A Reference Grammar of Classical Japanese Prose

Alexander Vovin

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Bahan dengan hak cipta

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
AGT	Agent
ALL	Allative
APR	Appearance
ASSER	Assertive
ATTR	Attributive
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMP	Comparative
CON	Conjunctive gerund
CONC	Concessive gerund
COND	Conditional gerund
CONJ	Conjunction
CONJC	Conjectural
COOP	Cooperative
COOR	Coordinative gerund
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DEB	Debitive
DES	Desiderative
DIR	Directional
DV	Defective verb
EMPH	Emphatic
EV	Evidential
EXCL	Exclamation
FIN	Final verbal form
FR	Frequentative
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerund
HON	Honorific
HS	Hearsay
HUM	Humble
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INTER	Interjection

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LOC	Locative
MDF	Modifier
MOD	Modality
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NML	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
ONOM	Onomatopoetic
OPT	Optative
PAST	Past tense
PEJ	Pejorative
PERF	Perfective
PLUR	Plural
POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
PREF	Prefix
PRES	Present tense
PREV	Preverb
PROG	Progressive
PT	Particle
REC	Reciprocal
REP	Reporting (gerund)
REPR	Representative
RESP	Respectful
RETR	Retrospective
SUB	Subordinative gerund
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SUF	Suffix
SUP	Suppositional
TENT	Tentative
TERM	Terminative
TOP	Topic
V	Verb
VNM	Verbal noun marker

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THE TEXTS

HM	*Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*
IM	*Ise monogatari*
KK	*Kojiki kayō*
SN	*Sarashina nikki*
TM	*Taketori monogatari*
TSM	*Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari*

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INTRODUCTION

This book represents an attempt at a reference grammar of the language of Classical Japanese prose of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It may also be used as a reference grammar in the study of Classical Japanese poetic texts. However, since the language of poetry comprises numerous archaisms typical of the Old Japanese language (eighth century), and not found in the language of prose, I have excluded poetic texts in order to keep the description as synchronic as possible.

This Introduction briefly outlines the history of research on Heian-period Japanese, as well as giving my main reasons for writing this book and explaining its theoretical basis. Chapter 1 gives the historical and literary background of the texts, as well as a description of the texts themselves. Chapter 2 describes the writing system and phonology of the language of Classical prose. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the lexicon. Chapter 4 deals with nominals: nouns, pronouns, and numerals. Chapter 5, the longest in the book, describes the verbal system of Classical Japanese prose. Chapter 6 treats adverbs, Chapter 7 conjunctions, and Chapter 8 particles.

The Japanese language of the Heian period (794–1192 CE) is generally considered to have been quite well investigated. Many monograph descriptions have been published by Japanese scholars, the main landmarks being Yamada (1952, first published in 1913), Tokieda (1954), Tsukishima (1969), Iwai (1970), Ikeda (1975), Suzuki (1975), and Tsukishima (1987), not to mention hundreds of articles dedicated to particular problems, and chapters in edited books, monographs and lecture courses. There are also a number of grammars by Western scholars: Aston (1877), Seidel (1896), Lehmann and Faust (1951), Lewin (1959), Muccioli (1970), Syromiatnikov (1983). The list of purely pedagogical grammars or readers that have been published in Western languages alone is quite impressive: Gardner (1954), Morris (1966), Ikeda (1975), Komai (1979), McCullough (1988), Komai and Rohlich (1991).

And yet, I believe that not only is there room for this book, but it *had* to be written. Both the native Japanese and Western traditions have their strengths and weaknesses, but we still lack a grammar of Classical Japanese which is free from both the shortcomings of the traditional Japanese approach and the pitfalls of the Western tradition, but retains the positive aspects of both traditions. I believe that from the eighteenth century Japanese linguists have contributed considerably to the investigation of their mother tongue and its history, but the syllabic nature of the Japanese writing system invariably prevented them from

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carrying out a proper morphemic analysis, especially when they had to describe the system of verbal conjugation including various instances of fusion and crasis. For example, in describing 'bases' of verbs, even linguists trained in the Western tradition were under the spell of the Japanese linguistic tradition until Bernard Bloch finally did away with it (Bloch 1946a, 1946b). Only recently have some Japanese scholars themselves come to realize the inappropriateness of 'bases', but they still constitute a minority (Shirafuji 1987). However, the considerable advantage of the native Japanese tradition is the fact that by and large it correctly interpreted the grammatical categories of the language, especially its numerous verbal categories that are quite dissimilar to verbal categories in European languages. This is exactly where the major pitfall of the Western tradition lies: many European and American grammars, though performing a correct morphemic analysis, often ascribe to Classical Japanese categories from Latin grammar which it never had: present, past, future, and even plusperfect tenses feature in a number of descriptions and pedagogical grammars. The present grammar will try to avoid these shortcomings by basing the semantic side of the description mainly on the native tradition, while adapting its morphemic analysis from the Western tradition.

Those who are looking for the application of an exciting new theory in this book will be disappointed. My position as a linguist has always been that theories come and go, but descriptions remain. This is a descriptive grammar, aimed not only at linguists but also at historians and literature specialists researching pre-modern Japan; it has nothing to do with any theoretical framework other than that of descriptive structural linguistics, avoiding the esoteric modern linguistic terminology that often makes linguistics incomprehensible to other specialists in the humanities.

Several notes on presentation of the language material in the book are in order. Most citations from the texts are taken from critical editions in the 'Series of Japanese Classical Literature' (日本古典文学大系 Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei (hereafter NKBT)): *Taketori monogatari* (Sakakura 1957), *Ise monogatari* (Ōtsu and Tsukishima 1957), *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* (Matsuo 1964), *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari* (Teramoto 1957). The citations from *Sarashina nikki* are taken from the edition by Nishishita (1978). In most cases I have followed these critical editions when presenting textual examples, but on some rare occasions I deviated from them, relying on actual manuscripts of the texts. Several facsimile editions of the manuscripts have been consulted: Katagiri (1974b, 1996a) for *Taketori monogatari*; Katagiri (1974a, 1996b) and Kobayashi (1996) for *Ise monogatari*; Ikeda (1972) for *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*; and Inugai (1993) for *Sarashina nikki*.

All examples from the texts are provided with detailed textual references. References to *Taketori monogatari* are given in the style TM 41.1, that is NKBT edition, p. 41, line 1. Since *Ise monogatari* is divided into chapters (段 *dan*), I have used the system IM VI:87.2, that is *dan* VI, p. 87, line 2. References to *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* basically follow the same system as for

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Ise monogatari, but since this text is divided into scrolls (巻 *maki*), not chapters, the Latin numeral indicates the scroll number: (HM I:174.2).

Examples are presented as follows: first, Japanese script; second, romanization; third, a morpheme-by-morpheme literal translation; finally, a literary translation. In the literary translations, square brackets are used to include words which are not present in the Japanese original but are essential for an English version. Parentheses, on the other hand, are used to include words present in the Japanese original but superfluous in English, or to provide explanation. Where a literal (*lit.*) translation is needed it is usually given in parentheses after the literary translation.

In citations I have preserved the original system of spelling which predates the Fujiwara-no Teika spelling reform of the thirteenth century, the major goal of which was to establish etymologically correct 'historical spelling' (歴史的仮名使い *rekishiteki kanazukai*). Most modern editions of texts either provide etymologically correct variants in parentheses, as NKBT editions do, or even correct the texts, rewriting them completely in the historical spelling. The difficulty is that the texts sometimes use different spellings for the same word, e.g. をとこ /wotoko/ and おとこ /otoko/ 'man'. I prefer to preserve these variants, in spite of the fact that only the first form is etymologically correct; I also romanize them accordingly as *wotoko* and *otoko*. To some colleagues such a system may seem eclectic or inconsistent, but the actual writing system itself is inconsistent. Etymologically correct spelling is of primary interest to historical linguists, but they can easily obtain this information from other sources. A person who wishes to read the texts as they are, and especially in manuscript, needs to be ready to recognize familiar words and forms in their variant spellings. Thus, the etymologically incorrect spelling *otoko* occurs at least ten times more frequently than its historically correct counterpart. A person interested in Classical Japanese *per se* needs to learn the meaning of *otoko* rather than learning that *wotoko* is the 'correct' form and *otoko* is its misspelling.

For the same reason I have deleted all punctuation signs such as commas (、 *ten*) and periods (。 *maru*), widely used in modern editions, but absent in the original texts. The only exceptions are cases where the end of a sentence appears in the middle of an example, and it would be difficult for a beginner to realize that it is the end of the sentence for various reasons. I have used the *maru* sign only in these cases.

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1 HISTORICAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

1.1 FROM NARA TO HEIAN

In CE 784 the Japanese capital was moved from Nara to Nagaoka, and then in 794 it was moved again from Nagaoka to Heian-kyō, 'The Capital of Peace and Tranquillity', present-day Kyoto, where it was to stay for more than a thousand years until 1868 when the young Emperor Meiji moved it to Edo, present-day Tokyo. The reasons for the moves in 784 and 794 remain obscure, but the most likely reason is that it was an attempt to limit the ever-growing influence of the six so-called old Buddhist sects which all had their headquarters in Nara.

Whatever the motive for the moves may have been, they had a tremendous impact on contemporary Japanese society and culture. First, the move from Nara effectively brought an end to the bloody eighth century, with its endless coups d'état, rebellions, and executions of members of the nobility and aristocracy. For four long centuries capital punishment was not used even for the most serious crimes against the state, and was effectively replaced by exile to distant or even not-so-distant lands. Second, two new Buddhist sects emerged, Tendai and Shingon, the former of which was destined to become the source of all subsequent Buddhist sects that originated in Japan. Third, the Chinese influence on Japanese increased considerably during the early part of the Heian period. This was due mainly to active contacts with the mainland, mostly through embassies and Japanese monks who went to China to study, some spending many years there. The Chinese style became so prominent during the ninth century that this period is called 'Kokufū an jidai', 'The dark period of national style'. Yet, alongside this obvious sinification, some of the most impressive Japanese poets of all ages lived in the ninth century (Ariwara-no Narihira, Ono-no Komachi) or were born in the second half of that century (Ki-no Tsurayuki). Thus, the national cultural renaissance of the early tenth century that was destined to continue for almost three hundred years had its roots in the ninth century.

By the end of the ninth century the real power in the state finally slipped from the hands of the imperial family to the Fujiwara family, who introduced a new political system of regency – chancellorship – that effectively helped them to reduce the emperors to nominal puppets. The essence of this system was that the Fujiwara married their daughters to emperors, with the result that every subsequent Emperor had strong ties with the Fujiwara family on his mother's side. When an Emperor reached about twenty years of age, he was forced to abdicate

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in favour of his infant son, usually three to five years old, who had a Fujiwara mother, and his maternal grandfather would become regent and de facto ruler. When the Emperor reached puberty, and had, at least in theory, to start to rule without the regent, his grandfather would change his title from regent to chancellor, preserving power in his own hands. As soon as an Emperor reached an age when he might try to evade his grandfather's influence, he was forced to abdicate, and the cycle was repeated.

The absolute rule of the Fujiwara did not go unchallenged by emperors and representatives of other aristocratic families, such as the famous poet and statesman Sugawara-no Michizane, but none of these attempts were successful until the end of the eleventh century, when the retired emperors managed to seize power from the Fujiwara and establish another interesting system of rule whereby political power belonged not to the actual ruling Emperor but to the one who had abdicated. This system of 'Cloistered Sovereigns' lasted less than a century and was finally replaced by the military samurai forces who ended the glorious Heian period.

Heian society was essentially a closed system in which people's career were determined by their birth, and social dynamics were virtually non-existent. In other words, members of the middle-class nobility, among whom the majority of the Heian period writers and poets were numbered, could not normally advance higher than the fifth or, in exceptional cases, third rank of the court system. Members of the middle-class nobility often served as provincial governors or other bureaucrats, and we are indebted to them for descriptions of the various localities in Japan outside the capital.

1.2 LITERARY BACKGROUND

The written sources of the Heian period composed completely or partially in Japanese can be divided into three major groups: commentaries on Buddhist and Confucian classics, dictionaries, and literary works. The first group of texts, the commentaries, is considerably influenced by Chinese, and mostly uses a cumbersome system of writing that only approximately represents the language. This group of texts is of primary interest to specialists in religion and, to a certain extent, linguists. There are several thorough studies of these texts, among which Tsukishima (1969) is of the greatest interest to linguists. The second group, dictionaries, though containing valuable lexical and phonetic materials, tells us next to nothing about the morphology and syntax of the language. Thus, it is the third group, the literary works, that has the most significance both for linguists and for literature specialists. Literary texts that have survived until today represent both poetry (和歌 *waka*) and prose (和文 *wabun*).

The majority of poems written in this period are in 短歌 *tanka* (short song) form, although earlier anthologies also include forms more typical of Old Japanese poetry: 長歌 *nagauta* (long song) and 施頭歌 *sedōka* (rower's song). The late

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Heian anthology *Ryōjin hishō* also includes samples of 今様 *imayō* (modern style) songs that became fashionable in the latter part of the Heian period.

The prose works are traditionally divided into three genres: 物語 *monogatari* (tales), 日記 *nikki* (diaries), and 随筆 *zuihitsu* (essays). Only one essay, *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book), has survived, but there are many more extant diaries and tales. Among these three genres, the language of the tales seems to be the closest to the vernacular of the time, as it contains fewer archaisms than the other two. This, together with the fact that it was precisely the language of the tales upon which the written language of the following periods was based, determined the choice of tales as the basis for this book.

The increased popularity of Chinese culture and language led to an interesting phenomenon. While poetry in Japanese continued to be composed by both men and women alike, most of the prose works were written by female writers, as men preferred to write prose in Chinese, which during the Heian period became the official language of the state, replacing Japanese even in imperial edicts.

While we know with relative precision the authorship of only one text used as a basic text in this book, *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, written by a woman (see below), it is possible to surmise that at least certain parts of the other two texts were written by women as well, as they have frequent 'female' language features.

1.3 THE TEXTS

This study is based on three masterpieces of the Heian period (CE 794–1192): *Taketori monogatari* (traditional dating: late ninth–early tenth century), *Ise monogatari* (traditional dating: early tenth century), and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* (The tale of Hamamatsu and the Chūnagon, approximately 1064). I also occasionally cite examples from *Sarashina nikki* (The Sarasina diary, approximately 1059–60), and those chapters of *Tsutsumi chūnagon monogatari* (eleventh–thirteenth century) that can safely be dated to the eleventh century. My choice of these sources was governed by several principles. First, since *Genji monogatari* represents such an important watershed in the history of Japanese literature and culture, I wanted to use representative texts that both predate and postdate it. Second, I did not want to use *Genji monogatari* as the basic text for my research, as it is probably better studied linguistically than others, and in this respect *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* looked more promising, as it is cited in very few linguistic works. Third, matters of personal preference also played a role.

The authorship of these texts is open to debate. Traditionally, *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is attributed to the daughter of Sugawara-no Takasue, a prolific woman writer of the second half of the eleventh century, who is also believed to be the author of the famous diary *Sarashina nikki* and two other novels: *Sagoromo monogatari* and *Yowa no nezame*. The authorship of *Taketori monogatari* is not known, but it is often believed to be a translation into Japanese of a story that was originally written in Chinese. The authorship of *Ise monogatari*, or some

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parts of it, is sometimes attributed to Ariwara-no Narihira, a famous poet of the ninth century, one of the 'Six Immortal Poets' (六歌仙 *rokkasen*).

It is widely believed that *Taketori monogatari* is the earliest prose text written entirely in Japanese. Tradition dates its origin to the late ninth or very early tenth century. *Ise monogatari* is normally considered to be chronologically next in line, with its origin in the early tenth century. However, as I will demonstrate throughout this book, linguistically *Ise monogatari* appears to be somewhat older than *Taketori monogatari*, since it contains a number of archaisms not present in any other prose text of the Heian period. I believe that *Ise monogatari* was written sometime in the latter part of the ninth century. This may be more evidence in favour of Ariwara-no Narihira's authorship, although the text is also likely to contain some slightly later additions.

The dating of *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is the least problematic. It is most likely that the text was written in 1064; differing views do not put its date more than ten or fifteen years either side of this (Matsuo 1964: 134–35).

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2 WRITING AND PHONOLOGY

2.0 WRITING

The heading 'writing' is understood here to include writing materials (the materials on which one writes), writing tools, and the writing system (that is, the system of written signs). The first two constitute the category of writing implements. The reason for such a broad understanding of writing is obvious: the materials and the tools both influence the writing system. A culture in which stone is the only writing material is unlikely to develop any cursive style of writing. On the other hand, paper or palm leaves will facilitate such a development.

2.1 WRITING IMPLEMENTS

2.1.1 Writing materials

The main material used for writing texts in Heian Japan was paper. Certain religious and official inscriptions are written on stone and wood, but they are not numerous and do not constitute lengthy texts; they are therefore irrelevant to the present study. During the Tanabata festival on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, love poetry was written on mulberry leaves or paulownia leaves, but this usage was not extensive.

Three main types of paper were used in Heian Japan:

1 Paper from the bark of the spindle tree 檀 (まゆみ *mayumi*): 檀紙 (だんがみ *dangami*), 陸奥紙 (みちのくがみ *michinokugami*). Different kinds of wood from the spindle tree: 紫檀 *murasakimayumi*, 小檀 *komayumi*, and 檀 *mayumi* were widely used in making kitchen utensils, figurines, bows, etc. However, only the bark of *komayumi* was used for manufacturing paper. Paper made from spindle tree bark was used for writing letters and poems, as well as for official court business including ceremonial writing and for Buddhist texts. This paper was of the same thickness and was cut in three sizes: large (67 × 53 cm), medium (59–62 × 41 cm), and small (44 × 55 cm). Prior to ceremonial use such paper was sprinkled with gold or silver powder.
2 Hemp paper 麻紙 *asagami* was used in Japan from the beginning of its written history, but its usage was gradually abandoned by the higher classes since it deteriorated quickly as it was prone to being eaten by insects.
3 Paper made from the bark of the paper mulberry tree 梶の木 *kajinoki* was used most widely for longest in Japan. Its quality and types varied depending on the

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> place and manufacture. The highest-quality mulberry paper was used at court, and most of our texts were written on this paper. The bark of a mulberry tree was first soaked in a barrel of water, then its upper 'black' layer was scraped off, and the remainder was thoroughly washed and dried in the sun for three or four days. This 'white' bark was ground up, mixed with different ingredients including glue from white glutinous rice, and the resulting mixture was smeared on special lattices and then dried. One can see the traces of these lattices when the paper is held up to the light (Goregliad 1975:37–8).

Leaves of paper were stitched into volumes in the following way. Single leaves of paper, cut beforehand to a certain size, were folded in two and then stacked together. Then two leaves of coloured and very thick paper were used as a cover, and on the cut side of the pile three holes were punched at a distance of 3–5 mm from the edge. A strong thread of the same colour as the cover was pulled through these holes with a needle, and the ends of the thread were tied together. Therefore, texts were written on only one side of a leaf. It was possible to take the stitching apart, fold the leaves in the opposite direction, and fill the paper with new text. A series of volumes stitched in this way was placed in a cardboard box, which was buckled by bone or wooden pins placed in special nooses.

Commentary for the text was written in black ink, as was the main body of the text. It was placed either at the top of a page: (the upper margin was made considerably wider than the bottom one for that purpose) or inside the text, to the right of the word to be explained, between the lines, or immediately under the word, using letters of a smaller size in two columns, which together equalled the width of one normal line. Corrections and highlighting of certain places, as well as grammatical and phonetical markers, were usually written in cinnabar. Since the paper was very thin, no erasures were made in a text, but sometimes a scribe pasted a narrow strip of paper over mistakes and made a correction on it.

The pagination in a manuscript was placed on folds in the leaves. The pagination could be consecutive throughout, subdivided by chapters, variable (one leaf could be marked by two numbers or two or three neighbouring leaves by the same number), or simply absent. The title of a manuscript was written on a strip of white paper and pasted in the upper left portion of the top cover. This was repeated at the beginning of a manuscript, before the text, as well as before every new section. The title was also written on the upper part of each leaf's fold. These titles were not necessarily the same: that on a leaf's fold was, as a rule, a contracted title. Any of the titles, or all of them, could be absent altogether. The number of lines on a page, as well as the number of written signs in a line, was normally the same within the manuscript text.

2.1.2 Writing tools (ink, ink-stones, brushes)

The main text of a manuscript (with the exception of ritual texts, imperial edicts, etc.) was written in black ink from right to left and from top to bottom. Ink in

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Japan was made from soot, which was diluted in a glue solution, boiled with an addition of aromatic substances, enhanced with special dyes, and dried. Before writing, a piece of ink was split off and ground on the special flat surface of an ink-stone. The powder was diluted by water in a depression on the ink-stone called the 'ink-stone pool' (硯池 *kenchi*) or the 'ink-stone sea' (硯の海 *suzuri no umi*). The ink-stone (硯 *suzuri*) was carved from stone or made from clay and baked. In the houses of nobility special low four-legged tables called 硯箱 *suzuribako* or 当たり箱 *ataribako* were used for writing. They were covered with lacquer (with pictures of flowers, plants, or fruits), and furnished with shelves for ink, ink-stones, and brushes.

The brush stem was made of either bamboo or wood, although some high-class stems were made from ceramic. A head composed of animal hair was attached to the stem. Typically, hare or sheep hair was used, although sometimes weasel's hair was used as well.

2.2 WRITING SYSTEM

The Classical Japanese writing system used in prose texts comprises a mixture of syllabic *kana* signs used phonetically and characters used logographically. The former obviously outnumber the latter, and can occupy up to 85–98% of the text on a given page. Both kinds of written signs are used in their cursive form (*sōsho* 'grass writing'), though sometimes characters used logographically tend to appear in semi-cursive form (*gyōsho* 'linear writing'). The origin of syllabic signs ultimately goes back to characters used phonetically, and therefore there is actually little functional difference between the system of writing used in Heian prose texts and that used in Old Japanese texts, which were written excusively or almost exclusively with phonograms. As in Old Japanese writing (*man'yōgana*), a polyphonic principle is largely in effect: one and the same syllable may be rendered by different signs (though certain syllables tend to be written with just one or two signs); one and the same sign may also be used as a phonetic or logographic sign. In addition, the Japanese reading corresponding to a logographic usage of a character may be used phonetically.

There is considerable variation in both the individual shape of a sign and the preference for certain signs denoting one and the same syllable, depending on the handwriting and personal preferences of a scribe.

Table 1 lists the syllabic signs that are used in modern editions, with their transliteration. The actual *sōsho* forms of the most frequent signs in the Heian prose texts, along with the printed *kaisho* form from which these signs originated, are presented in Appendix 2.

2.3 PHONOLOGY

It is possible to establish the following phonological system on the basis of the above writing system.

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Table 1 Hiragana signs

Japanese kana	*Transliteration*
あ	A
い	I
う	U
え	YE
お	O
か、が	KA, GA
き、ぎ	KI, GI
く、ぐ	KU, GU
け、げ	KE, GE
こ、ご	KO, GO
さ、ざ	SA, ZA
し、じ	SI, ZI
す、ず	SU, ZU
せ、ぜ	SE, ZE
そ、ぞ	SO, ZO
た、だ	TA, DA
ち、ぢ	TI, DI
つ、づ	TU, DU
て、で	TE, DE
と、ど	TO, DO
な	NA
に	NI
ぬ	NU
ね	NE
の	NO
は、ば	FA, BA
ひ、び	FI, BI
ふ、ぶ	FU, BU
へ、べ	FE, BE
ほ、ぼ	FO, BO
ま	MA
み	MI
む	MU
め	ME
も	MO
や	YA
ゆ	YU
よ	YO
ら	RA
り	RI
る	RU
れ	RE
ろ	RO
わ	WA
ゐ	WI
ゑ	WE
を	WO

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Table 2 Chart of consonants

	Labials	*Dentals*	*Palatals*	*Velars*
Voiceless stops		t t'		k k' kw
Voiced stops	b b'	d d'		g g' gw
Voiceless fricatives	f f'	s s'		
Voiced fricatives	w		y	
Voiced affricates		z z'		
Nasal sonorants	m m'	n n'		ŋ
Rhotics		r r'		

2.3.1 Consonants

The language of Classical Japanese prose has the consonants shown in Table 2.

The number of consonantal phonemes has almost doubled compared to Old Japanese, due to the great influx of Chinese loanwords into the language which has introduced the contrast between palatalized and non-palatalized phonemes. The contrast exists exclusively in the Chinese subsystem of the language, and it is maintained only in the position before the back vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/. There is no contrast before front vowels /i/ and /e/, and consonants before these vowels will subsequently be treated as non-palatalized phonemes, although most of them probably were phonetically palatalized.

A description of the consonants follows.

2.3.1.1 *Stops*

/b/: bilabial voiced stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalized [ᵐb], especially in medial position. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. In initial position it is attested mostly in Chinese loanwords, e.g. *bosatu* 'Boddhisattva', *bindura* 'type of hair style', *biwa* 'lute', *bou* 'stick'; the only native word with initial *b-* occurring in the texts is *ba* 'place'. It occurs in medial position in native words: *yobu* 'to call', *tabi* 'trip', *tirinubesi* 'it must have fallen'.

/b'/: bilabial voiced palatalized stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalized [ᵐb'], especially in medial position. It occurs in initial position before the vowel /a/ and is attested exclusively in Chinese loanwords. The palatalised /b'/ is denoted by a combination of *hiragana* sign び BI plus *hiragana* sign や YA: びや BIYA [b'a]. The transliteration convention for [b'], as well as for the other palatalized consonants (when they occur before vowels /a/ or /o/), is the letter combination [by]. Examples are: *byaubu* 'screen', *byakiu* 'Byakiu' (place name).

/t/: dental voiceless stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. Examples: *taki* 'waterfall', *toki* 'time', *otu* 'to fall', *tumi* 'sin', *ti* 'blood',

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ato 'footstep'. In Chinese loanwords it was also possible as an implosive stop in final position, although transliterated as *-tu* or *-ti*, rendering actual *hiragana* spellings つ and ち. Examples: *guwati* or *guwatu* [gwat] 'month'.

/t'/: dental voiceless palatalized stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions before vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/ and only in Chinese loanwords. The palatalized /t'/ before vowels /a/ and /o/ is denoted by a combination of *hiragana* sign ち TI plus *hiragana* signs や YA and よ YO: ちや TIYA [t'a], ちよ TIYO [t'o] and by a combination of *hiragana* sign ち TI plus *hiragana* sign う U:ちう TIU [t'u]. The transliteration convention for [t'], as well as for the other palatalized consonants, is the letter combination TY before vowels [a] and [o] and TI before vowel [u]. Examples: *tiunagon* 'middle councillor', *kityau* 'screen', *tyokusi* 'imperial messenger'.

/d/: dental voiced stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalised [ⁿd], especially in medial position. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. In initial position it is attested exclusively in Chinese loanwords, e.g.: *dairi* 'forbidden city', *darani* 'Dharani', *dokusi* 'priest reading sutras'. Examples of /d/ in native words: y*eda* 'branch', *ikade* 'without going', *kakedo* 'though [she] will write'.

/d'/: dental voiced palatalized stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalized [ⁿd'], especially in medial position. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords. The palatalized /d'/ before vowels /a/ and /o/ is denoted by a combination of *hiragana* sign ぢ DI plus *hiragana* signs や YA and よ YO: ぢや DIYA [d'a], ぢよ DIYO [d'o] and by a combination of *hiragana* sign ぢ DI plus *hiragana* sign う U: ぢう DIU [d'u]. The transliteration convention for [d'], as well as for the other palatalized consonants, is the letter combination DY before vowels [a] and [o] and DI before vowel [u]. Examples: *dyagaku* 'fixed amount', *dyogaku* 'music played by women', *diu* 'part of a *biwa*'.

/k/: velar voiceless stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. Examples: *koko* 'here', *kaku* 'writes', *kefu* 'today', *ki* 'tree'. In Chinese loanwords it was also possible as an implosive stop in final position, although transliterated as *-ku* or *-ki*, rendering the actual *hiragana* spellings く and き, e.g. *kyaku* [kyak] 'guest'.

/k'/: velar voiceless palatalized stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions before vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/ and only in Chinese loanwords. The palatalized /k'/ before vowels /a/ and /o/ is denoted by a combination of *hiragana* sign き KI plus *hiragana* signs や YA and よ YO: きや KIYA [k'a], きよ KIYO [k'o] and by a combination of *hiragana* sign き KI plus *hiragana* sign う U: きう KIU [k'u]. The transliteration convention for [k'], as well as for the other palatalized consonants, is the letter combination KY before vowels [a] and [o] and KI before vowel [u]. Examples: *kyaku* 'guest', *kiu* 'nine', *kyotan* 'lie' (noun).

/kw/: labiovelar voiceless stop. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords before vowels /a/ and /e/ (there is just one example of the occurrence before /e/). The labiovelar /kw/ before vowel /a/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* signs く KU and わ WA, and before vowel /e/ by the combination of *hiragana* signs く KU and ゑ WE. Examples: *kwan* 'official', *faukwa* 'type of footwear', *syoukwa* 'enlightenment', *kwenzoku* 'followers of Buddha'.

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/g/: velar voiced stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalized [ᵑg], especially in medial position. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. In initial position it is attested exclusively in Chinese loanwords, e.g. *gakusi* 'Crown Prince's tutor', *gu* 'tools', 'utensils', *gebon* 'lower class' (Buddhist term). Examples of /g/ in native words: *ikaga* 'how', *fagi* 'bushclover', *kagu* 'smells'.

/g'/: velar voiced palatalized stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalized [ᵑg'], especially in medial position. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords before vowels /a/ and /o/. A palatalized /g'/ before vowels /a/ and /o/ is denoted by a combination of *hiragana* sign ぎ GI plus *hiragana* signs や YA and よ YO: ぎや GIYA [g'a], ぎよ GIYO [g'o]. The transliteration convention for [g'], as well as for the other palatalized consonants, is the letter combination GY. Examples: *gyauzi-* 'to go (on Buddha's way)', *gyaukei* 'going out (of a member of imperial family)', *gyakuto* 'rebel', *gyo* honorific prefix, *gyokurou* 'jade pavilion'.

/gw/: labiovelar voiced stop, phonetically possibly a prenasalized [ᵑgw], especially in medial position. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords before vowel /a/. The labiovelar /gw/ before vowel /a/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* signs ぐ GU and わ WA. Examples: *gwati/gwatu* 'month', *gwan* 'request'.

/m/: bilabial nasal stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. Examples: *mi* 'body', *me* 'eye', *ikamafosi* 'wants to go', *musubu* 'ties'. In Chinese loanwords it was also possible in final position where it is rendered by the *hiragana* signs む MU and ん N. Examples: *an / amu* [am] 'hut', *on / omu* [om] 'sound'.

/m'/: bilabial nasal palatalized stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions in Chinese loanwords before vowel /a/. A palatalized /m'/ before vowel /a/ is denoted by a combination of *hiragana* sign み MI plus *hiragana* sign や YA. Examples: *myauzi* 'name', *miyaubu* 'wife of a courtier of the fifth rank or higher'.

/n/: dental nasal stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions before all vowels. Examples: *na* 'name', *numa* 'swamp', *ne* 'root', *kane* 'metal'. In Chinese loanwords it was also possible in final position where it is rendered by the *hiragana* sign ん N. Examples: *gwan* 'request', *kwan* 'bureaucrat', *kin* 'zither'.

/n'/: bilabial nasal palatalized stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions in Chinese loanwords before vowel /o/. A palatalized /n'/ before vowel /o/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* sign に NI plus *hiragana* sign よ YO. Examples: *nyoubau* 'female attendant', *nyorai* 'Tathagata'.

/ŋ/: velar nasal stop. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords in word- and/or syllable-final position. It is denoted by the *hiragana* vowel letters う U and い I, thus creating a certain ambiguity in the script, since the glide codas -w and -y in Chinese loanwords are also written by the same *hiragana* signs う U and い I, e.g. *kau* < Middle Chinese *kaw* 'high'. Examples: *yau* [yaŋ] 'view', 'shape', 'appearance', *gyaukei* [gyaŋkeŋ] 'going out (of a member of imperial family)'.

2.3.1.2 *Fricatives*

/f/: bilabial voiceless fricative. It occurs before all vowels in both native vocabulary and Chinese loanwords, but only in initial position, as its etymological medial

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counterpart had already shifted to /w/ (see 2.3.4.1 below). Examples: *fasi* 'bridge', *fi* 'fire', *fuku* 'wipes', *fosi* 'star', *fenikeri* 'has passed'.

/f'/: bilabial voiceless palatalized fricative. It occurs only before vowel /a/ in initial position and only in Chinese loanwords. A palatalized /f'/ before vowel /a/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* sign ひ FI plus *hiragana* sign や YA. Examples: *fyaku* 'hundred', *fyaubu* 'ministry of military affairs', *fyauban* 'rumours', 'gossip'.

/w/: bilabial voiced fricative. It occurs in both initial and medial positions in native Japanese and borrowed Chinese vocabulary. In the earlier texts (*Taketori monogatari* and *Ise monogatari*) /w/ was possible before vowels /a/, /i/, /e/, and /o/; however, in the later texts (*Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*), it is likely to be preserved only before /a/ and /o/ (see 2.3.4.1 below). Examples: *sinwau* 'prince', *ware* 'I', *wotoko* 'man', *we* 'picture', *wi* 'well'.

/s/: voiceless dental hissing fricative. It occurs before all vowels in both initial and medial positions in native Japanese and borrowed Chinese vocabulary. Phonetically it is likely to be palatalized before both the front vowels /i/ and /e/. Examples: *seusoko* 'letter', *sigure* 'drizzling rain', *asa* 'morning', *osorosi* 'frightening', *sakura* 'cherry blossom'.

/s'/: voiceless dental palatalized hushing fricative. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords in both initial and medial positions before vowels /a/, /o/, /u/. The palatalized /s'/ before vowels /a/ and /o/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* sign し SI plus *hiragana* signs や YA and よ YO: しや SIYA [s'a], しよ SIYO [s'o]. However, before vowel /u/ palatalized /s'/ can be written in two ways, unlike the other palatalized consonants: it can be denoted not only by a combination of *hiragana* sign し SI plus *hiragana* sign う U: しう SIU [s'u], but also by a combination of *hiragana* sign し SI plus *hiragana* sign ゆ YU: しゆ SYU [s'u]. The transliteration convention for [s'] is the letter combination SY before vowels [a] and [o] and SI or SY before vowel [u]. Examples: *syau* 'life', *syau* 'truth', *zyusya* 'Confucian scholar', *siuka* 'excellent poem', *siugen* 'congratulation', 'well-wishing', *syugyauzya* 'Buddhist ascetic hermit', *syuu* 'master', *syo* 'book', *syoukwa* 'enlightenment'.

/z/: voiced dental palatalized hissing fricative,[1] phonetically possibly prenasalized [ⁿz], especially in medial position. It occurs before all vowels in both Chinese loanwords and native Japanese vocabulary, but in the latter it is restricted to the medial position, while in the former it can occur in both initial and medial positions. Examples: *waza* 'deed', *sirazi* 'probably does not know', *ikazu* 'will not go', *kaze* 'wind', *kozo* 'last year', *zakuro* 'pomegranate', *goza* 'seat of an honoured person', *gozifu* 'fifty', *zendai* 'previous generation'.

/z'/: voiced dental palatalized hushing fricative. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords in initial and medial positions before vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/. The palatalized /z'/ before vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* sign じ ZI plus *hiragana* signs や YA, よ YO, and YU: じや ZIYA [z'a], じよ ZIYO [z'o], じゆ ZIYU [z'u]. Note that unlike the majority of other palatalized consonants there is no difference in notation for palatalized /z'/

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before vowels /a/ and /o/, on the one hand, and vowel /u/, on the other. The transliteration convention for [z'] is the letter combination ZY before vowels [a], [o], and [u]. Examples: *zyake* 'evil spirit', *zyusya* 'Confucian scholar', *syugyauzya* 'Buddhist ascetic hermit', *zyouyo* 'Emperor's palanquin'.

/r/: voiced rhotic fricative. It occurs before all vowels in both Chinese loanwords and native Japanese vocabulary, but in the latter it is restricted to the medial position, while in the former it can occur in both initial and medial positions. Examples: *arasi* 'hurricane wind', *ari* 'is', *nokoru* 'remains', *kokoro* 'heart', *kore* 'this', *ro* 'oar', *rei* 'small bell', *rui* 'kind', 'sort', *ruri* 'blue precious stone from India', *rau* 'covered gallery'.

/r'/: voiced rhotic palatalized fricative. It occurs only in Chinese loanwords in initial and medial positions before vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/. The palatalized /r'/ before vowels /a/ and /o/ is denoted by the combination of *hiragana* sign り RI plus *hiragana* sign や YA and よ YO: りや RIYA [r'a], りよ RIYO [r'o] and by a combination of *hiragana* sign り RI plus *hiragana* sign う U:りう RIU [r'u]. The transliteration convention for [r'] is the letter combination RY before vowels [a] and [o] and RI before vowel [u]. Examples: *ryau* 'territory', *rituryo* or *ryoritu* 'musical notes', *riuwau* 'dragon king'.

/y/: palatal voiced glide. It occurs before vowels /a/, /e/, /o/, and /u/ in both Chinese loanwords and Japanese native vocabulary in initial and medial positions. The transliteration convention for the glide /y/ before vowels /a/, /u/, and /o/ are combinations of letter Y with a corresponding vowel, reflecting *hiragana* signs や YA, ゆ YU, and よ YO, and え YE for the glide /y/ before vowel /e/, as there was already no word-initial [e] vowel in the Heian period (see 2.3.2 below). Examples: *yama* 'mountain', *yeda* 'branch', *yosi* 'is good', *yuki* 'snow', *ayu* 'trout', *yaku* 'medicine', *yeni* 'karma'.

2.3.2 Vowels

There are only five vowels in the language of Classical Japanese prose, a considerable reduction compared to the eight-vowel system typical of Western Old Japanese (see Chart 1)

Old Japanese /yi/ and /iy/, /ye/ and /ey/, and /o̲/ and /wo/ merged as Classical Japanese /i/, /e/, and /o/ respectively. Whereas the consonantal system became much more complex, the vowel system was considerably simplified. All five vowels occur in both native Japanese vocabulary and Chinese loanwords. The vowels can be described as follows.

i u

e o

a

Chart 1 Chart of vowels

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/i/: high front unrounded vowel. It occurs in any position in a word: initial, medial, and final. Examples: *iki* 'breath', *iku* 'goes', *miru* 'sees', *siru* 'knows', *mi* 'body', *ki* 'tree'.

/e/: mid front unrounded vowel. It cannot occur word- or syllable-initially: *yeda* 'branch', *yeni* 'karma', *kiyeru* 'disappears', *me* 'eye', *kane* 'metal', *kame* 'tortoise', *tera* 'temple', *kaze* 'wind'. CAUTION: the modern Japanese *hiragana* letter え E is transliterated as *ye*, because the Heian *hiragana* signs corresponding to Modern Japanese *hiragana* え E were all pronounced as [ye].

/u/: high back rounded vowel. It occurs in any position in a word: initial, medial, and final. Examples: *u* 'cormorant', *umi* 'sea', *musi* 'insect', *kakinubesi* 'must have written', *suzu* 'small bell', *tatu* 'stands', 'rises'.

/o/: mid back rounded vowel. It cannot occur word- or syllable-initially: *wotoko* 'man', *mawosu* 'says' (humble), *miko* 'Prince', *kokoro* 'heart', *siboru* 'squeezes'. CAUTION: modern Japanese *hiragana* letter お O is transliterated as *o* to reflect the variety of spellings in texts, but the Heian *hiragana* signs corresponding to modern *hiragana* お O were all pronounced as [wo].

/a/: low back unrounded vowel. It occurs in any position in a word: initial, medial, and final. Examples: *arasi* 'hurricane wind', *asi* 'foot', 'leg', *agura* 'high seat', *kara* 'China', *mayu* 'eyebrow', *ka* 'scent', *sora* 'sky'.

2.3.3 Accent

Classical Japanese prose texts do not provide any data regarding the accent, therefore I will not discuss it here. Information about the accent in Classical Japanese comes exclusively from 類聚名義抄 *Ruiju Myōgishō*, a Chinese-Japanese dictionary compiled in CE 1081 and reflecting the accent of Japanese as spoken in Kyōto. Interested readers are referred to an excellent description of Heian-period Japanese accent by Samuel E. Martin (1987:138–363), as well as to the very useful index of all the words found in *Ruiju Myōgishō* (which otherwise is very difficult to use) compiled by Mochizuki Ikuko (1974).

2.3.4 Phonetic changes

Our main sources of information on the different phonetic processes in the language of Classical Japanese prose are misspellings and graphic doublets for the same words that reveal certain phonetic changes since Old Japanese.

2.3.4.1 *Labial lenition*

Labial lenition is one of the most significant tendencies in the history of the Japanese language. It has affected all dialects except the Sakishima dialects (with the exception of the Yonaguni dialect) located in the Southern Ryukyus that still preserve the Proto-Japanese labials *p and *b as /p/ and /b/. In all other modern dialects original *p lenited first to /f/, and then in the majority of cases

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into /h/, as in modern standard Japanese. Original *b lenited first to /w/, and then disappeared altogether in many cases. The Old Japanese language, spoken in the eighth century around Nara, was no exception to labial lenition: its original *b had already lenited to /w/ long before the first texts in Old Japanese were written. However, the language of the eighth century still retained original *p in all positions.[2] This was not the case, however, in the language of Classical Japanese prose, which underwent further labial lenition.

The Old Japanese voiceless labial stop /p/ had already lenited in the language of Classical Japanese prose to bilabial fricative /f/. This conclusion can be reached on the basis of two facts: first, prose texts extensively use signs which have labiodental initial /f-/ in Late Middle Chinese; e.g. the most frequent signs for FI are signs with labial fricatives in Late Middle Chinese: 飛 and 非. Second, /-f-/ in middle position becomes voiced /-w-/ and merges with original /-w-/, which of course would not be possible if it was still stop /p/. There are numerous examples of /-f-/ and /-w-/ mergers in the texts (the etymological spelling follows in parentheses): *towosi* (tofosi) 'is far', *tatazumawi* (tatazumafi) 'row', *sawagu* (safagu) 'makes noise', *uti-farafi* (uti-warafi) 'laughed and… '. As the last example shows, this merger occurred not only within morphemes but also at morpheme boundaries. It was completed by the beginning of the eleventh century (Tsukishima 1969:348). The merger of /w/ and /f/ in medial position has also led to the loss of original /f/ before the vowel /u/, as there is no syllable *wu in Japanese. In *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* one can find the spelling *tagau* (tagafu) 'differs'. The loss of original /f/ in medial position before /u/ was not the only result of the merger of /f/ and /w/ in medial position, as labial lenition was progressing further here. The next to disappear was /w/ (both from original /w/ and /f/) before the vowel /i/. It is usually believed that this change first occurred during the Heian period in the verb *mawiru* 'goes' (humble) => *mairu*, and then spread elsewhere only in the Kamakura period (Tsukishima 1969:360–63). Nevertheless, the loss of /w/ before /i/ can be observed in the language of Classical Japanese prose not only in the case of *mairu* (mawiru), but also in the following examples: *ite* (wite) 'brings (someone) and …', *ikeru* (wikeru) 'lived', *afigyau* (aigyau) 'beauty'. Therefore, /w/ was lost before the high front vowel, and this change also largely contributed to the appearance of vowel clusters which were virtually non-existent in Old Japanese, and that constituted another significant change from Old to Classical Japanese.[3]

Bilabial /w/ also merged with /y/ before vowel /e/, a process which could also be viewed as labial lenition. This change, as well as w > Ø/___i, is traditionally considered to have happened only in the Kamakura period (Tsukishima 1969:360–63), but there are some examples in our texts suggesting that it might at least have started before that time: *ye* (we) 'picture', *we-yomanu* (ye-yomanu) 'cannot read'. Therefore, it is likely that bilabial fricative /w/ has been preserved in the language of Classical Japanese prose only before vowels /a/ and /o/.

In certain cases a syllable /wi/ resulting from an original /fi/ in the medial position when divided by a morpheme boundary (f-i) in consonantal verbs loses

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its final vowel, and /w/ => /u/, e.g. *tukau-matur-i-tamaf-er-u* (tukaf-i-matur-i-tamaf-er-u) '[chūnagon] was keeping the Emperor company', *omou-tamaf-u* (omof-i-tamaf-u) '[she] thought'.

2.3.4.2 *Velar lenition*

Voiceless velar /k/ in medial position disappears before high vowels /i/ and /u/, mostly in certain verbal forms, e.g. *odoroitari* (odorokitari) 'was surprised', *sirizoite* (sirizokite) 'stepped back and…', *kurai* (kuraki) 'is dark' (attributive), *kau* (kaku) 'thus', *you* (yoku) 'well', *susamaziu* (susamaziku) 'unpleasantly', *osorosiu* (osorosiku) 'frightening'.

2.3.4.3 */s/ lenition*

In a fashion similar to velar /k/, dental fricative /s/ also undergoes complete lenition before the high front vowel /i/ in certain verbal forms, or in words derived from them, e.g. *oboite* (obosite) 'thought and…', *wataite* (watasite) 'gave over and…', *maite* (masite), '[even] more'.

2.3.4.4 *Appearance of nasal clusters /-mm-/ and /-nn-/*

Participle forms *ar-u*, *nar-u*, and *faber-u* of the verbs *ar-* 'to be', *nar-* 'to be', and *faber-* 'to be' (distal) in certain verbal forms lose the vowel /u/ in front of a following nasal /m/ or /n/ and the remaining /r/ of the stem is assimilated to the following nasal, giving rise to the clusters /-mm-/ and /-nn-/. The cluster is rendered by *hiragana* signs む MU or ん N, or by omitting the sign る RU altogether, e.g. *anmere* [ammere] (arumere) 'it looks as if there is', *namumeri*, *nameri* [nammeri] (narumeri) 'it looks as if it is', *faber-umazi-k-an-nar-eba* (faber-umazi-k-ar-u-nar-eba) 'since it is unlikely to be', *fabennari* (faberunari) 'it definitely is'.

2.3.5 Some important morphonological rules

Throughout its entire written history, the Japanese language does not permit consonant clusters with the exception of nasal N + voiceless stop, sonorants [n] and [m] or fricatives [s] and [F]. In the colloquial language of the Heian period the homorganic clusters [pp], [tt], [kk], and [ss] were probably possible but they are not attested in the texts until the very end of the period.

If for some morphological reason two consonants which are not included in the above exception came together, one of them disappeared. Thus:

1 C1+C2 > C1
2 C1+C2 > C3 if C1=N(< *m, *n), C2 = [t], [k], [s], [F]
3 C1+C2 > C1C2 if C1=N, C2=[m], [n]

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Examples:

1 omoF-sase- > omoF-ase-, yom-rare- > yom-are-
2 wa-N-ka > wa-ga, omoF-an-si > omoF-azi
3 ar-u-meri > aN-meri, mi-ru-nar-i > miN-nar-i

Old Japanese did not permit vowel clusters either: when two vowels came side by side they produced a diphthong which then became another vowel, or else one of the vowels was dropped, with the remaining vowel being treated as long. In the Heian period vowel clusters became possible due to the loss of certain consonants in intervocalic position. However, these new phonotactic rules did not affect the already existing system of conjugation; thus, when two vowels came together, either one of them dropped or they produced a new secondary vowel.

There is also another important Old Japanese (OJ) phonological rule which is still effective in the Heian system of conjugation: intervocalic [-r-] is lost unless the preceding vowel is long (Whitman 1985). Thus, compare:

*omof-uru => *omof-uu => omof-u
*kak-ure-ba => *kak-ue-ba => kak-e-ba

with:

*omof-rare-uru => *omof-ar-ūru > omof-ar-uru
*kofi-ure-ba => *kof-ūre-ba => kof-ure-ba

NOTES

1 /z/ became an affricate as in the modern language at a considerably later date. It was not an affricate even in the sixteenth century, as Portuguese transcriptions indicate: they have *mizu* corresponding to Heian みず *mizu* 'does not see' and *mizzu* corresponding to Heian みづ *midu* 'water'.
2 We know that it was /p/ and not fricative /f/ on the basis of the *man'yōgana* signs used in the *Nihonshoki*. The phonetic values of the *man'yōgana* in some portions of the *Nihonshoki* are based on the Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of Chinese characters, while the *man'yōgana* signs used in the *Kojiki* and the *Man'yōshu* are based on Early Middle Chinese phonetic values. Only Late Middle Chinese differentiates between labial initial *p-* and labiodental initial *f-*, as Early Middle Chinese had not yet developed this contrast. We can safely conclude that Old Japanese did not have *f-*, as the *Nihonshoki* Chinese differentiate between labial initial *p-* and labiodental initial *f-*, as Early Middle Chinese had not yet developed this contrast. We can safely conclude that Old Japanese did not have *f-*, as the *Nihonshoki* uses almost exclusively characters that have only labial initial *p-* and there appears to be very few examples of the use of characters with the labiodental initial *f-* (Miyake 1999:396–400).
3 Exceptions in Old Japanese are very few, and most of them can be explained away, e.g. OJ *kai* 'oar' does contain a vowel cluster /ai/, but it is likely to be from original *kayi < *kadi, as the sequence *yi does not exist in Old Japanese.

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3 LEXICON

3.0 ETYMOLOGY

The lexicon of Classical Japanese, like that of any other language, consists of both native vocabulary and loanwords. Each of these two major sections of the lexicon may be further subdivided according to the origin of the words.

3.1 ORIGINAL JAPANESE LEXICON

The Japanese language probably holds the world record for the number of theories on its genetic origins. The oldest theory, of a Japanese–Korean genetic relationship, was proposed in the eighteenth century by the Japanese scholar Fujii Teikan. The next chronologically was the Altaic theory, advanced in the nineteenth century by various European scholars and placed on a solid academic footing by the great Finnish scholar Gustav Ramstedt. Though Ramstedt himself did not make a final judgement on a possible Japanese–Altaic relationship due to lack of data at that time (Ramstedt 1924), his main work, *Einführung in die Altaische Sprachwissenschaft* (Ramstedt 1952, 1957, 1966), published posthumously by his student Pentii Aalto, became the cornerstone upon which all subsequent scholarship was built. The theory of an Austronesian origin for Japanese was first suggested by Evgenii Polivanov, though he did not deny an Altaic influence on Japanese (Polivanov 1918, 1924). Besides these three main theories, other theories were also proposed in the first half of the twentieth century, such as a hypothesis of an Austroasiatic origin of Japanese (Matsumoto 1928), a hypothesis of a genetic relationship between Japanese and Tibeto-Burman languages (Parker 1939), and some others.

3.1.1 Words in common with Korean and other Altaic languages

Most of the theories mentioned above did not survive into the second part of the twentieth century, being limited only to the works of their creators. The Japanese–Korean theory, however, received a new lease of life from Samuel Martin's seminal article (Martin 1966) and his later publications (Martin 1990, 1991, 1996). This theory still remains the most widely accepted among specialists in the field (Whitman 1985; Serafim 1994). The only scholar who still refutes the Japanese–Korean genetic relationship is Juha Janhunen (1992, 1994), but he has so far not provided any evidence in support of his view that *all* Japanese–Korean

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parallels represent areal 'borrowings' and not a common heritage. Evidence for the genetic as opposed to areal nature of the Japanese–Korean relationship is, however, provided both by the regularity of the phonetic correspondences and by a massive corpus of lexical comparisons within the basic vocabulary, as well as by a considerable amount of common morphology. Therefore, any attempt to disprove the genetic nature of this relationship must address these comparisons, several hundred of which have sofar been numbered, or else remain an empty hypothesis with no factual basis.

Below I provide examples of Japanese–Korean lexical cognates for body parts and natural phenomena, attested in the language of Classical prose, along with their counterparts in Old Japanese (if any), Middle Korean (MK) (if any), and Modern Korean (if any), as well as with their reconstructed forms in both Proto-Japonic (PJ)[1] and Proto-Korean (PK). The list is not exhaustive.

Body parts and their functions

ke 'hair', OJ *key*, PJ *ka-Ci; cf. MK *kalki* 'mane', ?K *khal* 'hair', PK *kal-

sita 'tongue', OJ *sita*, PJ *sita; cf. MK *hyé* 'tongue', Early Middle Korean (EMK) *hyet*, PK *hit

fone 'bone', OJ *pone*, PJ *pone; cf. MK *spyé* K *ppye*, PK *s-pye[ñi]

fo-fo 'cheek', PJ *po-; cf. K *pol* 'cheek', PK *pwol

fara 'belly', OJ *para*, PJ *pàrà; cf. MK *póy* 'belly', K *pay*, PK *po[l]i

mi 'body', OJ *miy*, PJ *mu/o̲-Ci; cf. MK *mwóm* 'body', K *mom*, PK *mwom

fukufukusi 'lungs', PJ *pukupukusi; cf. MK *pwúhwâ*, K Kangwen dialect *pephay*, K Ceycwu dialect *pwukpheyki*, PK *pwuk[V]pwuk-

fuguri 'scrotum', OJ *puguri*, PJ *punkuri; cf. MK *pul* 'scrotum', K *pul-al*, PK *pul

tume 'claw, nail', OJ *tumey*, PJ *tuma-Ci; cf. MK *thwóp* 'claw, nail', K *thop*, PK *t(h)wop

fagi 'shank', OJ *pagyi*, PJ *panki 'foot'; cf. MK *pal* 'foot', K *pal*, PK *pal

kik- 'to hear', OJ *kyik-*, PJ *kik-; cf. MK *kwúy* 'ear', K *kwi*, PK *kwu[l]i

if- 'to eat', PJ *(d)ip-; cf. K *capswu-si-* 'to eat (honorific)'

Nature and astronomy

isi 'stone', OJ *isi*, PJ *(d)iso̲-; cf. MK *:twolh*, K *two:l*, PK *twolV

fi 'fire', OJ *piy*, PJ *pò̲-Ci; cf. MK *púl* 'fire', K *pul*, PK *pul

midu 'water', OJ *myidu*, *myina*, PJ *mí-; cf. MK *múl*, K *mul*, PK *mul

tuki 'moon', OJ *tukiy*, PJ *túkú-Cí; cf. MK *tol* 'moon', OK tolal(h), K *tal*, PK *tolal(h)

fosi 'star', OJ *posi*, PJ *posi; cf. MK *:pyel* 'star', K *pye:l*, PK *pilV

ame 'rain', OJ *amey*, PJ *(z)àmá-Cì; cf. K cang-*ma* 'long rain', 'rainy season'

kumo 'cloud', OJ *kumwo*, PJ *kumu-Ca or *kuma-Cu; cf. MK *kwulwum* 'cloud.', K *kwulum*, PK *kwulwum

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Some of the above Japanese–Korean parallels can be also traced in Manchu-Tungusic languages. Alongside the Proto-Manchu-Tungusic (PMT) reconstruction I provide examples from Manchu, the state language of the Qing dynasty in China (CE 1644–1911), practically extinct nowadays, but possessing a rich written tradition from the late sixteenth century; Nanai, spoken along the lower reaches of the Amur River on both sides of the Russian–Chinese border; and Ewenki, a language spoken across a huge area stretching from the Yenisei River in the west to the island of Sakhalin in the east:

Body parts and their functions

ke 'hair', OJ *key*, PJ *ka-Ci; cf. MK *kalki* 'mane', K *khal* 'hair', PK *kal-; cf. Ewenki *iñngakta* 'hair', Nanai *singakta* 'hair', Manchu *ingaha* 'down', PMT *xi(l)nga 'hair'

fagi 'shank', OJ *pagyi*, PJ *panki 'foot'; cf. MK *pal* 'foot', K *pal*, PK *pal; cf. Ewenki *halgan* 'foot', Nanai *palgã* 'foot', ?Manchu *falanggu* 'palm of the hand', PMT *palgan 'foot'

if- 'to eat', PJ *(d)ip-; cf. K *capswu-si-* 'to eat (honorific)'; cf. Ewenki *jeb-* 'to eat', Nanai *jeb-*, Manchu *je(f)-*, PMT *jep- 'to eat'

Nature

isi 'stone', OJ *isi*, PJ *(d)isǫ-; cf. MK *:twolh*, K *two:l*, PK *twolV; cf. Ewenki *jolo* 'stone', Nanai *jolo*, PMT *jolo

midu 'water', OJ *myidu*, *myina*, PJ **mi-*; cf. MK *múl*, K *mul*, PK *mul; cf. Ewenki *mu:* 'water', Nanai *mue*, Manchu *muke* < *munke, PMT *mu(r/n)ï

In addition to the above Japanese–Korean and Japanese–Korean–Manchu-Tungusic parallels, further parallels can be found with more distantly related Turkic and Mongolic languages. Together with the Mongolic and Turkic reconstructions, I cite parallels from Written Mongolian (WM) and Middle Mongolian (MM) for Mongolic and from Old Turkic (OT) and Chuvash for Turkic:

Body parts and their functions

ke 'hair', OJ *key*, PJ *ka-Ci; cf. MK *kalki* 'mane', K *khal* 'hair', PK *kal-; cf. Ewenki *iñngakta* 'hair', Nanai *singakta* 'hair', Manchu *ingaha* 'down', PMT *xi(l)nga 'hair'; cf. MM *qïlGasun*, WM *kilgasun* 'horse hair', Proto-Mongolic (PM) *kïlga-; cf. OT *qïl* 'hair', PT *kï1$_1$

fukufukusi 'lungs', PJ *pukupukusi; cf. MK *pwúhwâ*, K Kangwen dialect *pephay*, K Ceycwu dialect *pwukpheyki*, PK *pwuk[V]pwuk-; cf. Chuvash *üpke* 'lungs' (cf. Khakas *ökpe* 'lungs'), PT *(h) ökpe

kik- 'to hear', OJ *kyik-*, PJ *kik-; cf. MK *kwúy* 'ear', K *kwi*, PK *kwu[l]i; cf. WM *qulqu* 'middle ear', PM *kul-ku; cf. OT *qulGaq* 'ear', Chuvash *xălxa*, PT *kul-gak

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if- 'to eat', PJ *(d)ip-; cf. K *capswu-si-* 'to eat (honorific)'; cf. Ewenki *jeb-* 'to eat', Nanai *jeb-*, Manchu je(f)-, PMT *jep-; cf. OT *ye-* 'to eat', Chuvash *çi-*, PT *ye-

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isi 'stone', OJ *isi*, PJ *(d)isǫ-; cf. MK *:twolh*, K *two:l*, PK *twolV, cf. Ewenki *jolo* 'stone', Nanai *jolo*, PMT *jolo; cf. MM *cila'un* 'stone', WM *cilaGun*, PM *tïla-Gun; cf. OT taš 'stone', Chuvash *cul*, PT *dial$_2$

fi 'fire', OJ *piy*, PJ *pǫ̇-Ci; cf. MK *púl* 'fire', K *pul*, PK *pul; cf. OT *ört* 'fire'

midu 'water', OJ *myidu*, *myina*, PJ *mi-; cf. MK *múl*, K *mul*, PK *mul; cf. Ewenki *mu*: 'water', Nanai *mue*, Manchu *muke* < *munke, PMT *mu(r/n)ï, cf. MM *müren* 'river', WM *mören*, PM *müre-n

tuki 'moon', OJ *tukiy*, PJ *túkú-Ci; cf. MK *tol* 'moon', OK *tolal(h)*, K *tal*, PK *tolal(hV); cf. WM *tergel* 'full moon'

fosi 'star', OJ *posi*, PJ *posi; cf. MK *:pyel* 'star', K *pye:l*, PK *pilV; cf. MM *hodun* 'star', WM *odun*, PM *ho(l)-dun

3.1.2 Words without external etymologies

Most native Japanese words, of course, do not have any external etymologies. Some of them are obvious later replacements, such as the word *kaze* 'wind' which replaced earlier *si* 'wind' and is still found in the modern language in compounds like *arasi* 'hurricane wind' (*ara-* 'rough') or in names for directions like *nisi* 'west' and *higasi* 'east'. Others may represent secondary derivations, for example *fayasi* 'forest', which seems to be a deverbal noun (*fayas-i*) from the OJ verb *pȧyas-* 'to worship' (Vovin 1986). Finally, there is an even larger group of words for which there are no convincing etymologies whatsoever, like *aki* 'autumn', *yuk-* 'to go', *kuf-* 'to eat', *yuki* 'snow', *fuyu* 'winter', *fizi* 'elbow', etc.

3.2 LOANWORDS

The texts of the Heian period contain loanwords from three languages: Korean, Chinese, and Sanskrit (via Chinese and via Chinese and Korean).

3.2.1 Korean loanwords

Korean loanwords are not numerous, but they are the earliest traceable loanwords in Japanese (with the exception of several prehistoric loanwords from Chinese). Strictly speaking, Korean loanwords found in the language of Classical prose as well as in all early Japanese texts are in all probability loanwords not from the Old Korean (OK) language of Silla (which was, roughly speaking, the ancestor of Middle and Modern Korean), but from the closely related language of Paekche, since Japan had much closer ties with Paekche than with Silla. However, since the Paekche language is attested only in a few glosses (To Swuhuy

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1981, 1984, 1987), comparisons are bound to be mostly with the Middle Korean language (MK) – the fifteenth-century descendant of the Silla language. Examples:

tera 'Buddhist temple'; cf. MK *tyel* 'Buddhist temple', probably OK *tyera
fotoke 'Buddha'; cf. MK *pwuthye* 'Buddha', probably OK *pwutukye
koto '*koto* (musical instrument)', Paekche *kotong* '*koto*'

3.2.2 Chinese loanwords

Chinese loanwords are the most numerous in the language of Classical Japanese prose. It is traditionally believed that one of the most important features distinguishing Old Japanese of the Nara period from Middle Japanese of the Heian period is the presence of Chinese loanwords in the latter (Yuzawa 1943:6). However, it is more likely that Chinese loanwords entered the Japanese language earlier than the Heian period. The absence of Chinese loanwords (with the exception of prehistoric loanwords) in the Nara period texts written phonetically in *man'yōgana* can easily be explained by the fact that all these texts are poetic, and Chinese loanwords were not used in poetry. This continued to be the case for the Heian period as well, although by the end of this period there appears to be some relaxation of this 'no loanwords' principle: for example, *Kin'yōwakashū* (Collection of golden leaves of Japanese poetry) of CE 1125 contains the word *kesiki* 'view' which is, of course, a Chinese borrowing (Late Middle Chinese 景色 kijaŋ ʂəək). Prose was free from this constraint, and we find Chinese loanwords even in the earliest samples of Japanese prose, such as *Taketori monogatari* and *Ise monogatari*. Since we do not have any samples of phonetically written prose for the Nara period, we will never know whether the extent of usage of Chinese loanwords changed between the Nara and Heian periods. We can only speculate that it did, basing our judgement on the fact that the ninth century in Japanese cultural history is generally defined as 'Kokufū an jidai' (The dark period of national style).

This brings us to the problem of the adaptation of Chinese loanwords in the language of Classical Japanese prose: were these Chinese loanwords adapted and accepted as the flesh and blood of the Japanese language, as they are today, or did they remain barbarisms? The graphic criterion is unacceptable since native words could be written in characters and Chinese loanwords were often spelled in the *kana* syllabary. If we view the problem from a purely quantitative angle, we must admit that Japanese was adapting more and more loanwords during the Heian period. Thus, in *Ise monogatari*, Chinese loanwords occupied only a meagre 6.2%, while in *Genji monogatari* this percentage more than doubles to 12.6% (Tsukishima 1969:588–89). The percentage in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is even greater at about 14.3%, but this could also be explained by the fact that part of the action of this novel is located in China. However, the quantitative approach tells us very little about the process of

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adaptation itself; therefore, it is useful to apply a qualitative approach, including: (1) definition of the lexical spheres where Chinese loanwords are present; and (2) establishment of degrees of morphological adaptation. These appear to be the only realistic criteria for judging the degree of a word's adaptation in the language of Classical Japanese prose.

Chinese loanwords predominate in the following lexical spheres:

1 proper nouns: much of this kind of vocabulary, especially in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, is due to the contents of the text, as pointed out above, and therefore this category of loanwords cannot be regarded as truly adapted into Japanese;
2 socio-political and religious vocabulary: examples: *dairi* 'forbidden city (Emperor's palace)', *kugyau* 'nobility', *saisyau* '*saishō* (court title)', *sou* 'monk', *kyau* 'sutra'; there is also a special section of socio-political vocabulary consisting of words created by the Japanese from Chinese elements, e.g. *chūnagon* 'middle councillor', *dainagon* 'senior councillor';
3 a special group which cannot be described as having common semantics, its peculiarity being that all these Chinese loanwords have native Japanese doublets that can be used interchangeably with them. Examples (native word comes first): *yo*: *sekai* 'world', 'country', *inoti*: *syau* 'life', *miyako*: *kyau* 'capital', *miya*: *guu* 'palace', *fimugasi*: *tou* 'east', *omokage*: *kesiki* 'appearance', *miko*: *sinwau* 'prince', *otodo*: *daizin* 'minister'.

Below are some illustrative examples from the texts:

三の御こ
mi-tu n-o **miko**
three-CL DV-ATTR **prince**
Third **Prince** (HM I:156.2)

第三の親王
dai-san n-o **sinwau**
PREF-three DV-ATTR **prince**
Third **Prince** (HM V:440.1)

人々もみな宮こをおもひいでて
fito-bito mo mina **miyako**-wo omof-i-ide-te
person-person PT all **capital**-ACC think-INF-go out-SUB
the people, too, all recollected the **capital**, and… (HM I:157.8–9)

きやうへのぼり侍べき
kyau-fe nobor-i-faber-ube-ki
capital-ALL ascend-INF-POL-DEB-ATTR
must go to the **capital** (HM II:217.15)

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There are three levels of morphological adaptation of Chinese loanwords in the language of Classical Japanese prose:

1 On the first level, a word of Chinese origin can be followed by a native Japanese suffix or an auxiliary verb. Examples: *fakase* 'scholar' + *-domo* plural marker => *fakase-domo* 'scholars', *gen* 'miracle' + *su* 'to do' => *gen su* 'to perform a miracle'.
2 On the second level, either a Japanese morpheme may be prefixed to a word of Chinese origin, or Japanese morphemes may be both prefixed and suffixed to a Chinese loanword. Examples: *mi-* (honorific prefix usually added to native words; prefix *go-* would have been expected with a word of Chinese origin) + *kesiki* 'appearance' => *mi-kesiki* 'appearance of someone esteemed', *uti-* prefix + *zun* 'recitation of poetry' + *su* 'to do' => *uti-zun-zu* 'to recite poetry'. Note also the voicing of the initial consonant in the last component that also implies greater morphological unity of the whole complex. I assume that compounds consisting of a Japanese element (morpheme or stem) plus a Chinese morpheme or vice versa also belong to the same level of morphological adaptation. Examples: Chinese *bin* 'curl' + Japanese *tura* 'face, cheek' => *bindura* 'name of a hairstyle', Japanese *ni* 'looking alike' (deverbal noun) + Chinese *sau* 'similarity' => *nisau* 'similarity', 'looking alike'.
3 The third level of morphological adaptation represents morphological conversion. The borrowed Chinese noun *syauzoku* 'garment' is used as a consonantal verb *syauzok-* 'to dress up', which has the same forms as other consonantal verbs like *kak-* ''to write' or *kik-* 'to hear'. This is the only example of noun-to-verb conversion, but it is used very frequently in the language of prose. Tsukishima notes that in the form *sauzok-* this verb is attested in other texts as well (1969: 590). Example:

いみじうしやうぞきたる女ばう
imizi-u **syauzok-itar-u** nyoubau
terrific-INF **dress up-PERF/PROG-ATTR** lady-in-waiting
terrifically **dressed up** ladies-in-waiting (HM I:159.2–3)

The first level of morphological adaptation may be characterized as incomplete. The lack of completeness is demonstrated by the verbal word-formation, where the addition of a special auxiliary *su* 'to do' is necessary. I should, however, note that some native Japanese verbs adopt a similar model in the language of Classical prose, e.g. *kofi* (deverbal noun of the verb *kofi-* 'to love') + *su* 'to do' => *kofi-su* 'to love'; the latter begins to be used instead of the earlier OJ *kwop-u* 'to love'. Yet, overall, there are very few such verbs. It is possible that their appearance was influenced by the verbs derived from Chinese loanwords. Ultimately I am inclined to think that a difference in morphological pattern from the main bulk of native verbs indicates incomplete morphological adaptation.

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The second and third levels should be characterized as complete. The number of words belonging to these levels, especially the second, rose steadily from the Heian period onward.

3.2.3 Sanskrit loanwords

There are no direct loanwords from Sanskrit in the studied texts, as all such loans entered Japanese via Chinese intermediaries. All Sanskrit loanwords belong to the lexical sphere connected with Buddhism. Examples: *butu* 'Buddha' < Middle Chinese (MC) *but* < Sanskrit *Buddha*, *Amida* 'buddha Amida' < MC *'amjida* < Sanskrit *Amitabha*, *pati* 'bowl for alms' < MC *pat* < Sanskrit *pa:tra* or *pa:tri:* 'bowl' (alternatively, this word might have been borrowed directly not from Chinese but from Old Korean *pati (> Middle Korean *pali* 'bowl for alms').

NOTE

1 The term 'Japonic' was introduced by Leon A. Serafim in order to distinguish the ancestral language of both Japanese and Ryukyuan (Japonic) from that of main islands, excluding Ryukyuan (Japanese).

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4 NOMINALS

As in Modern Japanese, the class of nominals in Classical Japanese comprises three major subclasses: nouns, pronouns, and numerals. These three subclasses may be contrasted to verbs, a class of words which denote action or condition and which have formal markers distinguishing them from the non-verbal class. Also, verbal stems can never be used independently, without suffixes. On the other hand, nominal stems can be used independently, and nominals do not have formal markers, which further distinguishes them from verbs.

Two other important characteristics of Classical Japanese nominals include their relatively simple morphology and almost complete lack of fusion. On the first point, typically no more than two suffixal positions are possible in a nominal paradigm, usually a plural marker and a case marker, if any; and only one prefixal position is possible. Thus, the maximal nominal paradigm form will look like this: PREF-NOMINAL-SUF-SUF. Compared to this, a verbal paradigm, with its two possible prefixal positions and theoretically unlimited number of suffixal positions, is much more complex. In addition, a nominal paradigm exhibits pure agglutination, with no traces of fusion (with the possible exception of *rendaku* (sequential voicing), but even in the case of *rendaku* it is still possible to draw a morphological boundary). By contrast, verbal paradigms exhibit numerous cases of fusion where it becomes difficult or even impossible to draw a morphological boundary between the constituents of a paradigmatic form.

4.1 NOUNS

From the point of view of word formation, all nouns can be divided into nouns, adjectival nouns, and deverbal nouns. Nouns in Classical Japanese, as well as in Old Japanese and Modern Japanese, do not have a formal marker distingushing them from other classes. Therefore, nouns are classified on the basis of two criteria: semantics and distribution. The distributional criterion means that nouns combine with certain morphemes which are connected with grammatical categories typical only of nouns. Nouns in Classical Japanese are characterized by the categories of case and number. Some of the adjectival nouns have a marker *-ka*, but others are included in this class solely on the basis of their morphosyntactic function.

There are two types of deverbal nouns: nouns derived from action verbs and nouns derived from quality verbs. On the segmental level the first type coincides with the infinitive (but on the suprasegmental level the infinitive and deverbal nouns have different accents) and has the formal marker *-i* or *-e*. The second type

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always has the formal markers *-sa*, *-ge*, or, in poetry, *-mi*, which are added directly to the stem of a quality verb. I will discuss all deverbal nouns in Chapter 5, which is dedicated to the verb.

4.1.1 Honorific prefixes

All prefixes occurring with nouns are honorific. Such prefixes can also be used with the infinitive form of verbs. The following honorific prefixes occur in the language of Classical Japanese prose: *mi-*, *ofomi-*, *ofon-*, *on-*, and *go-*. It is sometimes extremely difficult to establish exactly which honorific prefix is being used: most of the words in our texts, as I noted above, are consistently written in *kana*, and even if they are written in characters it is almost always possible to find an example or examples where they are written in *kana*. However, honorific prefixes are normally spelled with remarkable consistency with one and the same Chinese character 御, and cases of their phonetic spelling in *kana* are extremely rare. Therefore, there are quite a few cases where it is impossible to tell whether the character 御 represents *mi-*, *ofon-*, *on-*, or *go-* (*ofomi-*, when it is not spelled in *kana*, usually has the character spelling 大御, which differentiates it from the others, though in our texts 大御 is not used). A further contrast may be established between honorific prefix *go-* and the others, since *go-* combines only with words of Chinese origin. However, this criterion is not 100% reliable, since *mi-* can also be used in combination with words of Chinese origin, probably those that were more nativized than the others. Thus, in assigning a specific reading to the character 御 used with a particular word, I relied on: (1) comparative evidence from the texts, in cases where alternative phonetic spellings were available; (2) similar evidence from other texts not included in this study. In cases where there is no evidence at all, I tentatively read the character 御 as *mi-*, since *mi-* is the most frequently occurring honorific prefix.

4.1.1.1 *Prefix* mi-

Prefix *mi-* (み, 御) is attached to numerous words of Japanese origin and to some words of Chinese origin. A few words are bound; that is, they never occur without the preceding prefix *mi-*. I mark such words by a preceding hyphen. In the language of Classical Japanese prose the words in the following lexical domains combine with *mi-*:

(1) Human appearance, body parts, and their secretions

Asi 'foot', *-gusi* 'head', 'hair', *fara* 'belly', 'abdomen', *iro* '(facial) colour', *kafo* 'face', *katati* 'appearance', *kefafi* 'spirit', 'voice', *kesiki* 'facial expression', *kokoro* 'heart', *kosi* 'waist', *kowe* 'voice', *manako* 'pupil of the eye', *me* 'eye', *mi* 'body', *mimi* 'ear', *namida* 'tear', *omokage* '(facial) appearance', *sugata*

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'appearance', 'attire', *te* 'hand'. Examples:

御あしまいらせさせ給はなん
mi-asi mair-ase-sase-tamafa-n-an
PREF(HON)-foot rub-CAUS-CAUS(INF)-HON-PERF-TENT/FIN
Please allow [me] to rub **[your] feet** (HM II:228.10)

御ぐしもたげて御手をひろげ給へるに
mi-gusi motage-te **mi-te-wo** firoge-tamaf-er-u-ni
PREF(HON)-head raise-SUB **PREF(HON)-hand-ACC** spread(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR-LOC
when [he] raised **[his] head** and opened **[his] hand** …(TM 52.12–13)

もとの御かたちとなり給ひね
moto-no **mi-katati** to nar-i-tamaf-in-e
base-GEN **PREF(HON)-appearance** DV become-INF-HON-PERF-IMP
Please go back to **your** original **appearance** (TM 57.5)

かの御けしきみ給らんははうへ
kano **mi-kesiki** mi-tamaf-uran fafa-ufe
his **PREF(HON)-facial expression** see(INF)-HON-TENT/ATTR mother-top
[his] mother, who probably saw his **facial expression** (HM II:224.11)

ほとけの御名を御心にいれて御こゑはいとたうとくて申たまふをききて
fotoke-no mi-na-wo **mi-kokoro-ni** ire-te **mi-kowe** fa ito tauto-ku-te mawos-i-tamaf-u-wo kik-ite
Buddha-GEN PREF(HON)-name-ACC **PREF(HON)-heart-LOC** put in-SUB **PREF(HON)-voice** TOP very be reverent-INF-SUB say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-ACC hear-SUB
hearing how intently **[the Emperor's] voice** chanted with great reverence the name of the Buddha…(*lit.*: hearing how **[the Emperor's] voice** chanted with great reverence the name of the Buddha, which was deep **in [the Emperor's] heart**…) (IM LXV:148.4–5)

(2) Dwellings, buildings, and their parts

Ife 'house', *muro* 'abode', *sato* 'residence', *zausi* 'chamber', 'apartments', *sumawi* 'dwelling', *sumika* 'dwelling', *tono* 'pavilion', *tubone* 'room', 'apartment', *widokoro* 'room'. Examples:

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga **mi-ife**-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite ofasimas-itar-i
his own-POSS **PREF(HON)-house**-ALL PT stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came without even stopping at his own **house** (TM 36.15–16)

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みむろにまうでて
mi-muro-ni maude-te
PREF(HON)-abode-ALL come(HUM)-SUB
[he] came to **[the Prince's] abode**, and … (IM LXXXIII:161.3)

そこをぞ御さとにし給へる
soko-wo zo **mi-sato** n-i s-i-tamaf-er-u
there-ACC PT **PREF(HON)-residence** DV-INF do-INF-HON-PROG-ATTR
[they] made that place **[the Prince's] residence** (HM I:156.3)

ある人のみざうしのまへのみぞにすへたりし
ar-u fito-no **mi-zausi**-no mafe-no mizo-ni sufe-tar-isi
be-ATTR person-GEN **PREF(HON)-chamber**-GEN front-GEN ditch-LOC place-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR
[they] placed [the stone] in the ditch in front of **the chamber** of a certain lady (IM LXXVIII:158.9–10)

(3) Kinship terms

Fafa 'mother', *ko* 'child', 'son', *musume* 'daughter', *ofodi* 'grandfather', *seuto* '[woman's] brother', *titi* 'father', *wodi* 'uncle'. Examples:

この后の御ははにわかれしほど
kono kisaki-no **mi-fafa-ni** wakare-si fodo
this empress-GEN **PREF(HON)-mother-DAT** part-RETR1/ATTR time
when [the minister] was parting **with the mother** of this Empress (HM I:191.1)

そこにてうせ給たりける御むすめ
soko n-ite use-tamaf-itar-iker-u **mi-musume**
there DV-SUB die(INF)-HON-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR **PREF(HON)-daughter**
[the Prince's] daughter, who died there (HM I:161.9–10)

御うぶやに人々歌よみけり。御おほぢがたなりけるおきなのよめる
mi-ubuya-ni fito-bito uta yom-iker-i. **mi-ofodi**-gata nar-iker-u okina-no yom-er-u
PREF(HON)-celebration-of-birth-LOC person-person poem recite-RETR2-FIN. **PREF(HON)-grandfather**-person be-RETR2-ATTR old man-GEN recite-PROG-ATTR
At the celebration of the birth ceremony people recited poems. An old man, who was the **grandfather** [of the child], recited…(IM LXXIX:157.4–5)

御せうとほりかはのおとどたらうくにつねの大納言
mi-seuto Forikafa n-o otodo tarau Kunitune n-o dainagon
PREF(HON)-brother Forikafa DV-ATTR minister eldest brother Kunitune DV-ATTR dainagon

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[her] brothers, Minister Horikawa, and the eldest, Dainagon Kunitsune (IM VI:114.15)

(4) Utensils, carriages, garments

Isi n-o fati 'stone bowl', *kazari* 'decoration', *kityau* 'screen', *kosi* 'palanquin', *koto* 'koto (musical instrument)', *kuruma* 'carriage', *makura* 'pillow', *musiro* 'mat', *sitone* 'sitting mat', *su* 'curtain', *teudo* 'utensils', *-zo* 'garment'. Examples:

仏の御いしのはち
fotoke-no **mi-isi n-o fati**
Buddha-GEN **PREF(HON)-stone DV-ATTR bowl**
the stone bowl of the Buddha (TM 33.9)

(An interesting example, since the honorific prefix refers obviously to the object itself (*fati* 'bowl'), not to the material from which it was made (*isi* 'stone'), but it precedes *isi*, not *fati*.)

みき丁のうちにいりて
mi-kityau-no uti-ni ir-ite
PREF(HON)-screen-GEN inside-LOC enter-SUB
having entered inside **the screen** (HM II:243.12)

御くるまよりたまはりて
mi-kuruma-yori tamafar-ite
PREF(HON)-carriage-ABL receive-SUB
[he] received [it] **from [the consort's] carriage,** and…(IM LXXVI:154. 13–14)

御しとねまいり
mi-sitone mair-i
PREF(HON)-sitting mat bring-INF
[they] brought **sitting mats**, and…(HM II:238.14)

御ぞぬぎて
mi-zo nug-ite
PREF(HON)-garment take off-SUB
[he] took off **[his] garment**, and…(TM 51.12)

(5) People, social ranks

Wotoko 'man', *tukafi* 'servant', *-yasumudokoro* 'Dowager Empress', 'consort-mother of the Heir Apparent', *zuizin* 'outrider'. Examples:

よき御をとこぞいでこん
yo-ki **mi-wotoko** zo ide-ko-n
good-ATTR **PREF(HON)-man** PT appear(INF)-come-TENT/ATTR
A good **man** will appear **[for you]**! (IM LXIII:145.12)

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御つかひとおはしますべきかぐやひめ
mi-tukafi to ofasimas-ube-ki Kaguya-fime
PREF(HON)-servant DV be(HON)-DEB-ATTR Kaguya-fime
Kaguya-hime, who would become **your consort** (TM 40.5)

二条のきさきのまだ春宮のみやすん所と申けるとき
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada faru-miya-no **mi-yasundokoro** to mawos-iker-u toki
two ward-GEN empress-GEN still heir-apparent-GEN **PREF(HON)-consort-mother** DV say(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR time
when the Empress from the Second Ward was still called the **consort-mother** of the Heir Apparent (IM LXXVI:154.12)

みずいじんとねりしてとりにつかはす
mi-zuizin toneri s-ite tor-i-ni tukaf-as-u
PREF(HON)-outrider retainer do-SUB take-NML-ALL send-CAUS-FIN
[he] sent **an outrider** [and] a retainer to get [it] (IM LXXVIII:156.12)

(6) Religion and ceremonies

Fakamagi 'ceremony of putting on the [first] hakama', *kami* 'deity', *monoimi* 'abstinence', 'fast', *tigiri* 'vow', *ubuya* 'celebration of birth', *waza* 'Buddhist service'. Examples:

御はかまぎにしんでんにうつしたてまつり給
mi-fakamagi-ni sinden-ni utus-i-tatematur-i-tamaf-u
PREF(HON)-ceremony of putting on first hakama-ALL main pavilion-ALL move-INF-HUM-INF-HON-FIN
[they] moved [her] to the main pavilion **for the ceremony of putting on the first *hakama*** (HM II:253.1)

かぢとりの御神きこしめせ
kaditori-no **mi-kami** kikosimes-e
steersman-GEN **PREF(HON)-deity** listen(HON)-IMP
Deity of steersmen, please listen! (TM 47.16)

御うぶやに人々歌よみけり。御おほぢがたなりけるおきなのよめる
mi-ubuya-ni fito-bito uta yom-iker-i. mi-ofodi-gata nar-iker-u okina-no yom-er-u
PREF(HON)-celebration-of-birth-LOC person-person poem recite-RETR2-FIN. PREF(HON)-grandfather-person be-RETR2-ATTR old man-GEN recite-PROG-ATTR
At the celebration of the birth ceremony people recited poems. An old man, who was the grandfather [of the child], recited…(IM LXXIX:157.4–5)

安祥寺にてみわざしけり
Anzyau-zi n-ite **mi-waza** s-iker-i
Anzyau-temple DV-SUB **PREF(HON)-Buddhist service** do-RETR2-FIN

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[they] performed the **Buddhist service** at the Anjō temple (IM LXXVII: 155.5)

(7) Emotions and feelings

Kokorozasi 'feeling', *kokoti* 'mood', 'feeling', *kuse* 'habit', *nagusame* 'consolation', *womomuki* 'inclination', *yamafi* 'sickness', 'illness'. Examples:

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程はみゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i ofasimas-an-e-ba **mi-kokorozasi**-no fodo fa mi-y-ube-si
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON **PREF(HON)-feeling**-GEN extent TOP see-PASS-DEB-FIN
Since neither [of you] is superior or inferior, [she] must see the depth of **[your] feelings** (TM 33.5–6)

御こころはいかがおぼさるととへば
mi-kokoti fa ikaga obos-ar-u to tof-e-ba
PREF(HON)-feeling TOP how think-PASS-FIN DV ask-EV-CON
When [they] asked [him]: 'How do you feel?' (*lit.*: 'How do [you] think **your feeling** [is]?') (TM 52.10)

おほかた人ににぬ御くせときけば
ofokata fito-ni ni-n-u **mi-kuse** to kik-e-ba
usual person-DAT look like-NEG-ATTR **PREF(HON)-habit** DV hear-EV-CON
since [he] heard that [this was] **a habit** which is not like [that of] an ordinary person (HM II:238.13)

御やまひになりぬべきを
mi-yamafi n-i nar-in-ube-ki-wo
PREF(HON)-illness DV-INF become-PERF-DEB-ATTR-ACC
though [the Emperor] might have fallen **sick(ness)** (HM I:163.7)

(8) Other

Asobi 'play', 'pleasure', *atari* 'vicinity', *fi* 'day', *fumi* 'letter', *kaferi* 'return', 'reply', *kage* 'shadow', *katami* 'parting gift', *koto* 'thing', 'matter', *kusuri* 'medicine', *monogatari* 'story', *moto* 'base' (spatial noun), *na* 'name', *naka* 'inside', *nifofi* 'beauty', 'aroma', *sama* 'appearance', 'view', *sirusi* 'sign', *tomo* 'together', *tosi* 'age', 'years', *uta* 'poem', *yo* 'reign', 'era'. Examples:

御あそびなどもなかりけり
mi-asobi-nado mo na-k-ar-iker-i
PREF(HON)-pleasure-REPR PT no-INF-be-RETR2-FIN
[The Emperor] did not have any **pleasures**, either (TM 66.11)

ほとけの御ひには
fotoke-no **mi-fi-ni** fa

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Buddha-GEN **PREF(HON)-day-LOC** TOP
on the day of the Buddha['s death] (HM II:254.3)

むかしの**御**かたみ
mukasi-no **mi-katami**
long ago-GEN PREF(HON)-parting gift
his parting gift of long ago (HM V:417.7)

つぼなる**御**くすりたてまつれ
tubo-n-ar-u **mi-kusuri** tatematur-e
jar -LOC-be-ATTR **PREF(HON)-medicine** take(HUM)-IMP
Take **the medicine** which is in the jar! (TM 65.3)

ほとけの**御名**を御心にいれて御こゑはいとたうとくて申たまふをききて
fotoke-no **mi-na-wo** mi-kokoro-ni ire-te mi-kowe fa ito tauto-ku-te mawos-i-tamaf-u-wo kik-ite
Buddha-GEN **PREF(HON)-name-ACC** PREF(HON)-heart-LOC put in-SUB PREF(HON)-voice TOP very reverent-SUB say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-ACC hear-SUB
hearing how intently [the Emperor's] voice chanted with great reverence **the name** of the Buddha … (IM LXV:148.4–5)

(9) Nominalized verbs

-yuk-i 'going', 'visiting' (Emperor's action), *omof-i* 'thinking', *kar-i* 'hunting', *uram-i* 'hating', etc. Examples:

とうていといへるところに御門**みゆき**したまひ
Toutei to if-er-u tokoro-ni mikado **mi-yuk-i** s-i-tamaf-i
Toutei DV say-PROG-ATTR place-ALL emperor PREF(HON)-**go-NML** do-INF-HON-INF
The Emperor paid an **honourable visit** to the place called Toutei (Eastern Pavilion?) (HM I:158.1–2)

(In this example *yuk-i* is a nominalized form of *yuk-* 'go'.)

みな難波まで**御**をくりしける
mina Nanifa-made **mi-wokur-i** s-iker-u
everybody Nanifa-TERM **PREF(HON)-see off-NML** do-RETR-ATTR
everybody [went] as far as Naniwa **to see [the Prince] off** (TM 35.9)

(In this example *okur-i* is a nominalized form of *okur-* 'see off'.)

御かり**みゆき**し給はんやうにて
mi-kar-i mi-yuk-i s-i-tamaf-an yau n-ite
PREF(HON)-hunt-NML PREF(HON)-go-NML do-INF-HON-TENT/ATTR like DV-SUB
as if [I] would **go** [on a] **hunting** [trip] (TM 56.9–10)

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(The Emperor speaking about his own actions.) (In this example *kar-i* is a nominalized form of *kar-* 'hunt' and *yuk-i* is a nominalized form of *yuk-* 'go'.)

Historically, when combined with the honorific prefix *mi-* a number of words, have acquired a new meaning, such as *miko* 'Prince' < *mi-ko* 'honourable child', *miya* 'palace', 'Prince' < *mi-ya* 'honourable house', *miyako* 'capital' < *mi-ya-ko* 'place of the honourable house', *mikado* 'Emperor' < *mi-kado* 'honourable gate'. Examples:

その名ども石つくりの御子くらもちのみこ左大臣あべのみむらじ大納言大伴のみゆき中納言いそのかみのまろたり
sono na-domo Isitukuri n-o **miko** Kuramoti n-o **miko** sadaijin Abe-no Mimurazi dainagon Ofotomo-no Miyuki tyuunagon Isonokami-no Marotari
their name-PLUR Isitukuri DV-ATTR **prince** Kuramoti DV-ATTR **prince** minister of the left Abe-GEN Mimurazi great councillor Ootomo-GEN Miyuki middle councillor Isonokami-GEN Marotari
their names were **Prince** Isitukuri, **Prince** Kuramoti, Minister of the Left Abe-no Mimurazi, Great Councillor Ootomo-no Miyuki, and Middle Councillor Isonokami-no Marotari (TM 31.1–2)

京には見えぬとりなればみな人見しらず
miyako-ni fa mi-ye-n-u tori nar-e-ba mina fito mi-sir-az-u
capital-LOC TOP see-PASS-NEG-ATTR bird be-EV-CON all person see(INF)-know-NEG-FIN
Because it was a bird unseen **in the capital**, no one recognized [it] (IM IX: 117.11)

わがみかど六十よこくの中に
wa-ga **mikado** roku-zifu yo koku-no naka-ni
we-POSS **emperor** sixty exceed province-GEN inside-LOC
Among more than sixty provinces of our **Emperor** (IM LXXXI:158.10)

4.1.1.2 *Prefix* ofomi-

The prefix *ofomi-*[1] occurs with words associated with the Emperor or the Emperor's family: *-yasumudokoro/-yasundokoro* 'Dowager Empress', 'consort-mother of the Heir Apparent', *-yuk-i* '(imperial) visit', *-ki* 'rice wine' (normally offered to the Emperor or members of his family). It does not appear in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. Examples:

三条のおほみゆきせし時
san-zyau-no **ofomi-yuk-i** se-si toki
three-CL-GEN **PREF(HON)-visit-NML** do-RETR1/ATTR time
during the **imperial visit** to the Third Ward (IM LXXVIII:156.9)

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おほみやすん所とていますがりけるいとこなりけり
ofomi-yasundokoro to-te imasugar-iker-u itoko nar-iker-i
PREF(HON)-dowager empress DV-SUB be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR cousin be-RETR2-FIN
[she] was the cousin [of the lady] who was **the Empress Dowager** (IM LXV:147.2–3)

みこにむまのかみおほみきまいる
miko-ni muma-no kami **ofomi-ki** mair-u
prince-DAT horse-GEN head **PREF(HON)-rice wine** present(HUM)-FIN
The Captain of the Stables presented **rice wine** to the Prince (IM LXXXII:159.12)

4.1.1.3 *Prefixes* ofon- *and* on-

The prefix *ofon-*[2] (おほん 御) and its variant *on-*[3] (御) are also attached to certain words of Japanese origin, though they occur much less frequently than *mi-*. The following words occur in our texts with the prefixes *ofon-* and *on-*: *kata* 'honourable person', 'side', *arisama* 'looks', *mukafe* 'meeting', *faburi* 'funeral', *mafe* 'front', *toki* 'time', *tame* 'for', 'sake', *-zo* 'garment'. Examples:

御むかへの人々まいりたり
ofon-mukafe-no fito-bito mair-itar-i
PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-GEN person-person come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
people, **meeting [the Chūnagon]**, have come (HM I:154.12)

おほんはぶりの夜その宮のとなりなりけるおとこ御はぶり見ん
ofon-faburi-no yoru sono miya-no tonari-n-ar-iker-u otoko **ofon-faburi** mi-n
PREF(HON)-funeral-GEN night that palace-GEN neighbourhood-LOC-be-RETR2-ATTR man **PREF(HON)-funeral** see-TENT/FIN
[on] the night **of the [Princess's] funeral**, the man who lived in the neighbourhood of that palace wanted to see **the funeral** (IM XXXIX:133.11–12)

水のおの御ときなるべし
Midu-no o-no **on-toki** nar-ube-si
Midu-no o-GEN **PREF(HON)-time** be-DEB-FIN
[It] must have been [in] **the reign** of the Emperor Midu-no wo (IM LXV:149.2)

しろき御ぞハばかり
siro-ki on-zo **ya-tu** bakari
white-ATTR PREF(HON)-garment **eight-CL** PT
about **eight** white garments (HM IV: 367.1–2)

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4.1.1.4 *Prefix* go-

The prefix *go-* is attached exclusively to words of Chinese origin. The following words occur in our texts with prefix *go-*: *sison* 'descendant', *seusoku/seusoko* 'letter', *ran* 'looking', *sizoku* 'relative', *syauzoku* 'garment', *si* 'death', *fontai* 'lineage'. Examples:

たうのたいそうと申けるが**御しそん**のすゑにて
Tau-no Tai-sou to mawos-iker-u-ga **go-sison**-no suwe n-ite
Tang-GEN Tai-zong DV call(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-POSS **PREF(HON)-descendant**-GEN end DV-SUB
[the Empress] was a distant **descendant** of [the person] whom [people] humbly called Tai-zong of Tang (HM I:161.6–7)

御消息などもここへな給はせそ
go-seusoku-nado mo koko-fe na-tamaf-ase-so
PREF(HON)-letter-REPR PT here-ALL TOP NEG-give(HON)-HON-IMP
Please do not send **letters** here, either (HM I:180.13)

御しにもやし給ひけん
go-si n-i mo ya s-i-tamaf-ik-en
PREF(HON)-death DV-NML PT PT do-INF-HON-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
maybe [he] did even [meet] **[his] death**? (TM 41.8)

4.1.2 Suffixes

There are three types of nominal suffixes in the language of Classical Japanese prose: (1) representative and plural markers; (2) case markers; (3) the frequentative marker. Case markers always follow both representative/plural markers and the frequentative marker. Since representative/plural markers and the frequentative marker do not occur together within the same paradigm in the studied texts, it is impossible to determine which of them would be placed closer to the stem. Thus, the following maximum strings of a stem with following suffixes are possible in the language of Classical Japanese prose:

STEM-PLUR/REPR-CASE

STEM-FR-CASE

4.1.2.1 *Number and plural markers*

The problem of the category of number in Classical Japanese is a tricky one, closely connected to the functions of the plural markers. More often than not, these markers are simply ignored in the descriptions of Classical Japanese (Yuzawa 1943; Kobayashi 1936; Tokieda 1954). Most linguists who mention these markers classify them as suffixes (接尾語 *setsubigo*) (Tukishima 1969;

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Martin 1988: 144). However, there is also an opinion that they are particles (Alpatov 1979a: 52–3). The main problem regarding the category of number in Classical (as well as in Modern) Japanese concerns the basic meaning of the noun not marked with any of the plural markers. I accept the point of view that 'the Japanese noun is neither singular nor plural' (Kholodovich 1946: 185), and that 'in Japanese, as in many other languages of East Asia, nouns are characteristically vague as to number' (Martin 1988: 143). This is not, however, true of all nominals, pronouns being the major exception in the Modern Japanese language (Martin 1988: 144), and Alpatov suggested further that there are two kinds of plural in Modern Japanese: 'representative plural' and 'usual plural', the latter existing only for pronouns, since the markers of plural for nouns are optional (Alpatov 1979a: 49–51). In Classical Japanese, pronouns behave more like nouns in this respect (see 4.2 below).

A noun without plural markers is neutral with respect to number in Classical Japanese. Examples:

このよの人には
kono **yo**-no **fito**-ni fa
this **world**-GEN **person**-DAT TOP
to the **people** of this **world** (HM IV:329.3)

なみだのおちつるけしき
namida-no oti-t-uru **kesiki**
tear-GEN fall-PERF-ATTR **looks/appearance**
the appearance of falling tears (*lit.*: **looks** of falling **tears**) (HM IV:381.5)

Plural number is marked in Classical Japanese by the suffixes *-domo*, *-tati*, *-ra* or by reduplication. In contrast with Modern Japanese, these markers do not have the meaning of 'representative plurality', for which only the suffix *-nado* is used:

わびうたなどかきて
wabi-uta-nado kak-ite
grieve-song-REPR write-SUB
[they] wrote **grieving songs among other things** (TM 31.6)

物がたりなどするほどに
monogatari-nado s-uru fodo-ni
talk-REPR do-ATTR time-LOC
while [they] talked of **many things** (IM LIII:141.5)

たにのそこなどには
tani-no soko-nado-ni fa
valley-GEN bottom-REPR-LOC TOP
at the **bottoms of valleys and other places like that** (HM III: 264.4–5)

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The suffix *-domo* is the most frequent among plural markers and is stylistically neutral. It combines with both animate and inanimate nouns. Examples:

その名ども石つくりの御子くらもちのみこ左大臣あべのみむらじ大納言大伴のみゆき中納言いそのかみのまろたり
sono **na-domo** Isitukuri n-o miko Kuramoti n-o miko sadaijin Abe-no Mimurazi dainagon Ofotomo-no Miyuki tiunagon Isonokami-no Marotari
their **name-PLUR** Isitukuri DV-ATTR prince Kuramoti DV-ATTR prince minister of the left Abe-GEN Mimurazi great councillor Ootomo-GEN Miyuki middle councillor Isonokami-GEN Marotari
their **names** were Prince Isitukuri, Prince Kuramoti, Minister of the Left Abe-no Mimurazi, Great Councillor Ootomo-no Miyuki, and Middle Councillor Isonokami-no Marotari (TM 31.1–2)

見まほしうする人どもなりければ
mi-mafosi-u s-uru **fito-domo** nar-iker-e-ba
see-OPT-INF do-ATTR **person-PLUR** be-RETR2-EV-CON
because [they] were **persons** who wanted to see [Kaguya-hime] (TM 31.3–4)

かかる程におとこども六人つらねて庭に出きたり
kakar-u fodo-ni **otoko-domo** roku-nin turane-te nifa-ni ide-k-itar-i
be such-ATTR time-LOC **man-PLUR** six-CL go in line-SUB garden-LOC appear(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-FIN
at this time, six **men** appeared in the garden (TM 39.12)

むかしおとこあづまへゆきけるに友だちどもにみちよりいひおこせける
mukasi otoko aduma-fe yuk-iker-u-ni **tomodati-domo**-ni miti-yori if-i-okose-ker-u
once upon a time man Aduma-ALL go-RETR2-ATTR-LOC **friend-PLUR**-DAT way-ABL say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR
Once upon a time, when a man went to Azuma [province], from [his] journey [he] sent [this poem] to [his] **friends**…(IM XI:118.12–13)

こどもゐのもとにいでてあそびける
ko-domo wi-no moto-ni ide-te asob-iker-u
child-PLUR well-GEN base-LOC go out-SUB play-RETR2-ATTR
the children went out to the well and played [there] (IM XXIII:126.5)

舟どものあるを見て
fune-domo-no ar-u-wo mi-te
boat-PLUR-GEN be-ATTR-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw that there were **boats** [at the shore] (IM LXVI:149.5)

御ともにわたるはかせども
mi-tomo n-i watar-u **fakase-domo**

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PREF(HON)-together DV-INF cross-ATTR **scholar-PLUR**
scholars who were crossing [the sea] together with [him] (HM I:153.13)

にしきのへりさしたるみすども
nisiki-no feri sas-itar-u **mi-su-domo**
brocade-GEN edge pierce-PERF/PROG-ATTR **PREF(HON)-curtain-PLUR**
curtains, embroidered with brocade on the edges (HM I:158.14–15)

めでたき女どもをあまた見て
medeta-ki **wonna-domo**-wo amata mi-te
beautiful-ATTR **woman-PLUR**-ACC many see-SUB
[he] saw many beautiful **women**, and…(HM IV:328.16–329.1)

Usage of the suffix *-tati* is, on the contrary, restricted. It is believed to have been used exclusively with the titles of princes, princesses, and other relatives of an Emperor or an Empress (Ikeda 1975:189). I found two exceptions, however. In the first case it is used in the combination *go-tati* 'lady attendants', after the word *go*, originally an honorific prefix turned first into a term of address and then into a term designating 'lady attendant'. In the second case, it is used after the words *oya* 'parent' and *seuto* 'elder brother'. In all cases of its usage, *-tati*, in contrast to *-domo*, refers only to human beings; in addition, even in exceptional cases, when it is not used with the titles of imperial relatives, it can be used only with the word *go* 'lady attendant' and words denoting elder relatives. Therefore, *-tati* can be defined as an honorific plural marker. Examples:

御こたち上達部ききて
miko-tati kandatibe kik-ite
prince-PLUR courtier hear-SUB
Princes and courtiers heard this and…(TM 34.1)

おやたちのかへりみをいささかだにつかうまつらで
oya-tati-no kaferimi-wo isasaka dani tukaumatur-ade
parent-PLUR-GEN care-ACC little PT serve(HUM)-NEG/GER
[I] have not repaid the care of [my] **parents** even a little, and…(TM 62.10)

二条のきさきにしのびてまいりけるを世のきこえありければせうとたちのまもらせたまひけるとぞ
ni-zyau-no kisaki-ni sinob-ite mair-iker-u-wo yo-no kikoye ar-iker-e-ba **seuto-tati-no** mamor-ase-tamaf-iker-u to zo
two-CL-GEN empress-DAT do secretly-SUB go(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-ACC world-GEN talk(HUM)(NML) be-RETR2-EV-CON **elder brother-PLUR(HON)-GEN** guard-CAUS(INF)-HON-RETR2-ATTR DV PT
They say that since there were rumours about [his] secret visits to the Empress from the Second Ward, [her] **elder brothers** kept watch over [her] (IM V:113.15–114.1)

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みこたちおはしまさせて
miko-tati ofasimas-ase-te
Prince-PLUR(HON) come-CAUS-SUB
[He] made **the princes** come and…(IM LXXXI:158.4)

みこたち大じんくぎやうあつまりて
miko-tati daizin kugyau atumar-ite…
Prince-PLUR(HON) minister noble gather-SUB
Princes, ministers, and nobles gathered and…(HM I:158.6)

In the following two examples *-tati* has the meaning of a collective plural, i.e. 'one of':

みこたちのつかひ給ける人をあひいへりけり
miko-tati-no tukaf-i-tamaf-iker-u fito-wo af-i-if-er-iker-i
prince-PLUR(HON)-GEN serve-INF-HON-RETR2-ATTR person-ACC meet-INF-say-RETR2-FIN
[he] exchanged vows with a woman who served **one of the princes** (IM CIII:172.5)

ごたちなりける人をあひしりたりける
go-tati nar-iker-u fito-wo af-i-sir-itar-iker-u
lady(HON)-PLUR(HON) be-RETR2-ATTR person-ACC meet-INF-know-RETR2-ATTR
[he] was visiting someone, who was one of the **attendants** [of the imperial consort] (IM XIX:123.3)

あるごたちのつぼねのまへをわたりけるに
aru **go-tati**-no tubone-no mafe-wo watar-iker-u-ni
certain **lady(HON)-PLUR**-GEN apartment-GEN front-ACC pass-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
when [he] was passing in front of the apartment of one of the **attendants** (IM XXXI:130.11)

The suffix *-ra* has a pejorative meaning when used with animate nouns and personal pronouns. Note that in the following example the humble verb *mawos-* 'to say', 'to talk' also acquires a pejorative meaning since it is used in reference to other people's actions (in this case craftsmen, who are socially much lower than the speaker himself):

このたくみらが申ことはなに事ぞ
kono **takumi-ra**-ga mawos-u koto fa nani-ⁿgoto zo
this **craftsman-PLUR**-GEN talk(HUM/PEJ)-ATTR thing TOP what-(GEN) thing PT
What are these **craftsmen** talking about ? (TM 39.16)

たくみらいみじくよろこび
takumi-ra imiji-ku yorokob-i

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craftsman-PLUR great-INF rejoice-INF …
The craftsmen greatly rejoiced and…(TM 41.2)

なんぢらかたきものと申べき
nandi-ra kata-ki mono to mawos-ube-ki
thou-PLUR difficult-ATTR thing DV say(HUM)-DEB-ATTR
Would **you** say [it is] a difficult thing? (TM 45.10)

(Master to his servants.)

なんぢらよくもてこずなりぬ
nandi-ra yo-ku mo-te ko-zu nar-in-u
thou-PLUR good-INF bring-SUB come-NEG/INF become-PERF-FIN
It turned out well that **you** did not bring it (TM 49.2)

(Master to his servants.)

These examples all come from *Taketori monogatari*. There are no examples of *-ra* in *Ise monogatari* or *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. I have not found examples of *-ra* following inanimate nouns in the studied texts either.

Reduplication does not seem to be a productive means of expressing plural number, because only a small number of nouns can produce a reduplicated form: *fito-bito* 'people', 'ladies' (*fito* 'person', 'lady'), *yo-yo* 'relationships' (*yo* 'relationship', 'world', 'life'), *ori-ori* 'moments' (*ori* 'moment'), *ife-ife* 'houses' (*ife* 'house'); there are also two already lexicalized reduplications: *iro-iro* 'different' (*iro* 'colour') and *toki-doki* 'sometimes', 'from time to time' (*toki* 'time'). The most frequent case occurring in all studied texts is *fito-bito* 'people', 'ladies'. Examples:

此人々なりけり
ko-no **fito-bito** nar-iker-i
this-GEN **person-person** be-RETR2-FIN
[they] were these **people** (TM 31.2)

この人々家にかへりて
ko-no **fito-bito** ife-ni kafer-ite
this-GEN **person-person** house-LOC return-SUB
these **people** returned home and…(TM 31.9–10)

人々うたよみけり
fito-bito uta yom-iker-i
person-person poem recite-RETR2-FIN
people were reciting poems (IM LXXIX:157.4)

ここの人々もさぞやすげなうおもはめ
koko-no **fito-bito** mo sa zo yasu-ge na-u omof-am-e
here-GEN **lady-lady** PT thus PT peaceful-NML no-INF think-TENT-EV
the **ladies** here were probably also very worried (HM IV:354.4)

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いろいろのやまひをして
iro-iro n-o yamafi-wo s-ite
colour-colour DV-ATTR illness-ACC do-SUB
having suffered **different** illnesses (TM 38.3)

猶時々はうちなげきなどす
nafo **toki-doki** fa uti-nagek-i-nado s-u
again **time-time** TOP PREF-sigh-NML-REPR do-FIN
again [she] was sighing **from time to time** (TM 59.8)

恋しからむおりおり
kofisi-k-ar-am-u **ori-ori**
be missing-INF-be-TENT-ATTR **moment-moment**
at the **moments** when [you] miss [me] (TM 64.12)

をのが世々になりにければうとくなりにけり
wono-ga **yo-yo** n-i nar-in-iker-e-ba uto-ku nar-in-iker-i
self-POSS **relationship-relationship** DV-INF become-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON be estranged-INF become-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[they each] found their own [new] **relationship**, and [they] became estranged (IM XXI:125.8)

いへいへの人いでて
ife-ife-no fito ide-te
house-house-GEN person go out-SUB
people from the **houses** went out and…(HM I:153.9)

Special plural forms

There are three special forms to be noted. The first is a combination of *-domo* and *-nado*, and the second is a usage of *-domo* after a reduplicated noun. They are each illustrated by a single example:

いにしへゆくさきのことどもなどいひて
inisife yukusaki-no **koto-domo-nado** if-ite
past future-GEN **thing-PLUR-REPR** say-SUB
They were talking about **things** of the past and of the future, **among other things**, and…(IM XXII:125.14)

この人々ども帰まで
ko-no **fito-bito-domo** kafer-u-made
this-GEN **person-person-PLUR** return home-ATTR-TERM
until these **people** return home (TM 45.16)

The third form is the suffix *-bara*. When used with animate nouns, it is a pejorative plural suffix meaning 'good-for-nothings like that', 'those belonging to such a class of people' (Ōno *et al*. 1990: 1089).

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やつばらをまたじとの給て
yatu-bara-wo mat-azi to notamaf-ite
guy-PLUR(PEJ)-ACC wait-NEG/TENT PT say(HON)-SUB
[he] said that [he] would not wait for the good-for-nothings and (TM 47.2)

However, it does not appear to have any pejorative meaning with inanimate nouns:

そこのとなりなりける宮ばらに
soko-no tonari nar-iker-u **miya-bara**-ni
there-GEN neighbourhood be-RETR2-ATTR **palace-PLUR**-LOC
in the **palaces** which were located near that place (IM LVIII:142.8)

The suffix *-bara* is rare, occurring only once in *Taketori monogatari* and once in *Ise monogatari*.

4.1.2.2 *Case markers*

The following case markers are attested in the language of Classical Japanese prose: が *ga*, の *no*, に *ni*, を *wo*, と *to*, より *yori*, から *kara*, へ *fe*, まで *made* (see Table 3). Most Japanese linguists include another case marker *nite* (にて), but I consider it to be the gerund form of the defective verb *ni* (に), homophonic with the case marker *ni* (に) in all cases, following Samuel E. Martin's proposal to view *ni* as a copula infinitive (Martin 1988: 34).

Table 3 Chart of case markers

Case marker	*Main functions*	*Example animate*	*Example inanimate*
ga	possessive	*otodo-ga* 'of a minister'	—
no	genitive	*fito-no* 'of a person'	*yama-no* 'of a mountain'
ni	dative, locative, allative	*fito-ni* 'to a person'	*yama-ni* 'at a mountain', 'to a mountain'
wo	accusative	*fito-wo* 'person-ACC'	*yama-wo* 'mountain-ACC'
to	comitative	*fito-to* 'with a person'	*yama-to* 'with a mountain'
yori	ablative, comparative	*fito-yori* 'from a person', 'than a person'	*yama-yori* 'from a mountain', 'than a mountain'
kara	ablative	–	*kokoro-kara* 'from one's heart'
fe	allative	*fito-fe* 'to a person'	*yama-fe* 'to a mountain'
made	terminative	–	*seki-made* 'as far as a barrier'

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Case markers are traditionally defined in both Japanese and Western traditions as particles (格助詞 kakujoshi) (Yamada 1913; Tokieda 1950; Tsukishima 1969; Aston 1877; Sansom 1928; Martin 1988/1975; Lewin 1959; Muccioli 1970). However, in another major school of Japanese studies, the Russian school, three conflicting points have long been under discussion. According to one such point of view, Japanese case markers are agglutinative suffixes (Konrad 1937: 81–3; Fel'dman 1979: 60–1; Syromiatnikov 1972: 96); supporters of the second point of view consider them to be postpositions (Vardul' 1964: 33–6; Golovnin 1970: 18; 1986: 227); while according to the third point of view, they should be classified neither as suffixes nor as postpositions, but as agglutinative case markers (Pashkovskii 1957: 117; Alpatov 1981: 34–41). I support the third point of view for the following reasons:

1 Classical Japanese case markers are not suffixes in the sense that Indo-European cases suffixes are, since they are not flective; that is, one case marker can only carry a single grammatical meaning (cf. Russian *stol-ov*, the genitive plural form of the word stol 'table', where the suffix *-ov* combines the grammatical meanings of plural and genitive), and they do not exhibit any fusion with the preceding stem. They are also unlike Korean or Turkic case markers, since their form is not dependent on the phonetic shape of the preceding stem.
2 Nevertheless, apart from that, the character of these case markers joining to the stem is not different from that of, let us say, Turkish. Compare:

Classical Japanese	*Turkish*
fito-yori	adam-dan
person-ABL	person-ABL
from the person	from the person
fito-domo-yori	adam-lar-dan
person-PLUR-ABL	person-PLUR-ABL
from the persons	from the persons

3 As in Turkish, the stem and the case marker cannot be separated by anything except plural markers, the particles *bakari*, *safe*, and *dani*, or, in some cases, another case marker. This makes it unlikely that they are pure particles or postpositions, which are less bound with the stem (cf. the behaviour of the topic particle, which is typical in this respect).
4 However, contrary to Modern Japanese and Turkish, in the Heian period most case markers had their own accent, independent of a preceding noun (Wenck 1959: 403; Martin 1987: 169–70); they cannot therefore be defined as agglutinative suffixes. I prefer to use the term 'agglutinative case marker', which is meant to show that these elements occupy an intermediate position between agglutinative suffixes and particles.

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4.1.2.2.1 Case marker *ga*

The case marker *ga* is a marker of the possessive case. Its functions are very similar to that of the genitive case marker *no*, yet the usage of these two markers does not completely overlap. Thus, only *ga* may be used after personal-reflexive and interrogative pronouns, while only *no* may appear after demonstrative pronouns. However, both *ga* and *no* are used before quasi-postpositions like *tame* 'for', 'in order to', *ufe* 'top', 'on', *uti* 'inside', *sita* 'below', 'bottom', and *moto* 'near', 'base'. The claim that *ga* follows animate nouns while *no* follows inanimates does not hold true, though there is some tendency for *ga* to be used more frequently after personal names and titles. In Classical Japanese prose *ga* has the following functions: (1) possessive marker; (2) subject marker in a dependent clause; (3) subject marker in a main clause. In all its functions, *ga* can be used not only after a noun, but also after a substantivized sentence.

(1) Possessive marker

When used after personal-reflexive pronouns, *ga* can only follow the stem *wa-* of the first-person pronoun *wa-/ware*, but never its extended stem *ware*. On the other hand, with the third-person pronoun *so-/sore* and reflexive *ono-/onore* (usually spelled etymologically incorrectly as *wono-/wonore*), *ga* can follow either the short or extended stem.

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite ofasimas-itar-i
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came without even stopping at **his own** house (TM 36.15–16)

わがくにのうちをはなれて
wa-ga kuni-no uti-wo fanare-te
we-POSS country-GEN inside-ACC part-SUB
[I] left the limits of **our** country (TM 37.13)

わがかかる心やめ給へ
wa-ga kakar-u kokoro yame-tamaf-e
I-POSS be such-ATTR spirit stop(INF)-HON-IMP
Please heal this very lustful spirit of mine! (*lit.*: Please stop such a [lustful] spirit **of mine**!) (IM LXV:147.13)

わがみかど六十よこくの中に
wa-ga mikado roku-zifu yo koku-no naka-ni
we-POSS emperor sixty exceed province-GEN inside-LOC
Among more than sixty provinces of **our** Emperor (IM LXXXI:158.10)

我よに
wa-ga yo-ni

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we-POSS world-LOC
in **our** country (HM I:155.10)

をのが君
wono-ga kimi
oneself-POSS lord
one's own lord (TM 45.8)

をのれがもとに
wonore-ga moto-ni
oneself-POSS base-LOC
near **yourself** (TM 63.15)

をのれがあやしのいほりに
wonore-ga ayasi-no ifori-ni
oneself-POSS poor-GEN hut-LOC
in **my** poor hut (HM I:171.7)

たが為にか
ta-ga tame n-i ka
who-POSS for DV-INF PT
For **whom**? (TM 66.7)

三年がいとま
mi-tose-ga itoma
three-year-POSS leave
three years' leave (HM I:165.15)

When used as the third-person personal pronouns 'he', 'she', 'they', *so-* and *sore* take *ga* as their possessive marker and never *no*: I have encountered only one case of *so-ga*:

そがくびに玉とれる
so-ga kubi-ni tama tor-er-u
they-POSS neck-LOC precious stone take-PROG-FIN
[they] took the precious stone from **his** neck (TM 46.15)

Sore-ga appears to be more frequently used, though examples are not numerous:

それが玉をとらむとて
sore-ga tama-wo tor-am-u to-te
he-POSS precious stone-ACC take-TENT-FIN DV-SUB
wishing to take **his** precious stone (TM 49.3)

それが返し
sore-ga kafesi
he-POSS reply
his reply (IM LXXXII:160.1)

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それがなかにひとり
sore-ga naka-ni fitori
they-POSS inside one-person
one among **them** (IM LXXXVIII:165.2–3)

それがもとより
sore-ga moto-yori
she-POSS base-ABL
from **her** (IM CX:175.5)

As the following two examples show, *ga* is not only used instead of *no* before the quasi-postpositions when it is preceded by a personal-reflexive or an interrogative pronoun.

あまたが中に
amata-ga naka-ni
multitude-POSS inside-LOC
among **many** (HM I:170.6)

三とせが中に
mi-tose-ga uti-ni
three-year-POSS inside-LOC
for **three years** (HM II:216.6)

Possessive *ga* may be used after proper nouns as in the following examples:

宮つこまろが家
Miyatukomaro-ga ife
miyatukomaro-POSS house
house **of Miyatukomaro** (TM 56.9)

いたるはしたがふがおほぢなり
Itaru fa **Sitagafu-ga** ofodi nar-i
Itaru TOP **Sitagafu-POSS** grandfather be-FIN
Itaru was the grandfather **of Sitagafu** (IM XXXIX:134.8)

しなのがふみにて
Sinano-ga fumi n-ite
Sinano-POSS letter DV-SUB
in the letter **of Sinano** (HM V:391.4)

Possessive *ga* may occur after substantivized sentences, as in the following:

あはじともいはざりける女のさすがなりけるがもとにいひやりける
af-azi to mo if-az-ar-iker-u wonna-no **sasuga nar-iker-u-ga** moto-ni if-i-yar-iker-u
meet-NEG/TENT DV PT say-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR woman-GEN **unclear be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS** base-LOC say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR

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[he] sent [it] to a woman **who had been unclear with him**, though [she] had not said that [she] would not meet [him], either (IM XXV:128.15–129.1)

たうのたいそうと申けるが御しそんのすゑにて
Tau-no Tai-sou to **mawos-iker-u-ga** go-sison-no suwe n-ite
Tang-GEN Tai-zong DV **call(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-POSS** PREF(HON)-descendant-GEN end DV-SUB
[the Empress] was a distant descendant **of [the person] whom [people] humbly** called Tai-zong of Tang (HM I:161.6–7)

ゆきこぼすがごとふりて
yuki **kobos-u-ga goto** fur-ite
snow **pour-ATTR-POSS like** fall-SUB
snow fell **as if [someone] had poured [it]** and . . . (IM LXXXV:162.8)

(2) Subject marker in a dependent clause

This usage does not mean that *ga* is a nominative case marker; rather, it shows that the subject is a modifier of a predicate, which in dependent clauses is always in the attributive form, one of the nominal forms of the verb.

わがもとむるやまならむとおもひて
wa-ga motom-uru yama nar-am-u to omof-ite
I-POSS seek-ATTR mountain be-TENT-FIN DV think-SUB
[I] thought that [it] was probably the mountain **I** was looking for and . . . (TM 38.6)

このたくみらが申ことはなに事ぞ
kono **takumi-ra-ga** mawos-u koto fa nani-^{n}goto zo
this **craftsman-PLUR(PEJ)-POSS** talk(HUM/PEJ)-ATTR thing TOP what-(GEN)thing PT
What are these **craftsmen** talking about? (TM 39.16)

くらつまろが申やう
Kuratumaro-ga mawos-u yau
Kuratumaro-POSS say(HUM)-ATTR like
Kuratumaro said . . . (TM 50.14–15)

In the following two examples *ga* marks not the noun but a nominalized clause:

おぼしなげかむがかなしき事
obos-i-nagek-am-u-ga kanasi-ki koto
think(HON)-INF-grieve-TENT-ATTR-POSS sad-ATTR thing
[it is] sad that **[you] must be grieving** (TM 60.1)

しんのしんわうといへる人ありけるがかほかたちみのざへすぐれたりければこのくにと日本にいひかよはさるる事ありけり

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Sin-no sinwau to if-er-u **fito ar-iker-u-ga** kafo katati mi-no zafe sugure-tar-iker-e-ba kono kuni-to Nifon-ni if-i-kayof-as-ar-uru koto ar-iker-i
Qin-GEN prince-DV say-PROG-ATTR **person be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS** face figure body-GEN talent be supreme-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON this country-COM Japan-DAT say-INF-go back and forth-CAUS-PASS-ATTR thing be-RETR2-FIN
there were occasions when **one who was the person** whom [they] called the Qin Prince, since his looks and talents were superb, was interpreting between this country and Japan (HM I:161.7–9)

(3) Subject marker in a main clause

This usage is very infrequent in Classical Japanese prose compared to the modern language; nevertheless, several examples can be found:

なんぢらが君のつかひと名をながしつ
nandi-ra-ga kimi-no tukafi to na-wo nagas-it-u
thou-PLUR(PEJ)-POSS lord-GEN servant DV name-ACC float-PERF-FIN
You are famous as [loyal] servants of [your] lord (TM 45.12)

やつが人をころさんとするなりけり
yatu-ga fito-wo koros-an to s-uru nar-iker-i
hag-POSS person-ACC kill-TENT/FIN[4] DV do-ATTR be(ASSER)-RETR2-FIN
It turns out that [this] **hag** was going to kill people (TM 49.5)

As with subject marking in a dependent clause, *ga* can also mark not just the noun but the whole nominalized sentence, when this is the subject of the main clause:

五にあたるむすめすぐれていみじういつきかしづき給がこぞの十月のとせいのもみぢのがの御ゆきに見給てのちすずろにふししづみなやみて
itu-ni atar-u musume sugurete imizi-u **ituk-i-kasiduk-i-tamaf-u-ga** kozo-no zifu guwatu-no tosei-no momidi-no ga-no mi-yuk-i-ni mi-tamaf-ite noti suzuro ni fus-i-sidum-i-nayam-ite
five-LOC correspond-ATTR daughter extremely terrible-INF **treasure-INF-care for-INF-HON-ATTR-POSS** last year-GEN ten month-GEN (unclear word)-GEN maple leaves-GEN celebration-GEN PREF(HON)-walk-INF-LOC see-HON-SUB after for unknown reason be lie down-INF-submerge-INF-suffer-SUB
after the fifth daughter, **the one whom [he] cared about and loved** especially deeply, had been to the imperial party for viewing maple leaves in the tenth moon of last year, where [she] saw [the Chūnagon], for some unknown reason she took to her bed, submerged [in thought] and suffering, and ... (HM I:170.6–8)

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4.1.2.2.2 Case marker *no*

The case maker *no* has practically the same main functions as the possessive case marker *ga*: (1) genitive case marker; (2) subject marker in a dependent clause; (3) subject marker in a main clause. The case marker *no* is not to be confused with its homonym, the attributive form *n-o* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be'. Examples:

(1) Genitive case marker

このちごのかたち
kono **tigo-no** katati
this **child-GEN** looks
the looks **of** this **child** (TM 29.13)

翁の命
okina-no inoti
old man-GEN life
the old man's life (TM 33.4)

かりぎぬのすそ
kari-ginu-no suso
hunting-garment-GEN hem
the hem **of the hunting garment** (IM I:111.5)

人のむすめ
fito-no musume
person-GEN daughter
a person's daughter (IM XII:119.2)

京の人
miyako-no fito
capital-GEN person
a person **from the capital** (IM XIV:120.2–3)

ことふえのね
koto fue-no ne
koto flute-GEN sound
the sounds **of the koto and flute** (HM III:279.14)

(As can be seen from this example, *no* marks only the last member of the list.)

うきみのありさま
uk-i-mi-no arisama
float-INF-body-GEN looks
the looks **of an ephemeral body** (HM IV:326.13)

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たうのしんわう
Tau-no sinwau
Tang-GEN prince
the prince **of Tang** (HM V:416.13)

Like *ga*, *no* is also used before quasi-postpositions:

竹の中に
take-no naka-ni
bamboo-GEN inside-LOC
inside the **bamboo** (TM 29.3)

かぐやひめのもとに
Kaguya-fime-no moto-ni
Kaguya-fime-GEN base-LOC
to Kaguya-hime (TM 34.8)

草のうへに
kusa-no ufe-ni
grass-GEN top-LOC
on the **grass** (IM VI:114.5)

あづまのかたにゆきて
Aduma-no kata-ni yuk-ite
east-GEN direction-ALL go-SUB
[he] went to the **east** and . . . (IM VIII:115.9)

ほそどののうちに
fosodono-no uti-ni
shed-GEN inside-LOC
inside the **shed** (HM II:250.1)

わかるるかたなきおりのやうに
wakar-uru kata na-ki **ori-no** yau n-i
understand-ATTR person no-ATTR **moment-GEN** like DV-INF
like the **moments** when there is no understanding person [around] (HM IV: 326.10)

(1a) Special *rendaku* form

Case marker *no* may have a special *rendaku* (sequential voicing) form, when it is reflected due to the loss of its vowel as prenasalization of a following consonant (remember that in the Heian period, consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, and /z/ were all prenasalized: /^{n}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{n}g/, /^{n}z/). I gloss such suppressed genitives as (GEN). Examples:

ふなぞこにふし給へり
funa-^{n}zoko(< no-soko)-ni fus-i-tamaf-er-i

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boat-(GEN)bottom-LOC lie down-INF-HON-PROG-FIN
[the Dainagon] was lying on the **bottom of the boat** (TM 48.10)

こやすがひはとらせたまへ
ko-yasu-ⁿgafi(< no kafi) fa tor-ase-tamaf-e
child-easy-(GEN)shell TOP take-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP
please take the **shell of 'easy childbirth'** (TM 51.8–9)

むめの花ざかりに
mume-no **fana-ⁿzakari**(< no sakari)-ni
plum-GEN **flower-(GEN)full bloom**-LOC
at [the time] when plum blossoms were in **full bloom** (IM IV:113.2)

おとこ三月つごもりがたに
otoko yayofi **tugomori-ⁿgata**(< no kata)-ni
man third month **end-(GEN)direction**-LOC
towards the end of the third month the man [recited] . . . (IM XCI:166.2)

御とのごもりすごしたるやうにて
mi-tono-ⁿgomori(< no komori) sugos-itar-u yau n-ite
PREF(HON)-pavilion-(GEN)seclusion exceed-PERF?PROG-RART like DV-SUB
it looked as if [he] had overslept (*lit.*: spent too much time in **secluding [himself] in the pavilion)** (HM II:229.15)

(2) Subject marker in a dependent clause

As with *ga* in the same function, this usage does not mean that *no* is a nominative case marker; rather, it shows that the subject is a modifier of a predicate, which in dependent clauses is predominantly an attributive form (one example of its occurrence in the infinitive form is given below), one of the nominal forms of the verb. Some other cases of *no* as a subject marker include dependent clauses ending in gerunds *-ba*, *-domo*, etc.

おきなの申さん事
okina-no mawos-an koto
old man-GEN say(HUM)-TENT/ATTR thing
the thing that the **old man** (= I) wants to say (TM 31.14)

かぐや姫のいふやう
Kaguya-fime-no if-u yau
Kaguya-fime-GEN say-ATTR like
Kaguya-hime says [something] like [the following]…(TM 37.4)

人のいきかよふべきところにもあらざりければ
fito-no ik-i-kayof-ube-ki tokoro n-i mo ar-az-ar-iker-e-ba
person-GEN go-INF-go back and forth-DEB-ATTR place DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON

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because it was not a place where **a person** could visit, either (IM IV:112.14–113.1)

かたちのいとめでたくおはしければ
katati-no ito medeta-ku ofas-iker-e-ba
looks-GEN very beautiful-SUB be(HON)-RETR2-EV-CON
because [her] **looks** were very beautiful (IM VI:114.14)

あさまのたけにけぶりのたつを見て
Asama-no take-ni **keburi-no** tat-u-wo mi-te
Asama-GEN peak-LOC **smoke-GEN** rise-ATTR-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw how the **smoke** rises on Asama peak and . . . (IM VIII:115.10–11)

中納言のおはしまし所
tiunagon-no ofasimas-i tokoro
chūnagon-GEN be(HON)-INF place
the place where the **Chūnagon** will be (HM I:154.16)

后のひき給しおりおり思いづる
kisaki-no fik-i-tamaf-isi wori-wori omof-i-id-uru
empress-GEN play-INF-HON-RETR1/ATTR moment-moment think-INF-go out-ATTR
[he] was recollecting all the moments when the **Empress** played . . . (HM III:324.16–325.1)

さまどものあはれにかなしけれど
sama-domo-no afare n-i kanasi-kere-do
looks-PLUR-GEN sadness DV-INF sad-EV-CONC
though their **looks** were sad (HM I:155.3)

(3) Subject marker in main clause

かぐやひめのいはく
Kaguya-fime-no if-aku
Kaguya-fime-GEN say-NML
Kaguya-hime said . . . (TM 32.4)

かぐやひめのかはぎぬを見ていはくうるはしきかはなめり
Kaguya-fime-no kafa-ginu-wo mi-te if-aku urufasi-ki kafa na-mer-i
Kaguya-fime-GEN skin-garment-ACC look-SUB say-NML beautiful-ATTR skin be-CONJC-FIN
Kaguya-hime looked at the garment [made] from [the fire-rat] skin and said: '[It] seems to be a beautiful skin' (TM 43.12)

人のむすめのかしづくいかでこのおとこにものいはむとおもひけり
fito-no **musume-no** kasiduk-u ika-de kono otoko-ni mono if-am-u to omof-iker-i

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person-GEN **daughter-GEN** bring up with care-ATTR how-be/GER this man-DAT thing say-TENT-FIN DV think-RETR2-FIN
A person's **daughter**, one brought up with care, wanted to tell this man about [her] feelings (IM XLV:137.10–11)

せうとたちのまもらせたまひけるとぞ
seuto-tati-no mamor-ase-tamaf-iker-u to zo
elder brother-PLUR(HON)-GEN guard-CAUS-HON-RETR2-ATTR DV PT
They say her **elder brothers** kept close watch [over her] (IM V:113.15–114.1)

五にあたり侍むすめのすぐれたるあいしに侍り
itu-ni atar-i-faber-u **musume-no** sugure-tar-u aisi n-i faber-i
five-LOC correspond-INF-POL-ATTR **daughter-GEN** be supreme-PERF/PROG-ATTR beloved child DV-INF be(POL)-FIN
The fifth **daughter** is an especially beloved child (HM I:172.13)

4.1.2.2.3 Case marker *ni*

The case marker *ni* has to be distinguished from the homophonic *n-i*, an infinitive of the defective verb *n-* 'to be', usually treated by Japanese linguists as a conjunction particle (**接続助詞** *setuzokujoshi*) (Ikeda 1975: 211), which will be discussed in Chapter 5 along with verbs. The case marker *ni* has the following functions in the language of Classical Japanese prose: (1) dative case marker; (2) locative case marker; (3) agent marker in passive constructions; (4) allative case marker; (5) subject marker. It also has (6) a special conjunctional usage as a connector of two clauses, indicating either a reason or a concession. In this last case, the case marker *ni* follows the attributive form of the verb.

(1) Dative case marker

In this function *ni* is used after animate nouns only. Examples:

めの女にあづけてやしなはす
me n-o wonna-ni aduke-te yasinaf-as-u
wife DV-ATTR woman-DAT give-SUB feed-CAUS-FIN
[he] gave her **to [his] wife** and made [his wife] feed [her] (TM 29.7–8)

むすめを吾にたべ
musume-wo **ware-ni** tab-e
daughter-ACC **I-DAT** give(HON)-IMP
give your daughter **to me** (TM 31.8)

おきなかぐや姫にいふ
okina **Kaguya-fime-ni** if-u
old man **Kaguya-fime-DAT** say-FIN
The old man says **to Kaguya-hime** (TM 31.13)

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二条のきさきのまだみかどにもつかうまつり給はで
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada **mikado-ni** mo tukaumatur-i-tamaf-ade
two-CL-GEN empress-GEN yet **emperor-DAT** PT serve(HUM)-INF-HON-NEG/GER
The Empress from the Second Ward had not yet served **the Emperor**, and ... (IM III:112.9)

かれはなにぞとなん**おとこ**にとひける
kare fa nani zo to nan **otoko-ni** tof-iker-u
That TOP what PT DV PT **man-DAT** ask-RETR2-ATTR
[She] asked **the man**: 'What is that?' (IM VI:114.5)

ちちはこと**人**にあはせむといひける
titi fa **koto-fito-ni** af-ase-m-u to if-iker-u
father TOP **different-person-DAT** meet-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV say-RETR2-ATTR
[Her] father said that [he] wanted to marry [her] **to a different person** ... (IM X:118.3)

何事をかは**中納言**にはつたへならはすべき
nani-ⁿgoto-wo ka fa **tiunagon-ni** fa tutafe-narafas-ube-ki
what-(GEN)thing-ACC PT TOP **chūnagon-DAT** TOP hand over(INF)-teach-DEB-ATTR
what (thing) should [we] entrust **to the Chūnagon**? (HM I:155.15)

このよの**人**にはこころもとどまらざんめる
kono yo-no **fito-ni** fa kokoro mo todomar-az-an-mer-u
this country-GEN **lady-DAT** TOP heart PT stop-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-ATTR
it seems that [he] pays no attention **to the ladies** of this country (HM IV:329.3)

中納言はひめ君に。。。ときこえたまへど
tiunagon fa **Fime-gimi-ni** ... to kikoye-tamaf-e-do
chūnagon TOP **Fime-gimi-DAT** ... DV say(HUM)-HON-EV-CONC
though the Chūnagon said to **Hime-gimi** ... (HM IV:343.15–344.9)

(2) Locative case marker

As a locative case marker, *ni* has both a spatial and a temporal meaning. Examples:

東の海にほうらいといふ山ある
fingasi-no **umi-ni** Fourai to if-u yama ar-u
east-GEN **sea-LOC** Fourai DV say-ATTR mountain be-ATTR
there is a mountain called Hōrai **in** the eastern **sea** (TM 33.10)

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もろこしにある火ねずみのかはぎぬ
Morokosi-ni ar-u fi-nezumi-no kafa-ginu
China-LOC be-ATTR fire-rat-GEN skin-garment
the garment [made] from the fire-rat skin that is **in China** (TM 33.12)

きさらぎの十日ごろに難波より船にのりてうみの中にいでて
kisaragi-no **towo-ka-goro-ni** Nanifa-yori fune-ni nor-ite umi-no naka-ni ide-te
second month-GEN **ten-day-about-LOC** Nanifa-ABL ship-LOC board-SUB sea-GEN inside-ALL go out-SUB
about the tenth day of the second month, [I] boarded the ship and sailed out of Naniwa to the sea, and . . . (TM 37.9)

たつの時ばかりに海の中にはつかに山みゆ
tatu-no **toki-bakari-ni** umi-no naka-ni fatuka n-i yama mi-y-u
dragon-GEN **hour-PT-LOC** sea-GEN inside-LOC sudden DV-INF mountain see-PASS-FIN
at **about the hour** of the dragon, a mountain suddenly appeared in the sea (TM 38.4)

そのさとにいとなまめいたるをんなはらからすみけり
sono **sato-ni** ito namame-itar-u wonna fara-kara sum-iker-i
that **village-LOC** very elegant-PERF/PROG-ATTR woman belly-clan live-RETR2-FIN
[Two] very elegant sisters lived **in** that **village** (IM I:111.4)

この京は人の家まださだまらざりける時に西の京に女ありけり
kono miyako fa fito-no ife mada sadamar-az-ar-iker-u **toki-ni** nisi-no **miyako-ni** wonna ar-iker-i
this capital TOP person-GEN house yet be in order-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR **time-LOC** west-GEN **capital-LOC** woman be-RETR2-FIN
At the time when people's houses in this capital were not yet organized, a woman lived **in** the Western **Capital** (IM II:111.12–13)

む月の十日ばかりのほどにほかにかくれにけり
mu-tuki-no towo-ka-bakari-no **fodo-ni foka-ni** kakure-n-iker-i
first month-GEN ten-day-PT-GEN **time-LOC other-LOC** seclude oneself-PERF-RETR2-FIN
on (**at the time**) about the tenth day of the first month [she] had secluded herself **in a different** [**place**] (IM IV:112.13–14)

そのかよひぢに夜ごとに人をすへてまもらせければ
sono kayofi-**di-ni yo-goto-ni** fito-wo sufe-te mamor-ase-ker-e-ba
his going back and forth-**way-LOC night-every-LOC** person-ACC put-SUB guard-CAUS-RETR2-EV-CON
because **every night** [the master] made a guard watch (**on**) **the path** [the man] used to come and go on (IM V:113.10–11)

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よにしらぬ御ありさま
yo-ni sir-an-u on-arisama
world-LOC know-NEG-ATTR PREF(HON)-looks
looks, unknown **in the world** (HM II:235.12)

天にしばしありつれど
ama-ni sibasi ar-it-ure-do
heaven-LOC some time be-PERF-EV-CONC
though [I] was some time **in heaven** (HM V:402.10)

さきの世に
saki-no **yo-ni**
before-GEN **life-LOC**
in the previous **life** (HM III:275.13)

(3) Agent marker in passive constructions

In this function, as the following examples show, *ni* marks both animate and inanimate nouns as agents in a passive construction. No examples of this usage are attested in *Taketori monogatari*.

ぬす人なりければくにのかみにからめられにけり
nusubito nar-iker-e-ba kuni-no **kami-ni** karame-rare-n-iker-i
thief be-RETR2-EV-CON province-GEN **governor-AGT** capture-PASS-PERF-RETR2-FIN
Because [he] was a thief, [he] was captured **by the governor** of the province (IM XII:119.3)

女のめには見ゆる物から
wonna-no me-ni fa mi-y-uru monokara
woman-GEN eye-AGT TOP see-PASS-ATTR CONJ
although [he] was seen **by a woman('s eyes)** . . . (IM XIX:123.4)

このおとこにほだされて
kono **otoko-ni** fodas-are-te
this **man-AGT** bind-PASS-SUB
[I] was bound **by** this **man** (IM LXV:148.6)

雪にふりこめられたり
yuki-ni fur-i-kome-rare-tar-i
snow-AGT fall-INF-insert-PASS-PERF/PROG-FIN
kept inside **by** falling **snow** (IM LXXXV:162.9)

めのこどもいでてうきみるのなみによせられたるひろひて
me-no ko-domo ide-te uk-i miru-no **nami-ni** yose-rare-tar-u firof-ite
woman-GEN child-PLUR go out-SUB float-INF seaweed-GEN **wave-AGT** approach-PASS-PERF/PROG-ATTR pick up-SUB

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girls went out and picked up the floating seaweed brought **in by the waves** and . . . (IM LXXXVII:164.12)

おやもよにはしたなめられ
oya mo **yo-ni** fasitaname-rare
parent PT **world-AGT** reject-PASS(INF)
[my] parent was rejected **by the world**, too (HM I:166.11)

人にしられじ
fito-ni sir-are-zi
person-AGT know-PASS-NEG/TENT
probably not known **by people** (HM I:181.14)

(4) Allative case marker

As an allative case marker, *ni* indicates the direction of movement, as in Modern Japanese. Examples:

野山にまじりてたけをとりつつ
no yama-ni mazir-ite take-wo tor-itutu
field mountain-ALL go to-SUB bamboo-ACC take-COOR
[he] was going to the fields and mountains and collecting bamboo (TM 29.2)

(Note that *ni* marks only the last member of the list.)

かぐや姫の家にもてきて
Kaguya-fime-no **ife-ni** mo-te k-ite
Kaguya-fime-GEN **house-ALL** hold-SUB come-SUB
[he] brought [it] **to the house** of Kaguya-hime and . . . (TM 34.10–11)

えんにはひのぼり給ぬ
yen-ni faf-i-nobor-i-tamaf-in-u
veranda-ALL crawl-INF-climb-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
[The Prince] crept up **to the veranda** (TM 37.2)

あづまにいきける
Aduma-ni ik-iker-u
east-ALL go-RETR2-ATTR
[he] went **to the east** . . . (IM VII:115.4)

むかしおとこみちのくにすずろにゆきいたりにけり
mukasi otoko **Mitinokuni**[5]**-ni** suzuro n-i yuk-i-itar-in-iker-i
old times man **Mitinoku-ALL** aimless DV-INF go-INF-reach-PERF-RETR2-FIN
Long ago, a man went aimlessly **to Mitinoku province** (IM XIV:120.2)

ゐのもとにいでてあそびける
wi-no moto-ni ide-te asob-iker-u

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well-GEN base-ALL go out-SUB play-RETR2-ATTR
[the children] went out **to the well** and played . . . (IM XXIII:126.5)

とうていといへるところに御門みゆきしたまひ
Toutei to if-er-u **tokoro-ni** mikado mi-yuk-i s-i-tamaf-i
Toutei DV say-PROG-ATTR **place-ALL** emperor PREF(HON)-go-NML do-INF-HON-INF
The Emperor paid an honourable visit **to the place** called Toutei (Eastern Pavilion?) (HM I:158.1–2)

みこかうやうくゑんにいで給ぬ
miko **Kauyaukuwen-ni** ide-tamaf-in-u
prince **Kauyaukuwen-ALL** go out(INF)-HON-PERF-FIN
The Prince went **to Kauyaukuwen** (HM I:158.9)

けふはこなたになおはせそ
kefu fa **konata-ni** na-ofase-so
today TOP **here-ALL** NEG-come(HON)-IMP
Do not come **here** today (HM IV:332.6)

As a subvariety of this function, *ni* is used after the nominalized form of a verb and before a following verb of movement to express the goal of this movement. Examples:

天ぢくへ石のはちとりにまかる
Tendiku-fe isi-no fati **tor-i-ni** makar-u
India-ALL stone-GEN bowl **take-NML-ALL** go(HUM)-FIN
[I] will go to India **to get the** stone bowl (TM 34.8)

むかへに人おほくまゐりたり
mukafe-ni fito ofo-ku mawir-itar-i
meet(NML)-ALL person many-INF come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
Many people came **to meet** [him] (TM 36.4)

かみさへいただきにおちかかる
kami safe **itadak-i-ni** oti-kakar-u
thunder PT **cover the head-NML-ALL** fall(INF)-hang-ATTR
even thunder will fall **and hit [our] heads** (TM 47.14)

かりにいにけり
kar-i-ni in-iker-i
hunt-NML-ALL go-RETR2-FIN
[he] went **hunting** (IM I:111.3)

あづまの方にすむべきくにもとめにとてゆきけり
Aduma-no kata-ni sum-ube-ki kuni **motome-ni** to-te yuk-iker-i
east-GEN direction-ALL live-DEB-ATTR province **find(NML)-ALL** DV-SUB go-RETR2-FIN

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[He] went, saying that [he was going] to the east **to find** a province where he could live (IM IX:116.3)

(In this example, *ni* and the following verb of movement are separated by the defective verb *to-* 'to say' in its gerund form *to-te*, which makes me think that there has been an ellipsis of another verb of movement immediately after *to-te*.)

年ごろをとづれざりける人のさくらのさかりに見にきたりければ
tosi-goro wotodure-z-ar-iker-u fito-no sakura-no sakari-ni **mi-ni k-itar-iker-e-ba**
year-time visit-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR person-GEN sakura-GEN bloom-LOC **see(NML)-ALL come-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON**
When a person who had not visited for a long time **came to view** the cherry blossoms in full bloom . . . (IM XVII:122.6)

とりにつかはす
tor-i-ni tukaf-as-u
take-NML-ALL serve-CAUS-FIN
[he] sent [them] **to get** [the stone] (IM LXXVIII:156.12)

御らんぜさせに御むかへにまいりたり
go-ran-ze-sase-ni ofon-mukafe-ni mair-itar-i
PREF(HON)-see-do-CAUS(NML)-ALL PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-ALL come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[I] came **to meet you in order to show you** (HM I:171.8)

(5) Subject marker

With names or titles of exalted persons *ni* may have the function of a subject marker (Ikeda 1975: 197). This function appears to be extremely rare in our texts, with just three examples. Note that in the first example *ni* appears after *fito* 'person' (which in the context refers to princes and high officials), so it is not necessarily used after names or titles only.

人にみなよませはててよめる
fito-ni mina yom-ase-fate-te yom-er-u
person-DAT all read-CAUS(INF)-finish-SUB recite-PROG-ATTR
after **everyone** had finished reciting [their poems], [the old man] recited . . . (IM LXXXI:158.6–7)

(The *fito-ni* person-DAT in this example cannot be understood as an indirect object, and must be taken as a subject with the honorific subject marker *ni* for the following reasons: (1) the people present are princes and high officials; (2) the phrase 'he let them finish reading their poems' would be *yom-i-fate-sase-te* read-INF-finish-CAUS-SUB, with a causative marker in the second component of the verbal compound rather than in the first.)

かのとのにもはやおはしぬべかんなれば
kano **tono-ni** mofaya ofas-in-ube-k-an-nar-e-ba

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that **lord-DAT** already arrive(HON)-PERF-DEB-INF-be-HS-EV-CON
since, as they say, this **lord** must have already arrived . . . (HM II:219.6)

とおほやけにもきこしめして
to **ofoyake-ni** mo kikosimes-ite
DV **emperor-DAT** PT hear(HON)-SUB
the Emperor also heard that . . . and (HM II:222.9)

(6) Special usage

A frequent usage of *ni* occurs after the attributive form of verbs. In this function, *ni* serves as a connector between two clauses, often with the meaning 'because' or 'when', or, more rarely, 'but'. On typological grounds it would seem that this is the case marker *ni* rather than the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be'. In the other Altaic languages that are similar to Japanese structurally, the dative-locative case marker has exactly the same function when used after attributive forms of verbs.

つかはしし人はよるひるまち給に年こゆるまでおともせず
tukafas-isi fito fa yoru firu **mat-i-tamaf-u-ni** tosi koy-uru-made oto mo se-zu
send-RETR1/ATTR person TOP night day wait-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC year cross over-TERM sound PT do-NEG/INF
[the Dainagon] **waited** day and night **for** the people whom he had sent **but** by the end of the year there had been no word [from them] and . . . (TM 46.12)

御ぐしもたげて御手をひろげ給へるに
mi-gusi motage-te mi-te-wo **firoge-tamaf-er-u-ni**
PREF(HON)-head raise-SUB PREF(HON)-hand-ACC **spread (INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR-LOC**
when [he] raised [his] head and **opened [his] hand** . . . (TM 52.12–13)

むかしおとこあづまへゆきけるに友だちどもにみちよりいひおこせける
mukasi otoko aduma-fe **yuk-iker-u-ni** tomodati-domo-ni miti-yori if-i-okose-ker-u
once upon a time man Aduma-ALL **go-RETR2-ATTR-LOC** friend-PLUR-DAT way-ABL say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR
Once upon a time, **when** a man **went** to Azuma [province], from [his] journey [he] sent [this poem] to [his] friends . . . (IM XI:118.12–13)

をんなのえうまじかりけるを年をへてよばひわたりけるをからうじてぬすみいでていとくらきにきけり
wonna-no ye-u-mazi-k-ar-iker-u-wo tosi-wo fe-te yobaf-i watar-iker-u-wo karauzite nusum-i ide-te ito **kura-ki-ni** k-iker-i
woman-GEN PREF-get-NEG/DEB-INF-be-RETR2-ATTR-ACC year-ACC pass-SUB go on the night date-INF cross over-RETR2-ATTR-ACC finally

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steal-INF go out-SUB very **dark-ATTR-LOC** come-RETR2-FIN
Although over the years he had been visiting a woman whom [he] could not get, finally [he] came **when it was dark** and stole [her] (IM VI:114.3–4)

昔おとこつくしまでいきたりけるに
mukasi otoko Tukusi-made **ik-itar-iker-u-ni**
long ago man Tukusi-TERM **go-PROG-RETR2-ATTR-LOC**
Long ago, **when** a man **was going** as far as Tsukushi (IM LXI:144.6)

昔をわすれぬに
mukasi-wo **wasure-n-u-ni**
long ago-ACC **forget-NEG-ATTR-LOC**
since [the Prince] **did not forget** the past (HM I:156.9)

ただめし侍ましにまいりなまし
tada **mes-i-faber-amasi-ni** mair-in-amasi
only **summon(HON)-INF-be(POL)-SUBJ/ATTR-LOC** go(HUM)-PERF-SUBJ
If [you] would only summon [me], [I] would certainly go (HM I:171.10)

きさきおぼしやるに
kisaki **obos-i-yar-u-ni**
empress **think(HON)-INF-send-ATTR-LOC**
When [the Chūnagon] **remembered** the Empress . . . (HM V:397.10)

4.1.2.2.4 Case marker *wo*

The case marker *wo* has one basic function in the language of Classical Japanese prose: accusative case marker, though there are some peculiarities that will be indicated below. Like the case marker *ni*, it can also be used after the attributive form of verbs, serving as a conjunction of concession or reason.

(1) Accusative case marker

野山にまじりてたけをとりつつ
no yama-ni mazir-ite **take-wo** tor-itutu
field mountain-ALL go to-SUB **bamboo-ACC** take-COOR
[he] was going to the fields and mountains and collecting **bamboo** (TM 29.2)

この子を見つけて後
kono **ko-wo** mi-tuke-te noti
this **child-ACC** see(INF)-attach-SUB after
after [he] found this **child** (TM 29.9)

いかでこのかぐや姫をえてしがな
ikade kono **Kaguya-fime-wo** ye-te-si-gana
how this **Kaguya-fime-ACC** get-PERF-RETR1/ATTR PT
[they] wanted to get this **Kaguya-hime** somehow (TM 30.7)

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かりぎぬのすそをきりてうたをかきてやる
kari-ginu-no **suso-wo** kir-ite **uta-wo** kak-ite yar-u
hunting-garment-GEN **hem-ACC** cut-SUB **poem-ACC** write-SUB send-FIN
[he] cut the **hem** of [his] hunting garment, wrote a **poem** [on the piece] and sent [it] (IM I:111.5)

こぞをおもひいでてよめる
kozo-wo omof-i-ide-te yom-er-u
last year-ACC think-INF-go out-SUB read-PROG-ATTR
[he] recollected **last year**, and read [the poem] ((IM IV:113.4)

なみだをながして
namida-wo nagas-ite
tear-ACC pour-SUB
[they] shed **tears** and … (HM I:153.13)

かかる人のよの**事**をさへわたりゆきてみたる
kakar-u fito-no yo-no **koto-wo** safe watar-i-yuk-ite mi-tar-u
be such-ATTR lady-GEN life-GEN **thing-ACC** PT cross-INF-go-SUB see-PERF/PROG-ATTR
Having crossed over [to China], [he] even saw **events** from the [personal] life of such a lady (HM III:313.6–7)

經をよみあかし給て
kyau-wo yom-i-akas-i-tamaf-ite
sutra-ACC read-INF-meet the dawn-INF-HON-SUB
[he] read **sutras** until the dawn and … (HM V:391.3)

In the next two examples *wo* marks the entire nominalized sentence, which becomes the object of the verb *mi-* 'to see'.

浪のいとしろくたつを見て
nami-no ito siro-ku tat-u-wo mi-te
wave-GEN very white-SUB rise-ATTR-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw **that the waves were rising with very white crests** and…(IM VII:115.5)

あさまのたけにけぶりのたつを見て
Asama-no take-ni keburi-no tat-u-wo mi-te
Asama-GEN peak-LOC smoke-GEN rise-ATTR-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw how the smoke rises at Asama peak and…(IM VIII:115.10–11)

(2) Peculiarities of usage

1 Some verbs of motion require the accusative case marker, being in fact quasi-intransitive verbs (Martin 1988: 186):

この人々のとし月をへてかうのみいましつつのたまふ事
kono fito-bito-no **tosi tuki-wo** fe-te ka-u nomi imas-itutu notamaf-u koto

Bahan dengan hak cipta

this person-person-GEN **year month-ACC** pass-COOR thus-INF PT exist (HON)-COOR say(HON)-ATTR thing
The fact that for (passing **through) years and months** continuously these people behave just like this and talk [about their love for you] (TM 32.6)

(Note that only the last member of the list is marked by *wo*.)

その山のそばひらをめぐれば
sono yama-no **soba-fira-wo** megur-e-ba
that mountain-GEN **side-leaf-ACC** circle-EV-CON
When [I] circled the **slopes** of that mountain . . . (TM 38.13)

かくこのくににはあまたのとしをへぬるになん有ける
ka-ku kono kuni-ni fa amata-no **tosi-wo** fe-n-uru n-i nan ar-iker-u
thus-INF this country-LOC TOP multitude-GEN **year-ACC** pass-PERF-ATTR DV-INF PT be-RETR2-ATTR
thus, [I] lived in this country (having passed through) many **years** (TM 60.7–8)

としをへてよばひわたりける
tosi-wo fe-te yobaf-i-watar-iker-u
year-ACC pass-SUB visit in the night-INF-cross-RETR2-ATTR
[he] visited [her] in the night through the **years** (IM VI:114.3–4)

昔おとこ後涼殿のはざまをわたりければ
mukasi otoko Kourauden-no **fazama-wo** watar-iker-e-ba
long ago man Kourauden-GEN **narrow space-ACC** cross over-RETR2-EV-CON
When long ago a man was crossing over the **narrow space** between Kōrōden [and Seiryōden] … (IM C:170.9)

うみやまをわけすぎにける
umi yama-wo wake-sugi-n-iker-u
sea mountain-ACC divide(INF)-cross-PERF-RETR2-ATTR
[he] has crossed **seas** and **mountains** (HM I:155.4)

(Note that in this example *wo* marks only the last member of the list.)

中のしやうじをとをりて
naka-no **syauzi-wo** towor-ite
inside-GEN **shōji-ACC** pass through-SUB
[he] passed through the inner **shōji** and . . . (HM II:247.7)

すなごのいみじうしろきをふつかみかゆく
sunago-no imizi-u **siro-ki-wo** futu-ka mi-ka yuk-u
sand-GEN extreme-INF **white-ATTR-ACC** two-CL three-CL go-FIN
[we] were walking **on** extremely **white** sand for two or three days (SN 32.4)

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2 The verbs *ide-* 'to go out', *fanare-* 'to part', and *tat-* 'to leave' normally require *wo* as a case marker for the starting point of the movement, though they can also take the ablative case marker *yori* (see 4.1.2.2.6):

わがくにのうちをはなれて
wa-ga kuni-no **uti-wo** fanare-te
we-POSS country-GEN **inside-ACC** part-SUB
[I] left **the limits** of our country (TM 37.13)

さかひをいでて
sakafi-wo ide-te
border-ACC go out-SUB
going out **from the border** (SN 26.7–8)

そこをたちて
soko-wo tat-ite
there-ACC leave-SUB
leaving **that place** (HM I:153.4)

3 In some rare cases *wo* can still be used in the language of Classical prose as a subject marker for inactive verbs, a feature typical of Old Japanese (Vovin 1997):

あまのは衣うちきせたてまつりつれば翁をいとおしくかなしとおぼしつる事もうせぬ
ama-no fa-^{n}goromo uti-ki-se-tatematur-it-ure-ba **okina-wo** ito osi-ku kanasi to obos-it-uru koto mo use-n-u
heaven-GEN feather-(GEN)garment PREF-put on-CAUS(INF)-HUM-PERF-EV-CON **old man-NOM** very pitiful-INF sad DV think(HON)-PERF-ATTR thing PT lose-PERF-FIN
when [they] made [her] put on the heavenly feather garment, [she] also stopped thinking that the **old man** was very pitiful and sad (TM 66.2–3)

(Note that in this example *okina-wo* cannot be treated as an object of *omof-* to 'think', because a sentence preceding defective verb *to*, which marks the end of a quote, always ends in a final form; that is, it is an independent sentence, and its subject always has subject marking (see, e.g. sections on case markers *ga* and *no* above). The same refers to the two following examples.)

世中をうしと思ひて
yo-no naka-wo usi to omof-ite
world-GEN inside-NOM unpleasant DV think-SUB
[she] thought that [their] **relationship** was unpleasant [to him] and . . . (IM XXI:124.5)

世のなかをつねにてあらんとおもふ身ならばこそ
yo-no naka-wo tune n-ite ar-an to omof-u mi nar-aba koso
world-GEN inside-NOM usual DV-SUB be-TENT/FIN DV think-ATTR body(= I) be-COND PT

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if I am the one who thinks that **life** will continue as usual (HM IV:327.2)

ひめ君をけふはこなたになおはせそ。さおもふやうありとて
Fime-gimi-wo kefu fa konata-ni na-ofase-so. Sa omof-u yau ar-i to-te
Fime-gimi-NOM today TOP here-ALL NEG-come(HON)-IMP so think-ATTR reason be-FIN DV-SUB
Hime-gimi said: 'Do not come here today. There is a reason [for me] to think that [you should not]' (HM IV:332.5–7)

(3) Special usage

The accusative case marker *wo* can also be used after the attributive form of a verb, serving as a conjunction with the meanings 'although' or 'because'. It is parallel to the similar usage of the case marker *ni* described above. Examples:

のちくやしき事もあるべきをとおもふ
noti kuyasi-ki koto mo ar-ube-ki-**wo** to omof-u
afterwards regretful-ATTR thing PT be-DEB-ATTR-**ACC** DV think-FIN
[I] think that [I don't want to marry] **because** afterwards there might be things [I] will regret (TM 32.8–9)

翁の命けふあすともしらぬをかくのたまふ君だちにもよくおもひさだめてつかうまつれと申もことはり也
okina-no inoti kefu asu to mo sir-an-u-**wo** ka-ku notamaf-u kin-dati-ni mo yo-ku omof-i sadame-te tukaumatur-e to mawos-u mo kotofari nar-i
old man-GEN life today tomorrow DV PT know-NEG-ATTR-**ACC** thus-INF say(HON)-ATTR lord-PLUR-LOC PT good-INF think-INF decide-SUB serve(HUM)-IMP DV say(HUM)-ATTR PT essence be-FIN
[I] was telling her, too: **Because** I [*lit.*: the old man] do not know whether [my] life [ends] today or tomorrow, choose well [someone] among the lords who are thus requesting [your hand], and marry [him] (TM 33.4–5)

それをほいにはあらで心ざしふかかりける人ゆきとぶらひけるをむ月の十日ばかりのほどにほかにかくれにけり
sore-wo foi n-i fa ar-ade kokorozasi fuka-k-ar-iker-u fito yuk-i toburaf-iker-u-**wo** mutuki-no towo-ka-bakari-no fodo-ni foka-ni kakure-n-iker-i
she-ACC original intention DV-INF TOP be-NEG/GER feeling deep-INF-be-RETR2-ATTR person go-INF visit-RETR2-ATTR-**ACC** first month-GEN ten-day-PT-GEN time-LOC other-LOC hide-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[Though she] was not [someone] of his original intentions, [he thought] of her as a person with deep feelings, and **although** [he] went to visit [her], on about the tenth day of the first lunar month [she] had secluded herself in a different place (IM IV:112.13–14)

をんなのえうまじかりけるをとしをへてよばひわたりけるをからうじてぬすみいでてていとくらきにきけり
wonna-no ye-u-mazi-k-ar-iker-u-**wo** tosi-wo fe-te yobaf-i watar-iker-u-wo karauzite nusum-i ide-te ito kura-ki-ni k-iker-i

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woman-GEN PREF-get-NEG/DEB-INF-be-RETR2-ATTR-ACC year-ACC pass-SUB go on the night date-INF cross over-RETR2-ATTR-**ACC** finally steal-INF go out-SUB very dark-ATTR-LOC come-RETR2-FIN
Although over the years he had been visiting a woman whom [he] could not get, finally [he] came when it was dark and stole [her] (IM VI:114.3–4)

ちちはこと人にあはせむといひけるをははなんあてなる人に心つけたりける
titi fa koto-fito-ni af-ase-m-u to if-iker-u-**wo** fafa nan ate nar-u fito-ni kokoro tuke-tar-iker-u
father TOP different-person-DAT meet-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV say-RETR2-ATTR-**ACC** mother PT noble be-ATTR person-ALL heart attach-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR
[Her] father said that [he] wanted to marry [her] to a different person, but the mother set her heart on a noble (IM X:118.3–4)

御やまひになりぬべきをよろづいのりまつはるるけに
mi-yamafi-ni nar-in-ube-ki-**wo** yorodu inor-i matuf-ar-uru ke n-i
PREF(HON)-illness DV-INF become-PERF-DEB-ATTR-**ACC** many pray-NML ask-PASS-ATTR reason DV-INF
Though [the Emperor] might have fallen sick(ness), because many prayers have been said…(HM I:163.7)

そはいとやすき御なぐさめにこそ侍なるをなどか
so fa ito yasu-ki mi-nagusame n-i koso faber-unar-u-**wo** nado ka
that TOP very easy-ATTR PREF(HON)-consolation DV-INF PT be(HON)-HS-ATTR-**ACC** why PT
Although that seems to be a very easy consolation [for you], why [don't you accept it?] (HM I:173.6)

をのれらだにおぼつかなふいぶせきをまいてことはりなり
wonore-ra dani obotukana-fu[6] ibuse-ki-**wo** maite kotofari nar-i
he-PLUR PT uneasy-INF gloomy-ATTR-**ACC** more reason be-FIN
since they were the only ones who were uneasy and gloomy, there was even more reason (HM II:218.15)

4.1.2.2.5 Case marker *to*

The case marker *to* has only one function in the language of Classical Japanese prose: comitative case marker. The comitative case indicates either that an action is undertaken jointly by two or more people together or that two objects share the same characteristics or features.

いやしきたくみらともろともにおなじ所にかくれゐたまひて
iyasi-ki **takumi-ra-to** moro-tomo n-i onazi tokoro-ni kakure-wi-tamaf-ite

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lowly-ATTR **craftsman-PLUR-COM** many-together DV-INF same place-LOC hide-be-HON-SUB
[he] was hiding together **with** lowly **craftsmen** in the the same place (TM 40.3)

武蔵のくにとしもつふさのくにとの中にいとおほきなる河あり
Musasi n-o kuni-to Simotufusa n-o kuni-to-no naka-ni ito ofo-ki-nar-u kafa ar-i
Musasi DV-ATTR province-COM Simotufusa DV-ATTR province-COM-GEN inside-LOC very big-ATTR-be-ATTR river be-FIN
there is a very big river between the **province Musasi and the province Simotufusa** (IM IX:117.6)

しろきとりのはしとあしとあかき
siro-ki tori-no **fasi-to asi-to** aka-ki
white-ATTR bird-GEN **beak-COM leg-COM** red-ATTR
a white bird, with a red **beak and** red **legs** (IM IX:117.10)

中納言とおもしろき所々いでおはしましつつ
tiunagon-to omosiro-ki tokoro-dokoro ide-ofasimas-itutu
chūnagon-COM beautiful-ATTR place-place go out(INF)-HON-COOR
[the Emperor] was going out **with the Chūnagon** all the time to beautiful places…(HM I:163.9)

とりははやしとちぎれり
tori fa **fayasi-to** tigir-er-i
bird TOP **forest-COM** vow-PROG-FIN
The bird is bound by vows **with forest** (HM IV:341.12)

4.1.2.2.6 Case marker *yori*

In the language of Classical Japanese prose the case marker *yori* has two functions: (1) an ablative case marker; (2) a comparative case marker. The second function is obviously a secondary one, derived from the basic meaning of the ablative case.

(1) Ablative case marker

The ablative case indicates a starting point of an action in space or time. Examples:

ちやうのうちよりも出さずいつきやしなふ
tyau-no uti-yori mo idas-azu ituk-i-yasinaf-u
screen-GEN inside-ABL PT put out-NEG/INF care for-INF-bring up-FIN
[they] cared for [her] and brought [her] up without letting her go **outside (from) the screen** (TM 29.13)

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難波より船にのりてうみの中にいでて
Nanifa-yori fune-ni nor-ite umi-no naka-ni ide-te
Nanifa-ABL ship-LOC board-SUB sea-GEN inside-ALL go out-SUB
[I] boarded the ship and sailed **out of Naniwa** to the sea (TM 37.9)

女山の中より出きて
wonna **yama-no naka-yori** ide-k-ite
woman **mountain-GEN inside-ABL** go out(INF)-come-SUB
a woman came out **from the mountain** and…(TM 38.8)

かどよりもえいらで
kado-yori mo ye-ir-ade
gate-ABL PT PREV-enter-NEG/GER
[he] could not enter **from the gate**, either, and…(IM V:113.9)

ついひぢのくづれよりかよひけり
tuifidi-no **kudure-yori** kayof-iker-i
earthen wall-GEN **break-ABL** go back and forth-RETR2-FIN
[he] was going **through the break** in the earthen wall (IM V:113.9)

友だちどもにみちよりいひおこせける
tomodati-domo-ni **miti yori** if-i okose-ker-u
friend-PLUR-DAT **way-ABL** say-INF send-RETR2-ATTR
from [his] journey [he] sent [this poem] to [his] friends … (IM XI:118.12–13)

おほきなるやまよりたきたかくおちたる
ofo-ki-nar-u **yama-yori** taki taka-ku oti-tar-u
big-ATTR be-ATTR **mountain-ABL** waterfall high-INF fall-PERF/PROG-ATTR
a waterfall was cascading (high) **from the big mountain** (HM I:158.15–16)

いまよりはかたとき見たてまつらで
ima-yori fa kata-toki mi-tatematur-ade
now-ABL TOP single-time see(INF)-HUM-NEG/GER
Without seeing [you] **from now on** for a short time…(HM I:179.3–4)

き丁のしたより
kityau-no **sita-yori**
screen-GEN **bottom-ABL**
from beneath the screen (HM III:324.6)

Like the case markers *ga* and *wo*, *yori* can also mark a nominalized clause, meaning 'from/since the time when', 'as soon as':

かのはちをすてて又いひけるよりぞおもなきことをばはぢをすつるとはいひける
kano fati-wo sute-te mata if-iker-u-yori zo omo-na-ki koto-woba fadi-wo sut-uru to fa if-iker-u

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that bowl-ACC throw away-SUB again say-RETR2-ATTR-ABL PT face-no-ATTR thing-ACC (EMPH) shame-ACC throw away-ATTR DV PT say-RETR2-ATTR
from the [time] when [he] threw away that bowl and recited [this poem], they call something shameful '[He] threw away his shame' (TM 35.4–5)

中納言のかくわたるとききたまひしよりあはれにゆかしくおぼされし
tiunagon-no ka-ku watar-u to kik-i-tamaf-isi-yori afare n-i yukasi-ku obos-are-si
chūnagon-GEN thus-INF cross over-FIN DV hear-INF-HON-RETR1/ATTR-ABL very DV-INF curious-INF think(HON)-PASS-RETR1/ATTR
since [she] heard that the Chūnagon had thus crossed over [to China], [she] was very curious…(HM I:165.2)

大弐の申たるをうちきくよりむね心さはぎまどふに
Daini-no mawos-itar-u-wo uti-kik-u-yori mune kokoro safag-i-madof-u-ni
Daini-GEN say(HUM)-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC PREF-hear-ATTR-ABL chest heart be excited-INF-be bewildered-ATTR-LOC
as soon as [he] heard what Daini had said, he became excited and bewildered…(HM V:439.12–13)

(2) Comparative case marker

The comparative case indicates that someone does something to a different extent from someone else, or that two things have different qualities. In most but not all cases, the case marker *yori* in this function is followed by the particle *mo*. Examples:

火にやけぬ事よりもけうらなる事限なし
fi-ni yake-n-u koto-yori mo keura nar-u koto kagiri na-si
fire-LOC burn-NEG-ATTR thing-COMP PT beauty be-ATTR thing limit no-FIN
Even more important **than the fact that [it] does not burn** is the fact that [it] is beautiful (TM 38.3)

かひをえとらずなりにけるよりも人のききわらはんことを日にそへておもひ給ければ
kafi-wo ye-tor-azu nar-in-iker-u-yori mo fito-no kik-i-waraf-an koto-wo fi-ni sofe-te omof-i-tamaf-iker-e-ba
shell-ACC PREF-take-NEG/INF become-PERF-RETR2-ATTR-COMP PT person-GEN hear-INF-laugh-TENT/FIN thing-ACC day-LOC follow-SUB think-INF-HON-RETR2-EV-CON
because [he] grieved for many days more about the fact that people would laugh [at him] **than about the fact that [he] was not able to get the shell** (TM 53.3–4)

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つねよりも物思ひたる
tune-yori mo mono omof-itar-u
usual-COMP PT thing think-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[she] was thinking **more [deeply] than usual** (TM 58.9–10)

その人かたちよりは心なんまさりたりける
sono fito **katati-yori** fa kokoro nan masar-itar-iker-u
that lady **looks-COMP** TOP heart PT be superior-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR
The heart of that lady was superior to her looks (IM II:111.13–112.1)

いにしへよりもあはれにてなむかよひける
inisife-yori mo afare n-ite namu kayof-iker-u
old times-ABL PT dear DV-SUB PT visit-RETR2-ATTR
[she] was dearer [to him] **(more) than before** and [he] was visiting [her] (IM XXII:126.3)

つねのつかひよりはこの人よくいたはれ
tune-no **tukafi-yori** fa kono fito yo-ku itafar-e
usual-GEN **messenger-COMP** TOP this person good-INF treat-IMP
Treat this person better **than** a usual **messenger** (IM LXIX:150.8)

このいしききしよりは見るはまされり
kono isi **kik-isi-yori** fa mi-ru fa masar-er-i
this stone **hear-RETR1/ATTR-COMP** TOP see-ATTR TOP be superior-PROG-FIN
It was better to see this stone **than to hear about** [it] (*i.e.* its appearance surpassed its reputation) (IM LXXVIII:156.13)

あらきうみのうへの波よりもなきながす涙
ara-ki umi-no ufe-no **nami-yori** mo nak-i-nagas-u namida
rough-ATTR sea-GEN top-GEN **wave-COMP** PT cry-INF-pour-ATTR tear
[he] shed [more] tears **than (there are) waves** on the surface of a rough sea (HM II:216.7)

よしのの山となにながれたるよりもなをおくなるみよしのといふところ
Yosino-no yama to na n-i **nagare-tar-u-yori** mo nawo oku-nar-u Miyosino to if-u tokoro
Yosino-GEN mountain DV name DV-INF **flow-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ABL** PT still deep-be-ATTR Miyosino DV say-ATTR place
a place called Miyosino, more distant **than those which are known** under the name of the Yosino mountains (HM III:264.1–2)

4.1.2.2.7 Case marker *kara*

Kara is an ablative case marker and is new in the language of Classical Japanese prose: no examples are attested in *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*.[7]

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It appears only a few times in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* and in all cases it is used as an ablative marker in a figurative sense:

心からしらぬせかいにあけくらす
kokoro-kara sir-an-u sekai-ni ake-kuras-u
heart-ABL know-NEG-ATTR world-LOC wake(INF)-go to bed-ATTR
[He] spent days and nights in the unknown world **of his own will** (HM I:168.8–9)

我心からかうもおもひやすらひ
wa-ga **kokoro-kara** ka-u mo omof-i-yasuraf-i
I-POSS **heart-ABL** thus-INF PT think-INF-hesitate-INF
[I] was thus hesitating in (*lit.*: **from**) my **heart** and…(HM V:334.15)

4.1.2.2.8 Case marker *fe*

Fe is a marker of the allative case. It originated from the noun *fe* (OJ *pye* 'side') (Tsukishima 1969: 552), but in the language of Classical Japanese prose it is already grammaticalized for the most part, although there are still cases when it is used as a true noun, e.g.:

かたへの人
kata fe-no fito
side side-GEN person
people **nearby** (IM LXXXVII:164.6)

かたへのうらみどももいとむつかし
kata fe-no urami-domo mo ito mutukasi
side side-GEN hatred-PLUR PT very troublesome
Hatred of the nearby [empresses] is very troublesome, too (HM I:196.6)

There is an opinion that *fe* could only be used with an animate agent who moves by himself/herself to some point or moves another person or object to this point (Syromiatnikov 1983: 65). However, I found one example in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* where *fe* is used in a passive construction with an animate patient, who is directed or sent somewhere by someone else.

いへへもちてきぬ
ife-fe mot-ite k-in-u
house-ALL hold-SUB come-PERF-FIN
[he] brought [her] **to [his] house** (TM 29.7)

天ぢくへ石のはちとりにまかる
Tendiku-fe isi-no fati tor-i-ni makar-u
India-ALL stone-GEN bowl take-NML-ALL go(HUM)-FIN
[I] will go **to India** to get the stone bowl (TM 34.8)

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ふかき山へ入給ひぬ
fuka-ki **yama-fe** ir-i-tamaf-in-u
deep-ATTR **mountain-ALL** enter-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
[he] entered deep **mountains** (TM 41.7)

おとこあづまへゆきけるに
otoko **Aduma-fe** yuk-iker-u-ni
man **Aduma-ALL** go-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
when the man went **to Azuma** (IM XI:118.12)

むさしのへゐてゆくほどに
Musasi-no-fe wi-te yuk-u fodo-ni
Musasi-field-ALL bring-SUB go-ATTR time-LOC
at the time when [he] was bringing [her] **to the fields of Musashi** (IM XII:119.2–3)

おとこ京へなんまかるとて
otoko **miyako-fe** nan makar-u to-te
man **capital-ALL** PT go(HUM)-FIN DV-SUB
The man said: 'I will go **to the capital**' and…(IM XIV:120.8)

御消息などもここへな給はせそ
go-seusoku-nado mo **koko-fe** na-tamaf-ase-so
PREF(HON)-letter-REPR PT **here-ALL** TOP NEG-give(HON)-CAUS-IMP
Please do not send letters **here**, either (HM I:180.13)

中宮の御かたへまいり給へり
Tiuguu-no on-kata-fe mair-i-tamaf-er-i
first empress-GEN PREF(HON)-side-ALL go(HUM)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN
[he] went **to the First Empress** (HM II:251.3)

つくしへはなたれおはせし
Tukusi-fe fanat-are-ofase-si
Tukusi-ALL exile-PASS(INF)-be(HON)-RETR1/ATTR
[he] was exiled **to Tsukushi** (HM III:279.15)

4.1.2.2.9 Case marker *made*

Made is a marker of the terminative case. It indicates the limit of a movement or other action in time or space; in other words, the point beyond which the action does not reach. Examples:

みな難波まで御をくりしける
mina **Nanifa-made** mi-wokur-i s-iker-u
everybody **Nanifa-TERM** PREF(HON)-see off-NML do-RETR-ATTR
everybody [went] **as far as Naniwa** to see [the Prince] off (TM 35.9)

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今まですごし侍りつるなり
ima-made sugos-i-faber-it-uru nar-i
now-TERM postpone-INF-POL-PERF-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN
[I] was postponing [telling you] **until now** (TM 59.13)

むかしおとこ武蔵のくにまでまどひありきけり
mukasi otoko **Musasi n-o kuni-made** madof-i-arik-iker-i
long ago man **Musasi DV-ATTR province-TERM** wander-INF-walk-RETR2-FIN
Long ago a man went wandering **as far as Musashi province** (IM X:118.2)

よるの物までをくりて
yoru-no mono-made wokur-ite
night-GEN thing-TERM send-SUB
[he] sent [everything], **even [her] night garment** (*lit.*: thing) (IM XVI:121.14)

昔おとこつくしまでいきたりけるに
mukasi otoko **Tukusi-made** ik-itar-iker-u-ni
long ago man **Tukusi-TERM** go PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
Long ago, when a man was going **as far as Tsukushi** (IM LXI:144.6)

大弐も御をくりにせきまでまいる
Daini mo mi-wokur-i-ni **seki-made** mair-u
Daini PT PREF(HON)-see off-NML-ALL **barrier-TERM** go(HUM)-FIN
Daini went to see [the Chūnagon] off **as far as the barrier**, too (HM II: 240.6–7)

いままでこれに候ける
ima-made kore-ni saburaf-iker-u
now-TERM he-DAT serve-RETR2-ATTR
[you] served him **until now** (HM V:419.1)

Similar to the case markers *ga*, *wo*, and *yori*, *made* can also mark a nominalized clause, meaning 'until':

この人々ども帰るまでいもゐをしてわれはをらん
kono fito-bito-domo **kafer-u-made** imowi-wo s-ite ware fa wor-an
this person-person-PLUR **return-ATTR-TERM** fasting-ACC do-SUB I TOP sit-TENT/FIN
Until these people (you) **return**, I will be fasting (TM 45.16–46.1)

つかはしし人はよるひるまち給に年こゆるまでおともせず
tukafas-isi fito fa yoru firu mat-i-tamaf-u-ni tosi **koy-uru-made** oto mo se-zu
send-RETR1/ATTR person TOP night day wait-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC year **cross over-ATTR-TERM** sound PT do-NEG/INF
[the Dainagon] waited day and night for the people whom [he] had sent but by the end of the year (*lit.*: **until the year ended**), there had been no word [from them] and … (TM 46.12)

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月のかたぶくまでふせりて
tuki-no **katabuk-u-made** fus-er-ite
moon-GEN **set-ATTR-TERM** lie-down-PROG-SUB
[he] was lying down **until** the moon **set** (IM IV:113.3)

4.1.2.2.10 Double case markers

In sharp contrast to the Modern Japanese language which frequently uses different combinations of double case markers, only the following two combinations of double case markers are attested:

(1) ***To-no***

武蔵のくにとしもつふさのくにとの中にいとおほきなる河あり
Musasi n-o kuni-to Simotufusa n-o kuni-to-no naka-ni ito ofo-ki-nar-u kafa ar-i
Musasi DV-ATTR province-COM Simotufusa DV-ATTR province-COM-GEN inside-LOC very big-ATTR-be-ATTR river be-FIN
there is a very big river **between the province Musasi and the province Simotufusa** (IM IX:117.6)

しもつさのくにとむさしとのさかひにて
Simotusa n-o kuni-to Musasi-to-no sakafi n-ite
Simotusa DV-ATTR province-COM Musasi-COM-GEN border DV-SUB
being at the border **of Simotusa province and Musasi** (SN 27.9)

(2) ***Made-ni***

The following two examples are attested exclusively in the poetic part of *Ise monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*:

今までにわすれぬ人
ima-made-ni wasure-n-u fito
now-TERM-LOC forget-NEG-ATTR person
the person whom [I] do not forget [even] **until now** (IM LXXXVI:163.3)

月影のうかべる水はくむまでにあはれいくよをながめきぬらん
tuki kage-no ukab-er-u midu fa **kum-u-made-ni** afare ik-u yo-wo nagame-k-in-uran
moon light-GEN float-PROG-ATTR water TOP **scoop-ATTR-TERM-LOC** sadness go-ATTR life-ACC look at(INF)-come-PERF-TENT/FIN
[I] am watching life go sadly by like water on which moonlight is floating, **until [someone] scoops** [it] up (HM I:177.9)

(This example comes from a poem.)

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4.1.2.2.11 Zero case marker

By 'zero case marker' I understand the absence of a case marker. Japanese historical linguists usually do not discuss zero case marker -Ø; the only exception known to me is Suzuki (1975), where zero case marker is treated as a 'nominative' case with the following five functions: nominative, objective, temporal, vocative, and predicative (Suzuki 1975: 60). The same attitude prevails in Western works on Classical Japanese: zero case marker is not described. N. Syromiatnikov even went so far as to claim that 'absence of a case marker demonstrates that there is no case' (Syromiatnikov 1972: 109). However, it is necessary to discuss such cases, since 'case' is not an entirely morphological category. Therefore, absence of morphological marking does not imply absence of case, because a morphologically unmarked word still has a certain syntactic function.

Zero case marker can correspond syntactically to the majority (but not all) of the case markers described above. Most frequently, it replaces case markers *ga*, *no*, and *wo*, but there are instances when case markers *ni* and *to* can also be omitted. Zero case marker is used in the following functions in our texts.

(1) Nominative case marker in the main clause

This is the most typical function of the zero case marker, and it must be mentioned that the subject in the main clause is much more often left unmarked than it is marked by the case markers *ga* or *no*. Examples:

この人々家にかへりて
ko-no **fito-bito** ife-ni kafer-ite
this-GEN **person-person-Ø** house-LOC return-SUB
these **people** returned home and … (TM 31.9–10)

おきなかぐや姫にいふ
okina Kaguya-fime-ni if-u
old man-Ø Kaguya-Fime-DAT say-FIN
The old man says to Kaguya-hime (TM 31.13)

かかる程におとこども六人つらねて庭に出きたり
kakar-u fodo-ni **otoko-domo** roku-nin turane-te nifa-ni ide-k-itar-i
be such-ATTR time-LOC **man-PLUR-Ø** six-CL go in line-SUB garden-LOC appear-come-PERF/PROG-FIN
at this time, six **men** appeared in the garden (TM 39.12)

その女世人にはまされりけり
sono **wonna** yo-no fito-ni fa masar-er-iker-i
that **woman-Ø** world-GEN person-DAT TOP be superior-PROG-RETR2-FIN
That **woman** was superior to [other] women (of the world) (IM II:111.13)

むかしおとこみちのくににすずろにゆきいたりにけり
mukasi **otoko** Mitinokuni-ni suzuro n-i yuk-i-itar-in-iker-i

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long ago **man-Ø** Mitinoku-province-ALL aimless DV-INF go-INF-REACH-PERF-RETR2-FIN
Long ago, **a man** went aimlessly to Mitinoku province (IM XIV:120.2)

みこたちおはしまさせて
miko-tati ofasimas-ase-te
Prince-PLUR(HON)-Ø come-CAUS-SUB
[He] made **the princes** come and … (IM LXXXI:158.4)

御むかへの人々まいりたり
ofòn-mukafe-no **fito-bito** mair-itar-i
PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-GEN **person-person-Ø** come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
people, meeting [the Chūnagon], have come (HM I:154.12)

せきの人おどろきてそのとをあく
seki-no fito odorok-ite sono to-wo ak-u
barrier-GEN person-Ø be surprised-SUB that gate-ACC open-FIN
The guards of the barrier were surprised and opened that gate (HM I:154.6–7)

ところのさまほかよりもいみじくめでたく
tokoro-no **sama** foka-yori mo imizi-ku medeta-ku
place-GEN **view-Ø** other-COMP PT extreme-INF beautiful-INF
The **view** of [that] place was much more beautiful than the others … (HM IV:356.14)

(2) Nominative case marker in a dependent clause

Normally, the subject in a modifying dependent clause is marked by the case markers *no* or *ga*, but there are some cases when it is left unmarked, as the last two examples demonstrate. In other types of dependent clauses, zero case marking is more frequent than usage of *no* or *ga*, although these latter two are not as infrequent as in the case of subject marking in a main clause. Examples:

竹とりのおきな竹をとるに
Taketori n-o okina take-wo tor-u-ni
Taketori DV-ATTR old man-Ø bamboo-ACC take-ATTR-LOC
When the **old man Taketori** gathered bamboo … (TM 29.9)

このこいとおほきに成ぬれば
kono ko ito ofo-ki n-i nar-in-ure-ba
this child-Ø very big-ATTR DV-INF become-PERF-EV-CON
When **this child** grew up … (TM 30.2)

翁ここちあしくくるしき時
okina **kokoti** asi-ku kurusi-ki toki
old man **mood-Ø** bad-INF distressing-ATTR time
when the old man's **mood** was bad and distressing (TM 29.14)

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昔おとこつくしまでいきたりけるに
mukasi **otoko** Tukusi-made ik-itar-iker-u-ni
long ago **man-Ø** Tukusi-TERM go-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
Long ago when **a man** was going as far as Tsukushi (IM LXI:144.6)

昔おとこ後涼殿のはざまをわたりければ
mukasi **otoko** Kourauden-no fazama-wo watar-iker-e-ba
long ago **man-Ø** Kourauden-GEN narrow space-ACC cross over-RETR2-EV-CON
Long ago when **a man** was crossing through the narrow space between Kōrōden [and Seiryōden]…(IM C:170.9)

日くれぬればせきのもとにとまりたまひぬ
fi kure-n-ure-ba seki-no moto-ni tomar-i-tamaf-in-u
sun-Ø set down-PERF-EV-CON barrier-GEN base-LOC stop-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
since **the sun** had already set [the Chūnagon] stopped at the barrier (HM I:154.2–3)

いへいへの人いでてみさはぐさま
ife-ife-no **fito** ide-te mi-safag-u sama
house-house-GEN **person-Ø** go out-SUB look(INF)-make noise-ATTR sight
the sight of how **people** from the houses went out and were watching, making noise (HM I: 153.9)

(3) Accusative case marker

わびうたなどかきて
wabi-uta-nado kak-ite
grieve-song-REPR-Ø write-SUB
[they] wrote **grieving songs, among other things** (TM 31.6)

天ぢくへ石のはちとりにまかる
Tendiku-fe isi-no **fati** tor-i-ni makar-u
India-ALL stone-GEN **bowl-Ø** take-NML-ALL go(HUM)-FIN
[I] will go to India to get the stone **bowl** (TM 34.8)

あまのは衣うちきせたてまつりつれば
ama-no fa-goromo uti-ki-se-tatematur-it-ure-ba
heaven-GEN feather-garment-Ø PREF-put on-CAUS(INF)-HUM-PERF-EV-CON
when [they] made [her] put on the **heavenly feather garment** (TM 66.2)

わがかかる心やめ給へ
wa-ga kakar-u **kokoro** yame-tamaf-e
I-POSS be such-ATTR **spirit-Ø** stop(INF)-HON-IMP
Please heal this very lustful spirit of mine! (*lit.*: Please stop such a [lustful] **spirit** of mine!) (IM LXV:147.13)

Bahan dengan hak cipta

つねのつかひよりはこの人よくいたはれ
tune-no tukafi-yori fa **kono fito** yo-ku itafar-e
usual-GEN messenger-COMP TOP **this person-Ø** good-INF treat-IMP
Treat **this person** better than a usual messenger (IM LXIX:150.8)

人々うたよみけり
fito-bito **uta** yom-iker-i
person-person **poem-Ø** recite-RETR2-FIN
people were reciting **poems** (IM LXXIX:157.4)

おもしろき宮つくりて
omosiro-ki **miya** tukur-ite
beautiful-ATTR **palace-Ø** make-SUB
[they] built a beautiful **palace** and … (HM I:156.2)

三のみことく見たてまつらん
mi-tu n-o **miko** to-ku mi-tatematur-an
three-CL DV-ATTR **prince-Ø** fast-INF see(INF)-HUM-TENT/ATTR
[I] want to see the Third **Prince** soon (HM I:155.4)

きさきおぼしやるに
kisaki obos-i-yar-u-ni
empress-Ø think(HON)-INF-send-ATTR-LOC
When [the Chūnagon] remembered **the Empress** … (HM V:397.10)

In the following two examples the zero case marker replaces *wo* in its special usage (see 4.1.2.2.4):

やまこえはてぬれば
yama koye-fate-n-ure-ba
mountain-Ø cross(INF)-finish-PERF-EV-CON
when [they] finished crossing **the mountains** (HM I:154.2)

(In this example the verb *koye-* 'to cross' requires *wo*.)

くもかすみはるかにへだてて
kumo kasumi faruka n-i fedate-te
cloud mist-Ø far DV-INF part-SUB
[he] went away for a great distance **from clouds and mist** (HM I:155.2)

(In this example the verb *fedate-* 'to part' requires *wo*.)

(4) Locative case marker (both temporal and spatial meanings)

このおとこかいまみてけり
kono otoko **kai-ma** mi-te-ker-i

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this man **fence-space-Ø** see-PERF-RETR2-FIN
This man peered [at them] **through the fence** (IM I:111.3–4)

そのまたのひみこかうやうくゑんにいでたまひぬとききて
sono mata-no fi miko Kauyaukuwen-ni ide-tamaf-in-u to kik-ite
that again-GEN day-Ø prince Kauyaukuwen-ALL go out(INF)-HON-PERF-FIN DV hear-SUB
On the next day, having heard that the Prince had gone to Kauyaukuwen … (HM I:158.9)

大里の ほとりちかく
dairi-no **fotori** tika-ku
imperial palace-GEN **surroundings-Ø** close-INF
close **to the surroundings** of the imperial palace (HM I:166.2)

(5) Genitive case marker

翁こころあしくくるしき時
okina kokoti asi-ku kurusi-ki toki
old man-Ø mood bad-INF distressing-ATTR time
when **the old man's** mood was bad and distressing (TM 29.14)

(In this example *okina* 'old man' can be also analysed as the topic.)

しなののくにあさまのたけ
Sinano n-o kuni Asama n-o take
Sinano DV-ATTR province-Ø Asama DV-ATTR peak
the Asama peak **of Sinano province** (IM VIII:115.10)

五条わたりにいとしのびていきけり
go-zyau watari-ni ito sinob-ite ik-iker-i
fifth ward-Ø vicinity-LOC very be secret-SUB go-RETR2-FIN
[he] went very secretly to the vicinity **of the Fifth Ward** (IM V:113.8)

人めには
fito me-ni fa
person-Ø eye-LOC TOP
in the **people's** eyes (HM I:157.1)

ふみつくりあそび
fumi **tukur-i** asob-i
text **make-INF-Ø** play-INF
a game **of composing** texts (HM I:158.6)

(6) Comitative case marker

おとこゆみやなぐひをおひて
otoko **yumi ya nagufi-wo** of-ite

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man **bow-Ø arrow-Ø quiver-ACC** hold-SUB
The man was holding **bow, arrows, and quiver** … (IM VI:114.7–8)

かたちありさまひかるやうにみゆる
katati arisama fikar-u yau n-i mi-y-uru
looks-Ø appearance shine-ATTR view DV-INF see-PASS-ATTR
it seemed as if [the Chūnagon's] **looks and appearance** shone (HM I:154.14)

みこたち大じんくぎやうあつまりて
miko-tati daizin kugyau atumar-ite
prince-PLUR minister nobleman gather-SUB
Princes, ministers, and noblemen gathered and…(HM I:158.6)

朝ゆふの身の歎
asa yufu-no mi-no nageki
morning-Ø evening-GEN body-GEN grief
my grief **in the morning and in the evening** (HM V:417.8)

(7) Allative case marker

中納言とおもしろき所々いでおはしましつつ
tiunagon-to omosiro-ki **tokoro-dokoro** ide-ofasimas-itutu
chūnagon-COM beautiful-ATTR **place-place-Ø** go out(INF)-be(HON)-COOR
[the Emperor] was going out with the Chūnagon all the time **to beautiful places** … (HM I:163.9)

4.1.2.3 *Frequentative*

Besides plural and case markers, the language of Classical Japanese prose also has the frequentative suffix *gati*, following a noun and indicating that the object or phenomenon it expresses occurs or appears frequently. *Gati* does not occur in the earlier texts. Examples:

さとがちになり給ひぬ
sato-gati-ni nar-i-tamaf-in-u
residence-FR-LOC be-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
[the Prince] has been **frequently** [staying] **in the** [outer] **residence** (HM I:157.6)

しらぬことばがちにて
sir-an-u **kotoba-gati** n-ite
know-NEG-ATTR **word-FR** DV-SUB
[there] were **many** unfamiliar **words** (HM I:174.10–11)

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さとがちにこそあらめ
sato-gati-ni koso ar-am-e
village-FR-LOC PT be-TENT-EV
[she] is probably **frequently in the village** (HM II:249.6)

4.1.3 Temporal and spatial nouns

Besides ordinary nouns, such as *te* 'hand', *miko* 'Prince', *tera* 'temple', etc., there are two special subclasses of nouns in Classical Japanese: temporal and spatial nouns, and adjectival nouns. The latter will be discussed in subsection 4.1.4. They can be treated separately as they have special morphosyntactic features, not typical of other nouns.

4.1.3.1 *Temporal nouns*

Such nouns as *inisife* 'old times', *mukasi* 'long ago', *kefu* 'today', *kinofu* 'yesterday', *ima* 'now', etc., belong to the subclass of temporal nouns. They have two formal features differentiating them from ordinary nouns: (1) they do not combine with plural markers; (2) they are seldom followed by the case marker *ni* even when used in the function of an adverbial modifier. In other respects, temporal nouns behave like any other nouns. Examples:

昨日けふ御かどのの給はんこと
kinofu kefu mikado-no notamaf-an koto
yesterday today emperor-GEN say(HON)-TENT/ATTR thing
what the Emperor says **yesterday [or] today** (TM 56.2–3)

なにはより昨日なんみやこにまうできつる
Nanifa-yori **kinofu** nan miyako-ni maude-k-it-uru
Nanifa-ABL **yesterday** PT capital-LOC come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR
[I] came **yesterday** from Naniwa to the capital (TM 39.4)

いにしへよりもあはれにてなむかよひける
inisife-yori mo afare n-ite namu kayof-iker-u
old times-ABL PT dear DV-SUB PT visit-RETR2-ATTR
[she] was dearer [to him] **than before** and [he] was visiting [her] (IM XXII:126.3)

いにしへのこと
inisife-no koto
old times-GEN thing
things **of the past** (IM LXXXIII:161.4–5)

昔をわすれぬに
mukasi-wo wasure-n-u-ni
long ago-ACC forget-NEG-ATTR-LOC
since [the Prince] did not forget **the past** (HM I:156.9)

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いまはこのやまにてなんみをもかくし
ima fa kono yama n-ite nan mi-wo mo kakus-i
now TOP this mountain DV-SUB PT body-ACC PT hide-INF
now [she] is hiding in these mountains (HM III:323.5)

むかしの御かたみ
mukasi-no mi-katami
long ago-GEN PREF(HON)-parting gift
his parting gift **of long ago** (HM V:417.7)

4.1.3.2 *Spatial nouns*

Such nouns as *ufe* 'top', *sita* 'bottom', *mafe* 'front', *naka* 'inside', *to* 'outside', etc., belong to the subclass of spatial nouns. Like temporal nouns, they do not combine with plural markers. Another peculiarity of spatial nouns is that they can be used as quasi-postpositions in the the construction: N + no (GEN) + Spatial N + case marker. The following spatial nouns are used as quasi-postpositions in the language of Classical Japanese prose: *ufe* 'top', *sita* 'below', *mafe* 'front', *noti* 'after', *siri* 'behind', *usiro* 'behind', *kuma* 'corner', *to* 'outside', *uti* 'inside', *naka* 'inside', *moto* 'base', and *kata* 'side'. Examples:

(1) *Ufe* 'top'

ついぢの上に千人屋のうへに千人
tuidi-no ufe-ni sen-nin **ya-no ufe-ni** sen-nin
earthen wall-GEN top-LOC thousand-person(CL) **house-GEN top-LOC** thousand-person(CL)
a thousand people **on the earthen wall**, a thousand people **on the [roof of the] house** (TM 61.9–10)

草のうへにをきたりけるつゆ
kusa-no ufe-ni wok-itar-iker-u tuyu
grass-GEN top-LOC lie-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR dew
he dew, which lay **on the grass** (IM VI:114.5)

みな人かれいひのうへになみだおとして
mina fito **kare-ifi-no ufe-ni** namida otos-ite
all person **dry-rice-GEN top-LOC** tear drop-SUB
Everyone shed tears **on the dried rice** and … (IM IX:116.11)

ろうだいのうへに
roudai-no **ufe-ni**
pavilion-GEN **top-LOC**
on the pavilion (HM I:214.3)

なみのうへに
nami-no **ufe-ni**

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wave-GEN **top-LOC**
on the waves (HM II:216.2)

いほのうへにかきのおちたる
ifo-no ufe-ni kaki-no oti-tar-u
shack-GEN top-LOC persimmon-GEN fall-PERF/PROG-ATTR
the persimmons were falling **on the shack** (SN 37.2–3)

(2) ***Sita*** **'below', 'under'**

あめのしたのいろごのみ
ame-no sita-no iro-gonomi
heaven-GEN bottom-GEN lust-loving
[the most] amorous person '**Under Heaven**' (IM XXXIX:134.7)

やなぎのしたにあぐらどもたてなめて
yanagi-no sita-ni agura-domo tate-name-te
willow-GEN bottom-LOC high seat-PLUR place(INF)-put in a row-SUB
[they] put high seats in a row **under the willows** (HM I:171.15)

き丁のしたより
kityau-no **sita-yori**
screen-GEN **bottom-ABL**
from beneath the screen (HM III:324.6)

かきのきのしたに
kaki-no **ki-no sita-ni**
persimmon-GEN **tree-GEN bottom-LOC**
under the persimmon **tree** (SN 37.2)

きのしたのわづかなるに
ki-no sita-no waduka nar-u-ni
tree-GEN bottom-GEN small be-ATTR-LOC
because [the space] beneath the trees was small (SN 37.2)

(In this example *sita* 'below', 'under' behaves, not like a quasi-postposition, but rather like an ordinary noun, since it is the subject of the dependent clause.)

(3) ***Mafe*** **'front'**

あるごたちのつぼねのまへをわたりけるに
aru go-tati-no **tubone no mafe-wo** watar-iker-u-ni
certain lady(HON)-PLUR-GEN **apartment-GEN front-ACC** pass-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
when [he] was passing **in front of the apartment** of one of the attendants (IM XXXI:130.11)

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もと見し人のまへにいできて
moto mi-si **fito-no mafe-ni** ide-k-ite
base see-RETR1/ATTR **person-GEN front-LOC** go out(INF)-come-SUB
[she] came out **in front of the person** whom [she] used to see before and … (IM LXII:144.13)

だうのまへにたてたれば
dau-no mafe-ni tate-tar-e-ba
main hall-GEN front-LOC place-PERF/PROG-EV-CON
because [they] placed [offerings] **in front of the main hall** (IM LXXVII:155.7)

かうそうのまへのせんざい
kausou-no mafe-no senzai
high building-GEN front-GEN plants
the plants **in front of the high building** (HM I:157.7)

いほのまへに
ifo-no **mafe-ni**
shack-GEN **front-LOC**
in front of the shack (SN 33.1)

いへのまへをすぐれば
ife-no mafe-wo sug-ure-ba
house-GEN front-ACC pass-EV-CON
[we] passed **in front of the house** (SN 80.11)

(4) ***Noti*** **'after'**

This quasi-postposition may also be used after the *-(i)te* gerund form of a verb. Its peculiarity is that it is seldom marked with the locative case marker *-ni*:

そののちなむ門ひろくもなり侍る
sono noti namu kado firo-ku mo nar-i-faber-u
that after PT gate wide-INF PT become-INF-POL-ATTR
After that the gate of their house becomes wide (TM 32.3)

其後翁女ちの涙をながして
sono noti okina wonna ti-no namida-wo nagas-ite
that after old man woman blood-GEN tear-ACC pour-SUB
After that the old man and woman shed tears like blood and … (TM 66.6)

この子をみつけて後竹とるに
kono ko-wo **mi-tuke-te noti** take tor-u-ni
this child-ACC **see(INF)-attach-SUB after** bamboo take-ATTR-LOC
when [he] was gathering bamboo **after [he] found** this child (TM 29.9)

をこせてのちをともせずなりにければ
wokose-te noti woto mo se-zu nar-in-iker-e-ba

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send-SUB after sound PT do-NEG/INF be-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON
because there was no message [from him] **after [he] sent** [this letter] (IM XIII:119.10–11)

えてのちの事なりけり
ye-te noti-no koto nar-iker-i
receive-SUB after-GEN thing be-RETR2-FIN
This matter happened **after [he] had become intimate** [with the woman] (IM CVII:174.5)

(5) ***Siri*** **'behind'**

女いとかなしくてしりにたちてをひゆけど
wonna ito kanasi-ku-te **siri-ni** tat-ite wof-i-yuk-e-do
woman very sad-INF-SUB **behind-LOC** stand-SUB follow-INF-go-EV-CONC
The woman was very sad, and though [she] followed **behind** [him] … (IM XXIV:128.9–10)

しりにたちて
siri-ni tat-ite
behind-LOC stand-SUB
standing **behind** [the father] (SN 92.9)

(6) ***Usiro*** **'behind'**

びやうぶのうしろにて
byaubu-no **usiro n-ite**
screen-GEN **behind DV-SUB**
being behind the screen (TSM 373.10)

(7) ***Kuma*** **'corner', 'invisible inner part'**

さるべきもののくまにたちかくれて
sar-ube-ki **mono-no kuma-ni** tat-i-kakure-te
be such-DEB-ATTR **thing-GEN corner-LOC** stand-INF-hide-SUB
[he] hid [himself], standing in the **corner of the** appropriate **thing** (HM I:158.12; IV:367.1)

(8) ***To*** **'outside'**

木丁のとなるほかげ
kityau-no to-n-ar-u fo-kage
screen-GEN outside-LOC- be-ATTR fire-light
the light of the fire **outside the screen** (HM IV:346.6–7)

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(9) *Uti* 'inside'

ちやうのうちよりも出さずいつきやしなふ
tyau-no uti-yori mo idas-azu ituk-i-yasinaf-u
screen-GEN inside-ABL PT put out-NEG/INF care for-INF-bring up-FIN
[they] cared for [her] and brought [her] up without letting her go outside the screen (*lit.*: **from inside the screen**) (TM 29.12–13)

屋のうちはくらき所なくひかりみちたり
ya-no uti fa kura-ki tokoro na-ku fikari mit-itar-i
house-GEN inside TOP dark-ATTR place no-INF light be filled-PERF/PROG-FIN
The inside of the house was filled with light so nowhere was dark (TM 29.13)

いゑのうちにもてきぬ
iwe-no uti-ni mo-te k-in-u
house-GEN inside-ALL bring-SUB come-PERF-FIN
[they] brought [it] **inside the house** (IM LXXXVII:164.12–13)

宮の内にて
miya-no uti n-ite
palace-GEN inside DV-SUB
being **inside the palace** (IM XXXI:130.11)

ゆめのうちに
yume-no **uti-ni**
dream-GEN **inside-LOC**
in the dream (HM I:182.12)

我いへのうちにいだしていれたてまつりてみばや
wa-ga **ife-no uti-ni** idas-ite ire-tatematur-ite mi-baya
1-POSS **house-GEN inside-LOC** put out-SUB put in(INF)-HUM-SUB see-DES
[I] would like to get [him] out and put him **inside** my **house** (HM I:169.10)

みき丁のうちにいりて
mi-kityau-no uti-ni ir-ite
PREF(HON)-screen-GEN inside-LOC enter-SUB
having entered **inside the screen** (HM II:243.12)

そのあふさかのうち忍び越がたかるべきことにはあらず
sono Afusaka-no uti sinob-i koye-gata-k-ar-ube-ki koto n-i fa ar-az-u
that Meeting Slope -GEN inside be secret-INF cross(INF)-difficult-INF-be-DEB-ATTR thing DV-INF TOP be-NEG-FIN
[It] is not that it should be difficult to cross secretly **(the inside of) that Meeting Slope** (HM V:436.10)

Material com direitos autorais

(10) ***Naka*** **'inside', 'middle'**

Naka can also be used with the meaning 'while' after the attributive form of a verb. The difference between *uti* and *naka* can be defined in the following way: *uti* always means 'inside', 'in the middle of' in a narrow sense, indicating that someone or something is really enclosed inside something, while *naka* is more vaguer, meaning rather 'in the middle of'.

その竹の中にもとひかる竹なむひとすぢありけり
sono take-no naka-ni moto fikar-u take namu fito-sudi ar-iker-i
that bamboo-GEN middle-LOC base shine-ATTR bamboo PT one-CL be-RETR2-FIN
In the middle of that bamboo [grove] there was a bamboo with one shining joint (TM 29.3–4)

そのけぶりいまだ雲のなかへ立のぼる
sono keburi imada **kumo-no naka-fe** tat-i-nobor-u
that smoke still **cloud-GEN middle-ALL** stand-INF-rise-FIN
That smoke still rises **to (the middle of) the clouds** (TM 67.4–5)

ゆく人のなかに
yuk-u **fito-no naka-ni**
go-ATTR **person-GEN middle-LOC**
among the people who went (IM LXVII:149.12)

わがみかど六十よこくの中に
wa-ga mikado roku-zifu yo **koku-no naka-ni**
we-POSS emperor sixty more **province-GEN middle-LOC**
among more than sixty **provinces** of our Emperor (IM LXXXI:158.10)

うみの中にたたみをしきて
umi-no naka-ni tatami-wo sik-ite
sea-GEN inside-LOC tatami-ACC spread-SUB
[they] spread the *tatami* **in the middle of the sea** (HM I:161:14)

さるゆきの中に
sar-u **yuki-no naka-ni**
be such-ATTR **snow-GEN inside-LOC**
in the middle of such **snow** (HM V:417.6)

いひあへるなかに
if-i-af-er-u **naka-ni**
say-INF-REC-PROG-ATTR **inside-LOC**
while [they] were talking to each other (HM I:157.9)

(11) ***Moto*** **'base', 'near by'**

It is very difficult to find a single English equivalent for *moto* when used as a quasi-postposition, since the translation will largely depend on the following case

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marker. *Moto* underlines or emphasizes that something is located by, originates from, or moves towards the person or object who or which is its head modifier.

わうけいといふ人のもとに文をかきて
Wau Kei to if-u **fito-no moto-ni** fumi-wo kak-ite
Wau Kei DV say-ATTR **person-GEN base-ALL** letter-ACC write-SUB
[he] wrote a letter **to the person** called Wang Qing and … (TM 41.13)

かぐや姫の御もとにぞ御文をかきて
Kaguya-fime-no mi-moto-ni zo mi-fumi-wo kak-ite
Kaguya-fime-GEN PREF(HON)-base-ALL PT PREF(HON)-letter-ACC write-SUB
[The Emperor] wrote the letter **to Kaguya-hime** and … (TM 58.4–5)

おとこのもとへやる
otoko-no moto-fe yar-u
man-GEN base-ALL send-FIN
[she] sent [a chrysanthemum] **to the man** (IM XVIII:122.12)

女のもとに。。。おとこうたをよみてやれりけり
wonna-no moto-ni … otoko uta-wo yom-ite yar-er-iker-i
woman-GEN base-ALL man poem-ACC read-SUB send-PROG-RETR2-FIN
The man composed a poem and sent it **to the woman** … (IM LXXXVI: 163.1–2)

その人のもとへいなむずなりとて
sono fito-no moto-fe in-amuz-unar-i to-te
that person-GEN base-ALL go-MOD-HS-FIN DV-SUB
there were rumours that [she] was going **to that person** (IM XCVI:168.11)

せきのもとに
seki-no **moto-ni**
barrier-GEN **base-LOC**
[just] near the barrier (HM I:154.2–3)

はなのもとにあゆみ出たる
fana-no moto-ni ayum-i-ide-tar-u
flower-GEN base-ALL walk-INF-go out-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[he] walked out **to the flowers** (HM I:170.9–10)

一の大臣の五の君のもとへ
fito-tu n-o daizin-no itu-tu n-o **kimi-no moto-fe**
one-CL DV-ATTR minister-GEN five-CL DV-ATTR **lady-GEN base-ALL**
to the fifth **daughter** of the first minister (HM II:237.5)

(12) *Kata* 'side'

Its function is similar to *moto*, and when it is used as a quasi-postposition its exact English translation depends on the following case marker.

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あしのむきたらんかたへいなむず
asi-no muk-itar-an kata-fe in-amuz-u
foot-GEN direct-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR side-ALL go-MOD-FIN
[we] will go anywhere, **wherever** [our] **feet take** [us] (TM 46.3)

つくしのかたの海にこぎ出給ひぬ
Tukusi-no kata-no umi-ni kog-i-ide-tamaf-in-u
Tukusi-GEN side-GEN sea-ALL row-INF-go out(INF)-HON-PERF-FIN
[He] reached the sea **near Tsukushi** (TM 47.3)

あづまのかたにゆきて
Aduma-no kata-ni yuk-ite
east-GEN direction-ALL go-SUB
[he] went **to the east** and … (IM VIII:115.9)

かの女やまとの方を見やりて
kano wonna **Yamato-no kata-wo** mi-yar-ite
that woman **Yamato-GEN side-ACC** see(INF)-send-SUB
That woman looked **towards Yamato** and … (IM XXIII:127.8)

中宮の御かたへまいり給へり
Tiuguu-no on-kata-fe mair-i-tamaf-er-i
first empress-GEN PREF(HON)-side-ALL go(HON)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN
[he] went **to the First Empress** (HM II:251.3)

かはかみのかたより
kafa-**kami-no kata-yori**
river-**top-GEN side-ABL**
from upstream of the river (SN 35.5)

4.1.4 Adjectival nouns

In Modern Japanese there is a special class of words like *sizuka-na* 'quiet' and *zyuuyoo-na* 'important' traditionally defined by most Japanese linguists as 'adjectival verbs' (**形容動詞** *keiyoodoosi*) (Tōjō 1937: 313–15; Tsukishima 1968: 123), although others treat them as nouns (Tokieda 1950: 131). Similarly, there is no agreement among Western linguists on the nature of these words. Some scholars define them as adjectival nouns (Martin 1988: 179–81), or as adjectives (Henderson 1948: 179; Fel'dman 1960: 5; Alpatov 1979b: 44–5; Golovnin 1986: 191). I believe that it is appropriate to classify these words in Modern Japanese as adjectives. However, in the language of Japanese Classical prose these words have certain peculiarities that make them quite different from the corresponding words in the modern language.

1 The marker *-na*, typical of these words in the modern language and derived from the attributive form *nar-u* of the copula *nar-* 'to be', is practically

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unattested in the language of Classical prose, as it appears only once after the attributive form *ofo-ki* of the quality verb *ofo-* 'to be big':

おほきなつみ
ofo-ki-na tumi
big-ATTR-MDF sin
great sin (HM I:183.4)

The form *ofo-ki nar*-u would be expected here, and the absence of the last syllable may be due to a scribal error. Since this is the only example, this explanation is quite plausible.

2 The syntactic functions of these words in the language of Classical prose is similar to the syntactic functions of other nouns: (1) like other nouns, these words may be used as a nominal part of a predicate in combination with the copula *nar-* 'to be', e.g. *afare nar-* 'be sad' (*afare* 'sadness'), *siduka nar-* 'to be quiet'; (2) as modifiers of another noun, these words, like any other nouns, require attributive form *nar-u* of the copula *nar-* after them, e.g. *afare nar-u fito* (sadness be-ATTR person) 'sad person', *siduka nar-u fito* (quiet be-ATTR person) 'quiet person', (3) adverbial forms of both these words and other nouns are generated by the addition of the infinitive form of the defective verb *n-* 'to be', e.g. *afare n-i* (sadness DV-INF) 'sadly', *siduka n-i* (quiet DV-INF) 'quietly'; (4) the only syntactic difference between words like *siduka* 'quiet', *meduraka* 'wonderful', *wakayaka* 'young', *ki* 'yellow', *zyauzu* 'skilful' and other nouns is that they are bound words: they are always followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' or the various forms of the copula *nar-* 'to be' which are historically derived from the combination of the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* plus *ar-* 'to exist'.

For these reasons, I believe that in the language of Classical Japanese prose these words are best defined as adjectival nouns. In sharp contrast to Modern Japanese, there are very few Chinese loanwords among this class of words. The majority of adjectival nouns have a stem with marker *-ka*: *nodo-ka* 'tranquil', *medura-ka* 'wonderful', *sidu-ka* 'quiet'. Examples:

をろかなる人
woroka nar-u fito
non-persistent be-ATTR person
non-persistent people (TM 30.14)

心たしかなるをえらびて
kokoro **tasika nar-u**-wo yerab-ite
heart reliable **be-ATTR**-ACC choose-SUB
[he] chose the one with a **reliable** heart (TM 41.14)

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をろそかなるやうにいひければ
worosoka nar-u yau n-i if-iker-e-ba
impolite be-ATTR like DV-INF say-RETR2-EV-CON
because [she] was speaking **impolitely** (TM 54.9–10)

京の人はめづらかにやおぼえけん
miyako-no fito fa **meduraka n-i** ya oboye-k-en
capital-GEN person TOP **extraordinary DV-INF** PT think-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
the woman who was there probably thought: '**Is**[n't] the man from the capital **extraordinary?**' … (IM XIV:120.2–3)

にはかにおやこの女ををひうつ
nifaka n-i oya kono wonna-wo wof-i-ut-u
sudden DV-INF parent this woman-ACC send away-INF-cut off-FIN
Suddenly, the parents sent this woman away (IM XL:134.14)

おとこほのかに見て
otoko **fonoka n-i** mi-te
man **indistinct DV-INF** see-SUB
the man **vaguely** saw [her] and … (IM LXIII:146.1)

わかやかなるこゑ
wakayaka nar-u kowe
young be-ATTR voice
young voices (HM I:160.4)

めづらかなるひと
meduraka nar-u fito
wonderful be-ATTR person
a wonderful person (HM III:316.6)

のどかなるすまゐ
nodoka nar-u sumawi
tranquil be-ATTR dwelling
a tranquil dwelling (HM IV:326.8)

4.2 PRONOUNS

There are four subclasses of pronouns in the language of Classical Japanese prose: personal-reflexives, demonstratives, collectives, and interrogatives. Two main tendencies influenced the development of the Japanese pronominal system during the Heian period: (1) the beginning of the process of depronominalization that has led to the partial loss of pronouns and their replacement by nouns which have acquired a pronominal usage (the second-person pronouns were mainly affected, but first-person pronouns were also affected to some extent); (2) the

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development of some degree of interchangeability between the original personal and reflexive pronouns, leading to the appearance of a single system of personal-reflexive pronouns.

4.2.1 Morphological peculiarities of pronouns

Several pronouns (*ware* 'I'/'myself', *kore* 'this', *sore* 'that' (but not *sore* 'he'/'she'), *kare* 'that yonder', *tare* 'who') have two stems: the first is represented by the pronominal root *wa-*, *ko*, *so*, *ka-*, *ta-*, and the second is a combination of the pronominal root with the suffix *-re*. The first stem *ko* and *so* of the pronouns *kore* 'this' and *sore* 'that' can be used independently, while the first stems *wa-*, *ka-*, and *ta-* of the pronouns *ware* 'I'/'myself', *kare* 'that', and *tare* 'who' are bound stems occurring only in combination with the case markers *ga* (for *wa-* and *ta-*) or *no* (for *ka-*). All other case markers can only follow the extended second stem with the suffix *-re*.[8] Personal-reflexive *ware* 'I'/'myself' and interrogative *tare* 'who' do not occur in combination with the genitive marker *no*; on the other hand, the demonstratives *kore* 'this', *sore* 'that', and *kare* 'that yonder' never combine with the case marker *ga*. The modifier forms of these demonstrative pronouns are derived by adding the case marker *no* to their first stem: *kono*, *sono*, *kano*. It is necessary to note that in Old Japanese the first stem *wa-* of *ware* 'I'/'myself' could be used independently and could be followed directly not only by *ga*, but also by the case markers *wo* and *ni* (Saeki 1959: 97). Saeki further notes that the first stem *ta-* of *tare* 'who' could not be used independently in Old Japanese either, and that all case markers with the exception of *ga* followed the second stem (1959: 108–9). There is, however, one example in the *Kojiki kayō* where the case marker *ni* follows the first stem *ta-*:

多爾加母余良牟
ta-ni ka mo̤ yo̤r-am-u
who-DAT PT PT rely-TENT-FIN
On whom will [I] rely? (KK 94.4)

Therefore, in the language of Classical prose the second extended stem tends to fossilize, becoming morphologically indivisible from the rest of the word. This process went even further with the pronoun *onore* 'oneself', especially in the later texts where there are very few examples of the first stem being used, whereas, in the earlier texts both stems are widely used.

Plural markers after pronouns occur extremely rarely in the Heian period (Tsukishima 1969: 443), while certain forms such as *ware-ra* 'we' occur only in *kunten* texts (Tsukishima 1969: 443). Therefore, most of the pronouns combine both singular and plural meanings that can be differentiated only by context.

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Table 4 Personal-reflexive pronouns

Pronoun	*Functions*
ware/wa-ga	first- and third-person personal-reflexive
maro	first-person personal
wa-ga mi	first-person/third-person personal, personal-reflexive
mi	first-person personal
midukara	first- and third-person personal-reflexive
onore/ono-ga	first, second-, and third-person personal-reflexive
onore-ga mi/ono-ga mi	first-person personal
onodukara	first-, second-, and third-person personal-reflexive
watakusi	third-person personal
nandi	second-person personal
omafe/gozen	second- and third-person personal

4.2.2 Personal-reflexive pronouns

I classify personal and reflexive pronouns as a single subclass because in the language of Classical Japanese prose most of them can be used in both functions. A further complication is the fact that some of these pronouns can be used in a personal-reflexive function in the first and third persons. Therefore, rather than dividing all these pronouns into groups of first, second, and third person, Table 4 lists them with a description of their usage and functions.

4.2.2.1 ware/wa-ga

This pronoun is usually used as the personal pronoun 'I', 'we', or as the reflexive first-person pronoun 'myself', 'ourselves'. It is sometimes also used as the third-person reflexive pronoun 'him/herself' or as the third-person personal pronoun 'he', 'she', 'they'. Examples:

我はみこにまけぬべし
ware fa miko-ni make-n-ube-si
I TOP prince-DAT lose-PERF-DEB-FIN
I might have lost to the Prince (TM 36.6–7)

わがもとむるやまならむとおもひて
wa-ga motom-uru yama nar-am-u to omof-ite
I-POSS seek-ATTR mountain be-TENT-FIN DV think-SUB
[I] thought that [it] was probably the mountain **I** was looking for and … (TM 38.6)

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むすめを吾にたべ
musume-wo **ware-ni** tab-e
daughter-ACC **I-DAT** give(HON)-IMP
give your daughter **to me** (TM 31.8)

おとこわれをばしらずやとて
otoko **ware-woba** sir-az-u ya to-te
man **I-ACC(EMPH)** know-NEG-FIN PT DV-SUB
The man said: 'Don't [you] recognize **me**?' and … (IM LXII:145.1)

わがみかど六十よこくの中に
wa-ga mikado roku-zifu yo koku-no naka-ni
we-POSS emperor sixty exceed province-GEN inside-LOC
Among more than sixty provinces of **our** Emperor (IM LXXXI:158.10)

むかしいやしからぬおとこ我よりはまさりたる人を思かけて
mukasi iyasi-k-ar-an-u otoko **ware-yori** fa masar-itar-u fito-wo omof-i-kake-te
long ago common-INF-be-NEG-ATTR man **he-COMP TOP** surpass-PERF/PROG-ATTR person-ACC think-INF-hang-SUB
Long ago, a man who was not a commoner fell in love with a lady who was superior **to him**, and … (IM LXXXIX:165.6)

おとこいとうれしくてわがぬる所にゐていりて
otoko ito uresi-ku-te **wa-ga** n-uru tokoro-ni wi-te ir-ite
man very glad-INF-SUB **he-POSS** sleep-ATTR place-LOC bring-SUB enter-SUB
The man was very glad and brought [her] to **his** sleeping quarters and … (IM LXIX:151.2)

わが人をやるべきにしあらねば
wa-ga fito-wo yar-ube-ki n-i si ar-an-e-ba
he-POSS person-ACC send-DEB-ATTR DV-INF PT be-NEG-EV-CON
because [he] could not send [any] of **his [own]** men [with a message] (IM LXIX:151.4–5)

わがいらむとするみち
wa-ga ir-am-u to s-uru miti
they-POSS enter-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR road
the road **they** were going to enter (IM IX:116.12–13)

われもなをよにかくてあらじ
ware mo nawo yo-ni ka-ku-te ar-azi
I PT more world-LOC thus-INF-SUB be-TENT/NEG
I don't want to live any more like that in the world … (HM III:268.1)

ひとり我ながむらん
fitori **ware** nagam-uran

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one-person **I** yearn-TENT/FIN
I will yearn alone (HM V:402.4–5)

我いへのうちにいだしていれたてまつりてみばや
wa-ga ife-no uti-ni idas-ite ire-tatematur-ite mi-baya
I-POSS house-GEN inside-LOC put out-SUB put in(INF)-HUM-SUB see-DES
[I] would like to get [him] out and put him inside **my** house (HM I:169.10)

我よに
wa-ga yo-ni
we-POSS world-LOC
in **our** country (HM I:155.10)

かれもわれとしりたるにもあらざりき
kare mo **ware-to** sir-itar-u n-i mo ar-az-ar-iki
he PT **I-COM** know-PERF/PROG-ATTR DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF-be-RETR1/FIN
He was not acquainted **with me**, either (HM I:189.5–6)

我心ぼそう
ware kokoroboso-u
herself lonely-INF
[she] was lonely **herself** and … (HM IV:390.4)

見つるもわれながらめづらしく
mi-t-uru mo **ware** nagara medurasi-ku
see-PERF-ATTR PT **himself** CONJ amazing-INF
what [he] saw was amazing even [for] **him(self)** (HM I:169.7–8)

4.2.2.2 maro

This is used only as a first-person personal pronoun. It does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*. Ōno Susumu believes that this pronoun is etymologically related to *-maro*, a suffix of male names, e.g. Yasu-maro, Kotu-maro, Uta-maro, etc. (Ōno *et al.* 1990: 1207). In Old Japanese it is attested only as a male first-person pronoun, but there are too few examples to allow any decisive conclusions. The fact that in the Heian period it could be used by both men and women, as is also mentioned by Ōno, seems to contradict his etymology. Examples:

まろは式部卿の宮とぞいふ
maro fa Sikibugyau n-o miya to zo if-u
I TOP Sikibugyau DV-ATTR prince DV PT say-ATTR
My name is Prince Shikibugyō (lit.: **I** am called Prince Shikibugyō (HM V:405.6)

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まろがために
maro-ga tame-ni
I-POSS for-DAT
for **me** (HM V:411.7)

中將のまろおもひたるやうにおもひて
tiuzyau-no **maro** omof-itar-u yau n-i omof-ite
tiuzyau-GEN **I** think-PERF/PROG-ATTR like DV-INF think-SUB
It seemed [to me] that Chūjō's [wet nurse] was pitying **me**, and … (HM IV:354.4)

(Female speaking.)

まろをかからぬくまなきものにおぼして
maro-wo kakar-an-u kuma na-ki mono n-i obos-ite
I-ACC be such-NEG-ATTR corner no-ATTR thing DV-INF think(HON)-SUB
[He] considered **me** [the kind of] woman who can be found anywhere, and … (HM IV:373.8–9)

まろがみをばいかがせむ
maro-ga mi-woba ikaga se-m-u
I-POSS body-ACC(EMPH) how do-TENT-FIN
What will happen **to us**? (SN 67.6)

The last example gives an extended form of this pronoun, namely *maro-ga mi* (I-POSS body) 'my body'; this is the only instance of it I was able to find in the studied texts. Compare the similar form *wa-ga mi* (I-POSS body) 'my body', also used as a personal-reflexive pronoun (see below).

4.2.2.3 wa-ga mi[9]

This is used as a first-person personal pronoun, a third-person personal pronoun, and a third-person reflexive pronoun. Like *maro*, it does not occur in the prose of *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari* (though it appears in poems in both texts). Examples:

我身ももしきのうちにもえさぶらはず
wa-ga mi momo-siki-no uti-ni mo ye-saburaf-azu
I-POSS body hundred-spread-GEN inside-LOC PT PREV-serve-NEG/INF
I could not serve in the 'hundred [times] spread' [palace], and … (HM I:166.12)

わがみひとつのみはづかしくあらまうくおぼす
wa-ga mi fito-tu nomi fadukasi-ku ar-amau-ku obos-u
he-POSS body one-CL PT depressed-INF be-NEG/OPT-INF think(HON)-FIN
(Only) **he** alone felt depressed and did not want to live (HM III.285.12–13)

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御面かげのめでたさはなごりのにほひまで**わが身**にしみぬるここちして
mi-omokage-no medeta-sa fa nagori-no nifofi-made **wa-ga mi-ni** sim-in-uru kokoti s-ite
PREF(HON)-appearance-GEN beautiful-NML TOP remainder-GEN aroma-TERM **he-POSS body-LOC** penetrate-PERF-ATTR mood do-SUB
[he] felt that the beauty of [the Prince's] appearance, even [his] aroma, which remained [in his memory], had penetrated **into him**, and … (HM I:161.2–3)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa tada sitasi-ku obosimes-u siti fati-nin bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP only close-INF think(HON)-ATTR seven eight-CL PT
about seven or eight ladies-in-waiting, only (those) to whom **she herself** felt close (HM I:183.12–13)

In this last example, the honorific prefix *mi-* is inserted before the word *mi* 'body'. This demonstrates that *wa-ga mi* was not completely grammaticalized in the language of Classical prose.

4.2.2.4 mi

This pronoun, literally meaning 'body', is used only as a first-person personal pronoun. It occurs only once in *Ise monogatari*, but does not appear in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples:

みさいはひあらば
mi saifafi ar-aba
I luck be-COND
If **I** have luck … (IM CVII:174.6)

いかになりぬるみぞ
ikani nar-in-uru **mi** zo
how be-PERF-ATTR **I** PT
What will happen to **me**? (HM I:156.14–15)

世のなかをつねにてあらんとおもふ身ならばこそ
yo-no naka-wo tune n-ite ar-an to omof-u **mi** nar-aba koso
world-GEN inside-NOM usual DV-SUB be-TENT/FIN DV think-ATTR **I** be-COND PT
if **I** am the one who thinks that life will continue as usual (HM IV:327.2)

4.2.2.5 midukara

Midukara seems to be a derivation from *mi* 'body', as the spelling 身づから suggests (unless it is a folk etymology employed by scribes), but the make-up of this derivation is not completely clear. Ōno Susumu suggests that *-du* < *-tu* OJ genitive-locative case marker (Ōno *et al.* 1990: 1226), but the voicing remains

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unexplained. This pronoun does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* and is used only once in *Ise monogatari*. Its rarity in the older texts constitutes a reason to doubt whether the OJ genitive-locative case marker *tu*, which only survived into the Heian period in compounds, was involved in the formation of the word *midukara*. Another hypothesis connects *-dukara* with *tikara* 'force', but both the vowel alternation *u~i* and the semantics remain unclear. *Midukara* is used as a first-person personal and reflexive pronoun. It occurs once as a third-person personal pronoun and once as a third-person reflexive pronoun. Examples:

みづから。。。とよむ
midukara ... to yom-u
she ... DV recite-ATTR
she recited ... (IM XXVII:129.11–12)

みづからのゆへに
midukara-no yufe n-i
I-GEN cause DV-INF
because **of me** (HM I:166.11)

身づからは日本の人にてなんはべりし
midukara fa Nifon-no fito n-ite nan faber-isi
I TOP Japan-GEN person DV-SUB PT be(POL)-RETR1/ATTR
I was Japanese (HM I:165.10–11)

みづからなんくはしくは聞えさすべき事
midukara nan kufasi-ku fa kikoyesas-ube-ki koto
I-myself PT detailed-INF TOP tell(HUM)-DEB-ATTR matter
The matter of which **I** must tell [you] **myself** in detail (HM V:391.5–6)

みづからものなどの給はまほしけれども
midukara mono-nado notamaf-amafosi-kere-domo
I-myself thing-REPR say(HON)-OPT-EV-CONC
though **she herself** wanted to tell [him] ... (HM I:167.4)

身づからもおぼしさはぐけしきも見せ給はず
midukara mo obos-i-safag-u kesiki mo mi-se-tamaf-az-u
she-herself PT think(HON)-INF-worry-ATTR look PT see-CAUS(INF)-HON-NEG-FIN
[the Empress] did not show that **she herself** was worried, too (HM I:178.13–14)

4.2.2.6 onore/ono-

In the earlier texts both stems are used, while in the later texts there is a distinct preference for the extended stem *onore*, the stem *ono-* being used very rarely. In *Taketori monogatari* both the forms *ono-ga* and *onore-ga* occur. *Onore/ono-* is used as a general personal-reflexive pronoun that can refer to any person. It is

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almost always misspelled in the texts as *wonore/wono-*. Examples:

をのがなさぬ子なれば
wono-ga nas-an-u ko nar-e-ba
I myself-POSS make-NEG-ATTR child be-EV-CON
because [she] is a child whom **I** did not bear **myself** (TM 31.8–9)

をのが君の仰ごとをばかなへんとこそ思ふべけれ
wono-ga kimi-no ofos-u-^{n}goto-woba kanafe-n to koso omof-ube-kere
you-GEN lord say(HON)-ATTR-(GEN)thing-ACC(EMPH) accomplish-TENT DV PT think-DEB-EV
[I] would expect that [you] should carry out the orders of **your** lord (TM 45.8)

いやしきをのれがもとにしばしおはしつる
iyasi-ki **wonore-ga moto-ni** sibasi ofas-it-uru
lowly-ATTR **yourself-POSS base-LOC** some time be(HON)-PERF-ATTR
[she] has been staying for some time **near you**, a lowly [person] (TM 63.15)

あるいはをのが家にこもりゐあるいはをのがゆかまほしき所へいぬ
arui fa **wono-ga** ife-ni komor-i-wi arui fa **wono-ga** yuk-amafosi-ki tokoro-fe in-u
some TOP **they-POSS** house-LOC seclude oneself-INF-be(INF) some TOP **themselves-POSS** go-OPT-ATTR place-ALL go-FIN
some secluded themselves in **their** houses, some went wherever **they (themselves)** wanted to (TM 46.5)

をのが世々になりにければうとくなりにけり
wono-ga yo-yo n-i nar-in-iker-e-ba uto-ku nar-in-iker-i
oneself-POSS relationship-relationship DV-INF become-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON estranged-INF become-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[they each] found **their own** [new] relationship, and [they] became estranged (IM XXI:125.8)

をのがきこゆることをばいままでたまはねば
wono-ga kikoy-uru koto-woba ima-made tamaf-an-e-ba
myself-POSS ask(HUM)-ATTR thing-ACC(EMPH) now-TERM give(HON)-NEG-EV-CON
because [you] did not give [me] until now what **I** asked for (IM XCIV:167.6)

をのがよはひをおもひけれど
wono-ga yofafi-wo omof-iker-e-do
he-POSS age-ACC think-RETR2-EV-CONC
Though [he] thought about **his own** age … (IM CXIV:177.2)

をのれがあやしのいほりに
wonore-ga ayasi n-o ifori-ni
myself-POSS poor DV-ATTR hut-LOC
in **my** poor hut (HM I:171.7)

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をのれらだにおぼつかなふいぶせきを
wonore-ra dani obotukana-fu[10] ibuse-ki-wo
he-PLUR PT uneasy-INF gloomy-ATTR-ACC
as only **they** were uneasy and gloomy (HM II:218.15)

(Note the rare usage of the plural marker *-ra* after the pronoun.)

をのれがもちたてまつりて侍みこ
wonore-ga mot-i-tatematur-ite faber-u miko
I myself-POSS hold-INF-HUM-SUB be(POL)-ATTR prince
the Prince whom **I myself** have (HM II:259.5)

をのが身をかへてわたりたる
wono-ga mi-wo kafe-te watar-itar-u
I-POSS body-ACC change-SUB cross over-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[I] crossed over, after being reborn (*lit.*: having changed **my own** body) (HM II:260.5)

(Cf. *wono-ga mi* 'my own body' in this example with *wono-ga mi* used as a pronoun (see below).)

をのれをたのもしきものにおぼいて
wonore-wo tanomosi-ki mono n-i obo-ite
I-ACC reliable-ATTR person DV-INF think(HON)-SUB
[she] considered **me** a reliable person (HM III.267.16)

4.2.2.7 ono-ga mi

This pronoun occurs only twice in *Taketori monogatari*, and in both cases it refers to the first person. Like *onore/ono-*, described above, it is misspelled, as *wono-ga mi*.

をのが身は此国にむまれて侍らば
wono-ga mi fa kono kuni-ni mum-are-te faber-aba
myself-POSS body TOP this country-LOC bear-PASS-SUB be(POL)-COND
If **I** was born in this country … (TM 56.16–57.1)

をのが身はこの国の人にもあらず
wono-ga mi fa kono kuni-no fito n-i mo ar-az-u
myself-POSS body TOP this country-GEN person DV-INF PT be-NEG-FIN
I am not a person of this country (TM 59.14)

4.2.2.8 onodukara

Just as *midukara is* possibly derived from *mi* 'body', *onodukara*[11] is probably derived from *onore/ono-* 'oneself'. Also like *midukara*, *onodukara* is a new pronoun: it is not attested in *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*. Like

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onore/ono-, *onodukara* is a general personal-reflexive pronoun that can refer to any person. Examples:

をのづから見たてまつれど
wonodukara mi-tatematur-e-do
I myself see-HUM-EV-CONC
though **I** see **myself** (HM I:166.6)

をのづから心とどまる人
wonodukara kokoro todomar-u fito
I heart stop-ATTR lady
a lady, who has **my** heart (*lit.*: lady, at whom **my** heart stopped) (HM I:173.9)

をのづからきき給けん
wonodukara kik-i-tamaf-ik-en
you yourself hear-INF-HON-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
the thing that **you yourself** probably heard (HM II:232.4–5)

仏をのづから見給はすらん
fotoke **wonodukara** mi-tamaf-as-uran
Buddha **himself** see(INF)-HON-CAUS-TENT/FIN
Buddha will see **himself** (HM II:248.15)

ほんたいはをのづからきかせたまふやうも侍らん
fontai fa **wonodukara** kik-ase-tamaf-u yau mo faber-an
Clan TOP **itself** hear-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR like PT be(POL)-TENT/FIN
It looks as if [her] clan made **itself** known (HM III:266.12)

4.2.2.9 watakusi

This pronoun occurs just once in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* as a third-person pronoun, doubling with *wa-ga mi* (see above) which is also used in the same sentence:

わたくしのわが身のだいじの事いできぬる心ちして
watakusi-no wa-ga mi-no daizi n-o koto ide-k-in-uru kokoti s-ite
he-GEN himself-POSS body-GEN important DV-ATTR thing go out(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR mood do-SUB
He felt that for himself it had turned out to be an important event, and... (HM III.287:16)

Normally, *watakusi* is used as a nominal meaning 'private':

わたくしにしのびたることのやうにてさるべき人のちあゆるなどもとめて
watakusi n-i sinob-itar-u koto-no yau n-ite sar-ube-ki fito-no ti ay-uru-nado motome-te

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private DV-INF be secret-PERF/PROG-ATTR matter-GEN like DV-SUB be such-DEB-ATTR person-GEN milk flow-ATTR-REPR find-SUB
as it was a **private** and secret matter, [he] found a person who had milk, among other things (HM I:192.13)

4.2.2.10 nandi

This is used as a pejorative second-person pronoun. It is etymologically connected with OJ *nare/na-* 'thou', which does not appear in the studied texts. *Nandi* could only be used by a person with a high position to a much lower-status person. The only examples of *nandi* come from *Taketori monogatari*, where the social settings are more varied than in *Ise monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, which deal exclusively with the life of the court and nobles. As the following examples demonstrate, *nandi* is consistently followed by the plural marker *-ra* when it means plural 'you'.

なんぢらかたきものと申べき
nandi-ra kata-ki mono to mawos-ube-ki
thou-PLUR difficult-ATTR thing DV say(HUM/PEJ)-DEB-ATTR
Would **you** say [it is] a difficult thing? (TM 45.10)

(Master to his servants.)

なんぢらが君のつかひと名をながしつ
nandi-ra-ga kimi-no tukafi to na-wo nagas-it-u
thou-PLUR-POSS lord-GEN servant DV name-ACC pour-PERF-FIN
You are famous as [loyal] servants of [your] lord (TM 45.12)

(Master to his servants.)

なんぢがもちて侍るかぐやひめたてまつれ
nandi-ga mot-ite faber-u Kaguya-fime tatematur-e
you-POSS hold-SUB HUM-ATTR Kaguya-fime give(HUM)-IMP
Give [me] Kaguya-hime, whom **you** have (TM 55.3–4)

(The Emperor to the bamboo-cutter.)

いはくなんぢをさなき人
if-aku **nandi** wosana-ki fito
say-NML **you** childish-ATTR person
[He] said: '**You**, childish person … ' (TM 63.12)

(Celestial dweller to the bamboo-cutter.)

Tsukishima Hiroshi lists second-person pronouns occurring in the Heian period prose texts such as *wa-ga omoto*, *soko*, *sokomoto*, and *masi*, but notes that they were used extremely rarely (Tsukishima 1969: 444–45). Nikolai

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Syromiatnikov has come up with a longer list: *nusi*, *wanusi*, *wawotoko*, *waotomo*, *wawin*, *soko*, *sokomoto*, *masi* (Syromiatnikov 1983: 50–1), but it turns out that almost all of these pronouns not listed in Tsukishima (1969) are taken from *Konjaku monogatari* (twelfth century) and either belong to commoners' speech or are used by members of the nobility or clergy to commoners. Naturally, these pronouns do not appear in other Heian-period prose texts where almost all the characters are members of the nobility. There is a strong tendency not to denote the addressee by a personal pronoun, since the reference to him/her is normally made by the verbal form alone. In cases where there is a non-verbal reference to the addressee, he/she may be denoted by name, title, or also by his/her social status or age category, in which case some nouns could be used in the function of second-person pronouns, for example:

などかおきなの手におほしたてたらむ物を心にまかせざらむ
nado ka **okina-no** te-ni ofos-i-tate-tar-am-u mono-wo kokoro-ni makase-z-ar-am-u
why PT **old man-GEN** hand-LOC raise-INF-establish-PERF/PROG-TENT-ATTR thing-ACC heart-LOC entrust-NEG/INF-be-TENT-ATTR
Why should [she] not obey when [you], I suppose, raised [her] with **your** (*lit*: old man's) own hands? (TM 55.8–9)

わらはいかでかみし
warafa ikade ka mi-si
Young boy how PT see-RETR1/ATTR
How did **you** (*lit*.: young boy) see? (TSM 370.7–8)

4.2.2.11 omafe/gozen

The only other second-person pronoun (besides *nandi*) which is occasionally used in the language of Japanese Classical prose is *omafe* (or its sinicized variant *gozen*) 'you', historically also derived from a noun (PREF(HON)-front, 'honourable front'). In sharp contrast with Modern Japanese, where *omae* is a familiar or pejorative second-person personal pronoun, *omafe* and *gozen* in the Classical language are honorific. This pronoun does not occur in earlier texts, with the exception of one example in *Taketori monogatari*, when it is used as a third-person pronoun. Examples from later texts are also rare:

御前にまいりたれば
omafe-ni mair-itar-e-ba
he-ALL come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-EV-CON
when [Kuratumaro] came **to him** (TM 50.14)

ごぜんのいとようものおぼししり
gozen-no ito yo-u mono obos-i-sir-i
you-GEN very good-INF thing think(HON)-INF-know-INF
You understand [every]thing very well, and... (HM I:166.13–14)

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Table 5 Distribution of personal-reflexive pronouns in the texts

Pronoun	*Earlier texts*	*Later texts*
ware/wa-ga	+	+
maro	−	+
wa-ga mi	−	+
mi	−	+
midukara	±	+
onore/ono-	+	+
onore-ga mi/ono-ga mi	±	−
onodukara	−	+
watakusi	−	±
nandi	+	−
omafe/gozen	±	±

おまへたちもかならずさおぼすゆゑはべらむかし
omafe-tati mo kanarazu sa obos-u yuwe faber-am-u kasi
you-PLUR PT surely thus think(HON)-ATTR reason be(POL)-TENT-FIN PT
Probably there is a reason why **you** definitely think so, too (SN 76.11)

In the last example *omafe* is followed by the honorific plural marker *-tati*.

There are no separate third-person pronouns, as demonstrative pronouns are frequently used as third-person pronouns (Tsukishima 1969: 445–48). As I have demonstrated above, besides demonstrative pronouns, various personal-reflexive pronouns are also used as third-person pronouns.

4.2.2.12 *Distribution of personal-reflexive pronouns in texts*

It is obvious that the system of personal-reflexive pronouns underwent considerable evolution in the language of Classical Japanese prose. The system found in the earlier texts was much simpler, and closely reminiscent of the Old Japanese system. The system in the later texts became quite complex, being more similar functionally to Modern Japanese. Table 5 summarizes the above data and provides a general picture of this evolution (+ denotes the presence of a pronoun in the particular group of texts; − shows that the absence of the pronoun in the texts; and +/- signifies that it was rarely used).

4.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Some Japanese historical linguists prefer to call demonstrative pronouns by the term 事物代名詞 *jibutsu daimeishi* 'material pronouns', since they allegedly refer only to inanimate objects, as opposed to personal or 'human pronouns' (人代名詞 *jin daimeishi*), which refer to people. This approach can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, since demonstrative pronouns can be used as third-person

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Table 6 Demonstrative pronouns

	Proximal	*Mesial*	*Distal*
Isolated	*ko*	*so, sa*	*ka*
Extended	*kore*	*sore*	*kare, are*
Modifier	*sono*	*sono*	*kano, ano*
Place	*koko*	*soko*	—
Direction	*konata*	*sonata*	*kanata, kasiko, anata*

personal pronouns and, therefore, refer to people as well. As in Modern Japanese, demonstrative pronouns in the language of Japanese Classical prose can be subdivided into three groups, denoting proximal, mesial, and distal (see Table 6).

4.2.3.1 *Proximal*

Proximal demonstrative pronouns denote that something (or somebody) is closer to the speaker than to his/her addressee. All pronouns of this group incorporate as their first element the stem *ko-*, the first base of the demonstrative pronoun *kore/ko-*.

***KORE/KO-* 'this'**

The first stem *ko* occurs in isolation comparatively rarely, but it can have both demonstrative and modifying functions. The second extended stem *kore* is used as both a demonstrative and a third-person personal pronoun. The modifying form of *kore* is *kono*, built by adding the genitive case marker *no* to the first stem *ko-*. Examples:

KO

こはなでうことをのたまふぞ
ko fa nadeu koto-wo notamaf-u zo
this TOP what kind of thing-ACC say(HON)-ATTR PT
What are you saying [about] **this**? (TM 60.2)

こよひあはむ
ko yofi af-am-u
this evening meet-TENT-FIN
[I] will meet [you] **tonight** (IM XXIV:128.2)

こはたれぞ
ko fa tare zo
this TOP who PT
Who is **this**? (TSM 371:11)

こよひは廿一日にて
ko yofi fa ni-zifu-iti-niti n-ite

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this evening TOP twenty one-CL DV-SUB
This evening was the twenty-first day, and … (HM IV:390.7)

KORE

これよき事也
kore yo-ki koto nar-i
this good-ATTR thing be-FIN
This is a good thing (TM 33.7)

これをもあはれともみでをるに
kore-wo mo afare-to mo mi-de wor-u-ni
this-ACC PT sympathy-COM PT see-NEG/GER be-ATTR-LOC
when [she] was looking **at this** with dismay, too (TM 36.13)

これはほうらいの山なりとこたふ
kore fa Fourai n-o yama nar-i to kotaf-u
this TOP Fourai DV-ATTR mountain be-FIN DV reply-FIN
[she] replied: '**This** is Mount Hōrai' (TM 38.10)

これは二条のきさきのいとこの女御の御もとにつかうまつるやうにて
kore fa ni-zyau-no kisaki n-o itoko-no nyogo-no mi-moto-ni tukaumatur-u yau n-ite
she TOP Second Ward-GEN empress DV-ATTR cousin-GEN lady-in-waiting-GEN PREF(HON)-base-LOC serve-ATTR like DV-SUB
so that **she** would serve as a lady-in-waiting of her cousin, the Empress of the Second Ward (IM VI:114.13)

これなん宮こどりといふ
kore nan miyako-"dori to if-u
this PT capital-(GEN)bird DV say-FIN
[He] said: '**This** [is] the Bird of the Capital' (IM IX:117.11–12)

なをこれを見給へ
nawo **kore-wo** mi-tamaf-e
After all **this-ACC** look(INF)-HON-IMP
After all, please look **at this** (HM II:235.8)

これぞははよ
kore zo fafa yo
this PT mother PT
This [is] her mother (HM IV:364.4)

御をくりにこれまでわたりきたる
mi-wokur-i-ni **kore-made** watar-i-k-itar-u
PREF(HON)-see off-INF-ALL **this-TERM** cross over-INF-come-PERF/PROG-ATTR

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the fact that [he] crossed over **up to this [land]** in order to see [the Chûnagon] off (HM II:235.5–6)

わがよにこれよりまさる人なかりければ
wa-ga yo-ni **kore-yori** masar-u fito na-k-ar-iker-e-ba
we-POSS country-LOC **he-COMP** be superior-ATTR person no-INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON
because there is no person in our country superior **to him** (HM I:195.5–6)

これはかのくにの后なり
kore fa kano kuni-no kisaki nar-i
she TOP that country-GEN empress be-FIN
She will become the Empress of that country (HM III:267.5)

いままでこれに候ける
ima-made **kore-ni** saburaf-iker-u
now-TERM **he-DAT** serve-RETR2-ATTR
[you] served **him** until now (HM V:419.1)

KONO

この子をみれば
kono ko-wo mi-re-ba
this child-ACC look-EV-CON
when [he] looked **at this child** (TM 29.14–30.1)

この歌の返しをす
kono uta-no kafes-i-wo s-u
this poem-GEN reply-NML-ACC do-FIN
He replied to **this poem** (TM 35.1)

はやこのみこにあひつかうまつり給へ
faya **kono miko-ni** af-i-tukaumatur-i-tamaf-e
Quickly **this prince-DAT** meet-INF-serve(HUM)-INF-HON-IMP
Quickly meet **this Prince** [as your husband] (TM 36.16)

この京は人の家まださだまらざりける時に
kono miyako fa fito-no ife mada sadamar-az-ar-iker-u toki-ni
this capital TOP person-GEN house yet be in order-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR time-LOC
At the time when people's houses in **this capital** were not yet organized … (IM II:111.12–13)

このおとこにものいはむとおもひけり
kono otoko-ni mono if-am-u to omof-iker-i
this man-DAT thing say-TENT-FIN DV think-RETR2-FIN
[she] wanted to tell **this man** about her feelings (IM XLV:137.10–11)

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このいしききしよりは見るはまされり
kono isi kik-isi-yori fa mi-ru fa masar-er-i
this stone hear-RETR1/ATTR-COMP TOP see-ATTR TOP be superior-PROG-FIN
It was better to see **this stone** than to hear about [it] (i.e. its appearance surpassed its reputation) (IM LXXVIII:156.13)

このせきはとりのこゑをききてなんあくる
kono seki fa tori-no kowe-wo kik-ite nan ak-uru
this barrier TOP rooster-GEN voice-ACC hear-SUB PT open-ATTR
[They] open **this barrier** when they hear the crow of a rooster (HM I:154.3)

この山におはする
kono yama-ni ofas-uru
his mountain-LOC be(HON)-ATTR
[she] is **in these mountains** (HM III:265.12)

このくにの人
kono kuni-no fito
this country-GEN person
the people **of this country** (HM I:154.15)

KOKO 'here'

This is a combination of the first stem *ko-* of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kore/ko-* and the obsolete word *ko 'place'. It is basically a static demonstrative pronoun, showing location, not direction, but it can also be used as a directional demonstrative when followed by the case markers *ni* or *fe*. Examples:

ここにやいますなどとふ
koko-ni ya imas-u-nado tof-u
here-LOC PT be(HON)-ATTR-REPR ask-FIN
[They] asked such questions as: 'Does [he] live **here**?' (TM 44.15)

ここにつかはるる人にもなきに
koko-ni tukaf-ar-uru fito n-i mo na-ki-ni
here-LOC make serve-PASS-ATTR person DV-INF PT no-ATTR-LOC
not being a person who serves **here** (TM 51.11–12)

ここの貝かほ見ん
koko-no kafi kafo mi-n
here-GEN shell face see-TENT/FIN
[I] want to see (the face of) this shell (*lit.*: shell **of here**) (TM 52.12)

その山はここにたとへばひえの山をはたちばかりかさねあげたらんほどして
sono yama fa **koko-ni** tatof-e-ba Fiye n-o yama-wo fatati bakari kasane-age-tar-an fodo s-ite

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that mountain TOP **here-LOC** compare-EV-CON Hiei DV-ATTR mountain-ACC twenty PT pile up(INF)-raise-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR degree do-SUB
That mountain, when compared [it] **with [mountains] here**, is about twenty [times] as high as Mount Hiei … (IM IX:117.14)

こよひはここにさぶらはんと申たまふ
ko yofi fa **koko-ni** saburaf-an to mawos-i-tamaf-u
this evening TOP **here-LOC** serve-TENT/FIN DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-FIN
[he] said: '[I] would like to serve **here** tonight' (IM LXXVIII:156.5–6)

ここをめでて
koko-wo mede-te
here-ACC like-SUB
[he] liked (it) **here**, and … (IM LXXXI:158.11)

ここへはえおはしまさじ
koko-fe fa ye-ofasimas-azi
here-ALL TOP PREV-come(HON)-NEG/TENT
[You] should not come **here** (HM I:180.10)

御消息などもここへな給はせそ
go-seusoku-nado mo **koko-fe** na-tamaf-ase-so
PREF(HON)-letter-REPR PT **here-ALL** TOP NEG-give(HON)-HON-IMP
Please do not send letters **here**, either (HM I:180.13)

ここの人々もさぞやすげなうおもはめ
koko-no fito-bito mo sa zo yasu-ge na-u omof-am-e
here-GEN lady-lady PT thus PT peaceful-appearance no-INF think-TENT-EV
the ladies **here** were also very worried (HM IV:354.4)

KONATA 'here', 'this side'

This pronoun originated as a result of a contraction of the modifier form *kono* of the pronoun *kore/ko-* and the word *kata* 'side', 'direction'. *Konata* is predominantly used as a dynamic demonstrative, showing direction, but it can also be used as a static demonstrative pronoun. Occasionally it is used as a third-person personal pronoun. There is a single example of *konata* in *Taketori monogatari*, but no examples in *Ise monogatari*. Examples:

こなたかなたのめには
konata kanata-no me-ni fa
this-side that-side-GEN eye-LOC TOP
in the eyes from **this side** and that side (TM 48.12)

こなたにめしいれたり
konata-ni mes-i-ire-tar-i
this side-ALL call(HON)-INF-make enter-PERF/PROG-FIN
[the Prince] called [the Chūnagon] **to this side** (i.e. the place where the Prince was) (HM I:156.5–6)

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こなたにとて
konata-ni to-te
here-ALL DV-SUB
saying: '[Come] **here**' (HM I:214.2–3)

しやうじよりこなたへひきよせ給へり
syauzi-yori **konata-fe** fik-i-yose-tamaf-er-i
syauzi-ABL **she-ALL** drag-INF-approach(INF)-HON-PROG-FIN
[he] dragged [himself] **to her** from the shōji (HM II:239.2)

けふはこなたになおはせそ
kefu fa **konata-ni** na-ofase-so
today TOP **here-ALL** NEG-come(HON)-IMP
Do not come **here** today (HM IV:332.6)

4.2.3.2 *Mesial*

Mesial demonstrative pronouns denote that something (or somebody) is closer to the addressee than to the speaker. All pronouns of this group incorporate as their first element the stem *so*-, the first base of the demonstrative pronoun *sore/so*-.

SORE/SO- 'that'

The first stem *so* occurs in isolation comparatively rarely, and in contrast with *ko* it can only have a demonstrative function. *So* in isolation appears only in the later texts. Followed by the case marker *ga*, it occurs once in *Taketori monogatari* as a third-person personal pronoun. Like *kore*, the second extended stem *sore* is also used as both a demonstrative and a third-person personal pronoun. The modifying form of *sore* is *sono*, built by adding the genitive case marker *no* to the first stem *so*-. Used as a third-person personal pronoun 'he'/'she', *sore/so*- has a certain morphological peculiarity that almost makes it an independent personal pronoun. Whereas the demonstrative *sore/so*- 'that' has the modifier form *sono*, with the genitive case marker *no* following the first stem *so*-, the third-person personal pronoun *sore* 'he'/'she' is followed by the possessive case marker *ga*, which normally never combines with any demonstrative pronouns, including *sore/so* 'that', with only one exception (see below). The case marker *ga* can follow both stems *so*- and *sore*, though there is just a single example of *so-ga* (in *Taketori monogatari*). Examples:

SO

そがくびに玉とれる
so-ga kubi-ni tama tor-er-u
he-POSS neck-LOC precious stone take-PROG-FIN
[they] took the precious stone from **his** neck (TM 46.15)

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そはいとやすき御なぐさめにこそ侍なるを
so fa ito yasu-ki mi-nagusame n-i koso faber-unar-u-wo
that TOP very easy-ATTR PREF(HON)-consolation DV-INF PT be(HON)-HS-ATTR-ACC
Although **that** seems to be a very easy consolation for you … (HM I:173.6)

そはなどてか事々しうはあらん
so fa nadote ka kotogotosi-u fa ar-an
that TOP why PT abundant-INF TOP be-TENT/FIN
Why is **that** [so] abundant? (HM I:196.15)

そはさるものにて
so fa sar-u mono n-ite
that TOP be such-ATTR thing DV-SUB
That, being such a thing … (HM II:224.10–11)

SORE

それをみれば
sore-wo mi-re-ba
that-ACC look-EV-CON
when [he] looked **at that** (TM 29.5)

それにしろかねをねとしこがねをくきとししろき玉をみとしてたてる木あり
sore-ni sirokane-wo ne to s-i kogane-wo kuki to s-i siro-ki tama-wo mi to s-ite tat-er-u ki ar-i
that-LOC silver-ACC root DV do-INF gold-ACC trunk DV do-INF white-ATTR pearl-ACC fruit DV do-SUB stand-PROG-ATTR tree be-FIN
There is a tree **on that** [mountain], which has silver roots, a golden trunk, and white pearls for fruit (TM 33.10–11)

それが玉をとらむとて
sore-ga tama-wo tor-am-u to-te
he-POSS precious stone-ACC take-TENT-FIN DV-SUB
wishing to take **his** precious stone (TM 49.3)

それをかのまめをとこうちものがたらひて
sore-wo kano mame-wotoko uti-monogataraf-ite
she-ACC that serious-man PREF-talk on various subjects-SUB
That serious man talked **with her** on various subjects [through the night] … (IM II:112.1–2)

それを見てある人のいはく
sore-wo mi-te ar-u fito-no if-aku
that-ACC see-SUB be-ATTR person-GEN say-NML
seeing that, a certain person said … (IM IX:116.8)

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それにぞあなるとはきけど
sore n-i zo a-nar-u to fa kik-e-do
he DV-INF PT be-HS-ATTR DV TOP hear-EV-CONC
though [she] heard that [it] was probably **he** (IM LXV:148.13)

それが返し
sore-ga kafesi
he-POSS reply
his reply (IM LXXXII:160.1)

それがなかにひとり
sore-ga naka-ni fitori
they-POSS inside-LOC one-person
one among **them** (IM LXXXVIII:165.2–3)

それがもとより
sore-ga moto-yori
she-POSS base-ABL
from **her** (IM CX:175.5)

それよりのちはおぼつかなきうらみもなし
sore-yori noti fa obotukana-ki urami mo na-si
that-ABL after TOP uneasy-ATTR bad feeling PT no-FIN
after that, there will be no uneasy, bad feelings (HM I:175.2–3)

それがおそろしきまであさましきなり
sore-ga osorosi-ki made asamasi-ki nar-i
that-POSS frightened-ATTR-TERM surprised-ATTR be-FIN
that will be surprising to the extent that [it] will be frightening (HM II:223.14)

(This is the only example in the studied texts where the case marker *ga* follows *sore* used as a demonstrative, and not as a personal pronoun.)

それをば思いれで
sore-woba omof-i-ire-de
that-ACC(EMPH) think-INF-enter-NEG/GER
without taking **that** into consideration (HM II:229.9)

それさへいみじうくちおしう心うく
sore safe imizi-u kutiosi-u kokoro u-ku
that PT extreme-INF deplorable-INF heart sad-INF
even **that** is extremely deplorable and sad, and … (HM II:260.3)

それにはあらぬ人
sore n-i fa ar-an-u fito
he DV-INF TOP be-NEG-ATTR person
the person, who is not **him** (HM V:408.3)

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SONO

その竹の中にもとひかる竹なむひとすぢありけり
sono take-no naka-ni moto fikar-u take namu fito sudi ar-iker-i
that bamboo-GEN middle-LOC base shine-ATTR bamboo PT one joint be-RETR2-FIN
In the middle of **that bamboo** [grove] there was a bamboo stalk with one shining joint (TM 29.3–4)

その名ども石つくりの御子くらもちのみこ左大臣あべのみむらじ大納言大伴のみゆき中納言いそのかみのまろたり
sono na-domo Isitukuri n-o miko Kuramoti n-o miko sadaijin Abe-no Mimurazi dainagon Ofotomo-no Miyuki tiunagon Isonokami-no Marotari
their name-PLUR Isitukuri DV-ATTR prince Kuramoti DV-ATTR prince minister of the left Abe-GEN Mimurazi great councillor Ootomo-GEN Miyuki middle councillor Isonokami-GEN Marotari
their names were Prince Isitukuri, Prince Kuramoti, Minister of the Left Abe-no Mimurazi, Great Councillor Ootomo-no Miyuki, and Middle Councillor Isonokami-no Marotari (TM 31.1–2)

そののちなむ門ひろくもなり侍る
sono noti namu kado firo-ku mo nar-i-faber-u
that after PT gate wide-INF PT become-INF-POL-ATTR
After that the gate of their house becomes wide (TM 32.3)

そのけぶりいまだ雲のなかへたちのぼる
sono keburi imada kumo-no naka-fe tat-i-nobor-u
that smoke still cloud-GEN middle-ALL stand-INF-rise-FIN
That smoke still rises to (the middle of) the clouds (TM 67.4–5)

そのさとにいとなまめいたるをんなはらからすみけり
sono sato-ni ito namame-itar-u wonna fara-kara sum-iker-i
that village-LOC very elegant-PERF/PROG-ATTR woman belly-clan live-RETR2-FIN
[Two] very elegant sisters lived in **that village** (IM I:111.3)

その女世人にはまされりけり
sono wonna yo-no fito-ni fa masar-er-iker-i
that woman world-GEN person-DAT TOP be superior-PROG-RETR2-FIN
That woman was superior to [other] women (of the world) (IM II:111.13)

その人かたちよりは心なんまさりたりける
sono fito katati-yori fa kokoro nan masar-itar-iker-u
that lady looks-COMP TOP heart PT be superior-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR
The heart of **that lady** was superior to her looks (IM II:111.13–112.1)

そのかよひぢに夜ごとに人をすへてまもらせければ
sono kayofi-di-ni yo-goto-ni fito-wo sufe-te mamor-ase-ker-e-ba

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his going back and forth-way-LOC night-every-LOC person-ACC put-SUB guard-CAUS-RETR2-EV-CON
because every night [the master] made a guard watch **the path [the man] used to come and go on** (IM V:113.10–11)

せきの人おどろきて**そのとを**あく
seki-no fito odorok-ite **sono to**-wo ak-u
barrier-GEN person be surprised-SUB **that gate**-ACC open-FIN
The guards of the barrier were surprised and opened **that gate** (HM I:154.6–7)

そのヌのひみこかうやうくゑんにいでたまひぬとききて
sono mata-no fi miko Kauyaukuwen-ni ide-tamaf-in-u to kik-ite
that again-GEN day prince Kauyaukuwen-ALL go out(INF)-HON-PERF-FIN DV hear-SUB
The next day, having heard that the Prince had gone to Kauyaukuwen … (HM I:158.9)

その御あり様よのつねの子どもよりもおとなしくおはして
sono on-arisama yo-no tune-no ko-domo-yori mo otonasi-ku ofas-ite
his PREF(HON)-appearance world-GEN usual-GEN child-PLUR-COMP PT grown up-INF be(HON)-SUB
His appearance was more grown up than [that] of usual children in the world and … (HM I:163.11–12)

そのあふさかのうち忍び越がたかるべきことにはあらず
sono Afusaka-no uti sinob-i koye-gata-k-ar-ube-ki koto n-i fa ar-az-u
that Meeting Slope-GEN inside be secret-INF cross(INF)-difficult-INF-be-DEB-ATTR thing DV-INF TOP be-NEG-FIN
It is not that it should be difficult to cross secretly **that Meeting Slope** (HM V:436.10)

***SOKO* 'there', 'that place'**

This is a combination of the first stem *so-* of the mesial demonstrative pronoun *sore/so-* and the obsolete word *ko 'place'. Like *koko*, it is basically a static demonstrative pronoun, showing location, not direction, but it can also be used as a directional demonstrative when followed by the case markers *ni* or *fe*. There is not a single example of *soko* in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples:

そこをやつはしといひけるは
soko-wo ya-tu fasi to if-iker-u fa
there-ACC eight-CL bridge DV say-RETR2-ATTR TOP
The fact that [they] called **that place** 'Eight Bridges' (IM IX:116.4)

そこなる女
soko-n-ar-u[12] wonna

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there-LOC-be-ATTR woman
a woman, who was **there** (IM XIV:120.2)

そこのとなりなりける宮ばらに
soko-no tonari-n-ar-iker-u miya-bara-ni
there-GEN neighbourhood-LOC-be-RETR2-ATTR palace-PLUR-LOC
in the palaces which were located near **that place** (IM LVIII:142.8)

そこにこさせけり
soko-ni ko-sase-ker-i
there-ALL come-CAUS-RETR2-FIN
[she] made [him] come **to her place** (*lit.*: there) (IM LXIX:150.10)

(This is an interesting example, since it shows that although the man is referred to in the third person, he is actually a narrator of the story, and, therefore, the lady's place is referred to as *soko*.)

そこにはありときけど
soko-ni fa ar-i to kik-e-do
there-LOC TOP be-FIN DV hear-EV-CONC
Though [he] heard that [she] was **there** … (IM LXXIII:153.6)

そこをたちて
soko-wo tat-ite
there-ACC leave-SUB
leaving **that place** (HM I:153.4)

そこはかとなくおどろおどろしくくるしき事は侍らねど
soko fa ka to na-ku odoro-odorosi-ku kurusi-ki koto fa faber-an-e-do
there TOP PT DV no-INF surprising-surprising-INF unpleasant-ATTR matter TOP be(POL)-NEG-EV-CONC
Though **there** will not be anything in any way unpleasant or surprising … (HM I:170.13)

そこへおはして
soko-fe ofas-ite
there-ALL go(HON)-SUB
[he] went **there**, and … (HM I:181.10)

むすめをそこにわたして
musume-wo **soko-ni** watas-ite
daughter-ACC **there-ALL** move-SUB
[he] moved [his] daughter **there**, and … (HM II.227.3)

そこになんこもり給ける
soko-ni nan komor-i-tamaf-iker-u
there-LOC PT seclude oneself-INF-HON-RETR2-ATTR
[he] secluded himself **there** (HM II:261.16–262.1)

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***SONATA* 'there', 'that side'**

This pronoun originated as the result of a contraction of the modifier form *sono* of the pronoun *sore/so-* and the word *kata* 'side', 'direction'. *Sonata* is predominantly used as a dynamic demonstrative, showing direction, but it can also be used as a static demonstrative pronoun. Occasionally it is used as a third-person personal pronoun. *Sonata* does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*. Even in the later texts it is extremely rare. Examples:

そなたのつまのみすまきあげて
sonata-no tuma-no mi-su mak-i-age-te
that side-GEN edge-GEN PREF(HON)-curtain roll-INF-raise-SUB
[They] rolled up the curtains on the edge **of that** (*i.e.* opposite) **side**, and … (HM I:159.2)

そなたへはとゆきもやられず
sonata-fe fa to yuk-i mo yar-are-z-u
there-ALL TOP DV go-INF PT do-PASS-NEG-FIN
[I] could not go away **there** (TSM 367.4)

SA-

This is a special form that occurs only twice and exclusively in *Taketori monogatari* in the function of a third-person plural pronoun. Historically it obviously represents a variant of *so-*, and because its use is so marginal I have decided not to define it as the only third-person pronoun in the language of Classical Japanese prose.

さがかみをとりてかなぐりおとさんさがしりをかき出て
sa-ga kami-wo tor-ite kanagur-i otos-an **sa-ga** siri-wo kak-i-ide-te
they-POSS hair-ACC take-SUB pull-INF drop-TENT/FIN **they-POSS** bottom-ACC pull-INF-go out-SUB
[I] will pull [them] down by **their** hair, [I] will bare **their** bottoms (TM 62.5–6)

4.2.3.3 *Distal*

Distal demonstrative pronouns denote that something (or somebody) is equally distant from both the addressee and the speaker. There are two sets of distal demonstrative pronouns: the pronouns of the first set group are based on the stem *ka-*, and the pronouns of the second set on the stem *a-*.

***KARE/KA-* 'that [yonder]', 'that [over there]'**

The first stem *ka* occurs in isolation only in the constructions *ka yau n-i[te]* 'like that' and *ka bakari* 'to that extent' (neither construction is attested in *Ise monogatari*). The modifier form of *kare/ka-* is *kano*, derived by attaching the genitive case marker *no* to the first stem *ka-*. *Kare* and its modifier form

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kano can be used as both demonstrative and third-person personal pronouns. Examples:

KA

かばかり心ざしおろかならぬ人々にこそあめれ
ka bakari kokorozasi oroka nar-an-u fito-bito n-i koso a-mer-e
that PT feeling defect be-NEG-ATTR person-person DV-INF PT be-CONJC-EV
It seems that [they] are people with **such** impeccable feelings (TM 32.11–12)

かばかりまもる所に天の人にもまけむや
ka bakari mamor-u tokoro-ni ama-no fito-ni mo make-m-u ya
that PT guard-ATTR place-LOC heaven-GEN person-DAT PT be defeated-TENT-FIN PT
in a place that is **so [well]** guarded could [we] possibly lose, even to celestial beings? (TM 61.13)

かばかりおもしろうあそびよくおぼさるるかうやうくゑんにも
ka bakari omosiro-u asob-i yo-ku obos-ar-uru Kauyaukuwen-ni mo
that PT beautiful-INF play-NML good-INF think(HON)-PASS-ATTR Kauyaukuwen-LOC PT
even in Kauyaukuwen, which [the Prince] considered **so** beautiful and good for play (HM I:157.4)

かばかりつねにいひあはめ給に
ka bakari tune n-i if-i-afame-tamaf-u-ni
that PT always DV-INF say-INF-make shallow(INF)-HON-ATTR-LOC
[they] were always speaking **so** spitefully … (HM II:222.3)

かやうにて御心をたがひになぐさめ給ほどに
ka yau n-ite mi-kokoro-wo tagaf-i-ni nagusame-tamaf-u fodo-ni
that like DV-SUB PREF(HON)-heart-ACC distract-INF-ALL console(INF)-HON-ATTR time-LOC
while [the Emperor] was consoling and distracting his heart **like that** (TM 58.8)

こぞのはるかやうに月のあかかりし夜
kozo-no faru **ka yau n-i** tuki-no aka-k-ar-isi yoru
last year-GEN spring **that like DV-INF** moon bright-INF-be-RETR1/ATTR night
last spring, on the night when the moon was bright **like that** (HM I:176.13)

かやうにみたてまつりて
ka yau n-i mi-tatematur-ite
that like DV-INF look(INF)-HUM-SUB
looking [at you] **like that** … (HM II:262.5)

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かやうによをそむきなん人
ka yau n-i yo-wo somuk-in-an fito
that like DV-INF world-ACC turn back on-PERF-TENT/ATTR person
a person who is going to turn [her] back on the world **like that** (HM II:262.11)

KARE

けうらなりとおぼしける人のかれにおぼしあはすれば人にもあらず
keura nar-i to obos-iker-u fito-no **kare-ni** obos-i-afas-ure-ba fito n-i mo ar-az-u
beautiful be-FIN DV think(HON)-RETR2-ATTR person-GEN **she-LOC** think(HON)-INF-compare-EV-CON person DV-INF PT be-NEG-FIN
When [the Emperor] compared **her** with ladies whom he used to consider beautiful, they did not seem even human [to him] (TM 58.2–3)

かれはなにぞとなんおとこにとひける
kare fa nani zo to nan otoko-ni tof-iker-u
That TOP what PT DV PT man-DAT ask-RETR2-ATTR
[She] asked the man: 'What is **that**?' (IM VI:114.5)

これかれともだちどもあつまりて
kore **kare** tomodati-domo atumar-ite
this **that** friend-PLUR gather-SUB
various (*lit.*: this [and] **that**) friends gathered together, and … (IM LXXXVIII:165.2)

かれもわれとしりたるにもあらざりき
kare mo ware-to sir-itar-u n-i mo ar-az-ar-iki
he PT I-COM know-PERF/PROG-ATTR DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF-be-RETR1/FIN
He was not acquainted with me, either (HM I:189.5–6)

かれにあづくべき物侍なり
kare-ni aduk-ube-ki mono faber-u nar-i
he-DAT give-DEB-ATTR thing be(POL)-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN
there is indeed something [I] must entrust **to her** (HM II:217.10)

かれをなどかこよひまづ
kare-wo nado ka ko yofi madu
she-ACC why PT this evening anyhow
Why [did he not bring] **her** tonight, anyhow? (HM II:243.3)

KANO

かの家にゆきて
kano ife-ni yuk-ite
her house-ALL go-SUB
[they] were going **to her house**, and … (TM 31.4)

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かのはちをすてて
kano fati-wo sute-te
that bowl-ACC throw away-SUB
[he] threw away **that bowl**, and … (TM 35.4)

かの玉の枝もちてきたる
kano tama-no yeda mot-ite k-itar-u
that pearl-GEN branch hold-SUB come-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[he] brought **that pearl branch** (TM 36.10)

かのともだちこれを見ていとあはれと思ひて
kano tomodati kore-wo mi-te ito afare to omof-ite
that friend this-ACC see-SUB very sadness DV think-SUB
That friend, seeing this, thought [it was] very sad, and … (IM XVI:121.14)

かのたかやすにきて
kano Takayasu-ni k-ite
that Takayasu-ALL come-SUB
[he] came **to that Takayasu**,[13] and … (IM XXIII:127.6)

かの女やまとの方を見やりて
kano wonna Yamato-no kata-wo mi-yar-ite
that woman Yamato-GEN side-ACC see(INF)-send-SUB
That woman looked towards Yamato, and … (IM XXIII:127.8)

まことにかの人をみればやまひもやみいのちものびぬべき
makoto n-i **kano fito-wo** mi-re-ba yamafi mo yam-i inoti mo nobi-n-ube-ki
truth DV-INF **that person-ACC** see-EV-CON illness PT stop-INF life PT stretch-PERF-DEB-ATTR
Really, when [you] see **that person**, the illness will surely cease, and [your] life will be prolonged … (HM I:170.16)

かの御けしきみ給らんははうへ
kano mi-kesiki mi-tamaf-uran fafa-ufe
his PREF(HON)-facial expression see(INF)-HON-HORT/ATTR mother-top
his mother, who probably saw **his facial expression** (HM II:224.11)

このよもかのよも思さま
kono yo mo **kano** yo mo omof-u sama
this world PT **that world** PT think-ATTR view
[his] appearance as [he] thought about [life in] both this world and **that world** (HM II:254.9)

これはかのくにの后なり
kore fa **kano kuni-no** kisaki nar-i
she TOP **that country-GEN** empress be-FIN
She will become the Empress **of that country** (HM III:267.5)

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***KANATA* '[over] there', 'that side [over there]'**

This pronoun originated as the result of contraction of the modifier form *kano* of the pronoun *kare/ka-* and the word *kata* 'side', 'direction'. *Kanata* occurs only once in *Taketori monogatari* and is not attested in *Ise monogatari* or *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. Examples:

こなたかなたのめには
konata **kanata**-no me-ni fa
this-side **that**-side-GEN eye-LOC TOP
in the eyes from this side and **that side** (TM 48.12)

***KASIKO* '[over] there', 'that side [over there]'**

There is one example when it is used as a third-person personal pronoun. *Kasiko* does not occur in *Taketori monogatari*, and both examples from *Ise monogatari* are found within the same *dan*. Examples:

ここかしこよりその人のもとへいなむずなりとてくぜちいできにけり
koko kasiko-yori sono fito-no moto-fe in-amuz-unar-i to-te kuzeti ide-k-in-iker-i
here there-ABL that person-GEN base-ALL go-MOD-HS-FIN DV-SUB rumour go out(INF)-come-PERF-RETR2-FIN
Rumours surfaced **(from) here and there** that [she] was going to move to that person['s place] (IM XCVI:168.11–12)

かしこより人をこせばこれをやれ
kasiko-yori fito wokose-ba kore-wo yar-e
there-ABL person send-SUB this-ACC give-IMP
if [he] sends a person **from there**, give [him] this (IM XCVI:168.15)

御せうそくなどもここへはな給はせそ。かしこにてお
go-seusoku-nado mo koko-fe fa na-tamaf-ase-so. **kasiko** n-ite o
PREF(HON)-letter-REPR PT here-ALL TOP NEG-give(HON)-CAUS-IMP. **There** DV-SUB EXCL(?)
Please do not send letters here, either. Because [I] will be **there**! (HM I:180.13)

かしこはかうやうくゑんの后の御しぞくにて
kasiko fa Kauyaukuwen-no kisaki-no go-sizoku n-ite
She TOP Kauyaukuwen-GEN empress-GEN PREF(HON)-relative DV-SUB
She is a relative of the Empress from Kauyaukuwen, and … (HM I:200.16)

中将にはかしこにてあづけ侍しなり
tiuzyau-ni fa **kasiko n-ite** aduke-faber-isi nar-i
tiuzyau-DAT TOP **there DV-SUB** give(INF)-POL-RETR1/ATTR be-FIN
being there, [I] gave [it] to Chūjō (HM II:242.15)

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***ARE/A-* 'that [yonder]', 'that [over there]'**

The first stem *a-* does not occur in isolation. The modifier form of *are/a-* is *ano*, derived by attaching the genitive case marker *no* to the first stem *a-*. There is but one example of *are* in the studied texts where it is used as a third-person personal pronoun, but its modifier form *ano* can be used as both a demonstrative and a third-person personal pronoun. There are no examples of *are* or *ano* in *Ise monogatari*. Examples:

あれもたたかはで
are mo tatakaf-ade
they PT fight-NEG/GER
they did not fight either and … (TM 63.7)

あの国の人をえたたかはぬなり
ano kuni-no fito-wo ye-tatakaf-an-u nar-i
that country-GEN person-ACC PREV-fight-NEG-ATTR become-FIN
[they] will not be able to fight the people **of that country** (TM 62.1–2)

あの書をきし文をよみ
a-no kak-i-wok-isi fumi-wo yom-i
she-GEN write-INF-leave-RETR1/ATTR letter-ACC read-INF
[they] read [the old man and the old woman] the letter which **she** had written and left (TM 66.6–7)

あの御かたにせうそこたてまつらん
ano on-kata-ni seusoko tatematur-an
that PREF(HON)-person-DAT letter give(HUM)-TENT/FIN
[I] am going to send a letter **to that person** (HM II:243.8)

***ANATA* '[over] there', 'that side [over there]'**

This pronoun originated as a result of a contraction of the modifier form *ano* of the pronoun *are/a-* and the word *kata* 'side', 'direction'. Unlike *kanata*, *anata* occurs only in *Ise monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, but does not appear in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples of its usage are extremely rare:

山ざきのあなたにみなせといふところに宮ありけり
Yamazaki-no **anata-ni** Minase to if-u tokoro-ni miya ar-iker-i
Yamazaki-GEN **that side-LOC** Minase DV say-ATTR place-LOC palace be-RETR2-FIN
There was a palace [of his] in the place called Minase, **on the far side** of Yamazaki (IM LXXXII:158.14–159.1)

あなたうとうちいで給へるこゑのおもしろさ
anata [f]uto uti-ide-tamaf-er-u kowe-no omosiro-sa
that side suddenly PREF-go out(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR voice-GEN beautiful-NML

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the beauty of [his] voice, which suddenly went out [from] **that side** (HM I:199.4)

よしののあなたにみよしのといふところにだうたてて
Yosino-no **anata-ni** Miyosino to if-u tokoro-ni dau tate-te
Yosino-GEN that side-LOC Miyosino DV say-ATTR place-LOC prayer hall build-SUB
[He] built a prayer hall in the place called Miyosino, **on the far side** of Yosino, and ... (HM II:261,16)

4.2.3.4 *Distribution of demonstrative pronouns in the texts*

There is considerable variation in the usage of demonstrative pronouns in the studied texts. Therefore I consider it appropriate to represent this variation in tabular form (see Table 7; if a pronoun occurs only once in a particular text, I indicate it by the number 1 in parentheses).

Since *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is considerably longer than the other texts involved in this study, I have limited this chart to data from its first two scrolls only (the second scroll is approximately the same length as *Taketori monogatari*, and the first scroll's length is comparable to that of *Ise monogatari*). Therefore, the demonstrative pronouns in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* listed in Table 7 occurred in approximately the same length of text as the two

Table 7 Distribution of demonstrative pronouns in the texts

Pronoun	*Taketori*	*Ise*	*Hamamatsu*
ko	+	+	+
kore	+	+	+
kono	+	+	+
koko	+	+	+
konata	+(1)	−	+
so	+(1)	−	+
sore	+	+	+
sono	+	+	+
soko	−	+	+
sonata	−	−	+
ka	+	−	+
kare	+	+	+
kano	+	+	+
kanata	+(1)	−	−
kasiko	−	+	+
are	+(1)	−	−
ano	+	−	+
anata	−	+(1)	+

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earlier texts combined. The result is quite obvious: the system of demonstrative pronouns in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is more extensive than in the earlier texts, in much the same way as we have already observed with personal-reflexive pronouns.

4.2.4 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are usually called 'indefinite pronouns' (不定称 *futei-shō*) by Japanese linguists (Tsukishima 1969: 447). However, this label is misleading, since there are no independent indefinite pronouns in Japanese. Indefinite pronouns are in fact combinations of interrogative pronouns with the question particle *ka*. In a similar way, collective pronouns are combinations of interrogative pronouns with the following particle *mo*. The language of Classical Japanese prose has the following interrogative pronouns: *tare/ta-* 'who'; *nani* 'what'; *ika*, *ikaga*, *ikani*, *ikade* 'how'; *iduko*, *iduku*, *iduti* 'where'; *idure* 'which'; *itu* 'when'; *nazo*, *nado*, *nadote*, *nadoka* 'why'.

4.2.4.1 tare/ta- *'who'*

This pronoun has two stems: the first stem *ta-* occurs only in combination with the following case marker *ga*. The second extended stem *tare* can occur in isolation or in combination with other case markers (in the studied texts it only occurs with the accusative case marker *wo*, though in poetic sections of the texts there are examples of combinations with other case markers as well). *Tare* occurs frequently in the poetry in *Ise monogatari*, but there is just one example of it in the prose. The combination of *tare* with the particle *ka* – *tare ka* – has the function of an indefinite pronoun and usually means 'somebody' or 'anybody' (in questions), but there are also cases when the question particle *ka* simply emphasizes the question asked about *tare*. The combination of *tare* with the particle *mo* – *tare mo* – has the function of a collective pronoun meaning 'everybody', or 'nobody'/'anybody' (in negative sentences). Examples:

たればかりおぼえんにとて
tare bakari oboye-n n-i to-te
who PT think-TENT/ATTR DV-INF DV-SUB
saying: '**Who** but [me] will think [about it]?' (TM 52.2)

この女かくのたまふはたれぞととふ
kono wonna ka-ku notamaf-u fa **tare** zo to tof-u
this woman thus-INF say(HON)-ATTR TOP **who** PT DV ask-ATTR
[I] asked [her]: '**Who** are you?' (*lit.*: Who is called thus, this woman (= you))
(TM 38.10–11)

たが為にか
ta-ga tame n-i ka

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who-POSS for DV-INF PT
For **whom**? (TM 66.7)

のちはたれとしりにけり
noti fa **tare** to sir-in-iker-i
after TOP **who** DV know-PERF-RETR2-FIN
After [he] has learned **who** [she was] (IM XCIX:170.7)

たれとだにしらせでやみぬるわざをせん
tare to dani sir-ase-de yam-in-uru waza-wo s-en
who DV PT know-CAUS-NEG/GER end-PERF-ATTR measure-ACC do-TENT/FIN
Let us take measures so it will end without even letting anyone know **who** [she is] (HM I:178.8)

たれときこゆる人ぞ
tare to kikoy-uru fito zo
who DV say(HUM)-ATTR person PT
What is your name (*lit.*: **Who** are you called)? (HM I:179.3)

この世にはたればかりかこの人こころをみだすべきはあらん
kono yo-ni fa **tare bakari ka** kono fito kokoro-wo midas-ube-ki fa ar-an
this world(= country)-LOC TOP **who PT PT** this person heart-ACC stir up-DEB-ATTR TOP be-TENT/ATTR
Will there be **anybody** in this country who can stir up this person's heart? (HM I:186.3)

たれも見おぼさん事
tare mo mi-obos-an koto
who PT see(INF)-think(HON)-TENT/ATTR matter
the fact that **everybody** wanted to see (HM II:226.2)

たれもたれもなげきみだれて
tare mo tare mo nagek-i-midare-te
who PT who PT lament-INF-be in confusion-SUB
everybody was lamenting in confusion, and … (HM II:232.9)

たれとかはしり給べきと思侍ど
tare to ka fa sir-i-tamaf-ube-ki to omof-i-faber-e-do
who DV PT TOP know-INF-HON-DEB-ATTR DV think-INF-POL-EV-CONC
Though [I] think [you] probably know **who** [I am] … (HM II:261.3)

たれかはかかるすまゐする人のあらん
tare ka fa kakar-u sumawi s-uru fito n-o ar-an

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who PT TOP be such-ATTR living do-ATTR person DV-ATTR be-TENT/ATTR
Who might be the person who lives like that? (HM III:264.12)

なにのゆへたれをたづねきこえさせたる
nani-no yufe **tare-wo** tadune-kikoyesase-tar-u
what-GEN reason **who-ACC** look for(INF)-HUM-PERF/PROG-ATTR
for what reason and **whom** are [you] looking for (HM III:279.2–3)

こはたれぞ
ko fa **tare** zo
this TOP **who** PT
Who is this? (TSM 371:11)

4.2.4.2 nani *'what'*

Nani can modify a noun with or without the following case marker *no* (whether expressed overtly or reflected by *rendaku* only), though the usage with the case marker is more frequent than without. Like *tare*, *nani* followed by the particles *ka* and *mo* functions as an indefinite and a collective pronoun, respectively. Note that the indefinite and collective usages of *nani ka* and *nani mo* also include cases where the modified noun or even the whole clause is inserted between the pronoun and particle.

なにのしるしあるべくもみえず
nani-no sirusi ar-ube-ku **mo** mi-ye-z-u
what-GEN sign be-DEB-INF **PT** see-PASS-NEG-FIN
[They] cannot see that there might be **any** sign [at all] (TM 30.14)

なにばかりのふかきをか見ん
nani-bakari-no fuka-ki-wo ka mi-n
what-PT-GEN deep-ATTR-ACC PT see-TENT/FIN
[I] want to see how (*lit.*: **what** about) deep [their intentions are] (TM 32.12–13)

かぐや姫何かかたからんといへば
Kaguya-fime **nani** ka kata-k-ar-an to if-e-ba
Kaguya-fime **what** PT difficult-INF-be-TENT/ATTR DV say-EV-CON
Since Kaguya-hime said: '**What** is difficult?' … (TM 33.16)

このたくみらが申ことはなに事ぞ
kono takumi-ra-ga mawos-u koto fa **nani**-ⁿgoto zo
this craftsman-PLUR-GEN talk(HUM/PEJ)-ATTR thing TOP **what**-(GEN)thing PT
What are these craftsmen talking about ? (TM 39.16)

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我子をなに人かむかへきこえん
wa-ga ko-wo **nani** fito **ka** mukafe-kikoye-n
I-POSS child-ACC **what** person **PT** meet(INF)-HUM-TENT/ATTR
Will **some** people come to take my child? (TM 60.4)

なにせむにか
nani s-em-u n-i ka
what do-TENT-ATTR DV-INF PT
What should [we] do? (TM 66.7)

かれはなにぞとなんおとこにとひける
kare fa **nani** zo to nan otoko-ni tof-iker-u
That TOP **what** PT DV PT man-DAT ask-RETR2-ATTR
[She] asked the man; '**What** is that?' (IM VI:114.5)

なにごともいささかなることもえせで
nani-°goto mo isasaka nar-u koto mo ye-se-de
what-(GEN)thing PT trifling be-ATTR thing PT PREV-do-NEG/GER
not being able to do **anything**, even a trifling thing (IM XVI:121.11–12)

なにのあたにかおもひけん
nani-no ata n-i ka omof-ik-en
what-GEN enemy DV-INF PT think-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
[the lady], who thought [of him as of] **some [kind of] enemy** (IM XXXI:130.11–12)

いまはなにの心もなし
ima fa **nani-no kokoro mo** na-si
now TOP **what-GEN idea PT** no-FIN
[I] do not have **any thoughts** now [but of meeting you] (IM XCVI:168.9)

何事をかは中納言にはつたへならはすべき
nani-°goto-wo ka fa tiunagon-ni fa tutafe-narafas-ube-ki
what-(GEN)thing-ACC PT TOP chūnagon-DAT TOP hand over-teach-DEB-ATTR
what (thing) should [we] entrust to the Chūnagon? (HM I:155.15)

そこになに事もいまよりおぼしはぐくめ
soko-ni **nani-°goto mo** ima-yori obos-i-fagukum-e
there-LOC **what-(GEN)matter PT** now-ABL think(HON)-INF-raise with care-IMP
Please think over there about **everything** from now on and raise [her] with care (HM II:249.6–7)

中納言どのの御しやうぞくの事もなにもすべてさながら少将のめのとにあづけしらせ給て
tiunagon-dono-no go-syauzoku-no koto mo **nani mo** subete sa nagara sy-auzyau-no menoto-ni aduke-sir-ase-tamaf-ite

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chūnagon-lord-GEN PREF(HON)-clothing-GEN matter PT **what PT** all thus CONJ syauzyau-GEN wet nurse-DAT entrust(INF)-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-SUB
the Lord Chūnagon entrusted **everything** – matters of his clothing and **everything** – to Shōjō's wet nurse and,...(HM II:263.12–13)

なにのゆへたれをたづねきこえさせたる
nani-no yufe tare-wo tadune-kikoyesase-tar-u
what-GEN reason who-ACC look for(INF)-HUM-PERF/PROG-ATTR
for **what** reason and whom are [you] looking for (HM III:279.2–3)

こはなにぞなにぞ
ko fa **nani** zo **nani** zo
this TOP **what** PT **what** PT
What? What is this? (TSM 371.7)

4.2.4.3 ika, ikani, ikaga, ikade *'how'*

All four pronouns listed above mean 'how'. The interrogative pronoun *ika* 'how', typical of Old Japanese, occurs once in *Taketori monogatari*:

いかならんとするぞとの給ふ
ika nar-an to s-uru zo to notamaf-u
how be-TENT/FIN DV do-ATTR PT say(HON)-ATTR
[He] said: 'What (*lit.*: **how**) is going to happen?' (TM 47.7)

Ikani historically represents a combination of *ika* 'how' and the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be'. Since the independent form *ika* in the studied texts is limited to one case in *Taketori monogatari*, I treat *ikani* as a morphologically indivisible word on the synchronic level. *Ikani* occurs only once in the prose of *Ise monogatari*. *Ikaga* is a contraction of the combination of *ikani* and the question particle *ka*: *ikani ka* (attested in OJ) > *ikanka > *ikaga* [ika^{n}ga]. There is no functional difference between *ikani* and *ikaga*. There is also another form, *ikade*, going back to a combination of *ika* with the gerund *n-ite* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be'. The usage of *ikade* is a bit different from that of *ikani* and *ikaga*: besides meaning just plain 'how', there are also cases when it is used in the meaning 'somehow'. Examples:

IKANI

かくかたき事をばいかに申さむといふ
ka-ku kata-ki koto-woba **ikani** mawos-am-u to if-u
be-such-INF difficult-ATTR matter-ACC(EMPH) **how** say(HUM)-TENT-FIN DV say-FIN
[Taketori] said: '**How** am I going to tell them about such difficult tasks?' (TM 33.15)

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我をいかにせよとて
ware-wo **ikani** se-yo to-te
I-ACC **how** do-IMP DV-SUB
what (*lit.*: **how**) do [you] want me to do (TM 64.10)

いかにせん
ikani se-n
how do-TENT/FIN
What (*lit.*: **how**) should [I] do? (IM LXV:147.12–13)

いかになりぬるみぞ
ikani nar-in-uru mi zo
how be-PERF-ATTR I PT
What (*lit.*: **how**) will happen to me? (HM I:156.14–15)

たれをいかにする事ぞ
tare-wo **ikani** s-uru koto zo
who-ACC **how** do-ATTR matter PT
How and whom will this matter affect? (HM II:228.11)

IKAGA

命しなばいかがはせん
inoti sin-aba **ikaga** fa s-en
life die-COND **how** TOP do-TENT/FIN
If I die, what (*lit.*: **how**) [else] can [I] do? (TM 37.11)

竜のくびにたまはいかがとらむと申あへり
tatu-no kubi-ni tama fa **ikaga** tor-am-u to mawos-i-af-er-i
dragon-GEN neck-LOC jewel TOP **how** take-TENT-FIN DV say(HUM)-INF-REC-PROG-FIN
[They] were saying to each other: '**How** would [we] take the jewel from the dragon's neck?' (TM 45.7)

えびすごころを見てはいかがはせんは
yebisu-°gokoro-wo mi-te fa **ikaga** fa se-n fa
rustic-(DV)heart-ACC see-SUB TOP **how** TOP do-TENT/ATTR TOP
What (*lit.*: **how**) shall [I] do, if [he] sees [this] rustic heart? (IM XV:121.1–2)

京をいかが思ひけむ
miyako-wo **ikaga** omof-ik-em-u
capital-ACC **how** think-RETR1-TENT-FIN
How might [he] think about the capital? (IM LIX:143.5)

いかがはせん
ikaga fa se-n
how TOP do-TENT/FIN
What (*lit.*: **how**) should [I] do? (HM I:174:6–7)

Sách có bản quyền

このほどにいかがなりはてぬらん
kono fodo-ni **ikaga** nar-i-fate-n-uran
this time-LOC **how** become-INF-end-PERF-TENT/FIN
How will it end this time? (HM I:193.15)

IKADE

いかでこのかぐや姫をえてしがな
ikade kono Kaguya-fime-wo ye-te-si gana
how this Kaguya-fime-ACC get-PERF-RETR1/ATTR PT
they wanted to get this Kaguya-hime **somehow** (TM 30.7)

いかでかさることなくてはおはせん
ikade ka sar-u koto na-ku-te fa ofase-n
how PT be such-ATTR thing no-INF-SUB TOP be(HON)-TENT/ATTR
How would you live without such a thing? (TM 32.3–4)

いかでか中にをとりまさりはしらむ
ikade ka naka-ni wotor-i masar-i fa sir-am-u
how PT inside-LOC be inferior-NML be superior-NML TOP know-TENT-ATTR
How would [I] know [who] among [them] is inferior or superior? (TM 32.13–14)

かかるみちはいかでかいまする
kakar-u miti fa **ikade** ka imas-uru
be such-ATTR road TOP **how** PT be(HON)-ATTR
How [did you happen] to be on such a road? (IM IX:116.14)

いかでこのおとこにものいはむとおもひけり
ikade kono otoko-ni mono if-am-u to omof-iker-i
how this man-DAT thing say-TENT-FIN DV think-RETR2-FIN
[she] thought that [she] wanted **somehow** to tell this man about [her] feelings (IM XLV:137.10–11)

なをいかでほかよりいてわたりたるとは人にしられじ
nawo **ikade** foka-yori i-te[14] watar-itar-u to fa fito-ni sir-are-zi
after all, **how** other-ABL bring-SUB cross over-PERF/PROG-ATTR DV PT person-AGT know-PASS-NEG/TENT
After all, **somehow** [I] don't want [it] to be known by the people that [I] have brought [her] over from the other [country] (HM II:217.3)

かかる人をばいかでかおもひよらぬ人のあるべき
kakar-u fito-woba **ikade ka** omof-i-yor-an-u fito n-o ar-ube-ki
be such-ATTR person-ACC(EMPH) **how PT** think-INF-approach-NEG-ATTR person DV-ATTR be-DEB-ATTR

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Such a person is someone about whom [you] cannot [even] think in **any way** (HM II:235.8)

その御かげにはいかでか
sono mi-kage-ni fa **ikade** ka
his PREF(HON)-shadow-LOC TOP **how** PT
How is it in his shadow? (HM II:255.6)

There are also two special set phrases involving *ika* 'how': *ika bakari* and *ika [yau] nar-u*.

IKA BAKARI 'what kind', 'what extent', 'to a considerable extent' (*lit.*: 'how about'). It does not occur in *Ise monogatari*. There is also just a single example in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples:

いかばかりの女ぞとまかりてみて参れとの給ふ
ika bakari n-o wonna zo to makar-ite mi-te mair-e to notamaf-u
how PT DV-ATTR woman PT DV go(HUM)-SUB see-SUB come(HUM/PEJ)-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN
[The Emperor] said: 'Go and see **what kind** of woman [she is]' (TM 53.15)

かかりける事どものみだれげにいかばかりかは
kakar-iker-u koto-domo-no midare ge n-i **ika bakari** ka fa
be such-RETR2-ATTR matter-PLUR-GEN confusion real DV-INF **how PT** PT TOP
Really to **what extent** [are] these matters confused (HM II:224.14–15)

いかばかりかはうくあさましうおぼしあまりて
ika bakari ka fa u-ku asamasi-u obos-i-amar-ite
how PT PT TOP sad-INF unexpected-INF think(HON)-INF-be in excess-SUB
[you] were too much concerned that it was **so** sad and unexpected (HM II:244.13)

IKA NAR-U, IKA YAU NAR-U 'what [like] kind' (*lit.*: 'how [like] be') is always used as a modifier. *Ika nar-u* in combination with the question particle *ka* means 'some kind', and with the particle *mo* 'any kind'. *Ika nar-u* occurs once in *Taketori monogatari* and once in *Ise monogatari*. Its variant *ika yau nar-u* occurs once in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples:

いかなる所にかこの木はさぶらひけん
ika nar-u tokoro-ni ka kono ki fa saburaf-ik-en
how become-ATTR place-LOC PT this tree TOP be(POL)-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
In **what kind** of place was this tree? (TM 37.7)

いかなることかありけん
ika nar-u koto **ka** ar-ik-en

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how become-ATTR thing **PT** be-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
some kind of thing happened (IM XXI:124.4–5)

いかなるふしもがな
ika nar-u fusi mogana
how be-ATTR pretext PT
[I] want **any kind of** pretext! (HM I:167.5)

いかなる事かいでこん
ika nar-u koto ka ide-ko-n
how become-ATTR thing PT go out(INF)-come-TENT/FIN
something will come out (HM I:207.3)

いかやうなる心ざしあらん人にかあはむとおぼす
ika yau nar-u kokorozasi ar-an fito-ni ka af-am-u to obos-u
how like be-ATTR feeling be-TENT/ATTR person-DAT PT meet-TENT-ATTR DV think(HON)-FIN
You think of marrying a person with **what kind** of feelings? (TM 32.11)

4.2.4.4 iduko, iduku, iduti *'where'*

There is no functional difference between *iduko* and *iduku*: both are used as static interrogative pronouns, asking a question about a location. *Iduku* is an older form, inherited from Old Japanese, and *iduko* is a newer one that appeared only in the Heian period (Ōno *et al.* 1990: 111–12). *Iduti* 'where [to]' is different: it functions as a dynamic interrogative pronoun, referring to a direction. *Iduko* and *iduku* are not attested in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples:

IDUKO

いづこをはかりともおぼえざりければ
iduko-wo fakar-i to mo oboye-z-ar-iker-e-ba
where-ACC apply-NML DV PT think-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON
because [he] did not know **where** to start [searching for her] (IM XXI:124.10–11)

もろこしにわたりたりしひじりはいづこにある
Morokosi-ni watar-itar-isi fiziri fa **iduko-ni** ar-u
China-ALL cross over-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR sage TOP **where-LOC** be-ATTR
Where is the sage who has been to China? (HM II:261.14)

いづこのたよりかは侍らん
iduko-no tayori ka fa faber-an
where-GEN message PT TOP be(POL)-TENT/ATTR
Where can the message be **from**? (HM III:266.1)

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IDUKU

いづくなりけむあやしさによめる
iduku nar-ik-em-u ayasi-sa n-i yom-er-u
where be-RETR1-TENT-ATTR strange-NML DV-INF recite-PROG-ATTR
[a man], wondering **where** [she] might be [from], recited … (IM LXIV:146.10–11)

とし立かへりぬるあしたの空はいづくもかはらぬものなれば
tosi tat-i-kafer-in-uru asita-no sora fa **iduku mo** kafar-an-u mono nar-e-ba
year start-INF-return-PERF-ATTR morning-GEN sky TOP **where PT** change-NEG-ATTR thing be-EV-CON
Because the sky on New Year['s] morning is the same **everywhere** … (HM I:168.11–12)

いづくにも人の物いひかはらねば
iduku-ni mo fito-no mono-ifi kafar-an-e-ba
where-LOC PT person-GEN thing-saying change-NEG-EV-CON
because people's gossip is the same **everywhere** (HM II:232.1)

IDUTI

いづちもいづちも足のむきたらんかたへいなむず
iduti mo iduti mo asi-no muk-itar-an kata-fe in-amuz-u
where PT where PT foot-GEN direct-PERF/PROG-TENT/FIN side-ALL go-MOD-FIN
[we] will go **anywhere**, wherever [our] feet take [us] (TM 46.3)

いづちいぬらんともしらず
iduti in-uran to mo sir-az-u
where go-TENT/FIN DV PT know-NEG-FIN
[he] did not know **where** [she] might have gone **to** (IM LXII:145.6–7)

またいづちおぼしたつぞ
mata **iduti** obos-i tat-u zo
again **where to** think-INF depart-FIN PT
Where are you thinking of going **to** again? (HM II:263.12)

いづちにかものし給
iduti-ni ka mono-s-i-tamaf-u
where-ALL PT thing-do-INF-HON-FIN
Where did [she] go **to**? (HM III:266.5)

4.2.4.5 idure *'which'*

Idure appears only in the poetic part of *Ise monogatari*. It is also quite rare in *Hamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. When followed by the particle *mo*, *idure*

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acquires a collective pronoun function, meaning 'everything', 'all', or 'neither' (with a following negative). There are no examples of a combination of *idure* with the particle *ka* in the studied texts. Examples:

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程は見ゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i ofasimas-**an**-e-ba mi-kokorozasi-no fodo fa mi-y-ube-si
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML be(HON)-**NEG**-EV-CON PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent TOP see-PASS-DEB-FIN
Since **neither** [of you] is superior or inferior, [she] must see the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.5–6)

いづれのかたともしらず
idure-no kata to mo sir-az-u
which-GEN direction DV PT know-NEG-FIN
[They] did not even know **which** direction [it was] (TM 47.4–5)

いづれの山か天にちかきととはせ給ふに
idure-no yama ka ame-ni tika-ki to tof-ase-tamaf-u-ni
which-GEN mountain PT heaven-LOC close-ATTR DV ask-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR-LOC
when [the Emperor] asked: '**Which** mountain is close to heaven?' (TM 66.12)

いづれこのさくらおほくてあれたるやど
idure. kono sakura ofo-ku-te are-tar-u yado
which. this sakura many-INF-SUB dilapidated-PERF/PROG-ATTR dwelling
Which [one]? This dilapidated dwelling with many cherry blossoms? (TSM 370.7)

いづれぞとたづぬる事もなし
idure zo to tadun-uru koto mo na-si
which PT DV ask-ATTR thing PT no-FIN
[she] did not even ask: '**Which** [shôjô]?' (TSM 406.6)

The special form *idure to [mo] na-ku* 'everything', 'all' (*lit.*: '[can]not say which') is to be noted:

月かげともいづれともなくゑにかきたるやうなり。三の君きん四の君こと五の君びはかきあはせたるこゑごゑいづれとなくおもしろし
tuki-kage to mo **idure to mo na-ku** we-ni kak-itar-u yau nar-i. mi-tu n-o kimi kin yo-tu n-o kimi koto itu-tu n-o kimi bifa kak-i-af-ase-tar-u kowe-gowe **idure to na-ku** omosiro-si
moon-light DV PT **which DV PT no-INF** picture-LOC draw-PERF/PROG-ATTR like be-FIN. three-CL DV-ATTR lady zither four-CL DV-ATTR lady koto five-CL DV-ATTR lady biwa play-INF-COOP-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR voice-voice **which DV no-SUB** beautiful-FIN

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the moonlight and **everything** were as if they had been drawn in a picture. The sounds of [musical instruments] played together: the *biwa*, played by the fifth daughter, the *koto*, played by the fourth daughter, and the zither, played by the third daughter, were **all** beautiful (HM I:214.6–8)

4.2.4.6 itu *'when'*

Followed by the particle *ka*, *itu* 'when' may acquire the function of an indefinite pronoun with the meaning 'some time', but in some cases *ka* is simply be used as a question particle reinforcing the interrogative pronoun *itu* 'when'. Followed by the particle *mo*, *itu* has the function of a collective pronoun meaning 'always'. Examples:

いつかききけん
itu ka kik-ik-en
when PT hear-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
at some time [they] heard (TM 36.5)

しほがまにいつかきにけむ
Sifogama-ni **itu ka** k-in-ik-em-u
Sifogama-ALL **when PT** come-PERF-RETR1-TENT-ATTR
When might [I] have come to Siogama? (IM LXXXI:158.8,11)

(This example comes from a poem.)

いつしか三のみことく見たてまつらん
itu si **ka** mi-tu n-o miko to-ku mi-tatematur-an
when PT **PT** three-CL DV-ATTR prince fast-INF see-HUM-TENT/ATTR
[I] want to see the Third Prince **some time** soon (HM I:155.4)

いつもいつもたづねしらせたまへとばかりになん
itu mo itu mo tadune-sir-ase-tamaf-e to bakari n-i nan
when PT when PT look for(INF)-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP DV PT DV-INF PT
[I] am just [asking you]: 'Please **always** look for and find [it in your heart]' (HM I:174.1)

このよには又いつかは
kono yo-ni fa mata **itu ka** fa
this country-ALL TOP again **when PT** TOP
[Maybe he will come] again to this country **sometimes** (HM I:193.12)

いつしかに侍
itu si **ka** n-i faber-u
when PT **PT** DV-INF be(POL)-ATTR
When was [it]? (HM II:232.2–3)

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宮には人々まいりあつまりていつしかとまちたてまつるに
miya-ni fa fito-bito mair-i-atumar-ite **itu** si **ka** to mat-i-tatematur-u-ni
palace-ALL TOP person-person come(HUM)-INF-gather-SUB **when** PT **PT** DV wait-INF-HUM-ATTR-LOC
People came to the palace and waited, thinking: '**When** [will he arrive]?' (HM II:241.9–10)

いつをいかにとたのむともなきありさまにて
itu-wo ikani to tanom-u tomo na-ki arisama n-ite
when-ACC how DV request-FIN CONJ no-ATTR situation DV-SUB
it was a situation when it is no use to ask **about when** and how (HM II:258.11–12)

The special form **itu to na-ku** 'all the time', 'always' (*lit.*: '[can]not say when') is to be noted:

いつとなくしづみふし給へるむすめ
itu to na-ku sidum-i fus-i-tamaf-er-u musume
when DV no-INF be upset-INF lie down-INF-HON-PROG-ATTR daughter
[his] daughter, who was upset and lying down **all the time** (HM I:172.2)

4.2.4.7 nazo, nado, nadote *'why'*

All these interrogative pronouns are historically derived from *nani* 'what'. *Nazo* is a contraction of *nani* 'what' and the particle *so*: *nani so* > *nanso* > *nazo* [na^{n}zo]. *Nazo* does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* or in *Ise monogatari*, and there is just one example of it from *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. Etymologically *nado* and *nadote* are combinations of *nani* 'what' and two different forms of the defective verb *to* 'to say': the infinitive form *to* and the gerund form *to-te*: *nani to* > *nanto* > *nado* [na^{n}do]; *nani to-te* > *nantote* > *nadote* [na^{n}dote]. *Nadote* occurs only in the poetry in *Ise monogatari* and is not attested in *Taketori monogatari*. *Nado* and *nadote* may be followed by the question particle *ka* without any change in meaning. Examples:

NAZO

かばかりもなぞや
ka bakari mo **nazo** ya
that PT PT **why** PT
Why [did it change] so? (HM I:174.11)

NADO

などかくたのもしげなく申ぞ
nado ka-ku tanomosi-ge na-ku mawos-u zo
why so-INF kind-NML no-INF speak(HUM/PEJ)-FIN PT
Why do [you] speak so dishearteningly? (TM 47.12)

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などかおきなの手におほしたてたらむ物を心にまかせざらむ
nado ka okina-no te-ni ofos-i-tate-tar-am-u mono-wo kokoro-ni makase-z-ar-am-u
why PT old man-GEN hand-LOC raise-INF-establish-PERF/PROG-TENT-ATTR thing-ACC heart-LOC entrust-NEG/INF-be-TENT-ATTR
Why should [she] not obey when [you], I suppose, raised [her] with your (*lit.*: old man's) own hands? (TM 55.8–9)

おきなにかうぶりをなどか給せざらん
okina-ni kauburi-wo **nado** ka tamaf-ase-z-ar-an
old man-DAT [courtier] hat-ACC **why** PT give(HON)-CAUS-NEG/INF-be-TENT/ATTR
Why would [I] not give you the rank of courtier? (TM 55.9–10)

などかくしもよむ
nado ka-ku simo yom-u
why be thus-INF PT recite-FIN
Why did [you] recite thus? (IM CI:171.8)

などありしほどたえずたちよりききならさざりけん
nado ar-isi fodo taye-zu tat-i-yor-i kik-i-naras-az-ar-ik-en
why be-RETR1/ATTR time interrupt-NEG/INF set out-INF-approach-INF listen-INF-get accustomed-NEG/INF-be-RETR1-TENT/FIN
Why did [I] not constantly go out to visit [her] and get accustomed to listening [to how she plays the *biwa*] while [I] was [in China]? (HM II:227.8–9)

かれをなどかこよひまづ
kare-wo **nado** ka ko yofi madu
she-ACC **why** PT this evening anyhow
Why [did he not bring] her tonight, anyhow? (HM II:243.3)

などきこえ給はであるべきぞ
nado kikoye-tamaf-ade ar-ube-ki zo
why say(HUM)-HON-NEG/GER be-DEB-ATTR PT
Why is it not possible to reply? (HM III:298.12)

NADOTE

などてかいままで
nadote ka ima-made
why PT now-TERM
Why until now … (HM 1:166.5)

そはなどてか事々しうはあらん
so fa **nadote** ka kotogotosi-u fa ar-an
that TOP **why** PT abundant-INF TOP be-TENT/FIN
Why is that [so] abundant? (HM I:196.15)

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などて月ごろききならさざりつるぞ
nadote tuki-goro kik-i-naras-az-ar-it-uru zo
why month-time listen-INF-get accustomed-NEG/INF-be-PERF-ATTR PT
Why did [I] not get accustomed to listening to [how she plays the **biwa**] during [these months]? (HM I:215.2–3)

4.2.4.8 nadeu *and* nandeu *'what kind', 'why'*

There are also two special forms worth mentioning: *nandeu* and *nadeu*, both phonetic variants of a contraction of the construction *nani to if-u* 'what kind'. *Nandeu* occurs both in *Taketori monogatari* and *Ise monogatari*, *nadeu* is attested only in *Taketori monogatari*.

こはなでうことをのたまふぞ
ko fa **nadeu koto-wo** notamaf-u zo
this TOP **what kind of thing-ACC** say(HON)-FIN PT
What are [you] saying, this? (TM 60.2–3)

なでうことなく人のめにかよひけるに
nandeu koto na-ku fito-no me-ni kayof-iker-u-ni
what kind thing no-INF person-GEN wife-DAT visit-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
[he] was visiting the wife of a commoner (*lit.*: of a person **about whom there is nothing to say**) (IM XV:120.12)

However, it is not infrequent for both *nandeu* and *nadeu* also to be used in the meaning 'why'. In this usage both occur only in *Taketori monogatari*. Examples:

なんでうさることかし侍らん
nandeu sar-u koto ka s-i-faber-an
why be such-ATTR thing PT do-POL-TENT/ATTR
Why should [I] do such a thing? (TM 32.4)

なんでうここちすれば
nandeu kokoti s-ure-ba
why mood do-EV-CON
Why are [you] in such a mood? (TM 58.15)

なでう物をかなげき侍べき
nadeu mono-wo ka nagek-i-faber-ube-ki
why thing-ACC PT worry-INF-be(POL)-DEB-ATTR
Why should [you] worry about anything? (TM 59.2)

4.2.4.9 *Distribution of interrogative pronouns in the texts*

There is considerable variation in the usage of interrogative pronouns in the studied texts. I therefore considered it appropriate to represent the variation in

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Table 8 Distribution of interrogative pronouns in the texts

Pronoun	*Taketori*	*Ise*	*Hamamatsu*
tare	+	+(1)	+
nani	+	+	+
ika	+	−	−
ikani	+	+(1)	+
ikaga	+	+	+
ikade	+	+	+
iduko	−	+	+
iduku	−	+	+
iduti	+	+	+
idure	+	−	+
itu	+	+	+
nazo	−	−	+(1)
nado	+	+	+
nadote	−	−	+
nandeu	+	+	−
nadeu	+	−	−

tabular form (see Table 8; if a pronoun occurs only once in a particular text, I indicate it by the number 1 in parentheses).

4.2.5 True collective pronouns

Besides collective pronouns derived from the interrogative by adding the particle *mo*, described in the above section, there are also two other collective pronouns in the language of Classical prose which I call true collective pronouns: *mina* 'all', 'everybody', 'everything' and *subete* 'all', 'everything'. *Mina* can refer to both animate and inanimate nouns, while *subete* refers only to inanimate things. *Subete* does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*. Examples:

MINA

みな難波まで御をくりしける
mina Nanifa-made mi-wokur-i s-iker-u
everybody Nanifa-TERM PREF(HON)-see off-NML do-RETR2-ATTR
everybody [went] as far as Naniwa [to] see [the Prince] off (TM 35.9)

みな手をわかちてもとめたてまつれども
mina te-wo wakat-ite motome-tatematur-e-domo
all group-ACC divide-SUB look for(INF)-HUM-EV-CONC
though **all** [of them], dividing into groups, looked for [him] (TM 41.7–8)

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かのくにの人こばみなあきなむとす
kano kuni-no fito ko-ba **mina** ak-in-am-u to s-u
that country-GEN person come-COND **all** open-PERF-TENT-FIN DV do-FIN
when people from that country come, **all** [doors and locks] will open by themselves (TM 62.2–3)

みな人かれいひのうへになみだおとして
mina fito kare-ifi-no ufe-ni namida otos-ite
all person dry-rice-GEN top-LOC tear drop-SUB
Everyone shed tears on [their] dried rice and … (IM IX:116.11)

京には見えぬとりなればみな人見しらず
miyako-ni fa mi-ye-n-u tori nar-e-ba **mina fito** mi-sir-az-u
capital-LOC TOP see-PASS-NEG-ATTR bird be-EV-CON **all person** see(INF)-know-NEG-FIN
Because it was a bird unseen in the capital, **no one** recognized [it] (IM IX:117.11)

みな人ききてわらひけり
mina fito kik-ite waraf-iker-i
all person hear-SUB laugh-RETR2-FIN
everyone heard and laughed [at him] (IM LXV:147.10)

人々もみな宮こをおもひいでて
fito-bito mo **mina** miyako-wo omof-i-ide-te
person-person PT **all** capital-ACC think-INF-go out-SUB
everyone (of these people) recollected the capital, and … (HM I:157.8–9)

みな人こころをひとつになして
mina fito kokoro-wo fito-tu-ni nas-ite
all person heart-ACC one-CL-LOC make-SUB
Everyone joined [their] hearts into one, and … (HM I:162.11)

しかみなうけ給はりて侍れば
sika **mina** uketamafar-ite faber-e-ba
thus **everything** hear(HUM)-SUB be(POL)-EV-CON
Thus, I have heard **everything** … (HM I:173.16)

SUBETE

これはすべてちかきありさまわがよのひとに露ばかりたがうところなく
kore fa **subete** tika-ki arisama wa-ga yo-no fito-ni tuyu bakari taga-u tokoro na-ku
she TOP **everything** close-ATTR looks I-POSS country-GEN person-LOC dew PT differ-ATTR place no-INF
As for her, [her] looks were similar [in] **every way** and did not differ at all from the [appearance of] ladies of our country (HM I:179.15)

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すべてよよをふともわするべうもあらず
subete yo-yo-wo f-u tomo wasur-ube-u mo ar-az-u
all life-life-ACC go across-FIN CONJ forget-DEB-INF PT be-NEG-FIN
even if [I] go across **all existences**, [I] would not be able to forget [it] (HM I:188.8)

すべてかほりなつかしげなり
subete kafor-i natukasi-ge nar-i
everything be fragrant-INF nostalgic-NML be-FIN
Everything was fragrant and seemed to bring sweet memories (HM II:230.5–6)

中納言どのの御しやうぞくの事もなにもすべてさながら少将のめのとにあづけしらせ給て
tiunagon-dono-no go-syauzoku-no koto mo nani mo **subete** sa nagara sy-auzyau-no menoto-ni aduke-sir-ase-tamaf-ite
chūnagon-lord-GEN PREF(HON)-garment-GEN matter PT what PT **all** thus CONJ syauzyau-GEN wet nurse-DAT entrust(INF)-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-SUB
the Lord Chūnagon entrusted **everything** – matters of his clothing and everything – to Shôjô's wet nurse, and … (HM II:263.12–13)

Special usage

Subete can be also used as an adverb: 'completely', 'at all' (always with the following verb in the negative form):

これはすべていささかあらぬよの人とおぼえず
kore fa **subete** isasaka ar-an-u yo-no fito to oboye-zu
he TOP **at all** trifle be-NEG-ATTR country-GEN person DV think-NEG/INF
It was not possible to think of him **at all** as a person from a different country, and … (HM I:190.15)

ねをなむすべてなかぬ
ne-wo namu **subete** nak-an-u
sound-ACC PT **completely** cry-NEG-ATTR
[she] did not cry out aloud **at all** (HM II:223.16)

4.3 NUMERALS

Numerals in the language of Classical Japanese prose have two subclasses: cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals. There is no distinction between cardinal and ordinal numerals among the numerals of Japanese origin, which are all essentially cardinal but can also be used in an ordinal function. These two functions of native Japanese numerals are differentiated exclusively by context. Numerals of Chinese origin can be divided into cardinal and ordinal classes, the latter marked by the prefix 第 *dai-*. I also include in this section the description of classifiers, i.e. bound nouns used only in combination with numerals. There are native classifiers as well as classifiers borrowed from Chinese.

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4.3.1 Cardinal numerals

In contrast to Old Japanese, in the language of Classical Japanese prose only the following native numerals are used: *fito-* 'one', *futa-* 'two', *mi-* 'three', *yo-* 'four', *itu-* 'five', *mu-* 'six', *nana-* 'seven', *ya-* 'eight', *kokono-* 'nine', *towo* 'ten', *fatati* 'twenty', *misoti* 'thirty', *yosoti* 'forty', *musoti* 'sixty', *momo* 'hundred', *ti* 'thousand', *yorodu* 'ten thousand'. Native numerals above ten, like *towo amari nana* 'seventeen' (*lit.*: 'ten exceed seven'), *nanasoti* 'seventy', *yofoti* 'four hundred', for the most part have vanished from the language, being replaced by more economical Chinese loanwords; however, *misoti* 'thirty', *yosoti* 'forty', *musoti* 'sixty', *momo* 'hundred', *ti* 'thousand', and *yorodu* 'ten thousand' are attested in the texts. The numerals of Chinese origin below 'eleven' occur only with classifiers or measure words of Chinese origin, but are never used independently (see Table 9).

In the following examples, when numerals below eleven are given the first numeral is native Japanese, and the second is the Chinese loanword.

***FITO-* 'one'**

その竹の中にもとひかる竹なむ**ひとすぢ**ありけり
sono take-no naka-ni moto fikar-u take namu **fito-sudi** ar-iker-i
that bamboo-GEN middle-LOC base shine-ATTR bamboo PT **one-CL** be-RETR2-FIN
In the middle of that bamboo [grove] there was a bamboo stalk with **one** shining joint (TM 29.3–4)

それ一枝おりて給はらんといふ
sore **fito** yeda or-ite tamafar-an to if-u
that **one** branch break-SUB receive-TENT/FIN DV say-FIN
[She] said: 'I want to receive [from him] **one** branch of that [tree] which he will break off [for me]' (TM 33.11)

ひとつのたからなりけるかぢたくみ
fito-tu n-o takara nar-iker-u kadi takumi
one-CL DV-ATTR treasure be-RETR2-ATTR smith craftsman
the goldsmiths, who are the best (*lit.*: the **first** treasure) (TM 35.13)

はり一だにあらばまづいころして
fari **fito-tu** dani ar-aba madu i-koros-ite
needle **one-CL** PT be-COND anyway shoot(INF)-kill-SUB
Even if [that] is just [the size of] **one** needle, [we] will shoot and kill [it] anyway (TM 61.15)

みな人こころを**ひとつ**になして
mina fito kokoro-wo **fito-tu-ni** nas-ite
all person heart-ACC **one-CL-LOC** make-SUB
Everyone joined [their] hearts **into one**, and … (HM I:162.11)

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Table 9 Numerals of Japanese and Chinese origin

Numeral	*Japanese set*	*Chinese set*
1	ひと *fito-*	いち *iti-*
2	ふた *futa-*	に *ni-*
3	み *mi-*	さん *san-*
4	よん *yo(n)-*	し *si-*
5	いつ *itu-*	ご *go-*
6	む *mu-*	ろく *roku-*
7	なな *nana-*	しち *siti-*
8	や *ya-*	はち *fati-*
9	ここの *kokono-*	く *ku*
10	とを *towo*	じふ *zifu*
11	–	じふいち *zifu iti*
12	–	じふに *zifu ni*
13	–	じふさん *zifu san*
14	–	じふし *zifu si* じふよん *zifu yon* (?)
15	–	じふご *zifu go*
16	–	じふろく *zifu roku*
17	–	じふしち *zifu siti*
18	–	じふはち *zifu fati*
19	–	じふきう *zifu kiu*
20	はたち *fatati*	にじふ *ni zifu*
21	–	にじふいち *ni zifu iti*
22	–	にじふに *ni zifu ni*
30	みそち *misoti*	さんじふ *san zifu*
40	よそち *yosoti*	よんじふ *yon zifu*
50	–	ごじふ *go zifu*
60	むそち *musoti*	ろくじふ *roku zifu*
70	–	しちじふ *siti zifu*
80	–	はちじふ *fati zifu*
90	–	きうじふ *kiu zifu*
100	もも*momo*	ひゃく *fyaku*
101	–	ひゃくいち *fyaku iti*
123	–	ひゃくにじふさん *fyaku ni zifu san*
200	–	にひゃく *ni fyaku*
1,000	ち *ti*	せん *sen*
2,000	–	にせん *ni sen*
10,000	よろづ *yorodu*	ばん *ban*

一のきさきの御ちちの大臣
fito-tu n-o kisaki-no mi-titi n-o otodo
one-CL DV-ATTR empress-GEN PREF(HON)-father DV-ATTR minister
the minister, who is the father of the **First** Empress (HM I:170.5–6)

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一の大臣の五の君のもとへ
fito-tu n-o daizin-no itu-tu n-o kimi-no moto-fe
one-CL DV-ATTR minister-GEN five-CL DV-ATTR lady-GEN base-ALL
to the fifth daughter of the **first** minister (HM II:237.5)

わがみひとつのみはづかしくあらまうくおぼす
wa-ga mi **fito-tu** nomi fadukasi-ku ar-amau-ku obos-u
he-POSS body **one-CL** PT depressed-SUB be-NEG/OPT-INF think(HON)-FIN
(Only) he alone (*lit.*: **one-thing**) felt depressed and did not want to live (HM III.285.12–13)

Iti 'one' does not occur by itself in the studied texts.

FUTA-, NI- 'two'

天ぢくに二となきはちを百千萬里の程ゆきたりともいかでかとるべきとおもひて
Tendiku-ni **futa-tu** to na-ki fati-wo fyaku sen ban ri-no fodo yuk-itar-i tomo ikade ka tor-ube-ki to omof-ite
India-LOC **two-CL** DV no-ATTR bowl-ACC hundred thousand ten thousand ri-GEN distance go-PERF/PROG-FIN CONJ how PT take-DEB-ATTR DV think-SUB
[he] thought: 'How could I get the bowl, when there is not another one like it (*lit.*: there are no **two**) in India, even if I travel a billion ri?' and … (TM 34.6–8)

こなたかなたのめにはすももをふたつつけたるやう也
konata kanata-no me-ni fa sumomo-wo **futa-tu** tuke-tar-u yau nar-i
this side that side-GEN eye-LOC TOP plum-ACC **two-CL** attach-PERF/PROG-ATTR like be-FIN
[it] was as if there were **two** plums in [his] eyes on this and that side (TM 48.12–13)

みまなこ二にすもものやうなる玉をぞそへていましたる
mi-manako **futa-tu**-ni sumomo-no yau nar-u tama-wo zo sofe-te imas-itar-u
PREF(HON)-pupil of the eye **two-CL**-LOC plum-GEN like be-ATTR pearl-ACC PT attach-SUB HON-PERF/PROG-ATTR
His eyes are like **two** round plums (TM 49.10–11)

身にかさひとつふたついできにけり
mi-ni kasa fito-tu **futa-tu** ide-k-in-iker-i
body-LOC abscess one-CL **two-CL** go out(INF)-come-PERF-RETR2-FIN
one or **two** abscesses appeared on [the woman's] body (IM XCVI:168.9)

二三日ばかりみありくに
ni-san-niti bakari mi-arik-u-ni
two-three-CL PT look(INF)-walk-ATTR-LOC
[we] were looking and walking for about **two** or three days (TM 38.7)

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二位の中納言
ni-wi-no tiunagon
two-rank-GEN chūnagon
second-rank Chūnagon (*lit.*: a chûagon of the rank **two**) (HM I:176.8)

二三人ばかりにて
ni-san-nin bakari n-ite
two-three-CL PT DV-SUB
about **two** or three persons (HM I:196.7)

***MI-, SAN* 'three'**

三ずんばかりなるひと
san-zun bakari nar-u fito
three-inch PT be-ATTR person
a person, about **three inches** [tall] (TM 29.5)

かまどを三へにしこめて
kamado-wo **mi-fe** n-i s-i kome-te
furnace-ACC **three-CL** DV-INF do-INF insert-SUB
[he] surrounded the furnace with **three layers** [of walls] (TM 35.14)

ねひとつよりうしみつまであるに
ne fito-tu-yori usi **mi-tu**-made ar-u-ni
rat one-CL-ABL ox **three-CL**-TERM be-ATTR-LOC
[she] was [with him] from [watch] one [of the hour of the] rat till [watch] **three** [of the hour of the] ox (IM LXIX:151.2–3)

花のしなひ三尺六寸ばかりなむありける
fana-no sinafi **san** syaku roku sun bakari namu ar-iker-u
flower-GEN corolla **three** syaku six sun PT PT be-RETR2-ATTR
The flower's corolla was about **three** feet six inches [long] (IM CI:171.3–4)

三の御こ
mi-tu n-o miko
three-CL DV-ATTR prince
the Third Prince (HM 1:156.2)

三の君きん四の君こと五の君びはかきあはせたるこゑごゑいづれとなくおもしろし
mi-tu n-o kimi kin yo-tu n-o kimi koto itu-tu n-o kimi bifa kak-i-af-ase-tar-u kowe-gowe idure to na-ku omosiro-si
three-CL DV-ATTR lady zither four-CL DV-ATTR lady koto five-CL DV-ATTR lady biwa play-INF-COOP-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR voice-voice which DV no-INF beautiful-FIN

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The sounds of [musical instruments] played together: the *biwa*, played by the fifth daughter, the *koto*, played by the the fourth daughter, and the zither, played by the **third** daughter, were all beautiful (HM I:214.6–8)

三とせが中に
mi-tose-ga uti-ni
three-year-POSS inside-LOC
for **three years** (HM II:216.6)

姫君三になり給ければ
fime-gimi **mi-tu** n-i nar-i-tamaf-iker-e-ba
Hime-gimi **three-CL** DV-INF become-INF-HON-RETR-EV-CON
because Hime-gimi turned **three** years old … (HM II:253.1)

YO-, SI 'four'

とおといひつつよつはへにけり
too to if-itutu **yo-tu** fa fe-n-iker-i
ten DV say-COOR **four-CL** TOP pass-PERF-RETR2-FIN
It is (*lit.*: passed) **four** [times] ten [years] (IM XVI:121.15)

(This example comes from a poem.)

三ば四ばの殿づくりして
mi-tu-ba **yo-tu**-ba n-o tono-°dukur-i s-ite
three-CL-CL **four-CL**-CL DV-ATTR palace-(GEN)make-NML do-SUB
[they] built a palace with three or **four** roofs, and …(HM I:163.2–3)

したしき人三四ばかりにて
sitasi-ki fito san-nin **si-nin** bakari n-ite
close-ATTR person three-CL **four-CL** PT DV-SUB
(about) three or **four** people who were close to her (HM I:176.7)

三の君きん四の君こと五の君びはかきあはせたるこゑごゑいづれとなくおもしろし
mi-tu n-o kimi kin **yo-tu** n-o kimi koto itu-tu n-o kimi bifa kak-i-af-ase-tar-u kowe-gowe idure to na-ku omosiro-si
three-CL DV-ATTR lady zither **four-CL** DV-ATTR lady koto five-CL DV-ATTR lady biwa play-INF-COOP-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR voice-voice which DV no-INF beautiful-FIN
The sounds of [musical instruments] played together: the *biwa*, played by the fifth daughter, the *koto*, played by **the fourth** daughter, and the zither, played by the third daughter, were all beautiful (HM I:214.6–8)

四五にていみじうおかしげにて
yo-tu itu-tu n-ite imizi-u okasi-ge n-ite

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four-CL five-CL DV-SUB extreme-INF attractive-NML DV-SUB
at **four** or five [years old, she] seemed very attractive, and…(HM III:280.13)

***ITU-, GO* 'five'**

五人おもひやむ時なくよるひるきける
go-nin omof-i-yam-u toki na-ku yoru firu k-iker-u
five-CL think-INF-stop-ATTR time no-INF night day come-RETR2-ATTR
five people who did not stop thinking [about her] and were coming day and night (TM 30.15–31.1)

たつのくびに五色にひかる玉あり
tatu-no kubi-ni **go-shiki**-ni fikar-u tama ar-i
dragon-GEN neck-LOC **five-colour**-LOC shine-ATTR pearl be-FIN
there is a pearl on the dragon's neck which shines in **five colours** (TM 33. 12–13)

つちより五尺ばかりあがりたる
tuti-yori **go-syaku** bakari agar-itar-u
ground-ABL **five-syaku** PT be raised-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[they] were about **five feet** above the ground (TM 63.3–4)

五にあたり侍むすめのすぐれたるあいしに侍り
itu-tu-ni atar-i-faber-u musume-no sugure-tar-u aisi n-i faber-i
five-CL-LOC correspond-INF-POL-ATTR daughter-GEN be supreme-PERF/PROG-ATTR beloved child DV-INF HON-FIN
The fifth daughter is an especially beloved child (HM I:172.13)

三の君きん四の君こと五の君びはかきあはせたるこゑごゑいづれとなくおもしろし
mi-tu n-o kimi kin yo-tu n-o kimi koto **itu-tu** n-o kimi bifa kak-i-af-ase-tar-u kowe-gowe idure to na-ku omosiro-si
three-CL DV-ATTR lady zither four-CL DV-ATTR lady koto **five-CL** DV-ATTR lady biwa play-INF-COOP-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR voice-voice which DV no-INF beautiful-FIN
The sounds of [musical instruments], played together: the *biwa*, played by **the fifth** daughter, the *koto*, played by the fourth daughter, and the zither, played by the third daughter, were all beautiful (HM I:214.6–8)

一の大臣の五の君のもとへ
fito-tu n-o daizin-no **itu-tu** n-o kimi-no moto-fe
one-CL DV-ATTR minister-GEN **five-CL** DV-ATTR lady-GEN base-ALL
to the **fifth** daughter of the first minister (HM II:237.5)

四五にていみじうおかしげにて
yo-tu **itu-tu** n-ite imizi-u okasi-ge n-ite

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four-CL **five-CL** DV-SUB extreme-SUB attractive-NML DV-SUB
at four or **five** [years old, she] seemed very attractive, and … (HM III:280.13)

***MU-, ROKU* 'six'**

六人をめしとりて
roku-nin-wo mes-i-tor-ite
six-CL-ACC summon-INF-take-SUB
[he] summoned **six people**, and … (TM 35.13–14)

花のしなひ三尺六寸ばかりなむありける
fana-no sinafi san syaku **roku** sun bakari namu ar-iker-u
flower-GEN corolla three syaku **six** sun PT PT be-RETR2-ATTR
The flower's corolla was about three feet **six** inches [long] (IM CI:171.3–4)

***NANA-, SITI* 'seven'**

つくしよりただ七日にまうできたる
Tukusi-yori tada **nano-ka**-ni maude-k-itar-u
Tukusi-ABL just **seven-CL**-LOC come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[he] came from Tsukushi in just **seven days** (TM 42.8–9)

七どめぐりて
siti-do megur-ite
seven-CL turn around-SUB
[the swallow] will turn around **seven times** (TM 51.7)

御年七八ばかりにて
mi-tosi **nana-tu** ya-tu bakari n-ite
PREF(HON)-year **seven-CL** eight-CL PT DV-SUB
[The Prince] was about **seven or** eight years [old] … (HM I:156.6)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa tada sitasi-ku obosimes-u **siti** fati-nin bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP only close-INF think(HON)-ATTR **seven** eight-CL PT
about **seven** or eight ladies-in-waiting, only (those) to whom she herself felt close (HM I:183.12–13)

***YA-, FATI* 'eight'**

そこをやつはしといひけるは
soko-wo **ya-tu** fasi to if-iker-u fa
there-ACC **eight-CL** bridge DV say-RETR2-ATTR TOP
The fact that [they] called that place '**Eight** Bridges' (IM IX:116.5)

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御年七八ばかりにて
mi-tosi nana-tu **ya-tu** bakari n-ite
PREF(HON)-year seven-CL **eight-CL** PT DV-SUB
[The Prince] was about seven or **eight** years [old] … (HM I:156.6)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa tada sitasi-ku obosimes-u siti **fati**-nin bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP only close-INF think(HON)-ATTR seven **eight**-CL PT
about seven or **eight** ladies-in-waiting, only (those) to whom she herself felt close (HM I:183.12–13)

しろき御ぞ八ばかり
siro-ki on-zo **ya-tu** bakari
white-ATTR PREF(HON)-garment **eight-CL** PT
about **eight** white garments (HM IV:367.1–2)

***KOKONO-, KU* 'nine'**

ここのしなのうへにのぼり給ぬるうれしさ
kokono sina-no ufe-ni nobor-i-tamaf-in-uru uresi-sa
nine step-GEN top-LOC climb-INF-HON-PERF-ATTR joyful-NML
the joy of climbing to the top of the **Nine** Steps [in paradise] (HM IV:332.15–16)

四十の賀九条の家にてせられける
yosoti n-o ga **ku**-zyau-no ife-nite se-rare-ker-u
forty DV-ATTR celebration **nine**-CL-GEN house-LOC do-PASS-RETR2-ATTR
the celebration of [his] fortieth [year] was held in the house in the **Ninth** Ward (IM XCVII:169.6–7)

九品ののぞみ
ku-fon-no nozom-i
nine-step-GEN wish-NML
a wish of the **Nine** Steps (HM I:165.12)

九百九十九人のわうのかずに入りて
ku fyaku **ku** zifu **ku**-nin-no wau-no kazu-ni ir-ite
nine hundred **nine** ten **nine**-CL-GEN king-GEN number-LOC enter-SUB
being among **nine** hundred and **ninety-nine** kings (HM I:203.12)

***TOWO, ZIFU* 'ten'**

とおといひつつよつはへにけり
too to if-itutu yo-tu fa fe-n-iker-i

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ten DV say-COOR four-CL TOP pass-PERF-RETR2-FIN
It is (*lit.*: passed) four times ten [years] (IM XVI:121.15)

(This example comes from a poem.)

十よ人ばかりならびゐたり
zifu yo nin bakari narab-i-wi-tar-i
ten exceed CL PT be in a row-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN
about **ten** people were sitting in a row (HM I:159.4)

いにしへは十二年をすごしてのみこそかへりけれ
inisife fa **zifu ni** nen-wo sugos-ite nomi koso kafer-iker-e
old times TOP **ten two** year-ACC spend-SUB PT PT return-RETR2-EV
In old times, they only returned after [they] had spent **twelve** years [in China] (HM I:193.6)

FATATI, NI-ZIFU **'twenty'**

まめなるをのこども廿人ばかりつかはして
mame nar-u wonoko-domo **ni-zifu**-nin bakari tukafas-ite
reliable be-ATTR male-PL **two ten** CL PT send-SUB
[he] sent about **twenty** reliable male [servants], and … (TM 59.11)

かぐや姫をやしなひたてまつること廿余年に成ぬ
Kaguya-fime-wo yasinaf-i-tatematur-u koto **ni-zifu** yo nen n-i nar-in-u
Kaguya-hime-ACC raise-INF-HUM-ATTR thing **two-ten** exceed year DV-INF be-PERF-FIN
[I] have been raising Kaguya-hime for more than **twenty** years (TM 64.1)

その山はここにたとへばひえの山をはたちばかりかさねあげたらんほどして
sono yama fa koko-ni tatof-e-ba Fiye n-o yama-wo **fatati** bakari kasane-age-tar-an fodo s-ite
that mountain TOP here-LOC compare-EV-CON Hiei DV-ATTR mountain-ACC **twenty** PT pile up(INF)-raise-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR degree do-SUB
That mountain, when [one] compares [it] with [mountains] here, is about **twenty** [times] as high as Mount Hiei … (IM IX:117.4)

御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて
mi-tosi **fatati** bakari ya ofas-uram-u to oboye-te
PREF(HON)-age **twenty** PT PT be(HON)-TENT-ATTR DV think(HON)-SUB
[he] thought that [the consort] was probably about **twenty**, and … (HM I:159.7)

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廿がうちによをしらせ給はば
fatati-ga uti-ni yo-wo sir-ase-tamaf-aba
twenty-GEN inside-LOC relationship-ACC know-CAUS-HON-COND
if [she] learns [about] the relationship [between men and women] [before becoming] (*lit*: within) **twenty** (HM IV:358.9)

***MISOTI* 'thirty'**

御かど卅よばかりにて
mikado **misoti** yo bakari n-ite
emperor **thirty** exceed PT DV-SUB
The Emperor was about **thirty** plus [years old] … (HM I:155.5)

***YOSOTI* 'forty'**

四十の賀九条の家にてせられける
yosoti n-o ga ku-zyau-no ife-nite se-rare-ker-u
forty DV-ATTR celebration nine-CL-GEN house-LOC do-PASS-RETR2-ATTR
the celebration of [his] **fortieth** [year] was held in the house in the Ninth Ward (IM XCVII:169.6–7)

***MUSOTI, ROKU ZIFU* 'sixty'**

ひじりはとし六十ばかりにて
fiziri fa tosi **musoti** bakari n-ite
Sage TOP year **sixty** PT DV-SUB
As for the sage, [he] was about **sixty** years of age … (HM III:265.2)

御めのとごの六十ちかうなりて
mi-menotogo-no **musoti** tika-u nar-ite
PREF(HON)-wet sister-GEN **sixty** close-SUB become-SUB
Her wet sister was nearly sixty … (HM IV:359.4)

わがみかど六十よこくの中に
wa-ga mikado **roku-zifu yo** koku-no naka-ni
we-POSS emperor **sixty exceed** province-GEN inside-LOC
Among **more than sixty** provinces of our Emperor (IM LXXXI:158.10)

***MOMO, FYAKU* 'hundred'**

It appears that **momo** is used exclusively in poems, while **fyaku** is confined to prose:

ももとせに一とせたらぬつくもがみ
momo tose-ni fito tose tar-an-u tukumogami
hundred year-DIR one year reach-NEG-ATTR white hair of an old person

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the white hair [of a lady] of ninety-nine (lit.: who did not reach one year to a **hundred**) (IM LXIII:146.2)

(This example comes from a poem.)

秋のももよ
aki-no **momo** yo
autumn-GEN **hundred** night
one hundred nights in the autumn (HM III:297.15)

(This example comes from a poem.)

天ぢくに二となきはちを百千萬里の程ゆきたりともいかでかとるべきとおもひて
Tendiku-ni futa-tu to na-ki fati-wo **fyaku sen ban** ri-no fodo yuk-itar-i tomo ikade ka tor-ube-ki to omof-ite
India-LOC two-CL DV no-ATTR bowl-ACC **hundred thousand ten thousand** ri-GEN distance go-PERF/PROG-FIN CONJ how PT take-DEB-ATTR DV think-SUB
[he] thought: 'How could I get the bowl, when there is not another one like it (lit.: there are no two) in India, even if I travel a **billion** ri?' and ... (TM 34.6–8)

五百日といふたつの時ばかりに
go **fyaku** niti to if-u tatu-no toki-bakari-ni
five **hundred** day DV say-ATTR dragon-GEN hour-PT-LOC
at about the hour of the dragon on the five **hundredth** day (TM 38.4)

九百九十九人のわうのかずに入りて
ku **fyaku** ku zifu ku-nin-no wau-no kazu-ni ir-ite
nine **hundred** nine ten nine-CL-GEN king-GEN number-LOC enter-SUB
being among nine **hundred** and ninety-nine kings (HM I:203.12)

TI, SEN 'thousand'

日に千たび
fi-ni **ti** tabi
day-LOC **thousand** time
a thousand times a day (HM V:439.5)

天ぢくに二となきはちを百千萬里の程ゆきたりともいかでかとるべきとおもひて
Tendiku-ni futa-tu to na-ki fati-wo **fyaku sen ban** ri-no fodo yuk-itar-i tomo ikade ka tor-ube-ki to omof-ite
India-LOC two-CL DV no-ATTR bowl-ACC **hundred thousand ten thousand** ri-GEN distance go-PERF/PROG-FIN CONJ how PT take-DEB-ATTR DV think-SUB

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[he] thought: 'How could I get the bowl, when there is not another one like it (*lit.*: there are no two) in India, even if I travel a **billion** ri?' and … (TM 34.6–8)

***YORODU, BAN* 'ten thousand'**

Yorodu normally just means 'much', 'many':

よろづめでたくすぐれたりける人かな
yorodu medeta-ku sugure-tar-iker-u fito kana
much attractive-INF surpass-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR person PT
[He] turned out to be a **very** attractive and perfect person! (HM I:161.4–5)

But in certain cases the meaning 'ten thousand' may be argued for:

よろづ思ひもしらで
yorodu omof-i mo sir-ade
ten thousand think-NML PT know-NEG/GER
without knowing **ten thousand** thoughts (HM I:183.10)

天ぢくに二となきはちを百千萬里の程ゆきたりともいかでかとるべきとおもひて
Tendiku-ni futa-tu to na-ki fati-wo **fyaku sen ban** ri-no fodo ik-itar-i tomo ikade ka tor-ube-ki to omof-ite
India-LOC two-CL DV no-ATTR bowl-ACC **hundred thousand ten thousand** ri-GEN distance go-PERF/PROG-FIN CONJ how PT take-DEB-ATTR DV think-SUB
[he] thought: 'How could I get the bowl, when there is not another one like it (*lit.*: there are no two) in India, even if travel a **billion** ri?' and … (TM 34.6–8)

Approximate numbers

Approximate numbers are expressed by a simple juxtaposition of numerals:

身にかさもひとつふたついでたり
mi-ni kasa mo **fito-tu futa-tu** ide-tar-i
body-LOC abscess PT **one-CL two-CL** go out-PERF/PROG-FIN
in addition, **one or two** abscesses appeared on [my] body (IM XCVI:168.9)

ともとする人ひとりふたりしてゆきけり
tomo to s-uru fito **fito-ri futa-ri** s-ite yuk-iker-i
friend DV do-ATTR person **one-CL two-CL** do-SUB go-RETR2-FIN
[he] went with **one or two** people, whom [he] considered friends (IM VIII:115.10)

二三日ばかりみありくに
ni-san-niti bakari mi-arik-u-ni
two-three-CL PT look(INF)-walk-ATTR-LOC
[we] were looking and walking for about **two or three** days (TM 38.7)

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三ば四ばの殿づくりして
mi-tu-ba yo-tu-ba n-o tono-dukur-i s-ite
three-CL-CL four-CL-CL DV-ATTR palace-make-INF do-SUB
[they] built a palace with **three or four roofs**, and …(HM I:163.2–3)

したしき人三四ばかりにて
sitasi-ki fito **san-nin si-nin** bakari n-ite
close-ATTR person **three-CL four-CL** PT DV-SUB
(about) **three or four** people who were close to her (HM I:176.7)

御年七八ばかりにて
mi-tosi **nana-tu ya-tu** bakari n-ite
PREF(HON)-year **seven-CL eight-CL** PT DV-SUB
[The Prince] was about **seven or eight** years [old] … (HM I:156.6)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa tada sitasi-ku obosimes-u **siti fati-nin** bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP only close-INF think(HON)-ATTR **seven eight-CL** PT
about **seven or eight** ladies-in-waiting, only (those) to whom she herself felt close (HM I:183.12–13)

4.3.2 Ordinal numerals

As was mentioned above, the only marked ordinal numerals in the language of prose are those of Chinese origin with the prefix 第 *dai-*. They are used comparatively rarely. Only the following are attested, exclusively in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*:

***DAI-ITI* 'first'**

中納言日本のだいーのならびなき人なんめり
tiunagon fa nihon-no **dai-iti** n-o narab-i na-ki fito nan-mer-i
chūnagon TOP Japan-GEN **PREF-one** DV-ATTR be in a row-NML no-ATTR person be-CONJC-FIN
It seems that the Chūnagon is the number one (*lit.*: **first**) person in Japan, who cannot be compared to anyone (HM I:200.4–5)

***DAI-SAN* 'third'**

第三の親王
dai-san n-o sinwau
PREF-three DV-ATTR prince
the Third Prince (HM V: 440.1)

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***DAI-GO* 'fifth'**

一の大臣の第五のむすめ
fito-tu n-o otodo-no **dai-go** n-o musume
one-CL DV-ATTR minister-GEN **PREF-five** DV-ATTR daughter
the **fifth** daughter of the first minister (HM V: 440.2)

As in Modern Japanese, the prefix *dai-* is not used with days of the month:

こよひは廿一日にて
ko yofi fa **ni-zifu-iti-niti** n-ite
this evening TOP **twenty one-CL** DV-SUB
This evening was the **twenty-first day**, and … (HM IV:390.7)

4.3.3 Classifiers

***BA* 'roof'**

三ば四ばの殿づくりして
mi-tu-ba[15] **yo-tu-ba** n-o tono-[n]dukur-i s-ite
three-CL-CL four-CL-CL DV-ATTR palace-(GEN)make-NML do-SUB
[they] built a palace with **three or four roofs**, and …(HM I:163.2–3)

***DO* 'time(s)'**

七どめぐりて
siti-do megur-ite
seven-CL turn around-SUB
[the swallow] will turn around **seven times** (TM 51.7)

***FE* 'layer'**

かまどを三へにしこめて
kamado-wo **mi-fe** n-i s-i kome-te
furnace-ACC **three-CL** DV-INF do-INF insert-SUB
[he] surrounded the furnace with **three layers** [of walls] (TM 35.14)

***KA* 'day'**

この程三日うちあげあそぶ
kono fodo **mi-ka** uti-age-asob-u
this time **three-CL** PREF-raise(INF)-play-FIN
At this time [they] celebrated for **three days** (TM 30.4)

二日といふ夜おとこわれてあはむといふ
futu-ka to if-u yoru otoko warete af-am-u to if-u
two-CL DV say-ATTR night man by all means meet-TENT-FIN DV say-FIN
On the night of the **second day**, the man said: 'Let us meet by all means' (IM LXIX:150.11)

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すなごのいみじうしろきをふつかみかゆく
sunago-no imizi-u siro-ki-wo **futu-ka mi-ka** yuk-u
sand-GEN extreme-INF white-ATTR-ACC **two-CL three-CL** go-FIN
[we] were walking on extremely white sand for **two or three days** (SN 32.4)

つくしよりただ七日にまうできたる
Tukusi-yori tada **nano-ka**-ni maude-k-itar-u
Tukusi-ABL only **seven-CL**-LOC come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[he] came from Tsukushi in just **seven days** (TM 42.8–9)

The 'first day of the month' is expressed by a special word *tuitati* (< *tuki tati* 'moon appears'), as in the modern language.

時はやよひのついたち
toki fa yayofi-no **tuitati**
time TOP third month-GEN **first day**
the time was the **first day** of the third month (IM II:112.2–3)

***NIN* 'person'**

かかる程におとこども六人つらねて庭に出きたり
kakar-u fodo-ni otoko-domo **roku-nin** turane-te nifa-ni ide-k-itar-i
be such-ATTR time-LOC man-PLUR **six-CL** go in line-SUB garden-LOC appear-come-PERF/PROG-FIN
at this time, **six** men appeared in the garden (TM 39.12)

子三人をよびてかたりけり
ko **san-nin-wo** yob-ite katar-iker-i
child **three-CL-ACC** call-SUB tell-RETR2-FIN
[she] called [her] **three** sons and told [them her dream] (IM LXIII:145.10–11)

Note that in contrast to Modern Japanese in which the accusative marker *wo* follows the noun itself and never the numeral with the classifier, in the language of Classical Japanese prose the situation is the opposite: the accusative marker *wo* follows the numeral with the classifier (cf. Modern Japanese *kodomo-wo san-nin* yonde 'calling *three children*, and …').

五人おもひやむ時なくよるひるきける
go-nin omof-i-yam-u toki na-ku yoru firu k-iker-u
five-CL think-INF-stop-ATTR time no-INF night day come-RETR2-ATTR
five people who did not stop thinking [about her] were coming day and night (TM 30.15–31.1)

六人をめしとりて
roku-nin-wo mes-i-tor-ite

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six-CL-ACC summon-INF-take-SUB
[he] summoned **six people**, and … (TM 35.13–14)

***RI* 'person'**

ひとりはいやしきおとこのまづしき**ひとり**はあてなるおとこもたりけり
fito-ri fa iyasi-ki otoko-no madusi-ki **fito-ri** fa atenar-u otoko mot-ar-iker-i
one-CL TOP common-ATTR man-GEN poor-ATTR **one-CL** TOP noble-ATTR man hold-PROG-RETR2-FIN
One married a poor man, who was a commoner, [but] **another** married a noble man (IM XLI:135.7–8)

ともとする人**ひとりふたり**してゆきけり
tomo to s-uru fito **fito-ri futa-ri** s-ite yuk-iker-i
friend DV do-ATTR person **one-CL two-CL** do-SUB go-RETR2-FIN
[he] went with **one or two** people, whom [he] considered friends (IM VIII:115.10)

ただとねり**二人**めしつぎとして
tada toneri **futa-ri** mesitug-i to s-ite
only retainer **two-CL** accompany-NML DV do-SUB
only accompanied by **two** retainers (TM 46.13)

むかし女はらから**ふたり**ありけり
mukasi wonna fara-kara **futa-ri** ar-iker-i
long ago woman belly-clan **two-CL** be-RETR2-FIN
Long ago, there were **two** sisters (from the same mother) (IM XLI:135.7)

***SUDI* 'piece'**

毛のすゑ**一すぢ**をだにうごかしたてまつらじ
ke-no suwe **fito-sudi**-wo dani ugokas-i-tatematur-azi
hair-GEN end **one-CL**-ACC PT move-INF-HUM-NEG/TENT
[I] will not touch even **one** end [of his] hair! (TM 48.1–2)

***TOKORO* 'person' (about high-ranking persons)**

ただ**一ところ**ふかき山へ入給ひぬ
tada **fito-tokoro** fuka-ki yama-ni ir-i-tamaf-in-u
only **one-person** deep-ATTR mountain-LOC enter-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
[he] went away all **alone**, deep into the mountains (TM 41.6–7)

ZYAU 'ward'

二条のきさきのまだ春宮のみやすん所と申けるとき
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada faru-miya-no mi-yasundokoro to mawos-iker-u toki
two-CL-GEN empress-GEN still heir-apparent-GEN PREF(HON)-consort-mother DV say(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR time
when the Empress from the **Second Ward** was still called consort-mother of the Heir Apparent (IM LXXVI:154.12)

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三条のおほみゆきせし時
san-zyau-no ofomi-yuk-i se-si toki
three-CL-GEN PREF(HON)-visit-NML do-RETR1/ATTR time
during an imperial visit to **the Third Ward** (IM LXXVIII:156.9)

Months of the year

Strictly speaking, the native names for the months of the year are still in use in the language of Classical prose. These names are not based on numerals like the Modern Japanese names for months, which were borrowed from Chinese. The names of these months, along with their alternative character spellings, are: (睦月) *mutuki* 'first lunar month', (如月) *kisaragi* 'second lunar month', (弥生) *yayofi* 'third lunar month', (卯月) *uduki* 'fourth lunar month', (五月) *satuki* 'fifth lunar month', (水無月) *minaduki* 'sixth lunar month', (文月) *fuduki* 'seventh lunar month', (葉月) *faduki* 'eighth lunar month', (長月) *nagatuki* 'ninth lunar month', (神無月) *kamunaduki* 'tenth lunar month', (霜月) *simotuki* 'eleventh lunar month', (師走) *sifasu* 'twelfth lunar month'. But there are cases when these names are represented by Chinese characters in the Chinese style as 'one-moon', 'two-moon', 'three-moon', etc.

時はやよひのついたち
toki fa **yayofi**-no tuitati
time TOP **third month**-GEN first day
the time was the first day of the **third month** (IM II:112.2–3)

おとこ三月つごもりがたに
otoko **yayofi** tugomori-gata-ni
man **third month** end-direction-LOC
the man [recited] towards the end of the **third month** … (IM XCI:166.2)

NOTES

1 Historically *ofomi-* is a compound consisting of *ofo-* 'big', 'great' and the honorific prefix *mi-*.
2 Historically, *ofon-* is a contraction of the prefix *ofomi-*, described above. However, its functional usage is different: while *ofomi-* may refer only to deities, Buddhas, emperors, and their relatives, *ofon-* does not necessarily have this restriction.
3 It is widely believed that even when we have a *kana* spelling おん, it was still pronounced as [ofon] or [oon] (Ikeda 1975: 188). The basis for this 'belief' remains unclear: *kana* spellings in the Heian period prior to Fujiwara-no Teika are quite phonetic in their nature, and the orthographic sophistication proposed by Ikeda appears unlikely. It is likely that *on-* just represents a further phonetic reduction of *ofon-*, which is itself a reduced form of *ofomi-*.
4 The clause in front of the defective verb behaves like a main clause, since the verb is in the final form.
5 *Mitinokuni* is a contraction of *Mitinoku-no kuni* 'Mitinoku province'.
6 Misspelling for *obotukana-u*.
7 There was no ablative case marker *kara* in Old Japanese, either: only *ywori* (> Classical Japanese *yori*) and its variants *ywo*, *yu*, and *yuri* were used.
8 Yamada Yoshio gives three examples of *ware-ga*, where the case marker *ga* follows not the first but the second extended stem (Yamada 1952: 12). However, all these examples are found in poetic texts.

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9 *Lit.*: I-POSS body, 'my body'.
10 An interesting example of a misspelling (instead of the expected *obotukana-u* < *obotukana-ku*). It demonstrates that intervocalic /-f-/ had already shifted to /-w-/ and then disappeared in front of the following /u/, according to the Japanese phonological rules.
11 Misspelled in the texts as *wonodukara*.
12 A contraction of the locative case marker *ni* and the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist'.
13 A district in old Kyóto.
14 Misspelling for *wi-te*.
15 The usage of a double classifier might seem strange, but it is supported by an example from *Saibara uta*: (ninth–tenth centuries) *mi-tu-ba yo-tu-ba* no naka-ni tono-dukur-i s-er-i 'they built palaces among *three or four roofed* [ones]' (cit. according to Matsuo Satoshi (1964: 444, n. 38).

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5 VERBS

5.0 VERBAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

Before the detailed discussion of the different verbal affixes, I would like to outline briefly the major grammatical categories of the verb in Classical Japanese. Since this grammar book is built on the principle 'from the marker to the category' rather than vice versa, I consider it necessary to cross-reference verbal markers and the categories they express at the very beginning, so that a reader who is interested in a description of a certain category in Classical Japanese may easily find the necessary section using the Index of grammatical markers or the Contents. I list the following categories together with their markers.

5.0.1 Mode

There are two modes in Classical Japanese: affirmative and negative. Affirmative mode does not have a special marker. Negative mode is marked by the suffixes *-az-*, *-azar-*, or *-an-* in the indicative mood, and by the circumfix *na-…-so* in the imperative mood. There are special negative mode forms for the negative optative (*-amau-*), negative tentative (*-azi*), and negative debitive mood (*-umazi*).

5.0.2 Aspect

There are four aspects in Classical Japanese: imperfective, with zero marker, perfective marked by the suffixes *-in-* and *-ite-*, and special perfective progressive marked by the suffix *-itar-*.

5.0.3 Mood

Mood is the pride and beauty of Classical Japanese. There are twelve moods in the language: indicative (no marker), imperative (suffixes *-e* and *-yo*), tentative (suffix *-am-*), negative tentative (suffix *-azi*), second tentative (suffix *-uram-*), debitive (suffix *-ube-*), negative debitive (suffix *-umazi*), optative (suffix *-amafosi*), negative optative (suffix *-amau-*), subjunctive (suffix *-amasi*), conjectural (suffix *-umer-*), and assertive (analytical, attributive + *nar-* 'to be').

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5.0.4 Voice

There are four voices in Classical Japanese: active (no marker), passive (suffix *-rare-*), causative (suffix *-sase*), and reciprocal (analytical, infinitive + *af-* 'combines', 'meets').

5.0.5 Progressive

There are two progressive forms: progressive (suffix *-er-*) and perfective progressive (suffix *-itar-*). The first is built historically on a combination of the infinitive *-i* and the verb *ar-* 'to exist'; the second represents a more complex structure, involving the perfective aspect marker *-ite-*, infinitive *-i* (disappearing after the vowel according to the morphonological rules given in 2.3.5), and verb *ar-* 'to exist'.

5.0.6 Retrospective

There are two retrospective forms in Classical Japanese: subjective retrospective (suffix *-iki* or *-isi* (attributive form)) and objective retrospective (suffix *-iker-*).

5.0.7 Hearsay

The hearsay form is rendered by the suffix *-unar-*.

5.0.8 Iterative

The iterative is rendered by the suffix *-af-*.

5.0.9 Predication

There is a sharp distinction between the forms of final and non-final predication. The former include the final predicative form (suffix *-u*), the evidential form (suffix *-ure*), the attributive form (suffix *-uru*), and others. The latter are represented by the infinitive (suffixes *-i, -ku*), the negative infinitive (suffix *-azu*), the subordinative gerund (suffix *-ite*), the negative subordinative gerund (suffix *-ade*), the coordinative gerund (suffix *-itutu*), the conditional gerund (suffix *-aba*), the conjunctive gerund (suffix *-ba*), and the concessive gerund (suffix *-do*[*mo*]).

5.0.10 Honorification

There are three basic degrees of honorification in Classical Japanese. A verbal form may be honorific, humble, or neutral. There are several subdegrees of honorific and humble expressions within each of these two subsections. Honorification

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is expressed by a number of auxiliary verbs that are either honorific or humble. They follow the infinitive of the main verb. See section 5.3.1 for a detailed description of all these verbs.

5.0.11 Politeness

The verbal forms may also be polite or neutral. Politeness is expressed by the verbs *faberi* and *saburafu*.

It is clear from this list that I exclude tense from the set of verbal categories in Classical Japanese. Below I will provide the evidence for this approach.

5.0.12 Order of affixes in a verbal paradigmatic form

It is virtually impossible to find a paradigmatic form containing affixes reflecting all these categories, but a comparison of paradigmatic forms containing some of them provides us with the following order of affixes expressing these categories:

PREF/PREV + STEM + honorification + politeness + voice + mode + aspect + retrospective + progressive + mood + hearsay + predication

5.1 VERBAL CLASSES

5.1.1 Traditional classification of verb classes

Students usually learn the Classical Japanese verbal structure as described by the traditional system, which has its foundation in the works of Japanese 国語学 *kokugogaku* (study of the national language) philologists of the eighteenth century. Although this system of analysis has the longest history, it should be clear from the following that it is quite cumbersome and more misleading than helpful. The inadequacy of the traditional system stems mainly from the fact that traditional Japanese philologists were bound by the syllabic nature of the Japanese script, and were never able correctly to analyse the verbal morphology in general. In particular, they failed to analyse the morphological boundaries in verbal forms. The failure of the traditional approach to recognize units smaller than a syllable, and consequently the inability to draw a morphological boundary within a syllable, created the situation whereby the traditional system has complicated the description of Classical Japanese grammar. In particular, more verbal classes are differentiated by the traditional system than actually exist. Yet a mastering of at least the basics of the traditional system is mandatory, since, without knowing it, a student of Classical Japanese will not be able to use dictionaries and other reference tools. Therefore, I provide a brief description below of both the traditional and the structural approaches to the Classical

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Japanese verbal system. Besides providing a more scientific description of the language, the second approach has the important advantage that, once understood, it liberates the student from the necessity of memorizing not only several excessive verbal classes but also the rules for which suffixes follow which 'bases'.

Traditional grammar differentiates between 動詞 *dōshi* 'verbs' and 形容詞 *keiyōshi* 'quality verbs', or, in more customary terminology, 'adjectives'. There are certain structural differences between these two subclasses which will be outlined below. According to the traditional grammar, the Classical Japanese verb has six bases (未然形 *mizenkei* 'imperfective', 連用形 *ren'yōkei* 'conjunctive', 終止形 *shūshikei* 'conclusive', 連体形 *rentaikei* 'attributive', 已然形 *izenkei* 'perfective' and 命令形 *meireikei* 'imperative'). Various suffixes (traditionally called 助動詞 *jodōshi* 'auxiliary verbs') are added to these 'bases'. The majority of these suffixes also have the same 'bases' (or at least some of them). Semantically this approach is not consistent: for example, it is easy to understand that a negation suffix is added to imperfective bases, but the fact that causative and passive markers follow the same base does not make any sense. Quality verbs can have only five bases: 未然形 *mizenkei* 'imperfective', 連用形 *ren'yōkei* 'conjunctive', 終止形 *shūshikei* 'conclusive', 連体形 *rentaikei* 'attributive', and 已然形 *izenkei* 'perfective', but no 命令形 *meireikei* 'imperative'. In addition, the imperfective 'base' for quality verbs exists only in the case of a special conjugation, called かり活用 *kari-katsuyō*, to be described below. Most suffixes cannot follow quality verb stems directly, and attach only to the forms of *kari-katsuyō*.

All Classical Japanese verbs in the traditional description are divided into five regular and four irregular conjugations (see Tables 10 and 11). The five regular conjugations are further subdivided into quadri-grade, upper and lower bi-grades, and upper and lower mono-grades. The notion of a grade (段 *dan*) reflects how many root-final different syllables are involved in making the six bases. Thus, the six bases of the quadri-grade verb *omofu* 'to think' include four root-final syllables *fa-*, *fi-*, *fu-*, and *fe-*; but the six bases of *miru* 'to see' are all based on the same root-final syllable *mi-*. The notion of 'upper' and 'lower' conjugations reflects the organization in the syllabary 五十音図 *Gojūon zu* 'The chart of fifty sounds' where syllables ending in the vowels *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-e*, and *-o* are arranged in descending rows in this order. Thus, bi-grade and mono-grade verbs containing syllables ending with the vowel *-i* belong to the 'upper' conjugation, and bi-grade and mono-grade verbs containing syllables ending with the vowel *-e* belong to the 'lower' conjugation. Irregular verbs are those whose conjugation shows one or more major irregularities. For example *ku* 'to come' looks to some extent like an upper bi-grade verb, but its imperfective and imperative bases are very different from the upper bi-grade conjugation. *Sinu* 'to die' looks very like a quadri-grade verb, but its attributive and evidential bases follow the pattern of a bi-grade conjugation, etc.

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Table 10 Regular conjugations

	I Quadri-grade	*II Upper bi-grade*	*III Lower bi-grade*	*IV Upper mono-grade*	*V Lower mono-grade*
	四段活用 *yodan* *katsuyō* *omofu* 'to think'	上二段活用 *kami nidan* *katsuyō* *kofu* 'to love'	下二段活用 *shimo nidan* *katsuyō* *tasuku* 'to save'	上一段活用 *kami ichidan* *katsuyō* *miru* 'to see'	下一段活用 *shimo ichidan* *katsuyō* *keru* 'to kick'
1 Imperfective	*omofa*	*kofi*	*tasuke*	*mi*	*ke*
2 Conjunctive	*omofi*	*kofi*	*tasuke*	*mi*	*ke*
3 Conclusive	*omofu*	*kofu*	*tasuku*	*miru*	*keru*
4 Attributive	*omofu*	*kofuru*	*tasukuru*	*miru*	*keru*
5 Evidential	*omofe*	*kofure*	*tasukure*	*mire*	*kere*
6 Imperative	*omofe*	*kofiyo*	*tasukeyo*	*miyo*	*keyo*

Table 11 Irregular conjugations

	VI k-*irregular*	*VII* s-*irregular*	*VIII* r-*irregular*	*IX* n-*irregular*
	か変活用 *ka-hen katsuyō* *ku* 'to come'	さ変活用 *sa-hen katsuyō* *su* 'to do'	ら変活用 *ra-hen katsuyō* *ari* 'to be'	な変活用 *na-hen katsuyō* *sinu* 'to die', *inu* 'to depart'
1 Imperfective	*ko*	*se*	*ara*	*sina*
2 Conjunctive	*ki*	*si*	*ari*	*sini*
3 Conclusive	*ku*	*su*	*ari*	*sinu*
4 Attributive	*kuru*	*suru*	*aru*	*sinuru*
5 Evidential	*kure*	*sure*	*are*	*sinure*
6 Imperative	*koyo*	*seyo*	*are*	*sine*

5.1.2 Structural classification of verb classes

Taking into consideration the morphonological rules described in 2.3.5, it is possible to provide a reanalysis of the Classical Japanese 'conjugations' given above that will provide the student of the language with real morphological boundaries and real suffixes which the traditional analysis fails to indicate.

If one tries to explain the differences between, say, the attributive base of the quadri-grade conjugation on the one hand, and the same base of the upper bi-grade and lower bi-grade conjugations on the other hand, keeping in mind the morphonological rules described in section 2.3.5, it is possible to reanalyse the conjugation system of Classical Japanese in the following way.

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Apart from a few irregular verbs Classical Japanese has only two major verb classes: one with a consonant-final stem and the other with a vowel-final stem. The class with consonant-final stems includes the traditional quadri-grade conjugation, as well as the irregular verbs *sin-* 'to die' and *in-* 'to depart' and the irregular verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' (consonant verbs). All other verbs belong to the class with vowel-final stems (vowel verbs). From this point of view let us look at the bases in the different traditional conjugations and try to explain their origin:

1 *Imperfective.* According to the traditional grammar, the imperfective base is never used in isolation, but is always followed by a suffix. With consonant verbs this base has a marker *-a*, but no such marker exists in the vowel verbs conjugation; moreover, with the exception of irregular verbs, this 'base' for vowel verbs coincides with the conjunctive 'base'. This *-a* really belongs to the following suffix.[1] This vowel is normally preserved after the consonant stems but is lost after the vowel stems. Thus, *omof + a > omof-a*, *kofi + a > kofi-*, *tasuke + a > tasuke-*, *mi + a > mi-*, *ke + a > ke-*, *ar + a > ar-a*, *sin + a > sin-a*, *ko + a > ko-*, *si + a > se*.
2 *Conjunctive.*[2] According to the traditional grammar, the conjunctive 'base' is used in isolation as an infinitive or verbal noun. In most cases these two usages are differentiated by accent, so we have two homophonous forms on the segmental level which both have the marker *-i*. With most following suffixes this *-i* is not the marker of the infinitive or verbal noun, but belongs to the following suffix. In any case *-i* is normally preserved after the consonant stems, but drops after the regular vowel verbs. With irregular vowel verbs *ku* 'to come' and *su* 'to do' this [i] is preserved but it eliminates the vowel of the stem. Thus, *omof + i > omof-i*, *kofi + i > kof-i*, *tasuke + i > tasuke*, *mi + i > mi*, *ke + i > ke*, *ar + i > ar-i*, *sin + i > sin-i*, *ko + i > ki*, *se + i > si*.
3 *Conclusive.* The conclusive form is the form of a final predicate in the sentence. Most consonant and vowel verbs have *-u* as the marker of a final predicate in a sentence, with the exception of the existential verb *ar-* which has the same marker *-i* as the quality verbs. When *-u* is added to a consonant verb, there is no morphonological change, but when *-u* is added to a vowel verb it causes the loss of the final vowel. Thus, *omof + u > omof-u*, *kofi + u > kof-u*, *tasuke + u > tasuk-u*, *sin + u > sin-u*, *ko + u > k-u*, *se + u > su*. Mono-grade verbs do not have the conclusive form. Instead they use the attributive form in the function of final predicate.[3]
4 *Attributive.* The attributive form can generally be regarded as a participle. It has three main functions: modifying function, function of final predicate (in most cases under certain conditions outlined below), and function of verbal noun. The marker of the attributive is *-uru*. When *-uru* is added to a consonantal stem it undergoes the process of medial [-r-] loss and the resulting form *-uu* is further contracted into *-u*, but the irregular verb *sin-* 'to die' has the uncontracted attributive form *sin-uru*. With the bi-grade and irregular vowel stems *-uru* remains intact, but causes the final vowel of the stem to

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drop. However, with mono-grade vowel stems it is the initial [u] in *-uru* which drops, and the vowel of the stem is preserved. Thus, *omof + uru > omof-uu > omof-u, kofi + uru > kof-uru, tasuke + uru > tasuk-uru, mi + uru > mi-ru, ke + uru > ke-ru, ar-uru > ar-uu > ar-u, sin + uru > sin-uru, ko + uru > k-uru, se + uru > s-uru.*

5 *Perfective.* The perfective form (which I will henceforth call *evidential*) requires some special commentary (see 5.2.3.1.3). Its usage in isolation is usually bound syntactically. The marker of the evidential form *-ure* undergoes almost the same processes as the attributive marker *-uru*. Thus, *omof + ure > omof-ue > omof-e, kofi + ure > kof-ure, tasuke + ure > tasuk-ure, mi + ure > mi-re, ke + ure > ke-re, ar + ure > ar-ue > ar-e, sin + ure > sin-ure, ko + ure > k-ure, se + ure > s-ure.*

6 *Imperative.* The imperative is used only in isolation: thus it is not a 'base' for the suffixes and might be excluded from the set of bases.

5.1.2.1 *Consonant verbs*

Thus, quadri-grade, *r*-irregular, and *n*-irregular verbs belong to the consonant verb class. The two latter subclasses exhibit minor irregularities (the first in the conclusive form which has *-i* instead of the expected *-u*, and the second in its attributive form which has *-uru* instead of the expected *-u* and in its evidential form which has *-ure* instead of the expected *-e*). Otherwise the patterns of joining the stem to following suffixes are remarkably similar. These patterns are illustrated in Table 12, using negative, infinitive, conclusive, attributive, evidential, imperative, and passive forms. Irregular forms are underlined.

There are three main morphonological rules governing sound changes at the boundary between consonant verb stems and suffixes:

1 If a suffix begins with a vowel, this vowel is preserved, and there is no change, e.g. *omof-an-* think-NEG > *omof-an-*.

Table 12 Consonant verbs

	I Quadri-grade	*II* r*-irregular*	*III* n*-irregular*
	四段活用	ら変活用	な変活用
	yodan katsuyō	*ra-hen katsuyō*	*na-hen katsuyō*
	omofu 'to think'	*ari* 'to exist'	*sinu* 'to die'
1 Negative	*omof-an-*	*ar-an-*	*sin-an-*
2 Infinitive	*omof-i*	*ar-i*	*sin-i*
3 Conclusive	*omof-u*	*ar-i*	*sin-u*
4 Attributive	*omof-u*	*ar-u*	*sin-uru*
5 Evidential	*omof-e*	*ar-e*	*sin-ure*
6 Imperative	*omof-e*	*ar-e*	*sin-e*
7 Passive	*omof-are-*	–	*sin-are-*

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2 If a suffix begins with a consonant, the last consonant in the verbal stem remains unaffected, but the first consonant in the suffix is lost, e.g. *omof-rare-* think-PASS > *omof-are*.
3 *-r-* in attributive and evidential forms is lost according to the rule of medial *-r-* loss (see 2.3.5), e.g. *omof-uru* think-ATTR > *omof-u*.

5.1.2.2 *Vowel verbs*

It is convenient to subdivide vowel verbs into two subclasses: strong vowel verbs (Table 13) and weak vowel verbs (Table 14). Strong vowel verbs are those vowel verbs that never lose the final vowel of the stem before a following suffix. The initial vowel of the suffix is consistently lost, e.g. negative *mi-n-* < *mi-an-. Thus, in the language of Classical Japanese prose, only the traditional *kami ichi dan* (upper mono-grade) class represents strong vowel verbs.[4]

The following morphonological rules apply to strong vowel verbs when there is a following suffix:

1 If a following suffix starts with a vowel, this vowel drops.
2 There are no morphophonemic changes if a suffix starts with a consonant.

Weak vowel verbs, on the other hand, show inconsistent morphonological behaviour. They preserve the final vowel of their stems before all suffixes beginning with consonants and before the majority of suffixes beginning with vowels (e.g. imperative kofi-yo, negative kofi-n- < *kofi-an-); however, they lose the final vowels of their stems before final suffix *-u*, attributive suffix *-uru*, and evidential suffix *-ure*. Weak vowel verbs coincide with the traditional bi-grade classes:

Thus, in sharp contrast with consonantal and strong vowel verbs (which always have only one morphophonemic variant of the stem), weak vowel verbs

Table 13 Strong vowel verbs

	IV Upper mono-grade
	上一段活用 *kami ichidan katsuyō* *miru* 'to see'
1 Negative	*mi-n-*
2 Infinitive	*mi-ø*
3 Conclusive	*mi-ru*
4 Attributive	*mi-ru*
5 Evidential	*mi-re*
6 Imperative	*mi-yo*
7 Passive	*mi-rare-*

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Table 14 Weak vowel verbs

	V Upper bi-grade	*VI Lower bi-grade*
	上二段活用	下二段活用
	kami nidan katsuyō	*shimo nidan katsuyō*
	kofu 'to love'	*tasuku* 'to save'
1 Negative	*kofi-n-*	*tasuke-n-*
2 Infinitive	*kofi-ø*	*tasuke-ø*
3 Conclusive	*kof-u*	*tasuk-u*
4 Attributive	*kof-uru*	*tasuk-uru*
5 Evidential	*kof-ure*	*tasuk-ure*
6 Imperative	*kofi-yo*	*tasuke-yo*
7 Passive	*kofi-rare-*	*tasuke-rare-*

exhibit two variants: the longer one, that preserves the final vowel of the stem, and a shorter one, that loses the vowel. Thus, the following morphophonological rules apply to weak vowel verbs in combination with following suffixes:

1 A vowel at the beginning of a suffix drops, with the following three exceptions: *-u* (final suffix), *-uru* (attributive suffix), *-ure* (evidential suffix), for which rule 2 applies.
2 If a stem is followed by one of the three suffixes mentioned above, then the final vowel of the stem is lost, but the initial vowel of the affix remains unaffected.
3 There are no morphophonemic changes if a suffix starts with a consonant.

5.1.2.3 *Irregular verbs*

The remaining traditional irregular verbs, *k*-irregular and *s*-irregular, are essentially weak vowel verbs which exhibit additional irregularities (see Table 15). The *k*-irregular verb, *ku* 'to come', has a stem *ko-* which preserves its final vowel before suffixes beginning with consonants and certain suffixes beginning with a vowel, such as negative *-an-* or tentative *-am-*,[5] where the initial vowel of the suffix is lost. Before all other vowel-initial suffixes, the vowel of the stem is lost and the variant of the stem consisting of just the consonant *k-* appears. The situation with the *s*-irregular verb, *su* 'to do', is very similar. It has a stem *se-*, which preserves its final vowel before suffixes beginning with consonants and certain suffixes beginning with a vowel, such as negative *-an-* or tentative *-am-*, in which case the initial vowel of the suffix is lost. Before all other vowel-initial suffixes, the vowel of the stem is lost and the variant of the stem consisting of just the consonant *s-* appears.

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Table 15 Irregular verbs

	VII k-*irregular*	*VIII* s-*irregular*
	か変活用 *ka-hen katsuyō* *ku* 'to come'	さ変活用 *sa-hen katsuyō* *su* 'to do'
1 Negative	*ko-n-*	*se-n-*
2 Infinitive	*k-i*	*s-i*
3 Conclusive	*k-u*	*s-u*
4 Attributive	*k-uru*	*s-uru*
5 Perfective	*k-ure*	*s-ure*
6 Imperative	*ko-yo*	*se-yo*
7 Passive	*ko-rare-*	*se-rare-*

The irregular verbs' morphonological alternations are subject to the following rules:

1 The irregular verbs preserve the vowel of the stem if they are followed by consonant-initial suffixes or by negative or tentative suffixes (or their historical derivatives) among vowel-initial suffixes.
2 Before all other vowel-initial suffixes, irregular verbs lose their stem-final vowels, the stem being reduced to just a single consonant.

5.1.2.4 *Defective verbs*

The traditional grammar makes no mention of defective verbs, these being verbs with fewer paradigmatic forms than other verbs. There are three defective verbs in Classical Japanese, *n-* 'to be', *to* 'to say', and *to* 'to be'.[6] I include below a detailed description of the existing paradigmatic forms of these defective verbs.

5.1.2.4.1 Defective verb *n-* 'to be'

The defective verb *n-* 'to be' has only three paradigmatic forms: infinitive *n-i*, gerund *n-ite*, and attributive *n-o*. Its major function is that of a copula. Samuel E. Martin was the first scholar who proposed to treat the various forms of *n-* as rudimentary copula forms (Martin 1988:34). In traditional Japanese grammar they are usually treated as 接続助詞 *setsuzoku joshi* 'connective particles' (Ikeda 1975:205–18).

5.1.2.4.1.1 *Infinitive form of the defective verb* n- *'to be'*

The infinitive form *n-i* 'being' is used in a variety of functions. It may occur after both nouns and verbs, the latter normally being in their attributive form.

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1 One of the frequent usages of *n-i* after nouns is after quasi-postpositions and particles like *tame* 'for', *yuwe* 'because' (*lit.* 'cause'), *bakari* 'only', 'about', *mama* 'things being as they are', which are historically bound nouns. Cf. the following examples:

たが為にか
ta-ga **tame n-i** ka
who-POSS **for DV-INF** PT
For whom? (*lit.*: **Being for** whom?) (TM 66.7)

みづからのゆへに
midukara-no **yufe n-i**
I-GEN **cause DV-INF**
because of me (*lit.*: **being because** of me) (HM I:166.11)

それ**ばかりにや**おどろきおもふべき事ならん
sore **bakari n-i** ya odorok-i-omof-ube-ki koto nar-an
that **PT DV-INF** PT be surprised-INF-think-DEB-ATTR matter be-TENT/ATTR
are [you] very likely to be very surprised by the matter? (*lit.*: **being about** that) (HM I:195.10)

いまはただこの御をもむきの**ままに**おはせんぞよからん
ima fa tada kono mi-womomuki-no **mama n-i** ofase-n zo yo-k-ar-an
now TOP only this PREF(HON)-inclination-GEN **as is DV-INF** be(HON)-TENT/ATTR PT good-INF-be-TENT/ATTR
Will it be good for you now to maintain [your] inclination as it is? (*lit.*: **being as it is**) (HM II:220.14)

However, this usage does not only occur after quasi-postpositions. Cf. the following examples:

なんぢがたすけにとて
nandi-ga **tasuke n-i** to-te
you-POSS **joy DV-INF** DV-SUB
thinking that [she] **will be** your **joy** (TM 63.13)

なにの**あた**にかおもひけん
nani-no **ata n-i** ka omof-ik-en
what-GEN **enemy DV-INF** PT think-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
[lady], who thought [of him as of] some [kind of] enemy (*lit.*: **being an enemy**) (IM XXXI:130.11–12)

It may also occur after the attributive form of a verb:

なにせむにか
nani **se-m-u n-i** ka
what **do-TENT-ATTR DV-INF** PT
What shall [we] do? (*lit.*: **Being [the fact] of doing** what?) (TM 66.7)

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2 The infinitive form *n-i* is also frequently used after nouns for adverbializations. It occurs most frequently in this function after adjectival nouns (see the detailed description of adverbializations of adjectival nouns with *n-i* in 4.1.4), but may be used to adverbialize other nouns as well:

御ともにわたるはかせども
mi-tomo n-i watar-u fakase-domo
PREF(HON)-together DV-INF cross-ATTR scholar-PLUR
scholars who were crossing [the sea] **together with [him]** (HM I:153.13)

むかしおとこみちのくにに**すずろに**ゆきいたりにけり
mukasi otoko Mitinokuni-ni **suzuro n-i** yuk-i-itar-in-iker-i
old times man Mitinoku-province-ALL **aimless DV-INF** go-INF-reach-PERF-RETR2-FIN
Long ago, a man went **aimlessly** to Mitinoku province (IM XIV:120.2)

かばかり**つねに**いひあはめ給に
ka bakari **tune n-i** if-i-afame-tamaf-u-ni
that PT **always** DV-INF say-INF-make shallow(INF)-HON-ATTR-LOC
[they] were **always** speaking so spitefully… (HM II:222.3)

まことにかの人をみればやまひもやみいのちものびぬべき
makoto n-i kano fito-wo mi-re-ba yamafi mo yam-i inoti mo nobi-n-ube-ki
truth DV-INF that person-ACC see-EV-CON illness PT stop-INF life PT stretch-PERF-DEB-ATTR
Really, when [you] see that person, the illness will surely cease and [your] life will be prolonged… (HM I:170.16)

くもかすみ**はるかに**へだてて
kumo kasumi **faruka n-i** fedate-te
cloud mist **far DV-INF** part-SUB
[he] went away **a great distance** from clouds and mist (HM I:155.2)

A special case of adverbialization is when *n-i* is used after *yau* 'shape', 'view'. This transforms the entire phrase that modifies *yau* into an adverb modifying the following verb with the meaning '[looking] like' or 'as if':

かたちありさまひかる**やうに**みゆる
katati arisama fikar-u **yau n-i** mi-y-uru
looks appearance shine-ATTR **view DV-INF** see-PASS-ATTR
it seemed **as if** [the Chūnagon's] looks and appearance shone (HM I:154.14)

をろそかなる**やうに**いひければ
worosoka nar-u **yau n-i** if-iker-e-ba
rude be-ATTR **like DV-INF** say-RETR2-EV-CON
because [she] was speaking [*lit.*: **like**] rudely (TM 54.9–10)

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3 The infinitive *n-i* can also be used as a copula in a nominal predicate, when it is followed by another predicate:

わたくしにしのびたることのやうにてさるべき人のちあゆるなどもとめて
watakusi n-i sinob-itar-u koto-no yau n-ite sar-ube-ki fito-no ti ay-uru-nado motome-te
private DV-INF be secret-PERF/PROG-ATTR matter-GEN like DV-SUB be such-DEB-ATTR person-GEN milk flow-ATTR-REPR find-SUB
as [it] **was a private and** secret matter, [he] found a person who had milk among other things (HM I:192.13)

4 The infinitive *n-i* can also be followed by another verb. In this function, the most frequent verbs that follow *n-i* are either *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' or *nar-* 'to become':

御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて御かほのやうたいほそくもあらずふくらにもあらず
mi-tosi fatati bakari ya ofas-uram-u to oboye-te mi-kafo-no yautai foso-ku mo ar-azu fukura **n-i** mo **ar-azu**
PREF(HON)-years PT PT be(HON)-TENT-ATTR DV think-SUB PREF(HON)-face-GEN appearance thin-INF PT be-NEG/INF plump **DV-INF** PT **be-NEG/INF**
[he] thought that [the consort] was probably about twenty, and (the appearance of) [her] face **was** neither thin **nor** plump, and… (HM I:159.7–8)

そのあふさかのうち忍び越がたかるべきことにはあらず
sono Afusaka-no uti sinob-i koye-gata-k-ar-ube-ki koto **n-i** fa **ar-az-u**
that Meeting Slope-GEN inside be secret-INF cross(INF)-difficult-INF-be-DEB-ATTR thing **DV-INF** TOP **be-NEG-FIN**
It is not that it should be difficult to cross secretly that Meeting Slope (*lit.*: it **is not** that it should be…) (HM V:436.10)

このこいとおほきに成ぬれば
kono ko ito ofo-ki **n-i nar-in-ure-ba**
this child very big-ATTR **DV-INF become-PERF-EV-CON**
When this child **became** very big… (TM 30.2)

御まくらもうかぶばかりになりぬるに
mi-makura mo ukab-u bakari **n-i nar-in-uru**-ni
PREF(HON)-pillow PT float-ATTR PT **DV-INF become-ATTR-LOC**
the pillow, too, almost **began** to float [in the river of tears] (HM II:243.13)

Besides *ar-* 'to be' and *nar-* 'to become', *n-i* can also be followed by other verbs, such as *se-* 'to do', 'to make' or *obos-* 'to think', making the constructions *X n-i se-* or *X n-i obos-* that can be literally translated as 'making X being Y', or

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'thinking of X as being Y', with similar counterparts surviving in the modern language.

かまどを三へにしこめて
kamado-wo **mi-fe n-i s-i kome-te**
furnace-ACC **three-CL DV-INF do-INF insert-SUB**
[he] **surrounded** the furnace **with three layers** [of walls] (*lit.*: **surrounded making** [it] **being three layers**) (TM 35.14)

そこをぞ御さとにし給へる
soko-wo zo **mi-sato n-i s-i-tamaf-er-u**
there-ACC PT **PREF(HON)-residence DV-INF do-INF-HON-PROG-ATTR**
[they] **made** that place **be [the Prince's] residence** (HM I:156.3)

まろをかからぬくまなきものにおぼして
maro-wo kakar-an-u kuma na-ki **mono n-i obos-ite**
I-ACC such-NEG-ATTR corner no-ATTR **thing DV-INF think(HON)-SUB**
[He] **considered** me (**to be**) [the kind of] **woman** who can be found anywhere, and… (HM IV:373.8–9)

をのれをたのもしきものにおぼいて
wonore-wo tanomosi-ki **mono n-i obo-ite**
I-ACC reliable-ATTR **person DV-INF think(HON)-SUB**
[she] **considered** me (**to be**) a reliable **person** (HM III.267.16)

5.1.2.4.1.2 *Gerund form of the defective verb* n- *'to be'*

The gerund form *n-ite* has a number of usages which are similar to those of the infinitive form *n-i* and also some different functions. The similar usages include the following:

1 function as a copula with nominal predicate followed by another predicate:

御めはしらめにてふし給へり
mi-me fa **sira-me n-ite** fus-i-tamaf-er-i
PREF(HON)-eye TOP **white-eye DV-SUB** lie down-INF-HON-PROG-FIN
[He] was lying down with the whites of [his] eyes showing (*lit.*: **being white eyes**) (TM 52.7–8)

うるはしき御さまにて
urufasi-ki mi-sama **n-ite**
marvellous-ATTR **PREF(HON)-appearance DV-SUB**
[she] had [*lit.*: **being**] a marvellous **appearance**, and… (HM I:159.12)

かしこはかうやうくゑんの后の御しぞくにて
kasiko fa Kauyaukuwen-no kisaki-no **go-sizoku n-ite**

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She TOP Kauyaukuwen-GEN empress-GEN **PREF(HON)-relative DV-SUB**
She **is a relative** of the Empress from Kauyaukuwen, and… (HM I:200.16)

そはさるものにて
so fa sar-u **mono n-ite**
that TOP be such-ATTR **thing DV-SUB**
That, **being** such **a thing**… (HM II:224.10–11)

2 *n-ite* is also frequently used after the particle *bakari*:

ひじりはとし六十ばかりにて
fiziri fa tosi roku-zifu **bakari n-ite**
Sage TOP year sixty **PT DV-SUB**
As for the sage, he **was about** sixty years of age… (HM III:265.2)

御年七八ばかりにて
mi-tosi nana-tu ya-tu **bakari n-ite**
PREF(HON)-year seven-CL eight-CL **PT DV-SUB**
[The Prince] **was about** seven or eight years [old] … (HM I:156.6)

二三人ばかりにて
ni-san-nin **bakari n-ite**
two-three-CL **PT DV-SUB**
about two or three persons (HM I:196.7)

3 *n-ite* can also be used in adverbializations:

世のなかをつねにてあらんとおもふ身ならばこそ
yo-no naka-wo **tune n-ite** ar-an to omof-u mi nar-aba koso
world-GEN inside-NOM **usual DV-SUB** be-TENTFIN DV think-ATTR body(= I) be-COND PT
if I am the one who thinks that life will exist **as usual** (HM IV:327.2)

いにしへよりもあはれにてなむかよひける
inisife-yori mo **afare n-ite** namu kayof-iker-u
old times-ABL PT **dear DV-SUB** PT visit-RETR2-ATTR
[she] was dearer [to him] than before and [he] was visiting [her] (*lit.*: he was visiting her more **dearly** than before) (IM XXII:126.3)

かやうにて御心をたがひになぐさめ給ふ程に
ka yau n-ite mi-kokoro-wo tagaf-i-ni nagusame-tamaf-u fodo-ni
that like DV-SUB PREF(HON)-heart-ACC distract-INF-ALL console(INF)-HON-ATTR time-LOC
while [the Emperor] was consoling and distracting his heart **like that** (TM 58.8)

Like *n-i*, *n-ite* is also used for adverbializations with *yau*:

御かりみゆきし給はんやうにて
mi-kar-i mi-yuk-i s-i-tamaf-an **yau n-ite**

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PREF(HON)-hunt-INF PREF(HON)-go-INF do-INF-HON-TENT/ATTR **like DV-SUB**
as if [I] would (do) go(ing) hunting (TM 56.9–10)

下らうなどのやうにて
gerau-nado-no **yau n-ite**
low-class-REPR-GEN **like DV-SUB**
being like low-class [women] and persons like them (HM I:195.13–14)

御とのごもりすごしたるやうにて
mi-tono-gomori sugos-itar-u **yau n-ite**
PREF(HON)-pavilion-seclusion exceed-PERF/PROG-ATTR **like DV-SUB**
it looked (*lit.*: **was**) **as if** [he] had overslept (*lit.*: spent too much in secluding himself in the pavilion) (HM II:229.15)

4 Like *n-i*, *n-ite* can also be used in combination with existential verbs:

身づからは日本の人にてなんはべりし
midukara fa **Nifon-no fito n-ite** nan **faber-isi**
I TOP **Japan-GEN person DV-SUB** PT **be(POL)-RETR1/ATTR**
I **was Japanese** (HM I:165.10–11)

5 In contrast to *n-i*, *n-ite* is used to designate the location of an action or state (cf. *de* (< *n-ite*) in Modern Japanese used only for location of an action):

安祥寺にてみわざしけり
Anzyau-zi n-ite mi-waza s-iker-i
Anzyau temple DV-SUB PREF(HON)-buddhist service do-RETR2-FIN
[they] performed Buddhist services **at the Anjō temple** (IM LXXVII:155.5)

いまはこのやまにてなんみをもかくし
ima fa **kono yama n-ite** nan mi-wo mo kakus-i
now TOP **this mountain DV-SUB** PT body-ACC PT hide-INF
now [she] is hiding **in these mountains** (HM III:323.5)

宮の内にてあるごだちのつぼねのまへをわたりけるに
miya-no uti n-ite ar-u go-dati-no tubone-no mafe-wo watar-iker-u-ni
palace-GEN inside DV-SUB be-ATTR PREF(HON) lady-PLUR-GEN apartment-GEN front-ACC pass-RETR2-ATTR-LOC
when [he] passed before the apartments of certain ladies **in the palace** (IM XXXI:130.11)

しなのがふみにて。。。あり
Sinano-ga **fumi-nite**… ar-i
Sinano-POSS **letter DV-SUB**… be-FIN
There was '…' **in** Sinano's **letter** (HM V:391.4)

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5.1.2.4.1.3 *Attributive form of the defective verb* n- *'to be'*

The function of the attributive form *n-o* is the same as that of its modern counterpart *no* in the Modern Japanese examples *tomodati no gakusei* 'a student who is [my] friend', *mei no Sumiko* 'Sumiko who is [my] niece'. It also can be used as the marker of a cardinal numeral. The attributive ending in *-o*, not in *-u* as might have been expected, is paralleled by the Eastern Old Japanese attributive ending *-o*, e.g.: *pik-o* 'pull-ATTR', *yuk-o* 'go-ATTR', *tat-o* 'stand-ATTR' (Saeki 1959:43). A similar form is preserved in the modern Hachijō dialect. Eastern Old Japanese and Hachijō differentiate between the final ending *-u* and the attributive ending *-o*, a distinction which had already been lost in Western Old Japanese in the consonant verbs. This *-o* in *n-o* may, therefore, be a relic of an earlier distinction.

竹とりの翁
Taketori n-o okina
Taketori be-ATTR old man
old man **Bamboo-Cutter** (TM 29.2)

石つくりの御子
Isitukuri n-o miko
Isitukuri be-ATTR prince
Prince **Isitukuri** (TM 31.1)

大伴のみゆきの大納言
Ofotomo-no **Miyuki n-o** dainagon
Ofotomo-GEN **Miyuki be-ATTR** dainagon
Dainagon Ofotomo **Miyuki** (TM 45.3)

ならの京かすがの里に
Nara n-o miyako **Kasuga n-o** sato-ni
Nara be-ATTR capital **Kasuga be-ATTR** village-LOC
in the village **Kasuga** [of] the capital **Nara** (IM I:111.2)

くにつねの大納言
Kunitune n-o dainagon
Kunitune be-ATTR dainagon
Dainagon **Kunitune** (IM VI:114.15)

あるじのおとこうたよみて
aruzi n-o otoko uta yom-ite
host be-ATTR man poem read-SUB
A man **who was the host** read the poem, and… (IM XLIV.1:96)

をのれがあやしのいほりに
wonore-ga **ayasi n-o** ifori-ni
myself-POSS **poor be-ATTR** hut-LOC
in my **poor** hut (HM I:171.7)

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Note that in the last example *n-o* replaces the quality verb attributive marker *-ki* which would be expected after the adjective stem *ayasi-* 'poor looking'. It means that in this case the quality verb stem functions as a noun.

Following a numeral (usually native numerals up to ten and Chinese numerals after ten) *n-o* may be viewed as a marker of an ordinal. Examples:

三の御こ
mi-tu n-o miko
three-CL DV-ATTR prince
Third Prince (HM I:156.2)

一の大臣
fito-tu n-o daizin
one-CL DV-ATTR minister
first minister (HM V:440.2)

In the functions described below, *n-o* is used instead of the more typical *n-i*. All the examples of *n-o* in these functions are cited below; since the *hiragana* signs for *no* and *ni* are unlikely to be confused in cursive script, I prefer not to attribute them to scribal error.

In two cases *n-o* replaces *n-i* in *n-i ari* 'is', 'are' when used as a copula, and not to describe location:

かかる人をばいかでかおもひよらぬ人のあるべき
kakar-u fito-woba ikade ka omof-i-yor-an-u fito **n-o ar-ube-ki**
be such-ATTR person-ACC(EMPH) how PT think-INF-approach-NEG-ATTR person **DV-ATTR be-DEB-ATTR**
Such a person **must be** the person about whom [you] cannot [even] think (HM II:235.8)

たれかはかかるすまゐする人のあらん
tare ka fa kakar-u sumawi s-uru fito **n-o ar-an**
who PT TOP be such-ATTR living do-ATTR person **be-ATTR be-TENT/ATTR**
Who **might be** the person who lives like that? (HM III:264.12)

Similarly, in one case *n-o* replaced the infinitive form *n-i* as an adverb marker:

じやうずのかきたりしから゛にたがはず
zyauzu n-o kak-itar-isi kara-we-ni tagaf-az-u
skilful be-ATTR paint-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR China-picture-LOC differ-NEG-FIN
[It] is not different from a **skilfully** painted Chinese picture (HM I:159.4)

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5.1.2.4.2 Defective verb *to* 'to say'

The defective verb *to-* 'to say' has only two paradigmatic forms: infinitive *to-Ø* and gerund *to-te*. The first form is treated in traditional grammar as a 'citation' particle. It is not, however, quite clear why there should be a special 'citation' particle. In isostructural Altaic languages the citation is usually introduced by a gerund form of the verb 'to say', e.g.:

margaash yaw-an *ge-j* xel-sen
tomorrow go-PRES *say-SUB* speak-PAST
[He] said *that* he would go tomorrow (Khalkha Mongolian)

Here *ge-j* is the verb *ge-* 'say' plus gerund *-j* which has a function analogous to Japanese *to*.

The form *to* is usually treated in traditional grammar as a contraction of *to if-ite*, where *to* is a 'citation particle' and *if-ite* is a gerund form of *if-* 'say'. However, this contraction contradicts the history of the language, as the form *tote* is attested in Old Japanese which has no evidence for intermediate *-p-* loss. Old Japanese *to ip-yite* could not therefore contract into *tote*.

Both infinitive and gerund forms are used in similar functions, introducing the idea of general verbal or mental activity. The gerund form is normally used independently as a non-final predicate, while the infinitive form may be used with or without a following verb of mental activity.

5.1.2.4.2.1 *Infinitive form of the defective verb* to *'to say'*

In these examples the infinitive is followed by a verb of verbal or mental activity:

わがもとむるやまならむとおもひて
wa-ga motom-uru yama nar-am-u **to omof-ite**
I-POSS seek-ATTR mountain be-TENT-FIN **DV think-SUB**
[I] thought that [it] was probably the mountain I was looking for **and**... (TM 38.6)

なんぢらかたきものと申べき
nandi-ra kata-ki mono **to mawos-ube-ki**
thou-PLUR difficult-ATTR thing **DV say(HUM/PEJ)-would-ATTR**
Would [you] say [it is] a difficult thing? (TM 45.10)

御こころちはいかがおぼさるととへば
mi-kokoti fa ikaga obos-ar-u **to tof-e-ba**
PREF(HON)-feeling TOP how think-PASS-FIN **DV ask-EV-CON**
When [they] asked [him]: 'How do you feel?' (*lit.*: 'How [you] think [is] your feeling?') (TM 52.10)

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The next two examples demonstrate that it is possible to insert other words between infinitive *to* and the following verb, although in most cases the inserted word is only a particle, as in the second example.

かれはなにぞとなんおとこにとひける
kare fa nani zo **to** nan otoko-ni **tof-iker-u**
That TOP what PT **DV** PT man-DAT **ask-RETR2-ATTR**
[She] **asked** the man: 'What is that?' (IM VI:114.5)

あはじともいはざりける女のさすがなりけるがもとにいひやりける
af-azi **to** mo **if-az-ar-iker-u** wonna-no sasuga nar-iker-u-ga moto-ni if-i-yar-iker-u
meet-NEG/TENT **DV** PT **say-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR** woman-GEN unclear be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS base-LOC say-INF-send-RETR-ATTR
[he] sent [it] to a woman, who had been unclear with him, though [she] **had not said that** [she] would not meet [with him], either (IM XXV: 128.15–129.1)

二条のきさきのまだ春宮のみやすん所と申けるとき
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada faru-miya-no mi-yasundokoro **to mawos-iker-u** toki
two ward-GEN empress-GEN still heir-apparent-GEN PREF(HON)-consort-mother **DV say(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR** time
when the Empress from the Second Ward **was** still **called** consort-mother of the Heir Apparent (IM LXXVI:154.12)

御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて御かほのやうたいほそくもあらずふくらにもあらず
mi-tosi fatati bakari ya ofas-uram-u **to oboye-te** mi-kafo-no yautai foso-ku mo ar-azu fukura n-i mo ar-azu
PREF(HON)-years twenty PT PT be(HON)-TENT-ATTR **DV think-SUB** PREF(HON)-face-GEN appearance thin-INF PT be-NEG/INF plump DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF
[he] **thought** that [the consort] was probably about twenty, and (the appearance of) [her] face was neither thin nor plump, and… (HM I:159.7–8)

おほかた人ににぬ御くせときけば
ofokata fito-ni ni-n-u mi-kuse **to kik-e-ba**
ordinary person-DAT look like-NEG-ATTR PREF(HON)-habit DV hear-EV-CON
since [he] **heard** that [this was] a habit which is not like [that of] an ordinary person (HM II:238.13)

よしのの山となにながれたるよりもなをおくなるみよしのといふところ
Yosino-no yama **to na n-i nagare-tar-u**-yori mo nawo oku-nar-u Miyosino **to if-u** tokoro

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Yosino-GEN mountain **DV name DV-INF flow-PERF/PROG-ATTR**-ABL PT still deep-be-ATTR Miyosino **DV say-ATTR** place
a place **called** Miyosino, more distant than those **which are known under the name** of the Yosino mountains (HM III:264.1–2)

In these examples the infinitive is used without a following verb of verbal or mental activity:

いかばかりの女ぞとまかりて見てまいれ
ika bakari n-o wonna zo **to** makar-ite mi-te mair-e
how PT DV-ATTR woman PT **DV** go(HUM)-SUB see-SUB come (HUM/PEJ)-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN
Go and see (*lit.*: **saying**) what kind of woman [she is] (TM 53.15)

二条のきさきにしのびてまいりけるを世のきこえありければせうとたちのまもらせたまひけるとぞ
ni-zyau-no kisaki-ni sinob-ite mair-iker-u-wo yo-no kikoye ar-iker-e-ba seuto-tati-no mamor-ase-tamaf-iker-u **to** zo
two-CL-GEN empress-DAT do secretly-SUB go(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-ACC world-GEN rumour be-RETR2-EV-CON elder brother-PLUR(HON)-GEN guard-CAUS-HON-RETR2-ATTR **DV** PT
[They] **say** that since there were rumours about [his] secret visits to the Empress from the Second Ward, [her] elder brothers kept [close] watch over [her] (IM V:113.15–114.1)

いつもいつもたづねしらせたまへとばかりになん
itu mo itu mo tadune-sir-ase-tamaf-e **to** bakari n-i nan
when PT when PT look for-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP **DV** PT DV-INF PT
[I] am just **asking** [you]: 'Please always look for and find [it in your heart]' (HM I:174.1)

これさへあかぬおもひそひ給ぬるとぞ
kore safe ak-an-u omof-i sof-i-tamaf-in-uru **to** zo
this PT satisfy-NEG-ATTR think-NML follow-INF-HON-PERF-ATTR **DV** PT
[they] **say** that [he] had unsatisfied (after) thoughts even [about] this (HM I:215.3)

宮には人々まいりあつまりていつしかとまちたてまつるに
miya-ni fa fito-bito mair-i-atumar-ite itu si ka **to** mat-i-tatematur-u-ni
palace-ALL TOP person-person come(HUM)-INF-gather-SUB when PT PT **DV** wait-INF-HUM-ATTR-LOC
People came to the palace and waited, **thinking**: 'When [will he arrive]?' (HM II:241.9–10)

そなたへはとゆきもやられず
sonata-fe fa **to** yuk-i mo yar-are-z-u

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there-ALL TOP **DV** go-INF PT DIR-PASS-NEG-FIN
[I] could not go away (*lit.*: **saying**) there (TSM 367.4)

There is a special construction to be noted: verb-TENT-FIN + *to* + *s-u* 'do' which means 'is going to do':

いかならんとするぞとの給ふ
ika **nar-an to s-uru** zo to notamaf-u
how **become-TENT/FIN DV do-ATTR** PT say(HON)-ATTR
[He] said: 'What (*lit.*: how) **is going to happen**?' (TM 47.7)

やつが人をころさんとするなりけり
yatu-ga fito-wo **koros-an to s-uru** nar-iker-i
hag-POSS person-ACC **kill-TENT/FIN DV** do-ATTR be(ASSER)-RETR2-FIN
It turns out that [this] hag **was going to kill** people (TM 49.5)

わがいらむとするみち
wa-ga **ir-am-u to s-uru** miti
they-POSS **enter-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR** road
the road they **were going to enter** (IM IX:117.12–13)

The above construction often contracts to *-amuz-u* or to *-anz-u*, producing a secondary synthetic verbal form with the meaning 'going to do'. The contracted forms do not occur in *Taketori monogatari*, where only the uncontracted construction is used. Examples:

その人のもとへいなむずなりとて
sono fito-no moto-fe **in-amuz-unar-i** to-te
that person-GEN base-ALL **go-MOD-HS-FIN** DV-SUB
they say **there were rumours that [she] was going to go** to that person (IM XCVI:168.11)

ともしけちなむずるとて
tomosi **ket-in-amuz-uru** to-te
light **extinguish-PERF-MOD-ATTR** DV-SUB
[they] said [they] **were going to extinguish** the lights (IM XXXIX:134.2)

みたてまつらむずるうれしさにます事侍らずなん
mi-tatematur-amuz-uru uresi-sa-ni mas-u koto faber-az-u nan
see-HUM-MOD-ATTR glad-NML-DAT surpass-ATTR thing be(POL)-NEG-FIN PT
There was nothing that would surpass the joy of **my going to see you** (HM II: 217)

5.1.2.4.2.2 *Gerund form of the defective verb* to *'to say'*

それが玉をとらむとて
sore-ga tama-wo tor-am-u **to-te**

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he-POSS precious stone-ACC take-TENT-FIN **DV-SUB**
wishing to take his precious stone (TM 49.3)

なんぢがたすけにとて
nandi-ga tasuke n-i **to-te**
you-POSS joy DV-INF **DV-SUB**
thinking that [she] will be your joy (TM 63.13)

我をいかにせよとて
ware-wo ikani se-yo **to-te**
I-ACC how do-IMP **DV-SUB**
what (*lit.*: how) **do** [you] **want** me to do? (TM 64.10)

おとこ京へなむまかるとて
otoko miyako-fe nan makar-u **to-te**
man capital-ALL PT go(HUM)-FIN **DV-SUB**
The man **said**: '[I] will go to the capital' and… (IM XIV:120.8)

おとこわれをばしらずやとて
otoko ware-woba sir-az-u ya **to-te**
man I-ACC(EMPH) know-NEG-FIN PT **DV-SUB**
The man **said**: 'Don't [you] recognize me?' and… (IM LXII:145.1)

あづまの方にすむべきくにもとめにとてゆきけり
Aduma-no kata-ni sum-ube-ki kuni motome-ni **to-te** yuk-iker-i
East-GEN direction-ALL live-DEB-ATTR province find(INF)-ALL **DV-SUB** go-RETR2-FIN
[He] went, **saying** that [he was going] to the east to find a province where he would live (IM IX:116.3)

その人のもとへいなむずなりとて
sono fito-no moto-fe in-amuz-unar-i **to-te**
that person-GEN base-ALL go-MOD-HS-FIN **DV-SUB**
they say **there were rumours** that [she] was going to go to that person (IM XCVI:168.11)

こなたにとて
konata-ni **to-te**
here-ALL **DV-SUB**
saying: '[Come] here' (HM I:214.2–3)

5.1.2.4.3 Defective verb *to* 'to be'

The defective verb *to* 'to be' has only one paradigmatic form, the infinitive *to*. It occurs comparatively rarely in the studied texts, and can probably be viewed as a relic of Old Japanese usage (Ōno *et al.* 1990:1447). It is interesting that the

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majority of examples are from *Taketori monogatari*, traditionally considered the oldest text, chronologically the closest to Old Japanese. Examples:

5.1.2.4.3.1 *Infinitive form of the defective verb* to *'to be'*

それにしろかねをねとしこがねをくきとししろき玉をみとしてたてる木あり
sore-ni sirokane-wo **ne to** s-i kogane-wo **kuki to** s-i siro-ki tama-wo **mi to** s-ite tat-er-u ki ar-i
that-LOC silver-ACC **root DV** do-INF gold-ACC **trunk DV** do-INF white-ATTR pearl-ACC **fruit DV** do-SUB stand-PROG-ATTR tree be-FIN
There is a tree growing on that [mountain], which has silver roots (*lit.*: silver **as roots**), a golden trunk (*lit.*: gold **as trunk**), and white pearls **for fruit** (TM 33.10–11)

草の根をくひものとしき
kusa-no ne-wo **kuf-i-mono to** s-iki
grass-GEN root-ACC **eat-INF-thing DV** do-RETR1/FIN
[we] were using grass roots **as food** (TM 37.16–38.1)

御つかひとおはしますべきかぐやひめ
mi-tukafi to ofasimas-ube-ki Kaguya-fime
PREF(HON)-servant DV be(HON)-DEB-ATTR Kaguya-fime
Kaguya-hime, who should become **your consort** (TM 40.5)

もとの御かたちとなり給ひね
moto-no **mi-katati to** nar-i-tamaf-in-e
base-GEN **PREF(HON)-appearance DV** become-INF-HON-PERF-IMP
Please go back to your original **appearance** (TM 57.5)

このごろとなりては
kono **goro to** nar-ite fa
this **time DV** become-SUB TOP
at this time (*lit.*: when it became this **time**) (TM 58.13)

つかひざねとある人なれば
tukafi-zane to ar-u fito nar-e-ba
falconer-head DV be-ATTR person be-EV-CON
because he was the **Head Falconer** (IM LXIX:150.12–13)

とりとならば
tori to nar-aba
bird DV become-COND
If [I] were **a bird**! (HM I:164.3)

とりとなりても
tori to nar-ite PT

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bird DV become-SUB PT
even becoming **a bird** (HM III:313.12)

5.1.2.5 *Quality verbs*

As in the analysis of action verbs, I present first the traditional approach and then the structural reanalysis of the subsystem of quality verbs in the language of Classical Japanese prose.

The traditional approach differentiates two types of 'conjugations' for quality verbs: く活用 *ku-katsuyō* '*ku*-conjugation' and しく活用 *shiku-katsuyō* '*shiku*-conjugation'. In addition, both types can have a special secondary type of conjugation, called かり活用 *kari-katsuyō* '*kari*-conjugation'. There are two major structural differences between the 'conjugation' systems of quality verbs and action verbs. First, both *ku-katsuyō* and *shiku-katsuyō* quality verbs have only three bases: conjunctive, conclusive, and attributive, as opposed to action verbs which have six 'bases'.[7] Second, while verbal suffixes (or *jodōshi* 'auxiliary verbs' in traditional terminology) can be attached to the various 'bases' of action verbs, they cannot directly follow the above-mentioned 'bases' of quality verbs. In order to attach a suffix to a quality verb, a form from the special *kari-katsuyō* must be used. Such a system sounds very complicated but is not so complex in fact. In the structural analysis below I will present a much simpler outline.

First, let us look at *ku*-conjugation and *shiku*-conjugation:

	ku-conjugation く活用 *ku-katsuyō* *ofo-* 'to be big'	*shiku*-conjugation しく活用 *shiku-katsuyō* *utuku-si-* 'to be beautiful'
1 Conjunctive	*ofo-ku*	*utuku-siku*
2 Conclusive	*ofo-si*	*utuku-si*
3 Attributive	*ofo-ki*	*utuku-siki*

Clearly, the sole reason for establishing a separate *shiku*-conjugation is the fact that its conclusive form is *utukusi* instead of expected *utukusi-si. The traditional explanation is that the *ku*-conjugation has the markers *-ku* for conjunctive and *-ki* for attributive, while the *shiku*-conjugation has the markers *-shiku* and *-shiki* respectively for these 'bases' (Ikeda 1975:45). Such an analysis presents more problems than it solves: why are there two distinct series of the same markers, and why do quality verbs that belong to the *shiku*-conjugation not have *-sisi* as a marker of their conclusive 'base'? This oddity can, however, be explained by a haplology, an explanation which a few Japanese linguists also adopt (Yuzawa 1943:56). Since an automatic haplology is to be expected after a *-si-* in the stem, there is no need to set up two different conjugations. Instead we can just add a rule of haplology concerning the quality verb stems ending in *-si*: after the final /si/ of the quality verb stem, the conclusive marker *-si* is lost. The structural reassessment

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of *ku-* and *shiku-* 'conjugations' can, therefore, be represented in the following way (as with action verbs, I use the term 'infinitive' instead of 'conjunctive'):

	ofo- 'to be big'	*utukusi-* 'to be beautiful'
1 Infinitive	*ofo-ku*	*utukusi-ku*
2 Conclusive	*ofo-si*	*utukusi-Ø*
3 Attributive	*ofo-ki*	*utukusi-ki*

It is necessary to add that due to velar lenition, described in 2.3.4.2, consonant /k/ is frequently lost in the infinitive, resulting in forms like *susamaji-u* < *susamaji-ku* 'unpleasantly' and *utukusi-u* < *utukusi-ku* 'beautifully', and less frequently in the attributive form, giving *kura-i* < *kura-ki* 'dark' and *yo-i* < *yo-ki* 'good', exactly as in the modern language.

The special *kari*-conjugation is obviously secondary and comparatively recent from the viewpoint of the history of the language. It originated from a combination of the infinitive form *-ku* plus verb *ar-* 'to be', with the elision of the vowel /u/ in *-ku*, because it is a narrower vowel than /a/ (for the rules of vowel elision see Yamaguchi 1971). In Old Japanese texts of the eighth century there are comparatively few contracted forms with *-kar-*. Instead, there are many instances of the uncontracted construction *–ku + ar-*. In traditional grammar, however, it is analysed as a special conjugation with the following bases:

	ofo- 'to be big'	*utukusi-* 'to be beautiful'
1 Imperfective	*ofo-kara-*	*utukusi-kara-*
2 Conjunctive	*ofo-kari-*	*utukusi-kari-*
3 Conclusive	*ofo-kari*	*utukusi-kari*
4 Attributive	*ofo-karu*	*utukusi-karu*
5 Perfective	*ofo-kare*	(*utukusi-kere*)

There is no imperative form, as is to be expected. The chart of *kari*-conjugation presented above exists only in theory. Thus, the conclusive 'base' is never used in the language of Classical prose (although there are some usages attested in *kundoku* texts), and neither the imperfective nor the conjunctive 'base' is ever used independently; they are bound forms that are used only in combination with following suffixes. Such a usage of the imperfective 'base' parallels the usage of the imperfective 'base' of action verbs, but is at odds with the usage of the conjunctive base of action verbs which can be used independently and not only in combination with following suffixes. Therefore, the conjunctive 'base' in *-ku* and the conjunctive 'base' in *-kari-* of quality verbs are in complementary distribution: the first is only used independently and cannot combine with following suffixes (with the single exception of the gerund suffix *-te*), while the second is used *only* in combination with following suffixes and never alone. Furthermore, the attributive 'base' *-karu* also has a limited usage: in the language of Classical Japanese prose it normally occurs only with following suffixes and is never used independently (the only apparent exception is the

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attributive form *ofokaru* of the quality verb *ofo-* 'to be big', which can be used independently). The perfective base with the expected form *-kare* is attested again only for *ofo-* 'to be big', whereas in all other cases the form is *-kere/-shikere-*, considered by traditional grammar to belong to the *-ku/-shiku* conjugation, when in fact it is historically a combination of the attributive form *-ki* and the perfective 'base' *are-* of the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist'.[8]

All these facts point to a structural reassessment in which the whole *kari-katsuyō* 'conjugation' is non-existent. What we actually have is the contracted combination of the infinitive form *-ku* with any possible forms of the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' that are, in essence, analytical derivations.

5.1.2.6 *Defective quality verb* ka- *'to be such'*

There is also one defective quality verb: *ka-* 'to be such', 'to be thus', 'to be so'. It has only two basic forms: the infinitive form *ka-ku* (also *ka-u* with *-k-* elision) and the gerund form *ka-ku-te*. Both occur exclusively as adverbial modifiers for other actions. The infinitive form *ka-ku* in combination with a following *ar-* 'to be' becomes a special contracted form *kakar-* (< *ka-ku ar-*) that most frequently appears in the attributive form *kakar-u* 'to be such'.

かくかたき事をばいかに申さむといふ
ka-ku kata-ki koto-woba ikani mawos-am-u to if-u
be such-INF difficult-ATTR matter-ACC(EMPH) how say(HUM)-TENT-FIN DV say-FIN
[Taketori] said: 'How am I going to tell them about **such** difficult tasks?' (TM 33.15)

かかる程におとこども六人つらねて庭に出きたり
kakar-u fodo-ni otoko-domo roku-nin turane-te nifa-ni ide-k-itar-i
be such-ATTR time-LOC man-PLUR six-CL go in line-SUB garden-LOC appear(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-FIN
at **this** time, six men appeared in the garden (TM 39.12)

などかくたのもしげなく申ぞ
nado **ka-ku** tanomosi-ge na-ku mawos-u zo
why **so-INF** kind-NML no-INF speak(HUM/PEJ)-FIN PT
Why do [you] speak **so** dishearteningly? (TM 47.12)

かくこのくににはあまたのとしをへぬるになん有ける
ka-ku kono kuni-ni fa amata-no tosi-wo fe-n-uru n-i nan ar-iker-u
thus-INF this country-LOC TOP multitude-GEN year-ACC pass-PERF-ATTR DV-INF PT be-RETR2-ATTR
thus, [I] lived in this country for (*lit.*: having passed through) many years (TM 60.7–8)

かかるみちはいかでかいまする
kakar-u miti fa ikade ka imas-uru

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be such-ATTR road TOP how PT be(HON)-ATTR
How [did you happen] to be on **such a** road? (IM IX:116.14)

なにによりてかかからむ
nani-ni yor-ite ka **kakar-am-u**
what-LOC base-SUB PT **be so-TENT-ATTR**
on the basis of what **would it be so**? (IM XXI:124.9)

かくなせそといひければ
ka-ku na-se-so to if-iker-e-ba
thus-INF NEG-do-IMP DV say-RETR2-EV-CON
when [she] told [him]: 'Do not do [it] **this way**' (IM LXV:147.6)

などかくしもよむ
nado **ka-ku** simo yom-u
why **be thus-INF** PT recite-FIN
Why did [you] recite **thus**? (IM CI:171.8)

中納言のかくわたるとききたまひしよりあはれにゆかしくおぼされし
tiunagon-no **ka-ku** watar-u to kik-i-tamaf-isi-yori afare n-i yukasi-ku obos-are-si
chūnagon-GEN **thus-INF** cross over-FIN DV hear-INF-HON-RETR1/ATTR-ABL very DV-INF curious-INF think(HON)-PASS-RETR1/ATTR
since [she] heard that the Chūnagon had **thus** crossed over [to China], [she] was very curious…(HM I:165.2)

かかる人をばいかでかおもひよらぬ人のあるべき
kakar-u fito-woba ikade ka omof-i-yor-an-u fito n-o ar-ube-ki
be such-ATTR person-ACC(EMPH) how PT think-INF-approach-NEG-ATTR person DV-ATTR be-DEB-ATTR
Such a person is someone whom [you] cannot [even] think about in anyway (HM II:235.8)

われもなをよにかくてあらじ
ware mo nawo yo-ni **ka-ku-te** ar-azi
I PT more world-LOC **thus-INF-SUB** be-TENT/NEG
I don't want to live any more **like that** in the world… (HM III:268.1)

我心からかうもおもひやすらひ
wa-ga kokoro-kara **ka-u** mo omof-i-yasuraf-i
I-POSS heart-ABL **thus-INF** PT think-INF-hesitate-INF
[I] was **thus** hesitating in (*lit.*: from) my heart and… (HM V:334.15)

5.2 VERBAL AFFIXES

Verbal affixes in the language of Classical Japanese prose comprise preverbs, prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes. The overwhelming majority of affixes are suffixes, and there are very few preverbs or prefixes, and only one circumfix.

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5.2.1 Preverbs and prefixes

The somewhat richer system of Old Japanese preverbs and prefixes had been considerably reduced in the Classical language. Only four of them are attested in the texts under consideration: *ye-*, *uti-*, *kaki-/kai-*, and *mote-*. Historically, all preverbs and prefixes are infinitive forms of verbs.

5.2.1.1 *Preverb* ye-

The preverb *ye-* is historically an infinitive of the OJ verb *e-* 'to be able'. Japanese scholars do not classify it as a preverb (Ikeda 1975; Tsukishima 1969; Tokieda 1954). Syromiatnikov was the first scholar who proposed to do so (Syromiatnikov 1983:107). The preverb *ye-* is a bound form, since it always occurs with the negative mode of verbs. It could be defined as a prefix, but there are cases when it is separated from the following stem by an intervening focus particle *fa* or *mo*. I therefore prefer to classify it as a preverb. The preverb *ye-* has the meaning of ability (in combination with a following negative the whole verbal form expresses a lack of ability).

えみつけたてまつらずなりぬ
ye-mi-tuke-tatematur-azu nar-in-u
PREV-see(INF)-attach(INF)-HUM-NEG/INF become-PERF-FIN
it became so that [they] **could not find** [him] (TM 41.8)

いなといふ事なればえしひねばことわり也
ina to if-u koto nar-e-ba **ye-sifi-n-e-ba** kotowari nar-i
no DV say-ATTR thing be-EV-CON **PREV-force-NEG-EV-CON** principle be-FIN
as [she] was saying 'no', [his] principle was that [he] **could not force** [her] (TM 44.2)

かどよりもえいらで
kado-yori mo **ye-ir-ade**
gate-ABL PT **PREV-enter-NEG/GER**
[he] **could not enter** from the gate, either, and… (IM V:113.9)

いけどもえあはでかへりけり
ik-e-domo **ye-af-ade** kafer-iker-i
go-EV-CONC **PREV-meet-NEG/GER** return-RETR2-FIN
although [he] went, [he] **could not meet** [her] and returned (IM V:113.11)

みこもえたへ給はず
miko mo **ye-tafe-tamaf-az-u**
prince PT **PREV endure-HON-NEG-FIN**
the Prince **could not help [crying]**, either (HM I: 156.12–13)

女はゑよまぬ
wonna fa **we-yom-an-u** (misspelling for **ye-yom-an-u**)

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woman TOP **PREV-read-NEG-ATTR**
the woman **could not read** (HM I: 160.7)

えもとどめ給はぬものからこのよには又いつかはと
ye mo todome-tamaf-an-u monokara kono yo-ni fa mata itu ka fa to
PREV PT stop(INF)-HON-NEG-ATTR CONJ this country-ALL TOP again when PT TOP DV
although [they] **could not stop** [him], [they] thought: '[Maybe he will come] again to this country sometimes…' (HM I:193.12–13)

5.2.1.2 *Prefix* uti-

The meaning of the prefix *uti-* is not completely clear. Most often it is not defined at all (Tokieda 1954:40), but some suggest that it expresses 'a sense of lightness, quickness or transience' or a 'sense of throughness or completeness' (Ikeda 1975: 258). It is more closely connected to the following stem than the preverb *ye-* described above in 5.2.1.1: since the focus particles *fa* and *mo* cannot be inserted between *uti-* and a verbal stem, it is better treated as a prefix.

(1)'Lightness'

手にうちいれて
te-ni **uti-ire-te**
hand-LOC **PREF-put in-SUB**
[he] **took [her]** (carefully) **into [his] hands** (TM 29.7)

猶時々はうちなげきなどす
nafo toki-doki fa **uti-nagek-i-nado s-u**
again time-time TOP **PREF-sigh-NML-REPR do-FIN**
again [she] **was sighing** from time to time (TM 59.8)

女いとようけさうじてうちながめて
wonna ito yo-u kesau-z-ite **uti-nagame-te**
woman very good-INF make-up-do-SUB **PREF-look into the distance-SUB**
the woman did her make-up very well and **looking into the distance**… (IM XXIII:127.2–3)

This is the only example of 'lightness' occurring in *Ise monogatari*. All other examples of *uti-* in this text express 'completeness'.

中納言うちほをえみ給て
tiunagon uti-fowoem-i-tamaf-ite
chūnagon **PREF-smile-INF-HON-SUB**
the Chūnagon **smiled slightly**… (HM I:157.11–12)

しぐれときどきうちそそくほど
sigure toki-doki **uti-sosok-u** fodo

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autumn rain all the time **PREF-pour-ATTR** time
while autumn rain **was drizzling** from time to time (HM I:158.10)

むねうちさはぎつつ
mune **uti-safag-itutu**
chest **PREF-be-agitated-COOR**
[his] chest **was rising** [from excitement] (HM V:391.2–3)

(2)'Completeness':

この程三日うちあげあそぶ
kono fodo mi-ka **uti-age-asob-u**
this time three-CL **PREF-raise(INF)-play-FIN**
At this time [they] **celebrated** for three days (TM 30.4)

あまのは衣うちきせたてまつりつれば翁をいとおしくかなしとおぼしつる事もうせぬ
ama-no fa-"goromo **uti-ki-se-tatematur-it-ure-ba** okina-wo ito osi-ku kanasi to obos-it-uru koto mo use-n-u
heaven-GEN feather-(GEN)garment **PREF-put on-CAUS(INF)-HUM-PERF-EV-CON** old man-NOM very pitiful-INF sad DV think(HON)-PERF-ATTR thing PT lose-PERF-FIN
when [they] made [her] put on the heavenly feather garment, [she] stopped thinking that the old man was very pitiful and sad (TM 66.2–3)

それをかのまめをとこうちものがたらひて
sore-wo kano mame-wotoko **uti-monogatar-af-ite**
she-ACC that serious-man **PREF-talk on various subjects-ITER-SUB**
That serious man **talked [with her] on various subjects** [through the night] … (IM II:112.1–2)

うちなきてあばらなるいたじきに月のかたぶくまでふせりて
uti-nak-ite abara nar-u itaziki-ni tuki-no katabuk-u-made fus-er-ite
PREF-cry-SUB emptied out be-ATTR bare wooden floor-LOC moon-GEN go down-ATTR-TERM lie down-PERF/PROG-SUB
[he] **burst into tears**, and lay down on the barren wooden floor until the moon sank [behind the horizon] ((IM IV:113.3)

うちはらひ給
uti-faraf-i-tamaf-u'
PREF-laugh-INF-HON-FIN
[the Chūnagon] **burst into laughter** (HM I:154.11)

ほととぎすうちなきたるも
fototogisu **uti-nak-itar-u** mo
cuckoo **PREF-cry-PERF/PROG-ATTR** PT
and the fact that the cuckoo **has been crying** (HM III:293.8–9)

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かかるよのさだめをうちきき
kakar-u yo-no sadame-wo **uti-kik-i**
be such-ATTR world-GEN judgement-ACC **PREF-hear-INF**
having heard the judgements of this world (HM IV:326.7)

5.2.1.3 *Prefix* kaki-/kai-

The prefix *kaki-/kai-* does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* or the *Ise monogatari*. Examples of its use in *Hamamatsu monogatari* are very rare. Like the previous prefix *uti-*, its exact meaning is unclear. Most often it is not defined at all (Tokieda 1954:40), but some linguists have suggested that *kaki-/kai-* emphasizes the meaning of a verb or puts stress on the action (Ikeda 1975:258).

月のひかりもかきくもりぬる心ちして
tuki-no fikari mo **kaki-kumor-in-uru** kokoti s-ite
moon-GEN light PT **PREF-hide behind clouds-PERF-ATTR** feeling do-SUB
[he] felt that the light of the moon had **disappeared** too… (HM III:325.1)

5.2.1.4 *Prefix* mote-

The prefix *mote-* is not attested in *Taketori monogatari*. Its meaning is as unclear as that of other prefixes. According to Ikeda Tadashi, *mote-* has two functions: it either intensifies the meaning of a verb or shows that the action is conducted gradually (1975: 260).

返事は京にきつきてなんもてきたりける
kaferigoto fa miyako-ni k-i-tuk-ite nan **mote-k-itar-iker-u**
reply TOP capital-LOC come-INF-attach-SUB PT **PREF-come-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR**
[her] reply **came** after [he] had reached the capital (IM XX:124.1)

夜あけもてゆくほどに
yoru ake-Ø **mote-yuk-u** fodo-ni
night dawn-INF **PREF-go-ATTR** time-LOC
As night **was passing**… (IM LXXXI:158.5)

いとおもしろきをもてあそばるるなるべし
ito omosiro-ki-wo **mote-asob-ar-uru nar-ube-si**
very beautiful-ATTR-ACC **PREF-enjoy-PASS-ATTR be-DEB-FIN**
[he] **must have enjoyed** its beauty (*lit.*: how beautiful it was) (HM I:159.2)

つつましげにかほをもてまぎらはしたるこゑ
tutumasi-ge n-i kafo-wo **mote-magirafas-itar-u** kowe

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shy-NML DV-INF face-ACC **PREF-hide from others' eyes-PERF/PROG-ATTR** voice
the voice that [was telling her] **to hide** [her] face with seeming shyness (HM II:230.11)

5.2.2 Verbal circumfix *na-...-so*

There is only one verbal circumfix, *na-... -so*, in the language of the Classical Japanese prose. It encircles the infinitive form of all verbs except for *se-* 'to do', in which case the circumfix encircles the stem *se-*. The resulting form has the function of a negative imperative: 'do not [do]'. This negative imperative form appears to be much more polite than the one made by adding the negative particle *na* to the final form of the verb. In most cases the *na-... -so* construction occurs with accompanying honorific verbs. One of the two exceptions citied below comes from poetry, where honorifics are used quite seldom, and it can therefore be discounted. Examples:

いはれぬ事なし給ひそ
if-are-n-u koto **na-s-i-tamaf-i-so**
say-PASS-NEG-ATTR thing **NEG-do-INF-HON-INF-IMP**
Do not do things that are unreasonable (*lit.*: are impossible to say) (TM 54.14)

月な見給そ
tuki **na-mi-tamaf-i-so**
moon **NEG-see(INF)-HON-INF-IMP**
Do not look at the moon (TM 59.5)

むさしのはけふはなやきそ
Musasi no fa kefu fa **na-yak-i-so**
Musasi field TOP today TOP **NEG-burn-INF-IMP**
Do not burn the field of Musasi today (IM XII:119.6)

(This example comes from a poem.)

かくなせそといひければ
ka-ku **na-se-so** to if-iker-e-ba
thus-INF **NEG-do-IMP** DV say-RETR2-EV-CON
when [she] told [him]: '**Do not do** [it] this way' (IM LXV:147.6)

御心にもうとくなおぼしめしなさせたまひそ
on-kokoro-ni mo uto-ku **na-obosimes-i-nas-ase-tamaf-i-so**
PREF(HON)-heart-LOC estranged-INF **NEG-think(HON)-INF-do(HON)(INF)-CAUS-HON-INF-IMP**
do not think of [him] as estranged from your heart (HM I:166.1–2)

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けふはこなたになおはせそ
kefu fa konata-ni **na-ofase-so**
today TOP here-ALL **NEG-come(HON)-IMP**
Do not come here today (HM IV:332.6)

5.2.3 Verbal suffixes

If we follow a strict linguistic analysis of Classical Japanese we have to divide all the verbal suffixes into two major groups: sentence-final suffixes which normally occur at the end of the last verbal form in a sentence or a clause, and sentence non-final suffixes that cannot occur in sentence-final position unless ellipsis occurs. Sentence-non-final suffixes, in their turn, can be further subdivided into word-final and word-non-final suffixes. Word-final suffixes can conclude a verbal form, while word-non-final suffixes cannot complete a verbal form by themselves: they must always be followed either by sentence-final or word-final suffixes.

The markers of final predicates, such as the suffixes of final predication, attributives, imperatives, most markers of mood, and a few other markers, are sentence-final suffixes. The infinitive and all gerunds, which are markers of non-final predicates, are sentence-non-final word-final suffixes. The markers of voice, negation, and aspect are all word-non-final suffixes.

Another helpful division between verbal suffixes is the crucial distinction between strong vowel-initial suffixes and weak vowel-initial suffixes. The former are the suffixes that never or almost never lose their initial vowels, such as final *-u* and attributive *-uru*; and the latter are suffixes that lose their intial vowels when preceded by vowel verb stems, or other suffixes that end in a vowel.

5.2.3.1 *Sentence-final verbal suffixes*

The language of Classical Japanese prose contains a number of sentence-final verbal suffixes: markers of final predication *-u* (for verbs), *-i* (for verb *ar-* 'to be' and its derivatives) and *-si* (for quality verbs); the attributive suffixes *-uru* (for verbs) and *-ki* (for quality verbs); the evidential marker *-ure*; the imperative suffixes *-e*, and *-yo*; the mood markers: negative tentative *-azi*, subjunctive *-amasi*, desiderative *-abaya*; subjective retrospective marker *-iki*; and suppositional suffix *-urasi*.

5.2.3.1.1 Final predication markers *-u, -i, -si*

The final predication marker has several allomorphs. Its main allomorph is *-u*, found after all action verbs, except after strong vowel verbs when it takes the form *-ru*.[10] After the stative verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist', as well as after its derivatives (*tar-* 'to be', *nar-* 'to be', *faber-* 'to be' (polite)), and after the suffixes that historically represent the fusion of *ar-* with something else, the allomorph *-i* is used. Stative quality verbs and some other verbal forms that are

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historically derived from quality verbs use the allomorph *-si* instead, which is apocopated if the stem of a quality verb ends in the syllable /si/.

The final predication marker does not have to be the last morpheme in the sentence. It can be followed by various particles, such as the negative imperative particle *na* or the question particle *ya*. It also lurks historically within some of the mood suffixes, such as tentative *-uram-* (< final *-u* + *ar-* 'be' + tentative *-am-*) and others. In the case of direct or reported speech it is always followed by forms of the defective verb *to-* 'to say' and the appropriate verb of verbal or mental activity.

Opinions differ on the meaning of the final predication marker *-u*. Most Japanese linguists consider that this form does not have any function other than final predication (Kobayashi 1936: 83–6; Yuzawa 1943: 45–6; Ikeda 1975: 20). There is, however, one dissenting voice: that of Suzuki Yasuyuki who considers *-u* to indicate 'non-past tense' (Suzuki 1975: 9). There is much more confusion among Western Japanologists. Thus, Muccioli believes that *-u* is a form of the present tense (1970: 78). Kolpakchi goes so far as to ascribe four functions to *-u*, all of them tenses: (1) present tense of the moment of speech; (2) usual present; (3) historical present (*praesens historicum*); (4) future (1956: 86). She correctly noted that *-u* begins to be used frequently in reference to future actions only from the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, earlier examples of such usage being very few (Kolpakchi 1956: 93). This fact, however, can easily be explained in other ways which have nothing to do with the category of tense, as I will demonstrate below. Kolpakchi also regarded the usage of *-u* in reference to the past (historical present) as a 'stylistic trick' (1956: 93). Similarly, Syromiatnikov believed that *-u* has the function of 'non-preceding tense' which can be used in reference to both present and past, but he also added that when used to describe multiple actions, this form may refer to the preceding action as well (Syromiatnikov 1983:82). More recently, Takeuchi defined *-u* as a tenseless imperfective aspect marker (*-ru* in her analysis), in contrast to other markers that do express tense according to her analysis of the Classical Japanese verbal system (1987: 90). But there is an obvious problem with this approach, too: if *-u* is an aspect marker, why does it combine with other aspect markers, such as perfective *-ite-* or *-in-*?

I believe all these attempts to connect the final predication marker *-u* with tense or aspect are confusing and basically stem from a subconscious attempt to squeeze Classical Japanese into the Procrustean bed of Indo-European grammatical structure. The very fact that in these linguists' attempted interpretations *-u* can correspond to virtually any tense testifies to quite the opposite conclusion: *-u* is not connected with the category of tense at all. Nor is it possible to accept the above-mentioned explanation that *-u* used in reference to the past is a 'stylistic trick' since this usage accounts for 80% of examples. In my dissertation I treated *-u* as a marker of 'realis mood' that renders a positive action without any reference to tense (Vovin 1987: 105). Although this point of view is also better abandoned, since *-u* can combine with other mood markers (for example, with tentative *-am-*) and it is not possible to have two mood markers within the same verbal form, it still contains a grain of truth. Namely, there

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is, I believe, no category of tense in Classical Japanese. The marker *-u* has just one function – final predication – and is absolutely neutral regarding all other categories. It can therefore be used in reference to present, past, or future. The fact that it rarely occurs in reference to the future can easily be explained by a careful study of the examples in which it occurs with such reference and without any other preceding suffixes of mood, e.g.:

これはかのくにの后なり
kore fa kano kuni-no kisaki **nar-i**
she TOP that country-GEN empress **become-FIN**
She **will become** an Empress of that country (HM III:267.5)

The above sentence is a prophecy made by the Dragon King. This is a significant fact, and, indeed, the final predication form in reference to the future occurs predominantly in the speech of deities or other beings who know the future. It was probably psycholinguistically impossible for Japanese in the Classical period to speak about the future in terms of certainty. Indeed, in the speech of humans, the form *nar-am-u* 'will probably become', with a preceding tentative *-am-*, is normally found. Exceptions are normally confined to expressing an intention to do something, as in the examples below from page 34 of *Taketori monogatari* and from *dan* XIV of *Ise monogatari*. Interestingly enough, both involve the humble verb *makar-* 'go [away]'. Since the absence of the tentative *-am-* in the above *nar-i* 'will become' indicates the lack of any uncertainty, it provides a perfect explanation of why the final predication form was used restrictively in reference to future actions.

Other examples from the texts also can demonstrate the tenseless nature of the final predication suffixes.

(1) Final predication marker *-u*

天ぢくへ石のはちとりにまかる
Tendiku-fe isi-no fati tor-i-ni **makar-u**
India-ALL stone-GEN bowl take-INF-ALL **go(HUM)-FIN**
[I] **will go** to India to get the stone bowl (TM 34.8)

わがもとむるやまならむとおもひて
wa-ga motom-uru yama **nar-am-u** to omof-ite
1-POSS seek-ATTR mountain **be-TENT-FIN** DV think-SUB
[I] thought that [it] **was probably** the mountain I was looking for and… (TM 38.6)

なんぢらが君のつかひと名をながしつ
nandi-ra-ga kimi-no tukafi to **na-wo nagas-it-u**
thou-PLUR(PEJ)-POSS lord-GEN servant DV **name-ACC float-PERF-FIN**
You **are famous** as [loyal] servants of [your] lord (TM 45.12)

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かぐや姫もとのかたちに**成ぬ**
Kaguya-fime moto-no katati ni **nar-in-u**
Kaguya-hime base-GEN appearance DV-INF **become-PERF-FIN**
Kaguya-hime **took** her original appearance (TM 57.6)

猶時々はうちなげきなどす
nafo toki-doki fa **uti-nagek-i-nado s-u**
again time-time TOP **PREF-sigh-NML-REPR do-FIN**
again [she] **was sighing** from time to time (TM 59.8)

そのけぶりいまだ雲のなかへたちのぼる
sono keburi imada kumo-no naka-fe **tat-i-nobor-u**
that smoke still cloud-GEN middle-ALL **stand-INF-rise-FIN**
That smoke still **rises** to (the middle of) the clouds (TM 67.4–5)

ちちはこと人に**あはせむといひける**
titi fa koto-fito-ni **af-ase-m-u** to if-iker-u
father TOP different-person-DAT **meet-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV say-RETR2-ATTR
[Her] father said that [he] **wanted to marry** (*lit.*: wants to make [her] meet) [her] to a different person… (IM X:118.3)

おとこ京へなんまかるとて
otoko miyako-fe nan **makar-u** to-te
man capital-ALL PT **go(HUM)-FIN** DV-SUB
The man said: '[I] **will go** to the capital', and… (IM XIV:120.8)

おとこのもとへやる
otoko-no moto-fe **yar-u**
man-GEN base-ALL **send-FIN**
[she] **sent** [a chrysanthemum] to the man (IM XVIII:122.12)

みこにむまのかみおほみき**まいる**
miko-ni muma-no kami ofomi-ki **mair-u**
prince-DAT horse-GEN head PREF(HON)-rice wine **present(HUM)-FIN**
The Captain of the Stables **presented** rice wine to the Prince (IM LXXXII:159.12)

みずいじんとねりしてとりにつかはす
mi-zuizin toneri s-ite tor-i-ni **tukafas-u**
PREF(HON)-outrider retainer do-SUB take-INF-ALL **send(HON)-FIN**
[he] **sent** an outrider and a retainer to get it (IM LXXVIII:156.12)

日くれぬればせきのもとにとまりたまひぬ
fi kure-n-ure-ba seki-no moto-ni **tomar-i-tamaf-in-u**

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sun set down-PERF-EV-CON barrier-GEN base-LOC **stop-INF-HON-PERF-FIN**
since the sun had already set, [the Chūnagon] **stopped at the barrier** (HM I:154.2–3)

せきの人おどろきてそのとをあく
seki-no fito odorok-ite sono to-wo **ak-u**
barrier-GEN person be surprised-SUB that gate-ACC **open-FIN**
The guards of the barrier were surprised and **opened** that gate (HM I:154.6–7)

みこかうやうくゑんにいで給ぬ
miko Kauyaukuwen-ni **ide-tamaf-in-u**
prince Kauyaukuwen-ALL **go out-HON-PERF-FIN**
The Prince **went out** to Kauyaukuwen (HM I:158.9)

大弐も御をくりにせきまでまいる
Daini mo mi-wokur-i-ni seki-made **mair-u**
Daini PT PREF(HON)-see off-INF-ALL barrier-TERM **go(HUM)-FIN**
Daini **went** to see [the Chūnagon] off as far as the barrier, too (HM II:240.6–7)

(2) Final predication marker *-i*

その竹の中にもとひかる竹なむひとすぢありけり
sono take-no naka-ni moto fikar-u take namu fito-sudi **ar-iker-i**
that bamboo-GEN middle-LOC base shine-ATTR bamboo PT one-CL **be-RETR2-FIN**
In the middle of that bamboo [grove] **there was** a bamboo stalk with one shining joint (TM 29.3–4)

これよき事也
kore yo-ki koto **nar-i**
this good-ATTR thing **be-FIN**
This **is** a good thing (TM 33.7)

それにしろかねをねとしこがねをくきとししろき玉をみとしてたてる木あり
sore-ni sirokane-wo ne to s-i kogane-wo kuki to s-i siro-ki tama-wo mi to s-ite tat-er-u ki **ar-i**
that-LOC silver-ACC root DV do-INF gold-ACC trunk DV do-INF white-ATTR pearl-ACC fruit DV do-SUB stand-PROG-ATTR tree **be-FIN**
There is a tree on that [mountain], which has silver roots (*lit.*: silver as roots), a golden trunk (*lit.*: gold as trunk), and white pearls for fruit (TM 33.10–11)

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わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite **ofasimas-itar-i**
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB **come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[he] **came** without even stopping at his own house (TM 36.15–16)

そのさとにいとなまめいたるをんなはらからすみけり
sono sato-ni ito namame-itar-u wonna fara-kara **sum-iker-i**
that village-LOC very elegant-PERF/PROG-ATTR woman belly-clan **live-RETR2-FIN**
[Two] very elegant sisters **lived** in that village (IM I:111.3)

武蔵のくにとしもつふさのくにとの中にいとおほきなる河あり
Musasi n-o kuni-to Simotufusa n-o kuni-to-no naka-ni ito ofo-ki-nar-u kafa **ar-i**
Musasi DV-ATTR province-COM Simotufusa DV-ATTR province-COM-GEN inside-LOC very big-ATTR-be-ATTR river **be-FIN**
there **is** a very big river between the province Musasi and the province Simotufusa (IM IX:117.6)

その女世人にはまされりけり
sono wonna yo-no fito-ni fa **masar-er-iker-i**
that woman world-GEN person-DAT TOP **be superior-PROG-RETR2-FIN**
That woman **was superior** to [other] women of the world (IM II:111.13)

いたるはしたがふがおほぢなり
Itaru fa Sitagafu-ga ofodi **nar-i**
Itaru TOP Sitagafu-POSS grandfather **be-FIN**
Itaru **was** the grandfather of Sitagafu (IM XXXIX:134.8)

五にあたり侍むすめのすぐれたるあいしに侍り
itu-ni atar-i-faber-u musume-no sugure-tar-u aisi n-i **faber-i**
five-LOC correspond-INF-POL-ATTR daughter-GEN be supreme-PERF/PROG-ATTR beloved child DV-INF **be(POL)-FIN**
The fifth daughter **is** an especially beloved child (HM I:172.13)

御らんぜさせに御むかへにまいりたり
go-ran-ze-sase-ni ofon-mukafe-ni **mair-itar-i**
PREF(HON)-see-do-CAUS(NML)-ALL PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-ALL **come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[I] **came** to meet you in order to show you (HM I:171.8)

中宮の御かたへまいり給へり
Tiuguu-no on-kata-fe **mair-i-tamaf-er-i**
first empress-GEN PREF(HON)-side-ALL **go(HUM)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN**
[he] **went** to the First Empress (HM II:251.3)

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ひめ君をけふはこなたになおはせそ。さおもふやうありとて
Fime-gimi-wo kefu fa konata-ni na-ofase-so. Sa omof-u yau **ar-i** to-te
Fime-gimi-NOM today TOP here-ALL NEG-come(HON)-IMP So think-ATTR reason **be-FIN** DV-SUB
Hime-gimi said: 'Do not come here today. There **is** a reason [for me] to think that [you should not]' (HM IV:332.5–7)

とりははやしとちぎれり
tori fa fayasi-to **tigir-er-i**
bird TOP forest-COM **vow-PROG-FIN**
The bird **is bound by vows** with the forest (HM IV:341.12)

(3) Final predication marker *-si*

かたちよしときゝては
katati **yo-si** to kik-ite fa
appearance **good-FIN** DV hear-SUB TOP
if [they] heard that [a woman's] looks **are good**…(TM 31.3)

ふかき心ざしをしらではあひがたし
fuka-ki kokorozasi-wo sir-ade fa af-i-**gata-si**
deep-ATTR intention-ACC know-NEG/GER TOP meet-INF-**difficult-FIN**
without knowing [how] deep are [their] intentions, it **is difficult** to marry (TM 32.9–10)

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程はみゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i ofasimas-an-e-ba mi-kokorozasi-no fodo fa **mi-y-ube-si**
which PT be inferior-INF be superior-INF be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent TOP **see-PASS-DEB-FIN**
Since neither [of you] is superior or inferior, [she] **must see** the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.9)

我はみこにまけぬべし
ware fa miko-ni **make-n-ube-si**
I TOP prince-DAT **lose-PERF-DEB-FIN**
I **might have lost** to the Prince (TM 36.6–7)

火にやけぬ事よりもけうらなることならびなし
fi-ni yake-n-u koto-yori mo keura nar-u koto narab-i **na-si**
fire-LOC burn-NEG-ATTR thing-COMP PT beauty be-ATTR thing compare-NML **no-FIN**
More important (*lit.*: **there is no** comparison) than the fact that [it] does not burn is the fact that [it] is beautiful (TM 43.4–5)

猶うしと思ひつつなんありける
nafo **u-si** to omof-itutu nan ar-iker-u

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even more **sad-FIN** DV think-COOR PT be-RETR2-ATTR
[he] felt even **sad**der (IM IV:113.1)

ゐてこし女もなし
wi-te ko-si wonna mo **na-si**
bring-SUB come-RETR1/ATTR woman PT **no-FIN**
the woman whom [he] had brought [with him] **was not** [there] (IM VI:114.10)

武蔵なるおとこ京なる女のもとにきこゆればはづかしきこえねばくるしとかきて
Musasi-n-ar-u otoko miyako-n-ar-u wonna-no moto-ni kikoy-ure-ba **fadukasi-Ø** kikoye-n-e-ba **kurusi-Ø** to kak-ite
Musasi-LOC-be-ATTR man capital-LOC-be-ATTR woman-GEN base-LOC say(HUM)-EV-CON **be embarrassed-FIN** say(HUM)-NEG-EV-CON **be cruel-FIN** DV write-SUB
a man who was in Musasi wrote to a woman who was in the capital: 'If [I] tell [you], [I] **will be embarrassed**, if [I] do not tell [you], [it] **will be cruel**' (IM XIII:119.9–10)

とはぬもつらしとふもうるさし
tof-an-u mo **tura-si** tof-u mo **urusa-si**
ask-NEG-ATTR PT **be painful-FIN** ask-ATTR PT **be vexatious-FIN**
Not to ask [you] **is painful**, to ask [you] **is vexatious** (IM XIII:119.12)

(This example comes from a poem.)

いまはなにの心もなし
ima fa nani-no kokoro mo **na-si**
now TOP what-GEN idea PT **no-FIN**
[I] **do not have** any thoughts [but of meeting you] (IM XCVI:168.19)

いとおもしろきをもてあそばるるなるべし
ito omosiro-ki-wo **mote-asob-ar-uru-nar-ube-si**
very beautiful-ATTR-ACC **PREF-enjoy-PASS-ATTR-be-DEB-FIN**
[he] **must have enjoyed** its beauty (*lit.*: how beautiful [it] was) (HM I:159.2)

それよりのちはおぼつかなきうらみもなし
sore-yori noti fa obotukana-ki urami mo **na-si**
that-ABL after TOP uneasy-ATTR regret PT **no-FIN**
after that, **there will be no** uneasy regrets (HM I:175.2–3)

三の君きん四の君こと五の君びはかきあはせたるこゑごゑいづれとなくおもしろし
mi-tu n-o kimi kin yo-tu n-o kimi koto itu-tu n-o kimi bifa kak-i-af-ase-tar-u kowe-gowe idure to na-ku **omosiro-si**

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three-CL DV-ATTR lady zither four-CL DV-ATTR lady koto five-CL DV-ATTR lady biwa play-INF-COOP-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR voice-voice which DV no-INF **beautiful-FIN**
The sounds of [musical instruments] played together: the *biwa*, played by the fifth daughter, the *koto*, played by the fourth daughter, and the zither, played by the third daughter, **were** all **beautiful** (HM I:214.6–8)

心ちあしとて
kokoti **a-si** to-te
mood **bad-FIN** DV-SUB
having said: '[I am in a] **bad** mood' ... (HM III:298.10–11)

いづれぞとたづぬる事もなし
idure zo to tadun-uru koto mo **na-si**
which PT DV ask-ATTR thing PT **no-FIN**
[she] **did not** even ask: 'Which [shōjō]?' (TSM 406.6)

5.2.3.1.2 Attributive markers *-uru* and *-ki*

The attributive marker's main allomorph is *-uru*, which is found after all vowel verbs (except strong vowel verbs, where it becomes just *-ru*), irregular verbs, and *n*-irregular consonant verbs. After all other consonant verbs the allomorph *-u* is used, according to the morphonological rule of *-r-* loss mentioned in 2.3.5. A similar picture is observed if *-uru* is used not after the verbal stem but after another verbal suffix: if a suffix ends with a vowel, the main allomorph *-uru* is used, and the final vowel of the preceding suffix is apocopated. If a suffix ends in a consonant, the allomorph *-u* is used. Quality verbs and verbal suffixes historically derived from quality verbs have their own special attributive marker *-ki*. The retrospective marker *-iki* has a special attributive form *-isi*.

The attributive form has three main functions: (1) a modifying function; (2) a function as a verbal noun (nominalized form); and (3) a final predicate function.

5.2.3.1.2.1 *Attributive as a modifier*

There are two types of modifiers with an attributive function: simple, when an attributive form constitutes a sentence of its own and modifies the following nominal; and extended, when the attributive represents a predicate in an extended sentence which in this case as a whole becomes a modifier of the nominal following the attributive.

(1) Attributive marker *-uru*

見まほしうする人どもなりければ
mi-mafosi-u s-uru fito-domo nar-iker-e-ba
see-OPT-INF do-ATTR person-PLUR be-RETR2-EV-CON
because [they] were persons **who wanted to see** [Kaguya-fime] (TM 31.3–4)

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わがもとむるやまならむとおもひて
wa-ga motom-uru yama nar-am-u to omof-ite
I-POSS seek-ATTR mountain be-TENT-FIN DV think-SUB
[I] thought that [it] was probably the mountain **I was looking for** and… (TM 38.6)

かやうにて御心をたがひになぐさめ給ほどに
ka yau n-ite mi-kokoro-wo tagaf-i-ni nagusame-tamaf-u fodo-ni
that like DV-SUB PREF(HON)-heart-ACC distract-INF-ALL console(INF)-HON-ATTR time-LOC
while **[the Emperor] was consoling and distracting his heart like that** (TM 58.8)

物がたりなどするほどに
monogatari nado s-uru fodo-ni
talk REPR do-ATTR time-LOC
while **[they] talked of many things** (IM LIII:141.5)

ある人のみざうしのまへのみぞにすへたりし
ar-u fito-no mi-zausi-no mafe-no mizo-ni sufe-tar-isi
be-ATTR person-GEN PREF(HON)-chamber-GEN front-GEN ditch-LOC place-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR
[they] placed [the stone] in the ditch in front of the chamber of a **certain** lady (IM LXXVIII:156.9–10)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa tada sitasi-ku obosimes-u siti fati-nin bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP only close-INF think(HON)-ATTR seven eight-CL PT
about seven or eight ladies-in-waiting, only (those) **to whom whom she herself felt close** (HM I:183.12–13)

わかるるかたなきおりのやうに
wakar-uru kata **na-ki** ori-no yau n-i
understand-ATTR person **no-ATTR** moment-GEN like DV-INF
like the moments **when there is no understanding** person around (HM IV:326.10)

なみだのおちつるけしき
namida-no oti-t-uru kesiki
tear-GEN fall-PERF-ATTR looks/appearance
the sight **of falling tears** (HM IV: 381.5)

(2) Attributive marker *-ki*

御つかひとおはしますべきかぐやひめ
mi-tukafi to ofasimas-ube-ki Kaguya-fime

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PREF(HON)-servant DV be(HON)-DEB-ATTR Kaguya-fime
Kaguya-hime, **who should become your consort** (TM 40.5)

よき御をとこぞいでこん
yo-ki mi-wotoko zo ide-ko-n
good-ATTR PREF(HON)-man PT appear(INF)-come-TENT/ATTR
A **good** man will appear [for you]! (IM LXIII:145.12)

ちいさき御てうどども
tiisa-ki mi-teudo-domo
small-ATTR PREF(HON)-utensil-PLUR
small utensils (HM II:253.5)

めでたき女どもをあまたみて
medeta-ki wonna-domo-wo amata mi-te
beautiful-ATTR woman-PLUR-ACC many see-SUB
[he] saw many **beautiful** women, and…(HM IV: 328.16)

5.2.3.1.2.2 *Attributive as a nominalized form*

Either the attributive itself functions as a verbal noun or the whole sentence in which the attributive serves as final predicate can function as one nominal. In this function the attributive can be followed by various case markers, the particles *fa* and *mo*, conjunctions, and the defective verb *n-*.

なにばかりのふかきをか見ん
nani-bakari-no fuka-ki-wo ka mi-n
what-PT-GEN deep-ATTR-ACC PT see-TENT/ATTR
[I] want to see **how** (*lit.*: what about) **deep** [their intentions are] (TM 32.12–13)

かのはちをすてて又いひけるよりぞおもなきことをばはぢをすつるとはいひける
kano fati-wo sute-te mata if-iker-u-yori zo omo-na-ki koto-woba fadi-wo sut-uru to fa if-iker-u
that bowl-ACC throw away-SUB again say-RETR2-ATTR-ABL PT face-no-ATTR thing-ACC(EMPH) PT shame-ACC throw away-ATTR DV PT say-RETR2-ATTR
from the [time] when [he] threw away that bowl and recited [this poem], they call something shameful '[He] threw away his shame' (TM 35.4–5)

心たしかなるをえらびて
kokoro tasika nar-u-wo yerab-ite
heart reliable be-ATTR-ACC choose-SUB
[he] chose **the one with the reliable heart** (TM 41.14)

この人々ども帰るまでいもゐをしてわれはをらん
kono fito-bito-domo kafer-u-made imowi-wo s-ite ware fa wor-an

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this person-person-PLUR return-ATTR-TERM fasting-ACC do-SUB I TOP sit-TENT
Until these people (you) return, I will be fasting (TM 45.16–46.1)

おぼしなげかむがかなしき事
obos-i-nagek-am-u-ga kanasi-ki koto
think(HON)-INF-grieve-TENT-ATTR-POSS sad-ATTR thing
[it is] sad **that [you] must be grieving** (TM 60.1)

ゆきこぼすがごとふりて
yuki **kobos-u-ga** goto fur-ite
snow **pour-ATTR-POSS** like fall-SUB
snow fell as if [someone] **had poured** [it] and…(IM LXXXV:162.8)

舟どものあるを見て
fune-domo-no ar-u-wo mi-te
boat-PLUR-GEN be-ATTR-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw **that there were boats** [at the shore] (IM LXVI:149.5)

いやしきおとこもたるしはすのつごもりにうへのきぬをあらひて
iyasi-ki otoko mot-ar-u sifasu-no tugomori-ni ufe-no kinu-wo araf-ite
common-ATTR man have-PROG-ATTR twelfth month-GEN end-LOC top-GEN garment-ACC wash-SUB
The one who had a commoner husband was washing [her] upper garment at the end of the twelfth month, and…(IM XLI:135.8–9)

このいしききしよりは見るはまされり
kono isi **kik-isi-yori** fa **mi-ru fa** masar-er-i
this stone **hear-RETR1/ATTR-COMP** TOP **see-ATTR TOP** be superior-PROG-FIN
It was better **to see** this stone **than to hear** about [it] (*i.e.* its appearance surpassed its reputation) (IM LXXVIII:156.13)

たうのたいそうと申けるが御しそんのすゑにて
Tau-no Tai-sou to mawos-iker-u-ga go-sison-no suwe n-ite
Tang-GEN Tai-zong DV call(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-POSS PREF(HON)-descendant-GEN end DV-SUB
[the Empress] was a distant descendant of [the person] **whom [people] humbly called Tai-zong of Tang** (HM I:161.6–7)

しんのしんわうといへる人ありけるがかほかたちみのざへすぐれたりければこのくにと日本にいひかよはさるる事ありけり
Sin-no sinwau to if-er-u fito ar-iker-u-ga kafo katati mi-no zafe sugure-tar-iker-e-ba kono kuni-to Nifon-ni if-i-kayof-as-ar-uru koto ar-iker-i
Qin-GEN prince-DV say-PROG-ATTR person be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS face figure body-GEN talent be supreme-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON this country-COM Japan-DAT say-INF-go back and forth-CAUS-PASS-ATTR thing be-RETR2-FIN

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there were occasions when **one who was the person whom [they] called the Qin Prince**, since his looks and talents were superb, was interpreting between this country and Japan (HM I:161.7–9)

よしのの山となにながれたるよりもなをおくなるみよしのといふところ
Yosino-no yama to na n-i nagare-tar-u-yori mo nawo oku-nar-u Miyosino to if-u tokoro
Yosino-GEN mountain DV name DV-INF flow-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ABL PT still deep-be-ATTR Miyosino DV say-ATTR place
a place called Miyosino, more distant **than those which are known under the name of the Yosino mountains** (HM III:264.1–2)

大弐の申たるをうちきくよりむね心さはぎまどふに
Daini-no mawos-itar-u-wo uti-kik-u-yori mune kokoro safag-i-madof-u-ni
Daini-GEN say(HUM)-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC PREF-hear-ATTR-ABL chest heart be excited-INF-be bewildered-ATTR-LOC
as soon as [he] heard what Daini said, he became excited and bewildered … (HM V:439.12–13)

5.2.3.1.2.3 *Attributive as a final predicate*

If the particles *zo*, *ya*, *ka*, *namu* (*nan*) are anywhere in a sentence, then the final predication marker *-u* is automatically replaced with the attributive marker *-uru* (or other allomorphs of the attributive marker). This rule is known in the traditional grammar as 係り結び *kakari-musubi* 'the rule of linking'.

よろづのあそびをぞしける
yorodu-no asobi-wo **zo s-iker-u**
ten thousand-GEN entertainment-ACC **PT do-RETR2-ATTR**
[They] **had** ten thousand entertainments (TM 30.4)

そののちなむ門ひろくもなり侍る
sono noti **namu** kado **firo-ku mo nar-i-faber-u**
that after **PT** gate **wide-INF PT become-INF-POL-ATTR**
After that the gate [of their house] **becomes wide** (TM 32.3)

なにはより昨日なんみやこにまうできつる
Nanifa-yori kinofu **nan** miyako-ni **maude-k-it-uru**
Nanifa-ABL yesterday **PT** capital-LOC **come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR**
[I] **came** yesterday from Naniwa to the capital (TM 39.4)

みまなこ二にすもものやうなる玉をぞそへていましたる
mi-manako futa-tu-ni sumomo-no yau nar-u tama-wo **zo sofe-te imas-itar-u**
PREF(HON)-pupil of the eye two-CL-LOC plum-GEN like be pearl-ACC **PT attach-SUB HON-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
His eyes became like two round plums (*lit.*: [he] **got** two round objects like plums in both eyes) (TM 49.10–11)

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その人かたちよりは心なんまさりたりける
sono fito katati-yori fa kokoro **nan masar-itar-iker-u**
that lady looks-COMP TOP heart **PT be superior-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR**
The heart of that lady **was superior** to her looks (IM II:111.13–112.1)

かれはなにぞとなんおとこにとひける
kare fa nani **zo** to **nan** otoko-ni **tof-iker-u**
That TOP what **PT** DV **PT** man-DAT **ask-RETR2-ATTR**
[She] **asked** the man: 'What is that?' (IM VI:114.5)

かかるみちはいかでかいますする
kakar-u miti fa ikade **ka imas-uru**
be such-ATTR road TOP how **PT be(HON)-ATTR**
How [did you happen] to **be** on such a road? (IM IX:116.14)

そこなる女京の人はめづらかにやおぼえけん
soko-n-ar-u wonna miyako-no fito fa meduraka n-i **ya oboye-k-en**
there-LOC-be-ATTR woman capital-GEN person TOP extraordinary DV-INF **PT think-RETR2-TENT/ATTR**
the woman who was there **probably thought**: 'Isn't the man from the capital extraordinary?' …(IM XIV:120.2–3)

このほたるのともす火にや見ゆらん
kono fotaru-no tomos-u fi-ni **ya mi-y-uran**
this firefly-GEN burn-ATTR fire-LOC **PT see-PASS-TENT/ATTR**
could [they] perhaps be seen by the light of these fireflies? (IM XXXIX:134.2)

このせきはとりのこゑをききてなんあくる
kono seki fa tori-no kowe-wo kik-ite **nan ak-uru**
this barrier TOP rooster-GEN voice-ACC hear-SUB **PT open-ATTR**
[They] **open** this barrier when they hear the crow of a rooster (HM I:154.3)

そこをぞ御さとにし給へる
soko-wo **zo** mi-sato n-i **s-i-tamaf-er-u**
there-ACC **PT** PREF(HON)-residence DV-INF **do-INF-HON-PROG-ATTR**
[they] **made** that place the [Prince's] residence (HM I:156.3)

何事をかは中納言にはつたへならはすべき
nani-goto-wo **ka** fa tiunagon-ni fa **tutafe-narafas-ube-ki**
what thing-ACC **PT** TOP chūnagon-DAT TOP **hand over(INF)-teach-DEB-ATTR**
what (thing) **should [we] entrust** to the Chūnagon? (HM I:155.15)

かかる人をばいかでかおもひよらぬ人のあるべき
kakar-u fito-woba ikade ka omof-i-yor-an-u fito n-o **ar-ube-ki**

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be such-ATTR person-ACC(EMPH) how **PT** think-INF-approach-NEG-ATTR person DV-ATTR **be-DEB-ATTR**
Such a person **is** someone about whom [you] cannot [even] think in anyway (HM II:235.8)

いづこのたよりかは侍らん
iduko-no tayori **ka** fa **faber-an**
where-GEN message **PT** TOP **be(POL)-TENT/ATTR**
Where **can** the message **be** from? (HM III:266.1)

5.2.3.1.2.4 *Attributive as a final predicate without* kakari-musubi

There are, however, cases when the attributive is used as a final predicate even when the particles *zo*, *ya*, *ka*, *namu* are not used in the sentence. Only a few examples of this usage are attested in Old Japanese of the eighth century (Saeki 1959: 134), but in the language of the tenth–eleventh centuries this usage increases (Yamauchi 1980: 240–41). It is believed only to occur in dialogue, whereas in narrative sections the final predication marker is used (Yamauchi 1980: 240) until the end of the eleventh century. Thereafter the attributive form starts to be used instead of the final predication form in narrative as well as dialogue (Doi 1968: 127).

On the basis of the usage found in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, I suggest, however, that the attributive form began to take the place of the final predication form in narrative before the end of the eleventh century: this text contains examples of the replacement in both dialogue and narrative, although cases of the latter are still quite rare.

(1) Dialogue

なんぢらかたきものと申べき
nandi-ra kata-ki mono to **mawos-ube-ki**
thou-PLUR difficult-ATTR thing DV **say(HUM/PEJ)-DEB-ATTR**
Would you **say** [it is] a difficult thing? (TM 45.10)

おほきおとどの匂い花のさかりにみまそがりて藤氏のことにさかゆるを思ひてよめる
ofo-ki otodo-no weiga n-o sakar-i n-i mimasogar-ite fuzi-uzi-no koto-ni sakay-uru-wo omof-ite **yom-er-u**
big-ATTR minister-GEN blooming flower DV-ATTR accomplish-NML DV-INF be(HON)-SUB wistaria-clan-GEN thing-LOC succeed-ATTR-ACC think-SUB **read-PROG-ATTR**
[I] **composed** [this poem], thinking about the flourishing accomplishments of the Chancellor and the illustrious deeds of the Wistaria clan (*i.e.* Fujiwara) (IM CI:171.8–9)

もろこしにわたりたりしひじりはいづこにある
Morokosi-ni watar-itar-isi fiziri fa iduko-ni **ar-u**

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China-ALL cross over-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR sage TOP where-LOC **be-ATTR**
Where **is** the sage who has been to China? (HM II:261.14)

この山におはする
kono yama-ni **ofas-uru**
this monutain-LOC **be(HON)-ATTR**
[she] **is** in these mountains (HM III:265.12)

なにのゆへたれをたづねきこえさせたる
nani-no yufe tare-wo **tadune-kikoyesase-tar-u**
what-GEN reason who-ACC **look for(INF)-HON-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
for what reason and **for** whom **are [you] looking**? (HM III:279.2–3)

などきこえ給はであるべきぞ
nado kikoye-tamaf-ade **ar-ube-ki** zo
why say(HUM)(INF)-HON-NEG/GER **be-DEB-ATTR** PT
Why **is** it not **possible** to reply? (HM III:298.12)

(2) Narrative

月をも花をもみつつすぐし給は心やすくおぼさるる
tuki-wo mo fana-wo mo mi-tutu sugus-i-tamaf-u fa kokoro yasu-ku **obos-ar-uru**
moon-ACC PT flower-ACC PT see-COOR pass-INF-HON-ATTR TOP heart easy-INF **think-PASS-ATTR**
the fact that [she] was spending time looking at the moon and flowers **was making [her] feel** very good (HM I:164.11)

すきずきさはあらはれていざなひたる
sukizuki-sa fa arafare-te **izanaf-itar-u**
sensual-NML TOP become apparent-SUB **invite-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
[the Chūnagon's] sensuality became apparent, and [Chikuzen-no kami] **invited** [him] (HM II:227.13–14)

5.2.3.1.3 Evidential marker *-ure*

The evidential marker's main allomorph is *-ure*, which is found after all vowel verbs except strong vowel verbs where it becomes just *-re*, after irregular verbs, and after *n*-irregular consonant verbs. After all other consonant verbs the allomorph *-e* is used, according to the morphonological rule of *-r-* loss mentioned in 2.3.5. A similar picture is observed if *-ure* is used not after a verbal stem but after another verbal suffix: if the suffix ends with a vowel, the main allomorph *-ure* is used, and the final vowel of the preceding suffix is apocopated. If the suffix ends in a consonant, the allomorph *-e* is used. Thus, the distribution of allomorphs of *-ure* mirrors perfectly that of *-uru*.[11] Quality verbs and verbal suffixes historically derived from quality verbs have their own special evidential marker *-kere*, which

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historically consists of the quality verb attributive *-ki* and the evidential form *ar-e* of the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist'. In an overwhelming number of cases (the evidential is used by itself as a final form) when the particle *koso* precedes it in the sentence, replacing the final predication marker (the second part of the *kakari-musubi* rule mentioned in 5.2.3.1.2.3). Although it is difficult to say exactly what the evidential form means, I believe that used in isolation its function is close to that of the exclamation point in English; in any case, it obviously indicates some kind of emphatic statement. The fact that it is used together with *koso*, a strong emphatic particle, further supports this proposal. I call it evidential because frequently it emphasizes fact(s) that should be evident to the speaker or his/her addressee. Otherwise, the evidential is usually followed by the gerunds *-ba* and *-do*/*-domo*, usages that I survey below in the sections dedicated to them.

おやとこそ思たてまつれといふ
oya to **koso omof-i-tatematur-e** to if-u
parent DV **PT think-INF-HUM-EV** DV say-FIN
[Kaguya-hime] said: '[I] **thought** [of you] as [my] parent' (TM 31.16–32.1)

かばかり心ざしおろかならぬ人々にこそあめれ
ka bakari kokorozasi woroka nar-an-u fito-bito n-i **koso a-mer-e**
that PT feeling defect be-NEG-ATTR person-person DV-INF **PT be-CONJC-EV**
It seems that [they] are people with such impeccable feelings (TM 32.11–12)

やけずはこそまことならめとおもひて人のいふことにもまけめ
yake-zu fa **koso** makoto **nar-am-e** to omof-ite fito-no if-u koto-ni mo **make-m-e**
burn-NEG/INF TOP **PT** truth **be-TENT-EV** DV think-SUB person-GEN say-ATTR thing-ALL PT **be defeated-TENT-EV**
if [it] does not burn, [I] will believe that [it] **is** (a) real (thing), and **will agree** to the proposal of this person (TM 44.3–4)

(In this example *koso* triggers the change of final predication marker into evidential in both the final verb that comes immediately after *koso* and in the last final verb.)

をのが君の仰ごとをばかなへんとこそ思ふべけれ
wono-ga kimi-no ofose-^{n}goto-woba kanafe-n to **koso omof-ube-kere**
themselves-POSS lord-GEN say(HON)(NML)-(GEN)thing-ACC carry out-TENT/FIN DV **PT think-DEB-EV**
[I] **would expect** that [servants] should carry out the orders of their lord (TM 45.8)

まことにむつましきことこそなかりけれ
makoto n-i mutumasi-ki koto **koso na-k-ar-iker-e**
truth DV-INF close-ATTR thing **PT no-INF-be-RETR2-EV**
[their] marriage **was not** really a loving one (IM XVI:121.9)

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おとこはこの女をこそえめと思ふ
otoko fa kono wonna-wo **koso ye-m-e** to omof-u
man TOP this woman-ACC **PT get-TENT-EV** DV think-FIN
the man thought that [he] **would get** this woman [for his wife] (IM XXIII:126.6–7)

ただこよひこそにゐまくらすれ
tada koyofi **koso** niwi makura **s-ure**
only tonight **PT** new pillow **do-EV**
(only) tonight will [I] **sleep** with a new lover! (IM XXIV:128.4)

(This example comes from a poem.)

さこそいへ
sa **koso if-e**
so **PT say-EV**
[They] **did say** so (IM XL:134.11)

この人の事をこそみならひとむべかりけれ
kono fito-no koto-wo **koso mi-naraf-i-tom-ube-k-ar-iker-e**
this person-GEN thing-ACC **PT see(INF)-learn-INF-stop-DEB-INF-be-RETR2-EV**
it turns out [we] have to become close to this person (HM I:155.14)

いにしへは十二年をすごしてのみこそかへりけれ
inisife fa zifu ni nen-wo sugos-ite nomi **koso kafer-iker-e**
old times TOP ten two year-ACC spend-SUB PT **PT return-RETR2-EV**
In old times, they only **returned** after they had spent twelve years [in China] (HM I: 193.6)

さとがちにこそあらめ
sato-gati n-i **koso ar-am-e**
village-FR DV-INF **PT be-TENT-EV**
[she] **is probably** frequently in the village (HM II:249.6)

さこそいみじう思たれどつゐにかたをならぶる人いできぬめりなどいはんもくるしうここの人々もさぞやすげなうおもはめ
sa **koso** imizi-u omof-itar-e-do tuwi n-i kata-wo narab-uru fito ide-k-in-umer-i nado if-an mo kurusi-u koko-no fito-bito mo sa zo yasu-ge na-u **omof-am-e**
so **PT** terrible-INF love-PERF/PROG-EV-CONC finally DV-INF shoulder-ACC put in line-ATTR person go out(INF)-come-PERF-CONJC-FIN REPR say-TENT/ATTR PT distressing-INF here-GEN lady-lady PT thus PT peaceful-appearance no-INF **think-TENT-EV**
It was distressing to say, among other things, that although [he] loved her so dearly, there finally seemed to appear a man who was [his] competitor, and the ladies here were also very worried (*lit.*: **were thinking** without peaceful appearance) (HM IV:354.2–4)

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This last example is very interesting: *koso* causes the last final verb to change its final predication marker to the evidential, leaving intact the first final predicate *ide-k-in-umer-i* 'seems to have appeared' that is found in the the same citation sentence as *koso*. Cf. the first example from *Taketori monogatari* above, where *koso* affects the following final predicate found in the same citation sentence as *koso*, but does not influence the last final predicate *if-u* 'said', and the example above from page 44 of the same text, where *koso* triggers the change in both final predicates following it.

If both *koso* and one of the particles *zo*, *ya*, *ka*, *namu* which cause the change of the final predication marker to an attributive occur in the same sentence, the form of the final predicate is defined by the particle that comes closest to the final predicate. Thus,

zo, ya, ka, namu + koso => V-EV
koso + zo, ya, ka, namu => V-ATTR

まことほうらいの木かとこそおもひつれ
makoto fourai-no ki **ka** to **koso omof-it-ure**
truth Hōrai-GEN tree **PT** DV **PT think-PERF-EV**
[I] really **believed** that it [was a branch of] the tree on Mount Hōrai! (TM 40.8–9)

さきのよのさるべきもののむくひにこそはと<u>ぞ</u>みえさせ給へる
saki-no yo-no sar-ube-ki mono-no mukufi n-i **koso** fa to **zo mi-ye-sase-tamaf-er-u**
before-GEN life-GEN be such-DEB-ATTR thing-GEN retribution DV-INF **PT** TOP DV **PT see-PASS-CAUS(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR**
[it] **seemed** to [him] that [this was] a retribution for the deeds of [his] previous life (HM III:268.6–7)

There is one case when *koso* does not trigger the change of the final predication marker to evidential:

こまかにこそあらねどときどきものいひをこせけり
komaka n-i **koso** ar-an-e-do toki-doki mono **if-i wokose-ker-i**
detailed DV-INF **PT** be-NEG-EV-CONC sometimes thing **say-INF send-RETR2-FIN**
[he] sometimes **sent** [her] messages, although [they] were not cordial (*lit.*: detailed) (IM XCIV:167.3–4)

5.2.3.1.4 Imperative *-e/-yo*

The imperative markers are *-e* for consonant verbs and *-yo* for vowel and irregular verbs. If the imperative marker is added directly to a verbal stem, without intervening honorific auxiliaries, the resulting form expresses a direct command or order, used in the speech of a higher person to a much lower person. It also

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appears in the speech of commoners, presumably because they did not know the elaborate honorific verbal system used at the court of the time (cf. the example from *dan* IX of *Ise monogatari* below). If added to a humble auxiliary, the form acquires even more of a pejorative meaning. For a more polite command or even a request, the imperative marker is added to the honorific auxiliary, most frequently *tamaf-* 'give', but it can also follow an honorific form of a verb, e.g. *kikosimes-e* 'please listen', *kikosimes-* being an honorific form of *kik-* 'listen'. Because consonant verbs outnumber vowel and irregular verbs, and also since most honorific auxiliaries are consonant verbs, the allomorph *-e* occurs in the texts much more frequently than allomorph *-yo*.

(1) allomorph *-e*

むすめを我にたべ
musume-wo ware-ni **tab-e**
daughter-ACC I-DAT **give(HON)-IMP**
please give your daughter to me (TM 31.8)

(Nobles to Taketori.)

かぢとりの御神きこしめせ
kaditori-no mi-kami **kikosimes-e**
steersman-GEN PREF(HON)-deity **listen(HON)-IMP**
Deity of steersmen, **please listen**! (TM 47.16)

(Nobleman to a deity.)

こやすがひはとらせたまへ
ko-yasu-^{n}gafi fa **tor-ase-tamaf-e**
child-easy-GEN-shell TOP **take-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP**
please take the shell of 'easy childbirth' (TM 51.8–9)

(Servant to a nobleman.)

なんぢがもちて侍るかぐやひめたてまつれ
nandi-ga mot-ite faber-u Kaguya-fime **tatematur-e**
you-POSS hold-SUB POL-ATTR Kaguya-fime **give(HUM)-IMP**
Give [me] Kaguya-hime, whom you have (TM 55.3–4)

(Emperor to bamboo-cutter.)

つぼなる御くすりたてまつれ
tubo-n-ar-u mi-kusuri **tatematur-e**
jar-LOC-be-ATTR PREF(HON)-medicine **take(HUM)-IMP**
Take the medicine which is in the jar! (TM 65.3)

(Celestial being to Kaguya-hime.)

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はやふねにのれ。日もくれぬ
faya fune-ni **nor-e**. fi mo kure-n-u
quick boat-ALL **ride-IMP**. sun PT set down-PERF-FIN
Quickly **get** into the boat. The sun will set [soon], too (IM IX:117.8)

(Ferryman to a group of travelling nobles.)

わがかかる心やめ給へ
wa-ga kakar-u kokoro **yame-tamaf-e**
I-POSS be such-ATTR spirit **stop(INF)-HON-IMP**
Please heal this very lustful spirit of mine! (*lit.*: **Please stop** such a [lustful] spirit of mine!) (IM LXV:147.13)

(Young man praying to the Buddha.)

つねのつかひよりはこの人よくいたはれ
tune-no tukafi-yori fa kono fito yo-ku **itafar-e**
usual-GEN messenger-COMP TOP this person good-INF **treat-IMP**
Treat this person better than a usual messenger (IM LXIX:150.8)

(Mother to her daughter.)

かしこより人をこせばこれをやれ
kasiko-yori fito wokose-ba kore-wo **yar-e**
there-ABL person send-COND this-ACC **give-IMP**
if [he] sends a person from there, **give** [him] this (IM XCVI:168.15)

(Lady to her servant.)

はやくいてわたれ
faya-ku i-te **watar-e**
quick-INF bring-SUB **cross over-IMP**
Quickly take [her] along and **cross over** (HM I:162.1)

(Dragon King to a Prince.)

その人にとへ
sono fito-ni **tof-e**
that person-DAT **ask-IMP**
Ask those ladies (HM I:180.16)

(Empress to the Chūnagon.)

なをこれを見給へ
nawo kore-wo **mi-tamaf-e**
After all this-ACC **look(INF)-HON-IMP**
After all, **please look at this** (HM II:235.8)

(Lady to her husband.)

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しなのくるまにのりてただいままいれ
Sinano kuruma-ni nor-ite tada ima **mair-e**
Sinano carriage-LOC ride-SUB just now **go(HUM)-IMP**
[To fetch] Sinano, get into the carriage and **go** immediately (HM V:419.10)

(Chūnagon to a servant.)

(2) Allomorph *-yo*

火ねずみのかはといふなる物かひてをこせよ
fi nezumi-no kafa to if-u nar-u mono kaf-ite **wokose-yo**
fire-rat-NEG skin DV say-ATTR ASSER-ATTR thing buy-SUB **send-IMP**
buy the thing called the skin of the fire-rat and **send** [it to me] (TM 41.13–14)

(The Minister of the Right to a Chinese merchant.)

つばくらめのすくひたらばつげよ
tubakurame-no su kuf-itar-aba **tuge-yo**
swallow-GEN nest make nest-PERF/PROG-COND **report-IMP**
when swallows [start to] make nests, **let** [me] **know** (TM 49.14–15)

(The Chūnagon to his servants.)

いまはおろしてよ
ima fa **oros-ite-yo**
now TOP **lower-PERF-IMP**
Now **lower** [me]! (TM 52.5)

(The Chūnagon to his servants.)

はやころし給てよかし
faya **koros-i-tamaf-ite-yo** kasi
quick **kill-INF-HON-PERF-IMP** PT
please execute [me] quickly! (TM 54.16)

(Kaguya-hime to the Emperor's messenger.)

わがせしがごとうるはしみせよ
wa-ga se-si-ga goto urufasi-mi **se-yo**
1-POSS do-RETR1/ATTR-POSS like dear-NML **do-IMP**
Do [love him] dearly, as I did [love you] (IM XXIV:128.6)

(This example comes from a poem.)

女あるじにかはらけとらせよ
wonna aruzi-ni kafarake **tor-ase-yo**
woman host-DAT cup **take-CAUS-IMP**
Make the mistress of the house **bring** the cups (IM LX:143.14–144.1)

(Higher official to a lower official.)

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われにをしへよあまのつり舟
ware-ni **wosife-yo** ama-no tur-i-^{n}bune
I-DAT **show-IMP** heaven-GEN fish-NML-(GEN)boat
Show to me, o fishing boat of heaven (IM LXX:152.8)

(This example comes from a poem.)

恋しくはきても見よかし
kofisi-ku fa k-ite mo **mi-yo** kasi
longing-INF TOP come-SUB PT **see-IMP** PT
if [you] are longing for [me], come and **see**! (IM LXXI:152.14)

(This example comes from a poem.)

いとしのびて御らんぜよ
ito sinob-ite **go-ran-ze-yo**
very be secret-SUB **PREF(HON)-see-do-IMP**
Please see [him] very secretly (HM I:196.7)

(The Emperor to his consort.)

とりいでさせ給てたまはせよ
tor-i-ide-sase-tamaf-ite **tamaf-ase-yo**
take-INF-go out-CAUS(INF)-HON-SUB **give(HON)-CAUS-IMP**
please take [them] out and **give** [them to me] (HM II:217.14)

(The Chūnagon to his mother.)

げにさてあらじとおぼされよかし
ge n-i sate ar-azi to **obos-are-yo** kasi
reality DV-INF so be-NEG/TENT DV **think(HON)-PASS-IMP PT**
Please think that it is probably not so (HM II:222.2)

(Man to his daughter-in-law.)

こよひの月はここにきてみよ
koyofi-no tuki fa koko-ni k-ite **mi-yo**
tonight-GEN moon TOP here-ALL come-SUB **look-IMP**
Come here and **look** at the moon tonight (HM II:227.5)

(This example comes from a poem.)

5.2.3.1.5 Negative tentative marker *-azi*

The negative tentative marker *-azi* appears after stems of consonant verbs and verbal suffixes ending in a consonant. It also has an allomorph *-zi* used after stems of vowel verbs and irregular verbs, and suffixes ending in a vowel. The

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suffix *-azi/-zi* does not differentiate between final predication, attributive, or evidential forms, all of them being the same. *-Azi/-zi* is usually defined as negative equivalent of tentative *-am-* (Tsukishima 1969: 530; Ikeda 1975: 64), having the same functions as the tentative, but with a negative connotation: negative presumption, negative intention, and mild prohibition (this last occurs rarely).

(1) Negative presumption

一しやうのはぢ是に過るはあらじ
iti-syau-no fadi kore-ni sug-uru fa **ar-azi**
one-life-GEN shame this-LOC surpass-ATTR TOP **be-NEG/TENT**
There **is probably no** other shame that will surpass this (TM 41.5)

この玉たはやすくえとらじ
kono tama tafayasu-ku **ye-tor-azi**
this jewel easy-INF **PREV-take-NEG/TENT**
Probably it is not possible to take this jewel easily…(TM 45.6)

このたびいきては又はこじ
kono tabi ik-ite fa mata fa **ko-zi**
this time go-SUB TOP again TOP **come-NEG/TENT**
if [he] goes away this time, [he] **will probably not come** again (IM XXXIII:131.8–9)

いとかくしもあらじ
ito ka-ku si mo **ar-azi**
very thus-INF PT PT **be-NEG/TENT**
[it] **probably cannot be** very serious (IM XL:135.2–3)

このあめはふらじ
kono ame fa **fur-azi**
this rain TOP **fall-NEG/TENT**
It **probably will not rain** (IM CVII:174.6)

人にしられじ
fito-ni **sir-are-zi**
person-AGT **know-PASS-NEG/TENT**
probably not known by people (HM I:181.14)

御みみとどめさせ給やうもあらじ
mi-mimi todome-sase-tamaf-u yau mo **ar-azi**
PREF(HON)-ear stop-CAUS(INF)-HON like PT **be-NEG/TENT**
it also **did not seem** that [he] turned [his] ears (HM II:231.5)

(2) Negative intention

やつばらをまたじとの給て
yatu-bara-wo **mat-azi** to notamaf-ite

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guy-PLUR(PEJ)-ACC **wait-NEG/TENT** PT say(HON)-SUB
[he] said that [he] **would not wait** for the good-for-nothings and (TM 47.2)

毛のすゑ一すぢをだにうごかしたてまつらじ
ke-no suwe fito-sudi-wo dani **ugokas-i-tatematur-azi**
hair-GEN end one-CL-ACC PT **move-INF-HUM-NEG/TENT**
[I] **will not touch** even one end of [his] hair! (TM 48.1–2)

あはじともいはざりける女のさすがなりけるがもとにいひやりける
af-azi to mo if-az-ar-iker-u wonna-no sasuga nar-iker-u-ga moto-ni if-i-yar-iker-u
meet-NEG/TENT DV PT say-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR woman-GEN unclear be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS base-LOC say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR
[he] sent [it] to a woman who had been unclear with him, though [she] had not said that [she] **would not meet** [him] ((IM XXV:128.15–129.1)

なをいかでほかよりいてわたりたるとは人にしられじ
nawo ikade foka-yori i-te watar-itar-u to fa fito-ni **sir-are-zi**
after all, how other-ABL bring-SUB cross over-PERF/PROG-ATTR DV TOP person-AGT **know-PASS-NEG/TENT**
After all, somehow [I] **don't want [it] to be known** by the people that [I] have brought [her] over from the other [country] (HM II:217.3)

われもなをよにかくてあらじ
ware mo nawo yo-ni ka-ku-te **ar-azi**
I PT more world-LOC thus-INF-SUB be-**NEG/TENT**
I don't want to live any more like that in the world…(HM III:268.1)

(3) Mild prohibition

うるはしき姿したるつかひにもさはらじ
urufasi-ki sugata s-itar-u tukafi n-i mo **safar-azi**
beautiful-ATTR appearance do-PERF/PROG-ATTR messenger DV-INF PT **interfere-NEG/TENT**
Even if [they] are [heavenly] messengers with beautiful faces, [they] **should not interfere** (TM 62.16)

女もはたあはじとも思へらず
wonna mo fata **af-azi** to mo omof-er-az-u
woman PT again **meet-NEG/TENT** DV PT think-PROG-NEG-FIN
the woman was not thinking that [they] **should not meet**, either (IM LXIX:2.40)

ここへはえおはしまさじ
koko-fe fa ye-**ofasimas-azi**
here-ALL TOP **PREV-come(HON)-TENT/NEG**
[You] **should not come** here (HM I:180.10)

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5.2.3.1.6 Subjunctive marker *-amasi*

The subjunctive's marker *-amasi* appears after the stems of consonant verbs and verbal suffixes ending in a consonant. It also has an allomorph *-masi* used after stems of vowel verbs and irregular verbs, and suffixes ending in a vowel. The suffix *-amasi/-masi* can be used both as a final predication and as an attributive form. It has, however, in contrast to *-azi/-zi*, a special evidential form *-amasika/-masika*. That form, curiously enough, is used in the language of Classical Japanese prose in combination with the conditional gerund *-aba*, resulting in *-amasikaba/-masikaba*, which replaced *-amaseba/-maseba*, the older form typical of Old Japanese texts which still lingers in Classical Japanese poetry. Japanese linguists usually treat *-amase-/-mase-* in this form as an 'imperfective base' of *-amasi/-masi* and treat newer *-amasika/-masika* as having the function of both 'imperfective' and 'perfective' stems (Tsukishima 1969: 532; Hamada 1979: 113; Ikeda 1975:122). The first part of this explanation, involving *-amase-/-mase-*, is obviously unacceptable; *amaseba/-maseba* is easily explained through vowel crasis, typical of pre-Old Japanese: *-amasi* + *-aba* => *-amaseba* (OJ /ye/ < *i + a). In other words, in the older language the conditional gerund *-aba* could follow *-amasi/-masi* directly. Japanese linguists usually define the meaning of *-amasi/-masi* as 'presumptive' (Tsukishima 1969: 531) or 'subjective-irreal' (Yamaguchi 1979: 205). Ikeda gives a more detailed classification, subdividing the meanings of *-amasi/-masi* into desiderative, intentional, etc. (Ikeda 1975: 122–23). I do not see the necessity of such a detailed classification, since all these meanings are secondary and are easily derived from the general meaning of subjunctive. Therefore, I follow the proposal of Syromiatnikov, who defined *-amasi/-masi* as a marker of the subjunctive mood (1983: 119). In most cases, *-amasi/-masi* appears in the language of Classical Japanese prose in constructions like: *-aba … -amasi*, *-amasika-ba … -amasi*, *-amasi … -amasi* 'if [it] were … then [it] would be'. Curiously enough, *-amasi/-masi* does not occur in the prose sections of *Ise monogatari*, but only in the poetry. It is not frequent in *Taketori monogatari*, either: there are only three examples in the prose, and several more in the poetry.

の給しにたがはましかばとこの花をおりてまうできたるなり
notamaf-isi-ni **tagaf-amasika-ba** to kono fana-wo or-ite maude-k-itar-u-nar-i
say(HON)-RETR1/ATTR-LOC **differ-SUBJ/EV-COND** DV this flower-ACC break-COND come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ASSER-FIN
thinking: 'If [I] **were** [to do something] **different** from what [Kaguya-hime] told [me to do] …', I would break off this flower [branch] and come (TM 38.16–39.1)

ましてたつをとらへたらましかば又こともなく我はがいせられなまし
masite tatu-wo **torafe-tar-amasika-ba** mata koto mo na-ku ware fa **gai-se-rare-n-amasi**
more dragon-ACC **catch-PERF/PROG-SUBJ/EV-COND** again thing PT no-INF I TOP **harm-do-PASS-PERF-SUBJ**

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Moreover, **if [you] had caught** the dragon, **I would** certainly **have been hurt** (TM 49.3–4)

くりはらのあれはの松の人ならば宮このつとにいざといはましを
kurifara-no arefa-no matu n-o fito **nar-aba** miyako-no tuto n-i iza to **if-amasi**-wo
Kurifara-GEN [unclear]-GEN pine be-ATTR person **be-COND** capital-GEN souvenir DV-INF INTER DV **say-SUBJ**-ACC
If [you] were a person [upright] as a pine in Kurihara, [I] **would say** that [I] would [take you] as a souvenir to the capital (IM XIV:120.9)

(This example comes from a poem.)

世中にたえてさくらのなかりせばはるの心はのどけからまし
yo-no naka-ni taye-te sakura-no **na-k-ar-is-eba** faru-no kokoro fa **nodoke-k-ar-amasi**
world-GEN middle-LOC break-SUB sakura-GEN **no-INF-be-RETR1-COND** spring-GEN heart TOP **carefree-INF-be-SUBJ**
If there were no cherry blossoms at all in the world, **would** hearts in the spring **be carefree**? (No, they wouldn't) (IM LXXXII:159.7)

(This example comes from a poem.)

いでやおもひたたざらましかばいかにいみじういぶせからまし
ideya **omof-i-tat-az-ar-amasika-ba** ikani imizi-u **ibuse-k-ar-amasi**
well **think-INF-stand-NEG/INF-be-SUBJ/EV-COND** how terrible-INF **sad-INF-be-SUBJ**
Well, **if [I] had not made up my mind,** how terribly **sad it would be** (HM I:156.15–16)

をのづから心とどまる人も侍ましかばはるかに思ひより侍ましや
wonodukara kokoro todomar-u fito mo **faber-amasika-ba** faruka n-i **omof-i-yor-i-faber-amasi** ya
myself heart stop-ATTR person PT **be(POL)-SUBJ/EV-COND** far DV-INF think-INF-approach-INF-**be(POL)-SUBJ** PT
If there were a lady who possessed my heart, **would** [I] **be thinking** [of going so] far? (HM I:173. 9)

我ならばかへらざらまし
ware **nar-aba kafer-az-ar-amasi**
I **be-COND return-NEG/INF-be-SUBJ**
If it were me, [I] **would not return** (HM III:313.9)

たづねきこえざらましかばかかる人をも見ましや
tadune-kikoye-z-ar-amasika-ba kakar-u fito-wo mo **mi-masi** ya
visit(INF)-HUM-NEG/INF-be-SUBJ/EV-COND be such-ATTR person-ACC PT **see-SUBJ PT**
if [I] did not visit [her], **would [I] see** such a lady? (HM IV:348.15)

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Preceded by the perfective marker *-in-*, *-amasi* acquires the connotation of either a definite resolution to perform an action (if there is such a possibility) or a statement that such-and-such a fact is very likely to happen.

よにあるものならばこのくににももてまうできなまし
yo-ni ar-u mono **nar-aba** kono kuni-ni mo **mo-te maude-k-in-amasi**
world-LOC be-ATTR thing **be-COND** this country-ALL PT **bring-SUB come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-SUBJ**
If [such] a thing **existed** in the world, [they] **definitely would have brought** [it] to this country, too (TM 42.3)

けふこずはあすは雪とぞふりなまし
kefu **ko-zu fa** asu fa yuki to zo **fur-in-amasi**
today **come-NEG/INF TOP** tomorrow TOP snow DV PT **fall-PERF-SUBJ**
If [I] did not come today, [I] **would definitely fall** as snow tomorrow (IM XVII:122.9)

(This example comes from a poem. Note that the condition in the first clause is expressed with *-zu fa* (NEG/INF TOP), not with *-az-ar-aba* (NEG/INF-be-COND) or *-az-ar-amasika-ba* (NEG/INF-be-SUBJ/EV-CON) as in most other cases.)

ただめし侍ましにまいりなまし
tada **mes-i-faber-amasi-ni mair-in-amasi**
only **summon(HON)-INF-be(POL)-SUBJ/ATTR-LOC go(HUM)-PERF-SUBJ**
If [you] would only **summon** [me], [I] **would certainly go** (HM I:171.10)

かの后の御ありさま見給たらんはしもいのちにもかへさせ給なまし
kano kisaki-no on-arisama mi-tamaf-itar-an fa simo inoti-ni mo **kafe-sase-tamaf-in-amasi**
that empress-GEN PREF(HON)-appearance see(INF)-HON-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR TOP PT life-ALL PT **exchange-CAUS-HON-PERF-SUBJ**
[the Prince] **would definitely exchange** his life for the possibility of seeing that Empress (HM III:313.13–14)

5.2.3.1.7 Desiderative marker *-abaya*

The desiderative marker *-abaya* appears after the stem of consonant verbs and verbal suffixes ending in a consonant. It also has an allomorph *-baya* used after vowel stems, irregular verbs, and suffixes ending in a vowel. Historically, it consists of the conditional gerund *-aba* and the question particle *ya*, but by the time of our texts it seems to be completely grammaticalized. The suffix *-abaya* expresses a desire on the part of the speaker, usually one that cannot actually be realized. Not all Japanese linguists include *-abaya*/*-baya* in their descriptions of the Classical language or its history (Kobayashi 1936; Suzuki 1975). Those who

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do, however, frequently define it as a 終助詞 *shūjoshi* 'final particle' (Tsukishima 1969: 567; Ikeda 1975: 233) or as a 間投助詞 *kantōjoshi* 'exclamatory particle' (Tokieda 1954: 259). However, since this 'particle' follows the imperfective 'base', which is a bound form and therefore cannot be used without this following 'particle' even in the traditional analysis, it is more appropriate to view *-abaya/-baya* as a suffix. The suffix *-abaya/-baya* appears for the first time in the middle of the Heian period (Tsukishima 1969: 567). In our texts, it is not attested in either *Taketori monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*, but appears in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, supporting Tsukishima's observation on the dating.

また見たてまつらばや
mata **mi-tatematur-abaya**
again **see(INF)-HUM-DES**
[I] **would like to see** [her] again (HM I:165.7)

我いへのうちにいだしていれたてまつりてみばや
wa-ga ife-no uti-ni idas-ite ire-tatematur-ite **mi-baya**
I-POSS house-GEN inside-LOC put out-SUB put in(INF)-HUM-SUB **see-DES**
[I] **would like to try** to get [him] out and put him inside my house (HM I:169.10)

このたびのいのちはなをかけとどめばや
kono tabi-no inoti fa nawo **kake-todome-baya**
this time-GEN life TOP still **connect(INF)-stop-DES**
[I] **would** still **like to connect** my life [with hers] in this lifetime (HM IV:332.3–4)

いかでつかまつり侍らばや
ikade **tukamatur-i-faber-abaya**
somehow **serve(HUM)-INF-POL-DES**
[I] **would like to serve** [you] somehow (HM V:426.11)

5.2.3.1.8 Retrospective marker *-iki*

The retrospective marker is *-iki*, appearing after stems of consonant verbs and verbal suffixes ending in a consonant. It also has an allomorph *-ki* used after vowel stems, irregular verbs and suffixes ending in a vowel. It has a special suppletive attributive *-isi/-si* and evidential *-isika/-sika*, obviously derived from attributive *-isi* + some other element *-ka*, for which no cogent etymology has been proposed. Traditional grammar also describes an imperfective 'base' *-ise-* of *-iki*, which is easily analysed as the attributive *-isi* + vowel /a/ of the following suffix, with the pre-Old Japanese contraction of *i + a > OJ /ye/ > Classical Japanese /e/. Thus, e.g. *-isi* + conditional gerund *-aba* result in the sequence *-iseba*, where it is difficult to draw an exact morphological boundary (see the example from *dan* LXXXII of *Ise monogatari* below). In the same way, when

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-iki is followed by tentative *-am-*, the resulting form is *-ikem-*, where it is also difficult to draw a morphological boundary (see the example from *dan* LIX of *Ise monogatari* below).

Japanese linguists define the retrospective as a special verbal category which expresses a recollection of an event directly experienced by the speaker (Yamada 1952: 196; Tsukishima 1969: 523; Ikeda 1975: 104). Consequently, it is used frequently in poetry but appears very seldom in narrative prose, especially in *monogatari* which more often than not represent the recollection of someone else's experience. As a result, another retrospective *-iker-* is used predominantly in narrative prose, with subjective retrospective *-iki* appearing for the most part in dialogues and monologues of characters referring directly to their experiences. There are, however, quite obvious exceptions that can easily be found among the examples below, when *-iki* refers to an event that could not have been experienced by the speaker (or narrator) himself or herself. The examples from pages 30 and 46 of *Taketori monogatari*, from *dan* LXII of *Ise monogatari*, and pages 165 and 191 of *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* obviously indicate a reference to the experience of a person other than the speaker or narrator. Rather than the retrospective in *-iki* being 'subjective', and the retrospective in *-iker-* 'objective' (referring to the direct experience of people other than the speaker or narrator), the real difference between the two might possibly be that *-iker-* consists historically of *-iki* and *ar-* 'to be, 'to exist', and represents the *progressive* retrospective, while *-iki* does not (cf. the parallel distinction between perfective aspect *-ite-* and perfective progressive *-itar-* (< *-ite* + *ar-*). I will come back to this problem when discussing retrospective *-iker-*.[12]

For a long time before Yamada's seminal grammar (1913/1952) *-iki* was considered to be a marker of past tense by both Japanese and Western linguists (Aston 1877; Haga 1905; Seidel 1896). Lone Takeuchi (1987: 12) has recently resurrected this point of view, which I find as unpersuasive as the other 'tenses' she proposes for Classical Japanese. Of course, *-iki* is connected with the past only nominally, since it is impossible to recollect future or present.

The irregular verbs *ko-* 'to come' and *se-* 'to do' have irregular retrospective forms that need to be mentioned:

	Final	*Attributive*	*Evidential*
ko- 'to come'	–	*ko-si/k-isi*	*ko-sika/k-isika*
se- 'to do'	*s-iki*	*se-si*	*se-sika*

Irregular *ko-* 'to come' does not have a final predication form *ko-ki or *k-iki: it simply does not exist in the texts. The attributive *ko-si* or *k-isi* is used instead. In the pairs of attributive *ko-si/k-isi*, and evidential *ko-sika/k-isika*, the second member of the pair is used very rarely, and the forms *ko-si* and *ko-sika* predominate. Similarly, irregular *se-* '*to do*' does not have the forms *se-ki, *s-isi, or *s-isika. However, note that with both irregular verbs two different processes apply: elision of the vowel of the stem, resulting in the forms *k-isi*, *k-isika*, and

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s-iki, and elision of the vowel of the suffix, resulting in the forms *ko-si*, *ko-sika*, *se-si*, and *se-sika*.

いかでこのかぐや姫をえてしがな
ikade kono Kaguya-fime-wo **ye-te-si gana**
how this Kaguya-fime-ACC **get-PERF-RETR1/ATTR PT**
[they] **wanted to get** this Kaguya-hime somehow (TM 30.7)

草の根をくひものとしき
kusa-no ne-wo kuf-i-mono to **s-iki**
grass-GEN root-ACC eat-INF-thing DV **do-RETR1/FIN**
[we] **were using** grass roots for food (TM 37.16–38.1)

かのうれへせしたくみ
kano urefe **se-si** takumi
that complaint **do-RETR1/ATTR** craftsman
the craftsmen, **who made** that complaint (TM 41.1)

つかはしし人はよるひるまち給に年こゆるまでをともせず
tukafas-isi fito fa yoru firu mat-i-tamaf-u-ni tosi koy-uru-made woto mo se-zu
send-RETR1/ATTR person TOP night day wait-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC year cross over-ATTR-TERM sound PT do-NEG/INF
[the Dainagon] waited day and night for the people **whom [he] had sent**, but by the end of the year there had been no word [from them] and…(TM 46.12)

かの国よりまうでこしかども
kano kuni-yori **maude-ko-sika-domo**
that country-ABL **come(HUM)(INF)-come-RETR1/EV-CONC**
though [I] came from that country (TM 60.6–7)

京をいかが思ひけむ
miyako-wo ikaga **omof-ik-em-u**
capital-ACC how **think-RETR1-TENT-FIN**
How **might [he] think** about the capital? (IM LIX:143.5)

もと見し人のまへにいできて
moto **mi-si** fito-no mafe-ni ide-k-ite
base **see-RETR1/ATTR** person-GEN front-LOC go out(INF)-come-SUB
[she] came out in front of the person **whom [she] used to see** before and… (IM LXII:144.13)

ある人のみざうしのまへのみぞにすへたりし
ar-u fito-no mi-zausi-no mafe-no mizo-ni **sufe-tar-isi**
be-ATTR person-GEN PREF(HON)-chamber-GEN front-GEN ditch-LOC **place-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR**
[they] **placed** [the stone] in the ditch in front of the chamber of a certain lady (IM LXXVIII:156.9–10)

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三条のおほみゆきせし時
san-zyau-no ofomi-yuk-i **se-si** toki
three-CL-GEN PREF(HON)-visit-NML **do-RETR1/ATTR** time
during an imperial visit to the Third Ward (*lit.*: during [he] **did** imperial visit…)(IM LXXVIII:156.9)

世中にたえてさくらのなかりせばはるの心はのどけからまし
yo-no naka-ni taye-te sakura-no **na-k-ar-is-eba** faru-no kokoro fa nodoke-k-ar-amasi
world-GEN middle-LOC break-SUB sakura-GEN **no-INF-be-RETR1-COND** spring-GEN heart TOP carefree-INF-be-SUBJ
If there were no cherry blossoms at all in the world, would hearts in the spring be carefree? (No, they wouldn't) (IM LXXXII:159.7)
(This example comes from a poem.)

中納言のかくわたるとききたまひしよりあはれにゆかしくおぼされし
tiunagon-no ka-ku watar-u to **kik-i-tamaf-isi-yori** afare n-i yukasi-ku obos-are-si
chūnagon-GEN thus-INF cross over-FIN DV **hear-INF-HON-RETR1/ATTR-ABL** very DV-INF curious-INF think(HON)-PASS-RETR1/ATTR
since [she] heard that the Chūnagon had thus crossed over [to China], [she] was very curious…(HM I:165.2)

かれもわれとしりたるにもあらざりき
kare mo ware-to sir-itar-u n-i mo **ar-az-ar-iki**
he PT I-COM know-PERF/PROG-ATTR DV-INF PT **be-NEG/INF-be-RETR1/FIN**
He **was not** acquainted with me, either (HM I:189.5–6)

この后の御ははにわかれしほど
kono kisaki-no mi-fafa-ni **wakare-si** fodo
this empress-GEN PREF(HON)-mother-DAT **part-RETR1/ATTR** time
when [the minister] **was parting** with the mother of this Empress (HM I:191.1)

わたりこしほど
watar-i-ko-si fodo
cross over-INF-come-RETR1/ATTR time
when [he] **was coming back** [to Japan from China] (HM II:216.1)

しらぬよのいくほどの年へざりしかども
sir-an-u yo-no iku fodo-no tosi **fe-z-ar-isika-domo**
know-NEG-ATTR country-GEN how much time-GEN year **spend-NEG/INF-be-RETR1/EV-CONC**
no matter how many years [he] **spent** in the foreign (= unknown) country (HM II: 216.4)

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こんろん山に**入給にき**
konron yama-ni **ir-i-tamaf-in-iki**
Kunlun mountain-LOC **enter-INF-HON-PERF-RETR1/FIN**
[the Emperor] **entered** the Kunlun mountains (HM V:439.16)

5.2.3.1.9 Suppositional marker *-urasi*

The suppositional suffix *-urasi* appears in the studied texts only once, in *Ise monogatari*, in an abridged form *-asi*. The suppositional marker *-urasi* is widely used in poetry, but rarely appears in prose (Ikeda 1975: 78). Instead of the suppositional *-urasi*, the language of prose normally uses conjectural *-umer-*, which has a similar meaning that can be roughly translated into English as 'it seems'. But *-umer-* never appears in poetry.

ひとりのみもあらざりけらし
fito-ri n-o mi mo **ar-az-ar-iker-[ur]asi**
one-CL DV-ATTR body PT **be-NEG/GER-be-RETR2-SUP**
It seemed that [she] was not single, either (IM II:112.1)

5.2.3.2 *Sentence-non-final verbal suffixes*

Sentence-non-final verbal suffixes are those suffixes that occur at the end of a verbal form that itself is used as a non-final predicate or a verbal noun. There are three kinds of sentence-non-final verbal suffixes: infinitives, gerunds, and nominalizers.

5.2.3.2.1 Infinitives

I follow Samuel E. Martin in calling the infinitive a special verbal form that is used in essentially two functions. In isolation it has the function of a non-final predicate, showing that the final predicate is yet to come, further on in the sentence. Thus, the infinitive is in direct opposition to the final predication. Most infinitives are also used to build verbal compounds, including those that consist of a main verb and a following honorific verb. Every non-final component of a verbal compound must take an infinitive form: ... V-INF-V-FIN.

There are three infinitives in the language of Classical prose: infinitive *-i*, infinitive *-ku*, and negative infinitive *-azu*.

5.2.3.2.1.1 *Infinitive* -i

The infinitive *-i* is used after action verbs. It has an allomorph Ø after vowel-stem verbs, *-i* being suppressed after the final vowel of the stem, e.g.: *tasuke-i > *tasuke-Ø* 'saving'. In word-to-word translation I place such suppressed infinitives in parentheses: (INF). However, the infinitive itself suppresses the final vowel of the stem in irregular verbs, resulting in *ko-i > *k-i* 'coming' and

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*se-i > *s-i* 'doing'. In isolation it has the function of a non-final predicate, and it is used to form verbal compounds, including those that consist of a main verb and an auxiliary. The infinitive *-i* marks non-final members of a verbal compound. Finally, the infinitive *-i* can be used in the attributive function, although very rarely. This last function is not described in traditional grammar.

The following are examples of the infinitive *-i* as the marker of a non-final predicate.

あなをくじりかひまみまどひあへり
ana-wo **kuzir-i kafima-mi** madof-i-af-er-i
hole-ACC **bore-INF peep inside(INF)** sigh for-INF-COOP-PROG-INF
[they] **bored** holes [in the fence], **peeped inside and** sighed (together) for [Kaguya-hime] (TM 30.9–10)

この人々家にかへりて物をおもひいのりをし願をたつ
kono fito-bito ife-ni kafer-ite mono-wo **omof-i** inor-i-wo **s-i** guwan-wo tat-u
this person-person home-ALL return-SUB thing-ACC **think-INF** pray-NML-ACC **do-INF** entreaty-ACC stand-FIN
after these people returned home, **unhappy** in love, they **prayed** [to the gods], and entreated [Buddha] (TM 31.9–10)

それにしろかねをねとしこがねをくきとししろき玉をみとしてたてる木あり
sore-ni sirokane-wo **ne to s-i** kogane-wo **kuki to s-i** siro-ki tama-wo mi to s-ite tat-er-u ki ar-i
that-LOC silver-ACC **root DV do-INF** gold-ACC **trunk DV do-INF** white-ATTR pearl-ACC fruit DV do-SUB stand-PROG-ATTR tree be-FIN
There is a tree on that [mountain], which **has** silver **roots** (*lit.*: silver for roots), **(has) a** golden **trunk** (*lit.*: gold for a trunk), and (has) white pearls for fruit (TM 33.10–11)

かみさへいといみじうなりあめもいたうふりければ
kami safe ito imizi-u **nar-i** ame mo ita-u fur-iker-e-ba
thunder PT very terrible-INF **sound-INF** rain PT intense-INF pour-RETR2-EV-CON
since not only **was** thunder **booming** very terribly, but rain was also pouring down violently…(IM VI:114.6–7)

As the following two examples show, a non-final predicate in the infinitive form and a final predicate do not necessarily have the same subject:

ゆきゆきてするがのくににいたりぬ
yuk-i yuk-ite suruga-no kuni-ni itar-in-u
go-INF go-SUB Suruga-GEN province-ALL reach-PERF-FIN
[They] **went** on and on, and reached the province of Suruga (IM IX:116.12)

(Same subject.)

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猶ゆきゆきてむさしのくにとしもつふさのくにとのなかにいとおほきなる河あり
nafo **yuk-i** yuk-ite Musasi-no kuni-to Simotufusa-no kuni-to-no naka-ni ito ofo-ki nar-u kafa ar-i
still **go-INF** go-SUB Musasi-GEN province-COM Simotufusa-GEN province-COM-GEN inside-LOC very big-ATTR be-ATTR river be-FIN
[They] **went** further and further, and between the province of Musashi and the province of Shimotsufusa, there was a very big river (IM IX:117.6)

(Different subjects.)

まことにかの人をみればやまひもやみいのちものびぬべき
makoto n-i kano fito-wo mi-re-ba yamafi mo **yam-i** inoti mo nobi-n-ube-ki
truth DV-INF that person-ACC see-EV-CON illness PT **stop-INF** life PT stretch-PERF-DEB-ATTR
Really, when [you] see that person, the illness **will** surely **cease and** [your] life will be prolonged…(HM I:170.16)

すべてかほりなつかしげなり
subete **kafor-i** natukasi-ge nar-i
everything **be fragrant-INF** nostalgic-NML be-FIN
Everything **was fragrant and** seemed to bring back sweet memories (HM II:230.5–6)

御しとねまいりいれたてまつりて
mi-sitone **mair-i** ire-tatematur-ite
PREF(HON)-sitting mat **bring-INF** enter(INF)-HUM-SUB
[they] **brought** in sitting mats **and** [other things], then…(HM II:238.14)

かかるよのさだめをうちきき大将殿はむねつぶれて
kakar-u yo-no sadame-wo **uti-kik-i** daizyau-dono fa mune tubure-te
be such-ATTR world-GEN judgement-ACC **PREF-hear-INF** daijō-lord TOP chest throb-SUB
when [he] **heard** the judgements of such a world, Daijō's heart was throbbing, and … (HM IV:326.7)

Sometimes a non-final predicate may be used as adverbial modifier of a following predicate:

そのあふさかのうち忍び越がたかるべきことにはあらず
sono Afusaka-no uti **sinob-i** koye-gata-k-ar-ube-ki koto n-i fa ar-az-u
that Meeting Slope-GEN inside **be secret-INF** cross(INF)-difficult-SUB-be-DEB-ATTR thing DV-INF TOP be-NEG-FIN
It is not that it should be difficult to cross **secretly** that Meeting Slope (HM V:436.10)

The following examples show the infinitive *-i* as a marker of the non-final member of a verbal compound.

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あるときは風につけてしらぬ国にふきよせられて
aru toki fa kaze-ni tuke-te sir-an-u kuni-ni **fuk-i-yose-rare-te**
some time TOP wind-LOC attach-SUB know-NEG-ATTR country-ALL **blow-INF-come by-PASS-SUB**
sometimes carried by the wind, [we] **were blown** to unknown lands and… (TM 37.14–15)

御めはしらめにてふし給へり
mi-me fa sira-me n-ite **fus-i-tamaf-er-i**
PREF(HON)-eye TOP white-eye DV-SUB **lie down-INF-HON-PROG-FIN**
[He] **was lying down** with the whites of his eyes showing (TM 52.7–8)

かやうにて御心をたがひになぐさめ給ほどに
ka yau n-ite mi-kokoro-wo tagaf-i n-i **nagusame-tamaf-u** fodo-ni
that like DV-SUB PREF(HON)-heart-ACC distract-NML DV-INF **console(INF)-HON-ATTR** time-LOC
while [the Emperor] **was consoling** and distracting his heart like that (TM 58.8)

京には見えぬとりなればみな人見しらず
miyako-ni fa mi-ye-n-u tori nar-e-ba mina fito **mi-sir-az-u**
capital-LOC TOP see-PASS-NEG-ATTR bird be-EV-CON all person **see(INF)-know-NEG-FIN**
Because it was a bird unseen in the capital, **no** one **recognized** [it] (IM IX:117.11)

むかしおとこあづまへゆきけるに友だちどもにみちより**いひおこせける**
mukasi otoko aduma-fe yuk-iker-u-ni tomodati-domo-ni miti-yori **if-i-okose-ker-u**
once upon a time man Aduma-ALL go-RETR2-ATTR-LOC friend-PLUR-DAT way-ABL **say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR**
Once upon a time, when a man went to Azuma [province], from [his] journey [he] **sent** [this poem] to [his] friends…(IM XI:118.12–13)

よき御をとこぞいでこん
yo-ki mi-wotoko zo **ide-ko-n**
good-ATTR PREF(HON)-man PT **appear(INF)-come-TENT/ATTR**
A good man **will appear** [for you]! (IM LXIII:145.12)

そこをぞ御さとにし給へる
soko-wo zo mi-sato n-i **s-i-tamaf-er-u**
there-ACC PT PREF(HON)-residence DV-INF **do-INF-HON-PROG-ATTR**
[they] **made** that place the [Prince's] residence (HM I:156.3)

思はばかる事どものあるほど
omof-i-fabakar-u koto-domo-no ar-u fodo
think-INF-feel ashamed-ATTR thing-PLUR-GEN be-ATTR time

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cases, resulting in a contracted form *-k-ar-* with the expected elision of /u/. Quite often the variant form *-u* of the infinitive *-ku* (that originated due to velar elision, see 2.3.4.2) is found in the texts.

Examples of the infinitive *-ku* as a non-final predicate follow.

翁ここちあしくくるしき時
okina kokoti **asi-ku** kurusi-ki toki
old man mood **bad-INF** distressing-ATTR time
when the old man's mood **was bad and** distressing (TM 29.14)

五人おもひやむ時なくよるひるきける
go-nin omof-i-yam-u toki **na-ku** yoru firu k-iker-u
five-CL think-INF-stop-ATTR time **no-INF** night day come-RETR2-ATTR
five people who did not stop thinking [about her] (*lit.*: **there was no** time when they stopped thinking) **and** were coming day and night (TM 30.15–31.1)

行さきおほく夜もふけにければ
yuk-u saki **ofo-ku** yoru mo fuke-n-iker-e-ba
go-ATTR ahead **big-INF** night PT darken-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON
since the [way] ahead **was far, and** night was falling…(IM VI:114.6)

みちはいとくらうほそきに
miti fa ito **kura-u** foso-ki-ni
road TOP very **dark-INF** narrow-ATTR-LOC
because the road **was** very **dark and** narrow…(IM IX:116.13)

物心ぼそくすずろなるめを見ることと思ふに
mono **kokoroboso-ku** suzuro narume-wo mi-ru koto to omof-u-ni
thing **lonely-INF** aimless meeting-ACC see-ATTR thing DV think-ATTR-LOC
when [they] **were lonely, and** thought that [they] might meet someone they were not expecting [on this road]… (IM IX:116.13–14)

見つるもわれながらめづらしく人よりことにおぼしる
mi-t-uru mo ware nagara **medurasi-ku** fito-yori koto n-i obos-i-sir-u
see-PERF-ATTR PT himself CONJ **amazing-INF** person-ABL different DV-INF think(HON)-INF-know-FIN
what [he] saw was **amazing** even for himself, **and** [he] felt [himself] to be superior to [other] people (HM I:169.7–8)

わがみひとつのみはづかしくあらまうくおぼす
wa-ga mi fito-tu nomi **fadukasi-ku** ar-amau-ku obos-u
he-POSS body one-CL PT **depressed-INF** be-NEG/OPT-INF think(HON)-FIN
(Only) he alone **felt depressed and** did not want to live (HM III.285.12–13)

それさへいみじうくちおしう心うくこの中納言宮をよのつねならずいみじうおもひきこえさせ給へる
sore safe imizi-u **kutiosi-u** kokoro **u-ku** kono tiunagon miya-wo yo-no tune nar-azu imizi-u omof-i-kikoyesase-tamaf-er-u

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that PT extreme-INF **deplorable-INF** heart **sad-INF** this chūnagon prince-ACC world-GEN general be-NEG/INF extreme-INF love-INF-HUM(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR
even that is extremely **deplorable and sad, and** this Chūnagon loves the Prince dearly, with [a love] unusual in the world (HM II:260.3–4)

こころのしづむるよなくあくがれまどふ
kokoro-no sidum-uru yo **na-ku** akugare-madof-u
heart-GEN submerge-ATTR time **no-INF** wander(INF)-wander-ATTR
there were no moments when his heart would be quiet, **and** [his mind] was wandering (HM IV:326.2)

As the last two above examples show, like the infinitive *-i*, the infinitive *-ku* does not necessarily link two predicates that have the same subject. The following examples show the infinitive *-ku* as an adverbial modifier.

むかへに人**おほく**まゐりたり
mukafe-ni fito **ofo-ku** mawir-itar-i
meet(NML)-ALL person **many-INF** come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
Many people came to meet [him] (*lit.*: came **in great number**) (TM 36.4)

たくみらいみじくよろこび
takumi-ra **imiji-ku** yorokob-i
craftsman-PLUR **great-INF** rejoice-INF …
The craftsmen **greatly** rejoiced and…(TM 41.2)

なんぢらよくもてこずなりぬ
nandi-ra **yo-ku** mo-te ko-zu nar-in-u
thou-PLUR **good-INF** bring-SUB come-NEG/INF be-PERF-FIN
It turned out **well** that you did not bring it (TM 49.2)

人しげくもあらねど
fito **sige-ku** mo ar-an-e-do
person **dense-INF** PT be-NEG-EV-CONC
although there were not too **many** people…(IM V:113.10)

浪のいとしろくたつを見て
nami-no ito **siro-ku** tat-u-wo mi-te
wave-GEN very **white-INF** rise-ATTR-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw that the waves were rising with very white crests (*lit.*: **in a** very **white manner)** and…(IM VII:115.5)

女いとよう**けさう**じてうちながめて
wonna ito **yo-u** kesau-z-ite uti-nagame-te
woman very **good-INF** make up-do-SUB PREF-look into the distance-SUB
the woman did her make-up very **well** and, looking into the distance…(IM XXIII:127.2–3)

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三のみことく見たてまつらん
mi-tu n-o miko **to-ku** mi-tatematur-an
three-CL DV-ATTR prince **fast-INF** see(INF)-HUM-TENT/ATTR
[I] want to see the Third Prince **soon** (HM I:155.4)

おほきなるやまよりたきたかくおちたる
ofo-ki-nar-u yama-yori taki **taka-ku** oti-tar-u
big-ATTR be-ATTR mountain-ABL waterfall **high-INF** fall-PERF/PROG-ATTR
a waterfall was cascading (**high**) from the big mountain (HM I:158.15–16)

みづからなんくはしくは聞えさすべき事
midukara nan **kufasi-ku** fa kikoyesas-ube-ki koto
I-myself PT **detailed-INF** TOP tell(HUM)-DEB-ATTR matter
The matter of which I must tell you myself **in detail** (HM V:391.5–6)

The next example shows the infinitive *-ku* with the following *n-o* DV-ATTR as an attributive.

おほくの事を申こひけるゆめに
ofo-ku n-o koto-wo mawos-i-kof-iker-u yume-ni
many-INF DV-ATTR thing-ACC say(HUM)-INF-request-RETR2-ATTR dream-LOC
in the dream, when [he] requested **many** things (HM I:161.16)

The infinitive *-ku* can be followed by the gerund *-ite/-te*, as in the following.

みちしれる人もなくてまどひいきけり
miti sir-er-u fito mo **na-ku-te** madof-i-ik-iker-i
way know-PROG-ATTR person PT **no-INF-SUB** wander-INF-go-RETR2-FIN
Since **there was no** one who knew the way, [they] kept wandering (IM IX:116.4)

女いとかなしくてしりにたちてをひゆけど
wonna ito **kanasi-ku-te** siri-ni tat-ite wof-i-yuk-e-do
woman very **sad-INF-SUB** behind-LOC stand-SUB follow-INF-go-EV-CONC
The woman **was** very **sad, and** though [she] followed behind [him]…(IM XXIV:128.9–10)

おとこいとうれしくてわがぬる所にゐていりて
otoko ito **uresi-ku-te** wa-ga n-uru tokoro-ni wi-te ir-ite
man very **glad-INF-SUB** he-POSS sleep-ATTR place-LOC bring-SUB enter-SUB
The man **was** very **glad and** brought [her] to his sleeping quarters and…(IM LXIX:151.2)

われもなをよにかくてあらじ
ware mo nawo yo-ni **ka-ku-te** ar-azi

Bahan dengan hak cipta

I PT more world-LOC **thus-INF-SUB** be-TENT/NEG
I don't want to live any more **like that** in the world…(HM III:268.1)

いづれこのさくらおほくてあれたるやど
idure. kono sakura **ofo-ku-te** are-tar-u yado
which. this sakura **many-INF-SUB** dilapidated-PERF/PROG-ATTR dwelling
Which [one]? This dilapidated dwelling with many cherry blossoms? (*lit.*: where **there are many** cherry blossoms) (TSM 370.7)

When followed by the verb *nar-* 'to become', the infinitive *X-ku* makes the construction 'to become X':

そののちなむ門ひろくもなり侍る
sono noti namu kado **firo-ku mo nar-i-faber-u**
that after PT gate **wide-INF PT become-INF-POL-ATTR**
After that the gate of their house **becomes wide** (TM 32.3)

をのが世々になりにければうとくなりにけり
wono-ga yo-yo n-i nar-in-iker-e-ba **uto-ku nar-in-iker-i**
self-POSS relationship-relationship DV-INF be-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON **estranged-INF be-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
[they each] found their own [new] relationship, and [they] **became estranged** (IM XXI:125.8)

Infinitive *-ku* in verbal compounds followed by *ar-* 'to be' results in a contracted form *-k-ar-*:

かぐや姫何かかたからんといへば
Kaguya-fime nani ka **kata-k-ar-an** to if-e-ba
Kaguya-fime what PT **difficult-INF-be-TENT/ATTR** DV say-EV-CON
Since Kaguya-hime said: 'What **is difficult**?' …(TM 33.16)

恋しからむおりおり
kofisi-k-ar-am-u ori-ori
miss-INF-be-TENT-ATTR moment-moment
at the moments **when [you] miss** [me] (TM 64.12)

御あそびなどもなかりけり
mi-asobi-nado mo **na-k-ar-iker-i**
PREF(HON)-pleasure-REPR PT **no-INF-be-RETR2-FIN**
[The Emperor] **did not have** any pleasures, either (TM 66.11)

心ざしふかかりける人
kokorozasi **fuka-k-ar-iker-u** fito
intention **deep-INF-be-RETR2-ATTR** person
a lady with **serious** intentions ((IM IV:112.13)

まことにむつましきことこそなかりけれ
makoto n-i mutumasi-ki koto koso **na-k-ar-iker-e**

Bahan dengan hak cipta

truth DV-INF close-ATTR thing PT **no-INF-be-RETR2-EV**
[their marriage] **was not** really a loving one (IM XVI:121.9)

世中にたえてさくらのなかりせばはるの心はのどけからまし
yo-no naka-ni taye-te sakura-no **na-k-ar-is-eba** faru-no kokoro fa **nodoke-k-ar-amasi**
world-GEN middle-LOC break-SUB sakura-GEN **no-INF-be-RETR1-COND** spring-GEN heart TOP **carefree-INF-be-SUBJ**
If there were no cherry blossoms at all in the world, **would** hearts in the spring **be carefree**? (No, they wouldn't) (IM LXXXII:159.7)

(This example comes from a poem.)

大将殿のひめ君の御事ふとおもひいでられてこひしかりけり
daizyau-dono-no fime-gimi-no mi-koto futo omof-i-ide-rare-te **kofisi-k-ar-iker-i**
daizyau-lord-GEN daughter-GEN PREF(HON)-matter suddenly think-INF-go out(INF)-PASS-SUB **nostalgic-INF-be-RETR2-FIN**
[he] suddenly recollected the matter of Daijō's daughter, and **started to miss** [her] (HM I:180.5)

いまはただこの御をもむきのままにおはせんぞよからん
ima fa tada kono mi-womomuki-no mama n-i ofase-n zo **yo-k-ar-an**
now TOP only this PREF(HON)-inclination-GEN as is DV-INF be(HON)-TENT/ATTR PT **good-INF-be-TENT/ATTR**
Will it be good for you now to maintain [your] inclination as it is? (HM II:220.14)

そのあふさかのうち忍び越がたかるべきことにはあらず
sono Afusaka-no uti sinob-i **koye-gata-k-ar-ube-ki** koto n-i fa ar-az-u
that Meeting Slope-GEN inside be secret-INF **cross(INF)-difficult-INF-be-DEB-ATTR** thing DV-INF TOP be-NEG-FIN
It is not that **it should be difficult to cross** secretly that Meeting Slope (HM V:436.10)

5.2.3.2.1.3 *Negative infinitive* -azu/-zu

The infinitive *-azu* is used after consonant action verbs. Its allomorph *-zu* is used after vowel-stem verbs and irregular verbs, *-a* being suppressed after the final vowel of the stem, e.g.: *tasuke-azu > *tasuke-zu* 'not saving', *ko-azu > *ko-zu* 'not coming', and *se-azu > *se-zu* 'not doing'. Like the infinitive *-ku*, the negative infinitive *-azu* can make verbal compounds only when followed by *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist'. In this case the final /u/ of the infinitive drops, giving the contracted form *-az-ar-*. Historically, the negative infinitive *-azu* developed from a final negative form *-az-u* NEG-FIN which started to be used as a non-final

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predicate form after the Old Japanese *-an-i* (a combination of negative *-an-* and infinitive *-i*) fell out of use completely by the mid- to late eighth century.

ちやうのうちよりもいださずいつきやしなふ
tyau-no uti-yori mo **idas-azu** ituk-i-yasinaf-u
screen-GEN inside-ABL PT **put out-NEG/INF** care for-INF-bring up-FIN
[they] cared for [her] and brought [her] up **without letting her go outside** (from) the screen (TM 29.12–13)

ほうらいのたまのえだをひとつの所あやまたずもておはしませり
Fourai-no tama-no yeda-wo fito-tu n-o tokoro **ayamat-azu** mo-te ofasimas-er-i
Fourai-GEN pearl-GEN branch-ACC one-CL DV-ATTR place **stray-NEG/INF** bring-SUB be(HON)-PROG-FIN
[he] brought [you] the pearl branch from Mount Hōrai as you requested (*lit.*: **without straying** to any (*lit.*: one) [other] place) (TM 36.14)

As the following two examples demonstrate, the infinitive *-azu* can be followed by the verbs *se-* 'to do' and *nar-* 'to become' (see also the example from *dan* XIII of *Ise monogatari* below):

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo **yor-i-tamaf-azu** s-ite ofasimas-itar-i
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT **stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF** do-SUB come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came **without** even **stopping at** his own house (TM 36.15–16)

かひをえとらずなりにけるよりも人のききわらはんことを日にそへておもひ給ければ
kafi-wo **ye-tor-azu** nar-in-iker-u-yori mo fito-no kik-i-waraf-an koto-wo fi-ni sofe-te omof-i-tamaf-iker-e-ba
shell-ACC **PREF-take-NEG/INF** become-PERF-RETR2-ATTR-COMP PT person-GEN hear-INF-laugh-TENT/FIN thing-ACC day-LOC follow-SUB think-INF-HON-RETR2-EV-CON
because [he] grieved for many days more about the fact that people would laugh [at him] than about the fact that [he] **was not able to get** the shell (TM 53.3–4)

おもほえずふるさとにいとはしたなくてありければ
omof-oye-zu furu-sato-ni ito fasitana-ku-te ar-iker-e-ba
think-PASS-NEG/INF old-capital-LOC very inappropriate-INF-SUB be-RETR2-EV-CON
[He] **did not expect it**, and since [it] was very inappropriate [for such beautiful women to be] in the old capital…(IM I:111.4)

をともせずなりにければ京よりをんな
woto mo **se-zu nar-in-iker-e-ba** miyako-yori wonna

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sound PT **do-NEG/INF become-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON** capital-ABL woman
because there were no messages [from him], the woman from the capital [recited] (IM XIII:119.10–11)

おとこしらずよみによみける
otoko **sir-azu** yom-i n-i yom-iker-u
man **know-NEG/INF** recite-NML DV-INF recite-RETR2-ATTR
the man recited his poem, [pretending] that [he] **did not understand** her poem (IM XVIII:122.14)

御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて御かほのやうたいほそくもあらずふくらにもあらず
mi-tosi fatati bakari ya ofas-uram-u to oboye-te mi-kafo-no yautai foso-ku **mo ar-azu** fukura n-i **mo ar-azu**
PREF(HON)-years twenty PT PT be(HON)-TENT-ATTR DV think-SUB PREF(HON)-face-GEN appearance thin-INF **PT be-NEG/INF** plump DV-INF **PT be-NEG/INF**
[he] thought that [the consort] was probably about twenty, and (the appearance of) [her] face **was neither** thin **nor** plump, and…(HM I:159.7–8)

なにの人めにもしらずみづからものなどの給はまほしけれども
nani-no fito me-ni mo **sir-azu** midukara mono-nado notamaf-amafosi-kere-domo
what-GEN person eye-LOC PT **know-NEG/INF** I-myself thing-REPR say(HON)-OPT-EV-CONC
though she wanted to tell [him] herself, **unseen** by anyone's eyes…(HM I:167.4)

これはすべていささかあらぬよの人とおぼえずただわがよの人にたがう事なし
kore fa subete isasaka ar-an-u yo-no fito to **oboye-zu** tada wa-ga yo-no fito-ni taga-u koto na-si
he TOP at all trifle be-NEG-ATTR country-GEN person DV **think-NEG/INF** just we-POSS country-LOC differ-ATTR thing no-FIN
It was quite impossible to think of him as a person from a different country, as [he] was not different from people in our country (HM I:190.15)

In the following example it is possible to view the negative infinitive as an adverbialization:

などありしほどたえずたちよりききならさざりけん
nado ar-isi fodo **taye-zu** tat-i-yor-i kik-i-naras-az-ar-ik-en
why be-RETR1/ATTR time **interrupt-NEG/INF** set out-INF-approach-INF listen-INF-get accustomed-NEG/INF-be-RETR1-TENT/FIN
Why did [I] not **constantly** go out to visit [her] and get accustomed to listening [to how she plays the *biwa*] while [I] was [in China]? (HM II:227.8–9)

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Special forms

The negative gerund *-azu* plus the topic particle *fa* make a negative conditional clause:

やけずはこそまことならめとおもひて人のいふことにもまけめ
yake-zu fa koso makoto nar-am-e to omof-ite fito-no if-u koto-ni mo make-m-e
burn-NEG/INF TOP PT truth be-TENT-EV DV think-SUB person-GEN say-ATTR thing-ALL PT be defeated-TENT-EV
if [it] does not burn, [I] will believe that [it] is (a) real (thing), and will agree to the proposal of this person (TM 44.3–4)

さらずはのまじといひければ
sar-azu fa nom-azi to if-iker-e-ba
be so-NEG/INF TOP drink-NEG/TENT DV say-RETR2-EV-CON
Because [he] said that [he] would not drink [it] **if it is not so**…(IM LX:144.1)

けふこずはあすは雪とぞふりなまし
kefu **ko-zu fa** asu fa yuki to zo fur-in-amasi
today **come-NEG/INF TOP** tomorrow TOP snow DV PT fall-PERF-SUBJ
If [I] do not come today, [I] will definitely fall like snow tomorrow (IM XVII:122.9)

(This example comes from a poem.)

人めおもはずはひきもとどめたてまつるべけれど
fito-me **omof-azu fa** fik-i-todome-tatematur-ube-kere-do
person-eye **think-NEG/INF TOP** pull-INF-stop(INF)-HUM-DEB-EV-CONC
if [I] did not think about people's [watching] eyes, [I] would surely have detained you, but…(HM I:211.12–13)

The infinitive *-azu/-zu* in verbal compounds followed by *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' results in a contracted form *-az-ar-/-z-ar*:

つゐにをとこあはせざらむや
tuwi n-i wotoko **af-ase-z-ar-am-u** ya
finally DV-INF man **meet-CAUS-NEG/INF-be-TENT-FIN** PT
Would [he] not finally **make [her] marry** some man? (TM 31.11)

そこらのつばくらめこうまざらむや
sokora-no tubakurame ko **um-az-ar-am-u** ya
many-GEN swallow egg **bear-NEG/INF-be-TENT-FIN** PT
Would not [one] of many swallows **lay** an egg? (TM 50.6)

などかおきなの手におほしたてたらむ物を心にまかせざらむ
nado ka okina-no te-ni ofos-i-tate-tar-am-u mono-wo kokoro-ni **makase-z-ar-am-u**

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5.2.3.2.2 Gerunds

There are six gerunds in the language of Classical Japanese prose: the subordinative gerund *-ite/-te*, the negative subordinative *-ade/-de*, the coordinative *-itutu/-tutu*, the conditional *-aba/-ba*, the conjunctive *-ba*, and the concessive *-do*[*mo*].

5.2.3.2.2.1 *Subordinative gerund* -ite/-te

The subordinative gerund *-ite* has two allomorphs: *-ite* after consonant-stem verbs and irregular verbs (which lose their final stem vowels before *-ite*: *se-ite > *s-ite* and *ko-ite > *k-ite*), and *-te* after vowel-stem verbs. The gerund *-ite/-te* can also be used after the infinitive *-ku* of quality verbs, making a special form *-ku -te*, which was described above (see 5.2.3.2.1.2). Sometimes the function of *-ite/-te* is defined as describing the action that is over before the action of the following predicate starts (Ikeda 1975: 213). This definition is not precise, because *-ite/-te* rather indicates that the first action (marked with *-ite*) started to occur earlier than the next action. The first example below illustrates a case when the first action starts earlier than the following one, but both actions go on together for a certain amount of time (the old man goes to the mountains first, but he is still there while he collects bamboo). On the other hand, in the second example, the first action is over before the following one begins (the prince first accomplishes the action of not going to his own house, and only then appears at Taketori's). The example from *dan* XXIV of *Ise monogatari* demonstrates that V-*ite* V can be two almost simultaneous actions, the one marked by *-ite* starting only slightly prior to the second. After the quality verb infinitive *-ku* the gerund *-ite/-te* may have a variety of subordinate functions, as can be seen from the examples in 5.2.3.2.1.2.

野山にまじりてたけをとりつつ
no yama-ni **mazir-ite** take-wo tor-itutu
field mountain-ALL **go to-SUB** bamboo-ACC tak-SUB
[he] **was going** to the fields and mountains **and** collecting bamboo (TM 29.2–3)

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu **s-ite** ofasimas-itar-i
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF **do-SUB** come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came (**doing**) without even stopping at his own house (TM 36.15–16)

いかばかりの女ぞとまかりて見てまいれとの給ふ
ika bakari n-o wonna zo to **makar-ite mi-te** mair-e to notamaf-u
how PT DV-ATTR woman PT DV **go(HUM)-SUB see-SUB** come(HUM/PEJ)-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN
[The Emperor] said: '**Go and see** what kind of woman [she is] (**and** return)' (TM 53.15)

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御歌をよみてつかはす
mi-uta-wo **yom-ite** tukafas-u
PREF(HON)-poem-ACC **compose-SUB** send(HON)-FIN
[The Emperor] **composed** poems **and** sent [them to Kaguya-hime] (TM 58.6)

おとこのきたりけるかりぎぬのすそをきりてうたをかきてやる
otoko-no ki-tar-iker-u kari-ginu-no suso-wo **kir-ite** uta-wo **kak-ite** yar-u
man-GEN wear-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR hunting-garment-GEN hem-ACC **cut-SUB** poem-ACC **write-SUB** send-FIN
The man **cut off** part of the hem of the hunting garment [he] was wearing, **wrote** a poem [on it] **and** sent [it] (IM I:111.5)

こどもゐのもとにいでてあそびける
ko-domo wi-no moto-ni **ide-te** asob-iker-u
child-PLUR well-GEN base-LOC **go out-SUB** play-RETR2-ATTR
the children **went out** to the well **and** played [there] (IM XXIII:126.5)

女いとかなしくてしりにたちてをひゆけど
wonna ito kanasi-ku-te siri-ni **tat-ite** wof-i-yuk-e-do
woman very sad-INF-SUB behind-LOC **stand-SUB** follow-INF-go-EV-CONC
The woman was very sad, and though [she] followed behind [him] (*lit.*: **standing** behind, [she] followed) …(IM XXIV:128.9–10)

みな人ききてわらひけり
mina fito **kik-ite** waraf-iker-i
all person **hear-SUB** laugh-RETR2-FIN
everyone **heard and** laughed [at him] (IM LXV:147.10)

せきの人おどろきてそのとをあく
seki-no fito **odorok-ite** sono to-wo ak-u
barrier-GEN person **be surprised-SUB** that gate-ACC open-FIN
The guards of the barrier **were surprised and** opened the gate (HM I:154.6–7)

御事どもとりいでて給はせたる
mi-koto-domo **tor-i-ide-te** tamafase-tar-u
PREF(HON)-koto-PLUR **take-INF-go-out-SUB** give(HON)-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[the Prince] **took out** [his] *koto* **and** gave [one to the Chūnagon] (HM I: 161.1)

大将殿のひめ君の御事ふとおもひいでられてこひしかりけり
daizyau-dono-no fime-gimi-no mi-koto futo **omof-i-ide-rare-te** kofisi-k-ar-iker-i
daizyau-lord-GEN daughter-GEN PREF(HON)-matter suddenly **think-INF-go out-PASS-SUB** nostalgic-INF-be-RETR2-FIN
[he] suddenly **recollected** the matter of Daijō's daughter, **and** began to miss [her] (HM I:180.5)

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かかる人のよの事をさへわたりゆきてみたる
kakar-u fito-no yo-no koto-wo safe **watar-i-yuk-ite** mi-tar-u
be such-ATTR lady-GEN life-GEN thing-ACC even **cross-INF-go-SUB** see-PERF/PROG-ATTR
Having crossed over [to China], [he] even saw events from the [personal] life of such a lady (HM III:313.6–7)

The subordinative gerund *-ite* can be followed by the quasi-postposition *noti* 'after':

この子をみつけて後竹とるに
kono ko-wo **mi-tuke-te noti** take tor-u-ni
this child-ACC **see(INF)-attach-SUB after** bamboo take-ATTR-LOC
when [he] was gathering bamboo **after [he] had found** this child… (TM 29.9)

をこせてのちをともせずなりにければ
wokose-te noti woto mo se-zu nar-in-iker-e-ba
send-SUB after sound do-NEG/INF be-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON
because there was no message [from him] **after [he] sent** [this letter] (IM XIII:119.10–11)

えてのちの事なりけり
ye-te noti-no koto nar-iker-i
receive-SUB after-GEN thing be-RETR2-FIN
This matter happened **after [he] had become intimate** [with the woman] (IM CVII:174.5)

さめてのちいかにみえつらんと
same-te noti ikani mi-ye-t-uran to
wake up-SUB after how see-PASS-PERF-TENT2/ATTR DV
after [he] woke up, [he] thought: 'How did [I] have [this dream]?' (HM I:175.13)

The following special forms should be noted.

1 The subordinative gerund *-ite* plus the topic particle *fa* form a conditional or temporal clause:

かたちよしとききては見まほしうする人どもなりければ
katati yo-si to **kik-ite fa** mi-mafosi-u s-uru fito-domo nar-iker-e-ba
appearance good-FIN DV **hear-SUB TOP** see-OPT-INF do-ATTR person-PLUR be-RETR2-EV-CON
as [they] were men who would like to see [a woman] **if/when [they] heard** that [her] appearance was good…(TM 31.3–4)

いかでかさることなくてはおはせん
ikade ka sar-u koto **na-ku-te fa** ofas-en

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However, not all examples of *-ite fa* can be interpreted as conditional clauses, some just being cases of topicalization of the clause ending with the gerund *-ite*, e.g.:

ゐなかの人のことにてはよしやあしや
winaka-no fito-no koto **n-ite fa** yo-si ya a-si ya
countryside-GEN person-GEN thing **DV-SUB TOP** good-FIN PT bad-FIN PT
As for the poem (*lit.*: thing) **being** by a rustic person, is [it] good [or] is [it] bad? (IM XXXIII:131.13)

くににとりては一の大臣にて
kuni n-i **tor-ite fa** fito n-o otodo n-ite
country DV-INF **take-SUB TOP** one DV-ATTR minister DV-SUB
[he] is the country's (*lit*: **for** the country) first minister, and…(HM I:171.3)

It is possible, however, that in the last example *n-i tor-ite* is grammaticalized like modern *ni totte* 'for'.

2 The subordinative gerund *-ite* plus the inclusive particle *mo* form a concessive clause. It occurs much more rarely than conditional *-ite fa*. Yuzawa Kokichiro believed that this function of *-ite mo* only developed in Early Modern Japanese (1943: 166). Yet, as becomes clear from the following examples, this function of *-ite mo* is attested at least as early as *Taketori monogatari* (ninth–early tenth centuries)

はちをすてても頼まるるかな
fati-wo **sute-te mo** tanom-ar-uru kana
bowl/shame-ACC **throw away-SUB PT** hope-PASS-ATTR PT
although [I] threw away the bowl/shame, [I] still hope! (TM 35.2)

(This example comes from a poem.)

命をすててもをのが君の仰ごとをばかなへん
inoti-wo **sute-te mo** wono-ga kimi-no ofose-"goto-woba kanafe-n
life-ACC **throw away-SUB PT** oneself-POSS lord-GEN speak(HON)(NML)-(GEN)thing-ACC(EMPH) carry out-TENT/FIN
[You] should carry out the orders of your lord, **even though [you] sacrifice** [your] life (TM 45.8)

人のくににても猶かかることなんやまざりける
fito-no kuni **n-ite mo** nafo kakar-u koto nan yam-az-ar-iker-u
person-GEN province **DV-SUB PT** still be such-ATTR thing PT cease-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR
even (being) [in] the provinces, such things still did not cease [to happen] (IM X:118.10)

まづしくへても猶むかしよかりし時の心ながら
madusi-ku **fe-te mo** nafo mukasi yo-k-ar-isi toki-no kokoro nagara

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poor-INF **pass-SUB PT** still old times good-INF-be-RETR1/ATTR time-GEN heart CONJ
even though [he] had spent [his life] in poverty, [his] heart still belonged to the good old days (IM XVI:121.6–7)

とりとなりてもただいまひとたびとびゆかまほしげに
tori to **nar-ite mo** tada ima fito-tabi tob-i-yuk-amafosi-ge n-i
bird DV **become-SUB PT** just now one-time fly-INF-go-OPT-NML DV-INF
it looked as if [he] wished to fly [to China] (once) immediately, **even though [he would have to] become** a bird (HM III:313.12)

身をかへてもひとつよにあらん事いのり思す心
mi-wo **kafe-te mo** fito-tu yo-ni ar-an koto inor-i-obos-u kokoro
body-ACC **change-SUB PT** one-CL country-LOC be-TENT/ATTR koto pray-INF-think(HON)-ATTR heart
[His] heart was praying that [in the next life] [he] would be living in the same country [as her], **even though [he] would have changed** [his] body… (HM V:402.9)

However, not all cases of *-ite mo* represent concessive clauses:

翁のあらむかぎりはかうてもいますがりなむかし
okina-no ar-am-u kagir-i fa **ka-u-te mo** imasugar-in-am-u kasi
old man-GEN be-TENT-ATTR limit-NML TOP **thus-INF-SUB PT** be(HON)-PERF-TENT-FIN PT
While I (*lit.*: old man) live, it will be **like that** (TM 32.5–6)

恋しくはきても見よかし
kofisi-ku fa **k-ite mo** mi-yo kasi
longing-INF TOP **come-SUB PT** see-IMP PT
if [you] are longing for [me], **come and** see! (IM LXXI:152.14)

(This example comes from a poem.)

はなをみてもふみをずんじあへるはとしらまほしきに
fana-wo **mi-te mo** fumi-wo zun-z-i-af-er-u fa to sir-amafosi-ki-ni
flower-ACC **see-SUB PT** text-ACC recite-do-INF-COOP-PROG-ATTR TOP DV know-OPT-ATTR-LOC
although [he] wanted to know whether [they] **view** the flowers **and** recite poems together…(HM I:160.8)

5.2.3.2.2.2 *Negative subordinative gerund* -ade/-de

The negative subordinate gerund has two allomorphs: the allomorph *-ade* appears after consonant verbs, and *-de* after vowel and irregular verbs. Japanese linguists frequently define this form as a 'negative conjunctive particle' (Tsukishima 1969: 561; Ikeda 1975: 215), which is of course incorrect, since

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form, becoming a part of the larger sentence. I do not describe this sentence-final *-itutu/-tutu* separately, as it appears that in the language of prose this usage is likely to be secondary, being derived from the gerund usage: there are no examples of *-itutu/-tutu* as a sentence-final suffix in *Taketori monogatari*, and examples of this usage in later texts are also extremely rare. It needs to be noted, however, that in this function *-itutu/-tutu* appears frequently in Heian poetry, but separate research is necessary to establish whether this is an archaism inherited from Old Japanese of the Nara period or an internal development in the language of Classical poetry. The gerund *-itutu/-tutu* is usually treated as a 'conjunctive particle' in traditional grammar (Ikeda 1975: 216).

(1) Suffix *-itutu/-tutu* as a gerund

(a) Parallel action

この人々のとし月をへてかうのみいましつつのたまふこと
kono fito-bito-no tosi tuki-wo fe-te ka-u nomi **imas-itutu** notamaf-u koto
this person-person-GEN year month-ACC pass-SUB thus-INF PT **exist(HON)-COOR** say(HON)-ATTR thing
The fact that for (passing through) years and months **continuously** these people **behave** just like this **and** talk [about their love for you] (TM 32.6)

たくみらを入給つつみこもおなじ所にこもり給て
takumi-ra-wo **ire-tamaf-itutu** miko mo onazi tokoro-ni komor-i-tamaf-ite
craftsman-PLUR(PEJ)-ACC **place in(INF)-HON-COOR** prince PT same place-LOC hide-INF-HON-SUB
while placing craftsmen [there], the Prince also hid himself in the same place, and…(TM 35.15)

猶うしと思ひつつなんありける
nafo u-si to **omof-itutu** nan ar-iker-u
even more sad-FIN DV **think-COOR** PT be-RETR2-ATTR
[he] felt even sadder (*lit.*: so [he] was, **feeling** even sadder) (IM IV:113.1)

みづのうへにあそびつついををくふ
midu-no ufe-ni **asob-itutu** iwo-wo kuf-u
water-GEN top-ni **play-COOR** fish-ACC eat-FIN
[the bird] was eating fish **while playing** on the water (IM IX:117.10–11)

月をも花をもみつつすぐし給は心やすくおぼさるる
tuki-wo mo fana-wo mo **mi-tutu** sugus-i-tamaf-u fa kokoro yasu-ku obos-ar-uru
moon-ACC PT flower-ACC PT **see-COOR** pass-INF-HON-ATTR TOP heart easy-INF think-PASS-ATTR
the fact that [she] was spending time **looking** at the moon and flowers was making [her] feel very good (HM I:164.11)

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むねうちさはぎつつ思ひ出られ給へば
mune **uti-safag-itutu** omof-i-ide-rare-tamaf-e-ba
chest **PREF-be agitated-COOR** think-INF-go out-PASS(INF)-HON-EV-CON
as [he] recalled [her], [his] chest **rising** [with excitement] (HM V:391.2–3)

(b) Habitual action

野山にまじりてたけをとりつつよろづの事につかひけり
no yama-ni **mazir-ite** take-wo **tor-itutu** yorodu n-o koto-ni tukaf-iker-i
field mountain-ALL **go to-SUB** bamboo-ACC **take-COOR** many DV-ATTR thing-ALL use-RETR2-FIN
[He] was **constantly going** to the fields and mountains **to collect** bamboo, and [he] used it for many things (TM 29.2–3)

(As can be seen from this example, the habitual nature of an action indicated by *-itutu/-tutu* spreads to all actions preceding the verb marked with *-itutu/-tutu*.)

物もくはずおもひつつかの家にゆきて
mono mo kuf-azu **omof-itutu** kano ife-ni yuk-ite
thing PT eat-NEG/INF **think-COOR** that house-ALL go-SUB
eating nothing, [they] **were longing** [for Kaguya-hime] **all the time** and were going to that house…(TM 31.4)

つれなさのみまさりつついへる
turena-sa nomi **masar-itutu** if-er-u
unconcerned-NML PT **increase-COOR** say-PROG-ATTR
only [her] lack of concern [for him] **continued to increase**, and [she] recited…(IM XLVII:138.13)

かくかたはにしつつありわたるに
ka-ku katafa n-i **s-itutu** ar-i-watar-u-ni
thus-INF inappropriateness DV-INF **do-COOR** be-INF-cross-ATTR-LOC
As [he] **continued** in this inappropriate [relationship]…(IM LXV:147.11)

中納言とおもしろき所々いでおはしましつつふみつくりあそばせ給に
tiunagon-to omosiro-ki tokoro-dokoro **ide-ofasimas-itutu** fumi tukur-i-asob-ase-tamaf-u-ni
chūnagon-COM beautiful-ATTR place-place **go out(INF)-be(HON)-COOR** text make-INF-make banquet-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR-LOC
as [the Emperor] **was going out** with the Chūnagon **all the time** to beautiful places and organized banquets for composing poetry…(HM I:163.9)

御涙のみみづぐきのながれあひつつかきもやられ給はず
mi-namida nomi miduguki-no nagare **af-itutu** kak-i mo yar-are-tamaf-az-u
PREF(HON)-tear PT brush-GEN flow **meet-COOR** write-NML PT do-PASS(INF)-HON-NEG-FIN
[his] tears **were matching** the flow of [his] brush, **and** [he] could not do the writing (HM II:237.2–3)

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世中にたえてさくらのなかりせばはるの心はのどけからまし
yo-no naka-ni taye-te sakura-no **na-k-ar-is-eba** faru-no kokoro fa nodoke-k-ar-amasi
world-GEN middle-LOC break-SUB cherry blossoms-GEN **no-INF-be-RETR1/ATTR-COND** spring-GEN heart TOP carefree-INF-be-SUBJ
If there were no cherry blossoms at all in the world, would hearts in the spring be carefree? (No, they wouldn't) (IM LXXXII:159.7)

(This example comes from a poem. In the example, *-eba* is a special form of *-aba* that has resulted from the contraction of the combination of the attributive form of the retrospective *-isi* followed by *-aba*. Strictly speaking, it is not possible to indicate the exact morphological boundary between the two, since the final /i/ of *-isi* and the initial /a/ of *-aba* have merged as /e/.)

とりとならばとよるひるちぎりおほせらるる
tori to **nar-aba** to yoru firu tigir-i-ofose-rar-uru
bird DV **become-COND** DV night day swear-INF-say(HON)-PASS-ATTR
the fact that [the Emperor] was swearing day and night: '**If [I] were** a bird!' (HM I:164.3)

をのづから心とどまる人も侍ましかばはるかに思ひより侍ましや
wonodukara kokoro todomar-u fito mo **faber-amasika-ba** faruka n-i omof-i-yor-i-faber-amasi ya
myself heart stop-ATTR person PT **be(POL)-SUBJ/EV-COND** far DV-INF think-INF-approach-INF-be(POL)-SUBJ PT
If there were a lady who possessed my heart, would [I] be thinking [of going so] far? (HM I:173: 9)

我ならばかへらざらまし
ware **nar-aba** kafer-az-ar-amasi
I be-COND return-NEG/INF-be-SUBJ
If [it] were I, [I] would not return (HM III:313.9)

(2) Realis condition

As in the modern language, the realis conditional gerund may also have the temporal meaning 'when', although this usage is infrequent.

命しなばいかがはせん
inoti **sin-aba** ikaga fa se-n
life **die-COND** how TOP do-TENT/FIN
If I die, what (*lit.*: how) [else] can [I] do? (TM 37.11)

はりーだにあらばまづいころして
fari fito-tu dani **ar-aba** madu i-koros-ite
needle one-CL PT **be-COND** anyway shoot(INF)-kill-SUB
Even **if** [that] **is** just [the size of] one needle, [we] will shoot and kill [it] anyway (TM 61.15–16)

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かのくにの人こばみなあきなむとす
kano kuni-no fito **ko-ba** mina ak-in-am-u to s-u
that country-GEN person **come-COND** all open-PERF-TENT-FIN DV do-FIN
when people from that country **come**, all [doors and locks] will open by themselves (TM 62.2–3)

さらばあすものごしにてもといへりける
sar-aba asu monogosi n-ite mo to if-er-iker-u
be so-COND tomorrow putting-aside-things-that-are-in-between DV-SUB PT DV say-PROG-RETR2-ATTR
[she] told [him]: '**If so**, tomorrow [I] might put [the screen] aside'… (IM XC:165.10)

かしこより人をこせばこれをやれ
kasiko-yori fito **wokose-ba** kore-wo yar-e
there-ABL person **send-COND** this-ACC give-IMP
if [he] sends a person from there, give [him] this (IM XCVI:168.15)

みさいはひあらばこのあめはふらじ
mi saifafi **ar-aba** kono ame fa fur-azi
I luck **be-COND** this rain TOP fall-NEG/TENT
If I have luck, it (probably) will not rain (IM CVII:174.6)

いのちだにあらば三とせが中にかならずゆきかへりなんかし
inoti dani **ar-aba** mi-tose-ga uti-ni kanarazu yuk-i-kafer-in-an kasi
life PT **be-COND** three-year-POSS inside-LOC definitely go-INF-come back-PERF-TENT/FIN PT
If only **[I] am** alive, [I] will definitely come back within three years (HM II.216:2–3)

世のなかをつねにてあらんとおもふ身ならばこそせめてよにしたがふ心をもつかはめ
yo-no naka-wo tune n-ite ar-an to omof-u **mi nar-aba** koso semete yo-ni sitagaf-u kokoro-wo mo tukaf-am-e
world-GEN inside-NOM usual DV-SUB be-TENT/FIN DV think-ATTR **body(= I) be-COND** PT in any case world-ALL follow-ATTR heart-ACC PT use-TENT-EV
if I am one who thinks that life will continue as usual, [I] will try to follow [the customs] of the world (HM IV:327.2)

哀とおもはばかの人をたづねて
afare to **omof-aba** kano fito-wo tadune-te
sadness DV **think-COND** that person-ACC find-SUB
if [you] think about [me] with sadness, [I] will find that lady, and… (HM V:417.2)

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5.2.3.2.2.5 *Conjunctive gerund* -ba

The conjunctive gerund *-ba* (not to be confused with the conditional *-aba/-ba*) has just one allomorph. It follows the evidential form of a verb. In traditional grammar *-ba* is considered to have three meanings: (1) reason; (2) realis condition; (3) temporal connection of two actions ('when *X*, then *Y*') (Ikeda 1975: 205). However, in the language of Classical prose *-ba* does not indicate the realis condition unless it is a temporal condition. I therefore view this temporal condition as a subcase of the temporal connection function. General conditions are expressed by the conditional gerund *-aba/-ba* or by other means, such as a combination of the subordinative gerund *-ite/-te* or the negative infinitive *-azu* with the following topic particle *fa* (see 5.2.3.2.1.3 and 5.2.3.2.2.1).

(1) Reason

をのがなさぬ子なれば心にもしたがはずなんある
wono-ga nas-an-u ko **nar-e-ba** kokoro-ni mo sitagaf-azu nan ar-u
I myself-POSS make-NEG-ATTR child **be-EV-CON** heart-ALL PT follow-NEG/INF PT be-ATTR
because [she] is a child whom I did not bear myself, [I] cannot stop [her] from following [her] heart (TM 31.8–9)

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程は見ゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i **ofasimas-an-e-ba** mi-kokorozasi-no fodo fa mi-y-ube-si
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML **be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON** PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent TOP see-PASS-DEB-FIN
Since neither [of you] is superior or inferior, [she] must see the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.5–6)

いなといふ事なればえしひねばことわり也
ina to if-u **koto nar-e-ba** ye-sifi-n-e-ba kotowari nar-i
no DV say-ATTR **thing be-EV-CON** PREV-force-NEG-EV-CON principle be-FIN
as (the situation was that) [she] was saying 'no', [his] principle was that [he] could not force [her] (TM 44.2)

二条のきさきにしのびてまいりけるを世のきこえありければせうとたちのまもらせたまひけるとぞ
ni-zyau-no kisaki-ni sinob-ite mair-iker-u-wo yo-no kikoye **ar-iker-e-ba** seuto-tati-no mamor-ase-tamaf-iker-u to zo
two-CL-GEN empress-DAT do secretly-SUB go(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-ACC world-GEN rumour **be-RETR2-EV-CON** elder brother-PLUR(HON)-GEN guard-CAUS-HON-RETR2-ATTR DV PT
They say that **since there were** rumours about [his] secret visits to the Empress from the Second Ward, [her] elder brothers kept watch over [her] (IM V:113.15–114.1)

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京には見えぬとりなればみな人見しらず
miyako-ni fa mi-ye-n-u tori **nar-e-ba** mina fito mi-sir-az-u
capital-LOC TOP see-PASS-NEG-ATTR bird **be-EV-CON** all person see(INF)-know-NEG-FIN
Because [it] was a bird unseen in the capital, no one recognized [it] (IM IX:117.11)

ぬす人なりければくにのかみにからめられにけり
nusubito **nar-iker-e-ba** kuni-no kami-ni karame-rare-n-iker-i
thief **be-RETR2-EV-CON** province-GEN governor-AGT capture-PASS-PERF-RETR2-FIN
Because [he] was a thief, [he] was captured by the governor of the province (IM XII:119.3)

日くれぬればせきのもとにとまりたまひぬ
fi **kure-n-ure-ba** seki-no moto-ni tomar-i-tamaf-in-u
sun **set down-PERF-EV-CON** barrier-GEN base-LOC stop-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
since the sun **had already set**, [the Chūnagon] stopped at the barrier (HM I:154.2–3)

しんのしんわうといへる人ありけるがかほかたちみのざへすぐれたりければこのくにと日本にいひかよはさるる事ありけり
Sin-no sinwau to if-er-u fito ar-iker-u-ga kafo katati mi-no zafe **sugure-tar-iker-e-ba** kono kuni-to Nifon-ni if-i-kayof-as-ar-uru koto ar-iker-i
Qin-GEN prince-DV say-PROG-ATTR person be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS face figure body-GEN talent **be supreme-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON** this country-COM Japan-DAT say-INF-go back and forth-CAUS-PASS-ATTR thing be-RETR2-FIN
there were occasions when one who was the person whom [they] called the Qin Prince, **since** his looks and talents **were superb**, was interpreting between this country and Japan (HM I:161.7–9)

さる事どもを見ればいとどこのよの人には心もとどまらざんめるに
sar-u koto-domo-wo **mi-ker-e-ba** itodo kono yo-no fito-ni fa kokoro mo todomar-az-an-mer-u-ni
be such-ATTR thing-PLUR-ACC **see-RETR2-EV-CON** still this country-GEN lady-DAT TOP heart PT stop-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-ATTR-LOC
because it turns out that [he] has seen such things, it looks as if [he] pays no attention to the ladies of this country, and…(HM IV:329.3)

(2) Temporal connection

この子をみればくるしき事もやみぬ
kono ko-wo **mi-re-ba** kurusi-ki koto mo yam-in-u
this child-ACC **look-EV-CON** bitter-ATTR thing PT stop-PERF-FIN
when [he] looked at this child, all [his] bitterness ceased (TM 29.14–30.1)

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けうらなりとおぼしける人のかれに**おぼしあはすれば**人にもあらず
keura nar-i to obos-iker-u fito-no kare-ni **obos-i-afas-ure-ba** fito n-i mo ar-az-u
beautiful be-FIN DV think(HON)-RETR2-ATTR person-GEN she-LOC **think(HON)-INF-compare-EV-CON** person DV-INF PT be-NEG-FIN
When [the Emperor] **compared** her with ladies whom he used to consider beautiful, they did not seem even human [to him] (TM 58.2–3)

あまのは衣うちきせたてまつりつれば翁をいとおしくかなしとおぼしつる事もうせぬ
ama-no fa-ⁿgoromo **uti-ki-se-tatematur-it-ure-ba** okina-wo ito osi-ku kanasi to obos-it-uru koto mo use-n-u
heaven-GEN feather-(GEN)garment **PREF-put on-CAUS(INF)-HUM-PERF-EV-CON** old man-NOM very pitiful-INF sad DV think(HON)-PERF-ATTR thing PT lose-PERF-FIN
when [they] made [her] put on the heavenly feather garment, [she] stopped thinking that the old man was very pitiful and sad (TM 66.2–3)

としごろをとづれざりける人のさくらのさかりに見にきたりければあるじ
tosi-goro wotodure-z-ar-iker-u fito-no sakura-no sakari-ni mi-ni **k-itar-iker-e-ba** aruzi
year-time visit-NEG/FIN-be-RETR2-ATTR person-GEN sakura-GEN bloom-LOC see(NML)-ALL **come-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON** host
When a person who had not visited for a long time **came** to view the cherry blossoms in full bloom, the host [recited]…(IM XVII:122.6)

をのが世々になりにければうとくなりにけり
wono-ga yo-yo n-i **nar-in-iker-e-ba** uto-ku nar-in-iker-i
self-POSS relationship-relationship DV-INF **become-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON** be estranged-INF become-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[they each] **found** their own [new] relationship, and [they] became estranged (IM XXI:125.8)

昔おとこ後涼殿のはざまをわたりければあるやむごとなきひとの御つぼねよりわすれぐさをしのぶぐさとやいふとて
mukasi otoko Kourauden-no fazama-wo **watar-iker-e-ba** ar-u yamugotona-ki fito-no mi-tubone-yori wasure-ⁿgusa-wo sinob-u-ⁿgusa to ya if-u to-te
long ago man Kourauden-GEN narrow space-ACC **cross over-RETR2-EV-CON** be-ATTR noble-ATTR person-GEN PREF(HON)-room-ABL forget(NML)-(GEN)grass long for-ATTR-(GEN)grass DV PT say-ATTR DV-SUB
When long ago a man **was crossing over** the narrow space of Kōrōden, [someone] in the room of a certain noble lady said: 'Did [you] call "forgetting grass" "longing grass"?' (IM C:170.9–10)

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やまこえはてぬればかんこくのせきにつき給ひて
yama **koye-fate-n-ure-ba** Kankoku-no seki-ni tuk-i-tamaf-ite
mountain **cross(INF)-finish-PERF-EV-CON** Kankoku-GEN barrier-LOC arrive-INF-HON-SUB
when [they] finished crossing the mountains, [they] arrived at the Kankoku barrier, and…(HM I:154.2)

まことにかの人をみればやまひもやみいのちものびぬべき
makoto n-i kano fito-wo **mi-re-ba** yamafi mo yam-i inoti mo nobi-n-ube-ki
truth DV-INF that person-ACC **see-EV-CON** illness PT stop-INF life PT stretch-PERF-DEB-ATTR
Really, **when [you] see** that person, the illness will surely cease and [your] life will be prolonged…(HM I:170.16)

むねうちさはぎつつ思ひ出られ給へば經をよみあかし給て
mune uti-safag-itutu **omof-i-ide-rare-tamaf-e-ba** kyau-wo yom-i-akas-i-tamaf-ite
chest PREF-be agitated-COOR **think-INF-go out-PASS(INF)-HON-EV-CON** sutra-ACC read-INF-dawn-INF-HON-SUB
as [he] recalled [her], [his] chest rising [with excitement], [he] read sutras until dawn, and…(HM V:391.2–3)

(3) Temporal condition

This is a subcase of the temporal connection function of *-ba*, and does not occur frequently in the texts.

その山はここにたとへばひえの山をはたちばかりかさねあげたらんほどして
sono yama fa koko-ni **tatof-e-ba** Fiye n-o yama-wo fatati bakari kasane-age-tar-an fodo s-ite
that mountain TOP here-LOC **compare-EV-CON** Hiei DV-ATTR mountain-ACC twenty PT pile up(INF)-raise-PROG-TENT/ATTR degree do-SUB
That mountain, **when/if [one] compares** [it] with [mountains] here, is about twenty [times] as high as Mount Hiei…(IM IX:117.4)

むさしなるおとこ京なる女のもとにきこゆればはづかしきこえねばくるしとかきて
Musasi-n-ar-u otoko miyako-n-ar-u wonna-no moto-ni **kikoy-ure-ba** fadukasi **kikoye-n-e-ba** kurusi to kak-ite
Musasi-LOC-be-ATTR man capital-LOC-be-ATTR woman-GEN base-LOC **say(HUM)-EV-CON** be embarrassed-FIN **say(HUM)-NEG-EV-CON** be cruel-FIN DV write-SUB
a man who was in Musasi wrote to a woman who was in the capital: '**If/when [I] tell** [you], [I] will be embarrassed, **if/when [I] do not tell** [you], [it] will be cruel' (IM XIII:119.9–10)

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big-ATTR minister-GEN blooming flower DV-ATTR **accomplish-NML** **DV-INF** be(HON)-SUB wistaria-clan-GEN thing-LOC succeed-ATTR-ACC think-SUB read-PROG-ATTR
[I] composed [this poem], thinking about the flourshing **accomplishments** of the Chancellor and the illustrious deeds of the Wistaria clan (*i.e.* Fujiwara) (IM CI:171.8–9)

九品ののぞみ
ku-fon-no **nozom-i**
nine-step-GEN **wish-NML**
a **wish** of the Nine Steps (HM I: 165.12)

よろづ思ひもしらで
yorodu **omof-i** mo sir-ade
ten thousand **think-NML** PT know-NEG/GER
without knowing ten thousand **thoughts** (HM I: 183.10)

御涙のみみづぐきのながれあひつつかきもやられ給はず
mi-namida nomi miduguki-no nagare af-itutu **kak-i** mo yar-are-tamaf-az-u
PREF(HON)-tear PT brush-GEN flow meet-COOR **write-NML** PT do-PASS-HON-NEG-FIN
[his] tears were matching the flow of [his] brush, and [he] could not do the **writing** (HM II:237.2–3)

Special usages

Nominalized verbs can be followed by the verb *se-* 'to do' or, more rarely, by the defective verb *n-* 'to be', forming secondary verbal forms with the meanings 'doing X' or 'being X'.

みな難波まで御をくりしける
mina Nanifa-made **mi-wokur-i** s-iker-u
everybody Nanifa-TERM **PREF(HON)-see off-NML** do-RETR-ATTR
everybody [went] as far as Naniwa [to] see [the Prince] off (*lit.*: everybody did the **seeing off** as far as Naniwa) (TM 35.9)

御かりみゆきし給はんやうにて
mi-kar-i mi-yuk-i s-i-tamaf-an yau n-ite
PREF(HON)-hunt-NML PREF(HON)-go-NML do-INF-HON-TENT/ATTR like DV-SUB
as if [I] would be **going hunting** (TM 56.9–10)

あれもたたかはで心ちただしれにしれて守りあへり
are mo tatakaf-ade kokoti tada **sire** n-i sire-te mamor-i-af-er-i
they PT fight-NEG/GER spirit just **be stupefied(NML)** DV-INF be stupefied-SUB watch-INF-REC-PROG-FIN
they did not fight either, and being utterly **dumbfounded**, [they and the celestial beings] watched each other (TM 63.7–8)

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[He] went, saying that [he was going] to the east **to find** a province where he could live (IM IX:116.3)

御らんぜさせに御むかへにまいりたり
go-ran-ze-sase-ni ofon-mukafe-ni mair-itar-i
PREF(HON)-see-do-CAUS(NML)-ALL PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-ALL come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[I] came **to meet you in order to show you** (HM I:171.8)

大弐も御をくりにせきまでまいる
Daini mo **mi-wokur-i-ni** seki-made mair-u
Daini PT **PREF(HON)-see off-NML-ALL** barrier-TERM go(HUM)-FIN
Daini went **to see [the Chūnagon] off** as far as the barrier, too (HM II:240.6–7)

5.2.3.2.3.2 *Nominalizer* -aku

The nominalizer *-aku* is used with action verbs. In our texts, *-aku* is used very frequently in *Taketori monogatari*, but appears only four times in the whole of *Ise monogatari* (only once in the narrative, and three times in the poetry). There are no examples of *-aku* in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. In addition, even in *Taketori monogatari* it is found after the verb *if-* 'to say' in the overwhelming majority of cases. This distribution demonstrates that *-aku* gradually became a fossilized form and then fell out of use during the first half of the Heian period, disappearing altogether by the mid-eleventh century. The suffix *-aku* follows the attributive: *if-aku* (< *if-u-aku) 'saying', *mi-r-aku* (< *mi-ru-aku) 'seeing', with the expected loss of the final /u/ in the attributive. Therefore, it is likely that historically it represents some kind of a bound noun.

The main function of *-aku* in the language of Classical prose is to introduce reported speech in combination with the verbs *if-* 'to say', *mawos-* 'to say (humble)', and *notamaf-* 'to say (honorific)'. However, it can occur in other contexts, too, as the last three examples below from *Ise monogatari* demonstrate. The *-aku* form of *if-aku* and other verbs of verbal activity can be echoed after the reported speech by the more usual construction consisting of the defective verb *to* and a verb of verbal activity. It is often considered that this function of *if-aku* is a literal translation of Chinese 曰 /yue[1]/ 'say', that in Classical Chinese is used to introduce reported speech. Therefore, the frequent use of *if-aku* in *Taketori monogatari* is believed to constitute more evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the text that we have today is a translation of a lost original written in Kanbun. However, although this possibility certainly remains open, it is equally possible that such a use may have a native origin.[13]

かぐやひめのいはくなんでうさることかし侍らんといへば
Kaguya-fime-no **if-aku** nandeu sar-u koto ka s-i-faber-an to **if-e-ba**
Kaguya-Fime-GEN **say-NML** why such-ATTR thing PT do-INF-POL-TENT/ATTR DV **say-EV-CON**

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Kaguya-hime **said** (*lit.*: Kaguya-hime's saying): 'Why should [I] do such a thing?' (TM 32.4)

翁いはくおもひのごとくものたまふ物かな
okina **if-aku** omof-i-no goto-ku mo notamaf-u mono kana
old man **say-NML** think-NML-GEN like-INF PT say(HON)-ATTR thing PT
The old man **said** (*lit.*: old man saying): '[You] spoke according to [your] heart!' (TM 32.10–11)

御子のたまはく命をすててかの玉の枝もちてきたるとて
miko-no **notamaf-aku** inoti-wo sute-te kano tama n-o yeda mot-ite k-itar-u to-te
prince **say(HON)-NML** life-ACC throw away-SUB that pearl DV-ATTR branch bring-SUB come-ATTR DV-SUB
The Prince **said** (*lit.*: prince's saying): 'Risking my life, [I] brought that pearl branch', and…(TM 36.9–10)

女こたへていはくこれはほうらいの山なりとこたふ
wonna **kotafe-te if-aku** kore fa fourai n-o yama nar-i to **kotaf-u**
woman **reply-SUB say-NML** this TOP Fourai DV-ATTR mountain be-FIN DV **reply-FIN**
The woman **said in reply** (*lit.*: What the woman said in reply): 'This is Mount Hōrai' (TM 38.9–10)

あやべのうちまろ申さく玉の木を作りつかふまつりしこと
ayabe-no utimaro **mawos-aku** tama n-o ki-wo tukur-i-tukafumatur-isi koto
Ayabe-GEN Utimaro **say(HUM)-NML** pearl DV-ATTR tree-ACC make-INF-HUM-RETR1/ATTR thing
Ayabe-no Uchimaro **humbly says** that [we] made the pearl tree… (TM 39.13–14)

それを見てある人のいはくかきつばたといふいつもじをくのかみにすへてたびの心をよめといひければ
sore-wo mi-te ar-u fito-no **if-aku** kakitubata to if-u itu mozi-wo ku-no kami-ni sufe-te tabi-no kokoro-wo yom-e **to if-iker-e-ba**
that-ACC see-SUB be-ATTR person-GEN **say-NML** lily DV say-ATTR five written-sign line-GEN top-LOC place-SUB journey-GEN heart recite-IMP **DV say-RETR2-EV-CON**
seeing that, a certain person **said** (*lit.*: a certain person's saying): 'Compose a poem about the feeling of travel, using the five-syllable word 'kakitsubata' at the beginning of the lines' (IM IX:116.8–9)

The most frequent usage of *-aku* in *Ise monogatari* (in the poetry) is in the construction *mi-m-aku fosi-* 'want to see', which represents a relic original shape of the optative marker *-amafosi/-mafosi* (< *-am-aku fosi, see 5.2.3.3.4):

見まくほしさにいざなはれつつ
mi-m-aku fosi-sa n-i izanaf-are-tutu

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see-TENT-NML want-NML DV-INF bring out-PASS-COOR
[I] am brought out by the desire **to see** [her] (IM LXV:149.1)

(This example comes from a poem.)

ちはやぶる神のいがきもこえぬべしおほみや人の**見まく**ほしさに
tifayaburu kami-no i-^{n}gaki mo koye-n-ube-si ofo-miya fito-no **mi-m-aku** fosi-sa n-i
tifayaburu ('pillow-word' with unclear meaning) god-GEN sacred-(GEN) fence PT cross over-PERF-DEB-FIN big-palace person-GEN **see-TENT-NML** want-NML DV-INF
[One] can cross over even the sacred fence of [...] gods, when [one] wants **to see** a person from the great palace (IM LXXI:152.12)

(This example comes from a poem.)

いよいよ**見まく**ほしききみかな
iyo-iyo **mi-m-aku** fosi-ki kimi kana
more and more **see-TENT-NML** want-ATTR lord PT
You, whom [I] want **to see** more and more! (IM LXXXIV:161.15)

(This example comes from a poem.)

5.2.3.2.3.3 *Nominalizer* -sa

The nominalizer *-sa* has just one allomorph that follows stems of quality verbs. In the language of Classical prose it has completely replaced the older nominalizer *-mi* that was productive in Old Japanese and is still found occasionally in the poems within our texts. It is also sometimes found in the language of commentary texts (Tsukishima 1969: 501).

ねがひをかなふることの**うれしさ**とのたまひて
negaf-i-wo kanaf-uru koto-no **uresi-sa** to notamaf-ite
request-NML-ACC respond-ATTR thing-GEN **joyful-NML** DV say(HON)-SUB
[the Chūnagon] said: '[It is a] **joy** that [you] responded to [my] request' (TM 51.12)

仰の事の**かしこさ**にかのわらはを参らせん
ofose-no koto-no **kasiko-sa** n-i kano warafa-wo mair-ase-n
say(HON)(NML)-GEN thing-GEN **reverent-NML** DV-INF that child-ACC go(HUM)-CAUS-TENT/FIN
out of **respect** for what [you] deigned to say, [I] tried to make her go [and serve in the palace] (TM 56.5–6)

ひるの**あかさ**にもすぎてひかり
firu-no **aka-sa**-ni mo sugi-te fikar-i

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day-GEN **bright-NML**-DAT PT exceed-SUB shine-INF
[Its] shining exceeded the **brightness** of the day (TM 63.1–2)

しぎのおほきさなる
sigi-no **ofoki-sa** nar-u
snipe-GEN **big-NML** be-ATTR
[it] is the **size** of a snipe (IM IX:117.10)

つれなさのみまさりつついへる
turena-sa nomi masar-itutu if-er-u
unconcerned-NML only increase-COOR say-PROG-ATTR
only [her] **lack of concern** [for him] continued to increase, and [she] recited … (IM XLVII:138.13)

いひいでむたよりもなさにまことならぬ夢がたりをす
if-i-ide-m-u tayori mo **na-sa n-i** makoto nar-an-u yume-^{n}gatari-wo s-u
say-INF-go out-TENT-ATTR chance PT **no-NML DV-INF** truth be-NEG-ATTR dream-(GEN)story-ACC do-FIN
because [she] had no chance to express [her feelings], [she] made up a false dream (IM LXIII:145.10)

御色のしろさ
mi-iro-no **siro-sa**
PREF(HON)-facial colour-GEN **white-NML**
the **whiteness** of [the Emperor's] facial colour (HM I:159.9)

あなたうとうちいで給へるこゑのおもしろさ
anata [f]uto uti-ide-tamaf-er-u kowe-no **omosiro-sa**
that side suddenly PREF-go out(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR voice-GEN **beautiful-NML**
the beauty of [his] voice, which suddenly went out [from] that side (HM I:199.4)

ここのしなのうへにのぼり給ぬるうれしさ
kokono sina-no ufe-ni nobor-i-tamaf-in-uru **uresi-sa**
nine step-GEN top-LOC climb-INF-HON-PERF-ATTR **joyful-NML**
the joy of climbing up to the top of the Nine Steps [in paradise] (HM IV: 332.15–16)

Special usage

There is one example when *-sa* follows not a quality verb, but the noun *sukizuki* 'sensual', which has a quality meaning, but is formally a noun. This usage is reminiscent of analogous cases in the modern language, like *yukai-sa* 'pleasure' derived regularly from Sino-Japanese *yukai* 'pleasant', 'pleasure'.

すきずきさはあらはれていざなひたる
sukizuki-sa fa arafare-te izanaf-itar-u

Szerzői jogi védelem alatt álló anyag

sensual-NML TOP become apparent-SUB invite-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[the Chūnagon's] **sensuality** became apparent, and [Chikuzen-no kami] invited [him] (HM II:227.13–14)

5.2.3.2.3.4 *Nominalizer* -ge

The nominalizer *-ge* has just one allomorph and in its most frequent usage it follows the stem of quality verbs. Traditional grammar mentions that it can also follow infinitives and nouns (Ikeda 1975: 262). However, in our texts *-ge* following an infinitive is found only with the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' and its derivatives. In addition, there is one example of *-ge* following an attributive form. The function of *-ge* is to express that a given quality appears to be or seems likely: *X-ge* 'seems to be X', 'likely-X'.

(1) *-ge* after stems of quality verbs

きたなげなる所に
kitana-ge nar-u tokoro-ni
dirty-NML be-ATTR place-ALL
to [my] **dirty-looking** place (TM 33.3)

いみじくなげかしげにおもひたり
imizi-u **nagekasi-ge n-i** omof-itar-i
extreme-INF **sad-NML DV-INF** think-PERF/PROG-FIN
[Kaguya-hime] was thinking **with** a very **sad appearance** (TM 37.1)

むくつけげなるものきてくひかからんとしき
mukutuke-ge nar-u mono k-ite kuf-i-kakar-an to s-iki
disgusting-NML be-ATTR thing come-SUB eat-INF-hang-TENT/FIN DV do-RETR1/FIN
disgusting-looking creatures would come and try to devour [us] (TM 38.1)

おとこいもうとのいとおかしげなりけるを見をりて
otoko imouto-no ito **okasi-ge** nar-iker-u-wo mi wor-ite
man woman-GEN very **attractive-NML** be-RETR2/ATTR-ACC look(INF) be-SUB
a man, seeing that a woman was very **attractive-looking**…(IM XLIX:139.8)

たえぬ心のうれしげもなし
taye-n-u kokoro-no **uresi-ge** mo na-si
interrupt-NEG-ATTR heart-GEN **joyful-NML** PT no-FIN
[I] do not have any **feeling of joy** [for your] constant feelings (IM CXVIII: 178.8)

(This example comes from a poem.)

けしきもらうたげなりし
kesiki mo **rauta-ge** nar-isi

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appearance PT **pitiful-NML** be-RETR1/ATTR
even [her] appearance was **pitiful-looking**...(HM I:168.5)

つつましげにかほをもてまぎらはしたるこゑ
tutumasi-ge n-i kafo-wo mote-magirafas-itar-u kowe
shy-NML DV-INF face-ACC PREF-hide from other's eyes-PERF/PROG-ATTR voice
the voice that [was telling her] to hide [her] face with **seeming shyness** (HM II:230.11)

四五にていみじうおかしげにて
yo-tu itu-tu n-ite imizi-u **okasi-ge** n-ite
four-CL five-CL DV-SUB extreme-INF **attractive-NML** DV-SUB
at four or five [years old, she] **seemed** very **attractive**, and... (HM III: 280.13)

(2) *-ge* after infinitives and nouns

This usage does not exist in earlier texts. Therefore, the use of *-ge* after nouns must be a secondary development, which probably demonstrates that *-ge* has gradually changed from a nominalizing suffix into a bound noun.

うちなきたるさまのあはれげなるに
uti-nak-itar-u sama-no **afare-ge** nar-u-ni
PREF-cry-PERF/PROG-ATTR appearance-GEN **sadness-NML** be-ATTR-LOC
[her] crying appearance was **sad-looking**, and...(HM I:180.4)

さりげなくもてなせど
sar-i-ge na-ku motenas-e-do
be such-INF-NML no-INF behave-EV-CONC
although [he] behaves **as if** there is no **such** [thing] (HM I:182.9)

おぼろげならぬちぎり
oboro-ge nar-an-u tigir-i
vague-NML be-NEG-ATTR swear-NML
a vow, which does not **seem vague** (HM I:203.12)

あはれあさからずげなり
afare **asa-k-ar-azu-ge** nar-i
emotion **shallow-INF-be-NEG/GER-NML** be-FIN
[his] emotion is **not looking shallow** (HM II:242.6)

(3) Special usage

There is one example of *-ge* after an attributive in *Taketori monogatari*:

千たびばかり申給ふげにやあらんやうやう神なりやみぬ
ti tabi bakari **mawos-i-tamaf-u-ge n-i** ya ar-an yauyau kaminari yam-in-u

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thousand time PT **say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-NML DV-INF** gradually thunder stop-PERF-FIN
Maybe (*lit.*: **seemingly**) **because [he] said** [his prayers] about a thousand times, the thunder gradually stopped (TM 48.2–3)

5.2.3.3 *Word-non-final suffixes*

Word-non-final suffixes are those that cannot conclude a verbal form by themselves: they must always be followed by either sentence-final or word-final suffixes. The following word-non-final suffixes are found in the language of Classical prose: negative *-az-/-an-*, tentative *-am-* and *-uram-*, optative *-amafosi-*, negative optative *-amau-*, debitive *-ube-*, negative debitive *-umazi-*, conjectural *-umer-* and *-unar-*, retrospective *-iker-*, perfective *-in-* and *-ite-*, progressive *-er-*, perfective-progressive *-itar-*, iterative *-af-*, passive *-rare-*, and causative *-sase-*.

5.2.3.3.1 Negative *-an-/-az-*

The negative has four allomorphs: *-an-*, *-n-*, *-az-*, and *-z-*, divided into two series, the *n*-series (*-an-/-n-*) and the *z*-series (*-az-/-z-*). The first series is used before attributive *-uru* and evidential *-ure*, the second before the final predication marker *-u*. In addition, there is a special infinitive form *-azu* that cannot really be analysed into negative + infinitive markers (discussed above in 5.2.3.2.1.3). It must be noted that neither of these series can combine with the imperative marker *-e*, the negative imperative being expressed by other means, such as by the circumfix *na ... so* or by the negative particle *na* placed after the final form of a verb.

Within the two series, the allomorphs *-an-* and *-az-* are used after the stems of consonant verbs, while the allomorphs *-n-* and *-z-* are used after vowel stems and irregular verbs. The negative is not normally found together with most mood markers within the same verbal form (except in the cases of complex verb forms consisting of the negative gerund *-azu* followed by various forms of *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' (see 5.2.3.2.1.3), because most moods have independent negative counterparts, such as the debitive–negative debitive, the tentative–negative tentative, etc. The negative has the single function of plain negation.

なにのしるしあるべくもみえず
nani-no sirusi ar-ube-ku mo **mi-ye-z-u**
what-GEN sign be-DEB-INF PT **see-PASS-NEG-FIN**
[They] **cannot see** that there might be some sign (TM 30.11)

をのがなさぬ子なれば
wono-ga **nas-an-u** ko nar-e-ba
I myself-POSS **make-NEG-ATTR** child be-EV-CON
because [she] is a child **whom** I **did not bear** myself (TM 31.8–9)

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Table 16 Final predication forms with preceding tentative *-am-*

	-am	-m-
Final	-am-u, -an	-mu-u, -n
Attributive	-am-u, -an	-m-u, -n
Evidential	-am-e	-m-e

(Tsukishima 1969: 530). However, no such cases of *-m-* loss are attested in our texts. See Table 16.

Another special allomorph of *-am-/-m-*, namely *-em-*, is used after a preceding retrospective *-iki*, as was indicated before (see 5.2.3.1.8). Here there is also a fusion resulting from the vowel crasis *i + a > e*, so, strictly speaking, the division of this form into *-ik-* and *-em-u* is not absolutely exact, as the true morphological boundary is within the vowel /e/. The further contraction leads to the form *-ik-en*, where *-en* is a result of the process of *-mu > -n*, already described above.

The functions of *-am/-m-* have been much debated in the literature. Yamada Yoshio seems to be the first linguist to have defined *-am-/-m-* as suppositive (Yamada 1952: 158), and not as a 'future' tense form (Haga 1905). Within the framework of traditional Japanese linguistics, Tokieda Motoki proposed subdividing the basic meanings of *-am/-m-* into three types, depending on the speaker/hearer distinction: (1) if a verb marked by *-am-/-m-* refers to the speaker himself, then *-am-/-m-* expresses intention; (2) if a verb marked by *-am-/-m-* refers to the hearer, then *-am-/-m-* expresses a mild or indirect imperative or suggestion; (3) if a verb marked by *-am-/-m-* refers to a third person who is neither the speaker nor the hearer, then *-am-/-m-* expresses presumption (Tokieda 1954: 170). Tokieda's point of view seems to enjoy the status of a *teisetsu* (generally accepted theory) among other Japanese linguists (Tsukishima 1969: 528; Ikeda 1975: 68). However, there is at least one voice of dissent: Suzuki Yasuyuki defines *-am-/-m-* as a form of the presumptive mood in general (Suzuki 1975: 10). Meanwhile, Western linguists have long held the view that the form in question is a kind of future tense (Aston 1877; Kolpakchi 1956: 145–50; Lewin 1959: 161). More recently many non-Japanese linguists have rejected the idea that *-am-/-m-* is an indicator of tense; thus, for example, Samuel E. Martin defines it as a tentative (Martin 1988: 605ff.), and Nikolai Syromiatnikov follows Tokieda and other Japanese linguists in treating it as a presumptive mood form (Syromiatnikov 1983: 110). However, the idea of *-am-/-m-* as a future marker still seems to linger on (Takeuchi 1987: 66). The use of *-am-/-m-* in reference to the future is defined by the fact that speakers of Classical Japanese did not refer to future events in certain terms, using the unmarked (from the point of view of modality) final forms of verbs. Since a human being cannot be sure that any event in the future will certainly happen, only forms such as the tentative were used for future events. The prerogative to speak about future

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やつが人をころさんとするなりけり
yatu-ga fito-wo **koros-an to s-uru**[14] nar-iker-i
hag-POSS person-ACC **kill-TENT DV do-ATTR** be(ASSER)-RETR2-FIN
It turns out that [this] hag **was going** to kill people (TM 49.5)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the third person.)

わがいらむとするみち
wa-ga **ir-am-u to s-uru** miti
they-POSS **enter-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR** road
the road they **were going to enter** (IM IX:116.12–13)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the third person.)

ちちはこと人にあはせむといひける
titi fa koto-fito-ni **af-ase-m-u** to if-iker-u
father TOP different-person-DAT **meet-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV say-RETR2-ATTR
[Her] father said that [he] **wanted to marry** [her] to a different person… (IM X:118.3)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the third person.)

こよひあはむ
ko yofi **af-am-u**
this evening **meet-TENT-FIN**
[I] **will meet** [with you] tonight (IM XXIV:128.2)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the first person.)

おほんはぶりの夜その宮のとなりなりけるおとこ御はぶり見ん
ofon-faburi-no yoru sono miya-no tonari-n-ar-iker-u otoko ofon-faburi **mi-n**
PREF(HON)-funeral-GEN hight that palaceman-GEN neighbourhood-LOC-be-RETR2-ATTR PREF(HON)-funeral **see-TENT/FIN**
[on] the night of the [Princess's] funeral, the man who lived in the neighbourhood of that palace **wanted to see** the funeral (IM XXXIX:133.11–12)

(In this example the tentative form expresses the intention of the third person.)

こよひはここにさぶらはんと申たまふ
ko yofi fa koko-ni **saburaf-an** to mawos-i-tamaf-u
this evening TOP here-LOC **serve-TENT/FIN** DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-FIN
[he] said: '[I] **would like to serve** here tonight' (IM LXXVIII:156.6–7)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the first person.)

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三のみことく見たてまつらん
mi-tu n-o miko to-ku **mi-tatematur-an**
three-CL DV-ATTR prince fast-INF **see(INF)-HUM-TENT/ATTR**
[I] **want to see** the Third Prince soon (HM I:155.4)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the first person.)

いまはただこの御をもむきのままにおはせんぞよからん
ima fa tada kono mi-womomuki-no mama n-i **ofase-n** zo **yo-k-ar-an**
now TOP only this PREF(HON)-inclination-GEN as is DV-INF **be(HON)-TENT/ATTR** PT **good-INF-be-TENT/ATTR**
Will it be good for you now to maintain [your] inclination as it is? (*lit.*: **Will it be good** for you **to (want to) be** according to your inclination?) (HM II:220.14)

(In this example the first tentative form expresses the intention of the second person, while the last one expresses supposition.)

たれも見おぼさん事
tare mo **mi-obos-an** koto
who PT **see(INF)-think(HON)-TENT/ATTR** matter
the fact that everybody **wanted to see** (HM II:226.2)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the third person.)

あの御かたにせうそこたてまつらん
ano on-kata-ni seusoko **tatematur-an**
that PREF(HON)-person-DAT letter **give(HUM)-TENT/FIN**
[I] **am going to send** a letter to that person (HM II:243.8)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the first person.)

かやうによをそむきなん人
ka yau n-i yo-wo **somuk-in-an** fito
that like DV-INF world **turn back on-PERF-TENT/ATTR** person
a person **who is going to turn [her] back** on the world like that (HM II:262.11)

(Here the tentative refers to the intention of the third person.)

(2) Suggestion

をのが君の仰ごとをばかなへんとこそ思べけれ
wono-ga kimi-no ofose-°goto-woba **kanafe-n** to koso omof-ube-kere
you-GEN lord say(HON)(NML)-(GEN)thing-ACC(EMPH) **accomplish-TENT/FIN** DV PT think-DEB-EV
[I] would expect that [you] **should carry out** the orders of your lord (TM 45.8)

(Here the tentative makes a suggestion to the second person.)

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good-ATTR PREF(HON)-man PT **appear(INF)-come-TENT/ATTR**
A good man **will appear** [for you]! (IM LXIII:145.12)

(Here the tentative makes a supposition regarding the third person.)

しほがまにいつかきにけむ
Sifogama-ni itu ka **k-in-ik-em-u**
Sifogama-ALL when PT **come-PERF-RETR1-TENT-ATTR**
When **might [I] have come** to Siogama? (IM LXXXI:158.8.11)

(Here the tentative makes a supposition regarding the first person.)

などありしほどたえずたちよりききならさざりけん
nado ar-isi fodo taye-zu tat-i-yor-i **kik-i-naras-az-ar-ik-en**
why be-RETR1/ATTR time interrupt-NEG/INF set out-INF-approach-INF **listen-INF-get accustomed-NEG/INF-be-RETR1-TENT/FIN**
Why **did** [I] **not** constantly go out to visit [her] and **get accustomed to listening** [to how she plays the *biwa*] while [I] was [in China]? (HM II:227.8–9)

(Here the tentative makes a supposition regarding the first person.)

さとがちにこそあらめ
sato-gati n-i koso **ar-am-e**
village-FR DV-INF PT **be-TENT-EV**
[she] **is probably** frequently in the village (HM II:249.6)

(Here the tentative makes a supposition regarding the third person.)

をのづからきき給けん
wonodukara **kik-i-tamaf-ik-en**
you yourself **hear-INF-HON-RETR1-TENT/ATTR**
[the thing] that you yourself **probably heard** (HM II:232.4–5)

(Here the tentative makes a supposition regarding the second person.)

ほんたいはをのづからきかせたまふやうも侍らん
fontai fa wonodukara kik-ase-tamaf-u **yau mo faber-an**
Clan TOP itself hear-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR **like PT be(POL)-TENT/FIN**
[It] **also looks as if** [her] clan made itself known (HM III:266.12)

(Here the tentative makes a supposition regarding the third person.)

世のなかをつねにてあらんとおもふ身ならばこそ
yo-no naka-wo tune n-ite **ar-an** to omof-u mi nar-aba koso

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Table 17 Final predication forms with preceding tentative *-uram-*

	-uram-	*-ram-*
Final	-uram-u, -uran	-ram-u, -ran
Attributive	-uram-u, -uran	-ram-u, -ran
Evidential	-uram-e	-ram-e

evidential *-ure* (which contracts to *-e* after *-uram-/ram-* according to the same law). The imperative marker does not occur after *-uram-*. Note that *-uram-*, like *-am-/-m-*, cannot be followed by an infinitive marker, and therefore cannot be used in non-final verbal forms. The same further morphonological complications that were found with *-am-/-m* arise when *-uram-* precedes the final predicative or attributive markers. The resulting sequence *-uram-u* tends to contract further into *-uran*, with fusion leading to the appearance of new flective tentative final and tentative attributive forms that are impossible to analyse morphemically as a separate tentative plus following sentence-final suffix. See Table 17.

In comparison with *-am-/-m-* the tentative *-uram-* is used very rarely in our texts (although it seems to appear quite frequently in poetry). Thus, in *Taketori monogatari* it occurs only seven times, and only twice in the narrative sections of *Ise monogatari*, though frequently in its poetic sections.

そのおはすらん人々に申給へ
sono **ofas-uran** fito-bito-ni mawos-i-tamaf-e
that **be(HON)-TENT/ATTR** person-person-DAT say(HUM)-HON-IMP
Tell [this] to those people **who are** [there] (TM 32.15)

(In this example the tentative is used because Kaguya-hime is referring to people whom she herself has not seen.)

蓬莱といふらむ山にあふや
fourai to **if-uram-u** yama-ni af-u ya
Fōrai DV say-**TENT-ATTR** mountain-DAT meet-FIN PT
Will [I] find (*lit.*: meet) the mountain [they] **call** Hōrai? (TM 37.12)

(In this example the tentative is used because the speaker has not seen Mount. Hōrai himself.)

子うむときなんいかでかいだすらん
ko um-u toki nan ikade ka **idas-uran**
child bear-ATTR time PT how PT **put out-TENT/ATTR**
maybe [the swallow] somehow **puts [it] out**, when [she] lays eggs (TM 50.3)

又こと所にかぐや姫と申人ぞおはすらんといふ
mata koto tokoro-ni Kaguya-fime to mawos-u fito zo **ofas-uran** to if-u

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again different place-LOC Kaguya-fime DV say(HUM)-ATTR person PT **be(HON)-TENT/ATTR** DV say FIN
[Taketori] said: '**Maybe** the person named Kaguya-hime **is** in a different place' (TM 64.2–3)

心えずおぼしめされつらめども心つよくうけたまはらずなりにし事
kokoro ye-zu **obosimes-are-t-uram-e-domo** kokoro tuyo-ku uketamafar-azu nar-in-isi koto
heart receive-NEG/INF **think(HON)-PASS-PERF-TENT-EV-CONC** heart strong-INF agree-NEG/INF become-PERF-RETR1/ATTR thing
although [you] **probably find** it incomprehensible (the fact) that [I] stubbornly did not agree to [your proposal]…(TM 65.12–13)

このほたるのともす火にや見ゆらん
kono fotaru-no tomos-u fi-ni **ya mi-y-uran**
this firefly-GEN burn-ATTR fire-LOC **PT see-PASS-TENT/ATTR**
could [they] perhaps be seen by the light of these fireflies? (IM XXXIX:134.2)

いづちいぬらんともしらず
iduti **in-uran** to mo sir-az-u
where **go-TENT/FIN** DV PT know-NEG-FIN
[he] did not know where [she] **might have gone** to (IM LXII:145.6–7)

御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて
mi-tosi fatati bakari ya **ofas-uram-u** to oboye-te
PREF(HON)-years twenty PT PT **be(HON)-TENT-ATTR** DV think-SUB
[he] thought that [the consort] **was probably** about twenty, and… (HM I:159.7–8)

月影のうかべる水はくむまでにあはれいくよをながめきぬらん
tuki kage-no ukab-er-u midu fa kum-u-made-ni afare ik-u yo-wo **nagame-k-in-uran**
moon light-GEN float-PROG-ATTR water TOP scoop-ATTR-TERM-LOC sadness go-ATTR life-ACC **look at(INF)-come-PERF-TENT/FIN**
[I] **am watching** life go sadly by like water on which moonlight is floating, until [someone] scoops [it] up (HM I:177.9)

(This example comes from a poem.)

このほどにいかがなりはてぬらん
kono fodo-ni ikaga **nar-i-fate-n-uran**
this time-LOC how **become-INF-end-PERF-TENT/FIN**
How **will** [it] **end** this time? (HM I:193.15)

かの御けしきみ給らんははうへ
kano mi-kesiki **mi-tamaf-uran** fafa-ufe

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his PREF(HON)-facial expression **see(INF)-HON-TENT/ATTR** mother-top
his mother, **who probably saw** his facial expression (HM II:224.11)

仏をのづから**見給はすらん**
fotoke wonodukara **mi-tamaf-as-uran**
Buddha himself **see(INF)-HON-CAUS-TENT/FIN**
Buddha **will see** himself (HM II:248.15)

ひとり**我なが**むらん
fitori ware **nagam-uran**
one-person I **yearn-TENT/FIN**
I **will yearn** alone (HM V:402.4–5)

5.2.3.3.4 Optative *-amafosi-/-mafosi-*

The optative marker has two allomorphs: *-amafosi-*, after stems of consonant verbs and verbal suffixes ending in a consonant, and *-mafosi-*, after stems of vowel and irregular verbs and suffixes ending in a vowel. Historically, *-amafosi-* represents a contraction of tentative *-am-* + elided attributive marker *-u* (< *-uru) + nominalizer *-aku* + the quality verb *fosi-* 'is desirable': *-am-(u)-aku fosi- > *-amafosi*. *Fosi-* is a quality verb with final *-si-* in the stem (traditional *shiku-* conjugation). This places *-amafosi-* in the quality verb paradigm: while *-amafosi-Ø* is a final predication form, it also has the infinitive form *-amafosi-ku*, attributive *-amafosi-ki*, and evidential *-amafosi-kere*. It might give the illusion of being a sentence-final marker when used as a final predicate, but it is not, since *-si-* quality verbs lose their final predication marker *-si* due to haplology. Note that *-amafosi-*, like the markers *-ube-*, *-amazi-*, and *-amau-*, can be followed by the infinitive marker *-ku*, and therefore can be used in the non-final verbal form, in contrast to tentative *-am-*, *-uram-*, which cannot be followed by infinitives and therefore cannot occur in non-final verbal forms. Of course, in cases where it is necessary to add further suffixes to *-amafosi*, they are added to *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' following the infinitive *-ku*, resulting in a secondary complex form *-amafosi-k-ar-*, discussed above (see 5.1.2.5). In contrast to the tentative *-am-* which expresses vague intention or inclination, *-amafosi-* expresses a positive desire.

Tsukishima Hiroshi claims that *-amafosi-/-mafosi-* appears only in the second part of the Heian period (Tsukishima 1969: 543). That is not so, since the form occurs three times in *Taketori monogatari* and once in the poetry of *Ise monogatari*, but not in the narrative sections. Thus, while it is obviously infrequent, it did exist in the first part of the Heian period.

見まほしうする人どもなりければ
mi-mafosi-u s-uru fito-domo nar-iker-e-ba
see-OPT-INF do-ATTR person-PLUR be-RETR2-EV-CON
because [they] were persons **who wanted to see** [Kaguya-hime] (TM 31.3–4)

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かぐや姫を見まほしうて物もくはずおもひつつ
Kaguya-fime-wo **mi-mafosi-u-te** mono mo kuf-azu omof-itutu
Kaguya-Fime-ACC **see-OPT-INF-SUB** thing PT eat-NEG/INF think-COOR
[they] **wanted to see** Kaguya-hime, and, eating nothing, [they] were longing for her (TM 31.4)

あるいはをのがゆかまほしき所へいぬ
arui fa wono-ga **yuk-amafosi-ki** tokoro-fe in-u
some TOP themselves-POSS **go-OPT-ATTR** place-ALL go-FIN
some went wherever they **wanted to go** (TM 46.5)

われもたづらにゆかまほしものを
ware mo ta-^{n}dura-ni **yuk-amafosi-Ø** monowo
I PT field-(GEN)surface-ALL **go-OPT-FIN** PT
I also **want to go** to the fields (IM LVIII:143.3)

(This example comes from a poem.)

はなをみてもふみをずんじあへるはとしらまほしきに
fana-wo mi-te mo fumi-wo zun-z-i-af-er-u fa to **sir-amafosi-ki**-ni
flower-ACC see-SUB PT text-ACC recite-do-INF-COOP-PROG-ATTR TOP DV **know-OPT-ATTR-LOC**
although [he] **wanted to know** whether [they] view the flowers and recite poems together…(HM I:160.8)

百敷のうちあらまほしからず
momo-sik-i-no uti **ar-amafosi-k-ar-azu**
hundred-spread-NML-GEN inside **be-OPT-INF-be-NEG/INF**
[she] **did not want to be** in the 'hundred [times] spread' palace, and… (HM I:164.8)

(The combination of *-amafosi-* with a following negative is the most usual way to express negative desire in the language of Classical Japanese prose, being much more frequent than the usage of the negative optative suffix *-amau-* (see 5.2.3.3.5).)

みづからものなどの給はまほしけれども
midukara mono-nado **notamaf-amafosi-kere-domo**
I-myself thing-REPR **say(HON)-OPT-EV-CONC**
though she herself **wanted to tell** [him]…(HM I:167.4)

たづねまほしかんなるひじり
tadune-mafosi-k-an-nar-u fiziri
ask-OPT-INF-be(ATTR)-ASSER-ATTR hermit
the hermit, **whom [I] want to ask** (HM II:262.11)

とりとなりてもただいまひとたびとびゆかまほしげに
tori to nar-ite mo tada ima fito-tabi **tob-i-yuk-amafosi-ge n-i**

Éléments sous droits d'auteur

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innovation by analogy that occurred after strong vowel verbs lost their final predication form (note that in traditional grammar *-ube-* is treated as an 'auxiliary' *be-* which follows the final predication form, except in the case of the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' and its derivatives, when it follows the attributive), or it may be an archaism, showing that *-ube-* originally followed the attributive form which contracted to Ø in all other cases. The latter solution seems to be preferable, since *-ube-* appears to be historically a noun with an adverbial meaning 'right', 'agreement' (Ōno et al. 1990: 186–87). In Old Japanese there also was an adverb *ubeysi* 'really', 'certainly' (Ōno et al. 1990: 187) which probably triggered the reanalysis of *-ube-* as a quality verb (Tsukishima 1969: 532), placing it in a quality verb paradigm: while *-ube-si* is a final predication form, it also has the infinitive form *-ube-ku*, attributive *-ube-ki*, and evidential *-ube-kere*. Note that *-ube-*, like *-amafosi-* and *-amau-*, can be followed by the infinitive marker *-ku*, and therefore can be used in the non-final verbal form, in contrast to tentative *-am-* and *-uram-* which cannot be followed by infinitives, and therefore cannot occur in non-final verbal forms. In cases when it is necessary to add further suffixes to *-ube-*, they are added to *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' following the infinitive *-ku*, resulting in a secondary complex form *-ube-k-ar-*, discussed above (see 5.1.2.5).

Japanese linguists usually define *-ube-* as a polyfunctional marker (Tokieda 1950: 183; Tsukishima 1969: 534; Ikeda 1975: 128; Sakakura 1979: 206). Ikeda Tadashi also suggested that in its primary meaning *-ube-* implies confident conjecture (1975: 128). Among Western linguists, Bruno Lewin, essentially following the same line, indicated that *-ube-* can be conjectural, debitive, imperative, or intentional (Lewin 1959: 174). Samuel E. Martin also defines *-ube-* as a polyfunctional marker with 'a wide range of meanings: future, probable, obliged, requested, promised' (Martin 1988: 609). Nikolai Syromiatnikov treats *-ube-* as a marker of the debitive-potential mood, but notes that 'it has one broad meaning' (Syromiatnikov 1983: 123). It seems to me, however, that all this variety of proposed functions could be divided into three basic functions: (1) debitive; (2) strong probability ('must have done', 'might have done'); (3) potential. But all three can ultimately be brought back to one archetype: debitive. Thus, the second meaning of strong probability seems to be a derivation from the debitive meaning. The third meaning of potential can, in its turn, easily be derived from strong probability. Therefore, I define *-ube-* as a debitive form, which can have two other extensions (strong probability and potential) of this basic meaning.

(1) Debitive

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程はみゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i ofasimas-an-e-ba mi-kokorozasi-no fodo fa **mi-y-ube-si**
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent TOP **see-PASS-DEB-FIN**
Since neither [of you] is superior or inferior, [she] **must** see the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.5–6)

Éléments sous droits d'auteur

つかうまつらん事はそれになんさだむべきといへば
tukaumat-uran koto fa sore-ni nan **sadam-ube-ki** to if-e-ba
serve(HUM)-TENT/ATTR matter TOP that-LOC PT **settle-DEB-ATTR** DV say-EV-CON
[she] says [she] **must settle** the matter of whom [she] will serve, by that (TM 33.6–7)

むさしのの心なるべし
Musasi-no-no kokoro **nar-ube-si**
Musashi-field-GEN heart **be-DEB-FIN**
[He] **must have** meant the Musashi plain (IM XLI:135.14)

心ばへもあるべし
kokorobafe mo **ar-ube-si**
attitude PT **be-DEB-FIN**
[it] **must be** [his] attitude (IM XC:165.13)

かれにあづくべき物侍なり
kare-ni **aduk-ube-ki** mono faber-u nar-i
he-DAT **give-DEB-ATTR** thing be(POL)-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN
there is indeed something [I] **must entrust** to her (HM II:217.10)

きやうへのぼり侍べき
kyau-fe **nobor-i-faber-ube-ki**
capital-ALL **ascend-INF-POL-DEB**
must go to the capital (HM II:217.15)

みづからなんくはしくは聞えさすべき事
midukara nan kufasi-ku fa **kikoyesas-ube-ki** koto
I-myself PT detailed-INF TOP **tell(HUM)-DEB-ATTR** matter
The matter of which I **must tell** [you] myself in detail (HM V:391.5–6)

(2) Strong probability

なにのしるしあるべくもみえず
nani-no sirusi **ar-ube-ku** mo mi-ye-z-u
what-GEN sign **be-DEB-INF** PT see-PASS-NEG-FIN
[They] cannot see that there **might be** any sign (TM 30.11)

我はみこにまけぬべし
ware fa miko-ni **make-n-ube-si**
I TOP prince-DAT **lose-PERF-DEB-FIN**
I might have lost to the Prince (TM 36.6–7)

をのが君の仰ごとをばかなへんとこそ思ふべけれ
wono-ga kimi-no ofos-u-^{n}goto-woba kanafe-n to koso **omof-ube-kere**

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you-GEN lord say(HON)-ATTR-(GEN)thing-ACC(EMPH) accomplish-TENT DV PT **think-DEB-EV**
[I] **would expect** that [you] should carry out the orders of your lord (TM 45.8)

おもなくていへるなるべし
omo na-ku-te **if-er-unar-ube-si**
face no-INF-SUB **say-PROG-HS-DEB-FIN**
[It] **would seem** that [he] composed [this poem] without any shame (IM XXXIV:132.4)

水のおの御ときなるべし
Midu-no o-no on-toki **nar-ube-si**
Midu-no o-GEN PREF(HON)-time **be-DEB-FIN**
[It] **must have been** [in] the reign of Emperor Midu-no wo (IM LXV:149.2)

かくてはしぬべし
ka-ku-te fa **sin-ube-si**
be so-INF-SUB TOP **die-DEB-FIN**
If it is so, [I] **might die** (IM CV:173.2)

御やまひになりぬべきを
mi-yamafi n-i **nar-in-ube-ki** wo
PREF(HON)-illness DV-INF **become-PERF-DEB-ATTR** DV
though [the Emperor] **might have** fallen sick(ness) (HM I:163.7)

まことにかの人をみればやまひもやみいのちものびぬべき
makoto n-i kano fito-wo mi-re-ba yamafi mo **yam-i** inoti mo **nobi-n-ube-ki**
truth DV-INF that person-ACC see-EV-CON illness PT **stop-INF** life PT **stretch-PERF-DEB-ATTR**
Really, when [you] see that person, the illness **will surely cease** and [your] life **will be prolonged** …(HM I:170.16)

それはかりにやおどろきおもふべき事ならん
sore bakari n-i ya **odorok-i-omof-ube-ki** koto nar-an
that PT DV-INF PT **be surprised-INF-think-DEB-ATTR** matter be-TENT/FIN
are [you] very likely to be very **surprised** by the matter? (HM I:195.10)

(3) Potential

たたずみありきけれどかひあるべくもあらず
tatazum-i-arik-iker-e-do kafi **ar-ube-ku mo ar-az-u**
pace around-INF-walk-RETR2-EV-CONC use **be-DEB-INF PT be-NEG-FIN**
although [they] paced and walked around [her house], it **was** (*lit.*: *could be*) **no** use (TM 31.5)

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天竺に二となきはちを百千萬里の程ゆきたりともいかでかとるべきとおもひて
Tendiku-ni futa-tu to na-ki fati-wo fyaku sen ban ri-no fodo yuk-itar-i tomo ikade ka **tor-ube-ki** to omof-ite
India-LOC two-CL DV no-ATTR bowl-ACC hundred thousand ten thousand ri-GEN distance go-PERF/PROG-FIN CONJ how PT **take-DEB-ATTR** DV think-SUB
[he] thought: 'How **could [I] get** the bowl, when there is not another one like it (*lit.*: there are no two) in India, even if I travel a billion ri?', and… (TM 34.6–8)

なんぢらかたきものと申べき
nandi-ra kata-ki mono to **mawos-ube-ki**
thou-PLUR difficult-ATTR thing DV **say(HUM/PEJ)-DEB-ATTR**
Would you say [it is] a difficult thing? (*lit.*: [How] can you say….) (TM 45.10)

人のいきかよふべきところにもあらざりければ
fito-no **ik-i-kayof-ube-ki** tokoro n-i mo ar-az-ar-iker-e-ba
person-GEN **go-INF-go back and forth-DEB-ATTR** place DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON
because it was not a place where a person **could visit** (IM IV:112.14–113.1)

あづまのかたにすむべきくにもとめにとてゆきけり
Aduma-no kata-ni **sum-ube-ki** kuni motome-ni to-te yuk-iker-i
East-GEN direction-ALL **live-DEB-ATTR** province find(NML)-ALL DV-SUB go-RETR2-FIN
[He] went, saying that [he was going] to the east to find a province **where he could live** (IM IX:116.3)

それにぞあなるとはきけどあひ見るべきにもあらでなん有ける
sore n-i zo a-nar-u to fa kik-e-do **af-i-mi-r-ube-ki** n-i mo ar-ade nan ar-iker-u
he DV-INF PT be-HS-ATTR DV TOP hear-EV-CONC **meet-INF-see-ATTR-DEB-ATTR** DV-INF PT be-NEG/GER PT be-RETR2-ATTR
though [she] heard that [it] was probably he, it was not **that [they] could meet** (IM LXV:148.13)

何事をかは中納言にはつたへならはすべき
nani-goto-wo ka fa tiunagon-ni fa **tutafe-narafas-ube-ki**
what thing-ACC PT TOP chūnagon-DAT TOP **hand over(INF)-teach-DEB-ATTR**
what (thing) **should [we] entrust** to the Chūnagon? (HM I:155.15)

この世にはたればかりかこの人こころをみだすべきはあらん
kono yo-ni fa tare bakari ka kono fito kokoro-wo **midas-ube-ki** fa ar-an
this world(= country)-LOC TOP who PT PT this person heart-ACC **stir up-DEB-ATTR** TOP be-TENT/ATTR

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go-NEG/GER TOP bear-NML **be-NEG/DEB-INF-be-RETR2-FIN**
if [he] didn't go [to visit her constantly], **it would be un**bearable [for him] (IM XLII:136.3–4)

ひさしくも**侍まじかんなれば**
fisasi-ku mo **faber-umazi-k-a-n-nar-e-ba**
long-INF PT **be(POL)-NEG/DEB-INF-be-ATTR-HS-EV-CON**
because [he] **probably will not be** [here] for a long time…(HM I:166.2)

ならぶかたは**あるまじきにこそ**
narab-u kata fa **ar-umazi-ki**-ni koso
stand aside-ATTR person TOP **be-NEG/DEB-ATTR**-LOC PT
Because there **is probably no** one who can compare [with her]…(HM IV:365.12)

心やすまるまじきちぎり
kokoro **yasum-ar-umazi-ki** tigir-i
heart **rest-PASS-NEG/DEB-ATTR** vow-NML
a love connection, where the heart **would not be able to rest** (HM V:426.4)

(3) Negative potential

たはやすくみるまじき物を
tafayasu-ku **mi-r-umazi-ki** monowo
easy-INF **see-ATTR-NEG/DEB-ATTR** PT
although [even neighbours] **could not see** [her] easily (TM 30.9)

この女みでは世にあるまじき心ちのしければ
kono wonna mi-de fa yo-ni **ar-umazi-ki** kokoti-no s-iker-e-ba
this woman see-NEG/GER TOP world-LOC **be-NEG/DEB-ATTR** mood-GEN do-RETR2-EV-CON
[he] thought that [he] **could not live** in the world without seeing this woman … (TM 34.5)

たはやすく人よりくまじき家をつくりて
tafayasu-ku fito **yor-i-k-umazi-ki** ife-wo tukur-ite
easy-INF person **approach-INF-come-NEG/DEB-ATTR** house-ACC make-SUB
[he] built a house where people **could not** easily **come by**, and…(TM 35.14)

As can be seen from the next four examples, the potential meaning is sometimes reinforced by the preverb *ye-*:

えいでをはしますまじと申せば
ye-ide-wofasimas-umazi-Ø to mawos-e-ba
PREV-go out(INF)-be(HON)-NEG/DEB-FIN DV say(HUM)-EV-CON
when [he] said: '[She] **cannot go out**',…(TM 64.3–4)

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child DV become-INF-HON-DEB-ATTR person **be-CONJC-FIN**
[She] **seems to be** a person who should become [my] child (TM 29.6–7)

(*na-mer-i* < *nar-umer-i*)

かばかり心ざしおろかならぬ人々にこそ**あめれ**
ka bakari kokorozasi woroka nar-an-u fito-bito n-i koso **a-mer-e**
that PT feeling defect be-NEG-ATTR person-person DV-INF PT **be-CONJC-EV**
It seems that [they] are people with such impeccable feelings (TM 32.11–12)

(*a-mer-re* < *ar-umer-e*)

かぐやひめのかはぎぬを見ていはくうるはしきかはなめり
Kaguya-fime-no kafa-ginu-wo mi-te if-aku urufasi-ki kafa **na-mer-i**
Kaguya-fime-GEN skin-garment-ACC look-SUB say-NML beautiful-ATTR skin **be-CONJC-FIN**
Kaguya-hime looked at the garment [made] from [the fire-rat] skin and said: '[It] **seems to be** a beautiful skin' (TM 43.12)

(*na-mer-i* < *nar-umer-i*)

つばくらめ子うまむとする時はおをささげて七どめぐりてなんうみおとすめる
tubakurame ko um-am-u to s-uru toki fa o-wo sasage-te nana-do megur-ite nan **um-i-otos-umer-u**
swallow egg bear-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR time TOP tail-ACC raise-SUB seven-times turn-SUB PT bear-INF-drop-CONJC-ATTR
When the swallow is going to lay an egg, [it] **would appear that** [she] raises [her] tail, turns around seven times, and then **lays** [an egg] (TM 51.7–8)

ただ事にも侍らざめり
tada ^{n}goto n-i mo **faber-az-a-mer-i**
simple (DV)thing DV-INF PT **be(POL)-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-FIN**
[It] **does not seem to be** a simple thing (TM 58.13–14)

わすれぬるなめりととひごとしける女
wasure-n-uru na-mer-i to tof-i-^{n}goto s-iker-u wonna
forget-PERF-ATTR be(ASSER)-CONJC-FIN DV ask-NML-(GEN)thing do-RETR2-ATTR woman
the woman who asked: '**Does it seem that [you] forgot [about me]?**' (IM XXXVI:132.9)

世中の人の心はめかるればわすれぬべき物にこそ**あめれ**
yo-no naka-no fito-no kokoro fa me kar-ure-ba wasure-n-ube-ki mono n-i koso **a-mer-e**

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world-GEN inside-GEN person-GEN heart TOP eye separate from-EV-CON forget-PERF-DEB-ATTR thing DV-INF PT **be-CONJC-EV**
It seems that the feelings of people in the world **are** something that [they] can forget, when [they] do not see [each other] (IM XLVI:138.8–9)

(*a-mer-re* < *ar-umer-e*)

返事をあつまりてうそぶくめれど
kafer-i-°goto-wo atumar-ite **usobuk-umer-e-do**
return-NML-(GEN)word-ACC gather-SUB **recite-CONJC-EV-CONC**
although it seemed that [they tried] altogether to **compose** a reply… (HM I:157.11)

おのこは歌よむめるを
onoko fa uta **yom-umer-u**-wo
man TOP poem **recite-CONJC-ATTR**-ACC
although **it seems that** men **recite** poems…(HM I:160.7)

中納言日本のだい一のならびなき人なんめり
tiunagon nihon-no dai-iti n-o narab-i na-ki fito **nan-mer-i**
chūnagon TOP Japan-GEN PREF-one DV-ATTR be in a row-NML no-ATTR person **be-CONJC-FIN**
It seems that the Chūnagon **is** the number one (*lit.*: first) person in Japan, who cannot be compared to anyone (HM I: 200.4–5)

(*nan-mer-i* < *nar-umer-i*)

このよの人にはこころもとどまらざんめる
kono yo-no fito-ni fa kokoro mo **todomar-az-an-mer-u**
this country-GEN lady-DAT TOP heart PT **stop-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-ATTR**
it looks as if [he] pays no attention to the ladies of this country (HM IV:329.3)

(*todomar-az-an-mer-u* < *todomar-az-ar-umer-u*)

さこそいみじう思たれどつゐにかたをならぶる人いできぬめりなどいはんもくるしうここの人々もさぞやすげなうおもはめ
sa koso imizi-u omof-itar-e-do tuwi n-i kata-wo narab-uru fito **ide-k-in-umer-i** nado if-an mo kurusi-u koko-no fito-bito mo sa zo yasu-ge na-u omof-am-e
so PT terrible-INF love-PERF/PROG-EV-CONC finally DV-INF shoulder-ACC put in line-ATTR person **go out(INF)-come-PERF-CONJC-FIN** REPR say-TENT/ATTR PT distressing-INF here-GEN lady-lady PT thus PT peaceful-appearance no-INF think-TENT-EV

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moon-GEN capital-ABL Kaguya-fime-GEN meet(NML)-ALL **come(HUM)(INF)-come-HS-ATTR**
I heard that [they] would come from the Moon's capital to fetch Kaguya-hime (TM 61.3)

きぬきせつる人は心ことになるなりといふ
kinu ki-se-t-uru fito fa kokoro **koto n-i nar-unar-i** to if-u
garment put on-CAUS-PERF-ATTR person TOP heart **different DV-INF become-HS-FIN** DV say-FIN
They say that a person whom [they] make put on the [celestial] garment **will change** [his] feelings (TM 65.6–7)

(In this example hearsay *-unar-* is reinforced by the following to *if-u* 'say that'.)

その人のもとへいなむずなりとて
sono fito-no moto-fe **in-amuz-unar-i** to-te
that person-GEN base-ALL **go-MOD-HS-FIN** DV-SUB
they say **there were rumours that [she] was going** to that person (IM XCVI:168.11)

ひさしくも侍まじかんなれば
fisasi-ku mo **faber-umazi-k-an-nar-e-ba**
long-INF PT **be(POL)-NEG/DEB-INF-be-HS-EV-CON**
because, as they say, [he] probably would not stay [here] long… (HM I:166.2)

(*faber-umazi-k-an-nar-e-ba* < *faber-umazi-k-ar-unar-e-ba*)

くだれとこその給はせたんなれ
kudar-e to koso **notamaf-ase-tan-nar-e**
go from the capital to a province-IMP DV PT **say(HON)-CAUS-PERF/PROG-HS-EV**
They say [he] said: 'Go to the province!' (HM II:218.16–219.1)

(*notamaf-ase-tan-nar-e* < *notamaf-ase-tar-unar-e*)

かのとのにもはやおはしぬべかんなれば
kano tono-ni mofaya **ofas-in-ube-k-an-nar-e-ba**
that lord-DAT already **arrive(HON)-PERF-DEB-INF-be-HS-EV-CON**
since, as they say, this lord **must have arrived** already…(HM II:219.6)

(*ofas-in-ube-k-an-nar-e-ba* < *ofas-in-ube-k-ar-unar-e-ba*)

(2) Supposition

この野はぬすびとあなり
kono no fa nusubito **a-nar-i**

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There is another meaning of *-iker-/-ker-*, which is possibly derived from a general meaning of a reference to someone else's experience: the sudden realization of a fact which was hitherto unknown to a speaker.

I suggested above that there are quite obvious exceptions to the definition of *-iki* as referring only to an event experienced by a speaker (or narrator) himself or herself (see 5.2.3.1.8). The same seems to be applicable to *-iker-*: there are exceptions, though rare (see examples from a poem from *dan* XVI of *Ise monogatari* and from page 419 of *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*), where *-iker-* obviously refers to a personal experience. As I suggested earlier (see 5.2.3.1.8), there might be a possibility that *-iker-*, which historically consists of *-iki* and *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist', represents the progressive retrospective, while *-iki* does not (cf. the parallel distinction between the perfective aspect *-ite-* and the perfective progressive *-itar-* (< *-ite* + *ar-*). I believe that all the examples below, except those that refer to a sudden realization of a previously unknown fact, can be interpreted as recollections either of progressive actions or states or of recollections of situations resulting from certain actions or states. However, the predominance of the personal experience meaning of *-iki* and the indirect experience meaning of *-iker-* cannot be completely ignored either, and the whole problem, I believe, remains open and merits further detailed investigation.

Retrospective *-iker-/-ker-* can be followed only by the final predication marker *-i*, attributive *-u*, and evidential *-e* (which, in turn, can be followed by the concessive gerund *-do*[*mo*] and conjunctive gerund *-ba*). In Old Japanese it could also be followed by the tentative *-am-* (Ikeda 1975: 108), but this combination does not occur in our texts.

(1) Recollection of an indirectly experienced event

その竹の中にもとひかる竹なむひとすぢありけり
sono take-no naka-ni moto fikar-u take namu fito-sudi **ar-iker-i**
that bamboo-GEN middle-LOC base shine-ATTR bamboo PT one-CL **be-RETR2-FIN**
In the middle of that bamboo [grove] **there was** a bamboo stalk with one shining joint (TM 29.3–4)

五人思ひやむときなくよるひるきける
go-nin omof-i-yam-u toki na-ku yoru firu **k-iker-u**
five-CL think-INF-stop-ATTR time no-INF night day **come-RETR2-ATTR**
five people who did not stop thinking [about her] and **were coming** day and night (TM 30.15–31.1)

御こしはをれにけり
mi-kosi fa **wore-n-iker-i**
PREF(HON)-waist TOP **break-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
[he] **broke** [his] back (TM 53.1)

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御あそびなどもなかりけり
mi-asobi-nado mo **na-k-ar-iker-i**
PREF(HON)-pleasure-REPR PT **no-INF-be-RETR2-FIN**
[The Emperor] did not have (*lit.*: **there have not been**) any pleasures, either (TM 66.11)

このおとこかいまみてけり
kono otoko kai-ma **mi-te-ker-i**
this man fence-space **see-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
This man **peered** [at them] through the fence (IM I:111.3–4)

むかしおとこあづまへゆきけるに友だちどもにみちよりいひおこせける
mukasi otoko aduma-fe **yuk-iker-u**-ni tomodati-domo-ni miti-yori **if-i-okose-ker-u**
once upon a time man Aduma-ALL **go-RETR2-ATTR-LOC** friend-PLUR-DAT way-ABL **say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR**
Once upon a time, when a man **went** to Azuma [province], from [his] journey [he] **sent** [this poem] to [his] friends…(IM XI:118.12–13)

とおといひつつよつはへにけり
too to if-itutu yo-tu fa **fe-n-iker-i**
ten DV say-COOR four-CL TOP **pass-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
It is (*lit.*: **passed**) four [times] ten [years] (IM XVI:121.14)

(This example comes from a poem and refers to the author's personal experience.)

おほみやすん所とていますがりけるいとこなりけり
ofomi-yasundokoro to-te **imasugar-iker-u** itoko **nar-iker-i**
PREF(HON)-dowager empress DV-SUB **be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR** cousin **be-RETR2-FIN**
[she] **was** the cousin [of the lady] **who was** the Dowager Empress (IM LXV:147.2–3)

御うぶやに人々歌よみけり。御おほぢがたなりけるおきなのよめる
mi-ubuya-ni fito-bito uta **yom-iker-i**. mi-ofodi-gata **nar-iker-u** okina-no yom-er-u
PREF(HON)-celebration-of-birth-LOC person-person poem **recite-RETR2-FIN**. PREF(HON)-grandfather-person **be-RETR2-ATTR** old man-GEN recite-PROG-ATTR
At the celebration of the birth ceremony people **recited** poems. An old man, **who was** the grandfather [of the child], recited…(IM LXXIX:157.4–5)

たうのたいそうと申けるが御しそんのすゑにて
Tau-no Tai-sou to **mawos-iker-u**-ga go-sison-no suwe n-ite
Tang-GEN Tai-zong DV **call(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR**-POSS PREF(HON)-descendant-GEN end DV-SUB

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[the Empress] was a distant descendant of [the person] **whom** [people] **humbly called** Tai-zong of Tang (HM I:161.6–7)

そこにてうせ給たりける御むすめ
soko n-ite **use-tamaf-itar-iker-u** mi-musume
there DV-SUB **die(INF)-HON-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR** PREF(HON)-daughter
[the Prince's] daughter, **who died** there (HM I:161.9–10)

大将殿のひめ君の御事ふとおもひいでられてこひしかりけり
daizyau-dono-no fime-gimi-no mi-koto futo omof-i-ide-rare-te **kofisi-k-ar-iker-i**
daizyau-lord-GEN daughter-GEN PREF(HON)-matter suddenly think-INF-go out-PASS-SUB **nostalgic-INF-be-RETR2-FIN**
[he] suddenly recollected (the matter of) Daijō's daughter, and **missed** [her] (HM I:180.5)

そこになんこもり給ける
soko-ni nan **komor-i-tamaf-iker-u**
there-LOC PT **seclude oneself-INF-HON-RETR2-ATTR**
[he] **secluded himself** there (HM II:261.16–262.1)

いままでこれに候ける
ima-made kore-ni **saburaf-iker-u**
now-TERM he-DAT **serve-RETR2-ATTR**
[you] **served** him up till now (HM V:419.1)

(This is a reference to a fact that is known from personal experience.)

(2) Sudden realization of a fact

This usage does not occur frequently in the earlier texts: there are no examples of it in *Ise monogatari*, and I found only one example in *Taketori monogatari*. However, there are abundant examples in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*:

やつが人をころさんとするなりけり
yatu-ga fito-wo koros-an to s-uru **nar-iker-i**
hag-POSS person-ACC kill-TENT DV do-ATTR **be(ASSER)-RETR2-FIN**
It turns out that [this] hag was going to kill people (TM 49.5)

かかる人のおはしけるよとおどろきて
kakar-u fito-no **ofas-iker-u** yo to odorok-ite
be such-ATTR person-GEN **be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR** PT DV be surprised-SUB
[they] were surprised: '**It turns out that there is** such a person!' (HM I: 153.8)

この人の事をこそみならひとむべかりけれ
kono fito-no koto-wo koso **mi-naraf-i-tom-ube-k-ar-iker-e**

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this person-GEN thing-ACC PT **see(INF)-learn-INF-stop-DEB-INF-be-RETR2-EV**
it turns out [we] must become close to this person (HM I:155.14)

よろづめでたくすぐれたりける人かな
yorodu medeta-ku **sugure-tar-iker-u** fito kana
much attractive-INF **surpass-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR** person PT
[He] **turned out to be** a very attractive and **perfect** person (HM I: 161.4–5)

さる事どもを見ければいとどこのよの人には心もとどまらざんめるに
sar-u koto-domo-wo **mi-ker-e-ba** itodo kono yo-no fito-ni fa kokoro mo todomar-az-an-mer-u-ni
be such-ATTR thing-PLUR-ACC **see-RETR2-EV-CON** still this country-GEN lady-DAT TOP heart PT stop-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-ATTR-LOC
because it turns out that [he] has seen such things, it looks as if [he] still pays no attention to the ladies of this country, and…(HM IV:329.3)

さめたれば夢なりけりとおもふに
same-tar-e-ba yume **nar-iker-i** to omof-u-ni
wake-PERF/PROG-EV-CON dream **be-RETR2-FIN** DV think-ATTR-LOC
when [he] woke up, [he] thought: '**It turns out it was** a dream', and… (HM V:402.14)

5.2.3.3.11 Perfective *-in-/-n-*

The perfective marker *-in-* has two allomorphs: *-in-*, after consonantal and irregular verb stems as well as after other suffixes ending in a consonant and *-n-*, after vowel verb stems and suffixes ending in a vowel. The irregular verb *ko-* 'to come' loses the final vowel of the stem when followed by *-in-*: *k-in-u* 'has come' (< *ko-in-u).

The suffix *-in-/-n-* is a marker of the perfective aspect, which shows that an action is completed or will be completed by a certain point in time. Classical Japanese has another suffix of the perfective aspect, *-ite-* (see 5.2.3.3.12), which has the identical function. However, these suffixes *-in-* and *-ite-* are not interchangeable because they are used with different verbs, although there is at least one exception: irregular verb *ko-* 'to come' can combine with both. There are many hypotheses concerning the difference between *-in-* and *-ite-* (Tsukishima 1969: 525; Osafune 1979: 172). According to the most widespread, *-ite-* follows transitive verbs, and *-in-* follows intransitive verbs (Ikeda 1975: 85). However, there are a number of examples that contradict this theory (Kolpakchi 1956: 120). There is also a theory that *-in-* is an 'objective perfective' and *-ite-* a 'subjective perfective' (Yamada 1929: 393–94), but this also appears to be incorrect (Kolpakchi 1956: 121). In my opinion, Kolpakchi's analysis is the closest to the truth. She proposed that with an animate subject either *-ite-* or *-in-* could be used with transitive verbs, but *-in-* was used predominantly with intransitive verbs. An inanimate subject could not have a transitive verbal predicate, and

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intransitive verbs with an inanimate subject could only be used with *-in-*. Therefore, inanimate subjects could not be linked with *-ite-* (Kolpakchi 1956: 121). Thus the distribution of *-in-* and *-ite-* would depend not only on whether a verb is transitive but also on whether its subject is animate. I would like to call this distribution Kolpakchi's constraint: it shows that *-ite-* cannot occur with inanimate subjects. The examples from the earlier texts, *Taketori monogatari* and *Ise monogatari*, fully confirm Kolpakchi's hypothesis, as the examples in this section and the next demonstrate. In *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* I did find one example of a violation of Kolpakchi's constraint where an inanimate subject was followed by an intransitive verb with *-ite-* (see the end of section 5.2.3.3.12).

I believe that the following hypothesis might be a likely historical explanation of Kolpakchi's constraint. I have demonstrated elsewhere that the Old Japanese language of the eighth century combined two kinds of syntactic typologies: nominative, which was the dominant one by this time, and active, which was less frequent (Vovin 1997). The difference between active and nominative constructions is that in the active typology the subject of an active verb is marked differently from the subjects of inactive verbs and the objects of active transitive verbs, which are marked in the same way. On the other hand, in the languages of nominative typology both subjects and objects are always marked differently, no matter what kinds of verbs are used. Specifically, in Old Japanese, there is a special case marker *-i* which only marks the subjects of active verbs, and there are cases when the subject of an inactive verb is marked by the case marker *-wo*, which is also used as an object marker. The erosion of the active typology in Old Japanese went in the direction of the loss of the specific active case marker *-i*, which practically never occurs after the eighth century (and even in eighth-century texts examples of its usage are not numerous). However, even after the eighth century, the marking of the subject of an inactive verb by the case marker *-wo* is seen occasionally in early Heian poetry. I believe that it is possible to analyse the difference between *-ite-* and *-in-* along the same lines. Historically, *-ite-* is probably a perfective aspect marker of active verbs, while *-in-* represents a perfective aspect marker of inactive verbs. The fact that an active subject (or animate, in Kolpakchi's terminology, but only animate can be active) can combine with both active verbs containing *-ite-* and inactive verbs containing *-in-* shows that the correlation between active verbs with active subjects was already lost. However, the correlation of subjects of inactive verbs with *-in-* is still preserved. Note that the erosion of the active typology goes in exactly the same direction as with case marking: it is the active member of the opposition active : inactive which loses markedness.

The perfective marker *-in-/-n-* can itself be followed by a number of different suffixes – tentatives *-am-* and *-uram-*, final predication *-u*, attributive *-uru*, evidential *-ure*, retrospectives *-iki* and *-iker-*, and perfective-progressive *-itar-*, debitive *-ube-*, and subjunctive *-amasi* – but it is never followed by infinitive *-i*. The voice markers *-rare-/-are-* and *-sase-/-ase-*, on the other hand, precede *-in-/-n-*.

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The negative marker also precedes the perfective, although it can combine with the latter, as with a majority of other suffixes, only within a compound verb when the negative infinitive *-azu/-zu* is followed by *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist' to which all other suffixes are attached. The perfective-progressive *-itar-/-tar-* may precede *-in-/-n-* or may follow it.

(1) Animate subject + intransitive verb with *-in-*

我はみこにまけぬべし
ware fa miko-ni **make-n-ube-si**
I TOP prince-DAT **lose-PERF-DEB-FIN**
I **might have lost** to the Prince (TM 36.6–7)

えんにはひのぼり給ぬ
yen-ni **faf-i-nobor-i-tamaf-in-u**
veranda-ALL **creep-INF-climb-INF-HON-PERF-FIN**
[The Prince] **crept up** to the veranda (TM 37.2)

もとの御かたちとなり給ひね
moto-no mi-katati to **nar-i-tamaf-in-e**
base-GEN PREF(HON)-appearance DV **become-INF-HON-PERF-IMP**
Please **go** back to your original appearance (TM 57.5)

む月の十日ばかりのほどにほかにかくれにけり
mu-tuki-no towo-ka-bakari-no fodo-ni foka-ni **kakure-n-iker-i**
first month-GEN ten-day-PT-GEN time-LOC other-LOC **seclude oneself-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
on about the tenth day of the first month [she] had **secluded herself** in a different place (IM IV:113.13–14)

むかしおとこみちのくにすずろにゆきいたりにけり
mukasi otoko Mitinokuni-ni suzuro n-i **yuk-i-itar-in-iker-i**
old times man Mitinoku-province-ALL aimless DV-INF **go-INF-reach-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Long ago, a man **went** aimlessly to Mitinoku province (IM XIV:120.2)

しほがまにいつかきにけむ
Sifogama-ni itu ka **k-in-ik-em-u**
Sifogama-ALL when PT **come-PERF-RETR1-TENT-ATTR**
When **might [I] have come** to Siogama? (IM LXXXI:158.8)

日くれぬればせきのもとにとまりたまひぬ
fi kure-n-ure-ba seki-no moto-ni **tomar-i-tamaf-in-u**
sun set down-PERF-EV-CON barrier-GEN base-LOC **stop-INF-HON-PERF-FIN**
since the sun had [already] set, [the Chūnagon] **stopped** at the barrier (HM I:154.2–3)

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御やまひになりぬべきを
mi-yamafi n-i **nar-in-ube-ki**-wo
PREF(HON)-illness DV-INF **become-PERF-DEB-ATTR**-ACC
though [the Emperor] **might have fallen** sick(ness) (HM I:163.7)

(2) Animate subject + transitive verb with *-in-*

ましてたつをとらへたらましかば又こともなく我はがいせられなまし
masite tatu-wo torafe-tar-amasika-ba mata koto mo na-ku ware fa **gai-se-rare-n-amasi**
more dragon-ACC catch-PERF/PROG-SUBJ/EV-COND again thing PT no-INF I TOP **harm-do-PASS-PERF-SUBJ**
Moreover, if [you] had caught the dragon, **I would** certainly **have been hurt** (TM 49.3–4)

御こしはをれにけり
mi-kosi fa **wore-n-iker-i**
PREF(HON)-waist TOP **break-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
[he] **broke** [his] back (TM 53.1)

あまのは衣うちきせたてまつりつれば翁をいとおしくかなしとおぼしつる事もうせぬ
ama-no fa-^{n}goromo uti-ki-se-tatematur-it-ure-ba okina-wo ito osi-ku kanasi to obos-it-uru koto mo **use-n-u**
heaven-GEN feather-(GEN)garment PREF-put on-CAUS(INF)-HUM-PERF-EV-CON old man-NOM very pitiful-INF sad DV think(HON)-PERF-ATTR thing PT **lose-PERF-FIN**
when [they] made [her] put on the heavenly feather garment, [she] **stopped** thinking that the old man was very pitiful and sad (TM 66.2–3)

ぬす人なりければくにのかみにからめられにけり
nusubito nar-iker-e-ba kuni-no kami-ni **karame-rare-n-iker-i**
thief be-RETR2-EV-CON province-GEN governor-AGT **capture-PASS-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Because [he] was a thief, [he] **was captured** by the governor of the province (IM XII:119.3)

のちはたれとしりにけり
noti fa tare to **sir-in-iker-i**
after TOP who DV **know-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
After [he] **had learned** who [she was] (IM XCIX:170.7)

うみやまをわけすぎにける
umi yama-wo **wake-sugi-n-iker-u**
sea mountain-ACC **divide(INF)-cross-PERF-RETR2-ATTR**
[he] **has crossed** seas and mountains (HM I:155.4)

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かやうによをそむきなん人
ka yau n-i yo-wo **somuk-in-an** fito
that like DV-INF world **turn back on-PERF-TENT/ATTR** person
a person **who is going to turn [her] back completely** on the world like that (HM II:262.11)

(3) Inanimate subject + intransitive verb with *-in-*

かのくにの人こばみなあきなむとす
kano kuni-no fito ko-ba mina **ak-in-am-u to s-u**
that country-GEN person come-COND all **open-PERF-TENT-FIN DV do-FIN**
when people from that country come, all [doors and locks] **will open** by themselves (TM 62.5–6)

はやふねにのれ。日もくれぬ
faya fune-ni nor-e. fi mo **kure-n-u**
quick boat-ALL ride-IMP. sun PT **set down-PERF-FIN**
Quickly get into the boat. The sun **will** also **set** [soon] (IM IX:117.8)

をのが世々になりにければうとくなりにけり
wono-ga yo-yo-ni **nar-in-iker-e-ba** uto-ku nar-in-iker-i
self-POSS relationship-relationship-LOC **become-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON** be estranged-INF become-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[they each] found their own [new] relationship (*lit.*: [it] **became** one's own relationships), **and** [they] became estranged (IM XXI:125.8)

ここかしこよりその人のもとへいなむずなりとてくぜちいできにけり
koko kasiko-yori sono fito-no moto-fe in-amuz-unar-i to-te kuzeti **ide-k-in-iker-i**
here there-ABL that person-GEN base-ALL go-MOD-HS-FIN DV-SUB rumour **go out(INF)-come-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Rumours **surfaced** here and there that [she] was going to move to that person['s place] (IM XCVI:168.11–12)

日くれぬればせきのもとにとまりたまひぬ
fi **kure-n-ure-ba** seki-no moto-ni tomar-i-tamaf-in-u
sun **set down-PERF-EV-CON** barrier-GEN base-LOC stop-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
since the sun **had [already] set**, [the Chūnagon] stopped at the barrier (HM I:154.2–3)

御面かげのめでたさはなごりのにほひまでわが身にしみぬるここちして
mi-omokage-no medeta-sa fa nagori-no nifofi-made wa-ga mi-ni **sim-in-uru** kokoti s-ite
PREF(HON)-appearance-GEN beautiful-NML TOP remainder-GEN aroma-TERM he-POSS body-LOC **penetrate-PERF-ATTR** mood do-SUB

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[he] felt that the beauty of [the Prince's] appearance, even [his] aroma, which remained [in his memory], **had penetrated** into him, and…(HM I:161.2–3)

このほどにいかがなりはてぬらん
kono fodo-ni ikaga **nar-i-fate-n-uran**
this time-LOC how **become-INF-end-PERF-TENT/FIN**
How **will** [it] **end** this time? (HM I:193.15)

わたくしのわが身のだいじの事いできぬる心ちして
watakusi-no wa-ga mi-no daizi n-o koto **ide-k-in-uru** kokoti s-ite
he-GEN himself-POSS body-GEN important DV-ATTR thing **go out(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR** mood do-SUB
He felt that for him himself [it] **had turned out** to be an important thing, and… (HM III:287.16)

5.2.3.3.12 Perfective *-ite-/-te-*

The perfective suffix *-ite-* has four allomorphs: *-ite-*, *-te-*, *-it-*, *-t-*. The choice of a particular allomorph depends not only on the preceding verbal stem or suffix but also on the following suffix. Thus, both *-ite-* and *-it-* occur after consonant and irregular verbs as well as after suffixes with a final consonant. Irregular verbs lose their stem-final vowels when *-ite-* is attached: *s-it-u* 'has done' (< *se-ite-u), *k-it-u* 'has come' (< *ko-ite-u).[15] The allomorphs *-te-* and *-t-*, on the other hand, are used after vowel verbs and suffixes ending in a vowel. A similar but more complicated principle is used regarding the forms with and without final /e/. The allomorphs *-ite-* and *-te-* are used before suffixes beginning with a consonant and before some suffixes beginning with a weak vowel. Thus, tentative *-am-* and the retrospectives *-iki* and *-iker-* lose their initial vowels after *-ite-*: *-ite-m-*, *-ite-ker-*. The allomorphs *-it-* and *-t-* appear before vowel-initial suffixes that have strong vowels, such as the final predication *-u*, attributive *-uru*, evidential *-ure*, and tentative *-uram-*.

Like *-in-*, perfective *-ite-* is never followed by the infinitive *-i*. Whether or not the subordinative gerund *-ite/-te* can be analysed historically as an infinitive following the perfective *-ite-* (which is naturally compressed), it can definitely not be so analysed on the synchronic level in the language of Classical Japanese prose: while the subordinative gerund *-ite/-te* is used in all kinds of verbs, transitive and intransitive, freely following animate and inanimate subjects, the perfective marker *-ite-* is subject to Kolpakchi's constraint described above (see 5.2.3.3.11).[16] Therefore, I prefer to keep them distinct in the present study.

The functional difference between the perfective markers *-in-* and *-ite-* has already been described in the previous section (5.2.3.3.11), so I will not repeat it here.

(1) Animate subject + transitive verb with *-ite-*

いかでこのかぐや姫をえてしがな
ikade kono Kaguya-fime-wo **ye-te-si** gana

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how this Kaguya-fime-ACC **get-PERF-RETR1/ATTR** PT
[they] wanted to **get** this Kaguya-hime somehow (TM 30.7)

なんぢらが君のつかひと名をながしつ
nandi-ra-ga kimi-no tukafi to na-wo **nagas-it-u**
thou-PLUR(PEJ)-POSS lord-GEN servant DV name-ACC **float-PERF-FIN**
You are famous as [loyal] servants of [your] lord (*lit.*: You **have floated** your names as servants of [your] lord) (TM 45.12)

(In this example an active subject is followed by a verb with *-ite-*.)

いまはおろしてよ
ima fa **oros-ite-yo**
now TOP **lower-PERF-IMP**
Now **lower** [me]! (TM 52.5)

(The Chūnagon to his servants.)

はやころし給てよかし
faya **koros-i-tamaf-ite-yo** kasi
quick **kill-INF-HON-PERF-IMP** PT
please execute [me] quickly! (TM 54.16)

今まですごし侍りつるなり
ima-made **sugos-i-faber-it-uru nar-i**
now-TERM **postpone-INF-POL-PERF-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN**
[I] **have been postponing** [telling you] until now (TM 59.13)

このおとこかいまみてけり
kono otoko kai-ma **mi-te-ker-i**
this man fence-space **see-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
This man **peered** [at them] through the fence (IM I:111.3–4)

あるじゆるしてけり
aruzi **yurus-ite-ker-i**
master **allow-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
The master [of the house] **allowed** [him to visit her] (IM V:113.14)

おにはやひとくちにくひてけり
oni faya fito-kuti-ni **kuf-ite-ker-i**
demon fast one-mouth-LOC **eat-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Demons **ate** [her] in one gulp (IM VI:114.8–9)

とどめてとりかへしたまうてけり
todome-te **tor-i-kafes-i-tamau-te-ker-i**
stop-SUB **take-INF-return-INF-HON(INF)-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
[they] stopped [him] and **took** [the woman] **back** (IM VI:115.1)

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うへのきぬのかたをはりやりてけり
ufe-no kinu-no kata-wo **far-i-yar-ite-ker-i**
top-GEN garment-GEN shoulder-ACC **stretch-INF-tear-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
[she] **tore** the shoulder of the upper garment (IM XLI:135.10)

見つるもわれながらめづらしく
mi-t-uru mo ware nagara medurasi-ku
see-PERF-ATTR PT himself CONJ amazing-INF
What [he] saw was amazing even for him(self) (HM I:169.7–8)

さめてのちいかにみえつらんと
same-te noti ikani **mi-ye-t-uran** to
wake up-SUB after how **see-PASS-PERF-TENT2/ATTR** DV
after [he] woke up, [he] thought: 'How **did [I] have** [this dream]?' (HM I: 175.13)

いまよりはかたとき見たてまつらであるべき心ちせぬをしのびて侍ところにむかへたてまつりてん
ima-yori fa kata-toki mi-tatematur-ade ar-ube-ki kokoti se-n-u-wo sinob-ite faber-u tokoro-ni **mukafe-tatematur-ite-n**
now-ABL TOP single-time see-HUM-NEG/GER be-DEB-ATTR spirit do-NEG-ATTR-ACC be secret-SUB be(POL)-ATTR place-LOC **meet(INF)-HUM-PERF-TENT/FIN**
Since [I] don't feel [I] can live from now on for [even] a short time without seeing [you], [I] **will meet** [you] secretly at the place where [I] am (HM I: 179.3–4)

などて月ごろききならさざりつるぞ
nadote tuki-goro **kik-i-naras-az-ar-it-uru** zo
why month-time **listen-INF-get accustomed-NEG/INF-be-PERF-ATTR** PT
Why **did** [I] **not get accustomed to listening to** [how she plays the *biwa*] during [these months]? (HM I:215.2–3)

(2) Animate subject + intransitive verb with *-ite-*

なにはより昨日なんみやこにまうできつる
Nanifa-yori kinofu nan miyako-ni **maude-k-it-uru**
Nanifa-ABL yesterday PT capital-LOC **come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR**
[I] **came** yesterday from Naniwa to the capital (TM 39.4)

まことほうらいの木かとこそおもひつれ
makoto fourai-no ki ka to koso **omof-it-ure**
truth Hōrai-GEN tree PT DV PT **think-PERF-EV**

เนื้อหาคุ้มครองลิขสิทธิ์

[I] really **believed** that it [was a branch of] the tree on Mount Hōrai! (TM 40.8–9)

いやしきをのれがもとにしばしおはしつる
iyasi-ki wonore-ga moto-ni sibasi **ofas-it-uru**
lowly-ATTR yourself-POSS base-LOC some time **be(HON)-PERF-ATTR**
[she] **has been staying** for some time near you, a lowly [person] (TM 63.15)

心えずおぼしめされつらめども心つよくうけたまはらずなりにし事
kokoro ye-zu **obosimes-are-t-uram-e-domo** kokoro tuyo-ku uketamafar-azu nar-in-isi koto
heart receive-NEG/INF **think(HON)-PASS-PERF-TENT-EV-CONC** heart strong-INF agree-NEG/INF become-PERF-RETR1/ATTR thing
although [you] **probably find** it incomprehensible (the fact) that [I] stubbornly did not agree to [your proposal] …(TM 65.12–13)

あまのは衣うちきせたてまつりつれば翁をいとおしくかなしとおぼしつる事もうせぬ
ama-no fa-^{n}goromo uti-ki-se-tatematur-it-ure-ba okina-wo ito osi-ku kanasi to **obos-it-uru** koto mo use-n-u
heaven-GEN feather-(GEN)garment PREF-put on-CAUS(INF)-HUM-PERF-EV-CON old man-NOM very pitiful-INF sad DV **think(HON)-PERF-ATTR** thing PT lose-PERF-FIN
when [they] made [her] put on the heavenly feather garment, [she] stopped **thinking** that the old man was very pitiful and sad (TM 66.2–3)

女いかで心なさけあらむおとこにあひえてしがなとおもへど
wonna ikade kokoro nasake ar-am-u otoko-ni **af-i-ye-te-si** gana to omof-e-do
woman somehow heart compassion be-TENT-ATTR man-DAT **meet-INF-receive-PERF-RETR1/ATTR** PT DV think-EV-CONC
the woman (thought that) [she] wanted somehow **to get to meet** a man with a heart and compassion [for her], but …(IM LXIII:145.9)

をのづから見たてまつれどかくまでは思ひよらずこそ侍つれ
wonodukara mi-tatematur-e-do ka-ku-made fa omof-i-yor-azu koso **faber-it-ure**
I myself see(INF)-HUM-EV-CONC thus-INF-TERM TOP think-INF-approach-NEG/INF PT **be(POL)-PERF-EV**
though I see [it] myself, I did not even imagine that it was so (HM I:166.6)

天にしばしありつれど我もふかくあはれと思ひ聞えしかば
ama-ni sibasi **ar-it-ure-do** ware mo fuka-ku afare to omof-i-kikoye-sika-ba
heaven-LOC some time **be-PERF-EV-CONC** I PT deep-INF affection DV think-INF-HUM-EV-CON
though [I] **was** in heaven for some time, I was thinking [about you] with deep affection, and therefore… (HM V:402.10)

Éléments sous droits d'auteur

(3) Violation of Kolpakchi's constraint: inanimate subject + intransitive verb with *-ite-*

なみだのおちつるけしき
namida-no **oti-t-uru** kesiki
tear-GEN **fall-PERF-ATTR** looks/appearance
the appearance of **falling** tears (HM IV:381.5)

5.2.3.3.13 Progressive *-er-*

The progressive marker *-er-* has just one allomorph. This suffix occurs in our texts only after consonantal verbs. Theoretically it is also used after the irregular verb *se-* 'to do' (Ikeda 1975: 100), resulting in forms like *s-er-i* 'has done'/'was doing' (< *se-er-i < *se-i-ar-i); however, there are no examples of this usage in our texts. In Old Japanese *-er-* was also used after vowel verbs with final /ey/ vowel (Tsukishima 1969: 527). Thus we can observe a gradual narrowing of *-er-* usage in Japanese.

Besides being confined to use with consonantal verbs only, *-er-* also has other restrictions on its distribution. It never occurs after suffixes, but is only to be found after verb stems, including honorific auxiliaries. It is used almost exclusively in narrative prose and rarely occurs in dialogue, even in earlier texts. All these limitations probably mean that in the Heian period *-er-* either already represented a relic in the language or was rapidly becoming one.

Historically, *-er-* represents a crasis of the infinitive marker *-i* with the initial vowel /a/ of the verb *ar-* 'to be' (Tsukishima 1969: 526; Ikeda 1975: 100).

The suffix *-er-* has two functions: it may denote either a continuous or progressive action or a perfective action. Thus, the label 'progressive' is quite relative for *-er-*, and I use it mainly to differentiate *-er-* from the perfective-progressive suffix *-itar-*. The same set of functions is typical of the perfective-progressive *-itar-*, and most linguists believe that there is no functional difference between the two, although almost everybody seems to agree that there must have been some original distinction dating back to before the first written texts (Yuzawa 1943: 88; Tsukishima 1969: 528). Nevertheless, some scholars suggest that a distinction survives in the Heian texts. Thus Ikeda suggests that *-er-* shows that the result of a continuing action continues up to the present, while *-itar-* shows the result of a completed action (Ikeda 1975: 100). However, this sounds better in theory than in practice: the examples below, as well as in the next section which is dedicated to *-itar-* (5.2.3.3.14), do not really demonstrate the distinction suggested by Ikeda. It is safer to assume that there was *some original distinction* between *-er-* and *-itar-*, which is only to be expected given that these two have different structures: historically, while *-er-* consists of an infinitive plus *ar-* 'to be', *-itar-* is composed of a subordinative gerund *-ite* and *ar-* 'to be'. However, at least during the Heian period this distinction had faded away, probably mainly due to the fact that *-er-* was becoming a relic usage.

Éléments sous droits d'auteur

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this stone hear-RETR1/ATTR-COMP TOP see-ATTR TOP **be superior-PROG-FIN**
It **was better** to see this stone than to hear about [it] (*i.e.* its appearance surpassed its reputation) (IM LXXVIII:156.13)

いひあへるなかに
if-i-af-er-u naka-ni
say-INF-REC-PROG-ATTR inside-LOC
while [they] **were talking to each other** (HM I:157.9)

とうていといへるところに御門みゆきしたまひ
Toutei to **if-er-u** tokoro-ni mikado mi-yuk-i s-i-tamaf-i
Toutei DV **say-PROG-ATTR** place-ALL emperor PREF(HON)-go-NML do-INF-HON-INF
The Emperor paid an honourable visit to the place **called** Toutei (Eastern Pavilion?) (HM I:158.1–2)

月影のうかべる水はくむまでにあはれいくよをながめきぬらん
tuki kage-no **ukab-er-u** midu fa kum-u-made-ni afare ik-u yo-wo nagame-k-in-uran
moon light-GEN **float-PROG-ATTR** water TOP scoop-ATTR-TERM-LOC sadness go-ATTR life-ACC look at(INF)-come-PERF-TENT/FIN
[I] am watching life go sadly by like water on which moonlight **is floating**, until [someone] scoops [it] up (HM I:177.9)

(This example comes from a poem.)

あなたうとうちいで給へるこゑのおもしろさ
anata [f]uto **uti-ide-tamaf-er-u** kowe-no omosiro-sa
that side suddenly **PREF-go out(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR** voice-GEN beautiful-NML
the beauty of [his] voice, **which** suddenly **went out** [from] that side (and continued to be heard) (HM I:199.4)

(2) Perfective function

ほうらいのたまのえだをひとつの所あやまたずもておはしませり
Fourai-no tama-no yeda-wo fito-tu n-o tokoro ayamat-azu **mo-te ofasimas-er-i**
Fourai-GEN pearl-GEN branch-ACC one-CL DV-ATTR place stray-SUB/NEG **bring-SUB come(HON)-PROG-FIN**
[he] **brought** [you] the pearl branch from Mount Hōrai as you requested (*lit.*: without straying to any (*lit.*: one) [other] place) (TM 36.14)

(This example comes from a dialogue.)

そがくびに玉とれる
so-ga kubi-ni tama **tor-er-u**

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he-POSS neck-LOC precious stone **take-PROG-FIN**
[they] **took** the precious stone from his neck (TM 46.15)

こぞを思いでてよめる
kozo-wo omof-i-ide-te **yom-er-u**
last year-ACC think-INF-go out-SUB **read-PROG-ATTR**
[he] recollected last year, and **read** [the poem] (IM IV:113.4)

むかしうぢのなかにみこうまれ給へりけり
mukasi udi-no naka-ni miko **um-are-tamaf-er-iker-i**
long ago clan-GEN middle-LOC prince **bear-PASS(INF)-HON-PROG-RETR2-FIN**
Long ago, a Prince **was born** within the clan (IM LXXIX:157.4)

御うぶやに人々歌よみけり。御おほぢがたなりけるおきなのよめる
mi-ubuya-ni fito-bito uta yom-iker-i. mi-ofodi-gata nar-iker-u okina-no **yom-er-u**
PREF(HON)-celebration-of-birth-LOC person-person poem recite-RETR2-FIN. PREF(HON)-grandfather-person be-RETR2-ATTR old man-GEN **recite-PROG-ATTR**
At the celebration of the birth ceremony people recited poems. An old man, who was the grandfather [of the child], **recited** …(IM LXXIX:157.4–5)

女のもとに。。。おとこうたをよみてやれりけり
wonna-no moto-ni ... otoko uta-wo yom-ite **yar-er-iker-i**
woman-GEN base-ALL man poem-ACC read-SUB **send-PROG-RETR2-FIN**
The man composed a poem and **sent** it to the woman … (IM LXXXVI:163.1–2)

そこをぞ御さとにし給へる
soko-wo zo mi-sato n-i **s-i-tamaf-er-u**
there-ACC PT PREF(HON)-residence DV-INF **do-INF-HON-PROG-ATTR**
[they] **made** that place (to be) [the Prince's] residence (HM I:156.3)

しやうじよりこなたへひきよせ給へり
syauzi-yori konata-fe **fik-i-yose-tamaf-er-i**
syauzi-ABL she-ALL **drag-INF-approach(INF)-HON-PROG-FIN**
[he] **dragged** [himself] to her from the shōji (HM II:239.2)

中宮の御かたへまいり給へり
Tiuguu-no on-kata-fe **mair-i-tamaf-er-i**
first empress-GEN PREF(HON)-side-ALL **go(HUM)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN**
[he] **went** to the First Empress (HM II:251.3)

とりははやしとちぎれり
tori fa fayasi-to **tigir-er-i**
bird TOP forest-COM **vow-PROG-FIN**
The bird **is bound by vows** with the forest (HM IV:341.12)

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(1) Perfective function

むかへに人おほくまゐりたり
mukafe-ni fito ofo-ku **mawir-itar-i**
meet(NML)-ALL person many-INF **come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
Many people **came** to meet [him] (TM 36.4)

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite **ofasimas-itar-i**
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB **come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[he] **came** without even stopping at his own house (TM 36.15–16)

かかる程におとこども六人つらねて庭に出きたり
kakar-u fodo-ni otoko-domo roku-nin turane-te nifa-ni **ide-k-itar-i**
be such-ATTR time-LOC man-PLUR six-CL go in line-SUB garden-LOC **appear(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-FIN**
at this time, six men **appeared** in the garden (TM 39.12)

みまなこ二にすもものやうなる玉をぞそへていましたる
mi-manako futa-tu-ni sumomo-no yau nar-u tama-wo zo **sofe-te imas-itar-u**
PREF(HON)-pupil of the eye two-CL-LOC plum-GEN like be pearl-ACC PT **attach-SUB HON-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
His eyes became like two round plums (*lit.*: [he] **got** two round objects like plums in both eyes) (TM 49.10–11)

などかおきなの手におほしたてたらむ物を心にまかせざらむ
nado ka okina-no te-ni **ofos-i-tate-tar-am-u** mono-wo kokoro-ni makase-z-ar-am-u
why PT old man-GEN hand-LOC **raise-INF-establish-PERF/PROG-TENT-ATTR** thing-ACC heart-LOC entrust-NEG/INF-be-TENT-ATTR
Why should [she] not obey when [you] **raised** [her] with your (*lit.*: old man's) own hands? (TM 55.8–9)

としごろをとづれざりける人のさくらのさかりに見にきたりければ
tosi-goro wotodure-z-ar-iker-u fito-no sakura-no sakari-ni mi-ni **k-itar-iker-e-ba**
year-time visit-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR person-GEN sakura-GEN bloom-LOC see(NML)-ALL **come-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON**
When a person who had not visited for a long time **came** to view the cherry blossoms in full bloom …(IM XVII:122.6)

だうのまへにたてたれば
dau-no mafe-ni **tate-tar-e-ba**
main hall-GEN front-LOC **place-PERF/PROG-EV-CON**
because [they] **placed** [offerings] in front of the main hall (IM LXXVII: 155.7)

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ある人のみざうしのまへのみぞにすへたりし
ar-u fito-no mi-zausi-no mafe-no mizo-ni **sufe-tar-isi**
be-ATTR person-GEN PREF(HON)-chamber-GEN front-GEN ditch-LOC **place-PERF/PROG-RETR1/ATTR**
[they] **placed** [the stone] in the ditch in front of the chamber of a certain lady (IM LXXVIII:156.9–10)

めのこどもいでてうきみるのなみによせられたるひろひて
me-no ko-domo ide-te uk-i miru-no nami-ni **yose-rare-tar-u** firof-ite
woman-GEN child-PLUR go out-SUB float-INF seaweed-GEN wave-AGT **approach-PASS-PERF/PROG-ATTR** pick up-SUB
girls went out and picked up the floating seaweed **brought** in by the waves and…(IM LXXXVII:164.12)

御むかへの人々まいりたり
ofon-mukafe-no fito-bito **mair-itar-i**
PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-GEN person-person **come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
people, meeting the [Chūnagon], **have come** (HM I:154.12)

御事どもとりいでて給はせたる
mi-koto-domo tor-i-ide-te **tamaf-ase-tar-u**
PREF(HON)-koto-PLUR take-INF-go out-SUB **give(HON)-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
[The Prince] took out [his] *koto* and **gave** [one to the Chūnagon] (HM I: 161.1)

御らんぜさせに御むかへにまいりたり
go-ran-ze-sase-ni ofon-mukafe-ni **mair-itar-i**
PREF(HON)-see-do-CAUS(NML)-ALL PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-ALL **come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[I] **came** to meet you in order to show you (HM I:171.8)

かかる人のよの事をさへわたりゆきてみたる
kakar-u fito-no yo-no koto-wo safe watar-i-yuk-ite **mi-tar-u**
be such-ATTR lady-GEN life-GEN thing-ACC PT cross-INF-go-SUB **see-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
Having crossed over [to China], [he] even **saw** events from the [personal] life of such a lady (HM III:313.6–7)

大弐の申たるをうちきくよりむね心さはぎまどふに
Daini-no **mawos-itar-u**-wo uti-kik-u-yori mune kokoro safag-i-madof-u-ni
Daini-GEN **say(HUM)-PERF/PROG-ATTR**-ACC PREF-hear-ATTR-ABL chest heart be excited-INF-be bewildered-ATTR-LOC
as soon as [he] heard what Daini **had said**, he became excited and bewildered … (HM V:439.12–13)

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(2) Progressive function

屋のうちはくらき所なくひかりみちたり
ya-no uti fa kura-ki tokoro na-ku fikari **mit-itar-i**
house-GEN inside TOP dark-ATTR place no-INF light **be filled-PERF/PROG-FIN**
The inside of the house **was filled** with light so that there was no dark place (TM 29.14)

あしのむきたらんかたへいなむず
asi-no **muk-itar-an** kata-fe in-amuz-u
foot-GEN **direct-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR** side-ALL go-MOD-FIN
[we] will go anywhere, wherever [our] feet **take** [us] (TM 46.3)

つねよりも物思ひたる
tune-yori mo mono **omof-itar-u**
usual-COMP PT thing **think-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
[she] **was thinking** more [deeply] than usual (TM 58.9–10)

つちより五尺ばかりあがりたる
tuti-yori go-syaku bakari **agar-itar-u**
ground-ABL five-syaku PT be **raised-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
[they] **were (raised)** about five feet above the ground (TM 63.3–4)

そのさとにいとなまめいたるをんなはらからすみけり
sono sato-ni ito **namame-itar-u** wonna fara-kara sum-iker-i
that village-LOC very **elegant-PERF/PROG-ATTR** woman belly-clan live-RETR2-FIN
[Two] very **elegant** sisters lived in that village (IM I:111.3)

おとこのきたりけるかりぎぬのすそをきりてうたをかきてやる
otoko-no **ki-tar-iker-u** kari-ginu-no suso-wo kir-ite uta-wo kak-ite yar-u
man-GEN **wear-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR** hunting-garment-GEN hem-ACC cut-SUB poem-ACC write-SUB send-FIN
The man cut off part of the hem of the hunting garment [he] **was wearing**, wrote a poem [on it] and sent [it] (IM I:111.5)

その人かたちよりは心なんまさりたりける
sono fito katati-yori fa kokoro nan **masar-itar-iker-u**
that lady looks-COMP TOP heart PT **be superior-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR**
The heart of that lady **was superior** to her looks (IM II:111.13–112.1)

草のうへにをきたりけるつゆ
kusa-no ufe-ni **wok-itar-iker-u** tuyu
grass-GEN top-LOC **lie-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR** dew
dew, **which has been [lying]** on the grass (IM VI:114.5)

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雪にふりこめられたり
yuki-ni **fur-i-kome-rare-tar-i**
snow-AGT **fall-INF-insert-PASS-PERF/PROG-FIN**
kept inside by **falling** snow (IM LXXXV:162.9)

にしきのへりさしたるみすども
nisiki-no feri **sas-itar-u** mi-su-domo
brocade-GEN edge **pierce-PERF/PROG-ATTR** PREF(HON)-curtain-PLUR
the curtains, **embroidered** with brocade on the edges (HM I: 158.14–15)

おほきなるやまよりたきたかくおちたる
ofo-ki-nar-u yama-yori taki taka-ku **oti-tar-u**
big-ATTR be-ATTR mountain-ABL waterfall high-INF **fall-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
a waterfall **was cascading** (high) from the big mountain (HM I:158.15–16)

しんのしんわうといへる人ありけるがかほかたちみのざへすぐれたりければこのくにと日本にいひかよはさるる事ありけり
Sin-no sinwau to if-er-u fito ar-iker-u-ga kafo katati mi-no zafe **sugure-tar-iker-e-ba** kono kuni-to Nifon-ni if-i-kayof-as-ar-uru koto ar-iker-i
Qin-GEN prince-DV say-PROG-ATTR person be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS face figure body-GEN talent **be supreme-PERF/PROG-RETR2-EV-CON** this country-COM Japan-DAT say-INF-go back and forth-CAUS-PASS-ATTR thing be-RETR2-FIN
there were occasions when one who was the person whom [they] called the Qin Prince, **since** his looks and talents **were superb**, was interpreting between this country and Japan (HM I:161.7–9)

五にあたり侍むすめのすぐれたるあいしに侍り
itu-ni atar-i-faber-u musume-no **sugure-tar-u** aisi n-i faber-i
five-LOC correspond-INF-POL-ATTR daughter-GEN **be supreme-PERF/PROG-ATTR** beloved child DV-INF be(POL)-FIN
The fifth daughter is an **especially** beloved child (HM I:172.13)

よしのの山となにながれたるよりもなをおくなるみよしのといふところ
Yosino-no yama to na n-i **nagare-tar-u**-yori mo nawo oku-nar-u Miyosino to if-u tokoro
Yosino-GEN mountain DV name DV-INF **flow-PERF/PROG-ATTR**-ABL PT still deep-be-ATTR Miyosino DV say-ATTR place
a place called Miyosino, more distant than those **which are known** under the name of the Yosino mountains (HM III:264.1–2)

(3) Special form *-tan-*

くだれとこその給はせたんなれ
kudar-e to koso **notamaf-ase-tan-nar-e**

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go from the capital to a province-IMP DV PT say(HON)-CAUS-PERF/PROG-HS-EV
They say [he] said: 'Go to the province!' (HM II:218.16–219.1)

5.2.3.3.15 Iterative *-af-*

The iterative *-af-* represents a fossilized usage inherited from the Old Japanese iterative *-ap-*. It is found within a number of words which have incorporated *-af-* into their stems and are never used without it, e.g. verbs such as *negaf-* 'to ask', 'to pray' (< *neg-ap-), *fokaf-* 'to pray' (< *pok-ap-), *kayof-* 'to go back and forth', 'visit' (< *kayu-ap-), or nouns like *sumaf-i* 'dwelling' (a nominalized form of *sumaf-* 'to dwell all the time' < *sum-* 'to dwell', 'to live' + *-af-*). There are just a handful of verbs in the Heian period that can occur with and without *-af-*, and where, therefore, the separation of *-af-* is still justifiable: *yob-af-* 'to call all the time' (cf. *yob-* 'to call'), *sum-af-* 'to dwell all the time' (cf. *sum-* 'to dwell', 'to live'), *watar-af-* 'to cross over/go to all the time' (cf. *watar-* 'to cross over', 'to go to'), *katar-af-* 'to talk all the time', 'to have conversation' (cf. *katar-* 'to talk'), and *tug-af-* 'to follow all the time' (cf. *tug-* 'to follow').

The iterative has just one allomorph *-af-* which is used only after consonant verbs. It occurs exclusively in early texts and does not appear in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*.

なくなくよばひ給事
nak-u nak-u **yob-af-i-tamaf-u** koto
cry-ATTR cry-ATTR **call-ITER-INF-HON-ATTR** thing
[he] was **calling and calling** [to the god], crying (TM 48.2)

ゐなかわたらひしける人の子ども
winaka **watar-af-i s-iker-u** fito-no ko-domo
countryside **go to-ITER-NML do-RETR2-ATTR** person-GEN child-PLUR
the children of persons **who used to go out to** the countryside (IM XXIII: 126.5)

女のつかうまつるをつねに見かはしてよばひわたりけり
wonna-no tukaumatur-u-wo tune n-i mi-kafas-ite **yob-af-i-watar-iker-i**
woman-GEN serve-ATTR-ACC usual DV-INF see(INF)-exchange-SUB **call-ITER-INF-cross-RETR2-FIN**
[a man] **had long been hoping for the love** of a woman who [also] served there, and whom [he] always met (IM XCV:167.12)

5.2.3.3.16 Passive *-rare-/-are-*

The passive marker has four allomorphs: *-rare-*, *-rar-*, *are-*, and *-ar-*. Their distribution reminds one of the perfective *-ite-* (see 5.2.3.3.12), with the difference, however, that in contrast to *-ite-*, the more phonetically unreduced allomorphs

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occur after vowel verbs and not after consonant verbs. Thus, the allomorphs *-rare-* and *-rar-* are used after the stems of vowel and irregular verbs, while the allomorphs *-are-* and *-ar-* occur after the stems of consonant verbs. The choice between vowel-final forms *-rare-* and *-are-* on the one hand, and consonant-final *-rar-* and *-ar-* on the other, is governed by the following suffix: the former are used before consonant-initial suffixes as well as weak vowel-intial suffixes, which lose their initial vowel after *-rare-*/*-are-*, e.g. *-rare-ker-* PASS-RETR2 < *-rare-iker-; the latter are used before strong vowel-initial suffixes that cause the loss of the vowel /e/ and lead to the reduced forms *-rar-*/*ar-*, e.g. *-rar-uru* PASS-ATTR < *-rare-uru. The passive marker directly follows a verbal stem, always occupying the first position in a string of suffixes, with all other suffixes following. The only exception is the causative marker, which precedes the passive marker when both occur within the same verbal form. It is necessary to note that the infinitive *-i* is always suppressed after the passive marker, as in *omoʃ-i-ide-rare-tamaʃ-e-ba* think-INF-go out-PASS-HON-EV-CON 'as [he] recalled' (HM V:391.2–3), given below.

The verbs *mi-* 'to see' and *omof-* 'to think', 'to love' have special irregular passive forms, inherited from Old Japanese, which also had the forms *-ye-* and *-aye*. In the language of Classical prose, however, these forms appear as irregular *-ye-* after *mi-* 'to see', yielding *mi-ye-* see-PASS (with an allomorph *-y-* before strong vowel-initial suffixes) and *-oye-* after *omof-* 'to think', giving *omof-oye* think-PASS (with an allomorph *-oy-* before strong vowel-initial suffixes).[17] The passive form *omof-oye-* is frequently seen in its contracted form *ob-oye*.

Japanese linguists describe four different functions for the passive marker: (1) a spontaneous action; (2) passive; (3) potential; (4) honorific (Yuzawa 1943: 74–6; Tsukishima 1969: 506; Ikeda 1975: 112). Among these, the latter two seem to be secondary usages. Thus Yuzawa notes that the honorific usage of the passive is not found before the Heian period (Yuzawa 1943: 76). Tsukishima further adds that in this function the passive marker is almost exclusively used after honorific verbs or honorific auxiliaries (Tsukishima 1969: 506). The same is true in the studied texts: the majority of examples involve honorific verbs or honorific auxiliaries, although there are cases when the passive marker in an honorific usage follows the stems of other verbs, too. The usage of passive as a potential is confined to the negative potential; that is, in this function it is always followed by a negative suffix (see below).

Regarding the remaining two functions, it is not clear whether the passive was derived from the spontaneous action function or vice versa. Opinions differ on the direction of this development: Tsukishima believes that the passive was the original meaning (Tsukishima 1969: 506), while Ikeda suggests the opposite development (Ikeda 1975: 112). It is difficult to reach a final conclusion without a functional-statistical analysis of Old Japanese texts, which has not yet been done. However, if my hypothesis that *Ise monogatari* is the earliest Heian text is correct, then it might be used as evidence to support Tsukishima's position: regarding the distribution of the passive marker's function, *Ise monogatari* again

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differs to a marked extent from all other texts. The overwhelming majority of the passive markers used in it are used in the passive function. No examples of honorific usage are attested, and there is only one example of spontaneous action and two examples of potential, one of which occurs in a poem.

(1) Spontaneous action

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程は**みゆべし**
idure mo wotor-i masar-i ofasimas-an-e-ba mi-kokorozasi-no fodo fa **mi-y-ube-si**
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent TOP **see-PASS-DEB-FIN**
Since neither [of you] is superior or inferior, [she] **must** (naturally) **see** the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.5–6)

はちをすてても**頼まるるかな**
fati-wo sute-te mo **tanom-ar-uru** kana
bowl/shame-ACC throw away-SUB PT **hope-PASS-ATTR** PT
although [I] threw away the bowl/shame, [I] still **hope!** (TM 35.2)

(This example comes from a poem.)

たつの時ばかりに海の中にはつかに山**みゆ**
tatu-no toki-bakari-ni umi-no naka-ni fatuka n-i yama **mi-y-u**
dragon-GEN hour-PT-LOC sea-GEN inside-LOC sudden DV-INF mountain **see-PASS-FIN**
at about the hour of the dragon, a mountain **suddenly appeared** in the sea (TM 38.4)

(In this example *fatuka n-i* 'suddenly' reinforces the function of the spontaneous action already expressed in the verbal form.)

心えず**おぼしめされつらめども**心つよくうけたまはらずなりにし事
kokoro ye-zu **obosimes-are-t-uram-e-domo** kokoro tuyo-ku uketamafar-azu nar-in-isi koto
heart receive-NEG/INF **think(HON)-PASS-PERF-TENT-EV-CONC** heart strong-INF agree-NEG/INF become-PERF-RETR1/ATTR thing
although [you] **probably find** it incomprehensible (the fact) that [I] stubbornly did not agree to [your proposal]…(TM 65.12–13)

おもほえずふるさとにいとはしたなくてありければ
omof-oye-zu furu-sato-ni ito fasitana-ku-te ar-iker-e-ba
think-PASS-NEG/INF old-capital-LOC very unappropriate-INF-SUB be-RETR2-EV-CON
[He] **did not expect it**, and since [it] was very inappropriate [for such beautiful women to be] in the old capital…(IM I:111.4)

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あふみのうみおもひ出られて
Afumi-no umi **omof-i-ide-rare-te**
Afumi-GEN sea **think-INF-go out-PASS-SUB**
[he] **unexpectedly recollected** Lake Biwa, and…(HM I:153.5)

さめてのちいかにみえつらんと
same-te noti ikani **mi-ye-t-uran** to
wake up-SUB after how **see-PASS-PERF-TENT2/ATTR** DV
after [he] woke up, [he] thought: 'How **did** [I] **see** [this dream]?' (HM I: 175.13)

大将殿のひめ君の御事ふとおもひいでられてこひしかりけり
daizyau-dono-no fime-gimi-no mi-koto futo **omof-i-ide-rare-te** kofisi-k-ar-iker-i
daizyau-lord-GEN daughter-GEN PREF(HON)-matter suddenly **think-INF-go out-PASS-SUB** nostalgic-INF-be-RETR2-FIN
[he] **suddenly recollected** the matter of Daijō's daughter, **and** missed [her] (HM I:180.5)

(In this example *futo* 'suddenly' reinforces the function of spontaneous action already expressed in the verbal form.)

この世ならでも思ひ出られべうもこそ侍れ
kono yo nar-ade mo **omof-i-ide-rare-be-u** mo koso faber-e
this life be-NEG/GER PT **think-INF-PASS-DEB-INF PT PT be(POL)-EV**
even if not in this life, [you] **must spontaneously recall** [it] (HM V:426.9)

むねうちさはぎつつ思ひ出られ給へば
mune uti-safag-itutu **omof-i-ide-rare-tamaf-e-ba**
chest PREF-be agitated-COOR **think-INF-PASS(INF)-HON-EV-CON**
as [he] **recalled** [her], [his] chest rising [with excitement] (HM V:391.2–3)

(2) Passive voice

It is usually considered that the passive in Classical Japanese is generally an involuntary passive, showing that a person or animal is being subjected by another person (Ikeda 1975: 112). However, this does not seem to be true, since among the following examples there are cases when both agent and patient can be inanimate or animate, so we can observe all four logical possibilities:

	Agent	*Patient*
(a)	animate	animate
(b)	animate	inanimate
(c)	inanimate	animate
(d)	inanimate	inanimate

It must be admitted, though, that the most frequent usage is with both animate agent and patient, while the least frequent is when both are inanimate.

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(a) Animate agent + animate patient

ましてたつをとらへたらましかば又こともなく我は**がいせられなまし**
masite tatu-wo torafe-tar-amasika-ba mata koto mo na-ku ware fa **gai-se-rare-n-amasi**
more dragon-ACC catch-PERF/PROG-SUBJ/EV-COND again thing PT no-INF I TOP **harm-do-PASS-PERF-SUBJ**
Moreover, if [you] caught the dragon, I **would certainly have been hurt** (TM 49.3–4)

京には**見えぬ**とりなればみな人見しらず
miyako-ni fa **mi-ye-n-u** tori nar-e-ba mina fito mi-sir-az-u
capital-LOC TOP **see-PASS-NEG-ATTR** bird be-EV-CON all person see(INF)-know-NEG-FIN
Because it was a bird **unseen** in the capital, no one recognized [it] (IM IX:117.11)

ぬす人なりければくにのかみに**からめられ**にけり
nusubito nar-iker-e-ba kuni-no kami-ni **karame-rare-n-iker-i**
thief be-RETR2-EV-CON province-GEN governor-AGT **capture-PASS-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Because [he] was a thief, [he] **was captured** by the governor of the province (IM XII:119.3)

このおとこに**ほだされて**
kono otoko-ni **fodas-are-te**
this man-AGT **bind-PASS-SUB**
[I] **was bound** by this man (IM LXV:148.6)

おやもよには**したなめられ**
oya mo yo-ni **fasitaname-rare**
parent PT world-AGT **pity-PASS(INF)**
[her] parents **were pitied** by the world, too (HM I:166.11)

つくしに**ながされ給へ**りける**みこ**
Tukusi-ni **nagas-are-tamaf-er-iker-u** miko
Tukusi-ALL **exile-PASS-HON-PROG-RETR2-ATTR** prince
the Prince, **who was exiled** to Kyūshū (HM I:161.9)

つくしへは**なたれおはせし**
Tukusi-fe **fanat-are-ofase-si**
Tukusi-ALL **exile-PASS-be(HON)-RETR1/ATTR**
[he] **was exiled** to Kyūshū (HM III:279.15)

(b) Animate agent + inanimate patient

四十の賀九条の家にて**せられける**
yosoti n-o ga ku-zyau-no ife-nite **se-rare-ker-u**

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snow-AGT **fall-INF-insert-PASS-PERF/PROG-FIN**
kept inside by **falling** snow (IM LXXXV:162.9)

(d) Inanimate agent + inanimate patient

めのこどもいでてうきみるのなみによせられたるひろひて
me-no ko-domo ide-te uk-i miru-no nami-ni **yose-rare-tar-u** firof-ite
woman-GEN child-PLUR go out-SUB float-INF seaweed-GEN wave-AGT **approach-PASS-PERF/PROG-ATTR** pick up-SUB
the girls went out and picked up the floating seaweed **brought in** by the waves and…(IM LXXXVII:164.12)

(3) Potential

In the function of potential, the passive marker *-rare-/-are-* occurs only with a following negative.

なにのしるしあるべくもみえず
nani-no sirusi ar-ube-ku mo **mi-ye-z-u**
what-GEN sign be-DEB-INF PT **see-PASS-NEG-FIN**
[They] **cannot** see that there might be any sign (TM 30.11)

いはれぬ事なし給ひそ
if-are-n-u koto na-s-i-tamaf-i-so
say-PASS-NEG-ATTR thing NEG-do-INF-HON-INF-IMP
Do not do things that are unreasonable (*lit.*: **that are impossible to say**) (TM 54.14)

おとこはたねられざりければとのかたを見いだしてふせるに
otoko fata **ne-rare-z-ar-iker-e-ba** to-no kata-wo mi-idas-ite fus-er-u-ni
man again **sleep-PASS-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON** outside-GEN side-ACC look(INF)-take out-SUB lie down-PROG-ATTR-LOC
because the man **could not sleep**, [he] was lying down looking outside… (IM LXIX:150.14–151.1)

めには見ててにはとられぬ月のうちのかつらのごときぎみにぞありける
me-ni fa mi-te te-ni fa **tor-are-n-u** tuki-no uti-no katura-no goto-ki kimi n-i zo ar-iker-u
eye-LOC TOP see-SUB hand-LOC TOP **take-PASS-NEG-ATTR** moon-GEN inside-GEN laurel tree-GEN like-ATTR lord DV-INF PT be-RETR2-ATTR
You are like the laurel tree on the moon **which** [one] sees [but] **cannot take** in [one's] hands (IM LXXIII:153.8)

(This example comes from a poem.)

いはれじと思ふに
if-are-zi to omof-u-ni

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say-PASS-NEG/TENT DV think-ATTR-LOC
since [I] think [they] **cannot say** …(HM I:182.1)

御涙のみみづぐきのながれあひつつかきもやられ給はず
mi-namida nomi miduguki-no nagare af-itutu kak-i mo **yar-are-tamaf-az-u**
PREF(HON)-tear PT brush-GEN flow meet-COOR write-NML PT **do-PASS-HON-NEG-FIN**
[His] tears were matching the flow of [his] brush, and [he] **could not do** the writing (HM II:237.2–3)

心やすまるまじきちぎり
kokoro **yasum-ar-umazi-ki** tigir-i
heart **rest-PASS-NEG/DEB-ATTR** vow-NML
a love connection, where the heart **would not be able to rest** (HM V:426.4)

(4) Honorific

ここにつかはるる人にもなきに
koko-ni **tukaf-ar-uru** fito n-i mo na-ki-ni
here-LOC **serve-PASS-ATTR** person DV-INF PT no-ATTR-LOC
not being a person **who serves** here (TM 51.11–12)

御こころちはいかがおぼさるととへば
mi-kokoti fa ikaga **obos-ar-u** to tof-e-ba
PREF(HON)-feeling TOP how **think(HON)-PASS-FIN** DV ask-EV-CON
When [they] asked [him]: 'How do you feel?' (*lit.*: 'How **do [you] think** [is] your feeling?') (TM 52.10)

かばかりおもしろうあそびよくおぼさるるかうやうくゑんにも
ka bakari omosiro-u asob-i yo-ku **obos-ar-uru** Kauyaukuwen-ni mo
that PT beautiful-INF play-NML good-INF **think(HON)-PASS-ATTR** Kauyaukuwen-LOC PT
even in Kauyaukuwen, **which** [the Prince] **considered** to be so beautiful and good for amusement (HM I:157.4)

かみあげられたるも
kami **age-rare-tar-u** mo
hair **raise-PASS-PERF/PROG-ATTR** PT
and **the fact that [she] put** [her] hair **up**, too (HM I:159:16)

げにさてあらじとおぼされよかし
ge n-i sate ar-azi to **obos-are-yo** kasi
reality DV-INF so be-NEG/TENT DV **think(HON)-PASS-IMP PT**
Please think that really it is probably not so (HM II:222.2)

かの大将のおぼさるらんところ
kano daizyau-no **obos-ar-uran** tokoro
that daizyau-GEN **think(HON)-PASS-TENT/ATTR** place
the point that Daijō is **probably thinking about** (HM II:232.10–11)

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かくなどきこしめされん
ka-ku nado **kikosimes-are-n**
thus-INF REPR **say(HON)-PASS-TENT/FIN**
[The Emperor] **will probably deign to say**: 'It is so' (HM IV:354.5–6)

5.2.3.3.17 Causative *-sase-/-ase-*

The causative marker has four allomorphs: *-sase-*, *-sas-*, *-ase-*, and *-as-*. Their distribution is exactly the same as that of the allomorphs of the passive marker (see 5.2.3.3.16). Thus the allomorphs *-sase-* and *-sas-* are used after the stems of vowel and irregular verbs, while the allomorphs *-ase-* and *-as-* occur after the stems of consonantal verbs. The choice between vowel-final forms *-sase-* and *-ase-* on the one hand, and consonant-final *-sas-* and *-as-* on the other, is governed by the suffix which follows: the former are used before consonant-initial suffixes as well as weak vowel-initial suffixes, which lose their initial vowel after *-sase-/-ase-*, e.g. *-sase-ker-* CAUS-RETR2 < *-sase-iker-; the latter are used before strong vowel-initial suffixes that cause the loss of the vowel /e/ and lead to the reduced forms *-sas-/-as-*, e.g. *-sas-uru* CAUS-ATTR < *-sase-uru. The causative marker directly follows a verbal stem, always occupying the first position in a string of suffixes, and all other suffixes follow it. It is necessary to note that the infinitive *-i* is always suppressed after the causative marker, as in *mauke-se-sase-tamaf-u* 'he made them prepare' prepare(NML)-do-CAUS(INF)-HON-FIN (IM LXXVIII:156.7) that is given below.

The verbs *mi-* 'to see' and *ki-* 'to wear', 'to put on' have a special irregular causative form *-se-* that may contract to *-s-* before strong vowel-initial suffixes: *mi-se-m-u* see-CAUS-TENT-FIN 'I intend to show (*lit.*: to let see)', *ki-s-u* 'to make somebody wear something'.

Japanese linguists describe two different functions for the causative marker: (1) causative; (2) honorific (Tsukishima 1969: 506–7; Ikeda 1975: 117). The honorific usage seems to be secondary, as it appears mostly with honorific verbs.[18] It is quite possible that there was a contamination of the causative *-sase-/-ase-* that appears only in the Heian period (Tsukishima 1969: 506) with the Old Japanese honorific marker *-as-*.[19] It is interesting that *Ise monogatari* has very few examples of the honorific usage of this marker, while cases when it is used as a causative are quite numerous. This can be seen as yet another piece of evidence about the archaic nature of *Ise monogatari*.

(1) Causative

めの女にあづけてやしなはす
me n-o wonna-ni äduke-te **yasinaf-as-u**
wife be-ATTR woman-DAT give-SUB **feed-CAUS-FIN**
[he] gave her to [his] wife and **made [his wife] feed** [her] (TM 29.7–8)

かみあげさせもきす
kami **age-sase-Ø** mo **ki-s-u**

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hair **raise-CAUS(INF)** skirt **put on-CAUS-FIN**
[they] **made [her] put** [her] hair **up** [in a grown-up woman's style] and **made [her] put on** a skirt (TM 29.12)

仰の事のかしこさにかのわらはをまいらせむ
ofose-no koto-no kasiko-sa n-i kano warafa-wo **mair-ase-m-u**
say(HON)(NML)-GEN thing-GEN reverent-NML DV-INF that child-ACC **go(HUM)-CAUS-TENT-FIN**
out of respect for what [you] deigned to say, [I] **tried to make** her **go** [and serve in the palace] (TM 56.5–6)

おもやの内には女どもばんにをりてまもらす
omoya-no uti-ni fa wonna-domo ban-ni wor-ite **mamor-as-u**
woman quarters-GEN inside-LOC TOP woman-PLUR guard-LOC be-SUB **guard-CAUS-FIN**
Inside the women's quarters, female [servants] were on guard, and [he] **made** [them] **guard** [Kaguya-hime] (TM 61.11–12)

(In this example *-as-* can be interpreted only as causative, since the honorific cannot be used towards female servants.)

きぬきせつる人は心ことになるなりといふ
kinu **ki-se-t-uru** fito fa kokoro koto n-i nar-unar-i to if-u
garment **put on-CAUS-PERF-ATTR** person TOP heart different DV-INF become-HS-FIN DV say-FIN
They say that a person **whom [they] make put on** [the celestial] garment will change [his] feelings (TM 65.6–7)

そのかよひぢに夜ごとに人をすへてまもらせければ
sono kayofi-di-ni yo-goto-ni fito-wo sufe-te **mamor-ase-ker-e-ba**
his going back and forth-way-LOC night-every-LOC person-ACC put-SUB **guard-CAUS-RETR2-EV-CON**
because every night [the master] made a guard watch the path [the man] used to come and go on (IM V:113.10–11)

ちちはこと人にあはせむといひける
titi fa koto-fito-ni **af-ase-m-u** to if-iker-u
father TOP different-person-DAT **meet-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV say-RETR2-ATTR
[Her] father said that [he] wanted to marry (*lit.*: **wanted to make [her] meet**) [her] to a different person…(IM X:118.3)

さかづきささせて
sakaduki **sas-ase-te**
wine cup **offer-CAUS-SUB**
[he] **made** [his wife] **offer** the wine cup [to the guest], **and**…(IM XLIV: 137.5)

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中納言とおもしろき所々いでおはしましつつふみつくりあそばせ給に
tiunagon-to omosiro-ki tokoro-dokoro ide-ofasimas-itutu fumi **tukur-i-asob-ase-tamaf-u**-ni
chūnagon-COM beautiful-ATTR place-place go out(INF)-be(HON)-COOR text **make-INF-make banquet-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR**-LOC
as [the Emperor] was going out with the Chūnagon all the time to beautiful places and **organized banquets for composing** poetry…(HM I:163.9)

御あしまいらせさせ給はなん
mi-asi **mair-ase-sase-tamafa-n-an**
PREF(HON)-foot **rub-CAUS-CAUS(INF)-HON-PERF-TENT**
Please allow [me] **to rub** [your] feet (HM II:228.10)

(In this example there are two causative markers within one form: the first is the proper causative, and the second is used as an honorific.)

それさへいみじうくちおしう心うくこの中納言宮をよのつねならずいみじうおもひきこえさせ給へる
sore safe imizi-u kutiosi-u kokoro u-ku kono tiunagon miya-wo yo-no tune nar-azu imizi-u **omof-i-kikoyesase-tamaf-er-u**
that PT extreme-INF deplorable-INF heart sad-INF this chūnagon prince-ACC world-GEN general be-NEG/INF extreme-INF **love-INF-HUM(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR**
that is extremely deplorable and sad, and this Chūnagon dearly **loves** the Prince, with [a love] that is unusual in the world (HM II:260.3–4)

(This is an interesting example, since it shows at the same time humility towards the Prince (auxiliary *kikoyesase-*) and honorification towards the Chūnagon (*-tamaf-*).)

5.3.0 Auxiliary verbs

All auxiliary verbs in the language of Classical Japanese prose, with the exceptions of *nar-* 'to be' used after the attributive form and *gata-* 'to be difficult' used after the nominalized form, follow the infinitive form of a main verb, although some of them can also alternatively follow the subordinative gerund *-ite*. Therefore, formally there is no distinction between a verb with an auxiliary and a verbal compound like *ik-i-k-u* go-INF-come-FIN 'come and go'. There is, however, a significant difference in meaning, since an auxiliary does not carry its own lexical meaning. Thus, for example, both *yom-u* and *yom-i-tamaf-u* convey the idea that someone recites a poem; however, the latter form with auxiliary *tamaf-* indicates that someone esteemed does the recitation.

It is necessary to note that auxiliary verbs are frequently left undescribed in traditional Japanese grammars of the language of the Heian period (Yamada 1952). The only exceptions to the dearth of grammatical descriptions of auxiliary verbs are the honorific and polite auxiliaries (Ikeda 1975 is one of the most detailed descriptions to date), but even those can be very brief and sketchy

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Honorific *tamaf-* can also be used independently, with the meanings 'to give' (of a superior to an inferior), 'to grant', or 'to bestow'.

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo **yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite** ofasimas-itar-i
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT **stop at-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB** come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came **without** even **stopping at** his own house (TM 36.15–16)

(In this example honorific auxiliary *tamaf-* is used in the middle of the clause and is followed by another honorific verb. Cf. the example from TM 52 below, where *tamaf-* is used only with the last verb in a clause.)

御目はしらめにてふし給へり
mi-me fa sira-me n-ite **fus-i-tamaf-er-i**
PREF(HON)-eye TOP white-eye DV-SUB **lie down-INF-HON-PROG-FIN**
[He] **was lying down** with the whites of his eyes showing (TM 52.7–8)

御ぐしもたげて御手をひろげ給へるに
mi-gusi motage-te mi-te-wo **firoge-tamaf-er-u**-ni
PREF(HON)-head raise-SUB PREF(HON)-hand-ACC **spread(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR**-LOC
when [he] raised [his] head and **opened** [his] hand…(TM 52.12–13)

(As can be seen from this example, the honorific auxiliary is normally used only with the last verb describing actions of the same person within the same clause. Cf. the example from TM 36 above.)

二条のきさきのまだみかどにもつかうまつり給はで
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada mikado-ni mo **tukaumatur-i-tamaf-ade**
two-CL-GEN empress-GEN yet emperor-DAT PT serve-HUM-INF-HON-NEG/GER
The Empress from the Second Ward **had not yet served** the Emperor, and… (IM III:112.9)

(In this example, the humility of the future Empress towards the Emperor is expressed by the humble verb *tukaumatur-* and the author's honorification towards the future Empress by *tamaf-*.)

内へまいり給ふに
uti-fe **mair-i-tamaf-u**-ni
inside-ALL **come(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR**-LOC
when [they] **came** inside [the palace] …(IM VI:114.15)

(In this example, the author's honorification towards the courtiers is expressed by *tamaf-* and their humility towards the palace as the seat of the Emperor by the humble verb *mair-* 'come'.)

ほとけの御名を御心にいれて御こゑはいとたうとくて申たまふをききて
fotoke-no mi-na-wo mi-kokoro-ni ire-te mi-kowe fa ito tauto-ku-te **mawos-i-tamaf-u**-wo kik-ite

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御消息などもここへな給はせそ
go-seusoku-nado mo koko-fe **na-tamaf-ase-so**
PREF(HON)-letter-REPR PT here-ALL TOP **NEG-give(HON)-HON-IMP**
Please do not send letters here, either (HM I:180.13)

5.3.1.1.2 Honorific auxiliary *tab-*

The honorific *tab-* is a contraction of *tamaf-*: *tab-* < *tamf-* < *tamaf-*, and it has absolutely the same function. However, *tab-* is used very rarely compared to *tamaf-*. It is not attested in *Ise monogatari* or *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. There is only one example of its usage as an auxiliary in *Taketori monogatari*, and three examples of its independent usage in that text.

かね給はぬ物ならば彼衣のしち返したべ
kane tamaf-an-u mono nar-aba kano koromo n-o siti **kafes-i-tab-e**
money give(HON)-NEG-ATTR thing be-COND that garment DV-ATTR pawn **return-INF-HON-IMP**
If [you] do not send [me] money, **please return** the pawned garment (TM 42.15)

Independent usage

むすめを吾にたべ
musume-wo ware-ni **tab-e**
daughter-ACC I-DAT **give(HON)-IMP**
give your daughter to me (TM 31.8)

家にすこしのこりたりける物どもはたつのたまをとらぬものどもにたびつ
ife-ni sukosi nokor-itar-iker-u mono-domo fa tatu-no tama-wo tor-an-u mono-domo-ni **tab-it-u**
house-LOC few remain-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR thing-PLUR TOP dragon-GEN jade-ACC take-NEG-ATTR person-PLUR-DAT **give(HON)-PERF-FIN**
[he] **gave** the few things that remained in [his] house to the servants who had not got the dragon's jade (TM 49.6–7)

御つかひたびしかどかひなく見えず成にけり
mi-tukafi **tab-isika-do** kafi na-ku mi-ye-zu nar-in-iker-i
PREF(HON)-messenger **give(HON)-RETR1/EV-CONC** use no-INF see-PASS-NEG/GER become-PERF-RETR2-FIN
although [I = the Emperor] **sent** the messenger, it was no use, and [she] could not see [Kaguya-hime] (TM 55.4–5)

5.3.1.1.3 Honorific auxiliary *ofas-/ofase-*

The auxiliary *ofas-/ofase-*, according to traditional grammar, may belong to three verbal paradigms: consonantal, vowel, and irregular (*se-* 'to do') (Ikeda

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1975: 173). However, the only difference between *ofase-* belonging to the irregular paradigm and *ofase-* belonging to the vowel paradigm is found before verbal suffixes beginning with the vowel /i/, where the irregular paradigm form is *ofas-i* ... and the vowel paradigm form is *ofase-*. However, the 'irregular' form *ofas-i* can be analysed as belonging to the consonantal paradigm, and therefore there is no need to set up three different paradigms for this verb. I treat it as belonging either to a consonantal paradigm (*ofas-*) or to a vowel paradigm (*ofase-*).

The auxiliary verb *ofase-/ofas-* is used as an honorific marker, conveying the respect of a speaker towards the addressee or the third person, as well as the respect of the author towards a certain character s/he mentions in the text. In independent usage, *ofas-/ofase-* has the meanings 'to be', 'to exist', 'to come', 'to go'.

The auxiliary verb *ofas-* also occurs in a special form *ofasimas-*, which historically is a combination of *ofas-* and another honorific auxiliary, *imas-*. Like *ofas-/ofase-*, *ofasimas-* can also be used as an auxiliary and as an independent honorific verb. There seems to be no difference in meaning or function between the two.

The honorific auxiliaries *ofase-/ofas-* and *ofasimas-* usually follow the infinitive form of a main verb, and all verbal suffixes are added to the stem of *ofas-/ofase-*, and not to the stem of the main verb. However, there are some cases when *ofas-/ofase-* follows the subordinative gerund *-ite* and not the infinitive form of the main verb. There is also one case when *ofasimas-* precedes the main verb (see the example from HM IV:363.7 below). This peculiarity is also shared by the humble auxiliary *mawos-* (see 5.3.1.2.5).

In *Ise monogatari ofas-* is rarely used as an auxiliary and mostly occurs as an independent honorific verb.

人もあまたゐておはしまさず
fito mo amata **wi-te ofasimas-az-u**
person PT many **bring-SUB go(HON)-NEG-FIN**
[he] **did not bring** many people [with him], either (TM 35.10)

ほうらいのたまのえだをひとつの所あやまたずもておはしませり
Fourai-no tama-no yeda-wo fito-tu n-o tokoro ayamat-azu **mo-te ofasimas-er-i**
Fourai-GEN pearl-GEN branch-ACC one-CL DV-ATTR place stray-SUB/NEG **hold-SUB come(HON)-PROG-FIN**
[he] **brought** [you] the pearl branch from Mount Hōrai as you requested (*lit.*: without straying [from his way] to any (*lit.*: one) [other] place) (TM 36.14)

みなみの海にふかれおはしぬべし
minami-no umi-ni **fuk-are-ofas-in-ube-si**
south-GEN sea-ALL **blow-PASS(INF)-HON-PERF-DEB-FIN**
[we] **could be blown** [away] to the Southern seas (TM 47.9–10)

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how PT be such-ATTR thing no-INF-SUB TOP **be(HON)-TENT/ATTR**
How **would** [you] **live** without such a thing? (TM 32.3–4)

いづれもをとりまさり**おはしまさねば**御心ざしの程はみゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i **ofasimas-an-e-ba** mi-kokorozasi-no fodo fa mi-y-ube-si
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML **be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON** PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent TOP see-PASS-DEB-FIN
Since neither [of you] **is** superior or inferior, [she] must see the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.5–6)

たびの御すがたながら**おはしたり**
tabi-no mi-sugata nagara **ofas-itar-i**
travel-GEN PREF(HON)-attire CONJ **come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[he] **came** while still in [his] travel attire (TM 36.8–9)

わが御家へもより給ずして**おはしましたり**
wa-ga mi-ife-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite **ofasimas-itar-i**
his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT stop at-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB **come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[he] **came** without even stopping at his own house (TM 36.15–16)

ひんがしの五条におほきさいの宮**おはしましける**にしのたいにすむ人有けり
fingasi-no go-zyau-ni ofo kisai-no miya **ofasimas-iker-u** nisi-no tai-ni sum-u fito ar-iker-i
east-GEN five-CL-LOC big empress-GEN prince **be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR** west-GEN wing-LOC live-ATTR person be-RETR2-FIN
There was a lady living in the western wing [of the palace] when the Dowager Empress **was residing** in the Eastern Fifth Ward (IM IV:112.12)

昔西院のみかどと申すみかど**おはしましけり**
mukasi Saiin-no mikado to mawos-u mikado **ofasimas-iker-i**
long ago Western Pavilion-GEN Emperor DV say(HUM)-ATTR Emperor **be(HON)-RETR2-FIN**
Long ago, **there was** an Emperor, whom [the people] called the Emperor of the Western Pavilion (IM XXXIX:133.10)

むかしかやのみこと申すみこ**おはしましけり**
mukasi kaya n-o miko to mawos-u miko **ofasimas-iker-i**
long ago Kaya DV-ATTR prince DV say(HUM)-ATTR prince **be(HON)-RETR2-FIN**
Long ago, **there was** a Prince, whom [the people] called Prince Kaya (IM XLIII:136.8)

みこたち**おはしまさせて**
miko-tati **ofasimas-ase-te**

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Prince-PLUR(HON) **come-CAUS-SUB**
[He] **made** the princes **come and**…(IM LXXXI:158.4)

かかる人のおはしけるよとおどろきて
kakar-u fito-no **ofas-iker-u** yo to odorok-ite
be such-ATTR person-GEN **be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR** PT DV be surprised-SUB
[they] were surprised: '**It turns out that there is** such a person!' (HM I: 153.8)

中納言のおはしまし所
tiunagon-no **ofasimas-i** tokoro
chūnagon-GEN **be(HON)-INF** place
the place **where** the Chūnagon **will be** (HM I:154.16)

ここへはえおはしまさじ
koko-fe fa **ye-ofasimas-azi**
here-ALL TOP **PREV-come(HON)-NEG/TENT**
[You] **should not come** here (HM I:180.10)

けふはこなたになおはせそ
kefu fa konata-ni **na-ofase-so**
today TOP here-ALL **NEG-come(HON)-IMP**
Do not come here today (HM IV:332.6)

5.3.1.1.4 Honorific auxiliary *ofose-/ofos-*

The auxiliary verb *ofose-/ofos-* is used as an honorific marker, conveying the respect of a speaker towards the addressee or a third person, as well as the respect of the author towards a certain character s/he mentions in the text. In independent usage, *ofos-/ofose-* has the meaning 'to say', 'to tell'. It is predominantly used as an independent honorific equivalent of *if-* 'to say', and occurs as an auxiliary verb very seldom. Moreover, when used as an auxiliary honorific verb, *ofose-* combines exclusively with main verbs expressing verbal or mental activity. Thus, it is not completely grammaticalized as an auxiliary. Finally, in the auxiliary function it is used only in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*; it does not occur as an auxiliary in the earlier texts.

Similar to the honorific auxiliary *ofas-/ofase-* described above, *ofose-/ofos-* may also belong to either a consonant or a vowel paradigm. However, this variation seems to be chronologically based. Thus, in *Taketori monogatari* the consonant variant occurs predominantly, while in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* the vowel verb *ofose-* is used almost exclusively, and the consonant verb *ofos-* is found only once (HM V:413.16, see below under examples of independent usage). Another peculiarity of the vowel verb *ofose-* used in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is that it is always followed by the passive marker *-rare-* which

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As an honorific auxiliary, *imas-* occurs only in *Taketori monogatari*. It appears as an independent honorific suppletive verb meaning 'to be', 'to exist' or 'to go/come' in all three texts that form the basis for this study, but its occurrence in *Ise monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* is limited to one example each. As an honorific auxiliary, *imas-* can follow either the infinitive or the subordinative gerund of a main verb.

歌よみくはへてもちていましたり
uta yom-i-kufafe-te **mot-ite imas-itar-i**
poem compose-INF-add-SUB **hold-SUB come-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[he] added a poem, and **brought** [the garment] (TM 43.8)

さればかへりいましにけり
s-ar-e-ba **kafer-i-imas-in-iker-i**
thus-be-EV-CON **return-INF-HON-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Thereupon [he] **went home** (TM 44.16)

火ねずみのかは衣もていましてかぐや姫にすみ給ふと
fi-nezumi-no kafa-"goromo **mo-te imas-ite** Kaguya-fime-ni sum-i-tamaf-u to
fire-rat-GEN skin-(GEN)garment **bring(SUB) HON-SUB** Kaguya-fime-LOC live-INF-HON-FIN DV
[they] said: '[He] **brought** the garment [made] from the skin of the fire-rat, and [he] lives at Kaguya-hime['s place]' (TM 44.15)

みまなこ二にすもものやうなる玉をぞそへていましたる
mi-manako futa-tu-ni sumomo n-o yau nar-u tama-wo zo **sofe-te imas-itar-u**
PREF(HON)-pupil-of-the eye two-CL-LOC plum DV-ATTR like be-ATTR round object-ACC PT **add-SUB be(HON)-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
His eyes became like two round plums (*lit.*: [he] **got** two round objects like plums in both eyes) (TM 49.10–11)

Independent usage

この人々のとし月をへてかうのみいましつつのたまふこと
kono fito-bito-no tosi tuki-wo fe-te ka-u nomi **imas-itutu** notamaf-u koto
this person-person-GEN year month-ACC pass-SUB thus-INF PT **exist(HON)-COOR** say(HON)-ATTR thing
The fact that (for passing through) years and months **continuously** these people **behave** just like this and talk [about their love for you] (TM 32.6)

ここにやいますなどとふ
koko-ni ya **imas-u** nado tof-u
here-LOC PT **be(HON)-FIN** REPR ask-FIN
[They] asked whether [he] **was** there (TM 44.15)

みそかにつかさにいまして
misoka n-i tukasa-ni **imas-ite**

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secret DV-INF office-ALL **go(HON)-SUB**
[he] secretly **went** to the [palace kitchen] office, **and** ...(TM 51.9–10)

かかるみちはいかでかいます
kakar-u miti fa ikade ka **imas-uru**
be such-ATTR road TOP how PT **be(HON)-ATTR**
How [did you happen] **to be** on such a road? (IM IX:116.14)

ゐまするところからにだにあらず
wimas-uru tokoro-kara n-i dani ar-azu
be(HON)-ATTR place-type DV-INF PT be-NEG/GER
[it] was not only the type of place **where** [she] **was** ...(HM III.276.3)

5.3.1.2 *Humble auxiliary verbs*

There are six humble auxiliary verbs in the studied texts: *tatematur-*, *tukaumatur-*, *tamaſe-*, *kikoye-*, *kikoyesase-*, and *mawos-*. They indicate the humility of one person towards another of higher social status. This humility is not necessarily limited to that of a speaker or a narrator towards an addressee or a third person; it can also be used to describe the actions of one third person towards another third person of a higher social status.

5.3.1.2.1 Humble auxiliary *tatematur-*

The auxiliary verb *tatematur-* is predominantly a humble marker, expressing the humility of a speaker towards his or her addressee or of a third person towards another third person. In both cases *tatematur-* demonstrates that either the speaker or the former third person has a lower rank than the addressee or the latter third person. In rare cases, *tatematur-* can be used by a higher-ranking person towards a lower-ranking addressee. In this case, *tatematur-* probably acquires a slight pejorative meaning. In addition, in the later texts, *tatematur-* is sometimes used as an honorific auxiliary. This usage is obviously innovative as it never occurs in the earlier texts.

Historically *tatematur-* is a compound verb, consisting of the infinitive *tate-* of the verb *tate-* 'to make stand', 'to establish' and the humble auxiliary *matur-*. However, the latter is never used except within *tatematur-* and another humble auxiliary *tukaumatur-*, which is discussed in the next section. Therefore, I do not describe *matur-* as a separate humble auxiliary.

Like all other honorific auxiliaries, *tatematur-* follows the infinitive form of a main verb in the overwhelming number of cases.

Similar to honorific auxiliaries, *tatematur-* can also be used as an independent verb with the meanings 'to give', 'to offer', 'to send' (to a superior).

The auxiliary *tatematur-* does not appear frequently in *Ise monogatari*. Moreover, in both auxiliary and independent usages, the majority of examples with *tatematur-* in the text cluster suspiciously around *dans* LXXVI–LXXXIII.

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おやとこそ思たてまつれといふ
oya to koso **omof-i-tatematur-e** to if-u
parent DV PT **think-INF-HUM-EV** DV say-FIN
[Kaguya-hime] said: '[I] **thought** [of you] as [my] parent' (TM 31.16–32.1)

毛のすゑーすぢをだにうごかしたてまつらじ
ke-no suwe fito-sudi-wo dani **ugokas-i-tatematur-azi**
hair-GEN end one-CL-ACC PT **move-INF-HUM-NEG/TENT**
[I] **will not touch** even one end of [his] hair! (TM 48.1–2)

かぐやひめをやしなひたてまつること廿余年に成ぬ
Kaguya-fime-wo **yasinaf-i-tatematur-u** koto ni-zifu yo nen n-i nar-in-u
Kaguya-hime-ACC **raise-INF-HUM-ATTR** thing two-ten exceed year DV-INF be-PERF-FIN
[I] **have been raising** Kaguya-hime for more than twenty years (TM 64.1)

いとひさしうゐていでたてまつらず
ito fisasi-u wi-te **ide-tatematur-az-u**
very long-INF be-SUB **go out(INF)-HUM-NEG-FIN**
[They] were sitting [in the carriage] for a long time, and [the procession with the Princess's coffin] **did not go out** (IM XXXIX:133.12–13)

みこにかはりたてまつりてきのありつね
miko-ni **kafar-i-tatematur-ite** Ki-no Aritune
prince-DAT **change-INF-give(HUM)-SUB** Ki-GEN Aritune
Ki-no Aritune [composed the poem] instead of the Prince…(IM LXXXII:160.7)

む月におがみたてまつらんとて小野にまうでたるに
mu-tuki-ni **ogam-i-tatematur-an** to-te Wono-ni maude-tar-u-ni
first-month-LOC **pay respect-INF-give(HUM)-TENT/FIN** DV-SUB Wono-ALL go(HUM)-PERF/PROG-ATTR-LOC
when [he] went to Ono with the intention of **paying [his] respects** [to the Prince] in the first month…(IM LXXXIII:161.2)

いまよりはかたとき見たてまつらで
ima-yori fa kata-toki **mi-tatematur-ade**
now-ABL TOP single-time **see(INF)-HUM-NEG/GER**
from now on [even] for a short time **without seeing** [you] …(HM I:179.3–4)

宮には人々まいりあつまりていつしかとまちたてまつるに
miya-ni fa fito-bito mair-i-atumar-ite itu si ka to **mat-i-tatematur-u**-ni
palace-ALL TOP person-person come(HUM)-INF-gather-SUB when PT PT DV **wait-INF-HUM-ATTR**-LOC
People came to the palace and **waited**, thinking: 'When [will he arrive]?' (HM II:241.9–10)

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御はかまぎにしんでんにうつしたてまつり給
mi-fakamagi-ni sinden-ni **utus-i-tatematur-i-tamaf-u**
PREF(HON)-ceremony of putting on first hakama-ALL main pavilion-ALL **move-INF-HUM-INF-HON-FIN**
[they] **moved** [her] to the main pavilion for the ceremony of putting on the first **hakama** (HM II:253.1)

(Double honorifics are used in this example: *tatematur-* expresses the humility of the agent towards the patient, and *tamaf-* shows the author's honorification of the agent.)

をのれがもちたてまつりて侍みこ
wonore-ga **mot-i-tatematur-ite faber-u** miko
I myself-POSS **hold-INF-HUM-SUB be(POL)-ATTR** prince
the prince, **whom** I myself **have** (HM II:259.5)

Independent usage

これをかぐやひめききてこのたてまつる文をとれといひて
kore-wo Kaguya-fime kik-ite kono **tatematur-u** fumi-wo tor-e to if-ite
this-ACC Kaguya-fime hear-SUB this **give(HUM)-ATTR** letter-ACC take-IMP DV say-SUB
Kaguya-hime heard this and said: 'Take this letter **that** [the craftsmen] **are presenting**' (TM 40.1–2)

からうじてかひとりてたてまつる
karauzite kaf-i-tor-ite **tatematur-u**
barely buy-INF-take-SUB **give(HUM)-FIN**
[I] **send** [it to you], having bought it with great difficulty (TM 42.13)

(The merchant to the Minister of the Right.)

なんぢがもちて侍るかぐやひめたてまつれ
nandi-ga mot-ite faber-u Kaguya-fime **tatematur-e**
you-POSS hold-SUB HUM-ATTR Kaguya-fime **give(HUM)-IMP**
Give [me] Kaguya-hime, whom you have (TM 55.3–4)

(The Emperor to the bamboo-cutter.)

つぼなる御くすりたてまつれ
tubo-n-ar-u mi-kusuri **tatematur-e**
jar-LOC-be-ATTR PREF(HON)-medicine **take(HUM)-IMP**
Take the medicine which is in the jar! (TM 65.3)

(The celestial being to Kaguya-hime.)

御くるまよりたまはりてよみてたてまつりける
mi-kuruma-yori tamafar-ite yom-ite **tatematur-iker-u**

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PREF(HON)-carriage-ABL receive(HUM)-SUB compose-SUB **give(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR**
[he] received [a gift] from [the Empress's] carriage, and composing a poem, **offered** [it to the Empress] (IM LXXVI:154.13–14)

人々ささげ物たてまつりけり
fito-bito sasage-mono **tatematur-iker-i**
person-person offering-thing **give(HUM)-RETR2-FIN**
Various people **presented** offerings (IM LXXVII:155.5–6)

春の心ばえあるうたたてまつらせたまふ
faru-no kokorobaye ar-u uta **tatematur-ase-tamaf-u**
spring-GEN mood be-ATTR song **give(HUM)-CAUS(INF)-HON-FIN**
[he] **made** [them] **present** the poems that had a mood of spring (IM LXXVII:155.10)

きのくにの千里のはまにありけるいとおもしろきいしたてまつれりき
Ki-no kuni-no Tisato n-o fama-ni ar-iker-u ito omosiro-ki isi **tatematur-er-iki**
Ki-GEN province-GEN Tisato DV-ATTR shore-LOC be-RETR2-ATTR very beautiful-ATTR stone **give(HUM)-PROG-RETR1/FIN**
[he] **presented** a very beautiful stone from the Chisato shore in the province of Ki (IM LXXVIII:156.9–10)

このいしをたてまつらん
kono isi-wo **tatematur-an**
this stone-ACC **give(HUM)-TENT/FIN**
[I] **am going to present** this stone [to the Prince] (IM LXXVIII:156.11)

あの御かたにせうそこたてまつらん
ano on-kata-ni seusoko **tatematur-an**
that PREF(HON)-person-DAT letter **give(HUM)-TENT/FIN**
[I] **am going to send** a letter to that person (HM II:243.8)

Special honorific usage

The humble auxiliary *tatematur-* can also sometimes be used as an honorific auxiliary, expressing honorification of the addressee or a third person. This usage does not occur in the earlier texts and is only found in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. Ikeda Tadashi also mentions that the honorific *tatematur-* can be used independently with the meanings 'to put on [clothes]', 'to arrive', or 'to ride [a carriage]', but there are no examples of this usage in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, where the honorific *tatematur-* is always used as an auxiliary.

みかどもおぼしめしおどろきてただこの中納言をあさゆふにもてあそびなづさひたてまつりて
mikado mo obosimes-i-odorok-ite tada kono tiunagon-wo asa yufu-ni **mote-asob-i-nadusaf-i-tatematur-ite**

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food (from a superior)', but apparently this usage did not survive into the Heian period (Ikeda 1975: 153).

The humble auxiliary *tamafe-* has a contracted form *tabe-*, which is attested in texts of later periods, but for the Heian period it is extremely rare (Ikeda 1975: 156). It does not appear in our texts at all.

The humble auxiliary *tamafe-* is attested only in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, but even there it is used very infrequently.

人にも知らせじと**思給てなん**
fito-ni mo sir-ase-zi to **omof-i-tamafe-te** nan
person-DAT PT know-CAUS-NEG/TENT DV **think-INF-HUM-SUB** PT
[I] think that [we] should not let people know (HM II:243.5)

たちかへりもおもひ**給へしかども**
tat-i-kafer-i mo **omof-i-tamafe-sika-domo**
leave-INF-return-NML PT **think-INF-HUM-RETR1/EV-CONC**
Although [I] thought about going back, too…(HM III:286.8)

御かたみとあはれに**見給つつ**
mi-katami to afare n-i **mi-tamafe-tutu**
PREF(HON)-farewell present DV sadness DV-INF **look(INF)-HUM-COOR**
looking with sadness at [it] as at [father's] farewell present…(HM V:417.7)

5.3.1.2.4 Humble auxiliary *kikoye-*

Like all other honorific auxiliaries, *kikoye-* in most cases follows the infinitive form of the main verb. However, there is one example where it follows the subordinative gerund rather than the infinitive, like *ofas-*, *tukaumatur-* and *tematur-* described above.

Like the humble auxiliaries *tematur-* and *tukaumatur-*, *kikoye-* can also be used as an independent verb with the meaning 'to say' (to a superior).

The verb *kikoye-* is used much more frequently as an independent verb than as an auxiliary. *Ise monogatari* again differs from the other texts, having just one example of *kikoye-* used as an auxiliary verb.

竹の中より**見つけきこえたりしかど**
take-no naka-yori **mi-tuke-kikoye-tar-isika-do**
bamboo-GEN inside-ABL **see(INF)-attach(INF)-HUM-PERF/PROG-RETR1/EV-CONC**
Although [I] **found** [you] in the bamboo…(TM 60.3)

我子をなに人かむかへ**きこえん**
wa-ga ko-wo nani fito ka **mukafe-kikoye-n**
I-POSS child-ACC what person PT **meet(INF)-HUM-TENT/ATTR**
Will (some) people **come to take** my child? (TM 60.4)

(Referring to other people's actions, *kikoye-* acquires a pejorative meaning, as in this example.)

Material com direitos autorais

かく久しく**あそびきこえて**
ka-ku fisasi-ku **asob-i-kikoye-te**
thus-INF long-INF **enjoy life-INF-HUM-SUB**
[I] **was enjoying life** [with you] for a long time, **and** …(TM 60.8)

いにしへのことなど**思ひいでてきこえけり**
inisife-no koto-nado **omof-i-ide-te kikoye-ker-i**
past-GEN thing-REPR **think-INF-SUB HUM-RETR2-FIN**
[he] **was recalling** things of the past (IM LXXXIII:161.4–5)

まちきこゆるにおはしつきぬ
mat-i-kikoy-uru-ni ofas-i-tuk-in-u
wait-INF-HUM-ATTR-LOC HON-INF-arrive-PERF-FIN
while [they] **waited**, [he] arrived (HM IV:363.7)

天にしばしありつれど我もふかくあはれと**思ひ聞えしかば**
ama-ni sibasi ar-it-ure-do ware mo fuka-ku afare to **omof-i-kikoye-sika-ba**
heaven-LOC some time be-PERF-EV-CONC I PT deep-INF affection DV **think-INF-HUM-EV-CON**
though [I] was in heaven for some time, **I was thinking** [about you] with deep affection, **and therefore** …(HM V:402.10)

Independent usage

かくなむ**きこゆる**やうに見せ給へといへば
ka-ku namu **kikoy-uru** yau n-i mi-se-tamaf-e to if-e-ba
thus-INF PT **say(HUM)-ATTR** like DV-INF look-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP DV say-EV-CON
when [he] said: 'Look, [this is] what [she] **says**' (TM 34.1)

武蔵なるおとこ京なる女のもとに**きこゆれば**はづかし**きこえねば**くるしとかきて
Musasi-n-ar-u otoko miyako-n-ar-u wonna-no moto-ni **kikoy-ure-ba** fadukasi-Ø **kikoye-n-e-ba** kurusi-Ø to kak-ite
Musasi-LOC-be-ATTR man capital-LOC-be-ATTR woman-GEN base-LOC **say(HUM)-EV-CON** be embarrassed-FIN **say(HUM)-NEG-EV-CON** be cruel-FIN DV write-SUB
A man who was in Musasi wrote to a woman who was in the capital: '**If [I] tell** [you], [I] will be embarrassed, **if [I] do not** tell [you], [it] will be cruel' (IM XIII:119.9–10)

をのが**きこゆる**ことをばいままでたまはねば
wono-ga **kikoy-uru** koto-woba ima-made tamaf-an-e-ba
myself-POSS **ask(HUM)-ATTR** thing-ACC(EMPH) now-TERM give(HON)-NEG-EV-CON
because [you] did not give [me] what **I asked for** until now (IM XCIV:167.6)

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Independent usage

御こたへともかくもきこえさせずして
mi-kotafe to mo ka-ku mo **kikoyesase-zu** s-ite
PREF(HON)-reply this PT thus-INF PT **say(HUM)-NEG/GER** do-SUB
[the Chūnagon] **did not say anything** in reply [to the Emperor], and… (HM I:199.3)

ただきこえさするままにてものし給へ
tada **kikoyesas-uru** mama n-ite mono s-i-tamaf-e
just **say(HUM)-ATTR** as is DV-SUB thing do-INF-HON-IMP
Tell [her] just to stay [here] as [I] **said** (HM II:220.7–8)

上の給はすること姫君にきこえさすれば
ufe notamaf-as-uru koto Fime-gimi-ni **kikoyesas-ure-ba**
top say(HON)-CAUS-ATTR thing Fime-gimi-DAT **say(HUM)-EV-CON**
When [they] told Hime-gimi what [her] parents had said…(HM II:221.16)

みづからなんくはしくは聞えさすべき事
midukara nan kufasi-ku fa **kikoyesas-ube-ki** koto
I-myself PT detailed-INF TOP **tell(HUM)-DEB-ATTR** matter
The matter of **which I must tell** [you] myself in detail (HM V:391.5–6)

5.3.1.2.6 Humble auxiliary *mawos-*

Like all other honorific auxiliaries, *mawos-* follows the infinitive form of the main verb.

Like other humble auxiliaries with the exception of *tamafe-*, *mawos-* can also be used as an independent verb with the meaning 'to say' (to a superior). It acquires a pejorative connotation when used in reference to an addressee.

The verb *mawos-* is used much more frequently as an independent verb than as an auxiliary. *Ise monogatari* again stands out from the other texts as it contains no examples of *mawos-* used as an auxiliary. As an auxiliary, *mawos-* occurs only after main verbs of verbal activity, which probably demonstrates that it was not fully grammaticalized.

The auxiliary *mawos-* normally follows the infinitive of the main verb, but there is one example when it precedes it (see the example from HM I:161.16 below), a peculiarity shared with honorific auxiliary *ofas-/ofase-* (see 5.3.1.1.3).

このたびはいかでかいなび申さん
kono tabi fa ikade ka **inab-i-mawos-am-u**
this time TOP how PT **refuse-INF-HUM-TENT-ATTR**
How **would** [you] **refuse** [him] this time? (TM 37.3)

おほくの事を申こひけるゆめに
ofo-ku-no koto-wo **mawos-i-kof-iker-u** yume-ni

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そののちなむ門ひろくもなり侍る
sono noti namu kado firo-ku mo **nar-i-faber-u**
that after PT gate wide-INF PT **become-INF-POL-ATTR**
After that the gate of their house **becomes** wide (TM 32.3)

なんでうさることかし侍らん
nandeu sar-u koto ka **s-i-faber-an**
why be such-ATTR thing PT **do-POL-TENT/ATTR**
Why **should [I] do** such a thing? (TM 32.4)

なんぢがもちて侍るかぐやひめたてまつれ
nandi-ga **mot-ite faber-u** Kaguya-fime tatematur-e
you-POSS **hold-SUB (be)POL-ATTR** Kaguya-fime give(HUM)-IMP
Give [me] Kaguya-hime, **whom** you **have** (TM 55.3–4)

(The Emperor to the bamboo-cutter. In this example the Emperor uses the imperative of the humble verb *tatematur-e*, which is natural since the bamboo-cutter is lower on the social ladder than the Emperor, but the usage of *faber-* shows that the Emperor is nevertheless speaking politely.)

なでう物をかなげき侍べき
nadeu mono-wo ka **nagek-i-faber-ube-ki**
why thing-ACC PT **worry-INF-be(POL)-DEB-ATTR**
Why **should [you] worry** about anything? (TM 59.2)

今まですごし侍りつるなり
ima-made **sugos-i-faber-it-uru nar-i**
now-TERM **postpone-INF-POL-PERF-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN**
[I] **was postponing** [telling you] until now (TM 59.13)

五にあたり侍むすめのすぐれたるあいしに侍り
itu-ni **atar-i-faber-u** musume-no sugure-tar-u aisi **n-i faber-i**
five-LOC **correspond-INF-POL-ATTR** daughter-GEN be supreme-PERF/PROG-ATTR beloved child **DV-INF be(POL)-FIN**
The fifth (*lit.*: **corresponding** to five) daughter **is** an especially beloved child (HM I:172.13)

ただ時々かやうにめし侍らんおりおりまいり侍りなん
tada toki-doki ka yau n-i **mes-i-faber-an** ori-ori **mair-i-faber-in-an**
only time-time that like DV-INF **summon-INF-POL-TENT/ATTR** moment-moment **come(HUM)-INF-POL-PERF-TENT/FIN**
Only at those moments when [you] **wish to summon** [me] like that from time to time **should** [I] **come** (HM I:173.11–12)

(This example clearly demonstrates that *faber-* has the function of politeness exclusively and has nothing to do with honorification: it is used here twice, once after the honorific verb *mes-* 'to summon', referring to the action by the addressee, and again after the humble verb *mair-* 'to come', referring to the action by the speaker.)

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きやうへのぼり侍べき
kyau-fe **nobor-i-faber-ube-ki**
capital-ALL **ascend-INF-POL-DEB-ATTR**
[we] **must go** to the capital (HM II:217.15)

中将にはかしこにてあづけ侍しなり
tiuzyau-ni fa kasiko n-ite **aduke-faber-isi nar-i**
tiuzyau-DAT TOP there DV-SUB **give(INF)-POL-RETR1/ATTR be-FIN**
[I] **gave** [it] to Chūjō being there (HM II:242.15)

たれとかはしり給べきと思侍ど
tare to ka fa sir-i-tamaf-ube-ki to **omof-i-faber-e-do**
who DV PT TOP know-INF-HON-DEB-ATTR DV **think-INF-POL-EV-CONC**
Though [I] think [you] probably know who [I am]…(HM II:261.3)

Independent usage

をのが身は此国にむまれて侍らば
wono-ga mi fa kono kuni-ni mum-are-te **faber-aba**
myself-POSS body TOP this country-LOC bear-PASS-SUB **be(POL)-COND**
If I was born in this country (*lit.*: If I **existed** having been born in this country)…(TM 56.16–57.1)

いといておはしましがたくや侍らんとそうす
ito i-te ofasimas-i-ⁿgata-ku ya **faber-an** to sou-s-u
very bring-SUB be(HON)-NML-(GEN)hard-INF PT **be(POL)-TENT/ATTR** DV say(HUM)-do-FIN
[She] said [to the Emperor]: '**Would it** (not) **be** hard [for you] to live if [you] take [me with you] by force? (TM 57.1–2)

このごろとなりてはただごとにも侍らざめり
kono goro to nar-ite fa tada ⁿgoto n-i mo **faber-az-a-mer-i**
this time DV become-SUB TOP just (DV)thing DV-INF PT **be(POL)-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-FIN**
at this time (*lit.*: when [it] became this time), it **is not** a simple matter (TM 58.13–14)

まかりなんずる事のくちおしう侍けり
makar-in-anz-uru koto-no kutiosi-u **faber-iker-i**
go away(HUM)-PERF-MOD-ATTR thing-GEN regrettable-INF **be(POL)-RETR2-FIN**
[it] **is** regrettable that [I] am going to go away (TM 62.8–9)

程なくまかりぬべきなめりと思ふがかなしく侍る也
fodo na-ku makar-in-ube-ki na-mer-i to omof-u-ga kanasi-ku **faber-u nar-i**
time no-INF go away(HUM)-PERF-DEB-ATTR be-CONJC-FIN DV think-ATTR-POSS sad-INF **be(POL)-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN**

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when [I] think that it looks as if [I] must certainly go away soon, [I] **really become** sad (TM 62.9–10)

身づからは日本の人にてなんはべりし
midukara fa Nifon-no fito n-ite nan **faber-isi**
I TOP Japan-GEN person DV-SUB PT **be(POL)-RETR1/ATTR**
I **was** Japanese (HM I:165.10–11)

そこはかとなくおどろおどろしくくるしき事は侍らねど
soko fa ka to na-ku odoro-odorosi-ku kurusi-ki koto fa **faber-an-e-do**
there TOP PT DV no-INF surprising-surprising-INF unpleasant-ATTR matter TOP **be(POL)-NEG-EV-CONC**
Though there will not be anything in any way unpleasant or surprising… (HM I:170.13)

いつしかに侍
itu si ka n-i **faber-u**
when PT PT DV-INF **be(POL)-ATTR**
When **was** [it]? (HM II:232.2–3)

いづこのたよりかは侍らん
iduko-no tayori ka fa **faber-an**
where-GEN message PT TOP **be(POL)-TENT/ATTR**
Where **can** the message **be** from? (HM III:266.1)

ほんたいはをのづからきかせたまふやうも侍らん
fontai fa wonodukara kik-ase-tamaf-u yau mo **faber-an**
Clan TOP itself hear-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR like PT **be(POL)-TENT/FIN**
It looks (*lit.*: **is**) as if [her] clan made itself known (HM III:266.12)

5.3.1.3.2 Polite auxiliary *saburaf-*

In contrast to all other honorific and polite auxiliaries, *saburaf-* follows both the infinitive and subordinative gerund of a main verb or honorific auxiliary with the same frequency. It belongs to the consonant paradigm.

Like the polite auxiliary *faber-* and honorific auxiliaries, *saburaf-* can be used both as an auxiliary and as an independent verb meaning 'to serve (a superior)' or 'to be'. In its usage as an independent verb meaning 'to serve (a superior)' it expresses humility, not politeness, while in the meaning 'to be' it is a polite equivalent of the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist.'

As a polite auxiliary, *saburaf-* is attested only once in the earlier texts, and then only in *Taketori monogatari*. In *Ise monogatari saburaf-* is used only as independent humble verb meaning 'to serve (a superior)'. In *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*' *saburaf-* is also more frequently found as an independent verb than as an auxiliary.

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おもてをふたぎて候へど
omote-wo **futag-ite saburaf-e-do**
face-ACC **cover-SUB POL-EV-CONC**
although [she] covered [her] face (TM 56.14–15)

なげきかなしみて候つるに
nagek-i-kanasim-ite saburaf-it-uru-ni
worry-INF-grieve-SUB be(POL)-PERF-ATTR-LOC
[we] **were worried and sad,** and…(HM I:172.14)

いままでかやうにてさぶらひ
ima-made ka yau **n-ite saburaf-i**
now-TERM that like **DV-SUB be(POL)-INF**
being like that until now (HM I:177.6–7)

こよひいていで候なむ
koyofi **i-te ide-saburaf-in-am-u**
tonight **bring-SUB go out(INF)-POL-PERF-TENT-FIN**
Tonight [I] **will get** [you] **out** (HM V:419.2)

Independent usage

いかなる所にかこの木はさぶらひけん
ika nar-u tokoro-ni ka kono ki fa **saburaf-ik-en**
how become-ATTR place-LOC PT this tree TOP **be(POL)-RETR1-TENT/ATTR**
In what kind of place **was** this tree? (TM 37.7)

さぶらふ人々
saburaf-u fito-bito
serve(HUM)-ATTR person-person
persons, **who served** [him] (TM 41.7)

殿上にさぶらひける在原なりけるおとこ
tononoufe-ni **saburaf-iker-u** Arifara nar-iker-u otoko
lady-DAT **serve(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR** Ariwara be-RETR2-ATTR man
a man from the Ariwara clan, who **served** the ladies [from Seiryōden] (IM LXV:147.3–4)

このゑづかさにさぶらひけるおきな
konowe-^{n}dukasa-ni **saburaf-iker-u** okina
imperial guard-(GEN)office-LOC **serve(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR** old man
an old man, **who served** in the office of the Imperial Guard… (IM LXXVI:154.13)

こよひはここにさぶらはんと申たまふ
ko yofi fa koko-ni **saburaf-an** to mawos-i-tamaf-u
this evening TOP here-LOC **serve(HUM)-TENT/FIN** DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-FIN
[he] said: '[I] **would like to serve** here tonight' (IM LXXVIII:156.6–7)

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おほたかのたかがひにてさぶらはせたまひける
ofo-taka-no taka-ᵑgaf-i n-ite **saburaf-ase-tamaf-iker-u**
big-falcon-GEN falcon-(GEN)feed-NML DV-INF **serve(HUM)-CAUS (INF)-HON-RETR2-ATTR**
[the Emperor] **made** [him] **serve** as an [imperial] falconer [who uses] large falcons (IM CXIV:176.11–12)

さぶらひつとて
saburaf-it-u to-te
be(POL)-PERF-FIN DV-SUB
[the wet nurse] replied: '**There was** [a letter]' (HM II:221.8)

いとうれしうさぶらふ事かな
ito uresi-u **saburaf-u** koto kana
very joyful-INF **be(POL)-ATTR** thing PT
[it] **will be** very joyful [for her]! (HM III:266.3)

いかにも思ひよる方候はず
ikani mo omof-i-yor-u kata **saburaf-az-u**
how PT think-INF-approach-ATTR way **be(POL)-NEG-FIN**
there is no way to explain [it] out (HM V:392.1)

いままでこれに候ける
ima-made kore-ni **saburaf-iker-u**
now-TERM he-DAT **serve(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR**
[you] **served** him till now (HM V:419.1)

5.3.2 Other auxiliaries

Besides honorific and polite auxiliaries there are also: assertive *nar-*, cooperative-reciprocal *af-*, directives *ide-/idas-*, *ir-/ire-*, *ko-*, *yuk-/ik-*, *age-/agar-*, *kudas-*, *otos-*, *yar-*, *watar-*, *yor-/yose-*, *kake-/kakar-*, resultatives *fate-*, *tuke-/tuk-*, *tome-*, and the auxiliary *gata-*. These auxiliaries are primarily used as independent verbs, and appear in their auxiliary function much more seldom than in the independent usage.

5.3.2.1 *Assertive auxiliary* nar-

The assertive *nar-* 'to be' indicates that an action certainly occurs, occurred, or will occur, roughly equivalent to the English 'to do' + verb construction. The formal peculiarity of *nar-* is that in sharp contrast to all other auxiliaries it follows not the infinitive but the attributive.

When the attributive form *ar-u* of the verb *ar-* 'to exist', 'to be' precedes the assertive *nar-* it undergoes significant phonetic modifications, which range from the loss of its final vowel /u/ in front of *nar-* and assimilation of /r/ to the following /n/, resulting in the secondary synthetic form /annar-/, to the complete loss

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of the syllable /ru/, resulting in the secondary synthetic form /anar-/. I denote such cases in the glosses as ASSER, rather than *be*(ASSER), showing that *nar-* in such secondary synthetic forms is already completely grammaticalized.

かたき事どもにこそ**あなれ**
kata-ki koto-domo n-i koso **a-nar-e**
hard-ATTR thing-PLUR DV-INF PT **be-ASSER-EV**
[These] **are certainly** difficult tasks (TM 33.14)

今まですごし待りつるなり
ima-made **sugos-i-faber-it-uru nar-i**
now-TERM **postpone-INF-POL-PERF-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN**
[I] **was postponing** [telling you] until now (TM 59.13)

程なくまかりぬべきなめりと思ふがかなしく侍る也
fodo na-ku **makar-in-ube-ki na-mer-i** to omof-u-ga kanasi-ku **faber-u nar-i**
time no-INF **go away-PERF-DEB-ATTR be-CONJC-FIN** DV think-ATTR-POSS sad-INF **be(POL)-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN**
when [I] think that **[it] looks as if [I] must certainly go away** soon, [I] **really become** sad (TM 62.9–10)

夢にも人に**あはぬなりけり**
yume-ni mo fito-ni **af-an-u nar-iker-i**
dream-LOC PT person-DAT **meet-NEG-ATTR be(ASSER)-RETR2-FIN**
[I] **do not meet** [my] beloved, even in [my] dreams (IM IX:117.1)

(This example comes from a poem.)

わすれぬるなめりととひごとしける女
wasure-n-uru na-mer-i to tof-i-ⁿgoto s-iker-u wonna
forget-PERF-ATTR be(ASSER)-CONJC-FIN DV ask-NML-(GEN)thing do-RETR2-ATTR woman
the woman who asked: '**Does it seem that [you] forgot [about me]?**' (IM XXXVI:132.9)

おやこのちぎりこのよの事にもあらざんなる
oya ko-no tigir-i kono yo-no koto n-i mo **ar-az-an-nar-u**
parent child-GEN vow-NML this world-GEN thing DV-INF PT **be-NEG/INF-ASSER-ATTR**
The ties between parents and children **are certainly not** a matter of this world (HM I:202.10–11)

かれにあづくべき物侍なり
kare-ni aduk-ube-ki mono **faber-u nar-i**
she-DAT entrust-DEB-ATTR thing **be(POL)-ATTR be(ASSER)-FIN**
there is indeed something I must entrust to her (HM II:217.10)

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女はむげに心えざるなるべし
wonna fa muge n-i **kokoroye-z-ar-u nar-ube-si**
woman TOP at all DV-INF **understand-NEG/GER-be-ATTR be(ASSER)-DEB-FIN**
the woman **could not really understand** [it] at all (HM II:229.10–11)

5.3.2.2 *Cooperative-reciprocal auxiliary* af-

The cooperative-reciprocal auxiliary *af-* 'to meet', 'to fit' indicates that an action performed by two or more people is either performed by them together (cooperative usage) or is directed by them reciprocally at themselves (reciprocal usage). The cooperative-reciprocal *af-* is usually found followed by the progressive *-er-*. Auxiliary *af-* follows the infinitive of a main verb. There is only one example of the auxiliary *af-* in *Ise monogatari*.

あなをくじりかひまみまどひあへり
ana-wo kuzir-i kafima-mi **madof-i-af-er-i**
hole-ACC bore-INF peep inside(INF) **sigh for-INF-COOP-PROG-INF**
[they] bored holes [in the fence], **peered inside and sighed for** [Kaguya-hime] **(all together)** (TM 30.9–10)

竜のくびにたまはいかがとらむと申あへり
tatu-no kubi-ni tama fa ikaga tor-am-u to **mawos-i-af-er-i**
dragon-GEN neck-LOC jewel TOP how take-TENT-FIN DV **say(HUM)-INF-REC-PROG-FIN**
[They] **were saying to each other**: 'How would [we] take the jewel from the dragon's neck?' (TM 45.7)

あれもたたかはで心ちただしれにしれてまもりあへり
are mo tatakaf-ade kokoti tada sire n-i sire-te **mamor-i-af-er-i**
they PT fight-NEG/GER spirit just be stupefied(NML) DV-INF be stupefied-SUB **watch-INF-REC-PROG-FIN**
they did not fight either and, being utterly dumbfounded, [they and the celestial beings] **watched each other** (TM 63.7–8)

かぎりなくとをくもきにけるかなとわびあへるに
kagir-i na-ku towo-ku mo k-in-iker-u kana to **wabi-af-er-u**-ni
limit-NML no-INF far-INF PT come-PERF-RETR2-ATTR PT DV **lament(INF)-COOP-PROG-ATTR**-LOC
when [they] **were lamenting together**: 'Oh, [we] have come extremely far!' …(IM IX:117.7–8)

いひあへるなかに
if-i-af-er-u naka-ni
say-INF-REC-PROG-ATTR inside-LOC
while [they] **were talking to each other** (HM I:157.9)

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はなをみてもふみをずんじあへるはとしらまほしきに
fana-wo mi-te mo fumi-wo **zun-z-i-af-er-u** fa to sir-amafosi-ki-ni
flower-ACC see-SUB PT text-ACC **recite-do-INF-COOP-PROG-ATTR** TOP DV know-OPT-ATTR-LOC
although [he] wanted to know whether [they] view the flowers and **recite poems together**…(HM I:160.8)

三の君きん四の君こと五の君びはかきあはせたるこゑごゑいづれとなくおもしろし
mi-tu n-o kimi kin yo-tu n-o kimi koto itu-tu n-o kimi bifa **kak-i-af-ase-tar-u** kowe-gowe idure to na-ku omosiro-si
three-CL DV-ATTR lady zither four-CL DV-ATTR lady koto five-CL DV-ATTR lady biwa **play-INF-COOP-CAUS-PERF/PROG-ATTR** voice-voice which DV no-INF beautiful-FIN
The sounds of [musical instruments], **played together**: the *biwa*, played by the fifth daughter, the *koto*, played by the fourth daughter, and the zither, played by the third daughter, were all beautiful (HM I:214.6–8)

5.3.2.3 *Directive auxiliaries*

Directive auxiliaries indicate the direction of movement of an action, such as up and down, towards and away from the speaker, etc.

5.3.2.3.1 Directive auxiliaries *ide-* and *idas-*

The directive auxiliaries *ide-* 'to go out', 'to exit' and *idas-* 'to take out' indicate that the movement of an action is carried from inside one area to another area. The difference between *ide-* and *idas-* as auxiliaries is not clear. The former is used much more frequently than the latter. Both follow the infinitive of a main verb.

とて返しいだす
to-te **kafes-i-idas-u**
DV-SUB **return-INF-take out-FIN**
[she] recited…and **returned (out)** [the bowl to him] (TM 35.1)

つくしのかたの海にこぎ出給ひぬ
Tukusi-no kata-no umi-ni **kog-i-ide-tamaf-in-u**
Tukusi-GEN side-GEN sea-ALL **row-INF-go out(INF)-HON-PERF-FIN**
[He] **reached (out)** to the sea near Kyūshū (TM 47.3)

さがかみをとりてかなぐりおとさむさがしりをかき出て
sa-ga kami-wo tor-ite kanagur-i-otos-am-u sa-ga siri-wo **kak-i-ide-te**
they-POSS hair-ACC take-SUB pull-INF-drop-TENT-FIN they-POSS bottom-ACC **pull-INF-go out-SUB**
[I] will pull [them] down by their hair, [I] will bare their bottoms (*lit.*: **will pull out** their bottoms) (TM 62.5–6)

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こぞを思いでてよめる
kozo-wo **omof-i-ide-te** yom-er-u
last year-ACC **think-INF-go out-SUB** read-PROG-ATTR
[he] **recalled** last year, and read [the poem] (IM IV:113.4)

いひいでむたよりもなさにまことならぬ夢がたりをす
if-i-ide-m-u tayori mo na-sa n-i makoto nar-an-u yume-^{n}gatari-wo s-u
say-INF-go out-TENT-ATTR chance PT no-NML DV-INF truth be-NEG-ATTR dream-(GEN)story-ACC do-FIN
because [she] had no chance **to express** [her feelings], [she] made up a false dream (IM LXIII:145.10)

おとこはたねられざりければとのかたを見いだしてふせるに
otoko fata ne-rare-z-ar-iker-e-ba to-no kata-wo **mi-idas-ite** fus-er-u-ni
man again sleep-PASS-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON outside-GEN side-ACC **look(INF)-take out-SUB** lie down-PROG-ATTR-LOC
because the man could not sleep, [he] was lying down **looking (out)** outside … (IM LXIX:150.14–150.1)

御事どもとりいでて給はせたる
mi-koto-domo **tor-i-ide-te** tamafase-tar-u
PREF(HON)-koto-PLUR **take-INF-go-out-SUB** give(HON)-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[the Prince] **took out** [his] *koto* and gave [one to the Chūnagon] (HM I:161.1)

大将殿のひめ君の御事ふとおもひいでられてこひしかりけり
daizyau-dono-no fime-gimi-no mi-koto futo **omof-i-ide-rare-te** kofisi-k-ar-iker-i
daizyau-lord-GEN daughter-GEN PREF(HON)-matter suddenly **think-INF-go out-PASS-SUB** nostalgic-INF-be-RETR2-FIN
[he] suddenly **recalled** the matter of the Daijō's daughter, and started to miss [her] (HM I:180.5)

むねうちさはぎつつ思ひ出られ給へば經をよみあかし給て
mune uti-safag-itutu **omof-i-ide-rare-tamaf-e-ba** kyau-wo yom-i-akas-i-tamaf-ite
chest PREF-be agitated-COOR **think-INF-go out-PASS-HON-EV-CON** sutra-ACC read-INF-dawn-INF-HON-SUB
as [he] recalled [her], [his] chest rising [with excitement], [he] read sutras until dawn, and…(HM V:391.2–3)

5.3.2.3.2 Directive auxiliaries *ir-* and *ire-*

The directive auxiliaries *ir-* 'to enter' and *ire-* 'to insert', 'to put in' indicate that the movement of an action is carried from one area to another. It seems that *ire-* is used only with transitive verbs, while *ir-* appears after both transitives and intransitives, although there is only one example of its usage after a transitive

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verb (in Taketori monogatari, first example below). In contrast with *ide-/idas-*, described above in 5.3.2.43.1, the transitive *ire-* and intransitive *ir-* seem to occur with the same frequency. Both follow the infinitive of a main verb, although *ir-* can also follow the subordinative gerund *-ite*.

翁もちていりたり
okina **mot-ite ir-itar-i**
old man **hold-SUB enter-PERF/PROG-FIN**
the old man **brought in** [the golden branch] (TM 36.11)

竹とりの翁はしり入りていはく
Taketori n-o okina **fasir-i-ir-ite** if-aku
Taketori DV-ATTR old man **run-INF-enter-SUB** say-NML
The old man Taketori **ran inside** [to Kaguya-hime] and said…(TM 36.13)

竹とり出きてとりいれてかぐや姫にみす
Taketori ide-k-ite **tor-i-ire-te** Kaguya-fime-ni mi-s-u
Taketori go out(INF)-come-SUB **take-INF-insert-SUB** Kaguya-fime-DAT see-CAUS-FIN
Taketori went out [to him], **took** [the garment] **inside**, and showed it to Kaguya-hime (TM 43.12)

女をばおくにをしいれて
wonna-woba oku-ni **wos-i-ire-te**
woman-ACC(EMPH) inside-LOC **push-INF-insert-SUB**
[he] **put the woman inside**, and…(IM VI:114.7)

いづこをはかりともおぼえざりければかへりいりて
iduko-wo fakar-i to mo oboye-z-ar-iker-e-ba **kafer-i-ir-ite**
where-ACC apply-NML DV PT think-NEG-be-RETR2-EV-CON **return-INF-enter-SUB**
because [he] did not know where to start [searching for her], [he] **returned inside**, and…(IM XXI:124.10–11)

いみじのすきもののしわざやとてあつまりていりきければ
imizi n-o sukimono-no siwaza ya to-te **atumar-ite ir-i-k-iker-e-ba**
extreme DV-ATTR lover-GEN occupation PT DV-SUB **gather-SUB enter-INF-come-RETR2-EV-CON**
because [they] **gathered inside** [his manor], saying: 'Is it an occupation for a great lover?' (IM LVIII:142.9–10)

くつはとりておくになげいれてのぼりぬ
kutu fa tor-ite oku-ni **nage-ire-te** nobor-in-u
shoe TOP take-SUB inside-LOC **throw(INF)-insert-SUB** go up-PERF-FIN
[he] went into [his office] after **throwing** [his] shoes **inside** (IM LXV:147.10–11)

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こなたにめしいれたり
konata-ni **mes-i-ire-tar-i**
this side-ALL call(HON)-INF-make **enter-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[the Prince] **called** [the Chūnagon] **(in)** to this side (*i.e.* the place where the Prince was) (HM I:156.5–6)

いとまたかくおぼしいりぬるを
ito mata ka-ku **obos-i-ir-in-uru**-wo
very again thus-INF **think(HON)-INF-enter-PERF-ATTR**-ACC
the fact that [the Chūnagon] **plunged** deeply **into** [his] **thoughts** again (HM II:225.13)

それをば思いれで
sore-woba **omof-i-ire-de**
that-ACC(EMPH) **think-INF-insert-NEG/GER**
without taking that **into consideration** (HM II:229.9)

5.3.2.3.3 Directive auxiliary *ko-*

The directive auxiliary *ko-* 'to come' indicates that an action is directed to the place where the speaker (or, in some cases, the person under discussion) is located. It can also indicate that an action is developing towards the present moment, although the cases of this usage are not very frequent. The directive auxiliary *ko-* follows the infinitive of the main verb.

女山の中より出きて
wonna yama-no naka-yori **ide-k-ite**
woman mountain-GEN inside-ABL **go out(INF)-come-SUB**
a woman **came out** from the mountain and…(TM 38.8)

かかる程におとこども六人つらねて庭に出きたり
kakar-u fodo-ni otoko-domo roku-nin turane-te nifa-ni **ide-k-itar-i**
be such-ATTR time-LOC man-PLUR six-CL go in line-SUB garden-LOC **appear(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-FIN**
at this time, six men **appeared** in the garden (TM 39.12)

よにあるものならばこのくににももてまうできなまし
yo-ni ar-u mono nar-aba kono kuni-ni mo **mo-te maude-k-in-amasi**
world-LOC be-ATTR thing be-COND this country-ALL PT **bring-SUB come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-SUBJ**
If [it] were a thing that existed in the world, [they] **would have definitely brought** [it] to this country, too (TM 42.3)

もと見し人のまへにいできて
moto mi-si fito-no mafe-ni **ide-k-ite**
base see-RETR1/ATTR person-GEN front-LOC **go out(INF)-come-SUB**

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[she] **came out** in front of the person whom [she] used to see before and… (IM LXII:144.13)

よき御をとこぞいでこん
yo-ki mi-wotoko zo **ide-ko-n**
good-ATTR PREF(HON)-man PT **appear(INF)-come-TENT/ATTR**
A good man **will appear** [for you]! (IM LXIII:145.12)

身にかさもひとつふたついできにけり
mi-ni kasa mo fito-tu futa-tu **ide-k-in-iker-i**
body-LOC abscess PT one-CL two-CL **go out(INF)-come-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
one or two abscesses **appeared** on [the woman's] body (IM XCVI:168.9)

ここかしこよりその人のもとへいなむずなりとてくぜちいできにけり
koko kasiko-yori sono fito-no moto-fe in-amuz-unar-i to-te kuzeti **ide-k-in-iker-i**
here there-ABL that person-GEN base-ALL go-MOD-HS-FIN DV-SUB rumour **go out(INF)-come-PERF-RETR2-FIN**
Rumours surfaced here and there that [she] was going to move to that person['s place] (IM XCVI:168.11–12)

いかなる事かいでこん
ika nar-u koto ka **ide-ko-n**
how become-ATTR thing PT **go out(INF)-come-TENT/FIN**
something **will come out** (HM I:207.3)

御をくりにこれまでわたりきたる
mi-wokur-i-ni kore-made **watar-i-k-itar-u**
PREF(HON)-see off-INF-ALL this-TERM **cross over-INF-come-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
the fact that [he] **crossed over** to this [land] in order to see [the Chūnagon] off (HM II:235.5–6)

わたくしのわが身のだいじの事いできぬる心ちして
watakusi-no wa-ga mi-no daizi n-o koto **ide-k-in-uru** kokoti s-ite
he-GEN himself-POSS body-GEN important DV-ATTR thing **go out(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR** mood do-SUB
He felt that for him himself it had **turned out** to be an important thing, and… (HM III.287:16)

5.3.2.3.4 Directive auxiliaries *yuk-* and *ik-*

The directive auxiliaries *yuk-* and *ik-* 'to go' indicate that an action is directed away from the place where the speaker (or, in some cases, the person under discussion) is located. It can also indicate that an action is developing towards the future. Directive auxiliaries *yuk-* and *ik-* follow the infinitive of a main verb. There is no functional difference between *yuk-* and *ik-* since they are doublets.[24]

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it looked as if [he] **wished to fly** [to China] (once) immediately, even though [he would have to] become a bird (HM III:313.12)

5.3.2.3.5 Directive auxiliaries *age-* and *agar-*

The directive auxiliaries *age-* 'to raise' and *agar-* 'to rise' indicate that an action expressed by a main verb is directed upwards. *Age-* is used after transitive main verbs, and *agar-* after intransitive ones. Both follow the infinitive of a main verb. There are only two examples in *Ise monogatari* (one of *age-* and one of *agar-*).

えおきあがり給はでふなぞこにふし給へり
ye-oki-agar-i-tamaf-ade funa-°zoko-ni fus-i-tamaf-er-i
PREV-get-up(INF)-rise-INF-HON-NEG/GER boat-(GEN)bottom-LOC lie-INF-HON-PROG-FIN
[he] **could not get up**, and was lying on the bottom of the boat (TM 48.9–10)

あぐらをゆひあげて
agura-wo **yuf-i-age-te**
watch tower-ACC **assemble-INF-raise-SUB**
having erected the watch towers…(TM 50.6)

七度めぐらんおりひきあげて
siti-do megur-an ori **fik-i-age-te**
seven-time turn-TENT/ATTR moment **pull-INF-raise-SUB**
when [the swallow] turns seven times, **pull up** [the basket], **and**…(TM 51.8)

その山はここにたとへばひえの山をはたちばかりかさねあげたらんほどして
sono yama fa koko-ni tatof-e-ba Fiye n-o yama-wo fatati bakari **kasane-age-tar-an** fodo s-ite
that mountain TOP here-LOC compare-EV-CON Hiei DV-ATTR mountain-ACC twenty PT **pile up(INF)-raise-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR** degree do-SUB
That mountain, when compared with [mountains] here, is about twenty [times] as high as Mount Hiei (*lit.*: as high as Mount Hiei **piled up** about twenty times)…(IM IX:117.4)

ほたるたかくとびあがる
fotaru taka-ku **tob-i-agar-u**
firefly high-INF **fly-INF-rise-FIN**
Fireflies were **flying up** high [into the air] (IM XLV:138.1)

そなたのつまのみすまきあげて
sonata-no tuma-no mi-su **mak-i-age-te**
that side-GEN edge-GEN PREF(HON)-curtain **roll-INF-raise-SUB**
[They] **rolled up** the curtains on the edge of that (*i.e.* opposite) side, and… (HM I:159.2)

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they-POSS hair-ACC take-SUB **pull-INF-drop-TENT-FIN**
[I] **will pull** [them] **down** by their hair (TM 62.5–6)

せめておもひおとせど
semete **omof-i-otos-e-do**
strongly **think-INF-drop-EV-CONC**
although [he] strongly **despised** [it]…(HM I:188.8)

このよのひとにおもひおとさるる
kono yo-no fito-ni **omof-i-otos-ar-uru**
this country person-AGT **think-INF-drop-PASS-ATTR**
despised by the people of this country (HM I:207.10–11)

5.3.2.3.8 Directive auxiliary *yar-*

The directive auxiliary *yar-* 'to send' indicates that the action expressed by the main verb is directed at a certain object (or goal) located some distance from the agent. The directive auxiliary *yar-* in most cases follows the infinitive of the main verb, although there are two examples when it follows the subordinative gerund *-ite* (see the examples from TM 31.4–5 and IM LXIX:150.9–10 below).

文をかきてやれど返事せず
fumi-wo **kak-ite yar-e-do** kaferigoto se-z-u
letter-ACC **write-SUB send-EV-CONC** reply do-NEG-FIN
Although [they] **wrote** letters [to her], [she] did not even reply (TM 31.4–5)

舟にのりて帰りきにけりと殿につげやりて
fune-ni nor-ite kafer-i-k-in-iker-i to tono-ni **tuge-yar-ite**
ship-LOC ride-SUB return-INF-come-PERF-RETR2-FIN DV palace-ALL **report(INF)-send-SUB**
[the Prince] **sent a message over** to [his] palace: '[I] came back on a ship' (TM 36.3)

とぶらひやる歌
toburaf-i-yar-u uta
inquire-INF-send-ATTR poem
a poem **that** [she] **sent over inquiring** (TM 53.5)

かの女やまとの方を見やりて
kaño wonna Yamato-no kata-wo **mi-yar-ite**
that woman Yamato-GEN side-ACC **see(INF)-send-SUB**
That woman **looked** towards Yamato and…(IM XXIII:127.8)

あはじともいはざりける女のさすがなりけるがもとにいひやりける
af-azi to mo if-az-ar-iker-u wonna-no sasuga nar-iker-u-ga moto-ni **if-i-yar-iker-u**
meet-NEG/TENT DV PT say-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR woman-GEN unclear be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS base-LOC **say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR**

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[he] **sent** [it] to a woman who had been unclear with him, though [she] had not said that [she] would not meet [with him] either (IM XXV:128.15–129.1)

あしたにはかりにいだしたててやり
asita-ni fa kar-i-ni **idas-i-tate-te-yar-i**
morning-LOC TOP hunt-NML-ALL **put out-INF-direct(INF)-SUB-send-INF**
In the morning [she] helped [him to get ready so she could] **send** [him] **out** to hunt and…(IM LXIX:150.9–10)

といふひとみやれば
to if-u fito **mi-yar-e-ba**
DV say-ATTR person **look(INF)-send-EV-CON**
[he] **looked over** at the person who said…(HM III:283.16)

きさきおぼしやるに
kisaki **obos-i-yar-u**-ni
empress **think(HON)-INF-send-ATTR**-LOC
When [the Chūnagon] **remembered** the Empress…(HM V:397.10)

唐などにおもむかせ給心ちせさせ給て出やり給はず
Morokosi-nado-ni omomuk-ase-tamaf-u kokoti se-sase-tamaf-ite **ide-yar-i-tamaf-az-u**
China-REPR-ALL direct-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR mood do-CAUS-HON-SUB **go out(INF)-send-INF-HON-NEG-FIN**
[the Prince] felt like going to China, [but he] **did not set out** (HM V:429.1–2)

5.3.2.3.9 Directive auxiliary *watar-*

The directive auxiliary *watar-* 'to cross' indicates that the action expressed by the main verb continues for a long time. It follows the infinitive of a main verb. The directive auxiliary *watar-* does not occur in *Taketori monogatari*.

としをへてよばひわたりける
tosi-wo fe-te **yobaf-i-watar-iker-u**
year-ACC pass-SUB **visit in the night-INF-cross-RETR2-ATTR**
[he] **visited** [her] in the night through the years (IM VI:114.3–4)

かくかたはにしつつありわたるに
ka-ku katafa n-i s-itutu **ar-i-watar-u**-ni
thus-INF inappropriateness DV-INF do-COOR **be-INF-cross-ATTR**-LOC
As [he] **continued** this inappropriate [relationship]…(IM LXV:147.11)

つれなき人をいかでとおもひわたりければ
turena-ki fito-wo ikade to **omof-i-watar-iker-e-ba**
unresponsive person-ACC how DV **think-INF-cross-RETR2-EV-CON**
as [he] **was continuing to think** how [he could win the affection of] the cold lady…(IM XC:165.9)

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女のつかうまつるをつねに見かはしてよばひわたりけり
wonna-no tukaumatur-u-wo tune n-i mi-kafas-ite **yob-af-i-watar-iker-i**
woman-GEN serve-ATTR-ACC usual DV-INF see(INF)-exchange-SUB **call-ITER-INF-cross-RETR2-FIN**
[a man] **had long been hoping for the love** of a woman who [also] served there, and whom [he] always met (IM XCV:167.12)

色々うつろひわたれるきくの花
iro-iro **uturof-i-watar-er-u** kiku-no fana
colour-colour **change-INF-cross-PROG-ATTR** chrysanthemum-GEN flower
chrysanthemums **that were constantly changing** colours (HM I:159.1)

ひらけわたりたるさま
firake-watar-itar-u sama
open(INF)-cross-PERF/PROG-ATTR view
the sight of [the peach blossoms] **opening**…(HM I:169.3)

たぐひあらじと思ひわたるを
tagufi ar-azi to **omof-i-watar-u**-wo
kind be-NEG/TENT DV **think-INF-cross-ATTR**-ACC
Although [I] **keep thinking** that [she] has no equals…(HM I:178.3)

5.3.2.3.10 Directive auxiliaries *yor-* and *yose-*

The directive auxiliaries *yor-* 'to approach' (intransitive) and *yose-* 'to approach' (transitive), 'to bring up' indicate that the action of a main verb is pointed in a certain direction or at a certain object. The difference between the two is not clear, as both can occur after transitive and intransitive main verbs. Both auxiliaries follow the infinitive of a main verb. These two auxiliaries are not attested in *Ise monogatari*.

あるときは風につけてしらぬ国にふきよせられて
aru toki fa kaze-ni tuke-te sir-an-u kuni-ni **fuk-i-yose-rare-te**
some time TOP wind-LOC attach-SUB know-NEG-ATTR country-ALL **blow-INF-approach-PASS-SUB**
sometimes carried by the wind, [we] **were blown** to unknown lands, **and**… (TM 37.14–15)

南海のはまにふきよせられたるにや
nankai-no fama-ni **fuk-i-yose-rare-tar-u** n-i ya
south-sea-GEN shore-ALL **blow-INF-approach-PASS-PERF/PROG-ATTR** DV-INF PT
Is it **that** [we] **are blown** to the shore in the Southern Seas? (TM 48.8)

浪たちよらぬ住の江の松
nami **tat-i-yor-an-u** Suminoye-no matu

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disgusting-NML be-ATTR thing come-SUB **eat-INF-hang-TENT/FIN** DV do-RETR1/FIN
disgusting-looking creatures would come and try **to devour** [us] (TM 38.1)

浪は舟にうちかけつつ
nami fa fune-ni **ut-i-kake-tutu**
wave TOP ship-ALL **hit-INF-hang-COOR**
Waves **were flowing over** the ship and…(TM 47.5–6)

神はおちかかるやうにひらめく
kami fa **oti-kakar-u** yau n-i firamek-u
god/thunder TOP **fall(INF)-hang-ATTR** like DV-INF **flash-FIN**
[The lightning] was flashing as if the thunder **was going to hit** [them] (TM 47.6)

わらはべにいひかけける
warafabe-ni **if-i-kake-ker-u**
child-attendant-DAT **say-INF-hang-RETR2-ATTR**
[the poem he] **recited** to a child-attendant (IM LXX:152.7)

そのいしのうへにはしりかかる水
sono isi-no ufe-ni **fasir-i-kakar-u** midu
that rock-GEN top-LOC **run-INF-hang-ATTR** water
The water **that was running** over the top of this rock … (IM LXXXVII:163.15)

むかしいやしからぬおとこ我よりはまさりたる人を思かけて
mukasi iyasi-k-ar-an-u otoko ware-yori fa masar-itar-u fito-wo **omof-i-kake-te**
long ago common-INF-be-NEG-ATTR man he-COMP TOP surpass-PERF/PROG-ATTR person-ACC **think-INF-hang-SUB**
Long ago, a man who was not a commoner **fell in love** with a lady who was superior to him, and…(IM LXXXIX:165.6)

と心みにいひかけたれば
to kokoromi n-i **if-i-kake-tar-e-ba**
DV attempt DV-INF **say-INF-hang-PERF/PROG-EV-CON**
when [he] **recited** [his poem to some Chinese ladies] as an [initial] attempt… (HM I:160.13)

さだにゆきかかりなば返らんとせんに事あしくなりなんかし
sa dani **yuk-i-kakar-in-aba** kafer-an to se-n-ni koto asi-ku nar-in-an kasi
thus PT **go-INF-hang-PERF-COND** return-TENT/FIN DV do-TENT/ATTR-LOC thing bad-INF become-PERF-TENT/FIN PT
If [it] even **comes** to this, things will be ugly when [he] plans to go back [to Japan] (HM I:169.14–15)

うつりかしみしこひのころもひきかけつつ
utur-i-ka sim-isi kofi-no koromo **fik-i-kake-tutu**
move-INF-fragrance permeate-RETR1/ATTR love(NML)-GEN garment **pull-INF-hang-COOR**

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and intransitive main verbs. Still, there might have been an original difference of this kind, since *mi-tuke-* means 'to find' or 'to notice', while *mi-tuk-* means 'to get used to seeing'.

この子をみつけて後竹とるに
kono ko-wo **mi-tuke-te** noti take tor-u-ni
this child-ACC **see(INF)-attach-SUB** after bamboo take-ATTR-LOC
when [he] was gathering bamboo, after [he] had **found** this child…(TM 29.9)

むかし山にてみつけたる
mukasi yama n-ite **mi-tuke-tar-u**
long ago mountain DV-SUB **see(INF)-attach-PERF/PROG-SUB**
[I] **found** [her] in the mountains long ago (TM 56.7–8)

あるじききつけて
aruzi **kik-i-tuke-te**
host **hear-INF-attach-SUB**
the host **has heard** [about it], **and**…(IM V:113.10)

返事は京にきつきてなんもてきたりける
kaferigoto fa miyako-ni **k-i-tuk-ite** nan mote-k-itar-iker-u
reply TOP capital-LOC **come-INF-be attached-SUB** PT PREF-come-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR
[her] reply came after [he] **had reached** the capital (IM XX:124.1)

えをひつかでし水のある所にふしにけり
ye-wof-i-tuk-ade si-midu-no ar-u tokoro-ni fus-in-iker-i
PREV-follow-INF-be attached-NEG/GER clear-water-GEN be-ATTR place-LOC lie down-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[she] **could not catch up** [with him], **so** [she] lay down at the place where there was clear water (IM XXIV:128.10)

かかるほどにみかどきこしめしつけて
kakar-u fodo-ni mikado **kikosimes-i-tuke-te**
be such-ATTR time-LOC emperor **hear(HON)-INF-attach-SUB**
at this time the Emperor **heard** [about the affair], **and**…(IM LXV:148.7)

きんのこゑをききつけたる
kin-no kowe-wo **kik-i-tuke-tar-u**
zither-GEN voice-ACC **hear-INF-attach-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
[he] **heard** the sounds of a zither (HM I:158.11–12)

事を御門に御らんじつけられじ
koto-wo mikado-ni **go-ran-z-i-tuke-rare-zi**
thing-ACC emperor-AGT **PREF(HON)-see-do-INF-attach-PASS-NEG/TENT**
the matters probably **will not be noticed** by the Emperor (HM I:194.7)

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もち月のさしいでたるひかりをみつけたらんやうなる
moti-^{n}duki-no sas-i-ide-tar-u fikari-wo **mi-tuke-tar-an** yau nar-u
full-moon-GEN radiate-INF-go out-PERF/PROG-ATTR light-ACC **see(INF)-attach-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR** like be-ATTR
[her appearance] was [as beautiful] as if [one] **had noticed** the light the full moon radiates (HM I:199.13–14)

さやうにありつきてはとみに返らむ事かたくやあらん
sa yau n-i **ar-i-tuk-ite fa** tomi n-i kafer-am-u koto kata-ku ya ar-an
thus like DV-INF **be-INF-be attached-SUB TOP** at once return-TENT-ATTR thing hard-INF PT be-TENT/FIN
it would be hard to return at once **when [one] has settled** [with a woman] like that…(HM II:231.14–15)

5.3.2.4.4 Resultative auxiliary *tome-*

The resultative auxiliary *tome-* indicates that the action of a main verb is done completely. It is a rare auxiliary: it occurs only twice in *Taketori monogatari*, once in a poem in *Ise monogatari*, and only once in the whole of *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. The auxiliary *tome-* follows the infinitive of the main verb.

御門なをめでたくおぼしめさるる事せきとめがたし
mikado nawo medeta-ku obosimes-ar-uru koto **sek-i-tome-^{n}gata-si**
emperor still beautifil-INF think(HON)-PASS-ATTR thing **suppress-INF-stop(NML)-(DV)difficult-FIN**
[it] **was** even more **difficult** for the Emperor **to suppress completely** [his thought] (TM 57.6–7)

かぐや姫をえたたかひとめず成ぬる
Kaguya-fime-wo **ye-tatakaf-i-tome-zu nar-in-uru**
Kaguya-fime-ACC **PREV-fight-INF-stop-NEG/GER become-PERF-ATTR**
the fact that [he] **was completely unable to fight** for Kaguya-hime (TM 66.9)

とりとめぬ風にはありとも
tor-i-tome-n-u kaze n-i fa ar-i tomo
take-INF-stop-NEG-ATTR wind DV-INF TOP be-FIN CONJ
even if [you] were the wind that [one can] **not grasp** (*lit.*: take completely) (IM LXIV:146.10–11)

(This example comes from a poem.)

この人の事をこそみならひとむべかりけれ
kono fito-no koto-wo **koso mi-naraf-i-tom-ube-k-ar-iker-e**
this person-GEN thing-ACC **PT see(INF)-learn-INF-stop-DEB-INF-be-RETR2-EV**
it turns out [we] have to become close to this person (HM I:155.14)

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かぎりなくおぼしあつかふ人あなればうらみなくわかるる御心も
ありがたからん
kagir-i na-ku obos-i-atukaf-u fito a-nar-e-ba uram-i na-ku wakar-uru mi-kokoro mo **ar-i-°gata-k-ar-an**
limit-NML no-INF think(HON)-INF-care-ATTR person be-HS-EV-CON grieve-NML no-INF separate-ATTR PREF(HON)-heart PT **be-NML-(DV)difficult-INF-be-TENT/FIN**
because, as they say, there is a person about whom [she] cares limitlessly, **it would be hard** for [her] to get separated [from that person] without grief (HM II:225.15–16)

そのあふさかのうち忍び**越がたかるべき**ことにはあらず
sono Afusaka-no uti sinob-i **koye-°gata-k-ar-ube-ki** koto n-i fa ar-az-u
that Meeting Slope-GEN inside be secret-INF **cross(NML)-(DV)difficult-INF-be-DEB-ATTR** thing DV-INF TOP be-NEG-FIN
[It] is not that it **should be difficult** to cross secretly that Meeting Slope (HM V:436.10)

5.4 SUPPLETIVE INDEPENDENT HONORIFIC VERBS

A number of suppletive honorific and humble verbs are used independently in the studied texts. Some of these might appear in other texts as honorific or humble auxiliaries (Ikeda 1975), but these occurrences are extremely rare, and in some cases they may be reanalysed as verbal compounds.

5.4.1 Suppletive honorific verbs

The following suppletive honorific verbs occur in the language of Classical Japanese prose: *notamaf-* 'to say', *mes-* 'to call', *kikosimes-* 'to listen', *obos-* 'to think', *obosimes-* 'to think', *imasugar-/imasogar-* 'to be', *go-ran-ze-* 'to see'.

5.4.1.1 *Suppletive honorific verb* notamaf-

The verb *notamaf-* is an honorific suppletive equivalent of the verb *if-* 'to say', 'to tell'. It is used for honorification of both an addressee and a third person[25]. Historically *notamaf-* consists of the infinitive form *nor-i* of the verb *nor-* 'to call', 'to name' and the honorific auxiliary *tamaf-*. The reduction of original *nor-i-tamaf-* to *notamaf-* resulted in a new honorific verb. *Notamaf-* is frequently used in both *Taketori monogatari* and *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, but in *Ise monogatari* it appears only three times, two of which are in the same *dan*, LXXXII.

やつばらをまたじとの**給て**
yatu-bara-wo mat-azi to **notamaf-ite**
good-for-nothing-PLUR(PEJ)-ACC wait-NEG/TENT PT **say(HON)-SUB**
[he] **said** that [he] would not wait for the good-for-nothings and (TM 47.2)

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こはなでうことをのたまふぞ
ko fa nadeu koto-wo **notamaf-u** zo
this TOP what kind of thing-ACC **say(HON)-ATTR** PT
What is this you **are saying**? (TM 60.2–3)

こわだかになのたまひそ
kowa-ⁿdaka n-i **na-notamaf-i-so**
voice-(GEN)high DV-INF **NEG-say(HON)-INF-IMP**
Do not speak loudly (TM 62.7)

このいしをたてまつらんとのたまひて
kono isi-wo tatematur-an to **notamaf-ite**
this rock-ACC give(HUM)-TENT/FIN DV **say(HON)-SUB**
[he] **said**: '[I] will present this rock [to the Prince], **and**…(IM LXXVIII: 156.11–12)

みこののたまひける
miko-no **notamaf-iker-u**
prince-GEN **say(HON)-RETR2-ATTR**
What the Prince said…(IM LXXXII:159.12)

うたよみてさかづきはさせとのたまうければ
uta yom-ite sakaduki fa sas-e to **notamau-ker-e-ba**
poem recite-SUB sake cup TOP offer-IMP DV **say(HON)-RETR2-EV-CON**
when [the Prince] **told** [him]: 'Recite a poem…and offer a cup of *sake*' (IM LXXXII:159.13–14)

ことばにはの給はで
kotoba-ni **notamaf-ade**
word-LOC **say(HON)-NEG/GER**
without saying [it] in words…(HM I:156.9)

上の給はすること姫君にきこえさすれば
ufe **notamaf-as-uru** koto Fime-gimi-ni kikoyesas-ure-ba
top **say(HON)-CAUS-ATTR** thing Fime-gimi-DAT say(HUM)-EV-CON
When [they] told Hime-gimi what [her] parents **had said**…(HM II:221.16)

我ならばかへらざらましとの給はせて
ware nar-aba kafer-az-ar-amasi to **notamaf-ase-te**
I be-COND return-NEG/GER-be-SUBJ DV **say(HON)-CAUS-SUB**
[the Prince] **said**: '…If it were I, [I] would not return' (HM III:313.9–10)

5.4.1.2 *Suppletive honorific verb* mes-

The verb *mes-* is basically a suppletive honorific equivalent of the verb *yob-* 'to call'. However, in the language of Classical prose *mes-* can be used to mean 'to order', aside from the meaning 'to call' or 'to summon'.[26] It can be used to

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exalt actions of both an addressee and a third person. In *Ise monogatari*, *mes-* occurs only twice.

Mes- also occurs historically within the complex suppletive honorific verbs *kikosimes-* 'to hear' and *obosimes-* 'to think'. In spite of this fact, I do not treat *mes-* as an honorific auxiliary within these forms, since: (1) there is no honorific verb *kikos-* in the studied texts; (2) while there is an honorific verb *obos-* in our texts, the honorific *obosimes-* is a special one: it refers almost exclusively to the Emperor and members of the imperial family.

六人をめしとりて
roku-nin-wo **mes-i-tor-ite**
six-CL-ACC **summon-INF-take-SUB**
[he] **summoned** six people, and…(TM 35.13–14)

御かどのめしてのたまはん事
mikado-no **mes-ite** notamaf-an koto
emperor-GEN **order(HON)-SUB** say(HON)-TENT/ATTR thing
What[ever] the Emperor **orders and** tells [me]…(TM 54.7–8)

月のいはかさと云人をめして
tuki-no ifa-kasa to if-u fito-wo **mes-ite**
'Moon-GEN rock-hat' DV say-ATTR person-ACC **summon-SUB**
[the Emperor] **summoned** a person named 'Rock hat of the moon', **and**… (TM 66.15–67.1)

はなの賀にめしあづけられたりけるに
fana-no ga-ni **mes-i-aduke-rare-tar-iker-u**-ni
flower-GEN celebration-ALL **summon(HON)-INF-entrust-PASS-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR**-LOC
when [he] **was summoned** to the [cherry] blossom celebration… (IM XXIX:130.5)

うたよむ人々をめしあつめて
uta yom-u fito-bito-wo **mes-i-atume-te**
poem recite-ATTR person-person-ACC **summon(INF)-gather-SUB**
[he] **summoned together** the people who recited poetry (IM LXXVII:155.9)

こなたにめしいれたり
konata-ni **mes-i-ire-tar-i**
this side-ALL **call(HON)-INF-make enter-PERF/PROG-FIN**
[the Prince] **called** [the Chūnagon] to this side (*i.e.* the place where he was) (HM I:156.5–6)

ただ時々かやうにめし侍らんおりおりまいり侍りなん
tada toki-doki ka yau n-i **mes-i-faber-an** ori-ori mair-i-faber-in-an
only time-time that like DV-INF **summon-INF-RESP-TENT/ATTR** moment-moment come(HUM)-INF-POL-PERF-TENT/FIN

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Only at moments when [you] **wish to summon** [me] from time to time like that should [I] come (HM I:173.11–12)

くはしくめしおほせられて
kufasi-ku **mes-i-ofose-rare-te**
detailed-INF **call(HON)-INF-HON-PASS-SUB**
[the Chūnagon] **instructed** [them] in detail, **and**…(HM III:277.12)

殿上に源中納言まいり給へりときこしめしてこなたにとめしたれば
tenzyau-ni Minamoto tiunagon mair-i-tamaf-er-i to kikosimes-ite konata-ni to **mes-itar-e-ba**
palace-ALL Minamoto chūnagon come(HUM)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN DV hear(HON)-SUB here-ALL DV **summon(HON)-PERF/PROG-EV-CON**
[the Emperor] heard that Chūnagon Minamoto had come to the palace and **summoned** [him], saying: '[Let him come] here' (HM III:309.2–5)

5.4.1.3 *Suppletive honorific verb* kikosimes-

The verb *kikosimes-* is a suppletive honorific equivalent of the verbs *kik-* 'to hear', 'to listen', and *if-* 'to say'. It is normally used to exalt the actions of both an addressee and a third person, but in the Emperor's speech it can be used to exalt his own actions. In the studied texts *kikosimes-* occurs only in reference to emperors or deities. There is just one example in *Ise monogatari*.

かぢとりの御神きこしめせ
kaditori-no mi-kami **kikosimes-e**
steersman-GEN PREF(HON)-deity **listen(HON)-IMP**
Deity of steersmen, **please listen**! (TM 47.16)

御門きこしめしておほくの人ころしてける心ぞかしとの給ひて
mikado **kikosimes-ite** ofo-ku-no fito koros-ite-ker-u kokoro zo kasi to **notamaf-ite**
emperor **say(HON)-SUB** many-INF-GEN person kill-PERF-RETR2-ATTR heart PT PT DV **say(HON)-SUB**
the Emperor **said**: '[It is] the heart that has destroyed many people'… (TM 55.1–2)

かほかたちよしときこしめして
kafo katati yo-si to **kikosimes-ite**
face appearance good-FIN DV **hear(HON)-SUB**
[I] **have heard** that [she] is beautiful…(TM 55.4)

(Emperor's speech.)

これをきこしめしておほせ給
kore-wo **kikosimes-ite** ofose-tamaf-u
this-ACC **hear(HON)-SUB** say(HON)(INF)-HON-ATTR
[the Emperor] **heard** this **and** said…(TM 55.7–8)

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かかるほどにみかどきこしめしつけて
kakar-u fodo-ni mikado **kikosimes-i-tuke-te**
be such-ATTR time-LOC emperor **hear(HON)-INF-attach-SUB**
at this time the Emperor **heard** [about the affair], **and** …(IM LXV:148.7)

みかどきこしめしてければ
mikado **kikosimes-ite-ker-e-ba**
emperor **hear-PERF-RETR2-EV-CON**
when the Emperor **heard** [it]…(HM I:162.3)

とおほやけにもきこしめして
to ofoyake-ni mo **kikosimes-ite**
DV emperor-DAT PT **hear(HON)-SUB**
the Emperor also **heard** that…, **and** (HM II:222.9)

殿上に源中納言まいり給へりときこしめしてこなたにとめしたれば
tenzyau-ni Minamoto tiunagon mair-i-tamaf-er-i to **kikosimes-ite** konata-ni to mes-itar-e-ba
palace-ALL Minamoto chūnagon come(HUM)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN DV **hear(HON)-SUB** here-ALL DV summon(HON)-PERF/PROG-EV-CON
[the Emperor] **heard** that Chūnagon Minamoto had come to the palace and summoned [him], saying: '[Let him come] here' (HM III:309.2–5)

かくなどきこしめされん
ka-ku nado **kikosimes-are-n**
thus-INF REPR **say(HON)-PASS-TENT/FIN**
[The Emperor] **will probably deign to say**: 'It is so' (HM IV:354.5–6)

5.4.1.4 *Suppletive honorific verb* obos-

The verb *obos-* is a suppletive honorific equivalent of the verb *omof-* 'to think', 'to love', 'to like'. It represents a contracted form of the verb *omofos-*, historically a causative form of the verb *omof-* used in an honorific function. Uncontracted *omofos-* itself is not attested in our texts. There is a single instance of *obos-* in Ise monogatari.

いかやうなる心ざしあらん人にかあはむとおぼす
ika yau nar-u kokorozasi ar-an fito-ni ka af-am-u to **obos-u**
how like be-ATTR feeling be-TENT/ATTR person-DAT PT meet-TENT-ATTR DV **think(HON)-FIN**
You **think** of marrying a person with what kind of feelings? (TM 32.11)

御こころはいかがおぼさるととへば
mi-kokoti fa ikaga **obos-ar-u** to tof-e-ba
PREF(HON)-feeling TOP how **think(HON)-PASS-FIN** DV ask-EV-CON
When [they] asked [him]: 'How do you feel?' (*lit.*: How **do** [you] **think** [is] your feeling?') (TM 52.10)

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empress **think(HON)-INF-send-ATTR**-LOC
When [the Chūnagon] **remembered** the Empress…(HM V:397.10)

5.4.1.5 *Suppletive honorific verb* obosimes-

Like the previously described *obos-*, the verb *obosimes-* is an honorific suppletive equivalent of the verb *omof-* 'to think', 'to love', 'to like', but it conveys a higher degree of respect, since in almost all cases *obosimes-* exclusively refers to actions of an Emperor or members of the imperial family. There is just one example of *obosimes-* in *Ise monogatari*.

こやすがひとらんとおぼしめさば
ko yasu-^{n}gafi tor-an to **obosimes-aba**
child easy-(GEN)shell take-TENT/FIN **think(HON)-COND**
if [you] **are going** to get an easy child[birth] shell…(TM 50.13)

御門なをめでたくおぼしめさるる事せきとめがたし
mikado nawo medeta-ku **obosimes-ar-uru** koto sek-i-tome-gata-si
emperor still beautiful-INF **think(HON)-PASS-ATTR** thing suppress-INF-stop(NML)-(DV)difficult-FIN
[it] was even more difficult for the Emperor to completely suppress [his] **thought** [that she] was beautiful (TM 57.6–7)

なめげなる物におぼしめしとどめられぬる
name-ge nar-u mono n-i **obosimes-i-todome-rare-n-uru**
impolite-NML be-ATTR thing DV-INF **think(HON)-INF-stop-PASS-PERF-ATTR**
the fact that [you] **considered** [me] an impolite person (TM 65.13)

(Kaguya-fime addressing the Emperor.)

そのみこ女をおぼしめして
sono miko wonna-wo **obosimes-ite**
that prince woman-ACC **like(HON)-SUB**
That Prince **liked** the woman, and…(IM XLIII.1:94.)

みかどもおぼしめしおどろきてただこの中納言をあさゆふにもてあそびなづさひたてまつりて
mikado mo **obosimes-i-odorok-ite** tada kono tiunagon-wo asa yufu-ni mote-asob-i-nadusaf-i-tatematur-ite
emperor PT **think(HON)-INF-be surprised-SUB** only this chūnagon-ACC morning evening-LOC PREF-have fun-INF-bring close to oneself-INF-HON-SUB
the Emperor **was** also **impressed, and** was having fun day and night [with the Chūnagon] whom he brought closer [to him], and…(HM I:155.15–156.1)

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御心にもうとくなおぼしめしなさせたまひそ
on-kokoro-ni mo uto-ku **na-obosimes-i-nas-ase-tamaf-i-so**
PREF(HON)-heart-LOC estranged-INF **NEG-think(HON)-INF-do(HON)(INF)-CAUS-HON-INF-IMP**
do not think of [him] as estranged from your heart (HM I:166.1–2)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa tada sitasi-ku **obosimes-u** siti fati-nin bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP only close-INF **think(HON)-ATTR** seven eight-CL PT
about seven or eight ladies-in-waiting, only (those) to whom she herself **felt** close (HM I:183.12–13)

5.4.1.6 *Suppletive honorific verb* imasugar-/ imasogar-

The verb *imasugar-/imasogar-* is an honorific suppletive equivalent of the verb *ar-* 'to be', 'to exist'. This honorific verb occurs only in the earlier texts and is not attested in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. It is used in *Taketori monogatari* only twice and in *Ise monogatari* seven times. *Imasugar-* and *imasogar-* seem to be phonetic variants, with no apparent difference in meaning. In *Taketori monogatari* only *imasugar-* occurs, while *Ise monogatari* has both variants, but *imasogar-* is much more frequent (six times) than *imasugar-* (once). There is also a rare phonetic variant *mimasogar-* used once in *Ise monogatari*.

翁のあらむかぎりはかうてもいますがりなむかし
okina-no ar-am-u kagiri fa ka-u-te mo **imasugar-in-am-u** kasi
old man-GEN be-TENT-ATTR limit TOP thus-INF-SUB PT **be(HON)-PERF-TENT-FIN** PT
While I (*lit.*: the old man) live, it **will be** like that (TM 32.5–6)

いますがりつる心ざしどもを思ひしらで
imasugar-it-uru kokorozasi-domo-wo omof-i-sir-ade
exist(HON)-PERF-ATTR attention-PLUR-ACC think-INF-know-NEG/GER
without thinking about all the attention **that** [you] **had** [for me]…((TM 62.8)

そのみかどのみこたかいこと申すいまそがりけり
sono mikado-no miko Takaiko to mawos-u **imasogar-iker-i**
that emperor-GEN princess Takaiko DV call(HUM)-ATTR **exist(HON)-RETR2-FIN**
That Emperor **had** a Princess [daughter] [whom people] called Takaiko (IM XXXIX:133.10–11)

おほみやすん所としていますがりけるいとこなりけり
ofomi-yasundokoro to-te **imasugar-iker-u** itoko nar-iker-i
PREF(HON)-dowager empress DV-SUB **be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR** cousin be-RETR2-FIN

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[she] was the cousin [of the lady] who **was** the Dowager Empress (IM LXV:147.2–3)

右大将にいまそがりけるふぢはらのつねゆきと申すいまそがりて
udaizyau **n-i imasogar-iker-u** Fudifara-no Tuneyuki to mawos-u **imasogar-ite**
Captain of the Right **DV-INF be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR** Fudifara-GEN Tuneyuki DV call(HUM)-ATTR **be(HON)-SUB**
there was [one person] whom [people] called Fujiwara-no Tsuneyuki, **who was** the Captain of the Right, **and** …(IM LXXVII:155.8–9)

右大将ふぢはらのつねゆきといふ人いまそがりけり
Udaizyau Fudifara-no Tuneyuki to if-u fito **imasogar-iker-i**
Captain of the Right Fudifara-GEN Tuneyuki DV call-ATTR person **exist(HON)-RETR2-FIN**
There was a person whom [they] called Fujiwara-no Tsuneyuki, a Captain of the Right (IM LXXVIII:156.3)

むかし左のおほいまうちぎみいまそがりけり
mukasi fidari-no ofoimautigimi **imasogar-iker-i**
long ago left-GEN minister **exist(HON)-RETR2-FIN**
Long ago, **there was** a Minister of the Left (IM LXXXI:158.2)

昔ほりかはのおほいまうちぎみと申いまそがりけり
mukasi Forikafa-no ofoimautigimi to mawos-u **imasogar-iker-i**
long ago Forikafa-GEN minister DV call(HUM)-ATTR **exist(HON)-RETR2-FIN**
Long ago, **there was** [a person] [whom people] called Minister Horikawa (IM XCVII:169.6–7)

おほきおとどの゛い花のさかりにみまそがりて藤氏のことにさかゆるを思ひてよめる
ofo-ki otodo-no weiga n-o sakar-i n-i **mimasogar-ite** fuzi-uzi-no koto-ni sakay-uru-wo omof-ite yom-er-u
big-ATTR minister-GEN blooming flower DV-ATTR accomplish-NML DV-INF **be(HON)-SUB** wistaria-clan-GEN thing-LOC succeed-ATTR-ACC think-SUB read-PROG-ATTR
[I] composed [this poem], thinking about the (*lit.*: **being**) flourishing accomplishments of the Chancellor, and the illustrious deeds of the Wistaria clan (*i.e.* Fujiwara) (IM CI:171.8–9)

5.4.1.7 *Suppletive honorific verb* go-ran-ze-

The verb *go-ran-ze-* is a suppletive honorific equivalent of the verb *mi-* 'to see', 'to look'. It differs from all other suppletive honorific verbs because it is a loanword from Middle Chinese 覧 'to see', 'to observe', to which the honorific prefix 御 *go-* and auxiliary *se-* 'to do' are added. *Go-ran-ze-* does not

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occur in *Ise monogatari*. All examples of *go-ran-ze-* in *Taketori monogatari* refer to acts of seeing by the Emperor. Ikeda Tadashi indicates that there is an alternative *kana* spelling らう for the character 覧 (Ikeda 1975: 183), but it is not attested in our texts: the standard spelling for it is 御覧 in *Taketori monogatari* and both 御らん and 御覧 in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*.

御覧ぜられなむとそうすれば
go-ran-ze-rare-n-am-u to sou-s-ure-ba
PREF(HON)-see-do-PASS-PERF-TENT-FIN DV say(HUM)-do-EV-CON
when [the old man] told [the Emperor]: '[You] **will see** [her]' (TM 56.11–12)

はじめ御覧じつれば
fazime **go-ran-z-it-ure-ba**
begin(NML) **PREF(HON)-see-do-PERF-EV-CON**
because [the Emperor] **got a view** [of her] [from] the start…(TM 56.15)

ひろげて御覧じて
firoge-te **go-ran-z-ite**
spread-SUB **PREF(HON)-see-do-SUB**
when [the Emperor] opened [the letter] and **looked at** [it]…(TM 66.10)

御らんぜさせに御むかへにまいりたり
go-ran-ze-sase-ni ofon-mukafe-ni mair-itar-i
PREF(HON)-see-do-CAUS(NML)-ALL PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-ALL
come (HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[I] came to meet you **in order to show** [you] (HM I:171.8)

みこもめをつけて御覧じて
miko mo me-wo tuke-te **go-ran-z-ite**
prince PT eye-ACC attach-SUB **PREF(HON)-see-do-SUB**
the Prince **was** also **watching** steadily, **and**…(HM I:186.16)

事を御門に御らんじつけられじ
koto-wo mikado-ni **go-ran-z-i-tuke-rare-zi**
thing-ACC emperor-AGT **PREF(HON)-see-do-INF-attach-PASS-NEG/TENT**
the matters probably **will not be noticed** by the Emperor (HM I:194.7)

かぎりなくあはれと御らんじて
kagir-i na-ku afare to **go-ran-z-ite**
limit-NML no-INF sadness DV **PREF(HON)-see-do-SUB**
[the Emperor] **was looking** with great sadness, **and**…(HM I:194.12)

5.4.2 Suppletive humble verbs

The following suppletive humble verbs occur in the language of Classical Japanese prose: *mawir-* 'to come', 'to go', *maude-* 'to come', 'to go',

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みこにむまのかみおほみきまいる
miko-ni muma-no kami ofomi-ki **mair-u**
prince-DAT horse-GEN head PREF(HON)-rice wine **present(HUM)-FIN**
The Captain of the Stables **presented** rice wine to the Prince (IM LXXXII:159.12)

御むかへの人々まいりたり
ofon-mukafe-no fito-bito **mair-itar-i**
PREF(HON)-meet(NML)-GEN person-person **come(HUM)-PERF/PROG-FIN**
people, meeting [the Chūnagon], **have come** (HM I:154.12)

御しとねまいりいれたてまつりて
mi-sitone **mair-i** ire-tatematur-ite
PREF(HON)-sitting mat **bring-INF** enter(INF)-HUM-SUB
[they] **brought** sitting mats, **and** brought in [other things], and…(HM II:238.14)

中宮の御かたへまいり給へり
Tiuguu-no on-kata-fe **mair-i-tamaf-er-i**
first empress-GEN PREF(HON)-side-ALL **go(HUM)-INF-HON-PROG-FIN**
[he] **went** to the First Empress (HM II:251.3)

5.4.2.2 *Suppletive humble verb* maude-

The verb *maude-* is a synonym of *mawir-*, described in 5.4.2.1 above, and also means 'to come', 'to go', 'to visit', 'to bring'. It is sometimes used specifically to describe a visit to a shrine or to a temple.

なにはより昨日なんみやこにまうできつる
Nanifa-yori kinofu nan miyako-ni **maude-k-it-uru**
Nanifa-ABL yesterday PT capital-LOC **come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-ATTR**
[I] **came** yesterday from Naniwa to the capital (TM 39.4)

よにあるものならばこのくににももてまうできなまし
yo-ni ar-u mono nar-aba kono kuni-ni mo **mo-te maude-k-in-amasi**
world-LOC be-ATTR thing be-COND this country-ALL PT **bring-SUB come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF-SUBJ**
If [it] was a thing that existed in the world, [they] **would have definitely brought** [it] to this country, too (TM 42.3)

月のみやこよりかぐやひめのむかへにまうでくなる
tuki-no miyako-yori Kaguya-fime-no mukafe-ni **maude-k-unar-u**
moon-GEN capital-ABL Kaguya-fime-GEN meet(NML)-ALL **come(HUM)(INF)-come-HS-ATTR**

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I heard that [they] would come from the Moon's capital to fetch Kaguya-hime (TM 61.3)

氏神にまうで給けるに
udi-ⁿgami-ni **maude-tamaf-iker-u**-ni
clan-(GEN)deity-ALL **go(HUM)(INF)-HON-RETR2-ATTR-LOC**
when [the Empress] **went to visit** [her] ancestral deity…(IM LXXVI: 154.12–13)

そのみわざにまうでたまひて
sono mi-waza-ni **maude-tamaf-ite**
that PREF(HON)-buddhist service-ALL **come(HUM)(INF)-HON-SUB**
[he] **came** to that Buddhist service, **and** …(IM LXXVIII:156.3–4)

みむろにまうでて
mi-muro-ni **maude-te**
PREF(HON)-abode-ALL **come(HUM)-SUB**
[he] **came** to [the Prince's] abode, and…(IM LXXXIII:161.3)

といふにまうで給ひて
to if-u-ni **maude-tamaf-ite**
DV say-ATTR-LOC **go(HUM)(INF)-HON-SUB**
because [people] said…[he] **went** [to the shrine] (HM I:175.8)

み吉野にみづからこそありしままにえまうで給はね
Miyosino-ni midukara koso ar-isi mama n-i **ye-maude-tamaf-an-e**
Miyoshino-ALL himself PT be-RETR1/ATTR as DV-INF **PREV-go(HUM)(INF)-HON-NEG-EV**
he **was unable to go** to Miyoshino himself, while [she] was [there] (HM III.308:11)

ごくらくなどにまうでたらん人
gokuraku-nado-ni **maude-tar-an** fito
gokuraku-REPR-ALL **go(HUM)-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR** person
a person who **would go** to Paradise (HM V:437.14)

5.4.2.3 *Suppletive humble verb* uketamafar-

The verb *uketamafar-* is a suppletive humble equivalent of the verb *kik-* 'to hear', 'to listen'. It can also be used in the meaning 'to agree'. It does not occur in *Ise monogatari*.

なにごとをかのたまはん事はうけたまはらざらむ
nani-ⁿgoto-wo ka notamaf-an koto fa **uketamafar-az-ar-am-u**
what-(GEN)thing-ACC PT say(HON)-TENT/ATTR thing TOP **listen(HUM)-NEG/INF-be-TENT-ATTR**
Would [I] not listen reverently to whatever [you] were going to say? (TM 31.15–16)

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おのこどもおほせのことをうけたまはりて
onoko-domo ofose-no koto-wo **uketamafar-ite**
lad-PLUR say(HON)(NML)-GEN thing **listen(HUM)-SUB**
The lads **listened to** what [he] said, and…(TM 45.5)

つばくらめのすくひたらばつげよとのたまふをうけたまはりて
tubakurame-no su kuf-itar-aba tuge-yo to notamaf-u-wo **uketamafar-ite**
swallow-GEN nest make a nest-PERF/PROG-COND report-IMP DV say(HON)-ATTR-ACC **hear(HUM)-SUB**
[the servants] **heard** [him] ordering: 'When swallows [start] to make nests, report!' and…(TM 49.14–15)

心えずおぼしめされつらめども心つよくうけたまはらずなりにし事
kokoro ye-zu obosimes-are-t-uram-e-domo kokoro tuyo-ku **uketamafar-azu nar-in-isi** koto
heart receive-NEG/INF think(HON)-PASS-PERF-TENT-EV-CONC heart strong-INF **agree-NEG/INF become-PERF-RETR1/ATTR** thing
although [you] probably find it incomprehensible (the fact) that [I] stubbornly **did not agree** to [your proposal]…(TM 65.12–13)

ないないうけ給はりてこそまいりこめ
nai-nai **uketamafar-ite** koso mair-i-ko-m-e
inside-inside **hear(HUM)-SUB** PT come(HUM)-INF-come-TENT-EV
[I] will come only **after** [I] **hear** what [he has] on [his mind] (HM I:172.10–11)

しかみなうけ給はりて侍れば
sika mina **uketamafar-ite faber-e-ba**
thus everything **hear(HUM)-SUB be(POL)-EV-CON**
Thus, **I have heard** everything…(HM I:173.16)

おりおりうけ給はり侍る
ori-ori **uketamafar-i-faber-u**
moment-moment **listen(HUM)-INF-POL-ATTR**
from time to time [I] **will listen to** [you playing the *koto*] (HM III:274.10)

この御ことのねうけ給はりつるは
kono mi-koto-no ne **uketamafar-it-uru** fa
this PREF(HON)-koto-GEN sound **listen-PERF-ATTR** TOP
having listened to the sounds of this *koto*…(HM III:285.10)

5.4.2.4 *Suppletive humble verb* sou-se-

The verb *sou-se-* is a humble suppletive equivalent of the verb *if-* 'to say', 'to tell'. It expresses extreme humility, since it means 'to speak to the Emperor', 'to tell the Emperor'. Like the honorific suppletive verb *go-ran-ze-* 'to see', it is a loan from Middle Chinese 奏 /tsəw^{h}/ 'to say to the Emperor', 'to report to the

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India-ALL stone-GEN bowl take-NML-ALL **go(HUM)-FIN**
[I] **will go** to India to get the stone bowl (TM 34.8)

もとめにまからむと申に
motome-ni **makar-am-u** to mawos-u-ni
find(NML)-ALL **go(HUM)-TENT-FIN** DV say(HUM)-ATTR-LOC
when they said: '[We] **will go** to find [it]' …(TM 45.11)

いかばかりの女ぞとまかりてみてまいれとの給ふ
ika bakari n-o wonna zo to **makar-ite** mi-te mair-e to notamaf-u
how PT DV-ATTR woman PT DV **go(HUM)-SUB** see-SUB come(HUM/PEJ)-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN
[The Emperor] said: '**Go and** see what kind of woman [she] is' (TM 53.15)

をのが心ならずまかりなむ
wono-ga kokoro nar-azu **makar-in-am-u**
myself-POSS heart be-NEG/INF **go away(HUM)-PERF-TENT-FIN**
notwithstanding my own wishes, [I] **will have to go** (TM 60.9–10)

おとこ京へなんまかるとて
otoko miyako-fe nan **makar-u** to-te
man capital-ALL PT **go(HUM)-FIN** DV-SUB
The man said: '[I] **will go** to the capital' and …(IM XIV:120.8)

いまはとてまかるを
ima fa to-te **makar-u**-wo
now TOP DV-SUB **go away(HUM)-ATTR**-ACC
although [she] **leaves**, saying 'Farewell!' (IM XVI:121.11)

人のまかりいづるを見て
fito-no **makar-i-id-uru**-wo mi-te
person-GEN **leave-INF-exit-ATTR**-ACC see-SUB
[he] saw that a lady **was leaving**, and …(IM CXXI.2:125.)

まかりなんままに
makar-in-an mama n-i
go away(HUM)-PERF-TENT/ATTR as is DV-INF
after [I] **have gone away** [to Japan] …(HM I:210.13)

なくなくまかりいで給
nak-u nak-u **makar-i-ide-tamaf-u**
weep-ATTR weep-ATTR **go away(HUM)-INF-exit(INF)-HON-FIN**
weeping, [he] **went away** (HM I:213.14)

けがらひにまかりこもりてなん
kegaraf-i-ni **makar-i-komor-ite nan**
defile-NML-LOC **go(HUM)-INF-be enclosed-SUB** PT
[I] **was submerged** in defilement (HM IV:339.3)

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11 Historically, *-ure* is a complex structure (Martin 1987: 668). It is likely that it is based on the attributive *-uru* + some unknown element. Martin suggests that it goes back to *-ura-* (root of *-uru*) + *-i* 'fact' (1987: 668).

12 For convenience, I label the retrospective in *-iki* as RETR1 and the restrospective in *-iker-* as RETR2.

13 Written Mongolian, which has a syntactic structure remarkably close to Japanese, has a special verbal form in *-run/-rün* which is called the 'gerund of reporting' (Grønbech and Krueger 1976: 29). The sole function of this form is to introduce reported speech, preceding it in the same manner as *if-aku* does in Japanese. The Mongolian 'gerund of reporting' can also be echoed by the 'citation verb' *keme-* plus another verb of verbal activity, placed after the reported speech. For example:

> aqa-da-Gan **ögüle-run** oi-dur bars üje-ged bars-i ala-mui **keme-n ögüle-bei**
> elder brother-DAT-POSS **say-REP.GER** forest-LOC tiger see-SUB tiger-ACC kill-PRES **say-SUB say-PAST**
> [he] **told** his older brothers: 'When [we] see a tiger in the forest, [we] will kill it.'

14 The construction V-*am-u to s-u* 'is going to do V', including its contracted variant *-amuzu*, was discussed above, in 5.1.2.4.2.

15 The verb *ko-* 'to come' mostly occurs with *-in-*, not *-ite-*, but there are some occasional examples of its usage with *-ite-* as well (see the example from page 39 of *Taketori monogatari* below).

16 Also, if the subordinative gerund *-ite* were derived from the perfective *-ite-* plus the infinitive *-i*, it is incomprehensible why we do not have a parallel gerund in *-in-i, which would be a combination of the perfective *-in-*and the infinitive *-i*.

17 The form *-oye-* is of course an assimilated form of *-aye-*, in which the vowel /a/ was assimilated to the preceding vowels of the stem.

18 Tsukishima maintains that this usage appears only with honorific verbs (Tsukishima 1969: 507); however, there seem to exist some exceptions given below.

19 In Old Japanese the main causative marker was *-asime-/-sime-* (Tsukishima 1969: 506); very few examples of the causative marker *-ase-* are attested in the Old Japanese texts (Saeki 1959: 149).

20 Large falcons were used in the winter to catch pheasants or cranes, but small falcons were used in the autumn.

21 The contracted form *tukamutur-* does not occur in *Ise monogatari*.

22 *Kikoyesase-* historically represents a causative form of *kikoye-*.

23 Ikeda Tadashi notes that *faber-* in independent usage may also mean 'to serve' (1975: 177); however, our texts do not have such a usage. Moreover, the only example provided by Ikeda of this usage can also be interpreted as 'to be' rather than 'to serve'. There is no evidence in the studied texts for the use of *faber-* as a verb expressing humility (cf. Ikeda 1975: 177–78). Ikeda further notes that there is a spelling variant *fanber-* from the the mid-Heian period. It is difficult to verify its existence in our texts, because *faber-* is almost always written with the character 侍.

24 Both *ik-* and *yuk-* are used interchangeably in various texts without any change of meaning. In the Heian period, and especially in *kundoku* texts, the form *yuk-* becomes dominant (Ōno *et al.* 1990: 1363).

25 Ikeda notes that there is a vowel verb *notamafe-* that is humble, not honorific. His only example is taken from *Genji monogatari* (Ikeda 1975: 158). There are no examples of *notamafe-* in our texts.

26 Ikeda indicates that *mes-* can also be used in the meanings 'to have something brought', 'to wear' 'to put on', 'to eat', 'to drink', 'to get into a carriage or a boat'; however, all the examples he provides are from *Genji monogatari* (Ikeda 1975: 176).

27 Usually misspelled as *mair-*.

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6 ADVERBS

Following the definition given in Martin (1988: 783) for Modern Japanese, all adverbs found in the Classical Japanese prose texts can be divided into pure adverbs and adjectival nouns. Adverbs derived from adjectival nouns with the help of the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' have been dealt with in 4.1.4. The adverbial usage of infinitive forms in *-ku* of quality verbs has also been discussed above (see 5.2.3.2.1.2). Therefore, in the present chapter I will deal exclusively with pure adverbs. It appears that there are only a few of them in the language of Classical Japanese prose: *ito* 'very', *itodo* 'still', 'more', *yauyau* 'gradually', *tada* 'simply', 'just', 'only', and *yaya* 'more', 'still', 'more and more', 'gradually'. Examples are given below.

6.1 ADVERB *ito* 'VERY'

三寸ばかりなるひといとうつくしうて
san-sun bakari nar-u fito **ito** utukusi-u-te
three-CL about be-ATTR person **very** beautiful-INF-SUB
a girl about three *sun* [tall] was **very** beautiful … (TM 29.5)

いとをさなければこに入てやしなふ
ito wosana-k-ere-ba ko-ni ire-te yasinaf-u
very small-INF-EV-CON basket-LOC put-SUB raise-FIN
Because [she] was **very** small, [they] raised [her] in a basket (TM 29.8)

このこいとおほきに成ぬれば
kono ko **ito** ofo-ki n-i nar-in-ure-ba
this child **very** big-ATTR DV-INF become-PERF-EV-CON
When this child became **very** big … (TM 30.2)

そのさとにいとなまめいたるをんなはらからすみけり
sono sato-ni **ito** namame-itar-u wonna fara-kara sum-iker-i
that village-LOC **very** elegant-PERF/PROG-ATTR woman belly-clan live-RETR2-FIN
[Two] **very** elegant sisters lived in that village (IM I:111.3)

かたちのいとめでたくおはしければ
katati-no **ito** medeta-ku ofas-iker-e-ba
looks-GEN **very** beautiful-INF be(HON)-RETR2-EV-CON
because [her] looks were **very** beautiful (IM VI:114.14)

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武蔵のくにとしもつふさのくにとの中にいとおほきなる河あり
Musasi n-o kuni-to Simotufusa n-o kuni-to-no naka-ni **ito** ofo-ki-nar-u kafa ar-i
Musasi DV-ATTR province-COM Simotufusa DV-ATTR province-COM-GEN inside-LOC **very** big-ATTR-be-ATTR river be-FIN
there is a **very** big river between the province Musasi and the province Simotufusa (IM IX:117.6)

ごぜんのいとようものおぼししり
gozen-no **ito** yo-u mono obos-i-sir-i
you-GEN **very** good-INF thing think(HON)-INF-know-INF
You understand [every]thing **very** well, and… (HM I:166.13–14)

そはいとやすき御なぐさめにこそ侍なるを
so fa **ito** yasu-ki mi-nagusame n-i koso fabennar-u wo
that TOP **very** easy-ATTR PREF(HON)-consolation DV-INF PT be(HON)/be-ATTR DV
Although that is a **very** easy consolation [for you]…(HM I:173.6)

いとめでたし
ito medeta-si
very beautiful-FIN
[It] is **very** beautiful (HM II:235.15–16)

6.2 ADVERB *itodo* 'STILL', 'MORE'

Itodo does not occur in *Taketori monogatari* and appears only once in the prose of *Ise monogatari*.

いとどかなしきことかずまさりて
itodo kanasi-ki koto kazu masar-ite
more sad-ATTR thing number increase-SUB
[his] sadness increased **considerably**, and… (IM LXV:147.15–148.1)

おもやせ給へるしもいとどにるものなく
omo yase-tamaf-er-u simo **itodo** ni-ru mono na-ku
face get thin(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR PT **more** look like-ATTR thing no-INF
the fact that [her] face got thin [made her **even**] **more** unusually [beautiful] … (HM I:194.11)

いとど心ふかくのみきこえし人
itodo kokoro fuka-ku nomi kikoye-si fito
still heart deep-INF only speak(HUM)-RETR1/ATTR person
the person who **still** spoke exclusively [from her] heart… (HM II:224.12)

いとどさかりになりまさり給にけり
itodo sakar-i n-i nar-i-masar-i-tamaf-in-iker-i

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more bloom-NML DV-INF become-INF-increase-INF-HON-PERF-RETR2-FIN
[she] was blooming **more and more** [into a beautiful woman] (HM II:226.13–14)

さる事どもを見ければいとどこのよの人には心もとどまらざんめるに
sar-u koto-domo-wo mi-ker-e-ba **itodo** kono yo-no fito-ni fa kokoro mo todomar-az-an-mer-u-ni
be such-ATTR thing-PLUR-ACC see-RETR2-EV-CON **still** this country-GEN lady-DAT TOP heart PT stop-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-ATTR-LOC
because it turns out that [he] has seen such things, it looks as if [he] **still** pays no attention to the ladies of this country, and … (HM IV.329:3)

6.3 ADVERB *yauyau* 'GRADUALLY'

There are only two examples of *yauyau* in *Taketori monogatari*.

かくておきなやうやうゆたかになり行
ka-ku-te okina **yauyau** yutaka n-i nar-i-yuk-u
thus-INF-SUB old man **gradually** rich DV-INF become-INF-go-FIN
Thus, the old man was **gradually** becoming rich (TM 29.10)

千たびばかり申給ふげにやあらんやうやう神なりやみぬ
ti tabi bakari mawos-i-tamaf-u-ge n-i ya ar-an **yauyau** kaminari yam-in-u
thousand time PT say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-NML DV-INF PT be-TENT/ATTR **gradually** thunder stop-PERF-FIN
Maybe (*lit.*: seemingly) because [he] said [his prayers] about a thousand times, the thunder **gradually** stopped (TM 48.2–3)

やうやう夜もあけゆくに
yauyau yoru mo ake-yuk-u-ni
gradually night PT brighten(INF)-go-ATTR-LOC
as the dawn was **gradually** approaching, too…(IM VI:114.10)

めやうやうとこはなれて
me **yauyau** toko fanare-te
wife **gradually** bed get separated-SUB
[his] wife **gradually** became estranged [from him], and…(IM XVI:121.8)

やうやうあはれと思ひけり
yauyau afare to omof-iker-i
gradually sadness DV think-RETR2-FIN
[she] **gradually** started to think compassionately [about him] (IM XCVI:168.7)

女をやうやうあきがたにやおもひけん
wonna-wo **yauyau** akigata n-i ya omof-ik-en
woman-ACC **gradually** satiated DV-INF think-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
Did [he] not **gradually** become tired of the woman? (IM CXXII:180.2–3)

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やうやうしづまりて
yauyau sidumar-ite
gradually relax-SUB
[he] **gradually** relaxed, and … (HM I:155.1–2)

やうやうおよすげ給ままに
yauyau oyosuge-tamaf-u mama n-i
gradually grow old(INF)-HON-ATTR as is DV-INF
as [she] **gradually** grows old … (HM I:163.16)

やうやうもの思しられ侍にしよはひ
yauyau mono omof-i-sir-are-faber-in-isi yofafi
gradually thing think-INF-know-PASS(INF)-POL-PERF-RETR1/ATTR age
[your] age, about which [I] **gradually** started to be concerned … (HM II:258.3)

6.4 ADVERB *tada* 'SIMPLY', 'JUST', 'ONLY'

The adverb *tada* is peculiar because it can modify not only predicates but also nouns and noun phrases; in addition, it can sometimes be followed by the defective verb *n-i* and -ⁿ (a suppressed form of *n-o*), as if it were not a pure adverb but an adjectival noun.

ただ一ところふかき山へ入給ぬ
tada fito-tokoro fuka-ki yama-ni ir-i-tamaf-in-u
only one-person deep-ATTR mountain-LOC enter-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
[being] **all** alone, [he] went away to the deep mountains (TM 41.7)

つくしよりただ七日にのぼりまうできたる
Tukusi-yori **tada** nano-ka-ni nobor-i-maude-k-itar-u
Tukusi-ABL **just** seven-CL-LOC come to the capital-INF-come(HUM)(INF)-come-PERF/PROG-ATTR
[he] came to the capital from Tsukushi in **just** seven days (TM 42.8–9)

このごろとなりてはただことにも侍らざめり
kono goro to nar-ite fa **tada** ⁿgoto n-i mo faber-az-a-mer-i
this time DV become-SUB TOP **just** (DV)thing DV-INF PT be(POL)-NEG/INF-be-CONJC-FIN
at this time (*lit.*: when [it] became this time), it is not a **simple** matter (TM 58.13–14)

二条のきさきのまだみかどにもつかうまつり給はでただ人にておはしける時のこと也
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada mikado-ni mo tukaumatur-i-tamaf-ade **tada fito** n-ite ofas-iker-u toki-no koto nar-i

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two-CL-GEN empress-GEN yet emperor-DAT PT serve(HUM)-INF-HON-NEG/GER **just person** DV-SUB be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR time-GEN thing be-FIN
This happened when the Empress from the Second Ward had not yet served the Emperor and was [still] a **commoner** (IM III:112.9)

ききさきのただにおはしけるとき
kisaki-no **tada n-i** ofas-iker-u toki
empress-GEN **simple DV-INF** be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR time
when the Empress was a **commoner** (IM VI:115.2)

ただこよひこそにゐまくらすれ
tada koyofi koso niwi makura s-ure
only tonight PT new pillow do-EV
(**only**) tonight will [I] sleep with a new lover! (IM XXIV:128.4)

(This example comes from a poem.)

ただめし侍ましにまいりなまし
tada mes-i-faber-amasi-ni mair-in-amasi
only summon(HON)-INF-be(POL)-SUBJ/ATTR-LOC go(HUM)-PERF-SUBJ
If [you] would **only** summon [me], [I] would certainly go (HM I:171.10)

ただ時々かやうにめし侍らんおりおりまいり侍りなん
tada toki-doki ka yau n-i mes-i-faber-an ori-ori mair-i-faber-in-an
only time-time that like DV-INF summon-INF-RESP-TENT/ATTR moment-moment come(HUM)-INF-POL-PERF-TENT/FIN
Only at moments when [you] wish to summon [me] from time to time like that should [I] come (HM I:173.11–12)

わが御身はただしたしくおぼしめす七八人ばかり
wa-ga mi-mi fa **tada** sitasi-ku obosimes-u siti fati-nin bakari
she-POSS PREF(HON)-body TOP **only** close-INF think(HON)-ATTR seven eight-CL PT
about seven or eight ladies-in-waiting, **only** (those) to whom she herself felt close (HM I:183.12–13)

とりとなりてもただいまひとたびとびゆかまほしげに
tori to nar-ite mo **tada** ima fito-tabi tob-i-yuk-amafosi-ge n-i
bird DV become-SUB PT **just** now one-time fly-INF-go-OPT-NML DV-INF
it looked as [he] wished to fly [to China] (once) **immediately** (now), even though [he would have to] become a bird (HM III:313.12)

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7 CONJUNCTIONS

There are three conjunctions in the language of Classical prose: *tomo*, *nagara*, and *monokara*. I do not include conjunctions in the section on particles for two reasons: first, since their function is to connect parts of complex sentences, they have a function particles lack (with the exception of the particle *monowo* which developed into a conjunction); and, second, conjunctions, with the exception of *tomo*, are transparently derived from notional words, which is not true of particles. Thus, *nagara* 'while', 'although' is derived from *nagare-* 'flow', and *monokara* 'although' represents a combination of *mono* 'thing' with *kara* 'nature', 'clan'.[1]

7.1 CONJUNCTION *tomo*

The conjunction *tomo* introduces a hypothetical condition 'even if'. Sometimes, however, it may also be a concessive 'although'. *Tomo* follows final predication forms of verbs and infinitives of quality verbs. It does not occur in the prose of *Ise monogatari*, although it frequently appears in the poems within this text.

さりともつゐにをとこあはせざらんや
sar-i **tomo** tuwi n-i wotoko af-ase-z-ar-an ya
be so-FIN **CONJ** finally DV-INF man meet-CAUS-NEG/GER-be-TENT/FIN PT
Even if it is so, [he] will finally make [her] marry a man, will he not? (TM 31.10–11)

天ぢくに二となきはちを百千萬里の程ゆきたりともいかでかとるべきとおもひて
Tendiku-ni futa-tu to na-ki fati-wo fyaku sen ban ri-no fodo yuk-itar-i **tomo** ikade ka tor-ube-ki to omof-ite
India-LOC two-CL DV no-ATTR bowl-ACC hundred thousand ten thousand ri-GEN distance go-PERF/PROG-FIN **CONJ** how PT take-DEB-ATTR DV think-SUB
[he] thought: 'How could I get the bowl, when there is not another one like it in India, **even if** I travel a billion ri?', and … (TM 34.6–8)

さは申ともはややきて見給へ
sa fa mawos-u **tomo** faya yak-ite mi-tamaf-e
thus TOP say(HUM)-FIN **CONJ** quickly burn-SUB see(INF)-HON-IMP
Even if [I] say so, go ahead and try to burn [it] (TM 44.7–8)

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わするなよほどは雲ゐになりぬとも
wasur-u na yo. fodo fa kumo-wi n-i nar-in-u **tomo**
forget-FIN NEG/IMP PT. distance TOP cloud-be(NML) DV-INF become-PERF-FIN **CONJ**
Do not forget [me]! **Even if** the distance [between you and me] has become [as far as] the distance to the clouds… (IM XI:118.14)

(This example comes from a poem.)

とりとめぬ風にはありとも
tor-i-tome-n-u kaze n-i fa ar-i **tomo**
take-INF-stop-NEG-ATTR wind DV-INF TOP be-FIN **CONJ**
even if [you] were the wind that [one can] not grasp (*lit.*: take completely) (IM LXIV:146.14)

(This example comes from a poem.)

宮のうちならましかばいみじうともかからましや
miya-no uti nar-amasika-ba imizi-u **tomo** kakar-amasi ya
palace-GEN inside be-SUBJ/EV-COND terrible-INF **CONJ** be so-SUBJ PT
If [it] were inside the palace, **even if** [it] is terrible, would [it] happen? (HM I:178.10–11)

すべてよよをふともわするべうもあらず
subete yo-yo-wo f-u **tomo** wasur-ube-u mo ar-az-u
all life-life-ACC go across-FIN **CONJ** forget-DEB-INF PT be-NEG-FIN
even if [I] go across all lives, [I] would not be able to forget [it] (HM I:188.8)

いつをいかにとたのむともなきありさまにて
itu-wo ikani to tanom-u **tomo** na-ki arisama n-ite
when-ACC how DV request-FIN **CONJ** no-ATTR situation DV-SUB
it was a situation when it is no use to ask when and how (*lit.*: **even if** [one] asks 'when' and 'how', there is no [use]) (HM II:258.11–12)

7.2 CONJUNCTION *nagara*

The conjunction *nagara* has three basic functions: it may be concessive ('although'), indicate a simultaneous action ('while'), or show that a certain state or condition continues ('still'). *Nagara* follows the infinitive form of verbs, stems of quality verbs, and nouns. There are only three examples of *nagara* in *Taketori monogatari*, two of which occur in almost identical contexts, and only four examples in the prose of *Ise monogatari*.

変化の人と申ながらここらおほきさまでやしなひたてまつる
henge n-o fito to mawos-i **nagara** kokora ofo-ki-sa-made yasinaf-i-tatematur-u

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divine DV-ATTR person DV say(HUM)-INF **CONJ** considerably big-ATTR-NML-TERM raise-INF-HUM-ATTR
although [I] say that [you are] a divine person, [I] raised [you] with considerable [effort] until [you became] grown up (TM 31.13–14)

たびの御すがたながらおはしたり
tabi-no mi-sugata **nagara** ofas-itar-i
travel-GEN PREF(HON)-attire **CONJ** come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came **while** still in [his] travel attire (TM 36.8–9)

たびの御すがたながらわが御家へもより給ずしておはしたり
tabi-no mi-sugata **nagara** wa-ga mi-iwe-fe mo yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite ofas-itar-i
travel-GEN PREF(HON)-attire **CONJ** his own-POSS PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT stop by-INF-HON-NEG/GER do-SUB come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[He] came **while still** in [his] travel attire, without even stopping at his own house (TM 36.15–16)

まづしくへても猶むかしよかりし時の心ながらよのつねのこともしらず
madusi-ku fe-te mo nafo mukasi yo-k-ar-isi toki-no kokoro **nagara** yo-no tune-no koto mo sir-az-u
poor-INF pass-SUB PT still old times good-INF-be-RETR1/ATTR time-GEN heart **CONJ** world-GEN usual-GEN thing PT know-NEG-FIN
even though [he] had spent [his life] in poverty, [his] heart **still** belonged to the good old days, and [he] did not care about ordinary things (IM XVI:121.6–7)

この女はくらにこもりながらそれにぞあなるとはきけど
kono wonna fa kura-ni komor-i **nagara** sore n-i zo a-nar-u to fa kik-e-do
this woman TOP storehouse-LOC be locked-INF **CONJ** he DV-INF PT be-ASSER-ATTR DV TOP hear-EV-CONC
while locked in the storehouse this woman heard that [it] was definitely he … (IM LXV:148.12–13)

おきなめはたがひながらよみける
okina me fa tagaf-i **nagara** yom-iker-u
old man eye TOP differ-INF **CONJ** recite-RETR2-ATTR
the old man, **although** his sight was bad, recited… (IM LXXVII:155.10–11)

身はいやしながらははなむ宮なりける
mi fa iyasi **nagara** fafa namu miya nar-iker-u
status TOP low **CONJ** mother PT princess be-RETR2-ATTR
Although [his] status was low, [his] mother was a Princess (IM LXXXIV: 161.10)

見つるもわれながらめづらしく
mi-t-uru mo ware **nagara** medurasi-ku

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see-PERF-ATTR PT himself **CONJ** amazing-INF
what [he] saw was amazing **even** for him(self) (HM I:169.7–8)

めでたしといひながらきさきの位にて
medeta-si to if-i **nagara** kisaki-no kurawi n-ite
beautiful-FIN DV say-INF **CONJ** consort-GEN position DV-SUB
although [I] say that [he] is handsome, being a consort… (HM I:182.11–12)

よろこびながらこなたにと御せうそこあり
yorokob-i **nagara** konata-ni to go-seusoko ar-i
be glad-INF **CONJ** here-ALL DV PREF(HON)-letter be-FIN
while [he] was rejoicing, there came a letter, saying: '[Come] here' (HM I:190.11–13)

7.3 CONJUNCTION *monokara*

The conjunction *monokara* is a concessive conjuction meaning 'although'. It is not attested in *Taketori monogatari* and there is only one example in the prose of *Ise monogatari*.

女のめには見ゆる物からおとこはあるものかともおもひたらず
wonna-no me-ni fa mi-y-uru **monokara** otoko fa ar-u mono ka to mo omof-itar-azu
woman-GEN eye-AGT TOP see-PASS-ATTR **CONJ** man TOP be-ATTR thing PT DV PT think-PERF/PROG-NEG/GER
although [he] was seen by the woman('s eyes), the man did not think [of her] as someone real … (IM XIX:123.4–5)

えもとどめ給はぬものからこのよには又いつかはと
ye mo todome-tamaf-an-u **monokara** kono yo-ni fa mata itu ka fa to
PREV PT stop(INF)-HON-NEG-ATTR **CONJ** this country-ALL TOP again when PT TOP DV
although [they] could not stop [him], [they] thought: '[Maybe he will come] again to this country sometimes … ' (HM I:193.12–13)

かくれぬものからいたくしのぶけしきにて
kakure-n-u **monokara** ita-ku sinob-u kesiki n-ite
hide-NEG-ATTR **CONJ** extreme-INF be secretive-ATTR view DV-SUB
although [she] did not hide, [she] was very secretive … (HM I:201.13–14)

おしみとめさせ給はぬものからおぼしわびたるさま
osim-i tome-sase-tamaf-an-u **monokara** obos-i-wabi-tar-u sama
regret-INF stop-CAUS-HON-NEG-ATTR **CONJ** think(HON)-INF-grieve-PERF/PROG-ATTR view
although [the Prince] did not stop to regret [the Chūnagon's departure], the way [he] was grieving … (HM I:208.11–12)

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にほひいみじきものから君の御かほもうつしたるやうなり
nifof-i imizi-ki **monokara** kimi-no mi-kafo mo utus-itar-u yau nar-i
beautiful-NML extreme-ATTR **CONJ** lord-GEN PREF(HON)-face PT reflect-PERF/PROG-ATTR view be-FIN
although [her face] was extremely beautiful, [it] also was like the face of the Lord [Chūnagon] (HM II:223.12)

NOTE

1 It is possible, though, that *tomo*, which is apparently a combination of an earlier conjunction *to*, attested in Old Japanese with and without the following particle *mo*, is a truncated form of the word *toko-ro* 'place' (cf. also Middle Korean bound noun *-to*, used in a similar manner).

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Unlike Modern Japanese, if *fa* occurs twice in a sentence one instance of it may not necessarily be contrastive. Both may be topical:

何事をかは中納言にはつたへならはすべき
nani-goto-wo ka fa tyuunagon-ni fa tutafe-narafas-ube-ki
what thing-ACC PT TOP chūnagon-DAT TOP hand over(INF)-teach-DEB-ATTR
what (thing) should [we] entrust to the **Chūnagon**? (HM I:155.15)

そこはかとなくおどろおどろしくくるしき事は侍らねど
soko fa ka to na-ku odoro-odorosi-ku kurusi-ki **koto fa** faber-an-e-do
there TOP PT DV no-INF surprising-surprising-INF unpleasant-ATTR **matter TOP** be(POL)-NEG-EV-CONC
Though **there** will not be, **anything** in any way unpleasant or surprising… (HM I:170.13)

この世にはたればかりかこの人こころをみだすべきはあらん
kono yo-ni fa tare bakari ka kono fito kokoro-wo **midas-ube-ki fa** ar-an
this world(= country)-LOC TOP who only PT this person heart-ACC **stir up-DEB-ATTR TOP** be-TENT/ATTR
Will there be **anybody in this country who can stir** up this person's heart? (HM I:186.3)

そはなどてか事々しうはあらん
so fa nadote ka **kotogotosi-u fa** ar-an
that TOP why PT **abundant-INF TOP** be-TENT/FIN
Why is **that** [so] **abundant**? (HM I:196.15)

fa after interrogatives

Unlike Modern Japanese, in the language of Classical prose, *fa* can be used after interrogatives.

命しなばいかがはせん
inoti sin-aba **ikaga fa** s-en
life die-COND **how TOP** do-TENT/FIN
If [I] die, what (*lit.*: **how**) [else] can [I] do? (TM 37.11)

えびすごころを見てはいかがはせんは
yebisu-^{n}gokoro-wo mi-te fa **ikaga fa** se-n fa
rustic-(DV)heart-ACC see-SUB TOP **how TOP** do-TENT/ATTR TOP
what (*lit.*: **how**) shall [I] do, if [he] sees [this] rustic heart? (IM XV:121.1–2)

何事をかは中納言にはつたへならはすべき
nani-goto-wo ka fa tyuunagon-ni fa tutafe-narafas-ube-ki
what thing-ACC PT TOP chūnagon-DAT TOP hand over(INF)-teach-DEB-ATTR
what (thing) should [we] entrust to the Chūnagon? (HM I:155.15)

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いかがはせん
ikaga fa se-n
how TOP do-TENT/FIN
What (*lit.*: **how**) should [I] do? (HM I:174:6–7)

このよには又いつかは
kono yo-ni fa mata **itu ka fa**
this country-ALL TOP again **when PT TOP**
[Maybe he will come] again to this country **sometimes** (HM I:193.12)

いかばかりかはうくあさましうおぼしあまりて
ika bakari ka fa u-ku asamasi-u obos-i-amar-ite
how about PT TOP sad-INF unexpected-INF think(HON)-INF-be in excess-SUB
[you] were too concerned that it was **so** sad and unexpected (HM II:244.13)

いづこのたよりかは侍らん
iduko-no tayori ka fa faber-an
where-GEN message PT TOP be(POL)-TENT/ATTR
Where can the **message** be **from**? (HM III:266.1)

Contrastive use of *fa*

Like Modern Japanese *wa*, in addition to being a topical particle used for subduing the focus from the part of the sentence that precedes it, *fa* can be contrastive. However, while in the modern language, whenever *wa* occurs twice in the same sentence, one is always contrastive, this is not necessarily true in Classical Japanese, as mentioned above. At the same time, as the example from *dan* X of *Ise monogatari* below demonstrates, it is not necessary to have two topic particles *fa* to express a contrast: contrastive *fa* can also be used along with the focus particle *namu*.

あるいはをのが家にこもりゐあるいはをのがゆかまほしき所へいぬ
arui fa wono-ga ife-ni komor-i-wi **arui fa** wono-ga yuk-amafosi-ki tokoro-fe in-u
some TOP they-POSS house-LOC seclude oneself-INF-be(INF) **some TOP** themselves-POSS go-OPT-ATTR place-ALL go-FIN
some secluded themselves in their houses, **some** went wherever they wanted to go (TM 46.5)

ちちはこと人にあはせむといひけるをははなんあてなる人に心つけたりけるちちはなを人にてははなんふぢはらなりける
titi fa koto-fito-ni af-ase-m-u to if-iker-u-wo **fafa nan** ate nar-u fito-ni kokoro tuke-tar-iker-u. **titi fa** nawo fito n-ite **fafa nan** Fudifara nar-iker-u
father TOP different-person-DAT meet-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV say-RETR2-ATTR-ACC **mother PT** noble be-ATTR person-DAT heart attach-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR. **father TOP** common person DV-SUB **mother PT** Fudifara be-RETR2-ATTR

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[Her] **father** said that [he] wanted to marry [her] to a different person, but [her] **mother** set her heart on a nobleman. **Father** was a commoner, [but] **mother** was a Fujiwara (IM X:118.3)

ひとりはいやしきおとこのまづしきひとりはあてなるおとこもたりけり
fito-ri fa iyasi-ki otoko-no madusi-ki **fito-ri fa** atenar-u otoko mot-ar-iker-i
one-CL TOP common-ATTR man-GEN poor-ATTR **one-CL TOP** noble-ATTR man hold-PROG-RETR2-FIN
One married a poor man who was a commoner, **[but] another** married a noble man (IM XLI:135.7–8)

としごろよそにはつかうまつれどちかくはいまだつかうまつらず
tosi-goro **yoso n-i fa** tukaumatur-e-do **tika-ku fa** imada tukaumatur-az-u
year-time **distant place DV-INF TOP** serve-EV-CONC **close-INF TOP** yet serve-NEG-FIN
For years, [I] served [you] **from a distance**, but [I] have not yet served [you] **closely** (IM LXXVIII:156.5–6)

このいしききしよりは見るはまされり
kono isi **kik-isi-yori fa mi-ru fa** masar-er-i
this stone **hear-RETR1/ATTR-COMP TOP see-ATTR TOP** be superior-PROG-FIN
It was better **to see** this stone **than to hear about** [it] (*i.e.*, its appearance surpassed its reputation) (IM LXXVIII:156.13)

8.1.2 Focus particle *mo*

The focus particle *mo*, as in Modern Japanese, is the opposite of *fa*: it is used for highlighting a preceding word or a phrase (Martin 1975: 52). Unlike the modern colloquial usage, *mo* in the language of Classical prose can follow the accusative case marker *wo*. The usage of *mo* with interrogative pronouns was described above in the relevant sections of Chapter 4.

いづれもをとりまさりおはしまさねば御心ざしの程はみゆべし
idure mo wotor-i masar-i **ofasimas-an-e-ba** mi-kokorozasi-no fodo mi-y-ube-si
which PT be inferior-NML be superior-NML **be(HON)-NEG-EV-CON** PREF(HON)-feeling-GEN extent see-PASS-DEB-FIN
Since neither [of you] **is** superior or inferior, [she] must see the depth of [your] feelings (TM 33.5–6)

わが御家へもより給ずしておはしましたり
wa-ga **mi-ife-fe mo** yor-i-tamaf-azu s-ite ofasimas-itar-i
his own-POSS **PREF(HON)-house-ALL PT** stop by-INF-HON-NEG/INF do-SUB come(HON)-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] came without **even** stopping at his own **house** (TM 36.15–16)

これをもあはれともみでをるに
kore-wo mo afare-to mo mi-de wor-u-ni

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this-ACC PT sympathy-COM PT see-NEG/GER be-ATTR-LOC
when [she] was looking **at this** with dismay, **too** (TM 36.13)

火にやけぬ**事よりも**けうらなることならびなし
fi-ni yake-n-u **koto-yori mo** keura nar-u koto narab-i na-si
fire-LOC burn-NEG-ATTR **thing-COMP PT** beauty be-ATTR thing comparison-NML no-FIN
Even more important **than the fact** that [it] does not burn is the fact that [it] is beautiful (TM 43.4–5)

あれもたたかはで
are mo tatakaf-ade
they PT fight-NEG/GER
they also did not fight, and… (TM 63.13)

二条のきさきのまだみかど**にも**つかうまつり給はで
ni-zyau-no kisaki-no mada **mikado-ni mo** tukaumatur-i-tamaf-ade
two-CL-GEN empress-GEN yet **emperor-DAT PT** serve(HUM)-INF-HON-NEG/GER
The Empress from the Second Ward had not yet (**even**) served **the Emperor**, and… (IM III:112.9)

人のいきかよふべきところ**にも**あらざりければ
fito-no ik-i-kayof-ube-ki **tokoro n-i mo ar-az-ar-iker-e-ba**
person-GEN go-INF-go back and forth-DEB-ATTR **place DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-EV-CON**
because it was not a place where a person could visit, **either** (IM IV: 112.14–113.1)

かどよりもえいらで
kado-yori mo ye-ir-ade
gate-ABL PT PREV-enter-NEG/GER
[he] could not enter **from the gate (either)** and… (IM V:113.9)

あはじともいはざりける女のさすがなりけるがもとにいひやりける
af-azi to mo if-az-ar-iker-u wonna-no sasuga nar-iker-u-ga moto-ni if-i-yar-iker-u
meet-NEG/TENT DV PT say-NEG/INF-be-RETR2-ATTR woman-GEN unclear be-RETR2-ATTR-POSS base-LOC say-INF-send-RETR2-ATTR
[he] sent [it] to a woman who had been unclear with him, though [she] **had not said that [she] would not meet [him], either** (IM XXV:128.15–129.1)

いまはなに**の心もなし**
ima fa **nani-no kokoro mo** na-si
now TOP **what-GEN idea PT** no-FIN
[I] do not have **any thoughts** [but of meeting you] now (IM XCVI:168.9)

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御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて御かほのやうたいほそくもあらずふくらにもあらず
mi-tosi fatati bakari ya ofas-uram-u to oboye-te mi-kafo-no yautai **foso-ku mo ar-azu fukura n-i mo ar-azu**
PREF(HON)-years about PT be(HON)-TENT-ATTR DV think-SUB PREF(HON)-face-GEN appearance **thin-INF PT be-NEG/INF plump DV-INF PT be-NEG/INF**
[he] thought that [the consort] was probably about twenty, and (the appearance of) [her] face **was neither thin nor plump**, and… (HM I:159.7–8)

御返りのふみにこれもそへ給ひて
mi-kaferi-no fumi-ni **kore mo** sofe-tamaf-ite
PREF(HON)-reply-GEN letter-LOC **this PT** add-HON-SUB
[he] added **this, too**, in [his] reply letter (HM I:213.7)

とおぼやけにもきこしめして
to **ofoyake-ni mo** kikosimes-ite
DV **emperor-DAT PT** hear(HON)-SUB
the Emperor also heard that… and (HM II:222.9)

大弐も御をくりにせきまでまいる
Daini mo mi-wokur-i-ni seki-made mair-u
Daini PT PREF(HON)-see off-NML-ALL barrier-TERM go(HUM)-FIN
Daini went to see [the Chūnagon] off as far as the barrier, **also** (HM II:240.6–7)

中納言どのの御しやうぞくの事もなにもすべてさながら少将のめのとにあづけしらせ給て
tyuunagon-dono-no go-syauzoku-no **koto mo nani mo** subete sa nagara syauzyau-no menoto-ni aduke-sir-ase-tamaf-ite
tyuunagon-lord-GEN PREF(HON)-garment-GEN **matter PT what PT** all thus CONJ syauzyau-GEN wet nurse-DAT entrust(INF)-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-SUB
Lord Chūnagon entrusted everything – **even the matters** of [his] clothing and **everything** – to Shōjō's wet nurse, and… (HM II:263.12–13)

As in Modern Japanese, *mo* can follow more than one word or phrase in a sentence:

いづちもいづちもあしのむきたらんかたへいなむず
iduti mo iduti mo asi-no muk-itar-an kata-fe in-amuz-u
where PT where PT foot-GEN direct-PERF/PROG-TENT/FIN side-ALL go-MOD-FIN
[we] will go **anywhere**, wherever [our] feet take [us] (TM 46.3)

なにごともいささかなることもえせで
nani-ⁿgoto mo isasaka nar-u **koto mo** ye-se-de

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what-(GEN)thing PT trifle be-ATTR **thing PT** PREV-do-NEG/GER
not being able to do **anything, even a** trifling **thing** (IM XVI:121.11–12)

まことにかの人をみればやまひもやみいのちものびぬべき
makoto n-i kano fito-wo mi-re-ba **yamafi mo** yam-i **inoti mo** nobi-n-ube-ki
truth DV-INF that person-ACC see-EV-CON **illness PT** stop-INF **life PT** stretch-PERF-DEB-ATTR
Really, when [you] see that person, **both the illness** will surely cease **and [your] life** will be prolonged… (HM I:170.16)

いつもいつもたづねしらせたまへとばかりになん
itu mo itu mo tadune-sir-ase-tamaf-e to bakari n-i nan
when PT when PT look for(INF)-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP DV only DV-INF PT
[I] am just [asking you]: 'Please **always** look for and find [it in your heart]' (HM I:174.1)

たれもたれもなげきみだれて
tare mo tare mo nagek-i-midare-te
who PT who PT lament-INF-be in confusion-SUB
everybody was lamenting in confusion, and… (HM II:232.9)

このよもかのよも思さま
kono yo mo kano yo mo omof-u sama
this world PT that world PT think-ATTR view
[his] appearance as [he] thought about [life in] **both this world and that world** (HM II:254.9)

8.1.3 Focus particle *zo*

The focus particle *zo* emphasizes the preceding word or phrase. Sometimes, the particle *zo* can be rendered approximately into English as 'exactly', especially when it follows interrogative pronouns. It triggers a change of the final form of the verb into the attributive (see 5.2.3.1.2).

かのはちをすてて又いひけるよりぞおもなきことをばはぢをすつるとはいひける
kano fati-wo sute-te mata if-iker-u-yori zo omo-na-ki koto-woba fadi-wo sut-uru to fa if-iker-u
that bowl-ACC throw away-SUB again say-RETR2-ATTR-ABL PT face-no-ATTR thing-ACC(EMPH) shame-ACC throw away-ATTR DV PT say-RETR2-ATTR
from the [time] when [he] threw away that bowl and recited [this poem], they call something shameful '[He] threw away his shame' (TM 35.4–5)

この女かくのたまふはたれぞととふ
kono wonna ka-ku notamaf-u fa **tare zo** to tof-u

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this woman thus-INF say(HON)-ATTR TOP **who PT** DV ask-ATTR
[I] asked [her]: '**Who** are you?' (*lit.*: Who is called thus, this woman (= you) (TM 38.10–11)

このたくみらが申ことはなに事ぞ
kono takumi-ra-ga mawos-u koto fa **nani-ˀgoto zo**
this craftsman-PLUR-GEN talk(HUM/PEJ)-ATTR thing TOP **what-(GEN) thing PT**
What are these craftsmen talking about? (TM 39.16)

みまなこ二にすもものやうなる玉をぞそへていましたる
mi-manako futa-tu-ni sumomo-no yau nar-u **tama-wo zo** sofe-te imas-itar-u
PREF(HON)-pupil of the eye two-CL-LOC plum-GEN like be-ATTR **round object**-ACC PT attach-SUB be(HON)-PERF/PROG-ATTR
His eyes became like two round plums (*lit.*: [he] got **round objects** like plums in both eyes) (TM 49.10–11)

二条のきさきにしのびてまいりけるを世のきこえありければせうとたちのまもらせたまひけるとぞ
ni-zyau-no kisaki-ni sinob-ite mair-iker-u-wo yo-no kikoye ar-iker-e-ba seuto-tati-no mamor-ase-tamaf-iker-u to **zo**
two-CL-GEN empress-DAT do secretly-SUB go(HUM)-RETR2-ATTR-ACC world-GEN talk(HUM)(NML) be-RETR2-EV-CON elder brother-PLUR(HON)-GEN guard-CAUS(INF)-HON-RETR2-ATTR DV **PT**
They say that since there were rumours about [his] secret visits to the Empress from the Second Ward, [her] elder brothers kept close watch over her **(this is exactly how it was)** (IM V:113.15–114.1)

うたさへぞひなびたりける
uta safe zo finab-itar-iker-u
poem PT PT be rustic-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR
Even [her] poem was rustic (IM XIV:120.5)

よき御をとこぞいでこん
yo-ki **mi-wotoko zo** ide-ko-n
good-ATTR **PREF(HON)-man PT** appear(INF)-come-TENT/ATTR
A good **man** will appear **[for you]**! (IM LXIII:145.12)

それにぞあなるとはきけど
sore n-i zo a-nar-u to fa kik-e-do
he **DV-INF PT** be-HS-ATTR DV TOP hear-EV-CONC
though [she] heard that [it] was probably **he** (IM LXV:148.13)

いまはただこの御をもむきのままにおはせんぞよからん
ima fa tada kono **mi-womomuki-no mama n-i ofase-n zo** yo-k-ar-an
now TOP only this **PREF(HON)-inclination-GEN as is DV-INF be(HON)-TENT/ATTR PT** good-INF-be-TENT/ATTR

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8.1.5 Focus particle *koso*

The focus particle *koso* seems to place especially strong emphasis on a preceding word or phrase, much stronger than the particles *zo* and *namu* described above in 8.1.3 and 8.1.4. While there seems to be no English equivalent of this particle, it is possible to translate *koso* as German *doch* or Russian *zhe*. It triggers the change of the final form of the verb to evidential (see 5.2.3.1.3).

おやとこそ思たてまつれといふ
oya to koso omof-i-tatematur-e to if-u
parent DV PT think-INF-HUM-EV DV say-FIN
[Kaguya-hime] said: '[I] thought [of you] **as [my] parent**' (TM 31.16–32.1)

まことほうらいの木かとこそおもひつれ
makoto **fourai-no ki ka to koso** omof-it-ure
truth **Hōrai-GEN tree PT DV PT** think-PERF-EV
[I] really believed **that it [was a branch of] the tree on Mount Hōrai!** (TM 40.8–9)

やけずはこそまことならめとおもひて人のいふことにもまけめ
yake-zu fa koso makoto nar-am-e to omof-ite fito-no if-u koto-ni mo make-m-e
burn-NEG/INF TOP PT truth be-TENT-EV DV think-SUB person-GEN say-ATTR thing-ALL PT be defeated-TENT-EV
if [it] does not burn, [I] will believe that [it] is (a) real (thing), and will agree to the proposal of this person (TM 44.3–4)

をのが君の仰ごとをばかなへんとこそ思べけれ
wono-ga kimi-no ofos-u goto-woba **kanafe-n to koso** omof-ube-kere
you-GEN lord say(HON)-ATTR thing-ACC(EMPH) **accomplish-TENT DV PT** think-DEB-EV
[I] would expect **that** [you] **should carry out** the orders of your lord (TM 45.8)

まことにむつましきことこそなかりけれ
makoto n-i **mutumasi-ki koto koso** na-k-ar-iker-e
truth DV-INF **close-ATTR thing PT** no-INF-be-RETR2-EV
[their marriage] was not really **a loving one** (IM XVI:121.9)

おとこはこの女をこそえめと思ふ
otoko fa **kono wonna-wo koso** ye-m-e to omof-u
man TOP **this woman-ACC PT** get-TENT-EV DV think-FIN
the man thought that [he] would get **this woman** [for his wife] (IM XXIII: 126.6–7)

さこそいへ
sa koso if-e
so PT say-EV
[They] did say **so** (IM XL:134.11)

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8.2.1 Interrogative particle *ya*

Below I include examples where *ya* expresses a question directed to a speaker himself, i.e. contrary to Ikeda's definition.

つゐにをとこあはせざらむや
tuwi n-i wotoko af-ase-z-ar-am-u **ya**
finally DV-INF man meet-CAUS-NEG/INF-be-TENT-FIN **PT**
Would [he] not finally make [her] marry a man? (TM 31.11)

(The question is directed by the speakers to themselves.)

ここにやいますなどとふ
koko-ni **ya** imas-u-nado tof-u
here-LOC **PT** be(HON)-ATTR-REPR ask-FIN
[They] asked such questions as: 'Does [he] live here?' (TM 44.15)

千たびばかり申給ふげにやあらんやうやう神なりやみぬ
ti tabi bakari mawos-i-tamaf-u-ge n-i **ya** ar-an yauyau kaminari yam-in-u
thousand time about say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-NML DV-INF **PT** be-TENT/ATTR gradually thunder stop-PERF-FIN
Maybe (*lit.*: seemingly) because [he] said [his prayers] about one thousand times (?), the thunder gradually stopped (TM 48.2–3)

そこらのつばくらめ子うまざらむやは
sokora-no tubakurame ko um-az-ar-am-u **ya** fa
many-GEN swallow child bear-NEG/INF-be-TENT-FIN **PT** PT
Would not [one] of the many swallows lay an egg? (TM 50.6)

(The topic particle *fa* after the interrogative particle *ya* makes the question express irony (反語 hango): the expected answer is the opposite to the form of the question (Ikeda 1975: 235). Thus, one expects an affirmative answer to a negative question (as in this context), or a negative answer to an affirmative question.)

かばかりまもる所に天の人にもまけむや
ka bakari mamor-u tokoro-ni ama-no fito-ni mo make-m-u **ya**
that about guard-ATTR place-LOC heaven-GEN person-DAT **PT** be defeated-TENT-FIN PT
in a place that is so well guarded could [we] possibly lose even to celestial beings? (TM 61.13)

京の人はめづらかにやおぼえけん
miyako-no fito fa meduraka n-i **ya** oboye-k-en
capital-GEN person TOP extraordinary DV-INF **PT** think-RETR1-TENT/ATTR
[the woman] probably thought: 'Isn't the man from the capital extraordinary?' (IM XIV:120.2–3)

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ゐなかの人のことにてはよしやあしや
winaka-no fito-no koto n-ite fa yo-si **ya** a-si **ya**
countryside-GEN person-GEN thing DV-SUB TOP good-FIN **PT** bad-FIN **PT**
As for being a poem (*lit.*: thing) from a rustic person, is [it] good [**or**] is [it] bad? (IM XXXIII:131.13)

このほたるのともす火にや見ゆらん
kono fotaru-no tomos-u fi-ni **ya** mi-y-uran
this firefly-GEN burn-ATTR fire-LOC **PT** see-PASS-TENT/ATTR
could [they] perhaps be seen by the light of these fireflies? (IM XXXIX: 134.2)

おとこわれをばしらずやとて
otoko ware-woba sir-az-u **ya** to-te
man I-ACC(EMPH) know-NEG-FIN **PT** DV-SUB
The man said: 'Don't [you] recognize me?' and… (IM LXII:145.1)

御年廿ばかりやおはすらむとおぼえて
mi-tosi fatati bakari **ya** ofas-uram-u to oboye-te
PREF(HON)-years about **PT** be(HON)-TENT-ATTR DV think-SUB
[he] thought that [the consort] was probably about twenty, and… (*lit.*: [he] thought: 'Is [the consort] about twenty years old?') (HM I:159.7–8)

をのづから心とどまる人も侍ましかばはるかに思ひより侍ましや
wonodukara kokoro todomar-u fito mo faber-amasika-ba faruka n-i omof-i-yor-i-faber-amasi **ya**
myself heart stop-ATTR person PT be(POL)-SUBJ/EV-COND far DV-INF think-INF-approach-INF-be(POL)-SUBJ **PT**
If there was a lady who possesses my heart, would [I] be thinking [of going so] far? (HM I:173.9)

(The question is directed to the speaker himself.)

かばかりもなぞや
ka bakari mo nazo **ya**
that about PT why **PT**
Why [did it change] so? (HM I:174.11)

たづねきこえざらましかばかかる人をも見ましや
tadune-kikoye-z-ar-amasika-ba kakar-u fito-wo mo mi-masi **ya**
visit(INF)-HUM-NEG/INF-be-SUBJ/EV-COND be such-ATTR person-ACC PT see-SUBJ **PT**
if [I] did not visit [her], would [I] see such a lady? (HM IV:348.15)

(The question is directed to the speaker himself.)

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8.2.2 Interrogative particle *ka*

Below I include examples where *ka* expresses a question directed to a person other than the speaker himself, contrary to Ikeda's definition.

いかでかさることなくてはおはせん
ikade **ka** sar-u koto na-ku-te fa ofase-n
how **PT** be such-ATTR thing no-INF-SUB TOP be(HON)-TENT/ATTR
How would you live without such a thing? (TM 32.3–4)

(The question is directed to an addressee.)

まことほうらいの木かとこそおもひつれ
makoto fourai-no ki **ka** to koso omof-it-ure
truth Hōrai-GEN tree **PT** DV PT think-PERF-EV
[I] really believed that it [was a branch of] the tree on Mount Hōrai! (*lit.*: [I] really thought: 'Is[n't it a branch of] the tree on Mount. Hōrai?') (TM 40.8–9)

などかおきなの手におほしたてたらむ物を心にまかせざらむ
nado **ka** okina-no te-ni ofos-i-tate-tar-am-u mono-wo kokoro-ni makase-z-ar-am-u
why **PT** old man-GEN hand-LOC raise-INF-establish-PERF/PROG-TENT-ATTR thing-ACC heart-LOC entrust-NEG/INF-be-TENT-ATTR
Why should [she] not obey when [you] raised [her] with your (*lit.*: old man's) own hands?) (TM 55.8–9)

(The question is directed to an addressee.)

いとこころくるしき物おもふなるはまことか
ito kokoro kurusi-ki mono omof-unar-u fa makoto **ka**
very heart hard-ATTR thing think-HS-ATTR TOP truth **PT**
Is it true what they say, that [you] are thinking about very unpleasant things? (TM 61.1–2)

(An imperial messenger to the old man: the question is directed to an addressee.)

なにせむにか
nani s-em-u n-i **ka**
what do-TENT-ATTR DV-INF **PT**
What should [we] do? (TM 66.7)

いづれの山か天にちかきととはせ給ふに
idure-no yama **ka** ame-ni tika-ki to tof-ase-tamaf-u-ni
which-GEN mountain **PT** heaven-LOC close-ATTR DV ask-CAUS(INF)-HON-ATTR-LOC
when [the Emperor] asked: 'Which mountain is close to heaven?' (TM 66.12)

(The Emperor to his courtiers.)

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かかるみちはいかでかいまする
kakar-u miti fa ikade **ka** imas-uru
be such-ATTR road TOP how **PT** be(HON)-ATTR
How [did you happen] to be on such a road? (IM IX:117.14)

(The question is directed to an addressee.)

おとこはあるものかともおもひたらず女
otoko fa ar-u mono **ka** to mo omof-itar-azu wonna
man TOP be-ATTR thing **PT** DV PT think-PERF/PROG-NEG/INF woman
The man did not think [of her] as someone real (*lit.*: was not even thinking: '[Is she] a living thing?'), so the woman [recited] (IM XIX:123.4–5)

なにによりてかかからん
nani-ni yor-ite **ka** kakar-an
what-LOC base-SUB **PT** be so-TENT/ATTR
on the basis of what would it be so? (IM XXI:124.9)

しほがまにいつかきにけむ
Sifogama-ni itu **ka** k-in-ik-em-u
Sifogama-ALL when **PT** come-PERF-RETR1-TENT-ATTR
When might [I] have come to Siogama? (IM LXXXI:158.8)

何事をかは中納言にはつたへならはすべき
nani-goto-wo **ka** fa tiunagon-ni fa tutafe-narafas-ube-ki
what thing-ACC **PT** TOP chūnagon-DAT TOP hand over(INF)-teach-DEB-ATTR
what (thing) should [we] entrust to the Chūnagon? (HM I:155.15)

そはなどてか事々しうはあらん
so fa nadote **ka** kotogotosi-u fa ar-an
that TOP why **PT** abundant-INF TOP be-TENT/FIN
Why is that [so] abundant? (HM I:196.15)

かれをなどかこよひまづ
kare-wo nado **ka** ko yofi madu
she-ACC why **PT** this evening anyhow
Why [did he not bring] her tonight, anyhow? (HM II:243.3)

たれかはかかるすまゐする人のあらん
tare **ka** fa kakar-u sumawi s-uru fito n-o ar-an
who **PT** TOP be such-ATTR living do-ATTR person DV-ATTR be-TENT/ATTR
Who might the person be who lives like that? (HM III:264.12)

8.3 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE PARTICLE *na*

The negative imperative particle *na* is used in the language of Classical prose very seldom. There are only two examples in *Taketori monogatari* (both are in

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almost identical contexts), one example in a poem in *Ise monogatari*, and one example in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. Much more often the negative imperative is expressed with the circumfix *na-...-so*, encircling the infinitive form of a verb (see 5.2.2). The negative imperative particle *na* follows the final form of verbs.

家にかへりくなとのたまはせけり
ife-ni **kafer-i-k-u na** to notamaf-ase-ker-i
home-LOC **come back-INF-come-FIN NEG/IMP** DV say(HON)-CAUS-RETR2-FIN
[he] told [them]: '**Do not come back** home' (TM 46.1)

たつのくびの玉とりえずはかへりくなとのたまへば
tatu-no kubi-no tama tor-i-ye-zu fa **kafer-i-k-u na** to notamaf-e-ba
dragon-GEN neck-GEN precious stone take-INF-get-NEG/GER TOP **return-INF-come-FIN NEG/IMP**
because [he] told [us]: 'If you do not get the precious stone from the dragon's neck, **do not come back**' ... (TM 46.2–3)

わするなよほどは雲ゐになりぬとも
wasur-u na yo fodo fa kumo-wi n-i nar-in-u tomo
forget-FIN NEG/IMP PT. distance TOP cloud-be(NML) DV-INF become-PERF-FIN CONJ
Do not forget [me]! Even if the distance [between you and me] has become [as far as] the distance to the clouds... (IM XI:118.14)

人にしらせさせ給な
fito-ni **sir-ase-sase-tamaf-u na**
person-DAT **know-CAUS-CAUS(INF)-HON-FIN NEG/IMP**
Please do not let people **know** (HM II:217.11)

8.4 EMPHATIC PARTICLES

There are eight emphatic particles: *kana*, *kasi*, *gana*, *mogana*, *yo*, *si*, *simo*, *monowo* in the language of Classical Japanese prose.

8.4.1 Emphatic particle *kana*

In the Heian period the emphatic particle *kana* replaced the emphatic particle *kamo* used in Old Japanese. It occurs only once in the prose of *Ise monogatari*, although it appears frequently in the poems there. It appears that the emphatic particle *kana* is used to show the emotional attitude of a speaker.

翁いはくおもひのごとくものたまふ物かな
okina if-aku omof-i-no goto-ku mo notamaf-u mono **kana**
old man say-NML think-NML-GEN like-INF PT say(HON)-ATTR thing **PT**

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The old man said (*lit.*: old man saying): '[You] spoke according to [your] heart!' (TM 32.10–11)

たくみらいみじくよろこびおもひつるやうにもあるかなといひて
takumi-ra imizi-ku yorokob-i omof-it-uru yau n-i mo ar-u **kana** to if-ite
craftsman-PLUR terrible-INF be glad-INF think-PERF-ATTR like DF-INF be-ATTR **PT** DV say-SUB
The craftsmen were very glad, and said: '[It] is [now] as [we] wished!' (TM 41.2–3)

舟人こたへていはくあやしき事かなとわらひて
funa-bito kotafe-te if-aku ayasi-ki koto **kana** to waraf-ite
sailor reply-SUB say-NML strange-ATTR thing **PT** DV laugh-SUB
The sailor replied with a laugh: '[What you ask is] a strange thing!'… (TM 46.15–16)

すずろなるしにをすべかめるかな
suzuro nar-u sin-i-wo s-ube-k-a-mer-u **kana**
without reason be-ATTR die-NML-ACC do-DEB-INF-be-CONJC-ATTR **PT**
It looks as if [I] must die for nothing! (TM 47.10–11)

かぎりなくとをくもきにけるかなとわびあへるに
kagir-i na-ku towo-ku mo k-in-iker-u **kana** to wabi-af-er-u-ni
limit-NML no-INF far-INF PT come-PERF-RETR2-ATTR **PT** DV lament(INF)-COOP-PROG-ATTR-LOC
when [they] were all together lamenting: 'Oh, [we] have come extremely far!'… (IM IX:117.7–8)

いとよしなきことしつるかな
ito yosi na-ki koto s-it-uru **kana**
very reason no-ATTR thing do-PERF-ATTR **PT**
[You] have done an unnecessary thing! (HM I:154.8)

よろづめでたくすぐれたりける人かな
yorodu medeta-ku sugure-tar-iker-u fito **kana**
much attractive-INF surpass-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR person **PT**
[He] turned out to be a very attractive and perfect person! (HM I:161.4–5)

しるくみゆるかな
siru-ku mi-y-uru kana
distinct-INF see-PASS-ATTR **PT**
[It] can be distinctly seen, **alas!** (HM I:182.9–10)

いとうれしうさぶらふ事かな
ito uresi-u saburaf-u koto **kana**
very joyful-INF be(POL)-ATTR thing **PT**
[it] will be very joyful [for her]! (HM III:266.3)

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8.4.2 Assertive particle *kasi*

There are only three examples of *kasi* in *Taketori monogatari* and one example in the prose of *Ise monogatari*. *Kasi* appears for the first time in the Heian period (Yamada 1952: 434). Japanese linguists usually define *kasi* as a particle giving emphasis to a sentence (Yamada 1952: 434–35; Ikeda 1975: 231). In a number of cases, it corresponds to English 'definitely', and lends an assertion to a whole sentence; therefore I define *kasi* as an assertive particle.

翁のあらむかぎりはかうてもいますがりなむかし
okina-no ar-am-u kagir-i fa ka-u-te mo imasugar-in-am-u **kasi**
old man-GEN be-TENT-ATTR limit-NML TOP thus-INF-SUB PT be(HON)-PERF-TENT-FIN **PT**
While I (*lit.*: the old man) live, it will be like that (TM 32.5–6)

はやころし給てよかし
faya koros-i-tamaf-ite-yo **kasi**
quick kill-INF-HON-PERF-IMP **PT**
please execute [me] quickly! (TM 54.16)

御門きこしめしておほくの人ころしてける心ぞかしとの給て
mikado kikosimes-ite ofo-ku-no fito koros-ite-ker-u kokoro zo **kasi** to notamaf-ite
emperor listen(HON)-SUB many-INF-GEN person kill-PERF-RETR2-ATTR heart PT **PT** DV say(HON)-SUB
the Emperor listened and said: '[It is] **definitely** the heart that has destroyed many people' … (TM 55.1–2)

しらずかし
sir-az-u **kasi**
know-NEG-FIN **PT**
[One] does not know! (IM LXXVI:155.2)

さぞかし
sa zo **kasi**
This PT **PT**
This is **definitely** [him] (HM I:156.7)

この人返り給はんずるぞかし
kono fito kafer-i-tamaf-anz-uru zo **kasi**
this person return-INF-HON-MOD-ATTR PT **PT**
Definitely, this person is going to return (HM I:201.12)

いのちだにあらば三とせが中にかならずゆきかへりなんかし
inoti dani ar-aba mi-tose-ga uti-ni kanarazu yuk-i-kafer-in-an **kasi**
life only be-COND three-year-POSS inside-LOC definitely go-INF-come back-PERF-TENT/FIN **PT**
If [I] am alive, [I] will **definitely** come back within three years (HM II:216.2–3)

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げにさてあらじとおぼされよかし
ge n-i sate ar-azi to obos-are-yo **kasi**
reality DV-INF so be-NEG/TENT DV think(HON)-PASS-IMP **PT**
Please **do** believe that it really is probably not so (HM II:222.2)

8.4.3 Desiderative particle *gana*

The desiderative particle *gana* expresses desire on the part of a speaker or a third person. There are only two examples of *gana* in *Taketori monogatari* and three examples in *Ise monogatari*. It does not occur in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*. In the language of prose the desiderative particle *gana* is used only after verbal forms ending in *-ite-si* PERF-RETR1/ATTR. Ikeda mentions that *gana* also occurs after the verbal forms in *-in-isi* PERF-RETR/ATTR, but he does not provide any examples (Ikeda 1975: 232). No examples of *gana* after the verbal forms in *-in-isi* appear in Yamada (1952), either.

いかでこのかぐや姫をえてしがな見てしがな
ikade kono Kaguya-fime-wo ye-te-si **gana** mi-te-si **gana**
how this Kaguya-fime-ACC get-PERF-RETR1/ATTR **PT** see-PERF-RETR1/ATTR **PT**
[they] **wanted** to get this Kaguya-hime somehow, and [they] **wanted** to see [her] (TM 30.7–8)

女いかで心なさけあらむおとこにあひえてしがなとおもへど
wonna ikade kokoro nasake ar-am-u wotoko-ni af-i-ye-te-si **gana** to omof-e-do
woman somehow heart compassion be-TENT-ATTR man-DAT meet-INF-receive-PERF-RETR1/ATTR **PT** DV think-EV-CONC
the woman (thought that) [she] **wanted** somehow to get to meet a man who would have a heart and compassion [for her], but… (IM LXIII:145.9–10)

この在五中将にあはせてし哉と思心あり
kono Ari go tiuzyau-ni af-ase-te-si **gana** to omof-u kokoro ar-i
this Ari[fara] five tiuzyau-DAT meet-CAUS-PERF-RETR1/ATTR **PT** DV think-ATTR heart be-FIN
[her son] was thinking: '[I] **wish** to make [her] meet Chūjō Ariwara-no Narihira, the fifth [son of the Prince] (IM LXIII:145.13)

さてもさぶらひてしがなとおもへど
sate mo saburaf-ite-si **gana** to omof-e-do
thus PT be(POL)-PERF-ATTR/RETR1 **PT** DV think-EV-CONC
Thus although [he] thought: 'I **would like** to be [with the Prince] (IM LXXXIII:161.5)

8.4.4 Desiderative particle *mogana*

There are no examples of the desiderative particle *mogana* in *Taketori monogatari*. It does not occur in the prose of *Ise monogatari*, but it appears in the poems

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わするなよほどは雲ゐになりぬとも
wasur-u na **yo** fodo fa kumo-wi n-i nar-in-u tomo
forget-FIN NEG/IMP **PT**. distance TOP cloud-be(NML) DV-INF become-PERF-FIN CONJ
Do not forget [me]! Even if the distance [between you and me] has become [as far as] the distance to the clouds… (IM XI:118.14)

(This example comes from a poem.)

さればよといひて
sar-e-ba **yo** to if-ite
be so-EV-CON **PT** DV say-SUB
[he] said: 'As [I] expected!' … (IM XXII:125.11)

さるうたのきたなげさよ
sar-u uta-no kitana-ge-sa **yo**
be such-ATTR poem-GEN sordid-NML-NML **PT**
What a sordid poem! (IM CIII:172.7)

かかる人のおはしけるよとおどろきて
kakar-u fito-no ofas-iker-u **yo** to odorok-ite
be such-ATTR person-GEN be(HON)-RETR2-ATTR **PT** DV be surprised-SUB
[they] were surprised: 'It turns out that there is such a person!' (HM I:153.8)

けふをかぎりに思べきぞよ
kefu-wo kagir-i n-i omof-ube-ki zo **yo**
today-ACC limit-NML DV-INF think-DEB-ATTR PT **PT**
'It is necessary to think that today is the final [good-bye]!' (HM II:258.14)

さればよ
sar-e-ba **yo**
be so-EV-CON **PT**
As expected! (HM IV:354.2)

これぞははよ
kore zo fafa **yo**
this PT mother **PT**
This [is her] mother! (HM IV:364.4)

8.4.6 Emphatic particle *si*

It is difficult to define the exact meaning of the particle *si*, but it appears to add a special emphasis to the preceding word (Ikeda 1975: 244). The particle *si* is generally used in isolation in Old Japanese, and in the Heian period it occurs mostly with the following particles *mo* or *ka* (Ikeda 1975: 244). In the studied texts *sika* does not occur except in combination with preceding *itu* 'when', and

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therefore I do not treat it as a separate particle. On the other hand, *simo* is rather frequently used, especially in *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari*, so I treat it as a separate particle *simo* (see 8.4.7). There are no examples of emphatic particle *si* in *Taketori monogatari*. In *Hamamatsu chūnagon monogatari* it occurs only in the combination *itu si ka* 'when', 'some time'. There are, however, examples of *si* in isolation in *Ise monogatari* (all but one occurring in poems), providing another demonstration that this text is probably the closest to the Old Japanese among Heian prose texts.

つましあればはるばるきぬるたびをしぞ思ふ
tuma **si** ar-e-ba faru-baru k-in-uru tabi-wo **si** zo omof-u
wife **PT** be-EV-CON distant come-PERF-ATTR travel-ACC **PT** PT think-ATTR
since [I] have a wife, [I] think [with sadness] about the journey on which [I] came so far (IM IX:116.10)

(This example comes from a poem.)

名にしおはば
na-ni **si** of-aba
name-ALL **PT** follow-COND
If your name **indeed** is true (*lit.*: if you follow your name)… (IM IX:117.13)

(This example comes from a poem.)

わが人をやるべきにしあらねば
wa-ga fito-wo yar-ube-ki n-i **si** ar-an-e-ba
he-POSS person-ACC send-DEB-ATTR DV-INF **PT** be-NEG-EV-CON
because it was not **really** possible [for him] to send [any] of his [own] men [with a message] (IM LXIX:151.4–5)

いつしか三のみことく見たてまつらん
itu **si** ka mi-tu n-o miko to-ku mi-tatematur-an
when **PT** PT three-CL DV-ATTR prince fast-INF see-HUM-TENT/ATTR
[I] want to see the Third Prince some time soon (HM I:155.4)

いつしかに侍
itu **si** ka n-i faber-u
when **PT** PT DV-INF be(POL)-ATTR
When was [it]? (HM II:232.2–3)

宮には人々まいりあつまりていつしかとまちたてまつるに
miya-ni fa fito-bito mair-i-atumar-ite itu **si** ka to mat-i-tatematur-u-ni
palace-ALL TOP person-person come(HUM)-INF-gather-SUB when **PT** PT DV wait-INF-HUM-ATTR-LOC
People came to the palace and waited, thinking: 'When [will he arrive]?' (HM II:241.9–10)

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心をつゆまよはすべからぬものを
kokoro-wo tuyu mayof-as-ube-k-ar-an-u **monowo**
heart-ACC a little wander-CAUS-DEB-INF-be-NEG-ATTR **PT**
[I] should not be attracted (*lit.*: make my heart wander) [to her] even a little bit (HM II:229.2)

れいざまのよのつねにてあらましものを
reizama-no yo-no tune n-ite ar-amasi **monowo**
appearance-GEN world-GEN usual DV-SUB be-SUBJ **PT**
If **only** the appearance could be the usual [one] (HM II:255.13–14)

***monowo* as a conjunction**

たはやすくみるまじき物を
tafayasu-ku mi-r-umazi-ki **monowo**
easy-INF see-ATTR-NEG/DEB-ATTR **PT**
although [even neighbours] could not see [her] easily (TM 30.9)

さばかりみなれ給しものをのぼりにけりとききき給て
sa bakari mi-nare-tamaf-isi **monowo** nobor-in-iker-i to kik-i-tamaf-ite
thus about see(INF)-get accustomed(INF)-HON-RETR1/ATTR **CONJ** go to the capital-PERF-RETR2-FIN DV hear-INF-HON-SUB
Although [he] was used to seeing [her] very often (*lit.*: that much), [he] heard that [she] had gone to the capital… (HM III:288.8–9)

The following example demonstrates how the emphatic particle *monowo* developed into a conjunction: it is found at the end of an incomplete sentence, functioning like modern *noni* 'I wish', 'it would be good':

かくおぼしいでたるにもあるべきものを
ka-ku obos-i-ide-tar-u n-i mo ar-ube-ki **monowo**
be thus-INF think(HON)-INF-exit-PERF/PROG-ATTR DV-INF PT be-DEB-ATTR **CONJ**
Although [he] should have thus remembered [me] (HM III:292.16)

8.5 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLES

There are four restrictive particles in the language of Classical prose: *dani*, *safe*, *nomi*, and *bakari*.

8.5.1 Restrictive particle *dani*

The restrictive particle *dani* shows the minimum representation. It can be rendered approximately into English as 'even', 'even as little as', 'just', 'just as little as', 'at least', 'only'. Its opposite is the particle *sura* 'even', 'even as much as', 'just', 'just as much as', that does not occur in the studied texts and generally seldom appears in prose (Ikeda 1975: 238). There are only four examples of *dani* in the prose of *Ise monogatari*.

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家のとにもをる人だにたはやすくみるまじき
ife-no to-ni mo wor-u fito **dani** tafayasu-ku mi-r-umazi-ki
house-GEN door-LOC PT be-ATTR person **PT** easy-INF see-ATTR-NEG/DEB-ATTR
even the people who lived [near] the gate of the house could not easily see [her] (TM 30.8–9)

毛のすゑ一すぢをだにうごかしたてまつらじ
ke-no suwe fito-sudi-wo **dani** ugokas-i-tatematur-azi
hair-GEN end one-CL-ACC **PT** move-INF-HUM-NEG/TENT
[I] will not touch **even** one end of [his] hair! (TM 48.1–2)

はり一だにあらばまづいころして
fari fito-tu **dani** ar-aba madu i-koros-ite
needle one-CL **PT** be-COND anyway shoot(INF)-kill-SUB
Even if [that] is **just** [the size of] one needle, [we] will shoot and kill [it] anyway (TM 61.15–16)

おやたちのかへりみをいささかだにつかうまつらで
oya-tati-no kaferimi-wo isasaka **dani** tukaumatur-ade
parent-PLUR-GEN care-ACC little **PT** serve(HUM)-NEG/GER
[I] have not repaid the care of [my] parents **even** a little, and… (TM 62.10)

こよひだに人しづめていととくあはむと思に
koyofi **dani** fito sidume-te ito to-ku af-am-u to omof-u-ni
tonight **PT** person get quiet-SUB very fast-INF meet-TENT-FIN DV think-ATTR-LOC
[he] thought that [he] would probably meet [her] **at least** tonight as soon as [the other] people were asleep… (IM LXIX:151.10–11)

せうそこをだにいふべくもあらぬ女
seusoko-wo **dani** if-ube-ku mo ar-an-u wonna
letter-ACC **PT** say-DEB-INF PT be-NEG-ATTR woman
a woman to whom [he] could not send **even** a letter (IM LXXIII:153.6)

女にせうそこをだにえせでよめる
wonna-ni seusoko-wo **dani** ye-se-de yom-er-u
woman-DAT letter-ACC **PT** PREF-do-NEG/GER recite-PROG-ATTR
not being able to send **even** a letter to the woman, [he] recited… (IM XCIII: 2.90)

むまのはなむけをだにせむとて
muma-no fana-muke-wo **dani** se-m-u to-te
horse-GEN nose-direct(NML)-ACC **PT** do-TENT-FIN DV-SUB
[she] said that [she] was **just** going to make a farewell party [for him]… (IM CXV:2.120)

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さだにゆきかかりなば返らんとせんに事あしくなりなんかし
sa **dani** yuk-i-kakar-in-aba kafer-an to se-n-ni koto asi-ku nar-in-an kasi
thus **PT** go-INF-hang-PERF-COND return-TENT/FIN DV do-TENT/ATTR-LOC thing bad-INF become-PERF-TENT/FIN PT
If [it] **even** comes to this, things will be ugly when [he] goes back [to Japan] (HM I:169.14–15)

いのちだにあらば三とせが中にかならずゆきかへりなんかし
inoti **dani** ar-aba mi-tose-ga uti-ni kanarazu yuk-i-kafer-in-an kasi
life **PT** be-COND three-year-POSS inside-LOC definitely go-INF-come back-PERF-TENT/FIN PT
If **only** [I] am alive, [I] will definitely come back within three years (HM II: 216.2–3)

をのれらだにおぼつかなふいぶせきを
wonore-ra **dani** obotukana-fu ibuse-ki wo
he-PLUR **PT** uneasy-INF gloomy-ATTR DV
as **only** they were uneasy and gloomy (HM II:218.15)

ゐまするところからにだにあらず
wimas-uru tokoro-kara n-i **dani** ar-azu
be(HON)-ATTR place-type DV-INF **PT** be-NEG/GER
[it] was not **only** the type of place where [she] was… (HM III:276.3)

8.5.2 Restrictive particle *safe*

The restrictive particle *safe* can be rendered in English as 'even [in addition to something else]'. It is close to the highlighting particle *mo*, but is much more emphatic. The restrictive particle *safe* occurs only three times in *Taketori monogatari* and only four times in the prose of *Ise monogatari*.

このみこ今さへ何かといふべからずといふままにえんにはひのぼり給ぬ
kono miko ima **safe** nani ka to if-ube-k-ar-az-u to if-u mama n-i yen-ni faf-i-nobor-i-tamaf-in-u
this prince now **PT** what PT DV say-DEB-INF-be-NEG-FIN DV say-ATTR as is DV-INF verandah-LOC crawl-INF-rise-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
This Prince ascended to the veranda, saying: 'Now, **surely**, [she] cannot say anything' (TM 37.1–2)

かみさへいただきに落かかる
kami **safe** itadak-i-ni oti-kakar-u
thunder **PT** cover the head-NML-ALL fall(INF)-hang-ATTR
even the thunder will fall to hit [our] heads (TM 47.14)

ある人のけのあなさへみゆるほどなり
ar-u fito-no ke-no ana **safe** mi-y-uru fodo nar-i

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be-ATTR person-GEN hair-GEN hole **PT** see-PASS-ATTR extent be-FIN
It was so [bright] that one could **even** see the pores (hair holes) [on the faces] of the people who were [there] (TM 63.2–3)

かみさへいといみじうなりあめもいたうふりければ
kami **safe** ito imizi-u nar-i ame mo ita-u fur-iker-e-ba
thunder **PT** very terrible-INF sound-INF rain PT intense-INF pour-RETR2-EV-CON
since **[not] only** was thunder booming very terribly, but rain was also pouring down violently… (IM VI:114.6–7)

うたさへぞひなびたりける
uta **safe** zo finab-itar-iker-u
poem **PT** PT be rustic-PERF/PROG-RETR2-ATTR
Even [her] poem was rustic (IM XIV:120.5)

ひとつごにさへありければ
fito-tu-^{n}go n-i **safe** ar-iker-e-ba
one-CL-(DV)child DV-INF **PT** be-RETR2-EV-CON
as [he] was [her] one **and only** child… (IM LXXXIV:161.12)

月日のゆくをさへなげくおとこ
tuki fi-no yuk-u-wo **safe** nagek-u otoko
month day-GEN go-ATTR-ACC **PT** lament-ATTR man
a man, who lamented **even** the passage of time (IM XCI:166.2)

とをきくにの人々さへのこりなくつどひて
towo-ki kuni-no fito-bito **safe** nokor-i na-ku tudof-ite
distant-ATTR province-GEN person-person **PT** remain-NML no-INF gather-SUB
even the people from distant provinces gathered [together]… (HM I:158.3)

ねさへよにしらずきこゆるに
ne **safe** yo-ni sir-azu kik-oy-uru-ni
sound **PT** world-LOC know-NEG/GER hear-PASS-ATTR-LOC
because **even** sounds were heard [in a manner] unknown in [this] world … (HM I:160.1)

それさへいみじうくちおしう心うく
sore **safe** imizi-u kutiosi-u kokoro u-ku
that **PT** extreme-INF deplorable-INF heart sad-INF
even that is extremely deplorable and sad, and… (HM II:260.3)

かかる人のよの事をさへわたりゆきてみたる
kakar-u fito-no yo-no koto-wo **safe** watar-i-yuk-ite mi-tar-u
be such-ATTR lady-GEN life-GEN thing-ACC **PT** cross-INF-go-SUB see-PERF/PROG-ATTR

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when PT when PT look for(INF)-know-CAUS(INF)-HON-IMP DV **PT** DV-INF PT
[I] am **just** [asking you]: 'Please always look for and find [in your heart]' (HM I:174.1)

それ**ばかり**にやおどろきおもふべき事ならん
sore **bakari** n-i ya odorok-i-omof-ube-ki koto nar-an
that **PT** DV-INF PT be surprised-INF-think-DEB-ATTR matter be-TENT/ATTR
are you very likely to be very surprised (*lit.*: to that **extent**) by the matter? (HM I:195.10)

御まくらもうかぶ**ばかり**になりぬるに
mi-makura mo ukab-u **bakari** n-i nar-in-uru-ni
PREF(HON)-pillow PT float-ATTR **PT** DV-INF become-ATTR-LOC
the pillow, too, **almost** began to float [in the river of tears] (HM II:243.13)

ひじりはとし六十**ばかり**にて
fiziri fa tosi roku-zifu **bakari** n-ite
Sage TOP year sixty **PT** DV-SUB
As for the sage, [he] was **about** sixty [years of] age… (HM III:265.2)

しろき御ぞ八**ばかり**
siro-ki on-zo ya-tu **bakari**
white-ATTR PREF(HON)-garment eight-CL **PT**
about eight white garments (HM IV:367.1–2)

NOTES

1 Thus, for example, the suffix of the desiderative mood *–abaya* is treated by traditional grammar as a particle.

2 Apart from obvious parallels with Middle Korean that also has the interrogative particles *ya* and *ka*, it is interesting to note that the question particle *ya* is likely to be cognate with Written Mongolian *yaγun* 'what' and Tungusic *ja 'what', while the question particle *ka* seems to be related to the root *qa-/ke- that underlies most other Turkic and Mongolic interrogative pronouns, such as Written Mongolian *qana* 'where to', *kedüi* 'how much', *kedün* 'how many', *kejiy-e* 'when', *ker* 'how'; Old Turkic *qan/qañ* 'which', *qantan* 'where from', etc.

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APPENDIX 1

Correspondences between *Jodōshi* and some particles in traditional grammar and verbal suffixes in structural analysis

Jodōshi/Particles	*Verbal suffixes*
-ba	*-aba, -ba*
-baya	*-abaya*
-besi	*-ube-*
-de	*-ade*
-fu	*-af-*
-keri	*-iker-*
-ki	*-iki*
-ku	*-aku*
-ku	*-ku*
-mafosi	*-amafosi-*
-masi	*-amasi*
-mausi	*-amau-*
-mazi	*-umazi-*
-meri	*-umer-*
-mu	*-am-*
-nari (assertive)	*nar-*
-nari (hearsay)	*-unar-*
-nu (negative)	*-an-*
-nu (perfective)	*-in-*
-ramu	*-uram-*
-rasi	*-urasi*
-ri	*-er-*
-ru/-raru	*-rare-*
-su/-sasu	*-sase-*
-tari	*-itar-*
-te	*-ite*
-tu	*-ite-*
-zi	*-azi*
-zu	*-az-*
-zu	*-azu*

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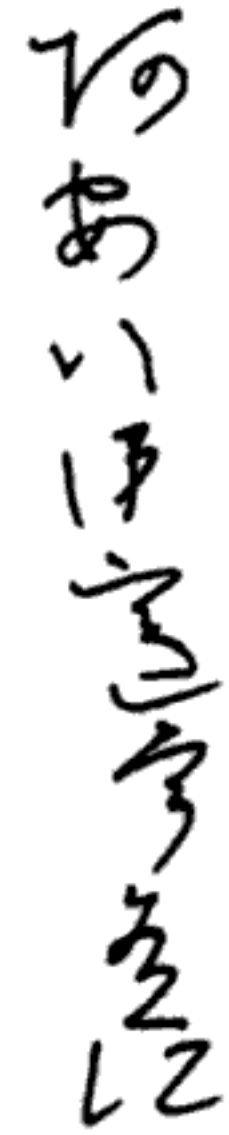
APPENDIX 2

***Hentaigana* signs**

Written form	*Printed form*	*Japanese transliteration*	*Romanization*
	阿	あ	a
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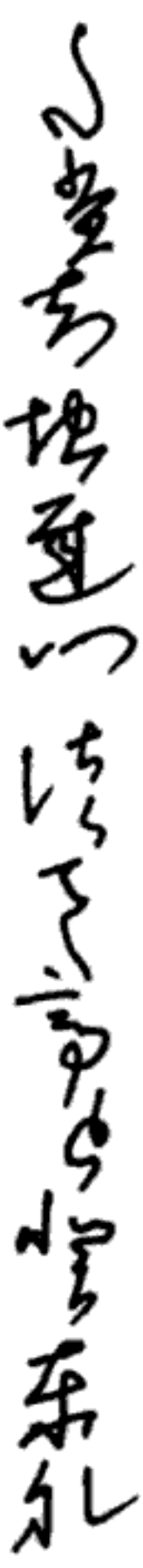
	以	い	i
	伊	い	i
	意	い	i
	宇	う	u
	有	う	u
	江	え	ye
	延	え	ye
	盈	え	ye
	於	お	o
	加	か、	ka, ga
	閑	か、	ka, ga
	可	か、	ka, ga
	支	き、	ki, gi

Bahan dengan hak cipta

Written form	*Printed form*	*Japanese transliteration*	*Romanization*
	幾	き、ぎ	ki, gi
	起	き、ぎ	ki, gi
	久	く、ぐ	ku, gu
	具	く、ぐ	ku, gu
	稀	け、げ	ke, ge
	遣	け、げ	ke, ge
	个	け、げ	ke, ge
	古	こ、ご	ko, go
	許	こ、ご	ko, go
	故	こ、ご	ko, go
	左	さ、ざ	sa, za
	佐	さ、ざ	sa, za
	散	さ、ざ	sa, za
	志	し、じ	si, zi
	之	し、じ	si, zi
	新	し、じ	si, zi
	須	す、ず	su, zu
	数	す、ず	su, zu
	春	す、ず	su, zu

Szerzői jogi védelem alatt álló anyag

Written form	*Printed form*	*Japanese transliteration*	*Romanization*
	世	せ、ぜ	se, ze
	勢	せ、ぜ	se, ze
	楚	そ、ぞ	so, zo
	所	そ、ぞ	so, zo
	曾	そ、ぞ	so, zo
	多	た、だ	ta, da
	堂	た、だ	ta, da
	知	ち、ぢ	ti, di
	地	ち、ぢ	ti, di
	遅	ち、ぢ	ti, di
	川	つ、づ	tu, du
	徒	つ、づ	tu, du
	天	て、で	te, de
	亭	て、で	te, de
	止	と、ど	to, do
	登	と、ど	to, do
	東	と、ど	to, do
	那	な	na

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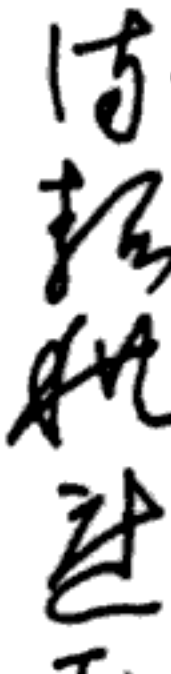
Written form	*Printed form*	*Japanese transliteration*	*Romanization*
	面	め	me
	免	め	me
	毛	も	mo
	茂	も	mo
	也	や	ya
	屋	や	ya
	夜	や	ya
	由	ゆ	yu
	遊	ゆ	yu
	与	よ	yo
	余	よ	yo
	良	ら	ra
	羅	ら	ra
	利	り	ri
	里	り	ri
	李	り	ri
	留	る	ru

Materiał chroniony prawem autorskim

Written form	*Printed form*	*Japanese transliteration*	*Romanization*
	流	る	ru
	類	る	ru
	礼	れ	re
	連	れ	re
	麗	れ	re
	呂	ろ	ro
	路	ろ	ro
	和	わ	wa
	王	わ	wa
	為	ゐ	wa
	井	ゐ	wi
	遺	ゐ	wi
	恵	ゑ	we
	衛	ゑ	we
	遠	を	wo
	越	を	wo
	乎	を	wo

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Alexander Vovin was trained in St Petersburg, Russia. His main research areas are Japanese, Ainu, Korean and Altaic languages, and his previous publications include *A Reconstruction of Proto-Ainu* (1993). He is currently Associate Professor of Japanese at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

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