

Old Japanese *-(i)-wor-*: Resultative and Progressive

Daniel Trott

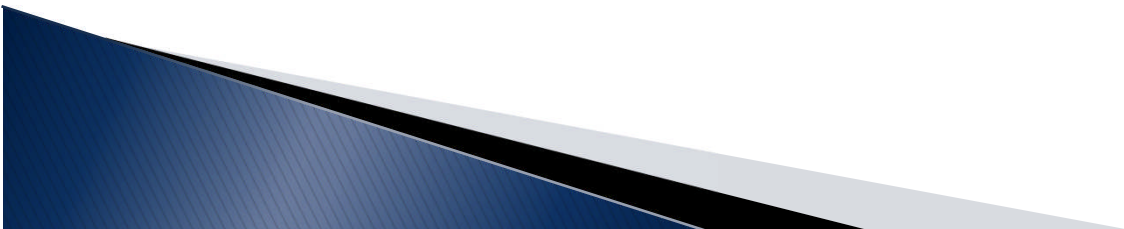
daniel.trott@new.ox.ac.uk

Joint VSARPJ–NINJAL Diachronic Corpus Workshop

30–31 July 2012

Aim and Structure

- ▶ Aim:
 - To show that the OJ *-(i)-wor-* construction was not only a progressive, but also a resultative
- ▶ Structure:
 - 1. Introduction
 - 2. Previous accounts
 - 3. Analysis of *-(i)-wor-*
 - 4. Conclusion



1. Introduction

The *-(i)-wor-* construction

- ▶ The Infinitive (連用形) of a verb followed by the verb *wor-* ‘be sitting, be still’
 - e.g. *iri-wori*, *mati-woreba*, *kwopwi-wora-mu*

(1)	伊都斯可母	京師乎	美武	等	意母比都都
	<i>itu-si-ka-mo</i>	<i>miyakwo-wo</i>	<i>mi-mu</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>omopitutu</i>
	when-EMP-FOC-TOP	capital-ACC	see-CONJ.ADN	COMP	think.CONT

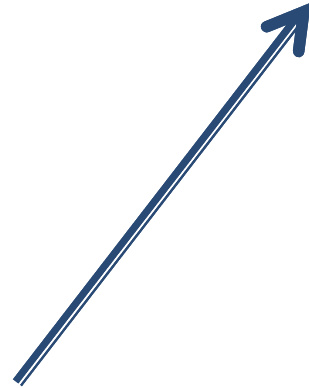
迦多良比遠礼騰
katarapi-woredo
tell-be.sitting.CNCS

‘although (I) was talking (to myself), thinking “When will I see the capital?” ’
(MYS 5.886)

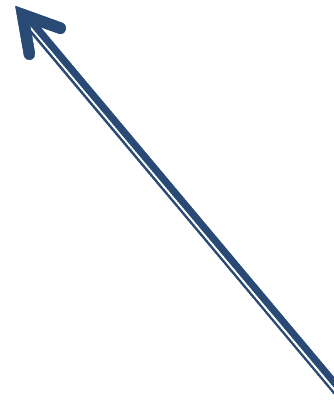
- ▶ There are only 54 attestations
 - Compare: 948 attestations of Perfective *-(i)n-*
(完了の助動詞「又」)

Aspect

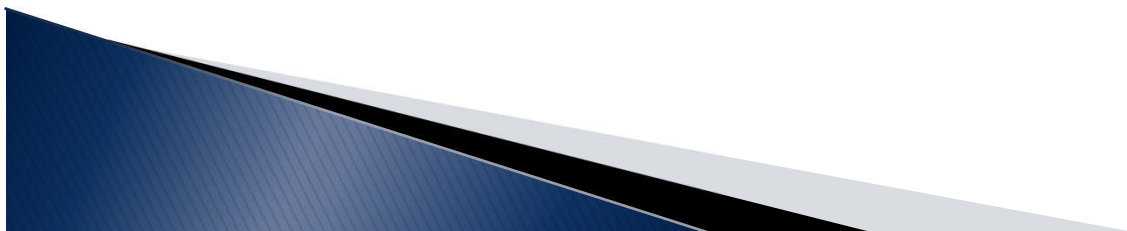
1. UTTERANCE
aspectual type



2. VERBS
aspectual potential

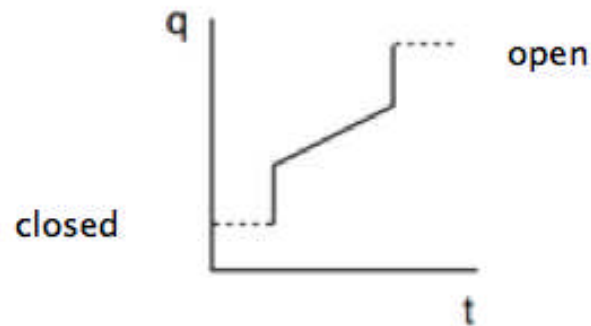


3. CONSTRUCTIONS
aspectual function



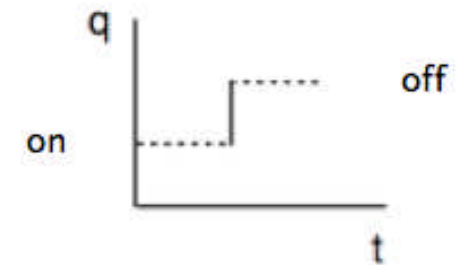
1. Aspectual types

(2) *Accomplishment* 達成



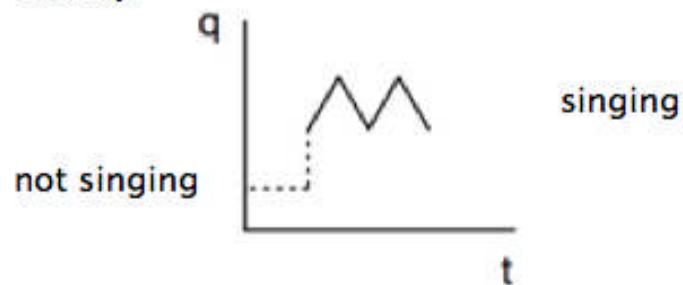
The door opened slowly.

(3) *Achievement* 到達



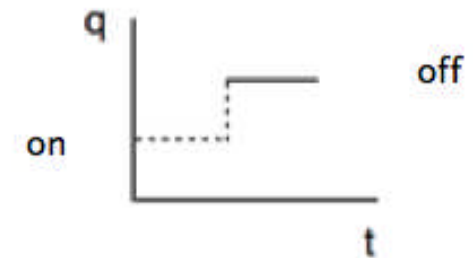
The light went off.

(4) *Activity* 活動



The girls sang for a while.

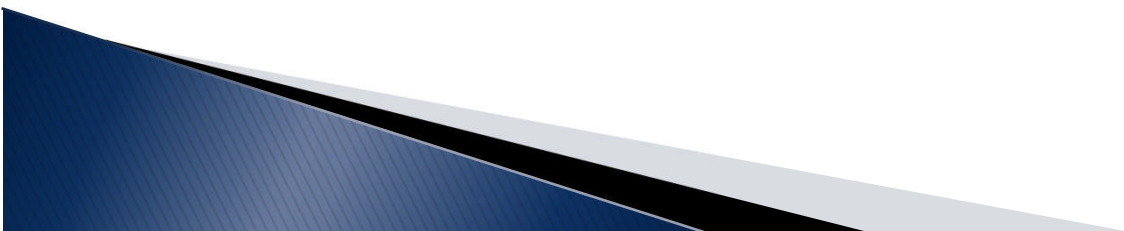
(5) *State* 狀態



The light has gone off.

2. Lexical aspectual potential and aspectual classes

- ▶ Verbs do not have a fixed aspectual type
 - The same verb may be used in utterances of different aspectual types (see examples 3 and 5)
- ▶ A verb has *aspectual potential*:
 - the particular combination of meanings it has in different aspect constructions
- ▶ Verbs with similar aspectual potential can be grouped into classes
 - In Old Japanese, the combinations of verbs with the major aspect constructions produce five classes



Aspectual classes in Old Japanese

Class	Construals		
	Zero	Perfective (ヌ・ツ)	Imperfectives (リ・タリ)
achievement <i>ir-</i> 'enter' <i>ok-</i> 'put'	achievement inherent state	achievement transitory state inherent state	transitory state
accomplishment <i>ip-</i> 'say' <i>ko-</i> 'come' <i>tukur-</i> 'make'	accomplishment achievement inherent state	accomplishment achievement transitory state inherent state	transitory state
inceptive state <i>sak-</i> 'bloom' <i>sir-</i> 'know'	transitory state achievement inherent state	achievement transitory state (result)	transitory state
activity <i>mat-</i> 'wait' <i>nak-</i> 'cry' <i>omop-</i> 'think'	activity achievement accomplishment inherent state	bounded activity achievement (inceptive)	transitory state
state <i>ar-</i> 'be'	transitory state	bounded state	—

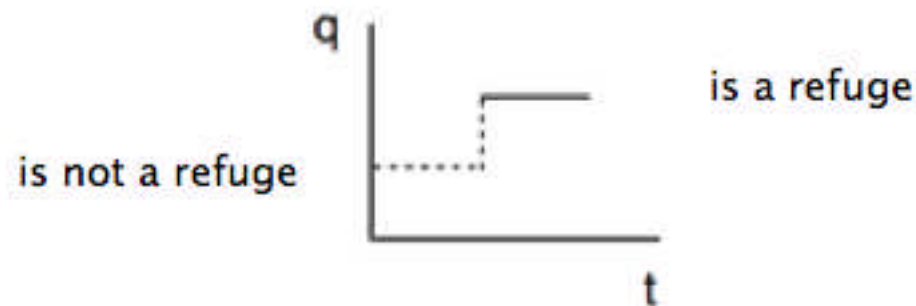
3. Grammatical aspect

- ▶ Grammatical aspect constructions have *aspectual functions*, for example:
 - *Resultatives* express the *result states* of change-of-state verbs
 - *Progressives* express activity verbs as *transitory states*
- ▶ Some constructions occur in many languages:
 - resultative (結果相)
 - progressive (進行相)
 - perfective (完結相)
 - perfect (完了相)

Resultative

- ▶ Resultative of accomplishment verb *nar*– ‘become’:

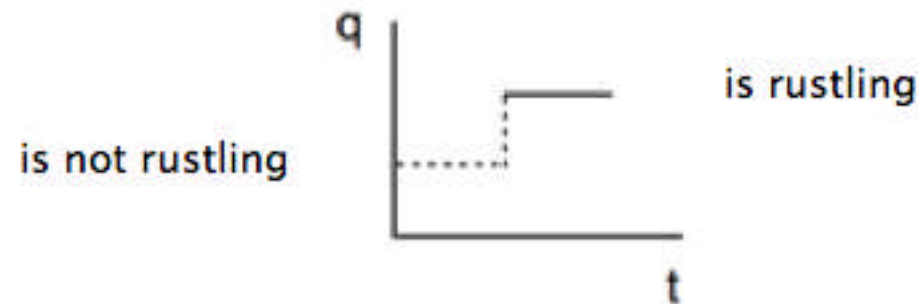
(6) 乃利乃 多能 与須加 止 奈礼利
nori-no *ta-no* *yosuga* *to* *nar-eri*
dharma-GEN sake-GEN refuge COP.INF **become-IPFV.CNCL**
‘it **has become** a refuge for the dharma’ (BS 18)



Progressive

- ▶ Progressive of activity verb *sayag*– ‘rustle’:

(7) 許能波 佐夜牙流
ko-no-pa *sayag-yeru*
tree-GEN-leaf rustle-IPFV.ADN
‘the leaves of the trees **are rustling**’ (KK 21)



2. Previous accounts

Progressive

- ▶ *-(i)-wor-* is usually called a ‘progressive’, e.g. by Vovin (2009) and Frellesvig (2010)
 - It is seen as a construction formed on activity verbs like the English Progressive *-ing*
 - This is correct for the examples where it combines with activity verbs (e.g. *katarap-* ‘talk’, *mat-* ‘wait’)
- ▶ But it is also found with accomplishment, achievement, and inceptive state verbs
 - e.g. *ir-* ‘enter’, *sok-* ‘become parted’, *komor-* ‘be shut up’
 - In most cases these cannot be interpreted as progressives with *-(i)-wor-*

Watanabe (2008)

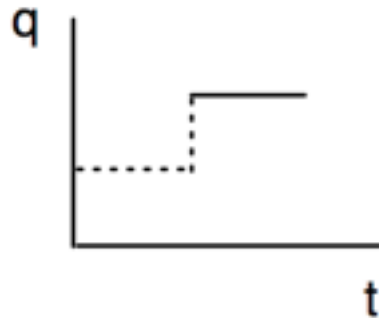
- ▶ According to Watanabe (2008), the non-progressive examples are *lexical*
- ▶ This means that strings like *iri wori* must be interpreted as *sequential events*, e.g. ‘go in and be sitting’ or ‘go in and be still’
 - But a resultative interpretation always makes better sense than a ‘lexical’ one
 - (See example on slide 21)

Kinsui (2006)

- ▶ According to Kinsui (2006), non-activity verbs that appear with *-(i)-wor-* are behaving as activity verbs in this construction
 - But these verbs do not behave like activity verbs in any other constructions
 - They have a different aspectual potential from activity verbs
- ▶ There is a more economical explanation

Alternative Explanation

- ▶ Like Imperfective *-yer-* (完了の助動詞「リ」) and Periphrastic Imperfective *-(i)te ar-* (完了の助動詞「タリ」), the *-(i)-wor-* construction is
 - *progressive* with activity verbs
 - *resultative* with accomplishment, achievement, and inceptive state verbs
- ▶ The aspectual type of both is *state*:



3. Analysis of $-(i)\text{-}wor\text{-}$

Activity verbs

- ▶ The following verbs that *-(i)-wor-* combines with appear to be *activity* verbs:

Verb	Numbers
<i>[i]-mukap-</i> 'face'	2
<i>i-swobap-</i> 'fool around'	1
<i>ikiduk-</i> 'sigh'	1
<i>katarap-</i> 'talk'	1
<i>komorap-</i> 'be shut up'	1
<i>kwopwi-</i> 'yearn, love'	19
<i>mat-</i> 'wait'	4
<i>nodoyop-</i> 'whimper'	1
<i>omop-</i> 'yearn, think'	1
<i>uragwopwi-</i> 'yearn deeply'	1
<i>uramat-</i> 'wait anxiously'	1
<i>uranake-</i> 'sob'	2
	35

- ▶ When *-(i)-wor-* combines with activity verbs it is progressive:

(8) 伊都斯可母 京師乎 美武 等 意母比都都
itu-si-ka-mo *miyakwo-wo* *mi-mu* *to* *omopitutu*
 when-EMP-FOC-TOP capital-ACC see-CONJ.ADN COMP think.CONT
 迦多良比遠礼騰
katarapi-woredo
 tell-be.sitting.CNCS

‘although (I) **was talking** (to myself), thinking “When will I see the capital?”’
 (MYS 5.886)

(9) 秋風爾 伊麻香 伊麻可 等
aki-kaze-ni *ima-ka* *ima-ka* *to*
 autumn-wind-DAT now-FOC now-FOC COMP
 比母 等伎旦 宇良麻知乎流 爾
pimo tokite *uramati-woru* *ni*
 sash become undone.GER wait.anxiously-be.sitting.ADN while
 月 可多夫伎奴
tukwi katabuki-nu
 moon lean-PFV.CNCL

‘While **waiting anxiously** in the autumn wind with my sash undone, (thinking) “Now? Now?”, the moon has sunk (i.e. it has got late).’ (MYS 20.4311)

Directed change verbs

- ▶ The following verbs that *-(i)-wor-* combines with appear to be accomplishment or achievement verbs:

Verb	Numbers
<i>ir-</i> 'enter'	1
<i>i-tugar-</i> 'fasten'	1
<i>ki-ir-</i> 'come in'	1
<i>sok-</i> 'be parted'	2
<i>tagap-</i> 'differ'	1
<i>uk-</i> 'float'	1
	7

- ▶ When *-(i)-wor-* combines with directed change verbs it is resultative:

(10) 意佐加能 意富牟盧夜爾
osaka-no opo-murwo-ya-ni
 Osaka-GEN big-pit-dwelling-DAT

比登 佐波爾 岐伊理袁理
pito sapa-ni ki-iri-wori
 people many-COP.INF **come-enter-be.sitting.CNCL**

比登 佐波爾 伊理袁理 登母
pito sapa-ni iri-wori tomo
 people many-COP.INF **enter-be.sitting.CNCL** although

美都美都斯 久米能 古賀
mitumitusi kume-no kwo-ga
 gallant Kume-GEN child-GEN

久夫都都伊 伊斯都都伊 母知 宇知弓斯 夜麻牟
kubututui isitutui moti utite-si yama-mu
 mallet.headed.sword stone.mallet hold.INF hit.GER-EMP stop-CONJ.CNCL

'Many people **have come into** the big pit dwelling of Osaka. Although many people **have come in**, the gallant Kume boys will hit them with their mallet-headed swords and stone mallets, and stop them.' (KK 10)

(11)	夜麻登弊迹	爾斯	布岐阿宜弓	玖毛婆那禮	
	yamato-pye-ni	nisi	puki-agete	kumwo-banare	
	Yamato-side-DAT	west.wind	blow-go.up.GER	cloud-be.separated.INF	
	曾岐袁理		登母	和禮	和須禮米
	soki-wori		tomo	ware	wasure-me
	be.parted-be.sitting.CNCL	although	I	forget-CONJ.EXC	FOC

‘Up towards Yamato the west wind blows and the clouds separate; although (we) **are parted** (like those clouds), will I forget (you)?’ (KK 55)

- ▶ *ki-iri-wori*, *iri-wori*, and *soki-wori* here denote *result states*
 - This makes *-(i)-wor-* resultative
- ▶ A lexical interpretation of *wori* makes no sense
 - the meanings ‘be sitting’ and ‘be still’ are irrelevant to the poems

Inceptive state verbs

- ▶ The following verbs that *-(i)-wor-* combines with appear to be inceptive state verbs:

Verb	Numbers
<i>i-swop-</i> 'be next to'	1
<i>kamusabwi-</i> 'be evocative'	1
<i>komor-</i> 'be shut up'	2
<i>narab-</i> 'line up'	1
<i>sinaye-urabure-</i> 'be forlorn'	1
<i>tomos-</i> 'light, burn'	1
<i>urabure-</i> 'get downhearted'	3
<i>ura-gakur-</i> 'be hidden in a bay'	1
<i>wabwi-</i> 'be miserable'	1
	12

- ▶ When *-(i)-wor-* combines with inceptive state verbs it is resultative:

(12) 由伎乎 美受弓也 伊毛我 許母里乎流 良牟
yuki-wo mi-zute-ya imo-ga komori-woru ramu
 snow-ACC see-NEG.GER-FOC beloved-GEN **be.shut.up-be.sitting.ADN** PCONJ.ADN
 ‘my beloved **is** probably **shut up indoors** not seeing the snow’ (MYS 20.4439)

(13) 比等母祢能 宇良夫禮遠留 爾
pito-mone-no urabure-woru ni
 person-?all-GEN **get.downhearted-be.sitting.ADN** while
 ‘while everyone **is downhearted**’ (MYS 5.877)

- ▶ These verbs can denote both an achievement and a state
 - Here they denote states
 - *-(i)-wor-* can be interpreted as a resultative

4. Conclusion

-(i)-wor- in Old Japanese

- ▶ In Old Japanese *-(i)-wor-* has both *progressive* and *resultative* functions:
 - 65% are progressive
 - 35% are resultative
- ▶ Similar functions as Imperfective *-yer-* (完了の助動詞「リ」), but in different proportions:
 - 28% are progressive
 - 72% are resultative/stative/perfect

References

- ▶ CROFT, William. 2012. *Verbs: Aspect and Causal Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ▶ FRELLESVIG, Bjarke. 2010. *A History of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ▶ KINSUI Satoshi (金水敏). 2006. *Nihongo sonzai hyōgen no rekishi* (日本語存在表現の歴史, 'The History of Existential Expressions in Japanese'). Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
- ▶ TAOKA, Chiaki. 2000. 'Aspect and Argument Structure in Japanese'. University of Manchester PhD thesis.
- ▶ VENDLER, Zeno. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- ▶ VOVIN, Alexander. 2009. *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese, Part 2: Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Particles, Postpositions*. Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental.
- ▶ WATANABE, Kazuha. 2008. 'Tense and aspect in Old Japanese: Synchronic, diachronic, and typological perspectives'. Cornell University PhD dissertation.

Questions and Comments Welcome

Daniel Trott
daniel.trott@new.ox.ac.uk