

Preface and acknowledgements

Classical Japanese: A Grammatical Compendium is a reference guide to classical Japanese grammar intended to reach students who have already acquired a fair command of modern Japanese and a basic knowledge of modern Japanese grammar. The origins of this reference guide were laid many years ago. The prototype was written in Dutch, and was greatly indebted to prof. Vande Walle's unpublished course-book *Grammatica van het klassiek Japans*. Being given the excellent opportunity to translate the course-book into English, I availed myself of many valuable suggestions gained from student feedback, and made an attempt at appending an extra chapter on classical Japanese particles. Additionally, I have also made the most of additional usage examples taken from various Japanese-language sources.

Making extensive use of reference works on literary-style Japanese or *bungo* 文語, the current text provides a concise introduction to the classical language through a compact linguistic analysis. It puts key grammatical features in context, using examples drawn from a range of classical sources. The used source material primarily represents well-known phrases or lines of poetry taken from masterpieces of the Japanese classical literary canon. As a reference work primarily dealing with lexical categories, this book should optimally be used in conjunction with other selected readings from classical texts. This handbook therefore tries to achieve the multiple goals of helping students to master the key points of the classical language, introducing real-language background derived from ancient, medieval, and early modern documents, and offering stimuli for further reading in the original and in translation.

In this compendium, romanization of the Japanese follows the modified Hepburn system of romaji, and transcribed readings of classical sentences are shown in italic. Extracts from classical sources are rendered into modern character fonts, and non-common Chinese characters or *kanji* are topped with *furigana*, indicating the proper spelling according to historical conventions.

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Part I: Introductory Remarks

1. Introduction

1.1. Justification

In terms of grammar and vocabulary, the Modern Japanese language radically differs from most European languages. Learning Japanese therefore often presents problems in the field of linguistic analysis, especially since a systematic approach to teaching Japanese grammar and language structure is notably lacking. Eventually, however, most students of the Japanese language manage to master the language, since apart from reading theory from text books, practical experience of Japanese as a spoken medium is of equal importance, if not more important than class itself.

In order to gain a solid knowledge of a language, merely learning the modern variant and its practical uses is not enough. Understanding and analysing a country and its culture require much greater proficiency than the level offered in modern course textbooks. Conversance with proverbs, fixed expressions, the historical background of words or the origin of poetic or rhetorical devices, and so forth, may constitute a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the relevant culture, and is indispensable for those claiming to be real experts in the field they are majoring in. In Japanese Studies, students are required not only to have a sound knowledge of modern Japanese, they equally ought to address some more classical aspects of Japanese, pertaining to the development of the language. This mere fact implies that a Japanologist must be interested in the more theoretical aspects of the Japanese language. Students of Japanese consequently should study two historically relevant phenomena, namely what is known as classical Japanese (meaning all expressions of written Japanese from the Heian period 平安時代 until the early Meiji era 明治時代) and *Kanbun* 漢文, the idiosyncratic Japanese form of classical Chinese.

It should be noted that there is no way to acquire either "kind" of older Japanese by oral practice. The only course and exercise material available are texts, produced during the said periods. Since these languages can only be studied using this kind of material, one should have some solid theoretical knowledge enabling the analysis of sentences, phrases, and so on. Unlike in modern (spoken) Japanese, there is no way to contrast obtained translations with reality. Once more it necessarily emerges that the Japanese language should be studied taking an analytical and theoretical approach.

1.2. Aims

A grammar can be conceived with two distinct objectives:

- a. As a *description* of patterns according to which expressions in a specific language are phrased, in order to be acceptable *and* intelligible for the entire population or major subgroups within this population = **descriptive grammar**. A descriptive grammar basically is exhaustive. It does *not* intend to rule which is right and which wrong, but should offer a linguistic description of a certain language. Ultimately, it aims at creating the foundations of a deductive analysis of the language concerned, possibly

with reference to other languages. A descriptive grammar will, from a scientific perspective, try to describe the language studied according to "universally" accepted criteria, and thus make use of a specific linguistic model.

- b. As a collection of rules governing how speakers or learners of a language use acceptable and intelligible patterns of expression = **normative grammar**. A normative grammar does not aim at explaining every *possible* pattern of expression featuring in a language, but intends to compile a set of rules representing a majority opinion or a regulation laid down by official instances, regarding utterances deemed to be linguistically proper and correct. A normative grammar therefore is not exhaustive, but rather the lowest common denominator. True to its objective, a normative grammar will describe its object according to "local" criteria that specifically apply to the language concerned, having no claim to universality.

As a normative grammar, the present course aims to provide an introduction to the grammar of the Japanese literary language (also known as *Bungo* 文語). The system underlying this course mainly corresponds to the grammatical system used for teaching modern Japanese language, for example in Japanese schools.

Consequently, grammatical aspects introduced in this course nearly always have, *mutatis mutandis*, equivalents in modern Japanese. The general framework however applies to both stages of Japanese, warranting the expectation that this primer may equally be useful when analysing, explaining, and using modern Japanese.

1.3. Spelling and transcription

1.3.1. Spelling

The passages extracted from classical texts follow the classical orthography (*rekishiteki kanazukai* 歴史的仮名遣), a system commonly used until 1946 when the current modern spelling was introduced. It is assumed that the classical spelling somehow reflected the Heian period pronunciation of Japanese. The classical spelling is based on a kana syllabary, which as early as the Heian period was organized into a table of fifty sounds, the so-called *gojūonzu* 五十音図. This table consists of five columns (*dan* 段; literally "tiers") arranged in *aiueo* order, and ten rows (*gyō* 行), starting with vowel kana, and proceeding in accordance with the Japanese alphabetical convention of following the initial *kstnhmyrw* consonants. Every single kana sign was subsequently attributed to one of the fifty cells according to its initial sound and final vowel. Consequently, *ku* く belongs to the cell formed by the *k* row (*kagyō* カ行) and *u* column (*udan* ウ段), and *o* を is placed at the intersection of the *w* row (*wagyō* ワ行) and the *o* column (*odan* オ段). The terms *dan* and *gyō* are equally taken as reference when classifying verbs into flexional classes (*see below*).

Technically, the table shows some inconsistencies. Three speech sounds, *yi*, *ye* and *wu*, had already vanished from Old Japanese before the table came about. They were replaced by substitute sounds, *i* い, *e* え and *u* う respectively. During the Muromachi period, the 47 unique speech sounds were enlarged by the addition of nasal *n* ん, which had undoubtedly figured in the classical language long before. In modern times, the 48 kana signs were next expanded by sets consisting of basic kana (neutral

sounds; also known as *seion* 清音) combined with diacritics or other marks. Specifically kana having a voiced initial consonant (*dakuon* 濁音 marked by a *dakuten* 濁点, i.e. a double slash in the top right corner: `) and kana beginning with a *p* sound (*handakuon* 半濁音, indicated by a *handakuten* 半濁点 or top right circlet: °) were added to the original table. This finally resulted in a 76 character table, or 73 unique kana when disregarding the duplicates *i* い, *u* う en *e* え. An unabridged version of the Japanese sound matrix can then be represented as follows:

	あ段	い段	う段	え段	お段	
あ行	aあ	iい	uう	eえ	oお	
か行	kaか	kiき	kuく	keけ	koこ	
さ行	saさ	shiし	suす	seせ	soそ	
た行	taた	chiち	tsuつ	teて	toと	
な行	naな	niに	nuぬ	neね	noの	
は行	haは	hiひ	fuふ	heへ	hoほ	
ま行	maま	miみ	muむ	meめ	moも	
や行	yaや	い	yuゆ	eえ	yoよ	
ら行	raら	riり	ruる	reれ	roろ	
わ行	waわ	iゐ	uう	eゑ	oを	
格外						nん
が行	gaが	giぎ	guぐ	geげ	goご	
ざ行	zaざ	jiじ	zuず	zeぜ	zoぞ	
だ行	daだ	jiぢ	zuづ	deで	doど	
ば行	baば	biび	buぶ	beべ	boぼ	
ぱ行	paぱ	piぴ	puぷ	peぺ	poぽ	

1.3.2. Transcription

Since classical Japanese texts are currently read in modern pronunciation, this introduction uses a transcription based on the modern modified Hepburn romanization. A number of rules apply:

- Most *hagyō* は行 characters are transcribed without an h/f (e.g. *koi* , *kau* 買ふ, *mae* , *ōkimi*), except when they figure in the beginning of a word or element of a compound (e.g. *hi* 日, *Yukihira* 行平, *Ukifune* 浮舟). In the middle of a word, は however is always rendered as *wa* (e.g. *owasu* おはす) and the same transcription applies to the *joshi wa* は.
- The *wagyō* わ行 characters ゐ, ゑ, and を are transcribed respectively as *i*, *e* and *o* (e.g. *otoko* , *koe* , *mairu* る). *Wa* わ however retains its original transcription, except after *ku* く or *gu* ぐ in Sino-Japanese words, where the semivowel w is dropped: e.g. *kaidan* , *Kantō* , *gaka* .
- ぢ and づ are romanized as *ji* and *zu*.

The prolongation of sounds is expressed by adding う or ふ. The transcription follows the pronunciation convention applicable to each of the prolonged vowels:

- a prolonged a is pronounced as *ō* (e.g. *tō* , *kōi*)
- a prolonged i is pronounced as *yū* (e.g. *shū* , *kyū* , *Hyūga*)
- a prolonged u is pronounced as *ū* (e.g. *gafū* , *tsūzu* ず, *yūshi*)
- a prolonged e is pronounced as *yō* (e.g. *kyō* , *chō* , *byōsha*)

- a prolonged o is pronounced as ō (e.g. *nō* , *Tōkaidō* , *kōgō*)

Please note that the above spellings are not used for verbal basic forms: *au* 会ふ, *iu* 言ふ, *uu* 植う, *you* ふ, and so forth.

1.3.3. Kana combinations

Modern Japanese contracted sounds or *yōon* 拗音 phonologically consist of a consonant combined with a semivowel (*y* and until 1946 also *w*; see くわ) followed by a short vowel (*a*, *u* or *o*). This category comprises the following clusters: *kya* きゃ, *sha* しゃ, *cha* ちゃ, *nya* にゃ, *hya* ひゃ, *mya* みゃ, *rya* りゃ, *kyu* きゅ, *shu* しゅ, *chu* ちゅ, *nyu* にゅ, *hyu* ひゅ, *myu* みゅ, *ryu* りゅ, *kyo* きょ, *sho* しょ, *cho* ちょ, *nyo* にょ, *hyo* ひょ, *myo* みょ and *ryo* りょ. Lengthened contracted sounds or *yōchōon* 拗長音 today only involve the vowels *u* or *o*. Prolongation, in transcription represented by a macron (ˉ), is achieved by adding an extra *u* う at the end of a syllable: *kyū* きゅう, *shū* しゅう, ..., *kyō* きょう, *shō* しょう, etc. Prior to the 1946 spelling reforms, a number of conventional kana combinations were applied in the Japanese language. Some of them can be compared to the current *yōon* or *yōchōon*, whereas other should be read as notations marking a long syllable, that is the combination of a consonant/semivowel and a long vowel or the combination of a short vowel and kana indicating prolongation (*u* う or *u* ふ). Most combinations are obsolete today, although they may appear in some modern texts, particularly in poetry. The following table, arranged in *aiueo* order, presents a modern transcription of these historical kana combinations:

あう	ō	しう	shū	のふ	nō
あふ	ō	じう	jū	はう	hō
いう	yū	しふ	shū	ぼう	bō
いふ	yū	じふ	jū	はふ	hō
えう	yō	しゃう	shō	ひう	hyū
えふ	yō	じゃう	jō	びう	byū
おふ	ō	すふ	sū	ひやう	hyō
おほ	ō	せう	shō	びやう	byō
かう	kō	ぜう	jō	へう	hyō
がう	gō	せふ	shō	べう	byō
かふ	kō	そふ	sō	ほふ	hō
がふ	gō	たう	tō	ぼふ	bō
きう	kyū	だう	dō	まう	mō
ぎう	gyū	たふ	tō	まふ	mō
きふ	kyū	ちう	chū	みやう	myō
きやう	kyō	ぢう	jū	めう	myō
ぎやう	gyō	ちふ	chū	もふ	mō
くふ	kū	ちゃう	chō	やう	yō

くわ	ka	ぢやう	jō	ゆふ	yū
ぐわ	ga	ぢゅう	jū	よふ	yō
くわう	kō	ぢよ	jo	らう	rō
ぐわう	gō	づふ	zū	らふ	rō
けう	kyō	てう	chō	りう	ryū
げう	gyō	でう	jō	りふ	ryū
けふ	kyō	てふ	chō	りやう	ryō
げふ	gyō	でふ	jō	るふ	rū
こふ	kō	なう	nō	れう	ryō
ごふ	gō	なふ	nō	れふ	ryō
さう	sō	にう	nyū	ろふ	rō
ざう	zō	にふ	nyū	わう	ō
さふ	sō	ぬふ	nū	ゑふ	yō
ざふ	zō	ねう	nyō	をう	ō
				をふ	ō

2. Language history

2.1. Origin

The origin of Japanese cannot be ascertained with confidence. Several attempts have been made to associate Japanese with languages in neighbouring countries (such as Korea) or regions (such as the Austro-Polynesian region) but none of these attempts have produced definitive results. The only point that can be asserted with conviction is that Japanese has some striking similarities in terms of grammar to the Korean language, for example, but this is not considered to be decisive enough to classify Japanese in the same language family. On the other hand, some isolated evidence exists suggesting similarity between Japanese and a number of Polynesian languages as far as basic vocabulary is concerned. Again, evidence is too limited to conclude in favour of clear linguistic kinship.

2.2. Foreign Influences

While the origins of the Japanese language may be obscure, there are clear foreign influences on its later development.

2.2.1. China

Chinese without doubt has exerted the most important influence. China was the dominant nation in all Asia during a considerable period of time, and for sheer practical reasons it was necessary to learn Chinese. The Chinese script was used by Japanese to write their own texts. Although kana alphabets, incidentally based on Chinese characters, were invented later on, the influence of the Chinese script with all its concomitants such as legislation, literature, and vocabulary, remained immense.

2.2.2. Korea

Korea's role in shaping Japanese culture is usually underestimated or silently overlooked. The fact is that particularly during the first centuries of adoption from foreign cultures (3rd to 5th centuries), Korea played a very important role. The first preceptors of the Japanese, not only in the field of Chinese language, but also in the area of technology and culture, presumably were Korean immigrants. Their influence on the adaptation and modification of the Chinese script should certainly not be downplayed.

2.2.3. European languages

Moreover, as soon as contact with Europeans came about, large numbers of words from European languages were imported. The oldest loanwords of European origin were derived from the Portuguese due to encounters with Portuguese missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. Following the seclusion of Japan by the Tokugawa shogunate, the only Europeans allowed contact with the Japanese were Dutch traders stationed at Dejima. Dutch loanwords were mainly borrowed during that period. Nowadays, however, the most important influence on Japanese by a foreign language other than Chinese comes from English, notably since the American occupation after World War II. All these influences on the Japanese language, however, predominantly bear upon vocabulary, leaving the Japanese linguistic structures (that is, the grammar) unaffected.

3. Grammatical Basic Principles

3.1. What Is a Grammar?

Microlinguistically¹ speaking, one might say that a language comprises both a lexicon (words and their meanings) and a grammar (the rules or structures according to which words should be connected with each other in order to produce plain and intelligible expressions for other speakers of the language concerned).

- A *lexicon* is described in dictionaries.
- A *grammar* (see above) is explained and illustrated in textbooks that introduce the general rules to which a language seems to conform, with example sentences illustrating those rules.

A grammatical system is composed of morphology and syntax.

3.1.1. Morphology

Morphology is the study of word forms. It investigates which kinds of words there are in a language, and under which circumstances these words are used. Morphology further determines which forms (attached to words or independently) bring about relations between words.

¹ Microlinguistics concerns the internal analysis of a language, i.e. the analysis of a language's structure, vocabulary etc. proceeding from that language itself. Macrolinguistics can be defined as the scientific analysis of language as a universal phenomenon, i.e. taking as starting point the attempt to research all languages jointly, requiring criteria for all languages to be the same.

3.1.2. Syntax

Syntax concerns the rules governing how words are arranged in a sentence (microsyntax), or how sentence parts are connected in a larger correlation (macrosyntax).

3.2. Traditional Japanese Linguistics

In Japan, a genuine study of the Japanese language started rather late (about the 18th century). Originally, the Japanese's attitude towards their own language came down to regarding Japanese as a necessary evil, deeming serious linguistic pursuit only useful when it concerned Chinese, the actual language of culture and science. The only (and limited) form of Japanese language analysis worth mentioning preceding that date, was the analysis of Japanese phonetics which had to be undertaken when steps were taken to adopt Chinese characters for writing Japanese. This tour de force should certainly not be underestimated, since it involved a phonetic analysis of a language that had not yet been committed to writing. Most of the job was presumably undertaken by *on hakase* 音博士, "scholars of pronunciation," who were not Japanese. This analysis and application to Chinese characters yielded the so-called *Man'yōgana* 万葉仮名² system, which would prove to be the foundation on to which the later *kana* alphabets were engrafted. This phonological analysis of Old Japanese is in fact based on the very rich and very developed Indian linguistic tradition, which found its way to China jointly with the linguistic analysis of Buddhist scriptures.

Only during the eighteenth century, following the burgeoning of a certain Japanese national awareness, which in the scientific sphere was heralded by the so-called *Kokugaku* 国学, i.e. "National Learning", did interest in Japanese arise, and prominent scholars started to adopt Japanese as an object of study. Japanese terms for various grammatical specificities were first introduced during this period, laying the foundations of a traditional Japanese grammar. A great deal of the promising approach introduced by the first Japanese linguists and grammarians such as Fujitani Nariakira 富士谷成章 and Gimon 義門, was rejected during the redescription of the Japanese language in the 19th century, reflecting Dutch and English influence. The current system, which is largely based on the systematic description by Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉 (1882-1945), tries to reconcile the aforesaid traditional approach with terminology introduced under Western influence. This was naturally accompanied by ups and downs. The purpose of the present syllabus is to introduce classical Japanese terminology and classification on the basis of this synthesis, mirroring the teaching practice at most Japanese schools. This is by far the best method to tackle the classical Japanese language in a coherent and normative way.

² *Man'yōgana* is a compound term linking *Man'yō*, derived from the eighth-century anthology called *Man'yōshū*, with the word *kana*, lit. "borrowed letters". The term describes the use of Chinese characters for writing Japanese texts as it was applied in the *Man'yōshū*, the *Kojiki* and other Old Japanese writings. Accordingly, a text was entirely written in Chinese characters, part of which was used phonetically to represent Japanese sounds, whereas the other part was used semantically, but pronounced in Japanese. The context therefore determined a character's reading.

Part II: Linguistic Analysis of Classical Japanese

When parsing a language, a researcher can adopt two methods. One of these is to sort out the constituent parts of a period, classifying them according to their function in the sentence; in other words, to try to identify the subject, predicate, and kinds of complements. This entails the application of "phrasal parsing". The other method is to apply "part-of-speech parsing". Parts of speech (*hinshi* 品詞) dominate the latter parsing method. They concern certain categories of words, each of which shares similarities in terms of usage and behaviour (such as syntax, (in)flexion, and so forth). This part will thoroughly discuss the Japanese parts of speech as identified by traditional Japanese linguistics. This implies an introduction of peculiar Japanese terminology, which is explained as clearly as possible using analogies in English.

Traditional discussion of Japanese parts of speech distinguished between two main groups. Free morphemes³ (*jiritsugo* 自立語) comprise words which can operate independently, and which can be arranged into a sentence. Bound morphemes (*fuzokugo* 付属語), by contrast, cannot stand alone, but are attached to words, both free and bound morphemes, that function as base. The following sentence illustrates the combined appearance of free and bound morphemes (respectively underlined and shaded) in classical Japanese:

Ki yori ochite shinuru mashira ga ōshi 木より落ちて死ぬる猿が多し⁴

As is illustrated in the table below, both main groups can each be subdivided into smaller categories:

free morphemes (<i>jiritsugo</i> 自立語)	flexional (<i>yūkatsuyō</i> 有活用)	flexion words (<i>yōgen</i> 用言)		verbs (<i>dōshi</i> 動詞)
				adjectives (<i>keiyōshi</i> 形容詞)
				adjectival verbs (<i>keiyōdōshi</i> 形容動詞)
	flexionless (<i>mukatsuyō</i> 無活用)	nouns (<i>taigen</i> 体言)		substantives (<i>meishi</i> 名詞)
				pronouns (<i>daimeishi</i> 代名詞)
				numerals (<i>sūshi</i> 数詞)
		non-nouns (<i>hitaigen</i> 非体言)	modifying (<i>shūshoku suru</i> 修飾する)	adverbs (<i>fukushi</i> 副詞)
				adnouns (<i>rentaishi</i> 連体詞)

³ A morpheme is the smallest possible language element charged with a certain grammatical function or a specific semantic content (semantic function).

⁴ *Ochi* 落ち is an inflected form of the verb *otsu* 落つ, a free morpheme.

			unmodifying (<i>shūshoku shinai</i> 修飾しない)	conjunctions (<i>setsuzokushi</i> 接続詞)
				interjections (<i>kandōshi</i> 感動詞)
Bound morphemes (<i>fuzokugo</i> 付属語)	flexional (<i>yūkatsuyō</i> 有活用)			flexion morphemes (<i>jodōshi</i> 助動詞)
	flexionless (<i>mukatsuyō</i> 無活用)			particles (<i>joshi</i> 助詞)

1. Free Morphemes: *jiritsugo* 自立語

These are words entirely independent from words they join to constitute a sentence. They operate freely in a language, and can optionally be connected with certain other words. By virtue of the presence/absence of flexion, these free morphemes can be classified into flexion words (*yōgen*) or flexionless words.

1.1. Flexion words: *yōgen* 用言

These are independent words which change their original form due to certain circumstances, such as being combined with other words, or establishing grammatical relations. This form modification is named "flexion".

a. Flexion

For clarity's sake, the following terminological components can be discerned when analysing *yōgen*:

Stem (*gokan* 語幹): the base part of a *yōgen* without its flexional final syllable:

Verbs: *oyogu* 泳ぐ; stem = *oyo-* およ

Adjectives: *takashi* 高い; stem = *taka-* たか

Final syllable (*gobi* 語尾): the syllable following the stem, which changes when flexing a verb (not applicable to adjectives):

Verbs: *oyogu* 泳ぐ; final syllable = *gu* ぐ

Ending (*tenka* 添加)⁵: morpheme attached to the (modified/unmodified) final syllable or to the stem of certain inflected forms:

Verbs: *ukuru* くる [the attributive form of *uku* く]; ending = *-ru* る

Adjectives: *takaku* 高く; ending = *ku* く; directly attached to the stem.

b. Definition

- In using "flexion", reference is made to a context-induced modification of a *yōgen*'s form. Such form change can come about in three ways:

1. By changing the final syllable of a *yōgen* (verbs)

⁵ Also called ending morpheme or suffix morpheme. This exclusively regards morphemes being part of the inflected form, and does not concern particles.

2. By attaching an ending to the unmodified final syllable (adjectives)
 3. By changing the final syllable and attaching an ending (verbs)
- Flexion enables a random *yōgen* to be grammatically connected to a sequence of other sentence parts.

c. Inflected form / *katsuyōkei* 活用形

As an agglutinative language (*kōchakugo* 膠着語), inter-word relations in Japanese are expressed not by using inflexional endings, but by attaching separate language elements or morphemes to a specific inflected form. The Classical Japanese language has six inflected forms in which *yōgen*, depending on the context, may operate. These forms, for convenience shortened throughout this course to their three-letter abbreviations, are:

<i>Mizenkei</i>	未然形 (MZK)
<i>Ren'yōkei</i>	連用形 (RYK)
<i>Shūshikei</i>	終止形 (SSK)
<i>Rentaikei</i>	連体形 (RTK)
<i>Izenkei</i>	已然形 (IZK)
<i>Meireikei</i>	命令形 (MRK)

All forms define the way in which the verb/adjective relates to reality, as viewed by the utterer. Accordingly, they may somehow be compared to the phenomenon of "principal parts", or better: moods or "modi" in Western languages (such as indicative, infinitive, imperative, and so forth). The six forms may further be subdivided into two main groups. One group comprises MZK, IZK, and MRK, emphasizing the meaning of a verb or adjective. The remaining inflected forms rather clarify the position of the verb or adjective in a sentence. In turn, they may be used as base to which *jo(dō)shi* having a semantic value are attached. The main group to which an inflected form belongs, is more or less indicated by the name of the very inflected form. Certain inflected forms, for instance, are named after the kind of connection that is established with the part of speech that follows. RTK, for example, literally means "inflected form linked to nouns" (*taigen ni tsuranaru katsuyōkei* 体言に連なる活用形). This form consequently is meant to establish a connection between a *yōgen* and a *taigen*, i.e. it operates attributively.

The name of other inflected forms is concerned with a semantic value that is realized. IZK, for instance, literally denotes "the already completed form". Understandably, this form is predominantly used to indicate an already realized condition or completed action, and is fully operative upon attachment of *jodōshi* or *joshi* enhancing this semantic aspect.

d. Why use the term "flexion"?

The fact that flexion involves modification of verbal (and other) forms, could tempt one to use the term "conjugation" for any formal modification of Japanese *yōgen*. Japanese flexional verbs however do not change along patterns similar to those governing verbs in European languages. *Yōgen* for instance do not change according to gender, person or number. Modification is only affected by the grammatical context, that is to say the quality of the particles or other words put after a specific

yōgen. In order to avoid terminology that is open to confusion, the word flexion has been adopted to indicate formal modifications of flexional Japanese words.

In most cases, however, denotation of intrinsic nuances, such as feelings, politeness, time, and so forth, is achieved in Japanese by *attaching* a specific suffix to a certain *inflected* form. In modern Japanese, various suffixes are so closely connected to the verb, that they almost appear to be endings of the verb.⁶

Such forms actually constitute a inflected form of a verb combined with an affix (*jodōshi* or *joshi*). The most important feature, then, is that this system of attaching affixes and their likes allows a huge variegation of expressions.

The question inevitably is whether attaching a particle that brings modification to a verb is not the same as using conjugation, as it is the case in Western verbs.

It is useful to maintain the difference between conjugation and agglutination⁷ as a mode of expressing diverse semantic differences for two reasons.

1. Both *joshi* and *jodōshi* can be defined as proper categories separately from *yōgen*, since they are isolable, exchangeable, and up to a certain level independent of the root to which they are added. Identical affixes, moreover, can in many cases be used both in connection with verbs and adjectives.

2. Modification of *yōgen* is typically induced by the kind of particle attached. Even if a connection can be made between the semantic value of a particle and the inflected form a *yōgen* has to adopt, conjugational forms cover a much larger and more ambiguous area than particles, which are usually very precise in terms of the emotional and semantic nuances they are intended to convey.

e. Flexional classes

In Western languages, and especially in Latin, different standard patterns (or paradigms) govern how verbs are inflected, or, more accurately, conjugated, after the Latin term for such inflexions: *conjugatio*. A similar phenomenon exists pertaining to the flexion of Japanese *yōgen*. There are, in other words, patterns governing the format of a *yōgen* in each of the above-mentioned forms. These patterns are called flexional classes, or in Japanese: *katsuyō no shurui* 活用の種類.

1.1.1. Verbs: *dōshi* 動詞

Verbs, or literally "motion-words" in Japanese, express an action, happening, state, or existence. In lexica or dictionaries, verbs typically appear in their final form, that is SSK.

a. Inflected forms / *katsuyōkei* 活用形

The flexion of verbs operates by modification of the final syllable and/or attachment of an ending, producing at most six different forms. These six forms usually serve as root for *joshi* and *jodōshi*. Among these inflected forms, some may fulfill an independent role within the syntactic construction. The following forms can be discerned when flexing Japanese verbs:

⁶ Consider for example polite verbal endings such as *-masu*.

⁷ The morphological process of successively adding affixes to a root in order to form a compound, contrasted as a mode of word-formation or of the expression of complex ideas with inflexion or the use of isolated elements. Agglutination is a particular characteristic of certain non-Indo-European languages, including (for example) Hungarian, Nahuatl, Korean, Japanese, and Turkish. OED, s.v. "agglutination"

1. *Mizenkei* 未然形

The MZK, literally "not yet completed form", is usually called the "imperfective" or indefinite form. This form cannot be used independently, and should be followed by *jodōshi* or *joshi*. Similar to the MZK in Modern Japanese, which is often followed by *jodōshi* expressing negation, intention, or deliberation (cf. *ikanai* 行かない [I do not go], *ikō* 行こう [let's go]), the classical MZK is generally followed by *jodōshi* articulating a state to be realized, or a future event. Three of the five main uses (negation, intention, surmise) express that the action is still to be completed. The future aspect is not explicit in the fourth usage, which connects the MZK to functional contents: passive, medio-passive, potential, causative and honorific voices.

▪ Negation / *hitei* 否定

The negation morpheme *zu* ず takes a prominent place. Moreover, the conjunctive negation particle *de* で is equally ranged under this heading. It is a particle that actually represents the comprised combination of *zu* ず + the conjunctive particle *te* て.

死なず
shinazu
does not die

京には見えぬ鳥なれば、皆人見知らず
Miyako niwa mienu tori nareba, mina hito mishirazu (*Ise monogatari*, 9:117)
As it was a bird one does not spot in the capital, no-one recognized it.

▪ Intention / desire / request

The *jodōshi* belonging to this category are *mu* む (intention), *ji* じ (negative intention) and *mahoshi* まほし (desire). Kindred particles are *baya* ばや (first-person desire), *namu* なむ (request), and Nara particle *na* な (first-person desire/invitation).

死なむ
shinamu
to intend to die, shall die

天つ風雲の通ひ路吹きとちよ乙女の姿しばしとどめむ
Amatsukaze kumo no kayoji fukitojiyo otome no sugata shibashi todomemu
(*Kokinshū*, 872)
Winds of heaven, blow shut the passage of the clouds! I want to retain the image of the girls for a while.

いかで見ばやと思ひつゝ
Ikade mibaya to omoitsutsu (*Sarashina nikki*, "Kadode")
I thought to myself how fondly I wanted to see her.

いつしか梅咲かなむ

Itsushika ume sakanamu (Sarashina nikki, "Ume no tachie")
I wished the *ume* trees to blossom soon.

今は漕ぎ出でな
Ima wa kogiidena (Man'yōshū, 1:8)
Let's row out now!

▪ Surmise or hypothesis

In addition to the *jodōshi mashi* まし (surmise), the particle *ba* ば (hypothesis/speculation) is particularly relevant for this kind of use. *Ba* should not be mistaken for the homophonic IZK particle *ba* which covers a causal or temporal meaning.

死なば
shinaba
if I were to die

小倉山峯のもみぢ葉心あらば今一度の行幸待たなむ
Ogurayama mine no momijiba kokoro araba ima hitotabi no miyuki matanamu (Shūi wakashū, 17:1128)
Autumnal leaves atop Mount Ogura! If you have a heart, please wait for one more imperial procession.

▪ Passive / medio-passive / potential / causative / honorific

Mention should be made here of the *jodōshi ru* る, *raru* らる, *su* す, *sasu* さす and *shimu* しむ. Specifically, the morphemes *ru* and *raru* account for the potential, (medio)passive, and honorific functions, whereas *su*, *sasu*, and *shimu* operate as markers of a causative or honorific content. In addition, *yu* ゆ and *rayu* らゆ count as Nara equivalents of the *jodōshi ru* and *raru*.

2. The *ren'yōkei* 連用形

The "conjoining form" which, as is hinted by its name, connects flexion words, indicates that the action or state expressed by the verb is already completed, or still ongoing. Three functions can be discerned:

▪ Adverbial adjunct

滝の糸は絶えて久しくなりぬれど
Taki no ito wa taete hisashiku narinuredo (Shūi wakashū, 8:449)
Although the threads of the waterfall ceased flowing long ago...

▪ Simultaneity or succession of actions

In this usage, the RYK often appears in isolation and takes a so-called "suspensive form" (*chūshikei* 中止形), articulating, as it were, a caesura between co-ordinated sentences. As is illustrated by *tsutsu* below, the RYK may be combined with a particle.

吾は死に、彼は死なず
Ware wa shini, kare wa shinazu

I die, and he doesn't

御垣守衛士の焚く火の夜は燃え昼は消えつつ物をこそ思へ

Mikakimori eji no taku hi no yoru wa moe hiru wa kietsutsu mono o koso omoe (Shikashū, 7:225)

As fire lit by the Palace Guards, burning at night and quenched during the day, I am meditating.

これより峯つゞき、炭山を越え、笠取を過ぎて、或は岩間まうで、或は石山ををかむ

Kore yori mine tsuzuki, Sumiyama o koe, Kasatori o sugite, aruiwa Iwama mōde, aruiwa Ishiyama o ogamu (Hōjōki, 30:39)

A chain of peaks runs from here, and we shall cross Mount Sumi, pass Kasatori, worship at Iwama, and pray at Ishiyama.

▪ Nominalisation

Nouns derived from a verb (i.e. deverbative nouns), are often followed by the particle *ni* に. A number of RYK forms became independent concepts in their own right and were lexicalized as substantives: *monogatari* 物語 (tale), *hikari* 光 (light), *kasumi* 霞 (haze), *kiri* 霧 (mist), *keburī* 煙 (smoke), *omoi* 思ひ (thought, desire), and so forth.

我が背子に恋ふれば苦し暇あらば拾ひて行かむ恋忘貝

Waga seko ni koureba kurushi itoma araba hiriite yukamu koiwasuregai (Man'yōshū, 6:964)

It is painful to yearn after my lover; if I have spare time, I will pick one up, a "shell of forgetting one's love"

あづまの方に住むべき国求めにとて行きけり

Azuma no kata ni sumubeki kuni motome ni tote yukikeri (Ise monogatari, 9)

With a view to finding a province in the east where he could live, he left.

世に語り伝ふる事、まことはあいなきにや、おほくは皆虚言なり

Yo ni kataritsutauru koto, makoto wa ainaki ni ya, ōku wa mina soragoto nari (Tsurezuregusa, 73)

The things rumoured in the world are truly uninteresting! Most of them are all lies.

▪ Root for *dōshi* or *jodōshi*

The RYK enables a smooth connection between verbs, joining them into compound verbs. It also functions as root for various *jodōshi* (including *ki* き, *keri* けり, *tsu* つ, *nu* ぬ, *tari* たり, *kemu* けむ) which indicate aspect or completion of an action. The late Heian flexion morpheme *tashi* たし is something of an oddity, connecting to an RYK although expressing first-person desire.

彼は死にたり

Kare wa shinitari

He has died

▪ Root for *joshi*

Diverse particles are attached to the RYK, including conjunctive particles (*te* て, *tsutsu* つつ, *nagara* ながら) and final particles (*so* そ, *teshigana* てしかな, *nishigana* にしかな). As far as adjectives are concerned, the RYK may moreover be taken as root for the final particles *mogana* もがな en *moga(mo)* もが (も), the conjunctive particle *tomo* とも (which expresses a concessive supposition), and the inductive emphasis particle *wa* は (which highlights a supposition).

「今日、浪な立ちそ」と人々ひねもすに祈るしるしありて、風浪たゝず
"Kyō, nami na tachi so!" to hitobito hinemosu ni inoru shirushi arite, kaze nami tatazu (Tosa nikki, 20:50)
"Waves, don't arise today!" people prayed all day long, and in truth neither wind nor waves got up.

いかで鳥の声もせざらむ山に籠りにしかな
Ikade tori no koe mo sezaramu yama ni komorinishigana (Utsubo monogatari, 1)
I would so love to seclude myself in the mountains where not even a bird's voice is heard.

世の中にさらぬ別れのなくもがな
Yo no naka ni saranu wakare no nakumogana (Ise monogatari, 84)
I wish it did not exist, the parting that we cannot escape in this world.

吉野河水の心ははやくとも滝の音には立てじとぞ思ふ
Yoshinogawa mizu no kokoro wa hayakutomo taki no oto ni wa tateji to zo omou (Kokinshū, 651)
Although my heart swirls like the Yoshino river water, I won't set up a noise as boisterous as a waterfall's roar.

こひしくはとぶらひきませ
Koishikuwa toburaikimase (Kokinshū, 982)
If you should miss me, come and visit me.

花しちらずは千世も経ぬべし
Hana shi chirazuwa chiyo mo henubeshi (Kokinshū, 96)
A thousand more generations should have passed, for blossoms to scatter no more.

Note: *Shi* functions as an adverbial particle adding stress/emphasis.

3. The *shūshikei* 終止形

▪ Marking sentence ending

Conforming to the rules of Japanese grammar, the "final form" in general concludes a period. The SSK suggests that an action takes place in the present, although adverbs of time (such as *mukashi* 昔) may evoke a context in the past. In such cases, the SSK may be considered a historical present. Moreover, the SSK is accepted as the form under which most flexion words are listed in a dictionary.

いささかに雨降る

Isasakani ame furu (Tosa nikki, 20:38)

It is raining slightly; it drizzles.

▪ Root for *jodōshi*

Flexion morphemes indicating a hint of speculation as a rule connect with the SSK. This category includes *ramu* らむ, *rashi* らし, *beshi* べし, *maji* まじ, *meri* めり and hearsay *nari* なり.

男もすなる日記

Otoko mo sunaru niki (Tosa nikki, 20:27)

Diaries men are said to keep.

▪ Root for *joshi*

Thirdly, the SSK functions as a form to which a number of *joshi* are connected, namely *ya* (inductive particle of doubt/rhetorical question), *na* (final prohibitive particle), and *tomo* (conjunctive particle of hypothetical concession).

名にしおはばいざこととはむ宮ことりわが思ふ人は有りやなしやと

Na ni shi owaba iza kototowamu miyakodori waga omou hito wa ari ya nashi ya to (Kokinshū, 411)

If you are true to your name, well now let me ask you something, capital bird: is the one I love still alive?

あやまちすな。心して降りよ

Ayamachi su na. Kokoro shite oriyo (Tsurezuregusa, 109)

Don't hurt yourself! Come down carefully!

ちりぬとも香をだに残せ

Chirinu tomo ka o dani nokose (Kokinshū, 1:48)

Though you will be scattered eventually, leave at least your perfume.

Although the SSK typically concludes a Japanese period, this rule is set aside in a few cases. Certain particles in a sentence, for instance, may require a different final form, usually RTK or IZK. In Japanese linguistics, this⁸ phenomenon is better known by the term *kakarimusubi* 係結 (inductive connection).

4. The *rentaikei* 連体形

In general, the adjectival or attributive form is adopted by flexion words preceding a noun. The number of other functions in which this form features, however, is quite large.

▪ Attributive adjunct

⁸ A postpositional particle-verb agreement also known as the "linked form" or "bound ending".

In its attributive function (*rentaihō* 連体法), the RTK invariably appears in combination with a *taigen*. The verb may be the principal verb of a noun modifying clause (*rentai-shūshokusetsu* 連体修飾節).

死ぬる者多し

Shinuru mono ōshi (*Konjaku monogatari*shū, 25:13)

There are a lot of people who die.

嘆きつつひとり寝る夜の明くる間はいかに久しきものとかは知る

Nagekitsutsu hitori nuru yo no akuru ma wa ikani hisashiki mono to ka wa shiru (*Kagerō nikki*, 1:Tenryaku 天暦 9)

Do you know how long it takes for dawn to rise when sleeping alone, weeping?

▪ Implicit nominalization / *juntaihō* 準体法

The RTK here seems to modify nominal nouns (*keishiki meishi* 形式名詞; such as *koto* こと, *mono* もの, *toki* とき, and so forth) or a nominalizing particle (such as *no* の), which are dropped out elliptically. In contrast to RYK nominalization, the process here rather converts a verb into an abstract concept (for example *shini* 死に [death] ↔ *shinuru* 死ぬる [dying])

死ぬるは安し

Shinuru wa yasushi

Dying is easy.

Note: Following *shinuru*, the word *koto* こと seems to be omitted.

さくらの花のちるをよめる

Sakura no hana no chiru o yomeru (*Kokinshū*, 2:85)

Composed on the topic of scattering cherry blossoms

これやこの行くも帰るも別れつつ知るも知らぬも逢坂の関

Kore ya kono yuku mo kaeru mo wakaretsutsu shiru mo shiranu mo Ōsaka no seki (*Gosen wakashū*, 1090)

Here it is, where those leaving and those returning bid farewell, acquaintances and strangers alike: the Barrier Station of Ōsaka.

▪ RTK due to induction

By the agency of certain preceding inductive particles (*zo* ぞ, *namu* なむ, *ya* や and *ka* か), the SSK converts into an RTK. Question words too (e.g. *nado* など) may cause the final form to transform into an RTK. The question word adopts the role, so to speak, of an inductive particle.

我が子ぞ死ぬる

Waga ko zo shinuru

My child, for heaven's sake, is dying.

緑なる一草とぞ春は見し秋は色々の花にぞありける

Midori naru hitotsukusa to zo haru wa mishi aki wa iroiro no hana ni zo arikeru (*Kokinshū*, 4:245)

In spring I saw one kind of grass, all green; but in autumn there are flowers, variedly coloured!

Note: *Keri* here expresses surprise.

夏草は茂りにけれど郭公などわが宿に一声もせぬ

Natsukusa wa shigerinikeredo hototogisu nado wagayado ni hitokoe mo senu
(*Shin kokinshū*, 3:189)

The summer grass has already grown rank, but why does the little cuckoo not utter a single cry near my abode?

▪ Root for *joshi*

A number of particles always follow the RTK: conjunctive particles (such as the concessive particles *o* を, *ni* に and *ga* が or combinations featuring *mono* もの: *mono'o* ものを, *monono* ものの, *monokara* ものから, *monoyue* ものゆえ) or final particles (namely *ka* か and the exclamatory particles *kana* かな or *kamo* かも).

夏の夜はまだ宵ながらあけぬるを雲のいつこに月やどるらん

Natsu no yo wa mada yoinagara akenuru o kumo no izuko ni tsuki
yadoruran (*Kokinshū*, 3:166)

A summer night, although still early, has broken into dawn; but where behind the clouds is the moon taking shelter?

頼まぬものの恋ひつつぞふる

Tanomanu monono koitsutsu zo furu (*Ise monogatari*, 23)

Although I don't trust you, my love for you will persist.

うつせみの世にもにたるか

Utsusemi no yo ni mo nitaru ka (*Kokinshū*, 2:73)

How they resemble this ephemeral world of ours!

▪ Root of *jodōshi* / copula *nari*

The RTK may serve as the root for the copula *nari* なり and the comparative flexion morpheme *gotoshi* 如し / 若し. Both *nari* and *gotoshi* however may be put immediately after a noun, which, in the case of *gotoshi*, can be extended by insertion of conjunctive particles such as *ga* or *no*. *Rahen* verbs in particular convert to RTK when they connect to speculative *jodōshi* (namely *ramu*, *rashi*, *beshi*, *maji*, *meri*, and hearsay *nari*), morphemes which normally follow a SSK root.

命にも優りて惜しくある物はみはてぬ夢のさむるなりけり

Inochi ni mo masarite oshiku aru mono wa mihatenu yume no samuru
narikeri (*Kokinshū*, 12:609)

Far dearer than life itself, is to awake from a dream one failed to see to the end.

行く水の還らぬ如く吹く風の見えぬが如く

Yuku mizu no kaeranu gotoku fuku kaze no mienu ga gotoku (*Man'yōshū*, 15:3625)

Like the running water that does not return, and the blowing wind one cannot see.

▪ Suggestive stylization

This category introduces the RTK as a final form, and suggests a connotation hidden behind the literal content of a statement.

郭公来ゐる垣根は近ながら待ち遠にのみ声のきこえぬ

Hototogisu kiiru kakine wa chikanagara machidō ni nomi koe no kikoenu
(*Gosen wakashū*, 149)

Although the fence on which the little cuckoo has perched is near, all I do is wait impatiently, for I haven't heard its call.

The RTK in sentence-final position suggests transmission of an implicit message by the author. Using the RTK as a final form with connotative implications was a favourite stylistic device among Heian writers, which increasingly produced a sort of competition between the SSK as a regular final form and the RTK. Eventually, this resulted in the gradual assimilation of both forms. In modern Japanese there is a thorough synthesis of the two inflexional categories: all flexional classes now have identical forms for SSK and RTK alike. Adjectival verbs on the other hand still retain different forms for both categories: RTK (~*na* な) is distinct from SSK (~*da* だ).

5. The *izenkei* 已然形

In the oldest stage of the Japanese language, the perfective form (literally "already accomplished form") put emphasis on the action or state directly preceding it. In the course of time, the IZK started to express concession as well as causal/temporal structures, for example *yukedo* 行けど (he did go, however ...), *yukeba* 行けば (since/as he went). The IZK is considered to be the prototype of the modern Japanese *kateikei* 假定形, the conditional or hypothetical: *yukeba* 行けば (if he goes). Also, it is considered to be the opposite of the MZK: whereas the MZK is used to mark an unfinished situation or action (e.g. negation), the IZK often accompanies completed actions or situations. Three specific IZK functions can be discerned:

▪ Root for *joshi*

Conjunctive particles in particular can be attached to the IZK. These may express a logical or causal relation (*ba* ば, *do* ど, *domo* ども), or articulate a concession (*do* ど, *domo* ども):

吾死ぬれば、鬼とならむ

Ware shinureba, oni to naramu

When I am dead, I shall become an ogre.

父は死ぬれども、子は死なず

Chichi wa shinuredomo, ko wa shinazu

Although its father died, the child will not.

ももちどりさへづる春は物ごとにあらたまれども我ぞふり行く

Momochidori saezuru haru wa monogoto ni aratamaredomo, ware zo furiyuku (*Kokinshū*, 1:28)

In spring, when lots of birds twitter, everything rejuvenates; but I, for one, grow older.

Note: The verb *aratamaru* (自ラ四) is put in opposition to the compound verb *furiyuku* 旧り行く (自カ四) by virtue of the conjunctive particle *domo* ども. *Zo* ぞ requires the final verb to transform into the RTK, following the principle of *kakarimusubi*; since *yuku* 行く is a *yodan* verb, this RTK form is identical to the original SSK.

この子を見れば、苦しき事もやみぬ
Kono ko o mireba, kurushiki koto mo yaminu (Taketori monogatari)
As he looked at this girl, his troubles disappeared.

男も女も恥ぢ交はしてありけれど、男はこの女をこそ得めと思ふ
Otoko mo onna mo hajikawashite arikeredo, otoko wa kono onna o koso eme to omou (Ise monogatari, 23)
Although both boy and girl were bashful of each other, the boy wanted to take her as his wife.

▪ IZK due to induction

The perfective aspect is not always clearly present in this usage. Within this category, the inductive particle *koso* in particular requires the IZK as a final form. The combination *koso* + IZK was first attested in late Heian literature. The particle *koso* may be used to lay emphasis or to introduce a concessive thought.

弱者こそ死ぬれ
Jakusha koso shinure
It is the weak that die.

折節の移りかはるこそ、ものごとに哀れなれ
Orifushi no utsurikawaru koso monogoto ni awarenare (Tsurezuregusa, 19)
The very turning of the seasons is so piteous among things.

人こそ見えね秋は来にけり
Hito koso miene aki wa kinikeri (Shūi wakashū, 140)
There isn't a living soul in sight, now that the autumn is here.

▪ Root for *jodōshi*

This usage concerns the combination of a *yodan* verb IZK and the *jodōshi ri* り.⁹ Accordingly, stress is put on the resultative aspect of an action, or on the aspect of duration.

若草のつまもこもれり我もこもれり
Wakakusa no tsuma mo komoreri ware mo komoreri (Kokinshū, 1:17)
My young wife is hidden here, and so am I.

6. The *meireikei* 命令形

⁹ Phonological studies of Old Japanese have demonstrated that the MRK of *yodan* verbs (which in time covered the IZK of *yodan* verbs) originally functioned as root for the *jodōshi ri*. Based on the perfective or resultative aspect inherent to *ri*, however, this *jodōshi* is classified within this IZK group.

As is hinted by its name, the MRK represents the imperative voice of a flexion word. This form is used in isolation, or in combination with the endings *yo*, *ro*, and *i*.

汝、よく聞け
Nanji, yoku kike
 You, listen carefully!

b. Flexion classes

As previously mentioned, the flexion of *yōgen* is determined by different flexion patterns (or paradigms). With regard to verbs, nine flexion classes can be identified. They are distinguished by the following factors:

- The *number of forms* (vowels) a verbal final syllable can adopt when inflected. Within the *gojūonzu* these forms are styled "tiers" (*dan* 段), as opposed to rows (*gyō* 行), which indicate the final syllables themselves. It is important to bear in mind that this way of counting only addresses final syllabic changes, thus disregarding any ending that might be added to certain forms.
- The *row* to which the final syllable belongs, when a flexion class only comprises verbs sharing the same kind of final syllable (for example the "ka-row three-tier flexion" *kagyō sandan katsuyō* 力行三段活用).
- If necessary, the *kind of forms* a final syllable may adopt. This particularly applies whenever, for instance, two flexion classes may take the same number of forms, although the forms themselves are different. (For example the *shimonidan*- 下二段 and *kaminidan-katsuyō* 上二段活用).

Classical Japanese verbs inflect over nine different flexion classes. The following will introduce paradigms for each of these nine classes, illustrating all possible final syllables within each class.

1. The four-tier flexion / *yodankatsuyō* 四段活用

This class comprises verbs ending in eight possible final syllables, inflected over four different forms. The inflexion is illustrated by the following grid:

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
カ行		-						
ガ行		-						
サ行		-						
タ行		-						
ハ行		-						
バ行		-						
マ行		-						
ラ行		-						

2. The irregular *ra* flexion / *ragyō henkaku katsuyō* ラ行変格活用

This flexion is often abbreviated as *rahen* ラ変. Only a few verbs expressing existence or presence (such as *haberi* 侍り, *ari* あり, and so forth), belong to this class. In

addition, a number of suffixes, such as *-tari*, *-keri*, *-ri*, and so forth, are inflected according to this pattern. The SSK of this class is distinctive in ending in *ri* instead of *ru*.

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
ラ行		-						

3. The irregular *na* flexion / *nagyō henkaku katsuyō* ナ行変格活用

Also dubbed *nahen* ナ変. Only three *yōgen* respond to this flexional pattern: the verbs *shinu* 死ぬ (to die) and *inu* 往ぬ (to depart), and the *jodōshi nu* ぬ.

This class is characterized by the fact of having six different forms, two of which, RTK and IZK, are combined with endings (namely *-ru* and *-re* respectively).

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
ナ行		-						

4. The irregular *ka* flexion / *kagyō henkaku katsuyō* カ行変格活用

Also called the *ka*-row three-tier flexion (*kagyō sandan katsuyō* カ行三段活用), or *kahen* カ変 for short. Again, the number of verbs belonging to this class is quite limited: only the verb *ku* 来 is included. The *kahen* flexion comprises three forms, and has endings for the RTK, IZK, and MRK: *-ru*, *-re* and *-yo*.

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
カ行		Ø						/

5. The irregular *sa* flexion / *sagyō henkaku katsuyō* サ行変格活用

This is also known as the *sa*-row three-tier flexion (*sagyō sandan katsuyō* サ行三段活用), shortened to *sahen* サ変. This flexion is the *sa*-row equivalent of the previous class. Every single form is different, and the three final forms, RTK, IZK, and MRK, are compounds using endings.

Among the verbs taking this flexion are *su* す (modern Japanese *suru* する), and all its compound derivatives (for example *kisu* 帰す, *takusu* 託す), as well as the voiced variant (allomorph) *-zu* ず (for example *ronzu* 論ず, but also *omonzu* 重ず, *soranzu* 諳ず, and so forth), and the honorific verb *owasu* ず (see honorific verbs).

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
サ行		Ø						

6. The higher two-tier flexion / *kaminidan katsuyō* 上二段活用

Shortened to *kamini* 上二. Verbs have final syllables varying between just two different forms: a form ending in *u*, and one ending in *i*. The attribute "higher" refers to the fact that the vowels which can be taken by the final syllable (namely *i* and *u*), are arranged higher in the *aiueo* order than the vowels *u* and *e*, which are characteristic of the "lesser" two-tier flexion. This class is constituted by verbs having final syllables from nine different rows. As with the two previous flexions, the three final forms are compounds using endings.

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
カ行		-						
ガ行		-						
タ行		-						
ダ行		-						
ハ行		-						
バ行		-						
マ行		-						
ヤ行		-						
ウ行		-						
ワ行		Ø						

7. The higher one-tier flexion / *kamiichidan katsuyō* 上一段活用

Abbreviated to *kamiichi* 上一. The final syllable of these verbs does not change. Every form typically has a final syllable belonging to the *i* tier. This class is constituted by verbs having final syllables along six rows. The four final flexion forms make use of specific endings.

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
カ行		Ø						
ナ行		Ø						
ハ行		Ø						
マ行		Ø						
ヤ行		Ø						
ワ行		Ø						

8. The lower two-tier flexion / *shimonidan katsuyō* 下二段活用

The *shimoni* class undisputedly covers the largest variation of final syllable rows. Since this flexion features a sound change from *u* to *e*, with *e* situated on a lower tier than *i*, this class is called the "lower" two-tier flexion. This flexion likewise makes use of endings (-*ru*, -*re* and -*yo*) to complete the three final forms.

		form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
ア行		Ø						
カ行		-						
ガ行		-						
サ行		-						
ザ行		-						
タ行		-						
ダ行		-						
ナ行		-						
ハ行		-						
バ行		-						
マ行		-						

ヤ行		-						
ウ行		-						
ワ行		-						

9. The lower one-tier flexion / *Shimoichidan katsuyō* 下一段活用

The *shimoichi* class applies to only one verb: *keru* 蹴る. All forms are identical, provided that the four final forms take extra endings: *-ru*, *-re* and *-yo*.

		for m stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
カ行		Ø						

c. Flexion class identification

Generally speaking, the flexion class of a given Classical Japanese verb cannot be inferred from its SSK. However, it is not too hard to find the appropriate flexion pattern when observing the following classification rules.

1. The vast majority of verbs belong to the *yodan*, *kaminidan*, or *shimonidan* classes. Only some twenty-five verbs are ranged under the remaining classes, and these can easily be memorized.
2. In order to determine which of the three major groups applies, the MZK of a verb first needs to be found, for example by making the verb negative, that is by making a negation by adding the ending *-zu*.

d. Endoactive and exoactive verbs / *jidōshi* 自動詞 and *tadōshi* 他動詞

Japanese verbs describing an action or event, are usually of a dual nature, that is to say featuring one form which includes the object or person subjected to the action, making it involved with the action, and another form detaching the said object from the action in which it is not involved (but nonetheless subjected to it). A fine example is provided by the following pair of sentences:

糸切る
ito kiru
 A thread snaps.

糸を切る
ito o kiru
 To cut a thread.

At first sight, this phenomenon somewhat resembles Indo-European transitive and intransitive verbs. There are, however, two reasons preventing us from using this terminology.

1. An intransitive verb cannot take a direct object. Japanese *jidōshi*, however, may govern a direct object on certain conditions. In modern Japanese, see:

門を出る
kado o deru
 To leave through a gate.

2. An intransitive verb cannot be put in the passive. This is however possible as for Japanese *jidōshi*. In modern Japanese, see:

子供に泣かれる
kodomo ni nakareru
 To be bothered by the child's crying.

1. Typology

In contrast to Indo-European languages, which exceptionally have transitive and intransitive pairs derived from the same root, the Japanese language quite clearly has a dual structure, combining *jidōshi* and *tadōshi* as variant forms of the same verb. The following kinds can be discerned:

- Verbs sharing the same stem and final syllable, but having different flexions for the said final syllable. For example:

<i>tatsu</i> 立つ〔自タ四〕	↔	<i>tatsu</i> 立つ〔他タ下二〕
To stand up		To make it stand

- Verbs sharing the same stem, but having different final syllables. The exoactive component of this kind of verb almost always has *su* す as its final syllable. For example:

<i>taoru</i> 倒る〔自ラ下二〕	↔	<i>taosu</i> 倒す〔他サ四〕
To fall over		To bring down

- Verbal pairs, consisting of a verb and its deverbative. Two types exist:

a. Exoactive verbs derived from endoactive verbs:

<i>ugoku</i> 動く〔自カ四〕	→	<i>ugokasu</i> 動かす〔他サ四〕
to move		to put in motion

b. Endoactive verbs derived from exoactive verbs:

<i>fusagaru</i> 塞がる〔自ラ四〕	←	<i>fusagu</i> 塞ぐ〔他ガ四〕
to be blocked up		to block up

Remarkably, the deverbatives are regularly derived from the source verb, taking its MZK as root followed by the ending *-ru* る when creating an endoactive verb, or adding *-su* す when forming an exoactive verb. Such constructions clearly suggest a close connection to the verb *su* す, and to the passive (*ukemi* 受身) and causative (*shieki* 使役) *jodōshi raru* らる and *sasu* さす (see below).

e. Verbs of respect (*keigodōshi* 敬語動詞)

As will be illustrated below, *jodōshi* dispose over several possibilities of adding honorific, humble or polite overtones to verbs. Apart from such formal endings, there equally exist a number of verbs usually derived from common classical verbs but having a modified meaning fitting a formal turn of phrase. Such verbs are presented in the following table (the underlined verbs may also be used as auxiliary verbs). Modern variants are given in the shaded sections.

Summary of formal verbs

	neutral	humble 謙讓	honorific 尊敬
to be, to exist	ari あり ori り iru る	<u>haberi</u> 侍り <u>saburau</u> ふ <u>sōrō</u> 候	<u>owasu</u> す <u>owashimasu</u> 御座します masu 坐す <u>mashimasu</u> 坐します <u>imasu</u> 坐す imasugari 坐すがり
		mod.: お仕えする	mod.: いらっしゃる
to serve	tsukau 仕ふ	haberi 侍り saburau ふ tsukamatsuru 仕る	
		mod.: お仕えする	
to do	su す okonau 行ふ	itasu 致す <u>tsukamatsuru</u> 仕る tsukōmatsuru 仕る	nasaru 為さる <u>asobasu</u> 遊ぶ
		mod.: いたす	mod.: なさる
to say, to speak	iu 言ふ	<u>mōsu</u> す <u>kikoyu</u> 聞こゆ	ōsu す notamau 宣ふ
		mod.: 申し上げる	mod.: おっしゃる
to think	omou 思ふ	zonzu 存ず	obosu 思す oboshimesu 思し召す
		mod.: 存ずる	mod.: お思いになる
to know to govern	shiru 知る osamu む		shiroshimesu 知ろしめす

			mod.: お治めになる、ご存じである
to eat to drink	kuu 食ふ nomu 飲む	tabu 食ふ itadaku 頂く	<u>mesu</u> 召す kikoshimesu 聞こし召す
		mod.: 頂く、頂戴する	mod.: 召し上がる
to hear	kiku 聞く	uketamawaru る	kikoshimesu 聞こし召す
		mod.: お聞きする	mod.: お聞きになる
to see	miru 見る		goranzu ご覧ず
			mod.: ご覧になる
to go to come to leave	yuku 行く ku 来	mairu る agaru 上がる mōzu づ makaru 罷る makariizu 罷り出づ makazu	<u>owasu</u> 御座す <u>owashimasu</u> 御座します mashimasu 坐します imasu 坐す (kikoshi)mesu (聞こし) 召す
		mod.: うかがう、参上する、退出する	mod.: いらっしゃる
to give	atau 与ふ	<u>mairasu</u> らす <u>tatematsuru</u> 奉る	<u>tamau</u> 給ふ (四段) kudasaru 下さる tabu 賜ふ
		mod.: さしあげる	mod.: くださる
to receive	morau 貰ふ uku 受く	uketamawaru 承る tamawaru 給はる itadaku 頂く <u>tamau</u> 給ふ (下二段)	
		mod.: いただく	
to sleep	nu 寝 inu 寝ぬ		ōtonogomoru る oyoru 御夜る
			mod.: お休みになる

f. Auxiliary verbs (*hojodōshi* 補助動詞) and copulas

1. Auxiliary verbs

The Japanese language naturally has not only verbs that function fully independently, but also has specimens making it possible for other words to fulfil a verbal role. These are called auxiliary verbs and can be categorized as follows:

1. Formal auxiliary verbs. These constitute verbs of respect (see the table above) serving as auxiliaries or adjectives/adjectival verbs in order to express a hierarchic relation.
2. Neutral auxiliary verbs. These are attached to nouns, nominal forms of verbs or adjectives, particularly when particles expressing emphasis etc. join in. An example is the verb *su* ず, precursor of the modern Japanese verb *suru* する. For example:

思ひもせず
omoi mo sezu (*Man'yōshū*, 20:4425)
 not caring anything

Of course, combinations of both neutral and formal auxiliary verbs occur:

殿下も臨場し給ふ
denka mo rinjō shitamau
 His Highness too was present.

2. Copulas

Classical Japanese has two copulas: *nari* なり and *tari* たり. Both are merged forms of に + *ari* あり and と + *ari* あり respectively. *Tari* appears to be of "newer" formation, and was presumably coined during the Heian era, when it was used for reading Kanbun texts. Leaving the historical development of both copulas aside, let us first consider their flexional patterns:

Nari and *tari* inflexions

root	form basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
<i>taige</i> <i>n</i> / RTK							0	<i>rahen</i>
<i>taige</i> <i>n</i>							Ø	

▪ Flexion

Both *nari* なり and *tari* たり are governed by the *rahen* flexion, but in addition they have their own suspensive forms (*chūshikei* 中止形). They are *nishite* にして or *nite* にて for the verb *nari*, and *toshite* として or *tote* とて for *tari*.

Moreover, the flexion of *nari* combined with the negation *zu* ず or with emphasizing *joshi* produces irregular forms. More exactly, it reverts to its original compounds: *nari* なり + *zu* ず → *ni arazu* にあらず or *nari* なり + *koso* こそ → *ni koso are* にこそあれ etc.

大將にあらねども
Taishō ni aranedomo (*Heike monogatari*)

Although he was not a general...

▪ Usage

Nari can be put after *taigen* or nominalized *yōgen* (RTK forms). It usually concludes an assertion or declarative sentence. Added to *meishi* or RTK forms expressing a place or direction, *nari* behaves as a substantive verb (denoting being or existence). In combination with RTK forms operating as a proper name, *nari* indicates the name of the substance, that is to say it can be read as *to iu na no* ... といふ名の. *Tari* is only used together with *taigen*, preferably from Sino-Japanese stock (*kango* 漢語). It indicates the quality or function of a noun, and not rarely suggests a temporary situation.

細川幽斎は勿論歌人なり
Hosokawa Yūsai wa mochiron kajin nari
 Hosokawa Yūsai, to be sure, is a poet

かなたに見ゆる山は立山なり
Kanata ni miyuru yama wa Tateyama nari
 The mountain you see over there is Mount Tate

此小山は、もと外側なる四軒の家の所有にして
Kono koyama wa, moto sotogawa naru yonken no ie no shoyū ni shite
 (Monbushō 文部省, *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 尋常小学読本, 5)
 This hillock used to be considered to belong to the four houses on its outer sides.

所謂新劇なるもの
Iwayuru shingeki naru mono (Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫, *Tokai no yūutsu* 都会の憂鬱)
 The so-called pieces dubbed "shingeki"

伯の内務大臣たりし時
Haku no naimudaijin tarishi toki (Fukuda Hideko 福田英子, *Warawa no hanseigai* 妾の半生涯, 3:2)
 When the Count was the Home Secretary

兄人たる人、外より来たりて
Shōto taru hito, soto yori kitarite
 A man came from abroad, appearing to be her brother

1.1.2. Adjectives / *keiyōshi* 形容詞

These are flexionable words, expressing qualities of actions or nouns. Accordingly, they at first sight bear a striking resemblance to adjectives in Indo-European languages. However, they differ from one another in the following characteristics.

- *Keiyōshi* lack comparatives and superlatives.

- *Keiyōshi* do not accord with the number, gender or "case" of the noun they modify
- *Keiyōshi* are governed by a flexion comparable to Japanese verbs. They consequently may function as a single predicate

This implies that they have more predicative characteristics than their English counterparts. Accordingly, *keiyōshi* are more proximate to Japanese verbs, from which they however differ as follows:

- *Keiyōshi* flexion does not involve modification of the final syllable, but concerns the addition of an ending to the original final syllable or to the stem.
- Not all *jodōshi* added to verbs in order to realize different semantic changes can be put after a *keiyōshi*.

a. The flexion of *keiyōshi*

In contrast with verbal flexion, *keiyōshi* inflexion only involves stems and endings added to them.

b. Inflected forms

The inflected forms adoptable by *keiyōshi* entirely correspond to the terms introduced when discussing *dōshi* flexion. For the most part, they fulfill the same functions.

c. Flexion classes

Keiyōshi can be divided into two peculiar flexion classes, assisted by an extraordinary class, which operates as an auxiliary flexion to both main classes.

1. *Ku* flexion / *ku-katsuyō* ク活用

This flexion has an RYK ending on *ku* く, directly attached to the *keiyōshi*'s stem. The remaining possible endings are similarly added directly to the stem.

Ku flexion

Basic form	form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
	-	Ø ¹⁰					Ø

2. *Shiku* flexion / *shiku-katsuyō* シク活用

Keiyōshi belonging to this class have their RYK ending on *shiku* しく. This group typically has each of its four inflected forms beginning with *shi* し.

¹⁰ In Old Japanese texts, *ke* け and *shike* しけ can be found as the obsolete MZK and IZK forms respectively (e.g. *yokemu* よけむ "it will be fine"). These endings soon sank into oblivion, and had already fallen into disuse by the Heian period.

Shiku flexion

Basic form	form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
	-	Ø					Ø

3. *Kari* flexion / *kari-katsuyō* カリ活用

This flexional class originated from the contraction of a (*shi*)*ku keiyōshi* RYK, and the auxiliary *ari* あり. Although a number of *keiyōshi* exclusively inflect using this model, the great majority belongs to either of the previous classes, and only has recourse to the *kari* auxiliary flexion when connecting *joshi* and *jodōshi*.

Kari flexion

Basic form	form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
	-			Ø		Ø	

d. Examples1. *Ku* flexion *keiyōshi*

▪ MZK

寒からず
samukarazu
 It is not cold.

▪ RYK

寒くば
samukuba
 If it is/gets cold

Note: Although certain grammars read this phrase as the combination of MZK + *ba*, the particle *ba* should rather be construed as a corruption of the particle *wa* attached to RYK base.

寒くす
samuku su
 To make it cold.

寒かりけり
samukarikeri
 It was cold.

Note: *Keri* is a *jodōshi* indicating a past event (see below).

▪ SSK

寒し
samushi
It is cold.

▪ RTK

寒き日
samuki hi
A cold day.

寒かる日
samukaru hi
A cold day.

▪ IZK

寒けれども
samukeredomo
Although it is cold.

▪ MRK

寒かれ
samukare
Be/Get cold!

2. *Shiku* flexion *keiyōshi*

▪ MZK

美しからず
utsukushikarazu
It is not beautiful.

▪ RYK

美しくば
utsukushikuba
If it is/was beautiful.

美しくす
utsukushiku su
To make beautiful, to beautify.

美しかりけり
utsukushikarikeri
It was beautiful.

▪ SSK

美し
utsukushi
To be beautiful, it is beautiful.

▪ RTK

美しき物
utsukushiki mono
A beautiful thing.

美しかる物
utsukushikaru mono
A thing of beauty.

▪ IZK

美しけれども
utsukushikeredomo
Although it is beautiful.

▪ MRK

美しかれ
utsukushikare
Be beautiful!

e. Remarks related to *keiyōshi* inflected forms:

- As an ending, the IZK *kere* came about by adding *re* to the primeval form *ke*.
- Since the Heian era, and enhanced during the ensuing Kamakura and Muromachi periods, syncopation took place in MZK, RYK, and RTK endings, leading to the /k/ in the middle of a word being omitted. Such syncopations gave us words such as *takō* たかう from *takaku* たかく, or *ureshū* うれしう from *ureshiku* うれしく, for example.

f. Inflected forms functioning differently between *keiyōshi* and *dōshi*

1. A *keiyōshi* RYK has two different functions:

a. As suspensive form (*chūshikei*) connecting sentences:

風激しく、傘役立たず

kaze hageshiku, kasa yakutatazu

The wind is (too) strong, umbrellas are of no use.

b. As an adverbial form, preceding other *yōgen*:

雪激しく降る

yuki hageshiku furu

It snows heavily.

2. A stem may be used in isolation, assuming the following functions:

a. Attributive modification (in combination with *no* の):

遠の国

tō no kuni (*Man'yōshū*, 15:3688)

A far-away country.

b. Adverbial modification: stem reduplications often apply (see modern Japanese ideophones or *gitaigo* 擬態語):

久々合はず

hisabisa awazu

Not to have seen each other for a long time.

c. As an exclamation:

おお、寒！

Ō samu!

Oh, how cold it is!

d. As a noun:

円

maru

a circle (derived from *marushi* 円し [round])

1.1.3. Adjectival verbs / *keiyōdōshi* 形容動詞¹¹

This part of speech too comprises words expressing qualities of actions or nouns. Whenever functioning (attributively or adverbially) as a modifier, they necessarily take an auxiliary suffix¹² which "facilitates" this role, but which is not a fixed part of the main word.

Leaving the moot point of the *keiyōdōshi*'s real nature up to further linguistic study, this category is tentatively approached as a separate set of qualifiers within *yōgen*, conformable to the common practice in Japanese school grammars. Two different basic *keiyōdōshi* types can be discerned, depending on their endings or suffixes.¹³

a. *Keiyōdōshi* flexion

In contrast to their *keiyōshi* counterparts, flexion does not directly connect to the stem of classical Japanese adjectival verbs, but is rather realized by a suffix, or copulative, connecting the *keiyōdōshi* to the rest of the sentence. This copulative, either *nari* なり or *tari* たり, is partially derived from the verb *ari*, and inflects in the same way.

1. *Keiyōdōshi* taking the *tari* flexion / *tari-katsuyō* たり活用

This flexion only governs *keiyōdōshi* of Sino-Japanese origin. These typically have a mono- or disyllabic Sino-Japanese stem enhanced by the suffix *tari* たり. In Classical Chinese too, these words particularly functioned as adverbial modifiers, or at least originally fulfilled a qualifying function.

The suffix *tari* たり represents a contraction of the *joshi to* と and the verb *ari* あり (see above). Since the Chinese originals essentially behaved as qualifiers, the particle *to* was inserted before the copula *ari*, instead of using *ni*.

This *keiyōdōshi* formation basically started as a rendering of classical Chinese qualifiers in a Sino-Japanese reading, a common practice in premodern Japan when classical Chinese texts were read in their Japanese pronunciation (*kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読). Accordingly, numerous Sino-Japanese readings found their way into the common Japanese vocabulary. Two examples of these *keiyōdōshi* are given below, as well as a table illustrating the flexion of the suffix *tari*.¹⁴

¹¹ Although this rather innovative rendering is chosen to approximate the original Japanese term *keiyōdōshi*, the label does not quite accurately reflect the goods: in that respect "nominal adjective" would be a better alternative as translation. In terms of the history of the language, *keiyōdōshi* indeed derive from nouns or quasi-nouns (in most cases even from Chinese stock), used in fixed combination with the copula *nari*. Functioning as an attributive modifier (*rentaishūshokugo* 連体修飾語, i.e. modifying a *taigen*), *naru* inevitably appears as an RTK form between *keiyōdōshi* modifier and the modified.

¹² See below. The classification and analysis of *keiyōdōshi* within Japanese linguistics is of a rather controversial nature. There is particular controversy as to whether it should be considered a compound, joining two separate words, the first rather closely related to nouns (being an adjectival noun), or a unit, that is to say, an inflecting word essentially different from *keiyōshi* due to its flexion.

¹³ These may also be considered copulatives, that is, dependent morphemes derived from a copula, and always connected to a *keiyōdōshi* stem.

¹⁴ The RYK is sometimes called *fukushikei* 副詞形, and may use *to* as an additional RYK form.

判然たり
hanzen tari
 to be clear, distinct

厳然たり
genzen tari
 to be solemn, grave

Tari flexion

Basic form	form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
	-						

2. *Keiyōdōshi* taking the *nari* flexion / *nari katsuyō* ナリ活用

This *keiyōdōshi* category comprises words of Japanese and Sino-Japanese origin. Sino-Japanese words account for the major part, the majority derived from Chinese *nouns*. The indigenous Japanese *keiyōdōshi* mostly concern words of an inherently qualifying nature, and rarely involve words of a nominal or adverbial background. The inflecting suffix *nari* なり is a blending of the *joshi ni* に and the copula *ari* あり (see above). Although clearly older than the *tari* flexion, this formation was apparently not capable of turning Chinese qualifiers into Japanese adjectival verbs. Illustrations of this flexion class are:

静かなり
shizuka nari
 to be quiet, silent

明らかなり
akiraka nari
 to be clear

便利なり
benri nari
 to be convenient, handy

急なり
kyū nari
 to be urgent; pressing

Nari flexion

Basic form	form stem	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
	-						

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Note: Both *keiyōdōshi* classes additionally have a suspensive form (*nishite* にして / *toshite* として), as mentioned above in the section on copulas. This suspensive form functions in the same way as a verbal *chūshikei* does. The most common usages of the six different inflected forms can be summarized as follows:

▪ MZK

静かならず
shizuka narazu
 It is not quiet.

判然たらず
hanzen tarazu
 It is not clear.

静かならば
shizuka naraba
 If it is quiet.

判然たらば
hanzen taraba
 If it is clear.

▪ RYK

静かなりけり
shizuka narikeri
 It was quiet.

静かに歩け
shizuka ni aruke
 Walk quietly!

子供静かにして、父働く
*kodomo shizuka nishite, chichi hataraku*¹⁵
 The children are quiet, and father is working.

判然たりけり
hanzen tarikeri
 It was clear.

判然と言へ
hanzen to ie
 Say it clearly!

¹⁵ This is an example of the suspensive use of a *keiyōdōshi*, combined with the verb *su*.

言葉判然として、語る
kotoba hanzen toshite, kataru
Plain in his speech, he talks about it.

▪ SSK

静かなり
shizuka nari
It is quiet.

判然たり
hanzen tari
It is clear.

▪ RTK

静かなる家
shizuka naru ie
A quiet home.

判然たる言葉
hanzen taru kotoba
Plain words.

▪ IZK

静かなれども
shizuka naredomo
Although it is quiet.

判然たれども
hanzen taredomo
Although it is clear.

▪ MRK

静かなれ
shizuka nare
Be quiet!

判然たれ
hanzen tare
Make yourself clear!

1.2. Nouns / *taigen* 体言

The Japanese concept of *taigen* covers a wider range of words than the Western equivalent. In fact, it applies to all free flexionless words (*mukatsuyōgo* 無活用語)

capable of being the sentence subject (*shugo* 主語). This feature sets nouns apart from the so-called *hitaigen* 非体言 or non-nouns, which only have the absence of flexion and syntactic independence in common.

1.2.1. Substantives / *meishi* 名詞

This category of Japanese words perfectly corresponds to its equivalent in English. In a nutshell, *meishi*

- a. are invariable
- b. can represent or describe objects or concepts
- c. can be the subject
- d. can be modified by attributive modifiers (*rentaishi* 連体詞, *rentai-shūshokugo* 連体修飾語, RTK forms of *yōgen*) or modifying sentences (*rentai-shūshokusetsu* 連体修飾節).

Substantives may be divided into two categories: indigenous Japanese (*wago* 和語) and Sino-Japanese (*kango* 漢語) nouns.

Apart from characteristic (d), all mentioned features equally apply to the two remaining categories within *taigen*. Considering the intrinsic correspondence between *meishi* and English-language nouns, examples have been omitted for brevity's sake.

1.2.2. Pronouns / *daimeishi* 代名詞

The term *daimeishi* is evidently calqued on the word *pronoun*, which in fact misfits this Japanese part of speech. Indo-European pronouns are much more clearly set off from nouns, and in addition vary morphologically – two features which are not true for Japanese *daimeishi*. *Daimeishi* are characterized by the fact that

- they are independent flexionless words capable of being a sentence subject; in which regard they correspond to nouns.
- every one of them fulfils a referential (deictic) function, semantically set apart from nouns.

a. Indigenous *daimeishi*

The Japanese language has a considerable number of indigenous pronouns. These are especially characterized by the fact of referring to (first, second, and third) persons, as well as by being able to suggest distance with regard to the speaker; in terms of both time and space. The first and second persons take pronouns which intrinsically indicate the first or second person. The third person however is deficient in such substantive words (which perhaps may somewhat be likened to the English personal pronouns), and instead uses alternatives which might be translated as "the one who" or "the one that", and so forth. Numerous first and second person pronouns go back to honorific vocabulary, which accounts for their considerable diversity. In general, however, Japanese pronouns play a less prominent role than their Indo-European counterparts, since most of their functions are fulfilled by honorific and other flexion morphemes.

b. Sino-Japanese *daimeishi*

Due to the strong influence of the Chinese language, a number of Chinese nouns entered the Japanese vocabulary as pronouns. They particularly represent items suggesting a certain honorific connotation, and accordingly got incorporated into the formal register. As an example, one could mention the word *kikun* 貴君 ("honoured lord"), which nowadays by and large corresponds to the word *kimi* 君 ("you").

c. Pronoun characteristics

Daimeishi, as briefly indicated above, display a number of characteristics wanting in Western grammar.

1. Persons

In addition to the first, second, and third person, there is an indefinite class of *daimeishi* that concurrently serve as interrogative pronoun. The Japanese terminology reads:

<i>jishō</i>	自称	the first person
<i>taishō</i>	対称	the second person
<i>tashō</i>	他称	the third person
<i>futeishō</i>	不定称	the indefinite person

2. Demonstrative pronoun typology

In classical Japanese, the following kinds of demonstrative pronouns can be distinguished:

<i>ninshō-daimeishi</i>	人称代名詞	personal pronouns
<i>jibutsu-daimeishi</i>	事物代名詞	impersonal pronouns
<i>bashō-daimeishi</i>	場所代名詞	place pronouns
<i>hōgaku-daimeishi</i>	方角代名詞	direction pronouns
<i>hanshō-daimeishi</i>	反照代名詞	reflexive pronouns

Remarkably, the trichotomy first, second, and third person applies to all five kinds of pronouns, making, for instance, a second person place pronoun possible (compare *soko* そこ in modern Japanese).

3. Distance to the locutor

Moreover, a further subdivision can be made relative to the distance between the locutor and the person/object referred to, in so far as they indicate a third-person being or object:

<i>kinshō</i>	近称	indicating a proximal relationship
<i>chūshō</i>	中称	indicating a medial relationship
<i>enshō</i>	遠称	indicating a distant relationship

4. Tabular summary

		Pronouns				
		Personal	Impersonal	Place	Direction	Reflexive
First person		<i>wa</i> 吾 <i>ware</i> 吾 <i>onore</i> 己 <i>soregashi</i> 某 <i>nanigashi</i> 何某 <i>yo</i> 予 / 余 <i>maro</i> 麻呂/磨/ 丸	<i>ko</i> こ <i>kore</i> これ	<i>koko</i> こ こ	<i>kochi</i> こ ち <i>konata</i> 此方	<i>onore</i> 己 <i>onozukara</i> ら <i>mizukara</i> ら <i>jibun</i> 自 分 <i>jishin</i> 自 身 <i>jiko</i> 自己 <i>dō</i> 同- <i>tō</i> 当-
Second person		<i>na</i> な <i>nare</i> な れ <i>nanji</i> <i>kikei</i> 貴 兄 <i>kikun</i> 貴 君 <i>kihō</i> 貴方 <i>sokka</i> 足 下 <i>denka</i> 殿 下 <i>heika</i> 陛 下 <i>onore</i> お のれ <i>sonata</i> そなた <i>sochi</i> そ ち <i>omae</i> 御 前	<i>so</i> そ <i>sore</i> それ	<i>soko</i> そ こ	<i>sochi</i> そ ち <i>sonata</i> 其方	
Third person in the proximity of:	The locutor 近称	<i>ko</i> こ <i>kore</i> これ	<i>a</i> あ <i>are</i> あれ <i>ka</i> か <i>kare</i> かれ	<i>kashiko</i> かしこ <i>ashiko</i> あしこ <i>asoko</i> 彼 所	<i>achi</i> あち <i>anata</i> 彼 方 <i>kanata</i> かなた	
	The interlocutor 中称	<i>so</i> そ <i>sore</i> それ <i>shi</i> 其				
	Something out of reach 遠称	<i>ka</i> か <i>kare</i> 彼				

		<i>a</i> あ <i>are</i> あれ				
Indefinite不定称		<i>ta</i> た <i>tare</i> 誰/ 孰 <i>soregash</i> <i>i</i> 某 <i>nanigash</i> <i>i</i> 某	<i>izure</i> れ <i>nani</i> 何	<i>izuko</i> <i>izuku</i> <i>izuchi</i> い づち	<i>izuchi</i> い づち <i>izukata</i>	

1.2.3. Numerals: *sūshi* 数詞

Japanese numerals are independent words capable of being the sentence subject. This implies that they have as much in common with nouns as pronouns do. What distinguishes numerals from nouns is that the former operate as words indicating a quantity or set. Another peculiarity of Japanese numerals is their duality: they consist both of an incomplete indigenous and an integral Sino-Japanese series. Finally it should be pointed out that a set of mainly Sino-Japanese classifiers (*jōsūshi* 助数詞) is operative, linking up with a certain numeral while divulging the nature of the counted item.

a. Numeral typology

Two main types of numerals can be distinguished in Japanese:

- cardinals (*kisūshi* 基数詞)
- ordinals (*jōsūshi* 序数詞). This set is further subdivided into multiplicatives (*baisūshi* 倍数詞) and fractions (*bunsū* 分数).

1. Cardinals

- Japanese numerals

Japanese numerals comprise a full set up to ten, and some number words larger than ten:

1	<i>hitotsu</i>	つ
2	<i>futatsu</i>	つ
3	<i>mitsu</i>	つ
4	<i>yotsu</i>	つ
5	<i>itsutsu</i>	つ
6	<i>mutsu</i>	つ
7	<i>nanatsu</i>	つ
8	<i>yatsu</i>	つ
9	<i>kokonotsu</i>	つ
10	<i>tō / to / -so</i>	/ / ~

100	<i>momo</i> / -o	/ ~
1,000	<i>chi</i>	
10,000	<i>yorozu</i>	(originally an expression used vaguely or hyperbolically for a large number)

In the standard classical language, that is to say in Heian Japanese, indigenous numerals are ignored for numbers over ten. By contrast, Old Japanese from the Nara and previous eras made prolific use of indigenous numeral combinations to represent amounts over ten, e.g.:

30	<i>miso</i> / <i>misoji</i>	三十 /
80	<i>yaso</i> / <i>yasoji</i>	八十 /
800	<i>yao</i>	
	etc.	

When adding single entities to tens, the suffix *amari* was inserted, for example *misoji amari futatsu no katachi* 三十余り二つの相 to express "thirty-two men". Since this rendering was much more complicated than the Sino-Japanese way of counting, it lapsed into disuse by about the 8th century.

As a rule, Japanese numerals are combined with Japanese classifiers, but they can equally be used in combination with nouns, occasionally adopting the classifying suffix *-tsu*, which properly speaking is no part of the numeral (see the third example):

<i>hitoyo</i>	一夜	one night
<i>hitotsu ki</i>	一月	one month
<i>mitsugo</i>	三子	triplets / a three-year-old

▪ Sino-Japanese numerals

Sino-Japanese numerals make use of a complete set. In real terms, they are used for practically any number over ten. Still, numbers below ten are usually expressed in Japanese numerals.

1	<i>ichi</i>	一
2	<i>ni</i>	二
3	<i>san</i>	三
4	<i>shi</i>	四
5	<i>go</i>	五
6	<i>roku</i>	六
7	<i>shichi</i>	七
8	<i>hachi</i>	八

9	<i>kyū</i>	九
10	<i>jū</i>	十
11	<i>jūichi</i>	十一 etc.
20	<i>nijū</i>	二十 etc.
100	<i>hyaku</i>	百
200	<i>nihyaku</i>	二百 etc. ¹⁶
1,000	<i>sen (issen)</i>	千 (一千)
2,000	<i>nisen</i>	二千 etc.
10,000	<i>man (ichiman)</i>	万 (一万)
20,000	<i>niman</i>	二万 etc.
100,000	<i>jūman</i>	十万 etc.
1,000,000	<i>hyakuman</i>	百万 etc.
10,000,000	<i>senman</i>	千万 etc.
100,000,000	<i>oku (ichioku)</i>	億 (一億) etc.

Summary

NUMERAL S	JAPANESE	SINO-JAPANESE	NUMERAL S	JAPANESE	SINO-JAPANESE
1	<i>hitotsu</i> っ	<i>ichi</i> 一	11	<i>toamarihitotsu</i> あまりっ	<i>jūichi</i>
2	<i>futatsu</i> っ	<i>ni</i> 二	20	<i>futaso hata</i>	<i>nijū</i>
3	<i>mitsu</i> っ	<i>san</i> 三	100	<i>momo</i> -o / ~	<i>hyaku</i> 百
4	<i>yotsu</i> っ	<i>shi</i> 四	200	<i>futao</i>	<i>nihyaku</i> 二百
5	<i>itsutsu</i> っ	<i>go</i> 五	1,000	<i>chi</i> 千	<i>sen</i> 千
6	<i>mutsu</i> っ	<i>roku</i> 六	10,000	<i>yorozu</i>	<i>man</i> 万
7	<i>nanatsu</i> っ	<i>shichi</i> 七	100,000	∅	<i>jūman</i>
8	<i>yatsu</i> っ	<i>hachi</i> 八	1,000,000	∅	<i>hyakuman</i> 百万
9	<i>kokonotsu</i> っ	<i>kyū</i>	10,000,000	∅	<i>senman</i> 千万
10	<i>tō / to</i> -so ~	<i>jū</i>	100,000,000	∅	<i>oku</i> 億

2. Ordinals

Japanese ordinals are formed by adding prefixes and/or suffixes to the cardinals. In contrast to common practice in English and other European languages, different kinds of ordinals exist in Japanese, each befitting a certain context.

- Ordinals based on indigenous cardinals

¹⁶ It should be noticed that euphonic changes (*onbin* 音便) may apply when continuing this series, for example *happyaku* 八百 instead of **hachihyaku*, and so forth.

These ordinals have the noun *me* 目 ("eye") suffixed to the numeral. A classifier (see below) such as *tsu* is necessarily put between the numeral and the suffix. For example:

the first	<i>hitotsume</i>	つ
the first (person)	<i>hitorime</i>	
the third room	<i>mimame</i>	
the seventh day	<i>nanukame</i>	

▪ Ordinals based on Chinese cardinals

Three variations apply:

1. The Sino-Japanese prefix *dai* 第 is put before the numeral:

firs t	<i>daiic</i> <i>hi</i>	第 一
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2. The Sino-Japanese suffixes *ban* 番 or *gō* 号 are put behind the cardinal.

first	<i>ichiba</i> <i>n</i>	一 番
secon d	<i>nigō</i>	二 号

3. A combination of both previous formations:

first	<i>dai ichiban</i>	第一番
second	<i>dai nigō</i>	第二号
thirty-seco nd	<i>dai</i> <i>sanjūnigō</i>	第三十二 号

4. In case of a series (such as listed items, for example) or numeration (for example dates), ordinal affixes are usually omitted.

in the first place	<i>ichi...</i>	一
eleventh (day of the month)	<i>jūichinic</i> <i>hi</i>	十一 日
twelfth (month)	<i>jūnigats</i> <i>u</i>	十二 月

Note: The Sino-Japanese numerals for four (*shi* 四) and seven (*shichi* 七) are usually replaced by the indigenous Japanese equivalents *yo* and *nana*.

The Japanese set of numerals is used for counting the days of the month. Sino-Japanese numerals only serve to state a period of days, not a specific date.

3. Multiplicatives

Three suffixes can function as formatives that denote multiplication by a certain quantity. One belongs to the indigenous Japanese stock, and the two others are from a Sino-Japanese background.

1. Japanese: *e* (-fold, -ply, literally "layer")

This multiplicative suffix is exclusively put after Japanese numerals. Similar to cardinal numbers, Japanese multiplicatives are limited to ten; any multiplication beyond this cut-off makes use of Sino-Japanese numerals. Incidentally, this set is defective and has to rely on Sino-Japanese supplements for the numerals "four" and "six".

double, twofold	<i>futa</i> <i>e</i>	
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2. Sino-Japanese: *jū* 重, *bai* 倍

In addition to the Sino-Japanese counterpart of the above, *bai* 倍 originally denoted "multiples of two".

treble; triple	<i>sanjū</i>	三重 17
three times; threefold	<i>sanb ai</i>	三倍

4. Fractions

A simple rule of thumb applies to fractions: first the denominator or part displayed below the line (or after the slash) is mentioned, followed by the suffix *bun* 分. This expression is followed by the particle *no* の and the numerator (= number above the line).

four-fifths, 4/5	<i>gobun</i> <i>yon</i>	<i>no</i>	五分の 四
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5. Indefinite numerals

Numerals of this kind either express an undefined amount or ask about an exact quantity. They can be formed in two ways.

1. By replacing a Japanese numeral by the question formative *iku* 幾:

¹⁷ Note that Japanese numerals are here written with the same kanji characters as the Sino-Japanese numerals, while having different readings (*dōjiidokukun* 同字異読訓).

how many	<i>ikutsu</i>	つ
how many people	<i>ikutarī</i>	くたり
	<i>ikunin</i>	
how many times	<i>ikue</i>	

2. By replacing a Sino-Japanese numeral with the question prefix *nan* 何:

how many times	<i>nanbai</i>	何倍
how many people	<i>nannin</i>	何人

6. Classifiers

Classifiers (also called counters or numeratives) are a group of words included in the numerating system in order to establish a semantic relation between the numeral and the counted object. One specific classifier will typically be used to count nouns belonging to the same semantic class. The common feature shared by nouns governed by the same classifier, usually refers to a visible physical characteristic. A discus, a sheet of rice paper, and a coin, accordingly, are all counted using the classifier *mai* 枚, which thus accompanies thin or flat small-sized objects.

Classifiers are common to many Asian languages, including Chinese, Korean, Malay, and so forth. Japanese classifiers do not escape the usual dichotomy between indigenous and Sino-Japanese vocabularies. Indigenous classifiers can be observed both after Japanese and Sino-Japanese numerals. Sino-Japanese classifiers, in principle, only follow Sino-Japanese numerals.

▪ Japanese classifiers:

Classifier	Meaning	Usage	Example
<i>eda</i> 枝	branch	offerings, presents	<i>kiji hitoeda</i> 雉一枝 one pheasant offering
<i>furi</i> 振り	swing	(drawn) swords	<i>katana hitofuri</i> 刀一振り one unsheathed sword
<i>hashira</i> 柱	column	deities and dignitaries	<i>mihashira no kami</i> 三柱の神 three gods
<i>kasane</i> 重ね	layer	clothing, paper, boxes	<i>kosode mikasane</i> 小袖三重重ね three <i>kosode</i> ¹⁸
<i>kashira</i> 頭	head	Buddhist statues, daimyo	<i>daimyō futakashira</i> 大名二頭 two feudal lords

¹⁸ A wadded silk garment.

<i>kawara</i> 航	ship's keel, bottom timber	ships	<i>Yasokawara no fune</i> 八十航の船 eighty ships
<i>koshi</i> 腰	waist	trousers, skirts, (sheathed) swords, (quivered) arrows	<i>isokoshi no ya</i> 五十腰の矢 (a quiver counting) fifty arrows
<i>ma</i> 間	chamber	rooms	<i>heya futama</i> 部屋二間 two rooms
<i>moto</i> 本	root	long, erect things (esp. plants), (trained) hawks	<i>taka hitomoto</i> 鷹一本 one hawk
<i>mune</i> 棟	ridge	buildings	<i>dozō hitomune</i> 土蔵一棟 one godown
<i>nagare</i> 流れ	flowing	flags, long and narrow objects, juxtaposed things	<i>akahata o nananagare tsukuri ...</i> 赤旗を七流れ作り、・・・ making seven red flags
<i>suji</i> 筋	tendon, string	long and narrow objects	<i>Moto hikaru take hitosuji arikeri</i> 本光る竹一筋ありけり one bamboo shoot shone at its base
<i>tari</i> 人	*human being	people ¹⁹	<i>musume futari</i> 娘二人 two daughters
<i>wa</i> 羽	(pair of) wings	birds	<i>kamo futawa</i> 鴨二羽a brace of ducks

Note: Present table calls for two comments:

- Today, the indigenous Japanese classifiers are outdated and hardly feature in modern Japanese. They can only be retrieved in classical texts.
- Numbers below ten maintain their Japanese readings; accordingly:

鷹一本	<i>taka hitomoto</i>	one hawk, etc.
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▪ Sino-Japanese classifiers

Classifier	Meaning	Usage	Example
<i>bi</i> 尾	tail	fish	<i>akahara sanbi</i> 赤腹三尾three daces
<i>chaku</i> 着	clothing	clothes	<i>hakama itchaku</i> 袴一着a pair of trousers
<i>chō</i> 挺	to handle	tools	<i>jinrikisha gochō</i> 人力車五挺 five rickshaws
<i>chō</i> 張	to stretch	bows, tents, string instruments	<i>koto gochō</i> 琴五張five harps
<i>dai</i> 台	platform	machines and vehicles	<i>kikai ichidai</i> 機械一台 one machine

¹⁹ In response to the question word *ikutari* having been limited to one, two or four persons since the Heian period; the remaining combinations have used Sino-Japanese classifiers ever since.

<i>fū</i> 封	seal	letters, parcels	<i>ippūsho</i> 一封書 one letter
<i>fuku</i> 幅	width	scrolls, maps	<i>chizu nifuku</i> 地図二幅 two maps
<i>gu</i> 具	tool	utensils, clothes	<i>heiji ichigu</i> 瓶子一具 one pitcher
<i>hiki</i> 匹	companion	animals	<i>uma nihiki</i> 馬二匹 two horses
<i>hon</i> 本	root	cylindrical objects	<i>fude nihon</i> 筆二本 two pencils
<i>jiku</i> 軸	axis	scrolls	<i>makimono nijiku</i> 巻物二軸 two scrolls
<i>jō</i> 條	line	long and wide things, e.g. sashes, roads, ribbons	<i>obi ichijō</i> 帯一條 one sash
<i>ka</i> カ・ヶ, <i>ko</i> 個	(piece)	default classifier	<i>hako niko</i> 箱二個 two boxes
<i>ka</i> 荷	load	burden to be carried	<i>ryōgake ikka</i> 両掛一荷 a carrying pole
<i>ken</i> 軒	the eaves	houses	<i>sankenme no tei</i> 三軒目の邸 the third mansion
<i>ku</i> 口	mouth	people and tools	<i>kōshi ikku</i> 講師一口 one instructor
<i>kyaku</i> 脚	leg	legged furniture	<i>tsukue nikyaku</i> 机二脚 two desks
<i>mai</i> 枚	small piece of a board, stick	flat, thin objects	<i>gin sanmai</i> 銀三枚 three silver coins
<i>mei</i> 名	name	persons [formal]	<i>hakase hachimei</i> 博士八名 eight doctors
<i>men</i> 面	surface	flat objects	<i>biwa sanmen</i> 琵琶三面 three Japanese lutes
<i>mon</i> 門	gate	cannons	<i>hō hyakumon</i> 砲百門 one hundred cannons
<i>nin</i> 人	man	people	<i>bushi ikunin</i> 武士幾人 How many samurai?
<i>ryō</i> 両	two wheels	vehicles, rolling stock	<i>kuruma sanryō</i> 車三両 three cars
<i>satsu</i> 冊	volume	books	<i>shomotsu sansatsu</i> 書物三冊 three books
<i>satsu</i> 札	writing	official documents	<i>shōmon issatsu</i> 証文一札 one deed
<i>shu</i> 首	head	poems	<i>waka hyakushu</i> 和歌百首 one hundred tanka
<i>sō</i> 艘	large vessel	ships, vessels	<i>kaisen gosō</i> 回船五艘 five lighters
<i>soku</i> 足	foot	footwear	<i>kutsu gosoku</i> 靴五足 five pairs of shoes
<i>tō</i> 頭	head	large animals, cattle	<i>ushi hyakutō</i> 牛百頭 one hundred head of cattle
<i>tsū</i> 通	message	letters and documents	<i>tegami ittū</i> 手紙一通 one letter

<i>zen</i> 膳	dining tray	meals served in bowls, chopsticks	<i>hashi ichizen</i> 箸一膳 pair of chopsticks
--------------	-------------	--------------------------------------	--

Sino-Japanese classifiers naturally follow Sino-Japanese numerals (excepting the peculiar cases involving the numbers four and seven).

Further, attention should be paid to the rules of euphonic change (*onbin* 音便), which remain unimpaired.

1.3. Non-nouns: *hitaigen* 非体言

This category covers independent non-inflecting words, which cannot act as subject of a sentence. A distinction is made between *hitaigen* that operate as a modifier (before *taigen* or *yōgen*), and *hitaigen* not functioning as modifier. Attributive modifiers are referred to by Japanese grammars as *rentai shūshokugo* 連体修飾語, whereas adverbial modifiers are known as *ren'yō shūshokugo* 連用修飾語.

1.3.1. Adverbs: *fukushi* 副詞

Japanese adverbs display the following properties:

1. They are independent, free words, which modify other adverbs, *yōgen*, predicates, and, in rare cases, nouns.
2. They are invariable and can be neither subject nor predicate in themselves.

In the linguistic sphere, one might add that as these words are characterized by invariability and modifying nature, which makes them the ideal soil for onomatopoeia and mimetic words (*giongo* 擬音語 and *gitaigo* 擬態語 respectively).

Interestingly, the number of fully fledged *fukushi* in the Japanese language is rather limited, and most of the adverbial vocabulary is derived from *keiyōshi*, *keiyōdōshi*, nouns, or verbs.

According to the parts of speech they modify, adverbs can be divided into three major groups:

1. Adverbs exclusively modifying *yōgen*.
2. Adverbs modifying *yōgen*, *taigen*, and other *fukushi*.
3. Adverbs modifying the predicate in its entirety.

More precisely, these groups can further be categorized as follows:

a. Adverbs exclusively modifying *yōgen*

1. Modal adverbs (*jōtai-fukushi* 状態副詞)

These are used to indicate the way in which an action is done, or modify the property of a condition.

For example: at least *semete* せめて
constantly *taezu* 絶えず

Moreover, quite a number of *jōtai-fukushi* are derived from adverbial forms of *yōgen*:

For example: well *yoku* 良く
likewise *onajiku* 同じく

Another group of adverbs originated from reduplications:

For example: respectively	<i>sorezore</i>	それぞれ
accidentally	<i>tamatama</i>	偶々

Finally, a number of adverbs were taken from the Chinese. They partly concern words that already had a modifying function in Chinese. The remaining ones are words that originally go back to Chinese nouns, or that were compounded in Japan from Chinese elements.

For example: as a matter of course	<i>mochiron</i>	勿論
all	<i>issai</i>	一切
in a dignified manner	<i>dōdōto</i>	堂々と

2. Locative adverbs (*basho-fukushi* 場所副詞)

Locative adverbs indicate place or distance.

For example: nearby	<i>chikaku</i>	近く
far away	<i>harukani</i>	遥かに
on the way	<i>michisugara</i>	道すがら

3. Temporal adverbs (*toki no fukushi* 時の副詞)

Adverbs of this kind are used to indicate time.

For example: first	<i>mazu</i>	先づ
when?	<i>itsu</i>	いつ
soon	<i>mamonaku</i>	まもなく
rarely	<i>mareni</i>	稀に
for a while	<i>shibashi</i>	暫時

and many more.

b. Adverbs modifying *yōgen*, *taigen*, and other *fukushi*: measure adverbs (*teido fukushi* 程度副詞)

These adverbs establish the measure of the action, state, or quality that they modify.

For example: all	<i>mina</i>	皆
very	<i>hanahada</i>	甚だ
more and more	<i>masumasu</i>	益々

and so forth.

c. Adverbs modifying the predicate (*chinjutsu fukushi* 陳述副詞)

These adverbs modify the predicate in its entirety. They express a great variety of semantic functions, including negation, condition, affirmation, and interrogation. They are often combined in a set phrase with a specific verbal form.

For example: as yet *imada* 未だ
 [not] in the least *sarasara* + neg. 更々
 really [should] *masani* (+ *beshi*) 正に...べし
 why *nazo* なぞ
 and so forth.

1.3.2. Adnouns or noun adjuncts: *rentaishi* 連体詞

Adnouns are independent words, used to modify *taigen*. Originally, they all come from verbal *rentaiki* forms. The differences between *rentaishi* and *dōshi* are as follows:

1. *Rentaishi* are indivisible, i.e. they cannot be defined as words consisting of different parts. *Dōshi* combined with *jodōshi* do not qualify as adnouns.
2. *Rentaishi* are invariable, i.e. RTK of inflecting words cannot be considered as adnouns.
3. *Rentaishi* are isolated, i.e. the word itself is recognisable as a derivative, but it lost its original form, and only survived as an attributive modifier (*rentai-shūshokugo*).

Classical Japanese features just over a dozen *rentaishi*.

a certain	<i>aru</i>	或る
all, every	<i>arayuru</i>	あらゆる
the so-called	<i>iwayuru</i>	
particular; considerable	<i>sashitaru</i>	然したる
not much; not so [+ neg.]	<i>saseru</i>	然せる
last	<i>saru</i>	去る
last	<i>sannuru</i>	去んぬる
last	<i>inji</i>	往んじ
such	<i>saru</i>	然る
such, like this	<i>kakaru</i>	斯る
next, coming	<i>kitaru</i>	来たる
different; unexpected; undesirable	<i>aranu</i>	有らぬ
next, following	<i>akuru</i>	明くる

Additionally, a number of modifying particles, that is to say combinations of a stem followed by *no* の or *tsu* つ, are classified as *rentaishi*: see *tō no* 遠の (far-away), *hon no* 本の (mere), *toko tsu* 常つ (eternal) and so on.

Note: *Inji* is the contracted form of *ini* 往に + *shi* し. *Shi* is the RTK of the past-tense *jodōshi ki* き, which is attached to the RYK.

1.3.3. Conjunctions / *setsuzokushi* 接続詞

This part of speech covers uninflected words, which are largely derived from other parts of speech or their combinations. They establish hierarchy in the text by connecting clauses or sentences, or by coordinating words in the same clause. They share this feature with conjunctive particles (*setsuzokujoshi* 接続助詞) and RYK forms, which are used more frequently in classical Japanese. Conjunctions never occur in sentence-final position, and can be classified as follows

a. Word-connecting conjunctions

- Coordinative conjunctions / *Heiretsu setsuzokushi* 並列接続詞

For example: *narabini* 並びに ("and"), *oyobi* 及び ("and"), *mata* また ("and also")

- Alternative conjunctions / *Sentaku setsuzokushi* 選択接続詞

For example: *moshiwa* もしくは ("or"), *aruwa* 或いは ("or")

b. Clause, or sentence-connecting conjunctions

- Coordinative conjunctions / *Heiretsu setsuzokushi* 並列接続詞

For example: *aruwa* 或いは ("or"), *aruwa* 或は ("or"), *hata* 将 ("or"), *mata* 又 ("and"), *moshikuwa* 若しくは ("or"), *moshiwa* 若しは ("or"), *narabini* 並びに ("and")

- Subordinate conjunctions / *Jūzoku setsuzokushi* 従属接続詞

For example: *katsu* 且つ ("besides"), *nao* ("further"), *shikanominarazu* 然のみならず / 加之 ("on top of that"), *shikashite* 而して ("then"), *shikōshite* して ("thus"), *satewa* さては ("and, on top of that")

- Copulative conjunctions / *Juntai setsuzokushi* 順態接続詞

For example: *kakareba* かかれば ("accordingly"), *kakushite* かくして ("in this way"), *kakute* かくて ("thus"), *saraba* 然らば ("and then"), *sareba* 然れば ("and so, therefore"), *shikaraba* 然らば ("if so"), *shikareba* 然れば ("therefore; thus"), *sunawachi* ち/ち ("and then"), *yueni* に ("consequently")

- Adversative conjunctions / *Gyakutai setsuzokushi* 逆態接続詞

For example: *tadashi* 但し ("but"), *kakaredomo* かかれども ("however"), *saredo* 然れど ("but"), *saredomo* 然れども ("but"), *sarinagara* 然りながら ("however"), *saruni* 然るに ("but"), *saruwa* 然るは ("still"), *shikaredomo* 然れども ("however"), *shikaruni* 然るに ("however"), *shikashinagara* 然しながら ("nevertheless"), *shikaruo* 然るを ("and yet")

1.3.4. Interjections / *kandōshi* 感動詞 or *kantōshi* 間投詞

As suggested by the Japanese terms, utterances or ejaculations expressive of emotion are assigned to this category. Interjections mostly do not constitute a grammatical

connection, but invite the addressee to react, or formulate a vocal response following an external or internal stimulus. A distinction is made between:

a. Emotions / *kandō* 感動

a あ ("Oh!"), *ā* ああ ("Oh!"), *ana* あな ("Ah!"), *aware* あはれ ("Alas!"), *suwa* すは ("Good Heavens!")

b. Responses / *ōtō* 応答

ina いな ("Nay"), *iya* いや ("No"), *ō* おう ("Aye")

c. Appeals / *yobikake* 呼び掛け

ikani いかにか ("Say"), *nōnō* なうなう ("Hey"), *yayo* やよ ("Yo-ho")

d. Enticements / *sasoikake* 誘い掛け

iza いざ ("Come now"), *ide* いで ("Come now"), *isa* いさ [+ neg.] ("No")

2. Bound morphemes: *fuzokugo* 付属語

This grammatical category treats those parts of speech that cannot operate as an independent entity. They are necessarily attached to another word, without which they cannot express a meaningful utterance. Since these morphemes usually follow the word they modify, the term *suffix* is often used in English to cover these dependent forms, which in turn can be classified into inflecting suffixes or auxiliaries (*jodōshi* 助動詞), and non-inflecting suffixes or particles (*joshi* 助詞).

2.1. Inflecting bound forms: auxiliaries / *jodōshi* 助動詞

After they are suffixed to verbal or adjectival bases, auxiliaries are further inflected. This happens in a way similar to *dōshi* or *keiyō(dō)shi* flexion. Consequently, a new verb or adjective-like phrase comes about.

In contrast to their non-inflecting counterparts, auxiliaries do not serve to clarify purely grammatical connections, but are used to explain an action or condition content-wise. They clarify the context in which a certain verb is used. Quite a number of auxiliaries fulfil multiple functions. Each specific function is determined by the grammatical or semantic context. Auxiliaries, moreover, may connect to other auxiliaries or other dependent forms. However, when attached to a verbal base, only one function applies at a time. If it is necessary to combine several functions, different auxiliaries and particles have to be combined. It is this characteristic that led to the Japanese language being categorized as an agglutinative language. Indeed, several suffixes may be connected in succession, producing an impressive array of meanings and shades of meanings.

Jodōshi can be categorized in three different ways:

- a. Semantically: according to the *kind of information* contained by the *jodōshi*, and extended to the word to which it is attached.
- b. Morphologically: according to the flexional properties of the *jodōshi*. *Jodōshi* do not uniformly follow the same flexion pattern. Some auxiliaries have flexions similar to those adopted by verbs, whereas other auxiliaries

inflect just like *keiyōshi*, or behave in the same way as *keiyōdōshi*, that is by taking a copula ending. In addition, a minority of auxiliaries has a unique flexion pattern, corresponding to none of the three above-mentioned flexions.

c. Syntactically: according to the inflected form (base) to which it is attached. Every auxiliary has to be attached to a specific inflected form. Moreover, certain rules regulate the order in which a succession of *jodōshi* are arranged. Past-tense auxiliaries, for instance, are always placed after auxiliaries of passive use, and never appear ahead of them.

The classification used here follows the arrangement of *jodōshi* according to semantic categories.

Note: It is important to bear in mind that in contrast to Western verbal forms, Japanese *jodōshi* primarily fulfil their function as words. This is to say, in Japanese the passive is a semantic category, and therefore cannot be grammatically isolated as distinctly as the passive voice in Western languages. To put it oversimply, in Japan the passive is an emotion, in the West a grammatical function. This observation more or less holds for all other *jodōshi*, and underlies the present classification according to semantic criteria.

When classifying according to semantic criteria, *jodōshi* can be regrouped according to the functions they fulfil into the following three major sections, which respectively have to do with:

1. The extent to which the subject or locutor is *involved* in the action. This includes such functions as passive, causative, medio-passive, potential, and honorific uses.

Note: Each of the aforementioned functions defines the extent to which the subject and/or speaker is involved in the action. None of them suggest a direct factual involvement, except perhaps for the honorific suffixes. In this case, the use of an honorific auxiliary, which can also be applied as a passive suffix, does not express a factual, but a fictional reduction of involvement, for the subject is a high-ranking person. Whenever dignitaries occur as subject, the use of semantically unambiguous expressions is avoided. Finally, this led to the use of *jodōshi* indicating a reduced involvement of the subject in the action.

2. The tense of the action (future, past, and present tense, terminative, and non-terminative aspect).

3. Modality, or the speaker's subjective *attitude* or *assessment* of an action. Moods such as doubt, hope, intention, volition, prohibition, negation, assertion, comparison, reporting, statement, suspicion, surprise, and so on, are all communicated by *jodōshi* belonging to this section.

2.1.1. Degree of involvement

a. Passive use / *ukemi* 受身: RU, YU, RAYU, RARU

Auxiliaries turning the verb into a passive, include *ru*, *raru*, and their Old Japanese equivalents *yu* and *rayu*. The flexional behaviour of these suffixes can be summarized as follows:

Flexion *ru*, *yu*, *raru*, *rayu*

base	form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
------	------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	---------

	Basic form							
MZK*								shimonid an
							Ø	
MZK†								

*Yodan, nahen, and rahen verbs.

†Ichidan, nidan kahen, and sahen verbs.

Only a few Nara *jodōshi*, occasionally involving some signal peculiarities, escaped the ravages of time. Attaching *yu* to *omou* and *kiku*, for instance, produced *omowayu* 思はゆ and *kikayu* 聞かゆ, respectively, but quite soon the MZK linking vowel *a* turned into an *o*, resulting in the forms *omōyu* 思ほゆ (> *oboyu* 思ぼゆ) and *kikoyu* 聞こゆ. Eventually, these forms were lexicalized during the Heian period as independent words. A similar transformation into an independent lexical item was the case for *miyu* 見ゆ ("to be visible; to be able to see"), which is compounded from the regular combination of MZK + *yu*. Other relics of the auxiliary *yu* are to be discovered in a number of adnouns, including *arayuru* あらゆる, and *iwayuru* いはゆる, *rentaishi* in which the MZK of the verb (*ara-* / *iwa-*) is followed by the *yu*'s RTK form.

When using *ukemi*, the agent as a rule is indicated by the particle *ni*, whereas the subject of the passive verb appears without particle, and is usually put at the beginning of the sentence. As for the passive mood, three situations may apply:

- The subject is a living being, directly subjected to the action (*tadōshi*):

生徒講師に叱らる

Seito kōshi ni shikararu

The student is scolded by the instructor.

か行けば人に厭はえかく行けば人に憎まえ老男はかくのみならず

Ka yukeba hito ni itowae kaku yukeba hito ni nikumae oyoshio wa kaku nomi narashi (*Man'yōshū*, 5:804)

When going over there they are resented by others, and when coming over here they are disliked by them; such is the only treatment old people get.

- The subject is a living being, indirectly (and negatively) affected by the action (*jidōshi* / *tadōshi*):

長け高き人に前にをられて、見えず

Taketakaki hito ni mae ni orarete, miezu

There is a tall man in front of me, so I cannot see it.

Note: Although *ori* をり is a *jidōshi*, it is connected to *hito* 人 by using *ni* に, which normally indicates the agent of a *tadōshi* verb. *Ni* に is put here in order to indicate the source of a discomfort that is specified by the passive form of *ori* をり.

隣の人に窓を開けられて、安眠を得ず

Tonari no hito ni mado o akerarete, anmin o ezu

My neighbour opened the window, and I couldn't get a quiet sleep.

Note: The difference between a "regular" passive and the indirect or "suffering" passive used here, lies in the content of the main sentence (*anmin o ezu*), which suggests that the opened window gives discomfort to the speaker. It should be noted that the suffering passive only constitutes an additional usage of the regular passive, and is not an independent grammatical form.

- The inanimate subject is directly affected by the action (*tadōshi*):

紙端に書かれたる物語あり

Shitan ni kakaretaru monogatari ari

There is a story written in the margin of a page.

Note: This passive use, having a grammatical subject which is not a living being, is rather uncommon. The suffix attached to the passive auxiliary is the RTK of the *jodōshi tari* たり (see below).

b. Medio-passive or spontaneity use / *jihatsu* 自発: RU, YU, RAYU, RARU

The medio-passive (or sometimes: middle or deponent voice) use is a grammatical category which indicates that the action expressed by the verb happens spontaneously or by itself. In a way, the subject is submitted to an action that lacks a visible agent. In outward appearance, the verb is used in the passive form, but is regarded as active in meaning. The medio-passive, in short, stands midway between active and passive, thus mixes passive auxiliaries (*ru, raru, yu, rayu*) with active meanings.

筆を執れば、物書かれ、楽器を取れば、音を立てんと思ふ

fude o toreba, mono kakare, gakki o toreba, ne o taten to omou

(*Tsurezuregusa*, 157)

When I take my pen in hand, I jot something down, and when I clasp my instrument, I feel like making some music.

Note: The form *re* れ of the auxiliary *ru* る here, represents the so-called suspensive RYK. *Ru* is indeed merely used as a medio-passive formation. It tries to suggest that the speaker unconsciously, as it were, started to write whenever taking his pen in hand, unprompted by conscious volition.

なほ梅の匂ひにぞ、いにしへの事も立ちかへり、恋しう思ひ出でらるる

Nao ume no nioi ni zo, inishie no koto mo tachikaeri, koishū omoiideraruru

(*Tsurezuregusa*, 19)

All the more for the fragrance of *ume* blossoms, things of the past come back, and I think of them wistfully.

Note: *Koishū* 恋しう is the RYK of *koishi* 恋し ("longing, wistful"), which dropped the /k/ in its ending due to sound change. The medio-passive phrase *omoiideraru* 思い出らる takes RTK here due to the occurrence of *zo* ぞ (see *kakarimusubi* above). The use of the medio-passive here relates to memories that spring to mind spontaneously, and are not recalled deliberately.

瓜食めば子ども思ほゆ。栗食めばまして偲はゆ

Uri hameba kodomo omōyu kuri hameba mashite shinuwayu (*Man'yōshū*, 5:802)

When eating melons, my children come to mind; when eating chestnuts, I miss them even worse.

c. Potential use / *kanō* 可能: RU, YU, RAYU, RARU, BESHI, MAJI

This function is used to indicate that the subject or speaker is possibly involved in the action, that is to say is capable of effectuating it. This usage in fact represents a further elaboration of the medio-passive, implying that the susceptibility to a certain event developed into the capability of a certain action. The auxiliaries *ru*, *raru*, *yu*, and *rayu* are most frequently used as potential suffixes. In addition, the auxiliary *beshi* can also be used. The negative potential is expressed by *bekarazu* (which derived from a form of *beshi* combined with the negative auxiliary *zu*) or by the *jodōshi maji*.

Flexion *beshi*, *maji*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MR K	Flexion
SSK*		Ø					Ø	<i>ku-katsu yō</i>
				Ø	()	Ø	Ø	<i>kari-kat suyō</i>
		Ø					Ø	<i>shiku-ka tsuyō</i>
				Ø		Ø	Ø	<i>kari-kat suyō</i>

* Words following the *rahen* inflexion take the RTK as base.

湖廻に満ち来る潮のいや増しに恋はまされど忘らえぬかも

Minatomi ni michikuru shio no iyamashi ni koi wa masaredo wasuraenu kamo (*Man'yōshū*, 12:3159)

With the increase of the tide running full in the harbour, my longing is only getting stronger; can I still not forget her?

妹を思ひ眠の寝らえぬに秋の野にさ牡鹿鳴きつ妻思ひかねて

Imo o omoi, i no neraenu ni aki no no ni saoshika nakitsu tsuma omoikanete (*Man'yōshū*, 15:3678)

Unable to get some sleep, for yearning after his mate the stag cries in the autumn field, I cannot but think of my beloved.

恐ろしくて寝もねられず

Osoroshikute i mo nerarezu

It was so frightening that I was unable to go to sleep

つゆまどろまれず

Tsuyu madoromarezu (*Genji*, "Kiritsubo")

He is unable to take a nap at all.

今宵はえ参るまじ

Koyoi wa emairumaji

I cannot go this evening.

Note: *E* should be considered an adverb in this case.

羽なければ、空をも飛ぶべからず

Hane nakereba, sora o mo tobubekarazu (Hōjōki)

Having no wings, they could not fly through the air.

あなづりやすき人ならば、「後に」とてもやりつべけれど

Anazuriyasuki hito naraba, "Nochi ni" tote mo yaritsubekeredo (Makura no sōshi, 28)

If it is someone you can easily make little of, you can no doubt dismiss him by saying "Later".

Note: The hint of strong possibility is emphasized by the presence of the *jodōshi* *tsu*.

物はすこし覚ゆれども、腰なむ動かれぬ

Mono wa sukoshi oboyuredomo, koshi namu ugokarenu

I do feel some sensation, but I cannot move my lower limbs.

Note: *Oboyu* 覚ゆ (自や下二) means "to sense, to feel". *Namu* なむ is an emphatic particle that operates *kakarimusubi*, making the final inflected form turn into the RTK. Consequently, *nu* ぬ represents the RTK of *zu* ず. Incidentally, the phrase *ugokarenu* may also be construed as a medio-passive.

d. Causative use / *shieki* 使役: SU, SASU, SHIMU

The causative is a function in which the subject is not directly involved in the action. Although it causes the action, or allows it to happen, its realization is taken care of by another operator. *Shieki* can be expressed by the following auxiliaries: *su*, *sasu* and *shimu*.

Flexion *su*, *sasu*, *shimu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK *								<i>shimonidan</i> <i>an</i>
MZK †								
MZK ‡								

**Yodan*, *nahen*, and *rahen* verbs.

†*Ichidan*, *nidan*, *kahen*, and *sahen* verbs.

‡*Kamiichidan* verbs, as well as the *shimonidan* verb *u* 得, however, adopt the RYK followed by *se* (= MZK of the verb *su*). E.g. *miseshimu* 見せしむ (to let/make see, to show).

Note: As regards the previous flexion table, it should be noted that *tadōshi* derived from *jidōshi*, and ending in *-su*, follow a different flexion, viz. the "four-tier" or *yodan* flexion. Also, there is a *jodōshi* *su* which adds a honorific purport, and which equally has a *yodan* flexion.

いそぎまゐらせて御覧するに

Isogimairasete goranzuru ni (Genji, "Kiritsubo")

He (= the emperor) summoned him to come quickly to court, and when he inspected him ...

Note: *Isogimairasete* is a compound formed by the RYK of *isogu* "to make haste", and the MZK of the humble verb *mairu* "[hum.] to go". *Goranzuru* is the RTK of the honorific verb *goranzu*, meaning "to see"; *ni* here is an RTK-based conjunctive particle (*setsuzokujoshi*) which operates as a connector between sentences.

教師生徒に本を読ます

Kyōshi seito ni hon o yomasu

The teacher has the student read a book.

Note: The participant who is made to perform an action by the agent is, if necessary, marked off by the particles *ni* に, *o* を or *oshite* をして. The direct object is indicated by を.

政府国民に教育を受けさす

Seifu kokumin ni kyōiku o ukesasu

The Government makes the people receive an education.

身を破るよりも、心いたましむるは、人を損なふことなほ甚だし

Mi o yaburu yori mo, kokoro o itamashimuru wa, hito o sokonau koto nao hanahadashi (*Tsurezuregusa*, 129)

Causing someone's soul to suffer, is far more severely hurtful than harming someone's body.

Note: An empty noun (or *keishikimeishi* 形式名詞, lit. "formal noun") is omitted twice, making the nominalizing function of the RTK be used instead: once in the case of *yaburu* (他う四) and again in the causative phrase *itamashimuru*.

e. Honorific use / *sonkei* 尊敬: RU, YU, RARU, RAYU, SU, SASU, SHIMU, SU

Honorific endings are used in order to pay respect to the subject, by suggesting its indirect involvement in the action. By applying *sonkei* auxiliaries, the speaker indicates that his position is inferior to the one held by the subject. The flexion of most auxiliaries is already introduced above, except for the Old Japanese jodōshi *su*, which takes the *yodan* flexion.

Flexion *su*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK*								<i>yodan</i>

**Yodan* and *sahen* verbs.

This auxiliary *su* expresses mild respect or affection. In combination with the verbs *omou*, *shiru* and *kiku*, the honorifics *omowasu*, *shirasu*, and *kikasu* came about, as did their variant spellings *shirosu* 知ろす, *kikosu* 聞こす, and *omōsu* 思ほす. During the Heian period, *omōsu* further modified into *obosu*. In the same period, *su* gradually lost currency and only survived as a fossilized word part in honorific verbs such as *mesu* 召す, *kikoshimesu* 聞こしめす, *omōsu* 思ほす, *obosu* 思す, *tsukawasu* 遣はす, and so forth.

Initially, and with the notable exception of the honorific verbs *mesu* 見す, *kesu* 着す, *nasu* 寝す, and *koyasu* 臥やす, only *yodan* or *sahen* verb MZKs served as a base for *su*.

この岡に菜摘ます児家聞かな名告らさね

Kono oka ni na tsumasu ko ie kikana na norasane (*Man'yōshū*, 1:1)

Lass picking greens on this hill, I want to know your family, tell me your name.

葛飾の真間の井見れば立ちならし水汲ましけむ手児奈し思ほゆ

Katsushika no Mama no i mireba tachinarashi mizu kumashikemu Tegona shi omōyu (*Man'yōshū*, 9:1808)

Seeing the well of Mama in Katsushika, I remember Lady Tegona, who paved a path to that place, going to draw water, so people say.

Since Heian times, the productive use of this auxiliary finally discontinued in favour of the passive and causative inflecting forms. Towards the late Heian period, there were even instances of a combined use of both *jodōshi*, which have left their marks on modern Japanese vocabulary, as the honorific verb *irassharu* いらっしゃる (<*iraseraru* 入ら+せ+らる) illustrates.

薩摩守忠度は、いづくよりか帰られたりけん

Satsuma no kami Tadanori wa izuku yori ka kaeraretariken (*Heike monogatari*, 7)

Where had Tadanori, the Governor of Satsuma, returned from?

Note: The verb *kaeru* is suffixed by the honorific *ru*, and further takes the auxiliary *tari*, which in turn is connected to the *jodōshi ken* (also spelled *kemu*), which indicates conjecture or doubt (see below). Both *tari* and *ken* take the RYK as base. The particle *ka* here also suggests conjecture or doubt.

いで、むつかしきことな聞こえられそ

Ide, mutsukashiki koto na-kikoerare-so (*Genji*, 21)

Come on, don't talk about such delicate matters!

Note: *Ide* is a *kandōshi* expressing negation, a negative exclamation etc. *Na ~ so* represents some sort of negative imperative, which is circumfixed to the verb. This verb always takes the RYK. In this example, the humble verb *kikoyu* (他ヤ下二) is used, meaning "to say".

東宮四にならせ給ふに、譲り申させ給ふ

Tōgū yotsu ni narasetamau ni, yuzurimōsasetamau

When the Crown Prince reached the age of four, he [=the Emperor] announced his abdication.

Note: This example offers a combination of different honorific forms. On the verbal level, the honorifics *mōsu* and *tamau* are used, whereas morphologically the auxiliary *su* is used to express honorific usage. The combination (*sa*)*setamau* is a turn of phrase expressing utmost politeness. At the same time, this example makes use of humble verbs in order to clarify the relationship between the Crown Prince and the Emperor.

帝大いに驚かせ給ひて、観ぜしめ聞こしめすこと限りなし

Mikado ōini odorokasetamaite, kanzeshime kikoshimesu koto kagiri nashi

His Majesty is greatly impressed, and listens with boundless admiration.

Note: The construction *odorokasetamaite* is assembled following the usual pattern. *Kanzeshime* is compounded from the Sino-Japanese verb *kanzu*, which means "to sense". *Shimu* is attached to the MZK, and it takes the RYK in order to connect to another verbal part of the sentence.

上は歌を作らしめ給ふ
Kami wa uta o tsukurashimetamau
 The emperor composes a poem.

2.1.2. Indication of time

In Classical Japanese, the time of an action cannot be detached from other semantic aspects. European languages tend to express time indications by using verbal forms exclusively reserved to indicate time. In Classical Japanese, most *jodōshi* used to indicate a certain time or an aspectual characteristic additionally impart a connotation, expressing for instance the speaker's relation with regard to the action. Classical Japanese, moreover, distinguishes between the absolute pastness of an action (its positioning on a fixed timescale = real past tense), and pastness of an action *in relation to* some other event, which itself may be situated in the future (= past aspect).

The following passages will, step by step, elaborate on the various ways of expressing time by using auxiliaries.

a. Present tense / *genzai* 現在

The default tense of all Japanese inflecting words, including verbs, is formally undetermined. Lacking any explicit indication of time or temporal phase of action, all inflecting forms, both independent and bound formations, are assumed to follow the (present) indefinite tense.

The term indefinite tense is used here since, as context serves, Japanese verbs in default of further time indication by other sentence parts such as time-indicating words or suffixes, are indefinite: they may express both current and past actions. They do so with much greater flexibility than European verbs do. The present indefinite tense in Classical Japanese can be subdivided into the following four types:

- Actual present tense: as used in direct discourse, e.g.:

「玉の枝取りになむ罷る」と言はせて
"Tama no eda tori ni namu makaru" to iwasete (Taketori monogatari, "Hōrai no tama no eda" 蓬萊の玉の枝)
 "I am leaving to fetch the jeweled branch," he made him say, ...

- Narration of an event from the past (historic present)

楫取り等の「北風悪し」と言へば、船出ださず
Kajitorira no "kita-kaze ashi" to ieba, fune idasazu (Tosa nikki)
 The steersmen say: "Too bad, the wind is from the north," and they do not put to sea.

Note: Two uses of the present indefinite tense are illustrated here. The phrase representing the steersmen's direct discourse can be compared to the previous example. The other verbs rather refer to an event from the past using the present indefinite tense to enhance the narrative style.

▪ Habit

もし夜静かなれば、窓の月にむかし人を偲び、猿の声に袖を潤す
Moshi yo shizuka nareba, mado no tsuki ni mukashibito o shinobi, mashira no koe ni sode o uruosu (Hōjōki)

When the night is quiet, I think of people of long ago at the moon-lit window, and hearing the monkeys shriek, I wet my sleeve.

Note: The introductory constituent "When ..." suggests that the action described subsequently did not happen once, but repeatedly. *Mashira* is the obsolete equivalent of *saru*. The verb *shinobu* (他バ四) translates as "to recall, to think of", and should not be mistaken for 忍ぶ (他バ上二), which means "to conceal; to do something secretly".

▪ Universal statement

An ageless event, action, or observation of something which is not connected to a specific moment of time.

猫は三年の恩を三日で忘る
Neko wa sannen no on o mikka de wasuru
 Cats forget three years' favour in three days.

Note: This example clearly is a saying stating a timeless truth. The disconnection between the time aspect and the verb is clearly illustrated.

b. Future tense / *mirai* 未来: MU, MUZU

Auxiliaries expressing future events or actions, usually imply a sense of doubt or intention with regard to the situation they describe. From a language-historical point of view, it is interesting to note that in time the originally neutral indicators of future tense more and more (instead of decreasingly) assumed connotations of doubt whether an event actually happened, or intention to perform an action. This is why the auxiliaries treated here also appear in sections discussing conjecture or intention.

The *jodōshi* that express future tense are *mu* む and its more emphatic correlate *muzu* むず. Both auxiliaries soon got variant equivalents, *n* ん and *nzu* んず, which eventually would supersede them in course of time. *Muzu* in fact represents the condensed form of *mutosu* むとす and even transformed further during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods into *uzu* うず.

Flexion *mu*, *muzu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK		Ø	Ø				Ø	<i>yodan</i>
		Ø	Ø				Ø	<i>sahen</i>

Whether the auxiliaries should be read as mere indicators of future tense or otherwise (including first-person intention or third-person conjecture), depends on the information divulged by context. This again is an illustration of the characteristic that Japanese endings, and *jodōshi* in particular, cannot be classified according to iron rules, but only by virtue of the function they fulfil in a certain context. This accordingly explains why one and the same *jodōshi* occasionally appears under different sections in the present classification.

これを読まむ者

Kore o yomamu mono

The person who will read this.

明日雨降らむ

Asu ame furamu

It's going to rain tomorrow.

翁のあらむ限りは、斯うてもいますかりなむかし

Okina no aramu kagiri wa, kōte mo imasukarinamu kashi (Taketori monogatari, "Tsumadoi" つまどひ)

As long as this old chap [= the speaker] is alive, you will without doubt continue like this.

Note: Two different uses of *mu* む are introduced here: the first auxiliary indicates some future prospect (the continuation of the old man's life), whereas the second is used in combination with the *jodōshi nu* ぬ (perfective aspect), which shows the beginning of a new phase. Since *mu* adds a future perspective, the verb altogether designates the continuation in the future of a previously realized situation.

彼の本の国より迎へに人々参で来んず

Kano moto no kuni yori mukae ni hitobito mōdekonzu (Taketori monogatari, "Ama no hagoromo" 天の羽衣)

From this country of origin, people will come to fetch me.

Note: This sentence is an illustration of the contracted form *nzu*. This alternative was particularly popular in the Middle Ages, when it replaced *mu* to indicate a plain future tense.

舟に乗らうずるにて候

Fune ni norōzuru nite sōrō (Kanze Motomasa 観世元雅, Sumidagawa 隅田川)

I am about to board the ship.

c. Past tense / *kako* 過去: KI, KERI

This category indicates that an action or event happened in the past. It does not involve any indication of aspect. In order to express past tense, two *jodōshi* are relevant: *ki* and *keri*.

Flexion *ki*, *keri*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
RYK			Ø				Ø	irr.

			Ø				Ø	<i>rahen</i>
--	--	--	---	--	--	--	---	--------------

Attaching *ki* to the verbs *ku* and *su*, or to compound verbs derived from them, brings in an alternative flexion pattern:

Combination *kahen/sahen* + *ki*

combination	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK
<i>kahen</i> +	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	/ *	/ *	Ø
<i>sahen</i> +		Ø	Ø				Ø

*Less commonly used.

昨日来し人
Sakujitsu koshi/kishi hito
The man who arrived yesterday

此の地に来しかども
Kono chi ni koshika/kishikadomo
Although I came to this place

修業せし学僧
Shūgyō seshi gakusō
A learned priest who completed a course of study

参内せしかども
Sandai seshika domo
Although she entered the Court

The above-mentioned irregular forms presumably originated to avoid syllable reduplications such as *shishi* or *kiki*. In addition to marking an action that happened in the past, the auxiliary *ki* further indicates the speaker's direct involvement in this event, and thus suggests some sort of subjectivity.

辛く都に帰りき
Karaku miyako ni kaeriki
I returned to the capital with difficulty.

糧尽きて草の根を食物としき
Kate tsukite kusa no ne o kuimono to shiki (*Taketori monogatari*, "Hōrai no tama no eda" 蓬萊の玉の枝)
We ran out of provisions, and used grass roots as food.

昨日買ひし書を読まむ
Sakujitsu kaishi sho o yomamu
I am going to read the book I bought yesterday.

人知らずこそ思ひそめしか
Hito shirazu koso omoisomeshika

I fell in love without anyone knowing.

酒ありせば飲ましものを

Sake ariseba nomamashi monoo

If there had been sake, I would have drunk some.

Note: The first two examples illustrate the use of the SSK, the third shows the attributive RTK use. The fourth example provides an illustration of the auxiliary's IZK use, here due to *kakarimusubi* induced by *koso*. The final example illustrates the use of *ki* in combination with *ba* in order to express a counterfactual meaning.

In Old Japanese, no mention is made of *keri*, except for its MZK, which only appears in fixed combinations, for example the negation *kerazu* けらず. Historically, *keri* is considered to be the contraction of *ki* plus the verb *ari*. Accordingly, *keri* is sometimes construed as indicating the continuation of a situation that started in the past (see *genzaikanryō*); in other words, the classical equivalent of the modern Japanese constructions *teiru* ている and *tearu* である.

石垣のみは今もありけれど

Ishigaki nomi wa ima mo arikeredo

Although only the stone wall remains even now.

もみじ葉神代より秋は散りけり

Momijiha kamiyo yori aki wa chirikeri

Since the age of the gods, scarlet maple leaves have fallen in Autumn.

The point that most distinguishes *keri* and *ki*, is the use of the past tense based on transmission instead of on subjective experience/observation. Accordingly, the auxiliary *keri* pre-eminently appears in tales, fairy tales, legends, poetry, and so on, and also serves to indicate fictitiousness of the imparted content.

昔、男ありけり

Mukashi, otoko arikeri

Once upon a time there lived a man.

京へ帰りけり

Kyō e kaerikeri

He returned to the capital.

道知れる人もなくて、惑ひ行きけり

Michi shireru hito mo nakute, madoiikikeri (Ise monogatari, 9)

There was no-one who knew the way, so they went astray.

Note: *Shireru* is combined from the IZK of (他う四; = to know) and the RTK of *ri*, a *jodōshi* indicating a durative aspect. See below.

An additional use of *keri* is for poetic emphasis. This means that the auxiliary is not used to express past tense, but to emphasize a certain statement.

犬などもかかる心あるものなりけり

Inu nado mo kakaru kokoro aru mono narikeri (Makura no sōshi, 9)

Dogs and their likes are also creatures having such emotions.

Note: When encountering these (and all other) *jodōshi*, it is important to pay attention to context. Particular grammatical functions are expressed by specific *jodōshi*, but their usages are not limited to a single grammatical category.

d. Durative (also progressive or continuous) aspect / *keizoku* 継続: RI, TARI

As opposed to the grammatical categories indicating a precise moment of time, or using a particular scale of time to indicate tenses, with what are known as aspects also figuring in Japanese. Aspects, as the term itself suggests, are "points of view", or, to put it simply, "the way how something looks in relation to specific periods of time." In concrete terms, this implies that aspect is defined by reference to time, or more specifically: to the time at which the described event happens.

Keizoku is one of various individual aspects, indicating that the action is not terminated, thus continuing for an appreciable time. This does not mean that the event is bound by a certain point of time. If the rest of the event is situated in the present, then the (continuing) action indicated by the *sonzoku* form equally happens in the present.

This aspect moreover covers the combination of the present tense and the perfective aspect according to which a past event has present consequences. By English grammar influence (see *present perfect*), this usage is sometimes termed *genzai kanryō* 現在完了, emphasizing the present result of a past event. In general, the *genzai kanryō* would not contain references to a future development.

A verb has two possibilities to operate the durative aspect:

- Analytic construction: RYK (+ *te* て / *tsutsu* つつ) + auxiliary verb of existence (*sonzai hojodōshi* 存在補助動詞, e.g. *ari* あり, *ori* をり, *iru* いる, *haberi* はべり). This also includes honorific verbs.

Several authors categorize the endings after the RYK as *joshi*, and do not treat them as part of the auxiliaries. This grammar nevertheless does not concur, and maintains their discussion under the heading of *jodōshi* for two reasons:

- a. both *tsutsu* and *te* are derived from *tsu* つ, a *jodōshi*; and
- b. describing the durative aspect here represents a very specific use complementary to the way *yodan* verbs apply the auxiliary *ri* り.

猶「憂し」と思ひつつなんありける

Nao "ushi" to omoitsutsu nan arikeru (Ise monogatari, 4)

He was still thinking, indeed, "How sad".

Note: *Nan* is the shortened form of the particle *namu* なむ, which, like *zo* ぞ and *koso* こそ, expresses an emphasis. It makes the subsequent verb take the RTK. The form before *kakarimusubi* thus would have read: *omoitsutsu arikeri*.

これをも哀れとも見で居るに、竹取の翁走り入りていはく

Kore omo aware tomo miteoru ni, Taketori no okina hashiriirite iwaku (Taketori monogatari)

While she was reading it with regret, the old bamboo cutter dashed in and said:

...

Note: The combination of *mite* plus *iru* refers to a continuous action; the *joshi* に is used here as a conjunctive particle, meaning: "while".

黒鳥と言ふ鳥、岩の上に集まりをり
Kurodori to iu tori, iwa no ue ni atsumari-ori
 The birds called *kurodori* have gathered on top of the rocks.

皆青き衣を着てあり
Mina aoki kinu o kite ari
 They are all wearing green garments.

- Synthetically: attaching the *jodōshi ri* (only to *yodan* and *sahen* verbs) and *tari*.

Flexion *ri*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
IZK*								<i>rahen</i>

*Only the IZK of *yodan* verbs apply. Verbs taking *sahen* inflexion adopt the MZK before *ri*.

Similar to the instances discussed above, this form indicates a continuous uninterrupted situation as result of an action/state or an action still in progress.

み吉野の山辺に咲ける桜花
Miyoshino no yamabe ni sakeru sakurabana (Kokinshū, 1:60)
 The cherry blossoms flowering on the outskirts of the fair Yoshino hills.

Note: This example illustrates the *rentaihō* use of *ri*; the scene describes flowers that shot forth, and that are consequently flowering now.

士卒の病み伏せりける皆起きぬ
Shisotsu no yamifuserikeru mina okinu
 The soldiers, that had been lying wounded, all got up.

Note: This is a fine example illustrating the combined use of the durative aspect together with *keri*, which indicates past tense here: the lying down took some time and is now terminated by the fact that the soldiers rise. The RTK of *keri* is due to *juntaihō* or nominalization.

薪負へる人に会ふ
Maki oeru hito ni au
 To meet someone carrying wood.

Note: This example clearly indicates a continuous action: the person lifted the wood on to his/her shoulders at some point, and is still carrying the burden at the moment of encounter.

火すでに我が家に移れり
Hi sude ni wagaya ni utsureri
 The fire has already spread to my house.

Flexion *tari*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
RYK								<i>rahen</i>

壁に書きたる字

Kabe ni kakitaru ji

The characters written on the wall.

夜涼みや川に落ちたる人の音

Yosuzumi ya kawa ni ochitaru hito no oto (Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規,

Kanzanrakuboku 寒山落木)

An evening cool, the cries of people fallen in the river.

その度、公卿の家十六焼けたり

Sono tabi, kugyō no ie jūroku yaketari (*Hōjōki*)

On that occasion, sixteen residences of dignitaries had burnt down.

Note: The examples clearly illustrate the *genzaikanryō* mechanism. All three instances concern terminated actions (writing / falling / burning), the result of which is still noticeable (graffiti / drowning people / charred remains).

e. Perfective aspect / *kanryō* 完了: NU, TSU

The perfective aspect is used to indicate the definite completion of an action or event, regardless of whether it happened in the past, present, or future. It is moreover used to express a short-range action, laying stress on the sudden nature, or sweeping change of the situation

Flexion of *nu*, *tsu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
RYK*								<i>nahen</i>
RYK								<i>shimo -nida n</i>

*Apart from some (Kamakura) exceptions, *nahen* verbs are not applicable.

Note: The conjunctive particle *te* て is presumably directly derived from the RYK form of *tsu*. As it gradually assumed specific usages, both forms are now safely considered to represent two different existences, independent from one another. In qualifying the difference between *nu* and *tsu*, numerous readings hold that *nu* is more likely attached to *jidōshi* indicating a more composed completion of a situation, whereas *tsu* is connected to *tadōshi*, signalling a more abrupt termination of an action. This is an arguable point.

花咲きつ

Hana sakitsu

The flowers have burst into blossom.

花咲きぬ

Hana sakinu

The flowers came into blossom. / The flowers are in blossom.

Note: If in terms of translation difference should be made between both *jodōshi*, the above-stated renderings may be considered, having the first sentence suggest a more unexpected, prompt action.

文書きてむ

Fumi kakitemu

I shall write a letter.

船は沈みなむ

Fune wa shizuminamu

The ship will go down.

Note: In both cases, the perfective *jodōshi* are put in the MZK and followed by the particle *mu* which indicates future/intention. The perfective aspect governing both suffixes clearly stands out: the time that the action is completely carried out or terminated is not situated in the past but in the future. This implies both a sense of determination and inevitability. This may cause some translation problems, since the target language may not always have the instruments to convey this kind of nuance. The only way to obviate this is to choose verbs that emphasize the definitive, irreversible character of an action.

ホトトギス鳴きつる方を詠むれば、ただ有明の月ぞ残れる

Hototogisu nakitsuru kata o nagamureba, tada ariake no tsuki zo nokoreru
(*Senzaishū*, 3:161)

When I watched in the direction from where the little cuckoo had sung, only the morning moon was left.

Note: *Ariake* is a period of the lunisolar calendar during which the morning moon is just about visible. *Zo* induces the ensuing verb to take the RTK. The form mentioned here is the RTK of *nokoreri*, a construction consisting of the *yodan* verb *nokoru* and the auxiliary *ri*, which indicates the durative aspect (see above). As far as *tsu* is concerned, this *jodōshi* is put after the RYK of *naku*. Since the entire verbal expression serves to modify *kata*, RTK it obviously the appropriate form. The use of the *jodōshi tsu* suggests that the cuckoo sang (perhaps only once) at a certain moment, and then remained silent. By clear contrast, the *sonzoku* mode of the verb *nokoru* indicates that the moon has appeared, and is still visible.

道の辺に清水流るる柳影「しばし」とてこそ立ち止まりつれ

Michi no be ni

shimizu nagaruru

yanagikage -

"shibashi" tote koso

tachidomaritsure (*Shin Kokinshū*, 3:262)

On the wayside, the willow casts its shade where the clear water flows. "A little while," I thought, and I stopped.

Note: In this example taken from the eighth imperial anthology of waka poetry, *nagaruru* functions as a modification to *yanagikage*. The combination cannot be translated literally; only a descriptive rendering, suggesting the close relation between the willow's shadow and the water, can be used as a way out. As is often the case in Classical Japanese, *tote* is used here as the shortened form of *to iite*, *to omoite*, etc. *Tsu*, the focus of attention here, marks an abrupt turn in the action: while having a stroll, the speaker suddenly decides to have a break.

秋来ぬと目には清かに見えねども、風の音にぞ驚かれぬる

Aki kinu to me niwa sayakani mienedomo, kaze no oto ni zo odorokarenuru
(*Kokinshū*, 4:169)

Although it is not clearly visible to the eye that autumn has arrived, it definitely struck me through the sound of the wind.

Note: The case particle *to* goes in fixed position with the verb *miyu* (自や下二 = to be visible). *Ne* is the IZK of *zu*. The construction *odorokaru* 驚かる is used medio-passive (see above). The *jodōshi* expressing the perfective aspect, *nu*, connects to the RYK of *odorokaru*, and assumes the RTK due to *kakarimusubi* of *zo*. The reduplication of the perfective aspect suggests the abrupt nature of the change: suddenly autumn has come, and all of a sudden the speaker is aware of it through the howling wind.

As the examples above already demonstrate, both auxiliaries may also be used to emphasize situations or actions; in Old Japanese they can display this feature singly, but in time the emphasis function became more and more limited to a combined use together with modal *jodōshi* (which express the mood of the speaker). For example:

明日こそ友の来つべけれ

Asu koso tomo no kitsubekere

Tomorrow my friend will definitely come.

神前の酒を取りて、飲みなむとす

Kami mae no sake o torite nominamu to su

He took the sacred sake and was about to drink it!

Note: *Beshi* is a *jodōshi* that is attached to the SSK, and indicates the speaker's intention or the necessary occurrence of an event. The IZK form *bekere* is due to *kakarimusubi* with *koso*. The emphasis on the fact that the friend is actually coming the next day, is communicated on two levels: first by using the particle *koso*, and additionally by adding the auxiliary *tsu*. As already mentioned, the construction *mutosu* is inserted to express a future situation, or the intention to perform specific actions. *Na* (i.e. the MZK of *nu*) is put in to stress the real, irreversible nature of an action. Similar to all previous examples, context once more is a primordial factor when it comes to interpreting the intention that the writer or speaker wants to transmit by using particular *jodōshi*.

A third use of the perfective auxiliaries is connecting constituents, expressing the alternation or simultaneous termination of two or more actions. This function only emerged in the Middle Ages, and can be compared to *tsutsu* つつ, or the modern Japanese *tari ... suru* たり...する.

泣きつ笑ひつ物語る

Nakitsu waraitsu mono kataru

With a laugh and a tear, he tells a story.

泣きぬ笑ひぬし給ふ

Nakinu warainu shi-tamau

He cries and he laughs

Note: The origin of this use that developed from the perfective aspect is clearly visible: it applies to actions that time and again carry on a short while, and then cease in favour of another event. The co-ordinated actions thereby each respond to the criteria of the perfective aspect.

2.1.3. Modality

The following grammatical categories are closely connected to feelings, utterances of will, and judgments expressed by the subject and/or speaker. Since the kind of attitude is what matters here, the various categories can be compared to moods, a term that first appeared in Latin grammar. Consequently, they can be referred to as "modal *jodōshi*".

a. Doubt or conjecture / *suiryō* 推量: MU, MUZU, RAMU (RAN), KEMU (KEN), MASHI, RASHI, BESI, BERANARI, MERI en NARI

In classical Japanese, the dubitative mood is marked by suffixing *jodōshi* that express the speaker's doubt about a state, situation, action or event to the verbal stem. A great variety of auxiliaries can be used to this intent: *mu*, *muzu*, *ramu* (*ran*), *kemu* (*ken*), *mashi*, *rashi*, *besi*, *beranari*, *meri*, and *nari*. These suffixes mainly differ from one another in terms of time they refer to.

Flexion *mu*, *muzu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
MZK		Ø	Ø				Ø	<i>yodan</i>
		Ø	Ø				Ø	<i>sahen</i>

These *jodōshi* have already been treated under the section of auxiliaries indicating future. In the usage presented here, the auxiliaries express the speaker's conjecture and/or doubt about an actual or future event.

明日雨降らむ
Asu ame furamu
 It may rain tomorrow [but it is not sure].

今日人多からむ
Kyō hito ōkaramu
 There will be a lot of people today.

花咲き居らむ
Hana sakioramu
 The blossoms will be flowering.

The use of *mu* in the the dubitative conjectural mood is most clearly illustrated in interrogative sentences:

少納言よ、香炉峰の雪、いかならむ
Shōnagon yo, Kōrohō no yuki, ika naramu (*Makura no sōshi*, 299)
 Lady Shōnagon, how is the snow on Mount Kōro?

Mu is also frequently used to reduce the categoric nature of an utterance, in which usage it hardly retains any meaning worth mentioning. This often happens when it is applied in *rentaihō*.

この鳥、姿醜けれども、鳴かむ声は愛らし
Kono tori, sugata minikukeredomo, nakamu koe wa airashi
 This bird is unshapely; it does have a lovely singing voice, though.

Flexion *ramu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
SSK*		Ø	Ø				Ø	<i>yodan</i>

*Words following the *rahen* flexion take the RTK before the *ramu*.

The auxiliary *ramu* indicates doubt or uncertainty about an event or state in the present (from the speaker's perspective). The state or situation concerned is beyond the speaker's powers of observation, or is not transparent. From the Heian literature onwards, *ran* らん emerges as a variant formation. For example:

山は今美しかるらむ
Yama wa ima utsukushikaruramu
 The mountains must be beautiful now.

Note: The construction *utsukushikaruramu* combines a *kari* flexion *keiyōshi* with *ramu*, which, as indicated above, connects to the RTK. *Nite* is a particle (*joshi*) used to accompany an adverbial modification, in this case of place.

家にて泣くらむ子を思ふ
Ie nite nakuramu ko o omou
 I am worried about my child that may be crying at home right now.

白露の色は一つを、いかにして秋の木の葉を千々に染むらん
Shiratsuyu no iro wa hitotsu o, ikanishite aki no konoha o chiji ni somuran
 (Kokinshū, 5:257)
 The white dew has only one colour, how is it that it dyes the autumnal leaves in thousands of ways?

Note: *O* を is used here as a conjunctive particle (*setsuzokujoshi*) indicating the contrastive connection between two sentences.

鶴は...鳴く声雲居まで聞こゆらん
Tsuru wa [...] naku koe kumoi made kikoyuran (*Makura no sōshi*, 41)
 The crying voice of the crane [...] can perhaps be heard as far as the clouds.

Flexion *kemu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
RYK		Ø	Ø				Ø	<i>yodan</i>

Since the Heian era, *kemu* was often written and/or read as *ken* けん. Etymologically, *kemu* is construed to be a contraction of a former MZK of *ki* (= *ke* け) and *mu* む. This

auxiliary is used to express uncertainty about an event that happened in the past. In certain cases, it is also utilized to mark transmission, or situations told by others (*denbun* 伝聞). For example:

京は暑かりけむ
Kyō wa atsukarikemu
 It must have been hot in the capital.

我が妻のありけむ家へ案内せよ
Wagatsuma no arikemu ie e annai seyo
 Direct me to the house where my wife was said to be staying.

この文書きたるは紫にこそありけめ
Kono bun kakitaru wa Murasaki ni koso arikeme
 The one who wrote this text must have been *the* Murasaki.

など故郷に我帰りけむ
Nado furusato ni ware kaerikemu
 Why did I return to my home?

Flexion *mashi*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK			Ø				Ø	irr.

Among the auxiliaries representing conjecture, *mashi* expresses the greatest level of uncertainty: by using *mashi* the speaker suggests that he considers a statement very unlikely. *Mase*, an ancient MZK form, was still productively used in Nara literature, but gradually left the field to the younger MZK variation *mashika*. The auxiliary *mashi* covers three usages: counterfactual statement, conjecture and intention. For example:

試験なからましかばと思ふ
Shiken nakaramashikaba to omou
 I would that there were no examinations.

たれか言はまし
Tare ka iwamashi
 Who would tell me (no-one, right?)

In a counterfactual statement, the speaker projects a situation that is at variance with reality. *Mashi* may appear both in the main sentence introducing a hypothetical situation, and as part of a subordinate clause which describes the effects of the hypothetical situation. In counterfactual use, *mashi* is often followed by the particles *o* を or *monoo* ものを, which both emphasize the unreal nature of the situation described.

あの山なからましかば月もかくれざらましを

Ano yama nakaramashikaba tsuki mo kakurezaramashi o
Were it not for that mountain, the moon would not be hidden.

If *mashi* expresses a conjecture, the nuance of strong uncertainty comes across in the statement. This use very frequently appears in an interior monologue or as part of a rhetorical question.

敵の近きを誰か知らまし
Teki no chikaki o tareka shiramashi
Is anybody actually aware that the enemy is close at hand?

As a suffix indicating an intention, *mashi* particularly stresses the uncertain character of the intention.

これに何を書かまし
Kore ni nani o kakamashi
What would I write down here?

誘ひあらば行かまし
Sasoi araba ikamashi
If invited, I might go.

Flexion *rashi*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
		Ø	Ø				Ø	irr.
SSK*		Ø				Ø	Ø	<i>shiku-katsuyō</i> [†]
						Ø	Ø	<i>kari-katsuyō</i> [†]

**Rahen* verbs take the RTK before *rashi*.

[†]Flexions that have only gained currency since the Muromachi period.

Rashi formulates a conjecture about an actual event (*genzaisuiryō* 現在推量). In contrast to *ramu*, *rashi* involves a more solidly based surmise, which relies on circumstances within empiric reach of the speaker. From the 13th century onward, *rashi* increasingly behaved as an adjective, and, the absence of IZK and MRK forms notwithstanding, assumed an adjective-like flexion pattern (*shiku* and *kari* flexions). For example:

遊びあるらし
Asobi arurashi
It seems there is going to be a concert.

かの舟をこそ出だすらし
Kano fune o koso idasurashi
Apparently, they are going to despatch that ship.

寒からし

Samukarashi

It must be very cold.

冬過ぎて春來たるらし

Fuyu sugite haru kitarurashi

It seems that winter has passed and spring has come.

Flexion *beshi*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
SSK*		Ø	/		/		Ø	<i>ku-katsu yō</i>
				Ø	()	Ø	Ø	<i>kari-kats uyō</i>

**Rahen* verbs take the RTK before *beshi*.

When attaching *beshi* flexional forms, classical authors often avail themselves of syncopated forms. This is for instance the case for the RTK, which has *bei* べい as the shortened version of *beki* べき, and which features *bekameri* べかめり and *bekanari* べかなり that replace the regular constructions *bekarumeri* べかるめり and *bekarunari* べかるなり. Similar variation is also shown by the RYK in which *byō* べう is syncopated for *beku* べく.

The *jodōshi beshi* has a rich array of functions, and the one relevant to a given situation is to be derived from the context. In addition to its potential mood already discussed above, *beshi* may indicate doubt or uncertainty. This auxiliary particularly refers to the probability or improbability that an action is going to happen. In other words, *beshi* represents a form of possibility bound by uncertainty (see potential), or a dubitative form which expresses a larger probability than *mu* does.

死ぬべき者

Shinubeki mono

The mortal ones.

さあるべくば

Sa arubekuba

Such being the case ...

車より落ちぬべう惑ひ給ふ

Kuruma yori ochinubyō madoi-tamau

She is so confused that she may fall from the carriage.

Flexion *beranari*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
SSK*		Ø					Ø	<i>nari-kat suyō</i>

**Rahen* verbs take the RTK before *beranari*.

This auxiliary expresses a conjecture generally based on visual impressions. The term *beranari* originated from *be*, the stem of the previous *jodōshi beshi*, which became connected to the copula *nari* by means of the adjectival suffix *ra*. The term was first introduced in early Heian-period *kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読 (Chinese texts paraphrased in Japanese), and was adopted by *tanka* authors while being kept out of diary or *monogatari* literature. This suggests that it belonged to the register of informal male speech. Finally, this construction lost validity following the Muromachi period. For example:

秋の夜の月のひかりしあかければくらぶの山も越えぬべら也
Aki no yo no tsuki no hikari shi akakereba Kurabu no yama mo koenu beranari (*Kokinshū*, 4:195)

The light of the autumnal evening moon is so bright that one could even cross Mount Kurabu by it.

鳴き止むる花しなければ鶯も果てはもの憂くなりぬべらなり
Nakitomuru hana shi nakereba uguisu mo hate wa monouku narinu beranari (*Kokinshū*, 128)

Now that they are gone, the blossoms he wanted to hold up with his song, the bush warbler too seems finally to be through with it.

久方の天つ空にも住まなくに人はよそにぞ思ふべらなる
Hisakata no amatsusora ni mo sumanaku ni hito wa yoso ni zo omou beranaru (*Kokinshū*, 15:751)

Though I do not live in a heavenly sphere far from earth, people seem to consider me from outer space!

Flexion *meri*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
SSK*		Ø					Ø	<i>rahen</i>

**Rahe*n verbs take the RTK before *meri*.

Analogous to *beshi*, syncopation is possible when attaching *meri*. This particularly happens when *meri* is preceded by a base ending in *-ru*, which makes it transform into an *n* (e.g. *anmeri* あんめり) or even disappear altogether (e.g. *ameri* あめり). The auxiliary *meri* is only present in Heian and Kamakura writings, and presumably originated from the fusion between the words *mu* む and *ari* あり.

Meri communicates a slight uncertainty about an event or action in the present, or may indicate an extratemporal observation. This uncertainty is often so slight, that *meri* seems to act as a mitigating auxiliary, that is, trying to tone down the apodictic character of a statement. *Meri* may be connected to *ki* き, in which case it serves to suggest doubt or uncertainty about an event in the past. For example:

花を取らすめり
Hana o torasumeri
 Apparently, he makes them pick flowers.

木の下にて童ぞ泣くめる

Konoshita nite warawa zo nakumeru

It seems as though a child is crying under the tree!

龍田川紅葉乱れて流るめり

Tatsutagawa momiji midarete nagarumeri (Kokinshū, 5:283)

On Tatsuta River, scarlet leaves flow without apparent order.

Note: It is clear that the connotation of uncertainty or doubt is not strongly emphasized. The first example presents a delicate and facultative indication of uncertainty, whereas in the third example the *jodōshi* can hardly be translated, unless by distorting the rhythm of the original.

Flexion *nari*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
SSK*		Ø					Ø	<i>rahen</i>

**Rahe*n verbs take the RTK before *nari*.

Nari expresses a conjecture based on second-hand information. This *jodōshi* may equally indicate that the speaker directly heard some information. At any rate, both aspects have in common that information is based on auditory sources. Verbs preceding *nari* will accordingly include some sort of acoustic element or refer to direct quotation or to rumour in general. Apart from the missing MZK, MRK, and *chūshikei*, its flexion integrally coincides with the copular verb *nari*. It takes however the SSK as base, maintaining the usual exception for *rahen* verbs, which assume the RTK before the auxiliary. For example:

柿くへば鐘が鳴るなり法隆寺

Kaki kueba kane ga naru nari Hōryūji (Masaoka Shiki, Kanzanrakuboku)

Eating a persimmon, I hear bells sounding, - Hōryūji

よしよし、とのゐ人もみな起きぬなり

Yoshi yoshi, tonoibito mo mina okinu nari (Genji, "Ukifune")

Fine, all the members of the guard seem to be awake as well

男もすなる日記といふもの

Otoko mo su naru nikki to iu mono (Tosa nikki, 20:27)

Things called diaries, which men are said to write.

京に上るなりき

Miyako ni noboru nariki.

It is reported that he goes to the capital.

b. Desiderative use / *kibō* 希望: MAHOSHI, TASHI, MŌSHI

Flexion *mahoshi, tashi*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
------	--------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-------------

MZK		Ø	-		-	-	Ø	<i>shiku-katsuyō</i>
		-	-	Ø	-	Ø	Ø	<i>kari-katsuyō</i>
RYK							Ø	<i>ku-katsuyō</i>
				Ø		Ø	Ø	<i>kari-katsuyō</i>

The desiderative or mood expressing desire, was formulated in Classical Japanese by using the auxiliaries *mahoshi* or *tashi*. The former, derived from *maku* (a nominalized form of the intention particle *mu*) plus the *shiku* adjective *hoshi*, and compared to *tashi* of a much older pedigree, attaches to the MZK and follows the *shiku* adjective inflexion.

Tashi, which is characterized by a *ku* flexion, follows the RYK just like the modern equivalent *tai* たい. In contrast to its modern equivalent *tai*, both auxiliaries may express the speaker's desire that the addressee or someone else perform a certain action. For example:

京に上らまほし / 京に上りたし

Miyako ni noboramahoshi / Miyako ni noboritashi

I want to go to the capital.

本日京へ立たれたし

Honjitsu Miyako e tataretashi

I want you to leave for the capital today.

あらまほしきは梅が香を

Aramahoshiki wa umegaka o (Enkyokushū 宴曲集, 1: "Haru" 春)

What I want is the scent of apricot blossoms.

簞箆はいとかしがましく、秋の虫をいはば、くつわむしなどの心地して、うたてけちかく聞かまほしからず

Hichiriki wa ito kashigamashiku, aki no mushi o iwaba, kutsuwamushi nado no kokochi shite, utate kejikaku kikamahoshikarazu (Makura no sōshi, 9)

The flageolet is terribly noisy; it feels just like a giant katydid, if I were to liken it to autumn insects. Sorry, but I'd rather not hear it close by.

Flexion *mōshi*

base	form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
	Basic form							
MZK		Ø					Ø	<i>ku-katsuyō</i>

The wish for something not to happen is expressed by the auxiliary *mōshi*. For example:

この君の御童姿いと変へまうく思せど、十二にて御元服し給ふ

Kono Kimi no ōnwarawasugata, ito kaemōku obosedo, jūni nite ōngenpuku shitamau (Genji, "Kiritsubo")

He did not want to have this prince's infant attire changed at all, but at twelve years old he had his coming-of-age ceremony.

c. Negation / *uchikeshi* 打消 = *hitei* 否定: ZU

While the Classical Japanese language lacks conceptions to indicate affirmation or confirmation, it possesses two operators to negate the content of a sentence or constituent. Negation is most frequently expressed by using a negative ending, such as the *jodōshi* *zu* ず, *ji* じ and *maji* まじ. These elements of negation may however imply much more than a mere negation. The latter two negation auxiliaries for instance communicate the subject's dubitative respectively intentional attitude. Besides applying morphological transformations, negation can equally be established lexically. Particularly the negation adjective *nashi* なし ("to be absent, to be lacking, to be no more"; incidentally etymologically related to the *jodōshi* *nu* ぬ, see below) can be mentioned in this respect. *Nashi* negates the meaning of a *taigen* and can be called the opposite counterpart of *ari* あり ("to be, to have, to exist"). Nevertheless, the so-called *uchikeshi no jodōshi* 打消の助動詞 constitute the major part of the negation formatives.

Flexion *zu*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK		〇 / □					Ø	irr.
				Ø				<i>rahen</i>

The *zu* irregular flexion of this dual flexion pattern is most often applied in combination with particles (like *ba*, *te*, *do*, etcetera), or in places where *zu* concludes a sentence. The *rahen* flexion initially served as a base for other *jodōshi*, and particularly superseded the irregular *zu* variation from the MZK and MRK formations. In time, both flexions became to be used indiscriminately, enabling pairs such as *neba* ねば vs. *zareba* ざれば and *nedo* ねど vs. *zaredo* ざれど.

The hybrid nature of the irregular flexion, which incorporates traces of an obscure negation auxiliary reconstructed as *nu* ぬ, is quite remarkable. Nara texts demonstrate that it took *na* な and *ni* に for its MZK and RYK forms respectively, suggesting that it was ruled by a *yodan* flexion. Remnants of this archaic negation form are found in more recent texts, for example in the discontinuous (or circumfixing) structure *na ~ so* な〜そ, which concerns a negative imperative. Other instances are *naranaku ni* ならなくに ("despite being absent"; -*ku* here operates as an archaic nominalizing suffix attached to the MZK), and *shirani* 知らに ("not knowing"; the suspensive variant of the more commonly used *shirazu* 知らず). Examples of the "more modern" *zu* in context are:

国のため君のために、止むことを得ずしてなすべき事多し

Kuni no tame kimi no tame ni, yamu koto o ezu shite nasu beki koto ōshi
(*Tsurezuregusa*, 123)

There are many affairs one must inevitably see to for Lord and country.

義を見てせざるは勇無き也

Gi o mite sezaruru wa yū naki nari (Rongo)

Knowing what is right and not doing it is want of courage.

松が枝の地に着くまで降る雪を見ずてや妹が隠り居るらむ

Matsugae no tsuchi ni tsuku made furu yuki o mizute ya imo ga komori oruramu (Man'yōshū, 20:4439)

Do you stay indoors, not seeing how the snow is falling so heavily that the branches of the pine tree are reaching the ground?

Finally, the rhetorical device of litotes, a stylistical usage also common in Western languages, should be mentioned. Using this figure, a speaker does not intend a negation as such, but rather tries to obtain a stronger affirmative effect by stating the negative of the contrary. For example:

故なきにあらず

Yue naki ni arazu

It is not without reason.

書を読まざるべからず

Sho o yomazaru bekarazu

You cannot leave the book unread.

d. Negative doubt or conjecture / *uchikeshisuiryō* 打消し推量: JI, MAJI, MASHIJI

Flexion *ji*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK		Ø	Ø				Ø	irr.

Negative doubt is indicated by the auxiliary *ji*, which is inflected statically, in other words remains unchanged. *Ji* ranked as the negative equivalent of *mu*, making it cover various uses besides negative doubt, such as negative intention, will or desire (*uchikeshiishi* 打消し意志). *Ji* suggests that an event "is not likely to happen" (dubitative mood), or that the speaker "does not intend, does not want" to perform an action in the future. Until the Heian period, *ji* remained valid in Japanese, and it only started to be considered archaic during the Kamakura period. For example:

風にこそ知られじ

Kaze ni koso shirareji (Shinshokukokin wakashū, 153)

It is not something known to the wind alone.

一生の恥、これに過ぐるはあらじ

Isshō no haji, kore ni suguru wa araji (Taketori monogatari)

Of all the disgraces in my life, none will exceed this.

法師ばかりうらやましからぬものはあらじ

Hōshi bakari urayamashikaranu mono wa araji (Tsuresuregusa, 1)

You cannot find anyone as unenvied as a priest.

家の辺りだに今は通らじ

Je no atari dani ima wa tōraji (Taketori monogatari)

We don't mean to pass even the vicinity of the house now.

明日は外に出でじ

Asu wa soto ni ideji

I don't intend to go out tomorrow.

Flexion *maji*, *mashiji*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
SSK*		Ø					Ø	<i>shiku- katsu yō</i>
				Ø		Ø	Ø	<i>kari-k atsuy ō</i>
		Ø	Ø			Ø	Ø	<i>shiku- katsu yō</i>

**Rahen* verbs take the RTK before *maji* and *mashiji*.

The auxiliary *maji*, which is derived from the Old Japanese prototype *mashiji*, represents the negative counterpart of *beshi*, and consequently covers a broad array of subjective attitudes (modalities), including negative doubt, most importantly, but also negative intention, scepticism, impossibility, reluctance, needlessness, impropriety, and prohibition. Historically, *maji* goes back to a combination of *ma*, the MZK of the *suiryō* auxiliary *mu*, followed by the conjectural auxiliary *ji*. In contrast to this morpheme, *maji* managed to survive in the Japanese language, and developed into the modern, albeit literary variant *mai* まい.

堀江越え遠き里まで送る君が心は忘らゆましじ

Horie koe tōki sato made okurikeru kimi ga kokoro wa wasurayu mashiji (Man'yōshū, 20:4482)

How could I forget your kindness, having seen me off as far as this distant village, across the canals.

さて冬枯のけしきこそ、秋にはをさ／＼劣るまじけれ

Sate fuyugare no keshiki koso aki ni wa osaosa otorumajikere (Tsuresuregusa, 19)

Really, the desolate wintry landscape is scarcely inferior to that of autumn.

容易く人寄り来まじき家を作りて

Tayasuku hito yorikumajiki ie o tsukurite (Taketori monogatari)

He built a house that could not easily be approached by people, and ...

猶仕う奉るまじき事を、参りて申さむ

Nao tsukōmatsurumajiki koto o, mairite mōsamu (Taketori monogatari)

I will go to give notice that I still have no intention to serve (at court).

今日の見参は有るまじかりつるを

Kyō no kenzan wa arumajikaritsuru o (Hiramatsukebon Heike monogatari)

平松家本平家物語, 1: "Giō" 義王)

Although our meeting today should not have taken place.

In addition to the above-mentioned negative constructions involving the *jodōshi zu*, *ji*, *maji*, and the *keiyōshi nashi*, the *setsuzokujoshi de* で can equally convey a negation. This particle is often construed to be the merged form of the *setsuzokujoshi te* て, attached to *ni* に, the RYK of the *jodōshi nu* ん (see above). Towards the Heian period, *nite* にて had eventually assimilated into *de*. The particle follows the MZK and can be put in the middle of a sentence or in sentence-final position. For example:

思ふこと成らでは、世の中に生きてなにかせん、と思ひしかば、ただ空しき
風にまかせてありく

*Omou koto naradewa, yo no naka ni ikite nani ka sen, to omoishikaba, tada
munashiki kaze ni makasete ariku (Taketori monogatari)*

"What is the use of living in this world, now that my expectations fall short," I
thought, and wandering I just committed myself to the vain wind.

Note: The construction *omoishikaba* shows the use of the IZK before the particle *ba*,
which expresses a causal or consecutive relation.

e. Comparative use / *hikyō* 比況: GOTOSHI, GOTOKUNARI

In Classical Japanese, correspondence or similarity is expressed by the *jodōshi gotoshi* 如し / 若し, which in time got to be used to refer to concepts in an indirect and paraphrastic way (that is, as a periphrasis), or to mark the termination of a series of examples. Except for the IZK and the MRK, which are both lacking, *gotoshi* conforms to the adjectival *ku* flexion.

Flexion *gotoshi*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexio n
RTK / <i>taige</i> <i>n</i> *		Ø				Ø	Ø	<i>ku-ka</i> <i>tsuyō</i>

*Both bases are often followed by the particle *ga* が; *taigen* can also be followed by *no* の.

我がごとく京に参れ

Wa ga gotoku Miyako ni mairu

Come to the capital just like me.

おごれる人も久しからず、ただ春の夜の夢のごとし

Ogoreru hito mo hisashikarazu, tada haru no yo no yume no gotoshi (Heike, 1: "Gion shōja" 祇園精舎)

The proud ones, too, do not last long; they are but like a dream on a spring night.

涙、雨の脚のごとくこぼる

Namida, ame no ashi no gotoku koboru (*Utsubo monogatari*, 7)

Tears fell like torrents of rain.

黒き革籠三合を置けり。すなはち和歌・管絃・往生要集ごときの抄物を入れたり

Kuroki kawago sangō o okeri. Sunawachi waka, kangen, Ōjōyōshū gotoki no shōmotsu o iretari (*Hōjōki*)

I had placed three black-leather boxes. Placed in them are, namely, selections from waka, musical scores, the *Ōjōyōshū* and the like.

松島は笑ふが如く、象潟はうらむがごとし

Matsushima wa warau ga gotoku, Kisagata wa uramu ga gotoshi (*Oku no hosomichi*)

Matsushima is like laughter, whereas Kisagata resembles grudging.

Flexion *gotokunari*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
RTK / <i>taigen</i> n*			/					<i>nari-katsuyō</i>

*Both bases are often followed by the particle *ga* が; *taigen* can also be followed by *no* の.

Gotokunari 如くなり assembled from the combination of *gotoku* (the RYK of *gotoshi*), and the copula *nari*. It expresses equality, similarity or comparability between two entities.

海の上、昨日のごとくに風波見えず

Umi no ue, kinō no gotoku ni kazenami miezu (*Tosa nikki*)

At sea there was, like yesterday, neither wind nor undulation to be found.

即ちを掘りて封を開く。封、皆替はらずして本の如く也

Sunawachi ji o horite fū o hiraku. Fū mina kawarazu shite moto no gotoku nari (*Konjaku monogatari*, 9:37)

They immediately excavated the sealed pots and opened them. They were all intact and in their original condition.

松の色は青く、磯の波は雪のごとくに

Matsu no iro wa aoku, iso no nami wa yuki no gotoku ni (*Tosa nikki*)

The colour of the pine trees is green, and the waves near the shore are as white as snow.

富の来たること、火の乾けるにつき、水のくだれるに従ふがごとくなるべし
Tomi no kitaru koto, hi no kawakeru ni tsuki, mizu no kudareru ni shitagau ga gotoku naru beshi (Tsuresuregusa, 217)
 Getting wealth is just like dry things catching fire, or water running downhill.

f. Repetitive use / *hanpuku* 反復: U

Flexion *u*

base	form Basic form	MZK	RYK	SSK	RTK	IZK	MRK	Flexion
MZK								<i>yodan</i>

The Nara morpheme *u* is attached to the MZK of *yodan* verbs, and expresses repetition, duration, or progression. Due to its suffix-like behaviour, this morpheme is usually ranked among the category of suffixes. Incidentally, it is not exceptional that upon attaching *u*, the MZK base undergoes sound shift. Spelling, accordingly, respects the then pronunciation practice, making *a* sounds switch to *o* by virtue of attaching /u/. For example, *uchisusurou* うちすすろふ (to snivel), *utsurou* 移ろふ (to change).

2.2. Particles: *joshi* 助詞

This category is the final, and also most important category of invariable bound words. Simply put, *joshi* are function words clarifying connections between words, clauses, or sentences, or they refine the meaning of a statement by evoking a certain feeling or emotive attitude. As postpositions, Japanese particles are attached either to *yōgen* or *taigen*. Considering the whole range of possible bases, the connection with the word to which they are attached is much looser compared with *jodōshi*, and their spectrum of functions is much richer.

Joshi classification is controversial among Japanese linguists. Most school grammars use a categorization based on a mix of semantic and functional criteria. In order to comply as much as possible with the Japanese grammatical approach, which mostly relies on views propounded by Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄 (1873-1958), and other linguists, present grammar adopted a hybrid classification, dividing the *joshi* into eight major categories.

2.2.1. Case particles: *kakujoshi* 格助詞

These particles, as defined by Yamada Yoshio, are attached to *taigen* or quasi-*taigen* expressions, and suggest a relative connection (quality/condition) between a word (group) and another clause. The oldest *kakujoshi* are found in Nara texts, and include the particles *tsu* つ and *na* な (realizing an attributive qualification [*rentaikaku* 連体格]), *yu* ゆ, *yuri* ゆり, *yo* よ (following words that indicate a point of departure, means, or method), and *te* て (quotation). The group of Middle Japanese case particles is fairly large, and includes the particles *ga* が, *no* の, *o* を, *ni* に, *e* へ, *to* と, *yor* より, *kara* から, *nite* にて, and *shite* して. Sometimes, a subset is identified

within this category, comprising what are called *rentaijoshi* 連体助詞 or attributive particles (also called quasi-adnominal particles or *junfukutaijoshi* 準副体助詞). This set is composed of the particles *no*, *ga*, and *tsu*, which in combination with the preceding word fulfil a *rentaishi*-like modifying function.

a. *tsu* つ

Tsu is an Old Japanese particle that is attached to a *taigen* or put after a *keiyōshi* stem. *Tsu* turns its base into an attributive modifier, expressing possession:

野つ鳥
notsutori
wild birds; pheasants

かしふ江に鶴鳴き渡る志賀の浦に沖つ白波立ちし来らしも
Kashifue ni tazu nakiwataru Shika no ura ni oki tsu shiranami tachishi kurashi mo (*Man'yōshū*, 15:3654)
Cranes cry as they cross to Kashifu Bay; white-crested waves off Shika shores fiercely threaten to get near.

天つ風雲の通ひ路吹きとちよ乙女の姿しばしとどめむ
Amatsukaze kumo no kayoji fukitojiyo otome no sugata shibashi todomemu (Priest Henjō 遍昭, *KKS*, var. 1:872)
Heavenly winds, blow shut the path of clouds; I just want to keep sight of the girls.

Similar to the modern Japanese particle *no* の, *tsu* establishes an attributive clause that modifies a *taigen*, although its usage, compared to *no*, is rather limited. The particle features in toponyms (Shimotsukeno 下毛野, afterwards named Shimotsuke 下野), or in the general vocabulary: *amatsukami* 天つ神 ("heavenly gods"), *kunitsukami* 国つ神 ("earthly gods"), *sakitsukoro* 先つ頃 ("just a while ago"), *yūtsukata* 夕つ方 ("evening"), *akitsukata* 秋つ方 ("Autumn time"), *okutsukata* 奥つ方 ("inner room; recess"), *tōtsukuni* 遠つ国 ("faraway country; next world"), *okitsumo* 沖つ藻 ("seaweed from the offing"), *yatsuko* 奴 ("slaves"; originally *yatsuko* 家つ子, "housemates"). In time, however, the particle lost its autonomy, and after the Heian period combinations based on *tsu* were no longer considered to be compounds. Accordingly, the original function of *tsu* faded away from combinations such as *matsuge* 睫 ("eyelashes"; orig. 目つ毛), *tokitsukaze* 時つ風 ("well-timed wind; following wind"), *tanabatatsume* 棚機つ女 ("weaver woman"), and so forth.

b. *na* な

By definition, *na* follows *taigen* or words behaving as *taigen*, producing an attributive phrase as a result.

大き海の水な底深く思ひつつ裳引き平しし菅原の里

Ōki umi no mi na soko fukaku omoi tsutsu mobiki narashishi Sugawara no sato (*Man'yōshū*, 20:4491)

As deep as the bottom of the ocean waters, I think of you, and trailing my train
I pave the way, along Sugawara's native place

Other instances illustrating this particle are rather limited: *naminato* 波な音 ("rustling of the waves"), *nunato* 瓊な音 ("jingling of beads"), *manakai* 眼な交ひ ("reach of the eye"), *momonahito* 百な人 ("one hundred people"), *tanasue* 手な末 ("fingertips"); but the place name Tanakami 田な上 (literally "upper part of a field") can also serve as an example. Analogously to the phenomenon that determined the fate of *tsu*, the particle *na* equally lost currency following the Heian period, and expressions featuring this *joshi* came to be considered as one integrated unit: *minato* 港 ("harbour"; etymology: 水な門), *minamoto* 源 ("source"; etymology: 水な元), *manako* 眼 ("pupil of the eye"; etymology: 目な子), *manajiri* 眦 ("corner of the eye", etymology: 目な尻), *tanagokoro/tanaura* 掌 ("palm of the hand"; etymology: 手な心 or 手な裏 respectively).

c. *yu* ゆ

The particle *yu* takes the same base as *na*. In terms of semantics, *yu* is closely related to the particles *yo* よ, *yor* より, and *yuri* ゆり, but in practical usage the particle fell into neglect and, from the Heian period, finally vanished from the written literature, to be replaced by *yor*. As *yo*, the very rare references preserved in Nara fragments all belong to the poetic register. A number of *uta* accordingly show the use of *yu* in context. On closer inspection, four major uses can be discerned.

- Indicating a point of departure, situated in both space and time. This use passed to *kara* から in the Heian period:

天地の別れし時ゆ神さびて高く貴き駿河なる富士の高嶺を
Ametsuchi no wakareshi toki yu kamusabite takaku tōtoki Suruga naru Fuji no takane o (*Man'yōshū*, 3:317)

Oh lofty peak of Fuji in Suruga, which since the time that heaven and earth separated rises divinely, highly and nobly!

- Indicating a point of transition or the backdrop of an action:

田子の浦ゆうち出でて見れば真白にぞ富士の高嶺に雪は降りける
Tago no ura yu uchiidete mireba mashiho ni zo Fuji no takane ni yuki wa furikeru (*Man'yōshū*, 3:318)

Setting out from Tago Coast, it was all pure white when we looked; snow was falling on the lofty peak of Fuji.

- Indicating a means or method:

小筑波の繁き木の間よ立つ鳥の目ゆか汝を見むさ寝ざらなくに

Ozukuha no shigeki konoma yo tatsu tori no me yu ka na o mimu sa nezaranaku ni (*Man'yōshū*, 14:3396)

Would I look at you with the glance of a bird flying up from the dense wood of Tsukuba; while having slept together?

- Indicating the criterion by which something is compared:

人言は暫しぞ我妹綱手引く海ゆまさりて深くしぞ思ふ

Hitogoto wa shimashi zo wagimo tsunade hiku umi yu masarite fukakushi zo omou (*Man'yōshū*, 11:2438)

People's talk lasts just a short while; much more than the sea dragging the towing-lines, I bear you deep in mind, my love.

d. *yuri* ゆり

In terms of use and integration in the sentence, the particle *yuri* ゆり fully coincides with the first use of the previous particle. Like *yu*, the particle fell into disuse from the Heian period, and made way for *yor*.

押し照るや難波の津ゆり船装ひ我は漕ぎぬと妹に告ぎこそ

Oshiteruya Naniwa no tsu yuri funa yosoi are wa koginu to imo ni tsugi koso (*Man'yōshū*, 20:4365)

Tell my wife that I rigged the ship, and rowed out of the all-dazzling harbour of Naniwa.

明日ゆりや草がむた寝む妹無しにして

Asu yuri ya kae ga muta nemu imu nashi ni shite (*Man'yōshū*, 20:4321)

Am I to sleep together with the grass as of tomorrow, without my wife?

e. *yo* よ

The *kakujoshi yo* (no longer in use following its integration in the particle *yor* during the Heian period) can be considered as a phonic variant of *yu(ri)*. The same four major uses are fully applicable. Except for a couple of *uta*, no further references to this *kakujoshi* are available.

- Indicating a point of departure:

天地の遠き初めよ世間は常なきものと語り継ぎ長らへ来たれ

Ametsuchi no tōki hajime yo yononaka wa tsune naki mono to kataritsugi nagara e kitare (*Man'yōshū*, 19:4160)

Though since the beginning long ago of heaven and earth, man's life in the world for a long time came to be handed down as something transient,...

吾家の方よ雲居起ち来も

Wagie no kata yo kumoi tachiku mo (*Kojiki*, Chū 中, Kayō 歌謡)
Clouds showed up from the direction of my house!

▪ Indicating a point of transition:

ほととぎすこよ鳴き渡れともし火を月夜に準へその影も見む
Hototogisu ko yo nakiwatare tomoshihi o tsukuyo ni nasoe sono kage mo mimu (*Man'yōshū*, 18:4054)
Little cuckoo! Come whistling across here; taking the light put on for moonlight, I try to gain sight of you.

▪ Indicating a means/method:

鈴が音の早馬駅家の堤井の水をたまへな妹が直手よ
Suzugane no hayumaumaya no tsutsumii no mizu o tamae na imo ga tadate yo (*Man'yōshū*, 14:3439)
Pour me some water from the well of the bell-ringing swift-horse inn, straight from your hands.

▪ Indicating a criterion:

上野伊奈良の沼の大藺草よそに見しよは今こそまされ
Kamitsukeno Inara no numa no ōigusa yoso ni mishi yo wa ima koso masare (*Man'yōshū*, 14:3417)
I now miss you even more than when from afar I saw the large rushes of Inara Moors in Kōzuke.

f. *ga* が

Using five semantic functions, the case particle *ga* can combine a *taigen* with the rest of the sentence. This particle may indicate an attributive adjunct (*rentai* 連体 function), a subject (*shukaku* 主格 function), an elliptic nominalization (*juntai* 準体 function), an apposition (*dōkaku* 同格 function), or refer to the desires/preferences of the subject. The use of *ga* by and large resembles the modern Japanese case particle *no* の, which equally establishes an attributive relation between two *taigen*. It is assumed that the *juntai* and *dōkaku* uses directly evolved from *ga*'s primary function (that is, making a bridge between attributive adjunct and *taigen*). As illustrated by the following table, the primary use (left column) may have been at the basis of the *shukaku* function (right column):

梅が枝		梅が咲ける枝		梅が咲ける (枝)
<i>umegae</i>	→	<i>ume ga sakeru</i> <i>e</i>	→	<i>ume ga sakeru</i> <i>(e)</i>

the Japanese
apricot's
boughs

the apricot's
flowering
boughs

the apricot's
flowering
(boughs)

Although the combination of *ga* with a sentence-final predicate in the SSK (for example *hana ga utsukushi* 花が美し) was quite uncommon until about the late Heian period, the *shukaku* function still continued developing. It was only in medieval texts that the *shukaku* use and the use of *ga* indicating the object of desire/preference gained wide support, which eventually led to present-time use where *ga* above all indicates the subject or the object of desire, whereas *no* rather concludes an attributive adjunct, that is, fulfils the *rentai* function.

Grammars that adopted functional criteria for *joshi* classification sometimes qualify the primary function of *ga*, just like *no* and *tsu*, as a *rentaijoshi*. In functional terms, the third use of *ga* is construed as a *juntaijoshi*.

Although the case particles *ga* and *no* have many points in common, there are still some differences to be pointed out. As for its base of attachment, *ga* is mainly put after *taigen* and RTK forms, whereas *no* is variously affixed to *taigen*, *fukushi*, a number of *joshi*, and *keiyō(dō)shi* stems. The combination RTK form plus *no* is not documented in writing before the end of the Muromachi era. If the particle is attached to a *taigen* referring to a person, the variation using *no* relatively expresses stronger respect, than the combination with *ga*, which mainly conveys affection but also connotations of humility or even deprecation.

▪ Indicating an attributive adjunct

我が国
wa ga kuni
my/our country

Note: *Ga* here bears a resemblance to what is called an attributive genitive in Western languages. Note for instance the subtle difference between *Masamune ga katana* 正宗が刀 (Masamune's sword) and *Masamune no gatana* 正宗の刀 (Masamune swords).

秀衡が跡は田野になりて
Hidehira ga ato wa den'ya ni narite (*Oku no hosomichi*, "Hiraizumi")
Hidehira's remains became paddies and fields.

Note: *Ga* here construes an attributive genitive.

生まれしも帰らぬものを我が宿に小松のあるを見るが悲しさ
Mumare shimo kaeranu mono o wagayado ni komatsu no aru o miru ga kanashisa (*Tosa nikki*, 16.2.935)
How sad it is to see that there are little pine trees at home, and that you don't return although being born here.

Note: When *ga* is followed by a *keiyōshi* stem suffixed with *-sa*, some kind of exclamation is expressed.

松島は笑ふがごとく、象潟は恨むがごとし
Matsushima wa warau ga gotoku Kisakata wa uramu ga gotoshi (*Oku no hosomichi*)
Matsushima is like laughing, Kisakata resembles moping.

Note: Embedded in the *rentai* function, *ga* may appear in fixed combination with words such as *kara* から, *manimani* まにまに and *gotoshi* ごとし.

▪ Indicating the subject:

まいて、雁などの連ねたるがいと小さく見ゆるは、いとをかし
Maite, kari nado no tsuranetaru ga ito chiisaku miyuru wa ito okashi
 (Makura no sōshi, 1)
 More enchanting still is a skein of wild geese, appearing as very little spots in the sky.

▪ *Juntai* function: the sentence part modified by *taigen* plus *ga* is left unsaid:

この歌は、ある人のいはく、柿本人麻呂がなり
Kono uta wa, aru hito no iwaku, Kakinomoto no Hitomaro ga nari
 (Kokinshū, "Fuyu", 334)
 This poem is, as some would have it, one by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro.

▪ Indicating a declarative addition (apposition):

いとやむごとなき際にはあらぬが、すぐれて時めき給ふありけり
Ito yamugotonaki kiwa ni wa aranu ga sugurete tokimeki tamau arikeri
 (Genji monogatari, "Kiritsubo")
 Although she didn't hold a very noble status, she particularly prospered [that is, stood high in His Majesty's favour]

▪ Indicating the object of desire/preference:

「何、おのれ、命が助かりたいか」「なかなか、命が助かりたうござる」
"Nani, onore, inochi ga tasukaritaika" "nakanaka, inochi ga tasukaritō gozaru" (Obagasake 伯母酒)
 "Why, you, do you want to be saved?" "Yes, I want you to save me."

g. no の

Seven major uses of the *kakujoshi* particle *no* can be distinguished, according to its function in the sentence. Four of them parallel the uses treated under *ga*, notably the *rentai*, *shukaku*, *juntai*, and *dōkaku* functions. Additionally, this particle may indicate a simile or metaphor (*hiyu* function), concession (*gyakusetsu* function), or co-ordination (*heiretsu* function). A number of grammars categorize *no* under the *rentaijoshi*, due to its primordial use (see *kakujoshi ga*), or create separate *juntaijoshi* and *heiretsujoshi* categories for the respective *juntai* and *heiretsu* functions which *no* may assume.

▪ Indicating an attributive adjunct:

あちらの家
achira no ie
 the house over there

今の民
ima no tami
 the people at the present time

兄の家
ani no ie
 my brother's house

その沢のほとりの木の陰に下りゐて、乾飯食ひけり
Sono sawa no hotori no konokage ni oriite, kareii kuikeri (Ise monogatari, 9)
 He dismounted in the shade of a tree close by that moor, and ate dried boiled rice.

秋風にたなびく雲の絶え間よりも漏れ出づる月の影のさやけさ
Akikaze ni tanabiku kumo no taema yori moreizuru tsuki no kage no sayakesa (Shinkokinwakashū, "Aki jō", 413)
 How clear the moonlight is, breaking through the rift in the clouds trailing on the autumn wind

蟻のごとくに集まりて、東西に急ぎ、南北に走る
Ari no gotoku ni atsumarite, tōzai ni isogi, nanboku ni washiru (Tsurezuregusa, 74)
 Gathered together like ants, we hurry from east to west and rush from north to south.

ある時は、・・・・・・鬼のやうなるもの出で来て
aru toki wa ~ oni no yō naru mono idekite (Takatori monogatari, "Hōrai no tama no eda")
 At one point [...] devilish creatures came out.

Note: In addition to the general rule stipulating that *kakujoshi* connect to *taigen* or *taigen*-like words, a number of examples illustrating *no* as an attributive adjunct demonstrate that the particle may follow a *fukushi* or the stem of a *keiyōshi*. In a similar way to *ga*, *no* may express a certain possessive relation, that is indicate an attributive genitive, but the exclamatory construction in which the particle *ga* is followed by a *keiyōshi* stem plus suffix *-sa* also applies to *no*. The final two examples illustrate the *rentai* function of *no* in combination with *karani* からに, *manimani* まにまに, *gotoshi* ごとし and *yōnari* やうなり. Since all four forms evolved out of *taigen* (to wit, *kara* から, *ma* ま, *goto* ごと, and *yō* やう, respectively) the use of *no* here can be interpreted as a special form of attributive modification (*rentaishūshoku* 連体修飾).

▪ Indicating a subject (clause):

多くの工の心をつくしてみがきたて
Ōku no takumi no kokoro o tsukushite migakitate (*Tsurezuregusa*, 10)
Polished up through the labours of many carpenters.

手のわろき人の、はばかりず文書き散らすはよし
Te no waroki hito no, habakarazu fumi kakichirasu wa yoshi (*Tsurezuregusa*, 35)
It'll be good for people with poor handwriting to scribble letters without scruple.

▪ Nominalization by omitting the modificand:

草の花は、なでしこ。唐のはさらなり、大和のもいとめでたし
Kusa no hana wa, nadeshiko. Kara no wa sara nari, Yamato no mo ito medetashi (*Makura no sōshi*, "Kusa no hana wa")
As for herbal flowers, I prefer the fringed pink. The Chinese ones go without saying, but the Japanese ones too are very nice.

まことにかばかりのは見えざりつ
Makoto ni kabakari no wa miezaritsu (*Makura no sōshi*, "Chūnagon mairitamaite")
Really, I have never seen such a thing.

▪ Indicating an apposition:

春の日のいと寒き夜
Haru no hi no ito samuki yo
A very cold night on a spring day.

富士の山
Fuji no yama
the Mount of Fuji

兄の太郎
Ani no Tarō
his elder brother Tarō

花の都
Hana no miyako
the flowery/blossoming capital

風まじり雨降る夜の雨まじり雪降る夜は
Kaze majiri ame furu yo no ame majiri yuki furu yo wa (*Man'yōshū*, 5:892)

Nights when rain falls mixed with wind, nights when snow mixed with rain falls

青き瓶の大きなるを据ゑて、桜のいみじうおもしろき枝の五尺ばかりなるを、いと多く挿したれば

Aoki kame no ōkinaru o suete, sakura no imijū omoshiroki eda no goshaku bakari naru o, ito ōku sashitareba (Makura no sōshi, "Seiryōden no")

When they placed a big sort of blue jar, containing a great many particularly splendid cherry branches measuring up to five *shaku*, ...

Note: Technically, this use may be regarded as a special form of attributive modification, in which *no* forges the connection between two *taigen* that clarify one another. Sometimes modifier and modificand coincide (the double use of *yo* 夜 in *Man'yōshū*, 5:892, for instance), making a classification as "attributive modification" untenable. From the Heian period onwards, it eventually became customary to avoid the double use of a *taigen* functioning as modifier/modificand (see the ellipsis of *kame* after *ōkinaru* in *Makura no sōshi*, "Seiryōden no").

▪ Indicating similarity/metaphor:

紫のにはほへる妹を憎くあらば人妻ゆゑに我れ恋ひめやも

Murasaki no nioeru imo o nikuku araba hitozuma yue ni ware koime yamo (Man'yōshū, 1:21)

If you, bright like a gromwell as you are, were detestable to me, would I languish for you now you're someone else's wife?

日暮るるほど、例の集まりぬ

Hī kururu hodo, rei no atsumarinu (Takatori monogatari, "Kikōshitachi no kyūkon")

As the sun went down, they came together as usual.

ありさりて後も逢はむと思へこそ露の命も継ぎつつ渡れ

Arisarite nochi mo awamu to omoe koso tsuyu no inochi mo tsugi tsutsu watare (Man'yōshū, 17:3933)

Taking things as they are, I hope I will see you again one day; and that is exactly why I keep on going through this ephemeral world.

▪ Concessive use:

国の親となりて、帝王の上なき位に登るべき相おはします人の、そなたにて見れば、乱れ憂ふることやあらむ

Kuni no oya to narite, teiō no kami naki kurai ni noboru beki sō owashimasu hito no, sonata nite mireba, midareureuru koto ya aramu (Genji monogatari, "Kiritsubo")

He has the traits of someone who should ascend the paramount imperial throne and be the father to the nation. But to take it for such, would mean disorder and grief.

かりそめの茅屋の、葺などもなし

Karisome no kayaya no, shitomi nado mo nashi (*Sarashina nikki*, "Kadode")

Having a temporary thatched cottage, I still miss some latticed shutters though.

- Co-ordinative use (first attested in late Muromachi texts):

明日は、掃除の用意のというて、忙しいによって

Asu wa, sōji no yōi no to iute, isogashii ni yotte (*Yamatachimuko* 山立婿)

For tomorrow I will be busy doing some cleaning, some preparations and so on

h. o を

Nine major uses can be attributed to the particle *o*. Only three of them survive in modern Japanese, namely *o* marking a direct object (this is its primary function), indicating a point of departure or place of transition, and expressing a span of time. Additionally, classical texts produced instances illustrating *o* used as a fixed particle to specific verbs, as a subject-indicating particle to certain *jidōshi*, as a particle marking the object of hope/preference, as a fixed particle in the constructions *o ... ni / o ... nite, o ... mi*, and as a static element in expressions representing a saying.

Etymologically speaking, the particle can be referred to the homonymic interjection (*kandōshi*) that embodied an exclamation. In turn, the *kakujoshi o* itself was, due to its combinability with RTK forms, the basis of the *setsuzokujoshi o*. In general the *joshi* is not omitted, but when this — not infrequently — does happen, its function can easily be derived from the context, as is illustrated for example by *mizu nomu* 水飲む (to drink water), and *hana miru* 花見る (to view blossoms).

- Indicating the direct object:

富士の山を見れば、五月のつごもりに、雪いと白う降り

Fuji no yama o mireba, satsuki no tsugomori ni, yuki ito shirō fureri (*Ise monogatari*, 9)

Seeing Mount Fuji, at the end of the fifth month, a very white snow had fallen.

- Indicating the point of departure/transition (the perlocative function):

さびしさに宿を立ち出でてながむればいづくも同じ秋の夕暮れ

Sabishisa ni yado o tachiidete nagamureba izuku mo onaji aki no yūgure (*Goshūiwakashū*, "Aki jō")

Leaving my abode in loneliness, I take a view, to see an autumn evening the same as everywhere

- Indicating a span of time/period:

世俗の事にたづさはりて生涯を暮らすは、下愚の人なり

Sezoku no koto ni tazusawarite shōgai o kurasu wa, kagu no hito nari
(*Tsurezuregusa*, 151)

He is a foolish man, who spends his life taking part in worldly affairs.

- Fixed particle accompanying the verbs *wakaru* 別る, *au* 会ふ, and *somuku* 背く:

逢坂にて人を別れける時に詠める

Ōsaka nite hito o wakarekeru toki ni yomeru (*Kokinshū*, "Ribetsu", 374)

Composed when parting from people at Ōsaka Barrier

かぐや姫を必ず逢はむ設けして、ひとり明かし暮らし給ふ

Kaguya hime o kanarazu awamu mōke shite, hitori akashikurashitamau
(*Taketori monogatari*, "Tatsu no kubi no tama")

Certainly planning to marry Princess Kaguya, he lived a solitary life.

- Combined with specific *jidōshi*, indicating a subject:

あながちに志を見えありく

Anagachi ni kokorozashi o mie ariku (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kikōshitachi no kyūkon")

They wandered about, making their passion particularly visible.

- Indicating the object of desire/preference:

この翁は、かぐや姫のやもめなるを嘆かしければ

Kono okina wa, Kaguya hime no yamome naru o nagekashikereba (*Taketori monogatari*, "Hinezumi no kawaginu")

Since the old man lamented that Princess Kaguya was single.

- Fixed part of the constructions ...を...に or ...を...にて:

かたじけなき御心ばへのたぐひなきを頼みにてまじらひ給ふ

Katajikenaki mikokorobae no tagui naki o tanomi nite majiraitamau (*Genji monogatari*, "Kiritsubo")

Relying on the incomparableness of his gracious favours, she was at his disposal

足を空に思ひまどふ人多かり

Ashi o sora ni omoimadou hito ōkari (*Genji monogatari*, "Sakaki")

There were many people who rushed about in confusion.

- Fixed part of the construction ...を...み:

瀬を速み岩にせかるる滝川の割れても末に逢はむとぞ思ふ

Se o hayami iwa ni sekaruru takigawa no waretemo sue ni awamu to zo omou (*Shikawakashū*, "Koi Jō")

I meditated that although the mountain torrent, blocked at full speed by a rock, is split in two, it will eventually come together.

▪ Part of an idiomatic turn of phrase:

ながめがちに音をのみ泣き給ふ

Nagamegachi ni ne o nomi nakitamau (*Genji monogatari*, "Yūgao")

While worrying, he set up cries.

昼は日一日、寝をのみ寝暮らし、夜はすくよかに起き居て

Hiru wa hi hitohi, i o nomi nekurashi, yo wa sukuyokani okiite (*Genji monogatari*, "Akashi")

While I spend my entire noons on sleeping, at night I am cheerfully awake.

i. ni に

The case particle *ni* likewise displays a whole range of usages.

▪ Indicating time/place:

朝に死に、夕べに生まるるならひ

Ashita ni shini, yūbe ni umaruru narai (*Hōjōki*, "Yuku kawa")

That's the way it is: some die in the morning, others are born in the evening.

田子の浦にうち出でて見れば白妙の富士の高嶺に雪は降りつつ

Tago no ura ni uchiidete mireba shirotae no Fuji no takane ni yuki wa furitsutsu (*Shinkokinwakashū*, "Fuyu", 675)

Setting out at Tago Coast, I spotted that snow was falling on the lofty peak of snow-mantled Fuji.

▪ Indicating direction:

東西に急ぎ、南北に走る

Tōzai ni isogi, nanboku ni washiru (*Tsurezuregusa*, 74)

We hurry from east to west and rush from north to south.

つれづれなるままに、日暮らし、硯に向かひて

Tsurezure naru mama ni higurashi, suzuri ni mukaite (*Tsurezuregusa*, "Jo")

Leisurely as I am, I spend my days facing my inkstone.

▪ Indicating the indirect object:

「かれは何ぞ」となむ、男に問ひける
"Kare wa nani zo" to namu, otoko ni toikeru (Ise monogatari, 6)
"What is that over there?" she asked the man.

▪ Indicating cause/reason:

近き火などに逃ぐる人は、「しばし」と言ふ
Chikaki hi nado ni niguru hito wa, "shibashi" to ya iu (Tsurezuregusa, 59)
Will someone fleeing from a nearby fire say, "Let's wait a little?"

▪ Indicating result:

昼になりて、ぬるくゆるびもていけば、火桶の火も白き灰がちになりて、わろし
Hiru ni narite, nuruku yurubi moteikeba, hioke no hi mo shiroki haigachi ni narite, waroshi (Makura no sōshi, "Haru wa akebono")
Toward noon, when the cold is slightly giving way, the fire in the brazier too has turned into white ashes, how unpleasant.

嵐にむせびし松も、千年を待たで薪にくだかれ
Arashi ni musebishī matsu mo, chitose o matade takigi ni kudakare (Tsurezuregusa, 30)
The pine tree too, choked in the tempest, didn't bide its thousand years, but is smashed to firewood.

▪ Indicating an objective:

奈良の京、春日の里に領る由して、狩りに往にけり
Nara no kyō, Kasuga no sato ni shiru yoshi shite, kari ni inikeri (Ise monogatari, 1)
Having preserves in the capital of Nara, and in the village of Kasuga, he went out hunting.

白馬見にとて、里人は車清げにしたてて見に行く
Aomuma mi ni tote, satobito wa kuruma kiyoge ni shitatete mi ni yuku (Makura no sōshi, "Shōgatsu tsuitachi wa")
To see the bluish dark horses, they went out for a look after the villagers had handsomely prepared their carriages.

▪ Indicating the agent:

ありがたきもの。舅にほめらる婿、また姑に思はるる嫁の君
Arigataki mono. Shūto ni homeraru muko, mata shūtome ni omowaruru yome no kimi (Makura no sōshi, "Arigataki mono")
Rare things. A son-in-law praised by his father-in-law, and a daughter-in-law appreciated by her mother-in-law.

▪ Indicating an instrument/method:

この皮衣は、火に焼かむに、焼けずはこそ真ならめ
Kono kawaginu wa, hi ni yakamu ni, yakezu wa koso makoto narame
(*Taketori monogatari*, "Hinezumi no kawaginu")
This fur robe is genuine as long as it doesn't burn when committed to fire.

などか、翁の手におほし立てたらむものを、心に任せざらむ
Nado ka, okina no te ni ōshitatetaramu mono o, kokoro ni makasezaramu
(*Taketori monogatari*, "Mikado no kyūkon")
Why wouldn't she obey you, for she is raised by your own hands?

▪ Indicating a state of mind:

この継母の有様をあたらしきものに思ひて
Kono mamahaha no arisama o atarashiki mono ni omoite (*Genji monogatari*,
"Hahakigi")
He found his stepmother's presence quite appealing.

▪ Indicating a point of reference:

子の時ばかりに、家のあたり昼の明かさにも過ぎて光りわたり
Ne no toki bakari ni, ie no atari hiru no sayakasa ni mo sugite hikari watari
(*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
Near midnight, the vicinity of the house was covered by a light even brighter than noonday.

この人々の深き心は、この海にも劣らざるべし
Kono hitobito no fukaki kokoro wa, kono umi ni mo otorazaru beshi (*Tosa nikki*, 9.1)
The profundity of these people should not be inferior to that of this sea.

▪ Indicating the subject:

御前にもいみじううち笑はせ給ふ。...上にも聞こしめして、渡りおはしましたり
Omae ni mo imijū uchiwarawasetamau. ... ue ni mo kikoshimeshite, watariowashimashitari (*Makura no sōshi*, "Ue ni saburau mineko wa")
His Majesty too will laugh with abandon. ... and the Emperor too acknowledged, and went on his way.

そこにこそ、多く集へ給ふらめ
Soko ni koso, ōku tsudoetamau rame (*Genji monogatari*, "Hahakigi")
You must have collected a huge amount of them.

▪ Indicating a simile:

幾世しもあらじ我が身をなぞもかく海人の刈る藻に思ひ乱るる
Ikuyo shi mo araji wagami o nazo mo kaku ama no karu mo ni omoimidaruru (*Kokinwakashū*, "Zō ge", 934)
 My life will not last that long now, but why do I have such confused thoughts, like seaweed harvested by fishermen?

▪ Indicating emphasis:

閉て籠めたる所の戸、すなはちただ開きに開きぬ
Tate kometaru tokoro no to, sunawachi tada aki ni akinu (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
 The door of the place in which she was confined flew open all of a sudden.

j. e へ

The case particle *e* has three uses.

▪ Indicating direction:

京へ帰るに、女子のなきのみぞ悲しび恋ふる
Miyako e kaeru ni, onnago no naki nomi zo kanashibi kouru (*Tosa nikki*, 27.12)
 On my way back to the capital, all I could sorrowfully languish for was my little girl who had died.

▪ Indicating the point of arrival:

敗軍の兵ども仙山へ帰りければ
Haigun no tsuwamonodomo Somayama e kaerikereba (*Taiheiki*, 18:5)
 As the soldiers of the defeated army had returned to Somayama, ...

▪ Indicating the indirect object:

東国・西国へ御教書を成し下され候はんに、誰か応じ申さぬ者候ふべき
Tōgoku Saikoku e migyōsho o nashikudasare saburawan ni, tare ka ōjimōsanu mono saburau beki (*Taiheiki*, 30:2)
 Having been served a warrant on the Eastern and Western Provinces, who would dare not to respond?

k. to と

Apart from *taigen* or *taigen*-like constructions, RTK expressions may equally serve as a base to the particle *to*. When the particle follows a quote, or indicates a particular objective (uses 5 and 6 respectively) a full sentence usually precedes *to*.

- Indicating a party involved in the action:

何事ぞや。童べと腹立ち給へるか

Nanigoto zo ya. Warawabe to haradachitamaeru ka (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")

What is the matter? Have you been arguing with the kids?

同じ心ならむ人としめやかに物語して

Onaji kokoro naramu hito to shimeyakani monogatari shite (*Tsurezuregusa*, 12)

Having a confidential chat with someone of kindred spirit

- Indicating the result of a change:

古き墳はすかれて田となりぬ

Furuki tsuka wa sukarete ta to narinu (*Tsurezuregusa*, 30)

The old burial mound has been ploughed up into a rice field.

- Indicating a simile:

駒並めていざ見に行かむ故里は雪とのみこそ花は散るらめ

Koma namete iza mi ni ikamu furusato wa yuki to nomi koso hana wa chiru rame (*Kokinwakashū*, "Haru ge", 111)

Come, let's yoke the horses and pay a visit; the blossoms will be scattering like snowflakes in the old capital.

- Indicating a point of reference:

かたちなどは、かの昔の夕顔と劣らじや

Katachi nado wa, kano mukashi no Yūgao to otoraja (*Genji monogatari*, "Tamakazura")

Her face compared quite well to the late Lady Yūgao's.

- Indicating a quote:

草の上に置きたりける露を、「かれは何ぞ」となむ男に問ひける

Kusa no ue ni okitarikeru tsuyu o, "Kare wa nani zo" to namu otoko ni toikeru (*Ise monogatari*, 6)

Seeing the dew lying on the grass, she asked the man: "What is that?"

かくてもあられけるよと、あはれに見るほどに

Kakute mo ararekeru yo to, aware ni miru hodo ni (*Tsurezuregusa*, 11)

As I looked with sympathy how one can live like this...

- Indicating an objective/cause/reason, particularly in the constructions *to omotte* と
思つて, *to itte* と言つて, *to shite* として etc.

母北の方、「同じ煙に上りなむ」と泣きこがれ給ひて

Haha Kita-no-kata, "Onaji keburu ni nobori namu" to nakikogaretamaite
(*Genji monogatari*, "Kiritsubo")

Her mother the Lady Kita sobbed yearningly: "If only I could ascend to heaven
simultaneously with this smoke!"

- Indicating emphasis when inserted between two flexion forms of the same verb:

生きとし生けるもの、いずれか歌を詠まざりける

Iki to shi ikeru mono, izureka uta o yomazarikeru (*Kokinwakashū*, "Kanajo")

Of all living creatures, which were the ones not composing a tanka about it?

人を殺すこと、懲りとも懲りぬ

Hito o korosu koto, kori tomo korinu (*Ujishūi monogatari*, 10:6)

Killing people, I have had enough of it!

l. *te* て

This particle is predominantly attested in texts written in the Eastern vernacular, and may be considered to be the Old Japanese counterpart of the *kakujoshi to*.

父母が頭かき撫で幸くあれて言ひし言葉ぜ忘れかねつる

Chichihaha ga kashira kaki nade, "Saku are!" te iishi ketoba ze
wasurekanetsuru (*Man'yōshū*, 20:4346)

Caressing me on the head, my parents bade me "A safe journey!"; words I
cannot forget.

m. *yor* より

Since the Heian period, as pointed out above, this particle replaced the Old Japanese equivalents *yo* よ, *yu* ゆ and *yuri* ゆり, assuming almost entirely the usages covered by these particles. Starting from about the Muromachi period, *yor* in turn left the field to the particle *kara* から, with which it had much ground in common in terms of meaning and use. About six usages of the particle *yor* can be identified.

- Indicating a point of departure:

知らず、生まれ死ぬる人、いつかたより来たりて、いつかたへか去る

Shirazu, umare shinuru hito, izukata yori kitarite, izukata e ka saru (*Hōjōki*,
"Yuku kawa")

People who, unbeknown to me, are born and die; where do they come from and
where do they go to?

志賀の浦や遠ざかりゆく波間より凍りて出づる有明の月
Shika no ura ya tōzakari yuku namima yori kōrite izuru ariake no tsuki
 (Shinkokinwakashū, "Fuyu", 639)
 The coast of Shika; the frozen wan morning moon rises from between the retreating waves.

- Indicating a point of transition:

門よりもえ入らで、童べの踏みあけたる築地のくづれより通ひけり
Kado yori moeirade, warawabe no fumiaketaru tsuihiji no kuzure yori kayoikeri (Ise monogatari, 5)
 Incapable of squeezing through the gate, the children thread their way through a slide cleared in the mud-wall

- Indicating a means/method:

ある時思ひ立ちて、ただひとり、徒歩よりまうでけり
Aru toki omoitachite, tada hitori, kachi yori mōdekeri (Tsurezuregusa, 52)
 At one time, he [= a certain priest of the Ninna temple 仁和寺] made up his mind to make a pilgrimage [to the shrine of Hachiman 八幡宮 in Iwashimizu 岩清水] on foot all by himself.

- Indicating a point of reference:

常よりも物思ひたるさまなり
Tsune yori mo monoomoitaru sama nari (Takatori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
 She seems to be in a more pensive mood than usual.

東路の道の果てよりも、なほ奥つ方に生ひ出でたる人
Azumaji no michi no hate yori mo, nao okutsukata ni oiidetaru hito (Sarashina nikki, "Kadode")
 A person born and bred in a region further inland than the recesses of the Eastern Road

- Indicating a limitation when followed by *hoka* ほか or *uchi* うち:

ひぐらしの鳴く山里の夕暮れは風よりほかに訪ふ人もなし
Higurashi no naku yamazato no yūgure wa kaze yori hoka ni tou hito mo nashi (Kokinwakashū, "Aki jō", 205)
 An evening twilight in a mountain village where cicadas are droning; except for the wind, there is no-one paying a visit.

- Indicating a prompt reaction, in the construction RTK + *yor*i:

名を聞くより、やがて面影は推しはからるる心地するを

Na o kiku yori, yagate omokage wa oshi hakararuru kokochi suru o
(*Tsurezuregusa*, 71)

Upon hearing someone's name, I instantly feel like speculating what he may look like.

n. *kara* から

Instances of attachment to the RTK can equally be mentioned with regard to the particle *kara*. Some Old Japanese examples, in which *kara* is connected to the particles *no* or *ga*, suggest a denominal origin (that is, being formed or derived from a noun), according to which the noun *kara* 故 (literally: "reason") should be the presumptive etymon of the particle.

故郷は遠くもあらず一重山越ゆるがからに思ひぞ我がせし

Furusato wa tōku mo arazu hitoeyama koyuru ga kara ni omoi zo a ga seshi
(*Man'yōshū*, 6:1038)

Home wasn't far away, and as there was only one mountain to cross, I was bursting with impatience.

Since the Muromachi period, the particle *kara* has been used profusely, particularly in the next four main categories.

▪ Indicating a cause/reason:

何心なき空の気色も、ただ見る人から、艶にもすごくも見ゆるなりけり

Nanigokoro naki sora no keshiki mo, tada miru hito kara, en ni mo sugoku mo miyuru nari keri (*Genji monogatari*, "Hahakigi")

Even the sight of the casual sky looked, depending on those viewing, either charming or horrid.

▪ Indicating a point of transition:

月夜良み妹に逢はむと直道から我は来つれど夜ぞ更けにける

Tsukuyo yomi imo ni awamu to tadachi kara ware wa kitsuredo yo zo fuke ni keru (*Man'yōshū*, 11:2618)

Hoping to meet you this fine moonlit evening, I came across the shortest way, and still it has grown this late!

▪ Indicating a point of departure:

去年から山籠りして侍るなり

Kozo kara yamagomori shite haberu nari (*Kagerō nikki*, "Ge", 972)

Since last year, I have been practising mountain asceticism.

▪ Indicating a means/method:

徒歩から罷りて

Kachi kara makarite (*Ochikubo monogatari*, 1)

Left on foot, ...

o. *nite* にて

This particle may be construed as a compound from the *kakujoshi ni* and the conjunctive particle *te* て. As this particle may easily be mistaken for the homonym combining *ni* (RYK of the *jodōshi nari*) + the conjunctive particle *te* て (see main usage 4), particular attention should be paid to the context in which the word is used. Four main uses can be discerned.

▪ Indicating a place/time:

京にて生まれたりし女兒
Miyako nite umaretarishi onnago (Tosa nikki, 27.12.935)
 A girl born in Kyoto.

潮海のほとりにてあざれあへり
Shiomi no hotori nite azareaeri (Tosa nikki, 22.12)
 They were frolicking with each other nearby the briny sea.

長くとも、四十に足らぬほどにて死なむこそ、めやすかるべけれ
Nagakutomo, yosoji ni taranu hodo nite shinamu koso, meyasukaru bekere (Tsurezuregusa, 7)
 It should be considered decent to die before one is aged forty, at the latest.

▪ Indicating a means/method:

深き川を舟にて渡る
Fukaki kawa o fune nite wataru (Sarashina nikki, "Kadode")
 To cross a deep river by boat.

女のはける足駄にて作れる笛には、秋の鹿、必ず寄るとぞ言ひ伝へ侍る
Onna no hakeru ashida nite tsukureru fue ni wa, aki no shika, kanarazu yoru to zo iitsutae haberu (Tsurezuregusa, 9)
 It is indeed traditionally said that stags in autumn infallibly approach a whistle made from a rain clog that has been worn by a lady.

▪ Indicating a cause/reason:

我、朝ごと夕ごとに見る竹の中におはするにて、知りぬ
Ware, asagoto yūgoto ni miru take no naka ni owasuru nite, shirinu (Takatori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")
 I have detected you because you are here, in this bamboo which I inspect every morning and evening.

御物の怪にて時々悩ませ給ふこともありつれど

Omono no ke nite tokidoki nayamasetamau koto mo aritsuredo (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakana Jō")

Due to the evil spirit, it sometimes happened that she fell ill, but ...

- Indicating a qualification/circumstance:

In this usage, *nite* is sometimes read as a combination of *ni*, the RYK of the *dantei-jodōshi nari* and *te*. In its modern Japanese translation, this *dantei* variant is rendered as *deatte* ("being"), whereas the traditional interpretation of *nite* as a *kakujoshi* rather corresponds to the modern *toshite* ("as").

昔、男、伊勢の斎宮に、内裏の御使にて参れりければ

Mukashi, otoko, Ise no Saigū, uchi no otsukai nite mairerikereba (*Ise monogatari*, 71)

Long ago, a man arrived as a court messenger at the Shrine of the Ise priestesses.

ただ人にて朝廷の御後見をするなむ、行く先も頼もしげなめること

Tada udo nite ōyake no on'ushiromi o suru namu, yuku saki mo tanomoshige nameru koto (*Genji monogatari*, "Kiritsubo")

As a commoner assisting the imperial court, a promising future was to be his part.

p. *shite* して

The particle *shite* too originated from a compound, namely *shi* as the RYK of *su* connected to the conjunctive particle *te* て. Case particles *ni* and *o* may precede this particle, resulting in a construction which is usually construed as one particle. Accordingly, *nishite* is used to express time or place, whereas *oshitei* often occurs in the combination ... *oshite* ... (*se*)*shimu*, marking the causee, that is, participant in a causative who is made to perform the action.

桑門の蓮胤、外山の庵にしてこれを記す

Sōmon no Ren'in, Toyama no iori nishite kore o shirusu (*Hōjōki*, "Mizukara kokoro ni tou")

I, śramaṇa Ren'in, am writing this in my hut on Toyama Hill.

人をしてかかる目を見すること、慈悲もなく、礼儀にもそむけり

Hito oshite kakaru me o misuru koto, jihi mo naku, reigi ni mo somukeri (*Tsurezuregusa*, 175)

To make another undergo such experience, is both unmerciful and goes against etiquette.

In terms of function, *shite* can be categorized into three uses:

- Indicating the causee in the causative use:

人して惟光召させて

Hito shite Koremitsu mesasete (Genji monogatari, "Yūgao")

He sent someone for Koremitsu.

▪ Indicating a means/method:

そこなりける岩に、指の血して書きつけける

Soko narikeru iwa ni, oyobi no chi shite kakitsukekeru (Ise monogatari, 24)

With the blood of her finger, she wrote on a rock there: ...

長き爪して眼を掴み潰さむ

Nagaki tsume shite manako o tsukami tsubusamu (Takatori monogatari)

With my long nails, I'll scratch out and crush their eyes.

▪ Indicating a co-operating group:

もとより友とする人一人二人して行きけり

Moto yori tomo to suru hito hitori futari shite yukikeri (Ise monogatari, 9)

With one or two people whom he befriended from before, he went along.

2.2.2. Conjunctive particles: *setsuzokujoshi* 接続助詞

According to Yamada Yoshio, this category covers particles that are attached to *yōgen* or *jodōshi*, and that establish a certain relation between the clauses they connect. Except for one Old Japanese specimen (that is, *nae* なへ), examples illustrating the use of conjunctive particles are predominantly found in Middle Japanese texts. The following particles belong to the set of *setsuzokujoshi*: *ba* ば, *baya* ばや, *to* と, *tomo* とも, *do* ど, *domo* ども, *ga* が, *ni* に, *o* を, *monono* ものの, *mono'o* ものを, *monokara* ものから, *monoyue* ものゆゑ, *te* て, *shite* して, *tsutsu* つつ, *nagara* ながら, *de* で, *kara* から, *gatera* がてら, and *gateri* がてり.

a. *nae* なへ

This Old Japanese particle connects to the RTK of *yōgen*. *Nae* expresses simultaneity of the clauses it connects.

秋風の寒く吹くなへわが宿の浅茅がもとにこほろぎ鳴くも¹

Akikaze no samuku fuku nae wagayado no asaji ga moto ni kōrogi naku mo (Man'yōshū, 10:2158)

As the autumn wind coldly blows, a cricket chirps at the root of sparsely growing cogon grass near my abode.

b. *ba* ば

Both MZK and IZK bases can precede this conjunctive particle. The so-called rhetoric hypothesis (*shūjiteki katei* 修辭的假定) for instance makes use of the MZK + *ba*

combination, and implies a real fact temporarily presented as a hypothetical circumstance. Its modern Japanese equivalent is the particle *tara* たら:

待てと言はば寝ても行かなむ強ひて行く駒の足折れ前の棚橋

Mate to iwaba netemo yukanamu shiite yuku koma no ashi ore mae no tanashi (*Kokinwakashū*, "Koi 4", 739)

I said "Wait." Ah, if only he would rest a while before leaving. Duckboard bridge in front, break his horse's legs, now he is eager to leave!

The IZK combination, usually adopted to express a hypothetical condition, was first observed in medieval literature, and gradually came into general use during the Muromachi and Edo periods. The MZK plus *ba* combination, by contrast, showed a reverse trend, as it gradually lost ground and eventually disappeared from the written language.

The following is an illustration of *ba*, preceded by a MZK, as a hypothetical condition:

狂人のまねとて大路を走らば、すなはち狂人なり。悪人のまねとて人を殺さば、悪人なり

Kyōjin no mane tote ōji o hashiraba, sunawachi kyōjin nari. akunin no mane tote hito o korosaba, akunin nari (*Tsurezuregusa*, 85)

He who in imitation of a madman runs onto the highway, is a madman straight out. And he who in imitation of a villain murders someone, is a villain.

我死なば汝指揮を取れ

Ware shinaba nanji shiki o tore

You take command if I should perish.

友来ば酒汲まむ

Tomo koba sake kumamu

If my friends were to come, we would have a drink.

夏山に鳴く郭公心あらば物思ふ我に声な聞かせそ

Natsuyama ni naku hototogisu kokoro araba monomou ware ni koe na kikase so (*Kokinwakashū*, 3:145)

If you have a heart, little cuckoo singing in the summer mountains, spare me your voice, distressful as I am.

Instances of *ba* following the IZK, can be distributed over five specific uses.

▪ Indicating a cause/reason; causal premise:

父死ぬれば都に帰りぬ

Chichi shinureba Miyako ni kaerinu

I returned to the capital for my father had died.

友来れば酒を汲まむ

Tomo kureba sake o kumamu

We'll have a drink, as my friends have arrived.

いと幼ければ、籠に入れて養ふ

Ito osanakereba, ko ni irete yashinau (Taketori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")

As she was very young, they kept her in a basket and brought her up.

京には見えぬ鳥なれば、みな人見知らず

Miyako ni wa mienu tori nareba, mina hito mishirazu (Ise monogatari, 9)

Since it was a bird one doesn't spot in the capital, no-one recognized it.

▪ Indicating a chance connection:

それを見れば、三寸ばかりなる人、いと美しうて居たり

Sore o mireba, sanzun bakari naru hito, ito utsukushūte itari (Taketori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")

As he looked closer, he found a very cute creature, about three inches tall.

▪ Indicating a universal statement:

水掛くれば、火消ゆ

Mizu kakureba, hi kiyu

Fire dies out when you put water on it.

疑ひながらも念仏すれば、往生す

Utagainagara mo, nenbutsu sureba, ōjō su (Tsurezuregusa, 39)

If you pray to Amitābha, even doubtfully, you will go to Paradise.

▪ Indicating concession in combination with *ne* ね (IZK of the negation particle *zu* ず):

我が宿の萩の下葉は秋風もいまだ吹かねばかくぞ紅葉てる

Wagayado no hagi no shitaba wa akikaze mo imada fukaneba kaku zo momiteru (Man'yōshū, 8:1628)

The lower leaves of the bush clover near my abode have turned this scarlet even though the autumn wind has not yet started to blow.

天の川浅瀬しら波たどりつつ渡り果てねば明けぞしにける

Amanogawa asase shiranami tadoritsutsu watarihateneba ake zo shinikeru (Kokinwakashū, "Aki jō", 177)

Not knowing the shallows of the Milky Way, and following the white-crested waves, the day had dawned before my passage was finished.

▪ Indicating contrast:

古き都は荒れゆけば、今の都は繁盛す

Furuki miyako wa areyukeba, ima no miyako wa hanjō su (Heike monogatari, 5, Tsukimi)

The old capital got dilapidated, and the current capital flourished.

鐘は海へ入りければ、扇は空へぞ上がりける

Kabura wa umi e irikereba, ōgi wa sora e zo agarikeru (Heike monogatari, 11, Nasu no Yoichi)

The humming-bulb arrow entered the sea, and the fan went up into the sky.

c. *baya* ばや

This hybrid particle is composed of the conjunctive *ba* ば and the case particle *ya* や, and is considered to be the prototype of the homonymic final particle. *Baya* expresses doubt, and quite commonly a rhetorical question, either following a hypothetical condition (= MZK base), or a conclusive fact or reality (= IZK base).

▪ Doubt following a hypothesis

君に問はばやこう問はむ

Kimi ni towabaya kō towamu

If I were to ask you, would I ask it this way?

千夜も見ばや飽くことあらむ

Chiyo mo mibaya aku koto aramu

If I were to see you even one thousand nights, would I grow weary of you?

心当てに折らばや折らむ初霜の置きまどはせる白菊の花

Kokoroateni orabaya oramu hatsushimo no oki madowaseru shiragiku no hana (Kokinwakashū, "Aki ge", 277)

Would I pluck one if I happened to want to? The first rime-covered white chrysanthemum blossoms confuse me.

▪ Doubt following a conclusive fact

久方の月の桂も秋はなほ紅葉すればや照りまさるらむ

Hisakata no tsuki no katsura mo aki wa nao momiji surebaya terimasaruramu (Kokinwakashū, "Aki jō", 194)

Is it because the *katsura* trees on the celestial moon too turn crimson, that it shines ever brighter?

思ひつつ寝ればや夢にて人に会はむ

Omoitsutsu nurebaya yume nite hito ni awamu

Am I to meet him in my dreams, now that I fell asleep in longing?

d. *to* と

The *setsuzokujoshi to* is attached to several flexional forms. It can be connected to the SSK of *dōshi* or *keiyōdōshi*, to the RYK of *keiyōshi*, and to the RYK of the negation particle *zu* ず. Its main use as a concessive particle is limited to the Classical Japanese language, and hardly differs from the conjunctive particle *tomo*. Instances of this use, which emerged in the Heian period, are rare and usually occur in tanka passages. The two remaining uses, however, took root during the Muromachi era.

▪ Indicating concession:

嵐のみ吹くめる宿に花薄穂に出でたりとかひやなからむ
Arashi nomi fuku meru yado ni hanasusuki ho ni idetari to kai ya nakaramu
 (Kagerō nikki, Jō, 957)

Although the flowering eulalias have come into ears at home where only storms seem to be raging, it won't be of any avail.

Note: The particle here expresses in other words the combination of a hypothesis and a non-related circumstance.

▪ Indicating a hypothetical condition:

母さまを悪う言ふと、たたくぞよ
Kakasama o warō iu to, tataku zo yo (Keisei Asamagadake 傾城浅間嶽, Chū
 中)
 If you speak ill of my ma, I'll beat you!

▪ Indicating a condition, the consequences of which occur frequently or usually:

私の留守になると、酒ばかり飲うで
Watashi no rusu ni naru to, sake bakari nōde (Domori 吃り)
 When I am away, they're bound to be at my liquors.

e. *tomo* とも

As regards the bases to which it can be attached, the particle *tomo* parallels the particle *to*. Although etymologically often read as a combination of the case particle *to* and the inductive particle *mo*, which typically follows perceptive verbs (that is, verbs giving a statement about the external world) including *shiru* 知る, *iu* 言ふ, *omou* 思ふ, *miru* 見る, and *kiku* 聞く, the particle *tomo* is best regarded as one lexical unit. A peculiar Old Japanese combination is *mitomo* 見とも, in which the particle contrary to the rule connects to the RTK. Moreover, some medieval texts mention *tomo* being attached to RTK bases.

あしひきの八峰の椿つらつらに見とも飽かめや植ゑてける君
Ashihiki no yatsuo no tsubaki tsuratsura ni mitomo, akame ya uetekeru kimi
 (Man'yōshū, 20:4481)

Gazing at the camellias on the long range of mountains, how can I grow tired of them? 'Twas you who planted them.

かばかりになりては、飛び降るるとも降りなむ

Ka bakari ni narite wa, tobioruru tomo orinamu (Tsurezuregusa, 109)
Having come so far, you might even jump down to descend it.

- Indicating a concessive hypothetical condition:

千年を過ぐすとも、一夜の夢の心地こそせめ
Chitose o sugusu tomo, hitoyo no yume no kokochi koso seme (Tsurezuregusa, 7)
Even if we lived for over one thousand years, it would feel like a dream of a single night!

- Hypothetic rendering of a conclusive fact (emphatic use):

かくさし籠めてありとも、かの国の人來ば、皆開きなむとす
Kaku sashikomete aritomo, ka no kuni no hito koba, mina akinamu to su (Taketori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
Even if you lock me up this way, all [doors] will fly open when the people from yonder land come along.

わが身は女なりとも、敵の手にはかかるまじ
Wagami wa onna nari tomo, kataki no te ni wa kakaru maji (Heike monogatari, 11, "Sentei minage" 先帝身投)
Woman as I may be, I would rather not fall into enemy hands.

f. *do* ど

Both in meaning and use, this particle, which originated in the Nara period, is very similar to the conjunctive particle *domo*. That particle mainly appeared in *kanbun kundoku* texts from the Heian period, whereas the *joshi do* predominantly features in *monogatari* and diary literature. During subsequent literary periods, *domo* gradually increased its presence to the detriment of *do*, which steadily dropped out of use. The *setsuzokujoshi do* ど is attached to the IZK. The oldest examples of *do* include instances of the particle being attached to *-ke* and *-shike* (the archaic IZK forms of the *ku* and *shiku* flexions respectively):

あをによし奈良の大路は行きよけどこの山道は行き悪しかりけり
Aoni yoshi Nara no ōji wa yuki yokedo, kono yamamichi wa yukiashikarikeri (Man'yōshū, 15:3728)
Though the great avenues of blue-earth Nara were smoothly passable, these mountain paths were difficult to traverse.

- Indicating a concession:

いとはしたなきこと多かれど、かたじけなき御心ばへのたぐひなきを頼みにてまじらひ給ふ

Ito hashitanaki koto ōkaredo, katajikenaki mikokorobae no tagui naki o tanomi nite majiraitamau (*Genji monogatari*, "Kiritsubo")

Despite massive troubles, she continued in court service, trusting in his gracious favour that was beyond description.

二人行けど行き過ぎがたき秋山をいかにか君が一人越ゆらむ

Futari yukedo yukisugigataki akiyama o ikanika kimi ga hitori koyu ramu (*Man'yōshū*, 2:106)

How will you manage to cross the autumn mountain by yourself, when it was so difficult to get past although we went together?

g. *domo* ども

The particle *domo* consists of the conjunctive particle *do*, combined with the inductive particle *mo*, and like *do* expresses concession. The particle is attached to the IZK, and, as is illustrated by the following example, can also be preceded by *-ke* and *-shike* as archaic IZK forms of the *ku* and *shiku* flexions.

陸奥の真野の草原遠けども面影に見ゆといふものを

Michinoku no Mano no kayahara tōkedomo omokage nishite miyu to iu mono'o (*Man'yōshū*, 3:396)

Although the cogon fields of Mano in the northeastern provinces are distant, you can see them in your imagination, so they say.

The construction *toiedomo* といへども covers practically the same meaning as *domo*, and originated in the *kanbun kundoku* literature of the Kamakura period. The ensuing Muromachi Period witnessed the emergence of the expression *keredomo* けれども, which in modern times altogether replaced the particle *domo*. Classical examples illustrating the use of *domo* are:

親のあはすれども、聞かでなむありける

Oya no awasuredomo, kikade namu arikeru (*Ise monogatari*, 23)

Although her parents tried to match her, she would not listen.

いかなる大事あれども、人の言ふこと聞き入れず

Ikanaru ōgoto aredomo, hito no iu koto kikiirezu (*Tsurezuregusa*, 60)

No matter how important their business might be, he [= Archdeacon Jōshin 盛親] would not listen to what people said.

h. *ga* が

The use of *ga*, which follows an RTK, can express both co-ordination and concession.

▪ Indicating co-ordination:

木曾は、越後国府にありけるが、これを聞いて五万余騎で馳せ向かふ¹

Kiso wa, Echigo no kofu ni arikeru ga, kore o kiite goman amari ki de hasemukau (*Heike monogatari*, 7, "Hiuchi gassen" 火打合戦)

Kiso was in the provincial office of Echigo, and when he heard this, he dashed off towards them with over 50,000 horsemen.

▪ Indicating concession:

昔より多くの白拍子ありしが、かかる舞はいまだ見ず

Mukashi yori ōku no shirabyōshi arishi ga, kakaru mai wa imada mizu (*Heike monogatari*, 1, "Giō" 祇王)

From ancient times, there have been numerous *shirabyōshi* sword dances, but I have never seen such dancing before.

たとへ、唐人であらうが、阿蘭陀であらうが、滅多にほかへはやらぬ

Tatōe, Tōjin de arō ga, Oranda de arō ga, metta ni hoka e wa yaranu (*Kanjin Kanmon tekuda no hajimari* 韓人漢文手管始, 1)

Whether they are Chinese or Dutch, we absolutely do not let them go anywhere else.

Note: This example is an illustration of the so-called hypothetical concession, which is first attested in Edo period texts, and always preceded by the *jodōshi* う, *yō* よう, or *mai* まい.

i. ni に

This particle is directly derived from the homonymous *kakujoshi*, and is attached to the RTK. This *joshi*'s most common uses are:

▪ Indicating cause/reason:

この事を嘆くに、鬚も白く、腰もかがまり、目もただれにけり

Kono koto o nageku ni, hige mo shiroku, koshi mo kagamari, me mo tadarenikeri (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")

Grieving about it, his beard had turned white, his back was bowed down, and his eyes were swollen.

▪ Indicating a consecutive relation:

火の中にうちくべて焼かせ給ふに、めらめらと焼けぬ

Hi no naka ni uchikubete yakasetamau ni, meramera to yakenu (*Taketori monogatari*, "Hinezumi no kawaginu")

As they threw it into the fire to burn it, it went up in licking flames.

▪ Indicating concession:

方違へに行きたるに、あるじせぬ所

Katatagae ni yukitaru ni, aruji senu tokoro (*Makura no sōshi*, "Susamajiki mono")

An inhospitable place, although visited in order to avoid unlucky directions.

▪ Indicating concessive co-ordination:

霧も深く露けきに、すだれをさへあげ給へれば、御袖もいたう濡れにけり
Kiri mo fukaku tsuyukeki ni, sudare o sae agetamaereba, onsode mo itō nurenikeri (Genji monogatari, "Yūgao")
 Although the mist was thick and everything was damp with dew, he raised the bamboo blind, getting his sleeves soaked.

j. o を

This particle is put after RTK forms, but it sometimes appears after *taigen*, as is illustrated by the second example. Although it is not always possible to name the specific use, about three functions can be discerned. In comparison to the similar particles *ba*, *do*, and *domo*, *o* generally indicates a relation in a more obvious and less ambiguous way.

▪ Indicating a concession:

大納言に会はむとて参りたるを会はれず
Dainagon ni awamu tote mairitaru o awarezu
 He came round intending to meet the chief councillor of state, but it was not possible.

八重桜は奈良の都にのみありけるを、このごろぞ世に多くなり侍るなる
Yaezakura wa Nara no miyako ni nomi arikeru o, konogoro zo yo ni ōku nari haberu naru (Tsurezuregusa, 139)
 Though the double-flowered cherry tree used to be found only in the capital of Nara, they nowadays abound in the world!

白露の色は一つをいかにして秋の木の葉を千々に染むらむ
Shiratsuyu no iro wa hitotsu o ika nishite aki no konoha o chiji ni somuramu (Kokinwakashū, "Aki ge", 257)
 The colour of white dew is solid, how come it dyes the autumnal leaves in thousands of ways?

▪ Indicating a consecutive relation:

心にしも従はず苦しきを、さりぬべき折見て、対面すべくたばかれ
Kokoro ni shimo shitagawazu kurushiki o, sarinu beki ori mite, taimen subeku tabakare (Genji monogatari, "Utsusemi")
 In very spite of myself, it hurts, so find an appropriate occasion, and arrange that we can meet.

▪ Indicating co-ordination:

「汝が姓は何ぞ」と仰せられしかば、「夏山となむ申す」と申ししを、やがて繁樹となむ付けさせ給へりし

"*Kimuji ga sō wa nani zo*" to ōserareshikaba, "*Natsuyama to namu mōsu*" to mōshishi o, yagate Shigeki to namu tsukesasetamaerishi (Ōkagami, "Jo")
When he asked, "What's your family name?" I said "My name is Natsuyama," and at once he gave me the name Shigeki.

k. *monono* もの

Originated from the combination of the nominal noun (*keishikimeishi*) *mono*, and the case particle *no* as a concession marker, *monono* follows RTK forms and expresses concession.

なべての月には見えぬものの、師走のつごもりのみ時めきて
Nabete no tsuki ni wa mienu monono, shiwasu no tsugomori nomi tokimekite
(*Makura no sōshi*, "Hana no ki naranu wa")
Flourishing only at the end of the twelfth month, while unseen in ordinary months...

つれなくねたきものの、忘れがたきに思す
Tsurenaku netaki monono, wasuregataki ni obosu (*Genji monogatari*, "Yūgao")
Though she was cold and jealous, he believed he could not forget her.

君来むと言ひし夜ごとに過ぎぬれば頼まぬものの恋ひつつぞ経る
Kimi komu to iishi yorugoto ni suginureba tanomanu monono koi tsutsu zo furu (*Ise monogatari*, 23)
Every night you promised to come has passed, so though I no longer count on it, I wear it through in longing.

l. *monoo* ものを

Another example of conjunctive particles having *mono* as a component is *monoo*, which is also attached to the RTK. The second part consists of the exclamatory particle *o*. *Monoo* has two primary functions, the second of which was introduced during the Azuchi/Edo period:

▪ Indicating concession:

来むと言ふも来ぬ時あるを来じと言ふを来むとは待たじ来じと言ふものを
Komu to iu mo konu toki aru o koji to iu o komu to wa mataji koji to iu mono'o (*Man'yōshū*, 4:527)
Sometimes you don't come even though you said you would; but if you say you wouldn't come and nevertheless do, I needn't be anticipating since you said you wouldn't come.

都出でて君に逢はむと来しものを来しかひもなく別れぬるかな
Miyako idete kimi ni awamu to koshi mono'o koshi kai mo naku wakarenuru kana (*Tosa nikki*, 26.12)

Even though I left the capital and came here to meet you, it was all in vain. I guess we have broken up...

- Indicating a consecutive relation:

日がな一日ゐたり立ったりするものを、腹も減らぢやあねえか
Hi gana ichinchi itari tattari suru mono'o, hara mo herajānē ka (Ukiyoburo
 浮世風呂, 3 Jō)
 All day long sitting down and getting up, that really makes you hungry!

m. monokara ものから

This particle equally takes an RTK base, and is compounded of *mono* and the case particle *kara*. *Monokara*, which traditionally expresses a concessive sense, could also be read in medieval texts as a marker of a consecutive or causal relation. This use originated from confusion with the conjunctive particle *kara*, which, as one of its primary functions, indicates reason or cause. In Edo literature, this particle prominently features in *gikobun* 擬古文 (that is, writings modeled in pseudoclassical style).

- Indicating concession:

月は有明けにて、光をさまれるものから、影さやかに見えて
Tsuki wa Ariake nite, hikari o samareru monokara, kage (ke)sayakani miete
 (Genji monogatari, "Hahakigi")
 Even though the moonlight has grown wan in the morning sky, its beams appear brightly.

いたましうするものから、下戸ならぬこそ、男はよけれ
Itamashū suru monokara, geko naranu koso, onoko wa yokere
 (Tsurezuregusa, 1)
 You make a good showing by not being a teetotaler, albeit reluctantly.

- Indicating reason/cause:

さすがに辺土の遺風忘れざるものから、殊勝に覚えらる
Sasugani hendo no ifū wasurezaru mono kara, shushō ni oboeraru (Oku no
hosomichi, "Sue no Matsuyama")
 I highly appreciated it, because he had not forgotten the traditions that still existed in this remote region.

n. monoyue ものゆゑ

The same pattern ruling the previous particles applies to *monoyue*: it takes an RTK base and is a compound word, in that it combines the noun *mono* with *yue*, a nominal

noun. Incidentally, the expression *monoyueni* ものゆゑに can be mentioned as a variant of this particle.

▪ Indicating a concession:

恋すれば我が身は影となりにけりさりとて、人には添はぬものゆゑ
Koi sureba wagami wa kage to narinikeri, saritote, hito ni wa sowanu monoyue (*Kokinwakashū*, "Koi 1", 528)
 Being in love, my body became a mere shadow, and for all that, though, I cannot join him.

▪ Indicating a reason/cause:

事ゆかぬものゆゑ、大納言をそしり合ひたり
Koto yukanu monoyue, dainagon o soshiri aitari (*Taketori monogatari*, "Tatsu no kubi no tama")
 They criticized the Grand Counsellor, for they were not satisfied.

o. *te* て

The conjunctive particle *te* て derived from the RYK *te* て of the perfective flexion morpheme *tsu*, and accordingly connects to the RYK. Taking everything into consideration, there is little difference with the modern Japanese particle *te*, which in its primary function equally expresses a simple conjunction or co-ordination. It sometimes happens that resulting from a certain interpretation the RYK base is qualified as a *hojodōshi* or a *taigen*.

この上の山へ花摘みに入らせ給ひて候ふ
Kono ue no yama e hanatsumi ni irasetamaite saburō (*Heike monogatari*, Kanjō 灌頂, Oharagokō 大原御幸)
 She has gone uphill to pick flowers.

雨降りて後、いまだ庭のかわかざりければ
Ame furite ato, imada niwa no kawakazarikereba (*Tsurezuregusa*, 177)
 Since it had rained, and the garden hadn't dried yet.

Initially, attachment to other forms than RYK *yōgen* was possible. The combination with such adverbs as *kaku* かく, *sa* さ, and *nado* など produced the eventual stock phrases *kakute* かくて, *sate* さて, and *nadote* などて (all also adverbs), but in the particles *tote* とて and *nite* にて too, the addition of *te* to the *joshi to* と and *ni* に remained visible. It is not always easy to set the particle apart from the RYK of the perfective *jodōshi tsu*, but when *te* is preceded by the *jodōshi mu* む, *mashi* まし, *ki* き, *keri* けり, and *tari* たり, it is usually construed as the RYK of *tsu*, and in the remaining cases as the conjunctive particle *te*.

▪ Indicating co-ordination:

同じ小柴なれど、うるはしうしわたして、清げなる屋・廊など続けて

Onaji koshiba naredo, uruwashū shiwatashite, kiyoge naru ya, rō nado tsuzukete (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")

There was a similar wattled fence, of better workmanship, though, and further on tidy pavilions and halls.

- Indicating an adverbial conjunction/modification:

三寸ばかりなる人、いと美しうて居たり

Sanzun bakari naru hito, ito utsukushūte itari (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")

He found a very cute creature, about three inches tall.

ただ涙にひちて明かし暮らさせ給へば

Tada namida ni hichite akashi kurasasetamaeba (*Genji monogatari*, "Kiritsubo")

As he spent his nights entirely in tears, ...

- Indicating a cause/reason:

八日、障ることありて、なほ同じ所なり

Yōka, sawaru koto arite, nao onaji tokoro nari (*Tosa nikki*, 8.1)

Since there was some inconvenience the eighth day, we were still stranded in the same place.

花の名は人めきて、かうあやしき垣根になむ、咲き侍りける

Hana no na wa hitomekite, kō ayashiki kakine ni namu, saki haberikeru (*Genji monogatari*, "Yūgao")

Those flowers have a human-like name, and they're blooming on such a mean fence!

p. shite して

This particle too was originally a compounded form, of the words *shi* (RYK of *su*) and the conjunctive particle *te*. *Shite* is attached to the RYK of *keiyōshi* and *keiyōdōshi*, the RYK of *jodōshi* having a *keiyō(dō)shi*-like flexion, and the RYK of the negation morpheme *zu*. The following four functions can be discerned:

- Indicating co-ordination:

ゆく河の流れは絶えずして、しかも、もとの水にあらず

Yuku kawa no nagare wa taezu shite, shikamo, moto no mizu ni arazu (*Hōjōki*, "Yuku kawa")

The stream of the flowing river never ceases, and its water too isn't as before.

- Indicating an adverbial conjunction/modification:

我が御家へも寄り給はずしておはしたり

Waga oie e mo yoritamawazu shite owashitari (*Taketori monogatari*, "Hōrai no tama no eda")

He has come here without even stopping at his own abode.

▪ Indicating a reason:

いたり賢くして、時の人に思すなりけり

Itari kashikoku shite, toki no hito ni obosu narikeri (*Makura no sōshi*, "Aridōshi myōjin" 蟻通明神)

As he was extremely intelligent, he was deemed to be the man for the time.

▪ Indicating concession:

格子どもも、人はなくして開きぬ

Kōshidomo mo, hito wa naku shite, akinu (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")

The latticed windows also opened, although there was no one there.

q. tsutsu つつ

The particle is attached to the RYK of *dōshi*, and of the *jodōshi* *su* す, *sasu* さす, *shimu* しむ, *ru* る, and *raru* らる. This *joshi* suggests repetition/duration, and can morphologically be read as a reduplication of the SSK of the perfective morpheme *tsu* つ.

▪ Indicating repetition:

野山にまじりて竹を取りつつ、よろづの事に使ひけり

Noyama ni majirite take o toritsutsu, yorozu no koto ni tsukaikeri (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")

He used to enter into the fields and mountains to gather bamboo, which he used for a myriad of things.

▪ Indicating simultaneity:

人ごとに折り挿頭しつつ遊べどもいやめづらしき梅の花かも

Hitogoto ni ori kazashitsutsu asobedomo iya mezurashiki ume no hana kamo (Man'yōshū, 5:828)

Everyone picks them, sticks them in the hair, and plays with them; what exceptional *ume* flowers!

水の上に遊びつつ魚を食ふ

Mizu no ue ni asobitsutsu io o kuu (*Ise monogatari*, 9)

Frolicking on the water, they ate fish.

▪ Indicating a continuous process

天離る鄙に五年住まひつつ都の手振り忘らえにけり

Amazakaru hina ni itsutose sumaitsutsu miyako no teburi wasurae nikeri
(*Man'yōshū*, 5:880)

I have lived for five years in this far-away countryside; I have completely forgotten the customs and traditions of our capital.

- Indicating a simple conjunction (synonymous with conjunctive particle *te* て):

「やがて参らむ」とて、にはかに精進始めつつ、嚴島へぞ参られける
"Yagate mairamu" tote, niwakani shōjin hajimetsutsu, Itsukushima e zo mairarekeru (*Heike monogatari*, 2, "Tokudaiji no sata" 徳大寺之沙汰)
 He said, "I'll go right away," and at once he started purifying himself, and set out for Itsukushima.

r. *nagara* ながら

The *setsuzokujoshi nagara* ながら is put after the RYK of *dōshi* and certain *jodōshi*, including the negation morpheme *zu*. The particle can further be attached to *taigen*, and to the stem of *keiyōshi* and *keiyōdōshi*. *Nagara* may be considered to derive from the homonymous suffix, and both forms also often correspond in meaning. To set both forms apart, *nagara* is generally identified as a *setsubiji* when it follows *taigen* and constitutes an adverbial modification. In cases where it comes after the RYK stressing the continuity or coordination of actions, however, it concerns a *setsuzokujoshi*. The primary meaning of the particle imparts the nuance of invariability, constancy, and unchanged condition.

日は照りながら雪の頭にかかりけるを
Hi wa terinagara yuki no kashira ni kakarikeru o (*Kokinwakashū*, "Haru jō", 8)
 The sun keeps shining, but snow started falling on my head.

When attached to the RYK, the following uses may apply:

- Indicating a continuity:

取りつきながらいたう睡りて、落ちぬべき時に目を醒ますこと、たびたびなり
Toritsukinagara itō neburite, ochinu beki toki ni me o samasu koto, tabitabi nari (*Tsurezuregusa*, 41)
 Clung to it, he got dead tired, and awoke time and again just as he was about to fall.

- Indicating a co-ordinative relation between two simultaneous actions:

食ひながら文をも読みけり
Kuinagara fumi o mo yomikeri (*Tsurezuregusa*, 60)
 He even reads Scripture while eating.

- Co-ordinative presentation of two non-simultaneous events / concessive mood:

かしこき御蔭をば頼み聞こえながら、おとしめ疵を求め給ふ人は多く
Kashikoki okage oba tanomikikoenagara, otoshime kizu o motometamau hito wa ōku (*Genji monogatari*, "Kiritsubo")
 Putting up with his gracious favour, there were many ladies who looked down on her, and found fault with her.

- Additionally, the particle can be put after *taigen* and the stem of *keiyō(dō)shi*. The following example equally illustrates a concessive use:

身はいやしなから、母なむ宮なりける
Mi wa iyashinagara, haha namu miya narikeru (*Ise monogatari*, 84)
 His status was low, even though his mother was of imperial birth.

s. *de* で

This particle is thought to be derived from the combination *zute* ずて, that is, the RYK of the negation morpheme *zu*, followed by the *setsuzokujoshi te*. The particle is attached to the MZK, and expresses a negation of the previous thought, while conjoining to the subsequent phrase.

食べで行きたり
Tabede yukitari
 He has left without having eaten.

遠からで道よし
Tōkarade michi yoshi
 It is not far and the roads are fine.

鬼ある所とも知らで、・・・・・・あばらなる倉に、女をば奥に押し入れて
Oni aru tokoro tomo shirade, abaranaru kura ni, onna oba oku ni oshiirete (*Ise monogatari*, 6)
 Not knowing that it was a place where an ogre lived, [...] he put the woman at the back of the dilapidated storehouse.

t. *kara* から

Closely related to the case particle *kara* から is the conjunctive particle *kara*, which is attached to the RTK or to the conjunctive particle *te*, and which, in meaning, has a lot in common with the modern variants *kara* and *dakara*. The conjunctive reading of *kara* was first attested in Muromachi texts.

- Indicating cause, reason, motive, occasion (can directly be followed by *wa* は):

汐時がよう御座りますから、舟はたちまちで御座ります

Shiodoki ga yō gozarimasukara, fune wa tachimachi de gozarimasu
(*Yūshihōgen* 遊子方言, "Hottan" 発端)

Since the tide is favourable, the ship will arrive any moment now.

見付けられたからは、ありやうに言はう

Mitsukerareta kara wa, ariyōni iō (Chikamatsu 近松, *Amidagaike Shinteramachi* 1 阿弥陀が池新寺町)

Let us, as it has been found out, tell the truth.

- Indicating a concession when adopted in the construction *-te kara* てから or *-te kara ga* てからが:

折角さび落としてから、ごまめ一ぴき切ることにはあらねども

Sekkaku sabiotoshite kara, gomame ippiki kiru koto ni wa aranedomo
(Saikaku, *Sekennunesan'yō* 世間胸算用, 2:4)

Even if you went to the trouble of removing the rust from it, it wouldn't serve to cut a small dried sardine.

- Indicating a contrast:

旅の旦那どの、旅の旦那どのと言うてから、帰らず

Tabi no dannadono, tabi no dannadono to iute kara, kaerazu (*Keiseikintanki* 傾城禁短気, 4:4)

He said, "Mister traveler, mister traveler," but he didn't come back.

u. *gatera* がてら

The particle *gatera* がてら is attached to *yōgen* RYK, and indicates that an action is concomitant, or implies an additional objective.

梅の花咲き散る園に我行かむ君が使ひをかた待ちがてら

Ume no hana sakichiru sono ni ware yukamu kimi ga tsukai o katamachigatera (*Man'yōshū*, 18:4041)

I want to go to the garden where *ume* flowers blossom and scatter; and meanwhile impatiently await your messenger.

v. *gateri* がてり

The Old Japanese particle *gateri* がてり is connected to the RYK of verbs, and reveals simultaneous or cumulative actions.

山辺の御井を見がてり神風の伊勢娘子ども相見つるかも

Yamanohe no mii o migateri kankaze no Ise otomedomo aimitsuru kamo
(*Man'yōshū*, 1:81)

Having arrived to inspect the well near the mountain, I took the opportunity to meet the divine priestess of Ise.

2.2.3. Inductive particles: *kakarijoshi/keijoshi* 係助詞

This category of particles was equally coined by Yamada Yoshio, and collects *joshi* that exert a specific influence on other constituents of the sentence. It may concern emphasis put on words preceding the particle, or transforming the flexion forms of subsequent *yōgen* into another flexion form (see *kakarimusubi*). Inductive particles are found in declarative sentences, (rhetorical) question sentences, or sentence-final position, and they mark a specific topic, impart emphasis, frame a question, and so on. The particles *namo* なも (afterward evolved into *namu* なむ), and *kamo* かも can be mentioned as the most ancient specimens of this group. Middle Japanese *kakarijoshi* include the particles *wa* は, *mo* も, *zo* ぞ, *namu/nan* なむ/なん, *ya* や, *ka* か, *koso* こそ, and *kawa* かは.

a. *namo* なも

Subject words (*shugo* 主語), adverbial modifiers (*ren'yōshūshokugo* 連用修飾語), and conjunctions (*setsuzokushi* 接続詞) are the most common bases of the particle.

何時はなも恋ひずありとはあらねどもうたてこのころ恋し繁しも
Itsu wa namo koizu ari to wa aranedomo utate konokoro koishishigeshimo
 (Man'yōshū, 12:2877)

Though I didn't feel, who knows how long, disinclined to her, it is oddly enough only now that I am becoming infatuated.

b. *kamo* かも

This *joshi* originated from the combination of the *kakarijoshi* *ka* and *mo*, and just like *namo* is put after subject words, adverbial modifiers, and conjunctions. Inflecting words following this particle take the RTK due to *kakarimusubi*; a rule which lapsed since the particle's shift (as is observable in modern Japanese) to a sentence-final position. Nara literature produced instances in which the IZK or a combination IZK plus *ba* is followed by *kamo*, as is illustrated in the next example:

冬ごもり春の大野を焼く人は焼きたらねかも我が心焼く
Fuyu gomori haru no ōno o yaku hito wa yakitarane kamo agakokoro yaku
 (Man'yōshū, 7:1336)

Hasn't he got enough to burn, the man who burns the wide fields in this wintry spring; for he sets my heart on fire.

▪ Indicating a rhetorical question:

あしひきの山鳥の尾のしだり尾の長々し夜をひとりかも寝む
Ashihiki no yamadori no o no shidario no naganagashi yo o hitori kamo nemu
 (Man'yōshū, 11:2802)

Shall I sleep this night alone, ever so long as the tail of the copper pheasant, trailed along the tiresome mountains?

c. *wa* は

Subject words, adverbial modifiers, and conjunctions once more operate as basis for the particle. *Wa* primarily serves as a topic marker. Additionally, it is inserted to indicate a contrast between two phrases, or to emphatically mark the content of the predicate. Further, *wa* may express a hypothetical relation when it follows the RYK of *keiyōshi* or *zu* ず. In this function, incidentally, the hypothetical nuance is not always plainly visible. Morphologically interesting is the expression *oba* をば which has evolved from the connection of *wa* to *o*. Other sound contractions are *na* な and *ta* た, which respectively derived from the combinations *n* ん + *wa* は and *-tt* っ + *wa* は, and additionally there is *ippa* いっぱ, a variant of *iuwa* いうは.

▪ Indicating the topic:

これは勇める馬なり

Kore wa isameru uma nari (*Tsurezuregusa*, 185)

This is a prancing horse.

▪ Indicating contrast:

敵の手にはかかるまじ

Kataki no te ni wa kakaru maji (*Heike monogatari*, 11, "Sentei minage" 先帝身投)

I would rather not fall into enemy hands.

古京はすでに荒れて、新都はいまだ成らず

Kokyō wa sude ni arete, shinto wa imada narazu (*Hōjōki*, "Miyakoutsuri" 都遷り)

The old capital was already ruined, and the new capital was not yet finished.

▪ Indicating emphasis:

尋ぬる人の琴の音か、おぼつかなくは思へども、駒を速めて行くほどに

Tazunuru hito no koto no ne ka, obotsukanaku wa omoedomo, koma o hayamete yuku hodo ni (*Heike monogatari*, 6, "Kogō" 小督)

Although I was doubtful whether it was the sound of the koto from the person I was looking for, I sped up my horse's pace.

▪ Indicating a supposition:

鶯の谷より出づる声なくは春来ることを誰か知らまし

Uguisu no tani yori izuru koe naku wa haru kuru koto o tareka shiramashi (*Kokinwakashū*, "Haru jō", 14)

Without the bush warbler's song coming out of the valley, who would know that spring has arrived?

まろ、格子上げずは、道なくて、げにえ入り来ざらまし

Maro, kōshi agezu wa, michi nakute, geni eiriko-zaramashi (*Genji monogatari*, "Yokobue")

If I don't lift the latticework, they have no access, and indeed cannot come in.

d. *mo* も

This particle attaches just like the previous *kakarijoshi*, and marks—like its modern Japanese equivalent—an enumeration or addition. The particles *zo* or *koso* may be put after *mo*, and thus express concern or lamentation about something bad that is going to happen. *Mo* does not modify flexion forms further down the sentence. The uses of *wa* and *mo* have substantial overlap, but *wa* rather exclusively emphasizes the topic, whereas *mo* stresses its topic's inclusiveness.

▪ Indicating enumeration:

行きも帰りも共にす

Yuki mo kaeri mo tomo ni su

To make the journey there and back together.

鬚も白く、腰もかがまり、目もただれにけり

Hige mo shiroku, koshi mo kagamari, me mo tadarenikeri (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")

His beard had turned white, his back was bowed down, and his eyes were swollen.

男も女も恥ぢかはしてありけれど

Otoko mo onna mo hajikawashite arikeredo (*Ise monogatari*, 23)

Even though both the man and the woman were embarrassed with each other...

▪ Indicating an addition/a connective relation:

潮満ちぬ。風も吹きぬべし

Shio michinu. Kaze mo fukinu beshi (*Tosa nikki*, 27.12)

The tide is in. And the wind is surely getting up.

ただ一つ二つなど、ほのかにうち光りて行くもをかし。雨など降るもをかし

Tada hitotsu futatsu nado, honokani uchihikarite yuku mo okashi. Ame nado furu mo okashi (*Makura no sōshi*, "Haru wa akebono")

It is lovely to see them pass, faintly glimmering all alone or paired. Rain falling is also delightful.

▪ Indicating a suggestion:

熟田津に船乗りせむと月待てば潮も適ひぬ今は漕ぎ出でな

Nigitatsu ni funanori semu to tsuki mateba shio mo kanainu ima wa kogiide na (*Man'yōshū*, 1:8)

At Nigitatsu, we abided the moon before leaving, let us row out now, as the tide is favourable.

我も、一日も見奉らぬは、いと苦しうこそあれど

Ware mo, hitohi mo mitatematsuranu wa, ito kurushū koso aredo (*Genji monogatari*, "Momijinoga")

It is indeed very hard for me too, not to see you for even one single day.

- Indicating an extreme point of reference:

帳の内よりも出ださず、いつき養ふ

Chō no uchi yori mo idasazu, itsuki yashinau (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")

Not even letting her pass her curtained home, they brought her up with much care.

心なしと見ゆる者も、よき一言は言ふものなり

Kokoro nashi to miyuru mono mo, yoki hitokoto wa iu mono nari (*Tsurezuregusa*, 142)

Even someone who looks heartless may say something nice.

- Indicating emphasis:

限りなく速くも来にけるかな

Kagiri naku hayaku mo kinikeru kana (*Ise monogatari*, 9)

How extremely fast had he arrived!

「御覧ぜよ」と言へど、聞きも入れ給はず

"Goran zeyo" to iedo, kiki mo iretamawazu (*Genji monogatari*, "Tenarai")

She said, "Have a glance," but she didn't bother to comply.

- Indicating a lower limit:

家に行きて何を語らむあしひきの山ほととぎす一声も鳴け

Ie ni yukite nani o kataramu ashihiki no yamahototogisu hitokoe mo nake (*Man'yōshū*, 19:4203)

Back home, what story shall I recount? O, mountain cuckoo, do raise your voice!

思ふ事を、まほならずとも、片端にても、うちかすめつべき女親もおはせず

Omou koto o, mao narazu tomo, katahashi nite mo, uchikasumetsubeki onnaoya mo owasezu (*Genji monogatari*, "Fujibakama")

She had no mother to whom she could have confided if not all then at least part of her troubles.

- Indicating, in combination with question words, an exhaustive enumeration:

誰も、少しよろしき者どもは、見おこせ、居寄りなどしけり

Taremo, sukoshi yoroshiki monodomo wa, miokose, iyor nado shikeri
(*Ōkagami*, "Jo")

The rather distinguished people all looked this way, and moved closer.

何も何も、小さきものは皆うつくし

Nanimo nanimo, chiisaki mono wa mina utsukushi (*Makura no sōshi*,
"Utsukushiki mono")

In every respect, small things in particular are lovely.

e. zo ぞ

This emphatic particle can be put after *shugo*, *ren'yōshūshokugo*, and *setsuzokushi*.
The active use of the variant particle *so* ぞ is only found in Nara literary sources.

- Indicating emphasis or concession; induces the RTK:

万の遊びをぞしける

Yorozu no asobi o zo shikeru (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")

We have enjoyed ourselves with all sorts of musical plays.

緑なる一つ草とぞ春は見し秋は色々の花にぞありける

Midori naru hitotsu kusa to zo haru wa mishi aki wa iroiro no hana ni zo arikeru (*Kokinwakashū*, "Aki jō", 245)

I saw the same green grasses in spring; but in autumn they had become flowers of every kind.

時なくそ雪は降りける。間なくそ雨はふりける。

Toki naku so yuki wa furikeru. Ma naku so ame wa furikeru (*Man'yōshū*, 1:25)

Timelessly the snow is falling down. And ceaselessly the rain is falling down.

- Indicating concern in combination with the inductive particle *mo* も ; induces the RTK:

雨もぞ降る。御車は門の下に

Ame mozo furu. Mikuruma wa kado no shita ni (*Tsurezuregusa*, 104)

Oh dear, it is raining. Put the carriage under the gate.

- Indicating an ellipsis [the omitted part may tentatively be reconstructed as the RTK phrases *nizo aru* にぞある or *tozo iu/kiku* とぞ言ふ・聞く]:

中将の君はいづくにぞ。人げ遠き心地して、もの恐ろし

Chūjō no kimi wa izuku ni zo. Hitoge tōki kokochi shite, mono osoroshi (*Genji monogatari*, "Hahakigi")

Where is the Lady Chūjō? Feeling deserted makes me frightened.

たびたび強盗に会ひたるゆゑに、この名を付けにけるとぞ

Tabitabi gōtō ni aitaru yue ni, kono na o tsukenikeru to zo (Tsurezuregusa, 46)

Since he had repeatedly encountered robbers, he was given that name [that is, the appellation "The Most Reverend The Highwayman" Gōdō no hōin 強盜法印]

- Indicating a conjunction between clauses:

桐の木の花、紫に咲きたるは、なほをかしきに、葉の広がりざまぞ、うたてこちたけれど、異木どもと等しう言ふべきにもあらず

Kiri no ki no hana, murasaki ni sakitaru wa, nao okashiki ni, ha no hirogorizama zo, utate kochitakeredo, kotokidomo to hitoshū iu beki ni mo arazu (Makura no sōshi, "Konohana wa")

The purple flowering of the blossoms of the empress tree is very appealing, but although the way its leaves spread out is utterly grotesque, one cannot say it is a tree on a par with other trees.

Note: In Nara texts, *zo* ぞ often followed IZK forms, expressing a reason/cause. In this respect, it can be compared to the construction *bazo* ばぞ, in which *ba* corresponds to the aforementioned conjunctive particle *ba*. For example:

朝髪の思ひ乱れてかくばかり汝ねが恋ふれぞ夢に見えける

Asakami no omoimidarete kaku bakari na ne ga koure zo ime ni miekeru (Man'yōshū, 4:724)

I have seen you in my dreams, since you yearned so much for me in your thoughts as tangled as morning-hair.

In tanka, the combination *zoari* ぞあり, which joins the particle *zo* ぞ and the verb *ari* あり, is contracted to *zari* ざり. No contraction but rather fossilization is observed when *zo* follows question words. Such combinations were current practice in medieval texts, and should be read as emphatic variants, although some accordingly categorized *zo* as a question particle. For example:

あれへ参り、何ぞ食ふ物をもらうて、食べうと存ずる

Are e mairi, nani zo kuu mono o morōte, tabyō to zonzuru (Setsubun, 節分)

I think I will go there, get some lunch, and eat it.

It is often maintained that *zo* ぞ originated in the unvoiced particle *so* そ, and that both variants were used indiscriminately in Nara texts. Since the Heian period, *zo* ぞ eventually prevailed and *so* そ faded away, only lingering in such standard expressions as *taso* 誰そ. Incidentally, the modern Japanese *tasogare* 黄昏 ("twilight") derived its origin from *tasokare* 誰そ彼 ("Who is there?"), indicating the difficulty of clearly distinguishing people from one another in the dusk.

Among *kakari* particles, *namu* なむ and *koso* こそ have similar functions, albeit that the deictic or emphasizing aspect has a more prominent place in the particle *koso*. In comparison with *namu*, *zo* effects a much stronger emphasis, and is further adopted in a very large variety of genres (covering prose [narrative texts (*ji no bun* 地の文) including *monogatari*], dialogues, and tanka), whereas *namu* is particularly used in

dialogue texts (*kaiwa no bun* 会話の文). This aspect equally pertains to *koso*, which together with *namu* primarily gives expression to a subjective or emotional emphasis, while *zo* rather entails an objective or logical accentuation.

f. *namu/nan* なむ/なん

Namu, or its more recent eroded variant *nan*, mainly has an emphasizing function. Its emphasis is somehow less articulate than the one conveyed by *zo* ぞ.

- Indicating emphasis; induces the RTK:

都へなむ参らむ
Miyako e namu mairamu
 I want to go to the capital.

父は直人にて、母なん藤原なりける。さてなん、あてなる人と思ひける
Chichi wa naobito nite, haha nan Fujiwara narikeru. Sate nan, atenaru hito ni to omoikeru (Ise monogatari, 10)
 His father was an ordinary person, but his mother a Fujiwara. And therefore, he intended her [= his daughter] for a nobleman.

光る竹なむ一筋ありける
Hikaru take namu hitosuji arikeru (Taketori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no oitachi")
 There was one shining bamboo stem.

橋を八つわたせるによりてなむ、八橋といひける
Hashi o yatsu wataseru ni yorite namu, Yatsubashi to iikeru (Ise monogatari, 9)
 Because they had spanned eight bridges, it was dubbed Eight Bridges.

- Indicating an ellipsis: verbs including *iu* 言ふ, *kiku* 聞く, and *omou* 思ふ are omitted:

さて、この隣の男のもとよりかくなむ
Sate, kono tonari no otoko no moto yori kaku namu (Ise monogatari, 23)
 Now, the boy next-door reported the following: ...

- Indicating an emphasized conjunction between phrases:

年ごろよくくらべつる人々なむ、別れがたく思ひて、日しきりにとかくしつ
 つ、ののしるうちに夜更けぬ
Toshigoro yoku kurabetsuru hitobito namu, wakaregataku omoite, hi shikiri ni tokaku shitsutsu, nonoshiru uchi ni yo fukenu (Tosa nikki, 21.12)
 I found it difficult to part from the people with whom I had hit it off well for years, doing all sorts of things all day long, and making a night of it while gossiping.

Notes:

- In Nara literature, we still come across traces of the Old Japanese variant *namo* なも, but since the publication of the *Man'yōshū*, the notation *namu* definitively seemed to have gained prevalence. The particle was particularly seen as an element of the vernacular vocabulary, and appeared in written dialogues and epistolary writings during the Heian period, whereas it was absent in *tanka*. During the Middle Ages, it gradually entered the written-language register, and was used frequently in *gikobun* 擬古文 (pseudoclassical writings or imitations moulded on Heian texts) and it occurs once in a while in *gunki monogatari* 軍記物語 (war chronicles).
- If confusion with homophonic counterparts might arise, a scrupulous reading of the clause preceding *namu* is called for.
 - 1) consistent with other *kakarijoshi*, the inductive particle *namu* connects to the RTK, *shugo*, *ren'yōshūshokugo*, and *setsuzokushi*;
 - 2) the *shūjoshi namu* is governed by a MZK base;
 - 3) the combination *na* な (MZK of the perfective particle *nu* ぬ) + *mu* む (SSK of the *jodōshi* む) is attached to the RYK, and expresses a strong suspicion, obviousness, volition, possibility, or suggestion;
 - 4) the Nara present conjecture *jodōshi* (cf. *ramu*) follows a SSK.

g. *ya* や

In addition to the usual bases (*shugo*, *ren'yōshūshokugo*, *setsuzokushi*), the particle may also occur in a sentence-final position; in which case it follows a SSK or IZK.

- Indicating a question or doubt; inducing the RTK:

人やある

Hito ya aru

Is anybody there?

「ほととぎすや聞き給へる」と問ひて

"Hototogisu ya kikitamaeru" to toitei (Tsurezuregusa, 107)

They asked, "Have you heard the little cuckoo?"

「御子はおはすや」と問ひしに

"Oko wa owasu ya" to toishi ni (Tsurezuregusa, 142)

When he asked, "Have you any children?" . . .

- Indicating a rhetorical question or irony; inducing the RTK:

かかる事ありや

Kakaru koto ari ya

Is something like this possible?

かかる人「否」とや言ふ

Kakaru hito "iya" to ya iu

Would a person like this say "No"?

などか宮仕へをし給はざらむ。死に給ふべきやうやあるべき

Nado ka miyazukae o shitamawazaramu. Shinitamaubeki yō ya arubeki
(*Taketori monogatari*, "Mikado no kyūkon")

Why wouldn't you serve at Court? Does it seem to you something you will die of?

そのとき悔ゆとも、かひあらむや

Sono toki kuyu tomo, kai aramu ya (*Tsurezuregusa*, 49)

By then, what would be the use of being regretful?

- Indicating a (rhetorical) question, doubt, or irony, following attachment to the IZK:

ももしきの大宮は暇あれや梅をかざしてここに集へる

Momoshiki no ōmiya wa hima are ya ume o kazashite koko ni tsudoeru
(*Man'yōshū*, 10:1883)

The court nobility of the stone palace must have time to spare. They join together here wearing plum blossoms in their hair.

- Indicating doubt by using the coordinating construction ... *ya* ... *ya*:

君や来し我や行きけむ思ほえず夢か現か寝てかさめてか

Kimi ya koshi ware ya yukikemu oboezu yume ka utsutsu ka nete ka samete ka (*Ise monogatari*, 69)

Did you come, or did I go to you? I cannot remember. Is it a dream or reality?
Was I asleep or awake?

Since this particle can be put in the middle or at the end of a sentence, some grammarians qualify the latter variant as a *shūjoshi*. The absence of any semantic difference between the sentence-final and non-final *ya*, however, justifies it being treated within the *kakarijoshi* category.

In addition, there is a possibility of classifying this particle in the category of *kantōjoshi* or *heiritsujoshi*. The criterion here is the extent to which *ya* can be read as an exclamation, or the degree to which it may establish a coordinate conjunction.

As an interrogative particle, *ya* can be connected to the sentence-final interrogative particle *ka*. The two *joshi* have the following differences:

- 1) *ka* is used in combination with question words, unlike *ya* (although some medieval texts contain combinations of *ya* with question words);
- 2) *ka* usually expresses simple doubt/uncertainty, whereas *ya* implies a question directly addressed to the interlocutor;
- 3) *ka* is attached to the RTK, limiting the question's extent to the word it affects, whereas the question particle *ya* on the other hand is attached to the SSK, and affects the entire preceding phrase. Overtones of irony, incidentally, are much more explicit when both particles are followed by *wa* は, producing the compound particles *kawa* かは and *yawa* やは.

h. ka か

This *kakarijoshi* is put after *shugo*, *ren'yōshūshokugo*, and *setsuzokugo*, or follows the RTK as a sentence-final particle.

- Indicating a question or doubt; induces the RTK:

いかなる所にか、この木はさぶらひけむ

Ikanaru tokoro ni ka, kono ki wa saburaikemu (*Taketori monogatari*, "Hōrai no tama no eda")

In what sort of place was this tree situated?

何事ぞや。童べと腹立ち給へるか

Nanigoto zo ya. warawabe to haradachitamaeru ka (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")

What is the matter? Have you been arguing with the children?

- Indicating a rhetorical question or irony (often emphasized by adding *wa* は):

何せむにか、命も惜しからむ

Nani semu ni ka, inochi mo oshikaramu (*Taketori monogatari*, "Fuji no yama")

What should we do? Why hold life dear?

心なき鳥にぞありけるほととぎす物思ふ時に鳴くべきものか

Kokoro naki tori ni zo arikeru hototogisu mono'omou toki ni naku beki mono ka (*Man'yōshū*, 15:3784)

What a heartless bird you are! Little cuckoo, do you really need to sing this instant that I am lost in thought?

Quite unlike its modern Japanese equivalent, the interrogative particle *ka* can also be placed in the middle of a sentence. In this case, the particle is often combined with fixed question words, such as *nani* 何 and *ikani* いかに. The predicate is sometimes omitted after *ka*, making the interrogative particle end the sentence in an abrupt way:

²⁰

清げなる屋・廊など続けて、木立いとよしあるは、何人の住むにか

Kiyoge naru ya, rō nado tsuzukete, kodachi ito yoshi aru wa nanibito no sumu nika (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")

It was a succession of tidy pavilions and halls, and there were very imposing trees; who was living there, I wondered.

Note: The phrase omitted here is *aramu* あらむ, with *mu* as an RTK form.

i. koso こそ

²⁰ Lehmann observes that the interrogative in Japanese is marked by placing *ka* after verbs in sentence-final position.

This particle connects to *shugo*, *ren'yōshūshokugo*, and *setsuzokushi*, or comes at the end of a sentence. As an emphatic particle, it moves the stress to the phrase preceding it. As already mentioned, *koso* expresses the most powerful emphasis compared to other emphatic particles. As a rule, *koso* induces the IZK, although this convention is not always scrupulously respected in Nara texts, judging the fact that there are even instances where sentence-final *keiyōshi* take the RTK despite being governed by *koso*:

難波人葦火焚く屋の煤してあれど己が妻こそ常珍しき

Naniwahito ashihi taku ya no su shite aredo ono ga tsuma koso toko mezurashiki (*Man'yōshū*, 11:265)

Although sooty as a hut where Naniwa people kindle a fire using reed, my wife is always the same beauty to me.

Overtones of concession were still prominent until the Heian period, but the particle eventually lost its concessive connotation, and turned to conveying neutral emphasis. If *yodan* verbs co-occur with *koso*, it will not be possible to distinguish between any conceivable sentence-final MRK and IZK forms, making it necessary to check carefully which of both forms is most applicable in the given context:

右近の君こそ、まづ物見給へ。中将殿こそこれより渡り給ひぬれ

Ukon no kimi koso mazu monomitamae. Chūjō-dono koso kore yori wataritamainure (*Genji monogatari*, "Yūgao")

Please, quickly come and look, Lady Ukon. The lieutenant general himself has gone by here.

- Indicating emphasis; inducing IZK:

野分のまたの日こそ、いみじうあはれにをかしけれ

Nowaki no mata no hi koso, imijū aware ni okashikere (*Makura no sōshi*, "Nowaki no mata no hi koso")

I do enjoy the day after an early autumn typhoon, due to its very appealing effect.

Note: The *kakarimusubi* rule is sometimes flagrantly disregarded. It is unclear whether this is due to the author's slip of the pen, or the copyist's sloppiness:

さればこそ、異物の皮なりけり

Sareba koso, kotomono no kawa narikeri (*Taketori monogatari*, "Hinezumi no kawaginu")

And therefore, indeed, it is the fur of a different kind.

- Indicating concession; induces IZK (except when followed by a *setsuzokujoshi*):

昨日こそ早苗取りしかいつの間に稲葉そよぎて秋風の吹く

Kinō koso sanae torishika itsu no ma ni inaba soyogite akikaze no fuku (*Kokinwakashū*, "Aki jō", 172)

Only yesterday we planted the seedlings out; yet before we noticed, the rice leaves were rustling in the blowing autumn breeze.

たとひ耳鼻こそ切れ失すとも、命ばかりはなどか生きざらむ
Tatoi jibi koso kireusu tomo, inochi bakari wa nadoka ikizaramu
 (Tsurezuregusa, 53)
 Even if his ears and nose are lost, at least his life may be saved.

- Indicating concern in the construction *mokoso* もこそ (*mo* = *kakari* particle; cf. *mozo*); induces IZK:

烏などもこそ見つけ
Karasu nado mo koso mitsukure (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")
 O dear, if the crows or the like were to discover it!

- Indicating ellipsis (the omitted part may be interpreted as *are* あれ, *arame* あらめ, *iwame* 言はめ, and so forth):

「さすがにむくつけき御心にこそ」と聞こえ動かして
"Sasuga ni mukutsukeki mikokoro ni koso" to kikoeugokashite (*Genji monogatari*, "Yume no ukihashi")
 "Crude indeed is your heart," she said and she gave a poke.

- Indicating negative irony in the construction *araba koso* あらばこそ:

世に数ならぬこの尼が、たとへ病で死したりとて、子に譲るものあらばこそ
Yo ni kazu naranu kono ama ga, tatoe yamai de shishitari tote, ko ni yuzuru mono araba koso (*Chikamatsu, Yōmei tennō shokunin kagami* 用明天王職人鑑, 2)
 As if this nun, not counting for much in the world, has anything to bequeath to her children should she die of illness.

j. *kawa* かは

This *kakarijoshi* is compounded of the *kakari* particles *ka* and *wa*, and is attached to *shugo*, *ren'yōshūshokugo*, and *setsuzokushi*. In a sentence-final position, this particle exclusively refers to a rhetorical question or irony, whereas in a sentence-medial position, it additionally may indicate a neutral question.

- Indicating a rhetorical question/irony, induces RTK:

いと恥づかしき御けはひに、何事をかは答へ聞こえむ
Ito hazukashiki ōnkewai ni, nanigoto o kawa irae kikoemu (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")
 They felt very embarrassed in his presence, and didn't know what to respond.

ひがひがしからむ人の仰せらるる事、聞き入るべきかは

Higahigashikaramu hito no ōseraruru koto kikiiru beki kawa
(*Tsurezuregusa*, 31)

How can I listen to what an eccentric man has to say?

花は盛りに、月は隈なきをのみ見るものかは

Hana wa mori ni, tsuki wa kuma naki o nomi miru mono kawa
(*Tsurezuregusa*, 137)

Should we only enjoy the flowers when they are in full bloom, and view the moon when shining in full brightness?

▪ Indicating a question:

蓮葉の濁りに染まぬ心もて何かは露を玉とあざむく

Hachisuba no nigori ni shimanu kokoro mote nani kawa tsuyu o tama to azamuku (*Kokinwakashū*, "Natsu", 165)

How is it that lotus leaves don't get touched with impurity, but still deceive us into believing dewdrops to be gems?

2.2.4. Adverbial particles: *fukujoshi* 副助詞

Yamada Yoshio's fourth category comprises *joshi* which according to their behaviour in the sentence show similarity to *fukushi*. *Fukujoshi* connect to *yōgen*-related words, and adverbially modify subsequent inflecting words. Adverbial particles reinforce the continuity of the constituents, and can be placed directly before or behind a *kakujoshi*. In the Old Japanese vocabulary, only two representatives have been documented, namely the emphatic particle *i* い, and the prohibitory particle *na* な. More recent instances of adverbial *joshi* include: *dani* だに, *sura* すら, *sae* さへ, *nomi* のみ, *bakari* ばかり, *made* まで, *nado/nando* など/なんと, *shi* し, *shimo* しも, *gana* がな, and *gatera* がてら.

a. *i* い

The particle is preceded by *taigen* or RTK forms functioning as subject in the sentence. They obtain added emphasis due to *i*.

我が背子が跡踏み求め追ひ行かば紀伊の関守い留めてむかも

Wa ga seko ga atofumi motome oiyukaba Ki no sekimori i todometemu kamo
(*Man'yōshū*, 4:545)

If I were to search and follow my husband's track, would the barrier keeper of Ki stop me?

Connection to an attributive modification (*rentaishūshokugo* 連体修飾語) is also documented:

青柳の糸の細しさ春風に乱れぬい間に見せむ子もがも

Aoyagi no ito no kuwashisa harukaze ni midarenu i ma ni misemu ko mogamo (*Man'yōshū*, 10:1851)

If only I had a beloved, showing me the slenderness of green willow switches, just before they are about to get entangled in the spring breeze.

b. *na* な

This adverbial particle precedes verbal RYK and certain *jodōshi*. *Kahen* and *sahen* verbs, however, take the MZK behind the particle. There is also a final particle *na* expressing a prohibition, but compared to the *fukujoshi na*, this specimen strikes a less moderate tone.

- Indicating prohibition:

我が船は比良の湊に漕ぎ泊てむ沖へな離りさ夜更けにけり
Wagafune wa Hira no minato ni kogihatemu oki e na sakari sayofuke nikeri
 (Man'yōshū, 3:274)
 My boat rowed to Hira harbour to cast anchor. Do not set out to sea now, the night is already far advanced.

Note: As part of the brace construction ending in the particle *so* そ, *na* remained preserved in later texts. This construction constitutes a twofold prohibition, in which *na* introduces the prohibition and *so* conveys added emphasis. In the course of time, *so* integrally assumed *na*'s function, and developed as an independent prohibitory particle. Incidentally, certain grammars treat this dual prohibitory construction rather as one final particle, instead of considering it as a combination of a *fukujoshi* and a *shūjoshi*.

や、な起こし奉りそ
Ya, na okoshitatematsuri so (*Ujishūi monogatari*, 1:12)
 O, don't wake him up!

c. *dani* だに

This particle is put after subject words (*shugo* 主語) or adverbial modifiers (*ren'yōshūshokugo* 連用修飾語).

- Indicating a minimal, albeit often unrealistic desire. It is typically followed by a predicate expressing an order, volition, desire, or hypothesis.

我に今一度、声をだに聞かせ給へ
Ware ni ima ichido, koe o dani kikasetamae (*Genji monogatari*, "Yūgao")
 Let me once again hear your voice.

- Indicating a sharp contrast between an example and a particular point of reference; always combined with a final negation:

かぐや姫、光やあると見るに、螢ばかりの光だになし

Kaguya-hime, hikari ya aru to miru ni, hotaru bakari no hikari dani nashi
(*Taketori monogatari*, "Hotoke no miishi no hachi")

When Princess Kaguya inspected whether it radiated, there was not so much as the glow of a firefly.

Note: In Nara texts, only the first use prevails. The second use, expressed in Nara texts principally by *sura* すら, originated in the beginning of the Heian period. Together with *sae* さへ, *sura* すら belongs to the same semantic field as *dani*. Mutually, however, a number of subtle nuance differences exist. *Sura* すら, which in meaning closely corresponds with the modern Japanese particle *sae* さえ, indicates that the concept to which it is attached, is subjected to the predicate, and suggests the existence of many other alternatives. The second use of *dani* reveals close resemblance to this particle. *Sae* さへ signals that the quoted example is an extraordinary case, and can be compared to the Modern Japanese *mademo* までも. Towards the close of the Heian era, *dani* in particular got to be used in a way closely resembling *sae*:

如夢僧都は、大井川の御幸に、三衣箱の底に烏帽子をだにも用意して
Nyomu sōzu wa, Ōigawa no miyuki ni, san'ebako no soko ni, eboshi o dani mo yōi shite (*Shasekishū* 沙石集, 8:22)

For his pilgrimage to Oigawa, priest Nyomu had even packed a black-lacquered crown in the bottom of his robe case.

Eventually the nuances of both particles blurred, and *sae* さへ came to be predominantly used from the Muromachi period onward, marking a process which found its fulfilment in the present-day particle *sae* さえ.

d. *sura* すら

The *fukujoshi sura* すら is attached to *shugo* or *ren'yōshūshokugo*. *Sura* directs the focus to the word to which it is connected.

- Indicating modality (amazement/surprise):

言問はぬ木すら妹と兄ありといふをただ独り子にあるが苦しき
Koto towanu ki sura imo to se ari to iu o tada hitoriko ni aru ga kurushisa
(*Man'yōshū*, 6:1007)

It is hard to be an only child, while even trees, which have nothing to say, have sisters and brothers.

聖などすら、前の世のこと夢に見るはいと難かなるを
Hijiri nado sura, saki no yo no koto yume ni miru wa ito kataka naru o
(*Sarashina nikki*, "Miyazukae")

Even for a virtuous priest it is very hard to see one's previous existence in a dream.

- Indicating emphasis:

越を治めに出でて来し大夫われすら世の中の常しなればうちなびき床に臥
い伏し

*Koshi o osame ni idetekoshi masura ware sura yononaka no tsune
shinakereba uchinabiki toko ni koifushi (Man'yōshū, 17:3969)*

Warrior as I may be, I left to govern Koshi, but as the way of the world is
inconstant, I lie here writhing abed.

Note: While *sura* was frequently used in Nara texts, it gradually lost currency and was only used sporadically during the Heian period in *Wabun monogatari* or diaries (*nikki*) or appeared as an archaism in *Kanbun kundoku* texts and *waka*. During the process, its content was absorbed by the semantically related particles *dani* だに and *sae* さへ. Incidentally, a variant reading, *sora* そら, was used at the end of the Heian period, for example in *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集.

e. *sae* さへ

This particle also follows *shugo* or *ren'yōshūshokugo*. In terms of etymology, this word probably has its origin in *soe* 添へ ("addition"), which immediately illustrates the initially additive nuance of the particle. This primary meaning survived until about the Heian period. Subsequently, it increasingly included meanings of the kindred *joshi sura* and *dani*. Initially, *sura* was consistently replaced by *sae* and *dani* (2nd use), and eventually *sae* assumed the function expressed by *dani* (3rd use). Since the Muromachi period, parenthetically, *made* adopted the primary meaning of *sae*, starting to suggest addition.

▪ Indicating an addition:

雨風、岩も動くばかり降りふぶきて、神さへ鳴りてとどろくに

*Amakaze, iwa mo ugoku bakari furifubukite, kami sae narite todoroku ni
(Sarashina nikki, "Hatsuse")*

Rain and wind raged so hard that even rocks were about to move, and the gods
roared with peals of thunder.

▪ Indicating modality (gradation):

まさしき兄弟さへ似たるは少なし。まして従兄弟に似たるものはなし

*Masashiki kyōdai sae nitaru wa sukunashi. Mashite itoko ni nitaru mono wa
nashi (Soga, 4:4)*

Only few resemble their very own brother; and there is still no-one resembling
one's full cousin.

▪ Indicating a hypothetical condition:

頭丸めしとて、金さへあれば、色里の太夫も、それにはかまはず、自由にな
る

*Kashira marumeshi tote, kane sae areba, irozato no taifu mo, sore ni wa
kamawazu, jiyū ni naru (Saikaku, Honchō nijū fukō 本朝二十不孝, 4:2)*

Though you have shaved your head, you can do as you please, without the courtesans of the red-light district caring about it, as long as you have money.

f. *nomi* のみ

Nomi is equally attached to *shugo* or *ren'yōshūshokugo*. This particle expresses limitation or exclusivity. Furthermore, some emphatic effect is involved. This *joshi* would have its origins in ... *no mi* の身 ("the ... itself"), from which the meaning "limited to the matter itself" and consequently the implication of limitation, emphasis evolved.

何事も辺土は賤しく、かたくななれども、天王寺の舞樂のみ、都に恥ぢず
Nanigoto mo hendo wa iyashiku, katakuna naredomo, Tennōji no bugaku nomi, Miyako ni hajizu (*Tsurezuregusa*, 220)
 Although everything in the remote regions is vulgar and stale, only the court dance and music at Tenno Temple would not shame the Capital.

御心をのみ惑はして去りなむことの、悲しく耐へがたく侍るなり
Mikokoro o nomi madowashite sari namu koto no, kanashiku taegataku haberu nari (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
 Leaving you causing so much worries to your heart, is a grief almost too much to bear.

g. *bakari* ばかり

The adverbial particle *bakari* connects to various parts of speech, including *taigen*, *taigen*-like words, *fukushi*, RTK and SSK forms, and specific particles. As can still be seen in the first use, *bakari* traces back to *hakari*, the RYK of the verb *hakaru* 計る/量る ("to measure, to gauge"). The limitative implication of *bakari* only emerged during the Heian period, and has much in common with *nomi*, which however implies a much stricter limitation.

- Indicating an extent/degree/intensity:

髪、丈に三尺ばかり余りて
Kami, take ni sanjaku bakari amarite (*Ochikubo monogatari*, 1)
 Her hair was about three feet longer than her height.

望月の明かさを十合はせたるばかりにて、在る人の毛の穴さへ見ゆるほどなり
Mochizuki no sayakasa o tō awasetaru bakari nite, aru hito no kenoana sae miyuru hodo nari (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
 It was almost as bright as ten full moons combined, so bright that one could see even the pores of a man's skin.

まことに、かばかりのは見えざりつ
Makoto ni, ka bakari no wa miezaritsu (*Makura no sōshi*, "Chūnagon mairitamaite")

Really, I have never seen anything like that before.

人の亡きあとばかり悲しきはなし

Hito no naki ato bakari kanashiki wa nashi (Tsurezuregusa, 30)

There is nothing as sad as the period following someone's death.

▪ Indicating a limitation:

頼みたる方のことは違ひて、思ひよらぬ道ばかりはかなひぬ

Tanomitaru kata no koto wa tagaite, omoi yoranu michi bakari wa kanainu (Tsurezuregusa, 189)

The things you rather expected fall short, and only the ways you didn't anticipate are fulfilled.

月影ばかりぞ、八重葎にも障らずさし入りたる

Tsukikage bakari zo, yaemugura nimo sawarazu sashiiritaru (Genji monogatari, "Kiritsubo")

Only the moonlight shines without hindrance on the luxuriant growth of wild grass.

Note: The combination of the *fukushi ka* か and *bakari* is in its entirety often construed as a *fukushi*. Particularly in Nara texts, moreover, *bakari* is often attached to deictic *fukushi*, including *ka* か, *sa* さ, and *kaku* かく, and examples can further be pointed out in which it occurs after the *fukushi yume* ゆめ and *tsuyu* つゆ, which express a degree or intensity.

h. *made* まで

Much like *bakari*, the particle *made* is connected to a variety of parts of speech, including *taigen*, RTK forms, *fukushi*, and *joshi*. The following functions apply to *made*:

▪ Indicating a spatio-temporal limitation:

夜ふくるまで酒飲み、物語して

Yo fukuru made sake nomi, monogatari shite (Ise monogatari, 82)

While we were drinking sake and recounting stories till late at night...

▪ Indicating an ultimate degree; used as a reinforcement:

かの友だち、これを見て、いとあはれと思ひて、夜の物まで贈りて

Ka no tomodachi, kore o mite, ito aware to omoite, yoru no mono made okurite (Ise monogatari, 16)

His friend saw this, felt great pity, and gave him gifts, even including nightwear.

あやしの法師ばらまで喜びあへり

Ayashi no hōshibara made yorokobi aeri (Genji monogatari, "Sakaki")

They all rejoiced, down to the most humble Buddhist priest.

ほめののしりける声、かしがましきまでなむ聞こえける

Homenonoshirikeru koe, kashigamashiki made namu kikoekeru (Ujishūi monogatari, 7:6)

You could hear exuberantly cheering voices, almost deafeningly loud.

Note: This example illustrates that attachment to an RTK expressing degree/limitation is possible.

- Indicating concession in the construction *made mo* までも and followed by a negation:

折よくは見に来ぬまでも我が宿の桜咲きぬと告げましものを

Oriyoku wa mi ni konu mademo wagayado no sakura sakinu to tsugemashi monoo (Izumishikibushū)

Had you not come and had a look at the right moment, I would have let you know that the cherry trees were blossoming in my garden.

i. *nado/nando* など/なんど

This fukujoshi is put after *taigen*, RYK and RTK forms, and may also follow quotations. *Nado*'s origin goes back to the combination of the question word *nani* 何 and the *kakujoshi to* と:

これかれ、酒なにと持て追ひ来て

Korekare, sake nanito moteoikite (Tosa nikki, 27.12)

All sorts of people ran after each other bringing sake and such things.

Gradually, the compound eroded and, through the intermediate form *nando* なんど, it ultimately consolidated as *nado*. Since the case particle *to* was factually already integrated in the particle, it was not usual to add an extra *to* と after *nado* until the Heian period. In contrast to the *setsubigo domo* ども, the particle *nado* does not necessarily make a noun plural.

女どもなどを具して、食物などせさせて

Onnado mo nado o gushite, shokumotsu nado sesasete (Konjaku monogatari, 29:36)

Accompanying the ladies and others, we offered them a meal, and so on.

- Indicating the redundancy of any further enumeration of examples:

親しき女房、御乳母などをつかはしつつ、ありさまを聞こしめす

Shitashiki nyōbō, o-menoto nado o tsukawashitsutsu, arisama o kikoshimesu (Genji monogatari, "Kiritsubo")

He despatched his trusted court ladies, including his wet nurse among others, to inquire after the situation.

▪ Indicating a paraphrase:

「様もよき人におはす」など言ひみたり
"Sama mo yoki hito ni owasu" nado ii itari (Taketori monogatari, "Hōrai no tama no eda")
 "Moreover it is someone making a good impression," he said and took a seat.

▪ Indicating a vague reference:

いと寒きに、火など急ぎ起こして、炭持て渡るも、いとつきづきし
Ito samuki ni, hi nado isogi okoshite, sumi motewataru mo, ito tsukizuki shi (Makura no sōshi, "Haru wa akebono")
 How appropriate it is to quickly light the fires and bring over the charcoal, when it is very cold.

▪ Indicating emphasis, especially used in combination with negative, pejorative, or deprecatory expressions:

かくのごとくの優婆夷などの身にて、比丘を堀へ蹴入れさする、未曾有の悪行なり
Kaku no gotoku no ubai nado no mi nite, biku o hori e keiresasuru, mizō no akugyō nari (Tsurezuregusa, 106)
 For such a person as an *upāsikā* [= Buddhist lay-sister] to kick a *bhikkhu* [= Buddhist priest] into the ditch is an unprecedented wickedness!

j. shi し

This particle follows *shugo* or *ren'yōshūshokugo*, and primarily fulfils an emphatic role. As is illustrated by the first example, *shi* appears within Nara texts in sentences ending in the SSK, but in the Heian periode, it could only be used in conditional constructions such as ... *shi* ... *ba*, or it evolved due to attachment of a *kakarijoshi* into a compound particle, such as *shimo* しも, *shizo* しぞ, and *shikoso* しこそ.

大和は国のまほろば暈なづく青垣山隠れる大和しうるはし
Yamato wa kuni no mahoroba tatanazuku aokaki yamagomoreru Yamato shi uruwashi (Kojiki, "Chū", Keikō 景行)
 Yamato is the most blissful land of all provinces; how lovely Yamato is, surrounded by mountains layered with green hedges!

取り立ててはかばかり後見しなければ
Toritatete hakabakashiki ushiromi shi nakereba (Genji monogatari, "Kiritsubo")
 Since she didn't have a decent guardian in particular...

k. shimo しも

This adverbial particle originated from the combination of *shi* (*fukujoshi*) plus *mo* (*kakarijoshi*), and follows *shugo* or *ren'yōshūshokugo*.

- Indicating emphasis:

今日しも端におはしましけるかな

Kyō shimo hashi ni owashimashikeru kana (*Genji monogatari*, "Wakamurasaki")

And today of all days you are seated on the veranda?

- Indicating a partial negation

この人、国に必ずしも言ひ使ふ者にもあらざなり

Kono hito, kuni ni kanarazushimo iitsukau mono ni mo arazanari (*Tosa nikki*, 23.12)

This person doesn't seem to be someone one would necessarily like to engage for the province.

みな人、物侘びしくて、京に思ふ人なきにしもあらず

Mina hito, monowabishikute, Miyako ni omou hito naki ni shimo arazu (*Ise monogatari*, 9)

They all felt lonely, and not because there was no-one in the Capital thinking of them.

- Indicating concession, preceded by the RTK or the RTK plus *ni*:

ことさらに、田舎びもてなし給へるしも、いみじう見るに笑まれて清らなり

Kotosarani, inakabi motenashi tamaeru shimo, imijū miru ni emarete kiyora nari (*Genji monogatari*, "Suma")

He deliberately made it so rustic that seeing its appeal made you smile heartily.

1. *gana* がな

This *joshi* occurs in the middle of phrases expressing surmise, doubt, or intention, and is put after *taigen*, question words, the combination *taigen* plus *kakujoshi*, the RYK or the *setsuzokujoshi te*. This particle was presumably directly derived from the final particle *gana* がな. Evidence of comma intonation after the particle (that is, the use of this particle as a caesura marker) or the implication of desideration that still lingers on in this particle, somewhat betray the existence of a link between both particles.

- Identifying the word with which it is connected as an example:

愚僧も、ただいまひとりごとに、似合はしい連れがなほしいと申してござる

Gusō mo, tadaima hitorigoto ni, niawashii tsure gana hoshii to mōshite gozaru (*Shūron* 宗論)

Priest as I am, I just said to myself how I wished for some suitable company.

- Indicating indefiniteness (in combination with question words):

何かな取らせんと思へども、取らすべきものなし

Nani gana torasen to omoedomo, torasu beki mono nashi (Ujishūi monogatari, 9:3)

I considered giving some sort of thing, but there was nothing I could give.

m. *gatera* がてら

Attachment occurs after *taigen* indicating a certain activity. The particle (and its variant *gaterani* がてらに) suggests that an action involves an additional act or ulterior motive. In Nara texts, the same role was fulfilled by *gateri* がてり (etymologically derived from the combination *kate*, the RYK of *katsu* 糅つ ["to mix"] and *ari* あり).

三条の宮に、御とぶらひがてら渡り給ふ

Sanjō no miya ni, otoburaigatera wataritamau (Genji monogatari, "Miyuki")

Ostensibly to make a courtesy call, he went over to Sanjō Palace.

2.2.5. Final particles: *shūjoshi* 終助詞

This category of particles indicate the end of a sentence, and may add supplemental information (command, question, irony, desire, prohibition, exclamation) or mark emphasis. The subset of Old Japanese final particles is limited to the following *joshi*: *namo* なも, *na* な, *ne* ね, *shika* しか, *mo* も, *moga* もが, *gane* がね, *kamo* かも, *koso* こそ, and *teshika/teshiga* てしか/てしが. Less ancient *shūjoshi* include *baya* ばや, *namu* なむ, *gana* がな, *shiga* しが, *shigana* しがな, *mogana* もがな, *na* な, *so* そ, *ka* か, *kana* かな, *kashi* かし, *wa* は, *zo* ぞ, *teshigana* てしがな, and *nishigana* にしがな. Special reference is made to the particle *na*, which may concern three different *joshi*, including one Old Japanese instance.

a. *namo* なも

This particle can be considered as a precursor of *namu* なむ. *Namo* is preceded by a MZK, and the entire phrase communicates a desire uttered by the speaker.

三輪山をしかも隠すか雲だにも情あらなも隠さふべしや

Miwayama o shikamo kakusu ka kumo dani mo kokoro aranamo kakusōbeshi ya (Man'yōshū, 1:18)

Why hiding Mount Miwa like that? I wish at least the clouds were sensible. Do they really need to keep hiding it?

Note: *kakusa* 隠さ is a MZK form; *fu* ふ expresses continuity.

b. *na* な

The MZK-based particle *na* has the following uses:

- Indicating first-person desire/intention:

帰るさに妹に見せむにわたつみの沖つ白玉拾ひて行かな
Kaerusani imo ni misemu ni, watatsumi no oki tsu shiratama hiriite yukana
 (Man'yōshū, 15:3614)
 On my way home, I want to gather pearls in the offing, to show them to my wife.

家聞かな名告らさね
Ie kikana na norasane! (Man'yōshū, 1:1)
 I want to know your family, tell me your name.

- Indicating an exhortation/invitation, addressed to the speaker's in-group:

熟田津に船乗りせむと月待てば潮も適ひぬ今は漕ぎ出でな
Nigitatsu ni funanori semu to tsuki mateba shio mo kanainu ima wa kogiide na (Man'yōshū, 1:8)
 At Nigitatsu, we abided the moon eager to leave, let us row out now, as the tide is favourable!

- Indicating a request/desire addressed to a third person:

この御足跡八万光を放ち出だし諸々救ひ渡し給はな救ひ給はな
Kono miato yayorozu hikari o hanachiidashi moromoro sukuiwatashitamawa na sukuitamawa na (Bussokuseki no uta 仏足石歌, 4)
 This footprint emits infinite light, save and deliver all creatures; save us!

c. *ne* ね

Just as the particle *na*, with which it is often combined, *ne* is attached to the MZK. It is also sometimes preceded by the sentence-final prohibitive particle *so* そ. Using *ne*, a speaker expresses the wish that someone does something for him, or, in the case of the prohibitive particle, refrains from doing something.

この丘に菜摘ます児家聞かな名告らさね
Kono oka ni na tsumasu ko ie kikana na norasane (Man'yōshū, 1:1)
 Lass picking greens on this hill, I want to know your family, tell me your name.

高門の野辺の秋萩な散りそね君が形見に見つつ偲はむ
Takamato no nobe no akihagi na chiri so ne kimi ga katami ni mitsutsu shinowamu (Man'yōshū, 2:233)
 Autumn bush clover near the fields of Takamato, please don't scatter. Beholding you as my Lord's memento, I want to remember him.

小松が下の草を刈らさね
Komatsu ga shita no kaya o karasane (Man'yōshū, 1:11)

I want you to cut the grass beneath the little pine.

Note: *kara* 刈らは the MZK of *karu* 刈る; *sa* さ is the MZK of *su* す.

d. *shika* しか

This archaic particle, which follows the RYK of verbs and *jodōshi* including *tsu* and *nu*, expresses an infeasible or impossible individual desire.

まそ鏡見しかと思ふ妹も逢はぬかも玉の緒の絶えたる恋の繁きこのころ

Maso kagami mishika to omou imo mo awanu kamo tama no o no taetaru koi no shigeki konokoro (*Man'yōshū*, 11:2366)

Doesn't she want to see me, the girl I long for, thinking, "If only I could see her"? Just now that my interrupted love ardently resurges.

Note: *Maso kagami* まそ鏡 is the *makurakotoba* or epithet modifying *miru* 見る; *tae* 絶え, the RYK of 絶ゆ is also connected to a *makurakotoba*: *tama no o* 玉の緒.

Note: *Shika* has its origin in the RTK of the *jodōshi* *ki* き combined with the *joshi* *ka* which articulates a desire. *Shika* often subtly, and especially in the construction *teshika* てしか, hints at the unfeasibility of the desire. That phrase can be extended by adding the *joshi* *mo*, producing *teshikamo* てしかも. The Heian-period variant *shiga* しが, incidentally, is the outcome of a process of vocalization.

e. *mo* も

This Old Japanese particle is attached to the SSK or the MRK. If *kakarimusubi* is involved, it can also be connected to the RTK or IZK. The particle lays emphasis on an exclamation or emotion, and is often supplemented in Nara texts by other particles, such as *ka*, *zo*, *ha*, and *ya*, having *kamo* かも, *zomo* ぞも, *hamo* はも, and *yamo* やも as a result. In Heian literature, the particle had already completely vanished in favour of the final particle *na* な.

春の野に霞たなびきうら悲しこの夕影に鶯鳴くも

Haru no no ni kasumi tanabiki ura kanashi kono yūkage ni uguisu naku mo (*Man'yōshū*, 19:4290)

A haze hangs over the spring fields, how wistful... And there! A bush warbler sings in the light of the evening sun.

Note: *naku* 鳴く represents a SSK.

ひさかたの天の香具山このゆふべ霞たなびく春たつらしも

Hisakata no ama no Kaguyama kono yūbe kasumi tanabiku haru tatsurashi mo (*Man'yōshū*, 10:1812)

A mist lies over celestial Kaguyama this evening. Spring seems to be in the air.

f. *moga* もが

This Nara *joshi* is attached to *taigen*, the RYK of *keiyōshi* and of the copula *nari*, adverbs, and *joshi*. It expresses lamentation, an unrealistic wish, or frustrated desire against the backdrop of an unwelcome state or situation.

都辺に行かむ船もが刈り菰の乱れて思ふこと告げやらむ

Miyakohe ni yukamu fune moga kari komo no midarete omou koto tsugeyaramu (Man'yōshū, 15:3640)

If only there were ships bound for the capital, then I could impart my feelings confused as I am.

あしひきの山はなくもが月見れば同じき里を心隔てつ

Ashihiki no yama wa naku moga tsuki mireba onajiki sato o kokoro hedatetsu (Man'yōshū, 18:4076)

If only that mountain wasn't there, then we could enjoy the moon in the same village, but now it separates our hearts.

君が行く道の長手を繰りたたね焼き滅ぼさむ天の火もかも

Kimi ga yuku michi no nagate o kuritatane yakihorobosamu ame no hi mogamo (Man'yōshū, 15:3724)

If only there was a heavenly fire, furling, burning, and destroying the long way you walked.

Note: The origin of the particle presumably goes back to the combination of the case particles *mo* も and *ka* か. In the oldest documentation, the construction *mogamo* もかも, which combines *moga* with the final particle *mo*, was still widely used, and from the Heian period, the variants *mogana* もかな or *gana* かな were used as substitutions.

心あらん友もかな、と都恋しう覚ゆれ

Kokoro aran tomo mogana, to miyako koishū oboyure (Tsurezuregusa, 137)

If only my considerate friend was here, I thought, and then I longed for the capital.

g. *gane* がね

For connecting this particle, an RTK base is used. *Gane* expresses that an expectation is going to be fulfilled.

梅の花我は散らさじあをによし奈良なる人も来つつ見るがね

Umenohana ware wa chirasaji aoniyoshi Nara naru hito mo kitsutsu miru gane (Man'yōshū, 10:1906)

I don't want the plum blossoms to scatter away, because I foresee that even people from Nara are on their way.

h. *kamo* かも

The Nara final particle *kamo* emerged from the combination of the *shūjoshi ka* and the *kakarijoshi mo*. It is attached to *taigen*, or to the RTK. Sometimes, as is illustrated by the third example sentence, the IZK may function as a base. The particle *kamo* covers the following distinctive uses:

- Interrogative particle (often rhetorical or exclamatory):

梅の花しだり柳に折りまじへ花に供へば君に逢はむかも
Ume no hana shidariyanagi ni orimajie hana ni sonaeba kimi ni awamu kamo (*Man'yōshū*, 10:1904)
 If I made a floral offering of plum blossoms interwoven with weeping willow, would I be able to meet you?

わが園に梅の花散る。ひさかたの天より雪の流れくるかも
Waga sono ni ume no hana chiru. Hisakata no ame yori yuki no nagare kuru kamo (*Man'yōshū*, 5:822)
 Plum blossoms are scattering in my garden. Is it a drift a snow hailing from the heavens?

- Indicating emotion/exclamation:

み吉野の象山の際の木末にはここども騒く鳥の声かも
Miyoshino no Kisayama no ma no konure ni wa kokodamo sawaku tori no koe kamo (*Man'yōshū*, 6:924)
 How ebulliently boisterous, that twittering by birds in the treetops of Kisayama Valley in fair Yoshino!

Note: In some cases, it is not possible to draw a distinct line between both previous uses. See, for example, the next sentence in which, even given the contextual details, both an exclamatory and interrogative sense can be read.

天の原ふりさけ見れば春日なる三笠の山に出でし月かも
Amanohara furisakemireba Kasuga naru Mikasa no yama ni ideshi tsuki kamo (*Kokinwakashū*, "Kiryo" 羈旅, 406)
 Peering into the distance of the firmament, is it the moon which just appeared past Mount Mikasa in Kasuga?

Both the *shūjoshi kamo* and the *akarijoshi kamo* belong to the Nara vocabulary, and were only used sparingly during the Heian era, almost exclusively in tanka. In time, they would definitively be superseded by *kana* かな.

- Indicating a rhetorical question, preceded by *me* め, the IZK of the *jodōshi mu* む, or in the construction *monokamo* ものかも ["is it perhaps the fact that"]:

古を仰ぎて、今を恋ひざらめかも
Inishie o aogite, ima o koizaramemo kamo (*Kokinwakashū*, "Kanajo" 仮名序)
 Does one in respecting the past, unlove the present?

Note: The particle's appearance in a younger text, the introduction to the *Kokinshū*, has much to do with the nature of this text, which is larded with tanka-style and pseudo-classical expressions (*gikobun* 擬古文).

- Indicating a lamentation/request having exclamatory overtones (preceded by *nu* ぬ, the RTK of the negation particle *zu* ず):

ぬばたまの夜渡る月は早も出でぬかも海原の八十島の上ゆ妹があたり見む
Nubatama no yo wataru tsuki wa haya mo idenu kamo unabara no yasoshima no ue yu imo ga atari mimu (*Man'yōshū*, 15:3651)
 If only the moon, passing by the dark night, appeared at once! Across the countless islets in the ocean, I want to see the place where my wife is dwelling.

i. *koso* こそ

The Nara final particle *koso* こそ, which some grammarians read as a variant MRK of the *jodōshi* *kosu* こそ, expresses a wish. The particle is attached to the RYK.

現には逢ふよしもなしぬばたまの夜の夢にを継ぎて見えこそ
Utsutsu ni wa au yoshi mo nashi nubatama no yoru no ime ni o tsugite miekoso (*Man'yōshū*, 5:807)
 I do not expect to meet you in reality. So do keep appearing in my nocturnal dreams!

j. *baya* ばや

Originated as a compound of the *setsuzokujoshi* *ba* (connected to the MZK) and the *kantōjoshi* *ya*, this particle follows the MZK of *dōshi* and *jodōshi*.

- Indicating desire:

かの人に問はばや
Kano hito ni towabaya
 I'd like to ask the person over there.

ほととぎすの声尋ねに行かばや
Hototogisu no koe tazune ni ikabaya (*Makura no sōshi*, "Satsuki no misōji no hodo" 五月の御精進のほど)
 I want to go in search of the little cuckoo's song.

世の中に物語といふもののあんなるを、いかで見ばやと思ひつつ
Yononaka ni monogatari to iu mono no annaru o, ikade mibaya to omoitsutsu (*Sarashina nikki*, "Kadode")
 In this world, things called "tales" do exist. How I wish I could read them, somehow or other.

五月来ば鳴きも旧りなん郭公まだしき程の声を聞かばや
Satsuki koba naki mo furinan hototogisu madashiki hodo no koe o kikabaya (*Kokinwakashū*, 138)
 By the fifth month, your song will be an old tune, little cuckoo. I want to hear your song before your prime!

- Indicating lamentation (preceded by *rahen* verbs such as *ari* and *haberi*):

一つあらばやと思ふ
Hitotsu arabaya to omou
 I wish there was one available.

「今様一つあらばや」と仰せければ
"Imayō hitotsu arabaya" to ōsekereba (Heike monogatari, 6, "Shiwagaregoe"
 嘆声)
 Having said, "If only there was a ballad"

- Indicating volition:

あれを見れば、舟が出で候ふ。急ぎ乗らばやと存じ候ふ
Are o mireba, fune ga idesaburau. Isoginorabaya to zonjisaburau
 (Sumidagawa 隅田川)
 Gazing in the distance, I noticed that the boats were sailing out. I wanted to embark in a hurry.

高砂の浦をも一見せばやと存じ候
Takasago no ura o mo ikken sebaya to zonjisōrau (Zeami, Takasago)
 I wanted to have a look at Takasago Beach!

Note: This use, the function of which is comparable to *mu* む, is first recorded in medieval literature.

- Indicating a firm negation:

客人を留め参らすとも、参らすべき物もあらばや
Marebito o todomemairasu tomo, mairasubeki mono mo arabaya (Oritaku
Shiba no Ki 折焚く柴の記, Jō)
 Even if we lodge our guests, there is nothing we can offer at all.

Note: This use as firm negation, and particularly the phrase *arabaya* あらばや, started in the Muromachi period. Uses 2 and 3 too are derivative functions, making *baya*'s primary meaning limited to the first use: indicating a desire. To avoid confusion, *baya* can also refer to the compound of the *setuszokujoshi ba* ば and *kakarijoshi ya* や, a combination which is attached to the MZK and indicates a conditional question (or when following an IZK: a firm condition).

k. namu なむ

This particle takes the MZK as its base, and co-occurs with a number of spelling alternatives, namely *namo* なも in Nara texts and *nan* なん in subsequent literature. *Namu* has an optative meaning, articulating a wish or desire addressed to second or third persons.

雪降らなむと思ふ
Yuki furanamu to omou
 I wish it would snow.

いつしか梅咲かなむ
Itsushika ume sakanamu (Sarashina nikki, "Ume no tachie" 梅の立枝)
 May the plum blossoms bloom soon!

惟光、とく参らなん
Koremitsu, toku mairanan! (Genji monogatari, "Yūgao")
 If only Koremitsu would come rapidly!

今年より春知りそむる桜花散るといふことはならはざらなむ
Kotoshi yori haru shirisomuru sakurabana chiru to iu koto wa narawazaranamu (Kokinwakashū, 49)
 Cherry blossoms who have just begun to understand spring this year, may you never learn the concept of scattering!

1. *gana* がな

The particle is attached to *taigen* or to the combination of a *taigen* and the *kakujoshi* *o* を. As for its origin, *gana* goes back to *mogamo* もがも, which is compounded of the Nara final particle *moga* もが, supplemented with the final particle *mo* も. During the Heian period, this compound corrupted into *mogana* もがな, which was readily interpreted as *mo-gana*. Semantically related particles include *teshigana* てしがな and *nishigana* にしがな.

▪ Indicating a wish/desire:

「かの君だちをがな。つれづれなる遊びがたきに」など、うち思しけり
"Kano kimidachi o gana. Tsurezure naru asobigataki ni," nado, uchi oboshikeri (Genji monogatari, "Hashihime")
 "If only those princesses were here! As companions in play when I'm bored," he let slip suddenly.

▪ Indicating a wish phrased as an imperative (attached to the MRK):

橋へ廻れば人が知る湊の川の潮が引けがな
Hashi e mawareba hito ga shiru minato no kawa no shio ga hikegana (Kanginshū 閑吟集)
 If you take a detour to the bridge, people will find out; if only the tide near the river mouth would recede!

Note: This combination of *gana* with an MRK only emerged during the Muromachi era.

▪ Indicating emphasis or affirmation:

有る所には有らうがな。世界は広し、二百匁などは、誰ぞ落としさうなもの
ぢや

Aru tokoro niwa arō gana. Sekai wa hiroshi, nihyaku monme nado wa, tare zo otoshisō na mono ja (Chikamatsu, *Onnagoroshiabura no jigoku* 女殺油地獄)

It [= the money] should be somewhere. And in this wide world, there should be someone willing to give 200 *monme* [= about 750 g in silver] for it.

Note: This use of *gana* appeared no earlier than in the Edo literature. The particle is often preceded by words indicating conjecture or doubt.

m. shiga しか

This *shūjoshi*, the vocalized counterpart of the Old Japanese *shūjoshi shika* しか, connects to verbal RYK, or to *te* て and *ni* に, the RYKs of the *jodōshi tsu* つ and *nu* ぬ respectively. *Shiga*, which expresses the speaker's personal desire, is most frequently represented in the following Heian-literature formations: *teshiga* てしか, *teshigana* てしかな, *nishiga* にしか, and *nishigana* にしかな (see below).

思ふどち春の山辺にうち群れてそことも言はぬ旅寝してしか

Omoudochi haru no yamabe ni uchimurete soko tomo iwanu tabine shite shiga (*Kokinwakashū*, "Haru ge", 126)

How I would like to gather with a few good friends near the spring mountains, passing a night on the road without arranging any destination.

Note: See also the variant interpretation s.v. "x. *teshika* てしか" below.

n. shigana しかな

Developed out of the combination of the final particles *shiga* and *na*, the particle *shigana* is connected to the RYK of *dōshi*, or to *te* て and *ni* に, the RYK forms of the *jodōshi tsu* つ and *nu* ぬ respectively. Similar to the previous particle, *shigana* expresses a personal desire.

いかで、このかぐや姫を得てしかな、見てしかな

Ikade, kono Kaguya-hime o ete shigana, mite shigana (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kikōshitachi no kyūkon")

At any rate, they wanted to win over this Princess Kaguya, and meet her.

o. mogana もがな

This *joshi*, which entered into use during the Heian period, consists of the final particles *moga* and *na*. *Taigen*, *keiyōshi*, *nari*, the RYK of negation marker *zu*, and a number of particles can be used as bases of attachment. The particle expresses a desire or lamentation.

世の中にさらぬ別れのなくもがな千代もと祈る人の子のため

Yononaka ni saranu wakare no naku mogana chiyo mo to inoru hito no ko no tame (*Ise monogatari*, 84)

If only we were free in this world from the inevitable parting; for the benefit of the children who pray that one may live for a thousand years.

男も女も、いかでとく京へもがなと思ふ心あれば

Otoko mo onna mo, ikade toku miyako e mogana to omou kokoro areba (Tosa nikki, 11.1)

Since both the men and the women had the desire to return as swiftly as possible to the capital.

み吉野の山のあなたに宿もがな

Miyoshino no yama no anata ni yado mogana (Kokinwakashū, "Zō ge")

If only I had a home at the other side of Mount Miyoshino.

p. *na* な

This particle is attached to the SSK, MRK forms and other final particles. It may equally come after the *kakujoshi to*, which marks a quote.

- Indicating an exclamation:

花の色は移りにけりないたづらにわが身世にふるながめせし間に

Hana no iro wa utsurinikeri na itazura ni wagami yo ni furu nagameseshi ma ni (Kokinwakashū, "Haru ge", 113)

The blossoms have discoloured, alas. While thinking, in staring at the long rains, how I have spent my life in vain.

- Indicating emphasis:

かぐや姫に住み給ふとな

Kaguya-hime ni sumitamau to na (Taketori monogatari, "Hinezumi no kawaginu")

They say that he cohabits with Princess Kaguya, don't they?

憎しとこそ思ひたれな

Nikushi to koso omoitare na (Genji monogatari, "Yūgao")

You surely must dislike me.

q. *na* な

The SSK of (*jo*)*dōshi* is used as a base for this particle, except when *rahen* flexions are concerned, in which case the RTK is put before *na*. It should be noted that certain grammars classify this prohibitory particle under the category of *kakarijoshi*.

竜の首の玉取り得ずは、帰り来な

Tatsu no kubi no tama toriezu wa, kaeriku na (Taketori monogatari, "Tatsu no kubi no tama")

Don't come back if you don't manage to get the dragon's head jewel.

あやまちすな、心して降りよ

Ayamachi su na, kokoro shite ori yo (Tsurezuregusa, 109)

Do not hurt yourself! Come down carefully!

r. so そ

The *shūjoshi* so そ connects to verbal RYK, and to the *jodōshi* su, sasu, shimu, ru, and raru; in the case of *kahen* and *sahen* flexions, however, it follows the MZK.

- Indicating a prohibition (in fixed combination with the *fukujoshi* na: na ... so な... そ):

なにか射る。な射そ。な射そ

Nanika iru. na i so. na i so (Ōkagami, "Michinaga", Jō)

Why the shooting? Don't shoot, don't shoot!

Note: During the period of the cloistered government (*inseijidai* 院政時代, ca. 1087-1192), *na* な was gradually omitted, and only the prohibitory particle *so* remained:

今はかく馴れぬれば、何事なりとも隠しそ

Ima wa kaku narenureba, nanigoto naritomo kakushi so (Konjaku monogatari shū, 29:28)

Now that we are so well acquainted you must hide nothing from me.

s. ka か

The final particle *ka*, which is believed to be derived of the homonymic *kakarijoshi*, is attached to *taigen* or to RTK forms.

- Indicating an exclamation:

苦しくも降り来る雨か三輪の崎狭野の渡りに家もあらなくに

Kurushiku mo furikuru ame ka Miwa no saki Sano no watari ni ie mo aranaku ni (Man'yōshū, 3:265)

Painfully enough, it is beginning to rain! And there is no shelter at Cape Miwa or Sano transit.

- Indicating a desire/lamentation (always preceded by *nu*, negation marker *zu*'s RTK)

我が命も常にあらぬか昔見し象の小川を行きて見むため

Wagainochi mo tsune ni aranu ka mukashi mishi kisa no ogawa o yukite mimu tame (Man'yōshū, 3:332)

Is my life not everlasting? So that I could go and see the streamlet of Kisa which I saw long ago.

t. kana かな

The origin of this *joshi* is situated in the combination of final particle *ka* and the exclamatory final particle *na*. *Kana*, which accompanies an emotional or exclamatory utterance, is preceded by *taigen* or RTK forms.

「限りなく遠くも来にけるかな」とわびあへるに
"Kagirinaku tōku mo kinikeru kana" to wabiaeru ni (Ise monogatari, 9)
 "How extremely distant a place we have come!," they lamented among themselves.

Note: Since the Heian period, this particle gradually superseded its Nara equivalent *kamo*. The vernacular character of this *joshi* is suggested by its frequent appearance in dialogues, but additionally, it is also recurrently used in *tanka*.

u. kashi かし

This particle, which is sometimes classified in the *kantōjoshi*, firmly concludes a whole sentence, or indicates, that a message is specifically directed to the interlocutor(s). Morphologically, the particle is compounded of the *kakarijoshi ka* and the *fukujoshi shi*, which have an exclamatory and emphatical function respectively. As part of the vernacular register, *kashi* is often encountered in Heian conversational (*kaiwa* 会話) style. The particle also featured in post-Heian literature, in such constructions as *zo + kashi* or MRK forms + *kashi*.

- Indicating assertion (requesting the listener's consent, and therefore to be compared with the modern equivalents *ne* ね, *yo* よ or *nanoda* なのだ):

翁のあらむ限りは、かうてもいますかりなむかし
Okina no aramu kagiri wa, kōtemo imasukari namu kashi (Taketori monogatari, "Kikōshitachi no kyūkon")
 As long as this old chap [= the speaker] is alive, you will without doubt continue like this.

- Indicating self-confidence:

これは知りたることぞかし
Kore wa shiritaru koto zo kashi (Makura no sōshi, "Seiryōden no" 清涼殿の)
 This is something I surely know by heart!

v. wa は

As a *joshi* indicating an emotion or exclamation, *wa* follows *taigen*, RTK forms, and the final particle *ya*.

さるさかなきえびす心を見ては、いかがはせむは

Saru saganaki ebisu kokoro o mite wa, ikaga wa semu wa (Ise monogatari, 15)

What shall I do now, considering such a nasty barbarous heart!

「年立ちかへる」など、をかしきことに、歌にも文にも作るなるは
"Toshi tachikaeru" nado, okashiki koto ni, uta ni mo fumi ni mo tsukuru naru wa (Makura no sōshi, "Tori wa")
 "Having the start of another year" is made into something elegant, both in Japanese poems and Chinese odes.

w. zo ぞ

This particle concludes a *taigen* or RTK phrase, and adds emphasis to an utterance. Especially in older Nara texts, this particle may appear in the form of the devoiced variant *so* そ.

- Indicating assertion/ decisiveness:

うまし国ぞ秋津島大和国は
Umashikuni so; Akizushima Yamato no kuni wa (Man'yōshū, 1:2)
 What a splendid country, this land of Yamato!

Note: Akizushima 秋津島 is the fixed *makurakotoba* preceding Yamato.

犬君がこれをこぼち侍りにければ、つくろひ侍るぞ
Inuki ga kore o kobochi haberinikereba, tsukuroi haberu zo (Genji monogatari, "Momijinoga")
 Since Inuki has broken it, I am mending it.

Note: This use shows correspondence with the *jodōshi nari* なり, which among many other meanings may also imply decisiveness.

- Indicating an emphatic question (invariably in combination with a question word):

吾が仏、何事思ひ給ふぞ。思すらむこと、何事ぞ
A ga hotoke, nanigoto omoitamau zo. obosu ramu koto, nanigoto zo (Taketori monogatari, "Kaguyahime no shōten")
 My sweetheart, what are you thinking? What is it that you're musing on?

x. teshika てしか

The old Japanese final particle *teshika* てしか is derived of the RYK of the *jodōshi tsu*, supplemented with the final particle *shika*, which expresses a wish. In Heian literature, the variant *teshiga* てしが also occurs. *Teshika* is connected to the RYK of *dōshi* and *jodōshi*, and indicates a wish or desire which is difficult to realize.

朝なさな上がるひばりになりてしか都に行きてはや帰り来む
Asanasana agaru hibari ni narite shika miyako ni yukite haya kaerikomu (Man'yōshū, 20:4433)

Every morning again, I want to become a lark mounting in the sky; having come to the capital, I'd like to return home already.

思ふどち春の山辺にうち群れてそことも言はぬ旅寝してしが
Omoudochi haru no yamabe ni uchimurete soko tomo iwanu tabine shi teshiga (*Kokinwakashū*, "Haru ge", 126)

How I would like to gather with a few good friends near the spring mountains, passing a night on the road without arranging any destination.

Note: See also the variant interpretation under "m. *shiga* しが" above.

ほととぎす無かる国にも行きてしか その鳴く声を聞けば苦しも
Hototogisu nakaru kuni ni mo yukiteshika sono naku koe o kikeba kurushi mo (*Man'yōshū*, 8:1467)

If only I could go to a province without cuckoos. How hard it is, every time I hear his singing voice.

y. *teshigana* てしかな

This compound combines the final particles *teshiga* てしが and *na* な.

▪ Indicating a wish:

いかで、このかぐや姫を得てしかな、見てしかな
Ikade, kono Kaguya Hime o eteshigana, miteshigana (*Taketori monogatari*, "Kikōshitachi no kyūkon")

Anyhow they wanted to fetch this Princess Kaguya and meet her.

z. *nishiga* にしが

This particle did not appear before the Heian period. It follows the RYK, and expresses a wish or desire. Morphologically, it goes back to the combination of *ni* (the RYK of the *jodōshi nu* ぬ), and the final particle *shiga*. Related particles include *nishigana*, *teshiga* and *teshigana*.

伊勢の海に遊ぶ海人ともなりにしが波かき分けて海松藻潜かむ
Ise no umi ni asobu ama tomo narinishiga nami kakiwakete mirume kazukamu (*Gosenwakashū*, "Koi", 5)

I want to become a diver enjoying himself in the sea of Ise, ploughing through the waves, I want to dive for seaweed.

aa. *nishigana* にしかな

Coined in the Heian period, this particle combines *nishiga* (a desiderative final particle) and *na* (an exclamatory final particle). It connects to the RYK, and expresses a wish or desire.

いかで、鳥の声もせざらむ山に籠りにしかな

Ikade, tori no koe mo sezaramu yama ni komori nishigana (Utsubo monogatari, "Toshikage" 俊蔭)

I would so love to seclude myself in the mountains where not even a bird's voice is heard.

2.2.6. Exclamatory particles: *kantōjoshi* 間投助詞

This category comprises particles which may occur after any part of speech, and which often mark a caesura, or assume the character of an exclamation, order, claim, wish, etc. This group of particles include the Nara *joshi e* え, as well as the particles *ya* や, *yo* よ, *o* を, *na* な, and *kashi* かし. Exclamatory particles conclude a well-rounded phrase, but they are usually to be found at the end of a period. Accordingly, they may on the whole be considered as a subset of the *shūjoshi* (final particles).

a. *e* え

This Nara particle is put after SSK forms, adverbs, and interjections (*kandōshi*), and expresses emotion or awe. Remnants of this particle can be seen in such constructions as *yoshie* 縦え and *yoshieyashi* 縦えやし.

山の端にあぢ群騒き行くなれど我は寂しゑ君にしあらねば

Yamanoha ni aji mura sawakiyuku naredo ware wa sabushi e kimi nishi araneba (Man'yōshū, 4:486)

On the brow of hill, there's a clamorous flock of teals, about to fly up, but still, I feel lonely, for you aren't there.

b. *ya* や

Diverse words in the middle or at the end of a sentence can precede this particle.

▪ Indicating emotion or exclamation:

げに面白き春の気色や

Geni omoshiroki haru no keshiki ya

It is really a fine spring scenery!

あはれ、いと寒しや

Aware, ito samushi ya (Genji monogatari, "Yūgao")

My goodness, how cold it is!

Note: In *tanka*, *ya* is usually preceded by an attributive modification (*rentai shūshokugo* 連体修飾語), and adds a subtle emotion, or modulates the intonation.

ほととぎす鳴くや五月のあやめ草あやめも知らぬ恋もするかな

Hototogisu naku ya satsuki no ayamegusa ayame mo shiranu koi mo suru kana (Kokinwakashū, "Koi 1", 469)

What tender feelings I have, which I'm unable to figure out, like irises in the fifth month, when the little cuckoo sings!

In linked verses (*renga* 連歌) or haiku, *ya* rather conveys a caesura, and generates allusion. It can be read as what is called a cut-off word (*kireji* 切れ字).

夏草や兵どもが夢の跡

Natsukusa ya tsuwamonodomo ga yume no ato (*Oku no hosomichi*, "Hiraizumi")

Summer grass is all that remains of the dreams of the warriors.

この道や行く人なしに秋の暮れ

Kono michi ya yuku hito nashi ni aki no kure (Bashō)

On this thoroughfare, nobody is passing by, at this close of fall.

- Indicating a call (thus following a personal name or a word referring to a person):

あが君や。いづ方にかおはしましぬる。帰り給へ

Agakimi ya. Izukata ni ka owashimashinuru. Kaeritamae (*Genji monogatari*, "Kagerō")

Milady, where are you? Please come back.

c. *yo* よ

Several words can be used as a base for this particle. *Yo* can both come in the middle and at the end of a sentence, without implying any semantic difference.

- Indicating emotion/exclamation:

人の言ふらむことをまねぶらむよ

Hito no iu ramu koto o manebu ramu yo (*Makura no sōshi*, "Tori wa")

He [= the parrot] would imitate what people said.

「人には木の端のやうに思はるるよ」と清少納言が書けるも

"Hito ni wa ki no hashi no yō ni omowaruru yo" to Sei Shōnagon ga kakeru mo (*Tsurezuregusa*, 1)

Sei Shōnagon would even write: "People regard them as if they were worthless fellows." [literally 'chips of wood']

- Indicating an articulate call (often following an MRK form) or vocative marker:

今、秋風吹かむ折ぞ来むとする。待てよ

Ima, akikaze fukamu ori zo komu to suru. Mate yo (*Makura no sōshi*, "Mushi wa")

Since the autumn wind is blowing at this moment, I will try to come. Do wait for me.

あひ思せよ。いと心憂くつらき人の御さま、見ならひ給ふなよ

Ai oboseyo. Ito kokorouku tsuraki hito no misama, minaraitamau na yo
(*Genji monogatari*, "Agemaki")

"Remember me. And don't imitate her coldhearted and harsh ways!"

少納言よ、香炉峰の雪、いかならむ

Shōnagon yo, Kōrohō no yuki, ika naramu (*Makura no sōshi*, 299)

Tell me, Shōnagon, how is the snow on Incense-Burner Peak?

Note: If *yo* follows an MRK, this particle can be mistaken for the ending morpheme *yo* which is part of the MRK form. This ending, however, only occurs in the MRKs of *ichidan*, *nidan*, or *sahen* verbs, and is unrelated to the present exclamatory particle. Still, a common prototypical form *yo* is believed to underlie both homonymic words. Incidentally, it is only following the Heian period that the *kahen* imperative is supplemented with an ending. The original MRK of *ku* 来 read "ko" こ.

- Indicating decisiveness or assertion:

「我こそ山だちよ」と言ひて

"Ware koso yamadachi yo" to iite (*Tsurezuregusa*, 87)

He said, "I am the robber!"

d. o を

This *joshi* too may occur in medial or sentence-final position, and conveys emotion or exclamation. This particle can originally be traced back to the interjection *o* を. This in turn was at the origin of case particle *o*, and from the construction joining this particle with the RTK, the conjunctive particle *o* finally emerged.

- Indicating emotion/exclamation:

つひに行く道とはかねて聞きしかど昨日今日とは思はざりしを

Tsui ni yuku michi towa kanete kikishikado kinō kyō towa omowazarishi o
(*Ise monogatari*, 125)

I had already heard about the road that one is eventually bound to go [= death], but I never expected my time should come so soon as yesterday or now.

- Indicating emphasis:

いかでなほ少しひがごと見つけてをやまむ

Ikade nao sukoshi higagoto mitsukete o yamamu (*Makura no sōshi*, "Seiryōden no")

I'll call it off, if you were to find a passage where I'm rather mistaken.

何事も心のどかにを思しなせ

Nanigoto mo kokoro nodokani o oboshinase (*Genji monogatari*, "Yadorigi")

Remember to stay calm in everything.

e. na な

This exclamatory particle comes in the middle of a sentence or in final position, and may convey emphasis or a subdued exclamation. Its use somewhere corresponds to the modern Japanese particle *ne* ね.

野べにてたびたび会ふよりはな、いざ給へ聖こそ

Nobe nite tabitabi au yori wa na, iza tamae hijiri koso (*Ryōjinhishō* 梁塵秘抄, 302)

Instead of meeting each other in the fields again, do come over to my house, my holy one!

2.2.7. Coordinating particles: *heiritsujoshi* 並立助詞 / *heiretsujoshi* 並列助詞

Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉 (1882-1945) applied this category to a range of particles that connect words having equality of value. Individual particles may display a certain variation of meaning, including coordination, accumulation, or alternation.

a. ya や

This Heian particle is attached to *taigen* and delimits parts of a series.

御修法や何やなど、わが御方にて、多く行はせ給ふ

Mizuhō ya nani ya nado, waga onkata nite, ōku okonawasetamau (*Genji monogatari*, "Aoi")

In his residence, he ordered many services and other such things.

b. to と

This particle expresses a simple coordination.

彼は肉を犬と猫とに与えき

Kare wa niku o inu to neko to ni ataeki

He gave meat to the dog and the cat.

白き鳥の、嘴と脚と赤き、鴨の大きさなる

Shiroki tori no, hashi to ashi to akaki, shigi no ōkisa naru (*Ise monogatari*, 9)

A white bird with red beak and legs, having the size of a snipe.

同じ人ながらも、心ざしあるをりと、変はりたるをりは、まことに異人とぞ
覚ゆる

Onaji hito nagara mo, kokorozashi aru ori to, kawaritaru ori wa, makoto ni kotohito to zo oboyuru (*Makura no sōshi*, "Tatoshienaki mono")

Although I am the same person, I really find myself a different person every time I feel affection or when I'm giddy.

c. ka か

Coordinating particle *ka* primarily occurs in the construction ... *ka* ...*ka*, and expresses doubt. In other grammars, it is sometimes listed under the category of *kakarijoshi*.

立つ波を雪か花かと吹く風ぞ寄せつつ人をはかるべらなる
Tatsu nami o yuki ka hana ka to fuku kaze zo yose tsutsu hito o hakaru
beranaru (Tosa nikki, 18.1)
 The wind seems to deceive people, as it keeps blowing along snow or perhaps blossoms over the choppy billows.

d. ni に

Although this *joshi* is sometimes integrated under *setsuzokujoshi*, this grammar treats it as a particle articulating co-ordination between two entities.

竹に雀
Take ni suzume
 sparrow and bamboo
Note: This refers to the name of a Japanese heraldic charge, used for family crests (*kamon* 家紋).

ただ冷えに冷えいりて息は早く絶えはてにけり
Tada hie ni hieirite iki wa hayaku taehatenikeri
 He got colder and colder, and his breath soon halted altogether.

ころは二月十八日の酉の剋ばかりのことなるに、をりふし北風激しくて、磯打つ浪も高かりけり
Koro wa nigatsu jūhachinichi no tori no koku bakari no koto naru ni, orifushi kitakaze hageshikute, iso utsu nami mo takakarikeri (Heike monogatari, 11, Nasu no Yoichi)
 It was the eighteenth day of the second month, about 6 in the evening. At times, there was a fierce north wind, and the waves too were high as they beat the beach.

2.2.8. Nominalizing particles: *juntaijoshi* 準体助詞

This category comprises those particles which fulfil a nominalizing function, that is constitute a unity with the word they modify, creating an expression that in terms of function can be considered a *taigen*. Typical examples are the Nara particle *raku* らく, and the Heian particle *ku* く, which some authors classify as suffixes. Although still frequently used in the most ancient literary texts, from the Heian era they were retained only in a number of standard expressions, including *iwaku* 言はく/云はく (saying: "..."), *omowaku* 思はく ("a thought; an opinion"), and *negawaku* 願はく ("I pray; I hope").

a. raku らく

This substantivizing particle is attached to the SSK of *kaminidan*, *shimonidan*, *kahen*, and *sahen* verbs, as well as to the SSK of the *jodōshi* つ, ぬ, and しむ, and to the MZK of *kami'ichidan* verbs. There is often an emotional or exclamatory shade of meaning involved.

潮満てば入りぬる磯の草なれや見らく少なく恋ふらくの多き

Shio miteba irinuru iso no kusa nare ya miraku sukunaku kouraku no ōki
(*Man'yōshū*, 7:1394)

I seldom see you, but very much long for you; it's not that you are seaweed on the beach, submerged when the tide comes in.

思ひつつ眠も寝がてにと明かしつらくも長きこの夜を

Omoitsutsu i mo negateni to akashitsuraku mo nagaki kono yo o (*Man'yōshū*, 4:485)

Longing for you, I was not able to get to sleep, and spent a wakeful night. A very long night that is.

Note: This particle should be distinguished from the peculiar construction in which *yodan* IZKs are followed by *-ra* (i.e. the MZK of *ri*), supplemented with the particle *ku*. Instances are *omoeraku* 思へらく and *ieraku* 言へらく.

b. ku く

The MZK of *yodan* or *rahen* verbs precede this particle. The entire expression then can be considered as a *taigen* group.

梅の花散らまく惜しみ我が園の竹の林に鶯鳴くも

Ume no hana chiramaku oshimi wagasono no take no hayashi ni uguisu naku mo (*Man'yōshū*, 5:824)

Lamenting the scattering of the plum blossoms, a bush warbler is singing, in the bamboo thicket in my garden.

Note: Following the verbs *iu* 言ふ, *omou* 思ふ, and so forth, the particle can be used to introduce direct speech.

建速須佐之男命に詔り給ひしく、『汝命は海原を知らせ』と事依さしき

Takehaya Susano'o no mikoto ni noritamaishiku "Imashi mikoto wa unabara o shirase" to kotoyosashiki (*Kojiki*, Jō, "Izanagi no mikoto to Izanami no mikoto")

Thus he commissioned Takehaya Susano'o no mikoto, saying, "Thou shalt rule the seas."

When it comes at the far end of a sentence, it expresses, just like phrases ending in a *taigen* (*taigendome* 体言止), an emotional suggestion, exclamation, or lamentation.

草枕旅去にし君が帰り来む月日を知らむすべの知らなく

Kusamakura tabi inishi kimi ga kaerikomu tsukihi o shiramu sube no shiranaku (*Man'yōshū*, 17:3937)

Trying to find out the date that you will be back from the journey you went on,
I don't know what to do.

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