The narrative functions of perfective auxiliaries in Early Heian *Kundokubun* texts

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Kundokubun is a linguistic style of early spoken Japanese adapted for reading texts written in Sinitic script aloud as Japanese or quoting Sinitic texts in Japanese. The earliest extant texts clearly rendered in *kundokubun* via a system of morphosyntactic and phonetic glosses are found at the onset of the Heian period (794–1185CE). The focus of this study is two earlier Japanese perfective auxiliaries, or inflecting suffixes, the exoactive perfective -*tu* and endoactive perfective -*nu* (Quinn 1987). Scholars such as Kasuga Masaji (1942b), Tsukishima Hiroshi (1967), Ōtsubo Heiji (1992), and Kobayashi Yoshinori (2012) have investigated the semantics of these perfectives in Heian period *kundokubun* texts. They primarily find -*nu* governing intransitive and passive predicates and -*tu* governing transitive and causative predicates. While the narrative functions of these auxiliaries have been studied in Heian period vernacular tales (Suzuki 2009, Watase 2013), there has yet to be a study of their relation to narrative structure in *kundokubun*. The purpose of this study is to determine their narrative functions in early-Heian *kundokubun* texts.

Adhering primarily to the methodology of Nara (2011), this study codes finite predicates governed by -*nu* and -*tu* for transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), lexical aspect (Kenny 1963, Vendler 1967), and discourse function (Labov 1972) to determine the auxiliaries' respective narrative functions. Data were drawn from the following Buddhist texts rendered into *kundokubun* via gloss during the first half of the Heian period: an early-9th-century CE complete rendering of the *Golden Light Sutra* (*Konkōmyōsaishōōkyō*) (Kasuga 1942a), a mid-9th-century CE rendering of the 5th and 9th scrolls of the *Golden Light Sutra* (Tabuchi 1987), a late-9th-century CE rendering of eight scrolls of the *Kṣitigarbha Ten Wheels Sutra* (*Jizōjūrinkyō*) (Nakada 1958, Nakada 1980), and an early-10th-century CE complete rendering of the *Innumerable Meanings Sutra* (*Muryōgikyō*) (Kabutogi & Nakada 1979). The cited researchers have deciphered the original glossed texts and rendered them into *yomikudashibun*, a more accessible written form of *kundokubun*.

Examples (1)–(4) below display prototypical uses of -*nu* and -*tu* in these early *kundokubun* texts.

(1) 右に三帀遶リて、退（き）て一面に**坐しヌ**。 (Kasuga 1942a: 1)
Migi ni sansapu mapari-te, sirizoki-te itimen ni **za.si-nu**.
'Having circumambulated to the right three times, they withdrew and **sat down** in one corner.'

(2) 是（の）如く法を護ル人は、諸法の一味を**知リヌ**。 (Nakada 1980: 187)
Ko no gotoku papu wo mamoru pito pa, syopapu no itimi wo **siri-nu**.
'One who thus protects the dharma **learns** the nature of all things.'

(3) 時に諸（の）大衆、佛の此（の）甚深（の）空性（を）說（き）たまふ（を）**聞（き）ツ**。 (Tabuchi 1987: 58)
Toki ni moro no daisyu, potoke no ko no zintan no kūsyau wo toki-tamapu **wo kiki-tu**.
'Then the entire gathering **heard** the Buddha explaining this deep emptiness.'

(4) 一切の法に於て勇健の想を**得つ**。 (Kabutogi & Nakada 1979: 110)
Issai no papu no oite yūgon no sau wo **e-tu**.
'They gain robust thoughts regarding all dharma.'

In example (1) -*nu* governs an intransitive predicate of motion. Its use in example (2), while transitive to the extent the verb *siru* ('learn') takes an object marked by the accusative particle *wo*, is low on Hopper & Thompson's (1980) transitivity scale due to the lack of change in the object. Auxiliary -*nu* often governs predicates indicating changes of mental state, such as learning and thinking. Beyond verbs of motion and thought, auxiliary -*nu* also often governs *naru* ('become'). Auxiliary -*tu*, on the other hand, in addition to being found in more prototypical transitive predicates such as those including *nasu* ('make'), *usinapu* ('lose'), and the causative auxiliary -*simu*. Example (3) displays its governing *kiku* ('hear'), which parallels anther common use governing *miru* ('see'). Finally, -*tu* is the auxiliary that most often governs *u* ('gain'), seen in example (4) in its participial form *e*. These examples both are representative of the transitivity differences between the two auxiliaries and demonstrate their prevalence in governing telic predicates (see Kenny 1963), reflecting their perfectivity. Among these four examples, only (3) depicts an accomplishment, a predicate that is both telic and durative, rather than an achievement, one that is telic and instantaneous. Both -*tu* and -*nu* predominantly govern achievements, which is because in *kundokubun* predicate morphology specific context is required to have a verb represent the latter. In other words, in *kundokubun* all accomplishments are predicates that, by themselves outside of context, index activities (durative and atelic) that gain an end point through context.

Regarding the discourse functions of -*tu* and -*nu*, in narrative sequences both are only found sentence-finally in complications, or events that progress the story, and resolutions, events that conclude the story. Example (5) below depicts the first action in the *Innumerable Meanings Sutra* after its orientation is a motion governed by -*nu*.

(5) 各々眷属百千万数と与に、而も自（ら）囲遶せられて、仏の所に**来詣しぬ**。
(Kabutogi & Nakada 1979: 78)
Onoono kenzoku pyakusenmanzyu to tomo ni, sikamo midukara wineu.serarete, potoke no tokoro ni ***raikei.si-nu***.
'Each, being surrounded with countless followers, **approached** the place of the Buddha.'

Although scenes often end with characters in motion, and thus governed by -*nu*, like what we see in example (1), when the scene is primarily the telling of a parable or an explanation of the dharma, we occasionally find -*tu* in the resolution, such as what we see in example (6).

(6) 尒時世尊、已に大衆の為に、此の十千の天子の往昔の因縁を**説（き）たまひつ**。
(Kasuga 1942a: 187)
So no toki seson, sude ni daisyu no tame ni, ko no jissen no tensi no wauzyaku no innen wo **toki-tamapi-tu**.
'Then the lord, already for the sake of the crowd, **explained** the origin of the history of these ten thousand divine sons.'

In narrative sequences among the examined texts, these auxiliaries are found in complications 98% of the time. Resolutions containing predicates of motion or speech are not the rule. Furthermore, *kundokubun* narration is most often framed with the modal auxiliary -*ki*, which indexes established facts. Thus, when perfectives are found in resolutions, they are most often themselves governed by -*ki*, as we see in example (7).

(7) 妙幢菩薩は佛の足を礼したてまつり已（り）て、（從）座ヨリして（而）起（ち）て、其の本處に**還（り）にキ**。 (Kasuga 1942a: 19)
Meudau bosatu pa potoke no asi o rei.si-tatematuri-wopari-te, za yori.site tati-te, sono ponsyo ni ***kaperi-ni-ki****.*
'Kṣitigarbha finished paying obeisance to the Buddha's feet, stood up from his seat, and **returned** to his original place.'

This preponderance of *-ki* marking on resolutions means the perfectives are most often found sentence-finally governing predicates in complications, or events that progress the story. As perfectives that index changes of state, the events depicted with *-tu* and *-nu* are both dynamic and central to the narrative progression. This study finds the narrative function of these perfectives in early Heian *kundokubun* narration to be that of foregrounding events that progress the stories within these texts.

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