DIACHRONY, SYNCHRONY, AND TYPOLOGY OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN OLD JAPANESE

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LEXINGTON BOOKS
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

6 Tinworth Street, London SE11 5AL, United Kingdom

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020949689

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

To my parents, family,
former advisors, and friends.

Contents

Introduction

JAPANESE LANGUAGE PERIODICIZATION

According to Martin (1987), Japanese language history is usually divided into five periods: *Jodai Nihongo* "Old Japanese," *Chūko Nihongo* "Early Middle Japanese," *Chūsei Nihongo* "Late Middle Japanese," *Kinsei Nihongo* "Modern Japanese," and *Gendai Nihongo* "Contemporary Japanese" (1987: 77). Old Japanese is almost exactly coincident with the Nara period (700–800 AD), while Early Middle Japanese roughly coincides with the Heian and Kamakura periods (800–1378). Late Middle Japanese corresponds to the Muromachi period (1367–1573), whereas Modern Japanese corresponds to the Edo Period (1603–1867). The period after the Meiji restoration (1867–present) is considered Contemporary Japanese. However, in descriptive grammars the term *kobun* "Classical Japanese" is often used to designate a somewhat idealized version of earlier Japanese dating from as early as the oldest attestations of the language in the 8th century (Old Japanese) to as late as the 14th century (Middle Japanese). This rather loose label for what might better be called "Pre-modern Japanese" is used not just by Japanese scholars, but at least until recently also by such foreign linguists as Sandness (1999) and Takeuchi (1986), whose work I refer to at various points in the book. However, it is surely not the case that subsystems of the grammar of a language, such as tense and aspect, remain unchanged for

700 years. For example, we might be surprised to find a research on the tense or aspect system of Pre-modern English (as opposed to Old English, or Early Modern English). In this book I demonstrate, among other things, that the temporal system of Old Japanese was markedly different from that of Early Middle Japanese.

OLD JAPANESE TEXTS

The *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten jōdai hen* (*Dictionary of Japanese by Periods: Old Japanese*; Omodaka et al 1987) identifies several types of Nara-period texts, many of which are written in *kanbun* or "Chinese writing." Texts of this type can be categorized into two styles: *jun-kanbun* "pure Chinese writing," which follows Chinese syntax, and *hentai-kanbun* "deviant Chinese writing," which uses a superficial approximation of Chinese but with major accommodations for Japanese syntax. *Hentai kanbun* texts are written to be read (orally) in Japanese (Aldridge 2000). The exemplar texts from the Nara period written in *kanbun* include texts such as the *Kojiki* "Records of Ancient Matters" (a book of myths and the chronology of the imperial family given to Emperor Genmei in 712), the *Nihon shoki*, "The Chronicles of Japan," (a historical record issued in 720), and *Kaifūsō* "Fond Recollections of Poetry" (a collection of Chinese poetry complied in 751).

A few texts are written in Japanese using *man'yōgana*, a set of Chinese characters which provides an orthographic representation of the Japanese language, borrowing either the phonetic value or the semantics of the character to write Japanese. The most extensive text written in *man'yōgana* is the *Man'yōshū* "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves," a collection of Japanese poetry. The term *man'yōgana* derives from the title of this collection, although the use of Chinese characters to write Japanese is much older. The *Man'yōshū* contains about 4,500 verses, the majority of which are dated from the early 600s to mid 700s AD. This is an important point: there is some diachronic range represented in the poetic texts of the *Man'yōshū*, although dating within the text is not always clear. Another complete text written in *man'yōgana* is the *Bussokusekika* "Poems of the Buddha's Foot Monument," an inscription of 21 Japanese poems on a stone monument in Nara. In addition, both the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* contain vernacular poems written in *man'yōgana* interspersed in the *kanbun* text.

In addition to the vernacular poetic texts listed above, there are 62 *senmyō* "Imperial Edicts," written in so-called *senmyō gaki* "senmyō style writing." Although the text is in Japanese prose, it contains a great quantity of Chinese vocabulary. Furthermore, the *senmyō* edicts are written mainly using logographs (i.e., using Chinese characters for their meanings, ignoring their phonological values), with some items, such as suffixes and particles, written in phonograms. Overall, the heavy influence of Chinese lexicon and grammar lessens the value of these prose texts for investigating Old Japanese syntax.

I have chosen the *Man'yōshū* as the textual source of my research, because it is by far the most extensive Old Japanese text. Without a large range of examples containing the tense and aspect suffixes that are the object of study in this book, it would be difficult to reach significant generalizations about the tense/aspect system of Old Japanese.

VERB CONJUGATION PATTERNS IN OLD JAPANESE

There were seven distinct verb conjugations in Old Japanese. According to Frellesvig (2005, 2008), the majority of verbs (about 75%) belong to the *yodan* "quadrigrade" conjugation. The name reflects the shapes of the derived bases in this conjugation, which alternate between four different vowels (Table 0.1). In terms of frequency, the second most common conjugation is *nidan* "bigrade," which can be further subcategorized into two types: *shimo nidan* "lower bigrade," which consists of about 20% of all verbs, and *kami nidan* "upper bigrade" (about 30 verbs in total). The traditional name *nidan* again reflects the final vowels in the derived bases of the conjugation, which alternate between two vowels. The stems of *kami nidan* verbs alternate between high vowels /i/ and /u/, whereas those of *shimo nidan* verbs alternate between /e/ and /u/. Furthermore, about 10 verbs belong to the *kami ichidan* "monograde" conjugation class, whose pattern is similar to *kami nidan* verbs, except that there is no vowel alternation; all bases in this conjugation end in /i/.

Aside from these two regular verbs, there are four irregular classes, most with just one member: *ka-hen* "ka-irregular" (*ku* "come"), *sa-hen* "sa-irregular" (*su* "do"), *nahen* "na-irregular" (*sin-* "die" and *in-* "leave"), and *ra-hen* "ra-irregular" (*ar-* "exist" and *wor-* "occupy a place, sit"). The names of the irregular verb classes reflect the final

consonant of the verb stems. The following tables illustrate the conjugation patterns of the irregular verbs:

Table 0.1. The conjugation pattern of the regular and irregular verbs

	form							
label/function	***saku***	***otu***	***idu***	***miru***	***ku***	***su***	***sinu***	***ari***
mizen (irrealis)	*saka*	*oti*	*ide*	*mi*	*ko*	*se*	*sina*	*ara*
ren'yō (conjunctive)	*saki*	*oti*	*ide*	*mi*	*ki*	*si*	*sini*	*ari*
shūshi (conclusive)	*saku*	*otu*	*idu*	*miru*	*ku*	*su*	*sinu*	*ari*
rentai (attributive)	*saku*	*oturu*	*iduru*	*miru*	*kuru*	*suru*	*sinuru*	*aru*
izen (realis)	*sake*	*oture*	*idure*	*mire*	*kure*	*sure*	*sinure*	*are*
meirei (imperative)	*sakye*	*oture*	*ide*	*mi*	*ko*	*se*	*sine*	*are*

THE TENSE AND ASPECT SYSTEM OF OLD JAPANESE

Japanese grammarians identify six temporal suffixes (i.e., *–(ye)ri*, *–ki*, *–kyeri*, *–tu*, *–nu*, *–tari*) as well as about a dozen modal suffixes. The suffixes *–(ye)ri*, *–tari*, *–tu*, and *–nu* are usually referred to as *kanryō* suffixes, whereas *–ki* and *–kyeri* are usually defined as past tense markers. The term *kanryō* has received a variety of English translations, most commonly "perfect," since the same term is used to designate the English perfect in English grammar texts in Japan.

Japanese grammarians usually claim that the semantic differences among the four *kanryō* suffixes (*–(ye)ri*, *–tari*, *–tu*, and *–nu*) are very subtle. On the other hand, according to the standard view, which I summarize in much greater detail in subsequent chapters, the difference between the two past tense markers (*–ki* and *–kyeri*) is that the former marks an event that the speaker experienced directly, whereas the latter marks "hearsay" or "recollection."

In addition to these six suffixes, the two existential verbs, *wori* and *wiru* seem to be used in combination with the conjunctive form of a lexical verb to indicate certain aspectual meanings in the *Man'yōshū*, although a systematic analysis of these periphrastic aspectual patterns has not until now been conducted. I will discuss the previous analyses

of the six suffixes and of the periphrastic expressions in more detail by dividing them into three groups: (1) *–(ye)ri*, *–ki*, and *–kyeri;* (2) *–tu* and *–nu;* and (3) *–tari* and periphrastic expressions. The rationale for this division will become apparent in the chapters that follow, but to anticipate my conclusions here, I show that *–(ye)ri*, *–ki*, and *–kyeri* are respectively markers of non-past imperfective, past tense, and past imperfective aspect; *–tu* and *–nu* mark perfective aspect; and *–tari* and the periphrastic expressions function to indicate very specific aspectual meanings, namely resultative and progressive. The picture that emerges is of a much more familiar tense/aspect system than the one presented in previous research, where, in the extreme case, Old and Early Middle Japanese are portrayed as languages with four distinct "perfect" suffixes. I show that Old Japanese instead reveals a system of temporal marking comparable in many respects to languages like Russian or the Romance languages, with a perfective/imperfective opposition in both past and non-past tenses, and in which an older past tense marker co-exists with a set of perfective markers subject to a syntactic constraint on auxiliary selection.

1

Tense and Aspect

DEFINITION OF THE TERM "TENSE"

Comrie (1985) defines the term "tense" as "grammaticalized expression of location in time." He claims that while most languages in the world have tense, there are some languages that do not, given his definition. Since he limits the term to apply only to grammaticalized forms, it would eliminate other means of indicating the temporal location of an event, such as adverbials. However, this narrow concept of tense leaves us with asymmetric approaches toward tense and aspect, since Comrie (1976) gives a much broader definition of the concept of aspect, as discussed later in this chapter. Therefore, I define the term tense as "any linguistic expression of location in time." This definition includes grammaticalized tense markers, but also other linguistic units with fewer restrictions on their distribution, such as adverbials.

Comrie further distinguishes two subcategories of tense: absolute tense and relative tense. He defines absolute tense as occurring when "the reference point for the location of a situation in time is the present moment (p. 56)," whereas relative tense sets its "reference point for the location of a situation" at "some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment (p. 56)."

The difference between the two types of tense can be captured by the relationship among three concepts, namely (1) utterance time, (2) situation time, and (3) reference time, all of which were originally introduced

by Reichenbach (1947) in slightly different terms (Musan 2002:3). The utterance time refers to the moment that a speaker produces a given utterance. The situation time is the temporal location when the event described in the utterance actually occurs. The reference time represents an abstract notion which provides "the temporal point of views on the situation (Musan ibid.)."

To rephrase Comrie's definitions for absolute tense and relative tense by adopting these three concepts, the former always sets the reference time coincident with the utterance time; on the other hand, the reference time of the latter varies, possibly—but not necessarily—coinciding with the utterance time or the situation time.

English Past Tense

English past tense is a good example of absolute tense. In example (1), the reference time as well as the utterance time of the sentence is today, while the situation of going to school took place yesterday.

(1) I went to school yesterday.

That is, the situation expressed by the past tense form of a verb must precede the utterance time (i.e., now), which is coincident with the reference time.

Japanese –ta and –u

In order to understand the difference between absolute tense and relative tense, I compare English past tense with the Contemporary Japanese suffixes *–ta* and *–u*, both of which are examples of relative tense markers. The suffix *–ta* is usually defined as a past tense marker (Shinzato 1994:89, Tsujimura 2006:128, and Kudo 1995:182 among many others), while the suffix *–u* is defined as a non-past (i.e., present and future) marker. However, it is apparent that neither of them is an absolute tense marker.

(2)	明日	学校から	帰って	きた	後で、
	Asita	gakkoo-kara	kaet-te	ki-ta	ato-de
	tomorrow	school-from	return-CONJ	come-*ta*	after-DAT

映画を	見に	行く。
eega-o	mi-ni	ik-u
movie-ACC	watch-DAT	go-*u*

"Tomorrow, after (I) come back from school, (I) will go to see a movie."

(3)

昨日	学校から	帰った	後で	友達に
kinoo	gakkoo-kara	kaet-ta	ato-de	tomodati-ni
yesterday	school-from	return-*ta*	after-DAT	friend-DAT

電話する	約束を	した。
denwasur-u	yakusoku-o	si-ta
call-*u*	promise-ACC	do-*ta*

"Yesterday, I promised that I would call my friend after coming back from school."

In example (2), which contains the adverbial *asita* "tomorrow," the suffix *–ta* is used to denote a future action. The verb *kaer-* "return" needs to be marked with the suffix *–ta*, whereas the verb *ik-* "go" must be marked with *–u*, since the action of returning home precedes going to see the movie. The reference time of this sentence is the time of going to the movie; therefore, any event that precedes the reference time must be marked with *–ta*, whereas an event that occurs at or after the reference time must be marked with *–u*. The relationship among the reference time, situation time, and utterance time for this sentence can be illustrated as follows:

In example (3), which contains the adverbial "yesterday," the suffix *–u* is used to denote a past action. In the embedded clause of the sentence, the reference time is set to be the moment of calling the friend. Therefore, the verb "come back," which precedes the reference time, must be marked with *–ta*, whereas the verb "call," which coincides with the reference time, must be marked with *–u*.

In this section, I provided an overview of the concept of tense. After defining the term "aspect," I will discuss the interaction of these two concepts.

DEFINITION OF THE TERM "ASPECT"

The term "aspect" is a calque of a Russian word (and other Slavic languages) *vid*, a cognate of the words *view* or *vision* (Binnick 1991:136). It first appeared in an Old Church Slavonic translation of a grammatical tractatus *On the Eight Parts of Speech*, a Serbian manuscript from the 14th century (Yamaguchi 1985:99). The term was first applied to Russian grammar by N. Greč for describing non-tense contrast in the language (ibid.). Due to its origin, the term "aspect" was once defined as an obligatorily grammaticalized expression, which is usually either conjugation or morphological. However, Comrie (1976) extends the concept of aspect. He defines the term "aspect" as "[the] way of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976:3).[1]

Smith (1991, 1997) and Olsen (1997) claim that the aspectual meaning of a sentence results from the interaction among numerous components of the sentence, such as situation aspect, viewpoint aspect and adverbials, each of which will be discussed later in this chapter.

I adopt the approach that the term "aspect" signifies the way of viewing the internal temporal structure of various linguistic units, such as grammatical markers, verbs, adverbials, and so forth. In addition, the aspectual meaning of an entire clause results from the interaction among the various linguistic elements as well as pragmatic factors.

SITUATION ASPECT AND LEXICAL ASPECT

According to Binnick (1991:143), Aristotle first claimed in *Metaphysics* that all actions could be divided into two classes, motion and actualization. Motion is an action whose occurrence itself does not indicate the completion of the action, whereas actualization is the action whose occurrence equals the completion. For instance, "I am writing a letter" is not equal to "I have written a letter." That is, the occurrence of the action *write*, which can be classified as a "motion," does not necessarily imply the completion of the action. On the other hand, the action *think*, as in "I am thinking," is an "actualization," since it is equal to "I have thought."

Vendler (1967) placed verbs into four categories: state, activity, accomplishment, and achievement, each of which differs from the rest in its semantic features. He distinguishes verbs signifying processes

that go on in time with successive phases from those that signal a state which simply lasts for a period of time. He then claims that some situations have a "climax," i.e., a goal to an action. Moreover, some actions continue for a period of time whereas others occur instantaneously. Take, for example, the following sentences.

(4) Mary knew John for ten years. [state]
(5) Mary ate cake. [activity]
(6) Mary wrote a poem. [accomplishment]
(7) Mary left home. [achievement]

Sentence (4) indicates that the situation "know John" continued for a period of time, whereas the situations presented in the other three examples involve some sort of development over time. That is, state verbs, such as *know*, lack "processes" unlike the other three types of verbs, such as "eat," "write," or "leave." Sentence (5) does not specify a definite goal of the action "eat cake," whereas (6) and (7) show that the actions "write a poem" and "leave home" have definite goals (finishing a poem and departing home). That is, activity verbs do not signify a "climax," whereas both achievement and accomplishment verbs do. Moreover, accomplishment verbs signal that a given action continues for a period of time, whereas achievement verbs signal instantaneous occurrence of an action. Note that "writing a poem" takes a while, whereas the action "leaving a house" is completed at once. Vendler's classification can be illustrated as follows:

Table 1.1. Vendler's verb classification

	Process in Time	Punctual	Climax
State	–	–	–
Activity	+	–	–
Accomplishment	+	–	+
Achievement	+	+	+

Smith (1991, 1997) modifies Vendler's categories and creates the term "situation aspect" to characterize her classification. She identifies five situation types: state, activity, accomplishment, achievement, and semelfactive, and claims that each situation type is assigned to a "verb constellation"[2] instead of a verb itself. She characterizes situation types by the combination of three features: (1) stativity (±state), which

indicates whether a given situation develops through successive stages, (2) duration (±durative), which signifies whether or not a situation occurs instantaneously, and (3) telicity (±telic), which represents whether a situation indicates a goal of an action. Table 1.2 illustrates the characteristics of each situation type.

Table 1.2. Smith's verb classification

	State	Durative	Telic
State	+	+	N/A
Activity	–	+	–
Accomplishment	–	+	+
Achievement	–	–	+
Semelfactive	–	–	–

Olsen (1997), on the other hand, claims that the characteristics of each situation type, which have been traditionally marked equipollently (i.e., [±dynamic], [±durative] and [±telic]), should be marked privatively. That is, only [+dynamic], [+durative] and [+telic] are given fixed assignments to verbs, as opposed to a verb constellation, and the clauses containing verbs that have non-marked characters are interpreted depending on various other factors. Compare the following examples.

(8) She walked to the station.
(9) She walked in the park.

A sentence containing the verb *walk*, which is classified as an activity verb (i.e., [+dynamic], [+durative], and unmarked for telicity), may be interpreted as either [+telic] or [-telic] depending on other items in the sentence as well as pragmatic interpretation. Sentence (8) is marked as [+telic] by the prepositional phrase "to the station," which indicates a definite goal of the action, i.e., telicity. On the other hand, sentence (9) is [-telic], since the prepositional phrase "in the park" signals that the action took place without having a definite goal.

In addition, Olsen proposes a sixth situation type "stage-level state," which is defined as a stative situation with an end, such as "be pregnant." She also points out that dynamicity and duration characterize the internal structure of situations (i.e., nucleus), whereas

telicity represents the characteristic of the ending point of situations (i.e., coda). Olsen's classification, which she calls "lexical aspect," can be illustrated as follows:

Table 1.3. Olsen's verb classification

	Nucleus		**Coda**
	Dynamic	**Durative**	**Telic**
State		+	
Activity	+	+	
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Achievement	+		+
Semelfactive	+		
Stage-level state		+	+

The major difference between Smith and Olsen is that Olsen assigns situation types to verbs, whereas Smith assigns them to verb constellations. Traditionally, these situation types have been assigned to verbs, verb phrases or clauses, depending on the scholar. However, Olsen's approach, which assigns situation types solely to verbs, has four advantages. First, it allows us to distinguish the aspectual meaning of a verb, which is purely a semantic property of the given verb, from that of a whole sentence, which is signified not only by a verb but also by other factors, both linguistic and extra-linguistic. Second, Olsen's proposal gives an explanation for sentences with ambiguous aspectual meanings, since sentences with aspectual ambiguity consist of verbs with non-marked features. Third, it defines situation types purely as a semantic value of the verb, without considering pragmatic variation; as a consequence, it differentiates the semantics of aspect assigned to the different levels of linguistic elements from the pragmatic implications of the sentence. Last, but most important, it can describe systematically how situation types may constrain the distribution of grammatical aspect. That is, a systematic analysis for the combinatory restriction of certain aspectual markers and verbs is possible by adopting Olsen's privative feature system.

The last advantage of Olsen's proposal becomes evident when one examines actual examples. For instance, Smith's equipollent system would predict that the combination of the aspect marker in English

"be + *-ing*" and [+stative] (or [-dynamic]) verbs such as "see" results in ungrammaticality, since this aspect marker can be used only with [+dynamic] verbs. Consider the following sentences.

(10) *I am seeing now.
(11) I did not know what I was seeing at that moment.

While sentence (10) supports this expectation, the equipollent system cannot explain why sentence (11) is acceptable. The explanations given by various analyses, including Smith's, have claimed that state verbs can be [+dynamic] exceptionally in certain contexts. However, Olsen's privative system accounts for the difference between (10) and (11) by assuming that state verbs are only marked for duration (i.e., [+durative]). Telicity and dynamicity would be defined based on the components of a given sentence and other extra-linguistic factors. In sentence (10) "see" is marked as [dynamic], whereas in the second clause of sentence (11), it is marked as [+dynamic].

Next, compare the following sentences (Olsen 1997:21).

(12) Carl ran.
(13) Carl ran a mile.

Olsen claims that although sentence (12) is usually interpreted as [-telic], it can be understood as [+telic], when both the speaker and the listener of the sentence know that Carl only runs the mile event. That is, sentence (12) can be interpreted with the sense of sentence (13) in a certain context. Olsen's approach enables us to explain that the two interpretations of sentence (12) result from the influence of extra-linguistic factors (i.e., pragmatics) to a non-marked feature of the verb. However, we would have to attribute two situation types (activity and accomplishment) to sentence (12), and fail to distinguish the semantics of a verb from a pragmatic implication, if we assigned situation types to verb phrases or whole sentences. That is, Olsen's classification can differentiate the semantics of a verb, which is the unchangeable meaning that the verb possesses, from pragmatic implication, which is the result of interaction between linguistic representation and extra-linguistic factors.

Although Olsen's approach has advantages, her term "lexical aspect" seems to be problematic. The reason becomes clear when we

compare the components of aspectual meanings of a sentence with those of tense. Although Comrie (1985) defines tense as a grammatical category, he admits that adverbials such as "last year," and lexical items such as "tomorrow" also signify temporal location of a situation. The term "tense," as well as the term "aspect," can be used in a broader sense. Thus we can define tense as the temporal location of a situation, which can be signified by grammatical tense markers (i.e., "grammatical tense"), adverbs and adverbials (i.e., "lexical tense"), or even verbs. For instance, some verbs such as "modify," "amend" or "presuppose" inevitably locate a situation before or after another situation. Thus, we should use the term "lexical aspect" to refer to adverbs and adverbials that affect the aspectual meanings of a whole clause.[3] The term "situation aspect" may also cause confusion, since it represents the equipollent classification of the aspectual meanings signified by verb constellations, which include not only the verb and its arguments, but also the adverbials, pragmatic implication of the sentence, etc., as Smith proposes. Therefore, in this work I will henceforth refer to the privative classification assigned to each verb as "verbal aspect."

Although Olsen adds to Smith's classification a new situation type, stage-level state, it seems to be unnecessary. Olsen claims that "stage-level state" differs from "state" since the former is a [+telic] situation whereas the latter is non-marked for telicity. However, the telicity Olsen assigns to the stage-level state appears to be pragmatic implication, rather than a semantic property of the verbs. For instance, she counts "be pregnant" as a stage-level state, since the situation signified by the expression eventually comes to an end. However, it seems that the end of the state "be pregnant" is signaled extra-linguistically, rather than linguistically. Compare the following sentences.

(14) A friend of mine was pregnant.
(15) A friend of mine was writing a novel.

Dowty (1977, 1979) points out that the imperfective (or progressive) form of a telic event does not entail the realization of the goal, whereas the progressive form of a non-telic event entails the realization of the event. Compare examples (14) and (15) with the following sentences.

(16) A friend of mine was pregnant, but she had a miscarriage.
(17) A friend of mine was writing a novel, but she didn't finish it.

While the termination of the event "write a novel," which is a [+telic] event, would not result in the realization of the event, the termination of the event "be pregnant" would entail the realization of the event (i.e., be pregnant). Therefore, the [+telic] characteristic that Olsen attempts to assign to some states, including "be pregnant" is not an inherent semantic property. In short, while Olsen's privative classification has advantages, her expansion of situation types is not necessary.

Comrie (1976) develops the concept of "eventuality" (Verkuyl 1993) types, which is similar to Vendler's verbal categories. He claims that situations can be categorized into three types, "state," "event," and "process" (pp. 48–51). Comrie's "state" is equivalent to Vendler's category "state"; "process" equals "activity" and "semelfactive"; and "event" includes both "accomplishment" and "achievement."

This three-way distinction is adopted by some formalist syntacticians and semanticists, such as de Swart (1998), Verkuyl (1993), and Filip (1999). For example, de Swart (1998) differentiates homogeneous NP (i.e., a bare plural or mass noun) from quantized NP, and summarizes the interaction between eventuality types and the countability of predicate noun phrases (p. 351).

This analysis poses the same problem as Smith's, since the assignment of eventuality is given to VPs rather than verbs. In addition, it does not distinguish the difference between accomplishment and achievement verbs nor between activity and semelfactive verbs.

Pustet, Wijaya, and Win (2006) compare so-called progressive markers in Burmese, English, Indonesian, Kölsch German, and Lakota, in order to determine the combinatory restriction of each marker. They found that the Indonesian progressive marker *sedang* can be used with activity verbs, such as "eat," as in (18), while it cannot be combined with semelfactive verbs, such as "blink," as in (19), which is cited from Pustet et al. (2006:202–203).

(18) Dia sedang makan
3SG PRG eat

"he/she is eating."

(19) *dia sedang erkejap
3SG PRG blink

"he/she is blinking."

Since both *eat* and *blink* in the context above do not have any quantized NP as a predicate, both of the sentences indicate "process" under the categorization proposed by Comrie. Therefore, this categorization fails to account for the syntactic restrictions of the Indonesian progressive marker.

In addition, the syntactic characteristics of the Contemporary Japanese marker *–te i-*, which indicates both progressive and resultative, also pose a problem for Comrie's approach. While *–te i-* gives both progressive and resultative readings when combined with accomplishment verbs, it only allows a resultative reading when combined with achievement verbs.

(20) 学校に 行っている。
gakkoo-ni it-te i-ru
school-DAT go-*te i*-NONPAST

"(Someone) has gone to school (so that s/he is not home)."

or

"(Someone) is going to school (i.e., on the way to school)."

(21) 電車が 駅に 着いている。
densya-ga eki-ni tui-te i-ru
train-NOM station-DAT arrive-*te*-*i*-NONPAST

"The train has arrived." (*"The train is arriving.")

Again, Comrie's eventuality types do not differentiate accomplishment and achievement. Therefore, his system cannot explain the difference between (20) and (21). Therefore, the classification presented (and modified) by Vendler, Smith, and Olsen has an advantage over Comrie's proposal. Therefore, I adopt Olsen's verb classification as the basis for the analysis.

GRAMMATICAL ASPECT

Since the study of aspect was first developed to describe the grammar of Slavic languages, which have two distinctive aspectual markers (perfective and imperfective), the term "grammatical aspect" has been used to indicate the opposition of perfective and imperfective signified by grammaticalized expressions.

This opposition is extended to the analyses of grammatical aspect in non-Slavic languages as well. For instance, Dahl (1985), who investigated 64 languages using 154 sample sentences, adopts this binary point of departure and divides the grammatical markers of these languages into two categories, perfective and imperfective. He concludes that perfective aspect typically signifies "a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past," whereas imperfective aspect signifies a "general factual" situation.

Smith (1991, 1997) claims that grammatical aspect[4] indicates how much of a given situation is "visible" (1991:93). She modifies the binary classification into a ternary one. She first defines perfective aspect as representing "a situation as a whole with initial and final points" (1991:6), whereas imperfective aspect "focuses on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final point" (1991:6). Smith's third aspect, "neutral," which is not mentioned by Dahl, is "flexible, including the initial point of a situation and at least one internal stage" (1991:6).

Comrie (1976) also proposes a tripartite classification, which differs from that of Smith. His categories are perfective, imperfective and perfect. He defines imperfective aspect as referring to "the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within" (p. 24), whereas perfective aspect is "the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation" (p. 16). These two categories are further divided into subcategories. He separates perfect from the first two categories, claiming that it "relates some state to a preceding situation," whereas perfective and imperfective refer to the temporal structure of the situation itself.

I adopt Smith's grammatical aspect categorization for the purpose of my analysis, since the diachronic development of perfect markers is closely related to that of perfective markers as discussed later in the chapter. I also believe that it is crucial to establish neutral aspect as an independent category, since it cannot be subcategorized under imperfective or perfective.

I will introduce the definition of various aspectual meanings and discuss the relationship among aspect markers in the next chapter.

INTERACTION BETWEEN VERBAL ASPECT AND GRAMMATICAL ASPECT

In this section, I define a variety of aspectual meanings that grammatical aspectual markers indicate, while examining how the grammatical markers interact with verbs in various semantic types.

Neutral Aspect

As stated in 2.4, Smith (1991, 1997) defines the neutral aspect as "including the initial point of a situation and at least one internal stage." She emphasizes that its focal point is the initial point of a situation by stating that the neutral aspect "focuses on an interval which includes the initial point of a situation and an initial stage (p. 128)." Smith presents sentences without overt aspectual markers in Mandarin Chinese as having neutral aspect. She describes the neutral aspect in Chinese as "open informationally; it spans the initial or single endpoint and at least one internal stage of a durative situation," providing the following example.

(22) Zhangsan xiuli yi-tai luyinji
Zhangsan repair one-CL tape recorder
"Zhangsan repaired/is repairing a tape recorder."

In addition, she cites sentences from Navajo, which also have zero aspectual marking on the verbs, as an example of the neutral aspect.

(23) haidą́ą́' dá 'á 4k'eh shee hóloǫ́ ńt'éé'.[5]
"Last year I had the farm but I don't (have it) anymore."

(24) 'adą́ą́dą́ą́' tsinyaagi sédáa ńt'ée' dó ´ó t'ahdii biyaagi' sédá.
"I was sitting under a tree yesterday and I'm still sitting under it."

When a verb has zero aspectual marking in Navajo, the verb can be interpreted as "open or closed" (p. 304). Therefore, while the verb "had" in (23) can be interpreted as "closed" (i.e., the action is completed and the situation no longer holds), the verb "sit" in (24) can be interpreted as "open" (i.e., the action has not completed yet and the situation still continues). Lastly Smith discusses present tense in French, which she claims "present[s] open situations," quoting the following examples (p. 201).

(25) Jean mange une pomme.
"Jean is eating an apple."

(26) Jean aime Marie.
"Jean loves Marie."

She further claims that French present tense is not imperfective because it also "allows a closed reading," considering the following example (p. 201).

(27) Marie sourit toujours quand Paul arrive à la maison.
"Marie always smiles when Paul gets home."

In the above explanations, Smith uses the term "open" to refer to readings that view the situation without referring to its beginning- and end-points, which is the function that imperfective aspect plays, whereas "closed" refers to readings that view the situation as including the two ends, which is the function that perfective aspect plays. Therefore, the French present tense, which can be interpreted in an imperfective reading as well as a perfective reading, should be considered aspectually neutral.

However, if Smith regards the function of these examples in Chinese, Navajo, and French as examples of the neutral aspect, it is unclear why she gives a definition that emphasizes the initial stage of an event. It seems more appropriate to define neutral aspect as a grammatical aspect that underspecifies aspectual information. Neutral aspect markers are able to appear with all types of verbs, while the interpretation of sentential aspect may differ depending on the verbal aspect, contextual information, and pragmatic factors. As we see in the French examples above, example (25) is interpreted as progressive, (26) as stative,[6] and (27) as habitual.

Imperfective Aspect

Comrie (1976) defines imperfective aspect as referring to "the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within" (p. 24). He points out that while some languages have a specific imperfective maker, others can have several different markers, each of which corresponds to a part of the function of an imperfective marker, such as progressive or habitual. However, he warns that imperfectivity is not the same as progressive plus habitual. It is a single concept that does not simply equal the sum of its subcategories.

Comrie (1976:26) presents the Russian imperfective as an example of an imperfective that can have both habitual and progressive interpretations as in (28).

(28) On čital "Pravdu"
he read:PAST:IMP Pravda:ACC
"He was reading Pravda"
or
"He used to read Pravda."

In addition, Smith (1997) provides the following example for the Russian imperfective.

(29) Okna vyxodjat na ulicu
Windows look out:PRES:IMP on street
"The windows look out onto the street."

The aspectual meaning of example (29) differs from habitual, since it indicates an unchanging state, whereas habitual indicates repeated actions over an extended period of time. Thus, we see that the function of imperfective is not merely the sum of progressive and habitual.

Smith briefly mentions that imperfective "presents an interval without endpoints" (p. 130). She elaborates her definition by stating that the interval can be the preliminary point of an event (i.e., before an instantaneous event occurs), internal, or resultant stage.

Bybee et al. (1994) provide a typologically oriented discussion of imperfectivity. They mention that imperfective markers are often used for background information in discourse. Furthermore, imperfective aspect can be used in all tenses (past, present, and future), although some languages have a way of formally distinguishing imperfective/perfective only in the past tense.

Imperfective markers co-occur with all types of verbal aspect. That is, markers of imperfective appear with state, activity, accomplishment, achievement, and semelfactive verbs. In addition, imperfective is able to co-occur with adverbials with clear temporal (especially past) references. These are very crucial syntactic characteristics, since they allow us to identify the semantics of an unknown marker by looking at the co-occurring verbs and adverbials. I exemplify this with the following sentences in French (cited from Jayez 1999:159 and de Swart 1998:368).

(30) A huit heures, les voleurs entraient dans la banque, ils discutaient avec un employé puis se dirigeaient vers le guichet principal.
"At eight, the robbers entered[IMP] the bank. They discussed[IMP] with a clerk, then they moved[IMP] towards the main desk."

(31) Anne était malade.
"Anne was[IMP] ill."

Jayez cites (30) as an example which shows that French imperfective can be used for narratives. The verb "enter" is an achievement verb, whereas "discuss" and "move" are activity verbs. In addition, the sentence contains an adverbial "at eight o'clock," which has a clear past reference. In example (31), the imperfective is applied to a state verb "be."

Progressive

Bybee et al. define progressive as an aspect that "views an action as ongoing at reference time (1994:126)." However, the term "progressive" is used for a variety of aspectual markers which signify a much wider range of aspectual meanings. In other words, aspectual markers that fall outside the normal definition of progressive markers have been called "progressive."

In addition, the terms "continuous" or "durative" are often used interchangeably with "progressive." This is due to the problem identified above; the term "progressive" has been applied to markers that have a much wider function than pure progressive, with the unfortunate result that these three terms have become synonymous. Furthermore, previous scholarship has claimed that progressive is a category in which typological uniformity is very difficult to find (Pustet et al. 2006). This is also due to the terminological problem, rather than the aspectual category itself. Therefore, I use "progressive" in a strict sense; only markers with a pure progressive function will be considered progressive aspect marking patterns.

Let us compare the German aspect marker *beim* with English progressive *be* + *-ing* in order to clarify the meaning of "pure progressive." Examine the following examples (Benware and Müller, personal communication).

(32) Er war *beim* Kochen, als sie eintrat.
he was at-the cook when she came in

"He was cooking when she came in."

(33) Ich bin einen Roman *beim* schreiben.
I am a novel at write

I am writing a novel.

(34) *Der Mann war *beim* Ankommen, als sie das Gepäck
the man was at-the arrive when she the baggage
abholte.
picked up

"The man was arriving when she picked up the baggage."

(35) *Ich bin auf der Bergspitze am ankommen.
am on the mountaintop at arrive

"I am reaching the summit of the mountain."

Examples (32) and (33) are typical cases of progressive aspect, which indicate that the actions of "cooking" and "writing" are (or were) ongoing at a certain point in time. In order for a progressive reading to be possible, any progressive aspect marker, including *beim*, requires [+dynamic] and [+durative] situations.[7] Therefore, examples (34) and (35), which describe [-durative] situations, are unacceptable, although the English counterpart is perfectly acceptable.

Pustet et al. (2006) also study the progressive marker in Kölsch German, a German dialect spoken in the Cologne area. In Kölsch, progressive aspect is expressed by the locative preposition *am* "at," the copula *sin* "be," and the verbal infinitive. They provide the following example as a typical usage of the marker (p. 194).

(36) Et Mari:che is am kri:che
DEF Mary COP.3SG.PRS LOC cry.INF

"Mary is crying"

Pustet et al. provide a list of verbs that cannot be combined with the progressive marker. The list includes state verbs, such as *fö:le* "feel," *han* "have," *jä:nhan* "like" *wisse* "know," and *wulle* "want," as well as achievement verbs, such as *a:nfange* "start," *a:nkumme*, "arrive," *afhaue* "escape," *explode:re* "explode," and *fallelosse* "drop." That is, the Kölsch progressive marker applies only to [+dynamic] [+durative] situations.

Note that these German examples differ significantly from the so-called progressive in English. The German pattern is applicable only to [+durative] and [+dynamic] situations, where the sentence can be interpreted as having progressive aspect, whereas the English

pattern can be used with any [+dynamic] verb, regardless of its durativity. That is, a sentence containing the marker *be* + *-ing* can signify progressive aspect in [+durative] and [+dynamic] situations, while it indicates different aspectual meanings in other contexts. Consider the following examples:

(37) I was cooking dinner when she called.
(38) I was finishing my lunch when she called.
(39) I was coughing when she walked in.
(40) I was finding mosquitoes in our back yard all summer.

Although all of the examples above contain the aspect marker *be* + *-ing*, each sentence signifies a different aspectual meaning. Example (37), which denotes a [+durative] situation, indicates progressive; example (38), which contains a [-durative] [+telic] situation, indicates inchoative; and example (39) indicates iterative aspect, containing a [-durative] [-telic] situation. In (40), the adverbial "all summer" induces a habitual reading. Therefore, I distinguish pure progressive patterns, such as the German one described above, and designate them as "progressive." This entails that the English pattern should be given a different label. I propose the term "continuative" for English *be*+*-ing*. Furthermore, the Japanese progressive/resultative pattern *–te iru*, which is discussed later in the chapter, will be called "continuous" so that we can distinguish it from the English pattern.

Habitual

Habitual aspect describes a situation which is a characteristic of an extended period of time (Comrie 1976:29). A good example of a habitual marker is the English expression "used to," which indicates habitual aspect in past tense. As I discussed in 2.5.2, Comrie classifies habitual aspect as a subcategory of imperfective aspect. This is probably due to the fact that imperfective or continuative markers indicate habitual aspect in many languages, including Russian, English, and French. However, there are many cases where perfective markers signify habitual. For example, English plain past, which is aspectually perfective, can indicate habituality as follows:

(41) I played basketball in high school.

French passé composé also can be used in the same function as English plain past as in (42), cited from Smith (1997:200).

(42) Marthe a vécu à Paris
"Marthe lived in Paris."

Furthermore, neutral aspect markers are also able to indicate habituality. For example (43), which is the Japanese equivalent of (41), contains *–ta*, which is an aspectually neutral marker.

(43)	高校では	バスケットボールを	やった。
	kookoo-de-wa	basukettobooru-o	yat-ta
	high school-DAT-TOPIC	basketball-ACC	do-*ta*

"I played basketball in high school."

Therefore, it is problematic to categorize habitual under imperfective. I will come back to this issue when I systematize the relationship among all the aspectual meanings in section 2.6.

To conclude, as Comrie rightly points out, habitual markers may apply to all types of verbs, including state verbs. For example, English past habitual marker "used to" can express a habitual state as follows (Comrie 1976:29 modified)

(44) He used to be a member of the organization.

Iterative

The term "iterative" is sometimes confused with "habitual," and the two terms are used interchangeably. However, they must be considered separate notions. For example, the following example, which is aspectually iterative, does not indicate a habitual action.

(45) The man was knocking at the door furiously for 10 minutes.

When English *be* + *-ing* is combined with a semelfactive verb, such as "blink," "sneeze," or "knock," the sentence expresses a repetitive action. However, the occurrence of the action is not necessarily a habitual event.

In Japanese, a pattern that iterates the infinitive form of a verb indicates iterative aspect. Consider the following example.

(46)

おやつを	食べ食べ	テレビを	見た。
oyatu-o	tabe tabe	terebi-o	mi-ta
snack-ACC	eat eat	television-ACC	watch-*ta*

"I watched TV, munching on a snack."

The iterated verb pattern *tabe tabe* signifies a situation where one eats something repeatedly. This construction is available in any [+dynamic] situation. In other words, [+dynamic] is the semantic requirement for an event to accept a habitual marker.

Inchoative

Comrie (1976:19) claims that *be about to* in English is a good example of inchoative aspect, also called ingressive, which indicates "the beginning of a situation." However, this definition is misleading, since *be about to* signifies the point right before something starts, rather than right after something has started. I use the term "inchoative" for aspects that indicate the point before an action occurs. For those indicating a situation where an action has just started, I will use the term "inceptive."

The Japanese expression *tokoro-da* is also a good example of an inchoative pattern. The following examples show that inchoatives are possible only in [+dynamic] situations. In addition, note that the telicity of the situation is unrelated to the grammaticality of the examples.

(47)

ちょうど	テレビを	見る	ところだ。
tyoodo	terebi-o	mir-u	tokoro-da
just	television-ACC	watch-NONPAST	*tokoro-da*

"I am about to watch TV."

(48)

家に	帰る	ところだ。
ie-ni	kaer-u	tokoro-da
home-DAT	return-NONPAST	*tokoro-da*

"I am about to go home."

(49) 電車が 着く ところだ。
densya-ga tuk-u tokoro-da
train-NOM arrive-NONPAST *tokoro-da*

"The train is about to arrive."

(50) *お金が 要る ところだ。
okane-ga ir-u tokoro-da
money-NOM need-NONPAST *tokoro-da*

*"I am about to need money."

When an inchoative marker is combined with a state verb that is unmarked for dynamicity, the situation must be read as [+dynamic] in order for the sentence to be grammatical. For example, the verb "be" has the sense of "become," which is [+dynamic], in the following English example.

(51) I am about to be a mother.

Comrie argues that the Spanish simple past, Ancient Greek aorist (perfective past), or Russian perfective can indicate inchoative aspect when they are applied to state verbs (p. 20). Example (52), with a state verb "reign" in Ancient Greek, and (53), with a state verb "know" in Spanish, are such cases.[8] These examples also support my claim that inchoative aspect semantically requires [+dynamic] situations.

(52) Ebasíleusa
reign:1st:sg:AOR

"I became king"

(53) Conocí a Pedro hace muchos años.
Know:PERF to Pedro make many years

"I got to know Pedro many years ago."

Comrie categorizes inchoative aspect as a subcategory of perfective, since perfective forms are interpreted as inchoative aspect in these examples. However, Smith (1991, 1997) points out that English *be* + *-ing* expresses "the preliminary stage of a situation" when combined with achievement verbs. Examine the following sentences, cited from Smith (1997:75).

(54) The team was reaching the top.
(55) She is winning the race.

Example (54) indicates the moment right before the action of "reaching the top" happens, and example (55) indicates a point in time before "winning the race" happens. That is, these examples involve a sort of inchoative aspect. Therefore, it is not accurate to subcategorize inchoative aspect under perfective as Comrie does, since a continuative aspect marker can also signify inchoative aspect.

Perfective

Comrie defines perfective as an aspect that "involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation (p. 21)" and that it expresses a situation as "a single whole" (p. 24).

Smith also states that perfective sees a situation "as a whole (p. 66)" and furthermore that it "includes the initial and final points of the situation." She also mentions that perfective markers show "closed readings" (p. 67), providing examples using the English simple past tense.

(56) *Lily swam in the pond and she may still be swimming.
(57) *Mrs. Ramsey wrote a letter and she may still be writing it.

These examples show that the English simple past is aspectually perfective, only allowing closed readings. In addition, Smith notes that perfective can indicate both termination and completion of an event. For example, the first clause of example (56) "Lily swam in the pond" indicates termination (the action of swimming ended at some point in the past), whereas example (57) "Mrs. Ramsey wrote a letter" indicates completion (the action of writing a letter was completed). The difference between the two readings is due to the telicity of the events; while the first example is [-telic], the second example is [+telic]. To consider this phenomenon from a different perspective, perfective aspect markers can co-occur with all types of verbs. However, depending on the semantic characteristics of the verbs, perfective markers give different aspectual readings as shown in (56) and (57). This is a crucial difference between perfective and completive, as I discuss later in this chapter. While the former allows the reading that an event is simply terminated, the latter only allows the reading that

an event is totally completed. In other words, while perfective aspect is compatible with all types of verbs, regardless their telicity, completive aspect requires [+telic] situations, since only such situations have clear end points.

There is an exception to the observation that English simple past yields closed readings. The simple past tense forms of state verbs allow both open and closed readings. For example, "I knew German" can mean "I knew German and I still do" or "I knew German but I do not know it now." This must be because English state verbs do not have the distinction between simple past and progressive past forms, which give open readings with dynamic verbs.

French *passé composé* is a better example of perfective aspect, as it disallows open readings and appears with all semantic types of verbs. Ritz (2002:44) notes that the example in (58), which is in passé composé, cannot be interpreted as having an open reading. To have an open reading, one must use *imparfait* as in (59).

(58) J'ai su la réponse.
"I knew the answer (and I don't know it now)."

(59) Je savais la réponse.
"I knew the answer (and I still know it now)."

In addition, note that not all simple past tense forms are aspectually perfective. For instance, the Japanese relative past tense marker *–ta*, which we discussed earlier, is aspectually neutral. Examine the following examples:

(60)

ドアを	開けた	けれど、	開かなかった。
doa-o	ake-ta	keredo	ak-anakat-ta
door-ACC	open-*ta*	but	open-not-*ta*

"I opened the door, but it didn't open."

(61)

宿題を	した	けれど、	全部は	しなかった。
syukudai-o	si-ta	keredo	zenbu-wa	si-nakat-ta
homework	do-*ta*	but	all-TOPIC	do-not-*ta*

"I did the homework but didn't do it all."

While the Japanese examples with *–ta* are perfectly acceptable, the English equivalents in simple past, which is aspectually perfective,

are not. That is, the suffix –*ta* is aspectually neutral, allowing both closed and open readings, whereas the English simple past is aspectually perfective.

Lastly, I would like to point out that perfective forms can indicate perfect aspect as well (see §2.5.8 for detailed discussion on perfect). For example, Paslawska and von Strechow (2003) point out that Russian perfective can indicate both perfective and perfect as follows (p. 308):

(62) V vosem' časov, Maša uedet
At eight o'clock Maša leave:pfv:pres

"At eight, Mary will leave."

(63) V vosem' časov, Maša uže uedet
At eight o'clock Maša already leave:pfv:pres
"At eight, Mary will already have left."

In addition, Fahri (2003) states that Standard Arabic plain past tense, which is aspectually perfective, can be interpreted as either past or perfect as in (64), although Arabic has a verb form that specifically indicates perfect as in (65), which is different from example (66), where the verb "write" is in the perfective construction (Fahri 2003:70–71, 74).

(64) Jaraa.
"He ran" or "He has run."

(65) Kaan-a katab-a r-risaalat-a
was-3 wrote-3 the-letter-ACC

"He had written the letter."

(66) Katab-a r-risaalat-a
wrote-3 the-letter-ACC

"He wrote the letter."

As I mentioned in the discussion of neutral and imperfective aspect, perfective markers can indicate a variety of aspectual meanings, such as perfect, habitual, or completive, besides perfective. The relationship among these aspectual meanings will be summarized later in this chapter.

Perfect

Bybee et al. (1994) define perfect as an aspect which "signals that the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the situation at reference time (p. 54)." Perfect is sometimes categorized under tense, since it does not directly indicate the internal structure of a situation, but relates two situations to each other. However, I consider perfect as a type of aspect in my analysis, since it is not capable of locating a situation in time.

Perfect markers are compatible with all types of verbs, including state verbs. The following example from English demonstrates this fact.

(67) I have been alone in a room for almost 24 hours.

Previous scholarship has observed that perfect is not compatible with an adverbial that indicates a specific temporal location (see Comrie [1976], Klein [1996, 2000], Musan [2002], ten Cate [2005], Thieroff [1994], and Vlach [1993], among others). For example, present perfect in English cannot co-occur with adverbials with a clear past meaning:

(68) *I've been to school yesterday.

Moser (2003) examines the perfect aspect in Modern Greek. She finds that Modern Greek perfect also disallows co-occurrence with adverbials with a clear past time reference (Moser 2003:241).

(69)

O	Aris	exi	ksekinisi	*stis	deka.
The	aris	has	lef	at-the	ten.

"Aris has left *at ten. (uttered at eleven)"

However, some claim that this incompatibility between perfect and adverbials is language specific, since perfect in German or Dutch can co-occur with adverbials with a clear past reference. However, I believe that perfect forms in German and Dutch are not actually perfect but, rather, perfective.

Klein (2000) compares German Perfekt and English present perfect and shows that the former often plays roles equivalent to English simple past. For example, the following sentence (Klein 2000:359), which talk about a past event, use Perfekt, while the English equivalents are

ungrammatical. Notice that Perfekt may co-occur with an adverbial with overt past time reference, unlike English present perfect.

(70) *Gestern um zehn habe ich den Brief abgeschickt.
Yesterday at ten have I the letter sent off."

* "I have the letter yesterday at ten sent off."

German also has a plain past tense form (i.e., Präteritum). However, Klein states that the difference between Perfekt and Präteritum is usually stylistic, rather than aspectual. The exception is when "a present situation is somehow presented as a result of a past situation (Klein 2000:359)"; only Perfekt is acceptable in such a situation. That is, Perfekt seems to behave as a past tense marker as well as a perfect aspect marker, whereas Präteritum lacks the latter function.

Musan (2002) also claims that German Perfekt behaves more like past tense as follows (pp. 117–118).

(71) Eva hat gestern geschlafen.
Eva has yesterday slept

"Eva slept yesterday."

(72) Die Eule hatte die Schule um 10 Uhr verlassen
The owl had the school at 10 o'clock left

"The owl left the school at 10 o'clock."

or

"At 10 o'clock, the owl was gone."

Note that while Perfekt seems to be equivalent to past tense in (71), example (72), where the verb "have" is in the past tense, yields two interpretations. The first interpretation is that the owl's leaving school took place at 10 o'clock, whereas the second interpretation is that the owl was no longer at school at 10 o'clock. In addition, de Vuyst (1985) compares so-called perfect constructions in Dutch and English and finds that Dutch perfect has characteristics similar to the German Perfekt. The following shows that Dutch perfect, just like German Perfekt, can appear with an adverbial with a clear past reference.

(73) Harry is gisteren gearriveerd.
Harry is yesterday arrived

"Harry arrived yesterday." (de Vuyst 1985:137)

(74) Jan is naar huis gelopen toen de bom explodeerde.
Jan has to home walked when the bomb exploded

"Jan walked home when the bomb exploded." (de Vuyst 1985: 138)

On the other hand, Howe and Schwenter (2003) and Howe (to appear) find that perfect in Latin American Spanish restricts the co-occurrence of temporal adverbials as in (75), in a manner identical to perfect in English, while perfect in Peninsular Spanish allows temporal adverbials to appear in the same phrase as in (76), just as German and Dutch perfect do.

(75) María se ha ido (*ayer).
"María has left (*yesterday)." (Latin American Spanish)

(76) Me he levantado esta manana a las siete (uttered at 3:00 pm)
"I got up (lit. have gotten up) at seven this morning." (Peninsular Spanish)

These examples from Howe and Schwenter (2003:63) indicate that perfect in Peninsular Spanish has developed into neutral aspect, while it remains a perfect in Latin American Spanish.[9] Howe (ibid.) describes the difference between the semantics of the pretérito and that of the perfect, providing the following examples (p. 4).

(77) María estuvo enfermo.
"María was sick." (She is not sick at the present.)

(78) María ha estado enfermo.
"María has been sick." (She may or may not be sick at the present.)

(79) María no comió.
"María did not eat." (But she might have eaten since.)

(80) María no ha comido.
"María has not eaten." (She still hasn't eaten at the present.)

To conclude, I hypothesize that perfect aspect markers cannot co-occur with adverbials that indicate a clear past reference. In addition, some markers that are called "perfect" are actually perfective aspect markers.

Resultative

Bybee et al. (1994:54) define resultative as an aspect that indicates "a state existing as a result of a past action." They also categorize resultative as related to perfective, since resultative aspect is often expressed by perfect—which is also subcategorized under perfective—or plain past tense markers. For example, the following examples in English show that perfect as well as plain past tense can indicate resultative aspect (Comrie 1976:56).

(81) John has arrived (so that he is here now).
(82) John arrived (so that he is here now).

However, resultative is not always associated solely with perfective. For example, Contemporary Japanese –*te i*– can indicate both progressive and resultative; example (83) indicates progressive, whereas (84) indicates resultative aspect.

Therefore, resultative cannot be simply classified under perfective.

(83)	太郎は	今	映画を	作っている。
	taroo-wa	ima	eega-o	tukut-te i-ru
	Taro-TOPIC	now	movie-ACC	make-*te i*-NONPAST

"Taro is making a movie now."

(84)	太郎は	今までに	映画を	三本	作っている。
	taroo-wa	ima made-ni	eega-o	san-bon	tukut-te i-ru
	Taro-TOPIC	now until-DAT	movie-ACC	three-CL	make-*te-i*-NONPAST

"Taro has made three movies so far."

To conclude, resultative aspect semantically requires a [+telic] situation, since there is no resulting state of an action without any clear goal. Therefore, resultative markers only apply to [+telic] situations.

Completive

Bybee et al. (1994:54) define completive aspect as "to do something thoroughly and completely." Thus, a situation that lacks a clear end-

point (i.e., [-telic]) or lacks the possibility of being terminated before completion (i.e., [-durative]) is not compatible with completive markers. In addition to requiring a [+telic] situation, completive aspect also requires a [+dynamic] situation.

A good example of completive aspect is the Contemporary Japanese aspectual verb *kiru*, cognate with *kiru* "cut." When *kiru* is used in a [+telic] and [+durative] situation as in (85), the sentence is well-formed. However, [-telic] situations, such as (86), and [-durative] situations, such as (87), or [-dynamic] situations, such as (88), result in unacceptability.

(85) 十キロを 走りきった。
zyuk kiro-o hasiri kit-ta
ten kilometer-ACC run *kir-ta*
"I ran 10 kilometers (all the way through)."

(86) *公園を 歩ききった。
kooen-o aruki kit-ta
park-ACC walk *kir-ta*
* "I walked in the park completely."

(87) *電車が 駅に 着ききった。
densya-ga eki-ni tuki kit-ta.
train-NOM station-DAT arrive *kir-ta*
* "The train arrived at the station completely."[10]

(88) *お金が 要りきった。
o-kane-ga iri kit-ta
HON-money-NOM need *kir-ta*
* "I needed money completely."

There are many markers that, while labeled "completive," do not purely mark completive aspect. For instance, Contemporary Japanese *–te simaw–* (gerund + "finish"), which indicates completive aspect in some contexts, also has non-aspectual functions. For example, it can imply that the event denoted is unexpected or is negatively evaluated by the speaker. Therefore, example (89), which uses the marker *–te simaw–*, can be interpreted as an uncompleted event.

(89) 弟の ケーキを 食べてしまった。
otooto-no keeki-o tabe-te simat-ta
younger.brother-GEN cake-ACC eat-*te simaw-ta*

"I ate my younger brother's cake completely."

or

"I took a bite of my younger brother's cake (though I shouldn't have)."

The so-called completive marker in Surinamese Creole *kaba*, which is also called a completive marker, poses the same problem as Japanese –*te simaw*–. Winford and Migge (2007) point out that *kaba* sometimes signifies the speaker's surprise, although it usually indicates completive aspect (p. 83).

(90) yu ben pai en kaba?
"Have you already paid him?"

(91) Oom N. firgiti a boi kaba.
"Uncle N. has already forgotten the boy."

(92) A famiri fu mi disi, a abi achttien jaar kaba?
"This relative of mine, is she already eighteen years old?"

Note that *kaba* indicates that the speaker is surprised by the incident in (92); it does not indicate completive aspect, since "be eighteen years old" does not denote an event that is [+telic], [+dynamic], and [+durative], although the marker does signify completive aspect in (90) and (91).

I have discussed the definitions of various aspectual concepts in the preceding sections. In the course of reviewing major aspectual categories, I have demonstrated that the terms used for those aspectual markers in descriptive work are often inconsistent across languages. I have therefore taken some care to choose a name for each aspectual category based on its function in my analysis in the following chapters; in some cases, my choices diverge from conventional usage in order to avoid confusion.

SYNCHRONIC SYSTEMS OF ASPECT

In this section, I will discuss the synchronic relationship among aspectual markers. As I briefly mentioned in 2.4, typological work on aspect usually adopts binary (e.g., imperfective vs. perfective) or ternary

(imperfective, perfective, and neutral) classifications of morphological marking, focusing on the semantic similarity among these marking patterns. That is, all of the aspects categorized as "imperfective" signify the temporal structure of a situation whose state does not change for the given period of time, whereas the other aspects, classified as "perfective" signal the temporal structure of a situation presented as a whole with no internal structure. The structure within each category is also rather simple. For example, Comrie subdivides imperfectivity into two categories: habitual and continuous. The latter is further divided into two categories: non-progressive and progressive (Comrie 1976:25).

Note that Comrie does not specify any subdivision under perfective aspect, even though a variety of aspect markers including perfect, resultative, and completive are subcategorized under perfective. In addition, Comrie's classification does not provide any explanation for why some markers, such as English *be+-ing* can signal both habitual and progressive as shown in the previous section, since the only aspectual category that connects habitual and progressive in this table is imperfective; however, *be+-ing* is not an imperfective marker. Furthermore, a binary classification cannot account for the fact that resultative, habitual, and inchoative can be expressed by either perfective or imperfective aspect, since the classification divides all aspectual functions into two independent categories without any interconnections.

Thus, I claim that the system of aspect in human language is not binary but, rather, hierarchical.[11] The hierarchy of aspects can be illustrated as follows.

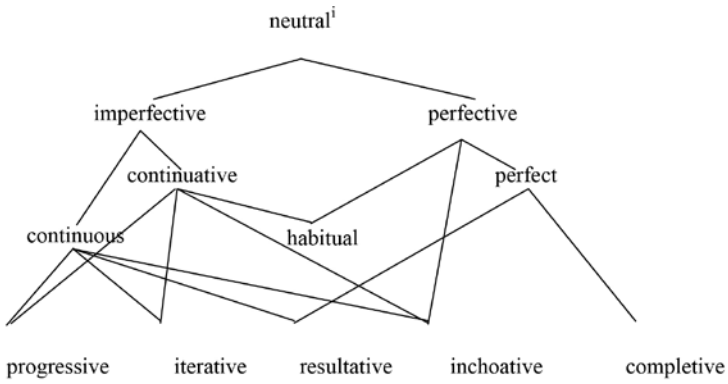

Figure 1.1. The relations among aspects

i. In this figure, neutral is connected only with imperfective and perfective. However, this is not intended to indicate that a sentence containing a marker whose semantic property is neutral only signifies either imperfective or perfective; rather, the sentence can signify any aspect categorized under imperfective and perfective (i.e., any aspect presented in this figure).

This hierarchical figure indicates that there is a relationship between the semantic properties of a given aspect marker and the aspectual meaning of the sentence containing the marker. For example, a neutral aspect marker can be interpreted as neutral, imperfective, or perfective, as well as any aspectual sense placed underneath imperfective and perfective. On the other hand, a perfective marker can be interpreted as perfective, habitual, inchoative, perfect, or resultative and completive, both of which are placed under perfect. Perfect aspect markers, in turn, can indicate perfect, resultative, or completive aspects.

This hierarchical model reflects the semantic and syntactic characteristics of aspectual markers properly. The aspectual markers that are located higher in the hierarchy signify a variety of aspectual meanings depending on the semantic types of co-occurring verbs, whereas the markers located lower in the hierarchy signify very specific aspectual meanings, and are applicable only to specific types of verbs. For example, neutral aspect markers, as well as imperfective and perfective, can be applied to any type of verb, whereas resultative markers can be applied only to [+telic] situations.

Table 1.4 illustrates the relationships among aspectual meanings, semantic requirements for each aspect, and verb types. For instance, if a sentence signifies completive aspect, the situation or event denoted by the sentence must be [+dynamic], [+durative], and [+telic]. That is, the verb used in the sentence can be either (1) any (represented with " " in the table) of the accomplishment verbs, or (2) any verb of any other type that is (lexically) underspecified for the features dynamicity, durativity, or telicity, as long as all of these features have the correct specification under the intended reading of the sentence. For example, an activity verb "eat," which is underspecified for telicity, can be used with a completive marker as long as its meaning in a given sentence is [+telic] (as in "eat the whole apple"). The verb types that belong to the second category are marked with "+" in the table. If a particular type of verb cannot co-occur with a given aspect marker, the cell is left blank.

THE TENSE AND ASPECT SYSTEM OF OLD JAPANESE

I examine six suffixes (i.e., *–ri*, *–ki*, *–keri*, *–tu*, *–nu*, *–tari*) in my analysis as well as two periphrastics (*wiru* and *woru*). As I mentioned in 1.3,

Table 1.4. Combinatorial possibilities of grammatical aspects and verb type

		verb type				
aspect	**requirement**	**state**	**activity**	**accomplishment**	**achievement**	**semelfactive**
iterative	+dynamic –telic	+	+			+
completive	+dynamic +durative +telic	+	+		+	+
progressive	+dynamic +durative	+			+	+
resultative	+dynamic +telic	+	+			+
inchoative	+dynamic	+				
perfect	no restriction					
habitual	no restriction					
imperfective	no restriction					
perfective	no restriction					
neutral	no restriction					

the suffixes *–ri*, *–tari*, *tu*, and *–nu* are usually labeled as *kanryō* suffixes in descriptive grammars of Classical Japanese. The term *kanryō* has received a variety of English translations, most commonly "perfect," since the same term is used to designate the English perfect in grammar books in Japan. On the other hand, *–ki* and *–keri* are defined as past tense markers.

Note that this classification is rather peculiar, since it is typologically rare for a synchronic aspectual system of a single language to have four different perfect markers plus two past tense markers. According to Haspelmath et al. (2005), when a language has a very rich past tense marking pattern, it usually distinguishes varying levels of remoteness. A good example of such a case would be Yagua (Peba-Yaguan, spoken in Peru), which distinguishes five different degrees of remoteness (Payne and Payne 1990). Haspelmath et al. (2005) found no language that has two perfect markers with a subtle semantic difference.

However, previous analyses of the semantics of Classical Japanese suffixes have usually attempted to propose differences in nuance among the four perfect markers and two past tense markers based on contextual information from the corpus data. A further defect of most descriptive grammars of earlier Japanese is that they are based on a corpus of data spanning six hundred years or more. It is of course methodologically problematic to assume that the grammar of a single language is uniform and unchanging for such a long period of time.

In my analysis, I focus primarily on the *Man'yōshū,* Japan's earliest imperial poetry collection and the oldest extensive textual source for Japanese. The *Man'yōshū* contains over 4,500 poems, of which the majority are dated between the late 7th century and mid 8th century.

I adopt four distinct approaches for identifying the aspectual meaning of each suffix. First, I investigate the aspectual type of the verbs with which each suffix co-occurs. This information is critical, since each aspectual function has semantic requirements that limit the possible semantic types of co-occurring verbs. That is, by identifying the semantic types of the verbs that appear with a certain suffix, the aspectual properties of the suffix can be determined.

Second, in addition to the semantic types of co-occurring verbs, I look at co-occurring adverbials, since some aspect markers, such as that for perfect aspect, place restrictions on the semantics of co-occurring adverbials.

Third, I also use contextual information. While previous approaches usually focused on the interpretation and pragmatic information of each verse, I also take into account typological probability. That is, I first retrieve the general discourse function of each marker on the basis of the entire corpus, rather than a specific pragmatic usage of the marker in a particular verse. Subsequently, I compare the findings with the general characteristics of aspectual markers in a broad typological range of languages. This method tests whether the proposed semantic properties of the target marker are typologically plausible.

Fourth, I examine the aspect markers as a synchronic system. I not only investigate the typological plausibility of the synchronic aspect system of 8th century Japanese, I also compare it to the status of the same markers in the 11th century by examining data from *Genji Monogatari* "*Tale of Genji*." The comparison will demonstrate that it is not possible to assume a uniform aspect system encompassing the entire Old and Middle Japanese periods, as traditional approaches have previously attempted to do.

In addition, this comparison leads to a diachronic analysis, since the nature of the diachronic changes that each aspect marker underwent from the 8th century to the 11th century provides additional supporting evidence for the semantic identities of these aspect markers in the 8th century. Typological studies on the development of aspect markers have identified the possible paths of semantic change for aspect markers. Therefore, the accuracy of the analysis of aspect markers in 8th century Japanese can also be measured by the typological plausibility of the semantic changes required to account for the aspect system of 11th century Japanese.

NOTES

1. According to Binnick (1991:145), the term "Aktionsart" is used to denote a semantic property that the combination of verbs, grammaticalized temporal markers (i.e., tense and grammatical aspect) and other components signifies, which is identical to the definition of the term "aspect" provided by Comrie. Although the term Aktionsart was first used to indicate particular morphological markers, such as Russian procedural prefixes, which specify the way a situation develops, the term has come to be used in various senses. Therefore, I will avoid using it in this paper in order to prevent further confusion.

2. Smith does not define the term explicitly. However, it appears to be similar to the verb phrase (excluding the subject of the sentence).

3. Adverbials sometimes determine the aspect of a sentence. For instance, sentence (i) signifies habitual aspect, whereas sentence (ii) signifies perfective aspect. However, the two sentences are identical except for the adverbials. Sentence (i) is cited from Smith (1997:158).

(i) All that summer John found crabgrass in his yard.
(ii) John found crabgrass in his yard yesterday.

4. Smith uses the term viewpoint aspect instead of grammatical aspect. However, I adopt the term grammatical aspect, which is equivalent and more common.

5. Smith does not provide the gloss for these examples.

6. Some authors use "stative" and "state" interchangably for this type of sentence. However, in order to avoid confusion with the identical term used in the description of *verbal* aspect, I do not use the term "state" to characterize *sentential* aspect. So, for example, the verb "love" in English is a state verb, whereas the sentence "I love chocolates" has state aspect.

7. Mueller has pointed out that *am* plus a semelfactive verb is acceptable as follows.

(i) Ich bin am husten.
I am at cough

"I am coughing."

I believe that this is due to the fact that iterative aspect involving a semelfactive verb is semantically similar to progressive aspect, which expresses a state where the same activity takes place without any change. In fact, aspect markers that strictly indicate progressive aspect often appear with semelfactive verbs.

8. Cited from Comrie (1976: 19).

9. This is a change currently in progress. Howe and Schwenter have found that speakers younger than in their 30s use this innovative use of perfect in Spain.

10. Although the English translation does not seem to be ungrammatical, the original Japanese sentence is unacceptable.

11. Dresher (2003) and Dresher and Zhang (2004) claim that the phonological features contrasting in a language can be organized into a hierarchy as well. However, their scheme is a binary hierarchy (similar to Comrie's claim in Figure 1.1), rather than a unary one.

2

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–(ye)ri, –kyeri, and –ki

–(*YE*)*RI*: IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIX

The Origin of –(ye)ri

The origin of the suffix *–(ye)ri* is said to be the verb *ari* "exist." This etymology is based on three observations. First, the suffix and the verb show the same conjugation endings. Second, *kun* or logographic orthography involving the character 有, normally used to write *ari*, is sometimes used to write *–(ye)ri*. Finally, the distinctive vowel that appears before *–(ye)ri* is best explained as the result of contraction involving *ari*.

This etymology hypothesizes that the verb *ari* was attached to the *ren'yōkei* "conjunctive" form of *yodan* or "quadrigrade" verbs,[1] whose final segment is *kō-rui* "series A" /i_1/.[2] For instance, the combination of the verb *sak–* "to bloom" plus *–ari* results in *saki*$_1$*-ari*; then by hypothesis, hiatus was reduced by contraction of i_1 + a to /e_1/ = /ye/ (i.e., *sakyeri*). Subsequently, *sakyeri* was reanalyzed as *sak–* plus *–yeri*, best analyzed synchronically as an ending *–yeri* attached directly to the verb stem. Japanese grammarians have traditionally described *–(ye)ri* as attaching to the *meirekei* "imperative" form of a verb, but this makes no sense from the perspective of the synchronic grammar of OJ, since we would hardly expect tense endings to attach to the imperative in sentences whose mood is declarative. The following table summarizes the conjugation pattern of the verb *ari* "exist," a quadrigrade verb, and the suffix *–(ye)ri*.

Table 2.1 The conjugation patterns of the verb *ari* and the suffix *–(ye)ri*.

	form	
label/function	*ari*	*–(ye)ri*
mizen (irrealis)	*ara*	*(ye)ra*
ren'yō (conjunctive)	*ari*	*(ye)ri*
syuusi (conclusive)	*ari*	*(ye)ri*
rentai (attributive)	*aru*	*(ye)ru*
izen (realis)	*are*	*(ye)re*
meirei (imperative)	*are*	*(ye)re*

Previous Accounts of the Semantics of *–(ye)ri*

Traditionally, *–(ye)ri*, grouped with *–tari*, has been described as a *kanryō* suffix. However, the definition of this term varies depending on the scholar. This analysis suggests that the difference between the two suffixes is either (1) purely syntactic (a difference in combinatory restrictions) with no semantic difference or (2) a semantic difference that causes a syntactic difference. Both views presume that *–(ye)ri* has more combinatory limitations than *–tari*; while *–(ye)ri* only co-occurs with quadrigrade, *sa-hen* (sa-irregular), and possibly *ka-hen* (ka-irregular) verbs, *–tari* co-occurs with verbs of all conjugations.

However, I will argue that the combinatorial restrictions on *–(ye)ri* are the result of its diachronic origins, rather than a product of its semantic properties. Furthermore, I propose that *–(ye)ri* should be treated on a par with *–kyeri* and *–ki,* and that *–tari* should be classified separately, although there are some semantic similarities between *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*. The rationale for this view will be elaborated later.

In the following sections, I focus on previous analyses of the semantics of *–(ye)ri*. It is occasionally necessary to mention analyses of *–tari*, since Japanese grammarians usually discuss the two suffixes together, but detailed examination of the semantics of *–tari* is postponed until Chapter 4.

Matsuo (1978), Yamaguchi (1985), and Tsunoji (1975)

Matsuo (1978), Yamaguchi (1985), and Tsunoji (1975) propose that *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are semantically identical. Matsuo claims that there

is little semantic difference between *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*, vaguely stating that there is a difference in nuance (*–(ye)ri* emphasizes *sonzai* "existence," while *–tari* indicates *kekka sonzai* "existence of a result") in certain contexts. However, he does not define what *sonzai* or *kekka sonzai* actually signify or what the difference between the two is. He quotes the following verse as evidence for his claim.

(1)

. . . 吹響流	小角乃	音母	敵	見有	虎
pukinas-eru	kuda-no	oto-mo	ata	mi-taru	tora(-ka)
resonate-*(ye)ri*	horn-GEN	sound-also	enemy	see-*tari*	tiger-as-if

咆吼登 . . .	指挙有	幡之	靡者	風之共	靡
poyuru to	sasage-taru	pata-no	nabiki-pa	kaze-no-muta	nabiku
howl COMP	raise-*tari*	flag-GEN	flutter-TOP	wind-GEN-with	flutter

". . . the sound of the horn also resonate[3] . . . as if the tiger who see enemies howl . . . the flutter of the flag that (they) raise . . . flutters with the wind . . ."
(MYS 2.199)

Matsuo follows the philological convention that reads the character 有 in 見有 and 指挙有 as *–tari*, although it is written logographically.[4] He claims that *–(ye)ri* in this example indicates "mere existence" while *–tari* indicates the "existence of a result." However, Matsuo also cites numerous examples where *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* seem to be semantically interchangeable, and he does not specify what exactly the aspectual meaning of the suffixes is in these synonymous cases. The following verse is one such example provided by Matsuo:

(2)

吾之	種	蒔有	早田之	穂立	造有
wa-ga	tane	mak-yeru	paseda-no	podati	tukuri-taru
I-NOM	seed	sow-*(ye)ri*	rice field-GEN	ear (of rice)	make-*tari*

蘰曽	見 . . .
kadura-zo	mi
vine-KP	see

"Look at the vines that the ears of rice make in the rice field that I sow."
(MYS 8.1624)

Matsuo eventually concludes that the main difference between the two is the number of moras and that the semantic difference is negligible. That is, the number of moras permitted by metrical conventions determines which suffix is chosen, rather than their semantic values.[5]

Yamaguchi briefly states that both *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* indicate "the continuation of an action or the effect of an action, or the reminiscence of a result" (p. 509). In addition, he also suggests that both *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* have a so-called "emphasis function," although he does not clarify what sort of meanings they actually emphasize (p. 514).

Tsunoji (1975) claims that *–(ye)ri* indicates "the existence of action," rather than simple *kanryō*, citing the following examples.

(3)

紫草能	保敝類	妹乎
murasaki-no	nipop-yeru	imo-wo
violet-GEN	smell-*(ye)ri*	lover-ACC

"My lover who smell like violets . . ."
(MYS 1.21)

(4)

吾	屋前乃	芽子	花	咲有 . . .
wa(-ga)	yadwo-no	pagi-no	pana	sak-yeri
I-(GEN)	house-GEN	bush clover-GEN	flower	bloom-*(ye)ri*

"Bush clover flowers of my house bloom . . ."
(MYS 8.1621)

(5)

. . . 梅	花	其十方	不所見	雪乃	零有者
ume(-no)	pana	sore-tomo	miye-zu	yuki-no	pur-ere-ba
plum	flower	that-COMP	seem-NEG	snow-NOM	fall-*(ye)ri*-because

". . . the plum flowers cannot be recognized as flowers because it snow."
(MYS 8.1426)

Tsunoji states that *–yeri* in (3) indicates that "the woman is right in front of the author's face," whereas in (4) it "emphasizes" that the flowers have completely opened. He goes on to state that *–(ye)ri* in (5) can be interpreted either as "the continuation of an action" or "the reminiscence of the result of an action." In short, he claims that *–(ye)ri* signifies "the completion of an action and the existence of a state (p. 199)."

Konoshima (1973), Hashimoto (1969), Yoshida (1973), Takeuchi (1987), and Sandness (1999)

Konoshima (1973), Hashimoto (1969), Yoshida (1973), and Sandness (1999) all claim that *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* differ both syntactically and semantically. Konoshima claims that *–(ye)ri* signifies "the existence of an action" or "the continuation of an effect," while *–tari* indicates "the existence of a result." He compares the difference between the two suffixes with a distinction in Western dialects of Contemporary Japanese,[6] where V + *oru*[7] indicates *keizoku* "continuation" whereas V + *toru*[8] indicates *kekka* "result." He suggests that the function of *–(ye)ri* resembles that of V + *oru*, whereas *–tari* resembles V + *toru* (p. 182).

Konoshima expands this analogy by equating *–(ye)ri* with the progressive/perfect marker *–te iru* in Contemporary Japanese. He states that *–te iru* signifies progressive aspect when it is combined with *jōtai-teki* "state" or *keizokuteki* "continuous" verbs, while it signifies result when used with *shunkan-teki* "instantaneous" verbs; therefore, the polysemy of *–(ye)ri* reflects the semantic type of the verb to which the suffix is attached (p. 190).

He speculates that *–(ye)ri* could not be combined with bigrade verbs because the phonotactic rules of Old Japanese somehow disfavored the combination of the final segment of a bigrade verb in *ren'yō* "conjunctive" form (i.e., *otu-rui* /e/) plus the initial segment of the verb *ari* (i.e., the origin of *–(ye)ri*). This assumption, in turn, suggests that the combinatory restrictions on *–(ye)ri* do not correlate with its semantic value.

Hashimoto agrees that there is some semantic difference between the two suffixes, claiming that *–tari* indicates "the continuation of a certain action or the effect of an action" and "the state or the existence of a result," whereas *–(ye)ri* describes "the state of an action or a result." He also states that *–tari* can substitute for *–(ye)ri*, when a sentence contains a bigrade verb which cannot co-occur with *–(ye)ri*, in order to indicate the temporal meaning of *–(ye)ri* (whatever it may be). He concludes, as Konoshima did, that *–tari* eventually supplanted *–(ye)ri* because of the restrictions on the distribution of *–(ye)ri*.

Yoshida states that *–tari* has a "stronger" meaning than *–(ye)ri* although both signify *kanryō*. He believes that *–(ye)ri* has three functions: (1) expressing the continuation of an action or an effect as completed, while the result of the action may still affect the present; (2) depicting imaginary situations in the present and the future; and (3) the continuing and progressing state of an action or an effect. He provides the following examples to support these claims.

(6)

. . . 名告藻者	心	中爾	疾跡	成有
na-nori-so-wa	kokoro-no	uti-ni	yamapi-to	nar-eri
seaweed-TOP	heart-GEN	inside-DAT	sickness-CONJ	become-(*ye)ri*

". . . the seaweed become pain in my heart."
(MYS 7.1395)

(evidence for the first function)

(7)

筑波根爾	吾	行利世波 . . .
Tukubane-ni	wa-ga	yuk-yeri-se-ba
Tukubane-DAT	I-NOM go	*–(ye)ri-ki*[9]-if

"If I go to Tukubane . . ."
(MYS 8.1497)

(evidence for the second function)

(8)

. . . 安良志	乎須良爾	奈氣枳	布勢良武
arasi	o-sura-ni	nakeki	pus-era-mu
rough	man-even-DAT	weep	lie down*–(ye)ri*-EPIS

". . . even a rough man would lie down to weep."
(MYS 17.3962)

(evidence for the third function)

In short, it appears that Yoshida believes that *–(ye)ri* has three functions: (1) resultative/completive, (2) non-past conditional, and (3) progressive.

Takeuchi (1987) examines a variety of corpus data, ranging from the Heian period (794–1185) to the Kamakura period (1185–1333), contrasting *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*. She claims that while both *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are aspectually "perfect," *–(ye)ri* specifically indicates a "non-limited perfect." She defines the term "non-limited perfect" by stating that "a state of a *–(ye)ri* predicate may or may not be true for an interval of time preceding or following that of the aspect locus (pp. 166–7)."

Sandness (1999) claims that *–(ye)ri* expresses (1) the present existence of a state, (2) the existence of the result of an action, and possibly (3) the progressive of an action verb. She provides examples that indicate each function. For instance, she claims that when *–(ye)ri* combines with "stative" verbs such as *nipopu* "smell" or *motu* "have," it expresses stativity, citing the same example as Tsunoji.

(9)

紫草能	保敝類	妹乎. . .
murasaki-no	nipop-yeru	imo-wo
violet-GEN	smell–*(ye)ri*	lover-ACC

"My lover who smell like violet . . ."
(MYS 1.21)

Sandness also states that it is difficult to find a true progressive usage of *–(ye)ri*, although she still does not reject the possibility that *–(ye)ri* indicates some progressive meaning. For instance, she quotes the following example, which can be interpreted either as resultative or progressive depending on the nature of the verb *opu* "carry."

(10)

. . . 圖	負留	神	龜毛 . . .
pumi	op-yeru	ayasiki	kame-mo
patterns	carry-*(ye)ri*	strange	turtle-also

". . . the strange turtle that carry patterns (on the shell) also . . ."
(MYS 1.50)

Furthermore, Sandness asserts that resultative and stative functions are hard to distinguish. She claims that *–(ye)ri* can indicate stative aspect, just as *–te iru* in Contemporary Japanese can express a stative meaning with verbs such as *siru* "find out" or *saku* "bloom."[10] She describes this function of *–(ye)ri* and *–te iru* as "the existing condition from the result of punctual verbs." She provides the following as examples.

(11)

美都煩奈須 . . .	身曽等波	之禮禮抒母
mitubo-nasu	mi-zo-to-pa	sir-ere-domo . . .
bubble-like	body-KPRT-CONJ-TOP	know-*(ye)ri*-although

"Although I know my body is like a bubble of water . . ."
(MYS 20.4470)

(12) 阿須可 河泊 之多 爾其禮留乎 . . .
asuka gapa sita nigor-eru-wo
Asuka river bottom be cloudy-*(ye)ri*-ACC

"That the bottom of Asuka River be cloudy . . ."
(MYS 14.3544)

Ultimately, Sandness concludes that *–(ye)ri* is an equivalent of Contemporary Japanese *–te iru*, which she defines, as a progressive, resultative, and state marker.

To conclude, while some previous researchers believe that *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are semantically nearly or completely identical, claiming that both indicate something that resembles resultative or continuous aspect, others claim they are semantically distinct. Matsuo states that *–(ye)ri* is resultative, although it may indicate some sort of stativity. Konoshima claims that *–(ye)ri* has a more progressive-like property. Hashimoto claims that it is both progressive and resultative. Yoshida believes that *–(ye)ri* indicates resultative, progressive, and some future-oriented modal meaning.

In the following section, I address the outstanding problems with both the philological aspects of this research and the semantic analyses.

Problems with Previous Accounts

I claim that two major factors need to be reconsidered in order to assess the accuracy of the previous proposals. First, I examine the accuracy of the philological research underlying previous analyses, where the readings of the characters used for the two suffixes were determined partially on the basis of mora count, and examine the question of whether the total number of moras in a poem always affects the selection of one suffix over another. Second, I evaluate the method by which each proposal decides the aspectual values of verbs and, in turn, the semantic properties of each suffix.

Problems with Philological Methodology

First, I question the technique that previous analyses have adopted in order to determine the readings for the two suffixes. Sandness (1999) points out the shortcoming of this philological tradition. She claims that the combinatorial restrictions on *–(ye)ri* may be illusory; it may be

the result of how the characters used to represent *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are read according to philological tradition.

In the *Man'yōshū*, *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are expressed using two types of orthographic representations. The first type uses phonographs or *ongana*. These are a set of Chinese characters whose Sino-Japanese values resemble the target Japanese sounds. That is, the Chinese characters that are used as *ongana* and the Japanese words that are represented by them have no semantic similarity; only the phonetic resemblance between them is relevant. The second type of orthographic representation is logographic. Logographs are the reverse of *ongana:* Japanese words are represented by Chinese characters semantically comparable to them, ignoring the phonological values of the characters in Chinese. That is, the exact phonetic values of logographs cannot be determined for certain. As a consequence, the phonetic values of Japanese words represented by logographs must be determined by their syntactic and semantic environments. Counting the total number of moras in a poem may hypothetically facilitate this process, since each poem is supposed to consist of 31 moras (although this metrical rule was not always obeyed in the *Man'yōshū*).

This philological complication creates a problem for determining the distribution of *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*, because the same two characters used as logographs, namely 有 and 在, can represent either *–(ye)ri* or *–tari*. The orthography by itself cannot elucidate which aspect marker is intended in a given instance. A possible solution to this problem is identifying the form of the preceding verbs, since *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* follow different forms of the verb. As mentioned in the earlier section, *–(ye)ri* attaches to the stem, whereas *–tari* follows the conjunctive or *ren'yōkei* form. For instance, if the verb *sak–* "to bloom" precedes *–(ye)ri*, *–(ye)ri* attaches directly to the stem: *sak-yeri*.

On the other hand, if the same verb precedes *–tari*, the conjunctive form *saki–* is used: *saki-tari*. If a verb stem is written in phonographs, it is possible to determine which marker is intended even if the marker itself is written using a logograph. On the other hand, if both the verb stem and the marker are in logographs, the choice of the marker cannot be indisputably determined. I will come back to this problem later in this section.

Previous analyses have concluded that *–(ye)ri* only appears with quadrigrade (*yodan*), monograde (*ichidan*), and sa-irregular (*sa-hen*) verbs, while it cannot appear with bigrade (*nidan*) verbs. On the other hand, *–tari* follows all types of verbs including bigrade (*nidan*) verbs,

although the majority of instances of *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* in the *Man'yōshū* are written with logographs (i.e., with 有 or 在). In Chapter 3, where I list the occurrences of *–(ye)ri* in the *Manyōshū*, I include only the examples written with *ongana,* since they are the only cases that we can determine the identities of the suffixes for certain. Unfortunately, some verbs only occur a few times with *–(ye)ri* or *–tari,* and both the verbs and following suffixes are written with logographs. All of these markers are traditionally identified as either *–(ye)ri* or *–tari*, based on the assumption that the conjugation patterns of the verbs determine the choice of marker. My samples show that *–(ye)ri* written in *ongana* follows quadrigrade verbs as well as monograde verbs. However, as traditionally believed, there are no examples illustrating the combination of a bigrade verb + *–(ye)ri* written in *ongana.* I will further discuss this point in a later section.

Furthermore, while Japanese grammarians are aware that *–(ye)ri* originates from the attributive form of a verb plus *ari* (V*i* + *ari*), they do not consider the possibility that V + *–(ye)ri* and the non-contracted form V*i* + *ari* might coexist synchronically in the *Man'yōshū*. That is, V + 有 and V + 在 in the *Man'yōshū* might possibly represent three different structures: V + *–(ye)ri*, V + *–tari*, and V*i* + *ari*. In fact, there is an example where Japanese grammarians cannot agree on the phonetic value of the logograph 有.

(13)	真河	氣長	河	向	立有之	袖 . . .
	make	nagaku	kapa(-ni)	muki	tati ari-si/ tati-tari-si/ tat-eri-si	sode
	period	long	river	face	stand *ari*/ *-tari*/*-yeri*	sleeve

"(the sleeve of my wife who) stand facing the river for a long time . . ."
(MYS 10.2073)

Masamune (1974) reads the character 有 in this verse as *ari*, whereas Omodaka et al. (1953) mention that 有 can be read either as *ari* or *tari*. In addition, Kojima et al. (1973) state that *tati-ari* becomes *tateri*, if it is "shortened." That is, Japanese grammarians disagree on the interpretation of 有 in this verse. The writing strategy used in (13) is identical to (14) and (15), where 有 is read as *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* respectively.

(14)	磐代乃	野	中爾	立有	結松 . . .
	ipasiro-no	now	naka-ni	tat-eru	musubi-matu
	Ipashiro-GEN	field	center-DAT	stand-*(ye)ri*	knot-pine

"The knotting pine that stand in the middle of the field in Ipashiro . . ."
(MYS 2.144)

(15)	庭毛	薄太良爾	三雪	落有 . . .
	nipa-mo	padara-ni	mi-yuki	puri-tari
	garden-also	sparse-DAT	HONsnow	fall-*tari*

"The snow fall sparsely in the garden as well . . ."
(MYS 10.2318)

Notice that there is no apparent difference between (13) and (14). Both of them contain the verb *tatu* "stand" written with the logograph 立, followed by 有. The only reason that 有 in (13) is read as *ari* but in (14) as *–(ye)ri* is the number of moras; 河向立有之袖 in (13) and 野中爾立有結松 in (14) each need to be 12 moras in order for the entire poem to have 31 moras. However, it does not explain why 有 in (13) cannot be read as *–tari*, which has the same number of moras as *ari*. If it is possible to read V + 有 or V + 在 as either V*i* + *ari* or V + *–tari*, the total number of moras in a poem is not sufficient to determine the reading of the *ongana.* That is, we cannot determine whether the logograph V + 有 or 在 should be read as *–tari* or the non-contracted form of *–(ye)ri* (i.e., V*i* + *ari*) because the total number of moras in these two structures is identical.

In addition, it is possible semantically to interpret 有 either as a lexical verb or as a resultative marker (see examples (14) and (15)). For instance, (14) can mean "the pine that exists, standing in the middle of the field . . ." (有 as a lexical verb) or "the pine that has stood up (is standing)[11] in the middle of the field . . ." (有 as a resultative marker). Similarly, (15) can be also interpreted as "the snow exists sparsely fallen in the garden as well . . ." (lexical verb) or "the snow has fallen sparsely in the garden as well . . ." (resultative marker). That is, there is no semantic reason why the character cannot be read as *ari*.

In addition there are many examples where a negative form of the verb is followed by *–ari*, which is written with the logographs 有, 在, or with various *ongana.* This combination has a structural (and semantic)

resemblance to the Contemporary Japanese form ~*nai-de-iru* "be in a state of not doing ~." The following verses are some of the examples:

(16) 人言 茂 間 守跡 不相 在 . . .
potogoto(-no) sigeki ma moru-to apa-zu are(-ba)
rumor-NOM annoying period keep- meet- *ari-*
COMP NEG since

"If I not meet (the girl), watching out during the time that the rumor is annoying . . ."
(MYS 11.2591)

(17) . . . 山河 多延受 安良婆 . . .
yama gapa tape-zu ara-ba
mountain river disappear-NEG *ari*-if

"If the mountain and the river not disappear . . ."
(MYS 15.3619)

(18) 死者水苑 相 不見 在目 . . .
sin-aba-koso api mi-zu ara-me
die-since-PART each other see-NEG *ari*-MOD

"If you die, we will not see each other . . ."
(MYS 16.3792)

(19) 安必 意毛波受 安流良牟 伎美乎 . . .
api omopa-zu aru-ramu kimi-wo
each other adore-NEG *ari*-MOD you-ACC

"You, who seem not to love me back . . ."
(MYS 18.4075)

The verb that most frequently appears in this structure is *omopu* "think" (mono-grade), which appears five times, as listed below. The verb *apu* "meet" (quadrigrade) and *kopu* "long for" (quadrigrade) appear four times. In addition, *miru* "see, meet" (mono-grade) appears three times, while idu "exit" (quadrigrade), iku "go, leave" (quadrigrade), naku "cry" (quadrigrade), and tiru "fall" (quadrigrade) appear two times. Lastly, there are verbs that appear only once in this structure.[12]

- 5 occurrences of negative verb form plus *ari*
  - *omopu* "think" mono-grade

- 4 occurrences
  - *apu* "meet" quadrigrade
  - *kopu* "long for" quadrigrade
- 3 occurrences
  - *miru* "see, meet" mono-grade
- 2 occurrences
  - *idu* "exit" mono-grade
  - *iku* "go, leave" quadrigrade
  - *naku* "cry" quadrigrade
  - *tiru* "fall" quadrigrade
- 1 occurrences
  - *kayopu* "visit" quadrigrade
  - *kaparu* "change" quadrigrade
  - *kogu* "row" quadrigrade
  - *mazirapu* "come across, mingle" quadrigrade
  - *noru* "tell" quadrigrade
  - *saku* "bloom" quadrigrade
  - *simu* "sink in" quadrigrade
  - *tapu* "die out" bigrade
  - *tatu* "stand up" quadrigrade
  - *tugu* "continue" quadrigrade
  - *tukusu* "devote" quadrigrade
  - *yosopu* "care for" quadrigrade

These examples provide a new perspective on the nature of *–(ye)ri*. First, the examples show that a variety of verbs including monograde and bigrade verbs precede *ari*. It is possible that *–(ye)ri* can co-occur with bigrade verbs as long as the verbs are followed by the negative suffix *–zu*, though a bigrade verb directly preceding *–(ye)ri* is prohibited. However, negative forms of verbs + *–(ye)ri* still need to be taken into consideration when determining the semantic properties of *–(ye)ri*.

In addition, the claim that *–tari* occurs to avoid the hiatus created by the verb stem and *–ari* cannot be supported if the combination of the negative suffix *–zu* and *–ari*, which also creates a hiatus, is allowed. The hiatus resulting from *–zu* + *–ari* was later resolved by phonologically contracting them into a single form *–zari*. This process is identical to the process where the verb *ari* became the suffix *–(ye)ri* when following the conjunctive form of a verb. The important fact is that if the hiatus in *–zu* + *–ari* was allowed in the *Man'yōshū*, then the hiatus in a conjunctive form + *ari* (V*i* + *ari*) should have

been allowed as well. The reason why *–(ye)ri* does not follow bigrade verbs must be explained from a different angle. I will come back to this issue in a later section.

Problems with Technical Terminology in Previous Work

There are two major problems with the terminology used to express aspectual concepts in previous work on Pre-modern Japanese. First, since nobody clearly defines the term *kanryō*, the individual properties of each aspectual suffix have been defined in an ad hoc and often convoluted manner. Second, previous studies situate their terminology in no clear theoretical framework when they attempt to determine the aspectual values of individual verbs and those of their suffixes. Third, most fail to distinguish the meaning of the suffix and that of the verb that hosts it.

Previous proposals seem to claim that *–(ye)ri* had some sort of resultative function. As I discussed in Chapter 1, we would expect a true resultative marker to appear only with [+telic] verbs, since it is semantically necessary that a result must follow on an action. At first glance this semantic prediction appears to be counterexemplified: Sandness claims that *–(ye)ri* co-occurs with state verbs, marking what Sandness calls "stative aspect." Sandness provides the following examples.

(20) 紫草能 保敝類 妹乎[13] . . .
murasaki-no nipop-yeru imo-wo
violet-GEN smell-*(ye)ri* lover-ACC

"My lover who smell like a violet . . ."
(MYS 1.21)

(21) 美都煩奈須 . . . 身曽等波 之禮禮抒母[14] . . .
mitubo-nasu mi-zo-to-wa sir-ere-domo . . .
bubble-like body-KPRT-CONJ-TOP know-*(ye)ri*-although

"Although I know my body is like a bubble of water . . ."
(MYS 20.4470)

(22) 阿須可 河泊 之多 爾其禮留乎[15] . . .
asuka gapa sita nigor-eru-wo
Asuka river bottom be cloudy-*(ye)ri*-ACC

"That the bottom of Asuka River be cloudy . . ."
(MYS 14.3544)

(23)	奈禮毛	安禮毛	知余乎曽	母氏流 . . .
	nare-mo	are-mo	tiyo-wo-zo	mot-eru
	you-also	I-also	child of the same age-ACC-PART	have-*(ye)ri*

"Both you and I have children who are the same age . . ."
(MYS 14.3440)

Sandness assumes here that *nipop-* "smell," *nigor-* "be cloudy," and *mot-* "have" are state verbs. The problem with this analysis is that none of them are state verbs in Contemporary Japanese, even though their English translational equivalents are. In addition, it is unclear how regular resultative expressions of this type differ from the verb *sir-* "to get to know" plus *–(ye)ri*, which Sandness claims expresses "the existing condition from the result of punctual verbs." This statement suggests that she believes that the verb *siru* is a "punctual" verb. In other words, if one needs to express the sense that the English verb "know" signifies, the verb *sir-* must always be in resultative form.

This is indeed the case with the Contemporary Japanese equivalent *siru*, which is usually used in the resultative form *sit-te iru*. Along the same lines, one can also argue that *nipopu* "smell," *nigoru* "be cloudy" (or "get cloudy" to be more accurate), and *mot-* "have (or "hold" to be accurate)" are also "punctual" verbs (i.e., achievement verbs) and that they must take resultative aspect in order to designate a state resulting from a punctual event. Furthermore, the data from the *Manyōshū* suggests that *nipop-* and *motu* were [+dynamic]; i.e., they were not state verbs.

Filip (1999), Olsen (1997), and Smith (1991, 1997), among others, note that imperatives are incompatible with stative aspect, since imperative sentences require dynamic situations. That is, state verbs are predicted not to occur in imperative sentences. However, the following examples show that *nipopu* and *motu* were used in imperative sentences in the *Manyōshū*.

(24)	. . . 白管自	吾尓	尼保波尼	妹尓	示 . . .
	sira tutuzi	ware-ni	nipopa-ne	imo-ni	simesa-(mu)
	white azalea	I-DAT	smell-IMPTIVE	lover-DAT	show(-MOD)

". . . white azalea, give me your smell, because I want to show (your scent) to my lover."
(MYS 9.1694)

(25) . . . 其呂母 宇思奈波受 毛弖礼 和我 世故
goromo usinapa-zu mot-ere wa-ga sekwo
robes lose-NEG hold-*(ye)ri*(IMPTVE) I-GEN lover

". . . My love, hold onto my robes and don't lose (them)!" (MYS 15.3751)

In short, all the examples that Sandness quotes are additional examples of contexts where the phrase in question has a resultative interpretation, not "stative" aspect.

Sandness also claims that example (26) below can be interpreted as progressive, although she acknowledges the possibility that it might be interpreted as resultative. This ambiguity can be resolved easily because the word *opu* "bear" is also an achievement verb in Contemporary Japanese, and disallows a progressive reading. Therefore, it is likely that (26) is also an example of *–(ye)ri* expressing resultative aspect.

(26) . . . 圖 負留 神 龜毛 . . .
pumi op-yeru ayasiki kame-mo
patterns bear-*(ye)ri* strange turtle-also

". . . the strange turtle that carry patterns (on the shell) also . . ." (MYS 1.50)

To summarize, all the examples that Sandness provides can be considered as involving resultative aspect rather than "stative" or progressive. However, we will see that it is oversimplistic to say that *–(ye)ri* was a resultative marker in the *Man'yōshū* period. I will examine the distribution of *–(ye)ri* in the *Man'yōshū* and define the aspectual properties of this suffix in the next chapter.

The Distribution of *–(ye)ri* in the *Man'yōshū*

The Data

There are 211 occurrences of *–(ye)ri* and 80 of *–tari* written in *ongana* in the *Manyōshū*. In previous research that also examines the token frequency of these suffixes, it is usually claimed that there are 594 occurrences of *–(ye)ri* and 167 occurrences of *–tari* (Yoshida 1973). Of the 594 cases of *–(ye)ri*, 133 are actually not written at all; they are

the products of philological interpretation. 250 cases are written with logographs (either 有 or 在). As mentioned above, I have included only examples written with *ongana* in my analysis, since these are the only cases where we can identify the suffix uncontroversially. There are no examples where the preceding verb stem is in *ongana* and the following aspectual affix is written in logographs, although I discussed this earlier as a possible orthographic context in which we could unambiguously determine the phonetic value of the marker.

In addition, all the examples of the non-contracted form of *–tari*, i.e., *–te ari* are also included in my sample, as long as they are written in either (1) *ongana* alone or (2) *–te* in *ongana*, followed by a logograph (i.e., *–te* 有 or *–te* 在). The examples written using the second type of writing have been included because the existence of *–te* before the logograph is sufficient to mark these as instances of *–te ari*, in contrast to affixes solely written as 有 or 在, which are ambiguous between *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*.

I also reiterate here that the mora count of each poem cannot always resolve the ambiguity that the adaptation of logographic orthography introduces. Since the mora count of V*i* + *–ari* is the same as that of V + *–tari*, the total number of moras in a poem would be the same regardless the choice of the suffix. The following list shows the verbs that occur with *–(ye)ri* (total of 194 occurrences).

- 17 occurrences
  - *saku* "to bloom" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- 13 occurrences
  - *nipopu* "to smell" quadrigrade; activity
- 9 occurrences
  - *apu* "to meet" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *omopu* "to think" quadrigrade; activity
- 8 occurrences
  - *nasu* "to do" quadrigrade; activity
  - *tatu* "to stand up" quadrigrade; achievement
- 6 occurrences
  - *masu* "to sit down" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *opu* "to bear" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *tamapu* "to give" quadrigrade; achievement
- 5 occurrences
  - *puru* "to fall" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *oku* "to put down" quadrigrade; achievement

- 4 occurrences
  - *obasu* "to put on as a belt" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *teru* "to shine" quadrigrade; achievement
- 3 occurrences
  - *paru* "to put on, glue on" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *pupumu* "to include/enclose" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *iku* "to go" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *kazasu* "to decorate with flowers" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *koyasu* "to lay down" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *motu* "to hold" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *tanabiku* "to float" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *tukuru* "to make" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- 2 occurrences
  - *pyedatu* "to separate (vt.)" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *piripu* "to pick up" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *kyesu* "to put on" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *kwomoru* "to get enclosed/locked" in quadrigrade; achievement
  - *masaru* "to exceed" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *mopu* "to think" quadrigrade; activity
  - *nabiku* "to flow" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *naru* "to become" ra-irregular; achievement
  - *nupu* "to sew" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *suru* "to rub" quadrigrade; semelfactive
  - *tatasu* "to rise, stand up" sa-irregular; accomplishment
  - *topasu* "to ask" sa-irregular; accomplishment
  - *yadworu* "to stay" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *yodomu* "to stagnate" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *yoru* "to approach" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *yuku* "to go" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- 1 occurrence
  - *pyedatu* "to get separated" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *puku* "to blow" quadrigrade; semelfactive
  - *pusu* "to lay down" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *ipu* "to say" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *kapyesu* "to return (vt)" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *kakasu* "to hang, construct" sa-irregular; accomplishment
  - *kakusu* "to hide" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *katuraku* "to put on wigs" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *karu* "to mow" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *karu* "to disguise" quadrigrade; achievement

- *kaworu* "to emit scent" quadrigrade; activity
- *kiku* "to listen to" quadrigrade; activity
- *kirapu* "to get foggy" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *kiru* "to put on" monograde; accomplishment
- *kitaru* "to put on clothes" loosely quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *kwosu* "to cross" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *kudaru* "to descent" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *matwopasu* "to confuse" quadrigrade; achievement
- *matwopu* "to worry" quadrigrade; activity
- *maziru* "to get" mixed up quadrigrade; achievement
- *maku* "to spread" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *masu* "to increase" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *mature* "to give" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *meguru* "to go around" quadrigrade; activity
- *momitu* "(leaves) to turn colors" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *musubu* "to tie" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *nagasu* "to drain" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *nasu* "to make (it) happen" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *nigoru* "to dull, cloud" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *noru* "to say, tell" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *nuku* "to pull out" quadrigrade; achievement
- *nuru* "to paint" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *oposu* "to plant" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *opotoru* "to spread" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *omoposu* "to think" quadrigrade; activity
- *paku* "to put on" quadrigrade/bigrade; achievement
- *sawagu* "to make noises" quadrigrade; activity
- *sagaru* "to hang down" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sasu* "to pierce" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sayaru* "to touch" quadrigrade; achievement
- *siku* "to spread" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *sinubosu* "to long for" sa-irregular; activity
- *siru* "to learn, get to know" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sudaku* "to gather" quadrigrade; achievement
- *takasiru* "to build, govern" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *tirapu* "to scatter" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *toposu* "to go through" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *tugu* "to continue/succeed" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tukaumaturu* "to serve" quadrigrade; activity
- *tumu* "to culminate" quadrigrade; achievement

- *uku* "to float" quadrigrade; achievement
- *unagu* "to put on the neck" quadrigrade; achievement
- *watasu* "to let cross" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *woworu* "to become bushy" quadrigrade; accomplishment

The Syntactic Analysis

This list reveals how the generalization that *–(ye)ri* can be used only with quadrigrade verbs, sa-irregular, and monograde verbs arose, since the verbs that host *–(ye)ri* are indeed quadrigrade verbs, sa-irregular verbs, and a monograde verb.

In addition, there are a number of verbs that can host both *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* as below:

- *saku* "to bloom"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 17
  - frequency with *–tari*: 7
- *omopu* "to think"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 9
  - frequency with *–tari*: 5
- *puru* "to fall"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 5
  - frequency with *–tari*: 1
- *oku* "to put on"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 5
  - frequency with *–tari*: 1
- *teru* "to shine"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 4
  - frequency with *–tari*: 2
- *pupumu* "to contain"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 3
  - frequency with *–tari*: 1
- *iku* "to go"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 3
  - frequency with *–tari*: 2
- *tukuru* "to make"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 3
  - frequency with *–tari*: 1
- *pyedatu* "to separate"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 2
  - frequency with *–tari*: 1

- *kiku* "to listen"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 1
  - frequency with *–tari*: 2
- *tugu* "to continue/succeed"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 1
  - frequency with *–tari*: 2
- *mazirapu* "to mingle," *sasu* "to pierce," *watasu* "to cross"
  - frequency with *–(ye)ri*: 1
  - frequency with *–tari*: 1

The reason that *–(ye)ri* does not co-occur with bigrade verbs may be related to the origin of the bigrade conjugation pattern, which is much less frequent than other conjugation patterns in Old Japanese. Whitman (2008) claims that the bigrade conjugation arose from the attachment of the verb *u* "get," whose attested shapes are identical to the lower bigrade verbs, onto verb and adjectival stems. This explains why many of the bigrade verbs have an "inchoative" meaning, as in *aka–* "red" + *e–* "get" > *ake–* "get red" (Whitman 2008:170). That is, the bigrade verbs are usually achievement verbs. Given their semantic nature, the bigrade verbs would most likely select a resultative marker to express the state after an event takes place.

Therefore, the bigrade verbs host *–tari*, which I claim to be a resultative marker in Chapter 4, rather than *–(ye)ri*.

Semantic analysis: –(ye)ri *as an imperfective marker*

The list in the previous section has shown that *–(ye)ri* can co-occur with all semantic types of verbs. The typical usage of *–(ye)ri* in the *Man'yōshū* can be exemplified by the following verses.

(27)

安波牟	日能	可多美尓	世与等 . . .
apa-mu	hi-no	katami-ni	se-yo-to
see-MOD	day-GEN	memorabilia-DAT	make-PART-COMP

奴敝流	許呂母曽
nup-yeru	robe-DECR
sew-*(ye)ri*	koromo-zo

"(This) is the robe that . . .(I) sew as a memento for the day we see (each other again)"
(MYS 15.3753)

(28)

安麻能我	波々志	和多世良波	曽能	倍由母
amanogapa	pasi	wata-s-era-ba	so-no	peyu-mo
Milky Way	bridge	go across-CAUS-*(ye)ri*-if	that-GEN	above-even

伊和多良佐 . . .
iwatara-sa-mu
go cross-HON-MOD

"If (we) make a bridge go across the Milky Way, (you) could even walk over it . . ."
(MYS 18.4126)

Example (27) is a poem composed by a woman called Sano-no Otogami-no Otome, who was having an affair with a married man called Nakatomi-no Yakamori.

The poem was given to Yakamori to accompany a gift (a robe made by Sano-no Otogami-no Otome). Therefore, it is most reasonable to interpret *nup-yeru* as "have sewn (so that it is now done and wearable)"; that is, the suffix *–(ye)ri* indicates resultative aspect in this example. In example (28), the bridge must already be made in order to cross over the Milky Way. Therefore, *watase-ra* should be interpreted as "has made cross"; the suffix *–(ye)ri* signifies a result (i.e., the bridge over the Milky Way is made) of a past action (making the bridge).

In addition, *–(ye)ri* appears to be ambiguous between resultative and progressive in some examples. However, it requires a careful examination to determine whether *–(ye)ri* can signify progressive aspect. For example, *sak-yeri* in examples (29) and (30) appears to be ambiguous at first glance.

(29)

奈泥之故波	秋	咲	物乎	君	宅之
nadesiko-pa	aki	saku	mono-wo	kimi-ga	ipe-no
Large pink-TOP	autumn	bloom	thing-but	you-GEN	house-GEN

雪	巌尓	左家理
yuki(-no)	ipapo-ni	sak-yeri
snow(-GEN)	rock-DAT	bloom-*(ye)ri*

"Large pink (a plant) is a thing that (usually) blooms in autumn, but it blooms on the snowy rock in your house."
(MYS 19.4231)

(30)

. . . 左加里爾	散家留	牟梅能	波奈	知流 . . .
sakari-ni	sak-yeru	ume-no	hana	tiru
prime-DAT	bloom-*(ye)ri*	plum-GEN	flower	scatter

". . . the flowers of the plum tree that bloom in its prime scatter . . ."
(MYS 5.851)

These examples seem to allow two aspectual interpretations (progressive and resultative), since it is difficult to identify the semantic type of the verb *saku* in Old Japanese. However, a series of syntactic tests indicate that the verb *saku* in Contemporary Japanese is a [+telic] verb. First, Filip (1999); Hollebrandse, van Hout, and Vet (2002); and Smith (1991, 1997), among others, point out that [+telic] verbs are compatible with an *in*-phrase (such as *in one hour*) but not compatible with *for* phrases (such as *for one hour*), while the opposite is true of atelic verbs. In fact, *saku* in Contemporary Japanese is only compatible with *in*-phrases as shown by the following examples:

(31)

一時間で	花が	咲いた。
itizikan-de	hana-ga	sai-ta
One hour-in	flower-NOM	bloom-PFCTVE

"In one hour, the flower bloomed."

(32)

*一時間	花が	咲いた。
itizikan	hana-ga	sai-ta
One hour	flower-NOM	bloom-PFCTVE

"*For one hour, the flower bloomed."

Certainly, it is possible that the semantic type of *saku* in Old Japanese differs from that of Contemporary Japanese. However, there are examples that show that *saku* plus *–(ye)ri* indeed indicates resultative aspect. In example (30), *sak-yeru* appears in a context where the plum flowers passed their prime, and they died.

Therefore, *sak-yeru* in this verse must mean "the plum flowers have bloomed," but not "the plum flowers are in bloom."

The same phrase in example (29) also seems to be ambiguous between progressive (*is blooming*) and resultative (*has bloomed*). However, note that the English translation "the flower is blooming" does not really indicate progressive aspect. Instead, it indicates either that the flower is in the process of opening its petals (i.e., the preliminary stage of the event) or a state whereby the flower is in bloom. In fact, it makes more sense to interpret (29) as meaning that the flowers of the large pink have opened their petals despite the cold weather and caught the poet's eyes. Thus, I believe that it is very likely that the phrase *sak-yeri* in the *Man'yōshū* usually indicates resultative aspect.

In addition, the verb *puru* "fall" plus *–(ye)ri* (i.e., *pur-eri*) also shows similar ambiguity.

(33)

. . . 米都良之久	布礼留	大雪	莫踏祢	乎之
medurasiku	pur-eru	opoyuki	na-pumi-so-ne	wosi
unusually	fall-*(ye)ri*	large snow	not-step on-not-want	precious

". . . I beg (you) not to step on the large quantity of snow which fall unsually, too precious (to spoil)!"
(MYS 19.4285)

(34)

河渚尓母	雪波	布礼々	宮
kapasu-ni-mo	yuki-pa	pur-ere	miya(-no)
river bank-DAT-also	snow-TOP	fall-*(ye)ri*	palace-GEN

裏	智杼利	鳴 . . .
uti(-ni)	tidori	naku
inside-DAT	bird	chirp

"The snow fall on the river bank as well (so that) the birds chirp inside of the palace (since there is nowhere else to go) . . ."
(MYS 19.4288)

Both examples (33) and (34) were composed by Otomo-no Yakamochi, who was working in the imperial palace at night. In example (33), *–(ye)ri* must be resultative (i.e., "has fallen"), since Otomo-no Yakamochi is trying to warn people not to step on newly fallen snow.

On the other hand, in example (34), *pur-ere* can be interpreted as "the snow is falling on the river bank" as well as "the snow has fallen on the river bank." However, Yakamochi composed another piece on the same night, where the verb *puru* is followed by the suffix –*tutu*, which indicates simultaneity.

(35)	鶯波	之波	奈吉尓之乎	雪波	布利都々
	ugupisu-pa	siba	naki-ni-si-wo	yuki-pa	puri-tutu
	bush warbler	vigorously	shirp-PART-PFCTVE-but	snow-TOP	fall-*tutu*

"Bush warblers were vigorously chirping (yesterday), but it is snowing now!"
(MYS 19.4286)

If example (34) also indicates a progressive event (i.e., snowing), it is difficult to explain why progressive is expressed with a completely different structure (i.e., *puru* plus *tutu*) in (35), which was composed on the same occasion.

In addition, both examples (33) and (34) are accompanied by a note written by the poet. The note for example (33) says "This is a poem I made when it snowed heavily on the 11th. The snow accumulated 14 inches," whereas the note for (34) says "this is a poem I made when I went to the Imperial palace and heard a bush warbler's voice on the 12th." This suggests that *pur-eru* in (33) and *pur-ere* (34) most likely mean "the snow has fallen," since the poet Otomo-no Yakamochi composed these poems as an afterthought upon witnessing the snow storm. This further supports my claim that *pur-* plus *–(ye)ri* in *Man'yōshū* functioned as a resultative construction.

While the above examples are probably resultatives, the following verse demonstrates that *–(ye)ri* can indeed indicate progressive.

(36)	. . . 射去為登	船曾	動流
	izarisu-to	pune-zo	sawak-yeru
	fish-CONJ	ship-PART	move around-*(ye)ri*

". . . a ship move around (is moving around) in order to fish . . .
(MYS 6.939)

The situation described in this verse is one where a ship in the ocean is moving about here and there, trying to find a good spot for fishing. Therefore, it is very difficult to read *–(ye)ri* as resultative in this verse. The most natural reading is progressive, as I propose.

In addition, it is also possible that *–(ye)ri* indicates a state (i.e., imperfective) or habitually repeating situation (habitual).

(37)

. . . 人	子者	祖	名	不絶
pito(-no)	kwo-pa	oya(-no)	na	tata-zu
people (-GEN)	child-TOP	parents (-GEN)	name	continue-NEG

大君爾	麻都呂布	物能等	伊比	都雅流 . . .
opokimi-ni	maturopu	mono-to	ipi	tug-yeru
lord-DAT	serve	thing-COMP	say	continue-*(ye)ri*

". . . (they) continue to say that the children of the people should serve the lord without ruining their parents' reputations . . ."
(MYS 18.4094)

(38)

遊士跡	吾者	聞流乎	屋戸	不借
miyabiwo-to	ware-pa	kik-yeru-wo	yadwo	kasa-zu
chic man-COMP	I-TOP	hear-*(ye)ri*-ACC	house	NEG-lend

吾乎	還利	於曽能	風流士
ware-wo	kapyes-eri	oso-no	miyabiwo
I-ACC	make return-*(ye)ri*	fool-GEN	chic man

"I hear that (he is a) man with taste, (but he) makes me leave without lending me a room (for the night), that foolish man of taste!"
(MYS 2.126)

The suffix *–(ye)ri* in (37) is used in a situation where people continue to say that one should serve the lord. Therefore, *–(ye)ri* indicates either a state (i.e., imperfective) or habitual. In (38), the first *–(ye)ri* following *kik–* "hear" appears in a context where the author has heard a rumor that the master of the house has great taste.

In this example *–(ye)ri* can be interpreted as habitual or perfect, since hearing the rumor could be a habitual event that repeatedly happened in the past, or it could be an event that has relevance to the present situation (i.e., the author expects that the master must offer him a room). In fact, there are other examples in which *–(ye)ri* indicates perfect or a mere past event. The following verse exemplifies such cases.

(39) 聞津哉登　　妹之　　問勢流 . . .
kiki-tu-ya-to　　imo-no　　top-yeru
hear-PFCTIVE-PART-COMP　　lover-NOM　　ask-*(ye)ri*

雁鳴者　　雲　　隠
kari(-ga)ne-pa　　kumo　　kakuru
geese(-GEN) voice-TOP　　cloud　　hide

"The geese, whose voices my lover ask whether I heard . . . are hiding in the clouds"
(MYS 8.1563)

In this example, *–(ye)ri* appears in a context where the author's lover asks the author whether he heard the geese, but the geese are now gone in the clouds. That is, *–(ye)ri* indicates the perfect aspect, where the past event (hearing the geese) has a relevance to the present situation (the geese cannot be seen). In addition, *–(ye)ri* can also be interpreted as signifying a past event without any explicit indication of the completion of the event. This is a common function of an imperfective marker in many languages, including Russian. In fact, all of the usages presented above are usually associated with imperfective markers. As discussed in Chapter 1, the functions of an imperfective marker are (1) resultative, (2) perfect, (3) progressive, and (4) imperfective/neutral. The following examples show that Russian imperfective can indicate all four of these functions:

(40) Dom　　kryvši　　drankoj
house　　cover:IMP　　shingles

"The house is roofed with shingles."
(resultative: Maslov 1988:68)

(41) Vy　　už　　zakazyvali?
you:PL　　already　　order:IMP:PAST.pl

"Have you ordered yet?"　　(perfect: Swan 1977:522)

(42) Ja uže čital ètu povest.
I already read:IMP:PAST:MS this:FEM:ACC novella:FEM:ACC

I have already read this novella. (perfect: Swan 1977:522)

(43) Ždem teb'a.
wait:IMP:PRES-1.pl you:ACC

"We are waiting for you." (progressive: Binnick 1991:295)

(44) Ona dolgo smotrela na fotografii
She for a long time look:PAST:IMP at photographs:ACC

"She looked at the photos for a long time."
(imperfective: Sonnenhauser 2004:3)

Furthermore, since *–(ye)ri* is used in both past and non-past tenses, I conclude that *–(ye)ri* is an imperfective marker which does not indicate tense. I will show later that the past imperfective was expressed by the suffix *–kyeri*, which derives from the combination of the verb *ku* "come" and *–(ye)ri*.

In addition to verbs, the logographs 有 and 在 follow adjectives, such as *nasi* "not existing"(3 examples) or nagasi "long" (2 examples), as well as toposi "far," kanasi "sad," sigesi "bushy," and tikasi "far" (1 example each).

Although *ari* seems to be a lexical verb in most of the examples, it can be interpreted as an aspect marker in the following two cases:

(45) . . . 君爾 依而有 言之 故毛 無有 . . .
kimi-ni yori-te-pa koto-no yupe-mo naku ari
you- depart- word- accident- non-existing
DAT CONJ-TOP GEN PART *ari*

". . . from you, accident of words (misunderstanding) be non-existing . . ."
(MYS 13.3288)

(46) 打蝉之 命乎 長有 . . .
utusemi-no inoti-wo nagaku are . . .
epithet life-ACC long *ari*

"(May) human life be long . . ."
(MYS 13.3292)

In example (45), since *ari* follows the antonym *naki*, it is very difficult to read *ari* as a lexical verb; rather, *ari* indicates a state where there is no misunderstanding; that is, misunderstanding is nonexistent. In example (46), while it is still possible to read *ari* as a lexical verb (i.e., life "exists" for a long period), it is more natural to read it as indicating a state whereby life is long-lasting.

These forms (adjectives followed by *ari*) eventually led to the so-called "*kari*-conjugation forms" of adjectives in Early Middle Japanese, shown in Table 2.2. The *kari*-conjugation forms have the same conjugation pattern as *ari*.

Table 2.2. The conjugation pattern of the adjective nagasi "long" in Early Middle Japanese

	naga	
label/function	**main infection**	***kari*-inflectioal**
mizen (irrealis)	*nagaku*	*nagakara*
ren'yō (conjunctive)	*nagaku*	*nagakari*
syuusi (conclusive)	*nagasi*	
rentai (attributive)	*nagaki*	*nagakaru*
izen (realis)	*nagakere*	
meirei (imperative)		*nagakare*

In fact, Japanese grammarians derive the *kari*-conjugation forms from adjective stem + the verb *ari*, a structure parallel to adjective + copula. The *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten* (Omodaka et al. 1967) states that since adjective stems could not be directly followed by verbal suffixes, *ari* was attached to adjectives in order to avoid this morphosyntactic limitation (i.e., to make possible adjective stem + *ari* + suffix). I suggest that the plain conclusive forms of adjectives (*naga-si* "long," for example) and adjective + *ari*/*-(ye)ri* (i.e., *nagaku-ari*/*nagak-yeri*) initially had a semantic difference. It is very plausible that the plain conclusive forms were the equivalent of the plain present tense forms of verbs, whereas adjective + *ari*/*-(ye)ri* was the equivalent of present imperfective forms. This distinction resembles the perfective/imperfective contrast expressible by copula + adjective in Romance and Slavic languages, illustrated by (47) and (48) in French.

(47) Il a été beau.
It was[PF] pretty (but is no longer).

(48) Il était beau.
It was[IMF] pretty (and still may be).

My claim that *–(ye)ri* marks imperfective aspect does not necessarily contradict the observations of Japanese grammarians. Previous analyses often have difficulty distinguishing the semantics of *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*, since the data suggests that the meanings of the two suffixes appear to be synonymous in some contexts, even though they have different functions in others. For example, there are many examples showing that both suffixes can indicate resultative aspect. This is not because *–(ye)ri* is a resultative marker but because it is an imperfective marker, whose various functions include marking resultative aspect, as we saw in Chapter 1.

To conclude this section, I would like to compare the suffix *–(ye)ri* with the plain present forms of verbs, since there are many languages, including French, Spanish, and German, where present tense forms of verbs are the only present imperfective markers. This is a consequence of the logical incompatibility of the present tense and perfective aspect. That is, if a situation is happening in the present, it cannot be perfective; thus, present tense is inherently imperfective. Therefore, it is redundant to have two separate markers, one of which indicates imperfective present, and the other of which indicates plain present tense.

I found that plain present forms are used to indicate three different aspectual and temporal meanings in the *Man'yōshū*. The first one is the habitual/generic reading, which is similar to the English present tense as well as the Contemporary Japanese non-past tense forms, as exemplified by (51).

(49)

宇能	花能	佐久	都奇	多知奴 . . .
u-no	pana-no	sak-u	tukwi	tati-nu
deutzia crenate-GEN	flower-GEN	bloom-PRES	month	come-nu

"The month that deutzia crenate bloom (i.e., April) has come . . ."
(MYS 17.4066)

(50)

冬	隠	春	開	花
puyu	komori	paru	sak-u	pana
winter	hide	spring	bloom-PRES	flower

"The flower that hides in the winter and bloom in the spring . . ."
(MYS 9.1891)

(51)

桜は、	春に	咲く。
sakura-wa	haru-ni	sak-u
cherry-TOP	spring-DAT	bloom-NON PAST

"The cherry bloom in the spring."

In addition, plain present forms can indicate the future tense as in (52), which is identical to the Contemporary Japanese non-past tense forms in (53).

(52)

. . . 花	咲	及二	不合	君 . . .
pana	sak-u	made-ni	apa-nu	kimi
flower	bloom-PRES until-DAT	meet-NEG you		

". . . my dear (=you) whom (I) do not see until the flower bloom . . ."
(MYS 10.1930)

(53)

三年後に	新しい	橋が	できるまで、
san nen go-ni	atarasii	hasi-ga	dekir-u-made
three year after-DAT	new	bridge-NOM	make-PRES-until

船を	使って	ください。
fune-o	tukat-te	kudasai
ship-ACC	use	please

"Please use the ship until the new bridge (will) be built[16] three years from now."

Lastly, plain present forms can indicate present imperfective aspect.

(54)

去年	咲之	久木	今	開 . . .
kozo	saki-si	pisagwi	ima	sak-u
last year	bloom-ki	Mallotus	now	bloom-PRES

"The Mallotus tree that bloom last year bloom now."
(MYS 10.1863)

(55) . . . 石乍自 木丘 開 道乎 又 将見 . . .
ipatutuzi mok-u sak-u miti-wo mata mi-mu
Rhododendron grow bloom- road- again see-
PRES ACC MOD

". . . would (I) see the road (on) which the Rhododendron is wildly in bloom again?"
(MYS 2.185)

Since plain present forms can indicate imperfective aspect, they appear in contexts similar to those in which the suffix *–(ye)ri* is used. That is, the function of the suffix *–(ye)ri* overlaps to a certain extent with that of the plain present form of verbs. Compare (56) and (57) with (54) and (55).

(56) . . . 努都可佐爾 伊麻 左家流 . . .
nwodukasa-ni ima sak-yeru
hill-DAT now bloom-*(ye)ri*

". . . (the patrinia) is in bloom on the hill . . ."
(MYS 10.4316)

(57) . . . 塩気能味 香乎禮流 国爾 . . .
sipo-kye-nomi kapor-eru kuni-ni
salt-scent-only smell-*(ye)ri* country-DAT

". . . to the country that smell of the scent of salt . . ."
(MYS 2.162)

As Japanese grammarians observe, the frequency with which *–(ye)ri* is used gradually decreases after in EMJ. There are thus very few examples of *–(ye)ri* in the *Genji monogatari*. I believe that this is due to two reasons. First, the past imperfective, which is semantically more salient than present imperfective, was usually expressed by *–kyeri*, the past tense form of *–(ye)ri*. Therefore, *–(ye)ri* only appears as the imperfective marker in the present tense, and as we have seen, imperfectivity is standardly expressed by the plain present tense. At the same time, as the new suffix *–tari* develops, it takes over most of the functions of *–(ye)ri*. As a consequence of these developments, eventually the suffix *–(ye)ri* was lost.

To summarize, I have proposed that the suffix *–(ye)ri* is an imperfective marker, which co-occurs with a variety of verbs and adjectives.

In addition, *–(ye)ri*, which originates from the combination of V + *ari*, still appears in the 8th century in either its contracted (i.e., *–(ye)ri*) or uncontracted (i.e., *–ari*) forms in the *Man'yōshū*,. This is a very typical distributional pattern for a form in the process of grammaticalization.

–KI AND *–KYERI*

The Origins of *–ki* and *–kyeri*

It is said that the suffix *–ki* originates from the verb *ku* "come" (e.g., Yoshida 1973). However, the conjugation pattern of the suffix suggests that its development is probably more complex, since the forms of the suffix resemble the verb *ku* as well as the verb *su* "do, be" as can be seen in Table 2.3. This conjugation irregularity is probably due to two originally separate conjugation patterns merging into one (Iwai 1970, Kouji 1980, Tsunoji 1975, and Yoshida 1973).

Table 2.3. The conjugation patterns of the suffix *–ki*, the verb *ku*, and the verb *su*

	form		
function	***–ki***	***ku***	***su***
mizen (irrealis)	*se or kye*	*ko*	*se*
ren'yō (conjunctive)		*ki*	*si*
syuusi (terminal)	*ki*	*ku*	*su*
rentai (attributive)	*si*	*kuru*	*suru*
izen (realis)	*sika*	*kure*	*sure*
meirei (imperative)		*ko*	*se*

Yoshida speculates that the conjunctive form of the verb *su* (i.e., *si*) had an emphatic function, following other verbs and adjectives, whereas the conjunctive form of the verb *ku* (i.e., *ki*) was the second component of a verbal compound, which has the structure $V_1 + V_2$. He suggests that the emphatic *–si* used with verbs was reanalyzed as a past tense marker. He excludes *–si* appearing with adjectives from this reanalysis, claiming that adjectives are unrelated to temporal interpretation. In terms of the verb *ku*, Yoshida focuses on a compound pattern where a lexical verb is followed by *ku*. He states that the compounds were reanalyzed as *shinkō* "progressive," which indicates "continu-

ing toward the current presence," claiming that this development is parallel to *kur-* "come" (the Contemporary Japanese equivalent of *–ku*) as an aspect marker. Yoshida also notices examples where the compounds appear with the suffix *–nu*, which is usually considered a *kanryō* "perfect" suffix, and concludes that the combination of *shinkō* and *kanryō* eventually came to indicate "past" and "recollection."

It is generally believed that *–kyeri* is a combination of the conjunctive form *–ki* of the verb *ku* (or the suffix *–ki*, which is derived from *ku*) and the verb *ari* (or the suffix *–(ye)ri*, which is derived from *ari*) (Iwai 1970 and Tsunoji 1975). In fact, the conjugation pattern of *–kyeri* is identical to that of the verb *ari* as given in Table 2.4.[17]

Table 2.4. The conjugation patterns of and *–kyeri* and the verb *ari*

	form	
function	***–kyeri***	***ari***
mizen (irrealis)	*kyera*	*ara*
ren'yō (conjunctive)		*ari*
shūsi (terminal)	*kyeri*	*ari*
rentai (attributive)	*kyeru*	*aru*
izen (realis)	*kyere*	*are*
meirei (imperative)		*are*

Both *–ki* and *–kyeri* follow the conjunctive form of verbs. However, *–ki* shows an irregular connection pattern when it is combined with the verb *ku* or *su*. When the attributive or the realis forms of *–ki* (i.e., *–si* and *–sika* respectively) follow *ku* or *su*, the irrealis forms of the verbs (i.e., *ko* or *se*) are used (i.e., *ko-si/ko-sika* and *se-si/sesika* respectively) instead of the conjunctive forms, although the regular forms (i.e., where the conjunctive form of the verb precedes the suffix *–ki*) are also attested for the verb *ku* (i.e., *ki-si/ki-sika*). In addition, a peculiar syntactic distribution which seems to reflect the origin of *–ki* is observed; only *kye* and *ki* follow the verb *su* (i.e., *se*, *si* and *sika* never follow the verb *su*), whereas only *se*, *si* and *sika* can be used with the verb *ku* (i.e., *ke* and *ki* never follow the verb *ku*). Lastly, two different irrealis forms of *–ki* are attested. The form *–kye* seems to be the older one; it appears a handful of times in the *Kojiki*,[18] *Nihongi*,[19] and *Man'yōshū*.

Previous Accounts of the Semantics of *–ki*

In the past, three main analyses of the function of *–ki* have been proposed. The first analysis, adopted by Yamaguchi (1985). Konoshima (1973), and Matsuo (1978) results from examining the function of each conjugation form of *–ki* in order to identify the function of the suffix. The second approach adopted by Hirohama (1969), Yoshida (1973), and Iwai (1970) contrasts *–ki* and *–kyeri*, by focusing on various contexts where the suffixes are used. The third approach is that of Sandness (1999), who does not contrast *–ki* and *–kyeri*, claiming that the two suffixes have no semantic resemblance.

In terms of actual proposals about the semantics of *–ki*, three main claims have been made. The first is that *–ki* is a perfect marker similar to *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*. The second is that the suffix *–ki* is a past tense marker which indicates *keiken kaisō* (recollection of experience) as opposed to *–kyeri*, which is used for *denbun kaisō* (recollection of hearsay) and *eitan* (admiration). The third claim is that the suffix *–ki* is a remote past.

Yamaguchi (1985), Konoshima (1973), and Matsuo (1978)

Yamaguchi (1985) divides the conjugation forms of *–ki* into two categories; the *sa*-type—those derived from *su* (i.e., *–se*, *–si* and *–sika*)—and the *ka*-type—those derived from *ku* (i.e., *–ki* and *–kye*). He claims that the *sa*-type forms differ semantically from the *ka*-type due to the difference in their origins. He argues that *–si* and *–sika* indicate "the continuation of an action or an effect or the remainder of the result, a function similar to those of *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*," whereas *–ki* and *–kye* indicate "the continuation of an action or an effect from the past to the present, which resembles *–kyeri*." Yamaguchi also points out that the irrealis form of the suffix *–se* is often used in counterfactual/conditional constructions followed by the particle *–ba* "if."

He quotes the following examples:

(58) . . . 之伎乃 鳴 事毛 不所聞有世者 . . .
sigi-no naku koto-mo kikoe-zari-se-ba
snipe-NOM chirp thing-also hear-NEG-*ki*-if

". . . if I not hear the snipe's chirping . . ."
(MYS 1.67)

(59) . . . 山依 来世波 . . .
yama-yori ki-se-ba
mountain-from come-*ki*-if

". . . if (the voice) come out of the mountain . . ."
(MYS 10.2148)

He proposes that *–se* in these examples is not a past tense marker; rather, it indicates *kanryō* (i.e., an aspectual meaning) or simply *tsuyome* "emphasis" of the conditional meaning, claiming that there is no distinction in tense in a conditional clause. He concludes that the suffix *–ki* is not purely a past tense marker; *–ki* originally indicated *kanryō*, but eventually acquired a past tense function.

Konoshima (1973) divides the conjugation forms of *–ki* into the same two categories and claims that *–ki* and *–kye* indicate *keiken kaisō* "recollection of experience," whereas *–si* and *–sika* are more like *kanryō* "perfect." He quotes the following example as a typical case of *–si* signifying perfect aspect:

(60) 今日 零之 雪爾 競而 . . .
kepu puri-si yuki-ni kipopi-te
today fall-*ki* snow-DAT compete-CONJ

"Competing with the snow that fall today . . ."
(MYS 8.1649)

Like Yamaguchi, Konoshima points out that *–se* is used in conditional constructions and claims that *–se* is not a past tense marker. Konoshima believes that *–se* is functioning as *tsuyome* "emphasis" in this environment. However, he does not elaborate on what it emphasizes.

Matsuo (1978) claims that *–ki* indicates past tense as well as *kanryō* "perfect."

He defines past tense as "events unrelated to the present," whereas *kanryō* marks "events related to the present." He provides various examples where *–ki* indicates both past tense and *kanryō* as follows:

(61) 高山與 耳梨山與 相之 時 . . .
Kagu yama-to miminasi yama-to api-si toki
Kagu mountain-and Miminashi mountain-and fight-*ki* when

"When Mt. Kaguyama and Mt. Miminashi fight . . ."
(past tense)
(MYS 1.14)

(62)

昔許曽	外爾毛	見之加 . . .	佐寶山
mukasi-koso	soto-ni-mo	mi-sika	sapo yama
antiquity-PART	outside-DAT-also	see-*ki*	Sapo mountain

"Mt. Sapo that I see as unrelated to me in the past . . ."
(past tense)
(MYS 3.474)

(63)

吾	待之	秋者	来如
waga	mati-si	aki-pa	ki-(tari)-nu
I	wait-*ki*	autumn-TOP	come-(*tari*)-*nu*

"The autumn that I await has come." (past tense)
(MYS 10.2123)

(64)

. . . 君之	穿之	井之	石	井 . . .
kimi-ga	pori-si	wi-no	ipa	wi
you-NOM	dig-*ki*	well-GEN	rock	well

". . . the rock well that you dig . . ." (perfect)
(MYS 7.1128)

(65)

霞立	野	上乃	方爾	行之可波 . . .
kasumi-tatu	no(-no)	pe-no	kata-ni	iki-sika-ba
fog-stand	field-GEN	upper-GEN	side-DAT	go-*ki*-if

"When I go to the upper side of the foggy field . . ."
(perfect)
(MYS 8.1443)

(66)

伊母乎許曽	安比	美爾	許思可 . . .
imo-wo-koso	api	mi-ni	ko-sika
lover-ACC-PART	each other	see-DAT	come-*ki*

"It is you, my lover, whom I come to see . . ." (perfect)
(MYS 14.3531)

Matsuo also suggests that *–ki* seems to be interchangeable with *–(ye) ri* or *–tari* in the following example, assuming that both *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* indicate *kanryō*.

(67)

. . . 振山乃 . . .	久	時從	憶寸	吾者
puru yama-no	pisasiki	toki-yu	omopi-ki	ware-wa
Puru mountain-NOM	ancient	time-from	think-*ki*	I-TOP

". . . I think (of you) from a long time ago, just as old as Mt. Puru . . ."
(MYS 4.501)

He further states that *–ki* and *–tu* seem to be equivalent in the following examples, assuming *–tu* is also a suffix for *kanryō*:

(68)

雁之	鳴乎	聞鶴	奈倍爾 . . .
kari-ga	ne-wo	kiki-turu	nabe-ni
geese-GEN	voice-ACC	hear-*tu*	simultaneous-DAT

"When I hear the voice of the geese . . ."
(MYS 10.2191)

(69)

雁	鳴乃	来	鳴之	共 . . .
kari(-ga)	ne-no	ki	naki-si	nabe(-ni)
geese(-GEN)	voice-ACC	come	honk-*ki*	simultaneous-DAT

"When the geese come and honk . . ."
(MYS 10.2194)

Matsuo observes that both of these verses describe very similar scenes, and claims that both *–tu* in (68) and *–ki* in (69) indicate *kanryō*. However, even though he assumes that *–ki* can indicate both past tense and *kanryō* meanings, he does not give a reason for excluding the reverse case, where *–tu* can indicate both past tense and *kanryō* meanings, while *–ki* only indicates past tense.

To summarize, both Yamaguchi and Konoshima, who analyze the suffix based on its conjugation forms, propose that *–ki* is an aspect marker that indicates some sort of perfect, while it also has a conditional function, at least in its irrealis form. On the other hand, Matsuo,

who focuses on the contexts in which *–ki* appears, claims that *–ki* indicates perfect (here in agreement with Yamaguchi and Konoshima), as well as past tense.

Hirohama (1969), Yoshida (1973), Iwai (1970), and Sandness (1999)

Hirohama (1969) claims that *–ki* indicates the recollection of past events that the speaker actually experienced. He also points out that *–ki* is used in conditional clauses and provides the following example, although he does not elaborate what this conditional usage entails in terms of the semantics of *–ki*.

(70)	十月	雨之	間毛	不置	零爾西者 . . .
	kaminaduki	ame-no	ma-mo	oka-zu	furi-ni-se-ba
	October	rain-NOM	interval-also	put-NEG	fall-nu-*ki*-if

"If the rain fall without stopping in October . . ."
(MYS 12.3214)

Yoshida (1973) claims that *–ki* "states the speaker's direct experience from his/her present standpoint." He also states that *–ki* "is a subjective suffix, which can express present events and states as the past. The factual time and the time that the suffix expresses do not necessarily match."

Additionally, Yoshida examines each conjugation form of the suffix and assigns distinct functions to each form. For example, he states that the terminal form *–ki* "simply describes events which happened right in front of the author as the past or perfect." When *-ki* is followed by an interrogative particle, it "questions or asks strongly, while recalling all the states and actions." The irrealis form *–se*, which precedes epistemic suffixes such as *–masi* or *–mu*, indicates "suppositional situation."

The attributive form *–si* as well as the realis form *–sika* indicates "recollection." Iwai (1970) takes a stance similar to Hirohama and Yoshida, stating that *–ki* is used when "remembering an event which happened at some point in the past." However, he claims that the past event does not have to be something that the author actually experienced. Therefore, a mythological event can be expressed with *–ki* as long as the author feels his or her memory regarding the story is accurate. He cites one such example, given in (71).

(71)

高山波 . . .	耳梨與	相	諍競伎
kagu yama-pa	miminasi-to	api	arasopi-ki
Kagu mountain-TOP	Miminashi-with	each other	fight-*ki*

"Mt. Kagu . . . and Mt. Miminashi fight with each other" (MYS 1.13)

Sandness (1999) proposes an alternative analysis, rejecting the contrast between *–ki* and *–kyeri* which is the usual focus of Japanese grammarians. Sandness first speculates that *–ki* in some contexts resembles the imperfect in Romance and Slavic languages, citing Comrie's definition (1976) of imperfective whereby it "pays essential attention to the internal structure of a situation." However, Sandness eventually abandons this claim, citing the following verse, where she finds it difficult to interpret *–ki* as imperfective, as a counterexample.

(72)

伊射	子等毛	多波和射	奈世曽	天	地能	加多米之
iza	kodomo	tapawaza	na-se-so	ame	tuti-no	katame-si
hey	people	mischief	NEG-do-INT	sky	earth-NOM	solidify-*ki*

久爾曽	夜麻登	之麻禰波
kuni-zo	yamato	simane-wa
country-PART	Yamato	Simane-TOP

"Hey people. Don't do mischief. This is the country of Japan (Yamato Simane) that (the God of) sky and earth form." (MYS 20.4487)

Sandness also states that the *sa*-type conjugation forms originally had "contrary-to-fact" connotation. She cites the following verse as one such case, claiming that *–si* cannot signify past tense in this example:

(73)

都奇	餘米婆	伊麻太	冬奈里之	加須我爾	霞
tukwi	yome-ba	imada	puyu-nari-si	kasuga-ni	kasumi
month	read-if	still	winter-COP-*ki*	Kasuga-DAT	fog

多奈婢久	波流	多知奴 . . .
tanabiku	paru	tati-nu
trail	spring	stand-*nu*

> "If you count the months, it would be still winter. The fog trails. The spring has come . . ."
> (MYS 20.4492)

Sandness concludes that *–ki* indicates an action or state that ended in the distant past because of its tendency to co-occur with temporal conjunctives that signify remote past.

In short, the previous analyses claim that *–ki* has varying functions differing from one conjugation form to another; their meanings range from past tense (or remote past) to *kanryō* "perfect" to conditional to recollection. In the next chapter, I address the problems with these proposals and provide a new analysis.

Previous Accounts of *–kyeri*

There are four major claims about the semantics of the suffix *–kyeri.* The first claim is that *–kyeri* indicates some sort of past tense, although the specifics differ from analysis to analysis. The second claim is that *–kyeri* indicates *eetan* "admiration," although the first claim and the second one are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The third claim is that *–kyeri* indicates *denbun kaisō* or "recollection of hearsay," which is often combined with the first and second claims. The last claim is that *–kyeri* expresses some sort of subjective attitude, different from *kaisō*. I introduce the previous analyses by dividing them into three basic groups.

Yamaguchi (1985) and Matsuo (1978)

Yamaguchi (1985) defines the general meaning of *–kyeri* as "continuous existence." He then lists six functions of *–kyeri:* (1) describing a permanent condition that the speaker has just noticed; (2) describing a habitual situation that the speaker has just noticed; (3) describing the result of past action or an effect that the speaker has just noticed; (4) describing a past action or effect that the speaker has just noticed; (5) expressing the speaker's understanding of the cause or the reason for a situation, which is in the past or in the present; and (6) relating hearsay of past incidents.

Yamaguchi provides the following examples as support for these six functions:

(74)

遊	士爾	吾者	有家里	屋戸	不借
miyabi	wo-ni	ware-pa	ari-kyeri	yadwo	kasa-zu
chic	man-DAT	I-TOP	exist-*kyeri*	house	rent-NEG

令還	吾曽	風流	士者	有[20]
kapye(-seru)	ware-zo	miyabi	wo-ni(-pa)	aru
return(-CAU)	I-PART	chic	man-DECL(-TOP)	exist

"I be a man with taste. (I) made the woman return without letting her stay. I am a man with such taste." (evidence for 1)
(MYS 2.127)

(75)

. . . 風	交	毛美知	落家利 . . .
kaze	maziri	momiti	tiri-kyeri
wind	mix	maple leaves	fall-*kyeri*

". . . the maple leaves fall, mixed with the wind. . . ."
(evidence for 2)
(MYS 19.4160)

(76)

. . . 不盡能	高嶺爾	雪波	零家留
puji-no	takane-ni	yuki-pa	puri-kyeru
Puji-GEN	peak-DAT	snow-TOP	fall-*kyeri*

". . . the snow fall at the peak of Mt. Fuji." (evidence for 3)
(MYS 3.318)

(77)

. . . 可爾波乃	多 爾	世理曽	都美家流
kanipa-no	tawi-ni	seri-zo	tumi-kyeru
Kanipa-GEN	rice field-DAT	dropwort-PART	pick-*kyeri*

". . . (he) pick dropwort at the rice field in Kanipa."
(evidence for 4)
(MYS 20.4456)

(78)

. . . 吾	髪為結乃	漬而	奴禮計禮
wa(-ga)	moto yufi-no	pidi-te	nure-kyere
1st(-GEN)	hair tie-NOM	soak-CONJ	become wet-*kyeri*

". . . my tied hair become soaking wet." (evidence for 5)
(MYS 2.118)

(79) . . . 吾妻乃 國爾 古昔爾 有家留 . . .
aduma-no kuni-ni inisipye-ni ari-kyeru
Aduma-GEN country-DAT antiquity-DAT exist-*kyeri*

"It exist in the country of Aduma in the past . . ."
(evidence for 6)
(MYS 9.1807)

Yamaguchi believes that *–kyeri* initially did not have a temporal function; rather, it was an aspect marker. He claims that none of its morphological components (i.e., the verb *ku* and the suffix *ri*) indicate tense. He further states that *–kyeri* even in the 8th century "does not solely indicate past tense," since only the sixth function is a real past tense function. He concludes that *–kyeri* is more of a modal marker in the *Man'yōshū*, although he does not explicitly define what sort of modal meanings it indicated.

Matsuo (1978) proposes that *–kyeri* indicates past tense and *eitan* "admiration," expressing that "what one did not previously realize is now freshly appreciated." He provides the following examples to support his claim:

(80) . . . 久米能 若 子我 伊座家留 . . .
kume-no waka gwo-ga imasi-kyeru
Kume-GEN young person-NOM sit-*kyeri*

". . . the youngster from Kume sit . . ." (past tense)
(MYS 3.307)

(81) . . . 吾妻乃 國爾 古昔爾 有家留 . . .
aduma-no kuni-ni inisipye-ni ari-kyeru
Aduma-GEN country-DAT antiquity-DAT exist-*kyeri*

事 . . .[21]
koto
thing

"The thing that exist in the country of Aduma a long time ago . . ." (past tense)
(MYS 9.1807)

(82) . . . 耳我 嶺爾 時 無曽 雪者
mimiga(-no) mine-ni toki naku-so yuki-pa
Mimiga (-GEN) peak-DAT time none-PART snow-TOP
落家留 . . .
puri-kyeru
fall-*kyeri*

". . . the snow fall on the peak of Mimiga all the time . . ." (admiration)
(MYS 1.25)

(83) 遊 士爾 吾者 有家里 屋戸 不借
miyabi wo-ni ware-pa ari-kyeri yadwo kasa-zu
chic man-DAT I-TOP exist-*kyeri* house rent-NEG

令還 吾曽 風流 士者 有[22]
kapye(-seru) ware-zo miyabi wo-ni(-wa) aru
return(-CAU) I-PART chic man-DECL(-TOP) exist

"I be a man with taste. (I) made the woman return without letting her stay. I am a man with such taste." (admiration)
(MYS 2.127)

Matsuo states that *–kyeri* in examples (82) and (83) does not signify any temporal (past) meaning; rather it indicates present events. In particular, he explains that *–kyeri* in example (83) cannot be past tense because the poem would make no sense unless the author had not previously realized that he was a man with taste, but he finally did at the moment that he composed the poem.

To conclude, Matsuo compares the following examples, which use both *–ki* and *–kyeri* in the same song.

(84) 妹之 殖之 屋前之 石竹 開家流 . . .
imo-ga uwe-si yadwo-no nadesikwo saki(-ni)-kyeru
lover-NOM plant-*ki* house-GEN fringed pink bloom(-nu)-*kyeri*

"The fringed pinks that my lover plant in the house bloom." (MYS 3.464)

(85) . . . 須美禮 採爾等 来師 吾曽 野乎 奈都可之美
sumire tumi-ni-to ko-si ware-zo nwo-wo natukasimi
violet pick-nu-COMP come-*ki* I-PART field be nostalgic

一夜 宿二来
pito yo ne-ni-kyeru
one night sleep-nu-*kyeri*

". . . I come to pick violets, feeling nostalgia in the field, I sleep there one night."
(MYS 8.1424)

Matsuo claims that *–kyeri* indicates the "completed present" whereas *–ki* indicates the "pure past" in these examples. Although he is not explicit, it seems that he proposes this function of "completed present" in addition to the other two functions (past tense and *"eitan"*) he proposed earlier.

Hirohama (1969) and Konoshima (1973, 1983)

Hirohama (1969) states that the basic meanings of *–kyeri* are *eitan* (admiration) and *kaisō* (recollection). He further claims that *–kyeri* has the following four functions: (1) description of "things that continue existing from the past to the present"; (2) recollection of past events that the speaker cannot confirm with certainty; (3) description of something previously unnoticed that the speaker has recently recognized and admires; (4) admiration of present events. He provides the following examples to demonstrate this range of meanings; note that some of these are from EMJ texts.

(86) . . . 佐吉播布 國等 加多利 継 伊比
saki-papu kuni-to katari tugi ipi
happiness-fill country-COMP talk continue tell

都賀比計理 . . .
tugapi-kyeri
continue-*kyeri*

"One keep telling that it's a country full of happiness . . ."
(example for 1)

(MYS 5.894)

(87) 如是耳 在家流 君乎 . . .
kaku-nomi-ni ari-kyeru kimi-wo
this-only-DAT exist-*kyeri* you-ACC

"You, who be always like this . . ." (example for 1)
(MYS 12.2964)

(88) 昔 男 ありけり . . .
mukasi wotoko ari-keri
antiquity man exist-*keri*

"Once upon a time, there be a man . . ." (example for 2)
(*Ise Monogatari* "Tale of Ise")

(89) 今は 昔 竹取の 翁と いふ
ima-wa mukasi taketori-no okina-to ifu
now-TOP antiquity bamboo gathererold. call
man-CONJ

者 ありけり
mono ari-keri
person exist-*keri*

"Once upon a time, there be a person called old man bamboo gatherer." (example for 2)
(*Taketori Monogatari* "Tale of Taketori")

(90) . . . 旅爾 益而 辛苦有家有
tabi-ni masari-te kurusikari-kyeri
travel-DAT exceed-CONJ be difficult-*kyeri*

". . . (staying home) be more difficult than traveling." (example for 3)
(MYS 3.451)

(91) . . . なしてぞ 人は 恋しかりける
nasite-zo hito-wa koisikari-keru
why-PART people-TOP long for-*keri*

". . . why do people long for (others)?" (example for 4)
(*Genji Monogatari Tale of Genji*)

In conclusion, Hirohama claims that *–kyeri* can signify four different meanings, rather than proposing a single function that integrates all of the usages.

Konoshima (1973, 1983) claims that *–kyeri* signifies both *denbun kaisō* "recollection of hearsay" and *kansetsu-teki kaisō* "indirect recollection." He attempts to distinguish the meanings of the two suffixes *–ki* and *–kyeri* by examining their usage in interrogative sentences. He claims that while *–ki* sometimes precedes the interrogative marker *–ya*, *–kyeri* rarely appears in interrogative sentences. He believes this is because *–ki* can be used to ask about an experience of the listener, which is an extension of its original function, *keiken kaisō* (recollection of experience), while *–kyeri* only appears with what the speaker has heard.

Konoshima further develops his claim, observing that *–kyeri* is often found at the beginning of diaries. He quotes the following example from the EMJ text *Kagero Nikki* (1973:227).[23]

(92) . . . とにも　　かくにも　　つかで、　世に
to-ni-mo　　kaku-ni-mo　　tuka-de　　yo-ni
this-DAT-also　　that-DAT-also　　fit-NEG　　society-DAT

ふる　人　　ありけり。
furu　hito　　ari-keri
old　people　　exist-*keri*

". . . there are people who just get old in the society without fitting into anything."

Konoshima claims that *–kyeri* (EMJ *–keri*) is frequently used in descriptive passages in EMJ diary texts. Such passages usually describe the authors' own experiences rather than hearsay information, because they present the situations as objective and novel-like. On the other hand, when someone's utterances are directly quoted in the diaries, usually the suffix *–ki* is used. Based on these observations, he concludes that *–kyeri* indicates recollection of indirect experience with admiration, as opposed to *–ki*, which indicates recollection of direct experience.

To summarize, both Hirohama and Konoshima claim that *–kyeri* indicates (1) recollection of events that the speaker did not directly experience and (2) a stance of admiration toward the event described.

Sandness (1999)

Sandness claims that *–kyeri* is a "subjectivization suffix," which she defines as a suffix that signifies "that's how I perceive it." She argues

against previous proposals that *–kyeri* indicates "hearsay" by pointing out that the sentences of narrative passages in literature do not consistently end with *–kyeri*.

Problems with Previous Accounts

There are three major problems with the basic methodology of previous work on *–ki* and *–kyeri*. First, many of the previous analyses confuse the meanings of co-occurring verbs, particles, or discursive contexts with the semantic properties of the suffix itself. For instance, Yamaguchi lists six different functions of *–kyeri*, whereas Hirohama lists four for *–ki*. But while both suffixes may appear in poems that describe a habitual situation or some permanent truth, one cannot necessarily attribute these meanings to the suffixes themselves. Even though these scholars initially attempt to assign a single meaning to each suffix, this assignment is obscured by the practice of simply listing all of the contexts—in the broadest sense—in which the suffix appears, and confusing these contextual meanings with the semantic functions of the suffixes.

This problem extends to the claim that *–kyeri* indicates *eitan* (admiration) or describes "an action that the one has just noticed." Since the poems in the *Man'yōshū* generally express emotions or scenes that have moved their authors, there is always some sense of admiration or expression of novelty. Compare the following verse in (93), which ends with an adjective, to example (90), where *–kyeri* follows an adjective. Even though no suffix is attached to the adjective in (93), both (90) and (93) express some sense of admiration.

(93) . . . 天 雲 霄而 月夜 清烏
ama gumo pare-te tukwi ywo sayakesi
sky cloud dissipate-CONJ moon night clear

". . . the clouds in the sky dissipated and the night with the moon is clear."
(MYS 2227)

The second problem is the assumption that *–ki* cannot be a past tense marker because of its usage in conditional clauses. For instance, Yamaguchi claims that *–ki* is an aspect marker because there is no distinction in tense in counterfactual/conditional clauses. This claim

is perplexing, since many of the world's languages distinguish present and past conditionals, using the past tense for the former and the pluperfect/remote past for the latter. That is, although the expression of tense differs from that of indicative clauses, tense distinctions are indeed expressed in conditional clauses crosslinguistically.

Furthermore, it is misleading to claim that only the form *–se* indicates conditional. Since conditional clauses require *–ba* "if," which must attach to the irrealis form of a preceding verb or suffix in order to indicate counterfactual condition, the only licit form of *–ki* in counterfactual conditional clauses is *–se*. That is, the selectional properties of *–ba* limit which form of *–ki* can occur in the clause. However, this fact does not entail that only the irrealis form of *–ki* inherently has the conditional function. We would not claim that the irrealis forms of *–ki* (i.e., *–se* or *–kye*) indicate negative, even though the only forms that can precede the negative suffix *–zu* are the irrealis forms, since the negative meaning is clearly expressed by *–zu*, not by *–ki*. So, it is equally odd to claim that the conditional meaning is expressed by *–ki*, when the actual conditional meaning comes from *–ba* "if."

Third, the previous analyses presuppose that a suffix cannot be a past tense marker if it also indicates other aspectual meanings, especially perfect aspect. For instance, Matsuo cannot define the function of *–kyeri*, since he realizes that it co-occurs with verbs expressing past events as well as perfect. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, highly grammaticalized markers usually have multiple functions. Therefore, it is normal for a past tense marker to indicate the perfect aspect in certain contexts.

–ki and *–kyeri* in the *Man'yōshū*

The Data for –ki

Following the traditional approach, I first examined the suffix *–ki* by dividing its conjugation forms into two groups, *–ki* suffixes and *–sa* suffixes, in order to see if there were any substantial differences in distribution. I found that there is no significant difference between the two groups in terms of the types of verbs with which they co-occur. Most of the verbs that co-occur with *–kye* or *–ki* also co-occur with *–se*, *–si* or *–sika*. The following list summarizes the occurrences of *–se*, *–si*, and *–sika* (total 489 occurrences).

- 57 occurrences
  - *miru* "to look at"
- 36 occurrences
  - *ku* "to come"
- 30 occurrences
  - *omopu* "to think"
- 22 occurrences
  - *ari* "to exist"
- 17 occurrences
  - *ipu* "to say"
- 15 occurrences
  - *iku* "to go"
- 14 occurrences
  - *kiku* "to listen" and *neru* "to sleep"
- 12 occurrences
  - *naku* "to cry" and *uwu* "to plant"
- 11 occurrences
  - *–ri* (aspect marker)
- 9 occurrences
  - *kopu* "to long for"
- 8 occurrences
  - *su* "to do"
- 7 occurrences
  - *matu* "to wait"
- 6 occurrences
  - *musubu* "to tie," *tanomu* "to count on," and *topu* "to ask"
- 5 occurrences
  - *apu* "to meet," *omoperu* "to have a thought," *simu* "to sink in," *siru* "to learn, get to know," and *wakaru* "to understand, come to realize"
- 4 occurrences
  - *inu* "to leave," *maku* "to spread," *tatu* "to stand up," and *wu* "to lead"
- 3 occurrences
  - *idasu* "to take out," *ipapu* "to celebrate," *kaywopu* "to visit regularly," *mawiru* "to visit," *nabiku* "to float," *neru* "to lie down," *nupu* "to sew," *opu* "to grow," *omoposu* "to think," *poru* "to want," *puru* "to shake," *tuku* "to attach," and *yupu* "to get drunk"
- 2 occurrences

- *aswobu* "to play," *idepasu* "to get out," *idu* "to get out," *imasu* "to sit," *katamu* "to solidify," *naru* "to become," *nipopu* "to smell, emit scent," *omopoyu* "to feel, think," *patu* "to extinct," *pukamu* "to deepen," *puru* "to become old," *puru* "to fall," *poru* "to dig," *saku* "to bloom," *sirasimu* "to notify," *u* "to gain," and *ywosapu* "to feel cold at night"

• 1 occurrence

- *akaramu* "to become bright," *amamoru* "(the rain) to leak," *erapu* "to select," *idemasu* "to get out," *iparu* "to say," *ipukaru* "to wonder," *ikituku* "to breathe," *imasematuru* "to be, exist," *ituku* "to serve," *kapyesu* "to return," *kapu* "to exchange," *kakaru* "to hang," *kaku* "to hang," *kakuru* "to hide," *kamisabu* "to become divine," *kamu* "to ferment," *katarapu* "to converse," *kataru* "to converse," *kazasu* "to decorate," *kikosu* "to say," *kikoyu* "to be audible," *kisu* "to determine the date," *kopisu* "to long for," kwoyu "to cross," *kurasu* "to live," *kurwosi* "black (adj)," *mamorasu* "to stare," *masu* "to sit down," *mawosu* "to rotate," *matu* "to wait"*myesu* "to look," *migaku* "to polish," *miyaparagu* "to soften," *miyu* "to come into sight," *moyu* "to burn," *matikakeru* "to ambush," *mu* (suffix), *mukapu* "to go toward," *nabikasu* "to let it flow," *nasi* "non-existing (adj)," *nibu* "to become dull," *noru* "to tell," *nuru* "to become wet," *nusumapu* "to repeat stealing," *obasu* "to wear," *oposu* "to go," *oku* "to put," *okuru* "to get behind," *omopasu* "to think," *oru* "to exist," *patu* "to stop," *paru* "to become fine (weather)," *piripu* "to pick up," *pyedatu* "to become far," *puku* "to create roof," *pukumu* "to contain," *puru* "to touch," *sakau* "to flourish," *sakidatu* "to take off before (someone)," *samidaru* "become disordered," *sakimasu* "to wait," *sirasimu* "to govern," *sirasu* "to govern," *sitapapu* "to crawl," *sodekapyesu* "to meet," *supu* "to breathe in," *taoru* "to break off (with hand)," *tatasu* "to make (something) stand up," *teru* "to shine," *todomaru* "to stay," *togu* "to polish," *tugu* "to continue," *tukapetamaru* "to serve," *tukapasu* "to send (someone)," *tukapu* "to send (someone)," *tukarasu* "to have something made," *tukuru* "to make," *tumu* "to pile up," *tunenari* "to be always," *tutumu* "to wrap," *ukabu* "to float," *wakaru* "to get separated," *wakasi* "young (adj)," *watasu* "to hand (something)," *wiru* "to sit," *wori* "to sit, exist," *yadoru* "to live," *yaru* "to send," *yobu* "to call," *yodomu* "to become muddy," *yorisapu* "to get close, cuddle," and *yosu* "to become closer"

Compare the above list with the following one, which shows the distribution of *–kye* and *–ki* (total 24 occurrences).

- 2 occurrences
  - *omopu* "to think"
- 2 occurrences
  - *apu* "to meet," *ari* "to exist," and *miyu* "to come into sight"
- 1 occurrence
  - *araswopu* "to fight," *arapasu* "to appear," *puru* "to fall," *puru* "to wave, shake," *itaru* "to reach (somewhere)," *kakesaru* "to run away," *kataru* "to talk," *miru* "to look at," *oru* "to exist," *sinu* "to die," *sirasimu* "to govern," and *tugu* "to tell"

Lastly, the following list demonstrates the verbs that co-occur with both *–kye*/*–ki* and *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*.

- *miru* "to look at"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 57
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 1
- *omopu* "to think"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 30
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 6
- *ari* "to exist"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 22
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 2
- *apu* "to meet"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 5
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 2
- *puru* "to shake"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 3
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 1
- *puru* "to look at"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 57
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 1
- *puru* "to fall"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 2
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 1
- *sirasimu* "to govern"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 2
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 1

- *miyu* "to come into sight"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 1
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 2
- *kataru* "to talk," *tugu* "to tell"
  - with *–se*/*–si*/*–sika*: 1
  - with *–kye*/*–ki*: 1

The Analysis of –ki

Given the data presented above, it is doubtful that there are semantic differences in the *Man'yōshū* among the conjugation forms of *–ki*. However, I accept the basic plausibility of previous claims which state that *–kye*/*–ki* and *–se*/*–si*/*–sika* originate from different diachronic sources. I also agree with Yoshida's proposal that *–ki* originates from compounding (pp. 651–2). For instance, *–ki* has a function that resembles a lexical verb ("come") in (94) although it can be interpreted as past tense, whereas it has a function similar to a tense marker in (95), since Mt. Kagu would not "come" anywhere physically.

(94)

乎美奈蔽之	左伎多流	野邉乎. . .	多母登保里伎奴
wominabesi	saki-taru	nwobye-wo	tamotopori-ki-nu
patrinia	bloom-*tari*	field path-ACC	detour-come-*nu*[24]

"(I) come detouring . . . through the path in a field where patrinia flowers bloom."
(MYS 17.3944)

(95)

高山波 . . .	耳梨與	相	諍競伎
Kagu yama-pa	miminasi-to	api	araswopi-ki
Kagu mountain-TOP	Miminashi-with	each other	fight-*ki*

"Mt. Kagu . . . and Mt. Miminashi have been fighting with each other"
(MYS 1.15)

The usage shown in the examples above is parallel to Contemporary Japanese V*–te kur-* "come V-ing." However, Yoshida's claim that both *–te kur-* and V_1 + *ki* in Old Japanese indicate *shinkō* "pro-

gressive" is inaccurate; *–te kur-* indicates an action or an event happening over a period of time. That is, *–te kur-* itself does not indicate tense; rather, the verb *kur-* can precede the relative past tense marker *–ta* or the non-past marker *–u* in order to specify the tense of the sentence as in (96) and (97).

(96) 三年後には、 人口が 増えてくる。
san nen go-ni-wa, jinkoo-ga hue-te-kur-u
three year after-DAT-TOP population increase-come-NONPAST

"The population will gradually increase starting in three years from now."

(97) 三年前から、 人口が 増えてきた。
san nen mae-kara zinkoo-ga hue-te-ki-ta
three year before-from population increase-come-PAST

"The population has increased gradually over the past three years."

The difference between *–te kur-* and *–ki* is that Contemporary Japanese *–te kur-* does not indicate tense, whereas *–ki* eventually developed into a past tense marker. However, regardless of the overall tense of the sentence, *–te kur-* always expresses an event starting prior to the reference time. This could have been the same with *–ki* at first, prior to its grammaticalization as a past tense marker. On this view, the semantic change of the suffix *–ki* results from reanalysis of its original function, which was to denote a situation where an action which happened prior to the reference time continues up to the reference time (that is, a situation where an action in the past continues to have relevance to the present: perfect aspect). Subsequently, the perfect aspect marker was reanalyzed as a past tense marker.

In fact, the development from the verb "come" to a perfect marker, and then to a past tense marker is broadly attested across languages. Bybee et al. (1994: 105) found that the verb "come," in a variety of languages including Atchin, Kanuri, Margi, and Yagaria, has developed first into a perfect marker, and then a past tense marker. On the other hand, I speculate that the conjugation forms *–se/–si/–sika* originate from the verb *su* "do, be" for the following two reasons. First, the

conjugation pattern of the verb *su* and that of the suffix *–ki* are very similar. In fact, there are some cases of the verb *su* following another verb; that is, these examples appear to be compound verbs whose structure is V_1 + *su*. Examine the following verses:

(98) . . . 廬屋 立 妻問 為家武 . . .
pukiya tate tumadopi si-kyemu
hut build propose *su*-kyemu(MOD)

". . . By building a small house, I proposed/did a proposing of marriage . . ."
(MYS 3.431)

(99) . . . 飽田津爾 船 乗 将為 . . .
nikitadu-ni puna nori si-kyemu
Nikitadu-to ship ride *su*-kyemu(MOD)

". . . (people) rode the ship/did ship-riding to Nikitadu"
(MYS 3.323)

Although the sequences in the above examples can be analyzed as instances of noun + *su*, they can also be interpreted as instances of verb + *su*. For example, *tumadopi* in (98) and *punanori* in (99) are traditionally considered to be nouns, since *su* is presumed to be the main verb of the sentence. However, the conjunctive forms of the verbs *tumadopu* and *punanoru*, which are used when preceding another verb, are also *tumadopi* and *punanori* respectively. Therefore, *tumadopi-su* and *punanorisu* could be compound verbs as well as noun + verb sequences. Kojima et al. (1973) make the same observation, stating that *su* verbalizes a noun or "a noun form of a verb." This is different from (100), where the preceding word *yonaki* is clearly marked with an accusative marker *–wo;* i.e., *naki* must be a noun.

(100) . . . 小児之 夜哭乎 為乍 . . .
midorigo-no yonaki-wo si-tutu
infant-NOM night cry-ACC do-while

". . . while (the) infant is doing the night cry (i.e., crying at night) . . ."
(MYS 12.2942)

While *su* in (98) and (99) is not an aspect marker, the similar structure may have given birth to some of the conjugation forms of the past tense marker *–ki*. Bybee et al. do not list the verb "do" as a source for a past tense marker. However, Jäger (2007) lists exactly this kind of example, where the verb "do" develops into a past tense marker. Jäger cites Coptic and Supyire (a Niger-Congo language spoken in Mali) as such examples, citing Claudi & Mendel 1991: 43 and Carlson 1994: 619.

(101) a-f kaa-f.
do-3Sg.M.S lie.INF-3Sg.M.O

"He placed him." (Coptic)

(102) a-p-kake toom n-nef-bal.
do-DEF-darkness close.INF O-DEF.POSS-3Sg.M.POSS

"The darkness closed his eyes." (Coptic)

(103) fyì-ŋa à pyi à kaŋkuro jò.
python-DEF PERF do PERF five swallow

"The python swallowed five." (Supyire)

Carlson (1994: 295) claims that the verb *pyi*, which indicates past tense when used in a serial construction, lexically functions as the verb "do, become" and as a copula. These functions are parallel to the Old Japanese verb *su*, which indicates "do" as well as something similar to "be." The following verses offer a few examples in the *Man'yōshū* where *su* indicates an existential meaning.

(104) . . . 手結之 浦矣 客 為而 見者 . . .
tayupi-ga ura-wo tabi(-ni) si-te mire-ba
Tayupi-GEN bay-ACC travel (-CONJ) do/be-CONJ see-since

". . . since I see Tayupi bay, while I am on a trip . . ." (MYS 3.367)

(105) 等保久之弖 . . . 伊毛我 敝尓 . . . 安由賣 久路 古
topoku si-te imo-ga pye-ni ayume kurwo kwoma
Far su-CONJ lover-GEN house-to walk black horse

"Since my lover's house is . . . far . . . please walk, my black horse."
(MYS 14.3441)

These examples suggest that *su* also had a function which is similar to "be." Since existential verbs are widely attested sources for past tense markers, the suggestion that the past tense marker *–ki* orginated from both the verb *ku* "come" and the verb *su* "do, be" is typologically plausible.

The reason why these two verbs merged into a single aspect marker is yet to be explained. It is possible that there were two separate past tense markers prior to OJ. The distinction between these two markers could have been something similar to that between *–tu* and *–nu*, the two perfective markers involved in auxiliary selection (see Chapter 3). That is, perhaps *su* appeared with active verbs (i.e., transitive and unergative), while *ku* appeared with unaccusative verbs. Nonetheless, we cannot determine how the complex conjugation pattern of *–ki* was born. Even if *ku* and *su* actually participated in auxiliary selection previously, the distinction between the two was lost by the *Man'yōshū* period.

The Data for –kyeri

Like *–ki*, *–kyeri* occurs with various types of verbs in the *Man'yōshū*. The distribution is summarized in the following list (total of 105 occurrences).

- 34 occurrences
  - *aru* "to exist"
- 4 occurrences
  - *puru* "to fall" and *sikazu* "to be not so"
- 3 occurrences
  - *kopu* "to long for," *miyu* "to come into sight," and *sirasimu* "govern"
- 2 occurrences
  - *ipu* "to say," *kopimasaru* "to long for passionately," *kurusi* "to painful (adj)," *kutatu* "to go down," *mitikakesu* "to change phases (of the moon)," *N+nari* "to be (N)," *nasi* "non existing (adj)," *tapuru* "to break off (with hand)"
- 1 occurrence
  - *aku* "to become bored," *ipitugapu* "to tell," *ipitugu* "to tell," *ikiapu* "meet," *imasu* "to exist, *izaru* "to crowl," *kapyeru* "to

return," *kamisabu* "to become divine," *kanasi* "sad (adj)," *kedu* "to brush (hair)," *kopisi* "longing (adj)," *kopiyamazu* "not to stop longing," *kozu* "not to come," *kudaru* "to return," *miru* "to look at," *motiwiru* "to use," *nuru* "to get wet," *opiiku* "to chase," *okuru* "to get befind," *omoposu* "to think," *omopu* "to think," *oru* "to exist," *sakazu* "not to bloom," *sakimasaru* "to bloom vigorously," *sayakesi* "clear (adj)," *sinu* "to die," *sirasu* "to govern," *tatikaparu* "to change," *tatu* "to stand up," *tiru* "to fall, die (flower)," *tomeyuku* "to visit," *tukapu* "to use," *tumatoisu* "to visit (one's lover)," *tumu* "to pick," *ukinewosu* "to lie down," *uresi* "happy (adj)," *yobaisu* "to visit (one's lover)," and *yosu* "to come close"

Furthermore, many verbs appear with both *–ki* and *–kyeri*. The following list shows the verbs which host both of the suffixes.

- *miru* "to look at"
  - 57 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 1 occurrence with *–kyeri*
- *omopu* "to think"
  - 30 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 1 occurrence with *–kyeri*
- *ari* "to exist"
  - 22 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 34 occurrences with *–kyeri*
- *ipu* "to say"
  - 17 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 2 occurrences with *–kyeri*
- *kopu* "to long for"
  - 9 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 3 occurrences with *–kyeri*
- *kopu* "to long for"
  - 9 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 3 occurrences with *–kyeri*
- *omoposu* "to think"
  - 3 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 1 occurrence with *–kyeri*
- *puru* "to fall"
  - 2 occurrences with *–ki*
  - 4 occurrences with *–kyeri*
- *imasu* "to exist"

- 2 occurrences with *–ki*
- 1 occurrence with *–kyeri*

- *miyu* "to come into sight," *sirasimu* "to govern"
  - 1 occurrence with *–ki*
  - 3 occurrences with *–kyeri*
- *kamisabu* "to become devine," *nuru* "to get wet," *okuru* "to get behind," *oru* "to exist," *tumu* "to pick," *yosu* " to become close"
  - 1 occurrence with *–ki*
  - 1 occurrence with *–kyeri*

I agree with Matsuo's (1978) claim that *–kyeri* indicates the past tense. However, as previous scholarship has pointed out, the origin of *–kyeri* must be the verb *ku* (or the suffix *–ki*) plus the suffix *–(ye)ri* (or the verb *ari*), which is an imperfective marker. Therefore, I propose that *–kyeri* is specifically a past imperfective marker under the view that it inevitably inherits the nature of *–(ye)ri*.

This entails that the interpretation of *–kyeri* in example (106), which is the same verse as (74) and (83), must be revised. This verse has often been cited to refute the claim that the suffix is a past tense marker, since the poet was thinking that he is a man with taste at the moment he composed the poem. However, Yamaguchi (1985) and Matsuo (1978) claim that *–kyeri* in this verse indicates something similar to Contemporary Japanese *–ta*, which is used when one notices something as novel. Example (107) demonstrates a case where *–ta* indicates a novel incident.

(106)

遊士爾	吾者	有家里	屋戸	不借
miyabi wo-ni	ware-pa	ari-kyeri	yadwo	kasa-zu
chic man-DAT	I-TOP	exist-*kyeri*	house	rent-NEG

令還	吾曽	風流士者	有
kapye(-seru)	ware-zo	miyabi wo ni(-wa)	aru
return(-CAU)	I-PART	chic man-DECL(-TOP)	exist

"I be a man with taste. (I) made the woman return without letting her stay. I am a man with such taste."
(MYS 2.127)

(107)

あっ、	鍵が	あった！
at	kagi-ga	at-ta
oh	key-NOM	exist-PAST

"Oh! The key was there (i.e., 'I found the key!' or 'Here is the key!')"

As discussed in previous sections, the suffix *–ta* is aspectually neutral; the neutrality of *–ta* can be illustrated in (108).

(108)

りんごを	食べた	けど、	全部は	食べられなかった。
ringo-o	tabe-ta	kedo	zenbu-wa	tabe-rare-nakat-ta
apple-ACC	eat-PAST	but	all-TOP	eat-be able-not-PAST

"I ate the apple, but couldn't eat it all."

Although the English translation for (108) is odd-sounding, (108) is a grammatical sentence in Japanese. This is because *–ta* here does not specify if the action was completed even though it indicates past tense. That is, unlike the English plain past, *–ta* is not a past-perfective marker. Due to this aspectual neutrality, *–ta* can indicate an event as punctual, but open (i.e., not completed).

However, I disagree that *–kyeri* in (106) has the same function as *–ta* in (107). That is, the suffix *–kyeri*, with its imperfective function, should be interpreted as introducing background information. This is a typical function of imperfective aspect; by contrast, the introduction of novel information is usually a function of neutral or perfective aspect. Therefore, the verse should be interpreted as describing a situaiton where the poet is thinking about a past event when he did not let the woman stay at his house; he mentions his having good taste as background information for the event.

Furthermore, I do not support the claim that *–kyeri* specifically signifies *kaisō* "recollection." Events that have happened in the past are often described in contexts where the speaker is "recalling" them. The nuance of "recollection" follows not from the semantics of the suffix itself, but from the pragmatic context where it is used.

Lastly, I would like to discuss the exact origin of the suffix. Bybee (1985) reports that when TMA (tense-mood-aspect) markings appear post-verbally, aspect marking is typically closest to the verb stem, followed by tense marking and modal marking. This means that, if *–kyeri* originates from the past tense marker *–ki* (*qua* past tense marker) plus the imperfective marker *–(ye)ri*, the morpheme order is the opposite of the observed universal tendency. The only attested

example of such a morpheme order appears to be Guaraní (a Tupian language spoken in Paraguay). Gregores and Suárez (1967), Tonhauser (2006), and Gerasimov (2008) claim that the future marker and possibly the past tense marker precede the durative marker, although both tense and aspect markers are post-verbal. However, this reversed order in Guaraní may be due to the nature of the future marker; it is not a true tense marker. In the case of the Guaraní past tense marker, both orders (i.e., the past tense marker preceding the durative marker as well as the durative marker preceding the past tense marker) occur.

Thus, from a typological standpoint it seems unlikely that the sequence of morphemes *–ki+ari* was grammaticalized to provide the source for *–kyeri* after *–ki* emerged as a tense marker. In fact, we know that this cannot be the correct diachronic scenario, beacause *–ki* attests no conjunctive form, the form that would be expected to precede an auxiliary such as *ari*. I hypothesize instead that the orgin of *–kyeri* is actually the conjunctive form *ki* of the verb *ku* "come" plus the existential verb *ari*, which would result in the sequence *ki ari*. Subsequently, hiatus was eliminated, yielding *kyeri*. In fact, there are a few examples of *kyeri* that preserve exactly the lexical meaning we would expect from "come" + "be" in the *Man'yōshū*.

(109)	. . . 蓑笠	不蒙而	来有	人哉	誰
	mino	ke-zu-te	kyeru	pito-ya	tare
	raincoat	wear-NEG-COMP	*kyeri*	person-PART	who

". . . who is the person who has come (to my gate) without wearing a raincoat?"
(MYS 12.3125)

Kojima et al. (1973) explain that *kyeri* in this verse is the "shortened form of *ki* 'come' + *ari* 'exist,'" meaning that the person has come to the poet's house and is now there. This sort of compound is surely related to the development of the suffix *–kyeri*.

I conclude that *–ki* is a past tense marker, comparable to the *passé simple* in French, which describes an event in the past as a whole, including the beginning and the end points of the event. On the other hand, *–kyeri* is also similar to the French *imparfait* (past imperfective), which describes a situation without mentioning the end point.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed three suffixes: *–(ye)ri*, *–ki*, and *–kyeri*. Japanese grammarians have traditionally categorized *–(ye)ri* as a *kanryō* marker, contrasting it with the suffix *–tari*, which is also claimed to be a *kanryō* marker. On the other hand, both *–ki* and *–kyeri* have been considered past tense markers; the former describes a past event that the speaker experienced directly, while the latter indicates "hearsay." I proposed that *–(ye)ri* is a non-past imperfective marker, whereas *–kyeri*, which is a combination of the verb *ku* "come" and *–(ye)ri*, is a past imperfective marker, similar to the French *imparfait*. The suffix *–ki* is a past tense marker that resembles the French *passé simple*. In addition, I distinguished *–tari* from *–(ye)ri*, in anticipation of my analysis of *–tari* as a newly developing aspect marker, discussed together with emerging periphrastics in chapter 4.

NOTES

1. These are the ancestors of consonant-stem verbs in Contemporary Japanese.

2. The terms *kō-rui* and *otu-rui* (or series A and B) vowels are used to distinguish the qualities of vowels in Old Japanese. Although Contemporary Japanese only has one high-front vowel /i/, one mid-front vowel /e/, and one mid-back vowel /o/, there were two vowels for each in Old Japanese (i.e., /i_1/ (i), /i_2/ (wi), /e_1/ (ye), /e_2/ (e), /o_1/ (o), and /o_2/ (wo)), which were differentiated orthographically. The exact qualities of these vowels are still under some dispute, but there is a broad consensus (Lange 1973, Unger 1977, Whitman 1985, Martin 1987, and Frellesvig & Whitman 2008) that /e_1/ was a rising diphthong /ye/.

3. All verbs that host the suffix whose semantic property is in question will be left unconjugated in the translation in order to avoid biasing the argument.

4. Problems with philological methodology of this sort will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

5. There are two types of *waka*, or Japanese poerty, in *Man'yōshū*: *tanka* and *chōka*. Tanka requires 31 moras, usually having the structure on 5-7-5 in the upper stanza (*kami-no ku)* plus 7-7 in the lower stanza (*simo-no ku)*. However, the mora count requirement is not always followed; some verses have one or two extra moras, or are short one or two moras. On the other hand, *chōka* require at least two 5-7 stanzas ending with a final phrase whose structure is 5-7-7. The length of *chōka* varies, since one can repeat 5-7 stanzas more than twice.

6. Unlike Standard Japanese, which has a single aspectual expression *–te iru* for both progressive and resultative, dialects spoken in the Western regions of Japan usually have a separate marker for each aspectual meaning.

7. The etymology of the verb *oru* in these dialects is the Old Japanese existential verb *woru*.

8. The conjunctive particle *–te* plus the existential verb *oru* was phonetically reduced to *–toru*.

9. The tense suffix *–ki*.

10. In Contemporary Japanese, an achievement verb + *–te iru* expresses resultative aspect.

i)	ano	otoko-o	sit-te iru
	that	man-ACC	find out-*te iru*

"I know that man. (lit. I have found out about the man.)"

11. In Contemporary Japanese, the verb *tatu* "stand" is not a state verb, unlike its English counterpart. English *stand* is a state verb: "I've been standing here for a long time." Therefore, one cannot say "A tall building once stood here before the fire" using the plain finite form of *tatu*. Instead, the resultative form of the verb needs to be used (i.e., *tat-te iru*), which means something like 'has stood up (so that it's standing now)." It is very likely that the verb *tatu* in the *Man'yōshū* also has the same semantic property. Thus, it is possible to interpret as a verb *tatu* followed by a resultative marker.

12. This list includes cases where *ari* is written in either ongana or logograph.

13. This is the same example as (3) and (9) quoted earlier.

14. This is the same example as (11) quoted earlier.

15. This is the same example as (12) quoted earlier.

16. In English, the actual sentence would be "until the new bridge is built" (i.e, without the future auxiliary *will*) instead of "until the new bridge will be built." However, the important point here is that the plain present tense can be used in a future context in Japanese.

17. The table for *ari* is identical to Table 2.1.

18. *The Records of Ancient Matters*: the oldest surviving official Japanese history dated 712 A.D.

19. *The Chronicles of Japan*; the second oldest official Japanese history dated 720 A.D.

20. Same poem as example (69).

21. Same poem as example (79).

22. Same poem as example (74).

23. *The Kagero Diary*, written by the mother of Fujiwara-no Michinaga. Dated 975 A.D. To summarize, previous analyses have claimed that *–kyeri* indicates *denbun* (hearsay), *eitan* (admiration), present state, or "subjectivization."

24. *–nu* is an aspectual suffix to be discussed in Chapter 3.

3

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–*tu* and –*nu*

SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF –*TU* AND –*NU*

Japanese grammarians claim that the suffix –*tu* originates from the verb *utu* "throw away" or *patu* "terminate," although the derivation from *utu* seems to be preferred by more scholars, because of its phonological plausibility: since the initial segment of *utu* is vocalic, the form of the suffix can easily be attributed to elimination of the hiatus that would have arisen when *utu* combined with other verbs. The conjugation pattern of –*tu* is bigrade, the same as the verbs *utu* and *patu*.

On the other hand, it is said that –*nu* originates from *inu* "leave, depart." One reason for this claim is that –*nu* is often written with the character 去 in the *Man'yōshū*, which is the same character used to write the verb *inu* logographically. Furthermore, the conjugation pattern of –*nu* is na-irregular, which is identical to the verb *inu*. Table 3.1 summarize the conjugation patterns of the suffixes and their proposed lexical sources.

Table 3.1. The conjugation of the verb *utu*, *patu*, the suffix *–tu*, the verb *inu*, and *–nu*

	form			form	
function	***utu***	***patu***	***–tu***	***inu***	***–nu***
mizen (irrealis)	*ute*	*pate*	*te*	*ina*	*na*
renyō (conjunctive)	*ute*	*pate*	*te*	*ini*	*ni*
shūsi (conclusive)	*utu*	*patu*	*tu*	*inu*	*nu*
rentai (attributive)	*uturu*	*paturu*	*turu*	*inuru*	*nuru*
izen (realis)	*uture*	*pature*	*ture*	*inure*	*nure*
meirei (imperative)	*ute*	*pate*	*te*	*ine*	*ne*

Both *–tu* and *–nu* follow the conjunctive forms of verbs. Japanese grammarians have observed that there is a general tendency for *–tu* to be applied to transitive verbs, whereas *–nu* co-occurs with intransitive verbs, although this is not an absolute rule.

PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE SEMANTICS OF *–TU* AND *–NU*

The suffixes *–tu* and *–nu* are traditionally considered *kanryō* suffixes, together with *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*. It is said that the difference between *–(ye)ri*/*–tari* and *–tu*/*–nu* is that the former pair focuses on the existence of a result or the continuation of a resulting state, while the latter pair indicates the completion of an action itself.

Japanese grammarians often attempt to explain the semantic distinction between *–tu* and *–nu* based on the general tendency that *–tu* co-occurs with transitive or agentive verbs, whereas *–nu* co-occurs with intransitive or non-agentive verbs. Based on this distribution, many have concluded that the meaning of *–tu* is "intentional perfect" and that of *–nu* is "unintentional perfect." However, Sandness (1999) proposes an entirely different analysis by comparing *–tu* with *–ki*, instead of *–nu*. Washio (2002, 2004) proposes that *–tu* and *–nu* are both "perfect" markers with no semantic distinction; they are a pair of auxiliaries distinguished by the underlying transitivity of the predicates they select.

Yoshida (1973), Konoshima (1973), Otsubo (1969), Matsuo (1978), and Iwai (1970)

Yoshida (1973) refers to *–tu* and *–nu* as so-called *kanryō* (perfect) suffixes, although he does not define what *kanryō* means. He claims that *–nu* indicates "passive declarative judgment" (p. 573) because the verbs *–nu* co-occurs with are unagentive, whereas *–tu* indicates that the subject of a sentence "confirms" the completion or the inception of an action.

Konoshima (1973) observes that *–tu* generally follows "intentional verbs," whereas *–nu* follows "unintentional" verbs. He further suggests that intentionality is tightly connected to the transitivity of the verb, so that *–tu* generally occurs with transitive verbs and that *–nu* occurs with intransitive verbs. He further states that while *–tu* indicates *keiji kanryō* (completion of durative action), *–nu* indicates *shunji kanryō* (completion of instantaneous action). Furthermore, he briefly compares the functions of *–tu* and *–nu* with those of *–ri* and *–tari,* claiming that while *–ri* and *–tari* focus on "either the continuation or the existence," *–tu* and *–nu* indicate the "real" *kanryō* meaning.

Otsubo (1969) claims that both *–tu* and *–nu* confirm the occurrence of an event. He suggests that *–tu* co-occurs with intentional or volitional actions, while *–nu* co-occurs with natural states or unintentional actions. Otsubo further proposes that *–nu* indicates the existence of a result from a realized action at the present moment and in the future, while *–tu* is used when the realization of an event equals the completion of action. Otsubo provides the following hypothetical examples, created by him, to represent the distinction he posits between the two suffixes.

(1) Hana saki-nu
flower bloom-*nu*

"Flowers have bloomed."

(2) Hana-o mi-tu
flower-ACC see-*tu*

"I saw flowers."

Otsubo states that the first example indicates that the flowers opened up and that the result of the event, i.e., the flowers being in

bloom, exists. On the other hand, the second sentence only confirms that the agent of the sentence "saw" the flowers, since there is no clear result of the action. Lastly, he points out that both *–tu* and *–nu* can be used for past events as well as future ones.

Matsuo (1978) claims that *–tu* indicates "strongly willful, intentional action, similar to past tense," whereas *–nu* indicates "natural effects, whole-body action." He cites the following four verses, all of which include verbs that host both *–tu* and *–nu*, in order to compare the semantic differences between the two suffixes.

(3) . . . 春 去 来者 不喧有之 鳥毛 来
paru sari kure-ba naka-zari-si tori-mo ki
spring move come-since chirp-NEG-ki bird-also come

鳴奴 . . .
naki-nu
chirp-*nu*

"Since the spring has come, the bird that hadn't chirped come and chirp . . ."
(MYS 1.16)

(4) 雲 上爾 鳴都流 雁 . . .
kumo(-no) upe-ni naki-turu kari
cloud(-GEN) above-DAT quack-*tu* geese

"The geese that honk above the clouds . . ."
(MYS 8.1575)

(5) . . . 伊敝 之麻婆 久毛爲爾 美延奴 . . .
Ipye zima-pa kumo-wi-ni miye-nu
Ipe island-TOP cloud-between-DAT be visible-*nu*

"Ipe Island be visible between the clouds . . ."
(MYS 15. 3627)

(6) . . . 許己呂 我奈之久 伊米爾 美要都流
kokoro ganasiku ime-ni miye-turu
heart sad dream-DAT be visible-*tu*

". . . heart-breakingly (she) be visible in my dream"
(MYS 15.3639)

Matsuo explains that *naki-nu* in (3) and *miye-nu* in (5) signify natural phenomena or unintentional actions so that "they lack the concept of result" and that "the actions progress from the past through the present to the future." On the other hand, he describes *naki-turu* in (4) and *miye-turu* in (6) as "intentional and direct with the concept of results" and "limited to prior to the present."

Iwai (1970) also states that *–tu* and *–nu* are *kanryō* suffixes. He defines *kanryō* as "the determination of a certain action, an effect, or a state at some point in time." He further claims that they have functions similar to Contemporary Japanese *–te simaw–*, which indicates completive aspect in some contexts (see §2.5.10), while they also indicate nuances of *kitto* (most likely), *tasikani* (certainly), or *kanarazu* (for sure). Iwai follows other grammarians in terms of the distinction between *–tu* and *–nu*, claiming that *–tu* indicates a sense of volition and intentionality, whereas *–nu* indicates "natural, consequential matters."

Sandness (1999) and Takeuchi (1987)

Sandness (1999) first argues that the term *kanryō* equals "perfective," rather than "perfect," claiming that "perfective" is an aspectual concept whereas "perfect" is a term for tense. She then states that *–nu* is not a *kanryō* (i.e., perfective) marker, since it indicates something equivalent to English *have* + past participle (i.e., perfect) in certain contexts. She rejects the idea that both *–tu* and *–nu* originate from lexical verbs, because she does not believe that the Japanese language was "completely uninflected" before the Nara period, apparently assuming that if all suffixes are derived from lexical items, the Japanese language must have been "completely uninflected" before their development.

Sandness claims that *–tu* and *–nu* have no semantic similarities. Instead, she compares *–tu* with *–ki*, a so-called past tense marker usually paired with *–kyeri*, assuming that *–tu* is "a kind of perfective" and *–ki* "a kind of imperfective." She provides various examples from the Heian-period literature as well as the *Man'yōshū*, where *–tu* appears in the kind of contexts where Slavic perfectives are used.

(7)	安伎能	野爾	都由	於幣流	波疑乎
	aki-no	nwo-ni	tuyu	operu	pagi-wo
	autumn-GEN field-DAT dew	bear	bush clover-ACC		

多乎良受弖 安多良 佐可里乎 須具之弖牟 . . . tawora-zu-te atara sakari-wo sugusi-te-mu pick-NEG-CONJ waste in season-ACC pass-*tu*-MOD

"The bush clover that bears dew in the autumn field. I miss its season without picking it?"
(MYS 20.4318)

Sandness suggests that –*tu* in example (7), combined with –*mu*, resembles "present perfective" in Slavic, which indicates the completion of an action in the future (i.e., "I will have missed the season").

However, Sandness further claims that there are some cases where –*tu* does not allow a perfective interpretation, such as (8) from the EMJ text, *Tosa Nikki* "The Diary of Tosa" (935, Ki-no Tsurayuki).

(8)

年ごろ	よく	比べつる	人々	別れ	難く
tosigoro	yoku	kurabe-turu	fitobito	wakare	gataku
over the years	well	get along-*tu*	people	part	difficult

思ひて . . .
omofi-te
think CONJ

"Thinking that it is difficult to part from the people with whom I get along well over the years . . ."

Sandness claims that –*tu* must be interpreted as perfect in example (8). She states that the distinction between perfective and perfect is crucial to the analysis of –*tu* (despite that fact that it was unremarked in previous analyses). She defines perfect as indicating that "an action or its effects have continued into the present from the past," whereas perfective "focuses upon a single instance, usually beginning or completion, without an ongoing action." Eventually, however, she rejects her initial hypothesis that –*tu* is some sort of perfective, claiming that there are examples in which the suffix indicates perfect. Instead, she concludes that –*tu* signifies "actions or states that end in the recent past."

Moving on to Sandness' analysis of –*nu*, she observes that –*nu* indicates both inceptive aspect and "attainment" of an action. For instance, she claims that –*nu* in (9) marks inceptive aspect, whereas in (10) it indicates attainment.

(9) . . . 伊麻思乎 多能美 波播爾 多我比奴
imasi-wo tanomi papa-ni tagapi-nu
you-ACC trust mother betray-*nu*

". . . (I) betray my mother, trusting you."
(MYS 14.3359)

(10) 阿乎 久牟乃 多奈妣久 夜麻乎
awo gumo-no tanabiku yama-wo
blue cloud-NOM trail mountain-ACC

古江弖 伎怒
kwoye-te ki-nu
go over-CONJ come-*nu*

". . . (I) come, going over the mountain which trails blue clouds . . ."
(MYS 20.4403)

Sandness points out that the Russian perfective also indicates the completion of an action as well as inceptive aspect, but does not conclude that –*nu* is a perfective marker. Instead, she states that "Classical Japanese does not necessarily follow Russian exactly." She concludes that –*nu* signifies "punctuality," which can focus on "either the beginning of an action or the moment of attainment."

Takeuchi (1987) examines the EMJ text *Tsurezuregusa*[1] in order to analyze the tense and aspect system of Classical Japanese. She claims that –*tu* indicates perfective and recent past. Takeuchi also states that the suffix –*tari* has acquired a perfective function, although she does not clearly define what she means by "perfective." Furthermore, Takeuchi claims that –*nu* indicates "limited control," which she defines as "an event accomplished with (considerable) difficulty or unintentionally on the part of the subject or another person who is in control of the action (p. 135)." In short, Takeuchi believes that –*tu* is an aspect marker, whereas –*nu* is some sort of modal marker.

Washio (2002, 2004)

Washio (2002, 2004) argues that the distinction between –*tu* and –*nu* is purely syntactic. He observes that the distribution of these two suffixes resembles the patterns of auxiliary selection found in various

European languages. He speculates that –*tu* co-occurs with transitive and unergative verbs, whereas –*nu* co-occurs with unaccusative verbs.

However, Washio observes that the auxiliary selection pattern in Old Japanese differs from that of Modern Italian, and is more similar to that of Dutch. He has found that there are a few transitive verbs, such as *wasuru* "forget," that choose –*nu* rather than –*tu*. In addition, a few verbs, such as *ki* "come," *naku* "cry," and *miyu* "come into sight," co-occur with either –*tu* or –*nu*. He claims that Dutch and Old Japanese are similar in their active parameter; that is, transitive verbs with non-agentive subjects take –*nu*, thus patterning with unaccusative verbs.

Furthermore, Washio explains why some verbs accept either suffix. For example, the verb *miyu* appears with –*nu* when the verb is used in the sense "become visible" (i.e., non-agentive), while it appears with –*tu* when it means "show oneself" (i.e., agentive). He presents German equivalents in order to strengthen his claim: the German verbs *auftauchen* "appear" selects *sein* "be," whereas *sich zeigen* "show oneself" selects *haben* "have."

In addition, Washio compares *nak–* "cry" with the Italian equivalent *squillare* or *suonare*, since both *squillare* and *suonare* are able to co-occur with both auxiliaries (i.e., *essere* and *avere*), just as *nak–* is able to take both –*tu* and –*nu*. He claims that the agentivity of the verb *nak–* (as well as its Italian equivalents) leaves some room for interpretation, since it refers to both the vocalizations of animals and human crying. That is, one can interpret animals" crying as something that just "happens" (i.e., nonagentive) or something that they willfully do (i.e., agentive), depending on the context.

Washio points out that the verb *ne-* "sleep" also accepts either suffix. He claims that the verb *ne-* takes –*tu* when the verb indicates "sleep with someone" (agentive), whereas it takes –*nu* when it means "sleep alone" (non-agentive). Lastly, Washio mentions that the verb *nak-* can take a cognate object when it has a human (agentive) subject, citing the following example.

(11) . . . 哭乎曽　　奈伎都流 . . .
ne-wo-zo　　naki-turu
cry-ACC-PART　　cry-*tu*

". . . (I) weep a weep (like a baby) . . ."
(MYS 14.3485)

Another verb that admits both *–tu* and *–nu* in the *Man'yōshū* is *ku* "come." Washio states that all of the examples where "come" takes *–tu* contain purpose clauses. He cites the following example to illustrate such cases.

(12) . . . 君 将相跡 手回 来津
kimi(-ni) apa-mu-to tamotopori ki-tu
you(-DAT) see-MOD-COMP detour come-*tu*

". . . in order to see you, I come via detour."
(MYS 8.1574)

Washio claims that the purpose clause marks the action of coming in this context as "a strongly intentional act" so that the verb selects *–tu*. He observes that the verb *ku* takes *–tu* when it is accompanied by another motion verb, such as *tamotoporu* "detour." Washio compares this phenomenon with Classical French, quoting Grevisse (1980), where motion verbs (such as *entrer*, which usually selected *être*) sometimes selected *avoir*, when the speaker wanted to "marquer l'action."

In short, Washio proposes that auxiliary selection in Old Japanese is based on the agentivity of the verb. This claim also explains why a small set of verbs can take either suffix. That is, if the agentivity of a verb depends on the context, the verb may appear with either of the suffixes.

PROBLEMS WITH PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS

There are four major problems with previous accounts of the semantics of *–tu* and *–nu*. First, as I have mentioned before, most of the previous claims confuse the semantics of co-occurring verbs with the semantics of the suffixes. That is, Japanese grammarians assume that the agentivity (or non-agentivity) of a sentence comes from the semantic properties of the suffixes, not from the argument structures of the verbs. For example, Matsuo concludes that *–tu* indicates intentional action, whereas *–nu* indicates natural effects. However, the semantic difference he observes actually comes from the nature of the verbs, not from the semantic properties of the suffixes. Yoshida has a similar standpoint. He claims that *–nu* indicates "passive judgment," whereas *–tu* indicates the subject's confirming the completion or the inception

of an action. This distinction clearly comes from the agentivity of the verbs, rather than the semantics of the suffixes.

Another problem with previous analyses is that the term *kanryō* is never clearly defined. (We encountered this problem previously in Chapter 3.) Therefore, some researchers assume that *kanryō* means something similar to English perfect, which indicates relevance between an action and a subsequent state, whereas others believe that *kanryō* equals the completion of an action, which is either completive or perfective aspect, depending on the particular analysis. For example, Sandness defines the term *kanryō* as "perfective," since she believes that "perfect" is a tense category. That is, since Sandness assumes that *–tu* and *–nu* are aspect markers, the semantic property of the suffixes cannot be "perfect," because "perfect" is not a type of aspect for her. Washio calls *–tu* and *–nu* "perfect" markers, assuming *kanryō* equals "perfect." However, he does not explicitly justify this assumption.

Third, the multi-functionality of the two suffixes is misconstrued and used solely for the purpose of refuting previous claims. Sandness concludes that *–tu* is not a perfective marker, since the suffix indicates an aspectual meaning similar to the English perfect as well as the Russian perfective. However, Pre-modern Japanese is not unique in having aspectual markers that can signify more than one aspectual meaning, as we saw in Chapter 2. For example, we saw in §2.5.7 that perfective markers in Russian and French can indicate perfect aspect as well as perfective. In fact, this multi-functionality of *–tu* is a strong indication that the suffix is a perfective marker. I will come back to this issue in the next section.

Lastly, the selection of data risks creating inconsistencies in the analyses, as discussed in §2.6. For example, Sandness uses *Kojiki*, *Man'yōshū*, *Genji Monogatari*, and other sources to identify the function of each suffix. This is based on her apparent view that "Classical" Japanese constitutes a coherent entity from the standpoint of linguistic analysis. However, the time period of these texts ranges from the late 7th century to the 11th century. We certainly cannot assume that the grammar of the Japanese language did not change at all over this period of some 400 years. The same problem applies to Takeuchi, who adopts *Tsurezuregusa* as representative of Japanese for an even longer period that lasts from the 8th century to the 14th century.

–TU AND *–NU* IN THE *MAN'YŌSHŪ*

In determining the token frequency of each suffix, I exclude the conjunctive forms of the suffixes (*–te* and *–ni*), as these are often used as conjunctive particles, with no evident tense- or aspect-marking function. It is very likely that these forms had already lost the function of aspect markers in many contexts, and were often used as connective particles. For example, *–te* in (13) merely combines two incidents, *nwopye-ni iporu* "stay in the field" and *ywo-no puru* "night pass." In addition, *–ni* appears as a conjunction between two verbs in (14), an expression equivalent to Contemporary Japanese *mi-ni kuru* "come and see, come to see." That is, it simply combines *miru* "see" and *ku* "come." In short, neither *–te* nor *–ni* indicates aspectual meanings in these examples.

(13) . . . 野邊尓 盧而 夜乃 歷者 . . .
nwopye-ni ipori-te ywo-no pure-ba
field-at stay-*te* night-NOM pass-since

". . . since the night passes while camping in the field . . ."
(MYS 6.1029)

(14) 高山与 耳梨山与 相之 時
kagu yama-to miminasi yama-to api-si toki
Kagu mountain-and Miminasi mountain-and fight-PAST when

立 見尓 来之 伊奈美國波良
tati(-te) mi-ni ko-si inamikunipara
stand up(-CONJ) see-*ni* come-PAST Inamikunipara

"Inamikunipara (placename), where (Mt. Kagu and Mt. Miminasi) stood up and went to see, when Mt. Kagu and Mt. Miminasi fought."
(MYS 1.14)

Although *–te* and *–ni* may have retained their original aspectual meanings in some of their occurrences, it is very difficult to determine objectively that these examples are indeed aspect markers, rather than

particles. Therefore, I have excluded verbs that co-occur with *–te* and *–ni* from the list in order to avoid confusing suffix and particle function. The following list shows the verbs that appear with *–tu* (total of 149 occurrences) in the *Man'yōshū*.

- 32 occurrences
  - *miru* "to look"
- 10 occurrences
  - *nageku* "to lament"
- 9 occurrences
  - *kiku* "to listen"
- 8 occurrences
  - *naku* "to cry"
- 7 occurrences
  - *miyu* "to come into sight"
- 6 occurrences
  - *tugu* "to tell"
- 5 occurrences
  - *ipu* "to say," *kazasu* "to decorate," *ipu* "to say," and *omopu* "to think"
- 4 occurrences
  - *kurasu* "to live" and *tirasu* "to spread"
- 3 occurrences
  - *ari* "to exist," *kokiiru* "to enter by rowing," *sinobu* "to bare," *kapyesu* "to return (vt.)," *kataru* "to talk," *ku* "to come," *maturu* "to enshrine," *miseru* "to show," *negapu* "to wish, hope," *neru* "to lie down," *noru* "to tell," *nurasu* "to make (something) wet," *oku* "to put down," *sugusu* "to pass (time)," *agu* "to raise," *akasu* "to dawn," *aswobu* "to play," *ibapetatu* "to lie on one's stomach and stand up," *iru* "to enter," *kapyerimiru* "to reflect, look back," *kakiru* "to comb," *kaku* "to hang," *kakusu* "to hide," *kataritugu* "to tell," *kiriyuku* "to get foggy," *kokoropyedatu* "to hearts become apart (change of heart)," *kotideru* "to tell," *kototukusu* "to exhaust words," *magapu* "to mix up," *mimokapasu* "to look at each other," *musubu* "to tie," *nagekwosu* "to go across by throwing," *nasu* "to make," *nomu* "to drink," *padisu* "to feel ashamed," *pidu* "to not become dry," *pirakiakeru* "to open (vt.)," *piripu* "to spread," *piru* "to dry," *purasu* "to make (something) fall," *puru* "to fall," *puru* "to shake," *sadamu* "to decide," *suru* "to dye," *sadamu* "to decide," *sutu* "to dye," *sutu* "to throw away," *suweru*

"to set," *takaru* "to gather," *tamotoporiku* "to detour," *taoru* "to break (vt.)," *tobasu* "to let (something) fly," *ukepu* "to tell a fortune," and *yurusu* "to forgive"

In addition, the following list shows the verbs that appear with *–nu* (510 occurrences) in the *Man'yōshū*.

- 57 occurrences
  - *ku* "to come"
- 50 occurrences
  - *nari* "to become"
- 20 occurrences
  - *sugu* "to pass"
- 19 occurrences
  - *iroduku* "to become colorful"
- 16 occurrences
  - *pu* "to pass (time)"
- 15 occurrences
  - *kopu* "to long for" and *saku* "to bloom"
- 13 occurrences
  - *puku* "to become dark," *naku* "to cry," and *nureru* "to get wet"
- 11 occurrences
  - *tiru* "to get disorganized"
- 10 occurrences
  - *aku* "to get bored," *kopiwataru* "to keep longing," *tatu* "to stand up," and *yoru* "to get closer"
- 9 occurrences
  - *areru* "to become rough" and *puku* "to blow"
- 8 occurrences
  - *apu* "to be suited, be matched," *kakuru* "to hide," *oku* "to get up," *wakaru* "to get separated"
- 7 occurrences
  - *tapu* "to die out"
- 6 occurrences
  - *idu* "to exit," *naru* "to get used to," and *tikaduku* "to approach"
- 5 occurrences
  - *opu* "to grow" and *uturopu* "to fade"
- 4 occurrences
  - *ku* "to extinguish (vi.)," *puru* "to age," and *tagapu* "to be mistaken"

- 3 occurrences
  - *patu* "to stop (ship)," *pu* "to dry," *imasu* "to exist, sit," *iru* "to enter, *karu* "to depart," *kopu* "to wish," *kogu* "to row," *kureru* "to get dark, *masu* "to increase," *neru* "to lie down, *simu* "to sink in," *siru* "to learn," *wasuru* "to forget," *wopu* "to age," *yasu* "to lose weight"
- 2 occurrences
  - *akiduku* "to become autumn" *amesirasu* "to die" *ayu* "to drop" *idu* "to exit" *puru* "to fall," *kapyeru* "to return" *katabuku* "to become slanted" *kamisusabu* "to become divine," *kiyu* "to get extinguished," *kwoyu* "to cross" *miyu* "to come into sight," *moyu* "to burn," *nagu* "to become calm," *naru* "to grow," *noru* "to tell" *saru* "to depart," *somu* "to become dyed," *su* "to do," *tapu* "to endure," *tatiwataru* "to spread," *todomaru* "to stay," *tuku* "to disappear," *tumoru* "to cumulate (vi.)," and *yuku* "to go"
- 1 occurrence
  - *apiwakaru* "to become separated," *akatuku* "to become dirty," *amaru* "to have left over" *ariku* "to walk," *asipumu* "to step," *asu* "to become full" *papu* "to crawl," *pyedatu* "to get separated," *pyenaru* "be separated," *purisiku* "to accumulate," *iparu* "be told," *itaru* "to reach," *iyuku* "to go," *kapyeriku* "to return," *kamibu* "to become divine," *kanapu* "to come true," *karu* "to die," *katamaku* "(time) to come," *kayopu* "to commute," *keusu* "to disappear," *kikiwataru* "to listen for a long time," *kiru* "to put on," *kopiwabu* "to lose energy to love," *koporiwataru* "to get frozen," *kogiidu* "to exit by rowing," *kokemusu* "to become mossy," *komoru* "to hide," *koyasu* "to die," *kwoyu* "to cross," *kudatu* "become slanted, old," *masaru* "to exceed," *matu* "to wait," *mapusitamapu* "to tell," *mayupu* "to become loose," *midareyasu* "to become disorganized," *mitiru* "to become full," *miyabu* "be elegant," *momidu* "(leaves) to turn color," *moyu* "to grow," *nakiwataru* "to cry loudly," *natuku* "to become familiar," *nipopu* "to smell," *nikibu* "to become familiar," *opitugu* "to grow," *okuru* "to get behind," *omopituku* "to feel affection," *otoropu* "to decline," *otu* "to fall," *sapataru* "to cross," *sakaru* "to become separated," *saku* "to break (vi.)," *sasiidu* "to shine," *sasu* "to insert," *sasu* "to shine," *sawagu* "to make noises," *sayaru* "to get stuck," *sipamu* "to wrinkle," *sipu* "to become disabled," *sigupiapu* "to bite each other," *sinopiku* "to come secretly," *sinupu* "to long for," *siraku* "to become white," *sirasu* "to notify," *sirau* "to tune," *somu* "to

start," *taduneku* "to visit," *tamaparu* "to be given," *tanabiku* "to float," *tatisiku* "to pile," *tatu* "to depart," *tayutapu* "to float," *teru* "to shine," *toposoku* "to become far," *tugu* "to succeed," *uraburu* "to feel disappointed," *uturu* "to change (vi.)," *wabu* "to feel disappointed," *wasurapu* "to forget," *wataru* "to cross," *witeku* "to pull," *wodayesu* "to break," *wotimasu* "to become young," *wotu* "to become young," *yadoru* "to dwell," *yamu* "to stop," *yepu* "to get drunk," *yobapu* "to visit," *yukikapyeru* "to go and return," *yukiwakaru* "to become separated," *yuturu* "to change (vi.)," and *torapu* "to hold"

Lastly, the following list demonstrates the verbs that appear with both –*tu* and –*nu*.

- *ku* "to come"
  - co-occurrence with –*tu*: 2
  - co-occurrence with –*nu*: 57
- *naku* "to cry"
  - co-occurrence with –*tu*: 8
  - co-occurrence with –*nu*: 13
- *neru* "to sleep"
  - co-occurrence with –*tu*: 2
  - co-occurrence with –*nu*: 3
- *miyu* "to come into sight"
  - co-occurrence with –*tu*: 7
  - co-occurrence with –*nu*: 2
- *furu* "to fall"
  - co-occurrence with –*tu*: 1
  - co-occurrence with –*nu*: 2

There is a very clear difference between the verbs that appear with –*tu* and those that appear with –*nu*. The data confirms Washio's claim that –*tu* applies to transitive verbs and intransitive verbs that are typically considered to be unergative, whereas –*nu* applies to intransitive verbs that are usually considered to be unaccusative verbs. Washio's proposal provides a theoretical basis for the observation of Japanese grammarians that –*tu* generally tends to appear with transitive/volitional actions while –*nu* appears with intransitive/non-volitional actions. I found five verbs that select both of the suffixes. I would like to add to Washio's explanation and point out that the verb *ne*- "sleep,"

like *nak-* "cry," can be used in a structure that resembles a transitive construction with cognate object. For example, the verb *ne-* appears with the noun *i* "sleep" in the following example.

(15)

弊	於毛負等	伊乎	禰受	乎禮婆 . . .
ipe	omopu-to	i-wo	ne-zu	wore-ba
home	think-CONJ	sleep-ACC	sleep-NEG	be-since

"Because I am here without sleeping a sleep, thinking of home . . ."
(MYS 20.4400)

Japanese grammarians have analyzed this passage as an example of the verb *ne-* "sleep" taking the noun *i* "sleep" as a direct object. If this is the correct interpretation of the structure *i-wo ne-*, it would be equivalent to the example cited by Washio, which shows the usage of *nak-* "cry" with the cognate object *ne* "sound," although the noun *i* is not strictly a cognate object. An alternative to this analysis has been proposed by Yanagida and Whitman (2012). They claim that *i-* is a verbal prefix, which co-occurs only with "active verbs" (i.e., agentive verbs). This proposal explains the distribution of the prefix more appropriately than the traditional analysis, since *i-* appears not only with the verb *ne-* "sleep," but also with various other verbs, such as *yuk-* "go," *purer-* "touch," or *kakur-* "hide," where having a noun meaning "sleep" as a direct object would not make sense. Therefore, example (15), where *ne-* co-occurs with *i-*, is an indication that the verb *ne-* can be an agentive verb. That is, in addition to the "gradient agentivity" of these verbs caused by having multiple meanings (i.e., sleeping with someone vs. just sleeping alone in case of *ne-*, or crying of an animal vs. crying of a human in the case of *nak-*), the prefixation also can affect the agentivity of the verbs.

I also want to add a piece of typological evidence in support of the explanation for the behavior of the verb *ku* "come" given by Washio. Mateu (2006) observes that the verb "come" in Old Catalan selects both "be" and "have" as auxiliaries, just as Old Japanese *ku* selects both *–nu* and *–tu*. He provides the examples below, cited from Batlle (2002). Although these examples do not show the difference in intentionality that the parallel Japanese examples do, they give evidence for the typological possibility that motion verbs, while in many languages strongly inclined to select "be," can in some languages appear with either auxiliary.

(16) A 14 de yuliol, per les noves que heren vingudes que los tortosins

(17) At 14 of july, by the news that were come-pl that the Tortosians

havien deixat pasar lo conseller per Tortosa, . . .
had let pass the consultant through Tortosa,
Desplau: 110; XVI c.)

(18) Vuy, que contam a 3 de desembre, ha vingut nova com don
Today, that count at 3 of December, has come-sg new(s) how Mr.

Alonso no havie ynnovat alguna cosa
Alonso not had innovated some thing
Desplau: 114; XVI c.)

Sorace (2000), citing Grevisse (1993), points out that non-directional motion verbs, such as *passer* "pass," *monter* "climb," or *échapper* "escape" accept both *être* and *avoir* in Modern French. The following examples show that the verb *échapper* appears with both *être* and *avoir* (Sorace 2000: 867).

(19) La cause de ce phénomène a jusqu'à présent échappé à toutes
the cause of this phenomenon has up to now escaped to all

les recherches.
the investigations

"The cause of this phenomenon has so far escaped all investigations."

(20) Son secret lui est échappé.
his secret to-him is escaped

"His secret escaped him."

Sorace claims that the different auxiliaries are selected in the examples because the examples differ in "inferrable, rather than overtly expressed, telicity." That is, *échapper* in example (19) selects "be" since the sentence indicates a telic event, whereas (18) selects "have," since it implies a "continuous process (p. 866)."

Bentley and Eythórsson (2003) also claim that auxiliary selection for *correre* "run" (but not other non-directional motion verbs) in Italian is sensitive to telicity (p. 462).

(21) Ho corso
have-1sg run

"I have run"

(22) Sono corso a casa (di proposito)
be-1sg run-pp.m.sg to house (of purpose)

"I have (lit. am) run home (on purpose)"

Bentley et al. claim that the verb *correre* selects "have" in example (20), which denotes the general action of running, whereas the same verb selects "be" in example (21), since the action is telic.

These observations are in fact the opposite of Washio's claim that the verb *ku* "come" in Old Japanese selects *–tu* when the verb appears with a purpose clause, although it generally selects *–nu*. Nonetheless, we see that purposefulness affects auxiliary selection in both languages.

In addition, Washio observes that when *ku* is accompanied by a non-directional motion verb, it selects *–tu* as discussed in 3.2.3. This finding agrees with Aranovich's observation (2003) that the verb *correr* "run" appears with "have," while the verb *ir* "go" appears with "be" in the 17th-century Spanish corpus.

(23) Y que por mejillas tan recatadas haya corrido un licor tan precioso.
"And that on such tender cheeks such precious liquor has run."

Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregon, by Vicente Espinel
(Aranovich 2003:5)

(24) Porque es ydo en Romeria.
"Because he has gone on a pilgrimage."

Las mocedades del Cid, by Guillém de Castro
(Aranovich 2003:5)

Aranovich discovers that even though both *correr* and *ir* appeared with "have" as well as "be" in the 13th century, *correr* (but not *ir*) started to require "have" in the 17th century. This finding suggests, as Sorace (2000) claims, that unaccusativity is "hierarchical." That is, a given language may consider the directional motion verbs ("go" or "come," for example), higher in unaccusativity than non-directional motion verbs ("run" or "walk," for example) so that the former type of

intransitive verb is usually associated with the unaccusative auxiliary ("be" or *–nu* in Old Japanese), while the latter may or may not be associated with the unergative auxiliary ("have" or *–tu* in Old Japanese), depending on the language.

In short, I support Washio's explanation for the conditions of auxiliary selection. However, I believe that the semantics of *–tu* and *–nu* need to be reconsidered. As I mentioned in §4.2, Washio simply states that the suffixes are "perfect" markers, probably simply because he used the term "perfect" as a translation for the term *kanryō*. However, I argue here that *–tu* and *–nu* are perfective markers.

Let us focus on examples where the suffixes *–tu* and *–nu* appear with adverbials, especially those with a "deictic" temporal reference. I use the term "deictic temporal adverbials" for adverbials that indicate a specific point in time, such as "tomorrow," "yesterday," "today," or "at two o'clock," rather than "for three hours," "since last year," or "until five o'clock," all of which indicate a period of time. The reason why I focus on the co-occurrence of deictic temporal adverbials with *–tu* and *–nu* is that typological studies have found that perfective aspect markers can co-occur with deictic temporal adverbials, while perfect markers cannot, as discussed in §2.5.8.

At a glance, *–tu* and *–nu* appear to be very similar to the English perfect. For example, there are abundant examples where the suffixes are used with the word "today" or "tonight" as in (25), (26), and (27).

(25)

音	聞	目者	未	見	吉野河 . . .
oto-ni	kiki	me(-ni)-pa	mada	mi(-nu)	yosinwo gapa
Sound-DAT	hear	eyes-DAT-TOPIC	yet	see(-NEG)	Yoshino river

今日	見鶴
kyepu	mi-turu
today	see-*tu*

"Today, I see the Yoshino river . . . , which I had heard of but hadn't seen yet."
(MYS 7.1105)

(26)

. . . 黄葉	手折来而	今夜	挿頭都
momitiba	tawori-te	koyopi	kazasi-tu
maple	break off-CONJ	tonight	decorate-*tu*

" . . . I broke off a maple branch and decorate it (in my hair) tonight."
(MYS 8.1588)

(27) . . . 自 妻跡 憑有 今夜
wa(-ga) tuma-to tanome-ru koyopi
I(-GEN) spouse-COMP trust-*ri* tonight

秋 夜 百夜乃 長
aki(-no) ywo(-no) momoywo-no naga-sa
autumn(-GEN) night(-NOM) hundred night-GEN long-NOM

有 與宿
ari kose-nu
be give-*nu*

"(I wish) tonight would give (me the favor of) being a hundred times longer than one autumn night, when I can trust (her) as my spouse."
(MYS 4.546)

In (25), (26), and (27), the suffixes can be interpreted as indicating actions that have taken place prior to the utterance time, but relevant to the state at the utterance time, in the same way as the English perfect functions. However, notice that it is unnecessary to read the suffixes as perfect. Even if one interprets the suffixes in these examples as perfective/past (i.e., "Today, I saw the Yoshino river," "I decorated it tonight," or "The night gave me a favor tonight") instead of perfect (i.e., "I have seen the Yoshino river," "I have decorated it," or "The night has given me a favor tonight"), the verses are still acceptable. In fact, the perfective/past reading seems better for (25), since the poet is talking about what he did earlier that day. I have found further evidence which confirms that *–tu* and *–nu* are perfective markers, rather than perfect. For example, there are passages in the *Man'yōshū* in which adverbials having a clear past reference co-occur with *–tu* and *–nu*:

(28) . . . 吾 恋 君曽 伎賊乃 夜 夢所
wa-ga kopuru kimi-zo kiso-no ywo yume-ni
I-NOM love lover-PART yesterday-GEN night dream-DAT

見鶴
miye-turu
see-*tu*

". . . (I) see the lover I am in love with in my dream last night."
(MYS 2.150)

(29)

荒野等丹	里者雖有	大王之	敷座
aranora-ni	satwo-wa-are-domo	Opokimi-no	siki-masu
wilderness-DAT	town-TOP-be-but	emperor-NOM	reign-HON

時者	京師跡	成宿
toki-wa	miyakwo-to	nari-nu
time-TOP	capital-COMP	become-*nu*

"The town is (now just) wilderness, it become the capital when Emperor (Kotoku) reigned over it.
(MYS 6.929)

In (28), the suffix –*tu* is used with the adverbial "last night," which clearly has a past reference. Example (29) is given as an answer to poem 928, which speaks of the past glory of a former capital, Naniwa, during the reign of emperor Kotoku. Therefore, the phrase "the emperor reigned over it" indicates a time period in the past.

Furthermore, –*nu* is used with adverbials with a clear future reference. Otsubo (1969) observes that –*tu* and –*nu* are used for describing future as well as present events, as discussed in §3.2.1. However, the important point is that the suffixes actually appear with adverbials with a clear deictic time reference. In these examples, –*nu* accompanies an action that will be completed at the reference time in the future.[2]

(30)

毛毛可斯母	由加奴	麻都遲	阿須波
momo ka-simo	yuka-nu	matura di	asu-pa
hundred day about	go-NEG	Matura road	tomorrow-TOP

吉奈武 . . .
ki-na-mu
come-*nu*-MOD

"Matura road that does not take 100 days to travel, (I) would probably come (back home) tomorrow . . ."
(MYS 5.870)

(31)

. . . 父母爾	事毛	告良比	如明日	
titi papa-ni	koto-mo	norapi	asu-no-goto	
father mother-DAT	thing-also	tell	tomorrow-GEN-as	
吾者	来南 . . .			
ware-pa	ki-na-mu			
I-TOP	come-*nu*-MOD			

. . . (I will tell) the circumstances to (my) father and mother, and I will come as soon as tomorrow . . ."
(MYS 9.1740)

(32)

. . . 手向之	山乎	明日香	越将去
tamuke-no	yama-wo	asu-ka	sugi-na-mu
farewell-GEN	mountain-ACC	tomorrow-PART	pass-*nu*-MOD

" . . . (I) will pass the mountain tomorrow where the farewell (ceremony) is done."
(MYS 12.3151)

(33)

明日者	来牟等	云子鹿 . . .
asu-pa	ki-na-mu-to	ipi-te-sika
tomorrow-TOPIC	come-*nu*-MOD-COMP	say-CONJ-*ki*

"I said that I probably come tomorrow . . ."
(MYS 10.1817)

These examples look similar to the future perfect in English "will have + past participle," which denotes an event completed sometime in the future. However, the English future perfect cannot be used to indicate an action occurring at the time expressed by the deictic temporal adverbials. Compare (34) and (35) with (30) to (33)

(34) I will have finished my work tomorrow.
(35) I will have finished my work by tomorrow.

The actions expressed in (30) to (33) are completed at the point that the adverbial indicates (i.e., reference time). On the other hand, the English future perfect indicates an action that is completed before a specific point in time in the future (i.e., reference time), but has some relevance to the state in the reference time. That is, the completion of the action (i.e., situation time) must be prior to the reference time.

In addition, *–tu* and *–nu* often co-occur with the word "now." In the following examples, the actions expressed with the suffixes have no relevance to the subsequent states, since the reference time, the situation time, and the utterance time all coincide. Note that the English perfect co-occurring with the word "now," as in (36), cannot indicate a reference time coincident with situation time, just as "tomorrow" and perfect cannot. That is, (36) indicates that "you" did something bad recently, but not at the exact moment the sentence is uttered. In (37), (38), and (39), *–tu* and *–nu* appear with actions that just happened at utterance time.

(36) What have you done now?

(37)

雁鳴者	今者	来	鳴沼 . . .
karigane-pa	ima-pa	ki	naki-nu
geese-TOP	now-TOP	come	sing-*nu*

"The geese come and sing now . . ."
(MYS 10.2183)

(38)

. . . 奈爾波都爾	美布禰於	呂須恵	伊麻波	許伎奴
nanipa zu-ni	mi-pune-wo	orosuwe	ima-pa	kogi-nu
Nanipa bay-DAT	HON-ship-ACC	put down	now-TOP	row-*nu*

". . . (we) set the ship at Nanipa bay and row off now."
(MYS 18.4363)

(39)

今者	明奴登	開戸手 . . .
ima-pa	ake-nu-to	to-wo ake-te
now-TOPIC	sun rise-MOD-CONJ	door-ACC open-*tu*

"My lover who open the door, since the sun rise now . . ."
(MYS 13.3321)

Furthermore, actions co-occurring with –*tu* and –*nu* do not necessarily need to be entirely completed. That is, the suffixes are not completive markers. Examine the following examples.

(40)

今夜之	早	開者 . . .	秋
koyopi-no	payaku	ake(-na)-ba	aki(-no)
tonight-GEN	soon	open(-*nu*)-if	autumn(-GEN)

百夜乎	願鶴
momoyo-wo	negapi-turu
hundred-(ACC)	wish-*tu*

"If tonight ends so soon, (it would be so sad) . . . that I wish (tonight to be as long as) the hundred autumn nights . . ."
(MYS 4.548)

(41)

. . . 板戸乎	音	速見 . . .	霜
itadwo-wo	oto(-wo)	haya-mi	simo(-no)
wood door-ACC	sound(-ACC)	loud(-since)	frost(-GEN)

上爾	寝奴
upe-ni	ne-nu
above-DAT	sleep-*nu*

" . . . the noise of the door (=knocking of the door) is so loud . . . I sleep on the frost (=outside)."
(MYS 11.2616)

In (40), –*tu* is attached to the verb *negap-* "hope, wish." It is very unnatural to interpret the phrase *negapi-turu* in this example as "(I) completely finished wishing." Similarly, *ne-nu* does not mean "I completely slept" in (41). Therefore, –*tu* and –*nu* do not indicate the completion of an action; rather, they indicate an action or an event as a whole without attention to the internal structure. That is, these two suffixes signify perfective aspect.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I examined the two suffixes, –*tu* and –*nu*, which are traditionally called *kanryō* suffixes, together with *–(ye)ri* and *–tari*.

By examining the occurrence of these two suffixes in the *Man'yōshū*, I have found that the syntactic analysis proposed by Washio (2002) is accurate; *–tu* is used with active verbs, whereas *–nu* is used with inactive verbs.

However, I propose that *–tu* and *–nu* are perfective markers, rather than *kanryō* "perfect." I have demonstrated that both of the suffixes co-occur with adverbials with deictic temporal adverbials, which is a characteristic of perfective markers, but not of perfect markers. In addition, I have provided examples where the suffixes appear in all three tenses. Therefore, the suffixes cannot be absolute tense markers.

NOTES

1. A collection of essays by Yoshida Kenkō dated c. 1330 AD.
2. I could not find any examples where deictic adverbials indicating future co-occur with *–tu*.

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–*tari* and other emerging markers

In this chapter, I discuss aspectual expressions which appear to be relatively new in the 8th century: *–tari*, *wiru,* and *wori*. I believe that these three patterns were the latest developments at the time of the *Man'yōshū*, for the following two reasons. First, each of the patterns indicates a very specific aspectual meaning, co-occurring with limited semantic types of verbs; that is, the suffixes have a single aspectual function. Second, all of the markers seem to still retain their original lexical meanings in many examples, although often an aspectual interpretation is also possible. Note that the suffix *–tari*, which is usually compared with *–(ye)ri*, is grouped in this category. I discuss the two suffixes separately, because I believe that *–tari* was still an emerging marker with a limited function in the *Man'yōshū* era, whereas *–(ye)ri* was a highly grammaticalized marker with a broad aspectual range of functions. I show that traditional claims that *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are largely synonymous are incorrect.

These three markers share similar sources: all of them originate from existential verbs. The suffix *–tari* contains the verb *ari*, which means "to exist." The lexical meaning of *woru* is identical to *ari*, although the usage of the verb is restricted to the first and second person as well as non-human subjects probably because it was used only for familiar (non-honorific) subjects (Sakakura 1977). The verb *wiru* was not an existential verb in *Man'yōshū*; it meant "sit." However, its meaning eventually shifted and it means "exist" in Contemporary Japanese.

–TARI

Syntactic Characteristics of *–tari*

The origin of the suffix *–tari* is said to be the conjunctive particle *–te* (which probably developed from the conjunctive form of the suffix *–tu*), followed by the verb *ari*. In *Man'yōshū*, one can find both the non-contracted form of *–tari* (i.e., *–te ari*) and the contracted form (i.e., *–tari*). The inflectional pattern of the suffix is identical to that of the verb *ari*:

Table 4.1. The inflectional patterns of the suffix –tari and the verb ari

	form	
function	***–tari***	***ari***
mizen (irrealis)	*tara*	*ara*
ren'yō (conjunctive)	*tari*	*ari*
shūshi (conclusive)	*tari*	*ari*
rentai (attributive)	*taru*	*aru*
izen (realis)	*tare*	*are*
meirei (imperative)	*tare*	*are*

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the suffix *–tari* follows the *ren'yō* "conjunctive" form of the verb. For instance, if the verb *sak–* "bloom" precedes the suffix, the conjunctive form *saki–* is used (i.e., *saki-tari*). It has been claimed that *–tari* has more combinatory freedom than *–(ye) ri*; while *–tari* co-occurs with all types of verbs, *–(ye)ri* only co-occurs with quadrigrade, *sa-hen* "sa-irregular" verbs, and possibly *kahen* "ka-irregular" verbs.

Previous Analyses of the Semantics of *–tari*

As discussed in Chapter 3, some grammarians have claimed that *–(ye) ri* and *–tari* have no semantic differences, while others believe that they are distinct both syntactically and semantically. After briefly reviewing the former view, already introduced in Chapter 3, I discuss the latter class of analyses in the following section.

Matsuo (1978), Yamaguchi (1985), Tsunoji (1975), and Hashimoto (1969)

The proposals by Matsuo (1978), Yamaguchi (1985), and Tsunoji (1975) claim that *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are semantically identical. Matsuo claims that both suffixes indicate *sonzai* "existence," although *–tari* tends to signify *kekka sonzai* (existence of a result). Ultimately, Matsuo concludes that the main difference between the two is the number of moras rather than the semantics. That is, the metrical requirements of the poems determine which suffix should be used, not a semantic motivation.

Yamaguchi briefly states that both *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* indicate "the continuation of an action or the effect of an action, or the reminiscence of a result" as well as so-called "emphasis function."

Tsunoji also claims that *–tari* has the same function as *–(ye)ri*, citing the following examples:

(1)

吾者毛也	安見兒	得有 . . .	得難爾	為云
ware-wa-moya	yasumikwo	e-tari	e-gata-ni	su-topu
I-TOP-wow	Yasumiko	get-*tari*	gain-difficult-DAT	do-say

安見兒	衣多利
yasumikwo	e-tari
Yasumiko	get-*tari*

"I get Yasumiko (as a wife) . . . I get Yasumiko that was said to be hard to get."
(MYS 2.95)

(2)

桃	花	紅色爾	爾保比多流 . . .
momo(-no)	pana	kurenai iro-ni	nipoi-taru
peach(GEN)	flower	red color-DAT	smell-*tari*

"The peach flowers that smell in red . . ."
(MYS 19.4192)

Tsunoji states that *–tari* indicates the state that the author has a wife in (1), whereas it indicates the state of the peach flowers in bloom in (2), just as the suffix *–(ye)ri* would.

Hashimoto (1969) claims that *–tari* indicates "the continuation of an action or the effect of an action" and "the state or the existence of

a result," whereas –*(ye)ri* describes "the state of an action or a result" without elaborating on what these descriptions actually mean. Although Hashimoto seems to find some semantic distinction between the two markers, judging by these definitions, he also states that –*tari* is used as a substitute for –*(ye)ri* when it is selected for syntactic reasons. Therefore, it appears that Hashimoto believes that –*tari* and –*(ye)ri* are not significantly different in functional or semantic terms.

Konoshima (1973), Yoshida (1973), and Sandness (1990)

Konoshima, Yoshida, and Sandness claim that the function of –*(ye)ri* and that of –*tari* are distinct, although the differences they propose are not always clearly defined. Konoshima (1973) claims that –*(ye)ri* signifies "the existence of an action" or "the continuation of effect," while –*tari* indicates "the existence of a result," equating the two suffixes with V + *oru* and V + *toru* (< *te-oru*) respectively in the Western dialects in Contemporary Japanese.

Konoshima also points out the possibility that –*tari* marks *keizoku* "continuous, progressive" aspect, although he does not clarify the difference between *keizoku* and the function he defines for –*(ye)ri* (i.e., "the existence of an action" or "the continuation of effect"; §see 3.1.2.2). He cites the following verse as an example.

(3) . . . 月者 弖利多里 伊刀麻 奈久 . . .
tuki-wa teri-tari itoma naku
moon shine-*tari* interval none

"The moon shine constantly . . ."
(MYS 15.3672)

Konoshima explains this phenomenon by claiming that the combinatory restriction on –*(ye)ri* eventually resulted in –*tari* taking over the *keizoku* (continuous/progressive) function from –*(ye)ri*.

Yoshida (1973) briefly comments that –*tari* has a "stronger" meaning than –*(ye)ri* although both signify *kanryō*. He claims that –*tari* indicates the confirmation of the present state and the progression or process of an action or event.

Sandness (1990) observes that –*tari* sometimes functions similarly to English perfect "tense,"[1] but not *kanryō*, since she believes that the Japanese term *kanryō* means "perfective aspect," which she defines as equivalent to Contemporary Japanese –*te simaw–*. However, Sandness

does not explain why the translation of *kanryō* must be "perfective aspect," instead of "perfect." Moreover, she does not explain the motivation for defining *–te simaw–* as a perfective marker, nor does she define what perfective aspect is. In fact, as mentioned in §1.4, the term *kanryō* is usually used to translate the term "perfect" in textbooks in Japan, including the English perfect. In addition, the usage of *–te simaw–* differs from so-called perfective markers seen in Slavic languages. Sandness also claims that *–tari* can indicate present tense, citing examples from the EMJ texts *Ise Monogatari*[2] and *Murasaki-shikibu Nikki*.[3] Sandness finally concludes that *–tari* indicates resultative aspect.

Although the details of these analyses vary, all of them seem to suggest that *–tari* signifies "the existence of result" as well as progressive or continuous, although none of the analyses define these aspectual concepts clearly. In the following section, I examine the accuracy of these claims based on the semantics of the verbs they select.

–tari in the *Man'yōshū*

As I mentioned earlier, the suffix *–tari* appears in two forms in the *Man'yōshū*; one is the contracted form *–tari*, another is the non-contracted form *–te ari*. I include both forms in my data, unlike traditional analyses which do not take the non-contracted form into consideration.

On the other hand, I exclude examples where a logograph (有 or 在) is used, since the exact reading of these characters in such cases cannot be determined, as we saw in the case of *–(ye)ri* in Chapter 3. The philological tradition claims that there are 167 occurrences of *–tari* in the *Man'yōshū*. However, 67 of these alleged instances are written in logographs; 22 are not written in any characters (i.e., they are inserted in the reading of the text by philologists), and 78 are in *ongana.* For example, the following example is claimed to contain two examples of *–tari*, both of which are written using the logograph 在.

(4)	. . . 人母	許等期等	目	前爾	見在	知在 . . .
	pito-mo	koto goto	me(-no)	mapye-ni	mi-tari	siri-tari
	people-also	thing thing	eye (-GEN)	front-in	see-*tari*	learn-*tari*

". . . the people also see and learn it in front of (their) eyes . . ." (MYS 5.894)

The suffixes written with a logograph 在 in this example follow verbs that are also written with logographs (見 "see" and 知 "get to know"). That is, the exact readings of the verbs cannot be identified with complete certainty, as I mentioned in the previous chapter. Therefore, I have included only examples written in *ongana* (such as 多里, 多流, etc.) in my analysis. The following list demonstrate the occurrence of *–tari* in the *Man'yōshū* (84 examples total; 76 are with [+telic] verbs).

- 7 occurrences
  - *saku* "to bloom" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- 5 occurrences
  - *omopu* "to think" quadrigrade; activity
- 3 occurrences
  - *okuru* "to get behind, delayed" bigrade; achievement
- 2 occurrences
  - *kiku* "to listen" quadrigrade; activity
  - *kopu* "to long for" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *komoru* "to hide" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *naduku* "to feel nostalgic" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *tayu* "to become extinct, disappear" bigrade; achievement
  - *teru* "to shine" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *iku* "to go" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *kiku* "to listen" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *tapu* "to endure" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- 1 occurrence
  - *asanagisu* "(the sea) to become calm" sa-irregular; achievement
  - *apasu* "to put together" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *idu* "to get out" bigrade; achievement
  - *iorisu* "lodge" sa-irregular; achievement
  - *isamu* "to invigorate" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *kasumu* "to get foggy" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *kiyeusu* "to disappear" bigrade; achievement
  - *kurusikaru* "to get embarrassed" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *maziru* "to get mixed" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *makasu* "to let it be" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *midaru* "to get cluttered" bigrade; achievement
  - *mituru* "to get filled up" quadrigrade; accomplishment
  - *miyabu* "to become noble" quadrigrade; achievement
  - *miyu* "to come into sight" bigrade; achievement

- *mu* "to decrease" bigrade; achievement
- *nadumu* "to get stuck" quadrigrade; achievement
- *namu* "to line up" quadrigrade; achievement
- *nipopu* "to emit smell" quadrigrade; activity
- *nokoru* "to stay behind" quadrigrade; achievement
- *opu* "to hold on the back" quadrigrade; accomplishment
- *okosu* "to raise" quadrigrade; achievement
- *oku* "to put down" quadrigrade; achievement
- *omoparu* "to come into thinking (vt.)" bigrade; achievement
- *otitagu* "to flow downward" quadrigrade; activity
- *papu* "to crawl" quadrigrade; activity
- *pazimu* "to start (vt)" bigrade; achievement
- *panaru* "to get separated" quadrigrade; achievement
- *petatu* "to separate" quadrigrade; achievement
- *pupumu* "to include, enclose" quadrigrade; achievement
- *puru* "to fall" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sakisusabu* "to bloom extremely" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sasu* "to pierce" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sawagu* "to make noises" quadrigrade; activity
- *sekapu* "to block (water)" quadrigrade; achievement
- *sinubu* "to recall" quadrigrade; activity
- *taboru* "to become crazy" quadrigrade; achievement
- *taparu* "to play around" quadrigrade; activity
- *tamu* "to culminate" bigrade; accomplishment
- *tatisinapu* "to stand up gracefully" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tatiyosopu* "to decorate (vi.)" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tatu* "to stand up" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tirimagapu* "to scatter" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tirimidaru* "to scatter" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tugu* "to continue" quadrigrade; achievement
- *tukuru* "to make" quadrigrade; achievement
- *uu* "to obtain" bigrade; achievement
- *uu* "to plant" bigrade; achievement
- *wabu* "to fret" quadrigrade; achievement
- *wasuru* "to forget" quadrigrade; achievement
- *watasu* "to let cross" quadrigrade; achievement
- *watasu* "to let cross" quadrigrade; achievement

The suffix –*tari* follows both quadrigrade verbs and bigrade verbs, as well as sa-irregular verbs, while the following 14 verbs precede

both –*(ye)ri* (total of 56 examples) and –*tari* (total of 28 examples), as discussed in Chapter 3.

- *saku* "to bloom"
  - 17 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 7 with –*tari*
- *omopu* "to think"
  - 9 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 5 with –*tari*
- *puru* "to fall"
  - 5 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 1 with –*tari*
- *oku* "to put down"
  - 5 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 1 with –*tari*
- *teru* "to shine"
  - 4 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 2 with –*tari*
- *iku* "to go"
  - 3 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 2 with –*tari*
- *pupumu* "to contain"
  - 3 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 1 with –*tari*
- *tukuru* "to make"
  - 3 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 1 with –*tari*
- *pyedatu* "to separate"
  - 2 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 1 with –*tari*
- *kiku* "to listen to"
  - 1 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 2 with –*tari*
- *tugu* "to continue"
  - 1 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 2 with –*tari*
- *mazirapu* "to mingle (vi.)"
  - 1 with with –*(ye)ri*
  - 1 with –*tari*

- *sasu* "to pierce"
  - 1 with with *–(ye)ri*
  - 1 with *–tari*
- *watasu* "to cross (vt) "
  - 1 with with *–(ye)ri*
  - 1 with *–tari*

Based on the data, it is unlikely that *–tari* was invented to fill the syntactic gap of the suffix *–(ye)ri*. First, the majority of the verbs that precede *–tari* are in fact quadrigrade verbs, which are equally able to precede *–(ye)ri*. That is, if the difference between *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* is purely suppletive, we might expect *–tari* to appear only where *–(y)eri* is disallowed, namely with bigrade verbs. In addition, on this assumption it would be difficult to explain why some verbs appear with both of the markers. Suppose that *–tari* and *–(ye)ri* were in complementary distribution at one point prior to the *Man'yōshū* period and that *–tari* was in the process of expanding from a suffix only applicable to bigrade verbs to a suffix applicable to all types of verbs. It is still odd that *–tari* appears with quadrigrade verbs more often than nonquadrigrade verbs (even given the greater frequency of the latter). Furthermore, as I have noted, it is not completely clear that *–(ye)ri* is incompatible with bigrade verbs, since 212 cases of logographs may be either compounds or the suffix *–(ye)ri*, as I discussed in Chapter 3.

The most important question regarding the semantics of *–tari* is whether it indicates solely the resultative aspect or whether it also indicates progressive besides resultative. If *–tari* indeed indicates progressive, the fact that this suffix never appears with typical atelic activity verbs such as *naku* "(bird) sing," *puku* "play (flute)," *aruku* "walk," *miru* "watch," *kiku* "listen to," or *asɯobu* "play (for fun)" is difficult to explain, given the robust frequency of these verbs in the *Man'yōshū*. In fact, the types of verb with which *–tari* does co-occur are mostly either accomplishments or achievements, i.e., [+telic] verbs. There are very few exceptions, all of them activity verbs (here recognizing that it is often difficult to identify the semantic types of verbs in Old Japanese with certainty). This distribution pattern indicates that *–tari* is a resultative marker.

Furthermore, the "simultaneous" suffix *–tutu* does appear with these activity verbs as the following examples show:

(5) . . . 梅能 之豆延尓 阿蘇毗都々 宇具比須 奈久 . . .
ume-no sidu ye-ni aswobi-tutu ugupisu naku
plum-GEN bottom branch-DAT play-*tutu* bush warbler chirp

". . . The bush warbler chirps, while playing on the branch at the bottom (of the tree) . . ."
(MYS 5.842)

(6) . . . 烏梅能 波奈 比等利 美都々夜 波流 比
ume-no pana pitori mi-tutu-ya paru pi
plum-GEN flower alone watch-*tutu*-PART spring day

久良佐武
kurasa-mu
spend-MOD

". . . I spend my spring days, watching the plum flowers alone."
(MYS 5.818)

(7) . . . 鹿乃 音乎 聞乍 宿不 . . .
sika-no kowe-wo kiki-tutu i-nekate
deer-GEN voice-ACC listen to-*tutu* sleep-unable

". . . (I) cannot sleep while listening to the deer's voice."
(MYS 10.2146)

All of these verses indicate that two actions are happening simultaneously, which is a typical usage of progressive aspect. These examples contrast sharply with the following verses, which exemplify the use of –*tari* in the *Man'yōshū*.

(8) 吾者毛也 安見兒 得有 . . . 得難爾 為云
ware-wa-mo ya yasumikwo e-tari e-gata-ni su-topu
I-TOP-wow Yasumiko get-*tari* gain-difficult-DAT do-say

安見兒 衣多利[1]
yasumikwo e-tari
Yasumiko get-*tari*

"I get Yasumiko (as a wife) . . . I get Yasumiko that was said to be hard to get."
(MYS 2.95)

(9)

. . . 心佐閉	消	失多列夜	言母	不往来 . . .
kokoro-sape	kiye	use-tare-ya	koto-mo	ipa-ne
feeling-even	disappear	vanish-*tari*-PART	word-even	say-not

". . . even the feelings (you have for me) vanish and disappear, (since) you don't say a word."
(MYS 9.1782)

(10)

. . . 波久比能	海	安佐	奈藝	思多理 . . .
pakupi-no	umi	asa	nagi	si-tari
Pakupi-GEN	ocean	morning	still/calm	do-*tari*

船梶母我毛
punekadi-mogamo
rudder-wish

". . . The Pakupi ocean calm down in the morning . . . (I) wish (there was) an oar . . ."
(MYS 17.4025)

Example (8) was composed by Fujiwara-no Kamatari, when Emperor Tenji gave him his beautiful servant named Yasumiko no Fujiwara-no Kamatari. Therefore, *e-tari* must be interpreted as "I have acquired Yasumiko." In example (9), the poet Kakinomoto-no Hitomaro, who is away from home, no longer hears anything from his wife. Therefore, *kiye use-tare* must be interpreted as saying that his wife's feelings "have (already) vanished and disappeared," rather than "are in the process of vanishing and disappearing." Lastly, *-tari* appears with the verb *su* "do" in (10), which is used to verbalize a compound noun *asanagi* "lull of the ocean in the morning." In the verse, the poet Otomo-no Yakamochi wishes for an oar, since the ocean is so still that he cannot propel his boat (by sail). Therefore, the phrase *asanagi si-tari* must mean that "(the ocean) has calmed down (so that now it is still)," rather than progressive (i.e., "the ocean is in the process of calming down").

Furthermore, there is no example of *–tari* with a state verb or an adjective. This finding differs significantly from that on the semantic types of the verbs that co-occur with *–(ye)ri*; the suffix *–(ye)ri* appears with all types of verbs, and possibly with adjectives, although some verbs co-occur with both of the suffixes, such as *sak–* or *omop–*. This is an indication that there was some overlap in the functions of two suffixes.

In addition, *–tari* also appears in its non-contracted form (i.e., *–te ari*) in the *Man'yōshū*, as mentioned earlier.

(11) . . . 花耳 丹穂日手有者 . . .
pana-nomi(-ni) nipopi-te are-ba
flower-only emit scent-*te ari*-since

". . . since only the flower emit scent . . ."
(MYS 8.1629)

Researchers disagree on the exact phonetic values of the suffix in examples where the orthography allows us to read either *–tari* or *–te ari*. The decision in standard editions is often (but not always) based on the mora counts of the verses.

Consider the following examples:

(12) . . . 玉藻鴨 亂 散而在 此 河 . . .
tamamo-kamo midare tiri-tari(or te ari) ko(-no) kapa
algae-PART disarray spread-*tari* this-GEN river

". . . algae spread in disarray on this river . . ."
(MYS 9.1685)

(13) . . . 君之 面 忘而有
kimi-ga omo wasure-te-ari
you-GEN face forget-*te-ari(=tari)*

". . . (I) forget your face"
(MYS 11.2829)

In example (12) the characters 而在 are read as *–tari* (i.e., 而 is read as "ta," while 在 is read as "ri"), probably because the phrase 亂散而在 needs to have seven moras for the verse to fulfill the metri-

cal requirement for this type of poetry. Since the first two characters must be read as *midaretiri*, which has five moras, the reading for 而在 is standardly determined as *–tari*, which has two moras. On the other hand, the sequence 手有 in example (11) is read as *te are*. The sequence 丹穂日 must be read as *nipopi*, which has three moras, so the rest of the characters 手有者 must have four moras in order for the phrase to have seven moras. This latter reading is further supported by the fact that 手 is a phonograph (a so-called *kungana*) which must be read as *te* in the context of this example, while the characters 而在 in the previous example are logographs.

However, traditional grammarians' decisions on whether a character sequence should be read as *tari* or *te ari* are not always determined by the metrical requirements of the verse. For example, the sequence in example (13) (i.e., 而有), which is a logographic spelling equivalent to 而在 in example (12), is read as *te ari*, even though the sequence 而有 in fact should be assigned two moras in order for the phrase 面忘而有 to satisfy the metrical requirement for seven moras; since 面忘 must be read as *omowasure*, which has five moras, 面忘而有 ends up having one extra mora by adopting the reading *te ari*, instead of *tari*.

In short, the decision about whether a certain sequence should be read as *tari* or *te ari* has sometimes been rather arbitrary in the traditional work. However, what is most relevant for my research is the fact that the suffix *–tari* appears both in contracted and non-contracted forms in the *Man'yōshū*. In addition, *–tari*/*–te ari* indicates resultative aspect regardless of the contraction, appearing with [+telic] verbs.

While most of the examples of *–tari* in *Man'yōshū* appear with [+telic] verbs (i.e., achievement or accomplishment verbs), it also co-occurs with activity verbs, such as *omop–* "think, hope," *kik–* "hear, listen to," or *nipop–* "emit scent," which are unmarked for telicity. Even in these cases however, the verses can be interpreted as [+telic]. Consider the following examples.

(14) . . . 莫出 思而 有 情者
idu-na-(to) omopi-te aru(or taru) kokoro-wa
come out-NEG-(COMP) think/hope-*te* *ari*/*tari* heart-TOP

所知 . . .
si-re-tu
know-PASS-tu

". . . the feeling that (I) hope not to come out is known . . ."
(MYS 16.3800)

(15) . . . 聲耳乎 聞而有不得者 . . .
oto-nomi-wo kiki-te ari-e-ne-ba
sound-only-ACC hear-CONJ-*te ari*-able-NEG-since

吾妹子之	不止	出見之	軽市
wag-imo kwo-no	tape-zu	ide mi-si	karu(-no) iti
my-wife-NOM	stop-NEG	go out show-ki	Karu(-GEN) market

吾 立聞者 . . .
waga tati kike-ba
I visit-since

". . . since I cannot bear the fact that I only hear about my wife, I visited the Karu Market, where she showed up without failing . . ."
(MYS 2.207)

(16) . . . 高圓乃 山爾毛 野爾毎 打行而
takamato-no yama-ni-mo nwo-ni-mo uti iki-te
Takamato-GEN mountain-DAT-also field-DAT-also go-CONJ

遊	往杼	花耳	丹穂日手	有者	毎見
aswobi	yuke-do	pana-nomi	nipopi-te	are-ba	miru-goto(-ni)
play	go-but	flower-only	smell-*te*	*ari*-since	look-time-(DAT)

益而 所思 . . . [5]
masi-te omopoyu
increase-CONJ think

". . . even though I visit the mountain and the field of Takamato, only flowers smell (be in bloom). Every time I see the flowers, I increasingly think (of my wife) . . ."
(MYS 8.1629)

In the first example, the verb *omop–* appears in a context where the author describes the moment when people notice the author's affection toward a woman, even though he hoped not to reveal the affection. That is, the suffix *–tari* can be interpreted as indicating resultative aspect used in a [+telic] situation, given that the verse indicates a result of the author's making a wish (i.e., he has a wish). In the second example, *–tari* appears in a context where the author can only hear about his wife (rather than have more direct contact with her), since she has passed away; he then decides to visit a market which she frequented regularly because he misses her very much. Thus, in this case too, the suffix *–tari* indicates the result of hearing about his wife, i.e., he only gets to be reminded of his wife after hearing about her. In the last example, the suffix *–tari* is used in a situation where the author visited Takamato to find only the flowers in bloom. That is, the verb *nipop–* "emit scent" is used in the same sense as *sak–* "bloom," which is an achievement verb. Thus *–tari* denotes a situation where the flowers have opened and now are in bloom: once again, resultative aspect.

While *–tari* in these examples is plausibly interpreted as indicating resultative aspect, I believe that *–tari* in the OJ period was in the process of gradually expanding its meaning to perfect. In fact, *–tari* in the above examples appears in contexts where a perfect form (*have* + past participle) would be typically used in Modern English. Eventually in the Heian period, *–tari* supplants *–(ye)ri* and acquires a perfect meaning, as I discuss in Chapter 6. These three cases, where *–tari* appears with verbs unmarked for telicity, exemplify how a certain usage of the suffix may have left room for a different interpretation, which ultimately led to the semantic change to perfect.

I conclude that *–tari* is a resultative aspect marker in the *Man'yōshū*, at a period when it was gradually expanding its meaning. The suffix *–tari* is likely to have been a relatively newly developed marker, given its transparent morphological source, with a specific aspectual function. In addition, it is doubtful that the meaning of *–tari* in the *Man'yōshū* was identical to that of *–(ye)ri,* which I claim to be the present imperfective marker, although there is semantic overlap between the two suffixes. As discussed in Chapter 1, semantic overlap is often observed when a language has one marker with a broader meaning and another marker, perhaps of a more recent diachronic origin, that indicates a specific aspectual meaning. However, this semantic overlap does not contradict the proposed functions of the markers in question.

The conclusion that *–tari* is a resultative marker is partially in accord with Sandness' proposal, but the basis for my analysis differs from hers. As we have just seen, I do not reject the claim by traditional grammarians that *–tari* is a *kanryō* marker merely because this term is potentially misused. As I mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, the term *kanryō* is usually used as the label for the English perfect pattern (*have* + past participle). If we assume, then, that Japanese grammarians use the term *kanryō* for "perfect," we have no basis for rejecting their analysis simply because "perfect" is a tense, rather than an aspect. I have shown above that *–tari* was not a fully developed perfect marker in the *Man'yōshū* period since the semantic types of the verbs it selects are still restricted. If *–tari* signified perfect, we would expect it to appear with a variety of verbs, including activity and state verbs, regardless of their telicity. However, *–tari* only appears in [+telic] situations, so that all of the examples can be given a resultative interpretation.

In addition, Sandness' analysis is based on data drawn from texts ranging from the 8th century to the 11th century. As I argue in Chapter 6, I believe that by the 11th century, the semantic properties of *–tari* had shifted from their *Man'yōshū*-period values to something more closely approaching a perfect. By lumping together the functions of the suffix *–tari* in OJ and EMJ, Sandness obscures this change. In fact, the broader distribution of *–tari* in EMJ makes it harder to analyze this suffix solely as a resultative marker across the entire OJ and EMJ periods.

WIRU AND *WORI*

The existential verb *ari* developed into a variety of suffixes as discussed in the previous chapters. However, two other verbs that also had functions similar to *ari* have not received much attention as sources of aspectual suffixes. In the next two sections, I examine the verbs *wiru* "sit" and *wori* "exist, be at a location, sit" in order to determine if these two verbs have developed grammaticalized meanings. The possibility of these verbs as sources of temporal markers is worth considering, since they are indeed used as aspectual markers in Contemporary Japanese. For example, the progressive/perfect marker in Standard Japanese *–te iru*[6] consists of the conjunctive particle and the verb *iru*, the modern descendant of *wiru*.

In addition, some dialects spoken in western Japan have two aspectual markers, both of which originate from *oru*, the modern

descendant of *woru*. In these dialects, the progressive and habitual aspect is expressed by *–yoru* (or *–yo:*) or *–teru*,[7] whereas the resultative aspect is expressed by *–toru* (or *–to:*), which is derived from the conjunctive particle *–te* plus *oru*. The following examples in Fukuoka dialect show this distinction.

(17) 太郎の学校へ行きよう。
Taroo-no gakkoo-e iki-yo:
Taro-NOM school-to go-*yo:*

"Taro has gone to school." (but not "Taro has gone to school")

(18) 太郎の学校へ行っとう。
Taroo-no gakkoo-e it-to:
Taro-NOM school-to go-*to:*

"Taro is going to school (right now)."

or

"Taro is going to school (nowadays)."

In addition, I would like to point out that the [+ animate] existential verb in the Fukuoka dialect (which uses *yoru*/*toru* as aspect markers) is *oru*, instead of *iru*, as in (19).

(19)

太郎は	今、	学校に	おる。
Taroo-wa	ima	gakkoo-ni	oru
Taro-TOP	now	school-at	exist

"Taro is in school now."

There has not been much research on *wiru* and *wori* as aspect markers. Sakakura (1977) compares *wiru* and *wori* as lexical verbs, by looking at the meanings of the co-occurring verbs in the *Man'yōshū*. He claims that *wiru* "captures the manner of existence as a progressive action," whereas *wori* "describes the existence of its subject as a continuous state." However, Sakakura does not consider these verbs to be aspect markers. Furthermore, he does not mention the distinction between V_1 + *wiru* and V_1 *–te* + *wiru*, or between V_1 + *wori*, and V_1 *–te* + *wori*.

Yanagida (1990) and Inoue (1992) state that *wiru* following the conjunctive form of a verb (V_1+*wiru*) signified *shinkō tai* (i.e., progressive aspect) in the *Man'yōshū*. However, they do not provide any evidence or rationale for their claim.

In addition, Inoue (1992) claims that V_1 + *wori* also indicated *shinkō tai*, whereas the conjunctive form of a verb plus the conjunctive particle *–te* followed by *wori* (V_1 *–te* + *wori*) signified *kekka tai* (i.e., resultative aspect) in the *Man'yōshū*. However, she does not explain how she has come to this conclusion.[8]

Watanabe (2003) examines all the occurrences of V_1 + *wiru* in the *Man'yōshū* and finds that all the V_1 are achievement verbs (i.e., [+telic]), used as [-durative], where the progressive reading is impossible. That is, this construction was a resultative marker.

In the following sections, I investigate four structures involving *wiru* and *wori*: (1) V_1 + *wiru*; (2) V_1 *–te* + *wiru*; (3) V_1 + *wori*; and (4) V_1 *–te* + *wori*. I first identify the token frequency of the co-occurring verbs (i.e., V_1), then examine the aspectual meaning of each construction.

wiru

The verb *wiru* in the *Man'yōshū* means "sit, sit down." Here I investigate two constructions, V_1 + *wiru* and V_1 *–te* + *wiru*. While the former construction is not used in Contemporary Japanese, there are a number of examples in the *Man'yōshū*. On the other hand, V_1 *–te* + *wiru*, which is the structural equivalent of modern *–te iru*, is not yet in use as an aspect marker in the *Man'yōshū* period.

V_1 + wiru

I first examine the construction V_1+*wiru*, which appears to have two functions. In (20), *wiru* forms a sort of compound verb (i.e., *narabi-wiru* "sit in line"), preceded by the verb *narab-* "line up." That is, *wiru* is a lexical verb.

(20) . . . 爾保鳥能 布多利 那良毘為 加多良比 . . .
nipodori-no futa-ri narabi-wi katarapi . . .
grebe-NOM two-people line up-*wiru* talk

"two grebes that are sitting in line, and talking (to each other) . . ."
(MYS 5.794)

However, *wiru* in (21) cannot be interpreted with its lexical meaning "sit," since the meaning of the co-occurring verb contradicts that of *wiru*.

(21) . . . 臥居 雖嘆 飽 不足 . . .
pusi-wi nageke-do aki tara-nu . . .
lie down-*wiru* weep-though satisfy enough-not

". . . I was laid on my face, weeping, but cannot weep enough . . ."
(MYS 2.204)

In this example, *pusi-wi* cannot mean "sit while lying." Japanese grammarians usually interpret the phrase as "either lying or sitting." However, to indicate "either standing or sitting" the phrase *tati-te wi-te* was used. That is, if one wants to say "either lying and sitting," it would have been *pusi-te wi-te*. Therefore, I would like to propose that *–wi* in *pusi-wi* indicates resultative aspect in this example.

The following list summarizes the distribution of V_1 in the serial construction V_1 + *wiru* (54 examples total; all of them are with [+telic] verbs):

- 11 occurrences
  - *okuru* "to fall behind" achievement
- 7 occurrences
  - *ku* "to come" accomplishment
- 4 occurrences
  - *iru* "to enter" achievement
  - *izu* "to exit" achievement
- 3 occurrences
  - *narabu* "to line up" achievement
  - *sakaru* "to go away" achievement
- 2 occurrences
  - *kakumu* "to surround" achievement
  - *kakuru* "to hide" achievement
  - *komoru* "to shut oneself up (in a room)" achievement
  - *mukapu* "to leave for, go to" achievement
  - *oku* "to get up" achievement
  - *uku* "to come rise to the surface" achievement
- 1 occurrence
  - *muru* "to gather" achievement
  - *muku* "to face" achievement
  - *sopu* "to nestle close to" achievement
  - *tadusaparu* "to take each other's hand" achievement
  - *tomaru* "to stop" achievement

- *tohozakaru* "to recede" achievement
- *pusu* "to lie down (on one's face)" achievement
- *panaru* "to recede" achievement
- *oru* "to go down, get off" accomplishment
- *yuku* "to go" accomplishment

Although both Yanagida (1990) and Inoue (1992) claim that *wiru* was a progressive marker in the *Man'yōshū* without providing any empirical motivation for their claim, all of the examples of V_1 + *wiru* in the *Man'yōshū* (54 in total) are with [+telic] verbs according to my data. In particular, the co-occurring verbs are achievement verbs, except three verbs ("come," "go down," and "go"), which are resistant to progressive readings. As I discussed in Chapter 1, crosslinguistically, temporal markers that narrowly denote progressive aspect, such as German *beim* or French *en train de*, are not compatible with achievement verbs.

I claim that V_1 + *wiru* was a resultative marker in the *Man'yōshū* period, although it was in the process of gradually expanding its meaning to "continuous." While most of the examples of V_1 + *wiru* indicate a clear sense of result, there are four examples where V_1 + *wiru* is followed by *–tutu* "while," which indicates duration of an event as well as simultaneity.

(22) . . . 吹飯乃 濱爾 出居乍 贖 命 . . .
pukepi-no pama-ni ide-wi-tutu aganapu inoti
Fukehi-GEN bay-to exit-wiru-*tutu* pray life

". . . (my) life I pray (for), while (the boat) get out to Fukehi bay . . ."
(MYS 12.3201)

(23) . . . 保利江乃 可波乃 美奈伎波爾 伎為都都
porie-no kapa-no minagipa-ni ki-wi-tutu
Horie-GEN river-GEN edge-to come-*wiru-tutu*

奈久波 美夜故抒里 . . .
naku-pa miyakwodori
sing-TOPIC black-headed gull

". . . the birds which are singing while come to the edge of the Horie river, are black-headed gull(s) . . ."
(MYS 20.4462)

In these examples, the focus is on the simultaneity of the first actions (exit and come) and the second actions (pray and sing), not only on the results of the first actions. The difference between the usual usage of V_1 + *wiru* and V_1 + *wiru* + *tutu* becomes clear when the examples above are compared with the following verses, which use the same verbs (exit and come) as V_1, but the conjunctive particle *–te* to connect the clauses denoting the first action and the second action, rather than *tutu*.

(24) . . . 門呼 朝庭 出居而 嘆 . . .
kadwo-wo asa-ni-wa ide-wi-te nageki
gate-ACC morning-in-TOPIC exit-wiru-CONJ moan

". . . In the morning, I get out of the gate and moan . . ."
(MYS 13.3274)

(25) . . . 吾 見 柳 鶯之 来居而
ware miru yanagi ugupisu-no ki-wi-te
I see willow nightingale-NOM come-wiru-CONJ

慶鳴 森爾 早 奈禮
naku-beku mori-ni haya nare
sing-would bush-at soon become

". . . (I hope) the willow tree soon becomes a bush where nightingale(s) would come and sing . . ."
(MYS 10.1850)

Example (22) describes a situation where the poet is praying for his safety during a trip while the boat is putting out to the open sea. Likewise, (23) describes a scene where gulls are gathering and singing around the river. That is, the first actions (exit and come) and the second actions (pray and sing) are simultaneous. On the other hand, in (24), the poet first exits the gate, then moans, whereas as in (25) the nightingale comes to the willow tree, then starts singing. That is, the first actions (exit and come) and the second actions (moan and sing) are sequential. Furthermore, the first actions give rise to resulting states (i.e., the poet is outside of the gate and the nightingale is on the willow tree) before the second actions take place.

To summarize, the function of V_1 + *wiru* is to indicate resultative aspect in the *Man'yōshū*. However, I found that there are four examples

where V_1 + *wiru* seems to indicate an ongoing action, i.e., progressive aspect. These four examples are not merely exceptions; they lead to an expansion of aspectual meaning. In the Heian period, V_1 + *wiru* is used both for resultative and progressive aspect equally frequently; V_1 + *wiru* has developed into a continuous aspect marker. I provide the empirical data for this claim in Chapter 6 by examining *Genji Monogatari*.

V_1 –te + wiru

There are six examples of V_1 *–te* + *wiru*, all of which have the structure of *tatite wi-te*. The verb *tat–* means "stand." However, this phrase does not mean "has stood up" or "standing," but rather, "either standing or sitting" as below. That is, the verb *wiru* is used as a lexical verb, not as an aspect marker.

(26) . . . 立而 居而 去方毛 不知 . . .
tati-te wi-te yuku pe-mo sira-zu
stand-te sit-te go place-also know-NEG

". . . Without knowing where to go (i.e., what to do), I am standing and sitting (repeatedly) . . ."
(MYS 13.3344)

In addition, there are two examples that may be interpreted as showing that *–te* + *wiru* was used as a resultative marker. Consider the following examples:

(27) . . . 秋沙乃 往 将居 . . .
akisa-no yuki(-te) wi-mu
akisa bird-NOM go(-*te*) *wiru*-MOD

". . . the akisa bird go and sit . . ."
or
". . . the akisa bird is gone . . ."
(MYS 7.1122)

(28) . . . 夏箕爾 傍 居而 . . .
natumwi-ni sopi(-te) wi-te
Natsumi river-at get close(-te) wiru-CONJ

"... (I) get close and sit by the Natsumi river ..."

or

"I get close (and now am close) by the Natsumi river ..." (MYS 9.1737)

Note that these examples actually do not contain a character indicating there is indeed a particle between the preceding verb and *wiru*. That is, the conjunctive particle *–te* in these examples was inserted as a result of philological analysis, focusing on the poetic meter.

To conclude, the construction V_1 *–te + wiru* did not have any aspectual meaning in the *Man'yōshū*. All the examples use *wiru* as a lexical verb which means "sit," following the verb *tatu* "stand" plus a conjunctive particle *–te*. In the two cases where *–te + wiru* might be somewhat more open to a resultative interpretation, the conjunctive particle *–te* is inserted according to the traditional reading of the verses in question; it is not present in the orthography.

wori

The semantics of the verb *wori* resembles both *ari* "exist" and *wiru* "sit." It is said that while *ari* could take any type of subject, the subject of *wori* was limited to non-human animates (such as birds and other animals) and first (or occasionally second) person (Sakakura 1977). That is, *wori* had a somewhat humble or pejorative connotation.

In this section, I examine two types of constructions involving *wori*: V_1 + *wori* and V_1 *–te + wori*. The descendants of these constructions are still used in western dialects of Contemporary Japanese, as mentioned earlier. Unlike the verb *wiru*, both of the constructions involving *wori* had already acquired aspectual functions in *Man'yōshū*.

V_1 + wori

The construction V_1 + *wori* consists of the conjunctive form of a verb (V_1) directly preceding *wori* (i.e., V_1 + *wori*). The following list summarizes the occurrence of this construction (38 examples total; 29 are with [+durative] verbs).

- 12 occurrences
  - *kopu* "to long for" activity

- 4 occurrences
  - *matu* "to wait" activity
- 3 occurrences
  - *ikiduku* "to sigh" semelfactive
- 2 occurrences
  - *nipou* "to emit scent" activity
  - *narabu* "to line up" achievement
  - *nageku* "to lament" activity
- 1 occurrence
  - *wabu* "to grieve" activity
  - *uragakuru* "to hide" achievement
  - *uraburu* "to get disappointed" achievement
  - *uku* "to float" achievement
  - *omopu* "to think" activity
  - *nodoyobu* "to make small noises" semelfactive
  - *komoru* "to isolate oneself from outside" achievement
  - *katarapu* "to chat" activity
  - *kamisabu* "to get old" achievement
  - *itugaru* "to get connected" achievement
  - *iswobapu* "to play around" activity
  - *imukapu* "to face" achievement
  - *tomosu* "to light" achievement

The semantic types of V_1 with which *wori* co-occurs are generally compatible with progressive marking. Out of 39 instances of V_1 + *wori*, 27 are either with an activity verb or a semelfactive verb, both of which are semantic types to which progressive markers are typically applied, as discussed in Chapter 1. Consider the following examples.

(29)

君	待跡	吾	恋	居者 . . .
kimi	matu-to	wa(-ga)	kopi	wore-ba
you	wait-COMP	I-NOM	long for	*wori*-since

"Since I am longing/am here while longing for you when I wait . . ."
(MYS 4.488/8.1606: the poem appears twice in *Man'yōshū*)

(30)

. . . 君之	三船乎	吾	待将居 . . .
kimi-ga	mi-fune	wa-ga	mati-wora-mu
you-GEN	HON-ship	I-NOM	wait-wori-MOD

". . . (where) I should be waiting/sit while waiting for your ship . . ."
(MYS 10.2082)

While *wori* in examples (29) and (30) can be interpreted as a verb, one can also consider it as a progressive marker. Bybee et al. (1994) and Heine (1984) have found that progressive markers in various languages often develop from an existential verb, either with a manner (such as "X stays in a Y manner"), or a locative expression (such as "X is at Ying"). The expression V_1 + *wori* in Japanese fits into this schema. That is, it is possible that the structure V_1 + *wori* was originally used to indicate the manner in which the subject of the sentence occupies a location; on this scenario, in the OJ period the construction is in the process of developing into a progressive marker. In fact, there is another expression V_1 + *tutu* + *wori* in the *Man'yōshū*. In this structure, *wori* is syntactically a lexical verb, and V_1 + *tutu* indicates the manner in which the subject sits. Note that the following examples of V_1+ *tutu* + *wori* appear in the identical situations as V_1 + *wori* does in (29) and (30).

(31) 吾妹兒爾 恋乍 居者 . . .
wa-g-imoko-ni kopi-tutu wore-ba
I-GEN-wife-DAT long-while *wori*-since

"Since I sit here, longing for my wife . . ."
(MYS 4.509)

(32) . . . 月乎 将出香登 待乍 居爾 . . .
tuki-wo de-mu-ka-to mati-tutu woru-ni
moon-ACC exit-MOD-Q-COMP wait-*tutu* *wori*-nu

". . . (I) sit here, waiting to see if the moon would come out . . ."
(MYS 7.1071)

It may seem that V_1 + *wori* and V_1 + *tutu* + *wori* had identical functions in the *Man'yōshū* if we compare merely these examples. However, I speculate that V_1 + *wori* was in the process of acquiring an aspectual meaning in the *Man'yōshū*, so that V_1 + *tutu* + *wori* was used when there was a need to express the lexical meaning (i.e., "X sits in a Y manner") without ambiguity.

To summarize, I claim that V_1 + *wori* in the *Man'yōshū* has two functions. The first is that *wori* still retains its lexical meaning and indicates the manner in which the subject sits. The second function is the grammaticalized one: it indicates progressive aspect. This multi-functionality of V_1 + *wori* explains why the construction appears with achievement verbs (a total of 12 examples), which usually do not co-occur with progressive markers. For instance, examples (33) through (36) have an achievement verb as V_1. I believe that *wori* is used as a lexical verb, while V_1 indicates the manner in these examples.

(33) . . . 八年 兒之 . . . 並 居 家爾毛 不所見 . . .
ya tose kwo-no narabi woru ipye-ni-mo miye-zu
eight year child-NOM line up *wori* house-DAT-also show-not

". . . since (she was) an eight-year-old child . . . (she did) not show (herself) to the neighboring houses that are there in line . . ."
(MYS 9.1809)

(34) 多妣爾 安禮杼 欲流波 火 等毛之 乎流 和禮
tabi-ni are-do yoru-wa pwi tomosi woru ware
travel-DAT exist-although night-TOP fire light *wori* I

"Although (I) am on a trip, I sit having lit the fire at night . . ."
(MYS 15.3669)

(35) . . . 並居 妹與 勢能山
narabi woru imo to seno yama
line up *wori* wife with Seno mountain

". . . (my) wife and Mt. Seno . . . are there in line."
(MYS 7.1210)

(36) . . . 天漢 射向居 . . .
ama-no gapa imukai wori
Milky Way face *wori*

". . . (they) are sitting there, facing each other across the Milky Way . . ."
(MYS 10.2089)

The verbs preceding *wori* ("line up," "light," and "face") indicate the manner in which the subjects are locating themselves. That is, the verb *wori* preserves its lexical meaning virtually intact in these examples. As we see in the next section, resultative aspect was signified by a different structure, namely V_1–*te* + *wori*.

V_1–te + wori

The second type of periphrastic expression involving the verb *wori* is V_1–*te* + *wori*. In this structure, *wori* follows the conjunctive form of the verb plus the conjunctive particle –*te*. The distribution of the expression V_1–*te* + *wori* differs significantly from that of V_1 + *wori*; unlike V_1 + *wori*, V_1–*te* + *wori* only applies to achievement verbs. The results are summarized as the following list (9 examples total; all are with achievement, i.e., [+telic] verbs).

- 2 occurrences
  - *okuru* "get behind"
- 1 occurrence
  - *nabiku* "let the hair loose"
  - *kamakeru* "get touched"
  - *namaru* "hide"
  - *norapu* "get scolded"
  - *imureru* "gather"
  - *nezamu* "wake up"
  - *tagupu* "get together"

We see in the above list that the distribution of V_1–*te* + *wori* differs significantly from that of V_1 + *wori*. The verbs that very commonly appear in the constructions V_1 + *wori* and V_1 + *tutu* + *wori*, such as *kopu* "long" and *matu* "wait," never appear in V_1– *te* + *wori*. Therefore, it is unlikely that V_1–*te* + *wori* and V_1 + *wori* have the same aspectual value. That is, V_1–*te* + *wori* is not a progressive marker. I argue that it indicates resultative aspect. Consider the following examples.

(37) . . . 我 玄 髪乎 靡而将居
wa-ga kurwo kami-wo nabike-te wora-mu
I-GEN black hair-ACC loosen-*te wori*-MOD

". . . I would loosen my black hair"
(MYS 11.2532)

(38) 夜具多知爾 寝覚而居者 . . .
ywogutati-ni ne zame-te wore-ba
late night-at sleep wake up-*te wori*-since

"Since I wake up late at night . . ."
(MYS 19.4146)

(39) . . . 於久禮弖乎禮杼 與伎 許等毛 奈之 . . .
okure-te wore-do yoki koto-mo nasi
stay behind-*te wori*-although good thing-also non-existing

". . . Although (I) stay behind, there is nothing good (happening) . . ."
(MYS 15.3773)

Unlike V_1 + *wori*, which selects a variety of verbs, V_1–*te* + *wori* only appears with achievement verbs. This distribution pattern agrees with markers that indicate resultative aspect. If V_1–*te* + *wori* signified resultative aspect, was its semantic value identical to that of –*tari*? While V_1–*te* + *wori* was able to indicate resultative aspect, its main function was lexical, just as that of V_1 + *wori* was, in the *Man'yōshū*. That is, the construction V_1–*te* + *wori* was a compound verb pattern, which was in the process of grammaticalization at this period. In addition, V_1–*te* + *wori* was used only for first person or non-human subjects, since the verb *wori* had a pejorative meaning. In sum, V_1–*te* + *wori* appeared in much more limited contexts than –*tari* did.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed five aspect markers that were in the process of development or grammaticalization in the *Man'yōshū* period: –*te ari*/–*tari*, V_1 + *wiru*, V_1–*te wiru*, V_1 + *wori*, and V_1–*te wori*. While –*tari* has traditionally been compared with –*(ye)ri*, I grouped it together with other periphrastic expressions, since –*tari* was a relatively new marker that had a very specific aspectual function and was not obligatorily phonetically reduced. I examined the semantic types of verbs that co-occur with –*tari* and found that it only occurs with [+telic] verbs or verbs unmarked for telicity (i.e., activity verbs) but used in [+telic] contexts. The cases where –*tari* appears with activity verbs

suggest that *–tari* was expanding its meaning from resultative to perfect, although its main function still remained resultative.

The sequence V_1 + *wiru*, originally a compound verb pattern, had acquired an aspectual function by the *Man'yōshū* period. The structure appears predominantly with achievement verbs, which suggests that V_1 + *wiru* was a resultative marker. At the same time, there are three examples where the structure is followed by *tutu* "while," which suggests that it was also acquiring a new function of indicating the duration of an action. This observation coincides with the later development of V_1 + *wiru* in *Genji Monogatari,* where V_1 + *wiru* has become a continuous marker.

The construction V_1–*te wiru*, which is probably the ancestor of the Contemporary Japanese continuous marker *–te iru*, had not yet been grammaticalized into an aspectual marker in the *Man'yōshū*. All the examples suggest that the sequence was used in a fixed expression, *tati-te wi-te*, which means "standing and sitting." In the two examples that might seem to illustrate V_1–*te wiru* as an aspect marker, *–te* is a product of the traditional reading rather than an explicit spelling.

The verb *wori* in the construction V_1 + *wori* had developed an aspectual function, though it was still used as a lexical verb. The semantic types of co-occurring verbs, most of which are either activity or semelfactive verbs, suggest that V_1 + *wori* was used as a progressive (and repetitive) aspect marker. On the other hand, the semantic types of verbs that occur in the construction V_1–*te wori* differ completely from those of V_1 + *wori*. The construction V_1–*te wori* appears only with achievement verbs. That is, it was a resultative marker in the *Man'yōshū*.

NOTES

1. Although perfect is actually an aspectual concept, Sandness classifies perfect as tense and perfective as aspect. She does not provide a rationale for this classification.
2. *The Tales of Ise* is a collection of poems accompanied by narratives describing the poems. The exact date of compilation is unknown, although it is considered to be 10th-century.
3. The *Murasaki Shikibu Diary* was written by Murasaki Shikibu, author of the *Tale of Genji*. The diary describes events of the period 1008–1010 AD.
4. This is the same poem as (1).
5. This is the same poem as (11).
6. See Chapter 1 for details of its functions.

7. In the dialects of the Kansai region (especially in Osaka dialect), *–teru* has expanded its function and become the marker of imperfective aspect. The suffix *–teru* in these dialects can co-occur with state verbs such as *iru* "exist" as follows:

(i) 母さん いてる？
oka:san i-teru
Mother exist-teru

"Is (your) mother there?"

8. Inoue also briefly states that *–tari* signified both progressive and resultative aspect in *Man'yōshū* without mentioning any reason or evidence.

5

Beyond the *Man'yōshū*

The purpose of this chapter is to integrate the semantic properties of temporal suffixes in the *Man'yōshū*, which I have identified in the previous chapters, into a synchronic aspect system of Japanese in the 8th century. As we have seen, my approach differs from previous work on the tense/aspect suffixes of Old Japanese: Japanese grammarians have focused on identifying the meaning of each suffix, rather than examining whether the combined tense/aspect marking function of the suffixes actually represents a typologically plausible synchronic temporal system of a language.

I approach this goal in three steps. First, I schematize the findings from the previous chapters in order to evaluate the system I have proposed for OJ against the aspectual systems of well-studied languages. Second, I consider the semantic changes of each suffix from the 8th century to the 10th–11th century by comparing the data from the *Man'yōshū* with data from the 12th-century narrative text, *Genji Monogatari Tale of Genji*. Third, I evaluate the overall change in the synchronic temporal system in order to determine if the change is a structurally and typologically well-motivated one.

THE SYNCHRONIC ASPECT SYSTEM IN THE 8TH CENTURY

The suffixes with the broadest aspectual meanings in *the Man'yōshū* are *–tu* and *–nu* (perfective), which appear in all tenses. The suffixes

–ki (past tense), *–(ye)ri* (non-past imperfective), and *–kyeri* (past imperfective) had temporal restrictions on their distribution, although all of them also had rather broad aspectual meanings. The suffix *–tari* (resultative, expanding to perfect) had a relatively narrow function, whereas *wiru* (resultative), *wori* (progressive), and *–te wori* (resultative) all had very specific aspectual functions. The following figure summarizes my analysis:

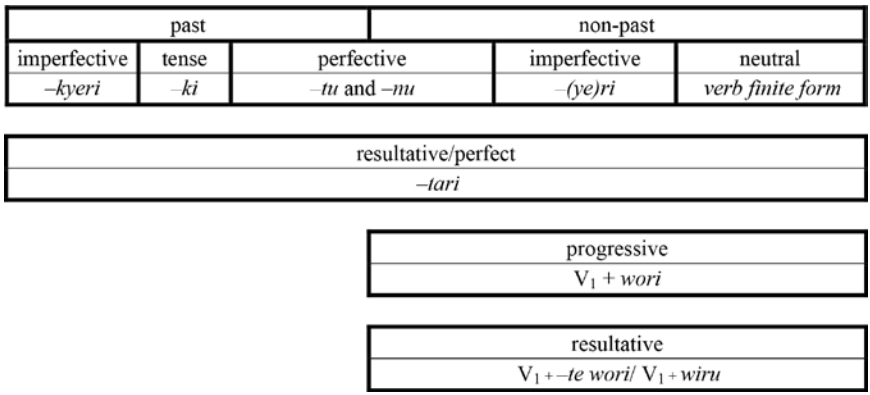

Figure 5.1. The synchronic aspect system in 8th-century Japanese

This system can be understood as a hybrid of the aspect systems of Modern Russian and Romance languages. In order to see the similarities, consider the following figures, which summarize the aspectual systems of Russian, French, Italian, and Spanish.

One of the common characteristics among these four languages is that all of them mark the distinction between imperfective and perfective. In addition, Japanese, French, and Italian are similar in respect to the pattern of auxiliary selection in past imperfective. However, the pattern in Japanese resembles Italian more than that of French, since Japanese and Italian are sensitive to the agentivity of the subject. However, the four languages other than Japanese do not distinguish the perfective/imperfective contrast in all of the tenses they distinguish.

past		present	future	
imperfective	perfective	neutral	imperfective	perfective
imperfective form	*perfective form*	*imperfective form*	*imperfective form*	*perfective form*

Figure 5.2. The synchronic aspect system of Russian

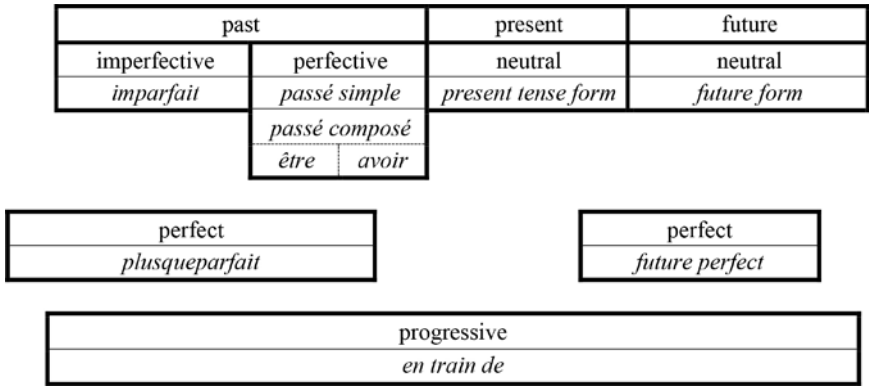

Figure 5.3. The synchronic aspect system of French

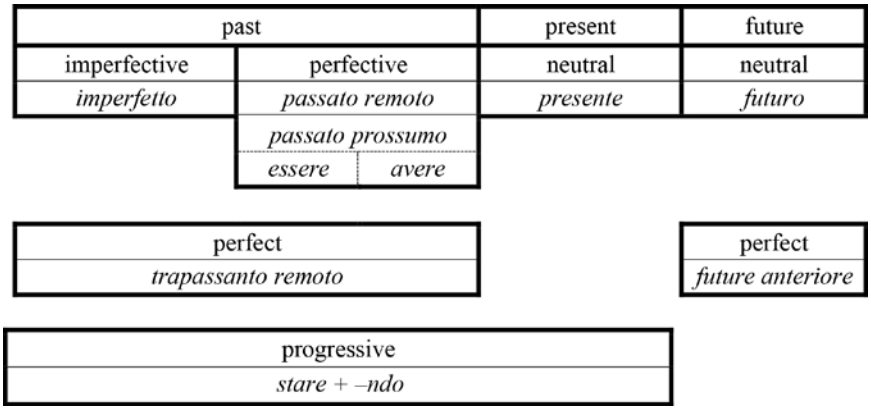

Figure 5.4. The synchronic aspect system of Italian

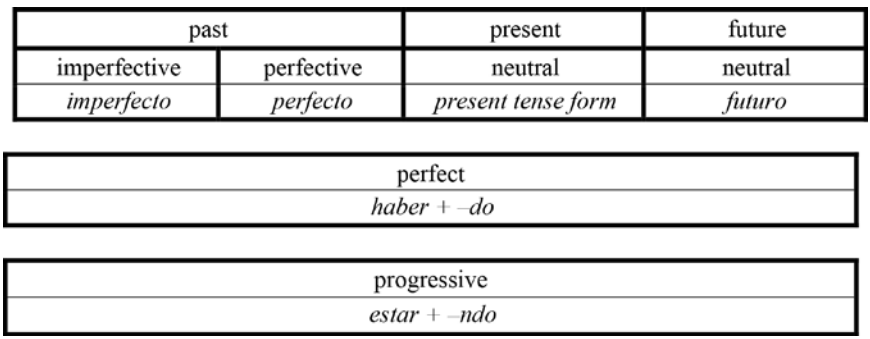

Figure 5.5. The synchronic aspect system of Spanish

The Japanese imperfective marker *–(ye)ri* and the perfective markers *–tu* and *–nu* appear in all the tenses, co-occurring with adverbials with clear temporal references, such as *kinopu* "yesterday," *ima* "now," *kepu* "today," or *asu* "tomorrow." In contrast, neither the Romance languages nor Russian make the distinction between imperfective and perfective in the present tense. This is due to the semantic incompatibility of present with perfective; an event happening in the present moment cannot be perfective.[1]

How, then, does Japanese resolve this contradiction between present and perfective? When the Japanese perfective suffixes appear in the present tense, the event is interpreted as something that has just happened; that is, the events occurred, strictly speaking, in the past. Exactly this function of perfective in the present tense can be seen in various languages, such as Menya (a Trans–New Guinean language of Papua New Guinea), which uses perfective in non-past tense (Whitehead 2004).[2]

(1) Tu-qu k-päs-q-i?
this-M 2Sg-hit-PERF-3Sg

"Who (just) hit you?"

The Japanese aspect system in the 8th century resembles that of Russian with respect to the use of the imperfective marker in the present tense. However, Russian does not make the distinction between plain present tense forms and present imperfective. This is because it is somewhat redundant to mark present tense and imperfective separately, since any action that is happening in the present is incomplete, i.e., imperfective. The difference between *–(ye)ri* and plain present tense forms is that the present tense indicates habitual aspect, but is not used for resultative aspect, whereas *–(ye)ri* can be used for resultative, but not for habitual. However, the present tense and imperfective share many of their functions: the plain present tense forms and imperfective marker *–(ye)ri* both indicate progressive and imperfective aspect. In fact, it is not very common for a language to have separate markings for plain present tense and imperfective. Examples of such cases of which I am aware are Bardi (a Western Nyulnyulan language of Australian), which marks both tense and the perfective-imperfective distinction in all tenses (Bowern 2004 and McGregor 2004).[3] Menya, which marks the perfective-imperfective

distinction obligatorily in present and past, and optionally in irrealis forms (Whitehead 1991, 2004); and Belhare (a Sino-Tibetan language of Nepal), which distinguishes simple non-past and imperfective (Bickel 1996), exactly like 8th-century Japanese.

In the history of Japanese, the functional similarity between the present tense and imperfective most likely contributed to the elimination of this contrast later in the Heian period, a development which I return to in the next section.

While the distinction between perfective and perfect is marked in Italian (past and future tenses) and Spanish (in all tenses), Japanese did not have a full-fledged perfect marker. Instead, *–tari*, along with V_1 + *–te wori* and V_1 + *–wiru*, signified resultative aspect, although as observed in the previous chapter, *–tari* was probably in the process of expanding its function to perfect.

Lastly, Japanese and all the Romance languages mark the distinction between the present and progressive. However, the difference among these languages is the tenses in which the distinction appears. In the *Manyōshū*, *–wori* does not appear with any suffix which has a past tense reference; all the examples seem to have their reference time in the present tense. In Italian, the distinction is marked both in past and present tenses, while French and Spanish mark it in all the tenses. I suggest that this difference in distribution is due to the fact that the construction V_1 + *–wori* was a newly emerging progressive marker, whereas the progressive markers in Romance languages are much older.

To summarize, I claim that the synchronic aspect system that I propose for 8th century Japanese is a well-balanced, reasonable system, typologically perfectly plausible when compared with Russian and Romance languages as well as other attested aspect systems in various languages. This typological plausibility is further supported in the next section, where I consider the diachronic changes in the Japanese aspect system from the 8th century to the 10th–11th century.

ASPECT SYSTEM IN *GENJI MONOGATARI*

The suffixes *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are the markers that change their functions most drastically after the 8th century. While there are 3,421 occurrences of *–(ye)ri* in *Genji Monogatari*, its function is extremely limited. The large quantity of occurrences is due to the fact that *–(ye)ri* appears

to have been reanalyzed as part of the inflection of the "auxiliary" verb *tamafu*, an honorific verb often attached to the lexical verb to elevate the subject. In fact, out of 3,421 tokens, over 77% (2,644) occur with honorific *tamafu*. The following examples are typical cases where *–(ye)ri* is suffixed to *tamafu*.

(2) . . . いと わひしくて なきふし 給へり . . .
ito wabisiku-te naki-fusi tamaf-eri
very lonely-CONJ cry-lie down tamafu-*(ye)ri*

". . . (she) was very lonely so that (she) wept . . ."
(GM 5:*Wakamurasaki*)

(3) . . . わさと むかへに まいり 給へるこそ
wasa-to mukafe-ni mafiri tamaf-eru-koso
intentionally-COMP pick up-DAT visit tamafu-*(ye)ri*-PART

にくけれ . . .
niku-kere
hate-*kyeri*

". . . (I) hated that (he) intentionally came to pick (me) up . . ."
(GM 49:*Yadorigi*)

Not only does *–(ye)ri* appear with the verb *tamafu* frequently, *tamafu* never appears in the bare present tense form, except in interrogative and negative contexts.

Besides *tamafu*, *–(ye)ri* only appears with very few other verbs, such as *omofu* "think," *afu* "do something to each other," *mafiru* "visit," or another "auxiliary" verb *tatematuru*, which expresses humbleness attached to another verb. Furthermore, the verbs that frequently appear with *–(ye)ri* in the *Man'yōshū*, such as *saku* "bloom," rarely appear with the suffix in *Genji Monogatari*; I found only three examples with *saku* in *Genji Monogatari*. The following list shows the verbs that frequently appear with *–(ye)ri* in *Genji Monogatari* (total of 3,036 occurrences).

- 2,644 occurrences
  - *tamafu* (honorific marker)
- 97 occurrences
  - *afu* "to do (something) to each other" activity

- 94 occurrences
  - *omofu* "to think" activity
- 62 occurrences
  - *mafiru* "to visit (honorific)" accomplishment
- 33 occurrences
  - *iku* "to live" activity
- 27 occurrences
  - *wataru* "to spread out (vi.)" achievement
- 23 occurrences
  - *siru* "to get to know" achievement
- 17 occurrences
  - *tatematuru* (humble marker)
- 14 occurrences (2 examples)
  - *kakaru* "to stick to, get hooked to" achievement
  - *tomaru* "to stay, spend time" activity
- 11 occurrences
  - *nifofu* "to emit scent" achievement

All of the examples with these verbs seem to indicate that the subjects of the sentences are in a certain state. Consider the following examples:

(4) . . . かしこの 心 しれる しも 人 . . .
kasiko-no kokoro sir-eru simo bito
that-GEN heart get to know-*(ye)ri* low person

". . . the person of low (class) who knows that feeling . . ."
(GM 14:*Miwotukushi*)

(5) . . . いと心ほそけに おもへる ことはりに . . .
ito kokoroboso-ge-ni omof-eru kotofari-ni
very insecurity-NOMINAL-COP think-*(ye)ri* reason-DAT

". . . for the reason that (I) feel very insecure . . ."
(GM 9:*Awoi*)

In these examples, *–(ye)ri* indicates resultative aspect, which is one of the main functions that the suffix performs in the *Man'yōshū* also. However, the difference between the examples in the *Man'yōshū* and those in *Genji Monogatari* is that the verbs co-occuring with *–(ye)ri* in

Genji Monogatari, such as *omofu* "think," *wataru* "(something) spread out," *iku* "live," *afu* "do something to each other," or *tomaru* "stay" are low on the transitivity scale (Hopper and Thompson 1980, 2001). On the other hand, many of the verbs that appear with *–(ye)ri* in the *Man'yōshū*, such as *tatu* "stand up," *otu* "fall," *oku* "put down," or *tukuru* "make," are relatively high in transitivity.

Verbs such as *omofu* "think" or *siru* "get to know" do not affect their patients and do not change the state of the patient. Furthermore, the subjects of these verbs are low in volitionality; the subjects of the example phrases do not "think" or "get to know" something with a clear sense of purpose and intention. In addition, since the objects of "think" and "get to know" are not concrete, countable, animate objects (rather, they are abstract, uncountable, inanimate concepts), the objects of the verbs are low in individuation. Lastly, the verbs *wataru* "spread out (vi.)" or *tomaru* "(something) stay" are lowest on the transitivity scale, as they are intransitive verbs with only one (patient) participant involved in the action. Taken together, all of these characteristics imply a low position on the transitivity scale.

The low transitivity of the verbs with which *–(ye)ri* appears suggests, in turn, a low measure of "resultativity." Resultative aspect involves two stages. First, an action expressed by the verb ends in a result. Then, the state that pertains as a result of the action persists at the reference time. In examples (4) and (5), the sense of a result emerging from an action (i.e., the first component of the resultative aspect) is not the focus of the meaning that *–(ye)ri* indicates, since the suffix appears with the verbs of low transitivity. Rather, the focus is on the resulting state after the action has happened (i.e., the second component of the resultative aspect).

I conclude that the suffix *–(ye)ri* in *Genji Monogatari* has two functions. First, it was used in a fossilized expression, in particular in the sequence *tamaf-(ye)ri*, where *–(ye)ri* has become a fixed part of the verb inflection. Second, *–(ye)ri* only functions as indicating some sort of state, appearing with a limited number of verbs, all of which are low in transitivity. That is, the sense of "result of an action" is not clearly coded; rather, the state following an event has more emphasis. In short, *–(ye)ri* has lost the productivity that it had in the *Man'yōshū* and is used only in limited contexts in *Genji Monogatari*. That is, *–(ye)ri*, which indicated imperfective in the *Man'yōshū*, changed to indicate stativity in *Genji Monogatari*.

Unlike *–(ye)ri*, *–tari* expands its usage after the 8th century. While it appears only with [+telic] verbs in the *Man'yōshū*, it applies to a wide range of verbs in *Genji Monogatari*. In fact, there are 4,353 appearances of *–tari* in *Genji Monogatari*, while there are only 61 examples in the *Man'yōshū*, as you can see in the following list.

- 155 occurrences
  - *obosu* (honorific marker)
- 96 occurrences
  - *wiru* "to sit" activity
- 48 occurrences
  - *kuru* "to come" activity
- 46 occurrences
  - *kikoyu* "to visit (honorific)" accomplishment
- 43 occurrences
  - *omofu* "to think" activity
- 40 occurrences
  - *ofasu* "to visit" achievement
- 28 occurrences
  - *miyu* "to be visible" achievement
- 26 occurrences
  - *su* "to do" activity
- 17 occurrences
  - *mawiru* "to visit" achievement
- 15 occurrences
  - *naru* "to become" achievement
  - *tatematuru* (humble marker)
- 14 occurrences
  - *fusu* "to lie down" achievement
  - *suguru* "to discover" achievement

Unlike *–(ye)ri*, there is no single verb type that predominantly co-occurs with the suffix. Instead, a variety of verbs can appear with *–tari*. The following examples exemplify the typical usage of *–tari*.

(6)	. . . 前栽	など	心	とめて	植ゑたり . . .
	zen sai	nado	kokoro	tome-te	uwe-tari
	front tree	so on	heart	stick to-CONJ	plant-*tari*

". . . (they) have planted the trees and such in the front yard putting the heart in (i.e., with care) . . ."
(GM 2:*Hahakigi*)

(7) . . . やすらかに　身を　もてなし　ふるまひたる、
yasuraka-ni　mi-wo　motenasi　furumafi-taru
simple-COP　body-ACC　behave　act-*tari*

いと　かはらか　なり . . .
ito　kafaraka　nari
very　refreshing　COP
". . . (those who) behave and act simply are very refreshing . . ."
(GM 2:*Hahakigi*)

While *–tari* can appear in non-telic situations, there is no example where the suffix appears with a state verb or an adjective. This distribution pattern differs from that of *–(ye)ri* in the *Man'yōshū*, where *–(ye)ri* indicates imperfective aspect. This suggests that while *–tari* has expanded its function to perfect, it has not become imperfective and taken over the function of *–(ye)ri*.

The semantic changes of *–(ye)ri* and *–tari* are not triggered by the supposed syntactic restriction of *–(ye)ri*, as I argued in Chapter 2 as well as Chapter 4. Instead, I propose two possible reasons for these changes. First, the semantic overlap between *–(ye)ri*, which indicates imperfective, and the present tense form of verbs may have been a factor. Because of the semantic incompatibility of perfective and present (i.e., anything "perfective" cannot be an event existing at the present moment), present tense forms are bound to be imperfective, although the present tense forms of the verb in the *Man'yōshū* were aspectually neutral and signified a variety of aspectual meanings, such as progressive and habitual. As mentioned in the previous section, the typological tendency is that languages often contrast imperfective and perfective in the past tense, but not in the present tense; they either have a present tense form, which is aspectually neutral, or present imperfective (but no present perfective).[4] That is, it is redundant to have both present imperfective and present tense forms.

This observation is also in accordance with the fact that the past imperfective marker *–kyeri* does not disappear in *Genji Monogatari*, although the usage of its present imperfective counterpart has declined. In addition, the semantics of this suffix do not seem to have

changed since the *Man'yōshū*. There are 3,644 occurrences of *–kyeri* in *Genji Monogatari,* appearing with a variety of verbs (such as *idu* "exit," *obosu* "think (honorific)," and *ari* "exist"); adjectives (such as *osanasi* "young," *sigesi* "abundant," and *toosi* "far"); the copula (i.e., *nari*); and a modal suffix (*beki* "should").

Moving on to the periphrastic aspectual constructions, such as V_1 + *wiru* or V_1 + *–te wiru*, these become more common in *Genji Monogatari* than they were in the *Man'yōshū*. This is probably due to the fact that *–tari* has expanded its meaning so that the aspect system no longer has a marker that specifically indicates resultative aspect. Furthermore, the present tense forms are not simply used for indicating progressive aspect. In other words, there was a necessity to express a precise aspectual meaning. Therefore, V_1 + *–te wiru* appears more frequently in the 10th–11th century than in the 8th century. The following list summarizes the semantic types of the verbs with which the constructions V_1 + *wiru* and V_1 + *–te wiru* co-occur (51 examples total: 24 activity, 21 achievement, 3 accomplishment, and 2 semelfactive verbs).[5]

- 4 occurrences
  - *su* "to do" activity
  - *utinagamu* "to consider" activity (the number includes one example of *nagame-iru*, since *utinagamu* is a variation on *nagamu*)
- 3 occurrences
  - *idaku* "to hold, hug" activity
- 2 occurrences
  - *akamu* "to become red" achievement (the number includes one example of *utiakamu*, a variation on *akamu*)
  - *omofu* "to think" activity
  - *sinobu* "to admire" activity
- 1 occurrence
  - *atumaru* "to gather" achievement
  - *akiru* "to get surprised" achievement
  - *emi-hirogoru* "to spread a smile on face" achievement
  - *fikiyaru* "to tear" achievement
  - *kakurou* "to hide" achievement
  - *kakuru* "to hide" achievement
  - *katabuku* "to slant" achievement
  - *kikafu* "to get rubbed" achievement
  - *makasu* "to trust" achievement
  - *miidasu* "to discover" achievement

- *mukafu* "to face" achievement
- *ofofu* "to cover" achievement
- *omofiwiru* set one's heart on" achievement
- *osiide-raru* "to get pushed out" achievement
- *osikakaru* "to lean against" achievement
- *simu* "to close" achievement
- *utitoku* "to get frank" achievement
- *yobu* "to call" achievement
- *yorikakaru* "to lean against" achievement
- *ku* "to come" accomplishment
- *takumu* "to think out" accomplishment
- *tukuru* "to make" accomplishment
- *kakinadu* "to smooth down, caress" semelfactive
- *unaduku* "to nod" semelfactive
- *utinageku* "to sigh, grieve" semelfactive/activity
- *ifu* "to tell, say" activity
- *kikoesasu* "to tell" activity
- *kokotisu* "to feel" activity
- *miru* "to look at" activity
- *motenasu* "to host" activity
- *nageki-sidumu* "to weep" activity
- *omoforu* "to seem, appear" activity
- *utinaku* "to cry" activity
- *utiwarafu* "to smile" activity

Furthermore, the following list shows the semantic types of V_1 in the structure V_1 + *wiru* found in *Genji Monogatari* (275 examples total: 171 (62%) are with [+telic] verbs).

- 26 occurrences
  - *komoru* "to shut oneself up (in a room)" achievement
  - *yoru* "to get close" achievement
  - *omofu* "to think" activity
- 15 occurrences
  - *tuku* "to accompany" achievement
- 14 occurrences
  - *oku* "to get up" achievement
- 12 occurrences
  - *kiku* "to listen" activity
  - *mikiku* "to look at and listen" activity

- 10 occurrences
  - *nagamu* "to think" activity
- 9 occurrences
  - *idu* "to exit" achievement
  - *oru* "to go down" achievement
  - *ifu* "to say" activity
  - *miru* "to look at" activity
- 8 occurrences
  - *otu* "to fall" achievement
  - *iru* "to enter" achievement
- 6 occurrences
  - *sofu* "to nestle close" achievement
- 5 occurrences
  - *mukafu* "to face" achievement
- 4 occurrences
  - *tatu* "to stand up" achievement
  - *susabu* "to grow wild" achievement
  - *muru* "to gather" achievement
  - *yobu* "to call" achievement
- 3 occurrences
  - *ku* "to come" accomplishment
  - *mamoru* "to stare" activity
  - *kikoyu* "to be gossiped about" activity
- 2 occurrences 7
  - *afugu* "to look up" achievement
  - *fanaru* "to separate" achievement
  - *kakuru* "to hide" achievement
  - *siru* "to get to know" achievement
  - *fiku* "to play an instrument" activity
  - *oboforu* "to cry, shed tears" activity
  - *yomu* "to read" activity
- 1 occurrence
  - *afesirafu* "to greet" achievement
  - *haratatu* "to get angry" achievement
  - *hisomu* "to hide" achievement
  - *kokorou* "to realize" achievement
  - *kasanu* "to pile up" achievement
  - *somuku* "to oppose, separate" achievement
  - *sidumu* "to sink" achievement
  - *todokoforu* "to stagnate" achievement

- *tudofu* "to gather" achievement
- *utitoku* "to get frank" achievement
- *yatusu* "to disguise" achievement
- *ifitirasu* "to spread a rumor" accomplishment
- *noboru* "to climb" accomplishment
- *ofasu* "to go" accomplishment
- *sugu* "to pass" accomplishment
- *sosogu* "to pour" accomplishment
- *takisimu* "to burn incense to make robe fragrant" accomplishment
- *tukuru* "to make" accomplishment
- *endatu* "to put on airs" activity
- *fitorikotu* "to talk to oneself" activity
- *fokoru* "to be proud of" activity
- *fomu* "to praise" activity
- *madofu* "to get confused" activity
- *matu* "to wait" activity
- *mamoru* "to stare" activity
- *naku* "to cry" activity
- *nageku* "to weep" activity
- *nenzu* "to pray" activity
- *nozoku* "to look onto" activity
- *omoforu* "to seem, appear" activity
- *safeduru* "to (birds) sing" activity
- *tafaburu* "to play" activity

The difference between the semantics of V_1 in the *Man'yōshū* and the semantics of V_1 in *Genji Monogatari* suggests that while the construction signified resultative aspect in the *Man'yōshū*, it could indicate both resultative and progressive (i.e., continuous) in *Genji Monogatari*. Both of the constructions appear in contexts that are [-telic].

(8) . . . 小袿の いと なつかしき 人 香に 染めるを、
kosode-no ito natukasiki fito ka-ni someru-wo
underwear very nostalgic person smell-DAT tint-ACC

身 近く ならして 見ゐたまへり . . .
mi dikaku narasi-te mi-wi-tamaf-eri
body close flat out-CONJ watch-*wiru*-HON-*(ye)ri*

"... he is watching, the under garment, which is tinted with the scent of a very nostalgic person (i.e., the ex-lover), flattened out (on the floor) near my body ..."
(GM 3:*Utsusemii*)

(9)

... 何	心	なく	うち	笑み	など	して	
nani	kokoro	naku	uti	emi	nado	si-te	
something	heart	none-existing	a little	smile	so forth	do-	CONJ

おたまへる ...
wi-tamaf-eru
wiru-HON-*(ye)ri*

"... (he) is doing a little smiling and such without much care ..."
(GM 5:*Wakamurasaki*)

That is, V_1 + *wiru*, which indicated the resultative aspect changed to the continuous aspect (i.e., resultative + progressive) in *Genji Monogatari*. In addition, V_1 + *–te wiru*, which was a lexical expression in *Man'yōshū*, has become a continuous aspect marker in *Man'yōshū*.

In Contemporary Japanese, *–te iru* triggers a resultative reading when used with [+telic] situations, while it yields a progressive reading when used with [+durative] situations. Thus, *–te iru*, originally a resultative marker that could occur only in [+telic] situations, expanded its distribution to both [-telic] and [+telic], resulting in having both progressive and resultative meanings. Thus, the double function of V_1 + *–te wiru* and V_1 + *wiru* agrees with the Contemporary Standard Japanese equivalent (i.e., *–te iru*).

The distributions of the periphrastic expressions V_1 + *wori* and V_1 + *–te wori* are unchanged from the *Man'yōshū* to *Genji Monogatari*, although both constructions appear less frequently in *Genji Monogatari* than they did in the *Man'yōshū*. The distinction between the two constructions coincides with the distinction found in the aspectual system of the Modern Japanese dialects spoken in western Japan as described in Chapter 4., where progressive is expressed by *–yoru* or *–yo:*, which is the descendent of V_1 + *–wori*, while resultative is expressed by *–toru* or *–to:*, the descendent of V_1 + *–te wori*.

The following list demonstrate the verbs that appear in the structure V_1 + *wori* in *Genji Monogatari*.

- 2 occurrences
  - *omofu* "to think" activity
- 1 occurrence
  - *obosu* "to think (honorific)" activity
  - *namida otosu* "to cry" activity
  - *nonosiru* "to talk loudly, scream" activity
  - *monogatarisu* "to do story-telling, talk" activity
  - *sira-nu* "to not know (neg of *siru*)" state

In addition, the following list shows the verbs that appear with V_1 + *–te wori* in *Genji Monogatari*.

- 2 occurrences
  - *iru* "to enter" achievement
- 1 occurrence
  - *muru* "to gather, create a flock" achievement
  - *wefisiru* "to get drunk" accomplishment
  - *odu* "to get scared" achievement
  - *kasikomaru* "to sit down in a proper way" achievement

Just as in the *Man'yōshū*, V_1 + *wori* appears with [-telic] situations (i.e., activity verbs), while V_1 + *–te wori* appears with [+telic] verbs (i.e., achievements and accomplishments). However, one change from the *Man'yōshū* is that V_1 + *wori* appears in both past tense and non-past tense in *Genji Monogatari*, while the occurrence of the construction was limited to the non-past tense in the *Man'yōshū*.

(10) . . . 御さま、 容貌を、 いみじう めでたし、と
on-sama yooboo-wo imiziu medetasi-to
HON-appearance face-ACC very precious-COMP

涙 落しをりけり . . .
Namida otosi-wori-keri
tear drop-*wori-keri*[6]

". . . (she) was crying (since she found his) appearance and face (to be) very precious . . ."
(GM 12:*Suma*)

In example (10), V_1 + *wori* is followed by the past imperfective marker *–keri*. This suggests that V_1 + *wori* can appear with both past and non-past tense; the construction can appear in a wider range of situations.

The functions of *–tu* and *–nu* also do not seem to change significantly from the 8th century to EMJ. Both *–tu* and *–nu* still indicate perfective aspect, appearing just as frequently in *Genji Monogatari* as they do in the *Man'yōshū*. The suffix *–tu* appears 1,355 times[7] (149 in the *Man'yōshū*), whereas *–nu* appears 2,266 times[8] (510 in the *Man'yōshū*). In addition, the suffix *–tu* still appears with unergative and transitive verbs with agentive subject, whereas *–nu* appears with unaccusative and transitive verbs with non-agentive subject.

However, I identify two new trends in the usage of these suffixes. First, the existential verb *ari*, which selected *–tu* in the *Man'yōshū*, appears with both *–tu* and *–nu* in *Genji Monogatari*. Consider the following examples.

(11) . . . 惟光に　紙燭　召して、　ありつる　扇
koremitu-ni　sisoku　mesi-te　ari-turu　afugi
Koremitsu-DAT　light　have　bring-CONJ　exist-*tu* fan

御覧ずれば . . .
goranzure-ba
look at-then

". . . (Genji) has Koremitsu bring light and looks at the fan that was there . . ."
(GM 4:*Yūgao*)

(12) . . . さても　ありぬべき　人の、　かう　亡せ
sa-te-mo　ari-nu-beki　hito-no　kau　use
such-COMP-also　exist-*nu*-MOD　person-NOM　this　die

ゆく . . .
yuku
go

". . . the person who was such a (great person) dies and disappears like this . . ."
(GM 39:*Yūgiri*)

The verb *ari* tends to select *–tu* when it is used as a true existential, whereas the verb selects *–nu* when it is a part of a fixed expression, such as *sate(-mo) ari* "it is such a thing" or *sa-mo ari* "that's how it is." However, this is only a tendency, since there are some exceptions to this pattern. For instance, *–ari* is used in the exact same contexts in examples (13) and (14), which contain the expression *koto-mo ari* "there are occasions." In example (13), the existential verb *ari* appears with *–tu*, which is the usual usage. However, even though the verb *ari* in example (14) is used as a true existential, it selects *–nu*, instead of *–tu*.

(13)

. . . もの	いささか	参る	事も	ありつる . . .
mono	isasaka	mafiru	koto-mo	ari-turu
thing	little	eat (HON)	occasion-also	exist-*tu*

". . . there are occasions when (he) eats things a little bit . . ." (GM 53:*Tenarafi*)

(14)

立ち	まさる	ことも	ありなむ
tati	masaru	koto-mo	ari-na-mu
stand	exceed	occasion-also	exist-nu-MOD

". . . there are occasions when (he) would stand out . . ." (GM 34:*Wakana 1*)

However, this is not to say that the pattern of auxiliary selection has been significantly compromised. Aranovich (2003) and Mateu (2006) show that existential verbs are the first to lose the constraint on selection of the unaccusative auxiliary, if any change in auxiliary selection takes place. Since the assignment of the auxiliaries was already split in the *Man'yōshū* (i.e., *ari* taking *–tu*, and *imasu*, the honorific form of *ari*, taking *–nu*), we could be looking at the midpoint of a gradual process through which the existential verbs selecting the unaccusative auxiliary shift to selecting the unergative auxiliary.

In fact, there is another change which actually enhances the auxiliary selection pattern. The suffix *–tu* (but not *–nu*) often appears with adjectives and the copula *nari*, which follows predicate nominals. This contrasts with the situation in the *Man'yōshū*, where neither adjectives nor the copula ever precede either *–tu* or *–nu*. This is probably related to the process by which the so-called "kari-inflection" developed. As I discussed in 3.1.4.2, the kari-inflection originated

from the present imperfective form of adjectives (i.e., adjective + *–(ye)ri*). Therefore, as long as adjective + *–(ye)ri* maintained the aspectual function (i.e., imperfective), the perfective marker was semantically incompatible with adjective + *–(ye)ri*. However, as *–(ye)ri* lost its aspectual meaning, adjective + *–(ye)ri* became merely one inflectional form of adjective: that is, the kari-inflectional forms were born. Therefore, we can find many examples of a kari-inflectional form followed by the perfective marker *–tu* in Early Middle Japanese, since the construction was no longer semantically contradictory by then. In example (15), *–tu* follows the adjective *utukusi* "beautiful," whereas in (16) the suffix follows the copula *–nari*, which is attached to the noun *kesiki* "appearance, scenery."

(15) . . . さても、 いと うつくしかりつる 児 . . .
satemo ito utukusikari-turu ko
by all means very beautiful-*tu* child

". . . by all means, (she) was (a) very beautiful child . . ."
(GM 5:*Wakamurasaki*)

(16) . . . 絶えなむとは 思はぬ けしきなりつる . . .
tae-namu-to-fa omofa-nu kesiki-nari-turu
stop-MOD-COMP-TOPIC think-NEG appearance-copula-*tu*

". . . The appearance was that (you) didn't think (the party) would stop . . ."
(GM 8:*Hanautage*)

Previous work on the unergative-unaccusative distinction has found that adjectives usually behave similarly to unergative verbs. For example, Cinque (1990) claims that simple adjectives act like unergative verbs in Italian. In addition, Baker and Stewart (1996) point out that adjectives in Edo (a Benue-Congo language spoken in Nigeria) also show unergative properties. Therefore, selection of *–tu* by Japanese adjectives agrees with this general tendency.

To conclude this discussion, the function of the suffix *–ki* does not appear to have changed since the 8th century. There are 3,124 occurrences of *–ki* in *Genji Monogatari*, a frequency comparable to the *Man'yōshū* (513 occurrences). The suffix still marks past tense, appearing with a wide range of verbs (such as *wokuru* "get behind,"

ku "come," *omofu* "think," and *ari* "exist"), adjectives (such as *fukasi* "deep" and *wokasi* "interesting"), and other aspectual and modal suffixes (such as *–tari*, *–nu*, and *–tu*).

To conclude, the following figure summarizes the aspect system in the 10th–11th century based on the data taken from *Genji Monogatari*.

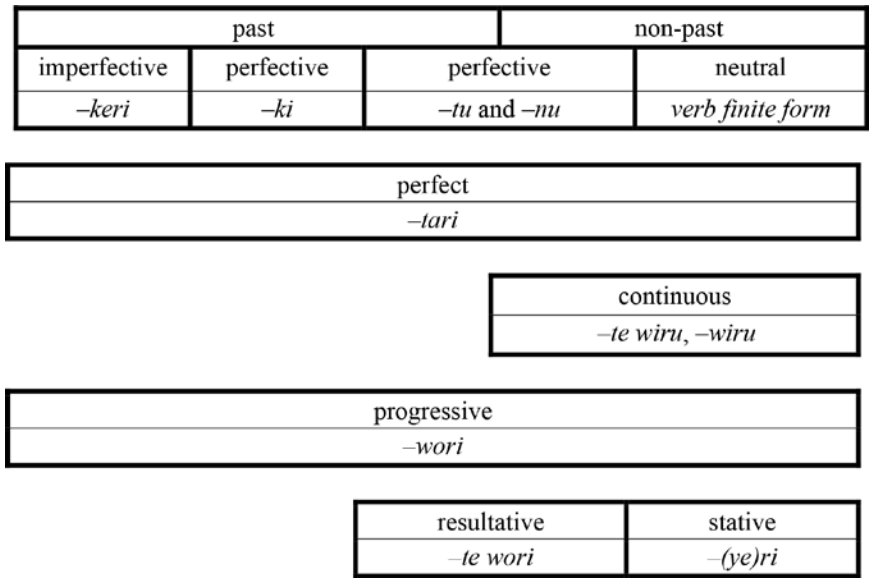

Figure 5.6. The synchronic aspect system of Japanese in the 10th–11th century

The aspectual system of 10th- to 11th-century Japanese eliminates the earlier (8th century) contrast of imperfective vs. plain forms in the present tense (see Figure 5.1 for the 8th-century aspect system).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I first summarized my analysis of the semantic values of the following 10 aspectual markers in the *Man'yōshū*: *–(ye)ri*, *–ki*, *–kyeri*, *–tu*, *–nu*, *–tari*, *–wiru*, *–te wiru*, *–wori*, and *–te wori*. I then reviewed the analysis from a typological viewpoint. In particular, I compared the synchronic aspect system of 8th-century Japanese with Russian and Romance languages.

Next, this synchronic system was evaluated from a diachronic standpoint. I first compared the data from the *Man'yōshū* with the distribution of the markers in *Genji Monogatari*. While I analyzed the semantic changes of each aspect marker as a part of my diachronic analysis, more importantly, I analyzed the change of the aspect system as a whole. This approach revealed the motivations for the changes that the aspect markers have undergone more clearly. The suffix *–(ye) ri* loses its productivity in EMJ and becomes a marker that indicates a state. On the other hand, the suffix *–tari* expands its usage and becomes a perfect marker. Furthermore, all the periphrastic expressions expand their meanings. Both V_1 + *–te wiru* and V_1 + *–wiru* change from markers of resultative to continuous aspect, whereas V_1 + *–wori*, whose aspectual function remains progressive, expands its range of compatible tenses from non-past only to both past and non-past. Lastly, V_1 + *–te wori*, which did not have any aspectual function in the *Man'yōshū*, acquires a resultative meaning by the 10th–11th century.

The new aspect system represented in *Genji Monogatari* looks more similar to the Romance languages than the aspect system in the 8th century did. First, the perfective/ imperfective distinction is only marked in the past tense, since *–(ye)ri* is no longer a full-fledged imperfective marker. In addition, the function of *–tari*, which is now a perfect marker, resembles the perfect in Spanish. V_1 + *–wori* is also similar to progressive in Spanish as well as French, appearing in both non-past and past tenses.

The uniqueness of the Japanese aspect system in *Genji Monogatari* is that it has continuous markers, just like Contemporary Japanese. While a marker for continuous aspect is relatively rare, it is attested in various languages, including Dravidian languages such as Pengo and Parji; various Iroquoian languages (Seneca and Onondaga, for example); Newar; and Korean (Watanabe 2003).

To conclude, research on the tense/aspect system of Pre-modern Japanese has traditionally analyzed the functions of the aspectual suffixes individually, and assumed that their functions do not change significantly from the 8th century to the 10th–11th century. The approach that I have adopted, combining a synchronic analysis of each aspect marker with a synchronic analysis of the aspect system as a whole, followed by a diachronic analysis spanning the transition from Old to Early Middle Japanese, allows us to place the temporal system of Pre-modern Japanese in a largely familiar theoretical and typological context.

NOTES

1. See Comrie (1976) and Smith (1991, 1997) for a similar observation.

2. Russian and Modern Greek future perfective are often described as "non-past perfective." However, unlike non-past perfective in 8th-century Japanese or Menya, non-past perfective in Russian and Modern Greek cannot be interpreted as "very recent past."

3. In Bardi, bare present tense forms are used for habitual, while present imperfective is used for progressive and imperfective. Example (i) uses the present tense form of the verb *marra* "cook," whereas (ii) and (iii) use the imperfective suffix *–n* and are marked with present tense, which is a null suffix (Bowern, personal correspondence).

(i) i-n-marra
3-TRAN-cook

"She is a cook/She cooks."

(ii) i-n-marra-n
3-TRAN-cook-IMP

"She is cooking."

(iii) niiwandi ini-n
tall 3-IMP

"She is tall."

4. Languages other than Romance or Slavic languages that show this tendency are Greek (Hadley 1883) and some Dravidian languages, such as Telugu or Tulu (Caldwell 1998), among others.

5. Both of the lists are cited from data presented in Watanabe (2003).

6. *–keri* in Early Middle Japanese is the equivalent of *–kyeri* in Old Japanese.

7. The adverbial form of *–tu* (i.e., *–te*) is not included in the data for the reason discussed in Chapter 3.

8. The adverbial form of *–nu* (i.e., *–ne*) is not included in the data for the reason discussed in Chapter 3.

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Index

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