Once Again on the Two *-k(-)yer-* in Old Japanese: Distribution, Semantics, Spelling[1]

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1 Introduction

It has been repeatedly pointed out in the literature that the Old Japanese (OJ) modal (past) auxiliary (henceforth MP) *-kyer-* has a 'perfect' homonym *-k-yer-*, which is a contraction of the auxiliary verb *-ko-* 'come' in the infinitive form followed by the stative auxiliary verb *-ar-* (*-ki-ar- > -k-yer-*) (Kinoshita et al. 2003: 259; Frellesvig 2010: 75–6; Vovin 2020: 879).[2] As I have argued elsewhere (Kuznetsov 2021: 282–3), the two entities are in fact different stages of the same grammaticalisation path, with the 'perfect' usage diachronically preceding the MP one. An alternative hypothesis derives the MP *-kyer-* from the contraction of the simple past auxiliary *-ki* and the stative *-ar-*. However, this etymology appears unlikely for several reasons.

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[2] For the first time, this idea was explicitly articulated in Frellesvig (2007: 248–50).

Firstly, the order in which a tense marker precedes an aspect marker is not attested across languages, since it violates the relevance principle suggested by Bybee (1985). Secondly, the simple past *-ki* functions mainly as the final predication form[3] and does not have an attested infinitive form (Vovin 2020: 880; Watanabe 2021: 103). Thirdly, *-kyer-* does not always refer to the past. Finally, Frellesvig (this volume) suggests that the *-ki* element in *-ki-ar-* is of copular origin. As for the semantics of the MP *-kyer-*, while there have been countless (and often controversial) suggestions, Frellesvig (2010: 76–8) has demonstrated that its main function is the expression of speaker commitment ('I tell you'), often, though not necessarily, with reference to a past event.

Frellesvig argues that only the MP *-kyer-*, and not the 'perfect' *-k-yer-*, can combine with the perfective auxiliary *-t(e)- ~ -n-*, since 'stative (*-yer-*) and perfective are paradigmatically opposed and do not combine' (2010: 75–6). In this study, I examine how the two *-k(-)yer-*[4] are used in the Man'yōshū. In the following sections, I propose further diagnostic environments where the MP *-kyer-* can be distinguished from the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* (Section 2) and vice versa (Section 3). I also demonstrate that what has been previously referred to as the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* is actually a cluster of at least three different functions. In Section 4, I argue for a statistically significant correlation between the degree of grammaticalisation of a linguistic unit and the way it is spelt in the Man'yōshū. In Section 5, the results of this research are considered from a typological perspective.

2   Distribution of the Modal (Past) *-kyer-*[5]

2.1 Perfective

Let us first have a closer look at the environments proposed by Frellesvig (2010), i.e. *-n-i-kyer-* and *-te-kyer-*, containing the perfective *-n- ~ -t(e)-*.[6] The problem with this diagnostic test lies in the fact that there was a homonymous *-te(-)* in OJ which functioned as a gerund marker and served both as a subordinate verb form (Frellesvig 2010: 57) as well as to attach some auxiliary verbs including *-ko-* (Inoue 1962: 34–5). Kazuha Watanabe even argues that in OJ, both *-n-* and *-t(e)-* 'had already lost the function of aspect markers in many contexts and were often used as connective particles'

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[3] The only exception is *-k-yem-*, where the conclusive form of the simple past *-ki* is followed by the conjectural *-am-*, i.e. a modal marker, which is allowed by the relevance principal (Bybee 1985).

[4] The bracketed hyphen in *-k(-)yer-* is used to indicate the ambiguous status of the marker.

[5] For the examples of the MP *-kyer-* in the diagnostic environments, see Kuznetsov (2021), on which this section is based.

[6] Here, I do not touch upon the problem of distribution between *-t(e)-* and *-n-*, because it appears irrelevant to the subject of this study (Frellesvig 2010: 67–8; Vovin 2020: 846).

(Watanabe 2021: 117).[7] If this is correct, there should be no semantic clash between the perfective *-n-* ~ *-t(e)-* and the stative *-yer-*.

There are three cases of *-te-k(-)yer-* in the Man'yōshū (MYS 7.1132, 12.2855, and 20.4481) and for all of them both the perfective and the gerund interpretation of */te/* seems possible. Thus, *-te-k(-)yer-* in MYS 7.1132 is explicitly analysed as the 'perfect' construction by some authors (Kinoshita et. al 2003: 259), which implies the gerund interpretation of *-te-*. As for the connective *-n(-)i*, Watanabe claims that already in the Man'yōshū it expressed purposive semantics (Watanabe 2021: 117). This kind of analysis does not seem impossible for *-n(-)i(-)kyer-* in songs MYS 3.267, 14.3393, and 17.3892. With these six examples of *-te(-)k(-)yer-* and *-n(-)i(-)k(-)yer-* classified as ambiguous, the ultimate number of tokens which should be interpreted as *-n-i-kyer-* (PERF-INF-MP) amounts to 232. This constitutes 56 per cent (232/415) of all instances of *-k(-)yer-* in the Man'yōshū.

2.2 Statives

Another set of items that I consider incompatible with the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* are *-te ar-*, *-tar-*, and *-yer-*. All of them are analysed as statives by Frellesvig (2010: 68–9), with *-yer-* described as 'morphological' and *-te ar-/-tar-* as 'periphrastic'. Vovin (2020: 793–803) convincingly demonstrates that *-yer-* can express either progressive or perfective[8] semantics. The combination of these items with the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* would be redundant because in this case the stative *-yer-*, already contained in *-k-yer-,* would be unnecessarily duplicated. The same applies to the analytic form of the adjectival copula *-kar-* which is derived from the combination of the adjectival copula *-ku* and the stative auxiliary verb *ar-* (*-ku ar- > -kar-*)*.

A related question is whether the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* could be compatible with the lexical verb *ar-*. There are forty-eight tokens of *ar-i-k(-)yer-* in the Man'yōshū. At first sight, the combination of a stative verb with a stative auxiliary appears semantically redundant[9], but we should not ignore the role

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[7] Watanabe appears to believe that the infinitives of the perfective *-n-* ~ *-t(e)-* are the grammaticalisation sources for the connective *-ni* and the gerund *-te(-)*, respectively. Conversely, Frellesvig (2001: 13–7) suggests that the latter two developed from proto-Japanese alternating copula roots **n-* and **t-*, respectively. Whichever view we adopt concerning the etymology of the gerund *-te(-)* and the connective *-ni* the fact remains that they coexisted with the infinitive forms of the perfective.

[8] Here this function of *-yer-* is referred to as 'resultative/perfect' to avoid connotations with the term 'perfective' as it is understood in Comrie (1976: 21–4).

[9] Cf., however, the English present perfect construction *I **have had** a lot of work this week*, where the stative verb combines with the etymologically related stative operator (Dmitry Gerasimov: p.c.). This being said, in OJ, *-yer-* is never formed on the inherently stative *r*-irregular verbs to which *ar-* belongs (Frellesvig 2010: 68).

of the auxiliary verb *-ko-*, which functioned as a telic modifier.[10] However, there are no instances of *ar-i-ko-* in the Man'yōshū, which strongly suggests that all the forty-eight tokens of *ar-i-k(-)yer-* mentioned above are indeed cases of the MP *-kyer-*.

2.3 Auxiliary Verbs of Translocative Motion

Another set of markers that, in my view, only allow for the MP interpretation of *-kyer-* are the auxiliary verbs of translocative motion *-yuk-* 'go' and *-in-* 'leave'. They specify spatial or temporal deixis of an action expressed by the main verb in such a way that the subject becomes ever more distant from the deictic centre in space or time. By contrast, *-ko-* denotes that the subject approaches the deictic centre in space or time. The reason why *-yuk-* and *-in-* should only allow for the MP interpretation of *-k(-)yer-* is because two auxiliary verbs with opposing deictic properties cannot combine within the same verb. As far as the Man'yōshū is concerned, *-yuk-* and *-in-*, when combined with *-kyer*, are only used in their spatial function (see MYS 9.1809 for *-yuk-i-kyer-* and MYS 16.3815 for *-in-i-kyer-*[11]).

2.4 Negative

There are no phonographic attestations of the stative *-yer-* being either preceded or followed by the negative *-(a)n- ~ -(a)z-* (or its analytic forms[12]) in the Man'yōshū. The question arises as to how such incompatibility could be accounted for in functional terms. Frellesvig (2010: 65) suggests that this opposition, at least diachronically, is a 'secondary one', probably assuming that the primary opposition is with the perfective, whose main function is 'to *assert* or *affirm* the state of affairs expressed by the verb' (ibid.: 66). While it is true that the perfective does not combine with the negative in OJ, it is not entirely clear how this should have affected *-yer-*, which, in its turn, is opposed to the perfective (ibid.). Furthermore, the opposition between the negative and the stative appears to be even controversial, since negated predicates behave similarly to states (see Kusumoto (2011) for evidence from Contemporary Japanese and English).

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[10] Cf. a perfectly grammatical Modern Japanese form *iki-te-k-ite-i-ru* live-CVB-COME-CVB-INCM-PRS 'have/has been living' or, more literally, 'came to have lived', where the incompletive *-i-* roughly corresponds to the OJ stative *-yer-*.

[11] This morphemic chain is found in the closing line of the tanka MYS 16.3815: *pito mot-i-**in**-i-**kyer**-i* (man hold-INF-PERF-INF-MP '[another] man has taken [the pearl] away'). Note, however, that this seemingly hypermetrical line could in fact be a way of writing *mot-i-n-i-kyer*, with the kanji 去 being used as a *kungana* for /ni/ (Bjarke Frellesvig: p.c.).

[12] The analytic form *-zar-* does not combine with *-yer-*, since, apart from being negative, it also etymologically contains the stative *-ar-*, similarly to the periphrastic *-tar-* discussed above.

Whatever the reason may be, the fact remains that *-yer-* does not combine with the negative in OJ. This suggests that *-kyer-az-* and *-(a)z-u-kyer-* should be interpreted as involving the MP *-kyer-* rather than the 'perfect' *-k-yer-*.[13] Another argument in support of this suggestion is the fact that the auxiliary verb *-ko-* can only follow the infinitive form of the main verb, so that TAME and negative markers semantically related to this verb are attached to the auxiliary verb, e.g. *ime-ni mi-ye-**ko-n**-u* dream-LOC see-PASS-**COME-NEG**-ADN 'does not appear in the dream' (MYS 4.767). This grammaticalisational phenomenon has been described in various terms, including 'reanalysis', 'surrogate conjugation' or 'decategorisation'.

3 'Perfect' *-k-yer-*

3.1 Framing Construction

The very idea that the MP *-kyer-* has a 'perfect' homonym was inspired by the following example from the Man'yōshū (Frellesvig 2010: 75).

(1) 神代　　　欲理　　云伝久良久
　　*kamwiyo　ywori　ip-i-tute-**k-ur-aku**[14]*
　　god.age　ABL　say-INF-transmit.INF-**COME(DUR)-ADN-NML**
　　…'REPORTED SPEECH'…
　　等　　　　加多利継　　　　　伊比都賀比計理
　　*to　　　katar-i-tug-i　　　ip-i-tugap-i-**k-yer**-i*
　　COMP　tell-INF-continue-INF　say-INF-continue-INF-
　　COME(DUR)-STAT-FIN
　　'It has been recounted down through time since the age of the gods that
　　… [thus] has it been passed on and recounted.' (MYS 5.894)

(1) is said to be an example of the framing construction where reported speech is sandwiched between a reporting verb in the nominal form and a complementiser followed by the same, or a similar, verb (ibid.). This framing construction, which developed under Chinese influence through *kanbun-kundoku* (ibid.: 272–3), is schematically represented in (2).

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[13] The songs containing *-kyer-az-* and *-(a)z-u-kyer-* are MYS 2.221, 5.817, 6.912, 8.1457, and 3.350, 4.589, 4.639, 6.960, 8.1548, 8.1652, 10.2123, 10.2316, 12.3009, 13.3308, 17.3980, 18.4049, respectively.

[14] Frellesvig does not parse the nominal *-aku* forms as 'not consistently describable by the *katsuyōkei* system' (2010: 113, 117). Here, I have adopted Vovin's (2020: 687-8) analysis whereby *-aku* follows the adnominal form of all vowel verbs, e.g. *k-ur-aku* (*ko-*), and the stems of consonant verbs or suffixes, e.g. *-kyer-aku* (*-kyer-*), the latter 'resulting from the expected loss of the attributive allomorph *-u* used after consonant verbs…' (ibid.): *-kyer-u-aku > -kyer-aku*.

(2) *ip-aku* …'*REPORTED SPEECH*' … *to*   *ip-*
    say-NML   COMP   say-

The reason why *-k-yer-* in (1) is analysed as the 'perfect' construction rather than the MP auxiliary is because *-k-ur-aku*, introducing the reported speech, is the nominalised form of the auxiliary verb *-ko-*, and not of the MP *-kyer-*, which would be *-kyer-aku*' (ibid.).[15] We could assume that this framing construction, mutatis mutandis, can also help us separate cases of the MP *-kyer-*.

(3) 神代欲里   伊比都芸家良久
    kamwiywo-ywori   *ip-i-tug-i-**k-yer-aku***
    god.age-ABL   say-INF-report-INF-**COME(DUR)-STAT.NML**
    …'*REPORTED SPEECH*'…
    止   可久   佐末爾   伊比家流
    to   *kaku*   *sama n-i*   *ip-i-**k-yer-**u….*
    COMP be.thus way   COP-INF say-INF-**COME(DUR)-STAT**-ADN
    'It has been transmitted from the age of deities that … thus has it been recounted'. (MYS 18.4106)

Note that the lexical environments in (1) and (3) are almost identical, including the postpositional phrase *kamwiywo-ywori* 'from the age of deities' as well as the synonymous main verbs *ip-i-tute-* and *ip-i-tug-*, both of which mean 'to pass on by word of mouth'. The only difference is between *-k-ur-aku* and *-k-yer-aku*. Since the 'speaker commitment' interpretation of *-k(-)yer-* in (3) appears somewhat forced, one should conclude that there is no semantic difference between *-k-ur-aku* and *-k-yer-aku* in these examples with both forms expressing durative semantics (see Section 3). This assumption is corroborated by Vovin (2016: 113) and most Japanese commentators (Omodaka 1984: 121, Yoshii 1988: 175, among others). It is also worth noting that, according to the periodisation given in Vovin (2009: 6–10), there is a chronological gap between (1) (Book 5, 724–733 AD) and (3) (Book 18, 748–750 AD). However, this variation might also be due to the fact that the two books were probably compiled by different authors: Yamanoue-no Okura (Book 5) and Otomo-no Yakamochi (Book 18) (ibid.).

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[15] There is another example of this construction in the Senmyō (SM 17.13). Here, unlike in (1), both *-k-ur-aku* and *-kyer-u* are spelt logo-phonographically as 来久 and 来流, respectively. Thus, in this case, the interpretation of 来久 as *-k-ur-aku* is no more than a philological convention, because we cannot rule out the possibility that 来久 represents *-k-yer-aku*.

3.2 Functions of *-k-yer-*

There are 415 instances[16] of *-k(-)yer-* in the Man'yōshū, 327 (79 per cent) of them being found in the diagnostic environments which support the MP interpretation. Since the only diagnostic environment for the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* is the framing construction of reported speech, of which there are but 2 examples, cited in (1) and (3), this leaves us with 86 instances of *-k(-)yer-*, which, technically speaking, can be understood both ways. Therefore, the interpretation of *-k(-)yer-* as 'perfect' can only be based on semantic analysis rather than formal criteria. In order to fully grasp the meaning of the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* one should consider the functions the auxiliary verb *-ko-* fulfils in the Man'yōshū. According to Inoue (1962: 32), these are the following: I. Change is gradually gaining momentum (durative); II. A situation emerges (occurrence); III. A situation has been continuously developing (durative);[17] IV. Motion preceded by an action (spatial deixis); V. Motion accompanied by an action (spatial deixis).[18]

Due to their semantic similarity, in my study, Inoue's functions I and III as well as IV and V are subsumed under the terms 'durative' and 'spatial deixis', respectively. With this classification in mind, I suggest that what has been previously referred to as the 'perfect' *-k-yer-* is actually a cluster of at least three different functions. To support this argument, I compare the examples of *-ko-* cited by Inoue (1962), on the one hand, and the songs in which *-k(-)yer-* follows the same verbs as *-ko-*, on the other. Whenever possible, I rely on the songs where both *-ko-* and *-k-yer-* are spelt phonographically to exclude the possibility of wrong philological (*kundoku*) interpretation. Thus, the interpretation of *-k(-)yer-* as the combination of the auxiliary verb *-ko-* and the stative *-yer-* is based on two criteria: 1) there must be an analogous example of the identical main verb followed by the auxiliary verb *-ko-* (cited via *cf.* in Tables 1a, 1b); 2) the example must allow for progressive and/or resultative interpretation of *-yer-*. The examples which only meet the second condition are classified as ambiguous[19], while those which do not are classified as MP, even if they meet the first condition. There are

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[16] This includes the suppositional form *-kyer-ashi* which is sometimes treated as one unit, e.g. in the Corpus of Historical Japanese (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics 2020). Note, however, that *k-yer-*, the stative form of the lexical verb *ko-*, is not counted here.

[17] This function is also known by other names including *moving-world metaphor* (Hasegawa 1993: 59–61), *deictic time relation, continuation of process*. In Japanese, it is called *keizoku-sō*.

[18] It should be noted that Inoue (1962) analyses functions of two auxiliary verbs, *-ko-* and *-yuk-*, so this classification is applicable to both of them. The translation and the short terms in the brackets are mine.

[19] Note, that MYS 3.267, 7.1132, 12.2855, 14.3393, 17.3892, 20.4481 discussed in Section 2.1 are not mentioned in Tables 1a, 1b, since these instances of *-k(-)yer-* can only be analysed as the stative form of the lexical (*ko-*), but not the auxiliary verb (*-ko-*).

also several cases when an example meets both conditions but is still classified as ambiguous for other reasons. Thus, despite the availability of analogous examples, it is hard to interpret -*k*(-)*yer*- in MYS 7.1131 and 10.2161 as unambiguously 'perfect', because the relevant lines in these songs are extremely reminiscent of those in MYS 3.310, which unambiguously contains the MP -*kyer*-. The same point can be made for 16.3820, where -*kyer*- follows a different verb. If a song contains more than one instance of -*k*(-)*yer*- the verb form in question is indicated in brackets. Functions of the potentially analytic -*k-yer*- in the ambiguous category are indicated in brackets: d – durative, s – spatial deixis.

Modal (Past)	Occurrence	Spatial Deixis	Durative	Ambiguous
2.216	4.633	3.260	3.439[20]	1.29 (d)
4.650	*cf.12.3128*	*cf.15.3646*	*cf.15.3761*	3.259 (d)
5.814	11.2754	3.383	6.1065	3.308
5.873	*id.*	*cf.2.213*	*cf.19.4147*	(*sum-*) (d)
6.977	12.2956	10.2111	7.1261[21]	3.476 (d)
6.1050	*id.*	*cf.8.1589*	(*wasure-*)	4.753 (d)
6.1051		13.3224	*cf.14.3362*	4.773 (d)
19.4211		*id.*	7.1261 (*nar-*)	6.907 (d)
19.4212		16.3791	*cf.15.3761*	6.1028 (d)
		cf.20.4339	9.1707 (*tir-*)	7.1131 (s)
			cf.10.2325	*cf.15.3608*
			9.1807	7.1270 (d)
			cf.6.1034	8.1430 (d)
			11.2415	9.1739 (s)
			cf.10.2089	10.2095 (d)
			13.3255	10.2161 (s)
			cf.5.894	*cf.11.2805*
			19.4160 (*tir-*)	11.2567 (d)
			cf.10.2325	13.3290 (d)
				16.3820 (s)
				cf.17.3994
				18.4111 (d)

Table 1a. Functions of -*k*(-)*yer*- beyond the diagnostic environments (logographic)

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[20] In MYS 3.439, -*k-yer*- seems to be an example of the 'moving-time metaphor' (Hasegawa 1993: 61). MYS 15.3761 is classified as function I by Inoue (1962).

[21] Both *wasure-k-yer*- *and nar-i-k-yer*- in 7.1261 could also be interpreted as instances of Inoue's function I (Change is gradually gaining momentum).

Modal (Past)	Occur-rence	Spatial Deixis	Durative	Ambiguous
3.307	1.25 (2)	4.582	5.894	2.118 (s)
8.1444	*cf.8.1647*	*cf.15.3608*	*cf.5.894*	3.442 (d)
9.1740 *ip-* *cf.6.1034*	3.317 *id.*	7.1237 *cf.17.3994*	7.1261 *cf.14.3362*	4.507 (d)
				6.1061 (d)
9.1740 (*sin-*)	3.318 *id.*	15.3772 *cf.15.3702*	11.2637 *cf.10.2089*	9.1809 (s)
				10.2104 (d)
18.4078	3.320 *id.*	17.3977 (*kwopwi-*) *id.*	15.3695 *cf.6.1034*	10.2153 (d)
				18.4094 (d)
	4.724 *cf.12.3128*	17.3943 *cf.8.1589*	18.4106 (2) *cf.id. or 5.894*	18.4098 (d)
				19.4160 (d) (*mitikake-*)
	17.3977 (*mi-ye-*) *id.*	17.4023 *cf.20.4408*	19.4256 *cf.13.3324* or *20.4465*	19.4211 (s)
	17.3981 *id.*	20.4456 *cf.20.4471*		20.4360 (s) (*-tur-*)
				20.4360 (d) (*pazime-*)
				20.4465 (d)
				20.4482 (d)

Table 1b. Functions of -*k*(-)*yer*- beyond the diagnostic environments (phonographic)

Since the durative function has already been illustrated by examples (1) and (3), in the sections below I will discuss instances of the remaining two functions (spatial deixis and occurrence) as well as one ambiguous case.

3.2.1 Spatial Deixis

(4) 静　　　母　岸　　　者　波　者　　縁家留
*siduke-ku　mo　kwisi-ni　pa　nami　pa　yose/yori-**k-yer**-u*
quiet-INF　TOP　shore-DAT　TOP　wave　TOP　draw.close.INF-
COME(SD)-STAT-ADN
香　此　　屋　通　　　　聞乍　　　居者
ka　ko-no　ipye　topos-i　　kik-i-tutu　　wor-e-ba
FOC　this-ADN　house　let.through-INF　listen-INF-CONT　exist-
EXCL-PRV
'Although [it] is quiet, the waves [must] be **coming** into the shore, be-cause [I can] hear [them] through [the walls of] this house.' (MYS 7.1237)

Even though there is some disagreement among commentators as to the exact reading of the main verb to which *-k-yer-* is attached in (4), this example is remarkably similar to MYS 17.3994, where the auxiliary verb *-ko-* follows *yose-*. Therefore, I suggest that *-k-yer-u* in (4) is the stative (progressive in function) form of the auxiliary verb *-ko-*. This interpretation is also corroborated by Tsuchiya (1976: 106-7). Indeed, the MP *-kyer-* would hardly fit into this context semantically: the 'speaker commitment' reading of *-k(-)yer-* is quite improbable since the relevant sentence is modified by the interrogative particle *ka*, which is considered to express 'doubted identity' (Frellesvig 2010: 252).[22] There are other examples of motion verbs followed by *-k(-)yer-*, which some commentators interpret as the stative form of the auxiliary verb *-ko-*: a) phonographic MYS 15.3772, 17.3943, 20.4482; b) logographic 3.383, 6.1028, 8.1430, 10.2111, 13.3224 (Kinoshita et al. 2003: 259).

3.2.2 Occurrence

(5) 安之　　比奇　　能　　　　　夜麻伎　　　敵奈里低
　　 asi　 *pikwi*　 *n-o*　　　　 *yamaki*　　 *pyenar-i-te*
　　 foot　 low　　 COP-ADN　 mountain　 be.separated-INF-CVB
　　 等保家騰母　　　　　許己呂　之　遊気婆　　　　 伊米爾
　　 topo-kye-domo　　 *kokoro*　 *si*　 **yuk**-*e-ba*　 *ime-ni*
　　 be.far-EXCL-CONC　 heart　 RP　 **go**-EXCL-PRV　 dream-LOC
　　 美要家里
　　 *mi-ye-**k-yer**-i*
　　 see-PASS-**COME.OCC-STAT**-FIN
　　 'Although [you] are far away, separated [from me] by mountains with low feet, [you] are appearing (lit. "**coming up**") in [my] dreams, because [my] heart **goes out** [to you].' (MYS 17.3981)

There are two songs in the Man'yōshū, where the line *ime-ni mi-ye-ko-* with the auxiliary verb *-ko-* can be found: MYS 4.767, 12.3128 (both logographic). Unlike in (4), interpretation of *-k(-)yer-* in (5) as the MP marker is not impossible in terms of modality. However, there is an extra-linguistic argument in favour of the alternative interpretation. If we assume that *mi-ye-k-yer-* does contain the auxiliary verb *-ko-*, then we can observe a metaphorical contrast with the verb *yuk-*, appearing in the penultimate line: 'because my heart **goes out** to you, you "**come up**" in my dreams'.

There is also a similar, if somewhat more problematic, example of this function.

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[22] There is only one song in the entire Man'yōshū (6.1059) where an unambiguously MP case of *-kyer-* (attached to the stative verb *ar-*) is followed by the interrogative particle *ka*.

(6) 幾許　　　　　　　　思異目　　　　　　　　　　　鴨
kokodaku　　*n-i*　　*omop-i-k-yem-e*　　　　　*ka*　*mo*
this.much　COP-INF　long.for-INF-PST-CJR-EXCL　FOC　TOP
敷細　　　　之　　　枕　　　片去
sikitape　　*n-o*　　*makura*　*katasar-u*
bed.cloth　COP-ADN　pillow　approach.from.the.side-ADN
夢所　　　　　　　見来[之]
ime-ni　　　　　　*mi-ye-**k-yer**-u* / *mi-ye-**ko-shi***
dream-LOC　　　　see-PASS- **COME(OCC)-STAT-**ADN /
see-PASS-**COME(OCC)-PST.ADN**
'Is it [because I] have been longing [for you] so much, [that you] are appearing/have appeared (lit. "**coming up**") in [my] dream, [while I was sleeping] on [my] side of the pillow.' (MYS 4.633)

It is not clear how the character 来 in the final line should be interpreted. *Kundoku* suggested by different commentators include *mi-ye-ko-shi*, *mi-ye-kur-u*, and *mi-ye-kyer-u* (Omodaka 1983: 371–2). The situation is further complicated by the fact that the character 之 is absent in the *Genryaku kōhon*, the oldest edition of the anthology, but is present in all subsequent editions (Kinoshita 1988: 264). Presuming that 来 conveys -*k(-)yer*-, it is possible that the appearance of 之 in later editions had to do with the grammaticalisation of the marker: as the 'perfect' -*k-yer*- developed the MP function, it began to be spelt with 之, which was also often used for the regular past marker -*ki*.

3.2.3 Ambiguous Cases

It has to be admitted that in certain cases it is impossible to determine which function of -*k(-)yer*- we are dealing with.

(7) 安麻　　　　乎夫祢　　　波良々　　尔　　　　宇伎弖
ama　　　　*wo-bune*　　*parara*　　*n-i*　　　*uk-i-te*
fisherman　DIM-boat　scattered　COP-INF　float-INF-GER
於保　　　美氣　　　尔　　　都加倍麻都流　　　等
opo　　　*mi-ke*　　*n-i*　　*tukape-matur-u*　　*to*
great　　　HON-food　COP-INF　offer.INF-HUM-FIN　COP
乎知許知尔　伊射里　　都利家理
woti-koti-ni　*izar-i*　　*tur-i-**k(-)yer**-i*
there-here-LOC　angle-INF　fish-INF-(**COME(SD)-STAT**)/**MP**-FIN
'… small boats [of] fishermen are floating everywhere. Having angled here and there, having caught [fish], they are **coming** [to the Palace in Nanipa] in order to offer [fish] as Imperial food.' (MYS 20.4360)

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In the translation by Vovin -*k*(-)*yer*-is rendered as 'it turns out that', since '[t]he retrospective auxiliary -*kêr*- (in this paper -*kyer*-) in line forty-eight indicates not the recollection of a past event, but the sudden realization of a fact' (2014: 112–6). By contrast, Kinoshita interprets this passage in the following way:

> Here, -*k-yer*- not only describes an immediate event in a mirative manner but, similarly to the -*kyer*- in MYS 9.1707, is also used as an expression of a **durative** action, which has been recurring over and over from time immemorial. (1988: 132)

Omodaka's translation into Modern Japanese suggests a progressive interpretation of -*k*(-)*yer*-: *achikochi-ni isari-o sh-ite tsut-te-**i**-ru* (Omodaka 1984: 89). In my view, here we are dealing with the analytic construction, where the auxiliary verb -*ko*- expresses spatial deixis: 'fishermen, having angled here and there, are coming [to the Palace in Nanipa]'. This interpretation is supported by the shift of the deictic centre to the Nanipa Palace in the following lines. However, since there are no attestations of *tur-i-ko*- in the Man'yōshū (or other OJ texts), this example is classified as an ambiguous one.

Generally speaking, the abundance of ambiguous cases supports the argument that the 'perfect' -*k-yer*- was indeed the source of grammaticalisation for the MP -*kyer*-: as is well known, ambiguity (or 'opacity'), wherein an old analysis 'coexists' with a new one, is quite typical of grammaticalisation paths involving reanalysis of a construction (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 52).

4   Spelling

There are two modes of writing used in the Man'yōshū: a logographic (semantographic) and a phonographic one. While the former employed the semantic value of Chinese characters, the latter, widely known as *man'yōgana*, allowed to spell an OJ syllable with a number of characters whose Early Middle Chinese (*ongana*) or native (*kungana*) pronunciation was homophonous to the OJ pronunciation of this syllable.

As I suggested earlier (Kuznetsov 2021: 287–8), it seems that in its less grammaticalised uses, i.e. as the lexical or the auxiliary verb, (-)*ko*- tends to be spelt logographically, whereas in its more grammaticalised uses, i.e. within the 'perfect' construction or the MP auxiliary, it is more often written phonographically. However, in my previous work, spellings of the MP -*kyer*- were compared to those of the verb (-)*ko*- (without distinguishing between its lexical and auxiliary variants), which could not count as direct evidence in favour of the suggested hypothesis.[23] In the present study, apart

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[23] I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

from analysing lexical and auxiliary variants of (-)*ko*- separately, I also supplemented the data with the thirty-nine examples (see Tables 1a and 1b) likely to contain the analytic construction -*k-yer*-. The results are shown in Table 2.

	Phonographic		Logographic	
Lexical verb *ko*-	88 (24%)	209	280 (76%)	516
Auxiliary verb -*ko*-[24]	121 (34%)	(29%)	236 (66%)	(71%)
'Perfect' construction -*k-yer*-	21 (54%)		18 (46%)	
MP auxiliary -*kyer*-	204 (74%)		73 (26%)	

Table 2. Spellings of *ko*-, -*ko*-, -*k-yer*- and -*kyer*-

Overall, the hypothesis described above appears to be correct: the further we go down the grammaticalisation path, the more apparent the tendency for phonographic spelling becomes. Pearson's χ^2 test (with a residual analysis) has proved the differences between these units statistically significant: χ^2 (3, N = 1041) = 175.5, p < .001 (lexical *ko*- and auxiliary -*ko*- differentiated); χ^2 (2, N = 1041) = 168.07, p < 0.001 (lexical *ko*- and auxiliary -*ko*- combined).

It also turns out that the same point can be made for other cases of grammaticalisation. In particular, the hypothesis holds for such pairs as the lexical/auxiliary verb (-)*ar*- vs the stative suffix -*yer*- as well as the lexical/auxiliary verbs (-)*in*- vs the perfective suffix -*n*-, which is commonly believed to have grammaticalised from the former (Watanabe 2021: 107). All the differences discussed below are statistically significant.

	Phonographic		Logographic	
Lexical verb *ar*-	284 (43%)	363	378 (57%)	613
Auxiliary verb -*ar*-	79 (25%)	(37%)	235 (75%)	(63%)
Stative auxiliary -*yer*-	338 (61%)		213 (39%)	

Table 3. Spellings of *ar*-, -*ar*-, and -*yer*-

Thus, the verb (-)*ar*- in its lexical and auxiliary variants tends to be spelt logographically, while for the stative marker -*yer*- phonographic spelling prevails. Contrary to the expectation, logographic spelling is more characteristic for the auxiliary verb -*ar*- (which includes V.INF-*ar*-, -*te-ar*-, -(*a*)*z-u-ar*-, -*ku*-[*mo*]-*ar*-, and -*tutu*-[*mo/pa/ya*]-*ar*-) rather than for the lexical verb *ar*-. This might indicate that some of these combinations are in fact biclausal constructions containing the lexical verb (e.g.V.INF *ar*- or -*te ar*-) (see also Section 2.1). In any event, the fact remains

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[24] This includes both V.INF-*ko*- and V-*te-ko*-. It should be noticed, however, that some of these might actually be biclausal constructions containing the lexical verb: V.INF *ko*- and -*te ko*-. The same applies to the supposedly auxiliary verbs -*ar*- and -*in*- in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

that (-)*ar*- (if we treat the lexical and auxiliary variants collectively) is spelt logographically significantly more often than the stative -*yer*-. As for the spellings of the lexical/auxiliary verb (-)*in*- vs the perfective suffix -*n*- (Table 4), the distribution is more reminiscent of the one we have seen in Table 2.

	Phonographic		Logographic	
Lexical verb *in*-	3 (20%)	24	12 (80%)	22
Auxiliary verb -*in*-	21 (68%)	(52%)	10 (32%)	(48%)
Perfective auxiliary -*n*-	854 (89%)		107 (11%)	

Table 4. Spellings of *in*-, -*in*-, and -*n*-

It should be admitted, however, that the Man'yōshū is rather heterogenic when it comes to modes of inscription, with some books written mostly phonographically and others mostly logographically. Therefore, the same unit, no matter how (under)grammaticalised it is, can be spelt differently from book to book. Nevertheless, the statistical correlation between the degree of grammaticalisation and the mode of writing is too strong to be attributed to a sheer coincidence.

5 Conclusion

From a typological perspective, the diachronic development of -*k*(-)*yer*- (resultative/perfect > modal past) is anything but rare. Similar grammaticalisation paths can be easily found in other languages. The most well-known cases are resultative/perfect constructions developing a past tense function in colloquial German and Romance languages. An even more similar case has been attested in Atchin where a verb meaning 'come' developed into a past tense marker via a perfect one (Bybee et al. 1994: 56, 82, 86). The fact that the 'perfect' functions of -*kyer*- continued to coexist with the newly developed modal one is in full accordance with the layering principle of grammaticalisation (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 124-6).

Abbreviations

ABL — ablative; ADN — adnominal; CNJ — conjectural; COME — venitive; COMP — complementiser; CONC — concessive; CONT — continuative; COP — copula; CVB — converb; DAT — dative; DIM — diminutive; DUR — durative; EXCL — exclamatory; FIN — conclusive; FOC — focus; GEN — genitive; GER — gerund; HON — honorific; HUM — humble; INCM — incompletive; INF — infinitive (*renyōkei*); LOC — locative; MP — modal past; MYS — Man'yōshū; NEG — negative; NML — nominaliser; OCC — occurrence; OJ — Old Japanese; PASS — passive; PERF — perfective; PRV — provisional; PRES — presumptive; PRS — present; PST — past; RP — restrictive particle; SD — spatial deixis; SM — Senmyō; STAT — stative; TOP — topic.

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