

## Reconstructing the Proto-Japonic demonstrative system

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The demonstrative system of Old Japanese (OJ) was significantly different from that of Modern Japanese (ModJ). While OJ *ko-* referred to proximate objects as with ModJ *ko-*, distal demonstrative pronouns, presumably *ka-*, were rarely used. *So-* was solely used as an anaphoric pronoun, not referring to a medial object deictically. (See Hashimoto 1966, Kinuhata 2022.) These distributions amount to the difference depicted in Figures 1 and 2.

Fig. 1: OJ

	deic.	anaph.
prox.	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>
dis.	( <i>ka-?</i> )	

Fig 2: ModJ

	deic.	anaph.
prox.	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-/a-</i>
med.	<i>so-</i>	
dis.	<i>a-</i>	

Fig 3: PM-PR

	deic.	anaph.
prox.	* <i>ko-</i>	* <i>o-</i>
dis.	* <i>ka-</i>	

Recently, Kinuhata and Hayashi (2018) hypothesized a demonstrative system similar to OJ for Proto-Miyakoan (PM) based on the data from their Shinzato and Karimata dialects. Moreover, Kinuhata (2021) found the use of this system in the Irabu dialect of Miyakoan and discusses its origin in Proto-Ryukyuan (PR) (Fig. 3). While the above semantic resemblance is attractive, morphological issues remain in reconstructing a Proto-Japonic demonstrative system.

In reconstructing Proto-Old Japanese (POJ), one must consider anaphoric *si-* and demonstrative adverbs, i.e., proximate *ka-* and anaphoric *sika-*. The anaphoric adverb *sika-* evidently consists of the anaphoric pronoun *si-* and the adverb *ka-*. Comparing the anaphoric pronouns *so-* and *si-*, it is more probable for *si-* to be older than *so-* because 1) the former had constituted the anaphoric adverb *sika-* in OJ and 2) the formation of *so-* can be explained by an analogical extension of \**ko-* to \**si-*. That is, the vowel of \**ko-*, i.e., /o2/, was adapted to *si-* to create a new anaphoric pronoun *so-*. This process later created an anaphoric adverb *sa-* in Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) (Okazaki 2010), adapting the vowel of the demonstrative adverb *ka-*, i.e., /a/, to the anaphoric pronoun *so-*. Thus, we can assume at least three distinct morphemes for POJ, as in Fig. 4.

The demonstrative adverbs of Ryukyuan languages widely attest *ka-* for deictic use and *a-* for anaphoric use (cf. Nakamoto 1983, Uchima 1984). Since the proximate adverb *ka-* has the cognate in OJ, i.e., OJ proximate *ka-*, it traces back to Proto-Japonic (PJ) \**ka-*. Given the proximate adverb \**ka-* in PJ, the nominal \**ko-* and adverbial \**ka-* opposition could have analogically extended to the o- and a- in the anaphoric use. Therefore, we can consider the anaphoric morpheme o- and a- in Ryukyuan languages as later innovation, like *so-* and *sa-* in Japanese. Instead of postulating them, this presentation proposes reconstructing \**e-* for the anaphoric use in Proto-Ryukyuan. Though \**e-* does not have many reflexes in modern Ryukyuan languages, it surfaces as *isii-* (anaphoric adverbial with instrumental =*sii*) in the Irabu dialect of Ryukyuan (Tomihama 2013). This reconstruction leads us to posit four distinct morphemes given in Fig. 5 for PR.

Fig. 4: POJ

	deic.	anaph.
noun	* <i>ko-</i> , (* <i>ka-?</i> )	* <i>si-</i>
adv.	* <i>ka-</i>	

Fig. 5: PR revised

	deic.	anaph.
noun	* <i>ko-</i> , * <i>ka-</i>	* <i>e-</i>
adv.	* <i>ka-</i>	

Fig. 6: PJ

	deic.	anaph.
noun	* <i>ko-</i> , * <i>ka-</i>	* <i>se-</i>
adv.	* <i>ka-</i>	

Comparing the two reconstructed demonstrative systems in Figures 4 and 5 still leaves the questions regarding 1) what is the origin of /s/ in the anaphoric pronoun of POJ and 2) whether the distal pronoun *ka-* can trace back to Proto-Japonic (PJ). I will discuss in the presentation that the /s/ goes back to PJ and the rare attestation of distal *ka-* is due to the problem of source materials in OJ. These assumptions lead us to conclude that the PJ demonstrative system has four distinct morphemes, given in Fig. 6.

## References

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