る 'heaven-shine; shine'
 - *amagwirap-* 天霧 'heaven-be.cloudy; be cloudy'
 - *amagomor-* 天隠る 'rain-be.secluded; be secluded by rain'
 - *punanor-* 船乗る 'boat-ride; ride a boat'
 - *somuk-* 背く 'back-face; turn back on'

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 1: positive evidence for incorporation
 - *Rendaku*
 - *koto**d**ate*- 言立て ‘word-erect; declare’
 - *koto**d**op*- 言問う ‘word-ask; exchange words’
 - *kumo**g**akur*- 雲隠る ‘cloud-be hidden; be hidden by clouds’
 - *mi**d**uk*- 水付く ‘water-attach; be soaked in water’
 - *ne**b**ap*- 根延ふ ‘root-spread; spread roots’

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 1: positive evidence for incorporation
 - Presence of verbal prefix
 - *uti*-panapwi- 打鼻嚏る ‘PFX-nose-sneeze; sneeze suddenly’
 - *sa*-nebap- さ根延ふ ‘PFX-root-spread; spread roots’

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 2: positive evidence against incorporation
 - Free form of noun
 - *Rendaku* does not occur
 - *te panare*- 手離れる 'hand-be.separate; be far apart' (*ta-banare*- 'id.')

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 3: absence of evidence against incorporation
 - Noun lacks bound/free distinction
 - *ine-* 眠寝る 'sleep-sleep; sleep a sleep'
 - *kunimi-* 國見る 'country-see; look at the country'
 - *kotonas-* 言なす 'word-do; blurt'

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 3: absence of evidence against incorporation
 - Initial consonant lacks voiced/voiceless distinction
 - *ine*- 眠寝る 'sleep-sleep; sleep a sleep'
 - *kunimi*- 國見る 'country-see; look at the country'
 - *kotonas*- 言なす 'word-do; blurt'

Introduction

- ▶ Criterion 3: absence of evidence against incorporation
 - Excluded if fewer than 5 attestations.
- ▶ The Data set
 - 125 tokens
 - 102 fit criterion 1
 - 23 fit criterion 3

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Theme (主題) - 55 tokens
 - Location (場所)- 24 tokens
 - Instrument (道具)- 18 tokens
 - Manner (狀態)- 15 tokens
 - Goal (目標) - 5 tokens
 - Path (經路) - 4 tokens
 - Source (起点) - 2 tokens
 - Agent (動作主) - 2 tokens?

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Theme - 55 tokens
 - Themes can be the subjects of intransitive verbs or the objects of transitive verbs.
 - *iroduk*- 色付く ‘color-attach; turn color’
 - *pider*- 日照る ‘sun-shine; sun shines’
 - *mobik*- 裳引く ‘skirt-pull; drag skirt’
 - *togar*- 鳥狩る ‘bird-hunt; hunt birds’
 - *tumagwop*- 妻恋ふ ‘spouse-love; love spouse’

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Location (time or place) - 24 tokens
 - *asadat*- 朝立つ ‘morning-set.out; set out in the morning’
 - *ipabasir*- 岩走る ‘rock-run; splash on rocks’
 - *ywodat*- 夜立つ ‘night-go; set out at night’
 - *sitader*- 下照る ‘below-shine; shine’
 - *uragwopwi*- 裏恋ふ ‘heart-love; love in heart’

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Instrument - 18 tokens
 - *agak*- 足搔く 'leg-scratch; scratch with leg'
 - *muna*wake- 胸別ける 'chest-divide; push through with chest'
 - *tabasam*- 手挟む 'hand-clutch; clutch with hand'
 - *ta*wor- 手折る 'hand-bend; break with hand'

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Manner - 15 tokens
 - *kata*mat- 片待つ 'incomplete-wait; wait fervently'
 - *para*bap- 腹這う 'belly-crawl; crawl on belly'
 - *saki*dat- 先立つ 'first-set.out; set out first'

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Goal - 5 tokens
 - *amasosor*- 天そそる 'heaven-tower; rise to heaven'
 - *unakudar*- 海下る 'sea-go.down; go to sea'
 - *simadutap*- 島伝う 'island-go; go from island to island'

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Path - 4 tokens
 - *amagaker*- 天翔ける 'heaven-soar; soar in the heavens'
 - *amatob*- 天飛ぶ 'heaven-fly; fly in the heavens'
 - *miwobik*- 漣引く 'channel-pull; pilot a boat along a channel'

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Source - 2 tokens
 - *amakudar*- 天下る 'heaven-descend; descend from heaven'
 - *miyade* 宮出る 'palace-leave; leave palace'

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - Agent (?) - 2 tokens
 - *kamudumar*- 神づまる 'god-congregate, gods congregate'
 - *kamoduk*- 鴨着く 'duck-arrive; ducks arrive'

Semantic role of the IN

- ▶ Semantic role of the incorporated noun (IN)
 - The same verb can assign different roles.
 - *amagomor*- 天隠る ‘rain-be.secluded; be kept in by rain’
 - *kwirigomor*- 隠る霧 ‘mist-be.secluded; be secluded by mist’
 - *puyugomor*- 冬隠る ‘winter-be.secluded; be secluded in winter’
 - *yamagomor*- 山隠る ‘mountain-be.secluded; be secluded in mountains’
 - *tumagomor*- 妻隠る ‘spouse-be.secluded; spouse is secluded’

Other semantic roles

- ▶ Other semantic roles assigned by the incorporating verb (IV)
 - In some cases, the IN is the only argument assigned by the verb. This happens with one-argument verbs when the IN is a theme:
 - *akiduk*- 秋着く 'autumn-arrive; autumn arrives'
 - *panadirap*- 花散らふ 'flower-scatter; flowers scatter'

Other semantic roles

- ▶ Other semantic roles assigned by the incorporating verb (IV)
 - When the IN is an adjunct, there is no change in the valency of the IV:

吾 待 君 思 舟出 為 良之 母
wa ga matu kimi si puna-de su rasi mo
I GEN wait lord RES boat-go.out do PRS FIN
'My lord, whom I wait for, has certainly set out by boat.'
(MYS.8.1529)

Other semantic roles

- ▶ Other semantic roles assigned by the incorporating verb (IV)
 - ▶ In some cases, the IV appears to assign the same role to the incorporated noun and to another argument.

龍田山乃 露霜尔 色附 時 丹
tatuta no yama no tuyusimo *ni* iro-duku toki *ni*

Tatsuta GEN mountain GEN dew.frost DAT color-attach time COP

“At a time when Mt. Tatsuta turns color in the dew and frost.”

(MYS.6.971)

Other semantic roles

- ▶ Other semantic roles assigned by the incorporating verb (IV)
 - ▶ *iro* is the subject and theme of *duk-*

龍田山乃

tatuta no yama no

露霜尔

tuyusimo ni

色附
↓
iro-uku

時 丹

toki ni

Tatsuta GEN mountain GEN dew.frost DAT color-attach time COP

“At a time when Mt. Tatsuta turns color in the dew and frost.”

(MYS.6.971)

Other semantic roles

- ▶ Other semantic roles assigned by the incorporating verb (IV)
 - ▶ tatuta no yama *no* is the subject and theme of *duk-*

龍田山乃	↓	露霜尔	色附	時	丹
tatuta <u>no</u> yama <i>no</i>		tuyusimo <i>ni</i>	<u>iro-ducku</u>	toki	<i>ni</i>
Tatsuta GEN mountain GEN dew.frost DAT color-attach time COP					
“At a time when Mt. Tatsuta turns color in the dew and frost.”					
(MYS.6.971)					

Conclusion

► Conclusion

- OJ has both noun and phrasal incorporation.
- INs can be arguments or adjuncts.
- A variety of semantic roles can be assigned; theme is the most commonly assigned role.
- The valency of the IV can be decreased, as is the case with examples like *akiduk-*.
- The IV can assign the same semantic role to 2 arguments, as found with *iroduk-*.
- Subjects of intransitive verbs can be incorporated.

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Questions and Comments Welcome

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