AN HISTORICAL
GRAMMAR OF JAPANESE

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BY

G. B. SANSOM, C.M.G.

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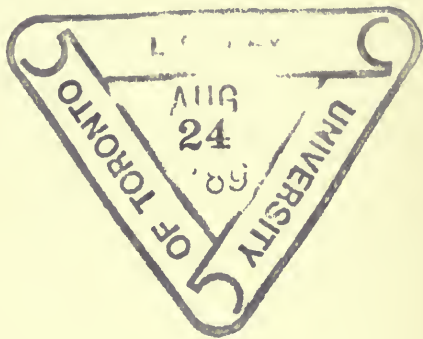
TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR CHARLES ELIOT,
G.C.M.G., C.B., D.LITT., ETC.,
ETC., LATELY HIS MAJESTY'S
AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, AS
A TOKEN OF RESPECT FOR
HIS LEARNING AND GRATI-
TUDE FOR HIS COUNSEL

PREFACE

THE chief object of this work is to provide material for study of the affiliations of the Japanese language, and, in so far as philological evidence is of value, for inquiry into the origins of the Japanese race ; but it has been so planned as to be, I hope, of interest to students of general linguistic theory. I trust also that advanced students of Japanese, especially those who wish to read early and medieval texts, will find it useful as a work of reference ; and even those who are concerned only with the modern spoken and written languages will, I believe, find many of their difficulties removed by gaining some knowledge of the development of grammatical forms and the growth of common idioms.

The question of the racial origins of the people now inhabiting the Japanese archipelago has not yet been solved. Recently much attention has been paid to the Polynesian, as opposed to the 'Ural-Altaic' theory, but the philological arguments on both sides have as a rule been based on incomplete data so far as concerns the vocabulary and grammatical structure of the Japanese language in its earliest known stages. In the following pages an attempt is made to remedy this deficiency, and I have purposely confined myself to a purely descriptive treatment, without conscious bias towards either theory, leaving it to comparative philologists to make use of the material supplied. It was my intention to furnish as an appendix an annotated vocabulary of Japanese in its earliest known forms, but the lists which I had compiled were, unfortunately, destroyed in the great earthquake of 1923. There exists, however, in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (vol. xvi, pp. 225–85) a list compiled by Messrs. Chamberlain and Ueda which, I believe, requires but little revision in the light of recent research.

The chief sources used for the following study were the treatises of the great pre-Restoration grammarians such as Motoori and Mabuchi and their annotated texts of the earliest

records and anthologies ; the indispensable studies of Aston, Chamberlain, and Satow, those great pioneer scholars, to whom all Western students owe praise and thanks ; various modern text-books on Japanese grammar ; and compilations made under the auspices of the Department of Education, such as the complete analysis of the vocabulary and grammatical structure of the *Heike Monogatari*, published in two volumes, of 1,000 pages each, in 1913.[1]

Of all these, I am most indebted to the works of Professor Yamada Kōyū, whose great thesis on Japanese grammar (日 本 文 法 論) and studies of the language of the Nara, Heian, and Kamakura periods are amazing monuments of learning and industry.

The examples of Japanese given in the course of the work are taken, in the case of classical and medieval usages, from the best available texts, and in the case of modern usages from the Readers published by the Department of Education or from newspapers and other contemporary documents.

<div align="right">G. B. S.</div>

THE BRITISH EMBASSY,

     TOKYO.

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[1] I regret that I have been unable to make use of recently discovered MSS. of the *Heike Monogatari*, which show that the work as usually known is refashioned from texts in an earlier language.

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INTRODUCTION

IN describing the development of the Japanese language it is convenient to divide it into stages corresponding to periods usually distinguished by Japanese historians ; and this method is particularly suitable because those periods coincide approximately with well-marked cultural phases.

The earliest period to furnish written records of the language is the Nara period, coinciding roughly with the eighth century A. D., when the Court was at Nara. Works now extant which may be assigned to that period are :

1. The *Kojiki*, or 'Record of Ancient Matters', completed in A. D. 713. A description of this chronicle, and some remarks on the evidential value of its text as reconstructed, will be found in Chapter I, pp. 15 et seq. Whatever doubts may be cast upon the reconstructed prose text, there is no doubt that the poems in the *Kojiki* are most valuable material. They represent the language of A. D. 700 at latest, and it is highly probable, since they bear every mark of antiquity, that they had already at that date been preserved by oral tradition for several centuries.

2. The *Nihongi*, or 'Chronicles of Japan', completed in A. D. 720. Only the poems and a few scattered sentences in this work are of value.

3. The *Manyōshū*, or 'Collection of a Myriad Leaves', an anthology of Japanese verse completed early in the ninth century A. D., and containing some poems which go back at least as far as the late seventh century. Not all these poems are directly available as specimens of early forms of Japanese, since they are not all written phonetically ; but by collation with other poems in the same collection, and by reference back to the poems of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, it is possible to reconstruct a great proportion of the native verse of the Nara period with a high degree of certainty.

4. The *Shoku Nihongi*, a continuation of the *Nihongi*, completed in 797. This work contains certain Imperial edicts in pure Japanese, and their texts can be restored with considerable accuracy. For translation and notes, see *T. A. S. J.*

5. The *Engishiki*, or 'Institutes of the Engi Period', a code of ceremonial law promulgated in 927. This contains a number of Shinto rituals, such as purifications and prayers for harvest, &c., which are evidently of great antiquity. There is strong internal evidence to show that these rituals belong to the Nara period at latest, and it is almost certain that they are among the oldest extant specimens of Japanese prose. For translation and notes, see Satow, *T. A. S. J.*, vol. vii, of 1879.

In addition to the above there are certain family records (氏 文) and topographical records (風 土 記) which contain fragmentary material, but altogether it amounts to very little. There is only one stone monument of the Nara period bearing an inscription in Japanese—the so-called 'Footprint of Buddha' (*Bussokuseki*) near Nara. All other inscriptions of that time are in Chinese. Unfortunately for philologists, so strong was the influence of Chinese learning in the eighth century that all the documents deposited by the Nara Court in the storehouse called the Shōsōin, and marvellously preserved until to-day, contain not more than a few dozen lines of Japanese.

It will be seen from the foregoing account that the material for a grammar and vocabulary of Japanese of the Nara period is scanty, and that the bulk of it is in the form of poetry. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to say that our knowledge of the earliest forms of the language depends chiefly upon the *Manyōshū*.

Following the Nara period comes the Heian period, so called because the centre of government was now at Heian-jo, the modern Kyoto. In the three centuries and more (A. D. 800–1186) comprised by this period there is no lack of material (*vide* Chapter I, pp. 53 et seq.). To it belong several important anthologies of verse, such as the *Kokinshu* ; romances, such as the *Genji Monogatari* ; diaries and miscellanies, such as the *Tosa Nikki* and the *Makura no Sōshi* ; and a number of historical works such as the *Sandai Jitsuroku*. From these it is easy enough to fix with certainty the forms of written Japanese. What is difficult, however, is to trace, in its earlier stages, the divergence between the spoken and written languages. There is no doubt that it progressed during this period, for there are important differences be-

tween the language of the verse anthologies and the more serious historical works on the one hand, and the diaries, miscellanies, and romances on the other. But it is impossible, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to follow step by step the development of more than a few spoken forms. There are in the large mass of written material only occasional passages of undoubted dialogue or reported speech. Moreover, the general tendency of writers has always been to give a literary form to reported speech. This is particularly true of Far Eastern countries, where the written word is held in high respect, and where the system of writing in use is ill-adapted to phonetic recording. Thanks, however, to the development during the Heian period of the *kana* syllabary, it is possible to discern some differences, which can safely be ascribed to changes in pronunciation. Thus when we find in, say, the *Genji Monogatari* words hitherto written *yoki* and *utsukushiku* appearing as *yoi* and *utsukushiū*, we may assume that the latter forms represented contemporary pronunciation ; and further, seeing that the older forms are preserved in verse and in other works of the same date, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the language of the *Genji Monogatari* was substantially the same as the cultivated speech current in its writer's day.

The Heian period was succeeded by the Kamakura period (1186–1332), during which the country was controlled by a military autocracy. Here again there is ample material for the study of written forms, but very little exact evidence as to the development of the spoken language. All we can say is that while the Court at Kyoto remained the centre of the ancient culture, the military aristocracy and its adherents developed in another part of the country on other and less conservative lines, and consequently we find, in addition to literature based on classical models as to style and vocabulary, a number of works, particularly war tales and other romances, which are plainly under the influence of the contemporary spoken language. Unfortunately, while allowing us to make the general inference that the colloquial had by now considerably diverged from the spoken language, they do not furnish much evidence as to the details of this variation.

Similar remarks apply to the next, Namboku and Muro-

machi periods (1332–1603), though it is probable that by working backwards and forwards from a detailed study *ad hoc* of its documents a good deal of information could be gained as to the development of modern colloquial forms. The Yedo period (1603–1867), especially towards its close, witnessed a revival of learning, and a return to classical models of the Heian period, but this was artificial and could not survive, though it was not without influence on the written language. The spoken language meanwhile developed apace on its own lines, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the two languages presented almost as many differences as resemblances.

In the following study of the development of the Japanese language, it has been necessary for reasons of space as well as simplicity to concentrate on a description of the earliest and the latest forms—those of the Nara and Heian periods and of the present day—without paying much attention to the intervening stages.

In compiling a grammar of any Eastern language one is confronted at once by difficulties of classification and nomenclature. The traditional terminology of grammars of modern European languages, unsatisfactory in itself, is unsuitable and misleading when applied to a language like Japanese, which has grown up under the influence of concepts and percepts that do not correspond to those which form the basis of European speech. At the same time one cannot accept without change the principles of the great native grammarians, who, remarkable as they were by their erudition and industry, knew no language but their own and were therefore ignorant of general linguistic theory. Consequently in the following pages I have been obliged to compromise, by following the Japanese practice where it seemed advantageous and eking it out with the categories of European grammars.

ABBREVIATIONS

Examples taken from early texts are marked as follows :

K.	*Kojiki*
N.	*Nihongi*
M.	*Manyōshū*
Res.	The Imperial Edicts or Rescripts in the *Shoku-Nihongi*
Kok. *or* Kokin.	*Kokinshū*
Take.	*Taketori Monogatari*
Ise	*Ise Monogatari*
G. *or* Gen.	*Genji Monogatari*
HK.	*Heike Monogatari*
Mak.	*Makura no Sōshi*
T. A. S. J.	*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*

Chinese, much as learned men in Europe at one time used Latin ; but luckily for philologists they did elect to perpetuate, by using Chinese characters as phonetic symbols, the native form of certain poems, tales, and records which had hitherto been preserved only by oral tradition. It is these texts which furnish us with the materials for the study of archaic Japanese.

For a proper understanding of the extent and accuracy of the information as to early Japanese forms which can be derived from such documents, it is necessary to study in some detail the system of writing developed by the Japanese. Moreover, since the adoption of the Chinese script had a great influence upon both vocabulary and constructions in Japanese, it is important to trace, at least in outline, the growth of that system.

The unit in Chinese writing is a symbol which, through a curious but pardonable confusion of thought, is usually styled an ideograph, but is much more accurately described as a logograph. It is a symbol which represents a word, as contrasted with symbols which, like the letters of an alphabet or a syllabary, represent sounds or combinations of sounds. It is true that the first Chinese characters were pictorial, and that a great number of the later characters have a pictorial element, and to that extent may be said to represent ideas. But in fully nine-tenths of the characters now in use the pictorial element is either secondary or completely lacking, and the phonetic element is predominant. A simple character like 月 (moon) retains some vestiges of its pictorial quality, and may be said to represent the idea ' moon ', but nevertheless it stands for the Chinese word for moon (however that word may be pronounced at different points in time and space—e. g. *ngwet* in about A. D. 500, and *yuĕ* in Peking, *üt* in Canton to-day). When we come to more complex characters, it is clear that their formation not only presupposes the existence of a word, but is governed by the sound of that word. Thus, though 方, *fang*, meaning 'square', may at one time have been ideographic, 訪 *fang*, 'to ask', is composed of a phonetic element 方 *fang* and a sense element 言, 'to speak', and does not directly represent the idea of 'to ask', but the word *fang*, which is the Chinese word for 'to ask'. When they wished to construct a character to

represent *fang*, 'to ask', the Chinese took the sign 方, which stands for the word *fang*, 'square', and to avoid confusion with this and other words pronounced *fang*, they added the 'radical' 言, which conveys the idea of speaking.

A Chinese character, as used by the Chinese, is then an ideograph only inasmuch as any written symbol or group of symbols in any language is an ideograph ; but it stands for a word, and for one word only. I have insisted upon this point because, as we shall see later, the Japanese method of using the Chinese characters does at times approach an ideographic use.

Before describing more fully the Japanese method, it is as well to state briefly the problem which the first Japanese scholars had before them when they came to consider how to make use of the Chinese script for recording their native words. A simple example will suffice. The character 人 stands for *jen*, the Chinese word for ' man '. The Japanese word for 'man' is *hito*, and a Japanese might agree to let the character 人 be read by himself and his compatriots as *hito*, thus establishing 人 as the conventional sign for *hito*. But there would still remain the problem of representing the sound of the word *hito*, and there were reasons which made it often essential to represent the sound rather than the meaning of Japanese words—reasons which may for the moment be summarized by stating that while Chinese was monosyllabic and uninflected Japanese was polysyllabic and highly inflected. To write by means of Chinese characters the sound of a Japanese word, it was necessary to represent separately the elements composing that sound. Now by the fifth century Chinese had become a monosyllabic language, and since each syllable in Chinese was a word, there was a logograph for each syllable, and often of course many logographs for the same syllable. Consequently, when the Japanese wished to write the sound *hito*, they had in the Chinese symbols a ready means of representing the syllables of which it was composed, and they had no reason to analyse those syllables further into their constituent vowel and consonant sounds. This point has a considerable bearing upon the study of early Japanese forms, but it may for the moment be neglected.

To write, then, the syllable *hi* of *hito*, the writer must find

a Chinese character standing for some Chinese word of which the pronunciation was the same as, or as near as possible to, the Japanese sound *hi*. He would find, for instance, the characters 比, 非, 悲, 氷, representing Chinese words meaning respectively 'sort', 'not', 'grief', and 'ice', but all pronounced *hi* or something like *hi*.[1] Similarly with the syllable *to*. He could use such characters as 刀, 斗, 等, and many others, all representing Chinese words of different meanings, but uniformly pronounced *to*. Thus, to write the word *hito* he could use any of the combinations 比 刀, 比 等, 比 斗, 非 刀, 悲 等, &c. Therefore in applying the Chinese script to the Japanese language, two methods were available which may be conveniently described as the semantic and the phonetic methods. The first method indicates the meaning of a Japanese word, the second method indicates its sound. The modern Japanese system of writing is a combination of these two methods, and we must now proceed to trace its development in outline, for, though an account of the script used to represent a language may appear to be out of place in a study of its grammar, the Chinese language was so much more highly developed, so much richer in vocabulary and scope, than Japanese of the archaic period, that the adoption of the Chinese script was naturally accompanied by important changes in the Japanese language.

Though there is some doubt as to exact dates, it is pretty certain that chief among the first Chinese books brought to Japan were the Thousand Character Classic (千 字 文) and the Confucian Analects (論 語), followed very shortly by Chinese versions of and commentaries upon the Buddhist Scriptures. The Japanese scholars, when reading the Chinese classics, would no doubt at first be guided only by the sense of the Chinese symbols, which they had previously learned, character by character, from their instructors ; and since the Chinese logograph can convey to the eye any meaning conventionally assigned to it, irrespective of the sound by which it may be known, it would be possible for the Japanese scholar to read a passage of Chinese without knowing how

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[1] To simplify matters I assume here that the Chinese and Japanese sounds were both *hi*, though at the period in question one or both may have been *pi*. The principle under discussion is, of course, not affected by such an assumption.

it was pronounced in Chinese, and without consciously converting the Chinese symbols into Japanese words. Thus, to take a simple passage from the Analects :

子	child —Master
白	speak song
君	king King
子	child son of
不	not
重	weight y
則	then
不	not
威	awe, ful

a Japanese student of Chinese might take in the meaning of the characters without definitely translating them into words, either Chinese or Japanese. But to retain in the mind the meanings assigned to a large number of characters requires a very great effort of visual memory. It is in practice an aid both to memory and to understanding to associate sounds with signs, and therefore it was customary to read Chinese texts aloud, as we may infer from the habit, which persists among both Japanese and Chinese to this day, of reciting to themselves whatever they read, in tones varying according to the individual from a gentle murmur to a loud chant. Consequently it was for practical purposes necessary for Japanese readers to assign sounds to the Chinese characters which they read ; and it was open to them either to use the Chinese sound of the word represented by the character or to say the Japanese word which conveyed the same, or approximately the same, meaning as that Chinese word. If they merely repeated the Chinese sounds, then what they recited was not intelligible to a hearer, because (owing to the great number of homophones in Chinese) the sound alone, without the visual aid of the character, is more often than not insufficient to convey a meaning even to a Chinese, while a Japanese whose knowledge of Chinese was by force of circumstance chiefly derived through the eye and not the ear would be even more at a loss. Add to this the difficulty that the order of words in Chinese—indeed, the whole grammatical structure—is in almost every respect the opposite of Japanese, and it is clear that for practical purposes some

arrangement had to be made to facilitate the reading of Chinese texts by Japanese students who, while visually acquainted with a number of Chinese symbols, were not familiar with Chinese sounds and Chinese grammar.

These were the important considerations which guided the Japanese in building up a system by which they could adapt the Chinese characters to their own needs, and they led to results which must surely be unique in the history of language. The problem differed somewhat according to the nature of the Chinese text in use, for in the period just after the introduction of writing into Japan the Chinese books chiefly studied by the Japanese fell into two well-marked divisions. On the one hand they had the Chinese classics— works written in pure Chinese, where (as in the specimen from the Analects given above) every character had a meaning or at least a grammatical function. On the other hand they had the Buddhist Scriptures, written, it is true, in Chinese characters, but containing a great deal of phonetic transcription of Sanskrit words.

In reading the Chinese classics, the sound did not matter to the Japanese student. The important thing was to appreciate the meaning and to convey it to others. Now it must be understood that for one Japanese to convey to another *in writing* the meaning of a Chinese text was not at that period a question of translation as we understand it. Since the Japanese had no system of writing of their own, for a Japanese to be able to read any writing whatever presupposed in those days a knowledge of the Chinese written character, and therefore a greater or less knowledge of the sounds and meanings ascribed to those characters by the Chinese themselves. What was needed, then, for the full comprehension by a Japanese of a Chinese text was not a change of the symbols, or the words for which they stood, but rather a rearrangement of the symbols to accord with Japanese syntax. The separate ideas conveyed by Chinese characters were clear enough to a Japanese who had learned them by rote, but he would not understand their aggregate meaning unless he was familiar with the Chinese method of grouping and connecting ideas. Therefore, for the benefit of the less learned, the more learned Japanese (and doubtless their Chinese and Korean teachers) devised a system of

reading the characters by giving some their Chinese sounds and some their Japanese meaning, taking them as far as possible in the order of words natural to Japanese, and supplying orally the inflexions, particles, and so on, necessary in Japanese to show the relations between words. Thus, they would take the sentence quoted on page 5 from the Analects and give to its characters the following readings in the order shown—the words in capitals being the native Chinese sounds (or, more strictly, the Japanese approximation thereto), those in italics being the Japanese equivalents of the Chinese words, with inflexions added where necessary :

1.	子	*SHI*	The Master (i. e. Confucius)
2.	白	*iwaku*	says
3.	君子	*KUNSHI*	a gentleman
5.	不	*arazareba*	if there is not
4.	重	*omoku*	gravity
6.	則	*sunahachi*	then
8.	不	*narazu*	is not
7.	威	*I*	respected

meaning ' Confucius said : " A gentleman in order to be respected must be serious ".'

It will be noticed that, though the English order of words corresponds closely to the Chinese, the Japanese order involves a rearrangement. The substantives in Chinese remain in their Chinese form (*SHI*, *KUNSHI*, and *I*), but the remaining words, which in Chinese are uninflected monosyllables whose function is determined by position, are converted into inflected Japanese words or particles. The simple negative 不 *FU*, for instance, becomes the compound verbal form *arazareba*, a negative conditional. In other words, the Chinese characters give the skeleton of a statement, and it is clothed in an elaborate grammatical robe of Japanese texture, composed of moods, tenses, and other intricacies to which Chinese is so magnificently superior. The process as thus described sounds exceedingly difficult, as indeed it was ; but, making due allowance for the nature of the script, it does not in essence vary much from the method of literal translation followed by schoolboys when construing Latin prose.

The practical objections to such a system are obvious. It was hard for a reader to tell in what order the characters were to be read ; what characters, if any, were to be taken together ; which were to be given the Chinese sound and which were to be converted into Japanese words. To diminish these difficulties as far as possible, Japanese students of Chinese texts resorted to the use of diacritics, combining them with a system of markings (equivalent to the numerals and brackets in the example) to show the order and grouping of the characters. This is not the place to describe these devices in full, but the general principle may be outlined as follows :

Each Chinese symbol is regarded as being enclosed in a square, and certain dots (*ten*) or strokes at various points of this imaginary square represent, according to a fixed, though quite arbitrary, arrangement, flexional terminations, suffixes, particles, &c., which in reading are supplied orally after the reading of the character. Thus, according to one such scheme, which can be represented diagrammatically :
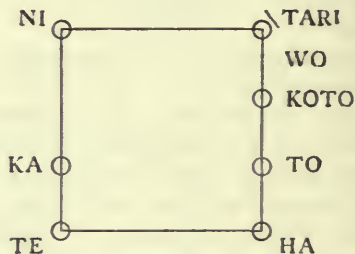
if we take the character 恐 ('fear') and fix as its equivalent the Japanese word '*kashikomi*', then

恐	*kashikomite*	(a gerund)
恐	*kashikomu koto*	(the act of fearing)
恐	*kashikomitari*	(past tense)

and so on. It is highly probable that this method of diacritics was suggested by the marks used by the Chinese to indicate the tones of Chinese words.[1]

[1] It is one of these schemes which accounts for the word '*Teni-woha*', used by Japanese grammarians as a generic term for particles and other parts of speech which are neither nouns, adjectives, or

It was a clumsy method, and obviously not fitted for general use, but it survived in a remarkable way, partly because the Japanese language, though rich in forms, was poor in vocabulary, and it was therefore essential to preserve a large number of Chinese words which could not be satisfactorily translated into Japanese. The word *kunshi* 君子 is a case in point. In the Analects it had a special meaning—'the scholar-gentleman'—which could not be expressed in Japanese, and consequently *kunshi* was adopted as a Japanese word, one of the forerunners of the multitude of Chinese words which now form the greater part of the vocabulary of Japanese. Nor was the adoption confined to single units of the vocabulary. Many constructions and grammatical devices in Chinese could not be exactly reproduced in Japanese, and were often borrowed with little or no change, either because it was difficult to find an equivalent or because they were a convenient addition to the grammatical apparatus of Japanese. The sentence quoted above provides a good illustration. *Shi iwaku*, 'the Master says', is a Chinese construction, while the pure Japanese idiom requires a verb like 'to say' at the end, not the beginning, of a reported speech. But the Chinese method was incorporated into Japanese syntax, and a construction similar to that of *shi iwaku*, &c., has survived until to-day.

There was another powerful reason for the survival of the diacritic method. Its very difficulty was a merit in the eyes of the learned men who used it, and the leading schools of Chinese studies, as well as some Buddhist sects, each had their own system or systems of markings, which they kept secret and imparted only to their disciples. It is a curious instance of the esoteric habit which prevailed, and is still discernible, in art and letters in the East.

The use of diacritic markings might have continued indefinitely had it not been for the growth of another system

verbs. *Te, ni, wo, ha* were the four words at the corners of a system called 'wo koto ten', represented by
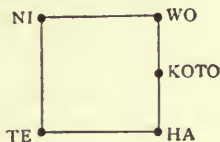
which was more convenient in many respects. This was the phonetic system of writing Japanese words, which we have already briefly described. The semantic system grew out of the need to convey to the mind of a Japanese reader the meaning of the Chinese work he was studying. But there were a great number of works in reading which it was essential to know the sound of the characters. Chief among these were the Chinese translations of the Buddhist sacred writings, in which there were many Sanskrit names and Sanskrit terms which could be rendered into Chinese only by a phonetic method. The Chinese, in fact, had several centuries before the Japanese been confronted with the problem of applying the logographic script of a monosyllabic language to the phonetic transcription of a polysyllabic language entirely different in grammatical structure. How, for instance, were the Chinese to translate from Sanskrit into their own language not only Indian names of places and persons, but also the terminology of the sacred writings which represented religious and philosophical ideas entirely foreign to them ? The phonetic method was the only possible solution, and the history of the development of a system of transcribing Sanskrit letters and sounds by means of Chinese characters is a fascinating one. Here it is not necessary to describe it at length, but some acquaintance with the method used is necessary for a proper understanding of the origin and growth of the system eventually worked out by the Japanese.

If we take the great Lotus Sutra as a typical example, we can see at once what difficulties the translator had to surmount. Its very title, *Saddharma Puṇḍarîka*, was difficult to render, and in the first translation extant (Nanjo 136) an attempt is made at a phonetic rendering, by means of the characters 薩 曇 芬 陀 利, which stand for Chinese words pronounced respectively something like *sa, dan, pan, do*, and *li*.[1] Reading these characters together, and paying no attention to their meaning, we have *Sadan pandoli*, which is a rough approximation to *Saddharma Puṇḍarîka*, but of course conveys no meaning to a Chinese reader ignorant of the original Sanskrit. This was clearly a makeshift method, and

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[1] These are only approximate, and I do not pretend that they are the correct sounds of the Chinese words at the period in question.

in later translations an attempt was made to reproduce the meaning of the Sanskrit words, by using the characters 正 法 華 經, pronounced *Chêng Fa Hua Ching* in modern Pekingese, but meaning True Law Flower Scripture.

Coming now to the opening words of the Sutra, which state that 'once upon a time the Buddha was staying at Rajagriha on the Gridhrakuta Mountain with a numerous assemblage of monks', we see further difficulties before the Chinese translator. Place-names like Rajagriha and Gridhrakuta have, it is true, some meaning, signifying respectively 'The King's Castle' and 'The Vulture Peak', so that it was possible to represent them by Chinese characters standing for Chinese words of approximately the same meaning, viz. 王 舍 城 King House Fort, for *Rájagriha*, and 鷲 山 Eagle Mountain, for *Gridhrakûta*. For the Sanskrit word *bhikshu* (Pali, *bhikkhu*), usually rendered by 'monk', the Chinese translator might perhaps have invented some equivalent Chinese term, but since monks did not exist in China apart from Buddhism they preferred to adopt the Sanskrit word, which they reproduced phonetically by the two characters 比 丘 pronounced in Chinese *pi k'iu*. So far it might have been possible to find equivalents for the meanings of the words in the Sanskrit text, though it will be noticed that the very appellation of the Buddha himself raises in an acute form the question of selection between translation and transcription. Shall the translator use characters which signify 'enlightened' but may to the Chinese reader have misleading implications, or shall he use characters divorced from their meaning to represent as nearly as possible the sound Buddha ? [1]

However, when we reach the later chapters of the Lotus, the difficulties of translation become insuperable, and there is no alternative to the phonetic method. Chapter XXI,

[1] The translators chose to use the character 佛, which in ancient Chinese was pronounced (according to Karlgren) *b'juêd*. But Chinese pronunciation has changed in a way that the translators can hardly have foreseen, and the modern pronunciation in the Mandarin dialect of 佛 is *fo*. The Japanese pronunciation *butsu*, which represents the Chinese sound at the time when it was borrowed—say, A. D. 400— has survived unchanged, and is therefore nearer the Sanskrit original than modern Chinese.

for instance, consists largely of spells or talismanic words (*dhâranî*), such as *anye, manye, mane, mamane*, which cannot be translated any more than, say, *abracadabra*. Since these incantations were regarded as of great power and value, the translators of the Sutras were obliged to find phonetic equivalents for them. So, in an early translation, the above words are represented by 安 爾, 曼 爾, 摩 禰, 摩 摩 禰 where each character represents a syllable of the Sanskrit words and is used entirely without reference to its Chinese meaning.

We see, then, that some system of phonetic transcription of the Sanskrit alphabet was essential, and that the Chinese were obliged to adapt their own script to this purpose. Had they carried further the process outlined above, they might from these beginnings have developed a simple alphabet or syllabary. This they failed to do, but we must at least give to the Chinese, and not to the Japanese, the credit for the first phonetic use of the Chinese character. Unfortunately, instead of establishing a uniform system of phonetic transcription, which might by gradual simplification have led to the formation of an alphabet, the Chinese translators seem to have deliberately chosen not only a difficult and irregular scheme of transcription but also a great variety of such schemes. Stanislas Julien in his masterly work on the subject gives a list of 1,200 Chinese characters which were used to render the forty-two letters of the Sanskrit alphabet, including the combinations of the consonants with all the vowels and diphthongs, and this list is far from complete. Not only was a given Sanskrit letter represented by more than one Chinese character, but the same Chinese character was used to represent more than one Sanskrit letter. Thus, according to Julien, the Chinese characters 茶, 節, 釋, 鐸, and 撦, pronounced in Chinese *cha, tsieh, chi, to*, and *che* respectively, were all used to represent the symbol ढ *ḍa*: while the character 闍, in Chinese *che*, is found standing for Sanskrit *djha, dha, dya, dhya;* and *cha*.

With such models before them, it is not surprising that the Japanese were slow in developing a phonetic script of even relative simplicity. Their problem was not unlike that which had faced the Chinese translators of Buddhist writings, since they had to find Chinese characters to stand for the

sounds in a polysyllabic language. It is hard to say when the first attempts were made by the Japanese to put their own language in writing. The earliest chronicles, such as the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* contain references to historical records of events in Japan preserved in writing. Thus, in the preface to the *Kojiki*, the author states that the Emperor Tenmu complained that 'the chronicles of the emperors and the original words in the possession of the various families' were inexact. We may infer from this that written records had existed long before the reign of Tenmu, which began in 673.

In the *Nihongi*, under the date 403, the appointment of provincial historiographers is mentioned, but the chronology of this part of the *Nihongi* is dubious, and, since it is pretty certain that the first Chinese books [1] came to Japan not much sooner than A. D. 400, we may safely place the appointment of these recording officers several decades later. Their function no doubt was in the nature of a cadastral survey, and they needed therefore no greater knowledge of writing than would suffice for compiling lists of families and possibly (since the *Nihongi*, under the date 405, mentions the formation of a Treasury) lists of property and taxes. For this purpose it would be sufficient to write in Chinese, and there is no doubt that at first the clerical officials at the Court wrote their records and accounts in the Chinese language. It is specifically stated in the *Nihongi* that it was Wang-in and other learned Koreans who kept the first records of 'ingoings and outcomings'—the Imperial budget—and they naturally would use Chinese and not Japanese. But the provincial recorders must have had to write down the Japanese names of places and persons, and we may suppose that, between A. D. 400 and 500, they evolved some system of transcription for that purpose, probably with the assistance of Wang-in or his colleagues or successors. It is not even necessary to assume that these Korean scholars were familiar

[1] It is probable that some knowledge of the Chinese language and script had reached Japan two or three centuries earlier, but it was doubtless confined to a very few people, who acted as interpreters between Japan and Korea. There is no indication that there were any records or books in Japan before the arrival of the Korean scribe Wang-in, which can hardly be placed earlier than A. D. 400.

with the phonetic method used in the Chinese versions of the Buddhist Scriptures, for in their own country they must have already had to consider the question of writing by means of Chinese characters the names of persons and places in Korea.[1] However that may be, it is tolerably certain that, by the end of the fifth century of our era, the Japanese had learned to make use of the Chinese characters as phonetic symbols for recording Japanese words. That their use in this way was restricted is clear from the existence of hereditary corporations of reciters, mentioned in the *Nihongi* under the name of *Kataribe*. The precise duties of these officials is not known, but it is safe to assume that they committed to memory, for recitation at Court functions and religious festivals, prayers to the gods something like the Shinto rituals which have been preserved for us in the *Engishiki*, national legends, and possibly the commands of previous emperors. We may accept without much question the statement in the *Kojiki* that a certain *Hiyeda no Are* learned by heart in the latter half of the seventh century 'the genealogies of the emperors and the words of former ages'. *Are* is said to have had such an exceptional memory that he could 'repeat with his mouth whatever met his eyes and record in his heart whatever struck his ears'. We may therefore reasonably conclude that there existed at that period certain fragmentary records in writing, and that these were supplemented by oral tradition ; that the records were for the most part in Chinese but contained phonetic reproductions of Japanese names and possibly of the native form of some prayers and poems which would come under the heading of 'ancient words'.

The first Japanese book of which we find specific mention is the *Kyūjiki*, which was compiled in A. D. 620, but this

[1] We know that Chinese scribes were employed, in countries bordering on China, from a very early date. There were Chinese 'secretaries' among the Tartar peoples in the North, and, though there can be no certainty as to dates in this matter, it is highly probable that there were scribes in Korea at least as early as the first century of the Christian era. It is significant that the recorded names of the early rulers of some Korean kingdoms, as written in Chinese characters, are evidently phonetic transcripts from a non-Chinese language. From about A. D. 400 onwards the characters have a meaning, and the names are obviously imitations of Chinese names.

was destroyed in A. D. 645, and we have no knowledge of its contents beyond a statement in the *Nihongi* to the effect that it was a history of the emperors and the leading families. The oldest existing Japanese book is the *Kojiki*, or Record of Ancient Matters, which was completed in A. D. 712. It is a long and consecutive history of Japan, commencing with the creation of Heaven and Earth, and proceeding, in an ascending scale of credibility, to the year A. D. 628. That the compiler of the *Kojiki* was under strong Chinese influence is abundantly clear from internal evidence. His preface is, as Chamberlain points out, a *tour de force* meant to show that the writer could compose in the Chinese style if he chose to do so ; but this very fact tends to prove, as many other indications confirm, that his aim in the body of the work was to write in such a way as would allow him to incorporate in the text the native names and phraseology which it was desired to preserve—the 'ancient words' referred to in the Imperial decree. He explains his method at the end of the preface, as follows :

' In high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters. To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail inadequate expression of the meaning ; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events too lengthy. For this reason I have sometimes used the phonetic and ideographic systems conjointly and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively.'

Though this statement is clear enough to one familiar with the text of the *Kojiki*, it must be expanded and illustrated if we are to understand the method adopted in the first attempt on a large scale to reproduce the Japanese language in writing. For details the reader is referred to Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki* (*T. A. S. J.* x, Supplement), and the specimens of Japanese given in Aston's grammar of the written language ; but the following outline will give a general idea of the problems before the writer and the way in which he solved them.

It must first be reiterated that archaic Japanese was a polysyllabic language, consisting of uninflected substantives, highly inflected verbs and adjectives, and a large number of

agglutinative suffixes and particles—a language markedly synthetic in character, and thus the opposite in almost every respect of Chinese, which is monosyllabic, uninflected, and analytic. Further, the task before the compiler of the *Kojiki* was unlike that of the scribes who had to record foreign sounds by means of Chinese symbols, in that his object was to assign symbols to both sounds and meanings in his own language. We may best examine the process by taking a passage from the *Kojiki*, and endeavouring to reconstruct the process by which it was written. I select for convenience that part of the first volume of the work which describes how the god Izanagi and the goddess Izanami, the latter having given birth to several islands—a progeny with which they were dissatisfied—repaired to heaven and were informed that their offspring was not good, because, in the courtship which led to the procreation of these islands, 'the woman had spoken first'. The narrative goes on to tell that the god and goddess thereupon again descended from heaven and circled again a certain 'august heavenly pillar' which they had erected, Izanagi saying first, 'O! what a fair and lovely maiden', and Izanami then replying, 'O! what a fair and lovely youth'. In writing this the compiler began by setting down the following characters :

故	cause
爾	that
友	return : again
降	descend

This could be read in Chinese, character by character, and to one familiar with that language would be quite intelligible. But a Japanese, who wished to read it in Japanese, would have to assign Japanese equivalents to the characters. The Japanese equivalent of 故 爾 (thereupon) is *sore ga yue ni*, where *sore*, 'that' stands for 爾 and *yue*, 'cause', stands for 故, but in Japanese the particles *ga* and *ni* must be supplied, just as in English we must add 'by' and 'of' to give the phrase 'by reason of that'. Further, it will be noticed that the order of words is reversed in Japanese, 爾 being read first, and 故 second. Again, instead of taking these two characters separately, the Japanese reader might treat them as a compound, and regard them as representing the single

word 'sunahachi', which approximates in meaning to 'sore ga yue ni', much as 'therefore' in English approximates to 'by reason of that'. Thus the two characters 故 爾 can be read in at least three different ways :

(1) according to their Chinese sound, or to the customary Japanese imitation of that sound,

(2) according to their literal meaning in Japanese, character by character—supplying the necessary grammatical links,

(3) according to their meaning in composition, by using a single Japanese word of approximately the same meaning.

It is obvious that, unless the writer of a text of this nature gives some special indications, it is not possible to say by which of these methods he intends it to be read. There is no means of telling, for example, whether the writer of the *Kojiki* intended 故 爾 to be read *sore ga yue ni* or *sunahachi*. The great commentator on the *Kojiki*, Motoori, did, it is true, reconstruct the whole of the text in pure Japanese without any admixture of Chinese words or phrases whatever, but it is quite certain that many of his readings are entirely conjectural, and a number of them are undoubtedly false. The above example will have sufficed to show that at least some readings are doubtful, and that therefore, without special indications (which, as we shall presently see, exist in some cases), the text of the *Kojiki* cannot provide evidence as to the vocabulary and forms of archaic Japanese.

After the above words, which may be translated 'Therefore they descended again', the passage continues as follows :

1.	更	again	6.	之	(connective suffix)
2.	往	go	7.	御	august
3.	廻	turn	8.	柱	pillar
4.	其	that	9.	如	like
5.	天	heaven	10.	先	before

which may be translated into English 'They again went round the heavenly august pillar as before'. The Japanese rendering involves a complete rearrangement of the characters and the addition of Japanese grammatical forms. The following is Motoori's reconstruction :

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1.	更	sara ni	10.	先	saki
4.	其	sono	–	一	no
5.	天	ame	9.	如	gotoku
6.	之	no	2.	往	yuki
7.	御	mi	3.	廻	meguri
8.	柱	hashira	–	一	tamaiki
–	一	wo.			

Here Motoori has supplied the particles *wo* and *no*, no doubt correctly, and he has added the honorific verb *tamau*, in its past tense *tamaiki*, though there can clearly be no certainty as to whether this was intended by the writer. We now come to the passage :

於	on
是	this
伊	I .
邪	ZA
那	NA
岐	GI
命	ruler (honorific)
先	first
言	speak

which means 'Thereupon His Augustness Izanagi spoke first', and is rendered by Motoori '*Koko ni Izanagi no Mikoto madzu . . . noritamaiki*'. Here *koko ni* is the equivalent of the Chinese 於 是, *madzu* of 先, and *noritamaiki* of 言. It will be noticed that 先 was in the previous sentence rendered by *saki*, so that again we have two readings ascribed to one character. It is clear, then, that the Japanese reading so far is not based on any fixed correspondence between a given Chinese character and a given Japanese word, but is rather in the nature of a translation from a Chinese text. It is impossible to say exactly how the compilers intended their text to be read. Probably they had no precise ideas on the subject themselves, and therefore Motoori's reconstruction may in many respects be not incorrect. In some cases, however, there can be no doubt as to the reading. First of all we have such proper names as *Izanagi*, which we find represented by the characters 伊 邪 那 岐 standing for the four syllables *I, ZA, NA, GI*. These are obviously phonetic renderings of Japanese names, corresponding exactly with

the phonetic reproduction of Sanskrit words from Buddhist texts, which has been described above. And when we come, in the next passage, to the words spoken by Izanagi, we find the phonetic method applied to a complete sentence. His speech is reported as follows: 阿 那 邇 夜 志 愛 袁 登 賣 袁. If these characters are read according to their Chinese meanings they make no sense at all ; but according to their sounds they give *Ana ni yashie wotome wo*, which are Japanese words, meaning 'Oh! what a fair and lovely maiden'.

This phonetic method was applied throughout the *Kojiki* wherever it was thought essential by the compiler to preserve words in their native form, and so we have in this work a tolerably exact phonetic record of a great number of place and personal names, a few complete sentences, and about one hundred short poems and songs. These furnish valuable evidence as to the earliest forms of the Japanese vocabulary, and occasionally they throw light upon questions of accidence and syntax. Thus, the sentence just quoted, '*Ana ni yashie wotome wo*', fixes the word for 'maiden' as *wotome*, and shows that *wo*, which is now an accusative particle, was formerly an interjection. But the main body of the text, since its reading, though clear enough as to meaning, is conjectural as to sound, rarely provides any indications of this nature. It is not Japanese, and at the same time it is not Chinese, but a quasi-Chinese which (to quote Chamberlain) 'breaks down every now and then, to be helped up again by a few Japanese words written phonetically, and is surely the first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements '. That it is clumsy enough is already clear, but it will be as well to show by further examples some of the awkward devices which it necessitated. It will be noticed that in order to write the 'august heavenly pillar', which is in Japanese *ame no mi hashira* (literally, the august pillar of heaven), the characters 天 之 御 柱 are used. Here 之 (Chinese pronunciation in modern Pekingese *chih*, conjectured pronunciation when borrowed *shi*) is used to represent the Japanese genitive particle *no* = 'of'. In Chinese 之 means 'this', and is used as a connective particle, but in pure Chinese it would not have been necessary in the above construction, for 天 柱 would be sufficient to represent 'heavenly pillar'. We may therefore conclude that the compilers

selected 之 as an equivalent for *no*. Later, however, we find a group of characters 還 坐 之 時, where 還 坐 does not make sense in Chinese, and we are bound to assume (on the evidence of phonetic writing in other parts of the work) that this is a Japanese construction, and that 還 坐 represents *kaeri masu*, an honorific form of the verb *kaeru*, 'to return'. Similarly we may read 時 as *toki*, 'time', consistently with the Chinese use of the character. But it is very doubtful whether 之 should here be read *no* as above, for *kaerimasu no toki* is not good Japanese; and we therefore may infer that 之 must be regarded here as a phonetic and read *shi*. We then get, by adding *shi* to the stem of the verb *masu*, *kaerimashishi*, which is the preterite of *kaerimasu*, so that the whole reads *kaerimashishi toki*, and means 'when he returned', which is the sense required by the context. It will be seen that 之 is used both semantically and phonetically—to represent the meaning of *no* and the sound of *shi*— and it is easy from this one example to imagine how difficult is the reconstruction of a complete text written in such a confusing fashion. But we can already see the beginnings of the system which was later evolved. There was not much difficulty in assigning Chinese characters to Japanese substantives, adjectives, and verbs, since Chinese had a far greater vocabulary than Japanese. It was merely a question of deciding upon an appropriate character—one which had a meaning corresponding as closely as possible with that of the Japanese word—and agreeing to use that character as the correct symbol for the Japanese word in question. As we shall see, the Japanese did not always follow the apparently simple rule of keeping one character for one word and one word for one character; but they did gradually, no doubt following the usage of the *Kojiki* in most cases, build up a system by which each character was given a recognized Japanese reading. Thus, in a Japanese text 山, 'mountain', would naturally be read as the noun *yama*, 豐, 'fertile', would be read as the adjective *toyo*, and 往, 'to go', as the verb *yuku*. So far it is plain sailing. It is when we come to the Japanese particles and terminations that the difficulty begins. We need not trace in detail the development of the system which was finally adopted, but a few examples will show the lines on which it proceeded. We have already seen

that for the particle *no* the compiler of the *Kojiki* selected as a suitable equivalent the character 之, which performs in Chinese an office similar to, but not identical with, that of *no*. In the same way, for the particle *ni*, used as a locative meaning 'in' or 'at', he used 於, which in Chinese can be used in a similar sense, and he wrote, for instance, *koko ni*, 'hereat', as 於 是, putting the characters in their Chinese order. So long as approximate Chinese equivalents could be found for such particles and suffixes in Japanese, this method was not unsatisfactory. But there were many grammatical devices in Japanese which have no parallel in Chinese. Chief among these were the inflexions of the adjective and the verb. Thus the adjective for 'good' in Japanese is *yo* (the stem) with an attributive form *yoki* and a predicative form *yoshi*. Now the characters 好 and 人 in Chinese stood for *kō* (modern Mandarin *hao*), 'good', and *jin* (modern Mandarin *jen*), a 'man'. Therefore a Japanese at the period in question might read 好 人 either *kōjin*, a compound which, if familiar, might be intelligible to the Japanese ear, or he might read it *yoki hito*, supplying the inflexion *ki*, which the character does not represent but which was essential in Japanese. As may be imagined, the influence of Chinese upon Japanese scholars was so great that many single Chinese words, and many compounds on the model of *kōjin*, were adopted by them, and, growing so usual that they were intelligible in speech, soon became naturalized. This process, on a gradually increasing scale, has continued until the present day, so that the vocabulary of modern Japanese is largely composed of such Sino-Japanese compounds. But if a writer wished to ensure that the two characters 好 人 were given their pure Japanese reading, namely, *yoki hito*, he must somehow or other show the syllable *ki*. Not long after the *Kojiki* was written, the idea of using Chinese characters as phonetic symbols to represent Japanese sounds must have become familiar to Japanese scholars, who were by then accustomed to seeing Japanese names and other Japanese words such as those quoted above (*Izanagi, wotome*, &c.) written in this way. It would therefore naturally occur to them to write the syllable *ki* by means of some Chinese character pronounced *ki* or something like *ki*. This is what they did, and *yoki*, for instance, would be written either 好 伎 (where 好

represents the meaning of the stem *yo*, and 伎 the sound of the termination *ki*) or 余 伎 (where 余 represents the sound *yo* and 伎 the sound *ki*). It might be supposed that the phonetic method of 余 伎 would be more convenient than the dual method of 好 伎, which, being a combination of the semantic and phonetic methods, is likely to cause confusion. But there were practical disadvantages in the use of the phonetic method alone, the most serious of which was the great labour it entailed. If we take, for instance, a word like *kashikomi*, a word meaning 'awe' which is of frequent occurrence in early texts, we see that its phonetic representation involves writing a character for each of the syllables *ka*, *shi*, *ko*, and *mi*, e. g. 訶 之 胡 彌, while the meaning *kashikomi* can be represented by the single character 恐. Further, since all words in Chinese function indifferently as verb, noun, adjective, or adverb, 恐 stands not only for 'awe', but also for 'awful', 'awfully', and 'to hold in awe'. Therefore, in order to represent the Japanese adjective *kashikoki*, 'awful', or the Japanese verb *kashikomu*, 'to hold in awe', it was both intelligible and convenient to write the single character 恐, and to follow it by the distinguishing final syllable (or syllables) written phonetically. Thus it was possible to represent a complete series of Japanese words each by two or three characters instead of four, five, or six phonetics. In the following list the characters used phonetically are distinguished by smaller type :

Kashikomi (noun)	恐 or 恐美
Kashikoki (adjective)	恐伎
Kashikomu (verb, present tense)	恐武
Kashikomite (gerund)	恐美 天
Kashikomitari (past tense)	恐美 多利

This method was not only shorter than the phonetic method, but it also has the advantage of showing clearly that a character must be given a Japanese reading. Thus the character 恐, without any special indication, could be read *kyō*, which is its Sinico-Japanese pronunciation, or it could be read *osore* or *kashikomi*, since both these words have about the same meaning. But if 恐 is followed by the phonetic 美 *mi*, the reader knows at once not only that it must be read as a Japanese word, but that that Japanese word must

have a stem ending in *mi*, and must therefore be *kashikomi* and not *osore*.

By the end of the ninth century this style of writing was well developed and established in use. It must not be understood that it was universal, for the overwhelming prestige of the Chinese language and literature tended to discourage the use of Japanese in writing, except where there was some special reason for recording Japanese words. The great chronicle which followed shortly after the *Kojiki*, the 'Chronicles of Japan' (*Nihongi*), completed in A. D. 720, is written in Chinese, and makes no attempt to preserve Japanese constructions, except in the poems, which are written phonetically. For poems the phonetic method was naturally the best suited, since it was necessary to preserve every syllable of the original verses, for metrical reasons. Consequently, the first great anthology of Japanese verse is written very largely by means of what are called *kana*, 'borrowed names', which signifies that Chinese symbols were borrowed to perform a phonetic function. The name of this anthology was the *Manyōshū*, or 'Collection of a Myriad Leaves', and the characters thus used were known as *Manyōgana*. In this work the order of words is Japanese, and though some characters are employed to represent meanings, there is very little difficulty in reconstructing the full Japanese text, because the admixture of *kana* is considerable and the metre serves as a guide to the number of syllables. Thus, if we take a line like 於 會 也 是 君, we know from its position that it must contain seven syllables in Japanese. The first two characters are obviously phonetic, and read *oso*. 也 is sometimes put for *nari*, the verb 'is', but this would allow us only three syllables for 是 君 and there are no equivalents for these two characters which would give that count. Consequently 也 also must be phonetic, and read *ya*. The remaining four syllables must therefore be a word or words of which the meaning and not the sound is represented by 是 君, so that 是 must stand for *kono*, and 君 for *kimi*, the line being thus read *oso ya kono kimi*. It will be seen that on these lines the text of the *Manyōshū* can be restored with a very high degree of certainty, and this collection is the most valuable of all extant sources for the study of early Japanese. Moreover, by collating words

and phrases in the *Manyōshū* with the text of the *Kojiki* we can postulate without much doubt a large number of readings in the latter work.

Following upon the *Kojiki* there came another class of literature in which early Japanese forms are preserved with considerable accuracy. These are the *Shinto* rituals or *Norito* which are recorded in the *Engishiki*, the Institutes of the *Engi* period, promulgated in 927. In these documents the Chinese characters are arranged in the order required by Japanese syntax, with very few exceptions, which can be accounted for on grounds of convenience and speed. Thus for the negative forms of verbs the character 不 *fu* ('not') is placed before the character representing the verb, as in 不 申 'does not say', which in Japanese is *mōsazu*, where the negative is expressed by the suffix *zu* ; but as a general rule the order is the correct Japanese order, and the particles and terminations are written by means of characters used phonetically. Thus the verb *tsutomu*, 'to work', is represented by the single character 勤 for Chinese *kin*, which has the same meaning ; while the form *tsutomeshimete* (which is the gerund of the causative form of *tsutomu*) is represented by 勤 之 米 氏, where the last three characters are phonetic for *shimete*. The reconstruction of the exact original words of the rituals therefore presents but little difficulty, and all external and internal evidence tends to show that they are remarkably free from Chinese influence, whether as to substance or to language. They are therefore a most valuable source of materials for the study of archaic Japanese. They share with the poetry of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* the distinction of being the oldest extant specimens of Japanese.

The next work of importance in which indigenous forms are preserved is the *Shoku Nihongi*, a continuation, completed in A. D. 797, of the *Nihongi*. Both these works are mainly in Chinese, but the *Shoku Nihongi* contains a number of Imperial edicts written by a method similar to that used for the Shinto rituals, and evidently intended as an exact record of the Japanese phraseology employed when these edicts were pronounced in public. The system of writing is not entirely regular, but the words of the edicts can be restored with a high degree of accuracy. Thus the phrase *akitsu mikami*, 'a manifest god', is written 現 御 神 which

is unintelligible in Chinese. Elsewhere we find 明 御 神 and these two in conjunction suggest a reading *akitsu mikami*, which is confirmed by reference to the Shinto rituals, where we find in a similar context the phonetic transcript 阿 伎 都 美 加 微 *a-ki-tsu-mi-ka-mi*.

It will be seen that, by the end of the eighth century, the Japanese were in a fair way to establishing a convenient system of representing Japanese words on the basis of what was styled *Kana majiri*, or the Mixed Phonetic Script, because the principal words in a sentence were written by Chinese characters used according to their meaning, and these were eked out, as to terminations, suffixes, &c., by Chinese characters used according to sound. The method is well illustrated by the example of *tsutomeshimete*, quoted above. It might have been supposed that, once the system gained a footing, it would be gradually made simple and uniform, but Japanese scholars in the succeeding centuries devoted themselves almost exclusively to Chinese studies or to Buddhist works and paid but little attention to their own language. The native words and the native idiom were employed for verses and romances, the recreation of serious scholars only in their lighter hours. In this aesthetic field, the aim was not simplicity but elegance, and since, in the East, calligraphy is not a mere mechanical accomplishment but one of the fine arts, there was a tendency in writing down verses to use a script selected not so much for easy comprehension as for its beauty or interest. Often a poet or a scribe, to represent a simple Japanese word, would use some character or group of characters which could be related to it only by a strong flight of fancy, and he would deliberately ornament or complicate his script very much as a medieval monk in Europe might embellish a missal or a legend by illuminations and flourishes.

These early writers can certainly be said to have displayed what Dr. Johnson declared to be the highest praise of poetry —'such invention as, by producing something unexpected, surprises and delights'. They surprised and delighted the reader not only by elaborate word-plays in the body of a poem, but also by devices in the script comparable to the riddle, the rebus, the acrostic, and the palindrome. Thus, one wishes to express the meaning of *idzuru*, 'to go out'.

To use the simple character 出 would be dull and uninterest-
ing, so he puts 山 上 復 有 山 'on a mountain another
mountain', because 山 is the symbol for mountain, and 山
upon 山 gives 出. A second writes the common combinations
of particles *tsuru kamo* with the characters 鶴 鴨 'stork-
duck', because stork is *tsuru* and duck is *kamo*. A third
gives 海 'sea', instead of 海 人 'sea man', for *ama* a 'fisher-
man'; and a fourth writes a part of a character instead of
the whole, a practice which, as we shall see, had important
results.

But, quite apart from this deliberate creation of diffi-
culties, the mere failure of Japanese scholars to appreciate
and grapple with the problem of simplifying their script led
to anomalies of every description. Many of these are in-
herent in the nature of a logographic system, as becomes
clear when one studies the process by which Chinese symbols
were allocated to Japanese words. In the first place, though
each Chinese character stands for one, and only one, Chinese
word, it must not be supposed that each Chinese word has
one fixed and invariable meaning. In any language there
are a number of words of which the meaning extends over
a wide range, as for instance in English, 'beam', which may
be either a noun meaning a piece of wood, the side of a ship,
a ray of light, or a verb meaning to shine. But Chinese
presents this phenomenon in a most intense degree, partly
because it has been a literary language for thousands of
years, partly because its peculiar structure and script forbid
the easy assimilation of foreign words to express shades of
meaning, and partly because it does not differentiate such
parts of speech as noun and adjective, verb and adverb.
To take an example, the word *sheng*, which is invariably
written with the character 生, represents the idea of growth,
as is indicated by the character 生, of which the early form
was 㞢, depicting a plant piercing the soil. From this
primary meaning (which in Chinese covers the substantive
'growth', the verb 'to grow', and the adjective 'growing'),
there arose a large number of secondary meanings, such as
birth, to be born, to bear, to produce, new-born, new, fresh,
strange, raw, a living thing, to live, alive, life, a disciple;
and though it is not difficult to trace the association of ideas
by which this group of meanings was made, it can be easily

seen that there is a wide gap between its extreme members, like 'birth' and 'disciple'. When the Japanese came to select Chinese characters for their own purposes, they had to consider them from two aspects. First, if a Japanese scholar reading a Chinese work wished to decide upon a suitable Japanese word to render the meaning conveyed by a given Chinese word, his choice would naturally differ according to the value which must be assigned to the Chinese word in the context before him. If it is 'to be born' he must take the Japanese word *umaruru* ; if 'to grow', the word *ou*, or *haeru* ; if 'raw', the word *nama* ; if 'life', the word *inochi* ; if 'to live', the word *ikiru*, and so on. Taking now the reverse process, where we suppose a Japanese to be seeking a character suited to stand for a given Japanese word, say, *umu*, 'to bear', he would find that in Chinese there was to convey that meaning more than one word, and therefore more than one character, such as, for instance, 產 and 娩 as well as 生. Similarly for *inochi*, 'life', he would find 命 and for *ikiru*, 'to live', he would find 活, both in addition to 生. The confusion resulting from such conditions can well be imagined. There was no strong influence working for uniformity, and scholars engaged in translating Chinese works or in writing Japanese by means of the Chinese script were guided only by their own taste, or at best by the practice of their particular school, in fixing the correspondence between Chinese characters and Japanese words. Even had they deliberately aimed at regularity, they would have had a difficult task before them, since the Chinese vocabulary was superior to the Japanese vocabulary of those days both in size and in capacity for expressing shades of meaning ; while it was a natural sequence of the contrast between the two races, and the disparity between their civilizations, that their respective languages should cover each a different range of names of material things and abstract ideas. Indeed, it would be hard to imagine a language less suited by its structure, its content, and its script than Chinese for adoption by Japan. But necessity, and the overwhelming prestige of Chinese culture, left no alternative.

Though, as we have said, there was no strong influence working for uniformity in the assignment of Chinese symbols

to Japanese words, and though there were even pedantic and esoteric influences working against it, intelligibility and convenience were bound to some extent to prevail. And so we find that, by degrees, certain characters came to be regarded as the correct equivalents for certain Japanese words, to the complete or partial exclusion of other characters. For instance, for *umu*, 'to bear', in the restricted sense of the act of parturition, 產 was used in preference to 生, so that, in writing the words *tamago wo umu*, 'to lay an egg', 產 would be more correct than 生, while *umu* in the general sense of 'to bring into existence' would be better represented by 生, as in *kane ga kane wo umu*, 'money begets money'. These are examples where one Japanese word has several meanings, to each of which can be assigned a different character. Then we have the cases where one Chinese character stands for several meanings which in Japanese are conveyed by different words. We need not look further than this same 生 which we have been discussing. It stands for one Chinese word, *sheng*, that has the meanings 'to grow', 'fresh', and 'to live', expressed in Japanese respectively by the words *haeru*, *nama*, and *ikiru*. For *haeru*, 'to grow', the Japanese could find no more suitable symbol than 生, which they accordingly adopted for that purpose. For *nama*, 'fresh', 生 again was the only appropriate character, and was therefore used to represent that word. For *ikiru*, 'to live', there was available 活, representing rather life in the sense of movement, and consequently here (as with *umu* above) both 生 and 活 might be used, each being reserved to express a special shade of meaning.

In addition to the categories just described, there was of course a large group of Japanese words for which it was easy to find a single satisfactory Chinese equivalent. Most names of simple things, or simple ideas, naturally fall into this group, and there could be no doubt or difficulty about the selection of such characters as 木 for *ki*, 'tree', 水 for *midzu*, 'water', 日 for *hi*, 'the sun', 好 for *yoki*, 'good', and 惡 for *waruki*, 'bad'. Here there could be no alternative. But, as we have just seen in the case of the very common symbol 生, though it was possible to appropriate certain characters exclusively for certain Japanese words, even a deliberate effort to devise a uniform system of correspondence between

word and symbol was, in the nature of things, bound to fail. Consequently, even to-day, in spite of all opposing tendencies, Japanese is recorded in a script complex in its nature and irregular in its use to an almost incredible degree. Its defects cannot be better illustrated than by the simple method of copying from a dictionary some of the readings associated with the character 生 which we have chosen as an example in the foregoing description. In a modern dictionary of Chinese characters as used by Japanese, we find under the heading 生 the following common readings of that character :

生	*umu, umaru*	to bear, to be born
生魚	*nama-uo*	fresh fish, raw fish
生絲	*ki-ito*	raw silk
生	*haeru, oeru*	to grow
生	*ikiru, ikeru*	to be alive, to keep alive

and in addition to these there are given about twenty other readings which, though less usual, are all possible.

So far we have treated only of Chinese words for which it was possible to find a more or less suitable Japanese equivalent, but there was a large class of Chinese words which were the names of things or ideas unknown or unfamiliar to the Japanese. It must be remembered that, up to the time of the first importation of Chinese learning into Japan, let us say until about A. D. 400, Japanese civilization was of a simple, primitive sort, while China had already a long history of culture reaching back for more than two thousand years. So there were many kinds of knowledge for which the Japanese were indebted to China. Among the objects which were new to the Japanese, one naturally thinks of the instruments used for writing, for which, since writing was unknown to them before, they cannot have had names. An examination of the present Japanese words for a pen and a written document shows, as one might expect, that they are borrowed from Chinese. *Fude*, formerly *pute*, meaning a writing brush, is almost certainly the Chinese 筆 which, pronounced something like *pit* in early Chinese, came into Japanese by way of Korea, where it is pronounced *put*. Similarly, *fumi*, a writing, is the Chinese 文, now pronounced *wen*, but formerly having a sound like *fun*. Other objects introduced at a very early period from China were metal

coins (Chinese *sen*, Japanese *zeni*) and possibly the horse (Chinese *ma*, Japanese *uma*). Here we have examples of Chinese words which were fully naturalized. Others, no doubt, through being in less frequent use, were less thoroughly assimilated. Such are words like *rai* 禮 'ceremony', *gaku* 樂 'music', *shiki* 式 'rites', *kyō* 經 'a sutra', *sō* 僧 'a monk', *ron* 論 'an argument', which were taken over with only such change in pronunciation [1] as was necessitated by the difference between Chinese and Japanese sounds.

[1] It is interesting to note in passing that since the process of borrowing Chinese words continued over a long period, during which there were successive changes in Chinese pronunciation, the early borrowings can be distinguished from the late ones. The Chinese pronunciation just adopted was that of the province of Go (Wu in modern Chinese), in which was situated the capital under the Eastern Shin dynasty in the fourth century. The pronunciation current in that province was that which was given by the Japanese to most of the words which they borrowed at the beginnings of their intercourse with China, and therefore a great part of the special vocabulary of Buddhism, and a number of names of common objects, are still pronounced according to what the Japanese call *Go-on*, or ' *Wu* sound '. But, though Wu was the province most accessible to Japan, its dialect was admittedly provincial, and the standard speech was that of *Hōnan*, where the models of the *Han* dynasty were still followed. The Japanese scholars, as they grew more discriminatory, abandoned the *Wu* dialect, and went to the pure source of *Han*, whence they borrowed the pronunciation known as *Kan-on* or ' Han sound '. The *Kan-on* soon replaced the *Go-on*, and it was the pronunciation used for all borrowings during the succeeding centuries, except for a few special words imported in comparatively recent times, which were pronounced in an approximation to the contemporary Chinese sound, and have not changed since. These latter are known as *To-in*, literally ' Tang sounds ', the name of the Tang dynasty being used in a general way to mean China. We thus have in Japanese three types of pronunciation of imported Chinese words, and sometimes the same Chinese word appears in each of these three types, having been borrowed either alone or in composition at three different times. A good example is the reading of the character 明, which is read *myō* according to *Go-on*, *mei* according to *Kan-on*, and *min* according to the so-called Tang pronunciation.

It is worth mentioning here that, though we speak of the Chinese pronunciations in Japan of imported Chinese words, these were by no means exact reproductions of Chinese sounds, since (quite apart from the tones of Chinese syllables) the Japanese vocal apparatus could not easily compass many common Chinese sounds. The Japanese, for instance, cannot say *l*, which is frequent in Chinese, and there are several combinations of sounds in Chinese which are

The Chinese words which we have just described as adopted into the Japanese vocabulary, with a greater or less degree of assimilation to Japanese forms, were single words, represented by one character. But Chinese has an unrivalled facility for forming compounds, by means of which it can express ideas outside the scope of independent words, or, if need be, can limit or expand the significance of such words. There are of course a number of compounds for which it is easy to find a parallel in other languages—like 米 紛 *beifun*, 'rice-flour', which is merely the juxtaposition of two nouns, or 白 衣 *hakui*, 'white clothes', which is an epithet in close association with a noun. Chinese, however, goes much farther than these simple collocations, and though it is not necessary here to describe all the many varieties and uses of its compound words, it is as well to

repugnant to the ear, if not difficult for the tongue, of a Japanese. Moreover, the Chinese learned by the Japanese was, like the French of Stratford-atte-Bowe, as a rule a home product, since few of them can have heard it from the lips of natives of China or even Korea. It was doubtless, for purposes of study, represented by Chinese characters used phonetically, and since each character represents a syllable every Chinese word written phonetically would appear to consist of one or more syllables, whereas in fact nearly all Chinese words are monosyllabic. Thus, by the syllabic method, the nearest a Japanese could get to writing such sounds as *liao* and *liang*, which are for practical purposes monosyllables, would be *ri-ya-u*, which makes three syllables in Japanese. Similarly, sounds like *mok* (木) and *ngwat* (月) become *moku* and *gwatsu*, because Japanese writing knows no final consonants.

At the same time, it is worth remarking, the correspondences between original Chinese sounds and their Japanese imitations are fairly uniform, and a comparison of the two is often of great value in determining phonetic changes that have taken place in both languages. An interesting example is a Sinico-Japanese word like *kyō* (劫 ' to rob '). This was formerly written in Japan *kefu*, which from other indications we know to have been pronounced something like *kepu*, and this confirms the supposition, otherwise derived from Chinese sources, that the Chinese pronunciation when the word was borrowed by the Japanese was approximately *kep*. Conversely, there are many indications from Chinese that the syllables now pronounced in Japan *hi*, *ho*, *ha*, *he*, *fu*, originally had an initial consonant resembling *p* or perhaps *ph*. One such indication is the fact that, in selecting Chinese characters to represent these syllables phonetically, the Japanese preferred those of which the Chinese sound had an initial *p*, as 比 *pi*, for the first syllable of the word now pronounced *hito*.

illustrate some of them by examples. One important class is composed of antithetical compounds like 長 短 *chō-tan*, literally 'long-short', which stands for the idea expressed in English by the word 'length' but is more logical, since it expresses a synthesis by specifying both elements and emphasizing neither. Similar words are 大 小 *dai-shō*, 'great-small', meaning 'size', 寒 暖 *kandan*, 'cold-hot', meaning temperature, 遠 近 *yenkin*, 'far-near', meaning distance, and so on. Nearly all such compounds were concise and convenient notations of ideas difficult if not impossible to express in early Japanese, which was ill-equipped with the names of abstract ideas. The idea of 'long-ness' could be conveyed by a periphrasis like *nagaki koto*, where *nagaki* is the adjective for 'long' and *koto* is the word meaning 'thing' in an abstract sense ; or by the word *nagasa*, where *sa* is a suffix something like '-ness' in English. But *nagaki koto* is cumbrous and *nagasa*, though good enough for 'long-ness', does not convey the abstract idea of length. Moreover, the compound *chō-tan*, by extension, has various secondary meanings, such as 'merits' in the merits of a case, its strong points and shortcomings, or the 'gist' of a matter—what we should call the 'long and short' of it. Japanese engaged in studying Chinese works would naturally be impressed by the brevity and usefulness of such compounds, and they would desire to translate them into their own language. But it is obvious that a word like *nagaki-mijikaki* for 'long-short' is altogether too unwieldy, and foreign to the spirit of the Japanese language, and it was much simpler to take over the Chinese compounds as they stood. Although the antithetical compounds just described are the most characteristic and perhaps the most important class, there are compounds of many other types. There are, for instance, a great number formed by the juxtaposition of two words of similar meaning, such as *kinki*, 'rejoicing', where both *kin* and *ki* signify gladness. Such compounds are redundant, but often they serve to express ideas differing slightly from those represented by their separate elements standing alone. Another very convenient class comprises compounds which do not essentially differ very much from such descriptive words as *hakui*, 白 衣 cited above, except that they carry the process as far as the association of abstract ideas. Thus we have

語 學 *gogaku*, 'talk-study', that is, the study of languages, for which we have had to invent the misleading term 'philology'; 愛 護 *aigo*, 'love-protect', which corresponds to the English 'cherish'; 實 撿 *jik-ken*, 'truth-inspection', for 'verification', and a host of similar compounds for which Japanese could rarely furnish a simple equivalent or even a convenient paraphrase. It is noticeable that these compounds are frequently best translated into English by a word of Greek or Latin origin.

Enough has been said to show that the Japanese could hardly fail to adopt words so useful and so flexible, and indeed the history of the vocabulary of Japanese for many centuries after the introduction of Chinese learning may be summarized as a tale of borrowing from Chinese, commencing with independent words and continuing, on an increasing scale, with compounds. To-day the Chinese words in the language are far more numerous than those of native origin.

There is one aspect of this borrowing process which is of interest in its bearing upon the structural development of Japanese. The Chinese language is peculiar in that it does not distinguish what we call 'parts of speech', that is to say, categories of words corresponding to psychological categories, as a noun corresponds to a thing, a verb to an act or a state, an adjective to a property. The unit of Chinese speech is a fixed monosyllable, subject to no such variations as are produced by inflexion or suffixes in other languages. The word *ai* 愛 stands indifferently for 'love', 'to love', 'loving', and 'beloved', and its grammatical function is determined solely by its position and context. Japanese, on the other hand, has special forms for special functions. It has a large number of uninflected words which are nouns, and it has inflected words which are verbs or adjectives or nouns according to their inflexion. Consequently, in borrowing a Chinese word, it was necessary, if it was to be freely used, to provide some means of differentiating its function as verb, adjective, noun, or adverb as the case might be. Since all Chinese words are uninflected, and the normal type of a noun in Japanese is uninflected, it was simple enough to take over Chinese words for use as nouns, without any change or addition. Thus 論 *ron*, 'argument', is a single word and 裝 束 *shōzoku*, 'costume', a compound word, and both were em-

bodied as they stand in the vocabulary of Japanese. But when it came to using them as verbs, it was necessary to find some way of providing them with inflexions which the Japanese verb requires in order to establish its function and to bring it into relation with other words. It might on general grounds be supposed that this result could be achieved by simply adding the necessary terminations to the Chinese word, as we in English have taken a substantive of foreign origin like 'chronicle', and given it our native inflexions in 'chronicles', 'chronicled', 'chronicler', and so on. But this process was not easy to apply to Chinese words because, on account of their shortness, any mutilation might make them unrecognizable and, on account of their sounds, they could not well be combined with Japanese sounds, from which they differ in type, without some mutilation. I know of only one or two cases where a Chinese compound was taken and conjugated like a Japanese word. One is *shōzoku*, 'costume', which has just been quoted. This word happened to become rather more familiar than most others, was corrupted to *sōzoku*, and because of a quite fortuitous resemblance to a common native verb *shirizoku*, it was in classical times given native inflexions like *sozokite*, 'dressing', *sozokeba*, 'if he dresses', where it is seen functioning as a verb. Another such instance is the verb *ryōru*, 'to cook', which is a barbarous and comparatively recent formation from the Chinese compound *ryōri* 料 理 'cookery'. But such formations are quite exceptional, and could in any case only occur when the terminal sound of a Chinese word was similar to the termination of a Japanese verb or adjective. Thus it would be impossible without doing violence to both languages, to convert Chinese words like *gyō*, *kwai* or *kwan* into typical verb-forms, which must like *yuku*, *yuki*, *yuka*, &c., end in vowels, or adjective forms which must, like *yoki*, *yoshi*, end in the syllables *ki* or *shi*. Such forms as *gyou*, *gyoi*, *kwaishi*, *kwanki* would be monstrosities.[1] Moreover, even had they not been impossible on grounds of euphony and intelligibility, the imported Chinese words, in the period of which we are speaking, were far from being fully assimilated. They still retained their alien individuality, and it

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[1] There are, however, some adjectives formed by adding a special termination, *-shiki*, to Chinese words, as in *bibishiki*, *yuyushiki*, &c.

was only in rare cases like that of *sōzoku* that they became completely naturalized. It would hardly occur to a Japanese to treat them in the same way as native words, and he was therefore obliged to find some special method of making use of them as parts of speech other than substantives. It is not too much to say that the method adopted made a remarkable change in the nature of the Japanese language. To convert a Chinese word into a verb, all that was done was to add the Japanese verb *suru*, 'to do'. Thus, while *ron* standing alone in Japanese means 'argument', *ron-suru* means 'to do argument', consequently 'to argue', and the combination can be conjugated exactly as if it were a simple verb, by conjugating the verb *suru*. So we have all the requisite verbal forms, such as *ron su*, 'argues', *ron shite*, 'arguing', *ron sezu*, 'does not argue', &c.[1] In many cases, where the verb-group thus formed came into common use, its two members were closely amalgamated. *Ron-suru* is a case in point. *Ron* must have been among the first Chinese words known to the Japanese, for it is part of the title of one of the first Chinese books brought to Japan—the Confucian Analects, called in Sino-Japanese *Rongo*—and for the two separate elements *ron* and *suru* there was soon substituted the compound *ronzuru*, which was treated as a pure Japanese verb, and conjugated *ronzu*, *ronji*, *ronjite*, &c., ultimately furnishing a form *ronjiru* instead of *ronzuru*. Such cases of complete assimilation are, however, not numerous. There are a few verbs like *kemisuru*, which is a naturalized form of *ken* 撿 *suru*, and *meijiru*, 'to command', from 命 *mei* and *suru*, showing slightly different kinds of assimilation, but generally speaking these derivative verbs are of the type of *hi suru*, 比 'to compare', where the ordinary conjugation of *suru* is retained When the borrowed Chinese word is a compound, this is invariably true. Such compounds as *aigo*, the word for 'cherishing' mentioned above, are made to serve as verbs by the simple addition of *suru*, *aigo su*, meaning 'cherishes', *aigo shite*, 'cherishing', *aigo shitari*,

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[1] Turkish provides a close parallel to this method of fitting foreign words into the native grammatical structure. The Turkish verb *etmek*, ' to do ', is suffixed to Arabic substantives and then conjugated in the usual way, e. g. *arzetmek*, ' to say respectfully ' ; past tense, *arzetdim* ; future, *arzedejek*, and so on.

'cherished', and so on.   In many cases the Chinese word retains its character as a noun so fully that it is distinguished as being in the objective case by means of the appropriate particle : so that we can say both *kensa suru*, 'to inspect', and *kensa wo suru*, 'to make an inspection', with a slight difference of emphasis.

It will be seen that this method of employing words must have had a far-reaching effect upon the vocabulary of Japanese, because it permitted the use of imported words to fulfil almost any grammatical function, and yet retained them in almost every case with no change in their form. Consequently the Japanese vocabulary of to-day is divided into two well-contrasted classes—on the one hand the native words, on the other the imported ones, each bearing very clear marks of its origin.   It is interesting to compare this condition with that which prevails in the languages of Europe, where mutual borrowing has been for centuries so continuous and frequent that their vocabularies have an homogeneous aspect and the distinction between native and foreign words is often apparent only to one with expert knowledge.   Nobody but a philologist could say off-hand what was the history of an English word like 'choose', but any dunce in Japan can tell, from their mere shape and sound, that *sentei* is Chinese and *erabu* Japanese for 'to choose'.

If they were to be fully utilized, the Chinese elements had somehow to be made to serve not only as verbs but as adjectives and adverbs.   Full details of the processes by which such adaptations were carried out will be found in the body [1] of this work, and we need not do more than sketch them briefly here.   To turn a Chinese noun into an adjective there was a convenient grammatical apparatus ready to hand in the native verb *nari*, which is the equivalent of our copula 'to be', and, in common with all other Japanese verbs, has special attributive and adverbial forms.   Consequently, taking a word like *kirei* 綺 麗 meaning 'pretty', it was necessary only to attach to it *naru*, the attributive form of *nari*, forming the combination *kirei-naru*, which can be prefixed to any substantive, as in *kirei-naru hana* (literally 'an is-pretty flower'), for 'a pretty flower'.   This is the normal

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[1] See in particular under Adjectives, p. 121, and under Adverbs, p. 290.

method of using Chinese compounds as attributives, and has given rise to the corresponding colloquial *kirei na hana*, where *na* is simply a contraction of *naru*. Other methods of bringing Chinese compounds into an attributive relation with nouns are not wanting, and though they are less frequent they are of interest as showing that the adoption of Chinese words forced upon the Japanese language certain structural changes, or at least brought into common use syntactical and other devices which would have otherwise remained unusual. A characteristic example is the borrowing of methods of which Chinese avails itself in the absence of inflexion, as when the Japanese use such adjectival phrases as *seijijō*, 政 事 上 'political', *gutaiteki*, 具 體 的 'concrete', where 上 and 的 are the Chinese *shang* and *ti*, which are functionally inflexional affixes. Here, then, we have cases where Japanese has borrowed a part of the Chinese grammatical apparatus.

Similar expedients were resorted to when it was desired to use Chinese words as adverbs. The problem was simple, because Japanese adverbs are uninflected, and it was necessary only to affix to the appropriate Chinese word one of the native adverbial particles, *ni* or *to*, thus forming not an adverb but an adverbial phrase, as *kirei ni*, 'prettily', *totsuzen to*, 'suddenly'.

Altogether, the influence upon the Japanese language of Chinese importations has been considerable. They have, as we have seen, wrought an immense change in the constitution of its vocabulary; they have profoundly modified its structure by grafting on to an inflected stock a numerically preponderant uninflected element; and they have in many respects altered or enlarged its grammatical apparatus. All these results, it is important to notice, have not only flowed naturally from the peculiar structure of Chinese, but have been due in no small measure to the difficulty of adjusting the highly developed script of a literary language to the requirements of an entirely alien speech with no literary history.

While the outstanding features of the effect produced by Chinese upon the development of Japanese have been described above, there is no doubt that many locutions and probably many grammatical devices which appear to be indigenous are in reality due to Chinese influence, exerted

chiefly through Japanese translations of Chinese works. It is naturally impossible to give definite proof of such influence, since the first records of Japanese are in the script of the language which we suppose to have exerted it, and they were compiled at a period when Chinese had already been used in Japan for at least two or three hundred years. We may, however, reasonably assume that at least the songs of the *Kojiki* and most of the Shinto rituals are in pure Japanese, free from any alien admixture, and there is a marked contrast between the language of those texts and that of, say, the main body of the *Kojiki* itself or the Imperial rescripts of the *Shoku Nihongi*. But this is very uncertain ground, and I confine myself to giving a few examples of what I suppose to be constructions in imitation of Chinese practice, reminding the reader that in the early days of Chinese studies the method of literal translation must, in the nature of things, have been freely followed.

Imagine a Japanese student endeavouring to read the Analects, and coming upon a passage like

爲	do
政	government
以	by
德	virtue
譬	comparison
如	like
北	north
辰	dragon

which means, 'He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the Pole Star'.[1]

This he would read in Japanese, following the original as closely as possible,

政	*matsurigoto* (*wo*)
爲	*suru* (*ni*)
德	*toku*
以	(*wo*) *mochite*
一	(*sureba*)
譬	*tatoi* (*wa*)
辰	*hokushin*
如	(*no*) *gotoshi*

[1] For simplicity the original text is here slightly abridged.

where the words in brackets are those supplied to fulfil the grammatical requirements of Japanese. The translation, though not incorrect Japanese, is almost literal, and far from being idiomatic. The Chinese characters are taken one by one, and the nearest literal equivalent in Japanese for each is used ; but the result, though intelligible enough to those accustomed to such texts, is obtained by forcing Japanese words into alien constructions. When, for instance, the translator comes to 以, which stands for a Chinese instrumental particle of which the original sense was 'to use', he does not render it by an equivalent Japanese particle, but by a phrase *wo mochite*, 'making use of', and for the simple 以 德 'by virtue', he says *toku wo mochite*, 'using virtue'. This locution has now taken its place in the Japanese, in the forms *wo mochite* and *wo motte*, which are commonly employed in the written language to denote 'by means of'. It is easy to multiply examples where, as in this case, a construction has come into common use through Chinese influence. It is not as a rule possible to prove that such constructions have been bodily transferred from Chinese ; but we may suspect that many constructions which were not usual in early Japanese became common under the stress of necessity in translating Chinese works. An analogy from English is perhaps seen in the use of such phrases as 'these things being done', modelled upon the ablative absolute construction of Latin. They cannot be rejected as not English, but they are imitative.

There is little doubt that the *Kojiki* contains much phraseology of this nature, and though it would be too much to say that any construction or form which does not appear in the Rituals or the Songs should be regarded with suspicion, we may go so far as to say that the appearance of a given locution in even the earliest texts other than those two is not conclusive proof that it is indigenous.

I append a few suggestions as to usages now frequent in Japanese which may be due to Chinese influence :

(1) The use of *tokoro* to form relative clauses, as *yuku tokoro no hito*, 'the man who goes'. This seems to follow the Chinese use of 所 as in 心 所 欲 'that which the heart desires'. The meaning of 所 as an independent word is

'place', and 'place' in Japanese is *tokoro*, so that the Japanese would translate the above literally as *kokoro no hossuru tokoro*, 'the heart's desire-place'.

(2) Chinese having no special verb-forms to express special aspects like tenses, time is expressed by analytic methods, as 言 竟 ('speak-finish' for 'spoke'). Japanese verbs have special suffixes to express the completion of an act, but in the *Kojiki*, for instance, we find phrases like 言 竟 而 'having spoken' (literally 'speak finish then'), which is rendered in Japanese by *ii-oete*. It seems likely that Japanese locutions of this nature are due to Chinese, and that the frequent use in the written language of *shikashite*, a common reading of 而, is also copied from Chinese prose.

(3) A common Chinese locative particle is 於 'at' or 'in', which is rendered in Japanese by *ni oite*, 'placed in'. This locution seems to be due to translation, since the usual Japanese locative particle, *ni*, can be made to serve all necessary purposes.

(4) In Chinese 如 'like', occurs very frequently in phrases equivalent to 'thus', 'how', &c. The Japanese equivalent is an adjective *gotoki*, and in Japanese prose we find it in common use, as in *kaku no gotoku*, 'thus', where in pure Japanese *kaku* would be sufficient. It is probable that the extended use of *gotoku* is imitated from Chinese.

(5) The double negative, as in *arazaru bekarazu*, 'must not not be' for 'must be', is possibly due to Chinese influence. This and many similar locutions which come perhaps rather under the heading of style than of syntax, as, for instance, the antithetical group of words or phrases, are characteristic features of Chinese prose.

(6) The use of 'classifiers' is not frequent in the early language, and it may be that their frequency to-day has been brought about by the example of Chinese. The need of classifiers or some other device to prevent ambiguity is urgent in a language full of homophones, but not in a polysyllabic language like Japanese, where homophones, though numerous, are not usually such as to cause misunderstanding.

§ 2. *Further Development of the Script, and the Representation of Japanese Sounds*

We have traced the process of adapting the Chinese script to Japanese requirements up to a point where the phonetic use of Chinese symbols to represent Japanese particles and terminations was well established by its use in various chronicles and anthologies compiled from the fifth to the ninth century. The process was a gradual one. The verses in the *Manyōshū* are not exclusively written in *kana*. The early poems, say those up to the end of the seventh century, are written with characters used according to meanings, and their reconstruction is not easy ; but those of the middle of the eighth century are written phonetically. We have already observed that the use of a complete Chinese character to represent each syllable of words in a polysyllabic language was an awkward and tiresome method. It must be remembered, however, that these characters were as a rule written not in the way in which they appear in printed books but in an abbreviated cursive style, known as the 'grass hand'. Thus the character 知 *chi*, 'knowledge', used as a phonetic symbol for the sound *chi*, was written in a running hand 𛀁, and this was gradually abbreviated through various stages, such as 𛀁, until it took the simple form 知. It is natural to suppose that the convenience of these abbreviations suggested to the Japanese the selection of a number of simplified characters to be reserved for phonetic uses. The Japanese tradition affirms that Kobo Daishi, a famous priest who lived from A. D. 774–835, himself chose forty-seven of these signs and fixed them as the conventional equivalents of forty-seven syllables into which the sounds of the Japanese language had been analysed. These were called *hiragana*, which may be taken to mean 'easy *kana*', and constitute an alphabet, or rather a syllabary, by which Japanese words can be written according to their sound. It is quite likely that Kobo Daishi was responsible for this selection, but it is incorrect to say that he was the inventor of a Japanese alphabet. The idea of using characters as phonetics was, as we have seen, not a new one, and it had been applied by the Chinese centuries before. Kobo Daishi, if it was he, can hardly have done more than simplify the forms and

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reduce the number of *kana*. Before this the selection of Chinese characters to represent Japanese sounds was more or less a matter of individual taste. Many different characters were used for each sound, sometimes the same character was used for more than one sound. Even when the use of simplified characters became common, there was nothing in the nature of a fixed alphabet, and the total number of *hiragana* symbols used to represent forty-seven sounds was nearly three hundred. Many of these have been eliminated, and the *hiragana* in common use to-day may be said to be standardized, and to show as a rule little more variation than is seen in the different styles of writing or printing our alphabet.

Another syllabary, which came into use at about the same period as the *hiragana*, is made up of what are called *katakana* or 'side *kana*'. These are abbreviations of the square, and not the cursive type of Chinese character, generally formed by one part or side (*kata*) being taken to represent the whole. Thus, while ゐ is the *hiragana* for *i*, formed by a cursive abbreviation of the character 以 (which is pronounced *i*), the corresponding *katakana* form is イ, which is the side of the character 伊, also pronounced *i*. Similarly both *katakana* and *hiragana* signs for the sound *ro* are derived from the character 呂, the *katakana* being ロ, which is a part of 呂, and the *hiragana* being ろ which is a cursive form of the whole character 呂.

As might be expected, the convenience of these syllabaries encouraged the use of what we have called the Mixed Phonetic Script (*Kanamajiri*), and this has now after certain vicissitudes come to be the normal script for representing Japanese, employed in all printed and manuscript documents. The admixture of *kana* varies according to the writer and to the literacy which he expects from his reader. There is no general rule, but the method may be roughly described as follows :

1. All words of Chinese origin, most uninflected Japanese words, and the stems of inflected words are written by means of complete Chinese characters, used semantically.

2. Grammatical terminations and particles are written in *hiragana*.

3. *Katakana*, despite their greater simplicity, are not in
   general use, even among the uneducated, and they
   are generally reserved, in print at least, for writing
   foreign words, colloquialisms, &c., or as a typo-
   graphical device equivalent to italics.

Consequently, in a continuous text, the word *ron*, a Sinico-
Japanese word, is written 論 ; the word *tama*, 'a jewel', is
written 玉, which is the Chinese character for the Chinese
word meaning 'jewel', and the word *odoroku*, 'to fear', is
written by means of the character 驚, which stands for the
Chinese word meaning 'to fear'. But since *odoroku*, being
a verb, is inflected, it is necessary to show its inflexions,
and this is done by means of the *kana*. The character 驚
is regarded as representing the constant portion of *odoroku*,
namely, the stem *odoro-*, and the inflexional affixes are repre-
sented by units of the syllabary. Thus, the forms *odoroku*,
odoroki, *odorokitari*, &c., are written :

odoro-ku	*odoro-ki*	*odoro-kitari*
驚	驚	驚
く	き	き
		た
		リ

The particles are almost without exception written in *kana*.
   As thus described, the system sounds simple, but the
student of Japanese soon discovers a host of unexpected
difficulties. In the first place, when he sees a Chinese
character not followed by *kana*, he may be reasonably sure
that it represents either a Chinese word or an uninflected
Japanese word. But how is he to tell which ? He may
come across, for instance, the character 玉 and be uncertain
as to whether to give it the Japanese reading *tama* or the
Chinese reading *gyoku*. Two characters like 白 雲 'white-
clouds', may stand for the Chinese compound *haku-un* or
the Japanese compound *shirakumo*. A single character such
as 生 may have, as we have already seen, a *go-on* reading,
shō ; or a *kan-on* reading, *sei* ; or any of the several Japanese
readings, *ikiru*, *nama*, *ki*, *umu*, &c. These and kindred diffi-
culties will face him at every step and, though a practised
reader will generally make no mistakes, it is not an exaggera-
tion to say that absolute certainty in reading Japanese texts

whether ancient or modern is almost unattainable. In support of this statement it is only necessary to refer to the method, in general use in printed matter for which wide publicity is sought, of putting at the side of every character small *kana* which represent its sound. In nearly all newspapers and popular magazines this practice is followed.[1] An example will make it clear :

乎ハ	*hei*
和わ	*wa*
條ジゥ	*jō*
約ヤク	*yaku*
の	*no*
規き	*ki*
定ゑ	*tei*
に	*ni*
依よ	*yo*
り	*ri*

One hesitates for an epithet to describe a system of writing which is so complex that it needs the aid of another system to explain it. There is no doubt that it provides for some a fascinating field of study, but as a practical instrument it is surely without inferiors. One might suppose that one of the two syllabaries could be substituted entirely for the Chinese character, with great advantage to Japan, but quite apart from that natural conservatism which resists any attempts to break down what has been built up in the course of centuries, there are serious practical objections to such a reform. This is not the place to discuss them, but they may be summarized by saying that, with the importation of Chinese words, Japanese has developed in some measure the homophonous quality of Chinese, and the visual aid of the Chinese character is still necessary for understanding

[1] Even in the official Readers used in primary schools there appear occasionally characters to which *kana* must be affixed, because, without them, the reading is uncertain. Thus, in many contexts, nobody can say, without a *kana* gloss, whether 上 should be read *agaru*, ' to go up ', or *noboru* ' to ascend '.

a Japanese text. The function of the *kana* written at the side of the characters is not to explain them, but to eke out their meanings by specifying their sounds. It is as difficult to read the *kana* without the characters as to read the characters without the *kana*.

In discussing the nature of the Chinese script we have seen that it is more correctly described as logographic than as ideographic. The Chinese word which a single character represents does, it is true, convey an idea, and, since one Chinese word is invariably represented by one and the same character, the character is to that extent an ideograph. But the meaning of a Chinese word may vary enormously according to position and to context, while the character remains without change ; and in Chinese therefore the character may properly be said to represent a word rather than an idea.

The Japanese use of the Chinese character may, however, with some reason be regarded as ideographic. We saw in discussing the character 生 that, although it stands always for one Chinese word, *sheng*, this word may mean 'to live', 'to bear', 'to be born', 'raw', 'strange', 'to grow', 'a pupil', and so on. But in Japanese, when we find the character 生 we assign to it a different word according to the idea which it is intended to convey, reading it, for instance, as *umu* if it means 'to bear', and *ikiru* if it means 'to live'. In other words, a Japanese reader considers the whole range of ideas covered by the character 生, and then selects as its equivalent the Japanese word which conveys the particular idea intended. We may therefore say, without abuse of language, that though the Chinese script as used by the Chinese is now a logographic script, as used by the Japanese it is largely ideographic.

There is one important aspect of the development of the Japanese script which must be given special attention, and that is the mutual relation between Japanese sounds and what we may call Japanese spelling. It is evident that, at some period in the development of the script, probably about the time when the *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries were contrived, Japanese scholars began to analyse the sounds of which Japanese words were composed, and, since they selected forty-seven symbols in each set of *kana*, we must suppose that they discerned forty-seven sounds.

It was not until some centuries later (the eleventh century) that another classification appeared, in the form of a table described as the scheme of fifty sounds. Now the distinguishing feature of these and all other native classifications of Japanese sounds is that the unit is always a syllable, and it has always been the custom, in analysing Japanese words, to distinguish only syllables, and not to go further by dissecting those syllables into their constituent vowels and consonants. This is a point which should be borne in mind in all discussions of Japanese etymology. I have seen it stated, in a learned essay upon the origins of Japanese, that Japanese must always have been a syllabic language, because when they came to write it they wrote it syllable by syllable. Such a statement will not bear examination. It is obvious that the syllabic method of writing Japanese is due in the first place to the fact that the Chinese system which they borrowed was a syllabic one, and could not be used in any other way. But that does not by any means prove that the further division of Japanese sounds was unnatural or impossible. The classification made by the scholars who drew up the tables of *kana* was a classification of symbols and not a classification of sounds. If we take a Japanese verb like *yuku* and examine its various forms we find *yuki*, *yuka*, and *yuke*. Which of these are we to regard as a stem, if for etymological purposes we wish to postulate one ? The constant portion of all these forms is *yuk*. True, it cannot be written by means of the Japanese syllabary ; but that fact alone is not sufficient to prove that such an entity never existed. It is true that to modern Japanese forms like *yuk* signify nothing, and I am far from asserting that these are the real stems of Japanese verbs. The question of early Japanese sounds is a very obscure one, and cannot properly be discussed in a treatise on grammar, but I allude to it here because it has some bearing on grammatical problems. For instance, if *yuk* is a stem, then the forms *yuka, yuki, yuke, yuku* are made by agglutination, and we should expect to find that the agglutinated vowels had at one time some independent significance. If, on the other hand, *yuk* is not a stem, the vowels *a, i, e,* and *u* are inflexions. I am inclined to the latter view, but I do not think it should be taken for granted that syllables are the ultimate constituents of Japanese words.

It is true, however, that as Japanese words are now pro-
nounced, and, it appears, as they were pronounced at least
as far back as the seventh century, they are all composed of
syllables, consisting either of a vowel, or of a consonant
followed by a vowel.   The fifty sounds above referred to
may be set forth as follows, as represented by *katakana* and
a uniform transliteration.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
A	KA	SA	TA	NA	HA	MA	YA	RA	WA
ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ
I	KI	SI	TI	NI	HI	MI	(YI)	RI	WI
イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ		リ	ヰ
U	KU	SU	TU	NU	HU	MU	YU	RU	(WU)
ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル	
E	KE	SE	TE	NE	HE	ME	(YE)	RE	WE
エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ		レ	ヱ
O	KO	SO	TO	NO	HO	MO	YO	RO	WO
オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	ヲ

(A *kana* character ン was later used to represent the final
n sound which, strictly speaking, did not exist in Japanese.
In early texts, for instance, future forms which are now
written with *n*, as *aran*, were written with *mu*, as *aramu*.
The final *n* sound doubtless was due to the need for repro-
ducing the termination *ng* of Chinese words.)

The sounds in columns 1 and 2 call for no comment.   In
column 3, the syllable represented by *si* is now pronounced
more like *shi*, but it is probable that its earlier pronuncia-
tion was *si*.   In column 4, *ti* is now pronounced *chi* (as in
'chicken').   There is no evidence as to the early pronuncia-
tion, but there are indications that all the syllables in this
series once had an initial sound intermediate between *t* and
ts.   Similar observations apply to *tu*, which is pronounced
tsu.   Column 5 offers no difficulty.   In column 6 the modern
pronunciations are *ha*, *hi*, *fu*, *he*, *ho*.   There is very good
evidence to show that the early forms of these syllables were
not aspirate plus vowel but labial plus vowel, which might

be represented approximately by *pa, pi, pu, pe, po,* or better perhaps by *pha, phi, phu, phe, pho.*[1]

Columns 7 and 9 require no comment. Column 8, represented by *ya, yi, yu, ye, yo,* has, it will be seen, no *kana* equivalent for *yi* and *ye,* but it is almost certain from etymological evidence that a syllable *yi* did once exist. At present *yi* is assimilated to *i, イ.* As for *ye,* though there is no *kana* symbol for it, there is very little doubt that the symbol エ, now assigned to the sound *e,* originally stood for *ye,* and indeed that the modern pronunciation of エ is nearer *ye* than *e.* In column 10 there is no *kana* for *wu,* but here again it is pretty certain from early texts that *wu* originally existed, and that it was originally represented by ウ, which has now been transferred to the column of simple vowels as *u.*

Though the above table represents what are called in Japanese the 'pure' sounds, there are 'impure' sounds corresponding to each of the columns 2, 3, 4, 6, namely, *GA, GI, GU, GE, GO ; ZA, ZI, ZU, ZE, ZO ; DA, DI, DU, DE, DO ;* and *BA, BI, BU, BE, BO.* These are represented by adding a diacritic mark ", called a *nigori* or 'impurity', to the *kana* for the 'pure' syllables. Thus we have カ = *ka* and ガ = *ga.* There are also half-impure sounds, *PA, PI, PU, PE, PO,* represented by a mark °, as ハ° for *pa.* There is not much doubt about the early pronunciation of these 'impure' sounds, but there is a difference of opinion as to their proper transliteration. On the whole *ji* is preferable for ジ, simply because more usual than *zi,* but for etymological purposes one should distinguish between the sound *ji,* which is the 'impure' form of *shi,* and the sound *ji,* which is the 'impure' form of *chi,* although in ordinary pronunciation little or no difference can be noticed. Similarly, the impure forms of *su* and *tsu,* both usually written *zu,* should not be confused, and it is useful to write *zu* for the former and *dzu* for the latter.

It will already be clear that the *kana* spelling of Japanese words is not easy. There are many difficulties which we have not yet exposed. It is not necessary here to give a full

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[1] I remember once seeing a Japanese *kana* rendering of the title ' Who 's Who ', which, if read according to the usual transliteration, was *Fusu Fu !* It is significant that the sonant forms corresponding to the group *ha, hi, fu, he, ho* are *ba, bi, bu, be, bo.*

account of the way in which the syllabary is used to represent compound sounds, but it is desirable to state the chief rules. The key to all of them is that the old language never has a syllable beginning with a vowel, except at the beginning of a word. The next important rule is that, except at the beginning of a word, the aspirates of the *ha* column are lost in pronunciation. It follows that the combinations given below form by crasis the compound sounds shown against them.

a	plus	*u*	becomes	*ō*
a	,,	*fu*	,,	*ō*
o	,,	*u*	,,	*ō*
o	,,	*fu*	,,	*ō*
o	,,	*ho*	,,	*ō*
o	,,	*wo*	,,	*ō*
ye	,,	*u*	,,	*yō*
ye	,,	*fu*	,,	*yō*
ye	,,	*o*	,,	*yō*
ye	,,	*ho*	,,	*yō*
i	,,	*fu*	,,	*iū*

Similarly,

te	plus	*fu*	becomes	*chō*
de	,,	*fu*	,,	*jō*
he	,,	*fu*	,,	*hyō*
se	,,	*fu*	,,	*shō*

and so on—a stroke over a vowel indicating that it is long.

It will be seen that the correct *kana* spelling of many compound sounds is a matter of considerable difficulty, and indeed is often the subject of controversy. It is frequently hard to say whether the sound *shō*, for instance, should be written by *kana* representing *se-fu* or those representing *shi-ya-u* or *shi-ya-fu*, or even *shi-yo-fu*.

These rules, if borne in mind, explain a number of sound changes in Japanese which are otherwise puzzling. Chief among these are :

1. The particle usually written *ha* is always pronounced *wa*, because, of its nature, it cannot come at the beginning of a word, but is regarded as incorporated with the word which it follows and modifies. Thus *hana ha* becomes *hanawa*, because the aspirate is

lost in pronunciation and, since Japanese does not tolerate two similar vowels in succession, the combination *hana a* is made *hanawa* in ordinary speech.

2. The particle *he*, in the same way, is pronounced *e*.

3. For similar reasons, verb conjugations which, in the correct *kana* spelling, are written on the model of *omofu, omohi, omoha, omohe*, are pronounced *omou, omoi, omowa, omoe*.

Owing to these peculiarities of the *kana* spelling, the problem of transliteration into our alphabet is a difficult one. For practical purposes the simplest solution is to represent alphabetically the modern Japanese sounds. The practice followed by Aston, Chamberlain, and Satow in their philological works on Japanese was to reproduce exactly the *kana* spelling, writing, for instance, *safurafu* for a word which is now pronounced *sōrō* ; and this plan has the merit of making clear the development of many forms which is obscured by the modern alphabetical spelling. It is an approach to a scientific method, but it is not entirely satisfactory. The ideal method, for philological studies, would be to use a complete phonetic notation, and to apply it historically by representing every word quoted as it was pronounced at the period under discussion. To write *safurafu* consistently for *sōrō* obviously does not fulfil these requirements. We know that the earliest recorded *kana* spelling of *sōrō* was サ フ ラ フ which we may choose to transliterate as *safurafu* ; but we do not know whether *safurafu* represents the pronunciation of, say, the Nara period any more accurately than does *sōrō*, while we are at least certain that *sōrō* displays with some accuracy the modern pronunciation. A student of Japanese who has enough knowledge to pursue etymological inquiries cannot be misled by such a spelling as *sōrō*, since he must be acquainted with the lines along which Japanese sounds have developed. A person learning Japanese for practical purposes does not need to know that *sōrō* was at one time pronounced something like *safurafu*. In the following pages, therefore, I have thought it best not to adopt any arbitrary transliteration, but to retain that which is in common use in Japan when it is desired to write Japanese words in our alphabet. In this system consonants are sounded as in

English, vowels as in Italian, lengthened vowels standing for the combinations *a* plus *fu*, *o* plus *u*, &c., are written *ō*, and Sinico-Japanese words are treated in the same way—thus, *chū*, *kyū*, &c.

It should be added, for the sake of accuracy, that though Japanese vowel sounds are usually described as being like those of Italian, they are much shorter and lighter ; and since there is hardly any stress accent vowels play a much less important part in spoken Japanese than in Italian. The vowel *u* in particular is almost elided in ordinary speech in a number of words—e. g. *des'* for *desu*, *tas'keru* for *tasukeru*, &c. The negative termination *nu* is often pronounced and sometimes written as if it were *n*, e. g. ユ カ ン instead of ユ カ ヌ. In Sinico-Japanese words a final *tsu* usually stands for an original Chinese final consonant *t*, as in *gwatsu* for 月 *ngwat* ; a final *ku* for an original Chinese *k*, as in *moku* for 木 *mok*. Similarly a final Chinese *n* or *ng* was usually in early writings represented by a *kana* symbol for *mu*.

§ 3. *Later Developments of the Language, and Divergence between Spoken and Written Forms*

The specimens of Japanese which have come down to us from the archaic period, that is, the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of our era, consist of poetry and prose, represented by the songs in the *Kojiki* and the Shinto rituals. Their language may be regarded as purely native, with the exception perhaps of an occasional Chinese or Korean word so thoroughly disguised as to be indistinguishable from indigenous forms. The distinction between poetry and prose is not well marked, for the poetry is characterized only by a loose and irregular metre and some inversions of word order. The songs, we may fairly assume, are echoes of archaic colloquial, and the language of the rituals, though naturally somewhat high-flown and elaborate, probably did not differ in essentials from contemporary speech.

After the introduction of Chinese learning, the spoken and written languages began to diverge. It is a process which can be traced in most languages, but in Japanese it was intensified by the exceptional circumstance that, when the Japanese borrowed the Chinese script, they were obliged, as

we have seen, to take along with it both Chinese words and,
in a much less degree, Chinese constructions. We have
therefore on the one hand the special influence of Chinese
upon all modes of writing Japanese, and on the other hand
the general influence of colloquial forms which, in all lan-
guages, tends to break down the conservative forces of
scholarship and, let us add, pedantry. The history of the
development of Japanese after the archaic period is largely
a history of the conflict between these two influences. But
it is a conflict in which there is an unusual element, for
the written language depends upon symbols which have a
primarily visual appeal, and therefore opposes resistance to
the invasion of colloquial forms, designed for the ear and
not the eye. It is only a phonetic script which can properly
reproduce colloquial usages, and consequently the divergence
between Japanese writing and speech is, in its extremes,
a very wide one. When studying it we should always bear
in mind that, in so far as the script remained ideographic or
logographic, not only could the written language not easily
imitate the spoken language, but also, conversely, the spoken
language could not freely incorporate words and locutions
which the written language was able to take over from
Chinese with little or no change.

Following upon the archaic period came what we may
describe as the Classical period, of which the chief literary
monuments fall into two well-contrasted divisions—the first
comprising the poems of the *Manyōshū* (the later volumes) and
Kokinshū, and prose works like the Preface to the *Kokinshū*,
the *Tosa Nikki*, &c. ; the second consisting of prose and
poetry written by Japanese in Chinese, or a combination of
Chinese and Japanese. It is convenient to describe first the
language of this latter group. The Chinese poetry, though
not without literary importance, may be neglected. The
prose, however, exercised a great influence upon the subse-
quent development of Japanese, and it is therefore desirable
to describe it in some detail. We have seen that, when the
Japanese first became acquainted with the Chinese script,
they confined themselves for a time to writing Chinese, or,
it would perhaps be more accurate to say, their aim was
to write Chinese. The earliest specimens of Chinese prose
written by Japanese, no doubt under the eyes of Chinese

or Korean instructors, were relatively pure and free from 'japonicisms'. In the Heian period (800–1186) the influence of Chinese culture was exceedingly powerful, in government and ceremonies as well as in art and letters, and though the Buddhist religion had a wider appeal than the Confucian ethic, its doctrines were spread in Japan through the medium of the Chinese language. Numerous academies, both public and private, devoted to Chinese learning flourished in Kyoto in the early part of this period, and no court noble or official could hope to rise to eminence if he were not able to write Chinese verses and to make apt quotations from the Chinese classics. From A. D. 797 there were successively compiled in Japan a number of historical works like the *Shoku Nihongi*, the *Nihon Goki*, and the *Sandai Jitsuroku*, anthologies of verse, laws, ceremonial codes, and miscellaneous treatises, all of which were in the Chinese language. Meanwhile imported Chinese works were being copied and expounded, and Japanese scholars wrote their commentaries in Chinese. It was probably not often very good Chinese, but it passed muster and might have been understood by a Chinaman. Soon, however, under the influence of the system of reading Chinese texts with the aid of diacritics according to Japanese syntax, there sprang up a style of prose which was not an imitation of Chinese so much as an imitation of a literal translation of Chinese. It is doubtful whether the history of language contains a more astonishing example of the mutilation of a foreign tongue. It is so curious and complicated that it is difficult to describe intelligibly, but perhaps some idea of its nature can be conveyed by saying that it is as if a writer of English were to set down his thoughts in Latin, or what he supposed to be Latin, and then to read what he had written in accordance not with the Latin syntax and word order but his own, leaving some words unchanged, converting some into English, now following or imitating the Latin construction, and now adding English words to eke out the sense. This process of writing what is usually called Sinico-Japanese is, then, a threefold one. The writer first thinks of a sentence in Japanese. This he translates into Chinese, or as near as he can get to Chinese, which means that he must set down a series of characters in an order quite different from the Japanese order of words, and must

substitute for the particles and the terminations of verbs various Chinese grammatical devices of an entirely different nature. Then, when he or another comes to read it, the missing particles and terminations must be supplied, and the final result is neither the Japanese sentence first thought of, nor its correct Chinese translation, but a hybrid thing, incomprehensible to a Chinaman, and even to a Japanese without special study. To understand the development of this curiosity of literature, one must realize that the Japanese as a rule possessed not so much a knowledge of Chinese as a knowledge of Chinese books. The living language of China was rarely known to them, and they were probably for the most part far less capable of writing good Chinese prose than a modern classical scholar of turning out a tolerable imitation of Cicero.

Had the Japanese not developed the phonetic use of Chinese characters, they might have continued to write in unrelieved Sinico-Japanese, with results too horrible to contemplate. Fortunately other influences were at work. The simplification of the various systems of *kana* favoured the growth of a written language in which the native element could be used alone, or mixed with Chinese in whatever proportion was desired ; while certain changes in the political relations between Japan and China in the reign of the Emperor Uda seem to have somewhat diminished the prestige of Chinese studies. Consequently we find, in the tenth century, a number of works in a mixed phonetic script, which we may regard as pure classical Japanese prose. They consist chiefly of folk-lore and fairy tales, some of which, like the stories of the White Rabbit and of *Urashima*, the Japanese Rip Van Winkle, had already been recorded in the Sinico-Japanese of the early chronicles ; or they are romances of more recent composition, often making use of materials borrowed from China. They are comprehensively styled *monogatari*, which means simply 'tales', and the earliest of them appear to be the *Ise Monogatari* and the *Taketori Monogatari*, ascribed to the early part of the tenth century. They are written in pure Japanese of the period, by means of *kana* with a slight admixture of Chinese characters. The constructions show no sign of Chinese influence, and though the vocabulary includes Chinese words, these are

evidently words which were already well assimilated, so that altogether one cannot be far out in assuming that their language is substantially the same as the current speech of the period. These early works represent classical Japanese prose in its purest form. They were followed by other *mono-gatari* of a similar nature, and by certain diaries and miscellanies in which the element of pure Japanese predominated. For our purposes it is sufficient to refer only to a few of these—the *Tosa Nikki, Kokinshū* preface, and the *Genji Monogatari*.

The *Tosa Nikki* is a travel diary, describing events in A. D. 935. It opens with a passage in which the author explains that he has set out to write a woman's diary, an interesting statement by which he means that he uses the Japanese language and a mixed phonetic script in which *kana* predominate, whereas men as a rule used the Chinese character and wrote in Chinese. The *Kokinshū* preface (922), which is the work of the same author, similarly purports to be pure Japanese prose, but it is written in a flowery style clearly influenced by Chinese, and it is somewhat of an exhibition of literary dexterity rather than a straightforward piece of ordinary Japanese writing. These two works, and the earliest *monogatari*, are, however, sufficient to show that in the tenth century it was possible for the Japanese to write, in the native script which they had by then brought to a fairly practical stage, the native language as it was then spoken and a prose which was not a slavish imitation of Chinese. From these promising beginnings there might have grown, but for certain unfavourable influences which we shall presently discuss, a native prose not widely divergent from the spoken language yet capable of all ordinary uses, whether narrative, descriptive, didactic, or official. And indeed during the tenth century classical Japanese prose did undergo a further development, and reached in the *Genji Monogatari* a very high point ; but beyond this it did not progress.

The *Genji Monogatari*, written by a Court lady called *Murasaki Shikibu*, in about A. D. 1000, is regarded by many Japanese as the high-water mark of Japanese literature, and, though we are not concerned here with its literary excellence, it is true that, in the hands of its remarkable

authoress, classical Japanese prose became a powerful and flexible instrument of expression. The spoken language of the day, with its now well-established syntax and its profusion of grammatical appliances, is enriched by occasional adaptations rather than imitations of Chinese constructions and diversified by a moderate use of words of Chinese origin. The writer's skill enables her to use, for purposes which are chiefly, but not exclusively, narrative and descriptive, the speech current in the cultivated society to which she belonged, to make of it a literary medium much better expressing the native temperament than the hybrid Sinico-Japanese of her masculine contemporaries. That the language of the *Genji Monogatari* is, except in the matter of care and polish, not essentially different from the colloquial of the period is clear from internal evidence. We find, for instance, phonetically reproduced in the text various contractions like *arazan-nari* for *arazaru nari*, *takō* for *takaku*, &c., which are obviously colloquial forms, while Chinese words are sometimes written out at length, in their current pronunciation.

But, remarkable as was the achievement of Murasaki no Shikibu in writing a very long novel in her native tongue—for it must be remembered that previous *monogatari* had been brief and disjointed—even her genius could not overcome the inherent defects of the pure Japanese style. Though her work is undoubtedly the finest specimen of native prose of the classical period, and though it contains a fair proportion of Chinese words, it cannot be said to display any of the merits of conciseness which distinguish written Chinese. Owing to the structural peculiarities of Japanese, it is composed of incredibly long sentences, terribly involved, and to modern readers at least sometimes obscure ; and since its characters are persons of high court rank, it so abounds in honorific words and phrases that it is sometimes difficult to disentangle them. For a leisurely description of the elaborate, ceremonious, and artificial life about the Court, such a style was well suited, but it may readily be imagined that the interminable and intricate Japanese sentence leading through a maze of gerunds up to a far-distant final verb, the complicated system of agglutinative suffixes, even the length of individual words when written out syllable by syllable in *kana* instead of figured by a single symbol, were,

for more immediately practical purposes than those of romance, not so convenient as the brief and simple constructions of Chinese. I do not go so far as to say that, given the intention and the inducement, Japanese classical prose could not have been fashioned into an instrument well adapted for all literary purposes. Such a development was doubtless possible ; but it did not take place, and this failure is due in a great measure to the superior prestige of Chinese studies, and to the great advantages of the Chinese system of writing, which despite all its obvious defects is, we must admit, an unrivalled medium for concise and compact statement. Following the *Genji Monogatari* there came a number of romances, sketches, and diaries in a similar style, but it is significant that nearly all of these were the work of women. The reason is not far to seek. We have already noticed that Tsurayuki explained the form of his diary by saying that he had written in the character of a woman ; and broadly speaking it may be said that, at his period and for a long time subsequently, prose writing in *kana* was regarded as only suitable for women, while Chinese was the proper medium for men. Consequently we find, from the tenth century onwards, two distinct kinds of prose writing in Japan, the one descended from such works as the *Tosa Nikki*, the other derived from Chinese. The classical Japanese prose was not far removed from current speech, the Sinico-Japanese prose was, in its most rigid forms, a purely literary medium. It is here that we have the beginnings of the divergence between spoken and written Japanese which has continued until recent times. From the classical prose there developed a classical epistolary style, and a style used in novels until the beginning of the Meiji period. Further, there took place, from the latter part of the eighteenth century, a nationalist revival in learning and religion led by such great native scholars as Mabuchi and Motoori who in their treatises deliberately reverted to the classical style. In their capable hands it seems to be an admirable means of expression ; it is pure and lucid although it rigidly observes the ancient grammatical rules. The subjects of which they treated, whether religious or philological or historical, were all drawn from Japanese antiquity, so that the classical vocabulary and the classical style were for their purposes as

adequate as they were appropriate. But this neo-classical prose was artificial, and so foredoomed to failure. After flourishing, in a restricted field, for less than a century, it fell into disuse. The sole surviving descendant, in the direct line, of classical Japanese prose is now the epistolary language used by women, and even this, in the last few years, has gone out of fashion.

We see, then, that pure Japanese, by which we understand the native language without important structural change and with only a sparing admixture of imported words, was destined not to become a literary medium. In the classical period, as we have pointed out, there existed alongside of the native prose the style of writing known as Sinico-Japanese. It is from this composite form that the modern written language of Japan is derived. While, in the tenth century, poems, romances, and *belles lettres* in general were being written in the classical style, graver if less agreeable works were being composed in Chinese which varied in purity according to the time, the subject, and the writer's skill.

By a natural division of function the Sinico-Japanese style was used for political documents and works of a similar nature ; for, while the native language was well suited for poetry and romance, these serious compositions, it was felt, must be couched in the more learned style sanctified by so many centuries of Chinese chronicles and proclamations and ethical treatises. The most characteristic specimens are therefore to be found in the early medieval edicts, which (apart from some belonging to the Nara period which are recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi*) are all in Chinese composed by Japanese. It is interesting to note that the official histories of the Heian period and such quasi-legal works as the Institutes of Engi (*Engishiki*) are in Chinese, while history with a romantic tinge, as in the *Yeigwa Monogatari*, is modelled in style upon the previous romances. An idea of the importance attached to Chinese studies may be gained from the fact that it was thought proper to furnish the *Kokinshū*, an official anthology of native verse, with a Chinese preface in addition to the Japanese preface written by Tsurayuki. Indeed it is stated that Tsurayuki's preface was a translation of the Chinese one.

We have already traced the beginnings of the Sinico-

Japanese style and seen that it arose from the peculiar Japanese method of reading Chinese texts. Its subsequent development, though too complicated for description here in detail, may be summarized as a gradual divergence from pure Chinese. Two important causes contributed to this divergence—a deficient knowledge of Chinese, and the influence of the colloquial, either direct or through the medium of the native prose. From the end of the eleventh century and throughout what is called the Kamakura period, Japan was under the domination of a military caste, and learning was at a low ebb. Chinese studies accordingly languished, and there were few who could write anything approaching pure Chinese prose. But still, in official documents, correspondence, records, and so on, the outward form of Chinese was retained, though the substance, the foundation, was the native language of the day. The Sinico-Japanese method had reached the ultimate point of absurdity, when, in order to write a simple Japanese sentence, its elements had to be altered and rearranged, and in order to read it, it had to be reconverted into something like its original form. It is astonishing that such a difficult method should have persisted, but it did remain in use for centuries, and it survives even to this day in the formal epistolary language. What contributed to its preservation was no doubt a certain conciseness and compression which is inherent in the Chinese symbol, and which the *kana* writing certainly does not share. Most students of Japanese will agree that texts in the apparently simple *kana* syllabary are laborious to write and difficult to read. However, the Sinico-Japanese style, in its most correct form—that is, when it most nearly approached pure Chinese—could only be used or apprehended by persons with special knowledge ; while in its loosest form, when it was merely a rearrangement of Japanese words eked out by an occasional Chinese locution, it had no advantages over a straightforward reproduction of the current speech, with such literary ornament as the writer might choose to add. Consequently, though high Sinico-Japanese continued to be written by a small number of scholars, the ordinary prose, from the Middle Ages onwards, grew less and less like its Chinese original. At the same time, it must be understood that it differed both in nature and development from the

classical native prose which we have described. That, as we have seen, descended in a direct line from the archaic native language, and was relatively free from Chinese influence. The Sinico-Japanese, however corrupt and, if we may use the term, japonicized, had a Chinese origin, from which it could never entirely depart. As time went on, writers abandoned even the Chinese order of words, and wrote something which was an approach to the colloquial in which their thoughts were formed ; but the long use of Chinese and pseudo-Chinese had established a number of Chinese locutions as part of the grammatical apparatus of the written language, and these were retained. Moreover, from the latter part of the Heian period, the adoption of Chinese words and Chinese compounds into both spoken and written languages had proceeded apace. Even without those special reasons which, as we shall presently see, exist in the case of Japanese, writing can absorb a greater number of foreign words than speech. Chinese compound words, in particular, were more convenient and expressive than the polysyllabic equivalents in Japanese, and it was natural that the special vocabularies of Buddhism, Confucianism, and many branches of learning should be adopted from China. We find, therefore, developing from the Kamakura period onwards, a written language which is the ancestor of the written language of to-day and in which we can discern two influences—that of the colloquial, upon which the ultimate structure of the sentence depends, and that of Chinese, which provides a great part of the vocabulary, a number of idioms and turns of phrase, and, it might be added, certain tricks of style like the double negative, the rhetorical question, and the antithetical phrase. The early stages of this language are well exhibited in such historical romances as the *Heike Monogatari* (*c.* 1200) and the *Taiheiki* (*c.* 1370). Both these works, and in particular the latter, may be regarded as the foundation of modern literary Japanese. Their language differs from that of the *monogatari* of the Heian period in several important respects. Owing to the influence of Sinico-Japanese, simplified forms take the place of the elaborate grammatical structure of, say, the *Genji* with its full apparatus of particles and termination ; and the vocabulary includes a very high proportion of Chinese words, many of which have not passed through

the colloquial but have been taken direct from Chinese literature, in particular from Buddhistic works.

It is hardly necessary to trace further the development of the Japanese written language until the Meiji period, nor indeed can it be satisfactorily done without study of original texts. In the foregoing pages I am conscious of having drawn somewhat too definitely the distinction between various styles. Language is a fluid thing, and one style can, of course, easily merge into another. Thus, though I have strongly contrasted the development of Classical Japanese and Sinico-Japanese, it is obvious that, except in their extreme purity, they must have had a mutual influence. But, subject to this reservation, I think that the main lines of development were substantially as stated above ; and they can be shown diagrammatically as follows :

Archaic Japanese Prose	Chinese Prose					5th century.
Early Classical Prose	Sinico-Japanese early medieval					8th century.
Classical Essays	Classical Epistles	Classical Romances	War tales	Epistolary style	Official Documents	10th to 14th centuries.
Neo-Classical Prose (obsolete)	Women's Letters (obsolescent)	Meiji Novels (obsolescent)	Ordinary Meiji Prose	Men's Letters (obsolescent)	Meiji Sinico-Japanese (obsolete)	15th to 19th centuries.

This table stops short at the Meiji period, because, from the second half of the nineteenth century, when Japan was thrown open to intercourse with the Western world, her language, in common with all her institutions, was subjected to a new set of influences, which are still operative. The later developments of Japanese therefore require separate treatment.

So far we have referred only in passing to the development of spoken Japanese, and confined ourselves to remarking that the colloquial has continuously exercised an influence upon the written language. There is good reason to believe,

as we have seen, that the medieval colloquial did not substantially differ from the prose of the medieval romances. But already in the days of the *monogatari* there are evidences of a divergence between spoken and written forms. The spoken language of the Middle Ages, if we are justified, as I believe we are, in assuming it to be similar to the written language of the *Genji*, had the following main characteristics :

1. The structure of the sentence was of the native Japanese type. Any statement, however complicated, forms one sentence whose members are grammatically interdependent. Thus, you do not say 'This egg is bad. I cannot eat it', but 'This egg, being bad, eat can not'. The less important words in a sentence precede the more important ones, so that adjective precedes noun, adverb precedes verb, our prepositions are in Japanese post-positions, and the verb is always the final element.

2. Moods, tenses, and similar aspects of the verb are expressed by the agglutination of suffixes, often forming compounds of considerable length and complexity. Thus, we have *kiku*, to hear, but *kikare-tarishi*, 'has been heard'.

   The number of these suffixes in classical Japanese was considerable, and the rules governing their use were complicated.

3. The vocabulary consisted chiefly of native words, of a polysyllabic type, and contained only a few words of Chinese origin, which had become naturalized by frequent use.

It is clear that this was a language diametrically opposed in almost every respect to Chinese. Japanese was polysyllabic and diffuse, Chinese was monosyllabic and brief. In Japanese the relations between words were indicated by a full system of particles and suffixes, in Chinese they were shown as a rule only by position ; tense, mood, &c., being expressed by special devices only where essential to prevent ambiguity. Japanese has few homophones which are likely to be confused, Chinese has many. In Japanese the order of words is the reverse of that in Chinese. It follows that

every approximation of the Japanese written language to the Chinese form involved a divergence between writing and speech in Japanese. We have seen that, at one time, the Japanese endeavoured, by writing in what we have called Sinico-Japanese, to force their written language into a Chinese mould ; but that, though this hybrid style managed to survive in a remarkable way, it did at last break down under the more vital influence of the colloquial. The fundamental structure of all but the most learned Sinico-Japanese was the structure of the native Japanese sentence. At the same time, the written language was able to incorporate in that structure a number of features belonging to Chinese which, for one reason or another, the spoken language did not require or could not assimilate. This is true of many idioms and of certain constructions ; but it is most apparent in the matter of vocabulary. We have seen that, from the earliest days of intercourse with China, the Japanese began to borrow Chinese words. This process continued on an increasing scale as they became better acquainted with Chinese things. But there is, in all languages, a natural limit to the absorption by the colloquial of imported words. The written language has a more powerful or a less fastidious digestion, and can assimilate almost anything that promises to be useful, while everyday speech will not take in an alien form until it has been thoroughly tested. Consequently there were many Chinese words which, though admitted in writing, were not current in ordinary conversation. Moreover, quite apart from this natural limitation, there was a special reason, and a very important one, why Chinese words, however useful in writing, could not be freely admitted into speech. Chinese contains an extraordinary number of homophones— words of the same sound but of different meanings. A great deal of Chinese syntax, and of such accidence as Chinese may be said to possess, is concerned with expressing distinctions between these homophones ; and these methods are supplemented by the use of tones. The Japanese, however, could not, *in speech*, imitate either the Chinese tones or the grammatical devices in question, and they were therefore unable to adopt into the colloquial as many Chinese words as they otherwise might have done. In writing, it was another matter, for each of a group of Chinese homophones had its

own symbol, about which there could be no mistake. Thus, as we have seen, though *fang* might mean either 'square' or 'to ask', there could be no question as to the respective meanings of 方 and 訪. It will be seen then that, making due allowance for the vitality of all spoken forms as compared with written ones, the influence of Chinese upon Japanese especially tended to differentiate the written from the spoken language.

Further, the spoken language itself has since the classical period, in addition to changes in vocabulary, undergone a development which has not been followed by the written language. In this case the divergence is due to the conservation by the written language of forms which the spoken language has gradually abandoned. It can be best explained by some simple examples. In the first place we have a difference brought about by phonetic changes, which is well illustrated by the adjectival terminations. In classical Japanese the adjective had an attributive and a predicative form, e. g. *yoki hito*, 'a good man', *hito wa yoshi*, 'the man is good'. In modern colloquial Japanese the distinction between attributive and predicative is dropped, and by phonetic change the form *yoki* becomes *yoi*, so that we now say both *yoi hito* and *hito wa yoi*. In the written language, however, the forms *yoki* and *yoshi* both persist. It will be noticed that this phenomenon is not entirely analogous to a change of pronunciation not accompanied by a change in spelling, which often occurs in English. Similarly, in classical Japanese, there were a large number of verb suffixes, expressing mood, tense, voice, &c. Many of these have become obsolete in the modern language, both spoken and written, but some while surviving in writing are no longer used in speech. Thus the tense suffix *tsu*, as in *yukitsu*, 'did go', is no longer used in speech, and only in deliberately old-fashioned writing. In colloquial its place has been taken by a suffix *ta*, as in *itta*, 'went', which is itself a corruption of *-tari*, and this survives in the written language only, as in *yukitari*, 'went' (which has become *ikitari*, *ikita*, and finally *itta* in colloquial). Similar examples might be almost indefinitely multiplied, but they can be found in their appropriate places in the body of this work. Here it is sufficient to say that, owing to the various considerations outlined

above, the spoken language, which in the tenth century was practically identical with the written language, had by the beginning of the Meiji period become so different from it as to involve for foreign students a separate study of each. The difference can be summarized by saying that the spoken language, by phonetic change and by simplification, lost a good deal of its agglutinative and synthetic character, while the written language retained most of the grammatical apparatus which the colloquial discarded.

The development of the language after the beginning of the Meiji period is still progressing, and it therefore behoves one to speak with reserve on this subject. Some interesting phases which became apparent from the middle of the nineteenth century are, however, worth notice. It may be said that, from the end of the Kamakura period, neither the written nor the spoken language underwent any special change due to alien influence. The spoken language followed the usual lines of phonetic change, as we have seen ; the written language was more conservative, and the tendency at the end of the eighteenth century was rather to neglect Chinese models and to revert to a pure classical style. Strangely enough, when Japan after 1850 began to adopt occidental culture, it was to China that she turned when she wished to find new words to name the new things and the new ideas with which she had become acquainted. Yet not so strange when one remembers the powerful advantages of the Chinese script. The Japanese might attempt to naturalize English words like 'railway' or 'electricity', but these could never be other than barbarous intruders ; they could never be written by means of the Chinese character ; and the limited resources of the *kana* could at best make of them some mutilated transcript like *reiruei* and *erekkuchirishichi*. It was far more convenient to borrow from China the compounds which had already been invented there to name these new things, 鐵 道 *tetsudō*, 'iron-road', for railway, and 電 氣 *denki*, 'lightning-spirit', for electricity. Thus we find that the Japanese language, throughout the nineteenth century, appropriated on an immense scale the Chinese vocabulary, and this while Japan was deliberately turning her back upon Chinese culture. It is a phenomenon not without parallel in Europe, where to name our modern

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discoveries, like the telephone and the vermiform appendix, we have resorted to the languages of Greece and Rome while steadily receding from their ways of thought. The effect of this tremendous influx of Chinese words upon the written, and to a less extent the spoken, language of Japan was almost revolutionary. The ordinary modern Japanese prose document, to quote Chamberlain, 'has scarcely anything Japanese about it save a few particles and the construction of the sentence', and the same is true, though not to the same extent, of all but the most familiar everyday speech. The frequency of Chinese homophones prevents their assimilation by the colloquial in such numbers as can be introduced in writing, for the ideograph speaks not to the ear but to the eye. Even so, the modern Japanese, in their daily intercourse, use many Chinese words and expressions which would have been all but unintelligible in speech a generation or so ago. The old *Wagakusha*, the native classical scholars of the type of *Motoori*—a now unhappily vanished school, sworn foes of Chinese learning—would have been shocked to hear and unlikely to understand young students discoursing about (for instance) *seiji-teki kwannen*, 'political consciousness', for not only are *seiji* and *kwannen* Chinese compounds, but *teki* is 的, a purely Chinese grammatical device unblushingly borrowed by modern Japan.

Though the nature of their script makes it difficult for the Japanese to embody in their language foreign words other than Chinese, there are a few, like *bata*, for butter, *bīru*, for beer, which have been thoroughly assimilated, and a number of terms, mostly technical, and mostly English, which are used more or less freely, sometimes alongside of, sometimes in preference to their Sinico-Japanese equivalents, which are not easily intelligible in speech. But generally speaking, the influence of European languages—in practice, one may say, the influence of English—has been more marked in phraseology than in separate units of the vocabulary. For many decades there has poured from Japanese presses a continuous flood of translations of English words, the daily newspapers are full of bald and almost literal renderings of press telegrams or similar news items, and it is (or it was a short time ago) fashionable to embellish one's conversation with scraps of English. Consequently, modern Japanese

prose, and even the talk of the educated classes, now contains not infrequent English phrases more or less effectively masked by literal translation, and very puzzling to the student in search of the pure native idiom. A curious feature of these borrowings is that, owing in part to the inflexible nature of Japanese syntax, it is chiefly through the medium of Sinico-Japanese that such alien forms are admitted into the language.

The above summarizes, I hope, with sufficient accuracy the important developments of the Japanese language until recent times. Its future growth is a matter of conjecture, and therefore beyond the scope of this work. The only features of interest which can be spoken of as definitely new are perhaps the modern habit—which seems to date from after the war with China in 1894–5—of forming new Chinese compounds without reference to Chinese practice ; and a strong tendency in periodicals and most books to use a style which approximates to the colloquial in many respects. This is called '*genbun itchi*', 'combination of speech and writing'. It is not so much a reproduction of colloquial as a simplification of the written language by abandoning the use of a number of terminations, particles, &c., and substituting for them colloquial forms. This development has been favoured by the spread of elementary education and the consequent growth of a great mass of popular literature in the shape of newspapers and magazines. There can be little doubt that this composite style will gradually replace for most literary purposes the specialized written language.

One question which must occur to all students of Far Eastern languages is, what will be the future of the Chinese characters ? Twenty or thirty years ago it seemed possible that the movement in favour of their abolition would succeed. To-day the tendency is not to abolish them, but to simplify and reduce them, by the disuse of redundant symbols and compounds. Complete abolition of the Chinese script would necessitate a complete revolution in the style and the content of the written language, for the written language has assumed its present form very largely under the influence of the script. It would render inaccessible to all but special students all previous Chinese and Japanese literature. It would, in the period of transition, disorganize

many departments of public and private affairs with which the written character is intimately associated. It would remove something which has certainly contributed to the beauty and interest of Oriental life. On the other hand, it may be argued, the introduction of a simple alphabet would force upon the written language a clarity and a balance in which it is now lacking, because the ideograph in itself is so tersely expressive that its users are apt to rely upon the visual appeal of symbols rather than the aural appeal of words—which are, after all, the true and ultimate elements of writing as well as speech. Further, the time which the Japanese now spend in learning to read and write by their own complicated system could be devoted to the study of Western words and Western things. Whether a knowledge of those words and things is worth the sacrifice it is for the East to determine.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

THE distinguishing feature of the substantive in Japanese is that it is uninflected. It cannot by itself express number or gender. It is brought into relation with other words by means of particles, through a process which may be regarded as agglutinative; or by means of the appropriate inflexions of those words; or by mere juxtaposition. Thus, taking the substantive *otoko*, 'a man', it is brought into relation with

(1) other nouns and verbs, by means of particles, as in

> *otoko no te*   a man's hand
> *otoko wo miru*   to see a man
> *otoko ni yaru*   to give to a man

(2) adjectives, by means of their appropriate inflexion,

> *yoki otoko*   a good man

(3) verbs, often by means of simple juxtaposition,

> *otoko tatsu*   a man stands

but, where precision demands it, by means of a particle, as in

> *otoko ga meshi wo taberu*   the man eats rice

It follows that the history of the substantive in Japanese has been not a development of significant form but merely a growth of vocabulary. Vocabulary is not within the scope of this work, but reference will be made later to the methods by which it has been increased, notably by the formation of compounds and by the importation of Chinese words. It is, however, appropriate to mention here that practically all Chinese words are imported in the form of substantives, as is to be expected in view of the fact that the Chinese language does not differentiate between parts of speech, any word being able as a general rule to perform any grammatical function. Thus 愛 *ai*, which in Chinese can stand for either 'love', 'to love' or 'loving', becomes in Japanese the substantive *ai*.

From this can be constructed a verb, *ai-suru*, 'to love', while in combination it can serve as an adjective, as in *aishi*, 愛 子 'a beloved child'.

There is one special characteristic of the Japanese language which it is convenient to describe in treating of the substantive. Japanese, even in its modern form, seems to retain vestiges of a condition in which there was imperfect differentiation of grammatical categories. The Indo-European languages have formal grammatical categories corresponding to certain psychological categories—word-classes, such as nouns, corresponding to the psychological category 'thing'; verbs, corresponding to the psychological category 'action' or 'state'; and adjectives, corresponding to the psychological category 'property'. In Japanese, either the psychological category is not fully differentiated, or the correspondence between grammatical and psychological categories is incomplete. The substantival or noun category seems to be the primary one and to have been retained in some cases where, in other languages, new categories have developed. This feature is difficult to explain, precisely because of its psychological aspect; but the following illustrations may serve to make it clear.

1. The typical form of a simple statement comprising subject and predicate in modern colloquial Japanese is shown in *otoko ga tatsu* = the man stands. Here functionally *tatsu* is a verb, but historically it is a substantive, and the formal equivalent of the sentence in English is 'standing of man'.

2. Relations expressed in English by prepositions are usually conveyed in Japanese by means of substantives. Thus *ue* is a noun expressing the idea 'above'. To translate 'above the clouds' we must say *kumo no ue ni*, lit. 'at the above of the clouds'. There is a considerable group of words of this nature, of which we may mention:

mae, before	as in	*tera no mae ni*, 'before the temple'
nochi, after	,,	*jishin no nochi ni*, 'after the earthquake'
uchi, inside	,,	*hako no uchi ni*, 'inside the box'
shita, below	,,	*hashi no shita ni*, 'below the bridge'

3. A number of adverbs in Japanese are formally nouns. Thus *ima* = the present, and is used as the equivalent of 'now', as in *ima mairimasu*, 'I am coming now', where it is an adverb, though in *ima no yo*, 'the present day', it is a noun.

Sometimes these words require the aid of a particle before

they can function as adverbs. The word *koko* is historically a noun, = 'this place'. It serves as the equivalent of the adverb 'here', e. g. in *koko ni oru*, 'he is here'.

4. As will be seen later, both predicative and attributive words in Japanese have special substantival forms or substantival uses of other forms. *Yoki* in *yoki otoko*, 'a good man', is an adjective ; but in *ashiki wo sute yoki wo toru*, 'to reject the good and take the bad', the words *ashiki* and *yoki* are nouns. In *tori naku*, 'birds sing', *naku* is a verb, but in *tori no naku wo kikazu*, 'he does not hear the birds singing', it is a noun. What are called the stems of verbs and adjectives can usually stand alone, and function as nouns. Thus, the stem *aka* of the adjective *akaki*, 'red', in such a phrase as *aka no momohiki*, 'red drawers', is a noun, used attributively. It represents the idea of the quality 'redness' rather than of the attribute 'red'—the concept of a thing is not fully differentiated from the concept of a state. Similarly *mi*, the stem of the verb *miru*, 'to see', is a substantive in *mi ni yuku*, 'to go to see', or in *hanami*, 'flower-viewing'.

Since, apart from the considerations mentioned above, the substantive in Japanese has undergone, as such, no marked change, there remain to be treated under this heading only the specialized classes of substantive, Pronouns and Numerals.

THE PRONOUN

One acquainted only with modern Japanese would suppose that the language contained no true personal pronouns but only a number of periphrastic forms. In the Nara period, however, the following personal pronouns are found :

1st person	**a, are, wa, ware**	
2nd person	**na, nare**	
3rd person	(? **shi**)	

These are the only exclusively personal pronouns. The following are instances of their use :

A and *WA*

a ga se (K.)	my lover
a ga kau koma (N.)	the colt which I keep
wa ga futari neshi (K.)	we two slept together

It will be noticed that in the above examples the pronoun is associated with the possessive particle *ga*, and can in each case be regarded as a possessive pronoun. It can be found in association with other particles, as in

wa wo shinuburashi (M.)	she seems to love me
wa ni yosori (M.)	depending upon me
nemo to wa ha 'mou (M.)	I think I shall sleep

But it is doubtful whether *a* or *wa* ever stood alone (i. e. without particle) as the subject of a verb. I have only seen one instance quoted, and this is doubtful. The fact is that the verb in Japanese is neutral as to person. *Yuku* as a predicative form can be translated by 'I go', 'we go', 'you go', 'he goes', 'it goes', or 'they go'. The subject is not expressed except where necessary to prevent ambiguity, and this characteristic must be borne in mind when considering the development of the pronoun in Japanese. It naturally leads one to expect possessive forms more frequently than nominative.

In what are presumably the very earliest extant specimens of the language, the poems in the *Kojiki*, and the *Nihongi*, *a* is found in direct association with nouns. E. g. in *adzuma*, 'my wife', *ago*, 'my child', *ase*, 'my spouse', *aki*, 'my dear'; but such forms do not persist.

Are, unlike *a*, is found standing alone as a subject. Thus:

<p style="text-align:center;">*are kaerikomu* (M.)   I will return</p>

while, on the other hand, it is not found associated with the particle *ga*. There does not appear to be any difference in meaning between *a* and *are*, and it is to be assumed that *are* is substituted for purposes of euphony only. The element *re* is possibly cognate with *ra*, a suffix to which in its earliest uses no definite meaning can be assigned (*v.* under Formation of Words, p. 295).

Without going into details, it may be stated that *wa* and *ware* are equivalent to *a* and *are* respectively. Such evidence as is available indicates that *a* and *are* are prior forms. They are now obsolete, but *wa* survives in the modern language in the possessive form *waga* = my. *Ware* is in fairly common use, though it cannot be said to represent the personal pronoun 'I'. By a curious semantic development it has come,

with *waga*, to have a certain reflective value. The redupli-
cated form *wareware* is freely used = 'we'.

NA and *NARE*. These form a pair similar to *a* and *are*.
Examples of their earliest use are :

na koso ha wo ni imaseba (K.)	since thou art a man (*ha* is the separative particle, *wo* = 'man')
nare mo are mo (M.)	thou and I both
nare narikeme ya (N.)	was it thou perchance ?

Some curious combinations of *na* with nouns, analogous to
ase, *ago*, &c., cited above, were in use in the Nara period :
nase = 'thou-brother', *nabito* = 'thou-person', *nane* = 'thou-
sister', *naoto* = ' thou younger brother'. They seem to have
been terms of affection, or perhaps had a certain honorific
value. A similar compound is *namuchi*, presumably derived
from *na* and *muchi* or *mutsu* (gentle), which gave rise to the
form *nanji* (through *namuji*), in common use in the later
language as a pronoun = 'thou', with a plural *nanjira*, 'ye'.

There is no trace of a pronoun of the third person, unless
shi (*v. infra*) may be regarded as such.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

In the Nara period we find

ko and **kore** = this
so, sore, ka, kare, and **shi** } = that

KO is found alone, as in *ko shi yoroshi* (K.), ' this indeed is
good ' (*shi* here is an emphatic particle). But it is usually
combined with the particle *no*, in the form *kono*, which sub-
sists in the modern language as the equivalent of the demon-
strative adjective ' this '. Thus, *kono yamamichi* (M.), ' this
mountain road ', *kono miki* (K.), ' this wine '. A number of
compounds are formed by the aid of *ko*, such as *kotoshi*,
' this year ', *koyoi*, ' to-night ', *koko*, ' here ', *kochi*, ' hither '.

KORE bears the same relation to *ko* as *are* to *a*. It has sur-
vived in the modern language as the dem. pronoun ' this '.

SO and *SORE* are parallel with *ko* and *kore*, except in minor
details. *So* gives rise to the forms *sono*, the dem. adj. ' that ',

soko, ' there ', &c., and *sore* survives as the dem. pronoun, ' that '.

KA and *KARE* resemble *so* and *sore*, but seem to be somewhat later forms. In the texts of the Nara period they do not appear with such frequency as the latter. The difference in meaning between them is best explained by stating that *sono* represents a position intermediate between *kono* and *kano*, *kano* being applied to more distant, *sono* to less distant objects.

SHI seems to have been identical in meaning with *so*, except that, unlike *so*, it appears at times to act as a personal pronoun, as in :

shi ga mōshishiku (Res.)	as he said
tsubaki . . . shi ga hana . . .	the camellia, its flowers
shi ga ha (N.)	. . . its leaves

By the end of the Nara period *shi* is already obsolescent.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

These are **ta** and **tare** = ' who ? ' **nani** = ' what ? ' and **itsu,** ' which ? ' Examples of their use are :

ta ga tame ni (M.)	for whose sake ?
tare ni misemu (M.)	to whom shall I show . . . ?
nani wo ka omowamu (M.)	what shall I think ?
itsue (M.)	in which direction ?

These pronouns are frequently but not necessarily used with the interrogative particle *ka* to complete the sentence, as in *tare ni misemu ka*, ' to whom shall I show it ? '

TA and *TARE* require no special comment. *Tare* has survived in the modern language, usually taking the form *dare*.

NANI is an interesting example of imperfect differentiation. In the two sentences quoted above it clearly means ' what ? ', but in many cases it is equivalent to ' how ? ' or ' why ? ', and there is good reason to believe that this *na* was more in the nature of an adverb than a pronoun, and has given rise to the forms *nani* and *nado*, both originally meaning ' how ' and both adverbs.

ITSU should, by analogy with *wa*, *ka*, *so*, and *na*, be accompanied by a form *itsure*. This is the case, but *itsu* has diverged from *itsure* in signification. Where *itsu* occurs alone (without agglutinated suffix) it refers to time only, and has the specialized meaning 'when ?'. Thus :

itsu made ka (M.)	until when ?
itsu mo itsu mo (M.)	always, always (= every when)

but in such combinations as *itsuku* (where?), *itsuchi*, *itsushi*, *itsue* (whither ?) it refers to place, and *itsure* retains the character of a pronoun and means simply 'which'. Examples :

itsuku ni itaru (K.)	which place does he reach ?
itsuchi mukite (M.)	facing whither ?
itsue no kata ni (M.)	in which direction ?
itsura to towaba (M.)	if you ask whereabouts ?
itsure no hi made (M.)	until which day ?

It is clear that the element common to each, *itsu*, must originally have had the meaning 'which', and its development of the special meaning 'when' can perhaps be accounted for by the specialization of *nani* as 'what' and *itsure* as 'which'.

In the later language the above forms develop as follows :

idzure,	mod. colloquial	*dore*	= which ?
idzuku,	,,	*doko*	= where ?
idzuchi,	,,	*dochi*	= where ?
idzura,	,,	*dochira*	= whereabouts ?
itsu,	,,	*itsu*	= when ?
nani,	,,	*nani*	= what ?
nazo, nado	,,	*naze*	= why ?
ta, tare	,,	*dare, donata*	= who ?

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

These are formed from the Interrogative Pronouns by the addition of one of the particles *mo* and *ka*. Thus, *tare ka ga kita* = 'some one has come', although *tare ga kita ka* = 'who has come ?' *Dare ka ga kita ka* would be 'Has any one come ?' Similarly *tare mo konai* = 'nobody comes', *nani mo shiranai* = 'does not know anything'.

Such is the position with regard to pronouns in the Nara period. Even prior to that period we may assume almost with certainty there existed a fairly complete set of specialized pronominal forms. They may be represented schematically as follows :

Pronouns at beginning of Nara Period.

	1.	2.	3.
Personal	*a, are* *wa, ware*	*na, nare*	(*shi*)
Demonstrative	*ko, kore*	*so, sore*	*ka, kare*
Interrogative		*ta, tare* *itsu, itsure* *nani*	

If we compare this list with a list of pronouns used in modern Japanese, we find a curious phenomenon. The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns have survived with very little change, the personal pronouns have almost completely vanished. It is interesting to trace the development of the language in this respect between the two periods. Already in the Nara period we find substitutes for simple personal pronouns in the shape of honorific appellations or humble terms, such as *mimashi* = thou, which is apparently composed of the honorific prefix *mi* and *mashi*, meaning 'to dwell', 'to exist' (in space), and conveys some such idea as 'august being'. We have also *imashi*, and even *mashi* without prefix (*mashi mo are mo* (M.), 'thou and I') as well as *kimi* (= lord) and *namuchi* (*v.* above), all equivalent to 'thou'. There is further a form *wake*, of obscure origin, which appears to mean both 'I' and 'thou'.

Not infrequent examples of these forms are to be found in the *Rescripts* and the *Manyōshū*. In subsequent periods the function of pronouns is performed by a double process— the free use of honorific or humble appellations and the development of an intricate system of honorific and humble verb forms. It is impossible in considering this phenomenon to distinguish between cause and effect, to say whether the tendency to dispense with personal pronouns resulted from a preference for honorific forms or whether the personal pronouns disappeared for other reasons and were perforce re-

placed by honorific forms. The first seems the most likely process. There are no signs of atrophy in the personal pronouns in the earlier texts—on the contrary, they were developing new forms, as has been indicated above—but the language in use at the centre of culture, the Court at Nara, tended to be ceremonious and extravagant, and it was this language which furnished a standard, through being recorded in collections of verse and magniloquent documents like the Imperial Rescripts. But even in the almost primitive verses of the *Kojiki* there are already instances of honorific verb forms, as, for instance, the use of causative forms like *tatasu* as honorific substitutes for the simple form *tatsu* (*v.* under *su*, verb suffixes, p. 165). Underlying these tendencies is doubtless some characteristic which might be explained on grounds of racial psychology. This, however, is a question which may be left to specialists in that distressing study.

Whatever its causes, the development of the process outlined above, through the Heian period on to the present day, provides interesting material, and I therefore sketch it briefly, as follows.

In the Heian period *a* and *are* are practically obsolete, *wa* survives only in the possessive form *waga*, but *ware* is frequent. Meanwhile the word *watakushi* comes into use. Its original meaning is something like 'private' (not 'selfishness' as is often said), as can be seen from

watakushi ni mo ito koso   inwardly was much rejoiced
   ureshikere

but later it developed the meaning of 'I', and it is the standard form in the modern colloquial.

Na and *nare* fall out of use and are replaced by *nanji* (= *namuchi*) and *kinji* (presumably = *kimi muchi*) as pronouns of the second person.

In the third person we find some of the demonstrative pronouns, alone or in combination, acting as personal pronouns. Thus:

    so ga iikeraku (Tosa Nikki)   he said

and a number of cases where such compounds as *sonata* (= *sono kata*, 'that side'), *soko* ('there'), by a slight shift of meaning come to signify persons and not places, acting as pronouns of the second, and even of the third person. *Kare*

in particular frequently stands for 'he', and this usage has survived until the present day in the written language. E. g.

kare ga mōsamu koto In ni sōseyo (Yamato Mono.)	report to His Majesty what he says
kare wa tare zo (Gen.)	who is he ?

In this period we find *are*, a demonstrative form, not to be confused with *are* = 'I', used in the same way as *kare*, as in

   are wa nani koto iū zo (Mak.)   what does he say ?

and *are* is still used in the modern colloquial in this sense, somewhat impolitely.

The substitution of demonstrative pronouns (or compounds thereof) indicating position for personal pronouns proceeded apace. By the period of the Heike Monogatari we find

so, sore, soko, sonata	= 2nd person
are	= 2nd and 3rd person
kare	= 3rd person

and later we find *konata*, 3rd person, as well as *anata*, 2nd person. This last form is the one which survives in the modern colloquial.

Certain anomalies will be noticed in the employment of these forms. They arise from the fact that the demonstrative pronouns express three ideas as to position, viz. *ko*, this here, *so*, that there (near), and *ka*, that there (distant). Consequently 'this person here' may be used for the speaker as well as for a third person who is present ; 'that person there' may be used for the person addressed, or for a third person, whether present or absent. The substitute forms are, in fact, vague and unsatisfactory except where there is a clear linguistic context, or what has been called a 'situation context'. Partly no doubt on this account another group of substitutes came into use. Those like *kimi* and *nanji* have already been mentioned. They are honorifics or perhaps terms of affection. After the Nara period they increase in numbers. We find such forms as *wagimi* (approximately = 'my lord'), *wanushi* ('my master'), *wabito* ('my man') for the second person ; *omae* (honorific and 'front'), *gozen* 御 前 and *gohen* 御 邊 (the two latter being of Chinese origin), where the second person is expressed by a reference to posi-

tion.   There are also special forms representing the first
person, such as *maro* 丸, which developed an honorific sense,
and *chin*, the Imperial 'we', imported from China (朕).

The substitution for personal pronouns of periphrastic
forms denoting position is very characteristic of Japanese.
It seems to arise from a kind of tabu, which discourages
direct address or direct reference to a person, particularly
a person in a superior rank.   The most familiar example is
the word *mikado* = 'august gate', for the Emperor, but
everyday speech furnishes abundant illustration of the same
tendency.   Thus a husband refers to his wife as *kanai* (inside
the house), a wife to her husband as *taku* (the house) ; the
usual equivalent for 'Mr.' is *dono*, 'a (large) building', and
so on.   It is difficult to say to what extent this habit is
derived from Chinese usage.   Certainly in the *Kojiki* the
most august and even divine personages are freely mentioned
by name.   Such elegant appellations as *denka* 殿 下 (lit.
'under the pavilion') for 'Highness', *kakka* 閣 下 (lit. 'under
the council chamber') for 'Excellency', *kiden* 貴 殿 (lit.
'respected pavilion') for 'you', are of Chinese provenance.
It should be noticed by the way that forms like *denka* can
stand both for second and third person—His Highness as
well as Your Highness.

It is unnecessary to enumerate more of these forms.   One
need only state that they are exceedingly numerous, and
many were but ephemeral.   They came into fashion at one
period and vanished at another.   But the habit of using
periphrastic substitutes for the personal pronoun has per-
sisted, so that in modern Japanese a great number of
equivalent forms are in use.   Thus, instead of the simple
pronouns of the early Nara period, we now have

1st person. **Watakushi, ware, temae** ('before the hand', a
     humble word), **boku** (= 'servant', in common use),
     sessha (= clumsy person), **gojin** (吾 人), **waga hai** (lit.
     my companions, but used = 'I' as well as 'we'), and
     several others.

2nd person. **Anata, kimi, kikun, kiden, kisama, omae,
     onore,** of varying degrees of politeness.

3rd person. **Are, ano hito** ('that person'), **kano hito, kano jo**
     ('that woman', in written language = 'she'), **ano kata**,
     &c.

It is important to remember that, in Japanese, sentences can easily be constructed where, owing to the existence of special honorific locutions, the personal pronoun can be omitted without ambiguity. It may indeed be stated that a typical Japanese sentence does not include a personal pronoun, and where one is used it generally has an emphatic value. Thus:

> *irasshaimasu ka*   are you going?
> *mairimasu*   I am going

The use of honorific or humble verbs dispenses with the need for a pronoun, and if pronouns are used, as in *anata irasshaimasu ka*, the sentence is better translated in an emphatic way—'Are *you* going?'

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

What has been written above applies *mutatis mutandis* to the possessive pronouns. The earliest forms are those like *aga*, *waga* ('my'), &c., which have already been discussed. Where nouns are used periphrastically as personal pronouns, their possessive forms are naturally constructed in the ordinary way, by means of the possessive particles *no* and *ga*; so that, for instance, for 'my hat' we must say *watakushi no bōshi*, 'your hat', *anata no bōshi*, and so on, with the reservation that pronouns are not used where there is no fear of ambiguity. Thus, though *kimi wa kasa wo wasureta ka* is literally 'Have you forgotten umbrella?', unless there is in the context evidence to the contrary the sentence means 'Have you forgotten your umbrella?' To say *kimi no kasa* would be superfluous. Indeed, in most cases the unemphatic use of a personal pronoun or a possessive pronoun is a solecism in Japanese.

Parallel with the use of honorific words as substitutes for personal pronouns is the use of honorific prefixes or similar locutions instead of possessive pronouns. To take the simplest and most frequent case, that of the honorific prefix *o* or *on*: where this is prefixed to a noun its value can usually be given in translation by a possessive pronoun. Thus *o kao ga akai*, 'your face is red', or, if a third person is being respectfully referred to, 'his face is red'. Similarly *o taku* is 'your house', *o ko sama* 'your children', and so on.

For epistolary use, or in ceremonious language, a number of more elaborate locutions are available—mostly of Chinese origin. Thus, while I write of 'my wife' as *gusai* or *keisai*, a stupid or a rustic spouse, I refer to your wife as 'Interior Madam' (*okusama*). My father is plain 'father', yours is a 'stern prince' (*genkun*). My house is a wretched hovel, yours is a splendid palace. Many of these hyperbolic expressions are of course stilted and fantastic, but a number of them have by frequent usage lost their explicit honorific character, and are merely stereotyped forms with primarily grammatical functions. It is obvious, for instance, that when a commercial company in its advertisements or its correspondence styles itself *heisha*, 'a broken-down concern', it does not expect to be taken literally.

Though it has been stated that honorific forms act as substitutes for personal pronouns, it must not be assumed that honorifics and personal pronouns represent exactly the same psychological category. It is more accurate to say that the presence or absence of honorific or humble forms, in most contexts, allows the speaker to dispense with personal or possessive pronouns ; and by 'context' here must be understood not only the verbal context but the situation context. Thus, *o tegami*, standing alone, means 'a respected letter'. It may, according to context, mean the letter of the person addressed, i. e. 'your letter', or the letter of some third person to whom respect is due, i. e. 'his letter'. It may even, by an extension of the application of the honorific, refer to a letter which I have written to you, and which, owing to its respectable destination, is mentioned with the respect due to its recipient. An extreme case of this sort is furnished by such a common phrase as *o jama itashimashita*, which is the equivalent of 'Pardon me for having disturbed you'. Literally, *o jama* is an 'honourable obstacle', but it is honourable only in so far as it affects an honourable person.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

These do not exist in Japanese. Their purpose is served by a special attributive form of the verb, as *homuru hito*, 'a man who praises', where *homuru* is the attributive form of *homu*.

THE NUMERAL

The numerals in use before the introduction of Chinese were as follows :

1	*hitotsu*	8	*yatsu*
2	*futatsu*	9	*kokonotsu*
3	*mitsu*	10	*to*, and *so* in combinations
4	*yotsu*	20	*hatachi*
5	*itsutsu*	100	*momo*, and *ho* in combinations
6	*mutsu*	1,000	*chi*
7	*nanatsu*	10,000	*yorodzu*

These are substantival forms, which appear in combination without the element *tsu*. Thus, *miso* = 30, *iho* = 500, *yao* (*yaho*) = 800, *misoji* = 30,000, *mitose* = three years, *yata* = eight-handed.

The intermediate numbers were formed on the model *to-amari hitotsu*, 'one more than ten' = eleven.

The system was evidently cumbrous and, in the higher numbers, vague. The number *yatsu*, for instance, is apparently cognate with the word *iya*, which appears in the Nara period as an intensive prefix meaning 'very' or 'much'. *Ya* with its compounds is used to signify simply a large number. Thus *yao yorodzu no kami*, literally 'the 800,000 gods', means the 'multitudinous gods', and similarly *u wo yatsu kadzuke* (M.) is 'keeping many cormorants'. But numbers like 8, and its multiples in thousands, occur frequently in Buddhist literature, and the use of *ya* in the sense of 'many' may be derived from this source.

Naturally the Chinese numerals were found more convenient, and in many cases they drove the Japanese forms completely out of use. There are, however, some curious survivals and anomalies. These cannot all be specified here, being matters for lexical treatment, but the following are typical examples.

The native numerals from one to ten remain in use, as substantives. The higher numbers are obsolete, except that *yorodzu* is still used, in the sense of 'universal', 'all'. Thus *yorodzu no hito* conveys the idea 'all people', 'everybody'. As attributives these numerals appear in compounds such as *futsuka*, 'two days' or 'the second' (of the month) ; *mikka*,

'the third', and so on. These are compounds with pure Japanese words and as a general rule Chinese numerals must be used with words of Chinese origin. Thus we have *futari* and *ninin* for 'two persons', *miiro* and *sanshu* for 'three sorts'; while *sannen*, 'three years', has driven out of use the original Japanese form *mitose*.

An instance of 'tabu' is provided by forms like *yonin*, 'four persons', where we should expect *shinin*, since *yo* is Japanese and *nin* is Chinese. But *shi* in such connexions is avoided, because it is homophonous with *shi*, 'death'.

A special feature of the language is the use of what are called 'Auxiliary Numerals'. These correspond to such words as 'head', 'sail', in 'two head of cattle', 'five sail of ships', but the usage is much more extended in Japanese than in English. The auxiliary numerals are both native and Chinese. The following are typical illustrations of their employment.

otoko yottari (or *yonin*)	four men
katana hito furi	one sword
koromo yokasane	four sets of clothing
fune shichi sō	seven ships
nimotsu san ko	three pieces of baggage
kami ni mai	three pieces of paper

The difference between this usage and the corresponding idiom in English is not only a matter of frequency. In Japanese there is as a rule [1] no alternative locution. When an auxiliary numeral exists its use is obligatory. Though we can say 'seven ships' instead of 'seven sail', we cannot say *shichi fune* or *nana fune*.

The term Auxiliary Numeral is convenient but inaccurate. The words in question are in no sense numerals, nor are they even measures of number or quantity like the words 'pair' and 'pound'. Numeral Auxiliaries would be more correct, but 'classifiers' is adequate. Their use can be perhaps better

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[1] There are some exceptions, e. g. *go yen*, 'five yen', *futa ma*, 'two rooms'. But even here *yen* and *ma* may themselves be regarded as standing for categories rather than things, and therefore on the same footing as classifiers. Thus for 'two bedrooms' one would say *shinshitsu futa ma*, while in accounts, &c., one often finds for, say, 'five yen', *kin go yen*, which means 'money five units of yen'. If the speaker wishes to refer to the coins themselves, he uses a classifier, as in *jūyen kinkwa go mai*, '5 gold ten-yen pieces'.

understood if one remembers that even the earliest and simplest forms of numerals in Japanese contain an element corresponding to these specialized numerative words. Thus *hitotsu*, *futatsu*, &c., can be resolved into numeral plus an auxiliary suffix *tsu* = 'piece', and the idiom requires *mono hitotsu*, 'thing one piece', and not *hito mono*, for 'one thing'. Similarly *onna futari*, 'woman two persons', for 'two women', and not *futa onna*. The suffix *tsu* appears also in the word *ikutsu*, 'how many'. The use of classifiers such as *mai*, *furi*, *hon*, *kasane*, &c., follows not unnaturally from the use of *tsu*.

It is probable that the free use of such classifiers in Japanese developed under Chinese influence. There is little trace of them in the Nara period. We find, however,

> *chi*, doubtless cognate with *tsu*, as in
> > *misochi amari futatsu no kata-*   thirty-two images
> > *chi* (Bussoku-seki)
>
> *ri*, as in *hitari* (mod. *hitori*), one person, *futari*, two persons
> *ka*, meaning days, as in *futsuka*, 'two days', *nanuka*,
> > 'seven days', *momoka*, 'a hundred days'.
>
> *hashira*, meaning 'pillar', applied to persons, but chiefly
> > to gods, as in
> > *yohashira no kami* (Rituals)   four gods

In Chinese the classifiers serve an important purpose in that they help to differentiate homophones. Though *shan* in Chinese means both 'shirt' and 'mountain', the use of the appropriate classifier in each case, *tso*, 'a site', for mountains, and *kien*, 'an article of clothing', for shirts, helps to prevent ambiguity in cases where shirts might be mistaken for mountains. In pure Japanese this reason for using classifiers does not hold good ; but since as a rule the numerals themselves, and a large part of the vocabulary in Japanese, are of Chinese origin, it is to be expected that Chinese usage in regard to numerals would be followed in a large number of cases.

ORDINAL NUMERALS

Japanese has no specialized ordinal numerals. In the native language there is a suffix, *me* (an eye, division, mark on a scale), used in composition with numerals, as in

> *migi yori mitsu me*   the third from the right

but its use is limited. A common method of describing position in a series is to make use of locutions containing one or more of the Chinese words *dai* 第 (step, order), *ban* 番 (number), or *go* 號 (mark), as in

> *dai ichi*
> *ichi ban*
> *ichi go* } all meaning 'number one', or 'first'.
> *dai ichi ban*
> *dai ichi go*

With these, sometimes adding *me*, the idea of order can be conveyed. E. g.:

samban me no ki	the third tree
dai san sha	a third person
dai hachi go kwan	building no. 8
dai ku rentai	the ninth regiment

Very often, however, the idea is expressed merely by juxtaposition, as in

mikka	the third day (of the month)
ni gwatsu jūichi nichi	the 11th of the 2nd month
kempō no nijūhachi jō	Article 28 of the Constitution

It must be remembered that the absence of a classifier is significant in such cases. Thus, if we say *nijūhachi ka jō*, using the classifier *ka* (個), the meaning is 'twenty-eight articles; *nigwatsu* means February, but *nikagetsu* = 2 months; and the omission of *ka* shows that order is intended. It is usual, however, for the sake of precision, to use the word *dai*, as in *Dai nijūhachi jō*, 'Article No. 28'.

MEANS OF EXPRESSING NUMBER IN THE SUBSTANTIVE

The substantive in Japanese is neutral as to number. There are, however, various suffixes by means of which number can be expressed. These are:

tachi, applied to nouns signifying living things. Thus:

mikotachi omitachi momo tsu-kasa no hito tachi (Res.)	princes, nobles, and all officers of state
imashi tachi (Res.)	you

tomo, domo. Usually of persons. (It means 'companion'):

kodomo omohoyu (M.)	I think of my children
ashiki yatsu domo (Res.)	bad fellows

ra, applied to persons:

otomera (M.), 'maidens'	*kora* (M.), 'children'

kata, ġata, applied to persons. It means 'side'. It does not appear in the earliest texts, but is frequent in the medieval language, as, for example, in *onnagata*, 'women', *anatagata*, 'you'.

All the above forms have survived and are in common use to-day. In addition there is the Chinese word *tō* 等 'a class', and its equivalent in pure Japanese, *nado*, which have rather the meaning of *et cetera*. It is only incidentally that *tō* and *nado* form plurals.

It is important to notice that, since number is not expressed in Japanese except for special reasons, most so-called plural forms have special meanings. This is particularly true of those forms constructed by duplication, which must not be regarded simply as elementary plural forms. For example, though *tokidoki* means 'times', it also conveys the idea of 'from time to time'; *kuniguni* means 'various provinces', *yamayama koete* means not merely 'crossing mountains' but 'crossing mountain after mountain'. Similarly *samazama no miage* is 'various kinds of presents', and *kokorogokoro ni asobi* is 'playing according to their respective tastes'. The forms composed with the aid of the suffixes mentioned above often convey a meaning which is not solely concerned with number. An interesting example is the word *kodomo*, 'child', which in modern Japanese has no special plural significance, and can take a further plural suffix, as in *kodomora, kodomotachi*, showing that the suffix *domo* (= *tomo*) expresses the idea of a group or class rather than of number. In a modern colloquial sentence such as *watakushi domo ni wa wakarimasenu*, the pronoun stands for 'I' rather than 'we', the translation of *watakushi domo* being 'the likes of me'. The word *tomodachi*, 'friend', seems to be another example. It has no plural significance, though *dachi* is no doubt *tachi*, usually regarded as a plural suffix. There is an obsolete word *dochi*, 'a companion', which is probably cognate with *tachi*, so that here again we seem to have a plural suffix denoting class rather than number.

The fact is that the Japanese noun denotes a true universal, like 'man' in 'man is mortal', which includes both 'a man' and 'men'. Inconvenience rarely results from the lack of specialized plural forms in Japanese. There is ambiguity to the extent that, when translating from Japanese into English, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a singular or a plural form is required, but this is not a fair test. The criterion is whether the original sentence withholds essential information.

PREDICATIVE WORDS

WHAT are here classified as predicative words are those which, though they can perform various grammatical functions, have this one characteristic in common to distinguish them from all other words in Japanese, that they can form the predicate of a grammatical proposition without the assistance of a copula.

They are roughly divisible into two classes, those which predicate properties, namely, the Adjectives, and those which predicate acts or states, namely, the Verbs. Thus, in the sentence

<div style="text-align:center">ishi otsu   stones fall</div>

the act or state of falling, and in the sentence

<div style="text-align:center">ishi katashi   stones are hard</div>

the property of hardness, is predicated of stones.

It will be at once apparent that the adjective here acts in precisely the same way as the verb. It is in fact a special characteristic of the Japanese language that verb and adjective have many features in common. They show more resemblances than contrasts. They are the only inflected parts of speech, and by means of a scheme of inflexions each can fulfil uses other than predicative uses. Not only can the verb act as an adjective and the adjective as a verb, but both can act as substantive or adverb. It would indeed be quite in accordance with the structure of the language to treat the verb and adjective as one part of speech, and this is the method followed by many Japanese grammarians, who classify them together as *yōgen* (用 言), meaning 'use-words', or *hataraki-kotoba*, 'work-words'. These are peculiarly appropriate names, for they describe the words which, as might be expected from a class of inflected words in an otherwise uninflected language, serve the most important and varied purposes.

What difference exists between verb and adjective is one of degree and not of kind. It lies in the fact that, while

the verb is capable of all the uses of the adjective, it has certain capacities that the adjective does not fully share. It is therefore convenient, after describing the features which they have in common, to treat them separately in detail ; but it cannot be made too clear that this division rests on expediency and not on any fundamental distinction between the two groups as to function.

As stated above, predicative words can assume a variety of forms. The inflexional process by which these forms are obtained may be termed the Simple Conjugation of verbs and adjectives. This conjugation is of an entirely different nature from the conjugation or declension of words in European languages. In English, for instance, the forms *break*, *breaks*, *breaking*, *broken*, *broke* carry implications of tense, voice, and mood, to say nothing of number and person. In Japanese the simple conjugation in all its forms is the notation of a simple concept, whether of an action or a property or a state, which is not limited or extended by any considerations of time or mode. The simple conjugation, in other words, does not, except incidentally, produce variations in meaning, but only conventional variations in form, by means of which one concept may in speech be brought into relation with other concepts. The form *tabu*, for instance, is the special predicative form of the notation in Japanese of the concept 'eating', and the words *tori tabu* merely predicate 'eat' of 'bird', and are concerned with no other relation. Consequently they may, according to context, represent 'the bird eats', 'the bird ate', 'the bird will eat', or 'the birds eat', 'the birds ate', or 'the birds will eat'. In a like way, *taburu* is a special attributive form. The termination *ru* does not diminish or enlarge the meaning, but simply gives to the word the conventional form by which an attributive relation is expressed. So that *taburu tori* may mean the bird or birds which eat, or ate, or will eat, and also the bird or birds which is, or are, or was, or were, or will be, eaten. Similar considerations apply to all forms of the simple conjugation. They do not by themselves express conditions of time, mood, or voice. Under all conditions the verb and the adjective are neutral as to person, number, and gender.

When precision as to other aspects is required, that is to

say, when it is desired to elaborate the simple idea expressed by the simple conjugation, this is done by affixing auxiliary words or terminations to the appropriate forms of that conjugation. The scheme of compound forms thus obtained is described hereafter as the Compound Conjugation of verb and adjective. Thus, by affixing to the Conjunctive form of the simple conjugation of the verb *yuku*, 'to go', the suffix *ki*, we can express tense, as in *yukiki*, 'went'. Adding to the Imperfect (Negative Base) form the suffix *zu*, we have *yukazu* expressing negation, 'does not go'; while the suffix *ru* makes a passive form, as in *miraru*, 'is seen'.

THE SIMPLE CONJUGATION OF VERB AND ADJECTIVE

is of the model shown in the attached table. It will be seen that it presents slight variations in type, but all verbs (with only six exceptions) are regular within their type.

The following is a general account of the nature and formation of the forms of the Simple Conjugation, in so far as its features are common to both verbs and adjectives. A more detailed account is given under the separate headings devoted to each category.

I. The Stem.

In verbs this is identical with the form known as the Conjunctive form. In adjectives it is the constant portion remaining when any inflexion is removed. In both cases it is the form which enters principally into compound words, and may therefore perhaps be regarded as a more elementary form than other forms of the simple conjugation. But as its functions and nomenclature are the subject of controversy, it is better to describe the verb stem and the adjective stem separately under their respective headings.

II. The Predicative Form.

This is the true verb form, used in making simple statements, without qualification, concerning the subject of a proposition. In

ishi otsu	stones fall
ishi katashi	stones are hard

SIMPLE CONJUGATION

FORMS	VERB				ADJECTIVE
	Type I (Quadrigrade)	Type II (Lower Bigrade)	Type III (Middle Bigrade)	Type IV (Unigrade)	
Stem	yuki, 'go'	tabe, 'eat'	ochi, 'fall'	mi, 'see'	taka, 'high'
1. 'Predicative' or 'Conclusive'	yuku	tabu	otsu	miru	takashi
2. 'Attributive' or 'Substantival'	yuku	taburu	otsuru	miru	takaki
3. 'Conjunctive' or 'Adverbial'	yuki	tabe	ochi	mi	takaku
4. 'Imperfect' or 'Negative Base'	yuka	tabe	ochi	mi	(takaku)
5. 'Perfect'	yuke	tabure	otsure	mire	(takakere)

IRREGULAR VERBS

kuru, 'come'. suru, 'do'. inu, 'depart'.
ku   su   inu
kuru suru inuru
ki   shi   ini
ko   se   ina
kure sure inure

aru and compounds.
1. ari
2. aru
3. ari
4. ara
5. are

the forms *otsu* and *katashi* serve the purpose of predicating 'falling' and 'hardness' respectively, and no other purpose. They are neutral as to tense and number, so that the translations given are to that extent arbitrary.

The Japanese grammarians style this the Conclusive form (終 止 形—*shūshikei*) because of its constant position at the end of a sentence. The presence of a verb or adjective in the conclusive form may be taken to indicate the position of a full stop, where, as is usual in Japanese, punctuation is defective. Thus :

yama takaku kawa fukashi	the hills are high and the streams deep
yama takashi kawa fukashi	the hills are high. The streams are deep

Though the Predicative form plays an important part in the written language, it has practically vanished from the colloquial and survives only in some dialects and in a few words like *yoshi*, *nashi*, &c.   It is replaced by the attributive form, as in

> *ishi ga katai* (= *kataki*)   for *ishi katashi*
> *ishi ga ochiru* (= *otsuru*) for *ishi otsu*

This change has been accompanied by a development of the use of the particle *ga*, which is described elsewhere.   Instead of using the predicative form, and saying simply 'children cry' or 'stones fall', the later idiom prefers to say 'children's crying', 'stones' falling'—sentences which are, strictly speaking, composed of two substantives.   Similarly *ishi ga katai* is historically equivalent to 'stones' hardness' and not 'stones are hard'.

III. The Attributive or Substantival Form.

This form, as its description intimates, can serve more than one purpose.

(1) It can place a verb or an adjective in an attributive relation to the substantive which it precedes :

> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *otsuru ishi* | falling stones, stones which fall |
> | *kataki ishi* | hard stones |

(2) It can act as a substantive itself :

ishi no otsuru wo kiku	to hear the falling of stones
ishi no kataki wo shiru	to know the hardness of stones
hana no chiru wo mi . . . ko no ha no otsuru wo kiki (Kokin. Preface)	seeing the scattering of the flowers, hearing the falling of the leaves

It will be noticed that in both its uses this form is in verbs similar to the English present participle. The resemblance is, however, not complete. It is characteristic of the attributive, in common with other forms of the simple conjugation, that it is neutral as to relations other than those which it is its special function to express. Just as the predicative form is solely predicative, so is this form solely attributive or substantival. It is not, for example, concerned with time or voice. Thus *miru hito* merely relates in the loosest way the two ideas 'see' and 'person'. It may mean 'the person who sees', or 'the person who is seen'. *Osoroshiki hi* may be 'the day which one fears', or 'the day when one fears'. The substantive *otsuru* may mean either the act of falling or the person or thing which falls, as is plain from the following sentences :

ishi no otsuru wo kiku	he hears the falling of stones
kawa ni otsuru mo ari	there were some who fell into the river

(3) It can, under some conditions, act as a conclusive form, viz. when it is preceded in a clause by certain particles, such as *zo ya*, &c. The rule of syntax governing this usage, to which great importance is attached by formal Japanese grammarians, but which is not always observed in modern writing, is explained elsewhere (*v.* under *zo*). The following examples will serve to illustrate it in a general way :

ishi wa kawa ni otsu	*ishi wa katashi*
ishi zo kawa ni otsuru	*ishi zo kataki*
ishi ya kawa ni otsuru	*ishi ya kataki*

The attributive form is called by Japanese grammarians *rentaikei* (連 體 形), or 'form joined to substantives', which

corresponds closely in meaning to the term 'adjective' in English.

IV. **The Adverbial or Conjunctive Form**.

This form has various functions, as follows :

(1) It serves as an adverb, modifying some other predicative word. Thus, in

> *koishiku omou*   to think lovingly
> *uyamai mōsu*   to speak reverently

an adjective and a verb respectively modify a verb. It was principally on account of this use that the form was styled Adverbial by Dr. Aston.

(2) The adverbial use is, however, only a specialized application of this form, the general function of which is to connect or co-ordinate two or more verbs or adjectives that bear the same or a similar relation to another word in the same sentence. Thus, in

> *aoku akaku shiroki kai*   blue, red, and white shells

the adjectives *aoku* and *akaku* stand in the same relation to *kai* as does *shiroki*—an attributive relation. In

> *take wa hosoku nagashi*   bamboo is thin and long

hosoku, like *nagashi*, stands in a predicative relation to *take*.

The form is, in fact, either adverbial or conjunctive as one chooses to regard it, or as the meanings of the words used dictate. Such a phrase as *ano hito wa osoroshiku tsuyoshi* can be taken to mean either that the person is terribly strong or that he is terrible and strong. In *take wa hanahadashiku tsuyoshi* the nature of the word *hanahadashi* allows of only one meaning, 'bamboo is exceedingly strong'. The same reasoning applies to verbs. Thus, *isogi yuku* means 'to go hurriedly', while *yukikaeru* means 'to come and go'.

It will be seen that what all these uses have in common is that they connect two words. Sometimes they subordinate one to another, as in

kawa hayaku nagaru   the river flows fast
midzu wa hanahadashiku   the water is extremely cold,
  tsumetashi

where we have an adverbial use ; and sometimes they merely co-ordinate, as in

kawa kiyoku nagaru	the river runs clear
midzu wa kiyoku tsumetashi	the water is clear and cold
nageki kanashimu	to bewail and lament,

where each member of a pair of words has an equal value.

Frequently the connexion is so complete that we have compound words, such as *miwatasu*, 'to look across', *yaki-korosu*, 'to burn to death' ; *minikushi*, 'ugly', and many even commoner, like *arimasu*, which means simply 'is', and where *ari* can only in the most formal way be described as adverbial.

It would seem preferable therefore to substitute for the name Adverbial Form some more general description. The Japanese grammarians use the term *renyōkei* (連 用 形), meaning 'the form connecting predicative words', and this is rendered with sufficient accuracy by the name Conjunctive Form, which has the advantage that it describes a most characteristic use, described below under (3).

(3) In several of the examples just quoted, such as *kiyoku tsumetashi* and *nageki kanashimu*, the force of the so-called Adverbial form is fully rendered in English by the conjunction 'and' connecting two words. The same purpose is served by this form in connecting clauses or complete sentences. In

| *midzu kiyoku kaze suzushi* | the water is clear and the breeze is cool |
| *hana saki tori naku* | flowers bloom and birds sing |

the forms *kiyoku* and *saki* take the place of a conjunction, and this use is so important as to justify the term Conjunctive Form.

(4) This form can act as a substantive, as in

tsuri ni yuku	to go fishing
yuki wa itasazu	I did not go
tsutsumi	a parcel
yorokobi, *nageki*	joy, lamentation

The above are what, according to the usual terminology, would be called Adverbial forms of verbs. The corresponding

forms of adjectives also seem to act as substantives in such
phrases as

furuku yori	from of old
kaku no gotoshi	like this
ōku no hito	many people
kono chikaku ni	in this neighbourhood

and the correspondence between verb and adjective in all
uses of this form thus appears to be complete. But, though
I hesitate to differ from Aston, I cannot help thinking that
the correspondence is only superficial. In verbs there is
nothing to distinguish the stem from the 'adverbial' form.
Aston perceives (*Grammar*, 3rd ed., p. 91) a difference,
quoting *tsukai*, 'a messenger', as being the stem, and *tsukai*,
'a message', as being the adverbial form. Since the stem
and the 'adverbial' form are identical, I do not see how this
statement can be proved. How can one contend that *tsuri*
in *tsurizao*, 'a fishing rod', is not the same form as *tsuri* in
tsuri ni yuku, 'to go fishing'? As he himself points out, the
attributive form, *kasu*, acting as a substantive, may mean
either the act of lending or the person who lends. Why
should not the stem, which presents the significance of a word
in its most comprehensive, because least specialized, use, be
capable of the same range of meanings? Surely the simplest
explanation of these facts is that, in verbs, the adverbial
form and the so-called 'stem' are one, while the adjective
has a special form, distinct from the stem, which has certain
adverbial and conjunctive uses similar to those of the verb
stem. The development of this form in the adjective is out-
lined elsewhere (*v.* Substantival forms ending in *-ku*, p. 147),
and it is plain that it does not correspond to the verb stem.

V. The Imperfect or Negative Base Form.

In adjectives this form is identical with the conjunctive
form which has just been described. It is used in the case
of both adjectives and verbs in predicating an act or state of
the subject, but only when that act or state is not determined
or completed. In verbs it cannot stand alone, but must
always be followed by a verbal suffix or a particle, as in

yukaba, 'if he goes', *yukazu*, 'does not go', *yukamu*.
    'will go'.

It will be seen that in each example the state or action is imperfect, being either hypothetical or negative or future. For this reason, and in order to contrast it with the next, the 'Perfect' form, it has been styled by Japanese grammarians *mizenkei* (未 然 形), the Imperfect, or *shōzenkei* (將 然 形), the Future, form. Dr. Aston names it the Negative Base, because one of its important functions is to serve as a base for negative forms ; but, seeing that it is also a base for conditional, future, passive, and causative forms, and has no independent existence, it seems best to call it merely the Imperfect Form.[1]

It is doubtful whether the adjective can be properly said to possess this form. The only feature of resemblance between verb and adjective, in respect of the addition of particles to a base, is in the conditional forms, e. g. :

> *katakuba*   if it is hard
> *yukaba*   if he goes

but it can be shown that this resemblance is accidental (*v.* under Conjunctive Particles, *wa*). What is called the Imperfect form in adjectives is therefore, without much question, only the conjunctive form in another use. Not much harm is done, however, by retaining the separate classification, and it has the merit of preserving symmetry in the joint treatment of verbs and adjectives, thus bringing out their identity of function.

VI. The Perfect Form.

The Perfect form in adjectives is composite, consisting of the conjunctive form of the adjective plus the perfect form of the copula, *aru*, as in *katakere*, which stands for *kata-ku +are*. The perfect form is therefore discussed in detail under the heading of Verbs.

[1] But see remarks on this nomenclature, p. 141.

THE ADJECTIVE

NOT all Japanese adjectives are inflected, nor, as will be seen from the account given below of the adjective stem, are inflected adjectives always used in their inflected forms. Inflected adjectives, however, form the largest and most characteristic group of pure Japanese adjectives, and in the present chapter attention is first given to inflected words and their uses, the classes of uninflected words being subsequently treated and compared with them.

THE ADJECTIVE.—INFLECTED

Japanese grammarians distinguish two conjugations of adjectives, as follows :

Forms	Type I	Type II
The Stem	yo-	ashi-
Predicative Form . . .	yoshi	ashi
Adverbial or Conjunctive Form ⎱ Imperfect Form ⎰	yoku	ashiku
Attributive or Substantive Form	yoki	ashiki
Perfect Form	yokere	ashikere

It will be seen, however, that these are in reality two varieties of the same conjugation ; the only difference being that, where the stem ends in *shi* (or *ji* as in *onaji*), the predicative form is, for the sake of euphony, shortened to avoid such forms as *ashishi*. Indeed, both in medieval literature and in the works of Motoori, these uncontracted forms are to be found, and they are sanctioned in modern prose as 'permissible usages' by the Department of Education.

The 'perfect' form is evidently composite and not inflexional, consisting as it does of the adverbial form plus the perfect *are* of the verb *aru*. It is, however, the custom to include it in the adjectival conjugation.

The main features of each form of conjugation have already been indicated under the heading 'Predicative Words'. The following is a detailed account of each form and its uses as displayed by the Adjective in particular.

1. **The Adjectival Stem.**

I	II
yo–	ashi–

The stem can, in the case of the adjective, be readily distinguished, since it is the residue left when the termination of any form of the conjugation is removed. In this respect, it is worth noting, the adjective differs from the verb, for in the case of the latter, though we may, for instance, say that *yuki* is the stem of the verb *yuku*, this is a purely arbitrary selection, forced on us by the fact that Japanese has no way of writing a sound ending with a consonant, like *yuk-*.

The adjective stem can, within well-defined limits, act as an independent word ; but it will be seen that whatever its history it now invariably retains its character as the notation of an attribute, and not of an independent substantival concept. It is therefore almost always found related to some substantival word or group of words. The following are examples of its use :

(*a*) As an attributive.

ao yama (K.)	a green hill
tōtōshi Koshi no kuni	the far-off land of China
sakashi me (K.)	a wise woman

The *Kojiki* and the *Manyōshū* contain numerous examples of this use, which seems to represent a transition stage between inflected and uninflected adjectives. The medieval romances use this form freely, in such phrases as

arigata-namida (G.)	grateful tears, tears of gratitude
tanomoshi-hito (H.)	a lover, benefactor
onaji-kao (G.)	'same-face', i.e. usual expression, unconcerned look

and many examples are current in the modern language, such as

akagane	red-metal (copper)
karuishi	light-stone (pumice)
futomomo	fat-thigh (upper part of thigh)
furusato	old-village (birthplace, home)

It can even be seen in a hybrid compound like *arigata-meiwaku*, where *meiwaku* is Chinese. It must not be understood that such compounds can now be formed freely. They require the sanction of convention.

A number of compound verbs, which are frequently represented in English by a simple verb, are formed on this model. E. g.:

chikayoru	to approach
nagabiku	to drag

(*b*) As a substantive. The stem sometimes appears to stand alone as a noun, e. g.:

aka	the colour red
taka	quantity, amount
ara	a flaw

but it will be found that, as a general rule, these words are used in an attributive relation, usually formed with the aid of the particle *no*, as in

aka no momohiki   red drawers

where *aka* represents the attribute and not the abstract idea of 'redness'. In order to express the abstract idea it is necessary to add a suffix to the stem, thus:

takasa, height; *akami*, redness; *okashisa*, strangeness
Examples of this apparent substantival use are frequent in the poems and romances of the Heian and succeeding periods. E. g.:

ayashi no tami	the common people
omoshiro no monogatari	an amusing tale

A number of compound nouns survive in which an adjective stem is the second element, e. g.:

tenaga	a long-armed person
ashinaga	a long-legged person
mekura	a blind man
yosamu	night chill
tōasa	long shallow, i. e. a long stretch of shallow water at low tide

(*c*) Akin to the above use is that in which the stem is

used in exclamatory phrases, where it has the form of a noun but a predicative force, e. g. :

okashi no kotoba ya	(these are) strange words !
kuchioshi no arisama kana	what a regrettable sight !
ara samu ya	how cold ! (it is)
arigata ya	how grateful ! (I am)

It is curious that the literature of the Nara period does not appear to contain these ejaculatory forms, as one might expect in an early stage of language.

In the modern everyday colloquial, ejaculations like *A ita !* 'It hurts !', *O atsu !* 'It's hot !', are used by speakers who wish to relieve rather than to express precisely their feelings. Thus also *O kowa !* 'I'm frightened !' *A kusa !* 'What a smell !'

(*d*) Sometimes, by way of emphasis, a compound adjective is formed by duplication of the stem, e. g. :

hakabakashi	quick, adroit
naganagashi	very long
konohōshi wa hara kuroguro yoku fukabuka haji na ya zo (HK.)	this priest is black of heart and deep of greed and shameless

(*e*) As mentioned above—under (*b*)—the stem is used to form abstract nouns by the addition of certain suffixes.

2. Predicative Form.

I	II
yo-shi	ashi

The predicative form of the adjective is a peculiar feature of the Japanese language, for unlike the adjective in English it is used as a predicate without the use of a copulative verb. Thus :

kokoro yoshi (K.)	(his) heart is good
na ashi (K.)	(his) name is bad

The predicative form of adjectives has almost entirely vanished from the spoken language, surviving only in some dialects and in a few expressions like *nashi*, *yoshi*, in standard colloquial.

It is found, but very rarely, acting as a noun, e. g. in

omoshi, a weight   *karashi*, mustard (something
                                            pungent)
sushi, seasoned fish   *akashi*, a light

and a number of proper nouns, such as *Takashi, Atsushi*, &c.

It occurs, consistently with its predicative use, as the second element of such compounds as

| *nakayoshi* | an intimate |
| *honenashi* | a man without backbone |

The following are examples of the use of the Predicative form of adjectives :

asa kaze samushi (M.)	the morning breeze is cold
waga seko wo kouru mo kuru-shi (K.)	yearning for my mistress too is painful
kono hōshi wa futsū no hito yori wa take hikuku sei chi-isashi (G.)	this priest was shorter in height and of smaller build than ordinary people

It must be remembered that the adjective is neutral as to tense. In any of the above English sentences the tense must depend on the context of the Japanese verb. Time relations in the adjective are expressed by its compound conjugation, usually with the auxiliary verb *aru*, as in *samu·· karishi*, 'was cold', *samukaramu*, 'will be cold', &c.

3. **Attributive or Substantive Form.**

I	yo-ki
II	ashi-ki

In this form the adjective corresponds closely to the adjective in English. The following are its uses :

(*a*) Preceding a noun, it is purely attributive, as in

yoki kokoro ; ashiki na	a good heart ; a bad name
iyashiki yado (M.)	a mean dwelling
mizu naki sora (Tosa)	a waterless sky
kashikoki chichi no oroka-naru ko (G.)	the stupid son of a clever father

(*b*) Standing alone it can act as a substantive, as in

| *yoki wo toru* | to take the good |
| *ashiki wo sutsuru* | to reject the bad |

In such cases the substantive may express the abstract [1] idea (goodness) or the concrete one (good things). Thus:

ikusa ni mo nebutaki wa daiji no mono zo ! (H.)	in war also, sleepiness is a dangerous thing
on keshiki no imijiki wo mita-tematsureba (H.)	as they beheld the splendour of his looks
fune no uchi, tōki wa iru chikaki wa uchimono nite shōbu su (H.)	among the ships, the far ones shot with their bows, the near ones fought with striking weapons

(*c*) After the particles *zo*, *nan*, *ya*, or *ka* (q.v.) (occurring in the same clause) this form replaces the predicative form. Thus:

> *kokoro zo yoki*
> *kokoro nan yoki* ⎫ instead of *kokoro yoshi*,
> *kokoro ya yoki* ⎬ 'the heart is good'
> *kokoro ka yoki* ⎭

This usage dates from the earliest recorded language, cf.

> *imo ro mo ashiki* (M.)
> *taguite zo yoki* (N.)
> *are ya kanashiki* (M.)

The composite 'perfect' form of adjectives, of the type *yokere*, does not exist in the Nara period, and after *koso* we find instead the attributive form, as in

> *ono ga tsuma koso mezurashiki* (M.)
> *ayu koso wa shimabe mo yuki* (N.)

In some of the verses of Nara period there occur a few instances where the attributive form is used as a predicative although not preceded by one of the above particles, but they can perhaps be accounted for on metrical grounds. Thus:

> *ame tsuchi to*
> *ai sakaemu to*
> *ō miya wo*
> *tsukae matsureba*
> *tōtoku ureshiki* (M.)

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[1] It would be more accurate to say the existence of an attribute. Thus *yoki* means either 'the fact that a thing is good' or 'a good thing'. The abstract quality of 'goodness' is expressed by a special substantive *yosa*.

4. Adverbial or Conjunctive Form.

I	yo-ku
II	ashi-ku

The uses of this form are as follows :

(*a*) As an adverb, modifying another predicative or attributive word, e. g. :

yoku neru	to sleep well
hanahadashiku takaki yama	an exceedingly high hill
kono yama wa hanahadashiku takashi	this hill is exceedingly high

(*b*) As already noticed, under the general description of this form as common to both verbs and adjectives, the adverbial use presents only one aspect of its function, which is to correlate rather than to modify. Thus, in

> *futoku takumashiki uma*   a large, powerful horse

futoku does not modify *takumashiki* ; it does not mean 'largely powerful', but 'large and powerful'. The service which *futoku* performs is to correlate the two words *futo-* and *takumashi-ki* and place them in the same relation, in this case attributive, to the word *uma*. Similarly in

mizu kiyoku nagaru	the water runs clear
mizu kiyoku tsumetashi	the water is clear and cold

kiyoku stands in the same relation to *mizu* as do *nagaru* and *tsumetashi* respectively.

It will be noticed that the force of the termination *-ku* is rendered by the word 'and' in English. It does the work of a conjunction, and on account of this characteristic function is more accurately described as a 'Conjunctive Form' than an Attributive Form. That its adverbial use is only incidental, and dependent rather on the meaning of an adjective than on the nature of the form, is seen in such expressions as :

(1) *kwashi wo karuku koshiraeru*	to make a cake light
(2) *kwashi wo karuku yaku*	to bake a cake lightly

Here, according to the meaning ascribed to *karuku*, it (1) qualifies *kwashi*, as an adjective, or (2) modifies *yaku*,

as an adverb. The distinction becomes even more apparent when an auxiliary verb, such as *naru*, *suru*, &c., is employed. Thus, in

> *kaze suzushiku fuku*   the wind blows cool

suzushiku may still in a formal way be regarded as adverbial, but in

> *kaze suzushiku naru*   the wind becomes cool

there is no modification of the verb, and in

> *kaze hayaku suzushiku* the wind quickly becomes
> *naru*   cool

we have the two uses side by side.

The distinction should not be dismissed as trifling, for it explains many characteristic terms of speech in Japanese, in particular the method by which the adjective is joined to a copulative verb.

For this purpose the conjunctive and no other form must be used, e. g. :

> *samukaru (samuku-aru)*   is cold
> *samukaran (samuku-aran)*   will be cold
> *samukarazu (samuku-arazu)*   is not cold

It is by this method that is constructed the compound conjugation of the adjective, when it is desired to express the relations of time, &c., which are not conveyed by the simple adjectival forms. (For details of the Compound Conjugation of Adjectives, see below.)

(*c*) The conjunctive form serves to relate clauses, as well as individual words.[1]   In

> *matsu aoku takashi*   the pines are green and tall

it correlates two words.   In

> *matsu aoku suna shiroshi*   the pines are green and the sand
>   is white

it correlates two clauses, but there is clearly no essential

---

[1] In the earliest writings this rule is not always observed. Cf. *akaki takaki tōtoki mikotonori* (Res.), 'a clear, lofty, and precious saying'.

difference between its uses in these two cases.¹ It is a rule of syntax in Japanese that when two or more verbs or adjectives are co-ordinated, the last only takes the appropriate inflexion, and those preceding it take the conjunctive form. Accordingly, in the above examples, and in such locutions as

kokoro yoku okonai tadashiku na takashi	his heart is good, his behaviour correct, and his fame high
matsu aoku, suna shiroku, mizu kiyokereba	since the pines are green, the sand white, and the water clear.

the precise meaning of the words in the conjunctive form is held in suspense until we come to the word with the significant inflexion. It is this use which has caused the Japanese grammarians to give it the name 中 止 形 (*chūshikei*), which might be translated 'Suspensive Form' or, in order to contrast it with the Conclusive Form, the 'Inconclusive Form' of verbs and adjectives.²

(*d*) Sometimes, but not very frequently, and only in conventional phrases, the Conjunctive Form appears to act as a noun, as in

tōku e yuku	to go to a far place
furuku yori	from of old
kono chikaku ni	in this neighbourhood

The following are examples, taken from classical and current literature, of the various uses of the Conjunctive Form of the adjective.

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¹ The colloquial tends to discard this use, and to substitute sentences on the model

> *matsu mo aoshi, suna mo shiroshi*
> or *matsu wa aokute, suna wa shiroi.*

² Students of Japanese poetry will recollect that this form is, most appropriately, a favourite one with writers of Hokku, those short epigrams whose chief character is that they are inconclusive. One example will suffice :

> *uibana no yo to ya*
> *yome no ikameshiku . . .*

The reader can complete the sentence as his fancy dictates.

Such a form would be found useful by those English writers who like to end a passage with a row of little dots. . . .

(a)—

uyauyashiku ai-shitagau koto (Res.)	to obey reverently
sono yoshi wo kuwashiku toi-tamau (Uji)	he inquired closely into the matter

(b) and (c)—

kono kawa no tayuru koto na-ku kono yama no iya taka-karashi (M.)	may this river never cease and this mountain ever be high
ayashiku tōtoki ōmi-shirushi . . . ayashiku yorokobashiki ōmi-shirushi (Res.)	a strange and venerable to-ken, a strange and glad token
hisashiku arame ya (M.)	may it be everlasting !
kiyoku suzushiki mori no kage (Uji)	in the shade of a clean, cool grove
usuku, koku, samazama ni kaki tamaeri (G.)	he wrote (them) in various ways, some fine, some thick
naidaijin isasaka mo haba-karu keshiki naku, yuyu to ayumi-yote chūmon no ro ni tsukiraretari (G.)	the Household Minister, with-out the least appearance of hesitation, sauntered up in a leisurely way and reached the gallery of the Central Gate House
chichi yori mo natsukashi na-gara kowaku, haha yori mo netamashikushite kowaki wa kun to shin no naka (G.)	what is, while loving, more to be feared than a father, and while jealous more to be feared than a mother, is the relation between lord and retainer

(d)—

koishiku no ōkaru ware wa (M.)	I, who have many yearnings

5. Imperfect Form.

I	yo-ku
II	ashi-ku

In the adjective, the 'imperfect' form is indistinguishable from the Adverbial or Conjunctive. It is, in some Japanese grammars, treated separately in order to bring it into line with the verb. Assuming an Imperfect Form to exist, its

use is the same as that of the imperfect of the verb, in that it serves as a base to which a particle can be attached so as to express a (yet unrealized) condition. Thus :

samukuba	if it is cold
nakuba	if (they) were not
koishikuba tazunete, &c.	if you desire me, come and ask

The existence of an Imperfect Form is denied by many authorities, who state that *samukuba*, for instance, is an elided form of *samuku-araba*, where *samuku* is the usual conjunctive form.

Though this cannot be proved, the weight of argument seems to be in favour of the latter view. One need not assume an original form *samuku-araba*, however, since there are analogous cases of the use of the conjunctive form with other particles and without the intervention of *aru*. Thus :

samuku mo	though (it be) cold
samuku to mo	even though (it be) cold

Retaining the term for the sake of uniformity, the following may be quoted as early examples of its use :

kashikoku tomo are yashina-wan (N.)	although fearfully, I will foster him
uguisu no . . . koe nakuba, haru kuru koto wo tare ka shiramashi (M.)	were it not for the voice of the warbler, who would know the coming of spring

6. **The Perfect Form.**

I	yo-kere
II	ashi-kere

This form is composed of the conjunctive form *yoku-*, *ashiku-*, plus the perfect *are* of the verb *aru*. The forms *yok-are*, *ashik-are* became *yokere*, *ashikere*, presumably under the influence of the final *e* sound.

Since this form includes a verb, it is more conveniently treated at the same time as the same form of the verb.

Just as in the case of the perfect, all other relations of time, &c., in the adjective are, as already mentioned, expressed by means of composition with a copula, such as the verb *aru*, giving a complete scheme of forms which corre-

spond to those of the compound conjugation of the verb
Examples :

ashiki hito	a bad person
ashikarishi hito	a person who was bad
ashikaran hito	a person who will be bad
ashikaranu hito	a person who is not bad
sono hito ashikareba	as he is bad
sono hito ashikaraba	if he is bad
&c.	&c.

Sound Changes in the Adjectival Conjugation

By a gradual process of sound change, the adjective in
the modern spoken language has assumed forms different
from those now used in writing.

This process can be traced in medieval literature :

The colloquial equivalent of the model *yoki* is *yoi*, and such
forms were already in use in the Heian period, e. g. :

kurushii koto (G.)	painful things	(*shiki*	becomes	*shii*)
wakai kokochi (G.)	youthful feelings	(*kaki*	,,	*kai*)
yoi otoko (Mura.)	good men	(*yoki*	,,	*yoi*)

The 'adverbial' form, of the type *yoku*, was evidently
often pronounced *yō* in the same period, as the following
examples will show. The *k* was elided :

utsukushiu (Take.)	for *utsukushiku*
okashiute (Ise)	,, *okashiku-te*
takō (*takau*) (Uji)	,, *takaku*
karōjite (Take.)	,, *karaku shite*

It is curious that, though these contracted forms persist
in several dialects, the standard colloquial has reverted to
the original form, with the one exception of adjectives joined
to the verb *gozaru*, as in *yō gozaimasu, kurushiū gozaimasu*,
which exclude entirely the forms *yoku gozaimasu*, &c.

The Auxiliary Adjectives

It might be expected from the identity of functions be-
tween verb and adjective in Japanese that similar methods
would be used to amplify those functions in each case. This

is precisely what happens, and we have two classes of auxiliary words that serve this purpose :

(*a*) auxiliary verbs which, like the verb *aru* assist to form the compound conjugation of adjectives, and

(*b*) auxiliary adjectives which assist to form the compound conjugation of verbs.

The auxiliary adjectives are four [1] in number :

Stem	Pred.	Attrib.	Conjunctive
BE-	**BESHI**	**BEKI**	**BEKU**
MAJI-	**MAJI**	**MAJIKI**	**MAJIKU**
TA-	**TASHI**	**TAKI**	**TAKU**
GOTO-	**GOTOSHI**	**GOTOKI**	**GOTOKU**

Before discussing them in detail, the following examples may be given, from which to form a general idea of their use :

yukubeshi	he will (or shall) go
yukubeki hito	a person who will (or must) go
yukumaji	he will not go
yukumajiki hito	a person unlikely to go
nagaruru gotoshi	it is as if it flowed
nagaruru gotoku	as if flowing
ware wa yukitashi	I wish to go
mitaki koto	things I wish to see

It will be seen that these auxiliaries amplify the simple forms of verbs, by the introduction of an element which is neither time nor mood exclusively, but a compound of both. This characteristic feature of the conjugation of verbs in Japanese is discussed below (under Tense Suffixes, p. 173), but meanwhile the above words may be examined separately, noticing that they differ from all other adjectives.

BESHI [2] is an adjective conveying an idea of futurity, which

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[1] The negative adjective *naki* (*nashi*, *naku*) might perhaps be included here, but it is not strictly speaking an auxiliary, since it can stand alone.

[2] It is noteworthy as, apart from onomatopoeics, the only pure Japanese word with an initial *b*. Syllables which in composition commence with *b* when isolated belong to the series written ∕﹨ *ha* ㇏ *hi* ﹆ *fu* ﹏ *he* ㇅ *ho*, which probably represent an original p or p+h. Thus, *umi-be* contains the syllable now written and pronounced *he*, which was no doubt originally *pe* or *phe*.

can be variously translated by 'may', 'must', 'shall', or 'will'. *Beshi* is normally suffixed to the predicative form of verbs; and qualifies them exactly as they are qualified by other adjectives, with the sole exception that it follows and does not precede them. Its conjugation is entirely regular and complete:

Stem. *BE*. The stem is not now found by itself, but there are, in classical literature, examples of forms *bemi*, *bera*, abstract nouns (formed by the addition of the suffixes -*mi* and -*ra*, which can be attached to the stems of most adjectives for a like purpose). E. g.:

chiyo no dochi to zo omou bera naru (Tosa)	one might think they had been companions for a thousand years
Saoyama no . . . momiji chirinu bemi ! yoru sae miyo to terasu tsukikage (M.)	the red leaves on Saoyama are about to fall. That we may see them even by night the moon shines bright

Here *bemi* and *bera* are nouns.

It is said that *sube*, 'possibility', 'a way of doing things', consists of the verb *suru* and this root, e. g. *sen sube nashi*, 'There is nothing to be done'.

Predicative Form. *BESHI*. Examples:

tsurugidachi iyoyo togubeshi (M.)	now must the sword be sharpened
kore bombu ni arazu dai kensei nari. Sumiyaka ni kuyō subeshi (HK.)	this was no ordinary man, but a great saint. A mass must be said for him at once
kono koto Yukitsuna tsugeshirasezuba arawaru beshi ya (HK.)	is it likely that this matter will be revealed unless Yukitsuna gives information
yo wo iwazu to mo akiraka naru beshi	it will be clear to you without my saying more
gunjin wa reigi wo tadashiku subeshi (Mod.)	a soldier should observe etiquette strictly
shosha jokō subeshi	all vehicles must slow down

Attributive Form. *BEKI*.

wa ga seko ga kubeki yoi nari (N.)	it is the night for my lover to come

fune ni norubeki tokoro (Tosa)	the place where they were to embark
shisu-beki toki wa ima nari	now is the time to die
shōsubeki koto	a praiseworthy thing

After a '*musubi*' (one of the particles *zo*, *ya*, *ka*, &c.) :

konnichi no ikusa, youchi ni ya subeki, akete ya subeki ?	to-day's battle—shall we make it a night attack, or shall it be after daybreak ?

Conjunctive and Imperfect Forms. *BEKU*.

ochinubeku mietari	it looked as if it were going to fall
mirubekuba yukite min	if it is to be seen I will go and see it
dote ni noborubekarazu (=*beku arazu*)	do not climb on to the embankment
arasou bekarazaru jijitsu	an undeniable fact

Perfect Form. *BEKERE*.

fune ni norubekereba	since they must embark
fune ni norubekeredomo	though they must embark

MAJI is the opposite in meaning of *beshi*. It expresses the same ideas, negatived.[1] It is fully conjugated, and like *beshi* follows the conclusive form of verbs. The following are examples of its use :

Predicative Form :

wasurayu maji (M.)	I shall not be able to forget
uma ni noru maji	he will not mount a horse

Attributive Form :

umajiki[2] *mikado no kurai* (Res.)	the unattainable rank of Emperor

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[1] *Maji* seems to be compounded of the imperfect form *ma*, of the future auxiliary *mu*, plus *ji*, the negative suffix. *Ma* is, it is true, not found alone, but the above conjecture is supported by the existence of *MASHI*, which = *ma*+*shi* (*ki*, *shika*, &c.), and possibly it explains forms like *mimaku*, *mimahoshiku*, &c.

The fact that the stem alone does not exist, i. e. that there are no forms corresponding to *bera*, *bemi*, seems to support this hypothesis.

[2] Forms like *mashijiki* are also found in the Nara period.

arumajiki koto	an unlikely thing ; a thing that must not (should not) happen
yorumajiki kawa (N.)	an unapproachable river

Conjunctive Form :

This form does not appear in the earliest texts, but is found in the Heian and later periods.

hito ni katarumajikuba misen	if you will not tell any one I will show you

Perfect Form :

yukumajikereba sasowazu	since he would not go, I will not invite him

Theoretically a complete conjugation is formed by the composition with the adverbial *majiku* and the verb *aru*, thus :

   yukumajikaru, yukimajikereba, &c. ; but in practice not all forms are used.

The stem is not found in combinations analogous to *bemi*, *bera*, &c.

In modern colloquial *majiki* becomes *mai*, which is used only as a predicative—*ano hito wa yukumai*, but not *yuku-mai hito*.

TASHI conveys the idea of desire, and therefore gives a desiderative form to verbs to which it is attached. It is suffixed to the conjunctive form. Thus :

ware mo yukitashi	I also wish to go
hitoe ni Butsudō wo shūgyō shitaku sōraedomo	though I earnestly desire to practise Buddhism
tazune kikitaki koto ari	there are things which I wish to ask

As in the case of *beshi* and *maji*, *tashi* in common with all ordinary adjectives forms a complete conjugation by its adverbial form with the verb *aru*. Thus *yukitakaru* (*taku-aru*), *yukitakereba*, &c.

The stem, *ta-*, is found in combination with suffixes, thus :

yukita-sa	the desire to go
yukita-garu	to persist in wishing to go

The modern colloquial form, both attributive and predicative, is *-tai*. It is this suffix which is commonly used in speech to express a wish :

yukitai	(I) wish to go
yukitai tokoro	a place (I) wish to go to

GOTOSHI. Though *gotoshi* (which expresses the idea of similarity) in many ways resembles the auxiliary adjectives just described, it stands in a class by itself. It is employed with substantives, or with words in their substantival forms, and is, as a rule, related to them by means of a particle, *no* or *ga*. The following are characteristic examples of its use :

dangwan ame no gotoshi	the bullets were like rain (i. e. there was a hail of bullets)
tama no gotoki ko	a child like a jewel
mitamau ga gotoku	as Your Lordship observes

Gotoshi is derived from a noun, *goto*, and it is presumably because it has not entirely lost its substantival character that it is ordinarily used with a particle. In fact, it may be regarded as illustrating a stage in the process by which an uninflected stem becomes an inflected adjective. The form *goto* is found in early literature,[1] e. g. :

kami no goto (K.)	like a god
Ō mikoto no goto (Res.)	according to the Word
hana no goto yashikushiku	beautiful like a flower
ima mo miru goto (M.)	as you now see

The conjugation is regular and complete but for the perfect form, which does not exist.

Predicative Form. *GOTOSHI*.

In

toshitsuki wa nagaruru goto-shi	the months and years seem to flow

[1] And in existing dialects. The sense of 'similarity' can still be perceived in such phrases as

shosagoto	dumb show, mimicry
onigoto	playing at demons (blindman's buff)
mamagoto	playing at housekeeping
shōbugoto	a tournament, sham fight.

gotoshi retains some of its substantial sense, and is qualified by *nagaruru*, the attributive form.

In

Toshitsuki wa nagaruru ga gotoshi

nagaruru is a substantive. The meanings are identical, and in the modern language the particles *no* and *ga* are generally used.

na wo mireba mukashi no hito wo ai miru gotoshi (M.)	to look upon thee is like looking upon one of ancient times
tsuki michite umu ko iro akakushite hitoe ni oni no gotoshi (HK.)	when her time came the child she bore was red in colour, and exactly like a demon

Attributive and Substantive Form. *GOTOKI* :

hana no chirinishi gotoki wa-ga ōkimi (M.)	my great master, who is as the flowers that have faded
ikatsuchi no hikari no gotoki (Bussoku)	like the flash of lightning
kaku no gotoki baai ni (Mod.)	in such circumstances as these

Adverbial and Conjunctive Form.

wakugo wo yashinai-hitasu koto no gotoku (Res.)	like fostering an infant

Compound Conjugation of Adjective

For convenience of reference, a Table showing the Compound Conjugation of the Adjective is given herewith.

Inflected Adjectives.

A. *Inflected.*		B. *Uninflected.*	
STEM	*Ō-* (—), numerous, many	*SHIDZUKA*, quiet	
1. Pred.	*Ōkari*	*Shidzuka nari*	
2. Attrib.	*Ōkaru*	,,	*naru*
3. Conj.	*Ōkari*	,,	*nari*
4. Imp.	*Ōkara*	,,	*nara*
5. Perf.	*Ōkare*	,,	*nare*

A. *Examples* (Inflected).

1. *medetaki koto ōkari*   delightful things are many

This form is unusual, because the predicative (*ōshi*) of the adjective expresses the same meanings.

2. *miru hito ōkaru uchi ni*   among the many people who see

This form is, for similar reasons, unusual.

3. *miru hito ōkarishi tame*   because the people who saw were many
4. *miru hito ōkaran*   the people who see will be many

   miru hito ōkarazu   the people who see are not many

5. *miru hito ōkaredomo*   though the people who see are many

   miru hito ōkareba   as the people who see are many

The perfect in this form is rare. It is usually of the type *ōkere, yokere*, &c.

B. *Examples* (Uninflected).

1. *kono machi wa shidzuka nari*   this street is quiet
2. *shidzuka naru tokoro*   a quiet place
3. *shidzuka narishi tokoro*   a place that was quiet
4. *shidzuka narazu*   it is not quiet

   shidzuka naraba   if it is quiet

5. *shidzuka naredomo*   though it is quiet

   shidzuka nareba   as it is quiet

C. (Uninflected, Chinese).

> *HANZEN* 判 然 (clear)
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 1. Pred. | *hanzen tari* |
> | 2. Attrib. | *hanzen taru* |
> | 3. Conj. | *hanzen tari* |
> | 4. Imp. | *hanzen tara-* |
> | 5. Perf. | *hanzen tare-* |

Examples.

1.	*shōko hanzen tari*	the proof is clear
2.	*hanzen taru jijitsu*	an evident fact
3.	*jijitsu hanzen tarishi*	the facts were clear
4.	*shōko hanzen taraba*	if the facts are clear
5.	*shōko hanzen tareba*	as the facts are clear

Instead of the conjunctive form, the locutions

jijitsu hanzen to shite ni shite or *inamubekarazu*

'the facts are clear and cannot be denied'

may be used.

For an account of these compound conjugations from the point of view of the verb, *v.* under *aru* (p. 206), *suru* (p. 217), and also under *to* (p. 249) and *ni* (p. 242).

Uninflected Adjectives

These are of two sorts :

(I) a small group of adjectival prefixes, which now exist only in conventional compounds, and appear to be the relics of a body of primitive adjectives belonging to a pre-inflexional period, e. g. *o*, small, *ō*, great ;

and (II) a large group of words which, though primarily adjectival in meaning, cannot be used in attributive or predicative sense without the aid of a particle or other suffix, e. g. *shidzuka, hanayaka, kirei,* &c.

(I) The following are the principal members of the first group :

O, small, occurring in many proper names and in such compositions as

o-tsukuba (M.)	little Tsukuba
o-kurashi	twilight
o-kawa	a brook

KO, small, presumably cognate with *ko*, a child

koyama	a small hill
kobito	a pigmy
kodakaki	tallish

and in many places and personal names, such as *Kokura*, *Kobayashi*.

Ō, great. This is presumably the stem of the inflected adjective *ō-ki*. It is found in composition, as in

ōkimi	a great king
ōya	a great house (landlord)
ōyama	a great hill

and in many proper names, such as *Ōda*, *Ōfuna*, &c.

MI, august, survives in such words as *mikado*, august gate, *miya*, august house (a palace or shrine), *miko*, august child (a prince). In the earliest literature it is found as an honorific prefix to verbs, e. g. *minemashiki* (K.), augustly slept, *miai-mashite*, augustly meeting. In combination with *Ō* (above) it has, by gradual sound changes, produced the common honorific prefix *o*, thus :

ō mi Kami	great august God
on (written *oho-n*) *yo*	great august reign
on kokoro	august heart
o kokoro	your heart

MA, true, survives in such compounds as :

mashiro	pure white
magokoro	true heart, real feelings
masugu	straight
makoto	true thing, true word, the truth
masa ni	in truth

KI has the meanings 'live', 'raw', 'pure', as in

kiito	raw silk
kisoba	pure buckwheat
kigusuri	pure drugs
kimusume	a virgin

SU means ' bare ', in such compounds as

suashi	bare feet
sugao	bare face (unpainted)
suhada	bare skin

and it has an intensive force in words like *subarashiki*, splendid, *subayaki*, quick, *sunao*, gentle.

NII (new) may be the survival of an inflected form, but is now found only in composition, e. g. :

niiname	first fruits
niimakura	new pillow (the bridal bed)
niita	new field
niimairi	newcomer

In addition to the above, there is a group of prefixes which appear to have lost all significance, or now retain nothing but a slight intensive force. It cannot, of course, be said whether any of these ever had an independent existence as adjectives. The following list does not pretend to be complete :

SA, as in *sayo, sagoromo, samayou, saneru.*
TA, as in *tayasuki, tayowaki, tabashiru.*
KA, as in *kaguroki, kayowaki.*
KE, as in *kedakaki, kejikaki.*
HI, as in *hiyowaki.*
I, as in *i-tadashiki* (K.) (obsolete).

(II) Uninflected Adjectives requiring the aid of a suffix or verb.

These are for the most part derivative words, formed by adding the suffixes *-ka, -ge,* &c., to a stem. Thus, from the stem *shidzu*, quiet, is formed the word *shidzu-ka* which conveys the idea of 'quietness', and is to that extent a substantive. It cannot, however, stand alone, but must be brought into relation with other words by means of a particle.[1] Thus :

(Attrib.) *shidzuka naru tokoro*	a quiet place
shidzuka na tokoro (coll.)	,, ,,
(Advbl.) *shidzuka ni aruku*	to walk quietly
(Pred.) *kono tokoro wa shidzuka nari*	this place is quiet

It will be seen at once that these forms are widely different

[1] The form *naru*, in *shidzuka naru*, is composed of the particle *ni* (q.v. p. 242) and the verb *aru*. Instead of a conjunctive form, locutions of the following type are used :

kaze shidzuka $\begin{cases} ni \\ nite \\ ni\ shite \end{cases}$ *nami odayaka nari*   the wind is still and the waves calm

from the inflected adjectives, for the latter can be used predicatively without the aid of a copulative phrase like *nari*.[1]

It is unnecessary to describe this class of words in detail, but they may be classified in a general way according to their terminations :

(*a*) Those ending in *KA*. These consist of uninflected words or stems, to which various terminations containing *KA* have been added, e. g. :

wakayaka (stem)	youthful
oroka, orosoka (stem)	foolish
takaraka (stem)	lofty
hanayaka (uninflected word)	gay, flower-like

(*b*) Those ending in *KE* or *GE*. Some of these, but not many, can exist independently as abstract nouns, and they differ from the words just described to that extent ; but it will be found that such nouns represent the state or condition regarded as an attribute rather than the abstract conception of a quality. Thus, from the stem *iyashi*, 'mean', is formed *iyashi-ge*, a noun denoting 'meanness', or rather 'the appearance [2] of meanness' ; but though *iyashi-ge naru hito* conveys the idea 'a mean-looking man', *iyashige* is not as a rule used to represent meanness, some other locution being preferred. Thus :

osoroshige naru keshiki   a fearful appearance

---

[1] At the same time, though they may partake formally of the character of nouns, I venture to think that, from both practical and theoretical standpoints, it is a mistake to follow Aston in classifying them as such. It gives a false impression of the uses even of such words as *tsuyoge* to include them in the category of abstract nouns, while as for forms like *kiyora, hanayaka, orosoka*, they can under no circumstances stand alone, and are most suitably regarded as stems, analogous to the adjective stem, which produce predicative or attributive forms by agglutination. Indeed, they are even less of the nature of substantives than the adjective stem proper, for though, for instance, *taka* can be a true noun, *takaraka* certainly cannot.

[2] Both *-ge* and *-ka* are identified with the word *ki* or *ke*, meaning 'breath', 'spirit'. These suffixes are not found in the earliest literature, they were frequently employed in the Middle Ages, and are now used sparingly. *ke* is used in the Heian period in the sense of 'appearance'.

. . . *hito no ke sukoshi*	people looked a little
otoritaru nari.	downcast.

osoroshisa	fearfulness (the quality of being fearful)
osoroshiki koto	fearfulness (the fact of being fearful)
osore	fear

Words like the above must be distinguished from such compounds as *midzuke*, 'moisture', *yuge*, 'vapour', *kanake*, 'metallic flavour', *aburake*, 'greasy taste or feel', *hito-ge*, 'presence of people' (*hitoge naki tokoro*, 'a solitary, lonely place'), where *ke* or *ge* is compounded with concrete nouns and has its full value.

(c) Those ending in *RA*, such as *kiyora*, 'clear', *taira*, 'level', *sakashira*, 'cunning', *wabishira*, 'wretched'.

(d) A small group of uninflected words of miscellaneous origin, such as

shikiri, 'constant' (verb stem), *shikiri ni*, *shikiri nari*.
midari, 'confused' (verb stem), *midari ni*, *midari nari*.
mare, 'rare' (noun), *mare ni*, *mare nari*.
kurenai, 'crimson' (noun), *kurenai ni*, *kurenai no*, *kurenai nari*.
midori, 'green' (noun).
arata, *arata ni*, 'afresh', *arata naru*, 'fresh'.
iya, 'very', 'ever'.

Chinese Words. As has been already pointed out in discussing Substantives, Chinese words are not generally susceptible of classification into nouns, verbs, adjectives, &c., but can, with or without the aid of special grammatical devices, be made to fulfil any grammatical function within limits imposed by their meaning. It follows that all Chinese words or compounds can (within those limits, of course) be used as adjectives. We have, as a result, a large class of adjectival phrases, formed principally with the aid of a copulative word such as *naru*. Thus, taking a number of Chinese compounds, such as

anzen	安 然	safety, peace
taisetsu	大 切	importance
shikyū	至 急	urgency

these can be used as adjectives as follows :

anzen naru katei	a peaceful household
taisetsu naru shokumu	an important duty
shikyū naru shigoto	an urgent task
ōrai anzen nari	the road is safe
kono shina wa taisetsu nari	this article is important
shikyū narishi tame	because it was urgent

The above examples show the predicative and attributive uses. The conjunctive form is obtained by using the phrase

ni shite or *nite*, as *shokumu taisetsu* $\begin{cases} nite \\ ni\ shite \end{cases}$ *okotaru beka-*

razu, 'duty is important and must not be neglected'.

There are, in addition to the use of *naru*, other means of giving these compounds an adjectival value, as for example by employing the particle *no* (*shikyū no yōji*, 'urgent business') or the copulative form *-taru* (*santan-taru arisama*, 'a dreadful sight'), but these are more appropriately treated as specific uses of the particles *no* and *to* (q.v.).

Occasionally, but not very often, a single Chinese word is found acting as an adjective ; e. g. *bi* 美 'beautiful' (cf. *fūkei hanahada bi nari*, 'the scenery is extremely fine').

It must be remembered, in considering the uses of the adjective, that both Japanese and Chinese have a great facility for the formation of compound words. Many of these, particularly in the case of Chinese compounds, represent a synthesis of ideas which in English must be given their respective attributive or substantival notations. Thus, while both languages contain compounds of the type

anzen-tō	a safety-lamp
anzen-kamisori	a safety-razor

Japanese makes a much more extended use of this method of simple juxtaposition. This can be seen on reference to a dictionary, where will be found numerous combinations such as

rikken seitai	立 憲 政 體	constitution-government
		= constitutional government
kiken shisō	危 險 思 想	danger-thoughts
		= dangerous thoughts

iden byō	遺 傳 病	heredity-disease
		= hereditary disease
ōyō sanjutsu	應 用 算 術	application-mathematics
		= applied mathematics

requiring in English an attributive word to translate the first element.

In modern Japanese the Chinese suffix *teki* 的 is freely, and often redundantly, employed to form adjectives from Chinese words, e. g. :

kinō-teki ronri	歸 納 的 論 理	inductive logic
gutai-teki seian	具 體 的 成 案	a concrete scheme
kyakkan-teki kannen	客 觀 的 觀 念	an objective idea

This use is very common in Chinese, where 的 (Mandarin *ti*) is used freely to-day as a flexional affix, to mark the attribute,[1] but its employment in Japanese seems to be due in a large measure to the influence of translations of European books and newspapers. The almost literal translation of press telegrams in particular has had a deplorable effect on the modern written language.

Of the same nature is the use of *-jō* ('on', 'above', 上) as a suffix in such expressions as

seiji-jō no giron	political argument
gunji-jō no seisaku	military policy

where the force of *jō* is rendered by using an adjective in English—'political', 'military'.

The facility for forming compounds is not so marked in the case of pure Japanese words, but seems to be greater than in English. In addition to words of the type *furusato* ('old home') (referred to under the Adjectival Stem) which have corresponding types in English, there are certain compounds which must be rendered by a phrase or even a relative sentence. The most usual of these are such as appear in, e. g.:

wakari-yasuki kotoba	words easy-to-understand
mōshi-nikuki koto	a thing unpleasant-to-mention
sono gi wakimaegatashi	its meaning is difficult-to-discern
sumi-yoki yado	a home pleasant-to-live-in

[1] As *hao-ti jen,* 好 的　a good man.

It will be noticed that these adjectives (*yasushi*, *nikushi*, &c.) are similar to *beshi*, *maji*, *tashi*, &c., in that they are suffixed to the simple conjugational forms of verbs. They differ from them, however, in that they can be used independently of verbs.

RECAPITULATION

Methods of forming Adjectives

1. From a stem, which may or may not first have existed as an independent word.[1] These form the majority of pure Japanese adjectives, and take the regular *-shi*, *-ki*, *-ku* inflexion, e. g. *yo-ki*, *waru-ki*, *yo-shi*, *waru-shi*, &c., *iya-shi*, *ō-shi*, *maru-shi*, *tō-shi*.

2. From stems which exist as independent words—by the addition of *-shi*, *-shiki*, &c., e. g. :

hitoshi, *-ki*, *-ku*	'sole', from *hito*
hanahadashi, *-ki*, *-ku*	'very', from *hanahada*
koishi-shi, *-ki* *-ku*	'beloved', from *koi*, love
otonashi, *-ki*, *-ku*	'gentle', from *otona*, youthful

3. From stems existing as separate words—by the addition of *-rashi*, where *ra* has the force of 'like' or '-ish'. E. g. :

bakarashi, *-ki*, *-ku*	'foolish', from *baka*, a fool
airashi, *-ki*, *-ku*	'lovable', from *ai*, love
kodomorashi, *-ki*, *-ku*	'childish', from *kodomo*, child

4. From uninflected words, by the addition of *-keshi*, thus

sayake-shi,*-ki*,*-ku*	'fresh'
shidzuke-shi,*-ki*,*-ku*	'quiet'
haruke-shi,*-ki*,*-ku*	'distant'

These words may be treated as obsolete, and for practical purposes may be disregarded. They are, however, interesting in that they throw some light on the development of adjectives

[1] This is a matter of etymology ; but it may be mentioned that, for instance, *tō* (far) appears attributively, thus :

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \textit{tō tsu kami} \\ \textit{tō no kuni} \\ \textit{sumerogi no} \\ \textit{tō no mikado} \end{array}\right\} \text{(M.)}$$

and in the songs of the *Kojiki* one finds such forms as

tōtoshi Koshi no kuni   the distant land of Koshi

Here we seem to have traces of a pre-inflexional period.

in Japanese, in particular those of the type referred to in (7) below. It will be noticed that these words ending in *keshi* are precisely those which, in modern Japanese, are uninflected and require the aid of *nari*. In the Nara period the suffix *ge* does not occur, but *-ke* is doubtless the same word (氣). It thus appears that the process of forming adjectives by inflexion was applied to words like *akirake* and then abandoned. Cf. the following examples :

NARA.	HEIAN.
sayake-shi	*sayaka nari*
akirake-shi	*akiraka nari*
shizuke-shi	*shizuka nari*
sumiyake-shi	*sumiyaka nari*
haruke-shi	*haruka nari*

5. From the stems of verbs, by adding *shiki*. Thus :

isoga-shiki	busy (*isogu*, 'to hasten')
osoro-shiki	fearful (*osoru*, 'to fear')
shitawa-shiki [1]	beloved (*shitau*, 'to long for')

6. Sometimes Chinese roots take this termination :

      yuyushiki,   *bibishiki*, beautiful

7. From uninflected words or stems, by the addition of suffixes like *ka* and *ge* which form quasi-substantives that are made attributes by the use of a copulative locution.

    shidzuka, 'quiet'   *tsuyoge*, 'strength'

[1] These words show how cautious one should be in using the word 'stem'. There is, as far as I know, nothing to prove that *osoro-*, *isoga-*, *shita-* are not just as much stems as *osore-*, *isogi-*, *shitai-*. In fact, it is hard to see why the writers of grammars, that are not pure studies in etymology, keep up the practice of distinguishing an arbitrary stem.

THE VERB

I. THE SIMPLE CONJUGATION

THE full conjugation of a Japanese verb can be conveniently divided into two parts, which may be styled the Simple Conjugation and the Compound Conjugation respectively.

The chief function of the Simple Conjugation is to provide variations in form by means of which the verb can be brought into relation with other words. These variations in form do not now (though some of them originally did) express by themselves variations in meaning as is the case with those changes in the form of the verb in English, like 'break', 'broke', 'breaking', 'broken', &c., which serve to convey ideas of mood, tense, or voice; nor do any of the forms of a Japanese verb, whether simple or compound, contain elements representing number or person. Each form of the simple conjugation can serve as a base for the addition of suffixes to produce compound conjugational forms which express variations in meaning corresponding to (though not exactly coinciding with) the tenses, moods, &c., of an English verb; but standing alone it is simply one of a series of forms, differentiated by flexion, by means of which the word in question can function as verb, noun, adjective, or adverb, according to requirement. Thus, for the verb 'to go' we have in Japanese the following forms of the Simple Conjugation:

1. **yuku** . . . the 'predicative' form.
2. **yuku** . . . the 'attributive' form.
3. **yuki** . . . the 'conjunctive' form.
4. **yuka** . . . the 'imperfect' form, or 'Negative Base'.
5. **yuke** . . . the 'perfect' form.

The first, *yuku*, is the true verb form, as in *hito yuku*, 'a man goes'. The second, *yuku*, is an adjectival form, as in *yuku hito*, 'a goes-man', i.e. 'a man who goes'. It happens that in this case the predicative and attributive forms coincide,

but in many verbs they differ, e. g. *homu* and *homuru*, respectively the predicative and attributive forms of the verb meaning 'to praise'.

The third, *yuki*, is a noun, corresponding fairly closely to 'going' in its gerundial uses. It is the form which enters most freely into combination with other words, as in *michi-yuki*, 'wayfaring', *yukikaeru*, 'to come and go'; and it has an important syntactical function as a link between sentences.

The fourth, *yuka*, is never found alone, but acts only as a base for agglutination.

The fifth, *yuke*, performs a similar office, but it can under certain circumstances stand alone as a predicative form.

Historically, as will be seen, this Simple Conjugation is not homogeneous. The 'attributive' form, for instance, is in many cases a disguised compound form, and the 'perfect' form was originally an independent form conveying an idea of tense. But for practical purposes one is justified in regarding the above five forms as the members of a group that provides the bases upon which the Compound Conjugation is built.

The Compound Conjugation is formed in the following way: To each variant of the predicative form in the simple conjugation there can be added certain suffixes denoting tense, mood, voice, &c., e. g.:

yukubeshi, 'will go' . . . . The Attributive Form +an inflected adjectival suffix

yukitari, 'has gone' . . . . The Conjunctive Form +an inflected verb suffix

yukazu, 'does not go' . . . The 'Imperfect' or Negative Base Form +an inflected verb suffix

yukeba, 'as he goes' . . . The Perfect Form +an uninflected suffix (a particle)
yukedo, 'though he goes'

It will be observed that some of these agglutinated suffixes are inflected and some uninflected words. The inflected suffixes are themselves vestigial verbs or adjectives, and they have in their turn a simple conjugation which (precisely as in the case of *yuku, yuki, yuka, yuke*) allows the compound form to function as verb, noun, adjective, and so on, and furnishes bases for the addition of still further suffixes. Thus,

to take a simple example, the inflected verb suffix *tari*, which indicates approximately a perfect tense, has a simple conjugation :

tari	. . . .	Predicative
taru	. . . .	Attributive
tari	. . . .	Conjunctive
tara	. . . .	'Imperfect' or Negative Base
tare	. . . .	Perfect

so that the compound conjugational form *yukitari*, which for the moment we may describe as the perfect tense of the verb *yuku*, has the forms

yukitari	. . . .	Predicative
yukitaru	. . . .	Attributive
yukitari	. . . .	Conjunctive
yukitara	. . . .	'Imperfect' or Negative Base
yukitare	. . . .	Perfect

These forms are used in exactly the same way as the simple conjugational forms of *yuku*, described above. Thus *yukitari* is the true verb, as in *hito yukitari*, 'a man has gone'; *yukitaru* is an adjective, as in *yukitaru hito*, 'a man who has gone'; while to the appropriate forms can be added further suffixes, inflected or uninflected, to provide further variations in meaning, such as

yukitarubeshi	. . . .	will have gone
yukitariki	. . . . .	did go
yukitarazu	. . . . .	has not gone
yukitaredo	. . . . .	though he has gone

It is the conjugational forms created by the addition of suffixes to the forms of the simple conjugation which are hereafter described as constituting the Compound Conjugation of the Japanese verb.

There are four regular types of the Simple Conjugation of the verb, and a few irregular verbs. It is usual to distinguish these types by reference to the columns of a conventional table of the Japanese syllabary. This table is as follows :

1. A	KA	SA	TA	NA	HA	MA	YA	RA		WA
2. I	KI	SHI	CHI	NI	HI	MI	(YI)	RI		(WI)
3. U	KU	SU	TSU	NU	FU	MU	YU	RU		(WU)
4. E	KE	SE	TE	NE	HE	ME	YE	RE		(WE)

A verb of the First Conjugation, such as *yuku*, has four forms which, taken in the order of the terminal vowels in the horizontal rows ('grades') of the table, are *yuKA*, *yuKI*, *yuKU*, *yuKE*. In Japanese grammars and dictionaries the verb *yuku* is therefore described as belonging to the *Ka* column of the 'quadrigrade' conjugation, since its variations correspond to the four syllables in the vertical column headed by *Ka*. It has a form in each of the four 'grades'. Similarly the verb *kasu*, which has the forms *kasa*, *kashi*, *kasu*, *kase*, is described as of the *Sa* column of the quadrigrade conjugation.

The verb *tabu*, 'to eat', is of the Second Conjugation. It has the forms *tabu*, *taburu*, *tabe*, *tabure*. Here the syllables *ru* and *re* are agglutinated, and the only flexional variations are *tabu* and *tabe*. This is described as the 'Lower Bigrade' conjugation, since *bu* and *be* are the two lower grades of the *Ba* column (*Ba* being the surd form of *Ha*).

The verb *otsu*, 'to fall', is of the Third Conjugation, and has the forms *otsu*, *otsuru*, *ochi*, *otsure*. The flexional variations are *otsu*, *ochi*, which correspond to the two middle grades (i.e. 2 and 3) of the table, in column *Ta*. *Otsu* is therefore of the 'Middle Bigrade' Conjugation.

Finally, the verb *miru* is said to belong to the 'Unigrade Conjugation', the members of which undergo no flexional change, but retain the same syllable in all forms, as *miru*, *miru*, *mi*, *mi*, *mire*. Only half a dozen verbs are of this type.

The terms 'unigrade', 'bigrade', &c., are translations of the Japanese *ichidan*, *nidan*, &c. Japanese grammars for the use of Europeans usually distinguish the types of conjugation by numbers. The irregular verbs cannot be referred to any of the columns. Chief among them are the auxiliaries *aru*, 'to be', and *suru*, 'to do', and the verb *kuru*, 'to come'.

The following is an account of each of the Simple Conjugational Forms as exhibited by the verb:

I. The Stem.

In verbs the 'stem' and the Conjunctive or 'Adverbial' form are identical. Aston draws a distinction between the two which is difficult to follow, and it seems sufficient to point out the identity in appearance here, and to describe

the functions of both under the Adverbial or, as I think it is more correctly named, the Conjunctive Form.

II. **The Predicative Form.**

This is the true verb form, used in principal sentences to predicate an action, property, or state of the subject, as in *ishi otsu*, 'stones fall'. Its normal position is at the end of a sentence, irrespective of changes in the order of other elements. Thus :

Conjugation	Predicative Form
1st	**yuku**
2nd	**tabu**
3rd	**otsu**
4th	**miru**
Irregular	**ari**
	su
	ku

kare wa tabitabi Ōsaka e yuku	he often goes to Osaka
Ōsaka e wa tabitabi yuku	to Osaka he often goes

It is for this reason styled in Japanese the Conclusive Form (*shūshikei* 終 止 形). It will be found that, with one exception, a full stop can be used and a new sentence commenced after a verb in this form, when translating into English.

The exception is the case where the 'conclusive' form is followed by the particle *to*. The sentence then becomes a subordinate one, though in Japanese it is logically enough regarded as a direct narration. Thus : *kawa ni otsu to iū*, 'He says that they fall into the river', *homu to mo hokoraji*, 'though they praise me I will not boast'.

Interjections can of course follow the conclusive form, and strictly speaking it should be used with the interrogative particles (*ka* and *ya*).

Unlike the other forms of the simple conjugation, the Predicative cannot serve as a base for the construction of compound conjugational forms by the addition of suffixes, unless we except the particle *to*, as used in the sentence just cited, to form a sort of concessive.

The distinction between the predicative and attributive forms has, but for a few fossilized phrases, vanished from the modern spoken language, and one form serves both predicative and attributive uses. Thus we have in colloquial *ochiru*, 'to fall', which is a variant of *otsuru*, and is used instead of the two written forms *otsu* and *otsuru* ; and *shinu* instead of the two forms *shinu* and *shinuru*—a case where

the attributive form has fallen out of use in the spoken language. Further, in the modern written language the strict rules prescribing the use of the predicative form are in many cases no longer observed. Examples of this relaxation are :

(1) Where an interrogative particle ends a sentence, and the verb should take the predicative form, the attributive form is now permissible. E. g. *Chichi ni nitaru ya*, 'Is he like his father ?—where *nitari* is required by the strict rule.

(2) Before the particle *to*, where, as mentioned above, the predicative is demanded, custom now sanctions the use of the attributive. E. g. :

ika ni hihyō seraruru tomo (for *seraru*)	however much I may be criticized
tsuki idzuru to miyu (for *idzu*)	it appears that the moon is coming out

Generally speaking there is a tendency to substitute the attributive for the predicative form, and one may hazard a guess that in time the distinction between the two will vanish.

Chamberlain styled this form the Certain Present, but I venture to think that the name is misleading. The function of the predicative form is to predicate, without reference to time. It is true that, being neutral as to time, it can usually be translated by a present tense in English ; but context may demand other tenses. Thus :

> *gogo rokuji ni kaikanshiki owaru*

may mean either of

> At six p.m. the opening ceremony ends
>   ,,   ,,   ended
>   ,,   ,,   will end

Similarly in narrative prose one finds such sentences as

> *hatachi no toki ni byōshi su*

which means 'He died of sickness at the age of twenty'. To call this an historical present is only to shelve the difficulty by means of terminology.

In common with other forms of the verb, the Predicative is neutral as to person. This is clear from the fact that it undergoes no variation to express person, *yuku*, for instance, standing indifferently for 'I go', 'you go', 'he goes', &c. In the same way the verb in all its forms is neutral as to number.

This characteristic is exhibited in a most interesting way in such common constructions as

kono mura wa Kose to iū   this village is called Kose

The idea of person or agent is neither expressed nor implicit in the verb *iū*. In English the corresponding locution requires the passive voice, which is a grammatical device used when we wish to describe an act without reference to the agent. In Japanese an active verb is used, because the use of an active verb does not involve mention of the subject.

In a few exceptional cases the predicative form is found acting as a noun, e. g. *hotaru*, 'a firefly', *kagerou*, 'the ephemera', *shidzuku*, 'a drop', *sumau*, 'wrestling', and such proper names as *Tadasu, Masaru, Kaoru, Hagemu*, &c.

Occasionally it will be found reduplicated, acting as an adverb, in such forms as *kaesugaesu*, 'repeatedly', *nakunaku*, 'tearfully', *masumasu*, 'increasingly'.

The following are examples of characteristic use of the predicative form, taken from early texts :

(1) *iya yase ni yasu* (M.)   grows ever thinner and thinner
    where *yasu* is the equivalent of the modern verb *yaseru* (i. e. the attributive form *yasuru* with a slight vowel change), and *yase* is the 'conjunctive' form of the verb *yasu*.

(2) *morotomo ni iku tomo*   though we live or die to-
    shinu tomo (Uji)   gether
    Iku in modern colloquial would be *ikiru*, corresponding to the attributive *ikuru*. On the other hand *shinu* is a predicative form which has survived, and ousted the attributive form *shinuru*.

(3) *kono kane hyaku ryō wo*   this sum of a hundred *ryō* I
    ba nanji ni atau (HK.)   give to you
    The modern colloquial form is *atauru* or *ataeru*, i. e. the attributive of *atau*.

(4) *yo ni irite ike no naka*   after dark he crept out of
    yori   hai-idete   hau-hau   the pond and crawled back
    Miyako e kaerinikeri   to the City

> Here we have a duplicated form, *hauhau*, used as an
> adverb—'went back crawlingly'.

III. The Attributive or Substantival Form.

It will be noticed that in the
1st ('quadrigrade') and 4th
('unigrade') conjugations the
attributive and predicative
forms are identical.

The chief function of this
form is to place a verb in an
attributive relation to a sub-
stantive. In common with all
attributive forms in Japanese it
takes a position immediately
preceding the substantive or

Conjugation	Attributive Form
1st	**yuku**
2nd	**taburu**
3rd	**otsuru**
4th	**miru**
Irregular	**aru**
	suru
	kuru

substantival group which it qualifies.   Thus :

> *yuku hito*   a goes person, i. e. a person who goes
> *naku ko*   a cries child, i. e. a child which cries

As has been already mentioned, the function is only to
establish the relation, and not to define it exactly.   The
definition of the relation is, where necessary, accomplished
by other methods.   Thus *utsu hito* merely relates the idea
'strike' to the idea 'person', and does not formulate the
relation precisely ; so that, according to context, *utsu hito*
may mean either 'a person who strikes' or 'a person who
is struck'.

Japanese has no relative pronouns.   In their absence the
attributive form of the verb serves a very important purpose.
What are called in English relative clauses are formed in
Japanese by its agency.   E.g. :

> *Chōsen ni yuku hito*   persons who go to Korea
> *midzu ni oborete shinuru*   persons who die by drowning
> *hito*

These sentences provide straightforward illustrations of its
use.   The following examples show that it merely establishes
the relation and does not define it :

(1) *Shōgun no hikiiru heisotsu.* Here the verb *hikiiru*, 'to lead', qualifies *heisotsu*, 'soldiers'. But the phrase does not mean 'the general's leading soldiers'. The word *hikiiru* merely relates the idea 'lead' to the idea 'soldiers', without introducing any idea of time or agency. The meaning here is 'the soldiers led by the general'.

(2) *koshi ni oburu katana*, 'A sword worn in the belt'. Here *oburu*, being an attributive form, relates the idea 'wear' to the idea 'sword', but makes no reference to the agent. As mentioned above, in describing the predicative form, the English rendering in such cases often requires a passive construction.

(3) *kimi ga keru mari*   the ball which you kick

(4) *bakemono no arawaruru mori*   the grove in which the ghost appears

(5) *ware no yuku tokoro*   the place to which I go

(6) *kare no kore wo shuchō suru riyu*   the reasons for which he asserts this

Notice the variety in translation—'which', 'in which', 'to which', and 'for which'. It will be seen that the substantive to which the verb is attributed is not necessarily either its object or its subject.

As an epithet the Attributive Form exists in a few conventional compounds, such as *yukue*, 'destination', *Narukami*, 'the Sounding God', *tsurube*, 'well-rope', &c. ; but it is the Conjunctive Form which enters into most compound words.

The attributive can also act as a substantive in such expressions as :

umaruru wa ureshiku shinuru wa kanashiki koto nari   birth is a joyful, death a sad thing

Here the attributive corresponds to our infinitive, 'to die', 'to be born'. Where, as in Japanese, the verb is neutral as to person and number, there is obviously no need for a specialized infinitive form. An extension of the above usage enables one to form locutions like :

hito no kuru wo matsu   awaits a person's coming

daikoku wo osamuru wa shō-
    sen wo niru ga gotoshi
	governing a great state is
	    like boiling small fish

warau wa onna ni shite naku
    wa onna nari
	it is the women who laugh
	    and the men who weep

This use can be conveniently explained by supplying either *koto* ('thing', abstract) or *mono* ('thing' or 'person') after the verb in the attributive form and regarding it as having its usual attributive sense. Thus, *hito no kuru koto wo matsu* or *warau mono wa onna ni shite*, and so on. But it must not be supposed that this is an accurate reproduction of the sense-development in such cases. The verb acting as a noun is to be found in the earliest texts. It is worth mentioning here, however, that the colloquial equivalent of this idiom exacts the use of the particle *no*, as follows :

warau no wa onna nari	instead of	*warau wa onna nari*
hito no kuru no wo matsu	,,	*hito no kuru wo matsu*

Some Japanese grammarians suggest that *no* here is a substitute for *mono*, but I think it more probable that it is the particle *no* in a difficult but comprehensible development of its ordinary sense.

A further use of the attributive form, regarded as important by strict grammarians of the school of Mabuchi and Motoori, is to replace the 'conclusive' form in sentences where it is preceded by one of the particles *zo*, *nan*, *ka*, or *ya*. Thus, *tsuki wo nagamu*, 'gazes on the moon', but *tsuki wo zo nagamuru*, where *zo* is merely an emphatic particle ; *hana otsu*, 'flowers fall', but *hana ya otsuru*, 'do flowers fall ?' This variation is found, but not uniformly, in the earliest texts. It is referred to under the headings devoted to the various particles, but examples may be given here for convenience :

(1) After the emphatic particles *ZO* and *NAMO* (=*NAMU* or *NAN*) :

ware nomi zo kimi ni wa kou-
    ru (M.)
	it is I alone who yearn for
	    thee

tsukaematsuru koto ni yorite
    namo . . . amatsuhitsugi wa
    kikoshimeshikuru (Res.)
	it is because of Our service
	    that We have succeeded to
	    the Heavenly Throne

(2) After the interrogative particles *YA* and *KA* :

hitori ya haruhi kurasamu (M.)	shall I pass the days of Spring alone ?
tare shi no yakko ka waga mikado ni somukite shika suru (Res.)	what fellows have thus rebelled against our throne ?

I do not know of any satisfactory explanation why, after these particles, the substantival form should be preferred to the predicative. It is curious to note that where *ka* and *ya* are final particles *ka* follows the substantival, *ya* the predicative form. Thus :

nami wa yorikeru ka (M.)	have the waves come up ?
ame ni furiki ya (M.)	did it rain ?

The tendency of the substantival form to oust the predicative is, however, very marked in Japanese. It is of course most apparent in cases where the particle *ga* (= of) is used. Thus *hito ga ochiru*, though it stands in strict grammatical analysis for 'a person's falling', has in speech invariably and in writing usually the meaning 'a person falls', and has replaced the simple locution composed of subject + predicate, *hito otsu.* To quote Aston : ' It is as if we gave up the use of the indicative mood and used participles instead, saying, for instance, "he dying" or "his dying" instead of "he dies", or "his being killed" instead of "he was killed".'

The following are early examples of the various uses of the Attributive or Substantival Form :

iru mato (M.)	the target which is shot at
tabiyuku ware (M.)	I who am journeying
hito no mitogamuru wo shirazu (Res.)	not knowing that others blamed them
otsuru momiji no kazu wo miyo (Kokin.)	behold the numbers of the falling autumn leaves
nami yosekakuru migiwa (HK.)	the water's edge to which the waves come beating
hito wo tasukuru wa junjō no narai nari	It is a natural custom to help others

IV. The Conjunctive or Adverbial Form.

This is the form used, as its name indicates, when it is desired to bring the idea expressed by the verb into the closest possible association with the idea expressed by another word. Consequently its most specialized use is in the formation of compound words. Thus, in such combinations as

Conjugation	Conjunctive Form
1st	**yuki**
2nd	**tabe**
3rd	**ochi**
4th	**mi**
Irregular	**ari**
	shi
	ki

kimono	'wear-things'	= clothes
tabemono	'eat-things'	= food
minikushi	'see-unpleasant'	= ugly
ochiiru	'fall-enter'	= fall in

the conjunctive forms *tabe*, *ki*, *mi*, and *ochi* act in the same way as the adjective stem in such words as *akagane*, 'red metal' (copper), and *chikayoru*, 'to come near', 'approach'. I do not see what practical or theoretical purpose is served by distinguishing a verb stem and a conjunctive form, as was done by Aston (*Written Language*, 3rd ed.). To state, for instance, that *machi* is the stem of a verb which has also the forms *matsu*, *mata*, and *mate* is to assume that *machi* is a prior form which has given rise to the others. There is no warrant for this assumption. All we can say is that the phonetic element *mat* is common to all forms, and if we are to recognize such entities as stems, *mat* is probably the stem of this verb. In meaning, the distinction between Stem and Conjunctive Form cannot be upheld. Other forms of the simple conjugation are equally 'stems' or 'bases' to which further syllables can be affixed to express variations or extensions of meaning.

The conjunctive form of verbs can act as a noun, either alone or in composition, e. g. :

hikari	radiance	*kōri*	ice
imashime	counsel	*tsutsumi*	parcel
uketori	receipt	*yorokobi*	joy
hayaoki	early rising	*inujini*	miserable end (lit. 'dog-dying')

There is a difference in meaning between the conjunctive forms of verbs thus used as nouns and the true 'substantival' form. The word *yorokobi*, for example, means 'rejoicing' or 'joy'. It stands for a comprehensive or abstract idea, while *yorokobu* pictures rather the act of rejoicing, or even sometimes the agent. The distinction is best shown by examples :

sono yorokobi kagiri nashi	their joy knew no bounds
kakaru toki ni yorokobu wa tsune no narai nari	at such a time to rejoice is the usual custom
yorokobu wa otoko ni shite nageku wa onna nari	it is the men who rejoice and the women who lament

Besides entering into composition with other words, the conjunctive form can be used to co-ordinate words without closely connecting them. The difference is dependent rather on the meaning of the words employed than on any change of function. Thus *yukikaeru* is 'to come and go', while *kaeriyuku* is 'to go back'; but the distinction obviously arises from the nature of the words used. It is perhaps clearer in such phrases as *nagekikanashimu*, 'to bewail and lament', where the two parts are of equal value, and the form *nageki* is used merely for purposes of co-ordination, since Japanese has no conjunction corresponding closely to 'and'. Early examples of this use are to be seen in :

machikanetsu (M.)	is unable to wait
futari narabi-i-kataraishi (M.)	the two were in converse together

(Here both *narabi* and *i* are conjunctive forms of verbs.)

kono yamamichi wa yukiashi-karikeri (M.)	this mountain road was bad to travel

and such combinations as *izanai-hikiiru*, 'to invite and lead' = 'to seduce', *oshiemichibiku*, 'to teach and guide' = 'to instruct', are very frequent in the Rescripts. The tendency to form such groups was no doubt strengthened by the influence of Chinese. It is, for instance, most likely that *oshiemichibiku* is a translation of the Chinese 教 導. It is an extension of this co-ordinating use which exhibits the conjunctive form in its most characteristic function, namely,

the co-ordination not of single words but of clauses and sentences, as in

> *hana saki tori naku*   flowers bloom and birds sing

It is important to notice that *saki* here does not mean 'blooming' or 'having bloomed'. Its tense is held in suspense until we reach the final verb *naku*, by which it is determined. Therefore

hana saki tori nakamu	flowers will bloom and birds will sing
hana saki tori nakeba	since flowers are blooming and birds are singing
hana saki tori naku nobe	a moor where flowers bloom and birds sing

Such constructions are of fundamental importance in Japanese syntax, and it is impossible to understand the written language until they are thoroughly mastered. They are to be found in the earliest texts :

akagoma ni kura uchioki hai-norite (M.)	saddling and bestriding his chestnut colt
oto ni kiki me ni wa mizu (M.)	he hears the sound (but) does not see
osu kuni ame no shita wo megumitamai osametamau ma ni (Res.)	according as he deigns to cherish and deigns to rule the Kingdom under Heaven

In the spoken language this 'suspensive' use of the conjunctive form is generally reinforced by means of a particle or replaced by some other construction. Thus, *hana ga saite tori ga naku, hana mo sakeba tori mo naku*, or *hana mo saku shi tori mo naku*. These, with slight differences of emphasis, are equivalent to *hana saki tori naku*.

A use of the conjunctive form which is of some interest is illustrated in

mai suru (K.)	to dance
imo ni awazu shini semu (M.)	I shall die without meeting my lover

Here we have the forms *shini* and *mai* acting as nouns and

combined with the auxiliary verb *suru*,[1] 'to do'. In the
modern language *hossuru* (= *hori suru*), 'to desire', is a survival of this type, which may be regarded as the ancestor
of verbs formed by the addition of *suru* to Chinese words,
such as *yōsuru*, 'to require', from *yō*, 要.   See also under
Auxiliary Verbs, *suru*.

V. The 'Imperfect' or Negative Base Form.

This form never occurs as
an independent word. It was
named by Aston the Negative
Base, but since it is the base
for future and conditional, as
well as negative forms, it
would seem best, subject to
the remarks below, to follow
the practice of native grammarians and style it the
Imperfect Form (*mizenkei*,
未 然 形), because 'it is used

Conjugation	'Imperfect' Form or Negative Base
1st	yuka
2nd	ochi
3rd	tabe
4th	mi
Irregular	ara
	se
	ko

for events which have not yet taken place'.   It is thus
contrasted with the Perfect form, since we have

yukamu	will go
yukazu	does not go
yukaba	if he goes

where in each case the action described is incomplete, while
the Perfect form, as will be seen, always describes a completed act.   Further, the form is 'imperfect' in the sense
that it cannot stand alone without suffix.

No light is thrown on its development by early texts.   In
them, as always subsequently, it appears only as a base for
the compound conjugational forms just mentioned.   It is
also the base for passive and causative verbs, e. g. :

homaruru, 'to be praised' = *homa + ruru*, from *homu*, 'to
praise'.

[1] These forms should be distinguished from those like *fukiseba* in
kaze itaku fukiseba (M.), 'as the wind blew hard', which is composed
of *fuki + se*, the tense suffix *shi* in its 'imperfect' or 'negative base'
form. The form *ariseba*, which occurs frequently in early texts, is
of similar composition.

taberaruru, ' to be eaten ' = *tabe+raruru*, from *taburu*, ' to eat '.

tabesasuru, ' to cause to eat ' = *tabe +sasuru*, from *taburu*, ' to eat '.

yukasuru, ' to cause to go ' = *yuka +suru*, from *yuku*, ' to go '.

It will be noted that, where the base form does not end in *a*, the suffixes added to make causative or passive forms contain that vowel. It is tolerably certain that passive verbs are built up by adding to a form of the simple conjugation (probably the conjunctive) the auxiliaries *aru* ('to be') and *uru* ('to get'), the verb *yukaruru*, for instance, being *yuki + aru +uru*, which by crasis becomes *yukaruru* (attributive) and *yukaru* (predicative). This is sufficient to account for the *a* in passive verbs, and perhaps, by analogy, in causative verbs ; but it does not explain the *a* terminating the base of negative and future forms in the first conjugation, such as *yukamu* and *yukazu*. The rule for obtaining passive forms is to add *ru* to the negative base where it ends in *a*, and *raru* where it ends in another vowel. This gives the predicative of the passive, while the addition of *ruru* or *raruru* gives the corresponding attributive forms. But this is only an empiric rule, and there is nothing to show that, historically, passive forms are built up from the negative base.

It is important to note that the Negative Base is the only form of the verb which cannot stand alone. This seems to be a good reason for styling it the 'Imperfect' form, and so following the usual Japanese nomenclature ; but it has been pointed out to me that this name might cause confusion with the Imperfect tense in other languages, and I have therefore, somewhat reluctantly, retained the term Negative Base.

It should be understood that none of the other forms of the verb is a base in the same sense. It is true that suffixes can be added to the attributive, conjunctive, and perfect forms—even in a limited way to the predicative form—and they are to that extent bases ; but they have also an individual significance, which they express standing alone, whereas the Negative Base by itself has no meaning and no function.

VI. The Perfect Form.

Conjugation	Perfect Form
1st	yuke
2nd	tabure
3rd	otsure
4th	mire
Irregular	are
	sure
	kure

The Perfect Form, unlike the Negative Base, appears to have a certain tense-significance and not to be merely a flexional form providing a base for agglutination. In the earliest texts it is found standing alone where one might expect the conclusive, i. e. the ordinary predicative form. Thus :

nara no wag'ie wo wasurete omoe ya (M.)   have I forgotten my home at Nara ?

iwarenu mono ni are ya (Res.)   are they things not to be spoken ?

ware wasurure ya (M.)   have I forgotten ?

All the above are rhetorical questions, but it will be noticed that the verb tends to express the idea of a completed act or state, corresponding in some ways to a perfect tense.

It frequently occurs alone where, in the later language, we should find a compound form denoting a realized condition, e. g. :

hotoke no . . . sakiwaetamau mono ni ari to omoe 念 問 *orogami tatematsuru* (Res.)   having thought that the Buddha was a thing bestowing blessedness, we worship it

Here *omoe* means 'because we think' or 'since we have thought'—an idea which would subsequently have been expressed by *omoeba*, which consists of the same perfect form, *omoe*, + a conjunctive particle.

It is not possible to say whether the perfect is an independent form of the simple conjugation, or whether it is a contracted compound form. Aston takes the latter view, and considers that, for instance, *yuke* is derived from *yuki + aru*, which becomes (by a crasis which is common in Japanese) *yukeru*, and then drops the final *ru*. He bases this derivation on the existing modern perfect tense forms, like *yukeru*, which is undoubtedly composed of *yuki + aru*, and means 'has gone', or rather 'is gone'. It is true, also, that in all

but first conjugation verbs the perfect ends in *re*, which seems to indicate the presence of the verb *aru*. This still leaves us with the difficulty of accounting for the perfect form, *are*, of the verb *aru* itself.

It is perhaps significant that the Luchuan conjugation does not include a perfect form. The Luchuan conjugation shows correspondences with the archaic Japanese conjugation, but it is richer in forms. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that, if the perfect form had existed in the language from which both archaic Japanese and Luchuan are descended, it would have left some traces in Luchuan. One may infer that the perfect form came into use in Japanese just before the Nara period, and was never established in Luchuan. This view is supported by the fact that the use of the perfect form after *koso* (*v*. under Particles) does not appear to be fully established in the earliest Japanese texts. *Koso* is in them sometimes found governing an attributive, in the same way as the similar particle *zo*, particularly with adjectives. E. g. :

kusa koso shigeki (M.)	the grass is luxuriant
tsuma koso medzurashiki (M.)	the spouse is lovely

It seems therefore that Aston's view is probably correct, and the perfect may be regarded as a composite tense form, and not part of the simple conjugation formed by flexion.

Whatever its origin, the perfect form certainly conveys the idea of the definite completion of the act or state described by the verb, and in this respect it is strongly differentiated from the 'imperfect' or Negative Base form. The difference is brought out in the methods employed in Japanese to express a condition, thus :

yuka-ba	if he goes (or should go)
yuke-ba	since he goes (or has gone)
yuke-do	though he goes (or has gone)

where *yuka*, the 'imperfect' form, is used to express a hypothetical or unrealized condition, and *yuke*, the perfect form, to express an actual or realized condition.

The most curious use of the perfect form is that referred to above, in conjunction with the particle *koso*. The strict rule of Japanese syntax exacts the perfect, instead of the

usual conclusive (i. e. the predicative), form of verbs at the end of a sentence containing this particle. Thus :

kore wa tama nari	this is a jewel
kore koso tama nare	this indeed is a jewel

But in the earliest texts a similar idiom is found, sometimes without any particle, sometimes with emphatic particles other than *koso*. The sentence

waga seko wa itsuchi yukame   whither has my beloved gone ?

is an instance of a perfect standing alone. Other examples are :

ta ga koi ni arame (M.)	whose love can it be ?
ika ni arame (M.)	how is it, I wonder ? (lit. How will it be ?)

where *me* is the perfect form of the future verb-suffix *mu*. In

ima zo ware kure (M.)	now indeed I come
ame tsuchi no kami nakare ya . . . uruwashiki waga tsuma sakaru (M.)	is it because there are no Gods of Heaven or Earth that I am parted from my lovely wife ?
wag'imoko ika ni omoe ka yo mo ochizu ime ni shi miyu (M.)	of what has my love been thinking that every night I see her in my dreams

we have the particles *zo*, *ka*, and *ya* followed by a perfect.

Taking these various examples together, it seems that the perfect form, indicating as it does the definite completion of a process rather than the lapse of time, has a certain emphatic, affirmative value, and thus not unnaturally comes to be used with emphatic particles. Deprived of their context, the above examples perhaps fail to make this point clear, but in most of the cases I have examined I think some emphatic value can be discerned.

In the modern language the perfect form standing alone without agglutinated suffix is used only after *koso*, and this is merely a survival. Its chief use now is as a base for conditional and concessive forms, such as *yukeba*, *yukedo*, explained above. In early texts we find conditional forms composed of a perfect with particles other than *ba*. Thus :

nani sure zo . . . hana no sakite kozukemu (M.)	how is it that the flowers have not come to bloom ? (*sure* is the perfect of *suru*, 'to do')
awamu to omoe koso inochi tsugitsutsu (M.)	dragging out my life because I hope to meet you

but these uses are now obsolete. They throw, however, an interesting light upon the development of the locution for expressing a realized condition in Japanese verbs. It appears that first of all we have the perfect standing alone, as in the example quoted above,

sakiwaitamau mono ni ari to omoe	because we thought, &c.

Then come cases where the perfect form is reinforced by an emphatic or interrogative particle, so that the above sentence might read *omoe koso*, *omoe zo*, or *omoe ya*, and these forms fall out of use, giving way to a combination *omoeba*, which contains the separative particle *ha* or *wa* in its surd form *ba*.

The Imperative in Japanese Verbs

In the Nara period the function of the Imperative is performed by the 'perfect' form of verbs of the first conjugation and of the verb *aru* (e. g. *yuke*, *are*), while in other verbs the Imperative is identical with the Negative Base. Consequently we find

tsutome (from *tsutomuru*, 'perform')
tate (from *tatsu*, 'stand')
se (from *suru*, 'do')

and also imperatives of compound forms such as

nase (from *nasu*, 'to do')
shirashime (from *shirashimuru*, 'to cause to know', causative of *shiru*)
imashite (from *imashitsuru*, a past tense form of *imasu*, an honorific verb = 'to be')   .

The addition of the particle *yo* is not essential for the formation of the Imperative. It is found in early texts with verbs of all conjugations, but it is a mere exclamation. Later, in the case of verbs not of the first conjugation, it came to be

regarded as an integral part of the imperative form, so that it is now regarded as correct to say *tsutomeyo*, *seyo*, &c. Similar observations apply to imperative forms in *ro*, such as *tsukero*, which are no doubt survivals of dialect forms, the *ro* being, like *yo*, an interjection. Forms such as *motere* (= *motsu* + *are*), *okere* (*oku* + *are*) appear in the *Manyōshū*, but not later.

It will be noticed that, neglecting the exclamatory particles *yo* and *ro*, all imperatives end in *e*. The imperative should perhaps be regarded as a special conjugational form, but it seems probable, judging from the existence of forms like *motere*, *okere*, &c., that it is merely a specialized use of the Perfect.

It may be appropriately mentioned here that the simple negative of a verb is rarely used in Japanese except in very intimate or very severe conversation. The imperative of a polite verb is usually added, as in *o kaeri nasai*, 'please come back', instead of the plain imperative *kaere*. Here *nasai* is the colloquial form of *nasare*, the imperative of *nasaru*, a polite verb for 'to do'.

The negative imperative found in the earliest texts is formed on the model *na yuki so*, 'do not go !' where *yuki* is the conjunctive form of the verb. But the use of *so* is not invariable and it is probably only exclamatory, being no doubt the same as the particle *zo* or the *so* of *koso*. Examples of the negative imperative with and without *so* are :

na shise-tamai so (K.)	deign not to die
mitogamubeki waza na se so (Res.)	do not do blameworthy things
shigure na furi so (M.)	let it not rain
na wabi waga seko (M.)	do not grieve, my lover

It is clear that the negative element is *na*, which is doubtless the same as the negative adjective *na-ki*, *na-shi*, &c.

The modern form of the negative imperative is in the written language of the type *yuku nakare*. Here *nakare* is composed of the negative adjective *na-ki* (probably in its conjunctive form *na-ku*) + the imperative, *are*, of the auxiliary verb *aru*. In the modern spoken language the equivalent is *yuku na*, where *na* is added to the attributive form of the verb, as can be seen from combinations like *suru na*,

'do not do!' *ochiru na*, 'do not fall', &c. Similar constructions are not wanting in the early language, e. g. :

ashi fumasu na (K.)	do not tread
wasure tamau na (M.)	do not forget
sutemasu na wasure masuna (Res.)	do not abandon, do not forget

Here, it will be seen, *na* is suffixed to the predicative form, and the modern colloquial usage prefers the attributive merely because the distinction between predicative and attributive always tends to disappear.

Substantival Forms, ending in -KU, of Verb and Adjective

The foregoing account of the simple conjugation has not included a reference to such verb forms as *iwaku*, which have survived in the modern language in locutions like

Kōshi iwaku or *Kōshi no iwaku*	what Confucius said
negawaku wa	what I desire

These are substantival forms, and occur freely in early texts, as may be seen from the following examples :

sogai ni neshiku ima shi kuya-shi mo (M.)	I still hate to think that we slept back to back
shi ga mōshishiku (Res.)	what he said
koma no oshikeku mo nashi (M.)	I do not spare the steed (lit. 'there is no sparing of steed')

neshiku (K.), *neshiku* (N.), *araku* (M.), *suraku* (M.), *miraku* (M.), *oraku* (M.), *kataraku* (M.), *aranaku* (M.), *shiranaku* (M.), *koemaku* (M.), *omoeramaku* (M.), *sada-metsuraku* and *mōshitsuraku* (Res.), &c.

What first strikes one about these forms is their resemblance to the 'adverbial' form of adjectives, which has the same termination and can in the same way serve as a noun. Thus, *kono uchi no chikaku ni*, 'in the neighbourhood of this house', *furuku yori*, 'from of old'. The compound conjugation of adjectives consists of this form together with the verb *aru*, and a group like *warukarishi*, 'was bad', resolves itself upon analysis into *waruku arishi*, 'there was badness'. Indeed, seeing that *arishi* is not a copulative verb, we are bound to

assume that *waruku* here is a substantive, and that a sentence like *kono sakana wa warakarazu* represents 'with regard to this fish there is not badness'.

In view of the resemblance between these *-ku* forms in verb and adjective it has been suggested by some Japanese grammarians that the conjugation of verb and adjective was originally identical. *A priori* this is not unlikely, but the resemblance itself can logically be regarded only as evidence that the element *ku* is of the same origin in each case. It does not follow that it is a conjugational form in each case, and the fact that *ku* is found following almost all the verb suffixes tends to disprove this supposition. We find it, for instance, following:

1. The tense suffixes—

mu, as in *fukamaku* (from *fukamu*, future of *fuku*, 'to blow')

tsu, as in *mōshitsuraku* (from *mōshitsuru*, past of *mōsu*, 'to say')

nu, as in *fukenuraku* (from *fukenuru*, past of *fukeru*, 'to grow late')

shi, as in *tamaishiku* (from *tamaishi*, past of *tamau*, 'to deign')

2. The negative suffix—

zu (*nu*), as in *shiranaku* (from *shiranu*, neg. of *shiru*, 'to know')

and it is unusual to find other verb suffixes following these. Thus, following the negative suffix we have only *ki*, in such compounds as *omowazukeri* (*ki-ari*), and this is rare. Following the tense suffix *nu* we have only other tense suffixes, e. g. *-namu*, *niki*, &c., and following the tense suffix *ki* we have only *mu*, as in *kemu*. In other words, the suffixes to which *ku* is added are, with few exceptions, terminal forms in any compound conjugational form, and it is therefore not safe to assume that *ku* is a conjugational form.

Leaving aside the conjectural identity between the conjugation of verb and adjective, it is interesting to examine these *-ku* forms in adjectives. We have, in addition to forms of the type *ashiku*, a number of words like *ashikeku*. Among these are such words as *harukeku*, *sayakeku*, *akirakeku*, &c.,

which at first sight appear identical with *ashikeku* in formation ; but they are conjugable, and have forms *harukeshi*, *harukeki*, &c.   They are adjectives, of which the stem contains the element *ke*, whatever its origin.   The remainder are not conjugable.   They appear only in the *-ku* form, as shown in the following examples :

yo no naka no ukeku tsura- *keku* (M.)	the woefulness and bitterness of life
yasukeku mo nashi (M.)	there is no restfulness
kanashikeku . . . omoiide (K.)	thinking of the grievousness

We can hardly suppose that *ku* in these cases is a conjugational form.   It obviously follows a contracted conjugational form of the adjective, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that it has here some independent significance.   Seeking for analogies in other words we find the form *idzuku*, which means 'which place', and the evidently cognate forms *soko* and *koko* = 'that place', 'this place'.   The element *ko* in *koto*, 'a thing', is presumably the same.   We may therefore conjecture that the *ku* in such forms as *iwaku* and *ashikeku* is a vestige of an obsolete word signifying perhaps place, perhaps 'thing'.   It is not profitable to speculate which, but Mr. Yamada ingeniously quotes

ume no hana chiraku wa *idzuku* (M.)	whither have the plum blossoms scattered ?

where *chiraku* is taken to mean 'scatter-place'.

In either case, this derivation explains the substantival character of the forms under discussion ; and though forms like *harukeku* must be distinguished from forms like *ashikeku* as explained above, it is probable that the *ku* in the normal adjective conjugation (e. g. *waruku*) is of the same origin as the *ku* in *ashikeku*.

A point which requires explanation is the intervening vowel in *ashikeku*, *suraku*, and similar forms.   In the case of *ashikeku* one may assume an original *ashiki-ku*. Dr. Aston, however, suggests *ashiki-aru-koto*, which seems a trifle far-fetched.

The verb forms are not uniform.   We have *tamaishiku*, where *ku* appears to follow the attributive form (*shi*) of the tense suffix *ki*, but after other suffixes there is an inter-

calated *a*, as in *fukamaku* (*fukamu . . . ku*), *shiranaku* (*shi-ranu . . . ku*), and where *ku* is suffixed to a verb in its simple conjugation this *a* also appears, as in *iwaku, toraku*. That this *a* is not part of the ordinary first conjugation base form is clear from the fact that it occurs in composition with verbs of other conjugations and with irregular verbs. The earliest texts (and all forms cited in this account are taken from the Nara period) contain *suraku, araku, kuraku, miraku, kouraku* (bigrade), &c. In other words, with verbs of the first or quadrigrade conjugation we have the termination *aku*, with most other verbs we get the termination *raku*. The latter is not mentioned by Aston, but it renders more plausible his derivation from *aru + ku*. Taking attributive verb forms in each case, and adding *aku*, which we assume to represent *aru + ku*, we have, for example :

1st conjugation	*toru + a + ku*	= *toraku*
	negau + a + ku	= *negawaku*
2nd ,,	*tsuguru + a + ku*	= *tsuguraku*
3rd ,,	*kouru + a + ku*	= *kouraku*
4th ,,	*miru + a + ku*	= *miraku*
Irregular verbs	*aru + a + ku*	= *araku*
	suru + a + ku	= *suraku*
	kuru + a + ku	= *kuraku*
Compound	*fukamu + a + ku*	= *fukamaku*
conjugations	*shiranu + a + ku*	= *shiranaku*
	moshitsuru + a + ku	= *moshitsuraku*
	omowashimuru + a + ku	= *omowashimuraku*

The only form which will not fit into this scheme is that of the type *tamaishiku*, where *ku* follows directly the attributive form of the tense suffix *ki* ; but the conjugation of this tense suffix is obscure, and probably composite.

The evidence is therefore fairly strong in favour of a development such as that suggested, though it is clearly useless to press conjecture any further and inquire whether there actually existed an ancestral form *aru + ku*.

The real interest of this form lies in the explanation which it furnishes of the compound adjectival conjugation of the model *warukaru*. Without this clue it is hard to understand the uses of the 'adverbial' form of the adjective, particularly when it acts as a noun.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONJUGATIONS

The conjugations found in the texts of the Nara period are :

No.	Type	Examples				
		Pred.	*Attrib.*	*Conj.*	*Imperf.*	*Perf.*
1st	Quadrigrade	*yuku* 'go'	*yuku*	*yuki*	*yuka*	*yuke*
2nd	Bigrade	*tabu* 'eat'	*taburu*	*tabe*	*tabe*	*tabure*
3rd		*otsu* 'fall'	*otsuru*	*ochi*	*ochi*	*otsure*
4th	Unigrade	*miru* 'see'	*miru*	*mi*	*mi*	*mire*
—	Irregular	*shinu* 'die'	*shinuru*	*shini*	*shina*	*shinure*
		su 'do'	*suru*	*shi*	*se*	*sure*
		ari 'be'	*aru*	*ari*	*ara*	*are*
		ku 'come'	*kuru*	*ki*	*ko*	*kure*

There is no essential difference between the second and third conjugations. Both are bigrade, and the difference in the vowel termination of the stems (*e* and *i*, as in *tabe* and *ochi*) can easily be accounted for. It will be observed that the essential difference between the bigrade conjugation and the quadrigrade is the existence in the quadrigrade, but not in the bigrade, of an Imperfect form ending in *a*, and the existence in the bigrade, but not in the quadrigrade, of a special Attributive form composed of the predicative and the syllable *ru*. When we come to examine the verbs of the Nara period we find that most of the bigrade verbs are derivative, being either passive verbs, or specialized transitive or intransitive forms. Further, the Nara period texts have preserved in a number of cases a full quadrigrade conjugation of verbs which are not so specialized. Thus we find the following verbs :

> *tabu, wasuru, kakuru, todomu, taru, furu, susumu, osoru, samatagu, waku, saku,*

and many others, all conjugated in the quadrigrade type, like *yuku*. Sometimes the equivalent bigrade forms, such as *taburu, tabure* ; *wasururu, wasure* ; *kakureru, kakure*, &c., exist alongside of them, sometimes they do not appear until later. There can,

therefore, be hardly any doubt that the whole bigrade conjugation is derivative, and is obtained from the first, or quadrigrade, by agglutination. In other words, the first three conjugations were originally one. This conclusion is supported by the fact (*v.* Chamberlain, 'Luchuan Language', *T. A. S. J.* xxiii) that Luchuan verbs, although richer than Japanese in conjugational forms, are all inflected alike. There is only one verb conjugation in Luchuan.

It remains, however, to discover whether the one original conjugation, from which the first three conjugations arise, was identical with the first conjugation (quadrigrade) of the Nara and succeeding periods.

The first conjugation has, as its distinguishing features,

(1) the absence of a specialized attributive form ending in *ru* ;
(2) the imperfect form ending in *a*.

If the original conjugation, from which the quadrigrade and bigrade derive, ever possessed a specialized attributive form, we might expect to find an attributive form in Luchuan, on the reasonable supposition that that language has preserved features of the ancestral language common to it and to archaic Japanese. The attributive form does, in fact, exist in Luchuan, in all verbs, including those like *toru*, which in Japanese are of the first conjugation (e. g. *tuyuru*, which by well-substantiated phonetic laws can be shown to = *toruru*).

Further, upon examining Japanese verbs for traces of a conjugation which, while like the first conjugation in other respects, has a special attributive form, we find among the 'irregular' verbs two which share features of the quadrigrade and the bigrade conjugations. These are :

Pred.	*Attrib.*	*Conjunct.*	*Imperf.*	*Perf.*
shinu, 'die'	*shinuru*	*shini-*	*shina-*	*shinure*
inu, 'depart'	*inuru*	*ini-*	*ina-*	*inure*

Here we have a conjugation which, while it exhibits the characteristic Imperfect in *a* of the First Conjugation, also has a special attributive form in *ru*. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that an 'irregular' verb may seem irregular because it is an early form, which has not undergone additions or subtractions to which other verbs have subsequently been subjected. Pursuing the same line of inquiry, we may turn to the verbal suffixes, which we can fairly assume in some cases to have been at one time independent verbs. The most suggestive of these is the suffix *-su* (*v.* p. 164).

The following table shows its forms, alongside of those of the auxiliary verb *suru*, with which it is cognate :

	Suffix	Auxiliary		Suffix	Auxiliary
Predicative	*su*	*su*	Imperfect	*sa*	*se*
Attributive	*su*	*suru*	Perfect	*se*	*sure*
Conjunctive	*shi*	*shi*			

Here we find on the one hand an Imperfect form in *a*, on the other an Attributive form in *ru*. Again, the honorific verb *masu* has an attributive form *masuru* and an imperfect form *masa* (e. g. *kaeri ki masamu* (M.), 'will come back').

The balance of evidence, then, seems to be in favour of the view that the original conjugation of most, if not all, Japanese verbs was of the type

shinu, shinuru, shini, shina.

That it had an Imperfect form ending in *a* is practically certain ; that it had a special Attributive form ending in -*ru* is, though not certain, probable.

Turning now to the present bigrade conjugations, it is worth while to inquire in what way they are derived from the supposed original conjugation. In the first place, we have, as mentioned above, a number of verbs now of bigrade type which are found in the Nara period as quadrigrade. Perhaps the most instructive of these is *tabu*, 'to eat', the same verb as that which appears in the foregoing table as a type of the second (Bigrade) conjugation. In the Nara period the following forms occur :

Predicative	*tabu*	Imperfect	*taba*
Attributive	*tabu*	Conjunctive	*tabi*

Here we have complete all the distinctive forms of the First Conjugation.

The following list shows other verbs undergoing the same change :

	Pred.	*Attrib.*	*Imperf.*	*Conjunct.*
Nara	*todomu* 'to stop'	*todomu*	(*todoma ?*)	*todomi*
later	*todomu*	*todomuru*	*todome*	*todome*
Nara	*osoru* 'to fear'	*osoru*	*osora*	*osori*
later	*osoru*	*osoruru*	*osore*	*osore*
Nara	*wasuru* 'to forget'	*wasuru*	*wasura*	*wasure*
later	*wasuru*	*wasururu*	*wasure*	*wasure*

These are examples of a change of conjugation without any change of meaning or function. But the majority of verbs in the bigrade conjugations are specialized forms. Such are all Passive Verbs, which are obtained by agglutinating the auxiliary verb *uru* (or *eru*) to the stem. We thus find such verbs as

yukaru (yukaruru, yukare, yukare)

which is the passive verb derived from *yuku*, and is conjugated like *uru*, in the second conjugation (*u, uru, e*).

There is also a large group of derived verbs, providing special transitive and intransitive forms,[1] which are obtained from original (known or conjectured) first conjugation forms by agglutination of *uru* and *aru* respectively. Thus from *todomu* (which is used in the First Conjugation in the Nara period) we have

todomaru	to stay (intransitive)
todomuru *todomeru* }	to stop (transitive)

which are of the Second Conjugation.

It seems probable that such forms as *osoruru (osoreru)*, *wasururu (wasureru)*, &c., where verbs have moved from the First to the Second Conjugation without any change in meaning or function, are due to the influence of these specialized passive and similar forms. There is a curious and marked tendency in Japanese to accumulate suffixes at the end of a word, without any particular addition to its meaning.

The difference between the Second and Third Conjugations cannot be explained with certainty. The third differs from the second in having a terminal *i*, instead of *e*, in the imperfect and conjunctive forms. That third conjugation verbs are derived from earlier first conjugation forms is clear from such examples as *ikiru* and *koriru*, which correspond to earlier verbs *iku* and *koru* in the first conjugation. It seems likely that the variation from *e* to *i* is merely accidental, based on grounds of euphony ; or perhaps due to the agglutination of the auxiliary *iru*, instead of *uru* or *aru*.

It remains to explain the Fourth Conjugation, which is composed of a small number of verbs with monosyllabic roots—e. g. :

Pred.	Attrib.	Imperf.	Conj.	Perf.
miru	*miru*	*mi*	*mi*	*mire*
iru	*iru*	*i*	*i*	*ire*
kiru	*kiru*	*ki*	*ki*	*kire*
hiru	*hiru*	*hi*	*hi*	*hire*
niru	*niru*	*ni*	*ni*	*nire*

[1] v. p. 199.

Aston suggests that these verbs owe their peculiarities to their shortness. If, for instance, *miru* were inflected according to the First Conjugation, we should have, judging from the stem *mi*,

Predicative	*mu*	Conjunctive	*mi*
Attributive	*mu*	Perfect	*me*
Imperative	*ma*		

where the characteristic vowel *i*, of the stem, would be obliterated in all but one form. Consequently the sound *r* has been inserted. This seems reasonable. An alternative explanation is that an early form of the verb was *mu* (Predicative), with a subsequent attributive form *muru*, which by a sound-change not uncommon in Japanese became *miru*. An analogy can be found in many verbs ending in *mu*. Most of these, as found in the Nara period, are of the First Conjugation, e. g. *kanashimu*, 'to lament', *hagemu*, 'to encourage', *itsukushimu*, 'to love', &c. Chamberlain draws attention to the verb *kokoromu* ('to try'), which is probably composed of *kokoro*, 'heart', and *mu*, this conjectured early form of *miru*, 'to see'. The earliest forms of this verb were *kokoromu*, *kokoromuru*, *kokoromi*, and it later became *kokoromiru*. Further, the Luchuan verb for 'to see' is *nung* (Predicative), *nuru* (Attributive), which in accordance with well-established phonetic equivalencies between Luchuan and Japanese correspond with *mu* and *muru*. *Miru* can therefore be regarded as originally of the bigrade conjugation, which we have shown to be derivative.

There is not much evidence to show what was the history of the other verbs in the Fourth Conjugation. There is a verb *nasu*, appearing frequently in the earliest texts, e. g. :

kumoi nasu tōku (M.)	distant as the skies
naku ko nasu shitai (M.)	longing, like a crying child
tama nasu imo (K.)	my sister who is like a jewel
kagami nasu tsuma	my wife who is like a mirror

From its meaning, it seems almost certain that this is a causative form, cognate with *niru*, 'to resemble'. If this is so, we must assume that the earlier form of *niru* was *nuru* with the original first conjugation which we have conjectured, viz. *nu*, *nuru*, *na*, *ni*. No doubt the remaining verbs of the fourth conjugation have undergone similar changes.

We are still left in the dark as to the original forms of four important verbs,

aru, to be, to exist

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{(w)}oru \\ \text{(w)}iru\end{array}\right\}$ to dwell

kuru, to come

The conjugation of *aru* was, and remains,

Predicative	*ari*	Imperfect	*ara*
Attributive	*aru*	Perfect	*are*
Conjunctive	*ari*		

and there is no other example of a predicative form ending in *i*. The corresponding Luchuan form is *ang*, which represents *aru*, not *ari*, in Japanese.

The verb *oru* is generally considered to be a compound of *(w)i* (居) and *aru* (though there is no special reason to suppose that it is a composite form). Its predicative form in Nara texts is apparently *(w)ori*, to judge from a few examples where the reading is fairly certain (袁 理), and we may therefore take its conjugation to have been identical with that of *aru*. The forms of *(w)iru* itself are not clear, but in the Nara period we occassionally find *u* (= *wu*), which seems to have been the predicative form—another example, perhaps, of a first conjugation verb approximating to the fourth conjugation.

There is no explanation for the distinctive forms of *kuru*, 'to come' (*ku, kuru, ko, ki, kure*), but one cannot expect to find a uniform development in verbs with a monosyllabic stem. On account of their very shortness they doubtless tended to assume forms easily pronounced and distinguished.

II. THE COMPOUND CONJUGATION

It has been shown above that the forms of the Simple Conjugation of Verbs represent only primary ideas, without reference to considerations of time or mode. When it is desired to express these secondary aspects, use must be made of one or more of a group of suffixes, which are attached to appropriate forms of the Simple Conjugation. These suffixes, with certain exceptions which will be referred to later, are themselves verbs, possessing as a rule all the forms of their own Simple Conjugation, to which further suffixes of the same nature can be attached to express further variations of meaning. This is best illustrated by a simple example. The suffix *-shimuru* attached to the Imperfect Form of verbs transforms them into Causative verbs, thus :

$$yuka\text{-}shimuru = \text{to cause to go}$$

and this is a verb which has all the forms of the Simple Conjugation, e. g. *yukashimu, yukashimuru, yukashime, yuka-shime, yukashimure*, to which, consistently with sense, further

suffixes can be attached. For example, *-raru* is a suffix denoting the Passive Voice, and is attached to the Imperfect form. Therefore :

yukashime-raruru = to be caused to go

and this verb can in its turn be conjugated *yukashime-raruru, yukashime-raru, -rare*, &c., and still further suffixes attached. Obviously, as the meaning of the verb increases in complexity, the number of suffixes which can be attached so as to make a coherent word, becomes less. To *yukashimeraruru*, however, it is still possible to make additions—for instance, to fix its tense by, say, the verb suffix *-ki* (also declinable), denoting past time. This is attached to the conjunctive form, and we have

yukashimerareki = was caused to go.

Theoretically it is possible to make even longer forms than this, but there is naturally in practice a limit to the size of these structures. When they become too complex in meaning or too cumbrous in length, some other locution is substituted.

Though many of these suffixes are almost certainly themselves composed of one or more verbs (such as the verbs *aru*, 'to be', *uru*, 'to have' or 'get', *suru*, 'to do' or 'make') and may in that sense be regarded as auxiliary verbs, they differ from auxiliary verbs in other languages in that they cannot stand alone, but must be closely attached to other verbs. Thus, *yakaruru*, 'to be burned', is no doubt composed of *yaku* + *aru* + *uru*, but the two latter verbs in such compositions cannot fairly be compared with such independent words as 'to be' or 'to get' or 'to have'. It seems therefore mistaken to follow Dr. Ōtsuki in treating the verb-suffixes as a special class of Auxiliary Verbs. Nor is it satisfactory to include them with the *Teniwoha* or Particles, as was the practice of the earlier grammarians. They have nothing at all in common with words like *ni, ga, wo, wa*, &c., except that they are sometimes monosyllabic, and are rather difficult to fit in among other parts of speech. Much the simplest, and surely the most reasonable, method is not to regard them as integral parts of speech at all, but as specialized suffixes, no longer falling within the definition of a word, by means of which is formed the Compound

Conjugation of the verb. This is the method adopted here, and the suffixes are grouped according to their functions and not according to any conjectured identity of form.

It is important to remember that the words formed by the addition of verb suffixes are themselves complete verbs. The form *yukashimuru*, for instance, is an entity, comparable in meaning only with 'to cause to go' which is composed of isolated parts. It is capable of all the activities of the verb *yuku*, and is more accurately described as a causative verb derived from *yuku* than the causative form of the verb *yuku*.

Before these suffixes are described, it should be made clear that, though the compound conjugation of a Japanese verb serves to express relations roughly approximating to relations of time, voice, mood, &c., as we understand them, it does not express exactly those relations. Further, the Compound Conjugation, while it is not explicit as to certain relations regarded as essential in English, can express other relations which are not precisely conveyed by any form of an English verb.

I. SUFFIXES DENOTING VOICE OR ASPECT

-ru　-raru

Form	Imperfect of Simple Conjugation plus	
1. Predicative	-ru	-raru
2. Attributive	-ruru	-raruru
3. Conjunctive	-re	-rare
4. 'Imperfect' or Negative Base	-re	-rare
5. Perfect	-rure	-rarure

The two suffixes are in reality one. They are attached to the Imperfect form of verbs, and where that form ends in *a* the suffix *ru* is used, where it ends in another vowel *-raru* is used, thus :

naku, 'to weep', passive	*naka-ru, naka-ruru, naka-re, &c.*
taberu, 'to eat', ,,	*tabe-raru, tabe-raruru, tabe-rare, &c.*
miru, 'to see', ,,	*mi-raru, mi-raruru, mi-rare, &c.*

These are the suffixes used in Japanese to form a compound conjugation denoting the passive voice, and other related aspects of the verb, which will be described below.   Thus :

hito utaru	a person is struck (Concl.)		
utaruru hito	,,	who is struck (Attrib.)	
hito utare	,,	being struck (Conj.)	
hito utarezu	,,	is not struck (Neg.)	
hito koso utarure	,,	is struck (Perf.)	

The original form of these suffixes was probably different. The earliest literature contains almost exclusively forms compounded of *-yu* and *-rayu* (according as the Imperfect form to which they are attached ends in *a* or another vowel). The paradigm is as shown :

	Imperfect in	
Form	*a*	*i* or *e*
1.	*-yu*	*-rayu*
2.	*-yuru*	*-rayuru*
3.	*-ye*	*-raye*
4.	*-ye*	*-raye*
5.	*-yure*	*-rayure*

Note.   There are occasional exceptions, for the sake of euphony.   Thus, for *omowa-yu* we find *omoyu*, which persists to-day in the form *oboyu-ru* or *oboyeru*.

Iwayuru, arayuru, miyuru, kikoyuru, &c., are further examples of the survival of these forms in the modern language.

The following are examples of the use of this early form :

hito ni shirayu na (M.)	let it not be known to men
miru ni shirayenu uma-hito (M.)	a groom not known by sight

Though the forms in *-yu*, *-rayu* are characteristic of the Nara period, the present forms in *-ru*, *-raru* are also found, but less frequently.   Thus :

onoko nomi wa chichi no na oite menoko wa iwarenu *mono ni are ya* (Res.)	should men only bear their fathers' name and in the case of women should it be not spoken ?
Morokoshi no tōki sakai ni tsukawasare (M.)	sent to the distant land of Morokoshi

There is not sufficient evidence to show whether the forms in *-yu* are earlier than those in *-ru*, nor is there any definite proof of the origin of either form. But there can be little doubt that both are vestiges of a combination of the two auxiliaries *aru*, 'to be', and *uru*, 'to get', 'to have'. No other assumption accounts so completely for the various uses of the verb forms in question, as will be seen from the following account of them.

(1) **To form Passive Verbs.**

The Passive Voice in English may be regarded as a purely grammatical device for describing an action without mentioning the agent. Passive verbs in Japanese, while they can perform this function, can have various additional significances. Thus in :

uta-ruru	to be struck
tabe-raruru	to be eaten

we have an ordinary passive. But, while in English only transitive verbs can be turned into the passive, in Japanese all verbs, without exception, can form a compound conjugation with the suffixes *-ru* or *-raru*. Thus, taking an intransitive verb like *shinu*, 'to die', we can construct a sentence

haha ko ni shinaru

meaning 'the mother suffers the death of the child'. The nearest rendering of this in English is, perhaps,

'the mother has her child die',

on the same lines as

he *had* his clothes stolen
or   he *got* struck by lightning,

where the words *had* and *got* do not denote any activity on the part of the subject but are merely a means of expressing the passive aspect of the verbs 'strike' and 'steal'. If we assume such forms as *shinaru*, &c., to be derived, by elision, from a hypothetical combination

shin(u)-ar(u)-uru   (or *shini-ari-uru*)
die   be   get

the full range of their meaning becomes easily comprehensible. Further examples of this use are given below : [1]

yuki ni furayete sakeru ume no hana (M.)	plum blossoms that had opened after *having the snow fall on them*
Ataka no minato wo watasan to suru ni hashi wo hikarete kawa fukashi (HK.)	they wished to cross the harbour of Ataka, but the bridge had been pulled down and the river was deep
ware zoku ni taikin wo nusu-mare-tari (Mod.)	I had a large sum stolen by robbers
kare wa hitsuzō no ran ni karerarete ōki ni shitsubō shi-tari (Mod.)	he was greatly disappointed by the withering of his orchids

An example where the English and Japanese idioms are parallel is furnished by such a sentence as

atai towareba *sengohyaku kwan to iraeyo* (Uji)	if *you are asked* the price reply ' 1,500 kwan '

(2) To form Potential Verbs.

An extended, or perhaps more accurately a parallel, function of the passive forms is to express ability to perform an action. Thus, in certain contexts :

yukaruru	can go
taberaruru	can eat
miraruru	can see

This is at first sight curious, but it is not hard to understand when one remembers that the termination contains the verb *uru* (to get, obtain), and that this word is used in the same way as the auxiliary verb *can* in English. Thus, in classical modern Japanese we find such locutions [2] as

e-iwazu	cannot say
miru wo ezu	cannot see

[1] It should be noticed that where the agent is named, it is denoted by the instrumental particle *ni*. Further, it should be observed that in Japanese a passive verb can govern an object, which is denoted by the 'accusative particle' *wo*.

[2] It is curious that these forms are invariably negative. That the use of *e* prefixed to the principal verb is not a borrowed Chinese idiom is pretty clear from its frequency in the medieval colloquial preserved in the Kyōgen and in dialects.

while many dialects preserve forms like

yomi-eru	for	*yomeru*
iki-eru	,,	*ikareru*
kiki-eru	,,	*kikoeru*

Moreover, forms like *ari uru* (M.), 'can exist', *ari emu* (M.), 'will be able to exist', occur occasionally in Nara period texts.

There can be hardly any doubt therefore that these 'Passive' forms derive their Potential meanings from the verb *uru*, and it is probable that some if not all of the forms in *-yuru* contain that verb alone, and not the verb *-aru* as well. This assumption makes it easy to account for the existence of such pairs as

miyuru	to be visible
miraruru	to be seen, to be able to see
oboyuru	to learn
oboeraruru	to be thought

and is consistent with their different meanings. (See also under Transitive and Intransitive Verbs, p. 199.)

The potential use occurs in the earliest writings, e. g. :

momochidaru yaniwa mo miyu kuni no ho mo miyu (K.)	a myriad abounding homesteads can be seen and the fullness of the land can be seen
imo wo omoi i mo nerayenu (M.)	I cannot sleep for thinking of my love
uchitoketaru i mo nerarezu (Mak.)	being unable to sleep an easy sleep

An interesting extension of the potential use is to be observed in such phrases as

ne nomi shi nakayu (M.)	I can but weep (lit. only cries are cried)
harobaro ni omoyuru Tsukushi no kuni wa (M.)	the land of Tsukushi, for which I can but feel a longing
fude wo toreba mono kakaru (Tosa)	if you take up a pen you naturally write

tsukikage wa shizen no tomo-shibi ni mochiirare, matsu wo harau kaze no oto koto no oto ni ayamataru (HK.)	the moonlight serves as a lamp and the sound of the wind sweeping over the pine trees might be mistaken for the sound of a harp

It will be noticed that the above examples show various gradations in meaning, from 'can' to 'may' and 'must'. It is probable that such humble forms as *zonzeraru* ('I venture to think'), in the epistolary style, are of this category.

(3) To form Honorific Verbs.

An important feature of the passive forms is their frequent use in an honorific sense. This is usually explained as an extension of the 'potential' significance of these forms, it being thought more respectful to say that a superior person is able to do a thing if he chooses than that he actually condescends to do it. The usage is a well-established one, and is common in the modern language, both written and colloquial. E. g. :

kikun wa kono sho wo yomaretaru ka ?	have you read this book ?
B. kun wa Kyōto ni oraru	Mr. B. is in Kyoto

The polite forms *nasaru*, 'to do', *kudasaru*, 'to condescend', *irassharu*, 'to be present' (=*irase-raru*), &c., also illustrate this honorific use.

I have not come across any examples of the honorific use of forms in *-ru*, *-raru* in the Nara period, though causative forms in *su* (v. pp. 165 et seq.) were freely used in that way. From the Heian period onwards the forms in *-ru*, *-raru* appear frequently with an honorific sense, as in the following examples :

iroiro ni kuro wo tsukusare-keri (Sandai)	he made great efforts in many ways
sōzoku hito kudari torase yo-rodzu no koto itawararu (Uji)	he gave him a suit of clothes and cared for him in all ways
ano tachi nagerare sorae ya to iikereba (HK.)	as he said 'Please to throw down that sword'

II. SUFFIXES FORMING CAUSATIVE VERBS

-su, -sasu, and shimu

In modern Japanese a causative verb can be formed from any other verb in its simple conjugation by adding to the Imperfect ('Negative Base') form one of the suffixes *-su*, *-sasu*, or *shimu*. Verbs thus formed are conjugated according to the following paradigm :

1. Predicative	**-su**	**-sasu**	**-shimu**
2. Attributive	**-suru**	**-sasure**	**-shimuru**
3. Conjunctive	**-se**	**-sase**	**-shime**
4. Imperfect or Negative Base	**-se**	**-sase**	**-shime**
5. Perfect	**-sure**	**-sasure**	**-shimure**

There is no distinction between *-su* and *-sasu* except that *-su* is added to bases ending in *-a*, and *-sasu* to all others. A distinction can be drawn, but is not always observed, between the force of these two suffixes and that of *-shimu* in the modern language. This will be mentioned presently. Examples of causative verbs formed as above are :

nemura-suru	to cause to sleep
yuka-suru	to cause to go
tabe-sasuru	to cause to eat
uke-sasuru	to cause to receive

and also the forms *nemurashimuru, yukashimuru, ukeshimuru, tabeshimuru*, &c.

The history of these suffixes is somewhat complicated, but deserves study. There can be little doubt that *-su* is cognate with the verb *su-ru*, meaning 'to do', but it is not quite clear how verbs like *yukasu* have come to bear their present meanings. In the very earliest writings the suffix *-su* seems to have had an honorific and not a causative force. Thus :

(1) *sayobai ni aritatashi yobai ni arikayowase* (K. Song)   standing here to woo her truly, going to and fro to woo her

   wa ga tatasereba [1] (do.)   while I am standing

(2) *omi no otome hotari torasu* (K.)   the maiden catches fireflies

[1] These are the words of a god (*Yachihoko-no-kami*) speaking of himself.

(3) *ama-terasu ō-mi-kami* (K.)   the Heaven-shining great-august-Deity

(4) *na tsumasu ko* (M.)   maiden plucking herbs

(5) *yamada mamorasu ko* (M.)   maiden guarding the upland fields

(6) *sumegamitachi no yosashi matsuramu mitoshi* (Res.)   the harvest which the Sovereign Gods will bestow

(7) *shinubase waga se* (M.)   remember, my beloved

(8) *hanaemi ni emashishi kara ni* (M.)   because you smiled with the smile of a flower

(9) *Ame-no-oshio-mimi no-mikoto ame no ukihashi ni tatashite* (K.)   His Augustness Ame-no-oshio-mimi standing on the floating bridge of Heaven

(10) *asobashishi shishi* (K.)   the wild boar which he was pleased (to shoot).

In all the above examples one can trace no causative meaning, but only an honorific sense, and that (e. g. in 2 and 3) is sometimes doubtful.[1]   Judging by analogy with causative verbs formed from adjectives, such as *katamuru*, *shiromuru*, the causative element, even of *shimuru* itself, seems to reside in *muru* (*mi uru*, 'to get'?) and not in *-shi*, which is no doubt a part of *-suru*. It is therefore possible that the verbs in *-su* had originally no causative meaning, but were merely slightly emphatic, so that *na tsumasu ko* would perhaps correspond to 'maiden who dost pluck herbs'.

Sir E. Satow, on the other hand, considers that they are causative verbs by origin, first by extension used honorifically, and then by a common process of degradation losing both causative and honorific value. Either of these explanations is better than the device of many Japanese grammarians, who get over the difficulty by styling these forms 'lengthened words' (*engen*) and letting it go at that.

Perhaps the existence of such a form as *yosasu* (*v.* Example 6) is evidence that *su* existed first as a causative termination, since it is formed from *yosu*, which is in its turn a causative (or more strictly a transitive [2]) verb derived from *yoru*, 'to

[1] In *aga ko tobashitsu* (M.), 'my child has flown', there can be neither honorific nor causative sense; but this is a poem by Omi Okura, whose language though vivid is often curious.

[2] See the section on Trans. and Intrans. Verbs, p. 199.

approach'. Further, it will be seen from the two following quotations (both from the songs in the *Kojiki*, which are the earliest available source) that a true causative and a quasi-honorific form of the same verb can exist together :

wa ga keseru osuhi no suso (K.)	the skirt of the robe which I am wearing
hito ni ariseba tachi hake ma-shi wo, kinu kise-mashi wo (K.)	if thou wert a man, Oh ! I would gird a sword on thee, Oh ! I would clothe thee with garments

Here we have, formed from *kiru*, 'to wear', the two forms *ki-suru* and *ke-su*.

It will be noticed that, with the exception of the two last forms, all the verbs in -*su* quoted above are formed from verbs with Base ending in -*a*, and that their conjugation is in several cases -*su*, (-*su*), -*sa*, (-*shi*), -*se* (?), thus differing from the paradigm (*su, suru, se, se, sure*) given above for the true causative suffix.

There are however some further exceptions which are formed from verbs with base not ending in -*a*. These are of interest in that they show the origin of certain ancient words which exist unchanged in the modern language. In the Nara period we find, in addition to *kesu*,

nasu	.	.	.	formed from	*nuru*, to sleep
sesu	.	.	.	,, ,,	*suru*, to do
mesu	.	.	.	,, ,,	*miru*, to see

The words

omoosu	.	.	.	from	*omou*, to think
kikosu	.	.	.	,,	*kiku*, to hear
shirosu	.	.	.	,,	*shiru*, to know
orosu	.	.	.	,,	*oru*, to weave

are also found, either alone or combined with *mesu*, as in *omoshimesu* (*oboshimesu*), *kikoshimesu*, *shiroshimesu*.

Other archaic forms of similar derivation are :

hakashi, a sword,	from	*haku*, to gird on
torashi,[1] a bow,	,,	*toru*, to pull, take
mikeshi, clothing,	,,	*kiru*, to wear

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[1] The word *toshi*, 'year', which originally meant 'harvest', is per-

and it may be conjectured that

<center>*nasu*, to do</center>

is derived from an obsolete verb *nu*, to be.

The usage is so irregular that I do not think it is safe to draw any inference from the existence of the two conjugations of -*su*. By the Heian period the termination *su* (*su*), *sa*, *shi*, *se* had fallen into disuse, surviving only in a few words such as *mesu* and *asobasu*. At the same time, the suffix *shimu*, which, whatever the original meaning of *su* may have been, was an undoubted causative in the Nara period, now became infrequent, and when used generally had an honorific value. The place of both *su* (*sa*, *shi*, *se*) the honorific and -*shimu* the causative was taken by -*su* and -*sasu* conjugated as shown in the paradigm at the head of this section.

Before illustrating this later use, the following examples of the earliest use of -*shimu* [1] should be quoted :

sakayeshime tamae (Rituals)	deign to cause (them) to flourish
Mikado to tatete amenoshita wo osame shimemu to omoite (Res.)	thinking to set him up as Emperor and make him rule over the Land

In the Heian period -*shimu* loses its purely causative force, and has almost invariably an honorific value. Thus :

mifune sumiyaka ni koga-shime tamae (Tosa)	pray row out the boat
Mikado ōki ni odorokase ta-maite kanzeshime-kikoshime-su koto kagiri nashi (Uji)	His Majesty, greatly frightened, was moved beyond measure

haps a form of *toru*, ' to take ', the words (*tosu*) and *torasu* forming a pair like *yosu* and *yosasu* from *yoru*.

[1] The forms in *shime* are sometimes found written phonetically, e. g. 佐 加 叡 志 米 *sakayeshime* ; but the termination is most often represented by the character 令 e. g. 令 隆 *sakaye-shime*, which shows clearly that there is a full causative sense.

The forms in *su* are more frequently written phonetically, but the suffix is also found represented by 所, thus *yosasu* appears as 與 佐 斯 and also as 所 寄. The difference between the force of 令 and 所 respectively is obvious.

In the Kamakura period, however, *shimuru* reverts to its original use as a causative. In works like the *Heike Mono-gatari*, for instance, it is very rare to find it with an honorific value :

uta wo narawashimu	he made him learn poetry.
shukuun no shikarashimuru tokoro (= *shika* + *arashimu-ru*, caus. of *aru*)	what predestination causes to take place
jinpu sotto ni kaburashimu, *kōtoku soto ni arawaru* (caus. of *kaburu*)	he poured his blessings on distant lands and his virtue was spread abroad

Returning now to *su-ru*, *sasu-ru*, we find it in the Heian period firmly established as a suffix of which the sense is primarily causative. Thus :

me no ouna ni adzukete yashi-nawasu (Take.)	he gave it (the child) to his wife to bring up
hito domo idashi motomesa-suredo usenikeri (Mak.)	they sent people out in search, but it had vanished

As a rule the conjugation is as stated above, of the model *-su*, *-suru*, *-se*, *-sure*, but it is not so constant as the grammarians pretend, and there are many exceptions in the classical period. Such forms, for instance, are found as

*narawa*shi-*taru* ('cause to learn')	Impf. in *shi*, not *se*
*niowa*shi-*te* ('cause to smell')	,, ,, *shi*, ,, *se*
*fuka*sa-*nu* ('cause to blow')	Base ,, *sa*, ,, *se*
*narawa*sa-*mu* ('cause to learn')	,, ,, *sa*, ,, *se*
*sesa*su *mono* ('cause to do')	Att. ,, *su*, ,, *se*

which belong to a complete conjugation of the model *su*, *su*, *sa*, *shi*, *se* (*sa*, 4-grade).

It is difficult to reconcile the two, but it seems probable that the earliest [1] forms are those in *su*, *su*, *sa*, *shi*, *se*, and that these were gradually assimilated to forms of the Lower Bigrade Conjugation. There is no reason to expect rigidity in these matters ; and the change from quadrigrade to lower bigrade is very common, as the following list will show.

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[1] It is true that in the *Kojiki* songs quoted above we have *tatashi* and *kayowase*, but in the other cases the forms are all regular quadri-grade conj.

Nara Period		Heian Period
(quad.)		(lower bigrade)
osori (fear)	Imperf.	*osore*
susumu (advance)	Attr.	*susumuru*
samatagu (prevent)	,,	*samataguru*
kakura-ba (hide)	Base	*kakure-ba*
wasura-ji (forget)	,,	*wasure-ji*

There is no doubt that poetry and metrical prose (which, one must remember, were the chief purposes for which the pure written language was employed for centuries) are favourable to changes of this sort.

A further peculiarity is the existence of an independent verb form *sasu*, as in

hito ni shikaru beki furumai wa saseji (G.)	will not allow people to behave in that way
yoki otoko no kuruma todomete mono ii anai sasetaru (Mak.)	I stopped the carriage of a good looking man and asked him to tell me (lit. 'speaking caused him to inform')

As a causative form of the auxiliary verb *suru* we should expect *se-sasu-ru* which is, in fact, the usual form ; but in the *Manyōshū* we find *sesu* (in an honorific sense) followed in later writings, as just mentioned, by *sasu-ru*, lower bigrade (as a causative). It seems probable that *sasu-ru* and *sesasu-ru* developed independently, with a slight difference in meaning, just as in the case of similar pairs derived from very common verbs. Thus we have :

	Archaic	Later	
suru, 'do'	*sesu*	*sasu-ru*	*se-sasuru*
miru, 'see'	*mesu*	*misu-ru*	*mi-sasuru*
kiru, 'wear'	*kesu*	*kisu-ru*	*kisasuru*
niru, 'resemble'	—	*nisu-ru*	*nisasuru*
eru, 'get'	—	(*esu-ru*) ?	*esasuru*
nuru, 'sleep'	*nasu*	*nesu-ru*	*nesasuru*

The difference is between direct and indirect causation, e. g. *kisuru* is 'to put clothes on a person', *kisasuru* is 'to cause a person to wear clothes' (*v.* also Trans. and Intrans. Verbs).

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The analogy revealed by this table is fairly convincing, and if it is correct we may assume that *-sasu* was first of all an independent verb, which gradually by usage became a verbal suffix, first of the 4th grade conjugation, and later of the 2nd. Once we have two sets of forms, it is natural to expect confusion at a later period, for the simple reason that ordinary people cannot be expected to obey rules discovered for them long after their death by extraordinary people like grammarians; so that we need not be put out by such irregularities as the existence side by side of two types of conjugations for one suffix. The fact that some verbs take *-suru* only, instead of *-sasuru*, is no doubt due to avoidance of duplication of the *a* sound—thus, *yukasuru* rather than *yukasasuru*.

We may conclude the discussion of causative verbs by an account of their various meanings :

In the first place, there are obvious differences in meaning, dependent on context or on the sense of the verb from which the causative is formed. Thus in

uma wo hashirasuru	to make a horse run
kane wo utashimuru	to have a gong struck
ko wo nakasuru	to make a child cry
midzu wo nomasuru	to give (someone) water to drink
koto wo shirasuru	to let (a person) know something

we have various gradations of meaning, i. e.

> directly causing an action
> indirectly causing an action
> participating in an action
> permitting an action

It is important to realize this wide range of meanings, because a number of idiomatic usages are due to the desire to express one of them precisely.[1]

It is here, for instance, that the distinction, if any, between

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[1] It may be worth noting here that, on reading the works of Japanese grammarians, I found myself unable to follow their elaborate abstract discussions of the Causative and an intricate classification, until it dawned upon me that the writers were trying to reach by analysis distinctions which in English are explicit in the words 'make', 'cause', 'let', &c. It was a striking demonstration of the advantages of an analytic language.

-*suru* and -*shimuru* is to be sought. *Shimuru* is generally used instead of -*suru* in the case of direct causatives, particularly where the action is, so to speak, forced upon the agent. Extreme examples would be :

ko wo nemurasu	to put a child to sleep
ko wo nemurashimu	to force a child to sleep

Again a causative verb standing alone, such as *utasuru*, represents only the general idea 'to cause beating', and (just as in the case of passive verbs) is not explicit or implicit as to subject or object. It therefore becomes necessary as a rule to distinguish either the agent, or the object, or both, of the action which is caused. In the case of intransitive verbs this is simple, because there is no object of the action caused, but only an object of the causation. Thus *uma wo hashirasuru* can only mean 'to make a horse run', and *ko wo nakashimuru* 'to make a child cry'.[1] The accusative particle *wo* is here sufficient to designate the agent of the action which is caused, because it is at the same time the object of the act of causation.

With transitive verbs, some difficulties arise. First we have the case where only the agent of the action caused is mentioned. Thus :

hito wo *utawashimuru*	to cause a person to sing

Here there is no ambiguity. Similarly where the object of the action caused, but not the agent of the action caused, is mentioned, e. g.

uta wo *utawashimuru*	to cause songs to be sung

When it is necessary to mention both agent and object of the action caused, the particle *ni* denotes the agent, the particle *wo* denotes the object. E. g. :

Kō wa Otsu ni Hei wo utasu	Ko causes Otsu to strike Hei
hito ni uta wo utawasuru	to cause people to sing songs

Sometimes, for greater precision or emphasis, a periphrasis is adopted, e. g. :

chichi ko wo shite *gakkō ni irashimu*	the father causes his son to enter school

[1] Taking, for simplicity, only one of the possible meanings, 'to make', 'cause', 'let', &c.

Yoritomo Yoshitsune wo shite *Yoshinaka* wo *semeshimu*	Yoritomo caused Yoshitsune to attack Yoshinaka
Chōtei Yoshisada wo *meshite Kyōto ni kaerashimu* (*kaerashimu* = to cause to return)	the Court summoned Yoshisada back to Kyoto

Further examples of causative uses are appended, and attention is called to the English renderings, which are designed to show how many locutions are represented in Japanese by this one form.

yamasato wa hito kosaseji *to omowanedo towaruru koto zo utoku nariyuku* (Shin Kokin.)	in the mountain village I do not wish to keep people from coming but visitors grow rare
ware ni eshimeshi yamatsuta (M.) (*e-shimuru*, to cause to have = to give)	the mountain ivy which you gave to me
ware ni koe na kikase so (Kokin.)	let me not hear thy voice
Okei ni kane wo torasu (Take.)	he gave money to Okei
shidzuka ni jigai sesaseyo to zo mōshikeru (HK.)	they said: 'Allow us to commit suicide quietly'
Kisaki wo emasetatematsuramu tote (HK.)	in order to make Her Majesty smile
Genta ni ikitsukasete	letting Genta get his breath
Yorikane mo hiza no fushi wo isasete hara kaki kirite usenikeri	Yorikane too, having had his knee-joint shot through, disembowelled himself and perished

The honorific use of causative forms is now practically obsolete, except of course in stereotyped phrases which have survived in the modern language; but in the Heian and Kamakura periods *su* was freely used in an honorific sense. Thus:

*miyadzukasa meshite kudamono sakana me*sasu (Mak.)	summoned attendants, and partook of fruit and fish
*tsukai ni roku torase*sase*tamau*	he condescended to give the messengers a reward

(Here we have *sase* with an honorific value attached to a true causative, *tora*se-.)

Fukuhara wo tatase tamaishi toki (HK.)	when he departed from Fukuhara
shibaraku on kokoro wo shidzumesase owashi-mashite (HK.)	deigning to set your mind at rest for a while

The tendency is always for these honorific terminations to lose all or most of their honorific value, and we constantly find them reinforced in some way. It will be noticed that in the last two examples—from the *Heike Monogatari*—the causative is followed by a purely honorific verb : and this is true of all cases where, in that work, a causative form is used as an honorific.

Another method of reinforcing the honorific is by adding the passive form, thus :

araseraruru = *aru* + *su* + *raruru*, meaning simply 'to be'

and a number of these duplicated forms survive, e. g. *iraseraruru*, from *iru* 居 'to be present', *ōseraruru*, 'to say', which in modern colloquial have become *irassharu*, *ossharu*. The common verb *nasaru*, of which the imperative form *nasai* (*nasare*) is so familiar, is another example of survival. Other forms, such as *asobasaruru*, *kudasaruru*, are confined to writing or stilted speech.

III. SUFFIXES DENOTING TENSE,
or similar aspects of the Verb

In considering these suffixes it is important to notice that they do not serve to define such relatively precise time-relations as can be expressed in English. Thus, the suffix *mu* is generally described as a future suffix, but *yukamu* (*yukan*, *yukō*) can be translated both 'he will go' and 'he will probably go', and even 'he probably goes'. Similarly the suffixes *tsu* and *nu* are usually described as forming a past tense ; but it would be more accurate to say that they are, historically at any rate, affirmative suffixes and that they are only incidentally tense suffixes.

These distinctions are best brought out in treating of the suffixes separately, but it is interesting to note in a general way the lack of precision which characterizes Japanese verbs in this respect. The fact that the so-called tense forms originally expressed degrees of certainty rather than stages

of time will, I believe, be found by comparative philologists to have some bearing upon the affiliations of Japanese.

For convenience the tense suffixes may be grouped as follows:

A. AFFIRMATIVE SUFFIXES :   **tsu** and **tari**
                             nu
B. PAST TENSE SUFFIXES :   **ki** and **keri**
C. FUTURE TENSE SUFFIXES :   **mu** and **meri**
                             beshi

A. AFFIRMATIVE SUFFIXES.

1. TSU and TARI.

The paradigm of *tsu* is as follows :

Form	Conjunctive of Simple Conjn. plus	Examples	
Predicative	**tsu**	*yukitsu*	⎫
Attributive	**tsuru**	*yukitsuru*	Suffixes added to
Conjunctive	**te**	*yukite*	*yuki*, conjunctive
Imperfect (Neg. Base)	**te**	*yukite*	form of *yuku*, 'to
Perfect	**tsure**	*yukitsure*	go'.
Imperative	**te**	*yukiteyo*	⎭

The meaning of this suffix is not easy to explain, but it is clear that its primary significance is an affirmative one. It signifies that the action or state described by the verb is definite and complete, and it may almost be regarded as complementary to the negative suffix. However, from the affirmative use, where it asserts the definite performance of an action or the definite existence of a state or property, it is but a short step to asserting the definite completion of an action, &c., thence developing a significance of past time.

The following examples illustrate the earliest uses of *tsu* :

kotowari no goto mo arazu aritsu (Res.)
it is indeed not in accordance with reason

waga koi wa nagusame kane-tsu (M.)
my desire cannot be appeased

nao shi negaitsu chitose no inochi wo (M.)
I still do pray for a thousand years of life

kimi ga mifune no tsuna shi toriteba (M.)
if only I had hold of the rope of thy boat

na ga hakeru tachi ni narite mo iwaite shi ga mo (M.)
would that I could be the sword that thou wearest and be girt around thee

It is evident that any past significance in the foregoing examples is purely secondary and derives from the context. In the later language, too, it is not unusual to find this suffix where there is actually a future meaning. Thus :

fune wo kaeshitsu beshi   you will upset the boat

Here the force of *tsu* is solely emphatic or affirmative.

In ordinary modern prose the suffix *tsu* is almost obsolete in all but the conjunctive form *te*, which has survived and developed in so important a manner that it requires separate treatment.

The suffix *TE*, the *Conjunctive Form* of *TSU*.

Japanese grammarians have been inclined to regard *te* as an independent particle (as can be seen from its inclusion in the phrase *Te-ni-wo-ha*), but there can be no doubt that it is simply the conjunctive form of a verbal suffix which has assumed special importance. Its uses can all be explained as conjunctive uses, in accordance with the definition given above.

In the simple conjugation of verbs, we have such uses as

hana saki tori naku   flowers bloom and birds sing

Making use of the compound conjugation with *tsu* in its conjunctive form, we have

hana sakite tori naku   which may mean either 'flowers blooming, birds sing' or 'flowers having bloomed, birds sing'.

Here again we see that *te* is not intrinsically a past suffix. It has rather a participial use ; but by contrast with the conjunctive form of the simple conjugation it may be regarded as indicating a past tense, so that 'having bloomed' is more likely to be a correct translation than 'blooming'. The distinction is so fine, however, that to give a decided past significance a special locution is often used. E. g. :

kono ko wo mitsukete nochi   After having found this child (Take.)

In early and medieval writings *te* is combined freely with other suffixes, making such forms as *teshi*, *teki*, *tekeri*, &c.

These are not found in ordinary modern prose. There are also forms such as *teba, temu, tenu*, which contain the negative base *te*, and the Imperative form *teyo* is found, as in

> *na norashite-yo* (M.)   tell me your name

where there can be no question of tense.

Typical examples of the earliest uses of *te* are :

na okite tsuma wa nashi (K.)   apart from thee (lit. 'putting thee aside') I have no mate

Kasuga no kuni ni kuwa-shime wo ari to kikite . . . itado wo oshi hiraki ware irimashi (K.)   hearing that in the land of Kasuga there was a lovely maid I pushed open her door and entered

Here we have a form which serves a purpose analogous to that of a participle in English, but it is not exclusively either a past or a present participle. Thus, in the sentence

ayashigarite yorite miru ni tsutsu no naka hikaritari (Take.)   astonished he went up and looked and (saw that) the inside of the stem was shin-ing

the words *ayashigarite* and *yorite* might be translated 'being astonished' and 'approaching', while the form *hikaritari* itself is (*v. tari*, below) an elision of *hikarite-ari* = is, or was, shining. The tense depends on the context.

The following passage illustrates *te* in three different uses :

honchō e watarite shinobite Kyō e noborikeru ga Settsu no kuni Imadzu ni tsukite sōrō (HK.)   crossing over to this country he secretly went up to the Capital and he has arrived at Imadzu in the province of Settsu

In *watarite*, which might be rendered 'having crossed over', we have a perfect tense. In *shinobite*, 'hiding himself', there is an undoubted present participle. In *tsukite* we have a conjunctive use, by which *tsuki-* is brought into relation with an auxiliary verb (viz. *sōrō*).

A very curious use of *te* is found in the Nara period, with the conjunctive form of the negative suffix *zu*, in such forms as *mizute, omowazute*. So far as I know there is no other declinable verb suffix which thus follows *zu*. This fact, and

the freedom with which *te* combines with adjectives, seem to show that *te* had already in the Nara period an independent character.

The combination *zu-te* doubtless gave rise to the negative form *de*, sometimes used as an alternative to *zu*, as in *yukade* for *yukazu*.

The various uses of *te* may be conveniently summarized as follows :

(1) Suffixed to verbs, it can form a participle, as in *yukite* = 'going', or 'having gone'.

(2) Suffixed to adjectives in their adverbial forms it enables the adjectives to be used in a participial construction, as in

omoshirokute	being amusing
warukutemo takashi	though bad, it is dear

(3) Suffixed to verbs or adjectives it has formed many adverbial phrases, which are now stereotyped, such as *kanete*, *subete*, *sate*, *tsuite*, *motte*. In the Heian period a number of these forms occur which have since become obsolete, e. g. *gotokute*, *bekute*, and even *nadote* (=how, or why). It is possible that *ikade* is one of these forms and =*ika-te*.

(4) Combined with particles it forms the specialized words *tote* and *nite* (q.v. under Particles).

(5) Combined with the auxiliary verb *ari* it forms *tari* (=*te ari*), which may be regarded as a compound tense suffix.

TARI. The last-named use (5) of the suffix *te* soon became so frequent as to constitute an independent tense suffix, *tari*. In considering this form, it must be remembered that it is parallel with

seri	= *shi* + *ari*	*shi* being a causative suffix
zari	= *zu* + *ari*	*zu* being a negative suffix
keri	= *ki* + *ari*	*ki* being a tense suffix
meri	= ? *mu* + *ari*	*mu* being a future tense suffix

and its conjugation, like theirs, is that of the verb *ari*, viz. :

tari	as in	*yukitari*
taru	,,	*yukitaru hito*
tari	,,	*yukitarishi*
tara	,,	*yukitaramu*
tare	,,	*yukitareba*

A a

The meaning of *tari* in any given context depends upon the meaning of the verb *ari*. It can as a rule be taken to mean the persistence (*aru*) of an act or state which has been completed (*te*), and to that extent may be regarded as forming a perfect tense. In such a phrase as *nokoritaru yuki*, 'the remaining snow'—i. e. the snow which is (*aru*) remaining (*nokorite*)—there is no question of time. Similarly in *aretaru yado*, 'a deserted home', the difference in translation ('-ed' for '-ing') represents a difference in voice, not tense, *nokoru* being transitive, *areru* intransitive.

Perhaps the best proof that *tari* does not of itself constitute a past tense is the fact that in early writings its imperative form is found : thus, *torikomete okitare*, 'keep it shut up !'.

The following further examples will serve to make clear the meaning of *tari*.

(1) *kimi koso wa wasuretaru-rame* — you no doubt will have forgotten

(2) *Yasumiko etari* (M.) — I have got Yasumiko

(3) *Hitomaro nakunaritaredo uta no koto todomareru ka na* (Kokin. Pref.) — though Hitomaro has passed away the art of Poetry remains

(4) *Yoritomo wa moto wa fu-toritarishi ga . . . kono koto wo anzuru hodo ni yasetaru zo* (HK.) — Yoritomo was formerly fat, but . . . through anxiety about this matter he has grown thin

(5) *toko ni Ōkyo no e wo kaketari* (Mod.) — in the alcove there hangs a picture by Ōkyo

(6) *rakkwa chi ni chirishiki-tari* (Mod.) — fallen blossoms are scattered over the ground

It is curious to note that in the modern colloquial these forms are sometimes resolved into their original elements. Thus we have

> Coll. *nokotte*   = *nokorite*
> ,,   *nokotta*   = *nokorita*   = *nokoritari*
> but   *nokotte aru* = *nokorite aru* = *nokoritari*

while sentences (5) and (6) become respectively

> *toko ni Ōkyo no e ga kakete aru*
> *rakkwa ga chi ni chirishiite aru*

Although in the foregoing account of the suffix *tsu* and

its conjugational forms I have emphasized the fact that it is not primarily a tense suffix, it will be seen that the combination with *ari* to form *tari* does to some extent correspond with a perfect tense.   Example (3) above illustrates this point well, since it contains the two forms *tarishi*, where the suffix *shi* is added to give a true past sense (*futoritarishi* =was fat), and *yasetaru*, which can be literally translated 'is (*aru*) grown thin (*yasete*)'.   But, though *tari* may be considered to represent a perfect, it certainly did not function as a preterite, being quite distinct from the suffix *ki*, *shi*, &c., which might be styled a preterite suffix.   Yet it is *tari* which has given rise to *ta*, the modern colloquial preterite.   The beginnings of the process can no doubt be seen in such sentences as :

neko dono no mairita to wa	what do you mean by saying
nanigoto zo (HK.)	the cat has come ?

where *mairita*, in what is evidently a reported colloquial sentence, stands for *mairitari*.   There does not seem to be any good evidence to show how the change in meaning developed, but certainly *maitta* in modern colloquial means 'came' as well as 'has come', and the tendency in modern prose is to use *tari* for the past tense.

2. NU.

The paradigm is :

Form	Suffixes, which are added to Conjunctive form of Simple Conjugation	Examples	
Predicative	**nu**	*yukinu*	
Substantival	**nuru**	*yukinuru*	Suffixes added to *yuki*, conjunctive form of *yuku*, 'to go'.
Conjunctive	**ni**	*yukinishi*	
Imperfect (Neg. Base)	**na**	*yukinaba*	
Perfect	**nure**	*yukinure*	
Imperative	**ne**	*yukine*	

There is a variety of opinion as to the respective meanings of *tsu* and *nu*, but the distinctions drawn are very fine and not entirely convincing.   The two suffixes seem to have been used indifferently, even in the earliest known practice, and I do not think one can safely say much else than that *tsu* is

rather more emphatic than *nu*. One authority states that *tsu* describes subjectively and *nu* objectively. It may be so.

Nu is identified by Japanese grammarians with *inu* ('to go away'), but the grounds for their conjecture are slight. There is just as good reason for supposing that we have in *nu* and its forms *ni*, *na*, &c., vestiges of an obsolete verb *nu* = 'to be'.

The meanings of *nu* in composition tend to bear out this supposition. It is, perhaps even more certainly than *tsu*, not primarily a tense suffix but merely one which definitely asserts the performance of an act or the existence of a state. This sense is best perceived in such examples as the following :

(1) *na norasane* (M.)   do tell me your name !
(2) *machi koinuramu* (M.)   he will wait and yearn
(3) *tsuki wa henitsutsu* (M.) the moon is waning
(4) *mi wa hai to tomo ni udzu-* although the body is buried,
    morinuredo (Res.)   &c.

In (1) we have an imperative, in (2) a future, in (3) and (4) a present tense. There can be no question of any past time significance. It is hardly possible to give in translation the exact value of *nu* under such conditions. Its force can sometimes be shown by using such phrases as 'to finish off', 'to eat up', where the words 'off' and 'up' have an emphatic value. In modern colloquial Japanese, forms in *nu* are represented by the word *shimau* ('to finish') so that, for instance, *kienu* becomes *kiete shimau* = 'fade away'. Like *tsu*, however, *nu* tends to acquire an incidental tense significance. This, I think, is partly accounted for by the fact that it is an easy transition from regarding an act as positively performed to regarding it as completely performed ; but the principal reason seems to be that in its early stages Japanese has no special apparatus for expressing distinctions of time, and this becomes a secondary function of forms primarily used for other purposes. In translation into English, of course, such distinctions cannot be avoided ; but it must not therefore be assumed that they are explicit in the original.

The argument is not easily illustrated by examples separated from their context, but it will probably be agreed by any one studying early Japanese texts—especially such nar-

rative pieces as the *Taketori Monogatari* and the *Tosa Niki*—
that distinctions of time were not uppermost in the writers'
minds.   In such a passage, for example, as

Te ni uchi irete uchi ni mo-chite kinu. Me no ouna ni adzukete yashinawasu. . . . Ito osanakereba ko ni irete yashinau. . . . Kono ko wo mitsukete nochi kogane aru take wo mitsukuru koto kasa-narinu. Kakute okina yōyō yutaka ni nariyuku (Take.)	He took her in his hands and brought her home. He gave her to his wife to bring up. As she was very tiny they put her in a basket to bring her up. After he had found the child, he found bamboos containing gold time after time, and so the old man soon grew rich.

which is part of a narrative commencing 'once upon a time',
it cannot be said that, as between the verbs *kinu*, *yashi-
nawasu*, *kasanarinu*, and *nariyuku*, there is any difference
in tense.   The use of a term like 'historical present' does
not remove the difficulty.   It merely adds to terminology.
The fact is that, in the early language at least, Japanese
verbs are neutral as to tense.   On the other hand, their
variations in form do appear to express degrees of emphasis.
The forms

yukamu	probably goes
yuku	goes
yukinu } *yukitsu* }	does go

appear to correspond to gradations in the consciousness of
the speaker, degrees of certainty in his mind as to the com-
pletion of the act described by the verb.   There is a signi-
ficant parallel in the frequent use of emphatic particles like
nan, *zo*, and *koso* (q.v.), which seem to represent an ascending
scale of certainty.   *Nan* (= *namu*) is probably the 'future'
(probability) form of *nu*, the suffix under discussion, dating
from a time when *nu* was an independent verb.   It must be
distinguished from the adverb *nan*, 'how', or 'what', which
is a contraction of *nani*.

The following examples show characteristic uses of dif-
ferent forms of *nu* :

(1) Predicative, -*nu*.
tsuki katabukinu (M.)   the moon has gone down

*fuyukomori haru sarikureba
nakazarishi tori mo kinakinu
sakazarishi hana mo sakere-
do* (M.)

now that Spring has escaped
from the clutches of Winter,
the birds which did not sing
have come and are singing,
the flowers which did not
bloom are blooming, but ...

(2) Attributive, *-nuru*.

*hisakata no ame shirashinuru
kimi* (M.)

my Lord who doth rule in
Heaven

(3) Perfect, *-nure*.

*kono mine wo noborinureba
san zen sekai no kōkyo me no
mae ni akiraka nari* (HK.)

if you ascend this ridge the
full extent of the Three
Thousand Worlds is clearly
visible to the eye

(4) Imperfect, *-na*.

yama koete imashinaba (M.)

should you cross and dwell
over the hills

*kokoro wo hana ni nasaba
narinamu*

if you make the heart a
flower it will become a
flower

(5) Conjunctive, *-ni*.

tsuki wa henitsutsu

the moon is waning

Like *te*, the conjunctive form *ni* occurs with other conjuga-
tional suffixes in such combinations as *-nishi*, *-niki*, *-nikeri*.
It is even, in the earliest writings, found combined with *te*
itself, in such forms as *narinite* (e. g. *narinite arazu ya* (M.))
and *narinitari*.

B. Past Tense Suffixes. **KI** and **KERI**.

The suffix *ki*, attached to the conjunctive form of verbs,
is used to denote a past tense. Its paradigm is :

Form	Suffixes, which are added to the Conjunctive form of the Simple Conjugation	Examples	
Predicative	**ki**	*yukiki*	⎫
Attributive	**shi**	*yukishi*	Suffixes added
Conjunctive	—	—	to conjunctive
Imperfect	(ke)	—	form of *yuku*,
(Neg. Base)	(se)		'to go'.
Perfect	**shika**	*yukishikaba*	⎭

It will be seen that the conjugation is incomplete, and it is apparently composite. There is obviously every reason to believe that we have here vestiges of the conjugations of two distinct suffixes, *ki* and *shi*. In the Nara period the following forms are found :

(1) *ki* in predicative uses, e.g. :

ame no shita shirashimeshiki (M.)	he ruled the Kingdom-under-Heaven
kumogakureniki (M.)	he has ascended to Heaven
yume ni miyeki ya (M.)	was it seen in a dream ?

(2) *shi* in predicative uses, e. g. :

wa ga futari neshi (K.)	we two slept together
kogidenishi (M.)	they rowed out

(3) *shi* in attributive uses, e. g. :

ai mishi toki (M.)	when they met face to face
kikiteshi hi yori (M.)	from the day when I heard
tsukaematsurimashishi Fujihara no ōkimi (Res.)	the Minister Fujihara who did serve (the Emperor)
nube no yamabuki tare ka taorishi (M.)	who plucked the kerria on the moor ?

(4) *se* as an Imperfect form.

uketamaubeki mono nariseba (Res.)	since it was a thing to be received
hito ni ariseba (K.)	as he is a man
okitsukaze itaku fukiseba (M.)	since the sea breeze blew hard
amama mo okazu furiniseba (M.)	since the skies poured without ceasing

It might be suggested that this is a form of the verb *suru*, but there is no positive ground for such a suggestion. Moreover, the existence of such forms as *furiniseba* is strong argument against it, for there is no other example of *ni* (conjunctive form of *nu*) in combination with a verb, particularly with *suru*, while it does freely occur with the suffix *shi* in its other forms, e. g. *furinishi*, *furiniki*. Possibly the suffix *shi* and the verb *suru* are cognate, but that is a matter of conjecture.

(5) *ke*, apparently as an Imperfect or Negative Base [1]

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[1] It never actually is followed by the negative suffix.

form, occurs, though rarely, in the Nara period in such combinations as *makazukeba* (N.), *kayoikemashi* (M.), and it is probable that the common form *kemu* is a combination of this form with *mu* the future suffix. E. g. :

inishie ni arikemu hito	people who no doubt lived in ancient times
mukashi koso Naniwa to iwa- rekeme	of old it was, it seems, called Naniwa

The alternative is to regard *keba*, *kemashi*, *kemu*, &c., as contractions of *keraba* (=*ki* +*araba*), *keramashi*, *keramu*, &c. (*v.* below, under *KERI*). Arguments for this, by analogy with such pairs as *yokaramu* and *yokemu*, are not convincing. Even in verse, *yokaramashi* does not become *yokemashi*.

We may therefore conjecture that the composite conjugation shown above can be resolved into two original groups, as follows :

Predicative	*KI*	*SHI*
Attributive	*KI*	*SHI*
Conjunctive	?	?
'Imperfect' or Negative Base	*KE*	*SE*

The 'Perfect' form, *shika*, is curious. It seems to belong to the *shi* series, but its terminal syllable, *ka*, has no parallel in other perfect forms as recorded. There are, however, in existing spoken dialects, cases of perfect forms ending in *ka*.

Examples of the use of *shika* occur in the earliest writings :

kitareri to iishikaba (M.)	when they said he had come
yama ni yukishikaba (M.)	when we went to the hills
shirizoketamae to mōshishika- domo (Res.)	though we said, Pray withdraw !
tsukaematsuru yakko to omo- hoshite koso kabane mo ta- maite osame tamaishika (Res.)	because We thought him Our servant We bestowed a title upon him

(The last example shows *shika* standing alone as a perfect after *koso*.)

There is no direct evidence to show the origin of these two suffixes *ki* and *shi* ; but it is interesting to note that the verb *kuru* makes predicative forms with *shi* (viz. *kishi*

and *koshi*), but not with *ki*, while the verb *suru* makes the predicative form *shiki*. The meaning of *ki* seems to indicate that it may have a common origin with the verb *kuru*, and *shi* and *suru* perhaps constitute a similar pair.

Later examples of the use of *ki*, *se*, and *shika* are given below. The form *ke* is not found after the Nara period.

(1) The Predicative form, *ki*.

kate tsukite kusa no ne wo kuimono to shiki (Take.)	our provisions exhausted, we fed on the roots of herbs
mukashi Karu Daijin to mōsu hito ariki (HK.)	long ago there was a man called Karu Daijin

(2) The Attributive form, *shi*.

wakareshi asa yori (Kokin.)	since the morn when we parted
sakitaredomo eizeshi hito mo ima wa nashi (HK.)	though they (the trees) have blossomed, they who sang them are no more

(3) Imperfect form, *se*.

Itsuwari no naki yo nariseba (Kokin.)	if this had been a world without falsehood

This form may be regarded as obsolete.

(4) The Perfect form, *shika*.

kaku koso omoishika (Ise.)	so indeed he thought
shinobite kokoromin to omoi-shikadomo	though he thought of trying it secretly
Kiyomori chakunan narishi-kaba sono ato wo tsugu (HK.)	Kiyomori succeeded, as he was a legitimate son

There is no trace of a conjunctive form, unless one assumes the compound suffix *keri* to be formed from a conjunctive form *ki* and the verb *ari*, like *tari*, which is *te +ari*, *te* being the conjunctive of *tsu*.

KERI has the meaning of its component parts, *ki* and *ari*, and may be regarded as forming a perfect tense, while *ki* alone forms a preterite. But there is often very little difference between the two, and *keri* seems frequently to be used in an exclamatory sense, without any significance of time.

In the Nara period, an almost complete conjugation is found, as follows :

Predicative	.	.	.	*keri*
Attributive	.	.	.	*keru*
Conjunctive	.	.	.	?
Imperfect (Neg. Base)		.	.	*kera*
Perfect	.	.	.	*kere*

The following examples will illustrate these forms :

mata mo awanu mono wa imo ni shi arikeri (M.) — the only one I shall never meet again is my mistress

akinikeri wagimo (N.) — the dawn has come, my sweetheart

midzu kumashikeru tekona (M.) — the maiden who drew water

are ha kinamu to iikereba (M.) — he said I will come, and . . .

nu no he no uhagi suginikera-zuya (M.) — have not the herbs on the moor passed away ?

The forms *keramashi*, *kerashi*, and *keraku* are also found in the Nara period, but *kera-* does not appear in later texts.

In the *Monogatari* one can often discern a past tense in verbs containing *keri*. Thus :

ima wa mukashi Taketori no Okina to ieru mono arikeri — once upon a time there was a man called Taketori no Okina

mukashi otoko Musashi no kuni made madoi arikikeri — once upon a time a man went wandering, &c.

But in such a passage as

tokiwa nasu iwaya wa ima mo arikeredo sumikeru hito zo tsune nakarikeru (M.) — though the long-lasting house remains, they who dwelt therein are no longer as they were

it is difficult to say what tense, if any, is represented by the three verbs with the same suffix, *keru*.

The explanations given by Japanese grammarians are by no means clear. Yamada (*Bumpō-ron*) says :

Keri is frequently used as a substitute for *ki*, but there is clearly a difference between them. *Keri* not only expresses a retrospect, but also it takes the present state of affairs as a starting-point. Expressed in terms of etymology, *ari* places the starting-point in

the present, and *ki* expresses a retrospect. It is a case of looking at the result and thinking of the cause, of recollecting the past and expressing a judgement of the present.

This may not mean a great deal, but it does at least show that the Japanese way of classifying time-relations is peculiar.

C. FUTURE TENSE SUFFIXES. **MU** and **MERI**.

MU is usually described as forming a future tense, but it is more accurate to say that it denotes probability.

The conjugational forms are :

Forms	Suffixes, added to 'Imperfect' form of Simple Conjugation	Examples	
Predicative	**mu**	*yukamu*	
Attributive	**mu**	*yukamu*	Suffixes added
Conjunctive	—	—	to Imperfect
Imperfect or Neg. Base	**ma** (Conjectural)	*yukamaji, mashi,* &c.	form of *yuku*, 'to go'
Perfect		*yukame*	

Early examples of its use are :

(1) *nushi koso . . . tsuma mo-taserame* (K.)

thou no doubt hast a wife

(2) *ko no ma yori a ga furu sode wo imo mitsuramu ka* (M.)

I wonder, did my sweetheart see between the trees my sleeve waved in farewell

(3) *irite a ga nemu kono to hirakase* (M.)

I will enter and sleep. Do thou open this door

(4) *mukae ka yukamu machi ni ka matamu* (K.)

shall I go to meet him, shall I wait and wait ?

(5) *tsukureru ie ni chiyo made ni imasamu kimi to are mo kayowamu* (M.)

in the house thou hast built where thou wilt dwell for a thousand years, I shall meet with thee

It will be seen that this form expresses in (1) conjecture as to the present, and in (2) as to the past. In (3) and (4) it expresses desire or intention, and in (5) *imasamu* may be regarded as a future.

It may be inferred from this wide range of meaning that *mu* is cognate with *miru*, 'to see', and contains the idea of 'to seem'. In any case, it is clear that one cannot properly

define *mu* as a future suffix. Its primary function is to denote conjecture, ranging from doubt to probability. Naturally the idea of future time is often implicit.

The modern colloquial 'future' is derived from this suffix, by elision of the *m* sound, which has in Japanese a nasal character. The process is :

> *yukamu* (in which the *u* is barely pronounced)
> *yukan* (nasal)
> *yukau*
> *yukō*

This last is the modern colloquial form, which has broadly speaking the same range of meaning as the earliest forms. In modern writing *yukan* is put for the future, the *kana* ✓ being used.

MERI has an incomplete conjugation on the model of *ari*, as follows :

Predicative	.	.	.	**meri**	as in	*yukumeri*
Attributive	.	.	.	**meru**	,,	*yukumeru*
Conjunctive	.	.	.	**meri**	,,	*yukumerishi*
Imperfect	.	.	.	—		
Perfect	.	.	.	**mere**	,,	*yukumere*

It is doubtless a compound of *mu*, the future suffix, and *ari*, analogous in formation with *keri*. Or, alternatively, it may contain the same element, *be*, as *beshi*.

There is no evidence that it was in use in the Nara period, but it is very common in the literature of the Heian period. Its origin is not clear, and it is hard to discern in it any specialized function. It conveys sometimes the meaning 'seems to be', but as a rule it has no translateable value. I suspect it is a purely literary form.

The following examples show its use :

ko wo umamu to suru toki wa o wo sasagete nana tabi mawarite nan umiotosumeru
when about to give birth to its young it lifts up its tail, turns round seven times, and then drops it out

Tatsutagawa momiji midarete nagarumeri
down the River Tatsuta the autumn leaves float helter-skelter

komayaka ni kakitamaumeri
he writes in fine characters

Other Future Tense Suffixes

RAMU and *RASHI*. These two suffixes indicate a certain degree of doubt, as compared with *beshi*, *maji*, which indicate probability or conjecture. But their use is not regular and consistent.

They have the following forms :

Predicative	**ramu**	**rashi**	⎫ Suffixed to pre-
Attributive	**ramu**	**rashiki**	⎬ dicative form of
Perfect	**rame**	—	⎭ verb

The following are examples of the use of *ramu* :

waga seko wa idzuchi yuku-ramu (M.)	whither, I wonder, goes my lover ?
funanori suramu otomera (M.)	the maidens who doubtless are boating
kototokoro ni Kaguyahime to iū hito zo owasuramu (Take.)	in another place there is, it seems, a person called the Night Shining Princess

There can be little doubt that *ramu* is compounded of *aru* and the future suffix *mu*.

Examples of the use of *RASHI* are :

kari wa komurashi (K.)	it looks as if the geese are coming
yo wa fukenurashi (M.)	night seems to be falling

The form *rashiki* (Perfect) is found in the Nara period, but not later. In the later literature, as well as in the modern colloquial, *rashi* is used as if it were an adjective. Thus :

ame fururashiku omowaru	it seems as if it would rain
kodomo ga kaettarashii	it looks as if the children had come back
kodomorashii hito	a childish person

The form subsists in a number of adjectives such as *baka-rashii*, 'foolish', *medzurashii*, 'strange', where it has a value similar to that of the termination—'ish' in English.

BESHI and *MAJI*. These forms have already been discussed under the heading of Auxiliary Adjectives. They are

both adjectives in form, while in function they are verb suffixes.

MASHI expresses approximately the same meanings as *mu*, but with less certainty. It may be regarded as obsolete in the modern language. Examples of its use are :

Urashima no ko ga tamaku-shige akezu ariseba mata mo awamashi	had Urashima not opened the casket we might have met again
Takayama no iwane shi ma-kite shinamashi mono wo (M.)	would I might die, clinging to the rocky base of Taka-yama . . .

In the last example and in many other cases *mashi* appears to express a wish rather than an intention.

In the Nara period only, *mashi* is found in both predicative and attributive forms. It combines with other suffixes to make such forms as *temashi, kemashi, namashi,* corresponding to *temu, kemu,* and *namu.* It is true that there is a form *mase,* occurring only in the combination *maseba,* e. g. :

waga seko to futari mimaseba ikubaku ka kono furu yuki no ureshikaramashi (M.)	if I could watch it together with my lover how joyful would this snowfall be

This may perhaps be regarded as a trace of an earlier full conjugation of *mashi,* on the lines *mase, mashika,* corresponding with *se, shika,* but this is doubtful. The form *mashika* does not appear until after the Nara period. In either case, it can hardly be doubted that all the forms *maji, mashi, mase, maku* contain the element *ma* which is the conjectured imperfect of *mu.*

It will be noticed that all the suffixes expressing probability have a labial as the initial sound—e. g. *mu* and *be.*

JI is an undeclinable suffix, which may be regarded as the negative of *mu.* See under Negative Suffixes.

IV. NEGATIVE SUFFIXES.

These are two, **ZU** and **JI**, the latter being a specialized negative future suffix.

The paradigm of *zu* is as follows :

Form	Negative Base (Imperfect) of Verb plus	Example
Predicative	**zu**	*yukanu*
Attributive	**nu**	*yukazu*
Conjunctive	**zu**	*yukazu*
	(ni)	(conjectural)
Imperfect or Neg. Base	—	—
Perfect	**ne**	*yukaneba*

Suffixes added to Negative Base ('Imperfect') form of *yuku*, 'to go'.

It will be noticed that the conjugation is not regular, and seems to be composite. All the above forms are found in early writings.

Predicative, *zu* :

sakashiku mo arazu (K.)	'is not clever'
yoku mo arazu (N.)	'is not good'
tachi . . . nukazu to mo (N.)	'though he does not draw his sword'
na ga koi sezuba (M.)	'if thou dost not love'

Attributive, *nu* :

miredo akanu Yoshino no ka-wa (M.)	the river Yoshino, on which I am never tired of gazing
shiranu michi (M.)	an unknown road

Conjunctive, *zu* :

ametsuchi mo nikumi tama-wazu, kimi mo sute tamawazu shite (Res.)	neither hating Heaven and Earth nor abandoning his Sovereign
yamazu kayowamu (M.)	without ceasing I will go to and fro
omowazu aramu (K.)	will be unthinking

Conjunctive, *ni*. This is obsolete, but there are traces of its existence in the earliest part of the Nara period :

susumu mo shirani shirizoku mo shirani (Res.)	not knowing how to go forward, not knowing how to draw back
miredo akanikemu (M.)	though I gaze I shall not tire

Perfect, *ne* :

tori ni shi araneba (M.)	since it is not a bird
me ni shi mieneba (N.)	since it cannot be seen by the eyes

It is reasonable to infer from the above examples that there originally existed a full conjugation of the negative suffix containing the element *n*, and that it preceded the forms containing the element *z*. It should be recollected that the negative adjective is *na* (*-shi*, *-ki*, *-ku*).

There can be little doubt that the *N* sound is characteristic for the expression of the idea 'not' in Japanese at its earliest stages. The form *zu* can be accounted for by supposing it to be *n + su*, a similar fusion being found in the medieval language, where we have such forms as *makarazu*, a future, which can be traced from *makaramu-su* through the intermediate stages *makaran-su* and *makaranzu* (*makaru*, a humble word for 'to proceed').

JI is undeclinable. Morphologically it is probably a compound of the negative element *n*, with the element *shi* which occurs in the suffixes *rashi* and *mashi* and denotes possibility. The meaning of *ji* will be clear from the following examples :

nakaji to wa na wa iū tomo (K.)	though you say you will not weep
imo wa wasureji (K.)	my lover will not forget
wakakereba michiyuki shiraji (M.)	being young, is probably ignorant of travel

The forms *mu*, *ji*, *mashi*, and *maji* constitute two pairs, the former expressing a higher degree of probability than the latter.

Ji is now obsolete in the modern standard colloquial, where it has been replaced by the form *mai*, derived from *maji*. Thus coll. *yukumai*, 'will probably not go', corresponds to lit. *yukumaji* or *yukaji*.

The negative forms employed in the modern colloquial have in some cases diverged in a curious way from those found in both the ancient and modern written languages. Perhaps the most important aspect of this divergence is seen in the use in speech of the negative adjective *nai*, which always replaces the negative form of the verb *aru*, 'to be', whether predicative (*arazu*) or attributive (*aranu*).

Similarly the ordinary negative form of the present tense of all verbs, as used in writing, is often, though not always,

replaced in speech by a form ending in the negative adjective.
Thus we have :

Written form	*yukanu*	*yukazu*
Spoken forms	*yukan'*	*yukan'*
	yukanai	*yukanai*

The form *yukanai* appears to be composed of the verb (*yuka*,
neg. base of *yuku*) + the neg. adj. *nai* (the colloquial form
of *naki*), or it may simply be constructed by analogy with
nai. In any case, forms like *yukanaku*, where the negative
adjective is suffixed to a verb, are not wanting in the earliest
language, e. g. :

toki no shiranaku (M.)	lit. 'the not-knowing of the time'
matanaku ni (M.)	not waiting
awanaku mo (M.)	even without meeting

These forms are described fully under 'Substantival Forms
in *-ku*', p. 147.

The above and other common variations of the negative
may be represented schematically as follows :

Negative form of :	*Writing*	*Speech*
ARU		
Predicative	*arazu*	*nai*, sometimes *nashi*
Attributive	*aranu*	*nai*
Conjunctive	*arazu*	*naku, arade*
Compound forms	*aranedo*	*nakeredo* (*mo*)
	araneba	*nakereba*
SURU		
Predicative	*sezu*	*shinai, senu*
Attributive	*senu*	*shinai, senu*
Conjunctive	*sezu*	*sezu, shinaku* (*te*)
OTHER VERBS		
Predicative	*yukazu*	*yukanu, yukanai*
Attributive	*yukanu*	*yukanai, yukanu*
Conjunctive	*yukazu*	*yukazu, yukanaku* (*te*), *yukade, yukanai de*
Compound forms	*yukaneba*	*yukaneba, yukanakereba*
	yukanedo	*yukanedo, yukanakeredo* (*mo*)
	yukazariki	*yukanakatta, yukananda*
	yukazaramu	*yukanai darō*

The above table does not pretend to be complete, but it
suffices to show the main points of difference between written

and spoken forms. Forms like *arade*, *yukade*, &c., call for some comment. They appear, from the evidence of medieval texts, to be contractions of the conjunctive negative forms (*arazu*, *yukazu*) combined with the conjunctive form, *te*, of the verb-suffix *tsu*. Examples of their use in early and classical texts are :

kagiri shirazute (M.)	not knowing the limit
hitohi hitoyo omowazute aru-ramu mono to omohoshimesu na (M.)	think not that for a single day or night I shall not be thinking of you
yo no arisama wa hito wa shi-razute (Take.)	people not knowing the state of affairs

The same forms, but with *zute* contracted to *de*, are already found in the Heian period, e. g. :

shirade kaku iū (Take.)	he says so without knowing
hodo tōkarade (Genji)	being not far distant

The termination *nai* is preferred in speech to *nu*, especially in the Tokyo district, and the official school readers, which adopt the Tokyo speech as standard, usually have, e. g. *yukanai* for *yukanu*. But it should be noted that verbs whose negative base ends in *se* can take only the termination *nu*, except that the verb *suru* has both forms, *senu* and *shinai*. Consequently all polite forms ending in *masu* have their negative in *nu*, e. g. *arimasenu*, *yukimasenu* (pronounced *arimasen*, *yukimasen*), while compounds of *suru* have nega-tives ending in *shinai*, e. g. *jōsen shinai*, 'does not embark'. Causative verbs, and verbs composed of a Chinese word + *suru*, if they are sufficiently familiar in speech, have collo-quial negative forms like

yukasanai	does not cause to go
ryakusanai	does not abbreviate

In the second example *ryaku su*, a Chinese word + the auxiliary, is so familiar as to be regarded as one word, *ryakusu*, and is therefore sometimes conjugated on the model of a causative verb ; but *ryaku shinai* is equally correct.

The written language has a negative conditional of the type *yukazuba*, 'if he does not go' (which sometimes appears with an intercalated euphonic *m*, as in *yukazumba*). A con-

traction of this form is common in the modern spoken language, e. g. *yukaz'ā*.

Conjunctive forms like *yukazu* are rarely used alone in speech. The colloquial prefers to reinforce them either by some termination (e. g. *yukade=yukazute*) or by a particle, as in

mono mo iwazu ni itta   he went without saying anything

where *ni* would be superfluous in the written language. Similarly, to the conjunctive form *naku* the colloquial prefers *nakute* or *nai de* :

minakute mo wakaru   I understand even without seeing
mono mo iwanai de itta   he went without saying anything

In the Western dialects of Japan the negative past tense is of the type *yukananda* instead of *yukanakatta*, and forms like *yukazatta* are sometimes used. The origin of *yukananda* is not quite clear, but *yukazatta* is evidently *yukazari* + the colloquial past tense suffix *ta* (=*tari*).

It should be noticed that, in the written language, further inflected verb suffixes cannot be added to negative forms in *zu*, and compound conjugational forms of negative verbs can be constructed only with the aid of the auxiliary *aru*. Thus, taking the verb *yuku*, if we wish to construct the future tense of its negative form *yukazu*, we cannot add the future suffix *mu* directly to the negative suffix (which has no negative base) and must fall back on the form *yukazaru*. The paradigm of compound forms of a negative verb is therefore as follows in the written language of to-day :

yukazaru (=*yukazu* +*aru*) as in *yukazaru hito*, 'a man who does not go'

yukazaramu   ,,   *ware yukazaramu*, 'I shall not go'

yukazariki   ,,   *kare yukazariki*, 'he did not go'

yukazarikeri   ,,   *kare yukazarikeri*, 'he did not go' or 'he has not gone'

yukazarubeshi   ,,   *kikun yukazarubeshi*, 'you shall not go'

In a strict analysis there is a difference of meaning between

forms of the above type and forms where the negative suffix is the final element.   Thus :

| *yukazarubeshi* | 'will | not-go' or 'must | not-go' |
| *yukubekarazu* | 'will-not | go' or 'must-not | go' |

and each tends to be appropriated for a special purpose, so that *yukazarubeshi* signifies rather 'will not go' (future) and *yukubekarazu*, 'must not go'.   Similarly :

| *yukazaritsu* | 'has | not-gone' |
| *yukitarazu* | 'has-not | gone' |

Of these, the former has fallen out of use, and is replaced by *yukazariki*, 'did not go', while *yukitarazu* retains the meaning of 'has not gone'.   Such distinctions are, however, rather fine, and are not observed by all writers.   The tendency throughout the written language is to simplify and reduce in number the compound verb forms.   Consequently the paradigm given above does not include a number of forms like *yukazaritsu*, *yukazaramashi*, &c., which are found in archaic or medieval literature but have since fallen out of use.   The spoken language goes further, and resorts to analytic methods, so that we have

yukanai darō		for *yukazaramu*
yukanai datta	⎫	
yukanai no datta	⎪	
yukanu deshita	⎬	,, *yukazariki*
yukanakatta	⎭	
itte (=*yukite*) *wa naranu*		,, *yukubekarazu*

and similar forms throughout.   It will be seen that the colloquial verb-substantive *de aru,* in its various forms *da, darō, datta,* &c., is used instead of the agglutinated forms of the written language.

UNINFLECTED VERB SUFFIXES

The suffixes described in the foregoing pages are all inflected suffixes.   They are either (like *su, ru, shimu, tsu, nu,* &c.) verbs or vestiges of verbs ; or (like *beshi, maji,* and *tashi*) adjectives or vestiges thereof.

There remains to be described an important group of uninflected suffixes, with the aid of which certain compound

conjugational forms of the verb are constructed. These are the suffixes **BA**, **DO**, and **DOMO**, and certain other particles in specialized uses. They are treated fully in the chapter devoted to the particles, but a brief account of them is given here in order to complete the description of the compound conjugation of the verb.

I. *Suffixes making* Conditional *or* Concessive Forms :

BA is the surd form taken by the separative particle *ha* (pronounced *wa*) when it is suffixed to a verb and coalescence takes place. Thus *yuku ha*, 'as for going', is pronounced *yuku wa*, but where *ha* is suffixed directly to a verb stem, as *yuke-ha*, coalescence takes place, and the form becomes *yukeba*. *Ba* is used to express a condition, as follows :

> *yukaba* . . . if he goes (unrealized condition)
> *yukeba* . . . as he goes (realized condition)
> if he goes (realized or assumed condition)

It will be seen that when suffixed to the negative base *ba* expresses a hypothetical condition, when suffixed to the perfect form a condition that exists or is assumed to exist. The difference is illustrated by the sentences :

ware shinaba tare ka naku-beki	if I should die, who would weep ?
chūi seba ayamachi nakaru-beshi	if you are careful there will be no mistakes
chichi shinureba ko kawaru	when the father dies the son changes
chūi sureba ayamachi nashi	when you are careful there are no mistakes

In the first pair of sentences, by the use of the negative base (*shina, se*) a yet unrealized condition is assumed to come into being in the future. In the second pair, by the use of the perfect (*shinure, sure*) a condition is assumed to exist already. In the written language the construction illustrated by the second pair can often express a condition which actually does exist, so that (depending upon context) *chūi sureba ayamachi nashi* may mean 'since you are careful there are no mistakes'.

In the ordinary spoken language conditional forms com-

posed of the negative base + *ba* are not much used. Consequently the perfect + *ba* has to serve all purposes, e. g. :

chūi sureba ayamachi wa na-karō	if you are careful there will be no mistakes
chūi sureba ayamachi ga nai	if you are careful there are no mistakes

In order to express the idea 'since you are careful' a different idiom is generally used in speech, e. g. *chūi suru kara.* Generally speaking, the colloquial tends to reinforce the conditional form of the verb in some way. Thus we have :

chūi suru to ayamachi ga nai	when you take care there are, &c.
chūi shitara ayamachi ga na-karō (where *shitara=shita-raba*)	if you have taken care there will be, &c.
chūi suru nara (where *nara =naraba*)	if you take care
chūi sureba koso ayamachi ga nai	it is because you take care that there are, &c.

DO is the surd form taken by the particle *to* when in coalescence with a verb. It is often reinforced by the particle *mo* ('even'). It is added to the perfect of verbs, to form a concessive, so that

$$aredo, \ aredomo \ \ \ = \text{though there is}$$
$$yukedo, \ yukedomo = \text{though he goes}$$

The colloquial prefers the use of the word *keredomo*, which is now an independent word meaning 'but'. Historically it is a group of suffixes which have become detached from the verb, being composed of *kere* (the perfect of the verb suffix *keri*) +*do*+*mo*. Examples of its use are :

aru keredomo nagasugiru	there are some but they are too long
yukitai keredomo hima ga nai	I want to go but I have no time

Here the written language would have the synthetic forms *aredomo, yukitakeredomo*.

Other particles *used as verb suffixes.*

Most of the particles can in the written language be placed after appropriate forms of verbs, to act as conjunctions and bring them into relation with other sentences. Details of their uses in this respect will be found under the relevant headings in the chapter devoted to particles. The following are simple examples :

MO used as a concessive :

sake aru mo sakana nashi   though there is wine there is no food

where *mo* is added to the substantival form of *ari*.

WO used as a concessive :

*ame furu wo kasa nashi ni   although rain is falling he
 idzu   sets forth without umbrella*

where *wo* is added to the substantival form *furu*.

NI used as a concessive :

   hi teru ni ame furu   the sun shines and yet it rains

where *ni* is added to the substantival form *teru*.

These idioms are not much used in the colloquial, but attention may be drawn here to a very common locution by which *ga* assumes an adversative meaning. Thus *yukitai ga hima ga nai*, ' I want to go but I have no time '. In speech this is the ordinary way of contrasting two propositions, and thus *ga* frequently acts as an adversative particle.

TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

It has already been shown that causative and passive forms, like *yukasu* and *yukaru*, are, strictly speaking, independent verbs rather than conjugational varieties of the simple verb *yuku*. Analogous to these passive and causative verbs are transitive and intransitive verbs, formed from simple verbs by the agglutination of one of the auxiliaries *suru*, *aru*, and *uru*.

They may be divided into three classes, as follows :

I. Transitive forms of Intransitive verbs.   Such are :

Transitive	Intransitive
tatsuru, 'to set up'	*tatsu*, 'to stand'
susumuru, 'to encourage'	*susumu*, 'to advance
watasu, 'to hand over'	*wataru*, 'to cross over'
nokosu, 'to leave'	*nokoru*, 'to remain'
yosuru, 'to bring near'	*yoru*, 'to approach'

II. Intransitive forms of Transitive verbs. E. g. :

Intransitive	Transitive
kikoyuru, 'to be audible'	*kiku*, 'to hear'
tokuru, 'to melt'	*toku*, 'to melt'
kudakuru, 'to crumble'	*kudaku*, 'to crush'
miyuru, 'to be visible'	*miru*, 'to see'

III. Transitive and Intransitive forms, both derived from an obsolete word or stem. E. g. :

Transitive	Intransitive
sugusu, 'to exceed'	*suguru*, 'to be excessive'
idasu, 'to put out'	*idzuru*, 'to go out'
sadamuru, 'to fix'	*sadamaru*, 'to be settled'
kayuru, 'to change'	*kawaru*, 'to change'
tasukeru, 'to help'	*tasukaru*, 'to be relieved'

There can be little doubt that the terminations *su*, *uru*, and *aru* of the above verbs are the auxiliary verbs, which have been added to the stem. It is important, however, to distinguish the forms thus constructed from the corresponding causative and passive verbs. Thus, while *tatsu* is 'to stand', and *tatsuru* is 'to set up', *tatasu* is 'to cause to stand'. The difference in meaning is displayed by the examples :

| *ie wo tatsuru* | to erect a house |
| *hito wo tatasu* | to cause a man to stand up, to let a man stand up |

Similarly, while *karu* is 'to borrow', *kasu* is 'to lend', and not 'to cause to borrow', which would be *karisasuru*. *Tasukaru* is 'to be relieved', 'to have assistance', while *tasukeraru* is 'to be helped'. The difference between *tasukaru* and *tasukeraru* is good evidence that the first form contains only

aru, the second *aru* and *uru*. The distinction between these special transitive and intransitive verbs on the one hand, and the causative and passive verbs on the other hand, is further brought out by the fact that they are never used as honorifics. Thus *tataru* and *tatasu* may be honorific for *tatsu*, but *tatsuru* cannot.

Many of the verbs in which the elements *su*, *uru*, and *aru* were plain in the early language have now, especially in speech, suffered phonetic change. Thus we have now :

shirozokeru	for	*shirozokuru*, 'to withdraw' (tr.)
tateru	,,	*tatsuru*, 'to set up'
yameru	,,	*yamuru*, 'to stop' (tr.)
yoseru	,,	*yosuru*, 'to bring near'
noseru	,,	*nosuru*, 'to place upon'
nobiru	,,	*noburu* (intransitive), 'to extend'
noberu	,,	*noburu* (transitive), 'to extend'
mieru	,,	*miyuru*, 'to be visible'

THE AUXILIARY VERBS **ARU** AND **SURU**

THESE verbs correspond with the English verbs 'to be' and 'to do' respectively, but their functions are so distinct that they must be treated separately from all other verbs.

I. The Auxiliary Verb ARU.

It has an irregular simple conjugation, as follows :

Predicative .	.	.	.	**ari** as in	*tamago ari*
Attributive .	.	.	.	**aru** ,,	*aru hito*
Conjunctive	.	.	.	**ari** ,,	*arite, arishi*
'Imperfect' or Negative Base			**ara** ,,	*arazu, araba*
Perfect	.	.	.	**are** ,,	*areba, aredo*

The conjugation, which has remained unchanged from the Nara period, is of the ordinary quadrigrade type, except that the predicative form ends in *i*, not *u*.

The meaning of *aru* is 'to be' in the sense of 'to exist', and it is important to understand that *aru* by itself cannot act as a copula between the terms of a proposition. The sentence *tamago ari* means 'there are eggs' and cannot possibly convey the meaning 'they are eggs'. The primary significance of *aru*, then, is to predicate existence of a subject. The following are early examples of its use in this sense :

sakashime wo ari to kikashite kuwashime wo ari to kika-shite (K.)	hearing that there was a wise woman, hearing that there was a fair woman
hana wa utsurou toki ari (M.)	there is a time when flowers fade
ware yo no naka ni aramu kagiri wa (M.)	so long as I am in this world
ie ni aru imo (M.)	my sister who is at home

In so far as *aru* is used to predicate existence of any subject it is in function a principal and not an auxiliary verb. But it can serve as an auxiliary when other states or properties

of a thing, coupled with the fact of its existence, are predicated in a single proposition. When it is desired to predicate of a thing some state or property, the verb *aru* can be compounded with an adjective in the conjunctive form, e. g. *shirokari=shiroku ari*, 'is white'. Thus *kono hana wa shirokari* is a proposition which states that the attribute of whiteness exists in the case of certain flowers. It means 'these flowers are white', but it does not state that 'these flowers are white and exist' (in which case *ari* would be a principal verb). *Ari* may therefore in this usage be regarded as an auxiliary verb.

It is not easy to understand the development of this compound form ; but I suspect that, if one could analyse the mental process by which it was built up, one would find that *shiroku* expressed a substantival concept, so that *shiroku ari* would mean 'there is whiteness'. There is good reason to think that the termination *-ku* of adjectives (and many verbs) forms a noun, and this is borne out by the use of the conjunctive form of adjectives as a noun in such locutions as *furuku yori*, 'from of old', *kono chikaku ni*, 'in this vicinity'. See, for substantival forms in *-ku*, p. 147.

The sentence *hana wa shiroshi*, where *shiroshi* is the plain predicative form of the adjective, is a simple proposition of two terms, where the copula is comprised in the use of *wa* and the predicative form. The sentence *hana wa shirokari* as a logical proposition contains more than two terms, but as a grammatical proposition, so far as meaning goes, I do not think it can be distinguished from the other. It is more rational to suppose that these compounds of an adjective with *aru* grew to supply a need as to form and not as to meaning. For, while *shiroshi* and *shirokari* may be regarded as interchangeable, and *shirokari* is consequently a redundant form, a word like *shirokarishi*, 'was white', expresses an idea which is not within the range of the adjective alone. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that predicative forms in *ku +ari* are rare in the early language, while imperfect and conjunctive forms (*ku +ara* and *ku +ari*) are frequent, as in such compounds as *okaraba*, *nagakaramu*, *nakarikeri*, &c. The predicative forms are unusual in the modern language also. Yoshioka (*Taishō Gohō*) states that in ordinary modern prose the predicative, the perfect, and the attributive before

a noun do not exist. But he quotes examples all the same,
viz. :

kai ishi nado ōkari	shells, stones, and so on are plentiful
yuku hito ōkarubeshi	there will be many going
ōkaredomo kakazu	though numerous I do not write them

The following are further examples of the use of *aru* in this
type of compound. It will be observed that in the earliest
recorded language elision does not always take place, the
form being *ku ari* and not *kari* :

kyō no aida wa tanushiku arubeshi (M.)	during this day it will be joyful
kurushiku areba (M.)	as it is painful
kanashiku arikemu (M.)	it must have been sad
akakaraba mirubeki mono (Gosen)	a thing which could be seen if it were light
kanashikaru hito (Uji)	people who are unhappy
wadzurewasetamau toki mo ōkari (Genji)	many were the times when he suffered grief

An interesting form is *nakaru*, composed of the negative
adjective *naku +aru*. It furnishes material for speculation
as to why the Japanese language should have special forms
to express both the affirmative of a negative and the negative
of an affirmative, *nakari* and *arazu* respectively. *Nakari*
probably came into use because the negative suffix *zu* can
only in rare instances be followed by other verb suffixes.
Thus, it is not possible to add the past tense suffix *ki* to
arazu, in order to make a past tense. The form must be
arazariki, where *aru* is intercalated. Consequently *nakari*,
to which any verb suffix can be added, is more convenient
than *arazu* and at least as convenient as *arazari*.

The phonetic changes in these forms compounded of *ku*
and *aru* have been curious. In the earliest texts we find,
as well as the uncontracted forms, the following marked
cases of elision :

$$1. \ ku +ara = kara = ka$$
$$2. \ ku +ara = kara = ke$$
$$3. \ ku +are = kare = kere$$
$$4. \ ku +are = kare = ke$$

Examples are :

1. *kara* becomes *ka* :

tōkaba (M.) for *tōkaraba*, from *tōku*, 'far', +*araba*
yokaba (M.) for *yokaraba*, from *yoku*, 'good', +*araba*

This is a simple case of elision, of a type common in Japanese.

2. *kara* becomes *ke* :

yasukemu (M.) for *yasukaramu*, from *yasuku*, 'easy',
    +*aramu*
kanashikemu (Res.) for *kanashikaramu*, from *kanashiku*,
    'sad', +*aramu*
subenakenaku (M.) for *subenakaranaku*, from *subenaku*,
    'helpless', +*aranaku*
nakeba (K.) for *nakaraba*, from *naku*, 'not', and *araba*.

These forms are difficult to explain by crasis ; and yet it is
unlikely that they are original forms made by attaching
suffixes direct to the adjective, without the intercalation of
aru. It seems more probable, for instance, that *yasukemu*
is a contraction of *yasukaramu* under the influence of verb
forms like *arikemu*, where the *kemu* is composed of *ke*, the
conjunctive form of the past tense suffix *ki*, and the future
suffix *mu*.

3. *kare* becomes *kere* :

wakakereba (M.) for *wakakareba*, from *wakaku*, 'young',
    +*areba*
koishikereba (M.) for *koishikareba*, from *koishiku*, 'de-
    sirous', +*areba*

This change is easy to understand, for the final *e* of *kare*
influences the preceding vowel *a*, by a tendency which is
common in Japanese. The regular 'perfect' form of adjec-
tives is always of this type, e. g. *yokere*, and not *yokare*.

4. *kare* becomes *ke* :

koishikeba (M.)	a further contraction of		*koishikereba*
tōkeba (M.)	,,	,,	*tōkereba*
usukedo (N.)	,,	,,	*usukeredo*

It will be seen that *kaba* and *keba* are not the same, although
in the modern language they are frequently confused.
Historically, however, *kaba* is *karaba*, and *keba* is either

karaba or *kereba*, two different forms which strictly speaking have different meanings.

The auxiliary verb *aru* combines freely with adverbs as well as with adjectives. The simplest and earliest of such combinations are those with *shika*, 'so', and *kaku*, 'thus', viz. *shikaru* and *kakaru*, as in the following examples:

kakarazu mo kakari mo kami no mani mani (M.)	whether it is not thus or is thus is as the gods will
hito mina ka a nomi ya shi-karu	is every one, or only myself, like this ?

These two words are now in common use and may be regarded as equivalent (in writing) to the English 'such'. Thus:

kakaru toki ni	at such a time
shikari	it is so (=yes)
shikaredomo	though it is so (=nevertheless)

After such adverbial phrases as *ika ni*, 'how', the auxiliary is added to form, e. g. *ika ni aru*, 'how being' (=what sort ?). The contracted form *ikanaru*, as in *ikanaru hito*, 'What sort of man', does not appear until the close of the Nara period. The form *sari*, from *sa*, 'in that way', does not appear in Nara texts, but is common later, as in *sari tote, sarinagara*, meaning 'notwithstanding'.

The combination of adverbial phrases formed from Chinese words by means of the particle *to*, with the auxiliary *aru* (e. g. *dōdō to aru* becoming *dōdōtaru*, from the Sinico-Japanese *dōdō*, 堂 堂 'imposing'), is not found in the Nara period, is rare in the Heian period, but is extremely common in modern prose (*v.* under the particle *to*, an account of forms like *tari* and *taru* in this usage). This is a natural result of the importation of numerous Chinese words which could be made to serve as adverbs only by the aid of the particle *to* and as adjectives by means of *aru*. So we have a regular scheme for the utilization of such words, of which a typical example is

The original Chinese word . . . 堂 堂 (*dōdō*)
Japanese adverb . . *dōdō to*, 'imposingly'
,,   adjective . *dōdō taru hito*, 'an imposing person'
,,   verb . . *dōdō tari*, 'is imposing'

We now come to what is perhaps the most interesting

phenomenon in the Japanese language, the methods employed to convert the verb *aru* into a copula. Historically there is good reason to suppose that the language in its earlier forms, before the period which can be taken as covered by the earliest extant writings, was not devoid of a special copula. As is pointed out elsewhere (p. 234), the particles *ni* and *no* are almost certainly vestiges of a copulative verb, but by the beginning of the Nara period this form had atrophied, thus necessitating the use of other methods. The verb *aru* could already combine with other verbs, as is shown by the form *woru* (now *oru*)=*wi*+*aru*, which (according to the general opinion of Japanese grammarians, though there is no positive evidence to support them) contains the verb *wiru*, 'to be', in the sense of 'to exist in space', 'to dwell'. In a similar way *aru* combines with what is now regarded as the particle *ni* but is the conjectured conjunctive form of the obsolete copula *nu*, and forms a verb *naru*,[1] which can serve as a link between the two terms of a logical proposition. Thus, in Japanese the type of a proposition of two terms is

> *kore yama nari*   this is a hill

where *nari* is the copula. In the proposition

> *yama ari*   there is a hill

the copula is implicit in the word-order and the special predicative form of the verb.

As a general rule, but not invariably, the first term of a proposition where *nari* serves as copula is distinguished by the addition of the particle *wa*, and it may be argued that in practice in the construction of sentences the function of this particle is to combine with *nari* to form a copula (*v.* under Particles, *wa*, p. 258).

The following are early examples of the use of *nari*:

munashiku okite aru tsukasa   it is an office of state left
ni arazu (Res.)   empty

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[1] This *naru* should not be confused with *naru* formed from *ni*, as a locative particle, and *aru*, which merely expresses the meaning of its separate elements. Thus *kawa no soko naru tama* (M.), 'a jewel which is at the bottom of a stream', where *naru*=*ni aru*, 'is at'.

Further, the verb *naru* often has the meaning 'to become', as in *kuraku narimasu*, 'it gets dark'; but this is probably a semantic development of the copula.

uma naraba (N.)   if it is a horse
kore wa ō mi kami no itsuku-   this is a thing lovingly be-
  shibi tamaeru mono nari (Res.)   stowed by the gods

The uncontracted form *ni ari* occurs freely in the Nara period, as in the first example.

The form *nite* is possibly a contraction of *ni arite*, but it seems more likely that it is formed by the addition of the suffix *te* to the particle *ni*, at a time when *ni* retained its force as the conjunctive form of a verb (*v.* under *ni*, p. 243). In either case it is this form *nite* which has given rise to the form *de*, employed in the colloquial with the verb *aru* to construct a copulative locution corresponding to *naru* in the written language. Thus *kore wa yama nari* becomes *kore wa yama nite ari*, which gives rise to the colloquial form *kore wa yama de aru* and, by still further contraction, *kore wa yama da*.

In a proposition of two terms linked by a copula one must be in a substantival form. In all such cases *nari* can serve as a copula. Examples of a noun as the first term have been given above. We can also have the substantival form of verbs and adjectives, as in

kokoro no asaki nari (M.)   it is shallowness of heart
kaze no fuku nari (M.)   it is the blowing of the wind

but in many cases of this nature there is little to distinguish such locutions from the simple predicative statements of the type *kokoro asashi*, 'heart is shallow', or *kaze fuku*, 'wind blows'. They seem to be due to some obscure characteristic inherent in Japanese speech which impels those who use it to pile one redundant verb upon another. It is a feature which will not have escaped the notice of those who listen to orations where sentence after sentence ends with some phrase like *de aru de arimasu*, which literally stands for 'being-is-being-is-is', and can be adequately rendered by the one word 'is' in English. In some cases, however, a difference of meaning or emphasis can be traced. In

naku naru tori (M.)   birds which are singing
tadzu wa ima zo naku   the cranes are now crying
  nari (M.)

naru seems to have an emphatic, almost a tense value, as

insisting upon the fact that the birds are uttering sounds at the present moment.   In such sentences as

kamome to miyuru wa shiraho ·   what looks like gulls is the
   no yuku nari (M.)   moving of white sails

the use of *nari* is easily understood, since *shiraho no yuku* is a substantival phrase.   In

chikyū wa higashi yori nishi   the globe revolves from East
   ni mukaite tenkwan suru nari   to West

it is difficult to say that the substitution of *tenkwan su* for *tenkwan suru nari* would alter the meaning.   It marks rather a difference in emphasis which might, according to context, represent a difference in meaning.   The modern colloquial has similar variant forms.   The above sentence, for instance, becomes in speech

   *chikyū wa higashi yori nishi ni mukatte tenkwan suru no
      desu*

and the difference between this and the alternative *tenkwan shimasu* is hardly more than can be represented in English by a difference in stress.

In the Nara period we find *naru* following not only, as would be expected, the substantival form of verbs, but also their predicative forms.   Thus :

   nakite koyu nari (M.)   they come crying

and *itaku sayagite ari nari* (K.), *sayageri nari* (N.).   Here it seems likely that the turn of phrases is emphatic, but one cannot but suspect that these and many other apparently irregular forms are sometimes imposed by the requirements of metre.   It must be remembered that the earliest texts in pure Japanese are very largely in the form of poetry.   Two results are naturally to be expected.   First, that we may attach too much importance to examples drawn from these sources, and second, that forms may have arisen under the influence of verse which could not be accounted for under other conditions.   It should perhaps be mentioned here that similar uses of the predicative form can be found in other combinations, such as *tsuma tateri miyu* (K.), 'the spouse is seen standing', where we might expect *tateru*.

An important function of the auxiliary verb *aru* is to

provide by fusion with another verb what may be called a
'progressive present' tense of the latter. The type of such
combinations is shown by *sakeri=saki-ari*. The meaning
conveyed by these 'continuative' forms is that the state
predicated by the verb continues to exist at the moment
of predication. They can often be translated into English
by 'to be' + a present participle, so that *sakeri* is rendered
by 'is blooming'. They are found in the earliest texts:

ima mo nokoreri (Bussoku)	it still remains
tsuma tateri (K.)	the spouse is standing
nishi no miyama ni taterama-shi (M.)	would I were standing on the Western hill
tama ni masarite omoerishi waga ko (M.)	my child that I used to think more precious than a jewel

The equivalent forms in the *Manyōshū* poems which repre-
sent the Eastern dialect (the *Adzuma-uta*) are of the type
furaru for *fureru*, *tataru* for *tateru*, &c.

These forms are usually confined to verbs of the quadri-
grade conjunction, but there are some exceptions, such as

kono a ga keru imo ga koromo (M.)	this robe of my lover's which I am wearing

and the auxiliary verb *suru* often appears in the form *seru*,
seri, &c.

In modern prose forms like *sakeri* are very common. The
following are examples of their use:

tsukue ni sansatsu no yōhon wo okeri (Coll. *yōhon ga oite aru*)	there are three books placed on the table
tsukikage midzu ni utsureri (Coll. *midzu ni utsutte iru*)	the moon is reflected in the water
yama ni kinenhi tateri (Coll. *kinenhi ga tatete aru*)	a monument stands (lit. 'is set up') on the hill

Strictly speaking, these forms should be derived only from
verbs of the quadrigrade conjugation, which have a con-
junctive form ending in *i*, for it is the combination $i+a$
which gives *e*, as in *yomeri* from *yomi-ari*; but forms such
as *ukeri*, *hajimeri*, &c., are found in practice.

The following examples are taken from the official school
'Reader' issued by the Department of Education:

hitoe ni sokuryoku wo kisou *yo to wa nareri*	altogether it has become an age of competition in speed
ware ni masareru hito wo ne- *tamu koto*	to envy those who are superior to us
gyofu wa mina kono ni-son *ni sumeri*	the fishermen all live in these two villages

A form parallel to *sakeri* is *sakitari*, which is often used with approximately the same meaning. The termination *tari* has already been discussed under the heading devoted to the verb suffix *tsu*, and its conjunctive form *te*. It is important to distinguish this -*tari* from *tari*=*to* +*ari*, mentioned above. The *tari* which is a combination of *te* +*ari* is a verb suffix, used as follows :

imoto wa ima hanare nite koto *wo hikitari* (Coll. *koto wo hiite iru*)	my sister is now playing the harp in the annexe
rakkwa chi ni chirishikitari	fallen blossoms are scattered over the ground

Sometimes it is difficult to say whether these forms in *tari* should be treated as indicating a 'progressive present' tense or a perfect tense. Thus in

kenji no shoku ni aru mata *wa aritaru mono*	persons who are or have been in the post of Procurator

aritaru must be regarded as a perfect tense. But it will often be found that *tari* is affixed to verbs other than those of the quadrigrade conjugation to make forms very similar in meaning to those ending in *eri*. Thus:

toko ni juku wo kaketari	a scroll hangs (lit. 'is hung') in the alcove

which would in colloquial be *juku ga kakete aru*. This is a progressive present tense, equivalent to *kakeri*, *yomeri*, &c. But it is easy to see that in some contexts it would be best translated by a perfect tense in English. Where there are two forms, as *sakeri* and *sakitari*, they naturally tend to have different meanings, such as 'is blooming' and 'has bloomed'.

There is a curious tendency in the modern written language

to resolve these forms into their original elements, and to put, for example,

> *yōsho wo oki ari*   for   *yōsho wo okeri*
> *sho wo yomi oreri*   ,,   *sho wo yomeri*
> *koto wo hiki oreri*   ,,   *koto wo hikitari*

These are quite recent developments. The form *oreri* is not found in archaic or classical Japanese.

The auxiliary verb *ari* enters into combination with most verb suffixes, as follows :

Affirmative suffix *tsu(te)* +*ari*	.	.	*tari*
Negative suffix *zu* +*ari* .	.	.	*zari*
Causative suffix *su* +*ari*	.	.	*seri*
Tense suffix *ki* +*ari*	.	.	.	*keri*
Tense suffix *mu* +*ari*	.	.	.	*meri*
Tense suffix *beku* +*ari* .	.	.	*bekari*
Tense suffix *majiku* +*ari*	.	.	*majikari*

These do not require special treatment, as their significance follows naturally from their composition, but the following notes describe special features of some of them.

TARI has just been described, and will be found also treated under the suffix *tsu*, p. 177.

SERI occurs in early texts, e. g. :

wa ga tatasereba (K.)	since I am standing
tsuma motaserame (K.)	probably has a mate
waga kimi no obaseru mi obi (N.)	the august girdle which my lord is wearing

Here *tatasu* is honorific for *tatsu*, 'to stand', and *tatasereba* = *tatashi areba*. Similarly *motasu* is honorific for *motsu*, and *motaserame* = *motashi arame* = 'will be holding'. *Obasu* is the honorific form of *obu*, 'to wear as a girdle'.

It will be seen that such forms are not essentially different from those of the type *sakeri* just described. They are merely 'progressive present' forms of honorific or causative verbs. An example from modern prose is :

gunkan wa . . . itaru tokoro ni kokkō wo kagayakaseri	the warships cause the national brilliance to shine in every place

When *seri* stands alone it is simply a compound of the verb *suru*, acting as a principal verb, with the auxiliary *ari*. Thus:

mitabi seri (Res.)	has done (it) three times
funade seri (M.)	is sailing forth

It will be found that *seri* sometimes has a past or perfect tense significance. Thus:

nijū-yo nen kinzoku seri	he has served continuously for more than twenty years
genan no mama ni ketsugi seri	they decided in accordance with the original draft

It will be seen that these forms have a tense significance rather like that of the French perfect, e. g. *seri* = 'il a fait'. Similarly *yukeri*, and even more often *yukitari*, are equivalent to 'il est allé'.

ZARI. Early examples are:

awazaredomo (M.)	though he does not meet
miezaranu (M.)	is not unseen

Although in early texts there are examples of the conjunctive form (*ni*) of the negative of verbs, followed by tense suffixes (e. g. *akanikemu*, 'will be unwearied'), the conjunctive form *zu* does not form such combinations. Consequently, when it is desired to put a verb like *yukazu*, 'does not go', into future, past or similar forms, it must be done by means of the auxiliary *aru*, just as in the case of adjectives the compound conjugation is constructed by the same means, e. g. *waruku, warukarishi, warukaramu*. Thus we have a negative conjugation built up from *yukazari*, showing forms like *yukazarishi, yukazareba, yukazaramu,* &c. It follows that *zari* is in very common use. In early texts there are uncompounded forms, as *arazu aritsu* (Res.), lit. 'was not-being', for 'was not', but in later writings, down to the present day, *zari* with its derivatives is always used. Details and examples have already been given under the heading of Negative Suffixes.

There existed in early and classical Japanese certain compound forms of the auxiliary verb reserved for special uses, honorific or humble. These were, in addition to the verb *oru* mentioned above, *haberu, imazokaru* or *imasukaru*. They are obsolete except that *haberu* lingers in the epistolary style.

Imasukaru, with its various forms, is said to be derived from *i*, *masu*, and *aru*, three verbs each meaning 'to be'. It is an honorific, while *haberu*, supposed to be *hau*, 'to crawl', +*aru*, is humble. Examples of the use of these curious forms are :

onore ga moto ni medetaki koto haberi (Mak.)	in my home there is a lovely harp
kaku hakanakute imasuka-meru wo (Yamato)	whereas he seemed to be so unfortunate

II. The Auxiliary Verb SURU.

Its simple conjugation is :

Predicative	**su**
Attributive	**suru**
'Imperfect' or Negative Base . .	**se**
Conjunctive	**shi**
Perfect	**sure**

The meaning of *suru* is approximately 'to do'. It presents the idea of action, but so vaguely that a complete idea can hardly be expressed by its means without the aid of other words. It resembles the French verb *faire*. It is thus essentially an auxiliary, and cannot stand alone as one of the two terms of a simple proposition. In this respect it differs from *aru* which in the sense 'to exist' can be so employed.

For convenience of description one may take the cases where *suru* is associated respectively with (1) substantives, (2) adverbs, (3) particles.

(1) With substantives. The typical case is represented by such combinations as *maisuru* (K.), to dance, and *koesuru* (M.), to cry. It is a development of this use which has enabled the Japanese language to assimilate a large number of Chinese words, and to convert them into verbs where necessary. The earliest examples of this device are such as *meizuru* (命), to command, *anzuru* (案), to consider, where the Chinese words, or rather approximate Japanese pro-nunciations thereof, are compounded with *suru*. These are posterior to the Nara period. Such forms would naturally not occur in the *Manyōshū* or other poetical works, nor are they to be found in other texts of the period.

A curious phenomenon, which may be mentioned here, is the formation of compounds from pure Japanese words which

are assimilated in sound to the Sinico-Japanese forms. Thus we have a verb *karonzuru*, 'to esteem lightly', from the adjective *karoki*, 'light', presumably through the verb form *karomi*. Other examples are *unzuru*, 'to tire', from *umi* (倦), *omonzuru*, 'to prize', from *omoki*, 'heavy', through *omomi*.

A number of Chinese words have thus been completely absorbed, as, for example, *zonzuru* (存), 'to know', which has, from the Heian period, been so fully naturalized as to have lost most of its meaning and become often a mere formula in the epistolary style.

As the influence of Chinese increased and the borrowing of Chinese words progressed, the verb *suru* was freely employed to convert Chinese words from substantival to predicative uses—from nouns to verbs ; or, more accurately, to give to the uninflected Chinese words, which in Chinese can function indifferently as noun or verb, the special form required by a verb in Japanese. Thus 論 *ron*, in Chinese can signify either 'argument' or 'to argue'. To convert it into a Japanese verb the form *ronzuru* is constructed. It is this process, extended to compound Chinese words, which has given to modern Japanese a large proportion of its verbs. Characteristic examples are :

> *chaku suru*, 'to arrive', from *chaku* 着 'arrival'
> *giron suru*, 'to discuss', from *giron* 議 論 'discussion'
> *jōsen suru*, 'to embark', from *jō* 乘 'to mount', *sen* 船 'ship'

It is interesting to notice that modern Japanese, when borrowing from European languages, resorts to the same device in order to give the borrowed word the form of a verb, and this even if the word borrowed is already a verb in its own language. Thus, to take examples from the field of romance, where the native vocabulary was inadequate, *dansu suru*, 'to dance', *kissu suru*, 'to kiss', and *rabu suru*, 'to love'. Of sterner provenance we have such verbs as *supeshiyaraizu suru*, 'to specialize'.

Even in the earliest texts, though combinations of a substantive and *suru* occur freely without the intercalation of a particle (i. e. combinations of the type *maisuru*), there are many instances where the two elements are separated by a particle such as *wo* or *wa*. Thus :

mai wa semu (M.)	I will dance
ikusa wo shite (Res.)	making war
kadode wo sureba (M.)	as he sets forth

In such cases *suru* approaches in function to a principal verb, the substantive and the verb each retaining a separate meaning and not completely fusing into one verb form. The difference in form of such locutions is accompanied by a slight difference in meaning, a nuance which it is easier to perceive than to define.

Under this heading (of association with substantives) may be included such forms as

> *omoku suru*, to prize, to attach weight to

where *omoku* is the conjunctive form of an adjective, in a substantival use. This is analogous to the conjunctive form of a verb in such combinations as *horisuru*, 'to desire', which has given rise to the modern verb *hossuru*, and *shinisuru*, 'to die', *karesuru*, 'to wither', &c., which are obsolete.

It is interesting to note that in early Japanese such verbs were formed freely. Examples are :

From adjectives : *mattaku suru, mattō suru*, to complete
takaku suru, takōsuru, to heighten
From verbs :   *shinisuru*, &c.

This method can be regarded as now obsolete. A parallel tendency is shown in English. 'To blacken' is a stereotyped form, whereas to 'bluen' would not be permissible.

(2) With adverbs. Cases of direct association are *kakusuru, kakushite, shikasuru, shikashite*, and the colloquial *shikashi*, meaning 'however', *sasuru, sashite*, &c. These are self-explanatory.

(3) With particles. Instances have just been given where the substantival form which is, so to speak, governed by *suru* is signalized by one of the particles *wo* or *wa*. The adverbial particles such as *nomi, koso*, &c., can naturally be employed in a similar way, as in

| *iwade kokoro ni omoi koso* | without speaking, in his heart |
| *sure* | he indeed thinks so |

Such locutions are easily understood. A much more difficult subject, however, is the combination of the particles *to* and *ni* with *suru*. If we examine the following phrases :

katsura ni subeku nari (M.)   it should be made into a garland
iitsugi ni semu (M.)   will make (it) a messenger

there is not much doubt as to the value of *suru*, in these contexts. But in

yo no hito ni shite (M.)   being a person of the world
ō omi to shite tsukaematsuri-   served as a minister of state
     shi (Res.)

it will be seen that *suru*, far from representing the idea of an act, conveys rather the idea of a state, and approximates in meaning to *aru*, 'to be'.

It is this similarity between the two auxiliary verbs, amounting in many cases to interchangeability, which provides a key to many apparent anomalies in the use of *suru*. It seems that while the maximum significance of *aru* is 'to exist', and the maximum significance of *suru* is 'to do', there is as it were a territory which the two verbs share, a common meaning which in translation can be represented by a copula. Thus if we take the two propositions

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{(1) } K\bar{o} \text{ } wa \text{ } otsu \text{ } tari \text{ } (=to \text{ } ari) \\ \text{(2) } K\bar{o} \text{ } wa \text{ } otsu \text{ } to \text{ } su\end{array}\right\} = \text{A is B }^{[1]}$$

the first may be taken to mean that A exists as B, the second that A behaves as B. The greatest common measure of meaning here is 'A is as B'. I do not of course suggest that the interchangeability arose through a logical process which could be so precisely formulated. Indeed it is remarkable that the development should have taken place at all, since it does not appear to have been caused by any specific requirement in the language.

The idiom under discussion occurs in the earliest texts. Cf. the examples given above, and :

hito to shite omowazu aru wa   there is nobody who being
     arazu (Res.)   a man does not think
kokoro nomi imo gari yarite a   only my heart goes to my
     wa koko ni shite (M.)   lover, I myself being here

A detailed account of the uses of such combinations as *to suru, ni suru, to shite, nishite,* &c., will be found under the

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[1] In Chinese and Japanese the characters 甲 (*kō*), 乙 (*otsu*), 丙 (*hei*), &c., are employed for purposes of enumeration, as we use A, B, C, &c.

sections devoted to *to* and *ni*. I confine myself here to showing schematically the correspondence both formal and functional between the two verbs :

SURU	ARU	
sasureba (sa=thus)	*sareba*	= this being so
sa shinagara	*sarinagara*	= nevertheless
shikashite	*saarite*	= whilst, however
shikashinagara	*sarinagara*	= nevertheless
to su	*tari*	= is
toshite	*to arite*	= being
ni shite	*ni arite, nite*	= being

Each member of one of the above pairs may be regarded as equivalent in meaning to the other member. The forms *shikashi*, *shikashite*, and *shikashinagara* in the modern language are commoner than the compounds with *ari*. *Shikashi*, indeed, is now in the spoken language the equivalent of 'however'.

The case of *to shite* is also interesting, since it has actually displaced its formal equivalent *to arite*; as, moreover, *ni shite* has displaced *ni arite* (but not *nite*). If we take the sentences

> *Tarō wa otoko nari*   Taro is a man
> *Hana wa onna nari*   Hana is a woman

and wish to make of them one sentence, by using the conjunctive form of the first verb, we find that this conjunctive form is not used under such circumstances. Instead of *Tarō wa otoko ni arite*, &c., one of the following substitutes is employed :

> *Tarō wa otoko nite Hana wa onna nari*
> *Tarō wa otoko nishite Hana wa onna nari*

Similarly with *to shite*; though this form does not occur in the earliest texts, and the corresponding form *tarite* is also absent in the Nara period. In the modern language, however, *to su* and *to shite* are freely used. Thus :

ima gojin no shugan to suru   my main object at present is
  tokoro wa jitsu ni bumpō-   actually the study of gram-
  gaku nari to su   mar

where *shugan to suru tokoro*='that which *is* the main object', and *nari to su* is a pleonastic expression meaning simply 'is'. In legal language the words *to su* can usually be translated by 'is' or 'shall be'. Thus :

kōchō no hōkyu wa kokkō no futan to su	the salary of the Director is a charge upon the Exchequer
shi wa hōjin to su	the Municipality shall be a juridical person

In such sentences as

haru no hana nioi sukunaku shite	there being but little scent to Spring flowers
Miyako nite umaretarishi on-na koko ni shite niwaka ni usenishikaba (Tosa)	a woman born at the Capital having suddenly died while she was in this place . . .

shite may be regarded as a formal substitute for *arite*. In many cases, however, *shite* merely serves as a conjunctive form of verbs and adjectives, and cannot be regarded as replaceable by *arite*. Thus :

wakakushite kashikoshi	he is young and wise (lit. 'being young is wise ')
kotaezu shite kaeritari	he went back without replying

It is to be noted that the correspondence in these cases does not extend to the compound conjugation. Thus we have *shiroku shite* rather than *shirokarite*, but there are no forms like *shirokuseshi*, *shirokusezu* to correspond with *shirokarishi*, *shirokarazu*.

In describing the interchangeability of *aru* and *suru* I have naturally paid attention to their resemblance ; but it need not be assumed that these involve a constant and exact equivalency. Where two forms exist side by side with almost identical meaning they generally develop some difference of emphasis if not of significance.

The correspondence between *aru* and *suru* is further exemplified by the use of honorific verbs containing the element *su*, analogous to the verbs *haberu*, *imazokaru*, &c. These are the verbs *mesu*, *masu*, *imasu*, and *owasu*. Both *mesu* and *masu* appear in the Nara period :

waga seko ga kaerikimasamu toki (M.)	the time when my lover shall return
yorodzuyo ni imashi tamaite (M.)	existing in all ages
omooshi mesu na (M.)	pray do not think

The verb *owasu* first appears in the Heian period. Its meaning is the same as that of *aru* or *oru*, except that it has an honorific value, and it is probably derived from some such combination of *masu* as *omasu*, where *o* also is honorific. Examples of its use are :

yonaka made nan owaseshi (Mak.)	he was there until midnight
natane no okisa nite owaseshi (Take.)	she was of the size of a rape seed
Ten ni mashimasu waga chichi	our Father which art in Heaven

While *owasu* is obsolete, and *mesu* persists chiefly in such conventional compounds as *oboshimesu*, 'to think', the form *masu* continues to play an important part in the spoken language, in the ordinary polite forms of verbs such as *arimasu*, *gozaimasu*, which are honorific forms of *aru*, and *yukimasu*, where, attached to the conjunctive form of a principal verb, *masu* is simply an honorific suffix.

Reviewing the above account of the auxiliary verbs, we see that while the early (pre-Nara) language appears to have had a copula, it became obsolete and was replaced not by one but by many locutions. Setting these forth in tabular form we have :

Archaic and Medieval	Modern	
	Written	Colloquial
ni ari	nari	
nari		
masu		
owasu		
to su	to su	
tari	tari	
haberu		
saurau	sōrō	
imasu		
owasu		
nite ari		de aru, da
		de arimasu
gozaru		gozaru
nite gozaru		de gozaru
		de gozarimasu
		de gozaimasu
		desu [1]

[1] The above does not exhaust the list of honorific combinations

OTHER AUXILIARY VERBS

(1) The honorific and humble verbs just mentioned may be regarded as auxiliary verbs. Thus, in *kashi tamae*, 'deign to lend', and *tabete kudasai*, 'condescend to eat', *tamae* and *kudasai* are functionally the equivalent of imperative terminations of the principal verb. Similarly in *on sasshi mōshimasu*, 'I respectfully sympathize', *mōshimasu* (*mōsu*) has no longer its usual meaning of 'to speak humbly' but is simply a humble auxiliary.

(2) The verb **uru** which, as a principal verb means 'to get', serves as an auxiliary in the sense of 'to be able'. There is little doubt that the potential forms of verbs, such as *yukaruru*, 'to be able to go', contain the verb *uru*, and if we examine such pairs as *tatsu*, 'to stand' (intransitive), and *tatsuru*, 'to stand' (transitive), we see that *uru* is a hardly concealed auxiliary in the transitive form.

In the medieval and later languages we find such forms as *e-nomazu*, 'is unable to drink', where *e* is the conjunctive of *uru*. In some dialects the ordinary potential is replaced by forms of the type *yukiezu*, 'cannot go', where again *ezu* is an auxiliary. There is also a verb *kaneru* or *kanuru*, meaning 'to be unable', used as an auxiliary in such compounds as *yukikaneru*, 'to be unable to go'. It is not found in the early language, but in the Nara period there occurs a verb *kate-*, as in

hito-kuni ni sugikatenu (M.)   cannot pass into a strange
                                    land
nagaji wa yukikatenu (M.)   cannot go a long way

The conclusive form is scarce, but appears to be *katsu*, as in *yukikatsumaji* (M.). It is probable that this verb is cognate with *katashi*, 'hard', and *kaneru* may be related to it.

Another auxiliary verb used to form a potential is *atau*, found as a rule only in the negative, as in *yukiatawazu*, 'cannot go'.

(3) Some Japanese grammarians distinguish an auxiliary or verb suffix **au**, in such words as *katarau*, *sumau*, *utsurou*,

meaning 'to be'. There are forms like *mashimasu*, *owashimasu*, *irassharu*, and verbs like *tamau*, *samurau*, &c., in which the honorific value has suppressed all other meaning, so that they act merely as suffixes.

&c. Thus *kataru* is 'to talk', while *katarau* is 'to remain in converse', *sumu* is 'to stop' while *sumau* is 'to dwell', *utsuru* 'to change', and *utsurou* 'to fade'. The suffix is stated to denote the continuance of the action described by the verb. It is true that a large number of pairs of this type can be found in the Nara period, but they are already stereotyped, and it can hardly be said that *au* is now a verb suffix, or an auxiliary, comparable with, say, *su*. Its existence should, however, not be overlooked when endeavouring to fix the earliest forms of verbs. Thus *negau*, 'to pray', has an earlier form *negu*, and *tamau* is undoubtedly derived from *tabu*. (Cf. *tsutometabubeshi*, *tasukematsuritabu*, forms very common in the Rescripts.)

THE PARTICLES

THE Particles are the most characteristic group of words in Japanese, and they are essential to the formation of any proposition containing more than the simplest elements. As might be expected, therefore, their uses are various and idiomatic, and must be fully mastered before the structure of the language can be understood.

Their classification presents some difficulty, and it seems that few native grammarians are in accord on this question. The traditional method was to include the particles in a large group called *Teniwoha*, but the members of the group have no common characteristics.

An examination of the particles shows that they fall naturally into two main divisions, according to their functions, namely :

(1) those which affect only component parts of a sentence, and

(2) those which affect a sentence as a whole.

Thus, in the sentence

yama no *ue* yori *kawa* wo   to see a river from the top of
  miru   a hill

the particles in Roman type concern only the single words to which they are affixed. This is clear from the fact that if any one particle is removed, the word to which it is affixed must logically be removed at the same time ; and this process can be continued until there is nothing left but the simplest elements of a grammatical proposition, subject and predicate.

On the other hand, in such a sentence as

ware wa *sono hito no na* dani   I do not know even his name
  shirazu

the particles in Roman type can be removed without necessitating the removal of other words, but with a change in the meaning of the sentence as a whole.

The classification is a convenient one, even if it cannot be supported on logical grounds. On the one hand we have the

particles *ga*, *ni*, *no*, *to*, *wo*, *he*, *made*, and *yori*, and on the other hand all the remaining particles. The members of the first group are affixed exclusively to substantives or to groups of words acting as substantives, and their function is that which in other languages is usually performed by inflexion or by prepositions and postpositions—the designation of Case. They may, therefore, without serious abuse of terms be called Case Particles.

The remaining group is certainly not homogeneous, but its members have one character in common. Their presence is not essential to the formation of a sentence, but serves to modify its purport. This, in the case of principal words, as opposed to particles, is precisely the function of an adverb, and in a general way the members of the group in question may be fairly described as Adverbial Particles.

From this general classification one might exclude the Interrogative Particles, but there does not seem to be sufficient reason for so doing, since the object of classification is secured if groups of manageable size are distinguished.

We therefore have two categories of particles : (1) **Case Particles** ; (2) **Adverbial Particles**.

An anomaly does, it is true, obtrude itself in the suffixes *ba*, *do*, *domo*, &c. Strictly speaking, these are the particles *wa* and *to* in special forms, and it is possible to treat them as such by paying elaborate attention to their sense development. But their functions, when they appear in this form, are so specialized that it would be pedantic as well as inconvenient to refuse them special treatment, and they are therefore separately classified below as (3) **Conjunctive Particles**.

CASE PARTICLES

These are the particles **no, tsu, ga, wo, ni, to, he, yori,** and **made**. Their several uses are described below, but it must be realized that the nominative and accusative cases can be shown without the use of particles, and when particles are affixed to words which are syntactically in those cases, they do not form the case, but merely indicate it. Thus the sentences

ware yukan	I will go
maro kono uta no kaeshi sen	I will make a reply to this verse

are complete as they stand, though they contain no particle to indicate nominative or accusative. Strictly speaking, neither *wa* nor *ga*, as will be shown later, even indicates the nominative, and it may be said that modern Japanese has no exclusive means of indicating this case, other than by position. It will be seen, however, that certain specialized uses of *ga* and *wa* constitute an attempt by the language to single out, if not the grammatical subject of a sentence, at least the subject of a logical proposition.

NO may be defined as a genitive particle, but its employment can be better understood if it is regarded as establishing an attributive rather than a possessive or partitive relation between two words. In one of its simplest and earliest uses it forms demonstrative adjectives from pronouns—*kono, kano, ano, sono*; and in such a phrase as *kono hito*, 'this man', there is clearly no possessive, but only an attributive relation between *ko* (='here') and *hito*. In *waga, soga*, &c., on the other hand, there is a definite possessive sense, for these words mean 'my', 'thy', &c. To take a very early example, the following occurs in the *Toshigohi* (Prayer for Harvest) Ritual:

yatsuka ho no ikashi ho   many-bundled and luxuriant ears

where it is quite clear that *no* does not mean 'of', but relates *yatsuka ho* to *ikashi ho*, as the translation shows.

Regarded in this way the significance of *no* in such locutions as the following becomes much clearer:

yaso no shima (M.)	eighty isles
jūyen no kogitte	a cheque for ten yen
futatsu no michi	two roads
kami no yashiro	the upper shrine
tsuki no yo	a moonlight night

This use of *no* is, of course, parallel with that of the preposition 'of' in English, in such phrases as 'a child of three', 'a man of sense', 'a night of terror'; but in English it is restricted, in Japanese widely extended. Nor is the analogy sufficient to explain such forms as

omoshiro no monogatari	an interesting tale
iigai-na no koto	a thing not worth speaking of

where we have *no* affixed to an adjectival stem. Here the
effect of *no* is to give the adjective its attributive value,
exactly as if it were the regular attributive inflexion, in
omoshiroki monogatari, iigai naki koto.

The attributive force of *no* is further exemplified in

Yamato no kuni (M.)	the land of Yamato
Kusanagi no tachi (K.)	the grass-quelling sword
itazura no Saburo	the naughty Saburo

Here indeed there is no trace of a possessive relation. The
meanings are 'the land that is Yamato', &c., and the particle
even points out an identity, rather than an attribute, very
much as in the English idioms, 'her fool of a husband', 'the
county of Kent'. But here again the Japanese use is much
more widely extended than the English.

Further illustrations of this type are :

ani no Yoshitaro	Yoshitaro, his elder brother
chichi no Dainagon	her father, the Counsellor
haru no kagiri no kyō no hi	to-day, the last day of Spring

This use of *no*, by which one word is brought into an attri-
butive relation with another, can serve to convert almost
any part of speech into an adjective. Thus :

hidari no te	the left hand
makoto no kotoba	true words
mukashi no tera	ancient temples
saikin no tokei	recent statistics
umitate no tamago	new-laid eggs
wadzuka no koto	a trifling thing
kanete no negai	a previous request

A construction which is similar to those just described, but
somewhat elliptical, is found in

tsuyu no inochi (M.)	a life fleeting as the dew
hana no kanbase tsuki no mayu	a flower-like face, moon-like eye-brows
yuku midzu no hayaku	fast as running water

These may perhaps be compared with such English colloquial
expressions as 'a devil of a business', 'a dream of a hat',
which one may suppose to mean 'a devilish business', 'a
dreamlike hat'.

The foregoing examples have shown *no* acting as a link between two simple substantival forms. It can in addition be attached to clauses or sentences, which for this purpose are treated as substantival groups. Thus :

yukan no kokoro	a mind to go
kuru hito nashi no yado	a lodging where no man comes
chichi kawarite haha hitotsu no kyōdai	brothers with the same mother and a different father
matsu hito no kon ya koji ya no sadame nakereba	it being uncertain whether he whom I await will come or not
jippi wo mite mairaseyo no on tsukai	a messenger to go and find out the truth
kainin nanatsuki no onna sanbyaku nin	three hundred women seven months gone with child
Heike monogatari ni tsukite no kenkyū	inquiry into the Heike Mono-gatari
yukite no nochi	after having gone

In the above cases the function of *no* is to connect two substantival forms, the first of which is a group of words, and the second a simple substantive or its equivalent. It can also link up two such forms when the second is a word, or a group of words, acting as a substantive, thus :

> *hito no kuru*
> *hito no tabi ni yuku*

which literally can be translated 'a person's coming', 'a person's going on a journey'. But, because the relation between *hito* and *kuru*, *hito* and *yuku* is not so much possessive as attributive, such phrases in Japanese tend to be regarded as complete statements, corresponding not so much to 'a person's coming' as to 'a person comes'.

This tendency is even more marked in the case of the other genitive particle, *ga*. The sentence *hito ga kuru* is the usual equivalent of 'a person comes' in the modern colloquial. It is difficult to trace the process by which these usages have developed. They go back to a stage of language where there is incomplete differentiation between substantive and verb. In the early language we frequently meet (especially in

poetry) sentences which are in form exclamations rather than assertions, such as :

sumera mikoto no nori tamai-	lit. 'the Sovereign's saying'
shiku (Res.)	='the Sovereign said'

In the modern colloquial, too, a frequent idiom is that illustrated by :

michi no tōi koto	lit. 'the farness of the road'='What a long way it is !'

In modern English an analogy may be found in newspaper head-lines such as 'Death of Jones', which is another way of saying 'Jones is dead'.

This tendency is no doubt reinforced by deficiencies in other directions—the lack, for instance, of a simple method of indicating agreement of person, number, &c. In rudimentary propositions, the relation between terms is made clear by apposition in significant order. Thus, *ame furu*, 'rain falls', *furu ame*, 'falling rain'. In English, significant word-order, together with simple inflexions, is adequate, even in longer sentences. Thus 'I know a man comes' is clear enough in English, but *ware shiru hito kuru* would be barely intelligible in Japanese. It is necessary to indicate the relation between terms. It is here that *no*, in common with other particles, performs a characteristic function. The phrase *shiru hito* as it stands is neutral, in the sense that *shiru* is merely attributive to *hito*. It may signify either 'a man who knows' or 'a man who is known'. But if we say *ware no shiru hito*, the particle *no* brings *ware* into close relation with *shiru*, and the phrase means 'an I-know man', i. e. 'a man that I know'. Analogous with the combination *ware no shiru* is *ashi no nagaki* in *ashi no nagaki hito*, 'a man with long legs', literally 'a legs-long man'. In the written language the simple form *ashi nagaki hito* is permissible, but the colloquial exacts the use of *no*.

Since *hito no kuru* corresponds to 'a man comes' as well as to 'a man's coming', the sentence *hito no kuru wo shiru* is the equivalent of 'I know that a man comes'. It will be seen that, in these contexts, *no* serves to form both relative and subordinate sentences. Thus :

kuru hito	a man who comes
hito no kuru toki	the time when a man comes

hito no kuru wo matsu	to wait for a man to come
hito no kuru made matsu	to wait until a man comes
hito no kuru koto	the fact of a man's coming, *or* the fact that a man comes

This use of *no* is so important that it is worth while, even at the risk of over-elaboration, to illustrate the process by which it has developed, by means of the following quotations :

(1) *shirayuki no kakareru eda*   in the branches on which the
    ni uguisu no naku   white snow lies the warbler
                           sings

Here the first *no* is the link between subject and predicate of a relative sentence. The second connects *uguisu* with *naku*, which is a substantival form of the verb, and literally therefore the last words might be translated 'the singing of the warbler', but by an extension of meaning the exclamation becomes an assertion, and the passage can be fairly rendered 'the warbler sings'.

(2) *inaba soyogite akikaze no*   rustling the young rice the
    fuku   autumn wind blows

(3) *shigururu sora ni kari no*   in the rainy sky the geese are
    naku nari   crying

Here *kari no naku* is treated as a substantive, and *nari* serves as verb+copula—'It is a crying of the wild geese'. In the modern colloquial the sentence would run *kari no naku no de aru.*

(4) *nani ka wakare no kana-*   how shall the parting be sad?
    shi-karamashi

(5) *Kasugano no wakana tsu-*   folk will go herb gathering
    mi ni hito no yukuran   on the moor of Kasuga

(6) *hito no kokoro no hana to*   were men's love to fade like
    chirinaba   flowers

In the last three examples the modern colloquial equivalent would require the use of *ga—wakare ga kanashikarō* ; *hito ga yukō* ; *kokoro ga hana no yō ni chitte shimaeba.*

In relative sentences where *no* is affixed to the subject, it is quite clear that the exclamatory sense has vanished. Thus while *hito no taburu* might mean 'people's eating!' *hito no*

taburu mono means 'the things which people eat', and nothing else. I add a few examples of this usage :

haru no kiru kasumi no koromo	the robe of mist that Spring wears
hito no ii-morasamu koto	things that people may disclose
imijiki tenjin no amakudareru wo mitaran yō ni	as if he had seen a splendid angel descend from heaven
shika no kayou hodo no michi uma no kayowanu koto arubekarazu	It is not likely that a horse cannot follow a path big enough for a deer to follow

In its use as a genitive particle *no* is at times found in the written language, and still more frequently in the spoken, following one substantive without linking it to another, just as in English we can say 'the book is John's'. E. g. :

Manyōshū ni iranu furuki uta midzukara no wo mo (Kokin.)	old poems not in the Manyōshū and (poems) of my own
ima no aruji mo mae no mo (Tosa)	the present master and the former one
kore wa anata no desu (Mod. Coll.)	this is yours

Another elliptical use of *no* is to be found in such phrases as

tsubame no tobu no ga hayai	the flight of the swallow is quick
kitte no furui no wo atsumeru	to collect old stamps
atarashii no ga nai	there are no new ones
hito no kuru no wo matsu	to await a person's coming

The idiom here illustrated is confined to the spoken language, and is invariably used where the written language would employ simple substantival forms (e. g. *hito no kuru wo matsu*) or make use of the words *koto* (a thing, abstract) or *mono* (a thing, concrete), as in *tsubame no tobu koto*, *atarashiki mono*. The following sentences show the difference clearly :

kono uta wa Hitomaro ga yomikeru nari (Lit.)	this poem is one composed by Hitomaro
kono uta wa Hitomaro ga yonda no desu (Coll.)	

This last use of *no* is very common and of great importance in the colloquial. Its meaning is easily understood by regarding *no* as equal to *koto* or *mono*, but this by no means necessarily reveals the true sense-development, which is difficult to trace. Examples are :

kore wa warui no desu (=*warui mono*)	these are bad ones
kesa itta no wa machigai de-shita (=*itta koto*)	what I said this morning was wrong
hana no nai no ga aru (=*nai mono*)	there are some without flowers

It is possible that some of the uses of *no* are due to Chinese influence. In early texts, such as the *Kojiki*, *no* is represented by 之, a Chinese connective suffix, which corresponds in certain ways with *no*, and it seems likely that special Chinese constructions where 之 was used were reproduced in Japanese by means of *no*, and then adopted, in the written language at least, as Japanese. But I confess I cannot explain historically the usage shown in the last examples, still less the very common colloquial idiom shown in

anata yuku no desu ka	are you going ?
zuibun samui no desu	it 's very cold

where *yuku ka* and *samui desu* would seem to be sufficient.

GA is by origin a genitive particle, similar in meaning and use to *no*. It establishes, however, to a greater degree than *no*, a possessive relation between the two elements which it connects, as is clear from the distinction already pointed out, between the demonstrative adjectives *kono*, *sono*, &c., and the possessive adjectives *waga*, *soga*, &c.

Examples of the use of *ga* in its primary significance are :

shi ga kokoro	his own heart
kore wa ta ga te zo	whose hand is this ?
umegaka	the scent of the plum-blossom
kimigayo	the king's reign
kore ga tame	on account of this

It will be found that when *ga* is affixed to a simple noun, that noun is most frequently a word indicating a person. It is stated on good authority that in the whole of the *Heike*

Monogatari only one example occurs where *ga* connects two substantives of which the first is the name of a thing. In all other cases it is the name or description of a person. A typical contrast between the uses of the two particles in this respect is found in such a phrase as

> *shizuno-o* ga *ono* no *oto*   the sound of the peasant's axe

It is not of course contended that *no* cannot be used to show a purely possessive relation, but that

(1) the function of *no* is to express a loose relationship, whether attributive or partitive, between two substantives, and so to place the second of these in the principal position in the clause where it occurs ; and

(2) the function of *ga* is to establish a close relationship, primarily possessive or dependent, between two substantives, and so to place the first of these in the principal position in the clause where it occurs.

The contrast is illustrated in the following examples :

(1) *Masamune no katana*   a Masamune sword
    Masamune ga katana   Masamune's sword

(2) *chichi no Dainagon*   her father the Dainagon
    Dainagon ga chichi   the Dainagon's father

(3) *Tamba no kami*   the Lord of Tamba

whereas *Tamba ga kami* would be as unusual as 'Norfolk's Duke'.

GA indicates the subject of a clause, in the same way as *no*, particularly where the relation between subject and predicate is, owing to the length or the construction of the sentence, not immediately apparent. Thus, while in *yo fukenu*, 'night falls', *kaze suzushi*, 'the wind is cool', there can be no confusion, in

> *sho miru ga omoshiroshi*   it is pleasant to read books
> *chi naki ga ōshi*   those without wisdom are many

the introduction of *ga* shows that *miru* and *naki* are the subjects. When, as in these cases, the subject is a verb or adjective in its substantival form, or a substantival group, *ga* is almost invariably used in preference to *no*, because it is on the subject that emphasis is laid. Thus :

nuru ga uchi ni miru wo nomi   shall we call a dream only
ya wa yume to iwan   that which we see during
                           sleep ?

No is used on the other hand in exclamatory sentences, like those already quoted, e. g. *koe no harukesa*, 'the far-offness of its voice', where the second substantive or verbal form is the important one.

In subordinate (relative) clauses, *no* is found more often than *ga*, because from their nature the emphasis lies on the verb and not on the subject. Thus, *hana no saku toki*, 'the time when flowers blossom', *kashikoki hito no tomeru wa mare nari*, 'it is rare for the wise to be rich'. Where *ga* is used it is because special attention is drawn to the subject.

In the spoken language it is usual to indicate the subject of a sentence by means of a particle, and so it comes about that *ga* is used for this purpose in independent sentences, while *no* is reserved for use in relative clauses. Thus we can say

hana no nai toki   a time when there are *no* flowers
hana ga nai toki   a time when there are no *flowers*

with a slight difference of emphasis, but we cannot say *hana no nai* as well as *hana ga nai* for 'there are no flowers'.

Ga is used rather than *no* in phrases like *kore ga* tame, *sore ga* uye ni, *aru ga* gotoshi, because the words *tame, uye,* and *gotoshi* are not of their nature emphatic. *Kaku no gotoku* appears to be an exception, probably because *kaku ga gotoku* would be cacophonous.

The following are examples from modern prose to illustrate the respective uses of these particles :

waga kuni no rikken seitai no   the beginnings of constitu-
kigen wa, waga kokumin ga   tional government in this
. . . sono dokuritsu wo hozen   country are based upon a
to seshi kokumin no yokkyū   demand of the people that
ni motozuku mono nari   they, the people, should . . .
                           preserve their independence

The writer is emphasizing the fact that the demand was a popular one, and therefore *ga* is used rather than *no* with the first *kokumin*.

gikwai ga kaisan serare yosan no fuseiritsu wo miru koto wa yamu wo enu koto nari

the Diet being dissolved, the failure of the budget is inevitable

gikwai no kaisan seraruru wa kokumin no yoron wo tashikamuru tame ni hoka naranu.

it is solely for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of the nation that the Diet is dissolved

In the first example, *gikwai ga kaisan serare* is not a relative clause but an incomplete principal clause, and therefore *ga* is used in preference to *no*. But in the second, the first words mean 'the being-dissolved of the Diet', and *no* is used rather than *ga*, because there is no emphasis on *gikwai*.

Though *no* and *ga* are now distinct, it is probable that they have a common origin. There are traces in the earliest Japanese writings of a particle *na*, which survives as a fossil embedded in the words *tanagokoro=te no kokoro*, 'palm of hand'; *manako=me no ko*, 'eyeball'; *menajiri=me no shiri*, 'the canthus', and it is likely that *na* is an intermediate stage between the original form on the one hand and *no* and *ga* on the other. The Luchuan equivalent is *nu*, and there are in archaic Japanese a number of instances where *nu* represents a later *no*. The conjectured development [1] is
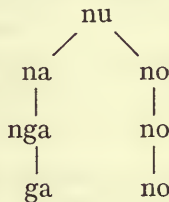
and this accords with the hypothesis advanced by Aston (*Grammar*, 2nd ed., p. 120) that there was a verb *nu*, 'to be', the attributive form *nu* of which is identical with the particle *no*. It is certainly difficult to understand the sense development of *no* if it was originally a genitive particle, for its uses are mainly attributive, and there was a specialized genitive particle *tsu*.

Ga has a conjunctive use, in co-ordinating two sentences. This is discussed separately under Conjunctive Particles.

[1] This conjecture is also put forward by Yamada, *Bumpō-ron*.

TSU appears to be a true genitive particle. It is now obsolete, though it survives in combination in a number of phrases like

onodzukara	ono-tsu-kara, 'by oneself'
midzukara	mi-tsu-kara, 'by oneself'
ototoi	oto-tsu-hi (day before yesterday)
otōto	? ototsuhito (younger brother)
yakko	ya-tsu-ko (house-child=servant)

as well as in many place-names, such as *Kōtsuke, Akitsu-shima, Itsukushima*, &c.

In the Heian period *tsu* was already out of use, except for a number of stereotyped compounds. Of these a few survive in poetical language, such as *akitsukata*, 'autumn time', *mukashitsubito*, 'men of old', &c.

WO, though it seems to have been originally an interjection, is now used to mark the objective case.

A trace of its original exclamatory force can be seen in the following examples :

naka ni wo nemu (K.)	I will sleep in the middle, O !
watarimori fune watase wo to yobu koe (M.)	a voice crying O Ferryman, send a boat !
koko ni chikaku wo kinakite yo (M.)	come and sing, Oh ! close to here

In the Heian period *wo* is used more freely and with a wider range of meaning, as is shown in these quotations :

(1) *nodoka ni wo to nagusame tamau* (Genji)	'gently', he said, to soothe him
(2) *miezu to wo iedomo* (Genji)	though (you say) it cannot be seen
(3) *toku sōzokite kashiko e wo maire*	dress quickly and come here
(4) *yomosugara mite wo aka-samu aki no tsuki*	all night long I would keep awake, watching the Autumn moon
(5) *yume to shiriseba same-zaramashi wo . . .*	had I known it to be a dream, I should not have waked, but . . .

(6) *kaku mōsu wo mina hito ina to mōsu ni yorite* — he spoke thus, whereat everybody said No, and therefore . . .

(7) *asu monoimi naru wo mon wo tsuyoku saseyo* — to-morrow is a fast day. That being so, close the gate

(8) *natsu no yo wa mada yoi nagara akenuru wo kumo no idzuko ni tsuki yado-ruramu* — on summer nights it grows light while it is still evening. That being so, where in the clouds does the moon take lodging ?

The above examples will have shown the development of *wo* from an exclamatory to an emphatic particle. That it should now be used to emphasize in particular an objective case is the more readily understood when one remembers that in Japanese cases are marked, but not formed, by particles. It is primarily word-order which determines case in Japanese. The following sentences contain words in the objective case without *wo* :

tsuribune no tayutau mireba — as I watched the rocking of the fishing boats

hito wo yobite mono torasu — he calls some one and gives him something

Miko wa hana mochite nobori tamaikeri — the Prince ascended, carrying flowers

hi nado okoshite sumi mote wataru — they light fires and bring charcoal

Where an adverbial particle is used no case particle is required. Thus :

yama no na nomi ya kikitsu-tsu — hearing, it seems, only the names of mountains

e wa ta ga kakitaru zo — who drew the picture ?

Wo can, however, be used with adverbial particles, though *ga* and *no* when indicating a nominative cannot. Thus we can have the combinations *wo mo*, *woba* (=*wo wa*), as in *sake wo mo nomu*, 'to drink wine also', *sake wo ba nomu*, 'to drink *wine*', but we cannot say *ware ga mo nomu* for 'I also drink'.

Subject to the above, *wo* may be fairly described as an

accusative particle. It can govern not only simple nouns, but any substantival form, including a complete clause regarded as a substantive :

midzu wo nomu	to drink water
hito wo utsu	to strike a man
hito no kuru wo matsu	to wait till a man comes
ari ya nashi ya wo shirazu	not knowing whether there are or are not

It is a characteristic rather of certain verbs than of this particle that it can be used to indicate the indirect object of verbs which in English are intransitive. Thus :

michi wo yuku	to go along a road
ie wo sumu	to live in a house

which are modern uses, and

Ōsaka nite hito wo wakare (Kokin.)	on parting from a person at Osaka
toshigoro wo sumishi tokoro	a place where he had lived for years

which may be regarded as obsolete. Of this nature are elliptical uses like *umi wo Nagasaki e* = 'by sea to Nagasaki', the title of an article in a newspaper.

When a passive verb is used it can retain the object which it would have if active. The object is then designated by *wo* :

tokei wo nusumaru	he has his watch stolen
kubi wo kiraruru	to have one's head cut off
mi ni furokku kōto wo mato-eru sōshi no tame ni bakudan wo tōzeraretari	he had a bomb thrown at him by a rough garbed in a frock coat
Sanehira saishi wo torare jū-taku wo yakiharawarenu to kikaba, . . .	when Sanehira hears that his wife and children have been seized and his house burned down, . . .

In the phrase *mono wo* at the end of a sentence, *wo* retains something of its exclamatory force :

yakusoku no gotoku machishi mono wo kimi naze kitazari-shi	I waited as agreed ! Why, despite that, did you not come ?

It will be seen that this is equivalent to a conjunctive use.

The following uses of *wo* in combination are frequent :

WOBA consists of *wo* and the emphatic particle *wa* (=*ha*= *ba*). It has the significance of its two components, i. e. an emphasis upon the object :

> *kore wo ba tori sore wo ba*   he takes this and rejects that
> *sutsu*

This is exactly parallel to such combinations as *wo mo, wo zo, wo koso,* &c., and calls for no special comment.

WO MOCHITE, WO MOTTE are used in somewhat formal modern prose, instead of *ni* or *ni yotte*, to indicate an agent or a cause, and can usually be translated 'by' or 'with'. Thus :

tsukai wo motte okuru	to send by messenger
sore wo motte	by that means
sono yue wo motte	for that reason
Jū gwatsu ni jū roku nichi wo motte . . . owari wo tsugenu	came to an end on October 26 (lit. 'With Oct. 26', &c.)

WO SHITE is used, also in formal prose, where *wo* alone would be sufficient, to indicate the object, particularly in the case of causative verbs, where both direct and indirect object are expressed. Thus :

Yoritomo Yoshitsune wo shite Yoshinaka wo semeshimu	Yoritomo caused Yoshitsune to attack Yoshinaka
chichi ko wo shite jitsugyō ni tsukashimu	the father puts the son into business
gojin wo shite kitan naku iwashimeba	if you ask me to speak without reserve

This form should be compared with *ni shite,* used to indicate the subject.

NI in its simplest uses can be variously translated 'in', 'to', 'at', or 'by', and may be described as a dative, instrumental or locative particle.   1. The following are examples of its use in the character of a dative particle :

Sumera mikoto ni sadzukete (Res.)	offering to the Sovereign Lord
tare ni ka misemu (M.)	to whom shall I show it ?

hito ni mono wo atau	to give a thing to a person
oya ni niru	to resemble one's parents
bushi ni nigon nashi	a knight is truthful (lit. ' to a knight there are not two words ')
kō otsu ni otoru	A. is inferior to B (甲 *kō*, 乙 *otsu*, 内 *hei* are used in Japanese for enumeration, like a, b, c)
kawa ni chikaki uchi	a house near the river

An extension of the dative use, somewhat resembling an ethical dative, is found in

kikun ni wa ikani oboshimesu	you Sir, what do you think ?
Denka ni mo shitashiku dairin asobase . . .	His Highness also was graciously pleased to inspect it in person
Taishō dono ni wa o hiraka ni owashiki	the General was in good spirits

2. As an instrumental particle, denoting agency or cause.

inu ni kamaru	he is bitten by a dog
haha ko ni nakaru	the mother is wept for by the child
gakumon ni mi wo kurushi-muru	to afflict the body by study
hitome no tsutsushimashisa ni waza to yōru ni magirete mairite sōrō	out of anxiety to avoid being seen by others I purposely came under cover of the night
zaikwa ni kokoro madou	he is led astray by riches
hana ni mai tsuki ni utai	dancing because of the flowers, singing because of the moon

3. As a locative particle, denoting rest at or motion to a point, in space or in time.

Tōkyō ni sumu	to live at Tokyo
Tōkyō ni yuku	to go to Tokyo
hako ni osamete oku	to keep in a box
hatsuka ni kuru	to come on the twentieth
nijūgo sai ni oyobu	to reach the age of twenty-five
goji ni okureru	to be later than five o'clock

A slight extension of this use accounts for locutions like

Morokoshi ni mononarawashi ni tsukawashi	sending him to China for study
hanami ni yuku	to go to see the flowers
tomurai ni ku	he comes to condole
nani semu ni ka wa kikiokamu	for what purpose (lit. 'for doing what') should I listen?
kiyasume ni iū	he says it to soothe (you)

where *ni* has the meaning 'for the purpose'.

A further extension gives it the meaning 'by way of', thus :

ogi wo fue ni fuku	he blows his fan by way of a flute
tsuyu wo tama ni nuku	to thread dewdrops like jewels
na ni ou . . .	bearing as a name . . . (i. e. 'named')
hana wo yuki ni miru	regarding the flowers as snow
goza wo kasa ni kaburite	wearing a piece of matting as a hat

Somewhat similar are expressions like :

midzu wo yu ni nasu	to make cold water into hot
hito wo baka ni suru	to make a fool of a man
kurenai ni sometaru	dyed crimson
hakase ni naru	to become a doctor

4. The last-named use may be termed adverbial, and akin to it is the function of *ni* to form adverbial phrases from substantival forms :

tadachi ni	immediately
ogosoka ni	solemnly
kirei ni	prettily
ōgesa ni	boastfully
omowazu ni	unthinkingly
kuwauru ni	in addition, moreover
anzuru ni	on reflection
omou ni	in my opinion
omompakaru ni	when one considers
uta wo yomu ni	in reading poetry

In common with other case particles, when used in this way

at the end of a sentence, substantival in form but in fact an assertion, *ni* serves as a conjunctive :

hi teru ni ame furu   while the sun shines it is raining

This idiom is further discussed under the heading of Conjunctive Particles.

5. Meaning 'alongside of', 'together with'—equally an extension of the locative use.

matsu ni tsuru	pine trees and cranes
shishi ni hōtan nuitaru hita-tare	a robe embroidered with (a design of) lions and peonies

This usage is frequent in the colloquial, where *ni* serves to enumerate a number of things in conjunction. Thus the cries of pedlars at railway stations : *Bīru ni masamune (ni) matchi ni tabako*, 'Beer, Masamuné, matches, and tobacco'.

An idiomatic use of *ni* which should be mentioned here is illustrated in

hie ni hie irite	getting chilled through and through
namida wo otoshi ni otosu	he wept and wept
yoware ni yowaremairase ma-shite	growing weaker and weaker
nanibito mo machi ni machi-taru teki-kan to no shukkwai nari	this was the encounter with the enemy's ships for which we had all waited and waited

6. Meaning 'being', in such locutions as

Imoo Dono no rōdō ni Mune-toshi to iū kō no mono ari	there is a retainer of Imoo Dono's, a stalwart named Munetoshi

It might be argued that *ni* here is used simply in its locative sense, and could be translated '*among* the retainers', but that would not account for

sono uchi ni Iso no Zenshi ga musume ni Shidzuka to iū shirabyōshi bakari zo miezu	of these a dancer named Shidzuka, the daughter of Iso no Zenshi, alone was missing

With the exception of the last named, the foregoing uses of *ni* are not hard to understand, particularly by those accustomed to the variety of English prepositions. It is, indeed,

worth noting that *ni* is used uniformly in a number of cases where the English idiom exacts a different preposition each time :

no tame ni	for the sake of	*no yue ni*	on account of
no toki ni	at the time of	*no baai ni*	in the case of

&c., &c.

There is, however, a use of *ni* which, though one of the most important, cannot be explained by any analogy with those described above. It is that illustrated in such sentences as :

kore ni arazu	it is not this
ayashiki mono ni koso are	he is forsooth a strange person
nanigoto ni ka aran	what is it, do you suppose ?
wadono tachi wa idzuko no hito ni ka	what countrymen are you ?
kono kurai wa ametsuchi no sadzuketamau kurai ni ari (Res.)	this rank is a rank granted by Heaven and Earth
iwarenu mono ni are ya (Res.)	is it a thing not to be spoken ?
Gankai naru mono	the man Gankai

Here the combination of *ni* with the verb *aru* has simply the meaning 'to be'. In English, because there is only one verb 'to be' we are apt to overlook the distinction between its predicative use (e. g. 'there are stones', where it means that stones exist) and its use as a mere copula (e. g. 'these are stones', where it connects subject and predicate, but does not mean anything by itself).

The Japanese verb *aru* is a predicative verb, and *ishi ari* means 'there are stones', 'stones exist'. It cannot possibly mean 'it is a stone'. To convey the latter meaning we must say *ishi nari* (= *ni* + *ari*), where *ni* acts as the copula between *ishi* and the predicative verb *ari*. No other explanation will account satisfactorily for the presence of *ni* in the example just quoted, or for its use, in the form *nite*, as in :

mae wa umi nite ushiro wa yama nari	in front it is the sea, behind it is the mountains
kore wa gin nite sore wa kin nari	this is silver and that is gold (lit. 'this being silver that is gold')

Tokimasa wa kashikoki hito nite hakarigoto aru mono to mite	seeing that Tokimasa was a clever man with good plans

Here not only does *ni* act as a verb, but it even has a verb suffix, *te* (the gerund of *tsu*), attached to it. This might of course be explained as an ellipsis of *ni arite*, as *tote* is of *to iite*, but *tote* is not found in early literature, while *nite* is common. Certainly the hypothesis that *ni* is a relic of an extinct verb which was a true copula makes it easy to understand many of the uses of *ni* and *no* which are otherwise inexplicable. This is particularly true of (6) above—*Iso no Zenshi ga musume ni*, &c.—and of such locutions as *chichi no Dainagon*. These become quite clear if we assume *no* to be *nu*, the attributive form of the conjectured verb ('the Dainagon who is my father'). It is significant that with honorific forms of the predicative verb 'to be', *ni* or *nite* is constantly used as a copula. Thus:

omoigakenaki koto ni gozasōrō	it is an unexpected thing
Gen to mōsu mono nite haberi	he is a man called Gen
on imo nite mashimashikereba	since she is his sister
kokorotakeki hito nite owashikeri	he was a bold-hearted man

The following forms of *ni* in combination are frequent, and deserve some special notice:

NI OKERU. Okeru is the intransitive verb derived from *oku*, 'to put', and it is in the attributive form. *Ni okeru* consequently means 'situated in'. It is used to express location, as follows:

waga kuni ni okeru minken undō	the democratic movement in our country

The locution is confined to the written language, and it is almost certainly of Chinese origin, being a translation of the Chinese 於.

NI OITE, for *ni okite*, is the adverbial form of the above, and is used in the following way:

Harubin ni oite ichi kyōkan ni sogeki seraretari	he was shot by some ruffian at Harbin
koko ni oite	at this point, hereupon

ware ni oite	in my case, so far as I am concerned
ippō ni oite wa	on the one hand
kyozetsu suru ni oite wa	in case he declines

NI SHITE, apart from its literal significance of 'making into' (*hito wo baka ni shite*, 'making a fool of a person'), is used in modern prose to indicate the subject of a sentence where there is some fear of ambiguity. The employment of *wo shite* to denote the object is analogous.

Owing to a somewhat difficult idiom by which the verbs *aru* and *suru* are sometimes interchangeable (*v.* p. 217), *ni shite* sometimes has the meaning of *ni arite*, as in the following examples :

takumi ni shite sumiyaka nari	being skilful is speedy, i.e. is skilful and speedy
kaimen taira ni shite kagami no gotoshi	the surface of the sea, being smooth, is like a mirror
kin wa kōshoku ni shite gin wa shiroshi	gold being yellow silver is white, i. e. gold is yellow and silver white
Tennō wa shinsei ni shite oka-subekarazu	the Emperor is sacred and inviolable

It will be found as a general rule that *ni shite* is interchangeable with *nite*. In the sentence

| *kono on biwa ni shite . . hikase tamau* (HK.) | with this lute he deigned to play . . . |

ni shite can only be explained as a formal substitute for *nite* = 'by' or 'with'.

NITE consists of *ni* and the conjunctive form, *te*, of the verb suffix *tsu*. It has, generally speaking, the same uses as *ni*, except that it is not used to make a dative. Examples are :

fune nite kawa wo wataru	to cross a river by boat
fude nite kaku	to write with a pen
yotsukado nite au	to meet at the crossroads
moyuru nomi nite bakuhatsu sezu	it only burns and does not explode
atama wa hito nite mi wa uo nari	as to its head it is a man and as to its body a fish

Nite is the origin of the colloquial *de*, the uses of which can be shown to correspond with the uses of *ni* or *nite*. *De aru* is the same as *nite aru*, *demo* as *nite mo*, and so on.

Nite can have the locative sense of *ni*, meaning 'at' or 'in', but it cannot mean 'to', in the sense of direction towards a place. In

ani mo Kyō nite hōshi nite ari	his brother too is a priest, at Kyoto

we see *nite* meaning both 'at' and 'to be'.

TO appears to have been originally a demonstrative pronoun corresponding to the English word 'that'. This meaning survives in phrases like *tokaku*, 'that-this way', 'anyhow', and possibly in certain dialectical usages, such as *yuku to desu*, which seems to correspond to 'he is going, that he is'.

A trace of this demonstrative sense can be perceived in such constructions as

Ha to iū	he says Ha!
ki to naru	it becomes a tree

which might be literally rendered 'Ha! that he says', and 'a tree, that it becomes'.

In the Rescripts of the *Shoku Nihongi* we find clauses of the following type:

Akitsukami to ōyashima no kuni shiroshimesu sumera, &c.

which can be translated 'The Sovereign that is a Manifest God ruling the Land of Many Islands'. Here *to* definitely has the sense of 'that is'. Similarly in early texts we find such locutions as *Chichi to masu hito*, 'the person that is my father', where *to* corresponds almost exactly with the demonstrative 'that' in English, in its use as a relative.

From such beginnings *to* has developed a correlative use, which may in a comprehensive way be defined as the expression of a parity or similarity between two things. Thus:

tama wo ishi to miru	to regard jewels as stones
onna wo tsuma to suru	to make a woman one's wife
ko wo takara to iū	to call children treasures
kare wo teki to omou	to think him an enemy

The earlier Japanese grammarians distinguished the uses just illustrated as 'The five *to*s', referring to the employment

of the five verbs *miru*, *kiku*, *omou*, *iū*, and *suru*. But the employment of these verbs is merely incidental to the function of *to* in expressing parity or similarity, and is due to the fact that these relations must be perceived or created by one or all of the senses which the verbs describe in operation. A study of the examples given below will show that *to* expresses the relation itself, and not merely the judgement of a relation involved in the use of words like *miru*, *omou*, &c.

1. *ware mo ningen tari*   I also am a human being

where *tari* is *to ari*,[1] and a parity is established between *ware* and *ningen*.

chichi taru hito	the person who is my father
ki ishi to nari	trees become stones
kimi yukan to areba	since you mean to go ('since it is that you are going')

2. In the following examples the element of judgement is either expressed or understood :

hito wo chichi to agamu	to look up to a person as a father
nanji wo zainin to minasu	I regard you as a criminal
kō wa otsu to onajiku	A in the same way as B
kō wa otsu to chigaeri	A is different from B
kō wo otsu to kuraburu	to compare A with B
utan to shitari	he made to strike
ya wo nukan to su	he tries to draw out the arrow
Yedo wo Tōkyō to aratame	changing Yedo to Tokyo
zeni nashi to iū	he says he has no money

3. In Japanese all statements are reported in direct oration, on the model of the last example, which can be rendered equally well 'He says, "I have no money".' Occasionally the verb which introduces the quotation is placed at its head, but *to* always marks the end of the narration. Thus :

Kwansai chihō ni kosui ariki to iū dempō tōchaku seri	a telegram has arrived saying that there has been a flood in the Kwansai district
sono dempō iwaku Kwansai chihō ni kosui ariki to	the telegram says, 'There has been a flood in', &c.

[1] This *tari* is a late form, *v. infra* TO ARI.

Strictly speaking, the adjective or verb immediately preceding *to* should be in the conclusive form, but custom sanctions the use of the attributive, as in *tsuki idzuru to miyu*, where *idzuru* is written for *idzu*.

The verb following *to* is frequently understood or included in the sense of another verb :

ari ya ina ya to shimpai su	he is anxious (wondering) whether there are or are not
damare to shikaru	he scolded (saying) Silence !
awaya tsuiraku suruka to te ni ase wo nigirishi ni buji ni chi ni chakusu	while they clenched their hands perspiring (with fear as they thought) 'Alas, will he fall ?' he descended safely to earth
Genji no fune wo issō mo morasaji to Mishimagatsu wo sashimakitari	they surrounded Mishimagatsu (intending) not to allow a single ship of the Genji to escape

4. Probably akin to its use after verbs denoting hearing or speaking, or otherwise connected with sound, is the employment of *to* to form onomatopoeic adverbs. Thus :

gōgō to naru	to sound Gogo, i.e. to rumble
karakara to warau	to laugh harshly
horohoro to naku	to weep and sob

5. An extension of this process accounts for a large number of adverbs which, though not strictly speaking onomatopoeics, are similar to them. These can be related as a rule to percepts other than sounds, but they resemble the above group in that they are composed of duplicated words, or at least of pairs of words that have some rhyme or assonance. Examples are :

chiri-jiri to naru	to be scattered
hira-bira to tobu	to flutter
harubaru to miyuru	to be seen distantly
rin-ri to	drip-drip
rei-ro to	brightly
ran-man to	luxuriantly

hatsu-ratsu to, kaku-yaku to, san-ran to, dō-dō to, ga-ga to, tan-tan to, yū-yū to, &c.

6. *To* is also suffixed to compounds formed with the Chinese adverbial suffixes *zen* 然 *jo* 如 *ko* 乎 &c., as in

> *totsu-zen to* (突 然), 'suddenly'
> *kakko to* (確 乎), 'firmly'
> *funjo to* (紛 如), 'confusedly'
> *totsujo to* (突 如), 'suddenly'

It may be objected that this list covers the whole field of adverbs, but it will be found by those who care to examine a large number of adverbial expressions that a distinction can be drawn between those formed with *to* and those formed with *ni*.

Adverbs formed with *to* are in a sense pictorial; they are of the nature of similes, and deal with qualities as they are perceived. On the other hand, those formed with *ni* refer not only to apparent but also to actual and inherent characteristics. This difference is consistent with the difference between the two particles, for *to* expresses similarity or parity, while *ni* expresses identity. The contrast is perhaps best suggested by such pairs as

kin wo gin to kaeru	to change gold for silver
kin wo gin ni kaeru	to change gold into silver

or

goza wo kasa ni kaburu	to wear matting as a hat
goza wo kasa to kaburu	to wear matting for a hat

The distinction, though slight, is just perceptible. In the first case the matting is regarded as being a hat, in the second as similar to or replacing a hat. Even if this contrast is stated rather more definitely than actual usage warrants, it will be found to explain a number of uses of *to* and *ni*, *tari* and *nari*, which are otherwise hard to grasp. Comparing the two formations it will be seen:

(1) (Cf. 4, above) That there are no onomatopoeic adverbs in *ni*.

(2) (Cf. 5, above) That whereas an expression like *harubaru to* means 'distant*ly*', '*as* from afar', *haruka ni* means 'in the distance', 'far away'.

(3) (Cf. 6, above) That one cannot say *teinei to* for *teinei ni* or *tashika to* for *tashika ni*, because *teinei* and *tashika* are not figurative words, but attributes de-

scribing actual qualities. Conversely, one must say *totsuzen to* for 'with a rush', 'in an abrupt way', while *totsuzen ni* means simply 'of a sudden', 'in a moment'.

7. In all the foregoing illustrations (1–6) *to* serves to correlate two things; but one of its most important uses is to co-ordinate them—in simpler words, to act like the conjunction 'and'. Thus:

na to a to (K.)	thou and I
Rai to Gaku to (Res.)	Etiquette and Music
Hangwan ga yakata to Kane-yuki ga ie	the Hangwan's mansion and Kaneyuki's house

It can also have the meaning 'together with', 'along with':

ware nanji to kare wo towan	I will visit him with you
kikun to tomo ni	together with you
chichi to katari ko to asobu	talking with the father, playing with the child
yukan to mo yukaji to mo ko-koro ni makaseyo	please yourself whether you will go or not go

It is an extension of this conjunctive use of *to*, particularly of the form illustrated in the last example, which has given rise to the forms *-to*, *-tomo*, *-do*, *-domo*, used as Conjunctive Particles uniting two sentences (*v.* under Conjunctive Particles, p. 275).

8. An idiomatic use of *to* (similar in meaning and development to that described in the case of *ni* under 5) is seen in:

yo ni ari to aru hito	everybody in the world
ari to arayuru shudan	all possible devices
kaze fuki to fukinu	the wind blew with all its might
ureshi to mo ureshi !	joyful as can be !
iki to shi ikeru mono idzure ka uta wo yomazarikeru	is there any thing which lives at all that has not composed verses ?

The following are the more important uses of *to* in composition :

TO ARI (*TARI*) has by usage assumed the character of an auxiliary verb, but it must not be confused with *-tari*, the

verbal suffix which is composed of *te* (conjunctive form of *tsu*) and the verb *-ari*.

Tari as an auxiliary verb is analogous to *nari*, which in a like way is composed of *ni* and *ari*. Examples of its use are:

ko taru (ko to aru) mono wa	persons who are children, i.e. those falling within the category children, 'the child'
nanji bunsho no hito taru ni yotte	seeing that you are a man of letters

With this idiom should be compared the locution *Chichi to masu hito*, quoted above.[1]

It can be used with any of those uninflected Chinese words which become adverbs by the aid of *to*. Thus:

sono arisama santan tari	the sight is pitiful
santantaru arisama	a pitiful sight
dōdō taru shinshi	a dignified gentleman
gaga taru ganseki	rugged-looking rocks
shōko hanzen tareba	the proof being clear

In a general way, the difference between *tari* and *nari* is the difference between *to* and *ni*. *To* assimilates A to B, while *ni* states an identity between A and B. Thus:

gunjin taru shikaku	the qualification of being a soldier
gunjin naru shikaku	the qualification 'soldier'
gero no mi nite taishō-taru mono wo koroshitsuru wa . . .	for a menial to have killed such a person as a General...

TO SU (TO SHI, TO SHITE). These compounds have the meanings which follow naturally from the meanings of their components. Thus:

tomo to subeki mono	one who can be made a friend
jōsen sen to suru mono	persons intending to embark

Rather more difficult is a group of idioms in which *suru* takes the place of *aru*, and the combination *to shite*, for instance, has the meaning *to arite*, just as *ni shite* can stand for *ni arite* or *nite*. Examples are:

tsūyaku to shite jūgun seri	he was attached to the army as interpreter

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[1] It should be understood that *tari* as a contraction of *to ari* does not occur in Nara or early Heian texts.

shōko hanzen to shite inamu bekarazu	the proof being clear it cannot be denied
ware ten no shu to shite buō no uchi no buō nari	I being the Lord of Heaven am the Warrior King of Warrior Kings
shugi to shite	as a principle, on principle
seisaku no hōshin wo danko to shite kettei subeshi	the policy of government must be definitely fixed
toki to shite	at times, occasionally
Heike no inori no hitotsu to shite shirushi wa nakari keri	of all the prayers of the Heike, not a single one was answered
kami hitori yori hajimete shimo bammin ni itaru made hitori to shite nageki kanashimazu to iū koto nashi	from the highest in the land down to his lowest subjects, there was not one who did not bewail and grieve

It will be found that *to suru* is often quite adequately rendered in English by the verb 'to be', without introducing any idea of 'to regard as'. Thus:

sono hattatsu wo meiryō ni seru chosho no imada arawarezaru wo ikan to su	it is to be regretted that so far no work has appeared which makes its development clear

TOTE, though analogous in form to *nite*, has a more limited use. It cannot stand for *to arite*, but only for *to* and some verb expressing or including the idea of seeing, thinking, saying, &c., as in the following examples:

sugu kaeranu tote idetachikeri	he went off saying that he would soon come back
hanami ni tote idetatsu	he went off meaning to go to see the flowers
mukashi Ishikawa Goemon tote nadakaki dorobo arishi ga	once upon a time there was a famous robber called Ishikawa Goemon . . .

Sometimes *tote* stands for *to iite* or *to iitemo* in the sense of *to iedemo*, meaning 'although':

sari tote	though that be so
sareba tote	though that is so

To wa is used elliptically like *tote*, some verb like 'to say' being understood, as in:

asamashi to wa yo no tsune nari	it may be wretched, but it's the way of the world, lit. 'what (is called) wretched is the way of the world'

To mo is used in a similar way, as in

nikushi to mo yo no tsune nari	though it is disagreeable it's the way of the world

If these elliptical uses of *to mo*, *to wa*, and *tote* are compared it will be seen how *tomo*, *domo*, and *do* have acquired their function as conjunctive particles, with the meaning of 'although'.

HE, usually pronounced *e* or *ye*, denotes motion towards a point, as distinguished from motion up to a point, expressed by *ni*. Thus we have *Tokyo e yuku*, 'to go to Tokyo', but *Tokyo ni itaru*, 'to reach Tokyo'. The distinction is, however, not always observed in writing, and does not exist in colloquial.

He is a word meaning 'place', which is now obsolete as an independent substantive, but exists in combinations in such words as *yukue*, 'destination', literally 'go-place'. It is no doubt identical with *be* in *umibe*, 'seaside', *hamabe*, 'coast', &c., and surnames like *Watanabe*.

It appears as a substantive in early texts, as in *umi no he*, 'the coast', *hesaki*, 'the prow of a ship', and it is the element denoting direction in the common words *mae*, 'front' (= *ma-he*, 'the true direction'), and *ue*, 'top' (= *u-he*, 'topside'), *inishie*, 'the past' (*inishi* = departed), *ie*, 'house' (= *i* 居 'dwelling', *he*, 'place').[1]

YORI denotes the point from which an act or a state commences, either in time or space, or in an abstract sense. Thus:

inishie yori	from of old
roku ji yori hajimaru	begins at six o'clock

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[1] It may be objected that these derivations involve two different sound changes, i.e. *he* to *e* and *he* to *be*. But the original sound of *he* was almost certainly something like *p* followed by a light aspirate.

hito yori ukuru	to receive from a person
Shina yori kaerite	returning from China
koko yori higashi no kata	eastwards from here

In such expressions as

kore yori hoka	other than this (lit. ' outside of ')
akiramuru yori hoka wa nashi	we can only resign ourselves

the point of departure is an abstraction. The construction is similar in

kin wa gin yori omoshi	gold is heavier than silver
takara wa inochi yori oshishi	wealth is more precious than life
hitori min yori mo hito to min	I would rather see it with others than alone
jinko yori ieba sekai daito no dai go i ni oru	in population (lit. ' speaking from [the standpoint of] population ') it is the fifth in rank of the world's great cities

The word *yori* appears in some early texts as *yuri*, and there are synonymous forms *yu* and *yo*. *Yuri* is found in the *Manyōshū* and *Shoku Nihongi*, but not in the *Kojiki*. *Yo* is found in the *Kojiki* and the *Manyōshū*, but not in the *Nihongi*. *Yu* is found in the *Manyōshū* and the *Nihongi*, but not in the *Kojiki*. It is therefore hard to say which is the earliest form. But I suspect that it is *yu*, and that this *yu* persists in the word *yue*, meaning ' cause ', which is probably *yu +he*, the archaic word meaning ' place ' or ' direction ' which is now the particle *he* (q.v.). *Yue* would thus signify the place from which a thing arises, i. e. its ground or reason, and *yu* therefore presumably had a meaning like ' origin '. The change of vowel from *yu* to *yo*, *yuri* to *yori*, is quite common. The obsolete word *gari*, meaning ' towards ', may provide an analogy for the formation of *yori* and *yuri* from *yo* and *yu*, but this is mere conjecture. In any case it seems almost certain that the earliest form of *yori* was a noun, *yu* or *yo*, signifying a starting-point. There is a verb *yoru*, meaning ' to depend upon '. It may be that *yori*, in the sense of ' owing to ', ' deriving from ', is a separate formation from

this verb, but I am inclined to think that all these forms arise from an original form *yu*.

Yori in the written language has, like other particles, developed a special use as a conjunctive particle, by which it acquires the meaning 'since' or 'because', as in *ame furishi yori gwaishutsu sezariki*, 'since it rained, I did not go out'.

KARA in its modern use is practically identical with *yori*. In the spoken language it is used almost to the exclusion of *yori*, while *kara* is rare in the written language. In both, however, *yori* must be used to indicate comparison. Thus *kore yori takashi*, and not *kore kara takashi*, for 'it is higher than this'.

There is no doubt that *kara* was at one time a noun, with a meaning something like 'cause' or 'origin'. This can still be perceived in compounds like

> *midzukara, onodzukara* ($=$ *mi-tsu-kara, ono-tsu-kara*), 'of one's own accord'
> *iegara*, 'house-origin', meaning lineage or family.
> *kunigara*, 'country-origin', meaning nationality.
> *harakara*, 'belly-origin', i. e. parentage, thence acquiring the meaning 'of the same parentage', and used as a noun to indicate 'brothers and sisters', born of the same mother.

The common word *nagara*, which has developed the meaning of 'while', is derived from *na* (the genitive particle *no*, as in *manako*, &c.) and *kara*. It is found acting as a substantival form in early texts, as for instance in the phrase *kamu nagara*, used in describing the emperors, with the sense of 'descended from the gods'.

It will be noticed that the last three particles treated, *he*, *yori*, and *kara*, were all originally independent substantives. We may therefore reasonably assume that the development of some at least of the other particles has been analogous.

Kara, like *yori*, serves as a conjunctive, with the meaning 'since' or 'because', but in the spoken language only. *Ame ga furu kara denai*, 'I don't go out, because it's raining'. *kaette kara aimasen*, 'since I came back I haven't met him', *kaetta kara aimashō*, 'since he has come back, I shall meet him'.

MADE as a case particle means 'as far as', 'until', e. g. :

Tokyō made yuku	to go as far as Tokyo
kuji made neru	to sleep until nine o'clock

It can also act as an adverbial particle.

ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

This class consists of the particles **wa, mo, zo, nan, koso, nomi, bakari, shika, dake, nado, dani, sura, sae,** and **made,** together with the Interrogatives **ka** and **ya**.

They are distinguishable from the Case Particles by the fact that they can be suffixed to forms other than substantival forms ; that they can be suffixed to substantives to which a case particle is already attached ; and that they affect frequently the meaning of a whole sentence rather than of a single word. These distinctions are shown by the following examples :

(1) Adverbial particles suffixed to forms other than substantival forms :

kaze fukeba koso fune idasazu	because the wind blows the boat is not put out
kuchioshiku wa omoedomo	although I think it regrettable
yume narishi ka ?	was it a dream ?
mata mo kon	I will come again
nan no tsumi arite zo ?	for what crime indeed ?

(2) Adverbial particles following substantives with case particles :

fune ni mo, ni zo, ni wa, ni koso, &c.
fune wo mo, wo zo, woba, wo koso, &c.

Any adverbial particle can follow any case particle.

(3) Adverbial particles affecting the meaning of a sentence as a whole :

kaze fukeba koso	for the very reason that the wind is blowing
kore koso tama nare	this indeed is a jewel
kore mo tama nari	this also is a jewel
yume nariki	it was a dream
yume narishi ka ?	was it a dream ?

It will be seen that there is very little to distinguish these particles from true adverbs, and a rigid classification would probably include them under the latter heading. But, as noticed above, they differ from adverbs in that they have no independent existence. They are, moreover, very much akin to the other particles in that they are often closely attached to nouns, even though their function may be to modify the predicate. They may therefore reasonably be treated as intermediate between the other particles and adverbs.

WA (which is properly written *ha*) when suffixed to a noun is loosely described as indicating a nominative case; but this is not its true or its only function. It occurs with nouns in the dative and objective cases, and though it is true that it is often attached to substantives that form the subject of a sentence, this is merely a corollary of its general significance.

Some idea of that significance can be obtained from the following definitions, quoted from various Japanese authorities :

(1) *Wa* singles out and displays a given thing (Yoshioka, *Taishō Gohō*).

(2) *Wa* is used to designate a thing clearly and to prevent its being confused with other things (Yamada, *Bumpō-ron*).

(3) *Wa* is a *teniwoha* which distinguishes things severally ; while others such as *mo* take one thing and regard it in its relation to other things (Ōtsuki).

That *wa* has nothing to do with what we call case is easy to show. In *sake wo ba nomazu* (*ba = wa*) the noun is the object of a verb. In

Sendai e wa yukanu	I do not go to Sendai
kare to wa kotonari	it is different from that
kanashiku wa omoedo	though I feel sad
kore ni wa arazu	it is not this

wa is suffixed respectively to nouns in cases other than the objective, to an adverb, and to another particle. This disposes of any possible contention that *wa* is a nominative particle.

All authorities, however, seem agreed that *wa* is, in Aston's

words, 'a separative or distinguishing particle', but they do not tell us precisely what, or why, it distinguishes. A typical illustration of its function is

> *kono hana wa shiroshi*   this flower is white

which is explained as meaning 'this flower, irrespective of other flowers, is white'. So far as it goes, the explanation is correct, but it does not seem to be sufficient. Those who use it have loaded the dice in their own favour, for the word *kono*, 'this', already indicates that one particular, irrespective of other flowers, is white. If we take a sentence which is not open to this objection, a sentence expressing what is called a universal judgement, such as

> *hi wa atsushi*   fire is hot

we must, following the usual explanation of *wa*, interpret it as meaning that fire, irrespective of all other things, such as ice, stone, grass, wealth or happiness, is hot. One can take no exception to this on grounds of accuracy, but one may ask why it should be necessary in Japanese to express oneself with such caution. In English, at any rate, a statement on the model of 'fire is hot' is complete and requires no modification. One does not need, when 'hot' is predicated of 'fire', to make reservations as to the qualities of other things. If, for some reason not yet apparent, such reservations are necessary in Japanese, then why do we not say *hi wa atsushi wa*, to show that fire, irrespective of other things, is hot, irrespective of other qualities. It is hard to believe that in Japanese alone such a degree of emphasis is required in an elementary proposition. The word 'emphasis' does, however, furnish some clue. Emphatic particles are freely used in Japanese, for two very good reasons. In the first place spoken Japanese has an even accentuation, and it is therefore not easy to emphasize words by vocal stresses. In the second place English, for instance, has other ways of showing emphasis, which are not available in Japanese. Thus we can say 'I did go' instead of 'I went', or we can say 'John it was' instead of 'It was John'; but Japanese does not allow of such modifications or changes in significant word-order. These considerations go a long way towards explaining the use of emphatic particles where emphasis is required, but they do not sufficiently account for all the uses of *wa*. For

one thing, if *wa* is emphatic, so are *zo* and *koso*, and there is not much difference, except in degree of emphasis, between *hi wa atsushi*, *hi zo atsuki*, and *hi koso atsukere*. Seeing that all these particles existed in a relatively primitive stage of the language, it is surely unlikely that the language would have developed such a refinement as three grades of emphasis unless forced to it by a deficiency in some other direction. If we can lay our finger on this deficiency, it may help us to ascertain the true nature of these particles.

In English, the proposition 'Fire is hot' consists of two terms, a subject, 'fire', and a predicate, 'hot', brought into relation by the copula 'is'. The two terms in simple juxtaposition, though vaguely comprehensible, do not form a complete logical or grammatical proposition unless they are related in some way. In the sentence 'Fire burns', the copula 'is' disappears, but the two terms are related by another grammatical device, namely, by their position relatively to one another and by the presence of the inflexion 's'. Even in English, which has lost its character as an inflected tongue, agreements of person and number are retained precisely to serve this necessary purpose—to relate subject and object.

There does not seem to be any fundamental difference between the function of *wa* in *hi wa atsushi* and the function of 'is' in 'fire is hot'. *Wa*, in fact, serves to relate subject and predicate of a logical proposition. Motoori perceived this, and called *wa*, *zo*, &c., *kakari* or *musubi*, both words signifying 'to join' or 'to connect'. It is separative or emphatic to this extent, that the mental process by which any logical proposition is formed consists of two stages, first an analysis and then a synthesis. When we say ' fire is hot ', we have first selected from all the concepts in our minds the particular concept fire, and then we predicate of it some selected property. *Wa* in Japanese denotes the concept selected. It may thus be called selective, separative or distinguishing. It marks, however, not an emphasis modifying a proposition, but an emphasis inherent in every proposition.

Probably one of the best illustrations of the true function of *wa* is provided by the Japanese idiom which is commonly used where in English we should employ a passive construction. In English a sentence like 'This house was built by my father' is of a normal type, but the Japanese idiom does

not favour a passive construction applied to the name of an inanimate thing, because an inanimate thing like a house cannot get an act performed, cannot, for instance, get itself built. Consequently in Japanese the correct rendering of the above sentence is *kono uchi wa chichi ga tatemashita*, where the subject of the logical proposition *kono uchi*, 'this house', is designated by *wa*, and the predicate is the complete sentence *chichi ga tatemashita*, 'my father built'.

Though, as indicated above, *wa* may be regarded as serving as a copula, it would be wrong to leave that statement unqualified. The sentences *hi atsushi* ('fire is hot') and *hi moyu* ('fire burns') are not grammatically incomplete, because in each case the predicate is indicated by a special predicative termination, so that, one term being fixed, the remaining term must be the subject. They are not, however, connected by a copula of any sort, and while this is unimportant in rudimentary propositions, the need of some connecting link is felt when the proposition becomes complex, or indeed when the predicate is uninflected as in *hana wa kurenai*, 'the flowers are crimson', where *kurenai* is an uninflected adjective. One further qualification must be added. There is in Japanese a copulative verb, *nari*, corresponding in a sense to the English verb 'to be'. But its use does not preclude the use of *wa*. Thus we say *matsu wa ki nari*, 'the pine is a tree', and in this case the function of connecting the two terms is performed by *wa* and *nari* in combination. If either is removed, the proposition can still be established, though not with precision, for both *matsu wa ki* and *matsu ki nari* are, though barely, intelligible and grammatical, and *matsu ki* is neither.

Taking into consideration all the arguments set forth above, it seems that the Japanese language has adopted a special device for relating the terms of the notation of a logical proposition. Whereas in English these terms are related by an actual connecting link, in Japanese they are related by definition :

(1) In *hi wa atsushi* the subject is defined by *wa*, the predicate by the special predicative termination *shi*.

(2) In *kawa wa nagaru*, 'rivers flow', the subject is defined by *wa*, and the predicate by the special predicative termination *ru*. In this, as in the foregoing case, the colloquial has

abandoned the use of the special predicative terminations, and thus given an added importance to *wa*.

(3) In *matsu wa ki nari*, *wa* again defines the subject, and since *ki*, the predicate, is an uninflected word, the predicative verb *nari* is used to define the predicate. The terms of the proposition are, in fact,

> *matsu*, 'pine'—the subject
> *ki nari*, 'exists as a tree'—the predicate

and by means of *wa*, 'existence as a tree' is predicated of 'pine'. It will be seen from reference to the section devoted to auxiliary verbs that *nari* is not a copulative verb, but is composed of *ni* and the verb *ari*, which means 'to exist'.

The following examples will illustrate the various uses of *wa* :

1. *Wa* with substantives or substantival phrases, irrespective of case.

kō wa otsu nari	A is B
takeki mononofu no kokoro wo nagusamuru wa uta nari	what soothes the heart of fierce warriors is Poetry

In these cases there is no emphatic value.

tokidoki deiri wa su to kikedo	though I hear that he does frequent them at times
kono yama wa takaku kano yama wa hikushi	this mountain is high, and that one is low

Here *wa* is not emphatic, but it does serve to distinguish clearly the principal word—in this case the subject of the sentence.

ware wa hito no kitaru wo shirazarishi	I did not know that anybody had come

Here the principal clause is *ware . . . shirazarishi*, and the insertion of a subordinate clause between subject and predicate makes it desirable to define the subject by means of *wa*. It may be taken as a general rule that *wa* marks the subject of principal clauses, and *no* or *ga* the subject of subordinate clauses.

The purely emphatic force of *wa* is most apparent when it is affixed to words which are not the subject of a sentence. This follows naturally from the fact explained above, that

when distinguishing the subject its use is determined by the form rather than the meaning of the sentence. Thus :

kanashiku wa omoedo	though I think it sad
yoku wa shiranedomo	though I do not know well

where *wa* is not necessary to the construction, and must therefore be emphatic.

When *wa* is suffixed to ordinary adverbs, its effect is as illustrated in the two examples above ; but when suffixed to sentence-adverbs it completely modifies their meaning :

mata = again, but *mata wa* = or, as in *fujin mata wa kodomo*, 'ladies or children'

moshi = if, but *moshi wa* = possibly

tadashi = but, but *tadashi wa* = perhaps not

Wa appears at times to have an interrogative force, as in

idzura wa aki no nagashi to iū yo wa	where are they, those long nights of Autumn ?
kitaritsuran wa to towaseta-maeba	since he inquired, saying 'He will have come ?'

This usage is familiar in the colloquial, in such phrases as *Anata wa*, 'What about you ?' *Kippu wa?* 'What about the tickets ?'

When *wa* is suffixed to a word or group of words already made interrogative by means of another particle, it has the effect of turning it into a rhetorical question. Thus the question 'Do pigs fly ?' asked for information, would be *Buta tobu ka* ; but spoken ironically it would be *Buta tobu ka wa*. Further examples of this construction are

kaku medetakarubeki hito to wa tare ka wa omoishi	who would have thought he would be such a splendid person?
sokoi naki fuchi ya wa sawagu	is a bottomless pool turbulent ?
itsu ka wa yuki no kiyuru toki aru	does the snow ever melt ?

In the literature of the Heian period, but apparently not before, *wa* is found qualifying a whole sentence, thus :

kono oya wa kindachi-be nado ni ya ariken, chūjo nado wo ko ni motariken wa	his parents must have been noble, for they had, it would seem, a son who was a general

The two sentences in the above example may be regarded as independent. In the following, *wa* is suffixed to a dependent clause :

kono hana usenikeru wa ika ni kaku wa nusumaseshi zo	as to the disappearance of these flowers, how did you let them be stolen in this way ?
na zo no kuruma zo kuraki hodo ni isogitsuru wa	was it thy carriage, hastening in the dark ?

The construction is not important, except in so far as it shows how the use of *wa* as a conjunctive particle may have developed.

Not much light is thrown upon the early development of *wa* by a study of archaic writings. As *wa* is often in the texts of the *Manyoshu* represented by 者, some etymologists have contended that it originally meant *mono*, 'a thing', which is also so written. But the use of 者 is clearly an imitation of Chinese practice, and *wa*, moreover, is frequently represented by other characters, such as 波. Obviously *wa* is one of the earliest elements in the language and it is idle to conjecture its origin. Already in the period covered by the *Kojiki* its uses are fully established. The following examples are given to show this rather than to illustrate its development :

tabi wa yuku tomo (M.)	although I go on a journey
sora wa yukazu ashi yo yuku na (K.)	we are not going through the sky, we are going on foot
waga seko wa kario tsukurasu kusa nakuba (M.)	since my lover has no grass wherewith to build a hut
ōmikoto wa uketamau (Res.)	I hearken to the August word
hito yori wa imo zo mo ashiki (M.)	my sister is worse than others
kaku wa aredomo (Res.)	though it is thus

That the Chinese use of 者 was familiar to the Japanese scholars at an early period is shown by Mr. Yamada, who quotes from old texts such examples as 三 寶 者 佛 法 僧 也 meaning 'The Three Treasures are the Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood', which in Japanese would naturally be rendered *Sampō wa*, &c.

MO may best be regarded as complementary to *wa*, for where *wa* excludes one thing from other things, *mo* includes one thing with other things. Thus :

> *kome wa ari* means 'there is rice, apart from other things', but
>
> *kome mo ari* means 'there is rice, as well as other things'.

It may therefore usually be translated by 'also', 'too', or 'even'. Where *mo* occurs after both of two substantives it can best be rendered by 'both . . . and' or 'neither . . . nor'.

yorokobi mo nageki mo	both joy and grief
sumi mo fude mo nashi	there is neither ink nor pen

In common with other particles of this group, *mo* can be affixed to substantives or substantival groups with or without case particles, to adverbs, verbs, and complete sentences. Thus :

Sanada e yukite haha ni mo nyobo ni mo mōse	go to Sanada and tell both my mother and my wife
kakan to mo kakaji to mo	whether you write or not
kakaru hito ari to mo mishiri-taru keshiki mo nashi	nor did they appear to recognize even that there was such a person
nishiki no koromo yori mo tō-toku	more precious even than garments of brocade
idzuku made mo on tomo sen	I will go with thee whithersoever (thou goest)
i mo todome kiri mo todome yo	shoot him, stab him, finish him in either way !

Like *wa*, *mo* is affixed to sentence adverbs, with an emphasis of their meaning, e. g. *mata mo*, 'once more', *kanarazushimo*, 'certainly', *moshimo*, 'if perchance', &c.

An interesting illustration of the opposition of *wa* and *mo* is furnished by their use with interrogative particles. Thus :

> *kuru ya wa shirazu* means 'I do not know whether he will come, but I think not'
>
> *kuru ya mo shirazu* means 'I do not know whether he will come, but I think he will'

When suffixed to interrogative pronouns *mo* gives them an inclusive significance. Thus :

tare, 'who', but *tare mo*, 'anybody', 'everybody'
nani, 'what', but *nani mo*, 'anything'
itsu, 'when', but *itsu mo*, 'always'
idzure, 'which', but *idzure mo*, 'both', 'all'

ZO is an emphatic particle which cannot be represented in English by any one word. It appears also in the form *so*, and is probably nothing but the demonstrative root (='that') contained in *sore*, *sono*, &c. It is similar in meaning to *wa*, but carries a stronger emphasis. 'Indeed' will sometimes render it, but more frequently it can be represented by an oral stress or by an emphatic arrangement of words in English. It must be remembered that, as has been already pointed out, Japanese having no regular tonic accent (or at least a very slight one) there is a lack of cadences in long sentences, which is to some extent remedied by the use of emphatic particles. Moreover, Japanese prose is almost continuous, having no punctuation and relying largely upon grammatical devices to show the inter-relation between parts of a sentence. The length of the sentences in Japanese, combined with the fact that the order of words is susceptible of little or no change, explains the frequent use of other methods of emphasis. Moreover, though we are apt to assume that, in any language, each word must have some significance, it is not always true. Often we find words introduced for the sake of euphony or rhythm, and few of us are as economical in using the tokens of speech as we are in spending the tokens of wealth. In the following sentence the word *zo* is obviously inserted for purposes of rhythm:

konnichi kinrai Kyō-warambe made no sata su naru Heike no mikata ni Etchū Zenshi ga jinan Shimosa Akushi-chihyoe Kagekiyo to nanorite fune ni zo nori ni keri (HK.)

crying 'I am he who is known in these days to the very children of the streets as the ally of the Heike, the second son of Etchu Zenshi, Akushichihyoe Kagekiyo!' he got aboard the boat

Zo has sometimes an expletive force, at the end of a sentence, as in *aru zo !* 'yes, there are!', in reply to the suggestion 'there are not'. In *me no mau zo hiza no furuu zo*, 'my head swims, my knees tremble', *zo* is an interjection.

The following examples from early literature show its emphatic value, which is rendered in English by a significant word-order :

ware nomi zo kimi ni wa ko-uru (M.)	it is I alone who yearn for my Lord
hima naku zo ame wa furi-keru (M.)	without cease did the rain fall
saka no ue ni zo aru (M.)	at the top of the hill it is
oya no kokoro yasume-shidzu-mete zo mata ide ni keri	it 'was not until he had calmed his parents' fears that he went out again
kore zo tadashiki mono nari	it is this which is the correct one

To zo is generally used when reporting some astonishing or noteworthy statement :

hito wo kuu jinshu mo ari to zo	they say there are even some races which eat men !
kono fue woba ware usetaran toki wa kanarazu hitsugi ni ireyo to made ōserarekeri to zo	he is even reported to have said, 'When I die be sure to put this flute in my coffin !'

Zo appears to serve sometimes as an interrogative particle, but it will be found as a rule that an interrogation is already explicit or implicit in the sentence, and the force of *zo* is to press the question home :

ko wa ika ni narinuru yo no naka zo	what, pray, is the world coming to ?
are wa nani naru hito zo	what people are those, tell me ?
ano hito wa ta so	who is that man ?
kore wa ta ga kubi zo	whose head is this ?

In the Nara and early Heian periods *so*, in preference to *zo*, is found with the interrogative pronoun *ta*.

It seems likely that the *so* used to emphasize the negative imperative, as in *na yuki so*, 'do not go !' is the same as the emphatic particle *zo*.

Zo, in common with other adverbial particles, modifies under certain conditions the form of the principal verb in the clause in which it occurs. Thus, according to the strict

rule of Japanese syntax, we must not write *kore wa yoshi* but *kore zo yoki*, the use of *zo* throwing the final predicative word into an attributive form. The rule is no longer observed in the colloquial, and is sometimes neglected in the written language.

NAN or *namu* is an emphatic particle, which seems to belong to the latter part of the Nara period. Its meaning is impossible to render in translation, and it can be best explained as conveying an emphasis somewhat weaker than that of *zo* and *koso*. In early texts it appears in the form *namo*, and it is possibly only a combination of the particles *na* and *mo* in their exclamatory use. The following are examples :

shiroki katachi wo namo mi yorokoberu (Res.) rejoiced to see a white shape

Hitomaro nan uta no hijiri narikeru (Kokin. Pref.) Hitomaro was the Sage of Poetry

It will be noticed that, like *zo*, *nan* throws the final verb into the attributive instead of the conclusive form.

Nan, particularly in the Nara period, appears as a termination of verbs in the imperfect form, and gives the verb a certain desiderative sense, thus :

kora wa awanamo (M.) would I could meet my children !

uguisu . . . nakiwataranamu (M.) may the warbler fly across singing

It is possible that this is a survival of an obsolete verb *nu*, in its future form *na-mu*.

Nan is not found in modern prose.

DANI, SURA, and **SAE** are adverbial particles of very much the same significance. The differentiation was a task such as the early Japanese grammarians undertook with remarkable zest, but their rulings have never been followed by ordinary men, and *dani* and *sura* are now used indiscriminately. For practical purposes both *dani* and *sura* can be taken to correspond with 'at least', 'as much as', 'even', according to the nature of the phrase in which they occur. Examples are :

DANI.

ame dani furazuba yukubeshi	I will go, at least if there is no rain
ichi nichi dani kokoroyasuku okuru hi wa nashi	not so much as a single day do I pass free from care
ima shibashi dani owasenan	stay, if only a little longer!
ichi monji dani shiranu mono	people who know not even a single letter
sa naki dani . . .	if not, then at least . . .

Dani is found in the form *damo*, which presumably stands for *dani mo*. E. g. *Hijiri ni Kōshi da mo orazu*, 'Even Confucius is not among the Saints'.

Dani corresponds roughly to the colloquial *demo* in such phrases as *kodomo ni de mo dekiru*, 'even a child can do it'.

SURA.

kinju sura on wo shiru	the very beasts feel gratitude
ransei nite sura shikari mashite taihei no toki ni oite wo ya	it is so even in troubled times —the more so then in times of peace
Buppō imada waga kuni ni tsutawarazu myōji wo sura kiku koto nakariki	The teaching of Buddha had not yet been brought to our country. Even the holy name was unknown

If any real distinction can be drawn between *dani* and *sura* it is probably parallel to that between *wa* and *koso*. *Dani* is merely separative, *sura* is exclusive. The following comparison may explain the difference :

sono na dani shirazu	I do not know even his name— though it would be of use to know it
sono na sura shirazu	I do not know even his name— quite apart from other things, which are those I want to know

SAE means 'in addition to', 'as well as', and bears the same relation to *mo* as *dani* and *sura* bear to *wa* and *koso*. It is thought to be cognate with the verb *soeru*, 'to add', and in the *Manyōshū* it is written with the character 副. In the *Kokinshū* a form *sae ni* analogous with *narabi ni*, meaning

'in addition to', is found, as in *iro sae ni utsuroi ni keri*, 'the colour also faded'. Examples of *sae* are:

mi sae hana sae sono ha sae e ni shimo furedo (M.)	though the frost falls upon its branches, and on its fruit and on its flowers and on its leaves
amassae = amari + sae	more than that

This is the classical use of *sae*, but in later prose and speech it came by an easy transition from 'also' to mean 'even', and that is its present significance. In the modern spoken language it is used instead of *dani* and *sura*.

NOMI and **BAKARI** are practically identical in meaning, having the significance of 'only', 'just so much' or 'nothing but'.

yoki nomi toru	takes only the good ones
ware nomi yukan	I alone will go
gakumon ni nomi fukeru	is entirely absorbed in study
kemuri to nomi zo mie	looking like nothing so much as smoke
yume no kokochi nomi zo su	I feel only as if I were dreaming
iro no kuroki bakari wo erabu	chooses only the black ones
ne no toki bakari ni	just at the Hour of the Rat
koe bakari koso mukashi narikere	the voice alone is the voice of old
Ōkura Kyō bakari mimi tōki hito wa nashi	there is nobody so hard of hearing as the Lord High Treasurer

It will be seen that *bakari* has the sense of 'as much as', and expresses degree. This is consistent with its derivation from *hakaru*, 'to measure'. It has been noticed already that Japanese has no special form for expressing degree or comparison, and relies for this purpose on words like *nomi* and *bakari*. Thus:

as much as this	*kore bakari*
	kore hodo
less than this	*kore yori sukunaku*
more than this	*kore yori ōku*

Other words of this nature are *SHIKA* and *DAKE*. It is pretty certain that *dake* is related to *take*, 'length', and it is used to signify measure as in *kore dake*, 'this much'. Like *bakari* it is often, by extension, used with the meaning 'only', as in *futatsu dake*, 'only two', i. e. as many as, but no more than, two.

Shika is a similar word, used chiefly in the colloquial, and with a negative, as in *kore shika arimasen*, 'there is only this much'. It is presumably the same as the adverb *shika*, 'so'.

NADO is usually described as a particle expressing number, but its use is adverbial, and it has the meaning of 'such as' or 'and so on'. *Hana tsuki nado* means 'flowers, the moon, and suchlike things', not 'flowers and moons'. Moreover, in the Heian period *nado* is found following plural suffixes, as in *Tsubone domo nado*, which means 'Court Ladies and others'. It occurs in contexts where it cannot even mean *et cetera*, such as

miyako e nado mukaemairase   going, say, to the Capital to meet him

Its modern use is, however, confined to expressing a meaning like that of *et cetera*.

MADE has already been mentioned as a case particle, but in strict classification perhaps it should be regarded as adverbial. In common with other adverbial particles it can follow a case particle,

    kodomo ni made ataeru   to give even to the children

or precede a case particle,

    kuru made ni   by the time he comes

or modify a verb,

    hana to miru made   as far as seeing them as flowers

though in the two last examples *kuru* and *miru* are substantival forms.

NAGARA means 'while', as in *yuki nagara*, 'while going', and it has the same adversative meaning as 'while' or 'whilst' in English. Thus *shikashi nagara*, lit. 'while it is so', is the equivalent of 'nevertheless'.

The derivation of *nagara* from the substantive *kara* has already been explained under *yori* above.

KA is an interrogative particle. In Japanese a question is formed not by a change in word-order but by placing an interrogative particle after the appropriate word. Thus, *yuku*, 'he goes', *yuku ka*, 'does he go?' The particle *ka* appears in the earliest texts.

tare shi no yakko ka (Res.)	which of Our subjects?
itsuku yo ka imo ga irikite yume ni mietsuru (M.)	whence did my mistress enter, that I saw her in my dream?
yo no naka wa tsune kaku nomi ka (M.)	is the world always only thus?

The interrogative particle does not necessarily come at the end of a sentence, and its significance varies with its position. Thus *tare iru ka* means 'who is there?' while *tare ka iru* means 'somebody is there'. When *ka* is suffixed directly to a final verb, that verb takes the attributive and not the conclusive form, as in :

   nami wa yorikeru ka (M.)   have the waves approached?

Where *ka* precedes the verb in the clause which it effects, it also throws that verb into the attributive form, thus :

tare shi no yakko ka waga mikado wo somukite shika suru (Res.)	which of Our subjects has thus rebelled against Our Throne?

where we have *suru* instead of *su*.

YA is an interrogative particle, similar to *ka*, as will be seen from the following examples :

yama no na nomi ya kikitsu-tsu oramu (M.)	is he perchance hearing only the names of mountains?
ame no shita no koto wo ya tayasuku okonawamu (Res.)	shall I easily perform the task of (governing the Kingdom) under Heaven?
ware hitori ya wa . . . uke tamawaramu (Res.)	shall We alone receive?

Ya, unlike *ka*, if it follows the final verb of a clause, usually

does not affect that verb, which preserves its conclusive form :

tadzu nakubeshi ya (M.)	will the storks cry ?
imo ni tsugetsu ya (M.)	did they tell my mistress ?

Where *ya* precedes the verb the attributive form is substituted for the conclusive, as in the case of *ka*.

It is difficult to state the distinction between *ya* and *ka* ; but, while both could serve the same purpose, *ya* seems to have been reserved, in the Nara period, for rhetorical questions, and it is found rather more frequently than *ka* in combination with other particles (as in *ya mo*, *ya wa*[1]) with a special exclamatory force, e. g. :

ware hitori ya wa (Res.)	we alone ? (Inviting the answer, No.)
imo nurame ya mo (M.)	will my mistress sleep ? (meaning 'could she but sleep !')

A special use of the interrogative particles appears in Nara period texts which is of interest because it shows them acting as conjunctives in the same way as other adverbial particles. It seems to arise from a locution illustrated in the last example and in

ware wasurure ya (Res.)	have I forgotten ?
iwarenu mono ni are ya (Res.)	is it a thing not to be spoken ?

which are rhetorical questions, expecting the answer 'No'. Here, it will be noticed, the verb is not in the ordinary conclusive but in the perfect form. The above examples contain *ya*, and in the case of *ya* this construction is found with all verbs in their simple conjugation, with the auxiliary verb *aru* and with future conjugations in *mu*. Strangely enough, the only examples of *ka* in this construction are found with future forms in *mu*, of the type *arame ka*, *yukame ka*, &c.

Where clauses constructed in this way form part of a compound sentence, their effect is to express a condition, as in

kokoro sae kie-usetare ya koto mo kayowanu (M.)	no doubt because his love has faded, no tidings come

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[1] *Ka wa* does not appear in Nara texts.

Here, it will be seen, the combination of the perfect form *usetare* and the particle *ya* acts as a conjunction between clauses. The usage is exactly parallel with the conjunctive use of other particles, upon which it throws an interesting light. If we substitute the particle *wa* (in its form *ba*) for *ya*, we have *usetareba*, 'because it has faded'; and if we substitute *to* (in its form *do*), we have *usetaredo*, 'though it has faded'. Similarly we can find in early texts parallel forms with *zo* and *koso*, of the type *usetare zo, usetare koso*.

The special effect of *ka* and *ya* in these constructions is to introduce a slight element of doubt, so that whereas *usetare ya* means 'perhaps because it has faded', *usetareba* means simply 'because it has faded'. Further examples of this construction (which is not used in modern prose) are:

kami nakare ya . . . waga tsuma sakaru (M.)	because, I suppose, there are no gods, I am parted from my wife
maitsutsu kami kere ka mo kono miki no . . . tanushi sa sa (K.)	O! the joyfulness of this beer —because we danced as we brewed it!

In the modern language *ka* is used to the exclusion of *ya* in everyday speech. In modern prose the distinction between the conclusive and attributive forms of verbs followed by *ka* or *ya* is not usually observed. The interrogative particles are not necessary after interrogative pronouns. Thus *tare ga kita* is as correct as *tare ga kita ka*. It should be noticed that the interrogative particles when directly suffixed to interrogative pronouns considerably modify their meaning, e. g.:

dochira	where?	*dochira ka*	somewhere
tare	who?	*dare ka*	somebody
ikura	how much?	*ikura ka*	a certain amount

These should be compared with such combinations as *dochira mo, tare mo*, &c.

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLES

This class consists of the particles **wa** (usually in the form *ba* in combination), **to** (usually in the form *do* in combination), **ga, ni,** and **wo**. Further, though this is not the classi-

fication of such Japanese grammarians as Yamada and Ōtsuki, I think that both **mo** and **ka** should also be included under this heading, for reasons stated below. **Kara** and **yori** are also used as conjunctives.

It will be seen that in form these particles are identical with the principal particles already discussed. They are, in fact, the same particles, and their conjunctive use is but a natural development of the primary functions. It is, however, so specialized that one is justified as regarding them for this purpose as a distinct group, the more so as it is a purpose which they serve only in regard to sentences and not to dependent words. This conjunctive use is illustrated by the following examples :

tenki yokereba yukubeshi	as the weather is good I shall go
tenki yokuba yukan	if the weather is good I shall go
yuki furedo samukarazu	although it is snowing it is not cold

Here the particles *ba* and *do* (i. e. *wa* and *to*) take the place of those English conjunctions which connect sentences, such as 'though', 'if', and 'as'. They are indeed the only words in Japanese which can thus connect sentences, for in all other cases the nexus between two clauses resides in the form of one of them. Thus :

    hana saki tori naki   flowers bloom and birds sing

where the equivalent of the conjunctive 'and' is in the conjunctive form *saki*, a sort of gerund of the verb *saku*.

The term Conjunctive Particle seems therefore to be accurately descriptive. It corresponds with the name *setsuzoku joshi* used by Mr. Yamada, and thus has the sanction of a good authority.

BA is an 'impure' (*nigori*) form of the particle *ha* or *wa*. In the *Manyōshū* it is written indifferently 波, 婆 and 者, and was therefore certainly interchangeable with *ha* or *wa*. It connects sentences in one of two ways, according to the form of the inflected word which it follows :

    1. With the future or negative base form (the 'Imperfect')

of a verb or adjective it denotes a future or hypothetical condition, of the type

kō araba otsu aran   if there is A there will be B

It seems likely that this idiom is a contraction of *aran wa* which, consistently with the separative value of *wa*, would mean 'In the case of there being, in the future'. But it is of course not impossible that *ba* was from the beginning suffixed direct to the base of verbs. The following are examples of the use of this form :

shio no haya hiba asari shi ni iden (M.)	if the tide falls quickly we will go gathering shellfish
uguisu no tani yori idzuru koe nakuba (K.)	if there were not the warbler's cry issuing from the valley
yachi yo shi neba ya aki toki aran	O ! if I could but sleep (with her) eight thousand nights, should I grow tired !

There is no distinction in form between a future, not yet realized, condition and a purely hypothetical one, so that *araba*, for instance, may be translated, according to context, by 'when' as well as 'if'.

The elliptical use of *ba*, usually followed by an interrogative particle, to express a wish, has already been noted. Thus :

torikaebaya	could I but change it !
satobito ni wadzuka ni nozo- kasebaya (Makura)	if only I could let the folks at home have a peep !

2. With the perfect form of verbs, *ba* represents an actual, and not an unrealized, condition of the type

kō areba otsu ari   as or when there is A there is B

This use cannot occur with adjectives, because they have no perfect form, but by combining adjectives with the auxiliary verb *ari* such forms as *yokereba* (= *yoku areba*), 'as it is good', can be constructed.

The history of this form (perfect + *ba*) is interesting. In the Nara period we find the perfect standing alone to express an actual, realized condition :

kogane ari to moshi tamaere kokoro akirame (Res.)	as they said there was gold, we were relieved

It is also found followed by particles other than *ba*, e. g. *zo*, *koso*, *ya*, and *ka* (q.v.). Thus :

nochi mo awamu to omoe koso tsuyu no inochi mo tsugitsu-tsu	because I think to meet thee again I cling to this fleeting life
ametsuchi no kami wa nakare ya uruwashiki waga tsuma sakaru	is it because there are no gods of heaven or earth that I am parted from my lovely mate ?

These examples seem to indicate that the perfect form had at one time an independent existence, and a certain tense-significance. The use of a perfect-tense form in such cases as the above is quite logical, since the second condition does not arise until the first is complete. Early examples of the conditional with *ba* are :

ito aware nareba kuruma wo tatete nagamuru ni (Yamato)	as it was very impressive he stopped his carriage and looked . . .
kaze fukeba fune idasazu (Tosa)	as the wind is blowing we do not put out the boat

In familiar modern speech the distinction between a realized and a hypothetical condition is not always observed. Usually *areba* is employed to mean 'if there is', although strictly speaking it means 'as there is'. So with other verbs. The spoken idiom usually prefers a construction employing some word like *kara* or *tame*, to represent 'as' or 'because'. Thus, *kaze ga fuku kara* or *kaze ga fuku tame ni*, 'Because the wind is blowing'. In prose also frequent use is made of *tame*, *yue ni*, to mean 'since' or 'because', and *aida* 間 is common in the epistolary style :

> *kaze fuku tame ni*
> *kaze fuku yue ni*
> *kaze fuku* (or *fuki sōrō*) *aida*

all stand for 'because the wind is blowing'.

In prose the word *yori* is used instead of *kara*.

TO as a conjunctive particle has a significance almost directly opposite to that of *ba*. Instead of correlating two conditions it serves to contrast them, as in sentences of the type :

| *ye ni kaku to fude oyobaji* | though you paint it your brush will not succeed |

It is most frequently found together with *mo*, in the sense of 'even though', 'although'.

| *kaesugaesu miru tomo miru-tomo akumaji* (G.) | though you look and look again and again it will not pall |

It is notable that the very common colloquial use of *to* is the exact opposite :

| *hon wo yomu to zutsū ga suru* | when I read a book I get a headache |

On the other hand *tomo* (and *to*, to a less extent) is used with adversative force in the spoken language accompanying the future of verbs, as

shinō to(mo) kamawan	even if I die, I don't care
ashikarō tomo yaru	even if it 's bad, I'll do it
nani ga koyō tomo osorenai	I'm not afraid, whatever may happen

This use with the future bears out the supposition that *ara-ba* derives from the future *aran +wa*. Also it seems to show that the adversative force really resides in the *mo* of *tomo*, and that the use of *to* alone is elliptical. The form *tomo* is much the more common at all periods.

Mr. Yamada (*Heian Bumpō-shi*) suggests that *to* in many such cases indicates time, and he cites, among other examples, the following from the *Nihongi* : *uma ineshi to ni niwatsutori naku*, 'the cock crows when the horse has gone to sleep', where *to* seems to stand for *toki*.

DO is the 'impure' sound of *to*, when in combination. Following the perfect form of a verb it has a significance directly opposed to that of *ba* after the same form, as in sentences of the type :

| *kō aredo otsu nashi* | though there is A there is not B |

The combination *domo* is frequent in the same sense.

NI, **GA**, and **WO** in their capacity as conjunctive particles are generally used to co-ordinate two propositions of actual fact. The development of a conjunctive use from the use

as a case particle is best illustrated by *ni*. It is not a long step from

   ko ni otsu   A along with B

to

   ko aru ni otsu ari   along with there being A there is B

Such a sentence as it stands is a mere assertion. It simply states the coexistence of A and B, but does not assume that B is contingent upon A, or that their coexistence is expected or unexpected. That is to say, *ni* does not in theory carry any adversative force. But since, as a rule, when two pro- positions are placed side by side they are naturally con- trasted, an adversative force has been gradually acquired by *ni*. A parallel in English is perhaps furnished by 'I ask for bread and you give me a stone', where 'and', because of its context, has an adversative force. Further examples of this use of *ni* are as follows. It will be seen that the verb or adjective to which it is attached is always in the substantival form, as would be expected from its true function as a case particle.

kore wo miru ni Nakamaro ga kokoro no . . . sama shi- rinu (Res.)
seeing this, they knew what the heart of Nakamaro was like

kogane wa kono kuni ni naki mono to omoeru ni . . . Oda- nokōri . . . (ni ari) (Res.)
whereas it was thought that in this land there was no gold, (it is found) in Odano- kōri

kuraki ni haya oki-idzuru hito ari
although dark, there are al- ready people getting up and going out

toshi imada rokujū ni mita- zaru ni sakari to koso mie tamaishi ni harukasumi to kienikeri
though, not having reached sixty years of age, he seemed to be in his prime, he faded away like the mists of spring

This last example shows *ni* used with and without an ad- versative force in the same sentence. Perhaps a sentence like *hi teru ni ame furu* best illustrates the idiom under discussion. In English this is 'while the sun is shining the rain is falling', and the adversative element resides not so

much in the word 'while' as in the nature of the two contrasted statements.

The colloquial makes a similar use of *ni*, as in *Maneita ni konai*, 'I invited him and yet he doesn't come'. The combination *no ni* is more frequent: *hayaku kureba ii no ni mada konai*, 'he ought to have come early, and he hasn't come yet'.

With a conjunctive adverb such as *moshi*, 'if', *ni* can be used to express a condition:

moshi tsune ni haibutsu no riyō wo kokorogaken ni wa kanarazu sono yōto wo hakken suru wo ubeshi	if people would always pay attention to the disposal of waste products they could certainly discover a use for them

In such cases the future of the verb is generally required.

GA is not found as a conjunctive particle in the earliest literature. It seems to have developed a conjunctive use from such statements as *Kawa ni ochishi ga oyogi-ezu*, 'he who fell into the river could not swim', which come to mean 'he fell into the river but he could not swim'. The function of *ga* as a conjunctive is, as with *ni*, a natural development from its use as a case particle. It co-ordinates but does not necessarily contrast two propositions. The following are examples of the conjunctive use:

sōchō yori suguretaru meii honchō e watarite shinobite miyako e noborikeru ga . . . Imadzu ni tsukite sōrō yoshi wo uketamawareba isogi meshitsukawashi sōrainu (HK.)	having learned that a famous physician from the Sung Court, who had secretly crossed over to Japan and gone up to the capital, had reached Imadzu, I hastily sent for him
kyūshi wa tōji Berurin no aru chūgaku no kōchō narishi ga kono hō ni sesshite tadachi ni kare wo toitari	his old teacher, who was at that time the headmaster of a middle school in Berlin, on hearing this news at once called upon him

In neither of the above examples has *ga* any adversative force. It merely helps to form what in English becomes a relative sentence.

kembutsu-nin wa amata arishi ga shōhin wa yoku urezu	though there were many spectators the goods did not sell well
shibashiba toitaru ga menkwai wo ezu	though I called several times I could not get an interview

Here there is an adversative element, but it resides in the nature of the statements contrasted.

In modern prose of the *genbun itchi* or semi-colloquial type *ga* does as a rule stand for 'but'. It is even sometimes found at the beginning of a sentence, thus:

kono giron wa keichō suru kachi ga nai de mo nai. Ga kōkyō no shisetsu wo tokan ni shite wa naranu . . .	this argument is not without some title to respect. But it does not explain the public arrangements . . .

WO as a conjunctive particle is found only in the written language. Its use is the same as that of *ni* and *ga*, and it has doubtless developed in the same way. The following examples will be sufficient to explain it:

wataran to nomi omou wo kaze nami tomo ni yamubeku mo arazu (Tosa)	though they thought of nothing but crossing, the waves and wind showed no sign of abating
kuwashiku on arisama mo sōshi haberamahoshiki wo machi owashimasuran wo yo fukehaberinubeshi (G.)	though I desire to report fully upon his condition, while you are waiting night will fall

Here *wo* has in one place an adversative value, in another not.

Natsu no yo wa	on summer evenings
mada yoi nagara	since it grows light
akenuru wo	while it is still night
kumo ni idzuko ni	where in the clouds
tsuki yadoruran	does the moon take lodging ?

In the following modern example:

sekitan yori shōzuru abura no gotoki kuroki shiru wo muyō no mono to shite haiki shitarishi wo ima wa kore yori yakuhin senryō tō wo seishutsu suru ni itareri

it will be seen that *wo* retains some of its value as a case particle but has an adversative sense. The translation is:

'the black oily liquid produced by coal was thrown away as useless, but now we have come to manufacture from this chemical dyes, &c.'

ame furu wo kasa nashi ni idzu	he goes without an umbrella although it is raining
mono takaki wo hitsu mo yokarazu	the things are dear, yet they are of bad quality

A development of this use of *wo* is found in the expression *mono wo* used as follows :

machishi mono wo nado kitazarishi	seeing that I waited, why didn't you come ?
anna ni tanomu mono wo kiite kurete mo yokarō (Coll.)	you might as well consent seeing that he begs so hard

Both *KA* and *YA*, as well as the emphatic particles *zo nan* and *koso*, are found acting as conjunctives. Details as regards their early uses in this way will be found under their respective headings. The following examples are from modern newspaper language, and show *ka* acting as a conjunctive :

moshi karera no tō wo kyūjo sen ka kaette sono iraishin wo zōchō seshimuru osore naki ni arazu	if assistance is given to such people as these, there is a danger that it may simply increase their feeling of dependence
moshi Nihon no toshi ni dōitsu teido no jishin aritaran to sen ka, shisha no sū wa sono shihyaku bun no ichi ni mo tassezarishi naran	suppose there had been an earthquake of the same dimensions in a Japanese city, the number of deaths would not have amounted to one four-hundredth of this

MO, as we have seen, serves as a conjunctive along with *to*, in the form *tomo*. It can also stand alone with the same value, in sentences of the type *kō aru mo otsu nashi*, 'though there is (or may be) A there is not B'.

EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES

In the Nara period we find the following used as interjections or exclamatory particles :

ya, wo, yo, na, shi, i, ye, ro, ra.

It is difficult to draw a line between these particles and others. It will be seen that some of them, *WO* for instance, have other functions, and it seems probable that some at least of the other particles are words which, used originally in a vague, exclamatory or emphatic sense, have developed a specialized function. *WO* is almost certainly an illustration of this feature. The early uses of the particles in the above list are as follows :

1. **YA** appears as a vocative particle, as in

nase no ko ya (M.)	O ! my child
Yachihoko no kami no Mikoto ya (K.)	O ! August Deity of the Myriad Spears

  (This usage is still current : *Yasu ya* ! 'Hi ! Yasu')

and as a mere interjection in such cases as

ame naru ya ototanabata (K.)	Oh ! Weaver in the Sky
oso ya kono kimi (M.)	How foolish this wight !

It is pretty clear that the use of *ya* as an interrogative particle is merely a development of its exclamatory use. It is found as a rule only in rhetorical questions, or in statements expressing doubt or surprise. Thus in

ware hitori ya wa tōtoki shi-rushi wo uketamawamu ? (Res.)	shall I alone receive the precious Token?

the question is rhetorical. In

  ie ya mo idzuku (M.)   the house, where is it ?

the interrogative force resides in *idzuku*. In *kore ya to omou*, 'I think it is this, maybe', *ya* expresses doubt. It is this use which gives us such phrases as *oya ya shinrui*, 'parents or relations'. It must be remembered that where *ya* (or *ka*) occurs in a sentence with an interrogative and not a purely exclamatory value it affects the form of the final verb, which assumes the substantive and not the attributive form. This may be taken as a further indication that the interrogative sense is not inherent in *ya*, but had to be reinforced by some syntactical device.

2. **WO**, as has been already pointed out, appears in the

earliest texts as an interjection. Perhaps the oldest example is that found in one of the *Kojiki* songs :

sono yaegaki wo   O ! that manifold fence

It is not possible to trace its transition from an emphatic to a case particle, but it is easy to see how it may have occurred.

3. **YO** is a common interjection in the modern language. In the earliest texts it is usually found associated with *mo*, as in

a wa mo yo (K.)   I !
ko mo yo miko mochi, fugushi   and a basket ! She has a
  mo yo, mi fugushi mochi (M.)   fine basket. And a trowel !
                                      She has a fine trowel

while such groups as *mo ga mo yo* are found, e. g. *midzu ni mo ga mo yo !* (M.) = 'O ! to be the water'.

After substantives, and after the conclusive form of verbs, *yo* is purely interjectional, and cannot be distinguished from *ya*. (It is used as a vocative in the same way, e. g. *Jinta yo !* 'Jinta !')

Its most interesting function, however, is in imperative or permissive locutions, such as

> *ika ni se yo to* (M.)   do what you will
> *na koi so yo* (M.)   do not love
> *kinakite yo* (M.)   come and sing

The imperative is not formed by the particle *yo*, but emphasized by it. The earliest imperative forms are found without *yo*. In the medieval language the imperative is almost invariably found without *yo* in verbs of the first conjugation—thus we have *yuke*, 'go !' *kase*, 'lend !'—but with verbs of the other conjugations, the imperative is usually formed by the addition of *yo* to the conjunctive form, as in *tabe yo*, 'eat !' The irregular verb *suru* has the form *seyo*, quoted above.

4. **NA** at the end of a sentence after nouns or verbs in the conclusive form is purely exclamatory. Thus *hana wa chiramu na* (M.), 'the flowers will fade !' In combination with other particles it helps to express special meanings usually desiderative or mildly imperative, e.g. *moga na, shiga na. Na* is a common interjection in the modern language.

5. **SHI** is frequent in the earliest texts, as an emphatic particle, as will be seen from the following examples :

kimi wo matsuramu hito shi kanashi mo (M.)	he indeed who will await you is sad
ne nomi shi nakayu (M.)	I can but weep
yasui shi nasanu (M.)	a peaceful sleep I do not sleep
yorozu yo ni shika shi aramu to (M.)	that it will be thus through the ages

It is usually represented by the character 之 'this', and its significance resembles that of *zo* or *koso* in the later language. It is interesting to notice that it can follow most parts of speech. We find it, for instance, after other particles (*michi wa shi*) and after verbs (*tsukae matsureba shi, yorite shi*), and it occurs in combinations with other particles such as *shi mo, shi zo, shi wa, shi koso, yo shi, ya shi, i shi,* &c. It is now practically obsolete.

6. *I* is an obsolete emphatic particle, which appears to have acted as a case particle, denoting the subject. In early texts, where it is regularly written 伊 (in particular the Rescripts), it occurs frequently. E. g. :

wakugo i fue fuki noboru (N.)	the young one comes up blowing a flute
seki mori i todometen ka mo . . . (M.)	shall the warden of the Barrier stop . . .
Fujiwara no Asomi marora i . . . kame hitotsu tatematsu-raraku (Res.)	Fujiwara no Asomi and others . . . have offered a tortoise
Nara Maro Koma Maro i sakashima naru tomogara wo izanai . . . (Res.)	Nara Maro and Koma Maro leading on wicked accomplices . . .
Nakamaro i tadashiki omi to shite haberitsu (Res.)	Nakamaro was a loyal subject
ko wo tamotsu i wa homare wo itashi sutsuru i wa soshiri wo manekitsu (Res.)	to cherish children is to gain praise, to abandon them is to invite abuse

Some Japanese grammarians argue that *i* definitely indicates a nominative case.

The use of *i* persisted during and after the Nara period,

and Mr. Yamada states that in the scriptures of the earliest Buddhist sects in Japan (i. e. the *Hossō*) a special diacritic marking for *i* is found, used to denote the subject of a sentence when the Chinese text is read according to Japanese syntax. He gives examples of early systems of diacritic markings (*ten—v.* under *o koto ten*, p. 8) which provide for this particle.

7. **YE** is uncommon, and may be only a variation of *ya*. Examples of its use are :

ware wa sabushi ye (M.)	I am lonely !
kurushi ye (N.)	it is painful !

It is found in the combination *ye ya shi*, where it appears to be a meaningless exclamation.

8. **RO** is found in the earliest texts, usually in association with other exclamatory particles, e. g. *ōkimi ro ka mo* (N.), *tomoshiki ro kamo* (K.). It does not appear to have any specialized function. It is interesting to note, however, that it occurs very freely in the songs in the *Manyōshū* (vol. 14), which are usually known as *Adzuma uta*, and in other verses which may be taken to represent the Eastern dialect of the Nara period. It may, consequently, be a dialectical variation of *yo* or some other particle. Imperative [1] forms such as *sero* for *seyo*, *tsukero* for *tsuke yo* are found in these songs. A few examples of the use of *ro* are appended.

ōnu ro ni tanabiku kumo (M.)	the clouds lying above the great plain
omoosu na mo ro (M.)	do not think
kosuge ro no urafuku kaze (M.)	the wind blowing through the treetops

9. **RA** is uncommon ; and it is possible that its emphatic or exclamatory use is an extension of its use as a suffix (*v.* p. 295). In

ko wo ra tsuma wo ra okite ra mo kinu (M.)	I have come, leaving behind my children and my spouse

---

[1] Such imperatives are common in modern colloquial, e. g. *tabero* 'eat', *tsukero* 'put'.

it is worth noting that the text uses the character 等, the sign of the plural. In

yamai wo ra kuwaete (M.)   adding sickness thereto

ra may be emphatic, or it may give the sense of 'sickness and the like'?

In such phrases as *akara tachibana* (M.), *monoganashira ni omou* (M.), *sakashira wo su* (M.), it is hard to say what is the function of *ra*. It is no doubt the same as the *ra* which appears in the Rituals and Rescripts in the much-debated phrase *sumera ga o mikoto ra ma to*, 'according to the Divine word'. On the whole one may reasonably infer that *ra* is a word, or part of a word, originally denoting 'sort' or 'kind'. This would account for *mono ganashira ni*, 'in a sad way', 'saddishly'; and for the plural use, *ko ra*, 'children and so on'.

A special use of particles which characterizes the earliest known language deserves some notice. The particles *ga*, *na*, *ni*, and *ne* are used in an exclamatory way to express a wish or a hope, as in *kakumo ga* (N.), 'would it were thus', *tori ni mo ga mo* (M.), 'I would I were a bird'. The usage is best explained by classified examples:

(1) **GA**. It usually occurs in combination with other particles, chiefly *mo*:

> *kanasuki mo inochi mo ga mo* (K.)
> *waga omou kimi wa chitose ni mo ga mo* (M.)
> *narabete mo ga mo* (N.)
> *waga inochi mo nagaku mo ga mo* (N.)
> *ashibiki no yama wa naku mo ga* (M.)

Notice that, when such particles or groups follow predicative words, the latter take the conjunctive form, with a curious exception, viz. the tense-suffix *ki*, e. g.:

ima mo eteshiga (M.)	Oh! that I might now obtain
mishi ga to omou (M.)	I think, I wish I could see
hibari ni narishiga (M.)	O! that I might become a lark

but *shi* here is perhaps only an emphatic particle, and not the attributive form of *ki*.

(2) **NA** is suffixed to the imperfect form of verbs, forming a desiderative or a mild imperative.

> *iza musubite na* (M.)

> *asobi kurasana* (M.)
> *nioite yukana* (M.)
> *katsuki sena wa* (K.)

(3) **NE** appears to be interchangeable with *NA*.

> *na norasa ne* (*norasu* and *ne*) (M.)
> *tsuki ni hi ni shika shi asobane* (M.)
> *haya kaeri kone* (M.)
> *sazaki torasane* (K.)

It might be conjectured that this *ne* is a form of the verb suffix *nu* ; but there is no evidence for this, and the fact that we find it following a negative imperative is against it :

> *shiohi na ariso ne* (M.)   let there be no falling of the tide
> *yuki na fumi so ne* (M.)   pray do not tread the snow

An apparent alternative form *ni* is found, as in *moshimasa ni*, 'pray speak !' *na kari so ni*, ' O ! do not reap !'

It is very difficult to account for these forms. *NA* is used as an exclamatory particle, as in *hana wa chiramu na*, 'Ah ! the flowers will fade !' but here it follows the conclusive form. Where used to express a wish, *na*, *ne*, and *ni*, as shown above, follow the imperfect. As it is the imperfect which provides a base for future forms, it may be that we have here an elided future, that, for instance, *yukana* is *yukamu* or *'yukan* plus *na*. There is an analogy in the termination *nan* which is found in such phrases as *oikaze fukanan*, 'may a fair wind blow'. (*Nan* here must be distinguished from the *nan* following adverbial forms of verbs, which is simply the future of *nuru* (e. g. *fukinan—fuki* and *na* plus *mu*).) It seems likely that here we have a contraction of *fukan nan*, *nan* itself being the future of the (conjectural) obsolete verb *nu*, 'to be', which later assumed an independent value as the particle *nan*, or *namo*, itself no doubt the ancestor of the modern colloquial *na* or *ne*.

Summarizing the foregoing discussion it can be stated that the early language contained a large number of particles of an exclamatory or emphatic nature, not fully differentiated from one another, in form, meaning, or function.

Certain combinations of particles gradually come to assume special meanings, and to perform syntactical functions. (As *mo ga na*, *mo ga mo*, *shi ga*, *shi ga na*, expressing a wish.) These are in time replaced by more precise locutions, as the various compound conjugational forms of verbs come to acquire specific meanings. Of the individual particles, some, such as *ro, i, shi*, &c., fall out of use. Others develop specialized functions, as is well illustrated by *wo*. This particle first serves as an interjection,

and then becomes specialized as an emphatic particle, marking
the objective case. *Ha* or *wa* itself was, to judge from its semantic
development, originally exclamatory or emphatic, but is now
specialized as an isolating particle denoting the subject of a pro-
position, with an extended use by which it acts as a conjunctive.
It is worth noting that *wa* is still used as an exclamatory particle
in modern colloquial. *Ya* originally exclamatory acquires a
dubitative or interrogative sense. *Yo*, a vocative particle, also
acquires a special function as a mark of the imperative mood.
It is possible that in *mo* we have the element which forms the
old future, though there is no direct evidence of this.

These considerations are not adduced in support of the inter-
jectional theory of the origins of language ; but they do throw
some light on the genesis of grammatical forms, and they show
at least that it is dangerous to assume that all suffixes and
flexional endings were once independent and significant words.

THE ADVERB

THERE is considerable disagreement among Japanese grammarians as to the definition and classification of adverbs. Some have argued that there is no true adverb in Japanese, but only an adverbial use of other parts of speech. This view is difficult to uphold in the face of such words as *mata*, 'again', *kedashi*, 'probably', *sa*, 'thus', &c.

Of adverbs in use in the Nara period the simplest are *ka*, 'that way', *kaku* (a derivative of *ka*), 'thus', and *shika*, 'so'. The form *sa* is of later development. Examples are :

ka yuki kaku yuki (M.)	going this way and that way
shika shi asobi (M.)	playing thus

Even these elementary forms are found in combination with the particle *ni*, as in *ka ni* (M.), *kaku ni* (M.), *shika ni wa araji* (M.), and it appears that there was originally an adverb *na* (= 'how') which, combined with *ni*, has given the word *nani*, 'what'; and appears in *nado* (= *na zo*), 'why'. Thus :

na ni ka omowamu (M.)	how shall I think ?
nado ka kinakanu (M.)	why does it not come and sing?
nado nakeru tame (K.)	why weeping ?

The form *ika* develops presumably from *ka*, with the meaning 'how', and *nani* assumes the meaning of 'what'. *Ika* is found always in conjunction with *ni* or *to*, or in the Heian period in the form *ikade*. Thus :

ika ni ka oyobu koto emu (Res.)	how shall I attain ?
ika to ika to aru waga yado (M.)	how, how is my home ?

There was apparently an adverb *ma*, which now survives in the compounds *mama* and *manimani*. It occurs frequently in the early Rescripts and the Rituals, especially in the phrase *o mikoto ra ma*, 'according to the Divine Word', where it is evidently already an archaism.

The early language contains a number of onomatopoeic

and kindred forms. They are as a rule reduplications. Examples are :

> *sawasawa* (K.), *sayasaya* (N.), of a rustling sound
> *hodorohodoro* (M.), of snow falling
> *harubaru* (M.), of distance
> *moyura* (K.), of rain falling
> *korokoro* (K.), of raking over salt

Most of these adverbs are accompanied by a particle, *ni* or *to*.

For convenience of treatment, adverbs can be classified roughly as follows :

1. Adverbs modifying predicative words. These are such as express ideas of time, place, manner, degree, &c. Early forms are : *ima*, 'now' ; *imada*, 'yet' ; *tachimachi*, 'suddenly' ; *shibashiba*, 'frequently' ; *sude*, 'already' ; *sunawachi*, 'thereupon' ; *ko* (conjectural), 'here' ; *koko*, 'here' ; *soko*, 'there', and *idzuko*, 'where' ; *sukoburu*, 'exceedingly' ; *hanahada*, 'very' ; *yaya*, 'little' ; *mottomo*, 'most' ; and numerous onomatopoeics like *sayasaya* above.

2. Adverbs modifying a proposition. Early instances are : *kedashi*, 'probably' ; *yume* or *yomo*, 'hardly' ; *kanaradzu*, 'certainly', &c.

3. Adverbs linking propositions, or Conjunctive Adverbs. Such are *tadashi*, 'but' ; *katsu*, 'further' ; *hata*, 'moreover' ; *mata*, 'again'. These form a logical but not a grammatical link between sentences. The grammatical link is in the specialized conjunctive forms of verbs and adjectives.

From the examples given above it will be seen that the number of single words which function solely as adverbs is very small indeed. There are only a few, such as *ika*, *hata*, and *kedashi*, which can stand alone as adverbs and cannot perform the function of other parts of speech. *Kedashi* itself is probably an abbreviated form of *kedashiku*, found in Nara period texts, which is presumably the ordinary adverbial form of an adjective.

A great number of adverbs in Japanese require the assistance of a particle before they can take their place in a sentence. Even some of the simplest early forms, like *kaku*, *ika*, &c., are, as has been pointed out, found with the particle *ni* ; and most echo-words require a particle. The adverbs

denoting place invariably take the locative particle *ni* (*koko ni*, *soko ni*), those denoting time frequently do so (*sude ni*). There is further a considerable class of adverbs, of which *akiraka ni* can be taken as an example, which cannot without a particle convey any precise meaning. These have already been referred to under the heading of Uninflected Adjectives, where it was pointed out that these forms ending in *ke*, *ge*, or *ka* can serve as adjectives only in combination with suffixes like *taru* and *naru*. We thus have in each case a group of forms for attributive, predicative, and adverbial uses, of the model :

> *akiraka naru*, attributive, as in *akiraka naru koto*, 'a clear thing '
>
> *akiraka nari*, predicative, as in *kore wa akiraka nari*, 'this is clear '
>
> *akiraka ni*, adverbial, as in *akiraka ni miyu*, 'it is seen clearly '

The constant element *akiraka* cannot stand alone.

It will be seen that most adverbs in Japanese are either adverbial phrases or other parts of speech functioning as adverbs. Such a word as *ima*, 'now', is a noun by origin (*ma* = space) and shows its substantival character in a phrase like *ima no yo*, 'the present day'. Even the adverbs expressing the simplest—the least analysed—ideas, such as *kaku*, 'thus', have the character of nouns in so far as they can be used with particles that govern nouns. E. g. *kaku no gotoki*, 'like this '; *ōku no hito*, 'many people '; *yagate no wakare*, 'parting at length'.

Single words of which the function is solely adverbial are very rare in Japanese. The so-called adverbial forms of adjectives in Japanese are not exclusively adverbial. The form *kataku*, for instance, can act as an adverb, as in *kataku utsu*, 'to strike hard '; but in *katakarazu* (= *kataku* + *arazu*) it is purely a conjunctive form, and has no adverbial force.

Apart from the development of adverbs and adverbial phrases by the processes outlined above, the rapid addition of words of Chinese origin to the native vocabulary gave rise to further formations. The manner of bringing these words into use as adverbs varied according to circumstances. The simplest method was to employ one of the particles *to* or *ni*, as

in the case of many native onomatopoeic and similar forms. Thus we have a considerable group of adverbial compounds of Chinese origin, analogous to, say, *sawasawa* and *harabaru*, of which typical examples are :

gōgō to	rumblingly
dōdō to	majestically

These forms have been already described under the heading devoted to the particle *to*. They are not necessarily onomatopoeic, and are not all reduplicated or even disyllabic, but they usually display at least alliteration or assonance, as in *mōrō*, *sanran*, *hōhai*, *rinretsu*, &c.

An alternative method of forming adverbs from Chinese words is to employ suffixes which in Chinese are used to give those words an adverbial sense. The most frequent of these is *zen* 然, which provides such adverbs as *hitsuzen*, 'certainly', *shizen*, 'naturally'. These can, in prose, be used as they stand, but it is customary, especially in the spoken language, to add the particle *ni* or *to*, as in *shizen to*, *totsuzen ni*. Other such terminations, in less frequent use, are *jo* 如, *ni* 爾, and *ko* 乎.

It should be remembered that both adjectives and verbs in Japanese have special forms which can be used as adverbs. The word *kataku*, quoted above, is the adverbial form of the adjective *katashi*, 'hard', while *hajimete*, 'beginning' (i.e. for the first time), and *nokorazu*, 'not remaining' (i. e. completely), are adverbial forms of verbs.

THE FORMATION OF WORDS

THIS subject can naturally be treated only in outline here, since its full discussion involves all questions of etymology as distinct from accidence.

As has been pointed out in several places in the foregoing text, the Japanese language in the earliest state known to us seems to reveal an imperfect differentiation of function. Many words appear to retain, in a variety of uses, what I may call a substantival flavour—they are imperfectly differentiated as verbs, adjectives, &c. This idea is difficult to express clearly, and is therefore possibly open to suspicion, but it may perhaps be explained by examples. In

tori ga naku	the bird sings
naku tori	a singing bird
karigane no naku nari (K.)	it is the wild geese crying

the word *naku* in each case represents a substantive rather than a verb concept. The literal translations are 'bird's cry', 'cry bird', and 'it is cry of geese'. There is no differentiation in form between the word for 'cry' in each case, although syntactically it stands in (1) for a verb, in (2) for an adjective, and in (3) for a noun. A large part of the development of the Japanese language, as indeed of most languages, in its earlier stages consists of the growth of forms by which functions are differentiated. This process, as will have been seen, in Japanese has consisted largely of agglutination—the addition to undifferentiated or imperfectly differentiated words of suffixes by means of which their function is delimited. Thus some verbs developed special attributive forms, as *tatsuru*, the attributive form of *tatsu*, 'to stand', so that *hito tatsu* is 'a man stands', but *tatsuru hito* 'a standing man'. Adjectives too have attributive, conjunctive, and predicative forms, and there is an important class of words which are of a substantival nature but cannot stand alone, and must be brought into use as adjectives or adverbs by means of suffixes ; as *akiraka naru*, 'clear', and *akiraka ni*, 'clearly'.

But as the language continued its development it discarded in some instances these specialized forms. Thus in the standard modern colloquial the specialized predicative forms of adjectives are obsolete, and the distinction between predicative and attributive forms of verbs is not observed. We can now say *tatsu hito* as well as *hito ga tatsu*, *yoi hito* for *yoki hito*, and *hito ga yoi* instead of *hito yoshi*. The first of these examples provides an instance where Japanese has proceeded farther than English in the direction of simplification and the reliance upon significant word order, since it is obviously simpler to say *tatsu hito*, 'stand man', than 'a man who stands'.

Apart from those agglutinative processes which have in the case of verbs and adjectives given rise to something like a regular flexional scheme, there are certain other processes of a more limited application by which words can be differentiated as to function, with or without a change of meaning. It is difficult to draw a line between what are generally called compound words and words so formed ; but for practical purposes the following description is limited to cases where the change is produced by the addition of an element which cannot stand alone—that is, by suffixes other than those already described.

(1) Suffixes enabling words to function as substantives. These are such as the suffixes *sa* and *mi*, attached as a rule to words other than nouns, as in *fukasa*, 'depth', *akami*, 'reddishness', *kaerusa*, 'the way back', and so on. The case of a word like *akami* raises interesting questions as to the early division of function among Japanese words. *Aka* is usually called an adjective stem, but it existed, and still exists, as an independent word, and there is no means of proving that it represented an adjectival rather than a substantival concept. It is safer to say that it is, at least approximately, the form prior to differentiation. Words like this are inconvenient for grammarians, because they refuse to fit into the categories which those scholars pretend to distinguish. The fact is, of course, that it is absurd to expect words to behave more logically than the people who use them.

SA is found in the Nara period in such forms as *sabushisa* (M.), 'loneliness', *subenasa* (M.), 'helplessness', *kaerusa ni*

imo ni misen (M.), 'on my return I will show her'. In the later language it is sometimes suffixed to Sinico-Japanese words.

MI, to judge from such words in the modern language as *akami*, 'redness', is a suffix forming abstract nouns from adjectival stems. Historically, however, it appears to be the conjunctive form of a termination, *mu*, of certain derived verbs. Thus:

neshiku wo . . . uruwashimi (K.)	admiring his sleep
ametsuchi no kokoro wo ito-shimi ikashimi katajikenami kashikomi imasu ni (Res.)	whereas We do serve and prize and thank and dread the Will of Heaven and Earth
Tōtoki mikoto wo itadaki . . . yorokobi tōtomi oji kashiko-marite (Res.)	hearkening to the precious Word, rejoicing and rever-ing, dreading and obeying...
kokoro itami aga 'mou imo (M.)	my sweetheart of whom I think with grieving heart

In these examples, which are of a type very common in the Nara period, the forms ending in *mi* are clearly verbs, and they govern an objective case, sometimes marked by the particle *wo*. Other uses are found, as in

sono hito domo no nigimi ya-sumi subeku (Res.)	that those people may be gentle and peaceable

where *nigimi* and *yasumi* are conjunctive forms acting as substantives. Similarly *wabishimi suru*, 'to grieve', *uru-washimi suru*, 'to admire'.

In the poetry of the classical period a curious half-way construction can be found, where these words ending in *mi* are treated grammatically as verbs and yet have the meaning of nouns. Thus:

miyako wo tō mi	distance from the Capital
yama wo ōmi	multitude of hills

The derived verbs ending in *mu* are numerous, and they have for the most part persisted in the modern language. As examples one may take

ayashimu, to suspect	*ayashi*, suspicious

itamu, to be painful	*itashi*, painful
suzumu, to grow cool	*suzushi*, cool
nikumu, to hate	*nikushi*, hateful
yasumu, to rest	*yasushi*, easy

It can hardly be supposed that the *mi* in *yasumi* is a special suffix for forming abstract nouns. For that purpose we have the suffix *sa*, as in *suzushisa*, 'coolness', *itasa*, 'painfulness', whereas *suzumi* and *itami* have the meanings which we should expect from the conjunctive forms of *suzumu* and *itamu*.

(2) Suffixes enabling words to function as predicative words. Such are *shi* and *rashi*, suffixed to nouns (and verbs, but see p. 189) to form adjectives, such as *kodomorashi*, 'childish', with an attributive form *kodomorashiki*; *otonashi*, *otonashiki*, 'gentle'.

In the *Manyōshū* and previous texts an adjective suffix *ji* is found, with an adverbial form *jiku*. This is no doubt another form of *shi*, and persists in such words as *onaji*, 'same'.

Other suffixes, transforming words into verbs, are *meku*, *buru*, *garu* (which is probably *ge*, mentioned below, +*aru*), as illustrated in

> *karameku*, 'to look Chinese', *harumeku*, 'to be spring-like', *hoshigaru*, 'to feel desirous', *awaregaru*, 'to feel sorry', *gakushaburu*, 'to ape the scholar', *takaburu*, 'to put on airs'.

(3) Suffixes enabling words to act as adverbs. Chief among these are the suffixes *ge*, *ra*, and *ka*, in such words as *ureshige*, *kiyora*, *hanayaka*. These again cannot be brought into use except by the aid of particles. *Ureshige*, for instance, is composed of the adjective *ureshi*, 'joyful', plus *ge* (probably *ke*, 氣 'spirit'), which converts it into a noun approximating to 'joyousness'; but it is not as a rule used as a noun, occurring chiefly in compounds like *ureshige ni*, 'joyously', *ureshige naru*, 'joyous'.

Of the above suffixes, *ge* is not found in the Nara period. *Ra* on the other hand is common, e. g. *umara ni* (K.), *mono-kanashira ni* (M.). Its significance is vague. Mr. Yamada suggests that in the Nara period it is merely euphonic. In other combinations its function actually is to make an idea

vague rather than precise, as in *idzura*, 'whereabouts?' as opposed to *idzuku*, 'where?' Sometimes we find it forming a noun by addition to an adjective stem, as in *sakashira* (M.), for 'cunning'. In *akara o bune*, 'a red boat', it may be merely euphonic or it may convey the idea of 'reddish'. This suffix is doubtless cognate with the *re* which appears in *ware*, *kore*, *idzure*, &c.

In addition to the agglutinative processes just described, there are certain other methods by which parts of speech can be diverted from one function to another. Very characteristic of the Japanese language in this respect is the process of reduplication, which can be illustrated as follows:

(*a*) Nouns reduplicated to form plurals, such as *yamayama*, 'mountains', *wareware*, 'we', *hitobito*, 'people', *samazama*, 'various kinds', &c.

(*b*) Nouns reduplicated to form adverbs, as *tokidoki*, 'at times', *nakanaka*, 'certainly', &c.

It will be seen that these two classes merge into one another. Function is determined by context sometimes. E. g. *samazama no mondai*, 'questions of various sorts', and *samazama ni omou*, 'think variously'.

(*c*) Adjective stems reduplicated, generally to form adverbs, as *hayabaya*, 'quickly', *usuusu*, 'faintly', *naganaga*, 'for a long time', *chikajika*, 'shortly', &c. These forms can be used adverbially, with or without the aid of a particle, as in *chikajika* (*ni*) *dekakeru*, 'sets out shortly', *naganaga go yakkai ni nari*, 'having been a nuisance to you for a long time'. By means of *no* they can be used as adjectives, as in *naganaga no go yakkai*, 'a protracted nuisance', and sometimes they can be reconverted into inflected adjectives by means of a suffix, as *naganagashiki* in *naganagashiki natsu no hi*, 'the long long summer day'.

(*d*) Verbs in the predicative duplicated to form adverbial phrases, as

yukuyuku kuu	he eats as he goes along
nakunaku koto no yoshi wo kataru	she told her story as she wept
masumasu, 'increasingly'	*kaesugaesu*, 'time after time'

It is this usage which has given rise to the common idiom illustrated in such a phrase as *hon wo yomitsutsu*, 'reading a book meanwhile', where *tsutsu* indicates the continuation of the action described by the verb. It is a duplicated form of the verb suffix *tsu* (*tsuru, te*) and occurs in early texts, thus:

kugane sukunakemu to omo-oshi ureitsutsu aru ni (Res.)	whereas we have been used to grieve, thinking that gold was scarce
koitsutsu zo oru (M.)	I am yearning
tsuki wa henitsutsu (M.)	the moon is waning

(e) Verbs in the conjunctive form duplicated to give a kind of progressive, as in

yukiyukite Suruga no kuni ni itaru	going on and on he reaches the province of Suruga
nagarenagarete koko ni kitaru	wandering and wandering I have come hither

(f) Many, if not most, onomatopoeic words are formed by reduplication, as *karakara* (of a rattling sound), *sura-sura* (of a rustling sound).

We now come to the formation of Compound Words, by which is to be understood here the synthesis of two or more words, each capable of independent use, to form a new word either expressing the sum of the two ideas or amplifying or limiting the meaning of the separate components. Types of such words are respectively:

yamakawa	hills and streams
yamamichi	mountain road
migurushi	ugly
yakikorosu	to burn to death

Strictly speaking, it is not possible to draw a line between compound words as thus defined and such words as, say, *yukishi*, 'went', *samusa*, 'cold', much less forms like *tokidoki* and *masumasu*. The two last are composed of independent words, while *yukishi* and *samusa* contain the elements *shi* and *sa*, which may at one time have been independent. The classification is arbitrary.

In words of the type of *yamakawa* there is no coalescence, but only juxtaposition, and the meaning conveyed is only

the sum of the two parts, 'hills and streams'—an interesting corollary of the fact that pure Japanese has no satisfactory equivalent of the conjunction 'and'. Where semantic coalescence takes place it is usually accompanied by phonetic change. Thus *yamagawa* would mean 'mountain-stream', and *kami-sashi*, 'hair pierce', becomes *kanzashi*, 'a hairpin'. As a general rule, and consistently with the usual order of words in Japanese, the first element in a compound is the subordinate or attributive element. Thus *sakurabana* means the cherry blossom, while *hanazakura* is the blossoming cherry.

For convenience of description, compound words can be classified by function and subdivided as follows ; but many of them can, of course, in the appropriate forms perform several functions.

Nouns.

(*a*) Noun + noun. E. g. *kusabana*, 'grass and flowers', in the sense of 'vegetation', *funauta*, 'a boat-song', *takarabune*, 'a treasure-ship'.

(*b*) Adjective + noun. E. g. *chikamichi*, 'a short cut', *karuwaza*, 'tumbling', *warujie*, 'low cunning'.

(*c*) Verb + noun. E. g. *tsuribune*, 'fishing boat', *orimono*, 'textiles'.

(*d*) Noun + adjective. E. g. *toshiwaka*, 'youth', *mekura*, 'a blind person'.

(*e*) Adjective + adjective. E. g. *usuaka*, 'light red'.

(*f*) Verb + adjective. E. g. *kasegidaka*, 'earnings'.

(*g*) Noun + verb. E. g. *funanori*, 'sailor', *kurumahiki*, 'riksha-puller'.

(*h*) Verb + verb. E. g. *nomikui*, 'eating and drinking', *uketori*, 'a receipt'.

It will be noticed that as a rule adjectives are in their uninflected ('stem') form. Compounds of three words appear, though naturally with less frequency. Such are *mikomichigai*, 'miscalculation', *monoshirigao*, 'a knowing look', *nakineiri*, 'crying oneself to sleep'.

Adjectives.

(*a*) Noun + adjective. E. g. *nadakaki*, 'famous', *kidzuyoki*, 'strong-minded'.

(*b*) Adjective + adjective. E. g. *hosonagaki*, 'slender'.

(*c*) Verb + adjective. E. g. *minikuki*, 'ugly', *shiyasuki*, 'easy'.

Verbs.

(*a*) Noun + verb. E. g. *kokorozasu*, 'to intend', *mono-gataru*, 'to relate'.

(*b*) Adjective + verb. E. g. *chikayoru*, 'to approach', *nagabiku*, 'to drag'.

(*c*) Verb + verb. E. g.

> *norikaeru*, 'to change' (boat or train)
> *tatakikorosu*, 'to beat to death'
> *nomisugiru*, 'to drink too much'

Japanese is very rich in compounds of this type, which express meanings usually conveyed in English by verb + preposition. Thus *kaeriyuku*, 'to go back', *mochiageru*, 'to hold up', *tobioriru*, 'to jump down', *idetatsu*, 'to set forth'.

(*d*) Adverb + verb. The most important verbs of this group are those composed of the demonstrative adverbs and the verb *aru*, like *kakaru*, *shikaru*, *saru*, in

kakaru toki ni	at such a time
shikareba	as it is so
sareba	that being the case

Adverbs. It has already been pointed out that in Japanese adverbial functions are performed more frequently by phrases than by separate words. The commonest form is the combination of a substantive or its equivalent with a particle, as in *makoto ni*, 'in truth', for 'truly', *masa ni*, 'exactly', &c. Some of these may be regarded as having by frequent usage assumed the character of compound words, but generally speaking the coalescence is not complete. Some adverbs are independent compound words (e. g. *nakanaka*, *hanahada*, *mottomo*, and echo-words like *gatagata*), but these are not numerous. Combinations of particles, with other particles or other parts of speech, sometimes acquire a specialized meaning. Perhaps the most characteristic example is the word *koso*, which is a compound of the demonstrative pronoun *ko* and the particle (itself also a demonstrative) *so*, and from early times has been an independent adverbial particle.

The early language contained a large number of these compounds, showing various degrees of coalescence. A typical case is *baya* (= *ha* + *ya*), which has the value of a desiderative suffix after verbs. Thus *torikaebaya*, 'I wish I could change'. Other frequent combinations are *bashi, kamo, yawa, damo, mozo, dani, kana, mogana*, &c. They are so numerous that they cannot be treated separately here. In poetical language in particular—the language of sighs and groans and joyous exclamations—they are freely used, often in a quasi-interjectional way, as a substitute for compound verb forms. Thus *arashi mozo fuku*, 'Methinks the storm is raging', for *arashi fukuramu*, where *mozo* cannot be said to have the meaning of its component parts. Similarly with *mogana*, in *Oizu shinazu no kusuri mogana*, 'O for an elixir of youth and life!' Such forms may be deemed obsolete in all but pseudo-archaic styles.

IMPORTED WORDS

Though the origins of the Japanese language are still obscure, it is easy to trace foreign elements imported in the Nara period. The occurrence in certain poems of the *Manyōshū* of Chinese words is ample evidence that they were already naturalized when the verses were composed, and no longer had an exotic character. They are few in number, consisting of such words as *sugoroku* 雙六 (a game like backgammon), *hōshi* 法師 a priest, *gaki* 餓鬼 a demon. In the Rescripts of the Nara period, composed at a time when the court and the administration were under strong Chinese influence, reinforced by the growing power of Buddhism, which operated chiefly through the medium of Chinese-speaking teachers and Chinese books, a number of words relating to government and religion are to be found, although these documents purport to be written in pure Japanese. Thus we have

hakase	博士	a court rank
rikiden	力田	a grant of land
rai	禮	ceremony
gaku	樂	music
kyōgi	孝義	filial duty
ninkyō	仁孝	benevolence and piety

of which the last four are terms from the ethico-political system borrowed in the Taikwa period (A. D. 640) from China.

Some traces of Sanskrit are visible, imported from China or Korea, which are written phonetically by means of ideographs. The following are early examples :

	Sanskrit.
Baramon	Brâhmaṇa
Rusana	Rocana
Bosachi	Bodhisattva
Kesa	Kâshâya
Sari	Śarîra
Danna	Dânapati

The above examples are taken from Japanese texts, but it must be remembered that from the Taikwa reform onwards the language used in state documents, official records, and treatises on subjects both profane and sacred was Chinese. Consequently, though the words just quoted were no doubt current in conversation (as may be inferred from their use with Japanese prefixes, as, for example, *mikesa*), there was probably a much larger group of words of Chinese origin, not perhaps so freely used, but at various stages of assimilation. The history of the Japanese language from this date onwards is largely a record of the adoption of Chinese words and, though to a much smaller extent, of Chinese locutions. The tendency has generally been to take over Chinese compounds without change, though, as might be supposed, difference of environment and sometimes mere ignorance often produced differences of semantic development. Many Chinese words are now used in Japan in a sense which would be unintelligible to a modern Chinese. Frequently the date at which a Chinese word entered Japanese can be approximately judged from its pronunciation in Japanese, and there are some cases where a word to-day has two or more pronunciations, and even meanings, corresponding to the sound or meaning given to it in China at the time when, or in the place from which, it was imported or reimported.

As the vocabulary of Sinico-Japanese words increased, the language naturally developed a faculty for forming new combinations thereof to meet new requirements. For a long time, it is true, the imported words bear the stamp of the

Chinese mint. They are Chinese currency, circulating freely in Japan, with perhaps a slight difference in face value. But as the influence of Chinese civilization upon Japan, once paramount, began to wane, Japan began to strike her own coins of Chinese metal. To-day Japanese freely creates new compound words of Chinese elements, but without reference to Chinese usage. Thus we have *bijutsu*, 美 術 'fine art', which is not used in China ; and *jidosha*, 自 動 車 for a motor-car, while the Chinese say 電 車 *tien ch'ê*. Indeed, in the most modern scientific terminology, it is the Sinico-Japanese words coined in Japan that are now adopted by the Chinese.

We have already traced, in the introductory chapter, the process by which borrowed Chinese words were assimilated and made to perform the various functions of verb, adjective, &c. There were only a very few words, like *sōzoku*, which assumed a pure Japanese form. One of them is *rikimu*, where the suffix *mu* has been added to the Chinese *riki*, 力 'strength', to form a verb meaning 'to strain'. Perhaps the most curious member of this very small class is the word *gozaru*, one of the commonest in the language, since it is the polite way of saying 'is'. It derives from a Chinese compound 御 坐 *go-za*, 'august seat', to which is added the verb *aru*, giving *gozaru*, 'to be augustly seated', and thence, by the usual degradations of honorific forms, coming to mean merely 'to be present', 'to exist', and then 'to be'.

A few words of Portuguese and Dutch origin can be traced to the Tokugawa period. Such are *biidoro*, 'glass' (=*vitro*) ; *pan*, 'bread' ; *gyaman*, 'glass' (=*diamant*).

In modern Japanese a number of English words are in daily use, but they have for the most part retained an exotic flavour, largely because the syllabic system makes it difficult to record their pronunciation, and the usual attempt at a phonetic transcript is often quite unrecognizable as either a Japanese or a foreign word. Words like *kurabu* (club), *kōhi* (coffee), *bata* (butter), *hoteru* (hotel), *garasu* (glass), *biiru* (beer), &c., are fully naturalized. There are in many cases Sinico-Japanese compounds corresponding to these words, as, for instance, *bakushu*, 麥 酒 ('barley wine'), for beer, but they are rarely used in the spoken language.

Philologists might well derive instruction and a warning

from some of these naturalized forms, which provide almost incredible instances of sound change. In Japanese railway stations one is sometimes directed to what is called the 'home'. This seems inappropriate for a departing traveller; but it is written ホ ー ム = *hōmu*, and is the official name for 'platform', from which word, by mutilation and contraction, it is derived.

GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS

THE previous chapters have for the most part been devoted to an analysis of word-forms and an account of their respective uses. The present chapter is mainly recapitulatory, its object being to summarize the foregoing material in its reverse aspect, by taking separately each important grammatical function and grouping together the various methods by which it can be performed.

Substantives. The function of a substantive is, of course, normally performed by a noun. In addition, however, it can be performed by predicative words, i. e. verbs and adjectives, in their appropriate forms. Thus :

(1) Verbs in the predicative form. These act only rarely as nouns in such cases as those of *shizuku*, ' a drop ', *hotaru*, ' firefly ', and a few names like *Susumu*, *Hagemu*, &c.

(2) Verbs in the attributive form. E. g. :

yorokobu wa yoku ikaruru wa ashi	it is good to rejoice and bad to be angry
ikaruru wa kiden nari	the angry one is you

(3) Adjectives in the predicative form. These are used as nouns only in such rare cases as those of *karashi*, ' mustard ', &c.

(4) Adjectives in the attributive form. E. g. :

nagaki wa sao to nashi	making the long ones into poles
kami no nagaki wa bijin no sō nari	length of hair is a mark of beauty

(5) Verbs in the conjunctive form. E. g. :

yorokobi no amari	excess of rejoicing

(6) Adjectives in the conjunctive form. E. g. :

kono uchi no chikaku	in the neighbourhood of this house

It will be noticed that there are differences in meaning

according to the form used. Thus *yorokobi* represents the abstract idea of rejoicing, and *yorokobu* (attributive) represents rejoicing as a condition or state attributed to a subject, expressed or implied.

Pronouns. The tendency in Japanese is to dispense with pronouns, particularly with personal pronouns. Their function is performed by descriptive nouns or by honorific or humble verb forms. Examples of these have already been given, but for convenience one or two may be repeated here. As a substitute for 'I' we find words ranging from *Chin*, used by the Emperor, to deprecatory terms like *temae*, 'the person before you', and *boku*, 'the slave'. Similar methods are employed to represent the second and to a less extent the third person. Thus we have *kimi*, 'king', *anata*, 'that side', *omae* (honorific prefix *o* + 'front'), *kisama*, 'noble sir', all used as substitutes for 'you'. And *ano hito*, 'that person', *ano kata*, 'that side', *sensei*, 'elder', as equivalents of 'he'. As is common with honorific forms, they tend to extravagance and subsequent degradation. We find in the modern colloquial that *kisama* is used in abusive as well as very familiar language, *kimi* among intimates, *omae* to servants, children, wives, and others by whom no deference is expected. In polite conversation *anata* is used.

Though liberal in its use of honorifics, Japanese is surprisingly poor in terms of affection. There is nothing to correspond to those endearing diminutives which are so common in European languages, like 'darling', *Liebchen*, *poverino*, &c.; or to amiable modes of address like 'dear', 'beloved', to say nothing of such vocative forms as 'old man' and its various modern substitutes. The nearest thing is perhaps the use of baby-talk. *Taro-chan* for *Taro-san* is roughly the equivalent of Tommy for Thomas. In the earliest poems, those of the *Kojiki* and the *Manyōshū*, it does seem possible to discern an affectionate significance in words like *nase*, 'thou brother', *wagimo*, 'my sister', *naki*, '? thou dear', &c. So many of these songs are love-poems that one cannot suppose their vocabulary to have been free from terms of endearment.

It must be remembered that the use of honorific and humble words very often makes the use of pronouns unnecessary. Thus *irassharu*, being an honorific form (='to go'),

cannot refer to the first person, *mairu* (='to go'), being humble, cannot refer to the second person, and consequently it is nearly always possible without ambiguity to dispense with personal pronouns. The honorific prefixes *on, o, mi, go* frequently serve the purpose of possessive pronouns. Thus *o taku* means 'your house', and cannot possibly mean 'my house'. Similarly with humble prefixes. *Gusoku*, 'stupid offspring', must mean 'my son' and not yours or another's. Instances of degradation, similar to that which takes place with honorific verbs, can be seen in the use of these prefixes. Thus tea is usually *o cha*, rice is usually *go han*, whether your tea or rice or mine or some one else's. *O* is often, particularly by women, prefixed to the names of parts of the body which, though important, are not usually regarded as honourable. In this connexion it may be appropriate to mention the existence in Japan of what is called the 'women's language'. Women, except perhaps the most advanced, still use a language which differs in vocabulary in some respects from that of men. It contains fewer Chinese words, and more native ones. This is a natural result of the difference in education, women under the old régime not having been given a grounding in the Chinese classics, but merely instructed in the doctrines of those works which laid down their duties as daughters, wives, and mothers. Further, certain words, particularly humble and honorific terms, were used exclusively by women. So we find a woman's word for water, *ohiya* (honorific +'cold'), instead of *midzu*, which is the man's word. Generally speaking the language of women, owing to their subordination in the Japanese social system, has hitherto been more plentifully sprinkled with honorific and humble terms than that of men. But in modern times these customs seem to be dying out.

Verbs and **Adjectives**. It is characteristic of the Japanese language that both verbs and adjectives can fulfil predicative, attributive, substantival, and adverbial functions. This question has been fully dealt with in Chapter III, and does not need further discussion here. For convenience of reference examples are given below which show the interchangeability of verb and adjective :

Predicative Adjective : *kawa wa fukashi*, streams are deep

Predicative Verb : *kawa nagaru*, streams flow
Attributive Adjective : *fukaki kawa*, deep streams
Attributive Verb : *nagaruru kawa*, flowing streams

Auxiliary Verbs. It has been shown that the auxiliary verbs *suru* and *aru* are in some respects interchangeable. For them there can be substituted in many cases certain honorific verbs. In describing these it is convenient to proceed to an account of honorific verb forms in general, as follows :

Honorific Verb Forms

The method of constructing honorific verb forms by means of certain suffixes has already been described in detail under 'passive' and 'causative' suffixes. It may be briefly stated here as the addition of the suffix *su* or the suffix *ru* to the 'imperfect form' of verbs, which in some contexts gives those verbs an honorific sense. Thus :

na norasane (M.)	please tell me your name ?
Tsurayuki no yomareta- *rishi uta*	Poems which T. composed
Pekin e yukareta ka	did you go to Peking ?

where *yomaretarishi*, *norasane*, and *yukareta* are polite substitutes for *yomitarishi*, *norane*, and *yukita*. Such forms are to be found in the earliest texts. The circumstances under which they have developed their honorific value cannot be exactly known ; but it is clear that already in the Nara period there was a strong tendency to construct specialized honorific forms or to employ specialized honorific words or phrases.

It is a characteristic of such locutions that they suffer a process of degradation. With constant use their honorific value tends to diminish and even to disappear, so that they must be reinforced by the addition of further suffixes or the substitution of other forms. The vulgar colloquial of to-day provides a striking example of such degradation, for the causative forms in *su* have now actually an insulting sense. Even in the very ancient poems of the *Kojiki* there are causative-honorific (*su*) forms in which it is hard to discern any honorific intention. Consequently we find later a free use of both suffixes in combination, e. g. *yukaseraruru*, 'to

go', which is grammatically a passive causative verb, but functionally an honorific. The medieval colloquial contained a number of forms on this model, a few of which have survived and are in use in everyday speech. Such are *irassharu*, from *iru*, 'to be present', +*su* +*raru*, the original form having been *iraseraru*; and *ossharu*, 'to say', which is a contraction of *ōseraru*.

These in their turn tend to lose their force and so to create a need for alternative methods of expressing humility or respect, while the older forms are appropriated more and more for distinctions of person. In the place of honorific suffixes we find independent verbs conveying an honorific meaning either inherent in them or added to them by suffixes. Such are *tatematsuru*, 'to make offerings', and *asobasu* or *asobasaruru*, 'to play', 'to be pleased'. In the epistolary language *zonji tatematsuru*, 'worshipfully opine', is merely the polite way of writing 'I think', and *o hairi asobase*, in ordinary speech, is the equivalent of 'Please step in!' Gradually these too lose entirely or in part their original significance and become auxiliary verbs. The most marked case of degradation is the verb *masu*, of which the early meaning is something like 'to dwell', and which was an honorific for 'to be' or 'to exist'. Thus *Ame ni masu kami*, 'The Gods who dwell in Heaven'. In the Nara period it had already begun to assume the character of an auxiliary. Thus in

waga seko ga kaeri kima-samu toki (M.)	the time when my lover shall come back
wo ni imaseba (K.)	since thou art a man

it has only an honorific value, and the meaning could be rendered by *kaerikomu toki* or *wo ni areba*. Subsequently by constant use it developed into a purely formal suffix and is now used as a termination to all verbs in ordinary polite conversation, so that *arimasu*, *yukimasu* are the same as *aru*, *yuku*. It is no longer in the strict sense an honorific, but merely polite, since it is used irrespective of the performer of the act described. Thus *irasshaimasu*, 'you go', but equally *mairimasu*, 'I go'.

Other verbs of this kind with their original meanings are :

nasaru, 'to do' (*nasu* +passive termination *ru*)
mōsu, 'to speak humbly'

matsuru, 'to worship'

tatematsuru, 'to make offerings'

tsukamatsuru, tsukaematsuru, 'to serve'

safurau, 'to be in attendance'. This word is now pro-
    nounced *sōrō*.

tamau, derived from an earlier *tabu*, 'to partake', 'to
    deign'

kudasaru, 'to condescend', 'to hand down', 'to bestow'

As will be seen from the following examples, they can be
used in a purely formal way as honorific auxiliaries. Some
of them have lost entirely their capacity to convey an inde-
pendent meaning, others have partially retained it. The
verb *sōrō* (*safurau*) is an extreme case. It may be said to
have lost all significance, and it is now used, chiefly in the
epistolary style, as a polite suffix equivalent to *masu* in the
colloquial. Thus :

yorokobashiki koto to zonji
    sōrō
	I think it is a matter for
	    rejoicing

where *zonji sōrō* is a formal equivalent of *zonzu*, 'I think',
which would in colloquial be *zonjimasu*, and really means
nothing more than 'it is'.

Tsukamatsuru is a humble equivalent of *suru*, as in

kikoku tsukamatsuri sōrō	I am returning to my province

and its original meaning has disappeared.

Mōsu, asobasu, kudasaru, and *tamau* are in constant use
in the modern colloquial. They can be used with their
original meanings, but as a rule they have only the value
of auxiliaries. Thus :

sugu ni mairu to mōshi- *masu*	he says he will come at once

where *mōsu* is an independent humble verb, meaning 'to
say', and

on sasshi mōshimasu	I respectfully sympathize

where *mōshimasu* is simply a humble auxiliary to *sasshi*, and
does not mean 'to say'. Similarly *kudasaru* can be used to
mean 'bestow', as in *mikan wo kudasai*, 'Please give me an
orange', but, like *nasaru* and *asobasu*, it is used in ordinary
speech as an honorific auxiliary. So, in ascending degrees

of politeness, we have as substitutes for a verb in its natural
form, say *hairu*, 'to enter',

> *o hairi nasare (nasai)*
> *o hairi nasaimase*
> *o hairi kudasare (kudasai)*
> *o hairi kudasaimase*
> *o hairi asobase*

all meaning 'Please come in'.

The word *tamau* in

> *ame no shita mōshi tamawane* (M.)   Deign to rule on earth

is a strong honorific verb. But in modern colloquial it is
a weak honorific auxiliary, used mostly in the imperative in
familiar conversation, as *Go yen kashi tamae*, 'Lend me five
dollars'.

A further method of making good deficiencies caused by
the degradation of honorific or humble forms is, as might be
anticipated, to use several of them in combination. Thus
we have *asobaseraruru* (honorific verb + honorific suffix),
nashikudasaruru (two honorific verbs), and *mōshiageru* (two
humble verbs). On these lines it is possible to build up
forms of surprising complexity, and many such were in use
in ceremonious speech and writing until comparatively recent
dates. Some, indeed, have been preserved, in a fossilized
form, in the modern epistolary style. They are, however,
but pale shadows of the phraseology, both humble and
honorific, which is employed in the medieval romances and
the works of the Kamakura period.

As we have seen in the case of *kudasaru*, some honorific
verbs can be used independently. Generally they have a
corresponding humble form, like *sashiageru*, 'to lift up',
meaning to give to a superior. Such pairs are *nasaru* and
itasu, 'to do', *kikoshimesu* and *uketamawaru*, 'to hear',
meshiagaru and *itadaku*, 'to partake' (of food, drink, &c.).
There are also numerous pairs of Sinico-Japanese compounds
as is shown by

miru	Neutral		
goran suru	'august look'	御	賢
haiken suru	'adoring look'	拝	見

all meaning 'to see'.

It is obvious that the growth of honorific forms, accompanied as it is by a process of degradation, cannot continue indefinitely. The language would become overloaded with redundant forms. As might be expected, therefore, there is a tendency in modern Japanese to dispense with these locutions or to employ them more sparingly.

'**Aspects**' of the **Verb**. The aspects of the verb in Japanese do not correspond exactly with the mood, tense, voice, &c., of verbs in English ; but we may in general terms say that these aspects are expressed in Japanese by the agglutination of suffixes to the verb. A distinction can be drawn between those suffixes which form an independent verb and those which perform an office similar to inflexion. Thus, from *yuku*, 'to go', we can form by the agglutination of the suffix *su* a causative verb *yukasu*, and by the agglutination of the suffix *ru* a potential or passive verb *yukaru*. Also, from *yuku*, by the agglutination of a suffix like *shi*, we can form a past tense *yukishi*, but this is not an independent verb in the same way as *yukasu* and *yukaru*, and cannot be conjugated as freely as them. It can, however, under certain conditions, take further suffixes to express further modifications of tense, &c. We see, then, that Japanese has, for the expression of aspects, as well as a regular conjugational scheme, certain specialized independent verbs, active, passive, causative, and sometimes transitive and intransitive.

The tendency in modern colloquial is to replace complex agglutinated forms of the verb, such as *yukitaran*, 'will have gone', by groups of isolated words, such as *itta no darō*. This is an instance of development towards an analytic method. It is interesting to note that *yukitaran* is built up from *yuki-te-aran*, and that the modern locution is in reality a reversion to something like earlier forms.

Adverbs. Adverbial functions in Japanese are fulfilled in a small number of cases by independent words, like *hana-hada*, 'extremely', but for the most part use is made of special adverbial forms of adjectives and verbs, or adverbial locutions composed of other parts of speech with or without the aid of particles.

Conjunctions. Japanese cannot be said to possess true conjunctions. The link between phrases or sentences is fur-

nished by special conjunctive forms of verb and adjective.
These have been fully described under their appropriate
headings. There are a few words like *keredomo*, 'but', *shi-
kashi*, 'however', which function in the same way as con-
junctions, but strictly speaking they are specialized forms
of verbs. *Keredomo*, for instance, is a verb suffix, or rather
a group of verb suffixes, meaning 'though it is', which has
achieved an independent existence. Words like *keredomo*,
shikashi, *datte*, *moshi*, &c., are now frequently used in the
colloquial in preference to conjunctive forms of verbs—
another instance of the tendency towards analytic methods
in speech. The contrast is shown in pairs of sentences like
the following :

Literary :
  kaze fukeba fune idasazu
Colloquial :
  *kaze ga fuku kara fune wo
    dasanai*

because it is windy we do
  not put out the boat

Literary :
  kaze fukedo fune idasu beshi
Colloquial :
  *kaze ga fuku keredomo fune
    wo dashimashō*

though it is windy, we will
  put out the boat

The link between substantives is sometimes furnished by
one of the particles *to*, *ni*, or *mo*, as in *sake to sakana* or *sake
ni sakana*, 'wine and food', or *sake mo sakana mo*, 'both
wine and food', where the particles have the value of 'and'.
But very often no conjunction is used and words are merely
juxtaposed, as *onna kodomo*, 'women and children'. Some-
times these groups, by frequent usage, become established
as compound words, like *kusabana*, 'grasses and flowers'.
Indeed the need for conjunctions is lessened in Japanese
by its facility for forming compounds, whether of nouns,
adjectives, or verbs.

Prepositions. These do not exist in Japanese. Their place
is taken by postpositions or particles, which serve to denote
case, &c. Again, compound words often serve as the equi-
valent of phrases which in English are formed by the aid of
prepositions, as for instance *mochiageru*, 'hold raise', i.e. 'to
lift up'; *tobioriru*, 'jump descend', i.e. 'to jump down'.

SYNTAX

ALTHOUGH grammatical and logical categories do not necessarily coincide, it is convenient to classify syntactical forms according to their functions in stating or modifying a logical proposition, or in bringing two such propositions into relation. The appropriate divisions, then, are:

> Subject and modifications thereof
> Predicate and modifications thereof
> Copula and modifications thereof
> Links between propositions

There are, however, grammatical propositions which do not fall within any of these categories. Such are statements in the form of an interjection or exclamation. Of these in Japanese the simplest type is represented by a group of words such as

> *A ita*   O pain (meaning 'O! it hurts')

where *ita* is an adjective stem in form, rather than an independent part of speech. Early writings—poetical ones in particular—contain many statements of this nature. Thus:

sen sube no nasa (M.)	the not-ness of anything to do, i. e. 'there is nothing to be done'
yo no mijikaku akuru wabishisa	short night's ending grievousness, i.e. 'how sad that the nights are short and daybreak, when we must separate, comes so quickly'

Here *nasa* and *wabishisa* are nouns used in an exclamatory way. These are rudimentary propositions formed without the aid of a verb, and it is worth noting that a typical sentence in Japanese, like *tori ga naku*, is historically of the same type, since it is composed of two nouns—'bird's singing' instead of 'the bird sings'.

Most statements, however, can be brought within one of the categories which follow.

I. **Subject**. In the simplest cases we have a noun or a pronoun, as

yuki furu	snow falls
kare wa kaeriitari	he has returned

We can also have verbs and adjectives in special substantival forms :

ikaruru wa ashi	to get angry is bad
kataki mo yoroshi	the hard ones also are good

It is important to notice that by using the substantival form of verbs and adjectives a complete sentence can be made to stand as the subject (and of course as the object) of a verb. Thus :

eda wo oritaru wa ware ni arazu	it was not I who broke the branch
yama yori takaki wa fubo no on nari	what is higher than the mountains is parental love
kaze yori hayaki wa denshin nari	quicker than the wind is a telegram

It is a characteristic feature of Japanese that the subject of a verb is not necessarily expressed. Thus :

kono hana wo kiku to iū	(they) call this flower 'kiku'

where the verb *iū*, 'to say', has no subject. It results from this idiom that there is rarely any need for resorting to a passive construction. It will be seen that the above sentence can be translated into English, 'this flower is called kiku', and as a general rule, where we should use a passive construction, Japanese makes use of a verb without a subject or names the subject but uses an active verb, e. g. :

kono uchi wa B. kun ga tateta	this house was built by Mr. B.
kono uchi wa mada sōji shinai	this house has not yet been cleaned

II. **Predicate**. Where the proposition states an identity the predicate is substantival in form and the copula is expressed separately, as

Yoshitsune wa ningen nari	Yoshitsune is a man

where *Yoshitsune* is the subject and *ningen* a substantive forming the predicate, with the aid of the special copulative locution *wa . . . nari*.

In most other cases the object of a proposition is not to state an identity but to predicate a property or a state of the subject. Thus :

     (1) *ishi otsu*   stones fall
     (2) *ishi (wa) katashi*   stones are hard

Here the copula is in the form of the proposition. In (1) it lies in the juxtaposition of terms in their proper order, in (2) it is expressed by the special form *katashi*, in which *shi* is a predicative termination.

III. **The Copula**. Where the copula is expressed it may take several forms. The simplest is that already shown in *Yoshitsune wa ningen nari*. Alternative methods are the use of the locution *to ari* (contracted to *tari*) and *to su*. Thus :

   ware wa ningen tari   I am a man
   kwaisha wa hōjin to su   the company is a juridical person
   kaze fukan to su   the wind is about to blow

Sometimes a copula is used where the special predicative form would suffice, as in

   haru kureba kari kaeru   when Spring comes the wild geese
     nari   go back

where *kaeru* is substantival, and *kari kaeru* alone would form a complete proposition. Similarly

       kare wa yukubeki nari   he must go

where *yukubeshi* alone would be sufficient. Naturally, where such alternative forms exist, they are used sometimes to express different shades of meaning.

IV. **Modifications of the Subject**. The subject being always substantival in form the following observations apply equally to all nouns and equivalents of nouns, whatever their position in a sentence.

The simplest form of modification is the differentiation of one thing from others in the same category. In English this is performed by the definite or indefinite article. There is no article in Japanese. *Hito* means 'a person', 'the person', 'persons', or 'the persons'.

A further stage of differentiation is that where the subject is defined by reference to its position as regards the speaker. In Japanese there are equivalents of our demonstrative pronouns, *ano, kono, sono,* &c., as in *ano hito,* 'that person', *sono toki,* 'that time'. It will be seen that the elements *so, a, ko,* &c., are brought into relation with nouns by the particle *no.* It is a general rule in Japanese that a particle (usually *no* or *ga*) is required to bring one substantive in relation to another.

The simplest case is that of the possessive pronouns, e. g. *waga chichi,* 'my father', *anata no bōshi,* 'your hat'. The same method is used in limiting the subject by reference to its position in time or space or other circumstance. Thus :

kino no shimbun	yesterday's paper
ima made no tsumori	my intention until now
nishi no kaze	west wind
ōku no hito	many people
Shina yori no kaeri	the return from China

A full account of the attributive uses of *no* is given under 'Particles'.

Both verb and adjective have special attributive forms, as in

nagaki kawa	long streams
nagaruru kawa	flowing streams

These attributive forms can be amplified, as in

nagare no hayaki kawa	streams with a rapid flow
hayaku nagaruru kawa	rapidly flowing streams

It is an extension of this latter usage which provides Japanese with an equivalent for the English relative sentence, as

hayaku nagaruru kawa	a stream which flows rapidly
Ten ni mashimasu waga Chichi	Our Father which art in Heaven
imōto no byōki shitaru toki	the time when my sister was ill

but it must be noted that it is possible to relate one complete sentence to another by using the particle *no.* We can say

isse wo odorokasu no jigyō wo nashi togemu to kokorogake-tari	he aimed at carrying out some enterprise which would astonish the world

where, with perhaps a slight nuance, *issei wo odorokasu jigyo* might be substituted.

Attributive forms of the predicative locutions *nari, tari,* and *to su* are also freely used. Thus :

shidzuka naru tokoro	a quiet place
yukamu to suru hito	a person about to go
santan taru arisama	a dreadful sight

In some cases simple juxtaposition can make one word the attribute of another. The attributive element is always first. The commonest case is that of collocations of Sinico-Japanese words, such as

Tennō Heika	His Imperial Majesty
minsei shugi	popular government principle, i. e. democracy
kiken shisō	dangerous thought
rikugun daijin	war minister
jizen jigyō	charitable undertakings

In early texts cases of apposition like the following are not infrequent :

imashi ga chichi Fujihara no Asomi (Res.)	Thy father, the Minister Fujihara
Waga miko imashi (Res.)	You, Our son

Where several attributes of one subject are mentioned, early texts provide instances in which each attributive word is in the normal attributive form, as

tōtoki takaki hiroki atsuki o mi koto (Res.)	noble, lofty, broad, warm words

But the usual method of placing all but the last term of a series in the conjunctive form is also followed :

tadashiku akiraka ni kiyoki kokoro (Res.)	an honest, bright, and pure heart

The modern practice is to use conjunctive phrases, such as *shite, ni shite, nite,* &c. :

iro kuroku shite kwōtaku aru kinzoku	a black, lustrous metal

Where the subject consists of more than one item, simple juxtaposition is sometimes sufficient, as in

ume sakura ichiji ni saku	plum and cherry blossom together

but the use of a conjunctive particle is more frequent :

shujin mo kyaku mo tomo ni warau	host and guest laugh together
sake to tabako to wa karada ni gai shimasu	wine and tobacco harm the body

In modern prose the locutions *narabi ni* and *oyobi* are preferred to the particle *to*. Thus :

Shina narabi ni Chōsen	China and Korea
Eikoku oyobi sono shoku-minchi	England and her colonies

Where items forming the subject are alternative, a disjunctive particle or locution is used. The early language makes use of the interrogative particle *ka* or *ya*, as in *yuki ka ame ka*, 'snow or rain'. The modern language prefers such locutions as

shōnin mata wa gunjin	merchants or soldiers
shōnin moshiku wa gunjin	,, ,,
shōnin arui wa gunjin	,, ,,

with slight variations of meaning according to context.

V. **Modification of the Predicate**. Where the predicate is composed of a substantival form + copula, as in *Yoshitsune wa ningen nari*, the possible modifications of the substantival element are of course identical with those just described. The following account is therefore limited to modifications of the verb element in a predicate. These may be conveniently divided as follows :

1. *Time*. It has been pointed out that the Japanese verb in its simple forms is neutral as to time. In the earlier stages of the language time-relations do not appear to have been expressed with precision, but a number of suffixes which originally denoted other aspects, such as certainty, probability, &c., may now be looked upon as having developed

a tense-significance. Consequently a verb may be varied as to time as follows :

Neutral	*yuku*	to go, goes
Present	*yukeri*	is going (in some contexts)
	yukitsutsu ari	is going
Perfect	*yukeri*	has gone, is gone
	yukitari	has gone
Past	*yukiki*	went
	yukitsu	did go
	yukinu	did go
Future	*yukan*	will go
	yukubeshi	will go

It must be understood that the correspondence between the above categories in English and Japanese is only approximate. The tendency in the spoken language is to substitute analytical methods for the flexional forms in expressing time. Thus :

kaku	writes
kaita (= *kakitari*)	wrote
kaite oru	is writing
kaite otta	was writing
kaita oita	has written
kaite shimatta	has finished writing
kakō (= *kakan*)	will (probably) write
kaku darō	will (probably) write

Further definition is given to time-relations where necessary by means of adverbs or adverbial phrases, as in

| *katsute kore wo yomeri* | I have read this previously |
| *sude ni mo kakitari* | has already written |

These call for no special comment ; but it is worth noting that, in the absence of a word like 'when' the Japanese idiom is

| *niwa tori no naku toki ni dekaketa* | he set forth when the cock crew |

Here there is no concord of tenses. In some cases the tense of a verb in a relative sentence is expressed periphrastically, e. g. :

| *tori no naku* (or *naita*) *nochi ni dekaketa* | he set forth after the cock crowed |

2. *Place.* Limitation as to place is expressed by particles, adverbs, or adverbial phrases. The simplest case is that of the particle *ni*, which is a locative particle in

> *niwa ni aruku*   to walk in the garden

All adverbial locutions concerning place must be brought into relation with the verb by this or a similar particle, as in

> *Kyōto ye kaeru*   to return to Kyōto
> *yeda yori ochiru*   to fall from a branch
> *umi kara deru*   to come out of the sea

3. *Manner.* This category includes all modifications by means of adverbial forms, which have been described under Adverbs. For convenience a few typical forms are shown here :

> *kaku mōsu*   he speaks thus
> *yoku neru*   sleeps well
> *hageshiku fuku*   blows hard
> *naku naku kaeru*   returns weeping
> *makoto ni yoroshi*   is indeed good
> *kanarazu yukubeshi*   must certainly go

Japanese makes frequent use of compound verbs in which one element modifies the other. Examples are *tobioriru*, 'jump descend' = 'jump down', *mochiageru*, 'hold raise' = 'to lift up', and so on. Many such compounds are formed with verbs which, by constant usage, have become conventional suffixes. Such are *au*, 'to meet', *komu*, 'to press', *yoseru*, 'to approach' (trans.), *yoru*, 'to approach' (intrans.), *tsukeru*, 'to put or fix'. Instances of their use in composition are verbs like

> *irekomu*, 'to cram', *fumikomu*, 'to rush in', *sashikomu*, 'to thrust in', *norikomu*, 'to get aboard', *mikomu*, 'to estimate', *noriau*, 'to ride together' (*noriai* is an 'omnibus'), *tsuriau*, 'to balance', *kakeau*, 'to consult', *ukeau*, 'to guarantee', *uketsukeru*, 'to accept', *kakitsukeru*, 'to write down', *uchitsukeru*, 'to fasten down', &c.

By means such as these Japanese can express a number of ideas for which in English we have to resort to syntactical devices.

4. *Object.* In an elementary proposition in Japanese, word order is often sufficient to indicate the object of a verb ;

but where necessary for precision, emphasis or euphony, the direct object is usually marked by the particle *wo*. Thus :

kariudo ga inu wo utsu	the hunter beats the dog
kaze ki wo taosu	the wind blows down the tree

Where the object is represented by a substantival group, *wo* is invariably used, as in

yo no fukuru wo matsu	to wait until night falls
kaku teki no chikaku semeki-tarishi wo shirazu	they did not know that the enemy's attack had come so near
inochi no mijikaki wo wasure-tari	he has forgotten that life is short

Where the verb is one of the group 'to say', 'to think', 'to feel', &c. (*v.* under Particles, *to*), the particle *to* is used in reporting what is thought, said, &c. E. g. :

nai to moshimasu	he says there are none
yukan to omoiki	he thought he would go

The indirect object is marked by the particle *ni*, as in

sensei wa seito ni moji wo oshieru	the master teaches the pupils their letters
Shi ni michi wo tou	he asks the Master the Way
Yoritomo wa Yoshitsune ni Yoshinaka wo semeshimu	Yoritomo causes Yoshitsune to attack Yoshinaka

Causative verbs have strictly speaking two objects, both direct—the object of the causation and the object of the act caused ; but *wo* cannot be used for both objects without ambiguity, and the following idiom is often resorted to :

    Yoritomo wa Yoshitsune wo shite Yoshinaka wo semeshimu

which has the same meaning as the above sentence.

    5. *Agent or Instrument*. If the agent or instrument of an act is named, it can in simple cases be designated by *ni* :

Yoshinaka wa Yoshitsune ni semeraru	Yoshinaka is attacked by Yoshitsune
hitote ni shinuru	to die by another's hand
ame ni koromo wo nurasu	to get one's dress wetted by the rain

but, owing to the variety of functions which *ni* performs,

there is often some danger of ambiguity, and alternative locutions are generally preferred. Thus :

> *fune nite kawa wo wataru*   crosses a stream by boat

where *fune ni* would mean 'in a boat'. The modern colloquial equivalent of *nite* is *de*, so that we have *katana de kiru*, 'to cut with a knife'. Other equivalents of the instrumental particle *ni* are *shite*, as in *fumi shite iū*, 'to say by letter', an archaic idiom ; and phrasal combinations like *motte* or *wo mochite*, 'by means of', *ni yorite*, 'depending on', *no tame ni*, 'on account of'—all of which can as a rule be rendered in English by the single word 'by'.

Where several modifications of the predicate are stated, they are stated in series, and since they must be in adverbial forms or adverbial phrases, the question of conjunction does not arise. Thus :

katabuku koto naku ugoku ko-to naku watarinamu (Res.)	we will reign without bending and without moving (the Law)
ugoku koto naku shidzuka ni (*arashimuru*) (Res.)	without moving and quietly

Where in an English sentence two or more acts or states are predicated of the same subject, the Japanese idiom prefers the use of the adverbial forms for all but the last of the sequence. Thus, instead of 'this stone is black and hard', we have *kono ishi wa kuroku katashi*. Similarly :

meko mireba kanashiku megu-shi (M.)	when I look on her I am sad and tender
megumitamai osametamai wa-sure tamawaji (Res.)	we will love and reward and not forget them

There are, however, in the earlier language, cases of simple juxtaposition, as in

nochi no hotoke ni yuzuri-matsuramu sasagemosamu (Bussoku)	we will reverently bequeath and humbly offer to later Buddhas

The absence of a conjunction corresponding to 'and' in such a sentence as 'he walks and talks' accounts for a number of idiomatic usages in Japanese. In the written language we might have *aruki mo sureba hanashi mo shimasu* ; or

ayumi katsu kataru, which is a construction modelled on Chinese (*katsu* = 且). In the standard speech the equivalent is *aruki mo shimasu shi hanashi mo shimasu*, or *aruitari hanashitari shimasu*.

VI. **Modification of the Copula**. The simplest case is that of a proposition where ' A is B ' is modified so as to become ' A is probably B ', or even ' A is not B '. In the first case the modification is effected in Japanese by the use of adverbs analogous to 'probably', such as *kedashi, kanarazu, tabun*, &c. But the verb in Japanese has flexional forms which can serve the same purpose, as

(1)	*kore wa ningen nari*	this is a man
(2)	*kore wa ningen naran*	this probably is a man
(3)	*kore wa ningen narinu*	this *is* a man
(4)	*kore wa ningen ni arazu*	this is not a man

It is true that (2) and (3) have developed a tense-significance, but strictly speaking they differ from forms like *yukaru* and *yukasu*, which are independent words representing independent ideas, while *yukamu, yukinu*, and *yukazu* represent different 'aspects' of one idea. This is clear from the fact that we can construct the forms *yukasazu, yukarezu, yukasamu, yukarinu*, but not forms like *yukamazu* or *yukinasu*.

Modifications of the copula, therefore, are usually made by means of the verb suffixes, which have been already fully described. It is therefore unnecessary to mention here any but a few special locutions which seem to be characteristic.

One noteworthy feature of Japanese is that both the verb and the adjective have special negative forms, as *yokanu*, ' does not go ', *yokaranu*, ' is not good '. The form *yokaranu*, it is true, contains the verb *aru*, but there is a true negative adjective, in the word *nashi*, so that we have

> *kane nashi*, ' there is no money '
> *kane no naki toki*, ' times when there is no money '
> *kane naku*, ' there not being money '

Certain ideas which in English are expressed by auxiliary verbs are in Japanese expressed by special devices, as follows:

' Can '. In addition to the potential form of verbs, such as *yukaruru*, ' to be able to go ', we can use, for instance,

> *yuku koto go dekiru*   lit. 'go-thing comes forth', i.e. can go
> *yuki-eru*   lit. 'obtain going', i.e. can go

and, in the negative, phrases like *yukiatawazu*, *yukikaneru*, and *yuku wo ezu*.

'Must'. This idea can be conveyed by the auxiliary adjective *beshi*, as in *yukubeshi*, 'must go'. But a double negative is often used, as in *yukanakereba narimasenu*, lit. 'if not go, does not become'.

'Let'. The Japanese causative is also a permissive, so that *yukaseru* may mean either 'to cause to go' or 'to allow to go'.

The passive voice, as has been pointed out, is less used in Japanese than in English.

VII. **Links between Propositions**. It is a characteristic feature of Japanese syntax that the whole of a statement, however numerous its parts, must be made in one sentence whose members are all grammatically interdependent. This feature, which is common to languages of the group including Manchu and Korean, is largely responsible, as shown in the introductory chapter, for the great divergence between writing and speech in Japanese, for the written language is under the influence of Chinese, and the syntax of that language exacts short and independent sentences.

When, in Japanese, two or more propositions are stated in succession it is usual to connect them by some grammatical link, even though they are logically independent. For example, the two propositions *hana saku* (flowers bloom) and *tori naku* (birds sing) can be placed together without conjunction, but it is characteristic of Japanese to employ some grammatical device to connect them. In other words, a combination like

> *hana saki tori naku*   flowers blooming birds sing

is preferred to

> *hana saku tori naku*   flowers bloom. Birds sing

Modern writers, under the influence of European languages, now use much shorter sentences, but the fundamental structure of Japanese is such that, even with the best intentions, long sentences cannot always be avoided. The following passage, taken haphazard from a modern book written in

the mixed colloquial and literary style, will serve to illustrate
the characteristics of the structure of Japanese prose :

*Ippan ni shiyō suru Nihon
enogu wa Meiji jidai ni iri
zenzen soaku ni nari kuwauru
ni hōjin ga busshitsuteki bum-
mei wo henchō shitaru tame
shikisai ni tsuite no chikaku
otorite koyū no ryōko-naru
Nihon enogu wo sutete kyōre-
tsu-naru dokudokushiki iro no
seiyō enogu wo nomi shiyō
suru ni itarishi wo motte Ni-
hon enogu wa masumasu ure-
yuki yokaranu tame ni zenzen
soaku to nari mata wa fujun-
butsu wo konjite jisshitsu wo
otoshi meishō koso onaji de
aru ga hinshitsu wa hijō ni
ototte iru.*

The Japanese paints in gen-
eral use have since the Meiji
era began become thoroughly
bad. Moreover, our country-
men, because of their bias in
favour of a materialistic civi-
lization, have lost their sense
of colour and, abandoning
the good Japanese paints of
former times, have taken to
using only crude foreign
paints, of a poisonous tint.
Consequently the sale of Ja-
panese paints has increasing-
ly fallen off, so that they
have either gradually become
worse or have lost their cha-
racter through being mixed
with impurities ; and though
the name it is true remains
the same, the quality has
extraordinarily deteriorated.

It will be noticed that, in Japanese, this passage is syn-
tactically one sentence. Its several members are connected
by means of the conjunctive forms of verbs or by means of
conjunctive locutions, such as the forms *nari*, *otorite*, *sutete*,
and the locutions *itarishi wo motte*, *shitaru tame*, *yokaranu
tame ni*, &c. It is only the final verb *ototte iru* which is in
the conclusive form.

The simplest form of compound sentence is that in which
the component parts are logically independent, as in the
sentence *hana saki tori naku*. Another example of this type is

suna shiroku matsu aoshi   the sand is white and the pines
                                  are green

where we have the adjective *shiroku*, though its function is
predicative, taking the conjunctive form. The value of *shi-
roku* is expressed in translation by using the conjunction

'and'. The same form is used, irrespective of the number of components of the sentence. The last predicative word takes its normal predicative form, the others the conjunctive form. Thus :

ame furi kaze fuki kaminari hatameku	the rain falls, the wind blows, and the thunder roars
kore wa kanzubeku manabu-beshi	this must be marked and learned
nō wa koshu shi kō wa seizō shi shō wa kōeki su	the farmer ploughs and sows, the artisan manufactures, and the merchant trades

The appropriate conjunctive form varies of course with the nature of the word used. In the case of indeclinable words forms like *nite, nishite,* &c., must be used, as in *Kō wa otoko ni shite otsu wa onna nari,* 'A is a man and B is a woman'.

Certain difficulties arise where the last verb or adjective of a series is in the compound conjugation. In the sentence

(1) *sakura no hana wa saki ume no hana wa chireri*	the cherry flowers have bloomed, the plum flowers have fallen

it will be seen that *saki* is a conjunctive form corresponding to *chiru* and not to *chireri*. Similarly in

(2) *kare wa yuki ware wa kaeran*	he will go and I shall return

yuki corresponds to *kaeru* and not to *kaeran*. The reason for these apparent anomalies is that in these cases the conjunctive forms corresponding to the predicative forms of the final verb either do not exist or are liable to cause ambiguity. Thus, if in (1) instead of *saki* we had *sakeri* it would not be apparent that a conjunctive form was intended, while the conjunctive form of *yukan* (to correspond with *kaeran*) does not exist. Consequently compound conjugational forms terminating with the auxiliary verb *ari*, and those in which the conjunctive form is absent, appear in these conjunctive locutions in their simple form. To make this point clear further examples are appended :

ame furi kaze fukinu	rain fell and wind blew

kitakaze ame wo fuki samusa wa mi ni shimitari	the North wind blew the rain before it and the cold was piercing
ni omoku michi tōkarishi	the burden was heavy and the way was long

With these exceptions, where in a compound sentence the final predicative word is in a composite flexional form, the preceding predicative words must be similarly inflected, but in the conjunctive form.   Thus :

ame furubeku kaze fukubeshi	rain will fall and wind will blow
kao wa miezu koe wa kikoezu	his face cannot be seen and his voice cannot be heard

The importance of this rule can be seen by neglecting it. The sentence *ame furi kaze fukubeshi* as it stands means, if anything, 'rain is falling and wind will blow'. Similarly *kao wa mie koe wa kikoezu*, 'his face is seen and his voice is not heard'. In each case there is a change of meaning. In the case of passive and causative verbs the difference is obvious, for to remove the passive or causative termination is to change the meaning of the verb :

midzu wo nomase meshi wo kuwasu	gives water to drink and rice to eat
midzu wo nomi meshi wo kuwasu	drinks water and gives rice to eat
ki wa taosare iwa wa kudakaru	trees are thrown down and rocks shattered
ki wa taore iwa wa kudakaru	trees fall down and rocks are shattered

In other words, passive and causative verbs are independent verbs rather than conjugational forms.

It will be seen that though in simple cases there is no danger of ambiguity, this method of connecting two or more propositions is not always clear. Consequently, and particularly in the spoken language, other means are often adopted for the sake of precision. Chief among these is the addition, to the ordinary conjunctive form, of the suffix *te*, itself the conjunctive form of the affirmative verb suffix *tsu*. Thus :

ame furite kaze fuku	rain falls and wind blows

ni ga omokute michi ga tōi   the burden is heavy and the
way is long

This use of *te* links the two sentences closely together, usually without any addition to their separate meaning. Sometimes it is true the use of *te* introduces a certain tense-element, denoting a sequence in time as between the verbs. Thus *ame furite kaze fukubeshi* may be translated 'rain having fallen wind will blow', and *haru sugite natsu kitarurashi*, 'spring having passed summer is on the way'. But on the whole the use of *te* in such cases is formal. It shows that the two sentences are in close grammatical relation, and leaves their logical connexion to be inferred. Where it is desired to express precisely some logical connexion, such as a sequence in time, a conjunctive adverb is often used, as in

ayamachite nochi aratame-   after making a mistake it is
gatashi   hard to put it right

The colloquial uses of *te* are sufficient evidence that it has not invariably a tense-significance. Thus *motte kuru*, 'to bring' (to come holding), and such phrases as *dai ni tatte oru*, 'he is standing on a platform'. In the written language a sentence like

bara no hana wa iro utsu-ku-   the rose has a beautiful
shite kaori takashi   colour and a strong perfume

evidently expresses no connexion other than a syntactical one between *utsukushiku* and *takashi*.

An alternative method of co-ordinating sentences is by means of particles and adverbs, as in

sake ari mata sakana ari   there is drink and (again)
there is food

sho wo yomi sate ji wo narau   reads books and (further)
learns characters

kokorozashi kataku katsu no-   his will is strong and his out-
zomi tōshi   look is wide

Such constructions are not free from Chinese influence.

When in a compound sentence one component is co-ordinated with another, the connexion can be expressed by means of conjunctive particles or conjunctive adverbs. The functions of the conjunctive particles have already been described in detail, and they need be only briefly recapitulated here.

BA suffixed to the perfect form of verbs expresses a realized condition ; suffixed to the imperfect form it expresses an unrealized, i. e. a hypothetical or future, condition. Thus :

ame fureba idezu	as it is raining, I do not go out
	if it is raining, I do not go out
ame furaba idezu	if it rains, I shall not go out

In the first case (Perfect + *ba*) the condition is already existent, or assumed to be existent, at the time when the statement is made. It follows that, when two statements are linked in this way, there is some ambiguity, a doubt as to whether the second is contingent upon or merely con-current with the first. In the second case (Imperfect + *ba*) the condition is hypothetical. It is either a condition which has not yet come into existence or one of which the existence is assumed. Thus :

kaze fukaba nami tatan	if the wind blows the waves will rise

There is some difference of opinion among grammarians upon the correct uses of this form. That it exists is enough to show that these usages are ambiguous ; and in both spoken and written languages there is a tendency to supplement them for the sake of clearness. In the spoken language the form composed of the perfect + *ba* tends to oust the imperfect + *ba*, as in

kaze ga fukeba nami ga tatō	if the wind blows the waves will rise

and at the same time it ceases to express an actual, as opposed to an assumed, existing condition. Thus :

undō sureba shokuyoku ga susumu	if you take exercise your appetite improves

although in the written language the same sentence might mean 'since you take exercise', &c. The latter idea, in speech, is conveyed by the aid of other words, as in

undō sureba koso
undō suru no de
undō suru kara

all meaning 'because you take exercise'.

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Other methods used in the colloquial are illustrated by :

kaze ga fuitara kana ga chirō	if the wind blew the flowers would fall

where *fuitara* is a vestigial form of *fukitaraba*.

kaze ga fuku to hana ga chiru	if the wind blows the flowers fall
kaze ga fuku naraba hana ga chirō	if the wind blows the flowers will fall

It is pretty clear that, although forms like *fukeba* and *fukaba* were originally distinct in function, they are inadequate, and tend to be replaced by other locutions. Thus, though it is possible to say *ame mo fureba kaze mo fuku* for 'it is both raining and blowing', the colloquial prefers such a locution as *ame mo furu shi kaze mo fuku*—an analytic rather than a synthetic construction.

DO, DOMO (*TO, TOMO*) connect two propositions adversatively, as in

hana sakedo tori nakazu	though the flowers are blooming, the birds are not singing

The uses of these conjunctive particles are similar to those of *ba*. Thus :

(1) *do* or *domo* suffixed to the perfect form of verbs or adjectives express an existent condition, real or assumed :

kaze fukedomo fune idasu beshi	although the wind is blowing the boat must be put out even if the wind is blowing, &c.

(2) *to* or *tomo* suffixed to the predicative form of verbs and the imperfect form of adjectives express a hypothetical condition. Thus :

ōwata yodomu tomo (M.)	though the great deeps may roar
yorodzuyo no toshi wa kiu tomo (M.)	though the years of ten thousand ages pass away

which are early examples, and

kaze fuku tomo yukan	I will go, even if the wind blows

hito wa miru to ware wa miji	though others may see, I will not
takaku tomo kawan	I will buy it, even if dear

which are late ones. In modern prose both the above forms are often replaced by *mo* standing alone, as in

kigen wa semaritaru mo jumbi wa imada narazu	though the date is drawing near the preparations are not yet complete

where *semaritaru mo* is the equivalent of *semaritaredomo*. In colloquial the sentence *takaku mo kawan* becomes *takakute mo kaimashō*, 'I'll buy it even if it is dear'. In the colloquial we find also expressions like *shinō tomo kamawan*, 'it doesn't matter even if I die', where *tomo* follows a future.

GA, *WO*, and *NI*. The functions of these words in linking propositions have developed from their use as case particles. It is important to remember that formally their purpose is to co-ordinate two sentences, and not to subordinate one to another. Any adversative meaning which they appear to convey is incidental, and depends upon the meaning of the components when placed side by side. Thus in

mukashi Yorimitsu to iū hito arikeru ga makoto ni hito ni suguretaru gō no mono nari-keri	once there was a man named Yorimitsu who was indeed a stalwart excelling all others

there is obviously no adversative force in *ga*, and it would be a mistake to translate it as 'but'. It serves merely to relate one sentence to the other, and is best rendered as shown, or by connecting the two sentences by 'and'. Similar considerations apply to the use of *wo* and *ni*, as will be seen from the following examples :

kaku mōsu wo mina hito Ina to mōsu (Res.)	we spoke thus, whereupon every one said No
kore wo miru ni Nakamaro no kokoro no . . . kitanaki sama wa shirinu (Res.)	upon seeing this we knew how vile was the heart of Nakamaro
kogane wa naki mono to omo-eru ni . . . Oda no kōri ni (*ari*) (Res.)	whereas we thought there was no gold in the district of Oda, there is some

Where it is necessary to emphasize the contrast between two propositions recourse is had to adverbs or adverbial phrases, like *tadashi*, *shikaredomo*, &c., as in

bōchōsha wa hakama wo cha-kuyō subeshi tadashi fujin wa kono kagiri ni arazu	members of the audience must wear trousers ; but this does not apply to women

SUBORDINATE SENTENCES

By subordinate sentences I mean here simply one of the elements which, in the form of sentences, comprise a complete statement, being either attributive or adverbial to some member thereof. They may be classified as (1) substantival sentences forming the subject or object of a principal sentence, (2) attributive sentences, and (3) adverbial sentences.

Substantival sentences. The simplest form is a quotation, as in *yukan to iū*, 'he says he will go'. Strictly speaking, such sentences in Japanese are always in *oratio recta*, and the above example is a correct translation of 'he says, "I will go".' All such sentences are introduced by the particle *to* :

hitai ni ya wa tatsu to mo se ni wa ya wa tateji to iite (Res.)	saying that, though arrows might pierce his forehead, arrows should not pierce his back
mina hito wo neyo to no kane (M.)	the bell that tells every one to sleep
kore wa onna no kaita mono da to itta	he said that this was written by a woman

Of the same type are sentences following verbs meaning 'to think', 'to know', 'to feel', &c. :

dō nas'tta ka to shimpai shita	I was anxious (wondering) what had happened to you
naga-sugiru to mieru	it seems to be too long

Any sentence can be made to act as a substantive by giving its predicative word the substantival form, and using the appropriate case particle :

sono hi no kuru wo machi itari	they were waiting until that day should come

where *sono hi no kuru* is a substantival form. Further examples are :

ōku no hito wa onore no kokoro no oroka naru wo shirazu	most people do not know that their own hearts are foolish
sono konnan wa mōjin no tsue wo ushinaeru ni onaji	his distress was as if a blind man had lost his staff (lit. 'like a blind man's having lost', &c.)
kore wa hito no omoeru yori haruka ni mudzukashi	this is far more difficult than people think

It will be seen that this capacity of the Japanese language for turning complete sentences into substantival forms is a very convenient one. It provides a method of forming a variety of subordinate sentences, which in English are introduced by a conjunction. Thus :

yama takaki ga uye ni	because the hill is high
kin wa iro no ki naru ga tame ni tattoki ka	is gold precious because the colour is yellow ?

Often the substantival nature of these sentences is emphasized by the use of the word *koto*, denoting 'thing', in the abstract sense. E. g. :

tsukaematsuru koto ni yorite (Res.)	because you serve (lit. 'on account of the fact of your serving')

where *tsukaematsuru ni yorite* would convey the same meaning. This tendency is accentuated in the colloquial, no doubt because of the lack of a specialized substantival form of verbs and adjectives :

fune no deta koto wo shiranai	does not know that the boat has left
fune no deta to iū koto wo shiranai	does not know that the boat has left
hito ni wakareru koto wa tsurai	it is painful to part from people

Here the written language would have *fune no ideshi wo* and *wakaruru wa*.

An alternative method in the colloquial is to use the particle *no*, as in

fune no deru no wo matazu	without waiting for the boat to leave
kodomo wo koroshita no wa watakushi de wa gozaimasen	it was not I who killed the child

Attributive sentences. These correspond to relative sentences in English. A complete sentence is brought into an attributive relation with a substantive by giving its predicate an attributive form. The simplest type is illustrated by a sentence like

sakujitsu kitaru hito	the man who came yesterday
midzu sukunaki tokoro	a place where water is scarce

As a rule, especially in the colloquial, it is preferred to make the relation between terms clearer by using the particle *no*, saying, for instance, *midzu no sukunai tokoro*. Further examples of relative sentences are:

basha no yukichigau michi	a road in which carriages pass
taki no oto kikoyuru yado	a lodging whence the sound of the fall can be heard
fune ga deru toki	the time when the boat leaves

It is by means of locutions of this type that many sentences which in English would be introduced by a conjunction or a conjunctive adverb are linked to principal sentences. Thus:

fune ga deru toki ni kiteki ga naru	when the boat sails a steam whistle sounds
fune ga deru mae ni	before the boat sails
fune ga deru tame ni	because the boat sails
fune ga deru tambi ni	every time the boat sails
chichi ga meiji tamaishi tōri	as my father commanded
waga nakaran nochi	after I am gone

Of this nature are certain locutions familiar in the epistolary style:

myōchō sanjō itasubeku sōrō aida	since I propose to call upon you to-morrow morning
sakujitsu sanjō itashi sōrō tokoro go fuzai nite haibi wo ezu	I called upon you yesterday, but you were out, and I could not have the honour of seeing you

A sentence can be brought into relation with a noun by means of the particle *no*, as in

kuru hito nashi no yado	a house where no man comes
yukan no kokoro nashi	I have no mind to go
sono nasubeki no shudan wo sadamu	he determines the steps he must take
miyako ni sumabaya no kwannen	the idea that he would like to live in the Capital

Adverbial clauses. These are formed, and subordinated to principal sentences, by using the predicative word in its adverbial form:

koe taezu naku	it sings incessantly (lit. ' voice not ceasing it sings ')
kokoro oki naku inaka ni ten-yō sen	I shall go to the country for a change, without having any anxiety

Rather more difficult are constructions illustrated in

fune ni norubeku hamabe ni idetari	he came to the shore to get into the boat
miyako ni on kuruma ite mairubeku hashirase tamaitsu	he sent them running to bring his carriage to the capital
ginkōka wa kōsai ni ōbō subeku kōshō-chū de aru	the bankers are in negotiation with the object of taking up a public loan

where the subordinate sentences ending in *beku* are functionally adverbs modifying the principal sentence.

The colloquial, and to a less extent the written language, now prefer to the simple adverbial forms of verbs locutions by which the adverbial sense is reinforced, as in

Henji wo matazu ni kaetta	he went back without waiting for an answer
Henji wo matazu shite, &c.	do.
Henji wo matanai de, &c.	do.

WORD ORDER

The characteristic feature of word order in Japanese is that the particular precedes the general. Consequently

    1. Attribute precedes substantive, as in *akaki hana*, ' red flowers ', *nagaruru kawa*, ' flowing streams '.

2. Adverb precedes verb or adjective, as in *kawa hayaku nagaru*, 'streams flow quickly', *hayaku nagaruru kawa*, 'quickly flowing streams', *hanahada hayaki nagare*, 'very rapid flow'.

3. Subject precedes verb, as in *ishi otsu*, 'stones fall'.

4. Object precedes verb, as in *hana (wo) miru*, 'to see flowers'.

It is convenient to distinguish between natural word order and fixed word order. Deviations from the former are permissible, and can serve to convey emphasis. Deviation from fixed word order, where possible, is accompanied by a complete change of meaning ; but such cases are rare in the Japanese language, because it does not rely upon fixed word order alone for significance.

The natural order of words in a Japanese sentence is

cats   mice   catch

subject-object-verb, as in *neko ga nezumi wo toru* ; but within certain limits the elements in a sentence can be variously arranged. The limits are set by the following conditions as to fixed word order :

(1) In any grammatical proposition the verb or adjective forming the predicate is always the final element, as in *neko wa nezumi wo toru no ga umai*, 'cats are good at catching mice'. An exception must be made in the case of emphatic or interrogative particles, which follow immediately after the predicative word, as in

neko ga iru ka	is the cat here ?
neko ga iru zo	the cat is here !

and it should be noticed that there is no change of word order in an interrogative sentence.

(2) Where in a proposition the predicate is related to the subject by a copulative locution (such as the verbs *nari, tari, tosu,* or their colloquial equivalents *da, de aru,* &c., or the auxiliary adjective *gotoshi*), the predicate must immediately precede the copula without the intervention of any other word. Thus :

kore wa hana nari	this is a flower
kore wa tabun sakura darō	this is probably a cherry
toshitsuki wa makoto ni na-garuru (ga) gotoshi	the months and years seem to flow past indeed

It is not possible to make changes in word order corresponding to 'this probably is a cherry', 'probably this is a cherry', 'this is a cherry probably', 'a cherry this probably is'.

(3) Adverbs must precede the word which they modify, without the intervention of any other verb, adverb, or adjective. Thus :

hanahada utsukushiki onna wo koishiku omou	he loves a very beautiful woman

Here *hanahada* can refer only to *utsukushiki* and not to *koishiku*. The sentence cannot mean 'he very much loves a beautiful woman'. This would be *utsukushiki onna wo hanahada koishiku omou*.

It is obvious that adverbs of degree like *hanahada* must immediately precede the word they modify. Other adverbs may be separated therefrom so long as there is no ambiguity. Thus, in

itazura ni hi wo sugosu	he spends his days in vain

itazura ni may be regarded as modifying the whole sentence *hi wo sugosu*, and the order is natural and intelligible. In *hi wo itazura ni sugosu*, because of the position of *hi* at the beginning, there is a slight difference of emphasis, and we are left to wonder how the subject spends his nights. The natural order places the object immediately before the governing verb. But in

itazura ni nagaruru tsukibi wo sugosu	he spends months and days that flow vainly by

itazura ni can refer only to the verb which it immediately precedes, i. e. *nagaruru*. A similar example is *hayaku nagaruru kawa wo wataru*, 'he crosses a quickly-flowing stream' (not 'quickly he crosses a flowing stream').

(4) All particles follow immediately the word to which they belong. When more than one particle follows, the order as between them is fixed. Thus a case particle must always precede an adverbial particle (*kore wo mo*, not *kore mo wo*).

Subject to the above conditions the positions of the elements in a sentence can be varied for purposes of emphasis ; but since the functions of words are usually indicated by flexional forms or by particles, the language cannot make

such free use of significant word order as is possible in English. In 'John strikes Henry' and 'Henry strikes John' a difference of order gives a difference of meaning. In *Jirō ga Tarō wo utsu* and *Tarō ga Jirō wo utsu* the difference of meaning depends upon the particles and not upon the position of the words. In the earliest language, where case particles were used less freely, it was of course necessary to adhere to the order subject-object-verb.

The natural position of the subject in Japanese is at the beginning of the sentence. Elements complementary to the verb, such as direct or indirect objects, are therefore placed between subject and verb, the more important usually coming first consistently with the rule that the particular precedes the general. Thus :

ware nanji ni fude wo ataubeshi	I will give *you* a brush
ware fude wo nanji ni ataubeshi	I will give you a *brush*

But it must be remembered that in Japanese it is customary to single out an emphasized element in such cases by means of the isolating particle *wa*, in which case such element is placed as a rule at the beginning of the sentence, as in

fude wa nanji ni ataubeshi	a brush I will give you
nanji ni wa fude wo ataubeshi	to you I will give a brush

When this characteristic idiom is employed the first element in the sentence is, it will be observed, the subject of a logical proposition, though it is often the object of a verb, as in the first of the two examples just given. Occasionally for the sake of precision the construction illustrated below is used :

gichō wa giin kore wo senkyō su	the president is elected by the members (lit. 'the president the members him elect')

Similar constructions are to be found in early texts.

In exceptional cases the natural order of words and clauses within a sentence is varied, as shown in the following examples :

(1) Subject brought to end of a sentence.

ana tanoshi konnichi no hi wa	O ! How joyful is this day
Nushima ga saki ni iori su ware wa (M.)	I dwell at Nushima ga saki

(2) Object or other complement brought to the end of a sentence.

tsugeyaramu . . . tabi no yadori wo (M.)	I will proclaim my stopping-place
uguisu inu naru . . . ume ga shizue ni (M.)	the warbler departs to the branch of the plum tree

(3) Adverbs or adverbial clauses brought to the end of a sentence.

saoshika nakitsu tsuma omoi kanete (M.)	the stag cries, yearning for his mate

(4) Vocatives at the end of sentences.

akenikeri wagimo (N.)	the day has dawned, my mistress

Most examples of this nature occur in poetical or rhetorical language, but corresponding usages are to be found in modern colloquial, e. g. :

dare desu ka ano hito wa	who is that person ?
kawanai zeni ga nai kara	I won't buy it—I have no money
mō kaeru no ka kimi wa	are you going already ?
kitto wasureruna ima itta koto wo	don't forget what I told you just now

Generally speaking, word order can be said to have remained unchanged since the Nara period. For reasons of style or euphony Japanese prose writers are often tempted to imitate Chinese word order. In

sao wa ugatsu nami no ue no tsuki wo fune wa osou umi no naka no sora wo	The pole transfixes the moon on the top of the wave, the boat strives towards the sky in the midst of the waters

we have a deliberate reproduction of Chinese word order.

It is worth noting that in Japanese prose some variation of natural word order is occasionally called for because the normal position of the verb at the end of a sentence makes for monotony of cadence and lack of emphasis.

In one respect it may be said that dependence on significant word order has allowed of simplification. In the colloquial the distinction between attributive and predicative

forms of verb and adjective has disappeared. Consequently in such substitutions as

akai hana	for	*akaki hana*
hana ga akai	,,	*hana akashi*
tatsu hito	,,	*tatsuru hito*
hito tatsu	,,	*hito tatsu*

the differentiated forms can be dispensed with because the order of words is fixed and significant, in so far as attribute precedes noun, and subject precedes predicate.

APPENDIX

Comparison of Spoken and Written Forms
(v. also pp. xi, 51, 56, 196, 275, 311, 319)

THE following is a tabulated statement of the chief points of difference in form between spoken and written Japanese. The language of the Heian period is taken as a starting-point, because it is in this period that the divergence first becomes apparent. As a general rule it may be stated that the modern written language differs but little in essentials from the language recorded in Heian texts. The forms that have been retained are practically unchanged and (though this is an important exception), apart from a number of compound conjugational forms current in the Heian period but now obsolete, much of the grammatical apparatus of the Heian period persists in modern written Japanese. As to vocabulary, there has of course been a large and continuous increase of Sinico-Japanese words in the written language, and a consequent tendency to displace pure Japanese words. The spoken language, on the other hand, shows a great diminution in the number of grammatical forms, and a tendency to substitute analytic for synthetic methods. It also adopts Sinico-Japanese words, but less freely than the written language.

PRONOUN

Language of Heian Period.	Modern Written Language.	Modern Spoken Language.
PERSONAL.		
a are wa ware	*ware*	*ore, watakashi*
na nare nanji kinji	*nanji*	*omae, anata*
	Numerous Sinico-Japanese equivalents such as *sessha* for ' I ', *kiden, kika* for ' you '—more common in writing than in familiar speech.	
DEMONSTRATIVE.		
ko	*kono* (attrib. only)	*kono* (attrib. only)
kore, koko	*kore, koko*	*kore, koko*
kochi	*kochi, kochira*	*kotchi, kochira*
konata	*konata*	*konata*
so	*sono* (attrib. only)	*sono* (attrib. only)
sore, soko	*sore soko*	*sore soko*

Language of Heian Period.	Modern Written Language.	Modern Spoken Language.

DEMONSTRATIVE—*continued.*

(*sochi*)	*sochi*	*sotchi*
sonata	*sonata*	*sochira*
shi, sa	..	..
ka	*kano* (attrib. only)	..
kare	*kare*	*ano hito*
kashiko, kanata	*kashiko, kanata*	..
a, are,	*ano* (attrib.), *are*	*ano, are*
ashiko	*asoko*	*asoko*
anata	*anata*	..

INTERROGATIVË.

ta tare	*tare*	*dare*
nani	*nani*	*nani*
idzure	*idzure*	*dore, dono*
idzuko, idzuku	*idzuku* }	*doko, dotchi*
idzukata, idzura	*idzukata* }	*dochira*

REFLEXIVE.

ono, onore	*ono, onore*	(*waga*)

ADJECTIVE

The important difference is that the spoken language retains only the conjunctive and attributive forms, and discards the specialized predicative. Taking the adjective *yoshi* as an example we have :

yoshi	*yoshi*	..
yoku or *you*	*yoku*	*yoku* or *you*
yoki or *yoi*	*yoki*	*yoi*

VERB

In the simple conjugational forms the chief difference is that the colloquial abandons the distinction between attributive and predicative forms, retaining as a rule only the attributive. Phonetic changes have also taken place. A typical case is that of the verb *otsu* :

otsu	*otsu*	..
otsuru	*otsuru*	*ochiru*
ochi	*ochi*	*ochi*
otsure	*otsure*	*ochire*

In the compound conjugation phonetic change has been frequent, and its beginnings are already visible in the Heian period, where contracted and uncontracted forms exist side by side. The strict written language has retained but few of the contracted forms,

whereas the spoken language has often subjected them to further change. The following are characteristic examples.

Language of Heian Period.	Modern Written Language.	Modern Spoken Language.
saki	*saki*	*saki*
sakite, saite	*sakite, saite*	*saite*
sakitari, saitari	*sakitari*	*saita*
omoi	*omoi*	*omoi*
omoite, amoute	*omoite, omoute*	*omotte*
omoitari, omoutari	*omoitari*	*omotta*
nomite, nomitari	*nomite nomitari*	*nonde, nonda*
yobite, yobitari	*yobite, yobitari*	*yonde, yonda*
tachite, tachitari	*tachite, tachitari*	*tatte, tatta*
furite, furitari	*furite, furitari*	*futte, futta*

AUXILIARY VERBS

ari	*ari*	*aru*
nari (copula)	*nari* (copula)	*na*, as in *shidzuka na*
-tari (copula)	*-tari* (copula)	*da, desu*
		(v. p. 220)

COMPOUND CONJUGATIONAL FORMS

Generally speaking, the tendency has been to reduce the number of these forms, and the process of reduction has been carried much further by the spoken language, accompanied by phonetic change. This is illustrated by the examples given below, though they are by no means exhaustive. The verb *naku* is taken as a basis of comparison, and predicative forms only are given for the written language. The spoken language does not distinguish between predicative and attributive.

PASSIVE SUFFIXES.

nakuru	*nakuru*	*nakareru*

CAUSATIVE SUFFIXES.

nakasu	*nakasu*	*nakaseru*
nakashimu	*nakashimu*	. .

NEGATIVE SUFFIXES.

nakazu	*nakazu*	*nakanu*
nakazute	. .	. .
nakade	(*nakade*)	(*nakade*)
nakaji	. .	. .
nakazari	*nakazari*	*nakanai*

TENSE SUFFIXES.

nakamu	*nakamu*	*nakō*
nakamashi	. .	. .
nakiki	*nakiki*	. .

Language of Heian Period.	Modern Written Language.	Modern Spoken Language.
TENSE SUFFIXES—*continued*.		
nakinu	*nakinu*	..
nakitsu	*nakitsu*	..
nakikeri	..	..
nakikemu	..	..
nakubeshi	*nakubeshi*	..
nakumeri	..	..
nakurashi	..	..
nakumaji	*nakumaji*	*nakumai*
nakite, nakitari	*nakite, nakitari*	*naite, naita*

Many combinations of suffixes frequent in the Heian period have not persisted in modern prose, and those which have persisted are usually in the spoken language replaced by analytic and not agglutinative locutions. The following are a few examples :

nakinikeri	..	..
nakarenishi	..	..
nakasetemashi	..	..
nakarenubekari	..	..
nakitariki	..	..
nakasetari	*nakasetari*	*nakaseta*
nakazarubeshi	*nakazarubeshi*	*nakanai darī*

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