A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose

JOHN R. BENTLEY

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BY

JOHN R. BENTLEY



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To Chiemi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL: Ablative
ACC: Accusative
ALL: Allative
ATT: Attributive
CAUS: Causative
CMT: Comitative
COM: Imperative
CONJ: Conjunction
CSS: Concessive
CS: Consonant Stem
DAT: Dative
DEB: Debitive
DV: Defective Verb
EV: Evidential
FIN: Final verbal form
FS: Focus
GEN: Genitive
GER: Gerund
HON: Honorific
HYP: Hypothetical-Conditional
INF: Infinitive
ITR: Iterative
LG: Locative-Genitive
LOC: Locative
MK: Middle Korean
MNZ: Motoori Norinaga Zenshû
MT: Manchu-Tungusic
NEG: Negative
NEG/INF: Negative Infinitive
NGT: Negative Tentative
NML: Nominalizer
OJ: Old Japanese
PASS: Passive
PERF: Perfective
PLR: Plural
PROG: Progressive
PT: Particle
PV: Preverb
RETR: Retrospective
SUB: Subject
TENT: Tentative
TOP: Topic
TRN: Translative
VBZ: Verbalizer
VS: Vowel Stem

LIST OF SYMBOLS

Liturgy	Romanized	Number
祈年祭	Toshigoi no matsuri	1
春日祭	Kasuga no matsuri	2
広瀬大忌祭	Hirose no Ôimi no matsuri	3
龍田風神祭	Tatsuta no kaze no kami no matsuri	4
平野祭	Hirano no matsuri	5
久度古関	Kudo・Furuseki	6
六月月次	Minatsuki no tsukinami	7
大殿祭	Ôtono Hokai	8
御門祭	Mikado Hokai	9
六月晦大祓	Minatsuki no tsugomori no Ôharae	10
東文忌寸部献横刀時咒	Yamatobumi Imikibe no tachi o tatematusuru toki no zu	11
鎮火祭	Hoshizume no matsuri	12
道饗祭	Michi no ae no matsuri	13
大嘗祭	Ônie no matsuri	14
鎮御魂齊戸祭	Mitama o iwaido ni shizumuru matsuri	15
儺祭詞	Na no matsuri no norito	16

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There seems to be a mistaken perception in both Japan and the West about the periodization of the Japanese language. Japanese scholars have tended to divide the language along the lines of historical periods, which are really just demarcations of shifts of governing polities. Martin (1987:77) has a helpful chart showing the periodization of the language discussed by Japanese grammarians, part of which I quote below:

上代	Old Japanese	Nara period	c. 700-800
中古	Early Middle Japanese	Heian period	
中世	Late Middle Japanese	Kamakura period	1200-1378
		Muromachi period	1367-1573

In spite of a general consensus on this periodization for Japanese, most grammars of pre-modern Japanese written in English lump all stages of the language under the rubric *bungo* 文語 'the classical language'. A well-known example is Ikeda's *Classical Japanese Grammar Illustrated with Texts* (1975). I see two short-comings to this approach: 1) while it may facilitate the teaching of classical Japanese to students, many scholars become trapped within this pedagogical framework, and this adversely influences their own work on texts (mainly in regard to poetry from *Man'yôshû* [ca. 759]). If scholars fail to make a distinction between various stages of the development of the language, it is easy to treat very early texts as if these originated from a much later era. 2) A gulf between many of the scholars of grammar and the scholars of literature persists. Surely it would be fruitful if the paths of these two fields could intersect at some meaningful point. It may be true that language and politics do not march to the same drummer. It would be more meaningful for linguists to classify the language according to linguistic criteria, not historical parameters. A first step to rectify the problem is to re-classify the language into linguistically meaningful stages. This book is an attempt to do just that.

There are several grammars of the language of Old Japanese, the most notable being: Yamada Yoshio (1913), Saeki Umetomo (1950), and Shirafuji Noriyuki (1987), but these three are written in Japanese, making it difficult for the student of Japanese to gain free access to the information contained therein. These descriptions are also based primarily on the poetry of the Old Japanese era. Poetry, however, is acknowledged to be a 'special brand' of language (cf. Jan Mukařovský 1970:41-45; Roman Jakobson 1981:598-608). It is clear that with almost 5,000 songs/poems preserved in *Kojiki* (712), *Nihon shoki* (720), and *Man'yôshû*, there are ample data to describe the language of Old Japanese. But in all fairness, these descriptions should be titled grammars of Old Japanese *poetry*, and not as Yamada (1913) originally has it: *Nara-chô bunpô-shi* (A History of the Grammar of the Nara Court).

There is also one grammar of the language of Old Japanese in English, Syromiatnikov (1981), a rather poorly translated version of the original Russian. This description follows in the footsteps of the Japanese grammarians, and relies almost solely on data from poetry.

We thus have felt that a description of the language of Old Japanese prose would be beneficial. The main goal of this research is to describe the language of a single text, the liturgies of Asuka-Nara Japan. It would be a formidable task to describe the entire language of this early era, so I have elected to concentrate on a specific variety of this language. To accurately delimit the language I have analyzed the spelling in the liturgies, and have found that two groups of liturgies from different periods of time have been compiled together in *Engi shiki* (延喜式, the procedures of the Engi era [901-922]). My analysis concentrates on the first group of liturgies, or the earliest segment of the liturgies that preserves what I believe to be the oldest strain of prose in the Nara language. As noted in the next chapter, my description will concentrate on what I classify as Early Old Japanese.

It is not my intention to engage in theoretical issues, or suggest new linguistic theories. Linguistic theories are like leaves on a tree, blown about by the weather and the wind, but textual data remain unchanged through time. It is the purpose of this grammar to describe the language of the liturgies by conducting a synchronic structural analysis. My choice has been influenced by my mentor, Alexander Vovin. Most scholars acknowledge that the work of grammatical analyses on the language of Japan has been hampered by the orthographic tradition of Japan, because Japanese scholars generally have not been able to do a

proper morphemic analysis, hindered by the syllabic nature of the Japanese *kana* orthography. There are even those scholars who feel that the traditional analysis, while full of inherent problems, should still be taught, simply because it is *traditional*. Komai's grammar (1979:7) appeals to the reader with these words:

> The traditional grammar of Classical Japanese is based on a morphological analysis of the language (corpus) as represented by Kana script. The analysis...yielded a clumsy solution, as compared to the newer one by modern linguists. However, the newer analysis is known primarily to specialized linguists and, as explained earlier, it is necessary for the student to learn the traditional grammar as is.

Komai's 'earlier' statement was that the Japanese analysis of verbs is based on the *gojûon-zu* chart, so if the student is not familiar with the set up of verbs into various *dan*, this hinders the learning of classical Japanese. This reasoning is ad hoc, and simply propagates the absurd notion that the Japanese language can only be understood if we use the Japanese method of analysis.

My statement about the orthography hindering the analysis of the language is not intended to insinuate that Japanese grammarians will be ignored, because much important and perceptive research has come from Japan. Indeed, much that is known about the grammar of Old Japanese originates from the work done by Japanese scholars. It is from this foundation that my research begins.

It should also be noted that western scholars have fallen into many pitfalls, because there are also various problems with some grammatical work done by scholars outside of Japan. Many western descriptions of Japanese grammar have resorted to terminology from descriptions of Latin grammar. Miller (1986:147, 149) puts it best,

> Here too, we are generally so accustomed to hearing these features of grammatical tense named according to the conventional major categories of 'past', 'present', and 'future' that it is easy to mistake the literal sense of these terms for the class-meanings of the form to which they refer....
>
> Thus, it should, on the face of the matter, hardly occasion major surprise when we are told that Japanese does not employ verbal categories that correspond very closely at all to our general ideas of 'past', 'present', and 'future'....

My methodology will thus be a melding of traditions, taking the insights of Japanese grammarians, and fusing these with other insights from western scholars. I am indebted to various scholars for various 'tools': Bernard Bloch, for an innovative morphophonemic analysis of Japanese; Sam Martin for a number of insights into the history of the language, and Alexander Vovin for keeping me grounded in structuralism.

In some instances, the liturgies only preserve tantalizing fragments of some important grammar structures, so I have appealed to the imperial edicts (宣命 *semmyô*) for corroborating data, because the edicts are not too far removed in time from the liturgies. In spite of this, it should be understood that these data from the edicts only lend supporting evidence, and other than one instance,[1] have not been used as primary evidence.

Before I describe the language of Early Old Japanese (EOJ), a description of the liturgies is given, along with my analysis for dividing the language of Old Japanese into two different stages. After this an analysis of the phonology of the language of EOJ is provided. The grammar concludes with a lexicon of various interesting lexical items from the liturgies.

This work is intended primarily for students of Old Japanese, and scholars working with material from the Asuka-Nara eras. Teaching students Nara era literature, and then proceeding into Heian literature without making mention of the differences in the language is akin to an instructor in the West teaching *Beowulf*, and then jumping into Chaucer. Not only are the two works written in different languages, these works are also written in different orthographies. A responsible instructor in the West could not do any such thing, because of the difference in grammar and spelling. Analogous to this, there are also differences in grammar and orthography between Nara and Heian Japanese, but because the instructor of Japanese literature can rely on *hiragana* or romanized transcriptions, the obvious difference between these two languages is easily blurred. Thus, the general disregard for (or ignorance of) the language of the Nara era is more a problem of modern printed editions than it is a movement by scholars to overlook the grammar of this important language.

---

[1] That single instance is the discussion of *–rama* (section 4.4.4.4).

It is hoped that this grammar will allow teachers to spend more time focusing on the works of the Asuka-Nara era, as well as permitting students to get a better handle on this important language.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITURGIES

2. *Norito*

Norito—hereafter referred to as 'liturgies'—are Japan's oldest surviving religious texts. While various shrines in Japan possess written versions of local liturgies, few of these date back more than several centuries. This might seem curious, because many shrines in Japan date back to the ninth or tenth century (or earlier). The dearth of recorded liturgies is in part due to recurring fires, and also the destruction of libraries and shrine archives through centuries of civil strife. It is very difficult to find any shrine in Japan over a thousand years old that has not suffered fire at least once in its history. Fortunately, Japan's oldest liturgies are recorded in *Engi shiki*, a large collection of administrative regulations and codes. *Engi shiki* records 27 separate liturgies. It is this collection of liturgies that will be the main focus of this study.

The word *noritwo* (祝詞)[1] is of unclear derivation, but the traditional explanation given by scholars has been that this term is a compound of *noru* 'to speak, declare' and *two* 'spell, curse'.[2] The

---

[1] I have followed Yale romanization when transcribing Old Japanese, which I consider to be the language of Japan from around the end of the seventh century until the end of the Nara Period (710-784). This stage of Japanese had more vowels than a later stage of the language. The distinction of these vowels is traditionally called *kô-otsu* (type A and B). What is typically called the *kô-rui* group is transcribed with an on-glide: -y- or -w-. Thus the velar series is *kyi, kye*, and *kwo*. The *otsu-rui* group is written with an off-glide or an underline: *kiy, key*, and *ko*. Most scholars believe that historically the *kô-rui* group (other than *yi* which is really just /i/) originates from a diphthong (there appear to be some exceptions to this), while the *otsu-rui* group are original vowels (with the exception of *iy* and *ey* which are also monophthongizations). I deal with this issue in the body of this work. The only modification I make to this system of Yale romanization is almost the same one suggested by Gerald B. Mathias (1973:42). A capital letter represents a vowel with an unknown vocalic value. So *pOra* would mean that the vowel of the first syllable is unclear, but could be type A or B.

[2] Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) believed *norito* to be a shortened form of *nori* 'proclaim' *tokyi* 'expound' and *goto* 'thing, word' (MNZ 1976.9:368). The problem

word is spelled etymologically in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. It is clear that the final syllable is *two* 戸. *Kojiki* spells the word 詔戸言 *NORItwo GOTO*, and *Shoki* spells it 能理斗 *noritwo*. The word is misspelled in the later poetic collection, *Man'yôshû* 能里等 *norito* (MYS 4031), but only because Book Seventeen was compiled at a later date (ca. 748),[3] and the distinction between two varieties of *to* had collapsed. The example from *Man'yôshû* is therefore an unetymological spelling.

Following the currently accepted linguistic analysis, we can say that this final syllable is a monophthongization of an original cluster. Martin (1987:591) does not offer an etymology for this word, but following his phonemic analysis, this final syllable would derive from either **tuCa* or **taCu*, since monophthongization of either would result in *two*.

I propose that scholars leave their options open, however, and give some heed to the theory proposed by Hayata Teruhiro (1998). He rejects the claim of Matsumoto (1984) that the *kô* and *otsu* -o- vowels are in complementary distribution, and therefore these two vowels are merely allophones of a single vowel. Hayata claims that vowel quantity in Old Japanese (OJ) and pre-OJ, as well as short-mid-vowel raising in pre-OJ according to him (first proposed by Hattori Shirô in 1976), and vowel shortening of the first syllable in a disyllabic word accounts for the anomalies Matsumoto addresses. Therefore, Hayata proposes that there actually was a primordial *kô-rui* -o-. Recent research on the distribution of two verbs, *twor-* 'hold, support' and *tor-* 'take, capture' (Bentley 1999) supports Hayata's proposal, because the nuclear vowels in these two verbs are not in complementary distribution (the two verbs providing a minimal pair). It is thus possible that the second word of the compound *noritwo* was a disyllabic word that shortened, leaving vowel length: *twowo* > *two:*. There are at least three possible candidates for this final syllable *two*: (**tuCa / *taCu / *twowo* > *two:* > *two*).[4] I know of no such word at this time, though other scholars have proposed various candidates.

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with Norinaga's analysis is that the *to* of *noritwo* could not be derived from *tokyi*. The current proposal that this word derives from 'proclaim' and 'curse' can be found in Ôno et al. (1994:1043) or Nakata et al. (1983:1301).

[3] For the dating of the books of *Man'yôshû*, I have relied on Takaki et al. (1962). For the dating of Book Seventeen, I have relied on the internal dates as noted in Takaki et al. (1962.4:21).

[4] Hereafter, a capital C refers to an unspecified consonant.

The ancient liturgies are written in a Sinicized script derived from classical Chinese. Since the style is nearly identical to imperial edicts recorded in *Shoku nihongi* (797[5]), this style of writing has been called *semmyô-tai* (or *semmyô-gaki*) 'imperial edict style (writing)'. Let me illustrate this. While the following example may seem pedantic, it is the structure of the system that interests me, not the sentence itself. Let us say someone in ancient Japan wished to write, "The man captured a tiger," which in Nara era Japanese would be *pyito̲ twora wo to̲ritari*.[6] Originally Japan had neither script nor tigers, but man's imagination knows no bounds or limits, and stories from the Asian mainland would excite the imagination. Classical Chinese was imported via the Korean peninsula as Japan started its journey to becoming a more advanced civilization influenced by Chinese culture. Having been taught Chinese, our Japanese writer would have written a Chinese sentence: 人捕虎也 MAN CAPTURE TIGER FINAL. As the Japanese became comfortable writing Chinese, they altered the Chinese word order gradually to fit the word order of Japanese, which is SOV (compared with Chinese which generally is SVO). This syntactic conversion occurred over a long period of time, as Japanese began molding Chinese into a Japanese orthographic medium. By the late seventh century, this same sentence would likely have been written as: 人虎捕也 MAN TIGER CAPTURE FINAL. A further step was to add clues to the proper morphology of the underlying Japanese sentence by including phonetic script in the sentence. Our sentence would then evolve into 人虎乎捕也利 MAN TIGER obj CAPTURE FINAL perf. The Chinese syntax has been altered, and phonetic clues inserted into

[5] The process of compiling *Shoku nihongi* is poorly understood, and scholars have only recently begun to exploit the various texts to solve the puzzle. An old compilation starting with the year 697 (first year of Mommu) and ending around the reign of Emperor Kônin was originally put together, but was either lost during the revolt of Fujiwara Nakamaro or was destroyed after Nakamaro's death. Later in 783 Afumi Mifune and others compiled a 29 volume history and presented it to the court.

[6] It is a rather well-known fact that no matter how old the text one looks at, it is difficult to decide what the vowel of the first syllable of the verb *toru* 'take, capture' is. *Jidai betsu kokugo daijiten* makes it sound as if confusion of both varieties of *to* exists back even into the ancient songs of *Kojiki* and *Shoki* (1967:510). As I have shown elsewhere (1997), *Kojiki* and parts of *Shoki* preserve a clear distinction between two types of *po* and *mo*. It follows that there should be no problem with *two* or *to̲*. I suggest that *toru* be divided into two clearly distinct verbs with different origins, one **to̲r-* and the other **twor-*. The difference between these two is semantic as well as aspectual. As the phonological differences blurred, so did the usage, and this eventually resulted in *toru* having so many meanings (cf. Bentley 1999).

the sentence so that an originally Chinese sentence can now be read as Japanese.

The history of how the people of ancient Japan modified the Chinese language is somewhat unclear, but the influence of Sinicized systems on the Korean peninsula must be mentioned, even if only in passing, because Korean influence can be found in *Man'yôshû*.[7] Korean *Hyangchal*, the ancient songs of Silla, are composed in an orthography that resembles the system noted above with the 'man catches a tiger' sentence. Below is a Korean example taken from *Hyangka*, the first line of poem number one ('Mokwuk cilang ka' 慕竹旨郎歌):

去隱春皆理米

It is unfortunate, but scholars are not absolutely sure which of the characters above are semantograms and which are phonograms. As a simple exercise to show the difficulty here, I give Kim Wancin's rendering (1980:53) and the semantics of the characters below. Renderings of suspect semantograms are capitalized. Middle Korean (MK) comparisons are given where relevant.

去 隱 春 皆 理 米
ka-un-pwom-mwotwo-ri-moy
GO-hide-SPRING-ALL-logic-rice

While scholars are divided on what the poem *actually* means, it does appear that at least a verb ('go', MK ka) and a noun ('spring', MK pwom) are transcribed with semantograms, and the poet attached morphological markers with phonograms. The meaning of this sentence is still unclear, so I have not provided a translation. It is true that the decipherment of *hyangchal* is quite controversial, because so little is known about the underlying phonology, but the essential elements of the structure are sufficiently clear to illustrate that there is a resemblance between this Korean writing system and the style of poems in *Man'yôshû* and *semmyô*.

Kitô (1993:91-94) also has demonstrated that if one compares the orthographic style (文字の書体) of excavated wooden tablets (Japanese *mokkan*) with peninsular inscriptions, in the majority of

[7] For a concise treatment of the origin of *man'yôgana*, see Bentley 2001.

cases, the writing matches the Six Dynasties style also found in many of the inscriptions preserved in Paekche and Silla relics. This provides more evidence that the peninsular tutors who taught classical Chinese to the Japanese taught their own brand of it.[8] Of course, looking at the history of writing on bamboo slats, this resemblance is to be expected. Hirano and Suzuki note that the Chinese wrote on wooden slats (1996:23-31) as did the literate in the three kingdoms on the peninsula (1996:48-83).

First, a discovery of a wooden tablet in Silla that appears to date from either 608 or 668 illustrates this important point. The readable text is below. Squares (□) denote lacunae in the inscription:

戊辰年正月十二日朋南漢城道使□□
須城道使村主前南漢城城火□□□
□□漢黃去□□□□□

Two important Silla official titles appear on this tablet, 道使 and 村主. The first was abolished in 670, helping date the tablet before that time. I give Yi's interpretation of this fragment (Hirano and Suzuki 1996:78-80), "In the morning of the twelfth day of the first month of fifth year in the cycle, the Dao-shi (道使) of the Namhan Castle... (sends this message to??) the Dao-shi and Cun-zhu (村主) of the □su Castle...."

One other interesting aspect of this tablet is the use of the graph 前 'front' placed before the title of the person(s) to whom the message is addressed. This use of 'front, before' is reminiscent of the usage in the liturgies:

天照太御神能太前爾白久

This is translated as "I speak to the great deity, Amaterasu (literally '*before* the great deity')." These two examples show that the Chinese practice of writing on tablets was adopted by the kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, and naturally, this style of writing made its way to Japan.

[8] Kitô's explanation is a revision of an earlier analysis conducted by Tôno (1983:283-299). For data showing that Paekche scribes taught the early Japanese in the use of Chinese, cf. Bentley 2001.

2.1 Writing and *Mokkan*

Because our data are buried in the orthography (writing system), a small detour into the history of this system is enlightening. Various archaeological discoveries have shed light on the murky history of how the Japanese converted Chinese into a system more closely resembling Japanese, but there is another issue here that also needs to be elucidated. It is not necessarily the traditional explanation of *semmyô* I take issue with, but the label (*semmyô-tai*). I will briefly show that while this label has its merits, it should be refined to take into consideration recent archeological discoveries.

First, I suggest that the label be changed from *semmyô-tai* 'imperial-edict style' to 'hybrid Chinese', a term I have refined, following Seeley (1991:25).[9] Recent excavations of *mokkan*, thin slats of bamboo or wood upon which messages were written (hereafter wooden tablets), have shown that two previous assumptions about this so-called *semmyô-tai* were erroneous: a) this writing style was confined to edicts or highly structured religious liturgies, and b) the sinographs (phonograms) inserted to represent particles or verbal morphology were always written in small script (or what could be termed a smaller font).

Seeley (1991:55) makes this remark about *semmyô-tai*,

> In recent years fresh material, albeit very scant, has been discovered in the form of a fragment of what is thought to be a *senmyô* text on a wooden tablet recovered from the Fujiwara Palace site. This text (estimated date: 694-710) includes a phonogram writing for the Old Japanese 'quotative' particle *tö*, and what appears to be a phonogram for the particle *wo* (verbal object marker); both phonograms are written the same size as the logogram characters. While of great significance, this one find by itself would be rather slender evidence upon which to conclude with certainty that the earliest *senmyô* texts all employed full-size phonograms, and that reduced size (a feature which aided smooth reading by showing at a glance which characters served as phonograms) was a later development.

[9] Seeley uses the awkward term 'Chinese style'. In an earlier paper, Seeley used the term 'hybrid style' to refer to the mixed style between his 'Chinese style' and 'Japanese style' (1984:26).

Likely this paragraph was written when data from excavated tablets had not been sufficiently analyzed. As illustrated below, there is more than one single piece of evidence suggesting that writing phonograms for particles and verbal declension in a smaller script size was a later development. The evidence presented below will also show that Seeley's use of the term 'imperial-edict style' needs serious revision.

Below are two examples from wooden tablets excavated from the area where the Fujiwara Palace (694-710) once stood.

(1) 卿爾受給請欲止申□□
(2) Side A: □□止詔大□□乎諸聞食止詔□□
Side B: □□御命受止食国之内憂白□□

I translate the fragment in (1) as, "The Minister said he wishes to receive (whatever)...". The fragment in (2) is rendered as: "[Side A] Give ear all to the great (decree?) that (someone) has decreed....[Side B] He said to accept the command, and grieved for the inner provinces of the land he rules over...."

The underlined sinographs represent Japanese particles (爾 *ni*, 止 *to*, 乎 *wo*). Notice that the particles and the other graphs are all written the same size. On this evidence, Kotani (1986:3) notes,

> This is the inscription on the wooden tablets, and if the phonetic script 止 and 乎 were written in a smaller size, it would be the customary *semmyô-tai*. (This evidence from the wooden tablet) preserves a stage of the imperial-edict style *before phonograms were written in a smaller size* (this author's italics).

Again, the label 'imperial edict' comes to mind, because the above inscriptions use graphs like 詔 'decree'. On a different tablet, Hirano and Suzuki introduce a text that has *no* phonograms (1996:104):

辛巳年
閏月
大乙下□□
□小乙下
□大津皇
阿直史友足
伊勢国

This tablet is important because it contains a date. It is relatively simple to find the corresponding date for the year 辛巳. As noted in Hirano and Suzuki (1996:104-5), before the Taihô Code was promulgated (701), dates were written in the Chinese sexagesimal system, but after 701 dates were recorded in the reign-year style (*nengô*). The closest date to 701 which was a 辛巳 year *with* an intercalary month (閏月) is 681. There are too many lacunae to make sense of the text, though it would appear to be a listing of ranks and names. Notice that there are no phonograms in this text. The name 大津皇 is likely Emperor Temmu's son, Prince Ôtsu, who was put to death in 686, again helping to date the text before that period.

Now consider another example from a wooden tablet discovered from the Mori no Uchi site in Shiga Prefecture, somewhat removed from the capital. The tablet dates from the era of Emperor Temmu (r. 673-686). Below is the text, quoted from Aoki et al. (1990:667).[10]

Side A 椋直□之我持往稲者馬不得故我者反来之故是汝卜部
Side B 自舟人率而可行也 其稲在処者衣知評平留五十戸旦波博士家

[Side A] Kura Atae...since I could not obtain a horse to bring the rice plants, I have returned. Thus, this (is sent to) you, Urabye. [Side B] You should take charge of the boatsmen and proceed. The rice plants are stored at the residence of the Tanpa scholar, in the fifty-household town of Pyeru in the district of Eti.

Several things must be pointed out. Analogous to the other two examples noted above, all characters, phonetic or semantic, are written the same size. In this respect the style is just like *hyangchal*. On the other hand, characters used to represent Japanese particles or verbal declension are not used in the sentence. This likely shows that the author of the letter did not intended for it to be read aloud, or that various words in the message were not emphasized.

Of greater import is the fact that this text is written by someone of the fifth rank or lower to a person of likely even lower rank. This is clear because the name Kura Atae (椋直), a low ranking group at Temmu's court, appears at the beginning, and he is writing to someone with the surname of Urabe (卜部). This tablet is actually a letter,

[10] I have augmented the characters Aoki et al. could not read according to Hirakawa and Kônoshi (1999:15).

written to a servant of the writer. There is nothing imperial or religious about it. It is simply a message outlining how an elementary matter should be discharged. This concrete example shows that this writing style was used in everyday life, later evolving into a form used in both imperial edicts and liturgies. It is also clear that the dissemination of writing to the lower ranking officials in the government may have occurred earlier than most historians have believed.

Now consider that the Chinese syntax of the above example has also been altered to reflect Japanese syntax. The nominalizer *zhe* 者 is used almost as if it was the Japanese topic marker *pa*. This text also reflects Japanese word order, with 'boatsmen lead' (舟人率) instead of grammatical Chinese: 率舟人. Furthermore, the two characters 是汝 near the end of the line on side A would be unnecessary in Chinese. More examples can be gleaned from the above passage, but what should be noted is the style of a middle-ranking courtier who is writing to another person of lower rank than himself. There is nothing imperial about this text.

Should we conclude that all graphs were written the same size, and this practice was later altered to make a distinction between 'text' and 'phonograms'? Granted, such a conclusion would be the opposite of the standard interpretation so far. Unfortunately, recent excavations of huge caches of wooden tablets simply prove that the dissemination of writing did not occur in a straight line. Tôno (1999:59) supplies the following fragment, discovered at the Asuka Ike ruins, dating from the end of the seventh century:

世牟止言而□
□本止飛鳥寺

The fragment reads: *semu to IPYITE ... ... MOTO to ASUKADERA...*, "(He) said he would do....originally...Asukadera..." It is difficult to properly interpret this fragment, but clearly this fragment preserves *both* forms, phonograms in large and small script. If there were rules for the size of phonograms used to represent morphology or particles, it appears that these rules were in flux until around the eighth century.

Another question that should be addressed is the evolution from Chinese writing to purely phonetic writing. This is a complicated issue, but it is clear from the earliest inscriptions that phonetic script was originally used to write toponyms and personal names. The Inariyama Tumulus sword inscription (early sixth century?) preserves personal

names and titles in phonetic script, as well as one place name (the name of the palace). When did the Japanese decide to represent certain words with phonetic script? The word *yama* 'mountain' could easily have been written in Chinese as 山, but also was written 耶麻 for special emphasis, or to avoid ambiguity.

Kojiki preserves many good examples of this style. Various words are often written in Chinese (like 吾 'I') in one place, and then written phonetically (和礼 *ware* 'I') in another for reasons that are not immediately clear. Writing a specific word in phonograms may have added emphasis, like italics in English. The traditional explanation is that the phonetic script allowed accurate recitation, but it is not clear why the orator (or narrator) would have trouble accurately articulating *ware*, whether written phonetically 和礼, or with a semantogram 吾, unless there was a competing word like *na* in the language at the time. My own conclusion at this point is that phonetic script was simply used for emphasis.

Next consider the following wooden tablet, discovered from a dig at the ancient capital of Nara:

目毛美須流安ヽ保連紀我許等乎志冝見賀毛美夜能宇知可礼弖
□

MEY mo myizu aru po MURAZI kiy ga koto wo sigeymyi kamo myiya no uti karete....

Tôno (1983:179) interprets this to mean, "Apo Muraji Kiy, whose eyes are also showing (his feelings?), alas, is noisy, and leaves the inner chambers of the palace...."

Okimori and Satô (1994:112) interpret this passage differently, taking into account the repeat sign above the graph 安. Their rendition is, "Po Muraji Kiy who also cannot see, alas, is noisy, and leaves the inner chambers of the palace...."

Interestingly, the word for 'eye' is written with a semantogram 目, but most of the rest of the sentence is composed in phonograms. This suggests that a word could be written either with a semantogram, or with a phonogram(s) according to the discretion of the writer. For example, many of the wooden tablets discovered so far are merely tags (tallies) attached to merchandise being given as tribute to the court. *Ayu* 'Japanese trout' is found written 鮎 on one tag, and 阿由 on another, once as a semantogram, once in phonograms (cf. Kotani 1986:204). We conclude that in the Asuka period clearly demarcated

lines between writing in semantograms, and phonograms blurred,[11] and a writer could spell a word with either. This is a phenomenon that persists in the present in Japan, illustrated by a letter the writer's sister-in-law once wrote in which the name of her daughter, Yurina, appears two different ways, once in *kanji* 友里菜, and once in *kana* ゆりな.

Finally, some of these wooden tablets have preserved a small window on the ancient life of scribbling, again showing that writing had already penetrated everyday life. Many wooden tablets were recycled, and later used for calligraphy practice. Satô (1997:451-454) includes several examples, where people have used these wooden tablets to practice their penmanship. One example is reproduced below (figure 1):[12]

絹繪綺練綾絛組
紐　　□□□縄
絹繪綾綺緬練組□縺□綿線□纏縄□□縄
絹絶繪綺緬綾縺組□纏綿線組□纏□絹繪緬綺綾□

Fig. 1. Calligraphy Practice

Here the person was practicing writing characters belonging to the 'thread' radical (*ito-hen*). In another case, these wooden tablets preserve jottings that are quite amusing, as the following example illustrates:

Side A　霧寒爾□豊継
　　閇久者牟也
Side B　久利久者也夜
　　久利久者□牟夜

The exact meaning of this is unclear, but it would appear that this means: "In the cold of the mist, Toyotsugu--will we eat 閇 (unclear meaning[13])? Will we eat chestnuts? Will we eat chestnuts?"

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[11] Granted, it could just as well be that there were as yet no clear lines between a phonetic representation, and one in semantograms, but this may be harder to prove.

[12] The original (Satô 1997:451-52) is, of course, written top to bottom, right to left, and I have simply turned this on its side.

[13] The cryptic graph 閇 is not found in Morohashi or *Kangxi zidian*. It is possible that 閇 is a simplified form of 閉. If this is true, then there are at least two possible interpretations for the second line. One, 閇 is a loan for 閉 (cf. Morohashi 1976.11:

Finally, even in the Asuka era, in the reign of Emperor Temmu, there are examples of writing almost entirely in phonograms. An example is found on a wooden tablet from the Asuka-ike ruins, as noted below (Kotani 1999:26):

Side A 止求止佐田目手和□
Side B □久於母閉皮

This spells *toku to saDAMEYte wa... ...ku omopeyba*, which probably means something like, "When deciding to explain (something), I...always think that...." This piece is merely a fragment, and I have assumed that 和 is a fragment of either *ware* or *wa* plus some particle. The lacuna of side B likely completes the infinitive of a stative verb. Regardless, the point here is that by about 675 almost purely phonetic writing was used in everyday life.

The orthographic system was used effectively by the Japanese in the Asuka and Nara periods. Phonetic script was used to avoid ambiguity, but was too cumbersome to use in longer texts. The cumbersome nature of purely phonetic writing is pointed out by Ô no Yasumaro in his preface to *Kojiki* (cf. Philippi 1968:43). The cumbersome nature of phonetic writing led to the gradual molding of hybrid Chinese. It is from this hybrid style that the writing style used to record imperial edicts and religious liturgies emerges. This style is later refined (though it is unclear when), with sinographs used to represent particles or verbal declension written in smaller script. The evolution of hybrid Chinese thus comes from a rather common, everyday use that has been refined. It is not the other way around.

Hybrid Chinese made recitation of important documents like imperial edicts and important religious liturgies easier. For our purposes, hybrid Chinese preserved various important phonological and morphological clues for linguists as well as literature specialists.

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736), and this represents OJ *pey*. The relevant line thus would be *pey kupamu ya*, "Will we fart?" The problem with this interpretation is that as far as we know *kup-* means 'bite, eat'. Unless there was an idiomatic phrase *pey kup-* 'to pass wind', this interpretation remains problematic. Two, the graph 閇 is a logograph used euphemistically. *Wamyôshô*, one of Japan's oldest extant Chinese encyclopedias records (1930.1:15ab), "玉莖 'The jeweled stalk.' The name for a man's genitals...In the vernacular, this graph (閇) is used for a man's genitals. The graph 開 is used for a woman's private parts." If this interpretation is valid, then the inscription takes on a more vulgar meaning, with *kuri* 'chestnuts' having two meanings.

These clues have not been fully exploited yet, and a comprehensive linguistic study of *norito* has not been undertaken to date. There are several reasons for such casual indifference to the linguistic value of these liturgies: a) *norito* are often viewed as originating from the Heian era rather than the Nara, so scholars assume these liturgies do not preserve the Old Japanese eight vowel system (*kô-otsu* distinction). b) The liturgies are primarily written in Chinese, thus obscuring the actual nature of the underlying Japanese. c) The very fact that the liturgies are written in Chinese infers that these religious texts have little native literary merit, because it is difficult to extract native Japanese from the text.

Before I actually undertake an analysis of the text, I will now attempt to demonstrate why these three points are of much less concern than most believe. My response to these concerns necessarily means that our discussion digress and deal with the issue of texts, because these are the actual artifacts that preserve the liturgies. Another reason that such a digression may be enlightening is because there are too many people who take printed texts at face value, forgetting that many assumptions underlie what an editor has selected for printing. One drawback with scholarship in general today is that much of the work is based on printed texts, and in too many cases, editors have altered texts or *modernized the orthography*. This problem is chronic in Japan.

2.2 The Issue of Texts

Scholars should naturally be concerned with texts, textual origins, and the method of collation and editing. It is a common tendency that when a reader uses a text, for example a modern printed version of *Kokin wakashû*, and sees poems written in *kana* with a few *kanji* interspersed, s/he is tempted to believe that what is on the printed page is what would be found if an actual handwritten manuscript was examined. This is far from the truth. In reality, there are many handwritten texts of *Kokinshû* which are written in a script that is a cursive form of *man'yôgana*. For example, a careful examiner would find *kokoro* 'heart' written not as こころ (as a block text in Iwanami has printed it), but a cursive form of 己己呂, which still preserves the original phonological values, *ko̲ko̲ro̲* (personal communication from Alexander Vovin, who examined a handwritten text in St. Petersburg, Russia).

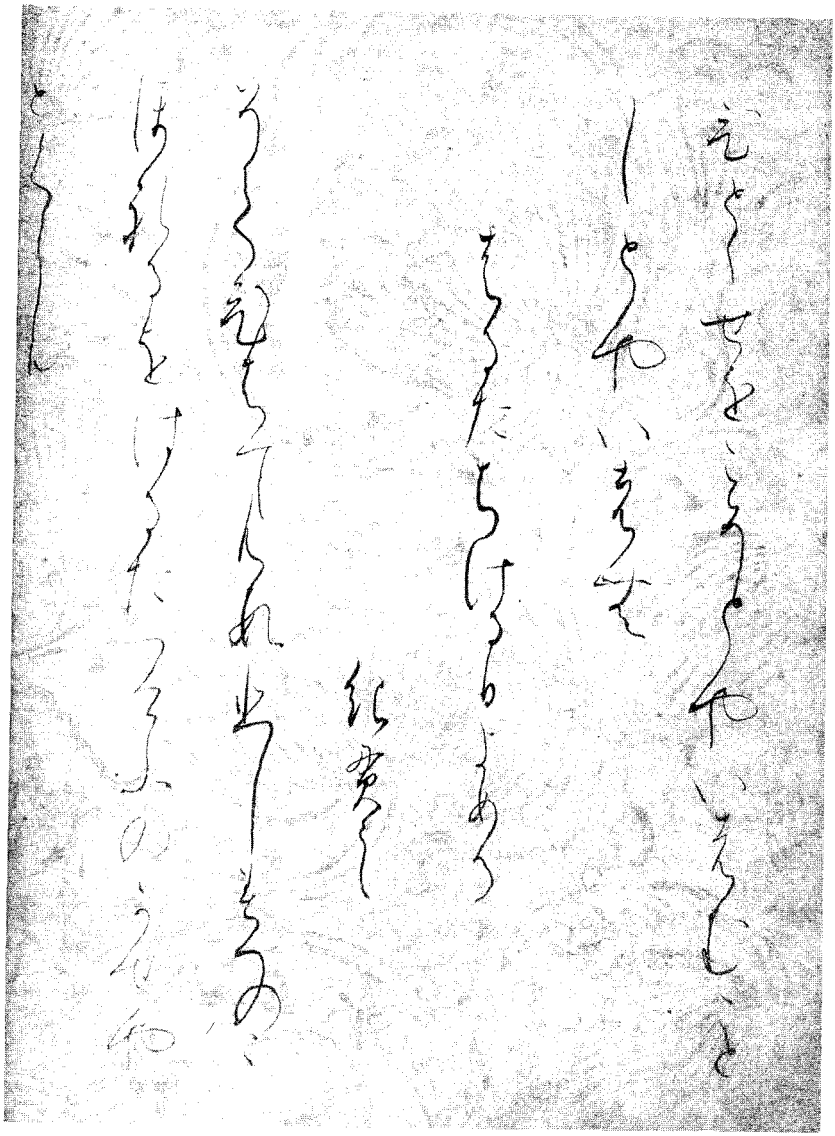

Fig. 2. Sample from *Kokinshû*

As a simple example, consider figure 2, a photocopy of the second poem in *Kokinshû* from a handwritten manuscript. The printed text in the Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei (Arai and Kojima 1989:19) has this poem transcribed as:

袖ひちてむすびし水のこほれるを春立けふの風やとくらむ

If we attempt to restore the original *kana* (meaning the Chinese graphs before being written in cursive form) from the original text in figure 2 (from the Gen'ei manuscript, ca. 1130), the line actually is written as:

曾天飛知天無数悲之身乃己保礼留遠波留太川介不乃可世也止久良无

As can be seen from this one textual example, the poem is written completely in phonograms, and there are no semantograms: 袖 *sode* 'sleeves', 水 *midu* 'water', 春 *faru* 'spring', 立 *tatu* 'stand', or 風 *kaze* 'wind'. Different manuscripts of *Kokinshû* may have a couple of these semantograms in the text,[14] but the point is that editors often take great liberties to facilitate easier comprehension. Loyalty to the text is often overridden by economic concerns. Thus, the reader must understand that in so many cases printed texts deviate from the handwritten manuscripts.

It is the editor's duty to handle these manuscripts with care, and any idiosyncrasies must be noted in the printed edition, or precious information will be lost. Before the actual manuscripts and texts of *norito* are discussed, a few important points about textual criticism must be mentioned to make the subsequent discussion coherent.

The purpose of textual analysis is to examine as many branches of a textual tree as exist, compare the variants (a term meaning differences in the composition of the elements that make up sentences, being words, spelling, and punctuation), and extract information that will allow the postulation of an earlier state of the text. If sufficient numbers of good manuscripts exist, then in almost all cases it is possible to posit the archetype--the text that the author originally wrote (actually a *state* that reflects a manuscript we theorize the author actually wrote).

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[14] For example, the Fujiwara Kiyosuke (ca. 1157) manuscript includes two graphs, *mizu* 水 and *faru* 春.

As a common rule, a certain text must first be selected for use as a standard against which all other texts are to be judged. Usually, the best text (best preserved, most widely circulated, or 'best' based on other criteria) is used as this starting point. From this initial step, a textual stemma is constructed, and from the stemma the archetype posited.

This stage of textual criticism is commonly called *recensio* (from the Latin meaning to review, and thus revise). The next step, *examinatio,* is to examine, and compare the variants within the various texts, and determine the authority of each. The third step, *divinatio*, is the use of textual data to emend errors found in the texts (posit what the original was before a certain error occurred). This can sometimes mean that a supposedly orthodox reading, or a reading that appears highly literary needs to be discarded. Melville's 'coiled fish' becoming 'soiled fish' is a famous case in point.[15] Using a complicated set of algorithms, variant readings are then judged to be either earlier or later than that in the standard text. The resulting *corrected* text is called the critical text (cf. Maas 1958:1-20; Williams and Bowers 1985:56).

Below is a simple example to illustrate how this works. Let us imagine that we are dealing with an imaginary text called *Faith and Government* that dates from the ninth century.[16] This is a treatise that has manuscripts preserved in six different (textual) branches, and was heavily quoted by a commentator in a seventh. That means that six major manuscripts and one minor one (the commentary cannot be considered primary because it is simply a quotation from the manuscript) are available for analysis. Let us label the six manuscripts one, two, three... and the commentary x for convenience. We will also use the popular edition, labeled the 'common text'. I will now present a single sentence from this imaginary work, using individual letters to represent actual words in this sentence. Comparing these texts and how each renders this one sentence, the following data are available:

Common text: absedf

One: absedf	Two: absdf
Three: absedf	Four: abspgf
Five: absedf	Six: acde
X: absdef	

[15] For this story, see Nichol (1949).

[16] Needless to say, the original title should be something like *Fed ond Cyningdōm.*

Several things can be gleaned from this important information. First, all manuscripts have ab as the first and second word, other than manuscript six, so we see that a scribal error appeared *later* in the sixth manuscript, suggesting that this part of the sentence (ab) is likely archetypal.

Now, let us say that we know from linguistic evidence that s is a newer spelling than a spelling preserved in another manuscript (like six). Using an example from English, let us say that 's' is *more*, while 'c' is *mâ* (the older, historical spelling of modern *more*). A knowledge of Anglo-Saxon spelling makes it clear that c is the older spelling, and some scribe in the history of copying a manuscript altered the spelling to reflect the (later) vernacular, perhaps according to context. This updated spelling occurred rather early in the textual history of the work (before the majority of texts had been copied), and only manuscript six escaped this error. On this evidence we can deduce that manuscript six belongs to a different branch of the textual stemma, and likely escaped many corruptions shared by the other manuscripts. This is critically important information.

Next there is also the problem of what appears to be inverted words. Consider the words (represented as) edf. If the word order of this language at an earlier stage had been different than at present, then a later copyist may have inverted the order to make sense of the passage. These two important facts would allow the textual scholar to infer that the archetype originally had this passage as abcdef. This is also borne out by the quote in the commentary, which shows that the spelling change c > s occurred earlier than the shift in word order (def > edf). Other variants in the various texts could be due to a number of factors, but most would be related to simple human error.

It is important for the textual editor to realize that manuscript six preserves the archetypal passage more or less intact, other than the second and final words having been lost in some stage of transmission. In the same vein, we now conclude that manuscript four has been the most corrupted. If a scholar intends to study this imaginary work, then it is clear that the popular edition can no longer be trusted. The texts need to be collated, and an eclectic text established. Manuscript six has been shown to be closer to the archetype, so it is a good candidate for the text to which variants should be compared. Before any study of our imaginary work is undertaken, a good critical text should be in hand. This simple exercise is intended to show that any single manuscript cannot, and should not, be trusted as the archetype.

This exercise hopefully has prepared the reader to consider the texts of *Engi shiki* and any other manuscript that contains *norito*. It should not be necessary to do the textual work on *norito*, because two collated editions already exist: Aoki (1978) and Torao (1991). The question is which one should we use? Or, can we trust either? To get an answer, a simple examination of the texts is still required.

Using the text of *norito* I will illustrate the importance of this initial step in scholarship--checking the texts--*even when the text is an alleged critical text*. Below is a small quote of part of the liturgies (from liturgy #2), taken from these two supposed critical texts, collated by scholars who are acknowledged specialists in the field:

Aoki (1978:14)	Torao (1991:253)
卿等乎毛	卿等乎母

These four graphs represent Japanese *mapetukimi tati wo mo* (minister-PLR-ACC-PT), "...the ministers also." The problem concerns the inclusive particle *mo*. Research has shown the inclusive particle in Old Japanese had a type B vowel, transcribed as *mo̲* (Arisaka 1932, Bentley 1997). The question then becomes, is the archetypal spelling, 母, preserved in the *norito* texts, or at least one branch of the textual stemma of our texts?

This is where, I believe, one of our two textual scholars has run afoul of an important pitfall. First, let us examine the collated texts. Aoki's purpose was to create an Ur-text of the liturgies (and nothing else of the Engi Procedures). To this end he has used the 1926 Kujô-ke manuscript of the Inari Shrine as his base text, to which he has compared the Urabe Kanenaga and Urabe Kanetsugu manuscripts, and the *Engi shiki* block print text (1978:35-36). Aoki has then relied on texts collated by Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga, and others.

Compare this choice of texts with that of Torao. The purpose of Torao's textual analysis was to recreate the archetype of the entire *Engi shiki*. Complete manuscripts of *Engi shiki* are rare, because most scribes only copied sections that interested them. The liturgies are contained in volume eight of the procedures, so that is where we will concentrate our examination. Torao's base text is the Kyôho printed text of 1723. He then compared this one text with many others. Regarding the collation of volume eight, Torao also used the Kujô-ke manuscript (Aoki's base text), the Urabe Kanenaga Norito, Kanetsugu, Naikaku Bunko, Bonshun, Hanawa, Bonshun extra, Tsuchimikado,

Inoue, Jôkyô, and Fujinami manuscripts (1991:24-32). I conclude that because Torao tried to collate all available manuscripts of *Engi shiki*, he was able to find more variations, and thus obtained more data to get closer to the archetype, while Aoki relied on the most well-known manuscripts only, and then elected to rely on later era block prints, which are less reliable. In the same vein, if our analysis above regarding the imaginary work had ignored manuscript six, we would not have been able to reconstruct c.

Aoki's choice of manuscripts limited his choices, as I see it, and prevented him from recreating a text as close to the archetype as Torao's. Because of this, I have relied on Torao's own text. When there have been errors, I have corrected the text myself according to the various texts. As a good example, for OJ *pey* Torao consistently has 閉, but looking at the various data, it seems clear to me that the archetype actually spelled this syllable with the variant graph 閇. Some may feel that I am 'splitting hairs', but consider what Williams and Abbot caution students of textual and bibliographic studies (1985:52), "The focus of textual criticism is on wording, not meaning."

Williams and Abbott (1985:53) record that the famous textual scholar, Fredson Bowers, once said, "To disbar critical judgment from the editorial process would be an act of madness." Perhaps Aoki has followed this principle, but I agree with the rebuttal to Bowers put forth by Williams and Abbott (ibid.), "Such judgment that defies or ignores bibliographical findings is madness too." When other information is available, it should be put to good use in textual editing.

Concerning the problem noted above regarding spelling and our imaginary text, all but one manuscript had the spelling with s, the odd-man-out manuscript having c. "The law of majority rules" is often helpful, but if the scholar has access to linguistic knowledge--knowing the historical spelling--then proper judgment is no longer an issue. Accordingly six witnesses have preserved the spelling *more*, and only one has the spelling *mâ*, and *if linguistic knowledge is not brought to bear on the problem*, it is clear which word textual rules alone would force us to choose as original. This has been the problem with recent textual work on *norito*. Consider a flagrant example from Aoki's work, reproduced below from the first liturgy, the *Toshigoi no matsuri*:

皇神等爾初穂波穎爾毛汁爾毛、

I translate this as: "To the Imperial deities the first fruits [of the rice harvest], even the grain, and even the beverage [made from it]..." Aoki then notes that several manuscripts have 毛 (the particle *mo*) written as 母 (1978:9-12), showing that he viewed 毛 to be the original spelling. But is this really the archetypal spelling? Sheer numbers favor 毛, but 母 is the etymological spelling and should be restored to the critical text, especially since it can be reconstructed from other manuscripts. Aoki opts for the democratic method, and views 毛 as the majority winner. Regarding a strict adherence to textual rules, the *Kokushi taikei* text is more faithful than Aoki's. *Kokushi taikei* has 爾母 in the second group. Torao's research follows *Kokushi taikei* (1991:252).

Therefore, I have used both *Kokushi taikei* and Torao's text, and have created my own critical text (found in appendix one). To the untrained eye it may seem banal to belabor this point, but with an accurate critical text of *norito* in hand, an interesting orthographic point becomes clear. There is an unmistakable split showing two different chronological groups of *norito*. Granted, this is not clearly a new discovery of my own. Consider what *Jidai betsu kokugo daijiten* says (Omodaka et al. 1967:884),

> There are new and old liturgies. Generally, *norito* developed along with the rituals of festivals, and have an ancient origin, having been presented to successive rulers (emperors) at their first fruit [ascension] festivals, so there is sufficient evidence for scholars to believe the liturgies are old.

The editors then believe the liturgies to be composed of material from the Asuka (672-694), Fujiwara (694-710), and into the Nara (710-784) eras. Other liturgies are believed to date from the Heian era. Unfortunately, no concrete evidence is provided to tell the reader on what basis the liturgies were dated, and what specific liturgies date from what era. It is all left to the specialists. Perhaps the editors of *Jidai betsu kokugo daijiten* have merely posited a liturgy from each imperial ascension since Emperor Temmu. But which liturgies belong to which eras?

First, there is a clear split into two groups, because the first fifteen liturgies are related to the court, while the next twelve belong to the Ise Shrine. These liturgies were then arranged chronologically, according to what time of year each ceremony was performed, with the first

liturgy performed in the second month of the year, and the last performed near the end of the eleventh month. Having conducted my own textual analysis of the liturgies, I found a definite split in the orthography. I believe that these two groups of liturgies came from two different sources (perhaps the imperial library, and the Ise Shrine archives), the imperial liturgies having come from a very old document. The etymological spellings in the liturgies reflect this split. I then checked the etymological spellings of various particles and the conjugation of verbs and adjectives (what I term stative verbs).

The first fifteen liturgies (from the *Toshigoshi no matsuri* to *Iwaido no matsuri*) date from the late eighth century or earlier, while the liturgies starting with Ise shrine date from a period later than that, perhaps after 750 CE. There are very few misspellings in the former, while there are precious few correct, etymological spellings in the latter. Because of this, I have decided to concentrate my analysis on only the first fifteen liturgies. There is also one other *norito* in Book 16 of *Engi shiki*, attached to the Office of Divination, and I have included it, based on the criteria of etymological spellings.[17]

Now consider what Takeda (1985:373) concludes on internal data compared with historical evidence. He states that considering the toponyms found in the first liturgy, the liturgies were first put on paper in late Asuka (672-710). However, a few other liturgies like the Hirano, Kudo, and Furuseki belong to shrines that *are believed to have come into existence in the early Heian era*, so naturally these liturgies date from early Heian (1985:373-74). In spite of this evidence, I believe these textual data do not lie, and because of the paucity of spelling mistakes, the essential foundation of these liturgies dates from Asuka. The last liturgy from the Office of Divination appears to date from the beginning years of the eighth century. Perhaps only the toponyms were altered at a later date.

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[17] For criteria I used the OJ spelling tradition. I found the following in Na no sai (#16):

Syllable	# Correct	# Incorrect
kyi	1	0
so	1	0
two	1	0
to	1	0
no	4	0
pyi	3	0
pey	1	0

2.3 Types of Liturgies

Nishimuta (1987:23-32) classifies the liturgies into nine different categories: 1) full-fledged liturgies where offerings are presented to the deities; 2) prayer rituals with no offerings; 3) prayers to distant deities; 4) expurgation prayers; 5) prayers of offering; 6) liturgies offered by the emperor; 7) liturgies offered by imperial representatives; 8) burial prayers, and 9) imperial edicts (*semmyô*). It should be noted that this classification is based primarily on Shintô practices from the last century, and does not necessarily reflect ancient practices.

The section of liturgies in *Engi shiki* opens with the following words:

> At all times, regarding *norito* for religious festivals: the Imbe Uji recite the *norito* for the festivals of *Ootono* and *Mikado*....At all times, at annual festivals for which *norito* are not included here, the *kambe*, according to established precedent, recite. As for *norito* for the extraordinary festivals, the officials in charge make a selection in advance of the festival to suit the occasion and present this to the *kan* [the Great Council of State] for a decision, which is subsequently carried out (Bock 1972:65).

This makes it clear that there was a standard form for the liturgies, and this was apparently written down and stored in the imperial archives. If there was a standard form that would suggest that originally the liturgies were composed in one of several styles, with a template preserved in written form, and this template was adjusted according to the circumstances.

An interesting question about the liturgies is whether these are song (loosely 'poetry'), or prose. This query can be answered by showing how the liturgies evolved. Below are two examples: one is a fragment of a liturgy found in *Kojiki*, and a complete liturgy preserved in *Nihon shoki*. Both likely date from the early seventh century. The *norito* fragment appears in the first book of *Kojiki*, a liturgy about fire offered when Ôkuni Nushi deferred to the Imperial Descendant (Ninigi no Mikoto), paving the way for imperial rule to spread throughout Yamato.

kono wa ga / kyireru piy pa	This fire that I start by drilling
takamapara nipa	will burn, and the soot will ascend

kamumusupyi no /	
myioya no myikoto no	up to the high plain of heaven
todaru amey no /	
nipyi no susu no	where the parent of Kamu Musubi
yatuka taru made /	
takyiagey	resides in a shining new residence.
tuti no sita pa	And under the earth
soko-tu ipane ni /	
takyi-korasite	the fire will burn and solidify
takunapa no	the rock foundation underneath.
tipyiro napa utipapey	The mulberry ropes of a thousand
turi suru ama no	leagues will be stretched out,
kuti opo no /	
wopata suzukyi	and the divers who fish
sawa sawa ni	will catch large-mouthed perch
pyikyi-yose-ageyte	in far-flung nets, thrashing in the
sakyitakey no	water as they are pulled in to shore.
towowo towowo ni	On strips of bamboo the fish
amey no managupyi /	will hang heavy, and be
tatematuru	presented as sacrificial food to heaven.

This liturgy praises the fire that is lit to cook the fish (offering), and the smoke that carries the scent of the fish is said to ascend up to heaven to delight and please the deities. Thus, praising the fire indirectly acts as a performance of appeasement. The meter of this liturgy is close to that of poetry (or ancient song) with a loose adherence to the 5-7-5 meter. The compiler/author of *Kojiki* did not view this performance as song, however, because the liturgy (performance) is prefaced with the words 檳[18]出火云 "And when you drill to light the fire, *say* [these words]." Song recorded in *Kojiki* is always prefaced with the words 歌曰 "(s/he) *sang*, saying".

I essentially agree with Konishi (1984:207-08) that *norito* mirrors Japanese poetry by relying on specific diction for a desired effect (his theory about *kotodama*). It is Konishi who uses the phrase 'verse-prose' (1984:301), because *norito* seem to be midway between

[18] Onoda Mitsuo (1977:214, fn. 9) notes that various manuscripts have different though related characters for 'drill'. After having examined the manuscripts, Onoda believes the archetype to have been 檳 or 擯. Various manuscripts with 鑽 are later corruptions.

the two genres. I find this explanation somewhat unsatisfactory, however, as noted below.

Before we examine what the liturgies consist of (poetry, song, something else), consider the second liturgy, which appears in the Emperor Kenzô section of *Nihon shoki*. This section records a blessing on a new dwelling. This liturgy is set at night, during a banquet, cast with two imperial sons who were taken into the countryside as children to preserve their lives, their identities hidden. In this scene the two brothers are serving as torch-bearers. People at the banquet take turns dancing, and then someone in the crowd asks the two lowly torch-bearers to dance for them. One son (Prince Okye 億計王子) dances, and then the other son, the oldest (Prince Wokye 弘計王子), stands and chants the words noted below.[19]

tukyi-taturu /	
wakamurwo kadune	The base of the rope knots and
tukyi-taturu pasira pa	pillars of this newly raised edifice
kono ipye no kyimyi no	of youth will appease the heart
myikokoro no /	
sidumari nari	of the patriarch of this house.
tori-aguru / mune utupari pa	The raised roof-beams will be
kono ipye no kyimyi no	a sign of prosperity of the heart
myikokoro no / payasi nari.	of the patriarch of this house.
tori-okyeru papeki pa	The strong rafters which have
kono ipye no kyimyi no	been placed will set in order
myikokoro no /	
totonopori nari	The heart of the patriarch of this house.
tori-okyeru eturi pa	The tight crosspieces will bring
kono ipye no kyimyi no	peace to the heart
myikokoro no /	
tapyiraka naru nari	of the patriarch of this house.
tori-yuperu / tunakadura pa	The tightly wound cords around
kono ipye no kyimyi no	the beams will lengthen the days

[19] The text is written in almost pure Chinese script, but phonetic notes are scattered here and there. When the value of a vowel is unclear, I have left it unmarked. This liturgy is important, because it shows that originally these prayers were written in Chinese, and there must have been a phonetic transcription to decode the prayer. For example, *Nihon shoki* preserves the following note: 美飲喫哉、此云于魔羅儞烏野羅甫屡柯倭 "美飲喫哉, this is read *umara ni wo yarapuru ka wa* (How they deliciously partake [of the food and drink])."

myiinoti no / katamari nari	of the patriarch of this house.
tori-pukyeru kaya pa	The thatch of the roof
kono ipye no kyimyi no	represents the abundant treasures
myitomyi no / amari nari	of the patriarch of this house.
idumwo pa nipyipari	Izumo is a land rich in fertile fields.
nipyipari no / totukasine wo asarake ni /	From the long, slender ears of rice
kameyru opomyikyi umara ni wo /	*sake* is brewed in shallow jars.
yarapuru kawa waga kwodomo.	Oh, how to drink that *sake*, my young friends.
asipyikiy no / kono katayama ni sawosika no /	Taking a horn from a buck
tunwo sasageyte waga mapyisureba,	on this stout mountainside, I will perform the buck dance.
umasakey / weka no iti ni atapyi mote kapanu.	And this sweet homemade *sake* is not bought for any price
tanasoko mo yarara ni uti-agey-tamapyitu,	at the market of Weka. With the crisp striking of hands
waga tokoyotati.	we drink this, my eternal ones.

Both liturgies are written in classical Chinese, with phonetic readings scattered here and there to tell the reader (or orator) how a specific word is to be pronounced. Interestingly, this format changed little until the late Asuka period when classical Chinese was altered, by inserting mnemonic hints into the structure, as noted in the beginning. I call this chanting, as opposed to singing, because after Prince Wokye had said (chanted) the words noted above, he recited a poem (sang a song, NS 83). Therefore, the compilers of *Nihon shoki* made a distinction between the chanting of words, and the singing of a song. If one counts the syllables in the liturgy above, one can see a pattern that resembles the 5-7 repetition of *waka*.

I postulate that the religious functions are much older than the literary composition--or composition of song--and later song is actually derived from the religious functions. Because poetry was used more in daily life than the religious utterances, I theorize that poetry settled into a regular pattern (5-7-5), while the liturgies did not. This evolution is diagrammed below (figure 3).

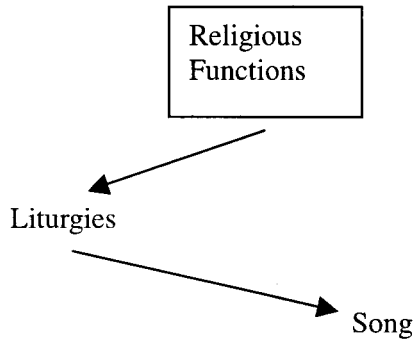

Fig. 3. Evolution of Liturgies and Song

The liturgies in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* are comprised of auspicious words to appease the hearts and minds of the deities, as well as the listener. These words were expanded and altered for various functions and rituals. Therefore, these two liturgies are good examples of the archetype of the religious prayers in ancient Japan.

2.4 Interlinear Readings

It must be said in the beginning that the proper reading of many words in the liturgies is open to some interpretation, because the text is mainly Chinese. Thus, scholars must resort to the interlinear *kana* readings (*katakana* script inserted next to the Chinese characters). On the surface this appears to be very tenuous evidence, but as will be demonstrated, these interlinear readings are of credible value.

When the liturgies were first committed to paper (or wood or bamboo), the writer used classical Chinese mixed with phonetic script (*man'yôgana*), as previously noted. It appears that not long after this, interlinear readings were introduced into the text to guarantee that even the Chinese sections of the text could be recited in Japanese. Almost all the surviving readings are written in *katakana*, but there is evidence in the Kanetsugu manuscript that the readings originally were written in *man'yôgana*. Hasegawa (1976:52) has gleaned the following data about *man'yôgana* used in the interlinear readings, illustrating how the orthography evolved over time, and was modified and simplified through repeated stages of transmission (figure 4):

Original	Altered to	Final Product
左	七	サ (sa)
禰	子	ネ (ne)
和	禾	ワ (wa)

Fig. 4. Evolution of Interlinear Glosses

There are even places where Chinese script is used to elicit the proper Japanese reading. For example, the graph 王 is glossed as 大君, meaning that the graph 'king' was to be read *opokimi* 'great lord'. The Kanetsugu manuscript lends evidence that the interlinear readings are also very archaic.

2.5 Orthography

As mentioned in the beginning on why this study analyzes only the first fifteen liturgies (plus one), the spelling orthography shows that the extant liturgies fall into two large categories. The category that interests me is the one dating from the Asuka or early Nara eras. The method I have used to determine which liturgies belong to which categories is rather simple: examine the orthography and the etymological spellings. This section supplies concrete data, illustrating why I divide the language of the liturgies into two groups. Below is a chart of all the phonograms used in the sixteen liturgies analyzed in this study (figure 5).

a	ka	sa	ta	na	pa	ma	ya	ra	wa
阿	加我可賀	佐左	多太陀	那奈	波婆	萬麻末真	八夜	良	
i	ki	si	ti	ni	pi	mi		ri	wi
0 1 伊 2	伎支岐企 貴木義	志 自之	知千智市遅	爾	比日 備火	美彌御三		利 理里	井
u	ku	su	tu	nu	pu	mu	yu	ru	
宇	久具	須	豆津都頭	奴	部 布夫	牟武	由湯	留流	

Fig. 5. All Phonograms in the Liturgies

e	ke	se	te	ne	pe	me	ye	re	we
0		勢	弖天	禰尼			江叡	禮	
1	家計祁				邊 幣	賣咩女			
2	気				部 閇	米			
					倍				
o	ko	so	to	no	po	mo	yo	ro	wo
0					保穂				乎小
1	古胡	蘇	斗戸度	野		毛	夜	漏魯	
			刀土渡						
2	許	曾	止等登	能 乃		母	与	呂	
				之					

Fig. 5. All Phonograms in the Liturgies (Cont.)

The numbers one and two in the left column of the chart represent the type A (*kô*) or type B (*otsu*) classification of phonograms. 'Zero' is used to show that some syllables were not divided into two groups, or the distinction had already merged by the time of the composition of the liturgies.

It will be noticed from this chart that there are a sufficient number of phonograms used in the liturgies to allow us to reach several conclusions. One, the material does not rely on a single author or source, but many. In transcribing the name of the important deity Kamirwogyi, three different spellings are used: 神漏伎・神魯企・神漏岐 and this name is even misspelled once as 神漏義.

It can be shown that the orthography does have one important point of homogeneity, and that is that the various authors knew the etymological spellings, and this is clear from the great abundance of proper spellings. What unetymological spellings remain are likely due to human error. The next chart (figure 6) outlines the twelve major phonological groups, the number of times each phonogram is used, and how many times the spellings are either etymological (right) or unetymological (wrong).

There are 15 non-etymological spellings. The number of etymological spellings is 820, and the percentage of correct spellings is 98.17%. Of course because of the high ratio of etymological spellings of *to* and *no* (case markers), some may distrust these figures, claiming these data are somewhat misleading. Even if we drop these two phonograms from the calculations, the figures of accurate, etymological spellings remain impressive: 299:15 (95%).

Type A	Correct	Wrong	Type B	Correct	Wrong
kyi	41	1	kiy	11	0
kye	2	1	key	19	0
kwo	3	0	ko	9	0
swo	2	0	so	8	0
two	11	0	to	161	0
nwo	0	0	no	360	0
pyi	52	0	piy	4	2
pye	12	3	pey	32	0
myi	23	1	miy	0	0
mye	13	0	mey	7	0
mwo	4	3	mo	21	0
ywo	1	0	yo	1	4
rwo	21	0	ro	2	0

Fig. 6. Number of Etymological Spellings in the Liturgies

Type A	kyi	kye	kwo	swo	two	nwo	pyi
Correct	36	8	5	6	1	1	28
Wrong	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Type B	kiy	key	ko	so	to	no	piy
Correct	11	12	20	1	33	70	6
Wrong	0	0	0	0	1	3	0

Type A	pye	myi	mye	mwo	ywo	rwo
Correct	5	48	0	2	1	1
Wrong	1	0	2	2	0	0
Type B	pey	miy	mey	mo	yo	ro
Correct	11	1	0	26	26	9
Wrong	0	0	0	18	3	5

Fig. 7. Number of Etymological Spellings in *Kakyô hyôshiki*

Impressive though these figures are, these data are still difficult for the reader to deal with because there is nothing to compare these against. To make these figures easier to comprehend, I conducted a cursory

survey of the etymological spelling of poetry found in Fujiwara Hamanari's *Kakyô hyôshiki* (歌経標式, ca. 772).[20]

This work is mainly a compilation of older poetry, and mirrors the state of affairs of *Engi shiki*, being a collection of material from various reigns. By the time of *Kakyô hyôshiki*'s compilation, most of the type B syllables had merged with type A, aside from *kwo* / *ko̲*, which do not appear to have merged until just before 900.[21] A survey of the phonograms of the poetry quoted in *Kakyô hyôshiki* yields the following chart (figure 7).

The etymological spelling ratio for *Kakyô hyôshiki* is still quite impressive, with 37 mistakes and 331 etymological spellings, for an etymological spelling rate of 88.8%. But consider the following trend in the spelling errors in *Kakyô hyôshiki* that does not appear in the liturgies. While neither the liturgies or *Kakyô hyôshiki* make any attempt to distinguish between two earlier syllables that later merged to become *po* (cf. Bentley 1997)[22], the liturgies have an impressive ratio of etymological spellings when transcribing the two varieties of *mo*. Regarding the spelling of *mo*, type A *mwo* is spelled etymologically four times for 100% accuracy. Type B *mo̲* is spelled 24 times with three misspellings, yielding 89% etymological spelling, a very impressive rate, especially when we consider that the liturgies under consideration are preserved in a record from the tenth century.

Kakyô hyôshiki, on the other hand, shows clear confusion when transcribing both types of *mo*, type A being 50% (2:2) and type B 69% (26:18). If these two phonograms are eliminated from the calculations, then *Kakyô hyôshiki* preserves an etymological spelling ratio of 94.4% (303:17). This parallels the ratio found in the liturgies. In other words, what we have done here is eliminate spellings that the author(s) would likely have not known. An error ratio of plus minus 5% is retained to

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[20] See Hirazawa et al. 1993.

[21] I have been told that the *kô-otsu* distinction of /ko/ may have persisted a little longer, because the distinction still exists in *Kokinshû* (Alexander Vovin, p.c.).

[22] Both the liturgies and *Kakyô hyôshiki* exclusively use 保 to transcribe *po*. This can represent type A *pwo*, and if we assume that its usage in the liturgies is used for this, then 保 etymologically spells *pwo* 33% (1:2). This same phonogram appears in *Kakyô hyôshiki* 13 times, and there are two etymological spellings, two etymologically unclear ones, and 9 mistakes for a dismal etymological spelling ratio. I seriously doubt, however, that 保 was used to represent *pwo* by the late Asuka period. It merely was used to transcribe *po*.

reflect human error in recording or transmitting a copy of a manuscript.

This small exercise strongly suggests that the sixteen liturgies under analysis date from an era when Asuka era Japanese with its eight vowels (or rhymes, as Miyake notes [1999:6, fn. 10]) was still preserved in almost all phonological positions, other than the merger of an earlier distinction between *pwo* and *po̲*.[23] Two obvious conclusions can be drawn from this simple exercise: 1) the sixteen liturgies are possibly much older than originally thought, and 2) the grammar and lexicon of the liturgies are also of great antiquity. Therefore, a description of the language of *norito* has deeper import than simple translations of the liturgies have so far shown. This spelling orthography will also serve as a first step toward a broader description of the important language of Old Japanese, allowing us to divide OJ into two stages, Early Old Japanese and Late Old Japanese.

[23] As Bentley 1997 makes clear, *Kojiki* used 本 to represent *pwo*, and 富 for *po̲*. It is also noted that this usage had to predate Middle Chinese. Starostin (1989:677, 711) shows that Late Old Chinese for these two characters is: 本 *pə̄n* and 富 *pəw*. Coblin (1994:350) reconstructs **pon*, with an obvious rounded vowel.

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGY

3. Phonology

As noted previously, the spelling tradition preserved in the sixteen liturgies in our database provides important evidence that the language of the liturgies is from the Old Japanese era, when the language still had eight 'vowels'.[1] While the textual material in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* preserves one of the oldest strains of the language, the liturgies preserve what is perhaps the oldest strain of a specific style of Old Japanese--prayer diction.

3.1 Vowels

Ever since the days of Hashimoto (1950:105-199), scholars have known that Old Japanese had more vocalic values than later stages of the language. What those vowels actually were, however, has been a matter of much debate. Many Japanese scholars have romanized the eight vowels as follows (cf. Miller 1971:50; Ôno et al. 1994:9): a i ï u e ë o ö.

This notation has functioned more as a transcription of Old Japanese than as an actual phonetic representation of the individual vocalic values. With the work of Lange (1973), Whitman (1985), Martin (1987), Unger (1993) and others, the following notation (now commonly called Yale romanization[2]) has gained wider usage: a yi iy u ye ey wo o̲.

This refined notation is intended to show that the type A front vowels were palatal, and type B non-back were non-palatal. The type

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[1] As noted in the previous chapter, I will continue to call these vowels, though clearly some of these are diphthongal in origin.

[2] The difference in orthography between the pioneering work of Lange (1973) and Yale romanization is that Lange has /l/ for /r/, and /j/ for /y/. Lange also does not underline *otsu-rui* /o/, or use off-glides (thus kji and ki, while Yale romanization has kyi and kiy). There are other differences, but I will ignore those for now.

A back vowels were more rounded than the type B (cf. Martin 1987:49-50). Whether the linguist intends to posit a syllabic structure of CyV or CwV, as Unger (1993:27-30) suggests, is a different problem. I do not believe that these glides need to be posited as actual phonemes in the syllabic structure of Old Japanese, because of phonotactic constraints (Mathias, p.c.). Thus, while this Yale notation is closer to representing what the actual vowels of Old Japanese were, it is a phonemic representation. It would be interesting to see what the OJ orthography has to tell us about the actual phonetic values of the vowels.

To find the values of the vowels, we will first use the phonological values of reconstructed Chinese, because these sinographs were mapped onto the Japanese syllables. There has been some criticism in the past regarding this method of using earlier stages of Chinese to discover the earlier phonological values of Japanese. Miller soundly condemns this method, noting (1975:194),

> If we follow Pierson and Lange, we are asked to turn around in our steps and to use these same Chinese findings, incorporating as they do significant amounts of Japanese data, in order to solve historical problems in these same Japanese materials.

The problem with circularity is a real one, and we must avoid it. We have accomplished this by using real data (as opposed to relying solely on reconstructed data). Thus, we will also appeal to Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Korean data. If these two different strains of Chinese pronunciations preserve similar phonological data, then we can postulate with greater certainty what the Japanese vowels may have been. As a simple example, first consider this criticism from Miller (1975:197),

> ...[F]ar more importantly, such a formation directly contradicts everything that we can learn about the OJ vocalism by internal reconstruction within OJ itself, where it is clear that the *otsu* OJ *e* (usually written *ë* when using romanization, both in Japan and in the West) is a later development from a sequence *a* + *i*, and hence almost surely had a i̯-glide, but a glide that came after, not before, the nuclear vowel....

Consider two graphs which *spell otsu* e, and the corresponding SV and SK data: OJ *key* 開 SV khai and SK koy, and OJ *mey* 梅 SV mai, SK moy. It should be noted that /o/ in the Middle Korean transcription is phonetically [ə]. Miller is right about the phonology of OJ *e*, and these data from the Sino-Xenic pronunciations preserved in these two languages show that there is an i̯-glide, and it does come after the nuclear vowel.

Miller also has hard words for Pulleyblank (1975:195, fn. 3) and his reconstructions, but it is interesting to note that Pulleyblank's work actually supports Miller's claims. The reconstructions from Pulleyblank's lexicon for the above two graphs are: 開 k^həj and 梅 məj. These reconstructions also show an off-glide. This simple example strongly suggests that Miller's criticism about circularity is valid, and steps must be taken to avoid it, but his vituperation of Lange's methodology has not disproved the essential results. On a different score, Miller is also on the mark about the difficulty of reconstructing the pronunciation of Old Japanese, but as the example above has shown, it is *not* "hopeless to attempt to recover the OJ pronunciation of any historical period" (1975:196). This exercise shows that an analysis with innovative data needs to be redone.

Below I conduct a simple analysis of the graphs used in the liturgies to illustrate what vowels (and the phonetic value of each) I believe existed in Old Japanese.[3] These results will then be contrasted against an elementary comparison of the oldest strata of orthography preserved in *Nihon shoki*. A cursory analysis of graphs used to represent the OJ vowels /a/ and /u/ shows little discrepancy. Thus, my initial analysis below will examine only the vowels where scholars have posited a *kô-otsu* distinction. The analysis will juxtapose the various reconstructions of the individual characters (Early Middle Chinese [EMC] and Old Northwest Chinese [ONWC]) against two Sino-Xenic strains, the oldest strain of Sino-Japanese (Go'on) and Sino-Vietnamese (SV).[4] I have relied on Pulleyblank (1991) for EMC,

[3] The following discussion has benefited greatly from various discussions with Marc Miyake between the years of 1996 and 1998.

[4] Samuel E. Martin coined the term 'Sino-Xenic' as a label for Sino-X (Sino-Japanese, Sino-Korean, Sino-Vietnamese and so on). Pulleyblank (1984) appears to have been one of the first linguists to notice the importance of SV in reconstructing earlier stages of Chinese. Marc Miyake is the first to have actually compiled a large amount of data showing that SV is important for reconstructing earlier stages of Chinese, as well as elucidating the phonetic value of the *kô-otsu*

Graph	Type	ONWC	EMC	GO	SV
伎	kyi	*gie	gi	gi	kỹ
企	kyi	*khie	k^hji	ki	xi
貴	kiy	*kui	kuj	kuwi	quy
比	pyi	*pii	pji	fi	bỉ
備	piy	*bi	bi	bi	bi
家	kye	*kä	kɛ:	ke	gia
計	kye	*kei	kɛj	ke	kê
気	key	*khi	k^hij	ke	khí
邊	pye	*pen	pɛn	fen	biên
幣	pye	*biei	bjiaj	be	phu
閇	pey	*pei	pɛj	fai	bê
倍	pey	*bɑi	bəj	be	bộ
賣	mye	*mëi	mɛ:j	me	mai
咩	mye	*me	mi	---	---
米	mey	*mei	mɛj	mai	mễ
古	kwo	*ko	kɔ	ko	cồ
胡	kwo	*ho	ɣɔ	ko	hồ
許	ko	*hø	xiə	ko	hứ
斗	two	*tou	təw	tu	dẩu
刀	two	*tɑu	taw	tau	dao
止	to	*tsə	tɕɨ	si	chỉ
等	to	*təŋ	təŋ	tou	dẳng
毛	mwo	*mɑu	maw	mou	mao
母	mo	*mou	məw	mu/mo	mẫu
漏	rwo	*lou	ləw	ru	lâu
魯	rwo	*lo	lɔ	ru	lô
呂	ro	*lø	liə	ro	lữ

Fig. 8. OJ Vowels and Sino-Xenic Data

distinction in OJ (cf. Miyake 1995, 1996, 1999). SV is important for our discussion, because Vietnamese historically had a rich vocalism, and preserved various otherwise lost distinctions of Old Chinese. According to a study conducted by Han (1966:7, 9), Vietnamese has eleven simple vowel phonemes, and the Hanoi dialect has six tones, while the Saigon dialect has five tones. Reconstructions of Proto-Viet-Muong also have eleven simple vocalic phonemes (Thompson 1976:1150). Such a structure made it easier for the ancient Vietnamese (Annamese) to make a one-to-one match of Chinese phones to Vietnamese phones.

Coblin (1994) for ONWC,[5] and Mineya (1972) for SV. The Sino-Japanese readings are given in the oldest form available (*kyû kanazukai*) to reflect the earliest sounds (since orthographic reform has changed some *go'on* spellings). Results of this analysis appear in figure 8.

Graph	Type	ONWC	EMC	GO	SV
支	kyi	*kie	tɕia	si	chi
耆	kyi	*gji	gji	gi	kỳ
枳	kyi	*kie	tɕi	si	chỉ
紀	kiy	*kiə	kɨ	ki	kỷ
奇	kiy	*ge	giə	ki	ki, kỳ
幾	kiy	*ki	kɨj	ke	cơ
比	pyi	*pii	pji	fi	tỉ
卑	pyi	*pie	pjiə	fi	ti
臂	pyi	*pie	pjiə	fi	tí
被	piy	*be	biə	bi	bị
備	piy	*bi	bi	bi	bi
祁	kye	*gi	gji	gi	kỳ
家	kye	*kä	kɛ:	ke	gia
計	kye	*kei	kɛj	ke	kê
気	key	*khi	k^hɨj	ke	khí
開	key	*khɑi	k^həj	ke	khai
戒	key	*këi	kəij	ke	giới
弊	pye	*biei	bjiaj	be	phu
覇	pye	*pä	paɨ	fe	bá
幣	pye	*biei	bjiaj	be	phu
閇	pey	*pei	pɛj	fai	bê
陪	pey	*bɑi	bəj	bai	bồi
沛	pey	---	p^haj	fai	bái
古	kwo	*ko	kɔ	ko[6]	cồ
故	kwo	*ko	kɔ	ko	cố
固	kwo	*ko	kɔ	ko	cố

Fig. 9. List of Important Graphs in *Nihon shoki*

[5] I take Miyake's criticism of Coblin's Late Middle Chinese reconstructions seriously (1999:372-378), so I have only given Coblin's reconstructions of ONWC, and have not used his data for LMC.

[6] Many Chinese-Japanese character dictionaries state that the *go'on* of 古 and 故 is *ku*, but I have not been able to find a single compound with these characters where the reading is *ku*. I have thus left the *go'on* reading as *ko*.

Graph	Type	ONWC	EMC	GO	SV
居	ko	*kø	kɨə	ko	cư
虚	ko	*hø	$k^hɨə$	ko	hư
去	ko	*khø	$k^hɨə$	ko	khứ
用	ywo	*iuoŋ	juawŋ	yuu	dụng
庸	ywo	*iuoŋ	juawŋ	yuu	dung
余	yo	*iø	jɨa	yo	dư
譽	yo	*iø	jɨa	yo	dự
予	yo	*iø	jɨa	yo	dự
漏	rwo	*lou	ləw	rou	lâu
魯	rwo	*lo	lɔ	ro	lố
呂	ro	*lø	lɨð	ro	lữ
慮	ro	*lø	lɨð	ro	lự

Fig. 9. List of Important Graphs in *Nihon shoki* (Cont.)

It is clear that each graph used to transcribe a specific Japanese syllable used a certain Chinese syllable to make the distinction. There is some apparent vocalic confusion, but considering that the orthography as a whole was imported into Japan in several stages over the course of two centuries, we know that various strata of characters have become intermixed.

Compare these data in figure 8 with data from *Nihon shoki*, listed in figure 9. I have selected *Shoki* as my orthographic material, because enough philological work has already been done on the text (Nishimiya 1970; Mori 1991) to show that certain sections of the orthography are older than others. According to this analysis I have selected characters from the oldest section of the text for my analysis. Since it is not my intention to reconstruct the entire orthographic system of Old Japanese, I only supply data for two series of syllables, corresponding, respectively, to three pairs among the six vowels.

These data are sufficient, I believe, to make my point clear. The terminology traditionally used by linguists--'type one' and 'type two'--is misleading, because it suggests, anachronistically, that the two 'vowels' were essentially the same kind with different coloring, when in reality these are completely different vowels. I retain the terminology, however, because it is widely used for framing such discussions.

This simple exercise illustrates that there was a difference in the two kinds of vowels, a difference that allows us to postulate the following vowel system for Old Japanese (figure 10):

	+ back		
- back	- round	+ round	
i	ɨ	u	+ hi
e	ə	o	-hi, - lo
ɛ			+ lo
	a		

Fig. 10. OJ Vowel Chart

This is essentially the same vowel system that Miyake (1996:30) posited, using the same type of data, but on a broader scale.[7] Below I provide a simple discussion with examples for all eight vowels in OJ (data taken from the liturgies, as found in figure 8 and 9).

3.1.1 Vocalic Values of Old Japanese

/i/ A high front unrounded vowel. With both sets of Sino-Xenic data used above (type A *kyi* and *pyi*) I posit that the vocalic nucleus was [*i]. The SV evidence offers clear evidence that this vowel was non-round. Notice that all eight characters (in figure 11) are written *i* or *y*, both non-round vowels.

Graph	Type	SV
伎	kyi	kỹ
企	kyi	xi
支	kyi	chi
耆	kyi	kỳ
枳	kyi	chỉ
比	pyi	bỉ
卑	pyi	ti
臂	pyi	tí

Fig. 11. Non-round Vowels [i/y]

[7] In fairness, it should be noted that Miyake has modified his theory in his dissertation (1999).

The vowel /i/ occurs in all positions in a word, initial, medial, and final. Examples from the liturgies are: 伊加志穂 *ikasi PO* 'vibrant ear of rice', 婆比支 *papyikyi* 'name of a deity', 由麻波利 *yumapar-i* 'purify-INF'.

/ɨ/ A high, central, unrounded vowel, which I reconstruct as [*ɨ]. Perhaps because of the limited nature of the database, the SV evidence does not shed any light on the situation. Our Chinese data, however, do show a pattern. Notice that in EMC, there is a correspondence of a high back vowel (/u/, once) and a high central vowel (/ɨ/ twice), while ONWC shows two correspondences of *e. It does appear that what the Yale romanization writes as -iy is actually a high central vowel.

There is one problem with this neatly arranged picture, however. It is known from internal reconstruction that in most cases *otsu-rui* -i- comes from a diphthong. One would thus expect the vowel to have been a monophthong. Consider the evidence again, with Sino-Korean (SK[8]) added to SV (figure 12).

The Sino-Korean evidence suggests that this vowel was originally a diphthong. The neutral vowel -u- in Yale Romanization (Korean) is an unrounded, central vowel. This means that *otsu-rui* -i- may have been something like [ɨi] or [ɨy]. For the moment I leave the question open.
This vowel /ɨ/ occurred only word-medially and word-finally, but examples from the liturgies only show word-final position. Examples are: 疎備 *UTWObiy* 'acting in the shadows', 荒備 *ARAbiy* 'violent', 志貴 *sikiy* 'Shiki (place name)'. I continue to use Yale Romanization for ease of typing, and because it is so widely used in the literature.

Graph	Type	SV	SK
紀	kiy	kɏ̀	kuy
奇	kiy	ki, kɏ̀	kuy
被	piy	bɨ̣	phi
備	piy	bi	pi
未	miy	vi, mui	mi
微	miy	vi	muy

Fig. 12. Correspondences for Vowel /iy/

/e/ An upper-mid front unrounded vowel. While I have reconstructed the vowel as [*e], the interpretation of these Sino-Xenic data are not

[8] Sino-Korean is from *Cenun okphyen* (Ch. Quanyin yupian, 1868).

without some difficulties. Below is a simple chart with Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese and the eight graphs under consideration (figure 13).

Graph	GO	SK
祁	gi	kuy
家	ke	ka
計	ke	kyey
弊	be	phyey
幣	be	phyey
覇	fe	phay
賣	me	may
咩	---	mi

Fig. 13.Vowel /ye/ Chart

This chart suggests that perhaps the sound was [e]. These data as presented above likely preserve various strata of Chinese data that have not been sufficiently sifted. For the time being I posit this vowel as *e.

This vowel occurred in word-medial and word-final position. There are no examples of word-initial /e/ or /ye/ in the database of liturgies. Here are a few examples of attested words with /e/ in non-initial position: 家牟 *-(i)kyem-u* 'surely it was...', 志呂志女須 *siro̲simyes-u* 'rule-FIN', 比売 *pyimye* 'princess, imperial daughter'.

/ɛ/ A lower-mid front unrounded vowel. The correspondences for this vowel are somewhat erratic, as was the case with /e/. The EMC reconstructions, however, preserve a pattern. Of the seven graphs analyzed, the majority have either /ɛ/ (two times) or /əj/ (three times). I reserve /ə/ for *otsu-rui* -o, so I tentatively posit the phonetic value of *otsu-rui -ey* as *ɛ.

However, as was the case with the vowel /iy/, internal reconstruction leads us to believe this vowel originally was also a diphthong. Thus, the three EMC correspondence of /əj/ should not be ignored. Consider the following evidence, with SK again added (figure 14).

The SK evidence suggests that this vowel actually was a diphthong, something like [oy]. Miyake (1999:594-95) suggests that *otsu-rui* e actually was [əy], which the evidence above also seems to suggest. Again, for the time being, I leave the question open.

This vowel is found word-medially or word-finally. Examples are: 宇気比 *ukeypyi* 'vow', 佐加叡志米 *sakaye-simey* 'cause to prosper', 多閇 *tapey* 'paper offerings'.

Graph	Type	SV	SK
気	key	khi	kuy
開	key	khai	koy
閇	pey	bê	phyey
陪	pey	bồi	poy
米	mey	mê	mi
昧	mey	mê	moy

Fig. 14. Correspondences for Vowel /ey/

/ə/ A central unrounded vowel. ONWC and EMC data preserve a striking pattern for this vowel. Of the thirteen graphs analyzed, all have correspondences with an EMC mid vowel (either ə or ɨ), but since I have already posited *ɨ to correspond to *otsu-rui i* (-iy), I believe schwa was the underlying value of *otsu-rui* -o.[9] This vowel occurred in all positions, word initially, medially, and finally. There are no examples of word-initial o- in the database, but remember that the oldest graph for word-initial /o/ was 意 in the Old Japanese corpus, which is ONWC *ʔiə and EMC ʔɨ, suggesting [ə].[10] Examples

[9] Some linguists insist that the underlying value was not schwa, but was some other vowel. One linguist wrote in a very negative review of another work by this author, "I also have difficulty with the author's genial bestowal of the designation 'consensus' on extremely questionable views actually held only by a few, e.g. the equation of OJ ö with 'schwa'...." As a simple exercise, consider the following three graphs, LOC, EMC reconstructions by two different scholars, SV and SK, and the latest work from Miyake:

Graph	LOC	EMC	SV	SK	Miyake (1999)
許	xo	xɨə	hưa	he	kə
能	nə̄	nəŋ	năng	nung	nə
母	mə̄w	məw	mău	mwu	mo (< *mə)

While my usage of 'consensus' may have been somewhat pretentious, the reviewer's usage of 'extremely questionable' is based on ignorance of recent literature. The SV data are very important here, because ư is a back, unrounded vowel, and ă is a central, unrounded vowel. This evidence suggests that *otsu-o* was a central, unrounded vowel, something very close to [ə].

[10] Starostin's reconstruction of Old Chinese is also important to quote, because he independently reconstructs 意 as ʔəh (1989:677).

from my database are: 許止保企 *kotopokyi* 'pray', 乃良波 *nor-aba* 'if [you] proclaim', and 能 *no*, a genitive marker.

/o/ A mid back rounded vowel. Twelve graphs were analyzed, and 83% (10) were back and rounded (either ɔ [six] or aw [four]). Unger (1993:23) produces evidence showing that there likely was *no* distinction between *ywo* and *yo*, and then he notes, "Therefore, if the alleged [io]- and [iong]-graphemes reflect a phonemic distinction in early Old Japanese, we know at least that the distinction cannot be the same one involved in the other pairs of *o*-ending syllables."

At the risk of being redundant, I present relevant information for two sinographs used for each syllable [*ywo* and *yo*] (figure 15). The difference between these two vowels after the glide j- is the same as after other obstruents: rounded versus unrounded. This is clear from the Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Korean data. In the Sino-Vietnamese orthography, the vowel /u/ is a rounded, high vowel, but /ư/ is a back, unrounded vowel.

Graph	Type	ONWC	EMC	SV	SK
用	ywo	*iuoŋ	juawŋ	dụng	ywong
欲	ywo	*iuok	juawk	dục	ywok
余	yo	*iø	jiă	dư	ye
与	yo	---	jiă	dữ	ye

Fig. 15. Comparison of OJ *ywo* and *yo*

This vowel /o/ occurred in word-medial and final position. Examples are: 蘇蘇岐 *swoswokyi* 'be scattered', 胡久美 *kwokumyi* '[get a] boil', and 毛 *mwo* 'seaweed'.

/u/ A back rounded vowel. This vowel occurs word-initially, medially, and finally. Examples are: 宇豆 *udu* 'noble, rare', 都都気弖 *tutukey-te* 'continued [doing]', 白久 *MAWOS-Aku* 'and saying...'.

/a/ A low back unrounded vowel. This vowel occurs in all positions in a word. Examples from the liturgies are: 阿良可 *araka* 'palace', 麻爾麻 *manima* 'according', 波 *pa* topic particle.

3.2 Consonants

The consonantal system of Old Japanese was more conservative than that of Classical Japanese (Heian Japanese). Much of the Old Japanese consonantal system is straightforward, and I will only appeal to Sino-Xenic data in certain cases. From data available in the liturgies, the following consonantal system has been posited (figure 16).

p	t	k	
b	d	g	
m	n		
	s		
w			y
	r		

Fig. 16. OJ Consonant Chart

3.2.1 Stops

/p/ The bilabial voiceless stop. Heated debate has continued for many years about whether characters like 波比不部保—later simplified to *hiragana* はひふへほ—were phonetically p- or f- in Old Japanese. Miller's exposition (1971:52) gives one the impression that even in Old Japanese (and perhaps in pre-Old Japanese?) what was proto-Altaic *p had shifted to F (spirant). Martin (1987:11) says, "...there was undoubtedly an initial p- as well as F-" throughout the history of Japanese.

The only conclusive way to solve this problem is to look at the alpha section of *Nihon shoki* orthography, which was based on Late Middle Chinese (LMC),[11] because it is at this stage of Chinese that a distinction between a bilabial voiceless stop and bilabial voiceless fricative emerges. In other words, EMC had only p-, but LMC had both p- and f-. Therefore, the compilers of the alpha section of *Nihon shoki* had graphs at their disposal that could have accurately reflected f- *if that phone had existed in the Old Japanese inventory.*

[11] Mori Hiromichi (1991) has shown that the text of *Nihon shoki* can be divided into two groups, an alpha (newer), and a beta (older) section. The newer alpha section would have been based on a different variety of Chinese phonology than the older beta.

Take は as an example. Note that the two characters (簸皤) appear only in the alpha section of *Nihon shoki*, and are used to transcribe what later became Classical Japanese は (there were other characters, but many were carry-overs from EMC). 簸 is LMC pua, and 皤 is LMC pɦua. If there had been a fricative in Old Japanese at this stage, why did the scribes not use fricative-initial characters to represent syllables with the consonant in question? We do not find examples of 番 (LMC fa:n), 飛 (LMC fji), 夫 (LMC fu), or 封 (LMC fəwŋ) in the alpha section of *Nihon shoki* poetry or commentary. Notice that the characters 番夫 are seen in earlier documents based on EMC, but also note that 番 is EMC p^huan, and 夫 is EMC puə, both with a bilabial voiceless stop and these two characters only appear in the beta section. When the labial stop of this character had shifted to a fricative in LMC, the scribes in Japan relying on LMC orthography avoided 番夫. Because of this clear evidence, I transcribe so-called *ha-gyô* with p-.[12]

This stop occurs word-initially and medially before all vowels, as the following examples show: 比古 *pyikwo* 'prince, imperial son', 波多 *pata* 'fin', 賜比 *TAMAp-yi* 'bestow', 幸閇 *SAKYIPApey* 'live long and prosper', 許止保企 *kotopokyi* 'pray'.

/b/ The bilabial voiced stop. It occurs only word-medially. It may appear inaccurate to say that this stop does not occur word initially, because while rare, there are a few examples in Old Japanese: *bakari* 'only, simply', *ba* 'if, when', or *bake* 'method'. It must be noted that these are all bound morphemes, and do not appear phrase initially, strongly suggesting that this voiced stop is actually prenasalized [nb], and genitive *no* has lenited and left the trace of nasalization on the stop.

The word *bake* with its prenasalized initial may be difficult to deal with, but there are no phonetic examples in Nara era texts or earlier, and I believe this is actually a lexical ghost. The earliest attestations of this word are interlinear glosses in *Nihon shoki*. The first time this word appears in phonetic script is in the *Otsu-bon* manuscript of *Shiki* (a commentary on *Shoki*, dated roughly around the eleventh century). There are no examples of b- initial words in the database. Examples of non-initial -b- are: 倍志 *-(u)bey-si* 'should (do)', 畝火 *UNEbiy* 'place name', and 乎波 *woba* emphatic particle.

[12] For a fuller treatment of this problem, see Miyake (1999:398-400).

/ t/ Dental voiceless stop. It occurs before all vowels, except that type A and B vowels, *i* and *e*, have merged after this dental.[13] This stop occurs in word-initial and word-medial positions, as the following examples show: 多閇 *tapey* 'paper offerings', 御賀豆智 *myikaduti* 'name of a deity', 津 *tu* locative-genitive marker, 雙弖 *NARABEY-te* 'arrange and', and 刀禰 *twone* 'official, chief'.

/d/ Dental voiced stop. The same restrictions on type A and B vowels (*i* and *e*) as noted under the dental voiceless stop are true of the dental voiced stop. The dental voiced stop only occurs non-initially. Examples are: 許許太久 *kokodaku* 'many times', 屋船久久遅 *YAPUNE kukudi* 'deity name', 久度 *kudwo* 'chimney hole in the back of a large hearth'.

/k/ The velar voiceless stop. It occurs word-initially and word-medially, before all vowels. Examples of this stop are: 許止 *koto* 'thing', 伊加志久 *ikasiku* 'being vibrant', 伊須須伎 *isusukyi* 'search restlessly [for something]', 家牟 *-(i)kyem-u* 'surely it was...'.

/g/ The velar voiced stop. It appears only word-medially before all vowels, but can appear morpheme initially. Examples of this phoneme are rare in the liturgies, but include: 我 *ga*, genitive case marker, 麻我比 *magapyi* 'confuse', 麻我許登 *maga koto* 'evil thing'. The character 我 EMC ŋa is the only clear example of this voiced syllable, which suggests that this phone was really a velar nasal. Here I must appeal to outside evidence to justify reconstructing [*g]. *Kojiki* uses three graphs for OJ *ga*: 我 EMC ŋa, 何 EMC ɣa, and 賀 EMC ɣa. The last two graphs are reconstructed with voiced velar fricative initials, suggesting that the phone in Old Japanese was actually [g] and not [ŋ]. On this evidence I reconstruct *g.

/m/ Bilabial nasal stop. This occurs word-initially and medially before all vowels. Examples are: 麻弖 *made*, terminative particle, 母 *mo*, inclusive particle, 美多麻 *myitama* 'spirit (honorific)', 加牟加比 *kamukapyi* 'divine rice', 女 *mye* 'female'.

[13] It should be noted that Whitman (1985:27) has postulated that pre-OJ **tyi* lenited to *si*, while **tiy* became OJ *ti*.

/n/ The dental nasal stop. This occurs word-initially and medially, before all vowels, but the two varieties of *i* and *e* have merged before n-. Examples are: 久那斗 *kunadwo* 'name of a deity', 爾伎弖 *nikyite* 'soft offering', 来奴 *K-YInu* 'had come', 刀禰 *twone* 'chief, official', and 乃 *no*, genitive case marker.

3.2.2 Fricatives

/s/ The alveolar voiceless fricative. There has been a seemingly endless debate about the actual phonetic status of this phoneme in Old Japanese, some believing that in front of certain vowels it was actually an affricate, while others have argued that the so-called *sa-gyô* series was composed of *only* affricates.

The debate surrounding this phoneme originated from the placement of /s/ in the *gojûon-zu* of 1079, a chart of Japanese syllables based on the Indic alphabetic order. Looking at this chart, one is led to believe that Japanese /s/ was actually an affricate /c/, and not a sibilant /s/, because it loosely corresponds to that phonetic category in the Indic chart. Yoshitake (1934:52) says, "Nevertheless, our difficulty will be removed if we suppose that not only the Japanese *z* but also its voiceless counterpart *s* was pronounced with a weak dental plosive element already in the Nara period [ts-]."

Arisaka Hideyo (1958:469) believed there had been a split, with ts- before the vowels a, u, and o, but s- or ʃ- before i, and e (1958: 466-474).

Mabuchi Kazuo (1959:60-67), using Tang phonetic values, showed that an affricate as posited by Arisaka was untenable. Mabuchi then put forth the theory that *sa-gyô* had actually been ʃ- initial (1959:66). Miller (1967:192-93) pays lip service to Mabuchi's theory, but actually adheres to Arisaka's, perhaps suggesting that at the time he was not sure about the phonetic value of this phone.

Lange's reconstruction of Chinese shows the problem scholars face, because his evidence suggests that affricates and sibilants were both used when transcribing Japanese /s/ with Chinese characters. Lange's own reconstructions for *sa* are given here (1973:106): 左 tsâ, 佐 tsâ, 沙 ṣa, and 散 ṣân. In spite of this evidence, he reconstructs Nara *sa-gyô* as s- (1973:124).

Maruyama (1981:10-18) examines how Rodrigues explained the pronunciation of Japanese *sa-gyô* in the sixteenth century, and suggests that the Portuguese transcription employed by Rodrigues provides evidence that the phoneme /s/ was actually an affricate [ts-].

Pulleyblank (1984) furnishes an innovative reconstruction of EMC and LMC, and uses *man'yôgana* evidence to support his reconstruction of EMC. In his discussion of EMC Pulleyblank (1984:156) notes, "It is held by some that Japanese s was earlier a dental affricate ts....Chinese provides the evidence [for this belief]." Unfortunately, this circular reasoning is precisely what Miller had cautioned against, using EMC to prove *man'yôgana* vocalic values, and then using these values to prove EMC.

Sandness (1985:1-16) takes a critical look at many of these previous theories, and comes to the conclusion that the initial phone of the Japanese s-series was just that, [s].

Miyake (1995) reviews previous work on *sa-gyô*, and then uses an innovative reconstruction of EMC to take a new look at the use of Chinese graphs to transcribe *s-* and *z-* syllables in Old Japanese. Miyake's own conclusions (1995:8) are that the mixed variety of Middle Chinese initials used to transcribe *sa-gyô* in early Japanese texts suggests that an earlier stage of Japanese (what he terms Archaic Japanese [AJ], borrowing the term from Unger 1993) had allophony and free variation. He goes on to postulate that this allophony may have arisen from an even earlier merger of Pre-AJ */s/ and */c/ into /s/ (1995:9). Miyake's scenario can be reduced to this simple figure (cf. 1995:186-187):

Pre-OJ */s, c/ > OJ /s/
Pre-OJ */z, j/ > OJ /z/
Fig. 17. /s z/ and Its Origins

It is difficult to argue with these data as presented by Miyake, but certain considerations should be taken into account. One, we do not know what dialect of Japanese the privileged group spoke that learned the ancient orthography from some peninsular intermediary.[14] Unger's belief that Old Japanese is derived from the proto-language in a straight, unbroken course (1993:1) is historically unlikely. It is historically clear that every time a king[15] died, the capital was removed to a new location, but Kiley (1973) and Toby (1985) both

[14] See Bentley 1997 and 2001 for evidence that Paekche influenced the Japanese orthography.

[15] Clearly what Japanese historians term 'emperors' were merely kings (or chieftains), so I use that terminology.

show that this practice was done more out of practical concerns than out of religious fear of the impurity of death (Toby 1985:337-40). The actual reason for moving the capital to a new location revolved around power politics and the inter-marriage of various nobles in neighboring clans.

Often with the death of a king, political power was transferred to the next strongest clan (or more accurately, the strongest clan with an heir). The clan with the greatest military might and a birthright then took control, and that clan's base of operations became the next capital. Because of this shift, there is no guarantee that each clan spoke the same dialect. At least we cannot be sure of a unified, *single*, dialect until around the beginning of the seventh century.

Another problem with Miyake's conclusion is simple practicality. Miyake (1995) is a study of four eighth-century texts, two historical records, one poetic anthology, and one set of poems *literally* engraved in stone. The two records, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, certainly contain a strain of the language that is older than Old Japanese (defined in both Lange [1973] and Miyake as the language of the eighth century). Some orthography may be as old as the sixth century when scholars believe peninsular scholars taught a Paekche-brand of Chinese to the privileged few at the Yamato king's court. Thus, a better screening of these data would likely produce different results (pre-OJ reconstructions are simply given for illustration). Consider the following data (figure 18), showing all alveolar fricative characters from fifth and sixth century inscriptions in Japan (data from personal names or toponyms).[16] Late Old Chinese (LOC) is from Starostin (1989).

It is important to note that of these seven graphs, only one (possibly two) had a sibilant. The other six are affricates. This means that one of three conclusions is possible: Japanese originally had no alveolar fricatives, and a different phoneme (affricate?) later shifted to a fricative. Second, the dialect of Chinese the Paekche and Yamato relied on for their orthography had no perfect match for the Japanese s- phoneme, and affricates were the closest choice. Third, because the orthography used by the Japanese had passed through a Korean filter

[16] Those inscriptions are: Inariyama Tumulus sword (fifth century), and Suda Hachiman Mirror (503 CE). Other inscriptions, like the Eta Funayama and the Shichishi sword have been ignored because they do not contain alveolar fricative or affricate characters that could correspond to *sa-gyô*.

(Paekche or Kara are likely candidates), Old Korean /c/ and /s/ were borrowed into Japanese as /s/.[17]

Character	LOC	EMC	pre-OJ?
沙	*che	ʂai	*ca/sa
差	*che	tʂ^{h}əij	*ca
柴	*ʒ(h)ie	dʑaij	*dza
斯	*se	siə	*se/si
次	*ʒ(h)ij	ts^{h}i	*dzi
州	*ciw	tɕuw	*cu
足	*cok	tsuawk	*cuku

Fig. 18. Fifth and Sixth Century Inscription Data

The first conclusion is highly unlikely from a typological point of view, because there are very few languages in the world that lack a fricative. If the second conclusion is closer to the truth, and later generations of scribes relied on different dialects of Chinese, especially if those later dialects had alveolar fricatives, then the Japanese orthographic pool would become contaminated, in a sense, with different layers of Chinese accumulating, containing both fricatives and affricates. The same is true of the third conclusion. I refrain from drawing a conclusion to this problem at this point, and leave the question open. This topic requires more research. For the time being I analyze Old Japanese *sa-gyô* as an alveolar fricative.[18] The phoneme /s/ occurs in word-initial and medial position, in front of all vowels, but the two types of *i* and *e* have merged after s-. Examples are: 佐久彌弖 *sakumyite* 'break into pieces', 倍志 *-(u)bey-si* 'should (do)', 阿須波 *asupa* 'place name', 伊勢 *ise* 'place name', and 蘇.蘇岐 *swoswokyi* 'be scattered'.

/z/ The alveolar voiced fricative. There are very few examples of this voiced fricative, but here is what I have found in the database: 鵜自物 *u-zi MONO* 'like a cormorant', 相麻自許利 *APYImazikor-i* 'possessed with evil power'.

[17] This third possibility was suggested to me by Alexander Vovin (p.c.).
[18] Miyake (1999:438-39) reconstructs *s for Old Japanese with an allophone ɕ.

3.2.3 Liquids and Glides

/r/ The apico-alveolar liquid. The phonetic status of this phoneme in Old Japanese is open to some debate. It does seem that Japanese *ra-gyô* was a liquid plus a vowel. Following tradition, I write this liquid as /r/. It occurs only word medially, and before all vowels. The distinction of *kô* and *otsu* of front vowels has disappeared after r-. Examples of r- syllables are: 奉良久 *TATEMATUr-aku* '(humbly) done', 漏伎 *rwokyi* 'suffix to a deity's name', 阿礼比 *arepyi* meaning unclear,[19] and 与理 *yori* 'from'.[20]

/y/ The palatal voiced glide. This occurs word-initially and medially. Examples are: 伊夜 *iya* 'more', 佐夜伎 *sayakyi* 'be noisy', 由麻波利 *yumapari* 'purify', 与理 *yori* 'from'.

/w/ The bilabial voiced glide. This occurs word-initially and word-medially, but only before the vowels -a, -i, -e, and -o. Only examples of *wa*, *wi*, and, *wo* appear in the liturgies: 吾 *wa(re)* 'I', 井 *wi* 'well', 乎 *wo*, accusative case marker.

3.3 Morphonological Rules

Old Japanese had a somewhat complex system, morphonologically, because of various phonotactic constraints. The language does not permit consonant clusters of any type. Also, a sequence of two vowels in pre-OJ was generally not tolerated,[21] resulting in monophthongization, or vowel elision. I posit the following morphonological rules of pre-Old Japanese as attested by examples in the liturgies. This means that I will not address all possible rules of pre-OJ. The rules noted below will be discussed later in the text.

1) Vowel elision: $V_1+V_1 > V_1$
2) i + a > ye

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[19] This word is part of a compound, which is still of unclear meaning; thus it is difficult to say whether 比 spells *pyi* or *byi*.

[20] It is interesting to note that *ywori* 'from' is misspelled consistently throughout the liturgies. This is the only word consistently misspelled in the liturgies, making me wonder if perhaps a corrupted spelling tradition existed among Shintô clerics. This is dealt with in section 4.4.4.2.8.

[21] There is also evidence that this constraint persisted into OJ.

3) a + i > ey
4) u + a > wo (the reverse is also possible: a + u > wo)
5) r > Ø / V[-long] _ V
6) N (m,n) + $C[+stop]_1$ (p,t,k,s) > C_2[+voice]

3.3.1 Rule One--Vowel elision: $V_1+V_1 > V_1$

Rule one states that when two of the same vowels occur together, one of the vowels elides. This rule is generally confined to verbal morphology in the liturgies.

sikyi 'spread out' + *imas-* HON > *sikyimas-* (敷坐)[22]
ise 'Ise' *ni* LOC *imas-* HON > *ise ni masu* (伊勢爾坐)

3.3.2 Rule Two--i + a > ye

When the vowels -i- and -a- occur together, this triggers monophthongization, resulting in -ye-. Below are several examples from the liturgies.

-ikyi- RETRO + *-am-* TENT > *-ikyem-* RETRO-TENT (家牟)
**piCa* > *pye* 'shore'[23] (邊)
**miCas-* > *myes-* 'deign to see, summon'[24] (女須)

3.3.3 Rule Three--a + i > ey

The third rule is also a triggering of monophthongization, when the vowels -a- and -i- occur together, resulting in the monophthong -ey-. Note that the order of the elements is reversed from that explained in rule two.

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[22] It is impossible to tell which vowel of the two remains when transcribing these words. As a matter of practice, I write it *as if* the first -i- remains, and the -i- of the auxiliary or suffix elides. It could just as well be the other way around. There are examples when both vowels remain. Consider *Kojiki* poem #101, 比呂理伊麻志 *pyirori imasi* "[the leaves of the camellia] spread broadly" 弖理伊麻須 *teri imasu* "[and the flowers] shine."

[23] Martin (1987:403) wonders if the pre-OJ form was *pina "border-land, country (as opposed to the capital)".

[24] I believe that the first syllable, *mi*, is the same element as that for 'see'.

**uka* 'food?' + *ip-* 'say' > *ukeyp-* 'make a promise, contract' (宇気比)
**tapyiraka* 'level' + *-i-* 'verbalizer?'[25] > *tapyirakey-s-* 'being level'(平気志)
**(u)pa-Ci* > *(u)pey* 'top' (閇)

3.3.4 Rule Four--u + a > wo, a + u > wo

When the vowels -a- and -u- occur together (either as a-u or u-a), this sequence triggers monophthongization, resulting in the vowel -wo-. Unfortunately, there are very few examples of monophthongs derived from this rule in the liturgies. I have given external etymologies as secondary evidence for this rule.

**maru* 'seaweed' > *mwo* (毛) MK *mor* H 'seaweed'[26]
**tura* 'entrance' > *two* (斗) MT *tura* 'pillar, doorpost'[27]
**yura* 'night' > *ywo* (夜)[28] MT **dolbo* 'night'

3.3.5 Rule Five---r- Loss (r > Ø / V[-long] _V)

This rule is known as Whitman's Law[29] (based on Whitman 1985:22-23). It states that if medial -r- is preceded by a short vowel, it undergoes -r- loss, which invariably creates new diphthongs. Russell (1997:11) notes that not only a long vowel, but a morpheme boundary blocks loss of the liquid. Many of the secondary vowels (-ye- and -ey-) are created through -r-loss.

**yura* 'night' > *ywo* (夜) MT **dolbo* 'night'[30]

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[25] I address this verbalizer in section 6.

[26] See Whitman (1985:237) for this etymology.

[27] Manchu *tura* 'post, pillar'; Evenki *turu* 'pillar'; Solon *törö* 'doorpost'; Orok *toro* 'pillar, doorpost' (Tsintsius 1975-77.2:221).

[28] I follow Starostin (1991:276) who reconstructed **dua* > *ywo* and **dua-ru* > *yworu*. I would add that I believe the pre-OJ cognate of this MT form still had the liquid, and -r- loss triggered monophthongization (**dura* > *yura* > *yua* > *ywo*). Granted, this may have been MT **dolbo* > **doba* > **dowa* > **yuwa* > *ywo* (Serafim, p.c.).

[29] The term was coined by Alexander Vovin.

[30] There are few good examples in the liturgies, but other texts abound with examples. Whitman (1991:533) supplies these examples:

yuku 'go' + *-uru* attributive marker > *yukuu* > *yuku* '(the place I) go (to)'

3.3.6 Rule Six--N (m,n) + C[+stop]$_1$ (p,t,k,s) > C$_2$[+voice]

This rule primarily outlines the environment for prenasalization of voiceless obstruents. In most cases a genitive *no* has undergone devoicing, thus prenasalizing the following obstruent.

yama 'mountain' *no* GEN *pye* 'side' > *yamabye* 'Yamabe' (山邊)
une 'place name' *no* GEN *piy* 'fire' > *unebiy* 'Mount Unebi' (畝火)
imyi 'avoid' *no* GEN *pye* 'social group' > *imyibye* 'Imibe Clan' (忌部)

3.4 Lexicon

The language of the liturgies clearly belongs to the language known as Old Japanese. As noted previously, while most consider Old Japanese to be the language of the eighth century, I divide OJ into two groups, Early Old Japanese (625-710 CE), and Late Old Japanese (Nara era, 710-784 CE). The main reason I make this distinction is because, while the records providing evidence of OJ phonology in the seventh century show little difference with the language in the Nara era, a subtle change still exists: the beginning of the collapse of the eight vowel system. This collapse began with the merger of both types of -o after /p/ and /m/ (Ikegami 1932, Arisaka 1932; for an overview of the research, cf. Bentley 1997). There also likely was a merger of the front vowels after non-coronal obstruents, but this is only apparent from internal reconstruction. Thus, the main difference between these two varieties of OJ is essentially the rich vocalism, retained in EOJ, but undergoing reduction in LOJ.

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nurite 'bell, clapper'	>	*nute*
karite 'foodstuffs'	>	*kate*
karimo 'axle'	>	*kamo*
nuride 'plant name'	>	*nude*
kapyerute 'maple'	>	*kapede*

The etymological spellings in the liturgies show that the language preserved in our *norito* database are likely from an era around 681, when Emperor Temmu ordered the court to update various records.[31]

In the Old Japanese era, there were fewer loans from other languages (Chinese, Korean) than in the Heian era. This is due to the fact that Japan only seriously began importing Chinese government around the end of the Temmu-Jitô era (685-696 CE). Regardless, Japan had relied rather heavily on the Korean peninsula for other cultural artifacts, as well as weaponry and other technology based on the rich iron deposits of the tip of the peninsula. This would include loans from Paekche and Kara. Some of the words borrowed from Paekche are actually Chinese words borrowed into Paekche, and then passed on to the Japanese archipelago (cf. Bentley 1999).

It should be noted that some of these words may not be borrowings, but may show that there is a genetic relationship between Japanese and the older peninsular languages. It is not the intent of this discussion to delve into that problem, however, but the reader should at least be aware of this possibility.

Nihon shoki preserves several examples of these Chinese loans: *soko* 'fortress' 塞 EMC sək, *pati* 'Buddhist monk's begging bowl' 鉢 EMC pat, and *paku* 'hundred' 百 EMC paijk. Along with these Chinese loans, there are Paekche words that appear to have been borrowed into the language of Japanese. Some died out, while others were adopted and transmitted to later generations. These words mostly appear in quotes from one of three Paekche records the compilers of *Nihon shoki* had at hand: 百済記 *Paekchegi*, 百済新撰 *Paekche sinchan*, and 百済本記 *Paekche pongi*. Below are but ten examples (figure 19).

Gloss	Paekche	OJ	Survived Until
城 'castle'	*kuy	kiy	only in toponyms
鷹 'hawk'	*kuti	kuti	1100[32]

[31] It might seem cynical to suggest that writing history at Temmu's court was 'updating records', but it is clear that Temmu wished to cement his history in the records, so he could be known as the savior of the court, not a rebel. That explains why Temmu's reign is divided into two books in *Nihon shoki*. Thus, the first book (Book 38) is actually the reign of Temmu's nephew, Prince Ôtomo, and how Temmu overthrew him in the Jinshin Revolt. The second book (Book 39) records Temmu's reign after the coup.

[32] This word appears in *Wamyôshô* (ca. 930), one of Japan's oldest encyclopedias,

Fig. 19. Loans in OJ

Gloss	Paekche	OJ	Survived Until
母 'mother'	*əmə	omo	800
父 'father'	*kasə	kaso	1000[33]
評 'district'	*kəpəri	kopori	Modern *koori* 郡
熊 'bear'	*kuma	kuma	Modern *kuma* 熊
村 'village'	*suki	sukyi	only in surnames
珍 'rare, wondrous'	*kusi	kusi	until 700?
踏鞴 'foot bellows'	*tatara[34]	tatara	Modern *tatara* 踏鞴

Fig. 19. Loans in OJ (Cont.)

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where it says, "Falcon: in Japanese this is called *taka*. Consider also that in the classical language this is *kuti*....In the vernacular of Paekche this refers to hawks." This word (*kuti*) is also used in a poem by Minamoto Shunrai (1057-1129), included in his private collection, *Samboku kikashû* (ca. 1128). That poem is:

kigisu naku	Pheasants cry.
sudano ni kimi ga	My lord surely is treading
kuti sowete	Suda Moor together with
asa fumasuramu	his falcon in the morning.
iza yukite mimu	Ah, let us go and see.

[33] There appear to have been two words for mother and father, and the two were classified as vernacular and standard (legalese?). *Wamyôshô* says, "Father and mother: 'father' is *kaso*, and 'mother' is *irofa*. In the vernacular, 'father' is *titi*, and 'mother' is *fafa*." *Omo* 'mother' disappeared from the central dialect earlier, but still persists in eastern dialects, as well as Ryûkyûan.

[34] This may actually be a Kara word, rather than a Paekche word. Further research on metallurgy and the importation of technology into Yamato needs to be done.

CHAPTER FOUR

NOMINALS

4. Assumptions

Before we attempt our synchronic analysis of the language of the liturgies, a few assumptions must be made clear. This descriptive grammar is a traditional structural analysis, so it is assumed the reader is aware of the basic tenets of structural linguistics (cf. Harris 1951; Lehmann 1972; Lepschy 1970). It is also assumed the reader is familiar with a traditional Western morphophonemic analysis of Japanese (as compared with the traditional Japanese analysis). Knowledge of the basic tenets of Bernard Bloch's analysis of modern Japanese (cf. 1946a, 1946b, 1950) will be especially helpful.[1]

Grammatical units are categorized and analyzed according to each unit's function. For readers who are more familiar with the traditional Japanese analysis of verbs, I supply an explanation of the traditional analysis, and then provide a structural analysis of those forms.

4.1 Nominals

I recognize three subgroups within the category of nouns: pronouns, numerals, and nouns. Nominalized forms of verbs are discussed in the chapter on verbs. Nouns, unlike verbs, do not have complex morphonology or morphology: *opo* 'big(ness)' or combined as *opokyimyi* 'great lord'. Noun stems in EOJ (and probably pre-OJ) are not bound, like most verbal stems.

Below I describe the three subgroups of nouns. As a practice, each example contains the original text from the liturgies or the edicts, a transliteration of that text, a linguistic breakdown according to semantics and morpho-syntax, and then a translation. The number in parentheses marks the citation (number of liturgy or edict) as well as the end of the quote.

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[1] Other works that are helpful for the student are Martin 1952, and Miller 1967.

Also as noted in footnote one in Chapter Two, when the phonetic value of a word is not apparent from the spelling in the text, the transliterated word is capitalized: 大 *OPO*, but 意富 *opo* when the word is written phonetically. There are other cases when a Japanese word is inserted in the interlinear text, but there is no corresponding graph in the Chinese text: 三笠山 glossed as ミカサノヤマ in the manuscripts. Here *no* does not correspond to anything in the Chinese text. In these cases the word in question appears in brackets. The above example is transliterated as *MYIKASA [NO] YAMA*.

4.2 Pronouns

There are few personal pronouns preserved in the liturgies, because these invocations, much like imperial edicts, are addressed to the deities or emperor. The addressee was understood, and seldom required being noted. On the other hand, there are plenty of examples of first person pronouns, because the officiator often acted as proxy for the emperor or deity. The following pronouns are found in the liturgies (figure 20).

First Person	Second Person
wa(re)	na, namu
Demonstrative Pronouns	**Interrogative Pronouns**
ko(re), so(re)	idure
Reflexive Pronouns	
ono	

Fig. 20. Chart of Pronouns

4.2.1 Personal Pronouns

As noted above, there are few personal pronouns found in the liturgies. Most personal pronouns refer to a specific deity in the liturgy, or to someone who is requested to bring some offering to appease the deities.

First Person Pronoun

The first person pronoun was *wa(re)*. I have adhered to the interlinear readings for the proper spelling of the first person pronoun (as to whether it had the suffix *-re* or not).

皇　　吾　　睦　神　漏伎　　命
*SUMYERA **WA** [GA] MUTU KAMU rwokyi [NO] MYI-KOTO*
emperor **I** GEN kindred deity male progenitor GEN HON deity
I, the emperor, who am kindred with the male progenitor deity and...(1).

吾　乎奈見給　比　會
WA[2] *wo na MYI-TAMAp-yi so*
I ACC PT see HON-INF do
Do not look upon **me** (12)!

It is unclear whether the first person pronoun was intended to be read *ware* or simply *wa*. There are no phonetic spellings for the correct 'reading' in the liturgies, like the few cases in *Kojiki*, where the first person is spelled out 和禮 (*ware*). I have followed the interlinear readings of the liturgies.

Second Person Pronoun

There are but few examples of the second person pronoun. Here are the three examples from the liturgies, with the interlinear readings for the pronoun.

汝　　命　　乃　成　　幸　波閇　　賜　　者
***NA** [NO] MYI-KOTO no NAS-I SAKIpapey TAMAP-ABA*
you GEN deity GEN make-INF flourish-(INF) HON-COND
If **you** make [the first fruits] flourish...(3).

汝　　屋　般　　命　爾
***IMASI** (na?) YAPUNE [NO] MYIKOTO ni*

---

[2] The interlinear glosses in the manuscripts have *wa wo*. It is possible that 吾乎 was meant to transcribe *a-wo* (I ACC). Examples of *a wo* can be found written phonetically in MYS 3013, 3362, 3416, 3456 and so on. While there are many more examples of *a wo* in Old Japanese texts, I have found four examples of *wa wo* (MYS 2483, 3432, 3562, and 4427), all written 和乎. For the time being I stick with *wa wo*.

you roof ship GEN existence PART
to **you**, the deity of the rafters [lit. roof-ship]...(8).

奈牟多知 疫 鬼之住 加登 定
namu-tati YEYAMYI [N-O] ONI no SUMYIka to SADAMEY
you PLR plague DV[3]-ATT demon GEN dwelling DV-INF establish-(INF)
You (officials) will establish the dwelling of the demons of the

賜 比 行 賜 弖
TAMAp-yi OMOMUKEY TAMAP-YIte
HON-INF send-(INF) HON-GER
plagues, and send [someone] there, and...(16).

These last two entries require some explanation, because, as is the case with all these pronominal examples, the Chinese graph gives no hint to the proper reading (other than the last example). The graph 汝 is glossed in some texts as *na(muti)*, while others have it glossed as *imasi*. Either reading seems likely, so a word should be said about both.

Imasi. Japan's oldest extant Chinese-Japanese character dictionary, *Shinsen jikyô* (897), contains the following entry: "儞 Also written as 禰. (Chinese pronunciation) spelled as 女履 (LMC ni). It means 'you' (汝), read *imasi*, or *kyimyi* in the vernacular (1992:79)."

This entry indirectly alludes to the fact that *imasi* and *kyimyi* had the same meaning, though it is clear from various usages that *kyimyi* often (at least in the Nara and early Heian eras) had a sense of respect and honor attached to it, as well as referring to the male in poetry.

Namuti. This word is related to *na* 'you', but the word *namuti* never appears in *Kojiki*.[4] Consider the name of the deity Ôanamuti--son of Susanoo--written 大己貴命 in *Nihon shoki*. It is important to note that an annotative gloss in the text of the first book of the 'Age of the

[3] There may be some debate about whether this *no* is a defective verb, or the genitive case marker. I interpret this *no* to be the defective verb *n-o*. If this *no* was the genitive case marker, 疫鬼 *yeyamyi no oni* would mean demons of the plague. If one interprets this *n-o* as a defective verbal, then the demon becomes a personification of the plague. I adhere to this second interpretation because of the nature of the liturgies where various objects and people are personified.

[4] I say that because *Kojiki* is the oldest extant text in Japan with a substantial amount of material spelled phonetically.

Gods' comments on this name, saying that it should be read 於褒婀娜武智 *opo anamuti*. The spelling of this name suggests that the first two characters of 大己貴命 are rebus. Therefore, the second character 己 'self' is to be read (*a*)*namu*, making this appellation 'BIG anamu-ti'. The initial a- may be nothing more than an echo vowel, and I theorize that 己 represents the second person singular pronoun *namu*. Ôno et al. (1994:995) propose that this word *namuti* is formed from the old second person *na* plus the word for kindred *mutu*. This explanation does not elucidate the usage in liturgy 16, where the second person pronoun is spelled 奈牟 *namu* plus the plural 多知 *tati*. I am inclined to view *namu* as the original second person pronoun. This may have later been shortened to *na*.

Further evidence can be gleaned from the edicts. The majority of cases of this second person pronoun are written 汝, but there is one clear case, in edict #14, where *na ga* is written phonetically:

伊夜嗣　爾 奈賀 御 命　聞　　看　止
iya TUG-I n-i ***na ga*** *MYIKOTO KYIKOS-IMYES-E to*
more inherit-INF DV-INF **you GEN** HON-deity rule-COM DV-INF
Having declared, "**You** will rule this land that has been further

勅　　夫
NOR-I-TAMAp-u
declare-ATT
passed on..." (edict #14).

I have thus opted to read the graph 汝 as *na*. This second person pronoun is cognate with Middle Korean *ne* 'thou'.

Perhaps the final word for the reading of this graph comes from the various books of *Man'yôshû* where much of the poetry is written in phonetic script. Table one shows the number of phonetically attested second person pronouns:

Na	*Imasi*
20	3

Tbl. 1. Second Person Pronoun in *Man'yôshû*

On the strength of these figures I believe 汝 was used to represent the Old Japanese pronoun *na*.[5]

4.2.2 Demonstrative Pronoun

There are only two demonstrative pronouns in the liturgies, *ko* 'this', and *so* 'that'. 'This' occurs as *kore* twice and three times in the attributive form, *kono* 'this X'. *Sore* is used like an indefinite pronoun.

Kore
此 乎 物 知 人 等 乃卜 事 乎 以弖
***KORE wo** MONO SIR-I PYITO-TATI no URAGOTO wo MOT-Ite*
this ACC thing know-INF person PLR GEN divination thing ACC have-INF-GER
Even though the wise men took **this** [the will of the deity]

卜 止母
URAP-YE DOMO
divine-COND CSS
and used divination [to divine it]...(4).

大 殿 祭 此 云 於保登能保加比
*OPO-TONO POKAP-I **KORE** [WO] opo tono pokap-yi [TO] IP-U*
great mansion pronounce blessings-INF **this** ACC great mansion pronounce blessings-ITR-INF DV-INF say-FIN
The Great Mansion Blessing: **this** is read *opo tono pokap-yi* (8).

皇 我 宇都 御 子 皇 御孫 之 命
SUMYE WA [GA] udu [NO] MYI-KWO SUMYE MYI-MA NO MYI-KOTO
imperial I GEN noble GEN HON-child imperial HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity
My imperial, noble child, the imperial grandchild—

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[5] I should mention that while the edicts contain one phonetic example of both *na* and *imashi*, there are eight phonetic examples of *myimasi*. This pronoun is only found in the edicts, and scholars believe it to be an honorific form of *imasi*, referring to the throne as an indirect referent for the person (Nakada et al. 1983:1576, Ôno et al. 1994:1271). Is it not also plausible that this specialized form is the honorific prefix *myi* attached to the second person pronoun *imasi*: *myi* + *imasi* > *myimasi*?

此 乃 天 津 高 御 座 爾 坐 弖 天 津
KOno AMA tu TAKAMYI-KURA *ni IMAS-Ite AMA tu*
this-ATT heaven LG high HON-throne LOC (be) HON-INF-GER heaven LG
[he will] sit in **this high throne of heaven**, and rule over

日 嗣 乎 万 千 秋 乃 長 秋 爾
pyiTUG-YI wo YORODU TIAKYI no NAGA AKYI ni
sun inherit-INF ACC ten thousand thousand autumns GEN long autumn LOC
the heavenly sun-inheritance, the great eight island eternal reed land

大 八 洲 豊 葦 原 瑞 穂 之 國 乎
OPOYASIMA TOYO ASI PARA [NO]MYIDUPO no KUNI wo
great eight island eternal reed plain GEN rare rice ear GEN land ACC
of ten thousand, one thousand autumns, long autumns, the land of

安 國 止 平 気 久 志呂志女須
YASU KUNI to TAPYIRAkey-ku sirosimyes-u
peace land DV-INF safe-INF (rule) HON-FIN
rare rice ears, [ruling] in peace and safety (8).

此 六 御懸 爾 生 出 甘 菜 辛 菜
KONO *ROKU MYI-AGATA ni NAR-I ID-URU AMANA KARANA*
this-ATT six HON-district LOC grow-INF appear-ATT sweet herbs bitter herbs
the sweet and bitter herbs grown in **these** six districts... (1).

此 皇 神 御 前 爾 辞 竟 奉 久
KONO *SUMYE KAMIY MYI-MAPYE ni KOTO WOPEY MATUR-Aku*
this-ATT imperial deity HON-front LOC thing finish-(INF) HON-NML
Finishing [these] words, [given] before **this** imperial deity...(3).

An interesting example of *koko* 'here, this place' used as 'this' appears in the edicts.

許己 知 天 謹 万利 浄 心 乎 以 天
koko *SIR-Ite TUTUSImar-I KYIYWO-KYI KOKORO wo MOT-Ite*
this (thing) know-GER being discreet-INF pure-ATT heart ACC with-GER
Knowing **this**, with a pure heart that is discreet...(edicts #45).

Here *koko* refers back to the previous sentence. This usage likely is related to *koko* 'here', meaning 'this [item] here'. The verb *tutusimari* is not seen in any other record. Omodaka et al. (1967:470) interpret this to be an extension of *tutusim-* 'be careful, be discreet', with the meaning of continuing, enduring.

Sore
神 主 爾 某 官 位 姓 名 乎
*KAMUNUSI n-i **SORE** [NO] TUKASA KURAWI KABANENA wo*
officiator DV-INF **that** GEN official position title name ACC
And **I (lit. that official with that position and title)** having been

定 弖
SADAMEY-te
establish-(INF)-GER
established as the officiator...(2).

今 年 某 月 某 日 諸
*KOTOSI **SORE TUKIY** [NO] **SORE PYI** MOROMORO*
this year **that month** GEN **that day** various
On **such-and-such a day in such-and-such a month**, the various

参 出 来 弖
MAWI IDE K-YIte
HON-INF appear-(INF) come-GER
[officials] will respectfully come and appear [here], and...(3).

In these examples *sore* 'that' functions as if it was an indefinite pronoun, but as I believe EOJ had no indefinite pronouns, a demonstrative pronoun was used instead. There are several examples of the demonstrative pronoun in the liturgies, but these are all in the genitive *sono*.

其　負 而　可　仕　奉　姓
SONO OP-YITE TUKAPEY-MATUR-UBEYKYI KABANE
that-GEN carry-GER serve-(INF) HON-DEB-ATT title
(We) bestow (upon foreigners) the title and name they should bear

名　賜
NA TAMAP-U
name HON-FIN
(lit. **that bearing** of it), and (under this name) they should serve the court (edict #5).

其　事　免　賜 比
SONO KOTO Ø YURUS-I TAMAP-YI
That-GEN thing Ø pardon-INF HON-INF
And (we) exempt (them) from **that thing**...(edict #13).

4.2.3 Interrogative Pronoun

There is only one interrogative pronoun in the liturgies, *idure* 'which'. It appears only once in the database.

誰　神 曾 天　下 乃 公　民
***IDURE** [N-O] KAMIY so AMEY [NO] SITA no OPOMYI-TAKARA*
which DV-INF deity PT heaven GEN below GEN great-HON-treasures
Which deity, exactly, is it [who destroys] the things created

乃 作　作　物　乎
no TUKUR-I TUKUR-U MONO wo
GEN make-INF make-ATT thing ACC
[harvested] by the people under heaven (4)?

4.2.4 Reflexive Pronoun

There is only one reflexive pronoun in the liturgies, *ono* 'oneself'. All cases noted below are restricted in distribution, and thus belong to what Martin terms adnouns or prenouns (1988:745).

手　麻我比 足　麻我比 不 令　為 弖
TE [NO] magapyi ASI [NO] magapyi NAS-ASIMEY-ZU S-Ite

hand GEN confusion feet GEN confusion make-CAUS-NEG/INF do-GER
Prevent [lit. do not make there to be] confusion of the hands and

親 王 諸 王 諸 臣
MYI-KWO-TATI OPO-KYIMYI TATI MAPYE-TU-KYIMYI-TATI
HON-child PLR great lord PLR before-LG-lord PLR
feet, and let there be no **selfish** opposition [lit. **self** opposing and

百 官 人 等 乎 己
*MWOMWO [NO] TUKASA PYITO-TATI wo **ONO [GA]***
hundred GEN officials person PLR ACC **self GEN**
opposing] by the imperial princes, princes, various ministers,

乖 乖 不 令 在
SOMUK-YI SOMUK-YI AR-ASIMEY-Z-U
oppose-INF oppose-INF be-CAUS-NEG-FIN
and the hundred officials (8).

己 母 犯 罪
***ONO [GA]** PAPA Ø WOKAS-ER-U TUMYI*
self GEN mother Ø rape-PROG-ATT crime
(The earthly crimes of) having raped **one's** mother,

己 子 犯 罪
***ONO [GA]** KWO Ø WOKAS-ER-U TUMYI*
self GEN child Ø rape-PROG-ATT crime
[or] raping **one's own** child...(10).

There is an example of this reflexive pronoun in the edicts written phonetically, quoted below.

人 祖 乃 意能賀 弱児 乎 養 治
*PYITO [NO] OYA no **ono** ga WAKUGWO wo PYIDAS-U*
person GEN parent GEN **SELF** GEN child ACC raise-ATT
And like a person's parent raising his/her **own** (young)

事 乃 如 久
KOTO no KOTO-ku

thing DV-ATT be like-INF
child...(edict #3).

4.3 Numerals

All numbers from 'one' to 'ten' appear in the liturgies, along with 'hundred', 'thousand', and 'ten thousand'. It is unfortunate that none of these numerals is attested in phonetic script, but the values of the vowels of each number are attested in other OJ texts. Below is an example for each of the attested numbers in the liturgies.

一 年 二 年 爾 不在
PYITO TOSE PUTA TOSE ni ARAZU
one year **two** year LOC not exist
Not **one or two** years...(4).

春 日 能 三 笠 山
*KASUGA no **MYIKASA** [NO] YAMA*
Kasuga GEN **Myikasa** GEN mountains
Mount Mikasa (**three sedge-hats**) of Kasuga...(2).

四方 國 能 獻 礼 留 御調
***YOMO** [NO] KUNI n-o TATEMATUr-er-u MYI-TUKIY*
four directions DV-ATT land DV-AT present (HUM)-PROG-ATT HON-tribute
the tribute that is presented from the provinces of the **four quarters**...(2).

五 色 物
***ITU IRO** [NO] MONO*
five color GEN thing
the things of **five** colors[6] [coarse silk offerings]...(3).

倭 國 乃 六 御縣 能 刀禰
*YAMATO [NO] KUNI no **MUTU** [NO] MYI-AGATA no twone*
Yamato GEN land GEN **six** GEN HON district GEN official
the officials[7] of the **six** districts of the province of Yamato...(3).

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[6] The five colors were red, blue, yellow, white and black (Takeda 1985:397, n12).

夜　七日　　昼　七日
YWO NANUKA PYI NANUKA
night **seven day daytime seven day**
(For) **seven nights and seven days**...(12).

八百　万　　神　等　乎　神　集
***YA PO YORODU** [N-O] KAMIY-TATI wo KAMU-TUDWOP-YE*
eight hundred ten thousand DV-ATT deity-PLR ACC deity-gather-INF call
together the **eight million** deities [and assemble them]

賜　比
TAMAp-yi
HON-INF
as deities...(10).

許許太久 乃　罪　乎
***kokodaku** n-o TUMYI wo*
many DV-ATT transgressions ACC
(make) the **many**[8] transgressions (transgressions of heaven)...(10).

十　市
TOWOTI
towoti (place name)
(district of) Tooti (**ten markets**) (1)

嶋　能　八十　堕　　事　無
*SIMA n-o **YASWO** OTUR-U KOTO NA-KU*
island DV-ATT **eighty** drop out-ATT thing no-INF
without one of the **eighty** islands dropping out...(1).

八百　稲　千 稲　爾 引　居　置 弖
***YAPO-SINE TI-SINE** ni PIK-YI SUW-E OK-YIte*
eight hundred rice **thousand** rice LOC pull-INF arrange-INF

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[7] It should be noted that this *twone* is unrelated to *toneri* 'palace chamberlain'. The latter consists of *tono* 'palace' and *iri* 'enter'.

[8] As noted in Chapter 10, #15, I wonder if the number nine is not composed of *kokono-* plus a counter suffix *tu* (cf. Martin 1987:454). If this is true, then perhaps the word *kokodaku* < **kokonota* 'many' is related to the number nine. Because of this suspicion, I place *kokodaku* here.

place-INF
pull, arrange, and place [thus, present] **eight hundred, one thousand** (ears of) rice...(3).

As can be shown from these numerous examples, numbers functioned as nouns, being attached to other nouns without particles or morphology. This fact lends evidence that anciently Japanese was a language where nouns could be attached without morphology, and word order made the semantics clear. This characteristic is typical, at least, of other Asuka era documents (the poetry of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*), and this syntactic nature of the liturgies again shows the antiquity of these texts.

4.3.1 Classifiers

Old Japanese (as well as later stages of the language) uses classifiers, often known as 'counters', when counting specific objects. There are few examples preserved in our texts, and it most of these are classifiers used for deities, emperors (or those related to the imperial household), and objects related to these two classes of beings. The word order is number and then classifier (# CLAS). I have given one example of each classifier found in the liturgies, and these classifiers have been compared with the list in *Jidai betsu kokugo daijiten* (Omodaka et al. 1967:843-850). There are two classifiers in the liturgies, however, that are not accounted for in the dictionary. I have also given those two below (*tuka* and *apyi*).

The first classifier is *pasira,* used to count deities or imperial personages, who were in fact viewed as being divine in nature.

比賣 神 四 柱 能 皇 神
*pyimye KAMIY **YO PASIRA** n-o SUMYE KAMIY*
princess deity **four CLAS** DV-ATT imperial deity
the princess deities, the **four imperial deities**...(2).

The next is a counter for days, *ka*. This classifier has also become a bound morpheme in modern words like *ituka* 'someday' or *futuka* 'second day of the month'. Martin (1987:430) believes this word to be related to *koyomyi* 'calendar' (literally 'to read days')[9] and *key*

[9] This assumes Martin's theory is correct.

(*ka-Ci > key 'day'). The relationship with *ko* (in *koyomyi*) and *ka* may be analogous to the two case markers *no* and *na* noted below (cf. 4.4.4.2.1.3).

此　　七日　爾
KONO NANUKA ni
this **seven CLAS** DAT
in these **seven days** (12)

Another classifier counted layers of things, or things that accumulated one upon each other, like fabric, mats, waves, fences, snow, or clouds. The classifier was *pye*. Martin (1987:403) wonders if this word is not derived from *pira* 'flat object' (pira > pia > pye), with medial -r- loss. It has been pointed out to me that because the constraint in Whitman's law is the shortness of the vowel that allows the loss of the -r-, OJ *pyira* should not have survived if the medial -i- was short (Mathias, p.c.). Thus we must find another etymology to account for *pye*.

天 之　八重 雲　　乎
*AMA no **YAPYE KUMWO** wo*
heaven GEN **eight CLAS clouds** ACC
[take and divide] the **eight layers of heavenly clouds**...(10).

Another classifier is *tuka*, which measures how much grain one can grab in his/her hand. This measurement is used exclusively in the liturgies to denote a handful of (rice) grain.

八 束　穂 能 伊加志穂
***YA TUKA PO** no ikasi PO*
eight CLAS rice GEN vibrant rice
eight handfuls of rice, of vibrant rice (1)

The last classifier is 'meet' (*apyi*), used for things that meet (or come) together, be it people or inanimate objects.[10]

---

[10] Interesting that this classifier is seen in a poem composed by Genji while he was banished to Akashi:

umi ni masu	If I do not entreat
kami no tasuke ni	the assistance of the deity
kakarazu fa	who dwells in the sea,

荒 塩 之 塩 乃 八百道 乃 八塩 道 乃 塩 乃
ARASIPO no SIPO no YAPO DI no YASIPODI no SIPO no
rough tide GEN tide GEN eight hundred path GEN eight tides path GEN tide GEN
The deity known as Hayaki Hime, who dwells where

八 百 会 爾坐 須 速 開 都 比咩 止 云 神
***YAPO APYI** ni IMAs-u PAYA AKYI tu pyimye to IP-U KAMIY*
eight hundred path DAT be (HON)-ATT quick opening LG female QUOT say-ATT deity
the **eight hundred [folds of water] meet** on the eight-tide path, the eight hundred paths of rough tide...(10).

4.4 Nouns

As noted above, nouns were free forms that consisted of bound stems plus other nouns (like *sirakumwo* 'white clouds), or simple free forms (*sirwo* or *kumwo*). Nouns were not morphonologically complex like verbs. This, no doubt, explains why many descriptions of Old Japanese fail to address nouns at all. Iwai's description (1981) of the language of the liturgies and edicts does not contain a section on nouns (*taigen* 体言 in Japanese). Lewin (1959:42-43) addresses nouns, but he essentially follows the traditional (*kokugogaku*) explanation, providing German translations for Japanese terms (like Formalnomina for *keishiki meishi*). My description includes nouns, because various interesting phenomena related to this part of speech need to be described.

Nouns were morphonologically rather simple in EOJ, and various morphemes attach either to the beginning or end of nouns. Honorific prefixes, plural suffixes, and case markers are the most often attached morphemes to nouns. There are many examples of common nouns in the liturgies. Below are five examples.

山 野 物 波
***YAMANWO** [NO] **MONO** pa*

---

sifo no yafoafi ni sasurafenamasi	I surely would be adrift in the sea where the eight hundred tides meet.

mountain plain GEN thing TOP
as for **things** of the **mountain plain** (15)

奥 都 毛波 邊 津 毛波 爾 至 麻弖
OKI tu mwopa pye tu mwopa *ni ITAR-U made*
offing LG seaweed shore LG seaweed DAT extend-ATT-TERM
even till [the last bit of] the seaweed on the offing and the seaweed on the shore...(5).

高 間 原 爾
TAKA MA PARA *ni*
high heaven field LOC
in the **high plain of heaven** (1)

御 弓 御 大刀 御 鏡 鈴
MYI-TORASI MYI-PAKASI MYI-KAGAMYI SUZU
HON-bow HON-sword HON-mirror bells
[As for the divine treasures to be presented] pull and line up

衣 笠 御 馬 乎 引 並 弖
KYINUGASA MYI-UMA *wo PYIK-YI NARABEY-te*
Silk hat HON-horse ACC pull-INF-arrange-(INF)-GER
the bows, canopy, swords, mirrors, bells, canopies, and horses...(5).

奈牟多知 疫 鬼 之 住加 登 定
namu-tati ***YEYAMYI*** *[N-O] ONI no* ***SUMYIka*** *to SADAMEY*
you PLR **plague** DV-ATT **demon** GEN **dwelling** TRAN establish-(INF)
You (officials) will establish the **dwelling of the demons of**

賜 比 行 賜 弖
TAMAp-yi OMOMUKEY TAMAP-YIte
HON-INF send-(INF) HON-GER
the plagues, and [someone] there, and...(16).

4.4.1 Temporal Nouns

Temporal nouns are grouped here because of their morpho-syntactic function. This group of nouns is never followed by case markers, and do not take suffixes. There is only one exception to this rule: the genitive marker *no* used to connect a temporal noun to another noun. The following temporal nouns appear in the liturgies: *ima* 'now, present', and *kyepu* 'today, this day', *kotosi* 'this year'.

今 母 去 前 母 天皇 我 朝廷 乎
IMA *mo YUK-U SAKYI mo SUMYERA ga MYI-KADWO wo*
now PT go-ATT before PT emperor GEN HON-court ACC
Now and even in the future, the emperor will pacify

平 久
TAPYIRAKEY-ku
safe-INF
the court...(2).

今 日 能 朝 日
KYEPU *no* ***ASAPYI***
today GEN **morning** sun
the **morning** sun **today** [rises]...(4).

自 今日 始 弖
KYEPU *YWORI PAZIMEY-te*
today from begin-(INF)-GER
beginning from **today** (10)

今 年 二月 爾
KOTOSI *KISARAGI ni*
This year second month DAT
On **this year**, second month (1)

The edicts preserved in *Shoku nihongi* contain examples of two other temporal nouns: *kyinopu* 'yesterday', and *asu* 'tomorrow'.

昨 日 能 冬 至 日 仁
KYINOPU *no PUYU [NO] KYIPAMYI [NO] PYI ni*

yesterday GEN winter GEN limit GEN day LOC
On the day **yesterday**, the winter equinox...(edict #46).

It seems clear that the words for 'today' and 'yesterday' are related. The two etymologies are *kyepu* < **ki-apu*, and *kyinopu* < **ki-no-apu*, but I am at a loss to explain what the *no* in 'yesterday' means. It may be a relic of a verbal (a defective verbal?), but this is simple conjecture.

大　　臣　　明日者 参　　出　来
*OPOMAPEYTUKYIMYI **ASU** PA MAWI IDE K-YI*
Great minister **tomorrow** TOP HON-INF appear-(INF) come-INF
As for tomorrow, (while) I am waiting for the great minister

仕　　牟 止 待　比
TUKAPEY-mu to MATAp-yi
serve-(INF)-TENT DV-INF wait-ITR-INF
to come and appear (at court) and serve...(edict #51).

4.4.2 Spatial Nouns

Spatial nouns are words oriented towards space and its dimensions. Like temporal nouns, I place spatial nouns in a separate subcategory because of functional considerations. Spatial nouns do not have a plural. This category of nouns also functions like quasi-postpositions. Spatial nouns appearing in the liturgies are: *upey* 'upward', *simwo* 'downward', *mapye* 'forward, front', *uti* 'inside', *two* 'outside', *naka* 'middle', and *suwe* 'tip'.

upey / upa 'top'
上　　往　者上　乎 守　理
***UPEY** [YWORI] YUK-ABA **UPEY** wo MAMOr-i*
above ABL go-HYP **above** ACC protect-INF
If [they] go from **above**, then you will protect **above**...(14).

吾　　名背 能　命　　波上 津国 乎
*WA [GA] NASE no MYI-KOTO pa **UPA** tu KUNI wo*
I GEN beloved GEN HON-deity TOP **upper** LG land ACC
As for my beloved, [you] must rule the **upper** land.

所 知 食　倍志　吾 波 下　津 国　乎 所 知 牟
SIROSIMYES-Ubey-si WARE pa SIMWO tu KUNI wo SIROS-Am-u
rule-DEB-FIN I TOP lower LG land ACC rule-TENT-FIN
I will rule the lower land (12).

simwo 'below'
下　都 磐根爾 宮　柱　太　知　立
***SIMWO** tu IPANE ni MYIYA PASIRA Ø PUTWO SIR-I TATE*
below-LG rock root LOC palace pillar Ø thick possess-INF stand-(INF)
raise the thick palace pillars on the bedrock **below**...(1).

吾　名背 能　命　波 上　津 国　乎
WA [GA] NASE no MYI-KOTO pa UPA tu KUNI wo
I GEN beloved GEN HON-deity TOP upper LG land ACC
As for my beloved, [you] must rule the upper land.

所 知 食　倍志　吾 波 下　津 国　乎 所 知 牟
*SIROSIMYES-Ubey-si WARE pa **SIMWO** tu KUNI wo SIROS-Am-u*
rule-DEB-FIN I TOP **lower** LG land ACC rule-TENT-FIN
I will rule the **lower** land (12).

mapye 'front, before'
皇　神　等　能 前　爾 白　久
*SUMYE KAMIY-TATI no **MAPYE** ni MAWOS-Aku*
imperial deity-PLR GEN **front** LOC speak-NML
Before [lit. in front of] the imperial deities I speak...(1).

uti 'inside'
四 方 内 外　御　門　爾
*YOMO **UTI** TWO [NO] MYI-KADWO ni*
four quarters **inside** outside GEN HON-gate LOC
In the **inner** and outer gates of the four quarters...(9).

国 中　爾
***KUNUTI** ni*
inside country LOC
inside the country (10)

This last example is a contraction of *kuni* 'land' and *uti* 'inside' (*kuni+uti* > *kunuti*).

大　宮　　内 爾
*OPO MYI [NO] **UTI** ni*
great palace GEN **inside** LOC
Inside the great palace...(16).

two 'outside'
四 方　内　外　　御　門　爾
*YOMO UTI **TWO** [NO] MYI-KADWO ni*
four quarters inside **outside** GEN HON-gate LOC
In the inner and **outer** gates of the four quarters...(9).

naka 'in the middle'
本　　末 乎波　山　　神　爾 祭　弖
MOTO SUWE wo ba YAMA [NO] KAMIY ni MATUR-Ite
base tip ACC TOP mountain GEN deity DAT worship-GER
Worship the deity of the mountain [with] the base and tip

中　間　乎 持　　出　来弖
***NAKARA** wo MOT-I IDE K-YIte*
middle ACC hold-INF take out-(INF) come-GER
[of the tree], and take out, and bring the **middle** [portion of the tree]...(8).

There is one example in the liturgies that employs the character 中, but is neither *naka*, nor *uti*. I believe it is influenced by a Koreanism first pointed out by Miller and Murayama (1979:422). The sentence in question from the liturgies is as follows:

今 年　　十一月　　中 卯　　日 爾
KOTOSI SIMWOTUKIY NI U [NO] PYI ni
this year eleventh month DAT hare GEN day LOC
On the day of the hare in the eleventh month of this year...(14).

It should be noted that no text has this phrase glossed with any interlinear readings, meaning that it was understood. The problem, however, is whether the above graph 中 be read *naka* 'inside' or *ni*

'on, during'. I have followed Miller and Murayama (ibid.) as seeing this character transcribe Japanese (time) locative *ni*.

suwe 'tip'

大 木 小 木 乎 本 末 打 切 弖 持
OPOKIY WOGIY wo MQTQ SUWE UTI-KYIR-Ite MQT-I
big tree little tree ACC base tip PV-cut-GER hold-INF
cut the base and tips of big trees and little trees, and respectfully

参 来弖
MAWI K-YIte
HON-INF come-GER
bring them, and ...(1).

本 末 乎波 山 神 爾 祭 弖
*MQTQ **SUWE** wo ba YAMA [NQ] KAMIY ni MATUR-Ite*
base **tip** ACC TOP mountain GEN deity DAT worship-GER
Worship the deity of the mountain [with] the base and **tip**

中 間 乎 持 出 来弖
NAKARA wo MQT-I IDE K-YIte
middle ACC hold-INF take out-(INF) come-GER
[of the tree], and take out, and bring the middle [portion of it]...(8).

4.4.3 Prefix

In the liturgies, there are two productive prefixes, the honorific prefix *myi*, and the honorific prefix *opo*. These are bound forms that attach to nouns, and elevate the noun.

4.4.3.1 Honorific Prefix *myi*

The most common honorific prefix in the Japanese liturgies is *myi-*. Martin (1987:476) theorizes that this comes from *imyi* 'avoid': *imi > mi-. This is speculation, but there is no way to prove or refute it at this point. The oldest stratum of texts and inscriptions say very little about this honorific prefix, so I say nothing further.

This honorific prefix attaches to animate as well as inanimate nouns. In effect, whatever was related to deity or the imperial family was

elevated. Below are a few simple examples of the honorific prefix with context.

御 年 皇 神 等 能 前 爾
MYI-TOSI *[N-O] SUMYEGAMIY-TATI no MAPYE ni*
HON-year DV-ATT imperial deity-PLR GEN before DAT
[I humbly] speak before you imperial deities of

白 久
MAWOS-Aku
speak NML
this (honorable) year (1).

天 乃 御 蔭
AMA no ***MYI-KAGEY***
heaven GEN **HON-shadow**
The heavenly **shadow**...(2).

皇 神 能 御名 乎
SUMYE KAMIY no ***MYI-NA*** *wo*
imperial deity GEN **HON-name** ACC
[I speak] **the (honorable) name** of the imperial deity...(3).

御 鏡 鈴 衣 笠 御 馬 乎
MYI-KAGAMYI *SUZU KYINUGASA* ***MYI-UMA*** *wo*
HON-mirror bells canopy **HON-horse** ACC
pull and line up the **mirrors**, bells, canopies,

引 並 弖
PYIK-YI NARABEY-te
pull-INF-arrange-(INF)-GER
and **horses**...(5).

皇 御 孫 命 能宇豆乃 幣 帛 乎
SUMYE ***MYI-MA*** *[NO]* ***MYI-KOTO*** *no udu no* ***MYI-TEGURA*** *wo*
imperial **HON-grandchild** GEN **HON-deity** GEN noble DV-ATT **HON-offering** ACC
[present] the noble **offerings** of the **honorable imperial grandchild**...(7).

4.4.3.2 Honorific Prefix *opo*

The honorific prefix *opo*, meaning 'big(ness)', attached to both animate and inanimate nouns, like the prefix *myi*. The prefix *opo* elevated the noun it affixed to by ascribing a sense of grandeur, analogous to 'great' in English. There are also times when both prefixes (*opo* and *myi*) occur, and the prefix *opo* would thus elevate the honorific noun further. The order of prefixation is *opo* + *myi* + N. Below are two examples each of animate and inanimate nouns prefixed with *opo*.

大　宮　乃 賣
OPO*-*MYIYA* *no* *mye
HON-palace GEN female
(the deity) the female of the **great** palace (1)

皇　大　御 神　能 大　前　爾
SUMYE ***OPO*-*MYI*-*KAMIY*** *no* ***OPO*-*MAPYE*** *ni*
imperial **HON**-HON-deity GEN **HON**-before LOC
(place the offerings) before the **great** imperial deity...(1).

大　幣　帛　乎
OPO*-*MYI*-*TEGURA *wo*
HON-**HON**-offering ACC
(present) the **great** offerings (2)

大　野 能 原 爾
OPO*-*NWO *n*-*o* *PARA* *ni*
HON-field DV-ATT field LOC
On the field of the **great** field (3)

4.4.4 Suffixes

Suffixes attached to nouns were a productive part of the limited morphology associated with nouns in Old Japanese. There are four kinds of suffixes in the liturgies: plural markers, case markers, a resemblance marker, and a focus marker.

4.4.4.1 Plural Markers

As Martin (1988:143) has pointed out, Japanese nouns traditionally are vague as to number. In many instances context makes it clear whether the noun is singular or plural. This is not to say that the idea of plurality is foreign to the Japanese. One productive way of denoting the plural is to use nominal reduplication. There are many examples in the liturgies, but three examples given below are sufficient to illustrate this function. In most cases, if the second noun had a voiceless obstruent initial, this became voiced.

種 々 色 物
KUSA GUSA IRO MONO
type type color thing
various colored things (1)

皇 神 等 乃 敷 坐 須 山 山 乃
*SUMYE KAMIY-TATI no SIK-YI IMAs-u **YAMA YAMA** no*
imperial deity-PLR SUB spread out-INF HON-ATT **mountain mountain** GEN
From the mouths of the **mountains** ruled over by the

自 口
KUTI YWORI
mouth ABL
imperial deities...(3).

品 々 乃 幣 帛 備 弖
***SINAZINA** no MYI-TEGURA SWONAPEY-te*
category category GEN HON-offering Ø prepare-(INF)-GER
prepare various **kinds** of offerings, and...(4).

Though nominal reduplication is productive in the liturgies, a plural marker is also used. The graph used to denote the plural marker is 等. Ôno et al. (1994:805) explain that there are three plural suffixes historically: *tati*, *domo*, and *ra*. According to their explanation, *tati* is used for deities and people, and reflects a sense of esteem for the person. *Domo* is used for one's wife, children, and youth: mainly used for people with whom ceremony is unnecessary. *Ra* is chiefly used

with inanimate objects, but when referring to people, *ra* is used as a pejorative.

Nakata et al. (1983:1000) stress that *tati* is attached with a sense of honorification, while *domo* lacks this. They note (1983:1725) that *ra* is a plural marker, and then quote Rodriguez's dictionary (1603) that notes that ra is used as a pejorative. To this Nakata et al. add, "This tendency can be found even further back (in time)." Here the scholarly tendency is for sweeping conclusions based on rather unclear data.

In order to analyze the usage in our database, phonetic examples must be used. Consider the following examples from both the liturgies and edicts.

奈牟多知	*namutati* (16) 'you'
神多知	*KAMIY tati* (edict #13) 'deities'
臣多知	*OMYI tati* (edict #13) 'ministers'
王多知	*OPOKYIMYI tati* (edict #13) 'princes'
汝多知	*IMASI tati* (edict #13) 'you'
汝多知	*IMASI tati* (edict #17) 'you'
祖止母	*OYA domo* (edict #13) 'ancestors'
人止母	*PYITO domo* (edict #16) 'people'
奴止母	*YATUKWO domo* (edict #43) 'knaves'

It must be noted that in edict #17, the empress is chastising her servants, and the edict starts off with the words 汝多知 *imasi tati* 'you servants'.[11] Below is a quote from this important edict, in which the plural appears several times, written phonetically.

汝　多知　諸　者 吾　近　姪 奈利
IMASI tati *MOROMORO PA WA [GA] TIKA-KYI WOPI nar-i*
you PLR various TOP I GEN close-INF nephew be-FIN
As for all **you** various servants, you are [like] my close nephews.

又　豎 子　卿　等 者　天皇
MATA WARAPA ***MAPYETUKYIMYI TATI*** *PA SUMYERA [GA]*
Also children **minister PLR** TOP emperor GEN
Also [like] children of the emperor, serving as **ministers**,

[11] As noted above under personal pronouns, it is possible that in this edict 汝 should be read *na(mu)-* instead of *imasi*. For the time being I follow the interlinear gloss of the edicts.

大　命　　以　　汝　多知乎 召　而....
*OPOMYIKOTO MOT-ITE **IMASI tati** wo MYES-ITE*
great-HON-command with-GER **you-PLR** ACC summon-GER
you servants were summoned with the great command of the emperor....

汝　多知乃 不能　　爾 依　弖志 如是　在 良志
***IMASI tati** no YO-KAR-ANU ni YOR-Ite si KAKU AR-Urasi*
you-PLR SUB good-IMPSF-NEG-ATT DV-INF because-GER PT thus be-CNJ-FIN
And it seems that this is thus, because of **your** [service], which was not good (edict #17).

Why would the empress honor her servants even as she castigates them? Three clear cases appear in the above quote. Of special note is the last usage, where the empress chastises them for their poor performance at court.

Concerning the last plural, there are only three clear examples of *domo* in the edicts:

1) 汝　多知 乃　祖 止母
IMASI tati no OYA domo
you-PL GEN parent-PL
your ancestors (edict #13)

2) 逆　　在流　人　止母
SAKASIMA NAru PYITO domo
wicked be-ATT person-PL
a group of wicked people (edict #16)

3) 悪　　奴　　止母
ASI-KYI YATUKWO domo
Evil-ATT knave-PL
these evil knaves' (edict #43)

This evidence suggests that *domo* points to a group of people, like English 'bunch' or 'group'. This is even more likely if the actual etymology is related to the word *tomo* 'companion' and *tomo (ni)* 'together with'. The other plural, *tati*, was used as a simple plural, and *domo* was used for a group of people. Perhaps that is what leads

people to theorize that *domo* is a derogatory or less formal usage, because of the lumping together of people. Thus, I believe these plurals have little to do with status (or honorification) in EOJ.

After a careful examination of the *norito* texts, it seems clear to me that only one plural marker is used in the liturgies. That plural is *tati* and is used on individuals, such as deities, servants, or ministers.

奈牟多知 疫 鬼 之 住 加登 定
namu-tati *YEYAMYI [N-O] ONI no SUMYIka to SADAMEY*
you-PLR plague DV-ATT demon GEN dwelling TRAN establish-(INF)
You (officials) will establish the dwelling of the demons of

賜 比 行 賜 弖
TAMAp-yi OMOMUKEY TAMAP-YIte
HON-INF send-(INF) HON-GER
the plagues, and send [someone] there, and...(16).

This example shows that in EOJ *tati* was not reserved just for exalted beings. In the other cases, I have been forced to rely on agreement of interlinear glosses in the manuscripts. Next are three examples where interlinear readings agree between the manuscripts.

皇 神 等 能
SUMYE ***KAMIY-TATI*** *no*
imperial **deity-PLR** GEN
the **imperial deities** (1)

四 柱 能 皇 神 等 能 広 前 仁
YO PASIRA no SUMYE ***KAMIY-TATI*** *no PYIROSAKYI ni*
four CLAS GEN imperial **deity-PLR** GEN broad before LOC
[Standing] in the broad audience of the four **ruling deities**,

白 久
MAWOS-Aku
say-NML
[I], saying, [speak]...(2).

皇 神 等 乃 敷 坐 須 山 山 乃
SUMYE ***KAMIY-TATI*** *no SIK-YI IMAs-u YAMA YAMA no*

imperial **deity-PLR** SUB spread out-INF be (HON)-ATT mountain mountain GEN
From the mouth of the mountains ruled over by

自　　口
KUTI YWORI
mouth ABL
the **imperial deities**...(3).

Because there are no other phonetic examples preserved in the texts regarding different plural markers, I have elected to transcribe all plural 等 as *tati* regardless of the person.

4.4.4.2 Case Markers

There are nine case makers used in the liturgies: *ga, no, tu, na, ni, wo, to, ywori,* and *made*, as well as double case marking. There is also zero case marking (case marker dropped), not discussed in grammars of Old Japanese, outlined after the discussion on case markers.

4.4.4.2.1 Case Markers *ga* and *no*

The first two case markers, *ga* and *no*, have dual functions, serving as both genitive marker and the marker of a subject in a clause. The case marker *ni* also can act as a marker of the subject, but such a usage does not appear in the text of the liturgies. The edicts also preserve *i*, a particle that scholars theorize was a subject marker (Ôno et al. [1994:81]). Because my analysis is based on the liturgies, I do not deal with *i*.[12]

[12] Zachert (1950:65, n14) first calls *i* an auxiliary particle, and later says, "*i* occupies the same position as particles *ga* and *wa*, but also has a strengthening sense such as *zo* and *yo*. It (*i*) can be used after proper names, nouns, and verbs. There are only stylistic differences between *zo*, *yo*, and *i*" (1950:125, n3). This explanation gives one the impression that *i* is an emphatic particle. What Zachert's explanation does not do is tell us the function of the particle. Ôno et al. (1994:81) and Itabashi (1990) believe *i* is an accusative marker. Vovin (1997d:281-87) argues that *i* is an active case marker, and shows that Old Japanese still retained some characteristics of an active typology. John Whitman has informed me that one counterargument to viewing OJ as having an ergative stratum is structures like NP wo Adj-mi (personal communication).

Characteristic	*no*	*ga*
Nominalization	○	X
Inclusion of modified word	○	○
Limits scope of modified word	○	X
Equal relationship between modifier and modified	○	X
Attaches to stem of personal pronouns	○	○
Connects numerals to nouns	○	X
Attaches to nominals used as adverbs	○	X
Connects the object of an adverb	○	X
Connects the object of a verb	○	Only pronouns
Connects the attributive form of a stative verb	○	Only pronouns
Connects a modifier to a stative verb	○	X
Connects adverbial to stative verb	○	X

Fig. 21. Uses of *no* and *ga*

Yamada (1913:400-01) notes the following differences and similarities between *ga* and *no* (figure 21). The symbols ○ and X respectively mean, have that characteristic, and do not have that characteristic.

As Imaizumi has noted (quoted in Matsumura 1969:322-23), *ga* primarily functions as a genitive case marker, while *no* tends to function as a nominative marker. Most grammars tend to simply say that *ga* and *no* are case markers, and leave it at that (cf. Matsumura 1972:61-62). Lewin (1959:75-76) states that *no* functions as an attributive and appositional marker, while *ga* is a possessive and appositional marker. Nakata et al. (1983:316, 1289-90) describe the difference of these two case markers thus: in the structure X *ga* Y, *ga* places emphasis on the noun phrase X, but in the structure X *no* Y, *no* emphasizes the noun phrase Y.

It would be more helpful to have concrete data from a specific text in a specific period so we can screen out any 'noise' from mixing disparate data from different eras. I conducted a search of the prose section of *Kojiki*, checking the use of the graph 之 used as a genitive marker, meaning it could be glossed either as *ga* or *no*. My data are gleaned from *Kojiki taisei* (using the index 1958, volume 8). The results of this examination are noted in figure 22.

The only overlap here is with a demonstrative pronoun plus a case marker. Here are the three typical usages: 此之 read *kore ga* (found three times in the same sentence). There is one example of 此之 read *kore no*, one example of 其之 read *sore no*, and 夫之 read *sore no* once. Are the interlinear readings reliable here? To answer this

question, our next step is to check Onoda (1977) to see if the interlinear readings agree in the various manuscripts.

Ga	Noun + Case Marker	Number	Noun + Case Marker	Number
	Personal PN + ga	11	Reflexive PN + ga	2
	Demonstrative PN + ga	3	Other + ga	0
No				
	Personal PN + no	0	Reflexive PN + no	0
	Demonstrative PN + no	3	Noun + no + Noun	177

Fig. 22. Ga/No in *Kojiki*

Interestingly, *kore ga* is not the archetype, which actually is *kono*. Thus there are no examples of *kore ga* in *Kojiki*. On the other hand, the single example of *kore no* is archetypal. The two examples of *sore no* are hard to explain, but all manuscripts agree that the graph 之 is read *no*. These two examples may actually just represent *sono*.

The remaining examples are N + *no* + N, such as *amey* + *no* + N 'heaven-GEN-N' (45 cases in *Kojiki*), place name + *no* + N (56 cases), or *kuni* + *no* + N 'province-GEN + N' (9 cases). On the surface, it appears that *ga* is a very archaic genitive, attaching to the bound stem of mainly pronouns, while *no* primarily connects a noun to other nouns.

Below I look closer at the usage of both *ga* and *no*, with concrete examples from the liturgies. After this, we return to the issue of the origins of *ga* and *no*, and the difference between these two important case markers.

4.4.4.2.1.1 Case Marker *ga*

Case marker *ga* is used as a genitive marker, connecting two nouns, A *ga* B. In most cases, the first noun was a pronoun. Syromiatnikov (1981:86) notes that this case marker was affixed to two groups of words: words denoting objects with a proper name, and common nouns denoting people, animals, and plants. Lewin (1959:75-76) calls *ga* both a possessive and an appositional, but he offers no further explanation. As Yamada noted (figure 21), *ga* was only used to connect personal pronouns to other parts of speech. The case marker *no* does not occur with personal pronouns. This is not always the case, however. Below are three examples of genitive *ga*.

天 皇 我 朝 廷
***SUMYERA ga** MYI-KADWO*
emperor GEN HON-gate
the emperor's court (2)

齊 部 宿禰 某 我 弱 肩
*IMYIBYE [NO] sukune **SORE ga** YWOWA KATA*
Imibe GEN title **whoever GEN** weak shoulder
the weak shoulders of Imibe Sukune (**whoever** is officiating)...(8).

天 之益 人 等 我 過 犯 家牟
*AMEY NO MAS-U **PYITO-TATI ga** AYAMT-I OKAS-Ikyem-u*
heaven GEN increase-ATT **person-PLR GEN** transgress-INF commit-INF-TENT-RETR-ATT
The various crimes that must have been committed by transgression

雜 雜 罪 事
KUSAGUSA [NO] TUMYI KOTO
various various GEN crimes thing
of people increasing under [lit. of] heaven (10)

The difference here appears to be that *ga* describes a closer relation between the two nouns, while *no* does not. I interpret A *ga* B to mean 'B belonging to A', while A *no* B means 'B of A'. Therefore, old place names like *sekigahara* may have come about from a sense of closeness by the inhabitants: 'the plain belonging to the barrier', insinuating that the plain is protected by the barrier.

This case marker also was used to mark the subject in a subordinate clause.

安 國 登平 久 知食 須我 故
YASU KUNI to PYIRAKYE-ku SIROSIMYEs-u ga YUWE
peaceful land DV-ATT pacify CONT rule-HON-ATT-GEN because because [the land] is ruled as a peaceful and subdued land...(1, 7).

齋 玉 作 等 我 持 齋 波利
***IMYI TAMA TUKURI-TATI ga** MOT-I YUMApar-i*
sacred jewel maker PLR **SUB** hold-INF purify-INF
the makers of the sacred jewels purify (the beads),

持　浄　麻波利　造　仕　礼留
MO̲T-I KYIYWOmapar-i TUKUR-I MATUr-er-u
hold-INF cleanse-INF make-INF HON-PROG-ATT
and cleanse (these beads they) have made...(8).

While our database is too limited to reach sweeping conclusions, it does appear that during the EOJ period *ga* functioned primarily as a genitive case marker. Another example can be found in the edicts.

奈良麿我兵　起　爾　被　雇　多利志
***Naramaro̲ ga** IKUSA Ø OKO̲S-U ni YATO̲P-AYE-tar-isi*[13]
Naramaro SUB soldiers Ø raise-ATT DV-INF hire-PASS-PERF-PROG
The Hada bunch that had been employed when **Naramaro** raised

秦　等　乎婆遠　流　賜　都
PADADOMO woba TO̲PO-KU NAGAS-I TAMAP-YIt-u
Hada-PLR-ACC-PT far-INF banish-INF-HON-PERF-FIN
an army are banished far off (#21).

The remaining comments about this case marker are found under section 4.4.4.2.1.3.

4.4.4.2.1.2 Case Marker *no̲*

The case marker *no̲* also functions as a genitive marker, its function overlapping with *ga*. Case marker *no̲* should not be confused with another *no̲* that I analyze as the attributive form *n-o̲* of the defective verb *n-* 'be' (see 5.4.1). The case marker *no̲* has a somewhat wider usage when used as the marker of a subject in a subordinate clause, however.

First, *no̲* functions as a genitive marker, like *ga*. Consider the following examples.

[13] The verb *yatop-* 'employ' is not attested phonetically, but I agree with Martin (1987:785) that this consists of 'house' + 'visit'. As pointed out in Bentley (1999), I view visit as *to̲p-*, while Martin has *two̲p-*.

Noun GEN noun

皇　　神　　能　前　爾
SUMYE KAMIY no MAPEY ni
imperial deity GEN before LOC
at [a place] **before the imperial deity** (1)

春日　　能　三笠山能下　　津　石根
KASUGA no MYIKASA [NO] SIMWO-tu IPANE
Kasuga GEN Mikasa GEN lower LG rock-root
the deep-rooted rocks **of Mikasa of Kasuga** (2)

皇　　神　　等乃敷　坐須　山　　山　乃
SUMYE KAMIY-TATI no SIK-YI IMAs-u ***YAMA YAMA no***
imperial deity-PLR SUB spread out-INF be (HON)-ATT **mountain mountain GEN**
From **the mouths of the mountains** ruled over by the

自　　口
KUTI YWORI
mouth ABL
imperial deities...(3).

天　能　御　蔭、日能　御　蔭
AMA no MYIKAGEY, PYI no MYIKAGEY
heaven GEN HON-shade sun GEN HON-shade
the shade of heaven, the shade of the sun (6)

Next are several examples where a noun is connected to the subjunctive gerund of a verb with *no*. This usage is clearly a subject marker in a clause.

Noun SUB GER

八束　穂爾皇　　神　能成　　幸　　賜者
YATUKA PO ni ***SUMYE KAMIY no*** *NAS-I SAKYIPAPEY TAMAP-ABA*
eight CLAS ear LOC **imperial deity SUB** make-INF prosper-(INF) HON-COND
If **the imperial deity** prospers the growth of the eight stalks of rice [lit. *to* the rice],

初穂　者汁　爾母穎　爾母千稲　八千稲　爾
PATUPO PA SIRU n-i mo KABYI n-i mo TISINE YATISINE ni
first fruits TOP broth DV-INF PT rice DV-INF PT thousand stalks eight thousand stalks DAT
then (I) will place the first fruits, in broth and in rice, a thousand

引　居弖
PYIK-YI SUWE-te
pull-INF place-(INF)-GER
stalks, eight thousand stalks…(3).

皇　御神　能乞比給万比之　任　爾
SUMYE MYI-KAMIY no KOp-yi TAmap-yisi MANIMA n-i
Imperial HON deity SUB beg-INF HON-RETR while follows DV-INF
Doing as **the imperial deity** has demanded,

此　所　能底　津石根　宮　柱　広
KONO TOKORO n-o SOKO tu IPAne MYIYA PASIRA PYIRO
this place DV-ATT bottom-LG rock root palace pillar wide spread-INF stand-(INF)
(we) set up broadly the palace pillars on the bedrock of this place,

敷　立　高天能原　爾千木　高　知弖
SIK-YI TATE TAKAMA no PARA ni TIGIY TAKA SIR-Ite
high heaven GEN field LOC thousand tree high raise-GER
and raise high the thousand trees in the high plain of heaven…(6).

天　之八重　雲　乎伊頭乃千別　爾千別　弖
*AMA no YAPYE KUMWO wo itu **no** TIWAK-YI ni TIWAK-YIte*
heaven GEN eight CLAS cloud ACC might **GEN** thousand divide-INF DV-INF thousand divide-GER
(The heavenly deity) **mightily divided asunder**, divided into pieces the eight-fold clouds of heaven…(10).

Each of these usages of 'noun' + SUB + 'GER' appears in a sub-ordinate clause. Now consider this usage from the edicts:

高天原爾神　留　坐　皇　親
TAKAMAPARA ni KAMUDUMAR-I MAS-U SUMYERA MUTU

high plain heaven LOC deity reside-INF HON-ATT deity kindred
The imperial, kindred divine male and female progenitors that

神 魯岐 神 魯美 命 吾 孫
KAMUrwokyi KAMUrwomyi [NO] MYIKOTO [NO] A GA MYIMA [NO]
deity male progenitor deity female progenitor GEN HON-existence **SUB** I GEN HON-grandchild **SUB**
reside in the high plain of heaven entrusted this country that is to be

将 知 食 国 天 下 止与佐斯
SIR-AS-AM-U WOS-U KUNI AMEY [NO] SITA to yosas-i
rule-CAUS-TENT-ATT rule-ATT country heaven GEN below DV-INF entrust
ruled over by my grandchildren to those grandchildren, and

奉 志 麻爾麻爾 高 天 原 爾 事 波自米 而
MATUR-Isi mani mani TAKAMAPARA ni KOTO pazimey-TE
HON-INF-RETR CONJ high plain heaven LOC thing begin-(INF)-GER
according [to this command], from the beginning of things in the high plain of heaven...(edict #5).

This one sentence contains two subject-marking *no*, both in dependent clauses. This leads me to suggest that *no* was a broader genitive marker than *ga*. It was seen in the previous section that *ga*, originally a genitive case marker, could also mark the subject in a dependent clause, though this usage was very rare, and somewhat limited. The problem is that other than the difference in usage noted above, *ga* and *no* mirror each other.

4.4.4.2.1.3 Origins of *ga / no*

Though this is a synchronic study, it is still profitable to take a small detour into the history of these two important case markers. Sasaki (1996:39-43) notes that unless a clause contained the defective verbal *to* (my analysis of the defective verbal, not his) after a verb in the predicative, *ga/no* were not used. This means that the subject of a main clause was unmarked (cf. 4.4.4.2.10.1). Because of this, Sasaki calls *ga/no* attributive particles (*rentaikaku joshi*). Sasaki's entire

premise is based on 42 examples of poetry from *Man'yôshû*, but as these case markers are embedded in poetic language, I will refrain from commenting on Sasaki's conclusions, though I generally agree with his analysis. It can be noted that when these two case markers are used as the marker of a subject, the clause is subordinate.

As noted below (4.4.4.2.4) regarding the obsolete case marker *na*, I believe that the overlap of *ga* and *no̲* originates from a split in an older genitive marker that I will posit as *n-kV. This proto-form split into two forms, one that preserved the velar, and one where the velar lenited (figure 23).

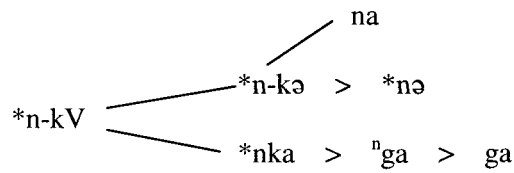

Fig. 23. Development of the Genitive

This idea is not completely original with me. I have taken my cue from Murayama (1956:86) who also believes there was a split, his version illustrated below (figure 24):

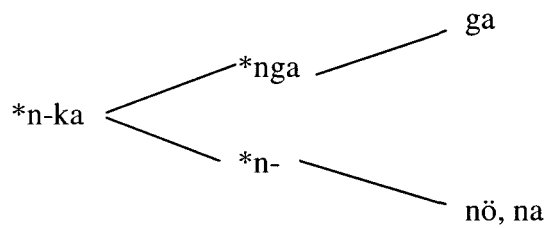

Fig. 24. Murayama's Development

Of course Murayama's nö is our no̲ [nə]. He then relates this particle to a Tungusic case suffix, ŋī < *n-ki. Miller (1971:27-28) generally accepts the conclusions of Murayama, but adds, "All that we can say for certain is that in some of the earliest portions of the Old Japanese corpus, OJ *ga* and OJ *nö* appear to be 'vowel harmony' alternates of each other." Miller does not offer a solution to the apparent overlap of these two, preferring to say (1971:28), "The problem of the connection

between OJ *ga* and OJ *nö* is a very vexatious one, and far from solution."

Vovin (1994a:106) essentially accepts the position of Murayama, but modifies it, positing the following etymologies for Proto-Japanese (PJ), Proto-Manchu-Tungusic (PMT), and Proto-Korean (PK) for two different case markers:

	PJ	PMT	PK
Genitive[1]	*-no	*-ñ[i]	*-ñ
Genitive[2]	*-n-ka	*-ñ-ki	---

Itabashi (1991) undertakes an interesting study of this problem. He believes there were four genitives in pre-Old Japanese, *n, *nö, *na, and *ŋga. Itabashi (1991) is a rather long paper with much interesting material that cannot be critiqued here. While I can accept Itabashi's conclusions with some reservations, I cannot accept many of his etymologies. I also believe that his reconstruction of *ŋga is ad hoc. Internal evidence shows that prenasalization is the origin of most voiced obstruents in pre-Old Japanese (I hedge with 'most', because I believe some voiced obstruents are primordial, and later lenited: *b- > w-).

One of the most important contributions of Itabashi's paper is the explanation for why an original genitive was later used to mark the subject in a clause. Itabashi concludes (1991:241-42), "We find that the genitive case suffix *nö* can function as the subject marker in attributive or subordinate clauses....Since here the verbs and the adjectives are all in the attributive, the clauses following the suffix are considered nominals rather than verbs and adjectives. Therefore, this type also goes back to the original pattern, A *nö* B."

Itabashi reaches a similar conclusion for *ga* (1991:251), "Note that what follows *ŋga* in the examples above is a verb except for the last example...(with *götö-si*)....Thus, we can claim that the suffix *ŋga* precedes only a verb in a subordinate clause, unlike the genitive *nö* which precedes not only a verb but also an adjective."

Thus, the examples noted above show that *ga* and *no* were used in subordinate clauses, where a verb either ends in the attributive, or the gerund, both which function like nouns. The conclusion then is that the use of both *ga* and *no* to mark a subject is an extension of the original function of these case markers connecting two nouns, or noun

phrases. It needs to be noted, furthermore, that the subject of these clauses marked by both *ga* and *no* still functions as a modifier.

I am convinced that these two genitives in Old Japanese have external etymologies, and I also agree with the Murayama-Itabashi-Vovin view in seeing a common origin for the two OJ genitives. Into the Heian and later eras, the case marker *no* became narrowly focussed as a genitive, while *ga* came to mark a subject more frequently. Between OJ and late Heian there was a complete shift in function of these two case markers (naturally we exclude fossilized examples).

4.4.4.2.2 Case Marker *tu*

The case marker *tu* appears in a very limited role, in set words, lexicalized as what appears to be a genitive marker. This usage did not survive into the classical language of the Heian era, other than in phrases that had been lexicalized. Lewin (1959:76) calls this an attributive marker, but does not address the difference between this attributive, and *no* that he also classifies as an attributive (cf. 1959:75). Nakata et al. (1983:1074) also label *tu* an attributive marker, saying it marks place, time, and the character of the noun to which it attaches. Ôno et al. (1994:1484) do not classify this case marker as anything but a particle that marks the place of existence.

Below I list all examples from the liturgies, which have the marker *tu* written in phonograms. These many examples provide some idea as to how this *tu* functions. I have not included examples where the marker is believed to be inserted, like 天社, supposedly read *ama-tu miya*, and have not included overlapping examples:

(i) 奥 津 御 年 乎
OKYI tu MYI-TOSI *wo*
deep LG HON-year ACC
the (grain) from **deep in the year** [the grain harvested last] (1)

(ii) 奥 津 藻菜 邊 津 藻菜 爾
OKYI tu MWOPA pye tu MWOPA *ni*
offing LG seaweed shore LG seaweed LOC
to **the seaweed of the offing**, and **the seaweed of the shore**... (1).

(iii) 大 御膳 都 神
OPO-MYI-KEY tu KAMIY
HON-**HON-food LG deity**
The deity of the great **food** (1)

(iv) 下 都 磐根 爾
SIMWO tu IPANE *ni*
below LG rock root LOC
on **the foundation of rocks beneath**...(1)

(v) 天 津 高 御座 爾
AMA tu TAKA MYI-KURA *ni*
heaven LG high HON-throne LOC
on **the high throne of heaven** (8)

(vi) 天 津 璽 乃 劒
AMA tu SIRUSI *no TURUKYI*
heaven LG symbol GEN sword
the sword, the **heavenly symbol** [lit. symbol in heaven] (8)

(vii) 天 津 日嗣 乎
AMA tu PYITUGYI *wo*
heaven LG sun inherit ACC
[let] **the heavenly sun-inheritance** [continue for...] (8)

(viii) 天 津 御量
AMA tu MYI-PAKARI
heaven LG HON-measure
the measure of heaven (8)

(ix) 天 津 奇 護 言 乎
AMA tu KUSI *IPAPYIGOTO wo*
heaven LG rare celebratory words ACC
[with] **rare** celebratory words **of heaven** (8)

(x) 御 床 都 比 能
MYI-YUKA tu pyi *no*
HON-floor LG spirit GEN
(the creaking) of **the spirit of the floor** [lit. the spirit **in** the floor] (8)

(xi) 五百都 御 統 乃 玉 爾
IPO tu MYI-SUMAR-U *no TAMA ni*
five hundred LG HON-unite-ATT GEN jewel LOC
on **the five hundred beads of unification** (8)

(xii) 麻我 都 比登 云 神
maga tu pyi *to IP-U KAMIY*
evil LG spirit DV-INF say-ATT deity
the deity known as **evil spirit** (9)

(xiii) 瀬織 津比咩 止 云 神
SEORI tu pyimye *to IP-U KAMIY*
name LG female DV-INF say-ATT deity
the deity known as **Princess of Seori** (10)

(xiv) 速 開 都 比咩 止 云 神
PAYA AKYI tu pyimye *to IP-U KAMIY*
name LG princess DV-INF say-ATT deity
the deity known as **Princess of the fast gate** (10)

(xv) 天 津 神
AMA tu KAMIY
heaven LG deity
the **deity of heaven** [lit. deity in heaven] (10)

(xvi) 天 津 罪 国 津 罪
AMA tu TUMYI KUNI tu TUMYI
heaven LG crime earth LG crime
crimes of heaven [and] **crimes of earth** (10)

(xvii) 高 津 神 乃 災
TAKA tu KAMIY *no WAZAPAPYI*
high LG deity GEN disaster
the disaster of the **deity on high** (10)

(xviii) 天 津 金 木 乎
AMA tu KANAGIY *wo*
heaven LG metal tree ACC
[take] the **wooden strips of heaven** [hard like metal] (10)

(xix) 天 都 詞
AMA tu NOTO[14]
heaven LG words
the **words of heaven** (12)

(xx) 上 津 国 乎
UPA tu KUNI *wo*
upper LG land ACC
[and rule] the **upper land** (12)

I have found twenty phonetic examples of the N *tu* N construction in the liturgies. Other than one example (xii),[15] all *tu* point to the object being relative to some location. Because of this, I have followed Vovin (p.c.) in calling *tu* a locative-genitive (LG).[16] This helps explain the difference in usage of 'heaven' *tu*-noun and 'heaven'-*no*-noun. A simple translation in English is difficult, but this case marker can be translated something like "X *in and of* heaven" (heaven-*tu*-X), as opposed to "X of heaven" (heaven-*no*-X). The locative-genitive implied some relation as well as being located there.

Murayama (1957) suggested that OJ *tu* is cognate with the Mongolian dative-locative suffix *du/tu*. Itabashi (1996:374-77) believes there are three locative case suffixes in OJ: *tu, du, da*. I find his explanation for the final two markers to be overly complex. A simpler solution would be to see *du* and *da* as allophonic variation of *tu*. Prenasalization would at least take care of the voiced obstruent.

Itabashi then relates *tu* to Manchu-Tungusic *du* a dative-locative suffix (1996:381-83). The phonological match is fairly good, as is the syntactic match. I do not agree with Itabashi, however, that this *tu* is

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[14] The reading for this last word (詞) is somewhat unclear. Both Torao and Aoki's critical texts have the character glossed as *noto*. The NKBT edition has *norito*, and Kokushi Taikei has *noto*. If the gloss is correct, then perhaps in the vernacular the liquid lenited: *norito* > *noito* > *noto*. Unfortunately, the accent of this word is unclear, though it does appear once in *Nihon shoki*, 太諄辞此布斗能理斗 accented as HH-LHH. For the moment I follow Torao.

[15] It has been pointed out to me by Mathias (p.c.) that example xi, *ipotu myisumaru no tama*, may actually contain the numeric *-tu*, a suffix usually attached to numbers (*pyito-tu* 'one'). For the time being, I will set the example in number xi aside.

[16] Vovin's term is genitive-locative. It should be noted that this terminology is not completely original with Vovin. In 1957 Murayama (1957:131) called *tu* lokative (locative). Itabashi (1996) also calls this a locative. I believe it was a locative *with* genitive properties.

related to the ablative *yu/yuri* mentioned below (4.4.4.2.7). The exact phonological processes underlying this *tu* and *du/da* need to be examined in greater detail, and I leave that to further research.

4.4.4.2.3 Case Marker *na*

The case marker *na* is a fossilized relic that appears to have been productive in the pre-Old Japanese era. The etymology of this case marker has already been addressed above with *ga / no* (see 4.4.4.2.1.3).[17] The following examples of this genitive (*na*) appear in the liturgies and edicts:

手肱 *tanapyidi* 'elbow of the arm' < *ta 'hand' + **na** + pidi 'elbow'
水沫 *myinawa* 'water foam' < *myi 'water + **na** + awa 'foam'
海原 *unapara* 'plain of the sea' < *umyi 'sea' + **na** + para 'field'[18]
神奈備 *kamunabiy* 'sacred place' < *kamu 'deity' + **na** + piy 'fire'[19]

We can glean many other examples from *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and *Man'yôshû*, and the following list is not intended to be exhaustive.

掌 *tanagokoro* 'palm' < *ta 'hand' + **na** + kokoro 'heart'
水占 *myinaura* 'water diviniation' < *myi 'water' + **na** + ura 'divine'
水門 *myinatwo* 'port' < *myi 'water' + **na** + two 'door'
水上 *myinakamyi* 'upstream' < *myi 'water' + **na** + kamyi 'head, up'
眼 *manakwo* 'eyeball' < *ma 'eye' + **na** + kwo 'child'
眼交 *manakapyi* 'in front of the eyes' < *ma 'eye' + **na** + kapyi 'intersect'

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[17] It needs to be mentioned that Vovin (1994b:253, fn. 11) "prefer[s] to analyze [*na*] as an obsolete plural marker, probably related to the P[roto-] M[ongolian] plural marker *-*na(r)*/*-*na(d)*."

[18] The development of this word has the second syllable of 'sea' undergo devoicing of the front vowel, and then loss of the nasal: **umyinapara* > **um*^{yi}*napara* > **umnapara* > *unapara*.

[19] This example comes from the Auspicious Words for the Governor of Izumo liturgy (出雲国造神賀詞). I explain the change from *piy* to *biy* as progressive prenasalization from *na*.

百人 *mwomwonapyitō* 'hundred people' < *mwomwo 'hundred' + **na** + pyitō 'person'

Several observations are in order. Notice that this genitive marker attaches to one of the primordial vowels (*a, *i [yi], or *u), or a monophthong of these (a+u > wo). This again suggests that this genitive marker was productive in the pre-Old Japanese period, because many of these nominal stems are bound nouns.

Japanese scholars have suggested that this *na* is related to *nari* 'be' which later functions as a noun modifying predicate in classical Japanese. This verb is quite productive in Japanese, so this explanation envisions a 'one step forward, one step backward' development: **nari* > *na* > *nari*. This is the major drawback of this theory.

It is possible that the genitive in pre-OJ was *na*, and *nō* functioned only as a marker of the subject, but as noted above, it is easier to explain the subject-marking function as an extension of the genitive. Perhaps there were two related genitives, with a distinct semantic or functional difference, but after that difference faded, there was a blurring of this -ō- and -a- to -a-, and after this *na* ceased to function as a genitive marker, and *nō* took on a double role.

4.4.4.2.4 Case Marker *ni*

The case marker *ni* has several functions in the liturgies: locative marker (both spatial and temporal), allative marker, and a dative marker. It is also important to make a distinction between this case marker *ni*, and the infinitive of the defective verb *n-i*, which is often used as a conjunction.

Locative (space)

高 間 原 爾 神 留 坐 皇 睦
***TAKA MA PARA ni** KAMUDUMAR-I IMAS-U SUMYE MUTU*
high place plain LOC deity-gather-INF be (HON)-ATT imperial kindred
In the high plain of heaven, [where] the imperial kindred deity,

神 漏伎 命
KAMUrwokyi [NŌ] MYI-KOTŌ
deity male progenitor GEN HON-deity
Kamuroki [and others] gather...(1).

天皇　　我　朝　廷　　爾 伊加志夜久波叡　能　如　久
*SUMYERA ga **MYI-KADWO ni** ikasi- yakupaye n-o KOTO-ku*
emperor GEN **HON-gate LOC** vibrant- efflorescent DV-ATT be like-INF
[Bless those who] serve **at the** emperor's **court** [that their service]

仕　　奉　利
TUKAPEY MATUr-i
serve-(INF) HON-INF
will be like the vibrancy and efflorescence [of the trees], and...(2).

Locative (temporal)

一　年　二　年　爾　不在
*PYITO TOSE PUTA **TOSE ni** AR-AZ-U*
one year two **years LOC** be-NEG-FIN
[It] is not **for** one or two **years** (4).

此　　七日　爾波　不 足　弖　隠　　坐　事
*KONO **NANUKA ni** pa TAR-AZU-te KAKUR-I IMAS-U KOTO*
this **seven day LOC** TOP fill-NEG-INF-GER hide-INF HON-ATT thing
Before the fulfilling of this **seven day** [period], [Izanagi] thought it

奇　止弖
AYA-SI to-te
strange-ATT DV-GER
strange that [Izanami] had concealed [herself], and...(12).

来　　十二月爾　至　　万弖爾
*KYI-TAR-AM-U **SIPASU ni** ITAR-U made n-i*
come-(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATT **twelfth month LOC** extend-ATT TERM-DV-INF
Until the time **when the twelfth month** is to come (next year)...(15).

Allative

The case marker *ni* used as an allative marker is perhaps a derivation from its use as a locative. Allative marks the goal of some motion.

高 山 之 末 短 山 末 爾 上
TAKA YAMA no SUWE PIKI[20] ***YAMA [NO] SUWE ni*** *NOBOR-I*
high mountain GEN tip low **mountain GEN tip ALL** climb INF
Climbing **to the tip** of the high mountain, and the tip of the low **mountain**...(10).

此 六 御 懸 爾 生 出
KONO MUTU [NO] ***MYI-AGATA ni*** *NAR-I ID-URU*
this six GEN **HON-districts ALL** become appear ATT
[all things] that shall appear **in** these six **districts**...(1).

Dative

There are very few examples of dative *ni* in the liturgies. Of those examples, all have the court as the dative object.

朝 廷 爾伊夜 高 爾伊夜 広 爾伊賀志夜具波江
MYI-KADWO ni *iya TAKA n-i iya PYIRO n-i ikasi yagupaye*
HON-court DAT more high DV-INF more wide DV-INF full flourish
(Give) service **to** the emperor's **court**, ever higher, ever broader,

如 久
[N-O] KOTO-ku
DV-ATT be like-INF
[and the court]...(5).

天 皇 朝 廷 爾 仕 奉 留 比禮
SUMYERA [GA] ***MYI-KADWO ni*** *TUKAPEY MATUr-u pyire*
emperor GEN HON court ALL serve-(INF) HON-ATT scarf
The men of the Tomo[be] who give service **to** the emperor's **court**,

挂 伴 男
KAK-URU TOMO [NO] WO
wear-ATT tomo[be] GEN men
who wear the scarves...(10).

[20] This word is not attested in the OJ corpus in phonograms (cf. Chapter 10, #37).

4.4.4.2.5 Case Marker *wo*

The case marker *wo* marks the direct object in a sentence. There are also cases in OJ poetry where *wo* marks the subject,[21] but there are no examples of this in the liturgies.

種 々 色 物 乎 備 奉 弖
*KUSAGUSA [NO] IRO **MONO wo SWONAPEY** MATUR-Ite*
various GEN color **things ACC prepare-(INF)** HON-GER
Prepare the various colored **items** (1).

乎知能 所 乎 奈牟多知 疫 鬼 之 住 加
*woti no **TOKORO wo** namu-tati YEYAMYI [N-O] ONI no SUMYIka*
there GEN **place ACC** you-PLR pestilence DV-ATT ghost GEN residence
The place over there, you will **establish** as a residence for

登 定 賜 比 行 賜 弖
to SADAMEY TAMAp-yi YUK-YI TAMAP-YIte
TRAN **establish-(INF)** HON-INF go-INF HON-GER
the ghost of pestilence, and [the ghost] will go there (16).

4.4.4.2.6 Case Marker *to*

The case marker *to* functions as a translative case marker 'as X', and as a comitative 'with'. There are no comitative examples in our database, so the examples of the comitative case are quoted from the edicts. The case marker *to* should not be confused with the defective verbs *to-* 'say' or *to-* 'be'.

Translative

天 乃 御 蔭 日 乃 御 蔭 止 定
*AMEY no MYI-KAGEY PYI no MYI-KAGEY **to SADAMEY***
heaven GEN HON-shade sun GEN HON-shade **TRN establish-**

[21] For example, MYS 5, or MYS 534. This usage of *wo* is often described by traditional grammarians as an exclamatory particle. I agree with Vovin (1997d:288, fn. 7) who notes that this cannot be, based on syntactic considerations, and semantics. It must be a subject marker.

(INF)
establish [the palace] **as** the shade of heaven, the shade of

奉　　弖
MATUR-Ite
HON-GER
the sun...(2).

乎知能　所　　乎 奈牟多知　疫　　鬼　之 住　加
woti no TOKORO wo namu-tati YEYAMYI [N-O] ONI no SUMYIka
there GEN place ACC you-PLR pestilence DV-ATT ghost GEN residence
The place over there, you will **establish as** a residence for

登 定　　賜　比　行　　賜　　弖
to SADAMEY *TAMAp-yi YUK-YE TAMAP-YIte*
TRN establish-(INF) HON-INF go-INF HON-GER
the ghost of pestilence, and [the ghost] will go there (16).

Comitative
岐多奈久　悪　　奴　　止母止　相　　結
*kyitana-ku ASI-KYI YATUKWO domo **to** APYI MUSUB-YI*
filthy-INF evil-INF knave PLR **CMT** bind together-INF
Having bound yourselves together **with** filthy, evil knaves,

謀　　家良久
PAKAR-Ikyeraku
plot-RETR2-NML
and plotted...(edict #43).

4.4.4.2.7 Case Marker *ywori*

It is one of the curious aspects of the liturgies that this case marker is never once spelled etymologically (*ywori*), but is consistently spelled *yori*. It is also interesting that this same tendency appears in the edicts. Historically, the ablative was *yu* or *ywo*, and later underwent morphological conditioning, becoming *yuri* or *ywori*. Regardless, *yori* was not an acceptable spelling in *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki*. The consistent spelling of this case marker as *yori* can be explained in one of two

ways: the compiler of *Engi shiki* (or the compiler of the material later supplied for inclusion in *Engi shiki*) altered the spelling because of an incomplete knowledge of the spelling tradition. The other explanation would be to see this as a spelling tradition influenced by speech. The liturgies were spelled in such a manner to make oral recitation easier. If the two contrasting syllables *ywo* (type A, phonetically [jo]) and *yo̲* (type B, phonetically [jə]) tended to blend in spoken form (like the vowel in the English words merry, marry, and Mary[22]), then the spelling of *yo̲ri* would not necessarily represent a misspelling. Such a fact would simply show that a spelling tradition is not always phonemically accurate. I admit that this explanation is not fully satisfactory, because it makes it almost impossible to explain why certain other words (like *mwo* 'seaweed' or *mo̲* the inclusive particle) are almost never misspelled in the liturgies.

The ablative historically consisted of two series, a *yu* series (*yu* and *yuri*), and a *ywo* series (*ywo* and *ywori*). Because of this, it is tempting to believe one set is dialectal in origin (cf. Martin 1987:811). For example, the Azuma dialect exhibits alternation of Cwo with Cu in the standard language (*sugus-* 'pass by' and Azuma *sugwos-*; or *yukyi* 'snow' and Azuma *ywokyi*). Figure 25 below shows all phonetic examples of the ablative case marker in *Man'yôshû* (including misspellings).

ywo	*ywori*	*yo̲ri*	*yu*	*yuri*
14	31	3	22	5

Fig. 25. Ablative in *Man'yôshû*

Regarding the three misspellings (*yo̲ri*), only one occurs in Book 20, one of two books in *Man'yôshû* where dialectal poetry is preserved, and the spelling tradition is believed to have been in decay. Of these 75 examples of the ablative, it is interesting to note that there seems to be consistency throughout the anthology. The next chart shows the ablative as found in just Books 14 and 20, the dialectal sections of *Man'yôshû*.

ywo	*ywori*	*yo̲ri*	*yu*	*yuri*
5	6	1	4	1

Fig. 26. Ablative in Books 14 and 20 of *Man'yôshû*

[22] Thanks to Bart Mathias for this example (p.c.).

These data for *yuri* in these two charts (figures 25-26) contradict what Abe notes in his own study (1986:224, fn 3), "The only reliable examples of *yuri* in *Man'yôshû* appear in the Sakimori poems [or Books 14, 20]." I take 'reliable' to mean written in phonograms. But there is one example of 由利 in Book 8, and four in Book 18. Likely Abe has simply repeated a claim made by Yoshisawa almost seventy years earlier, "*Yuri*...only appears in the Azuma songs in *Man'yôshû*" (1917:34).

On a related note, various scholars continue to claim that *yu* does not appear in the edicts (cf. Yoshisawa 1917:33, Murayama 1956:86, Matsumura 1969:353). This belief originated with Yoshisawa, who claims to have had one text that had *yuri* instead of *yu*. It should be mentioned, however, that Motoori Norinaga's *Shokki rekichô shôshikai* (published in 1803) does not note any variants in the various manuscripts, but simply says that edict six has 由 and perhaps 利 has been dropped (MNZ 1976.7:244). Yoshisawa has apparently followed this, or relied on Norinaga's text. It is clear that there is an example of *yu* in the edicts, number 6 (高間原由天降坐之天皇),[23] The emperor who descended **from** the high plain of heaven). At any rate, it is unfortunate that so few people go back to the actual texts, and check the spellings.

Thus, we conclude that both series of the ablative (*yu* series, and *ywo* series) are used rather consistently throughout the entire poetic anthology. On the surface, there does not appear to be any difference in meaning between the *yu* and *ywo* series (cf. Murayama 1956:86, Suzuki et al. 1985:128-131). The research of several scholars argues for a semantic difference to distinguish these four ablatives.

Yoshisawa was the first to give a thorough overview of these two series of ablatives, but other than describing where each can be found, he does not appear to believe there was a difference in meaning. Murayama talks about origins, positing two different etymologies *do- and *du- (1956:86), but remains silent on the issue of semantics. Zachert (1950:63, n2) claims that *yu* is synonymous with *yori*, and all three (*yu, yuri, yori*) have the same meaning. Matsumura also notes the usages of these ablatives, but says nothing about the difference in meaning, or if there was any difference (1969:353-360).

While it is difficult to pin point the differences in semantics, Abe does do us the service of noting that there are differences in the

[23] Zachert (1950:62) also has *yu*.

structures of predicates embedded with one of these ablatives. I summarize his findings below (1986:203-213):

(i) Most examples of *yu* occur in the structure X *yu* verb *myiyu* 'something is visible from X'.

(ii) *Yu* occurs with nouns like 'heart', 'below', 'this', but *ywori* never does.

(iii) A clause with *ywori* usually attaches to declinable words, but a clause with *yu* usually attaches to nominals.

(iv) Abe concludes that *yu* had a broader range of meanings, while *ywori* was more limited in scope. Thus, the diachronic development is *yu* > *ywori*.

(v) The most common types of words *ywori* occurs after are time and place words.

Abe then lists several miscellaneous examples (1986:214-221). While there is much that is useful in this study, there is no attempt to filter out the statistical noise, and discover a more fine-tuned pattern. I believe that the *yu* series is likely the original, and *ywori* is a later development. The examples given below illustrate that there does not appear to be a difference in meaning.

The last problem we must address is to explain the unetymological spellings in both the liturgies and edicts. Perhaps it is more accurate to see this spelling as based on a folk etymology. Consider the following data from both the liturgies and the edicts, where I have counted all examples of *yori* and related forms that are written phonetically (figure 27).[24]

Text	*ywori*	*yori*	*yu*	*yuri*
Liturgies	0	4	0	0
Edicts	1	12	3	2

Fig. 27. Number of Ablatives in the Liturgies and Edicts

These data suggest that the spelling was set, and because both the edicts and liturgies were kept in the imperial archives, the spelling tradition may have been a courtly convention. In spite of this convention, I transcribe each case as *ywori*, because this is the historical spelling. The vestiges of *ywori, yu*, and *yuri* make me believe that *Shoku nihongi* was recompiled after the suppression of the Fujiwara Nakamaro revolt in 764. At that time, the edicts were likely

[24] The figures for the edicts come from Kitagawa (1982).

re-recorded, and certain set spellings then crept into the texts. If court scribes (recorders) propagated an unetymological spelling tradition, they may have infected the liturgies, also.

The case marker *ywori* marks the ablative case, meaning 'from'. A derived meaning of this was the comparative, A *ywori* B "B is more than A". This derived usage of comparison does not appear in the liturgies. Below are two examples of the ablative case, *ywori*, and then all examples of both *yu* and *yuri* from the edicts. Finally there are two examples of the comparative from the liturgies.

ywori

四方　四角　与利 疎　備　荒 備　来 武
YOMO YOSUMYI ***ywori*** *UTWOb-iy ARAbiy KO-m-u*
four sides four corners **ABL** unknown-INF violent-INF come-TENT-FIN
if an unknown, violent deity [called Amano Magatubyi] should come **from** the four sides and four corners...(9).

北　方　佐渡 与里 乎知能 所　乎
KITA [NO] KATA [PA] sadwo ***ywori*** *woti no TOKORO wo*
north GEN direction TOP Sado **ABL** there GEN place ACC
And if that place from Sado Island that is **from** the north [is deemed a residence of the ghosts] (16).

yu

高　間 原 由 天 降 坐 之 天皇
TAKAMAPARA ***yu*** *AMOR-I MAS-Isi SUMYERA*
high plain **ABL** descend-INF exist-RETR-ATT emperor
The emperor who descended **from** the high plain of heaven...(edict #6).

yuri

皇　朕　高　御 座 爾 坐　初　由利
SUMYERA WARE TAKAMYIKURA ni IMAS-I PAZIMEY ***yuri***
emperor I high-HON-throne LOC exist-INF begin-INF **ABL**
(It has been six years) this year **from** the beginning when I,

今 年 爾 至　麻氐
KOTOSI ni ITAR-U made

this year LOC reach-ATT TERM
the emperor, took the high throne until this year...(edict #7).

本　由利　行　来　迹　事 曾止　詔
*MOTO **yuri** OKONAP-YI K-OSI ATOKOTO so to NOR-I TAMAP-U*
origin **ABL** perform-INF come-RETR precedent thing PT DV-INF declare-INF HON-ATT
We declare to give ear to the edicts declared as precedent that have

勅　聞　宣
OPOMYIKOTO [WO] KYIK-YI TAMAP-YE [TO] NOR-U
great-HON words ACC listen-INF HON-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
been performed **from** the beginning (edict #7).

Comparative

然　此　多比　賜　位　冠
SIKAR-U [N-I] KONO tabyi TAMAP-U KURAWI KAGAPURI
Being thus-ATT DV-INF this time present-ATT rank cap
However, the cap and rank being presented this time

常　与利 方　異　爾 在
*TUNE **ywori** pa KOTONAR-I n-i AR-I*
common **ABL** TOP different-INF DV-INF be-FIN
are different **than** the common [kind] (edict #32).

今　示現　賜 幣流　如 来 乃 尊　岐
IMA ARAPARE TAMAp-yer-u NIYORAI no TAPUTWO-kyi
presently appear HON-PROG-ATT tathâgata SUB worthy-ATT
As for the worthy, great bone of Buddha that presently has

大　御 舎利波　常　見　奉　余利 波
*OPOMYI sari pa TUNE MYI MATUR-U **ywori** pa*
great HON Buddha's bone TOP common see-INF HON-ATT **ABL** TOP
appeared, the light of the great color shines **brighter than usual**,

大　御　色 毛　光　照 天　甚　美　之
OPOMYI IRO mo PYIKARI TER-Ite ITO URUPA-si

great HON-color PT light shine-GER very beautiful-INF
and is very beautiful and the great shape is

大 御 形 毛 円満 天
OPOMYI KATATI mo TARAP-YIte
great-HON shape PT sufficient-GER
also perfect, and...(edict #41).

From these examples, I conclude that there was essentially no substantial difference in meaning among *yu*, *yuri*, or *ywori*. Rather than see a semantic difference among these ablatives, there may have been a difference in the idiom, but that difference has already been lost.

4.4.4.2.8 Case Marker *made*

I have followed Vovin (forthcoming) in calling the case marker *made* the terminative. *Made* delimits the movement of an actor (or agent) in either a physical or a temporal sense. In other words, such an action does not extend past the point marked by the terminative.

It is unclear what *made* derives from, but there are various theories. *Man'yôshû* contains a few rebus writings that may have also been viewed as folk etymologies. MYS 79 spells one stanza as 千代二手爾 *TIYO MADE ni* "until a thousand reigns." Also MYS 238 has the stanza 内二手所聞, glossed as *UTI MADE KYIKOYU* 'We can hear [the sound] even to the inner chambers [of the palace].' The idea behind the two graphs 二手 is 'the span or limit between the two hands'.

A similar writing appears in MYS 1189, in the final stanza 舟泊左右手 *PUNE PATURU MADE* "[Wind, don't blow] until we dock the boat." Here the writing is left-right hand, or the span between the hands. This suggests that *te* 'hand' is an element in *made*. The etymology of this marker is likely **mante* or **manote*, but it is not overtly clear whether *-te in this marker is actually related to 'hand'. For the time being I leave the question unanswered.

奥 都 毛波 邊 津 毛波 爾 至 麻弖 雑
OKYI tu mwopa pye tu mwopa ni ITAR-U ***made*** *KUSAGUSA [NO]*
offing LG seaweed shore LG seaweed DAT extend-ATT **TERM**

various GEN
Pile up high the various offerings--[from things of the mountains] **to**

物 乎 如 横山 置 高 成 弖
MONO wo YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU OK-YI TAKA-NAS-Ite
thing ACC line of mountains DV-INF be like-INF place-INF high-make-GER
the seaweed of the offing, and the seaweed of the shore--and make [it] like a mountain range (5).

和 稲 荒 稲 爾 至 万弖爾 如 横 山
*NIKYI-SINE ARA-SINE ni ITAR-U **made** ni YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU*
husked rice unhusked rice DAT extend-ATT **TERM** LOC line of mountains GEN be like-INF
[I present] **even** husked rice and unhusked rice, placed high, making

置 高 成 弖
OK-YI TAKA NAS-Ite
place INF high make-GER
[it] like a mountain range (12).

4.4.4.2.9 Double Case Marking

As the example above from liturgy (5) shows, the terminative was sometimes used with a locative case marking, an example of double case marking. This practice was quite rare in the language of the liturgies, and only occurred with the terminative (*made ni*). Below is one example.

made ni
和 稲 荒 稲 爾 至 万弖 爾 如 横 山
*NIKYI-SINE ARA-SINE ni ITAR-U **made ni** YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU*
husked rice unhusked rice DAT extend-ATT **TERM LOC** line of mountains GEN be like-INF
[I present] **even** husked rice and unhusked rice, placed high, making

置 高 成 弖
OK-YI TAKA NAS-Ite

place INF high make-GER
[it] like a mountain range (12).

4.4.4.2.10 No Case Marking

I have yet to see a published description of Old Japanese grammar that talks about zero case marking. Zero case marking occurs with both the nominative (subject) and accusative case in the liturgies. In the case of the nominative, rather than view this as the dropping of a case marker, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the subject in a main clause *is not marked by a case marker.* This suggests that the marking of the subject implied some change from a common subject: possession, attribution, or topicalization.

4.4.4.2.10.1 Unmarked Subjects

The following examples show that the subject of a main clause is left unmarked.

神 主 祝 部 等 諸 聞 食
KAMU NUSI PAPURI TATI MOROMORO Ø KYIKOSIMYES-E
officiator minor official-PLR everyone Ø listen-COM
All you officiators and minor officials, give ear (1)!

是 木 靈 也
KORE Ø KIY [NO] TAMA NAR-I
this Ø tree GEN spirit is-FIN
This is the spirit of trees (8).

神 主 祝部 等 請 弖
KAMU NUSI PAPURI TATI Ø UKEY-TAMAPARI-te
officiator minor official-PLR Ø accept-HUM-GER
I declare, saying "Bring and present [the items] without leaving any

事 不落 捧 持弖 奉 登 宣
KOTO OTI-ZU SASAGEY MOT-Ite TATEMATUR-E to NOR-U
thing drop-NEG/INF present-(INF) hold-GER present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
out, and the officials and minor officials will receive [the offerings] (14).

4.4.4.2.10.2 Accusative Case Unmarked

The accusative case is normally marked by *wo*, so zero case marking here implies that the case marker *wo* is dropped. This is a distinction that needs to be made, but my problem has been trying to observe this function in a text that may or may not have inserted every case marker in the text with phonograms or logographic characters.[25]

Since *wo* is the only case marker in OJ that can be dropped, it is our challenge to find convincing examples of this. I believe that accusative case markers were consistently put in the text, and the lack of one would mean the case marker was intentionally dropped. Consider the following passage from liturgy 12, the Hoshizume no Matsuri (鎮火祭) liturgy:

八十　嶋乎生　給比八百　万
YASWO SIMA wo UM-YI TAMAp-iy YAPO YORODU [NO]
eighty islands ACC bear- INF HON-INF eight million GEN
And [they] gave birth to the eighty islands, and [then] gave birth to

神　等乎生　給比弖麻奈　弟子爾
KAMIY-TATI wo UM-YI TAMAp-yite mana OTOKWO ni
deity-PLR ACC bear-INF HON-GER most beloved male child DAT
the eight million deities. When she [Izanami] gave birth to the last

火　結　神　生　給　弖
POMUSUBYI [NO] KAMIY Ø UM-YI TAMAP-YIte
fire-bind GEN deity Ø bear-INF HON-GER
male child, the deity Pomusubi...(12).

The verb 'to bear, give birth' is used three times, and twice it is clearly marked with the accusative case marker *wo* (乎), but the third verb

[25] Most case markers are written in phonetic script: 我 *ga*, 乃 *no*, 乎 *wo*, 爾 *ni* and so forth. There are other places where the text does not include them, but the interlinear reading makes it clear a case marker should be there. Here are two examples from the liturgies. Numbers in parentheses are liturgy numbers:

(1)　テノヒチ
手肱爾
TE [NO] PIDI ni
hand GEN elbow LOC

(5)　カ
天皇朝廷
SUMYERA [GA] MYI-KADWO
emperor GEN HON-court

does not have a case marker after it. I take this to mean that the *wo* was not in the text in the third case, and the religious officiator who read the liturgy aloud did not say *wo* there. This is a case of zero case marking. Below are three more examples.

石 根 爾 宮　　柱　　広　　知　　立
IPANE ni MYI-YA PASIRA Ø PYIRO SIR-I TATE
rock root DAT HON-palace pillar Ø wide raise-INF stand-(INF)
widely raise the palace pillars on the rock floor...(2).

千 木　　高　　知 弖
TIGIY Ø TAKA SIR-Ite
thousand trees Ø high raise-GER
raise high the roof rafters... (2).

御　膳　　持　須留
MYI-KEY Ø MOT-As-uru
HON-food Ø hold-CAUS-ATT
[the young deity] who was made to hold the august food...(3).

The next question is: Was there a difference in meaning between inclusion and exclusion of the accusative marker? Fujitani Nariakira's *Kôhon ayuishô* (1778[26]) notes that there are cases where *wo* marks the object, and cases where it does not. He explains that when there is a natural relation between the object and the verb, *wo* is not used, because there is no need to mark the object. When the relation between the object and verb is not overtly apparent, *wo* marks the object. Also, when there is a need to emphasize the object, *wo* is inserted (Fujitani 1961.1:337-38).

On the surface, this sounds reasonable, but this explanation quickly comes unraveled when we look at several examples in the literary corpus. If we accept Fujitani's explanation, how do we explain the following differences in identical predicates?

(MYS 32)
故　　京　　乎
*PURUKYI **MYIYAKWO wo***　　How sad (when)

[26] I have used the 1961 reprinted edition.

見　者悲　寸
MYIREBA KANASIkyi　　I see the old capital.

(MYS 33)
荒　有　京
*ARETARU **MYIYAKWO Ø***　　How sad to see
見　者悲　毛
MYIREBA KANASI mo　　the desolated capital.

Here are two poems with identical clauses, except the second one drops the case marker *wo* after 'capital'. Of course, we could also say that the difference is that the first poem *adds* the case marker *wo*. On the surface, it would appear from these two examples that the overriding constraint is the syllable count of *waka*. But as noted above, there clearly are cases in prose where the case marker *wo* is dropped. Prose in the liturgies does not have a strict syllable constraint.

Consider what an analysis of song in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* has revealed. The object is marked by *wo* 62 times, and left unmarked 74 times (cf. Suzuki et al. 1985:122). This may suggest that originally the object was *not necessarily* marked. I have nothing to add, aside from quoting Matsumura (1969:340), "There are few differences between the usage of *wo* in the past and present, other than the usage has become more narrowly focussed." If there is a difference, it does not seem to be semantic.

4.4.4.3 Resemblance Marker

The liturgies also contain a few examples of what I call a resemblance marker, *-zi*, where a noun is modified so that it means 'like N, resembling N' (N-*zi*). There are only a few examples in the records from the OJ era. Three examples can be found in the liturgies.

神　漏彌　命　登宇事 物　頸根
*KAMIY rwomyi [NO] MYIKOTO to **u-zi** MONO UNANE*
deity female GEN deity DV-INF **cormorant-like** thing nape
[by command of] the female deity, I thrust out the nape of my neck

衝　抜　弓
TUK-YI NUK-Yite

stick out pull out-GER
like a cormorant...(1).

皇　　神　　前　　爾宇事 者　　頸根
*SUMYERA KAMIY [NO] MAPYE ni **u-zi** MONO UNANE*
imperial deity GEN before LOC **cormorant-like** thing nape
Before the imperial deity, I thrust out the nape of my neck

築　　抜　弖
TUK-YI NUK-YIte
stick out pull out-GER
like a cormorant (3).

神　　漏伎　　命　　神　漏彌　　命
KAMIY rwokyi [NO] MYI-KOTO KAMIY rwomyi [NO] MYI-KOTO
deity male progenitor GEN HON-deity deity female progenitor GEN HON-deity
As the male and female deities (have said), I thrust out the nape of

登鵜自物　　頸根　衝　　抜 弖
*to **u-zi** MONO UNANE TUK-YI NUK-YIte*
DV-INF **cormorant-like** thing nape stick pull out-GER
my neck **like a cormorant** (7).

Compare this usage with two external examples, one from a poem in *Nihon shoki*, and another from *Man'yôshû*.

婀鳴儞与志・乃楽能婆娑摩儞・斯斯貳暮能
*awo ni yo-si / nara(k) no pasama ni / **sisi-zi** mono*
blue-dirt good-FIN / Nara GEN valley DAT / **deer-like** thing
In the valley of Mount Nara--good as green ground--**like a deer**

瀰豆矩　陛　御暮梨
myiduk-u pye gomor-i
soak-ATT bank conceal-INF
concealed in a wet marsh... (NS 95)

家　　忘　　・身毛　多奈 不知
IPYE WASURE / MIY mo tana SIR-AZ-U

house forget-(INF) body PT surely know-NEG-ATT
Forgetting about my house, not even knowing who I am—

鴨　　自　物・水　爾　浮　居　而
KAMWO-zi MONO MYIDU ni UK-YI W-ITE
wild duck-like thing water DAT float-be-GER
I float in the water **like a wild duck**, and...(MYS 50)

It is tempting to conclude that this resemblance marker only attaches to a specific class of animate nouns (animals), but for the time being I leave that question open because of a lack of data.

4.4.4.4 Focus Suffix

There is only a vague consensus about what the suffix *-rama* means. The consensus (Ôno et al. 1994: 1404; Aoki et al. 1989.1:3) believes this to make the noun more abstract (抽象化). I find this explanation too abstract to seriously consider. Zachert (1950:47, 4) notes, "*Rama* is a suffix that occurs particularly in the Semmyo. Following Yamada (pg. 123, note 1) *-ra* here is an insignificant suffix used for the rhythm [of the sentence]. *-Ra* also is used as a plural, and a diminutive suffix....*-Ma* corresponds to *ma* in *ma ni ma* and has the meaning 'in accordance with the answer'". This is less an answer to the question of what *rama* is than an elementary analysis of the suffix by dividing it into syllables the author already knows. Also, calling *ra* 'insignificant' is a hasty rush to judgment. This very analysis smacks of *kokugogaku*.

In order to elucidate this suffix, an example is provided below from *Nihon shoki* (Ienaga et al. 1986.1:513):

倭者	*YAMATO PA*	As for Yamato,
彼彼茅原	*SOSOtiPARA*	the sound of reeds on the plain.
浅茅原	*ASAtiPARA*	The shallow reed plain--
弟日	*OTOPYI*	The younger brother ruler,
僕是也	*YATUKWORAMA*	am I.[27]

A variation of this poem is also seen in *Harima fudoki*:

[27] The English rendition is a guess, because scholars are not quite sure what 弟日 is doing here.

倭者	*YAMATO PA*	As for Yamato,
青垣	*AWOGAKYI*	a blue fence of stone--
青垣	*AWOGAKYI [NO]*	of a blue fence of stone
山投坐	*YAMATO [NI] MASISI*	ruling in Yamato.
市邊之天皇	*ITIbye no SUMYERA [GA]*	Emperor Ichibe
御足末	*MYIANASUWE*	His descendant
奴僕良麻	*YATUKWO rama*	am I.

I postulate that this suffix is actually a device to put attention on the noun, like an assertive. That explains the spelling in *Nihon shoki*, 僕是也, which literally means "This is I."

A concrete example of this *-rama* does not appear in the liturgies, but there are many examples in the edicts. The suffix attached to animate as well as inanimate objects. Of the 19 phonetic examples found in the edicts, three attach to inanimate objects, and the rest attach to animate objects (all the emperor). Two examples (one example of each) are given below.

Animate example

天　皇　　大　命　　良麻止　　詔

*SUMYERA [GA] OPOMYIKOTO **rama** to NOR-I TAMAP-U*

emperor GEN great-HON-existence **FS** DV-INF declare-ATT

[Give ear to] the great command declared by **the** great existence,

大　命　　乎

OPOMYIKOTO wo

great HON-command ACC

the emperor...(edict #1).

Inanimate example

天　皇　　詔　旨　良麻 止　　宣

*SUMYERA [GA] OPOMYIKOTO **rama** to NOR-I TAMAP-U*

emperor GEN great-HON-command **FS** DV-INF declare-ATT

[Give ear to] to the great command declared as **the** great will

勅　　乎

OPOMYIKOTO wo

great-HON-command ACC
of the emperor...(edict #23).

CHAPTER FIVE

VERBS

5. Verbs

The greatest disparity between traditional and western grammarians has to do with the treatment of verbs in Japanese. This chapter first describes verbs according to the traditional view, and then presents a structural analysis of the verb system in Old Japanese.

5.1 Traditional View of Verb Classes

The traditional view of Japanese verbs owes much to the *kokugakusha* 国学者 'native learning scholars' of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially the work of Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769)[1] and Motoori Norinaga (1720-1801).[2]

Building upon the work of these scholars, later Japanese grammarians made a distinction between 'verbs' (動詞 *dôshi*), 'adjectives' (形容詞 *keiyôshi*), and 'adjectival verbs' (形容動詞 *keiyôdôshi*). Traditional grammars divide verbs into five classes[3] of regular conjugation, and four irregular classes. In addition, so-called adjectives are divided into two subclasses. Verbs have six conjugations: imperfect (未然形 *mizenkei*), conjunctive (連用形 *ren'yôkei*), conclusive (終止形 *shûshikei*), attributive (連体形 *rentaikei*), evidential (已然形, *izenkei*[4]), and imperative (命令形

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[1] Mabuchi's *Goi kô* (語意考--1769) addressed phonology and verb morphology.

[2] Norinaga wrote several works on grammar: *Te-ni-wo-ha himo kagami* (てにをは紐鏡--), a chart explaining the use of particles; *Kotoba no tamanoo* (詞玉緒--1785), a commentary on *Te-ni-wo-ha himo kagami.* It explains the conjugation of verbs; *Katsuyôgen no sasshi* (活用言の冊子--1782) outlines verbs and the various conjugations.

[3] I have ignored the Lower Mono-grade class, because there is only one verb in it, *kuu* 'kick', and the verb is problematic. This verb is preserved in *Nihon shoki* as *kuye* in the infinitive. 'Kick' later becomes a Quadri-grade verb.

[4] Martin (1987:133) refers to *izenkei* by the label 'provisional-concessive'. In my analysis I stick with 'evidential' for continuity. *Izenkei* does not appear in our database,

meireikei). 'Adjectives' have the same conjugations, but lack the imperative. As if to make the system even more cumbersome, 'adjectives' have a special conjugation, *kari-katsuyô* (かり活用), for the imperfective, which is explained below (see 5.5).

The traditional analysis of Japanese grammar has been shaped by the *kana* orthography of the written language, and we perhaps cannot fault grammarians for creating a complex system. The syllabic *kana* orthography has made it difficult to accurately detect morphological boundaries so grammarians can describe verbal stems and the suffixes that attach to such stems. There are few exceptions to this *kana*-based analysis among Japanese 'grammar' scholars, the only two I know being Suzuki (1975:11-19, *passim*) and Shirafuji (1987:143-45).[5] The linguist Ôno Tôru (1978:283) hints at the possibility of the existence of only two categories of verbs, but his research goes no further than that.

Below is a sample of the conjugation of each of the four regular verbs, and two irregular verbs.

	i. Quadri-grade	ii. Upper Bi-grade
	yuku 'go'	oku 'get up'
1. imperfective	yuka	okiy
2. conjunctive	yukyi	okiy
3. conclusive	yuku	oku
4. attributive	yuku	okuru
5. conditional	yukey	okure
6. imperative	yukye	okiy yo

	iii. Lower Bi-grade	iv. Upper Mono-grade
	yosu 'approach'	kyiru 'wear'
1. imperfective	yose	kyi
2. conjunctive	yose	kyi
3. conclusive	yosu	kyiru
4. attributive	yosuru	kyiru
5. conditional	yosure	kyire
6. imperative	yose yo	kyi yo

but occasionally appears in quotes from the edicts.

[5] There are many Japanese linguists not specializing in Japanese grammar who also use a non-*kana*-based analysis. My comment above applies to Japanese-trained grammarians.

	v. n-irregular	vi. r-irregular
	sinu 'die'	ari 'be'
1. imperfective	sina	ara
2. conjunctive	sini	ari
3. conclusive	sinu	ari
4. attributive	sinuru	aru
5. conditional	sinure	are
6. imperative	sine	are

Needless to say, this elaborate system is cumbersome to use, and tends to obscure important facts about the language. A structural analysis is much more straightforward and useful.

5.2 Structural Analysis of OJ Verb Classes

The entire verbal system can be reanalyzed, allowing us to eliminate the complicated class system by positing only two verbal classes, a consonant-stem verb class, and a vowel-stem verb class (cf. Martin 1987:665). Also, rather than categorize certain lexical items as 'adjectives', I call this class of words 'stative verbs'. For ease of description, I refer to the consonant-stem verb class as CS, and the vowel-stem verb class as VS.

5.2.1 Imperfective

If the Quadri-grade (四段動詞 *yodan dôshi*) and irregular (so-called *na-hen* な変 and *ra-hen* ら変) verbs are set aside for a moment, it is clear that the imperfective and infinitive (a term I borrow from Martin [1988:392] to replace the traditional label of 'conjunctive' for *ren'yôkei*) have the same base for VS verbs. Thus, Quadri-grade verbs can be analyzed as CS verbs, and the vowel of the suffix attaches to the consonant. When affixing this same suffix to a VS verb, the vowel of the suffix is suppressed. Using the negative suffix as an example, the following five examples illustrate this process.

'go' yuk+azu > yukazu
'close' todi+azu > todizu
'receive' ukey+azu > ukeyzu
'read' yo̲m+azu > yo̲mazu
'see' myi+azu > myizu

5.2.2 Infinitive

The traditional explanation for *ren'yôkei* treats the infinitive and the nominalized form of the verb as if the two were the same. It should be remembered, however, that the nominalized form, and the infinitive of type-B class verbs (type-B being low pitch on initial syllable) with a suffix have different accents (Martin 1987:211-12, 1995:149, n.3). Mention should be made that our text of the liturgies does not preserve accent information. The above distinction about the nominalized form and the infinitive having different accents is derived from other sources.

It is more economical to posit a vowel -i belonging to the suffix that then attaches to CS verbs. This vowel is likewise suppressed when the suffix attaches to VS verbs, analogous to the imperfective. This is illustrated below with the subordinative gerund *-ite*. Notice that the vowel of this suffix is a *kô-rui* vowel, or what we transcribe as *yi* (this distinction is neutralized after coronals).

'go' yuk+ite > yukyite
'close' todi+ite > todite
'receive' ukey+ite > ukeyte
'read' yo̲m+ite > yo̲myite
'see' myi+ite > myite

5.2.3 Conclusive

My morphological analysis will label the conclusive the final (FIN) form. The final form ends with -u in all cases, other than the irregular verb *ar-* 'be, exist', which ends in -i. The conclusive -u attaches to the consonant of CS verbs, but when attaching -u to VS verbs, the vowel of the verbal stem drops. Consider the conclusive form of the following verbs:

'go' yuk+u > yuku
'close' todi+u > todu
'come' ko̲+u > ku
'read' yo̲m+u > yo̲mu
'receive' ukey+u > uku
'do' se+u > su

As can be seen from the above examples, Mono-grade verbs have been left out. This is because Old Japanese had a phonotactic rule that two vowels could not occur together, unless there was a morpheme boundary. If because of some morphonological process two vowels did occur together, one of two results occurred. Either the diphthong

monophthongized into a new vowel (i+a > ye, a+i > ey, cf. sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) or one of the two vowels dropped. In verbal morphology, the second process occurred more frequently. I posit that Mono-grade verbs originally had a different conclusive form from what has survived in extant records. The process of replacing the conclusive form with the attributive began before the creation of the extant records in Japan, and this process began with Mono-grade verbs.

5.2.4 Attributive

The attributive form is used to modify nouns, and is thus called a participle by some, but its use is not confined to modifying nouns. The attributive has two main functions: 1) modifying a noun, 2) used as a final predicate in certain structures (like *kakari musubi*).

The attributive suffix is -uru, and attaches to VS verbs, but I submit that this suffix is made up of the same -u as the conclusive, and this causes suppression of the vowel of the verb stem. Before the Old Japanese period, when this attributive suffix attached to CS verbs, it likely functioned as -uru, but the rule of medial -r- loss (Whitman's law, cf. section 3.3.5) caused the liquid to drop later, and the two vowels merged into one vowel according to our morphonological rule #1 (cf. 3.2.1). Four examples of this process are below.

'go' yuk+uru > yukuru > yukuu > yuku
'read' yo̲m+uru > yo̲muru > yo̲muu > yo̲mu
'close' todi+uru > toduru
'receive' ukey+uru > ukuru

The verb *sinu* 'die' and *inu* 'go, depart' are exceptions to this rule, but perhaps because both originally were VS verbs (Vovin, p.c.).

Also the Mono-grade verbs appear to be exceptions to this rule of medial -r- loss. I analyze these as monosyllabic stem verbs with the canonical shape CV (consonant vowel), and because of this shape, further reduction (meaning the loss of the vowel in the stem) was not allowed, so this forced the loss of the vowel in the suffix. It has also been suggested to me that the combination yi+u resulted in a long vowel (yi+u > ī), and the long vowel blocked the loss of the liquid according to Whitman's law (Vovin, p.c).

'see' myi+uru > myiru
'wear' kyi +uru > kyiru
'shoot an arrow' i+uru > iru

5.2.5 Evidential

The traditional label for the evidential literally means 'already thus' (*izenkei*), or what can be translated as the perfective (the state of completion). This label is misleading, and since this conjugation usually implies evidence of a condition, a provision, or a concession (Martin 1988:229, 556-7, 785), I have chosen the label 'evidential'. The suffix is *-ure*, and it attaches to verbs the same as the attributive.

'go' yuk+ure > yukure > yukey
'read' yo̲m+ure > yo̲mure > yo̲mey
'close' todi+ure > todure
'receive' ukey+ure > ukure
'come' ko̲+ure > kure
'do' se+ure > sure

The only item that requires explanation is the final vowel of *–ure* that results in an *otsu-rui* vowel (-ey) when the verb belongs to the traditional Quadri-grade class. This *otsu-rui* -ey suggests that the archetype of this stem was *urey, and then -r- loss occurred: yo̲m-urey > yo̲m-ey (example courtesy of Vovin, p.c.).

5.2.6 Imperative

The imperative should not be considered a base of verb conjugation because it is only used in isolation. This is further supported by the fact that stative verbs (the so-called 'adjective' in traditional grammar) have no imperative base.

The imperative suffix for CS is -ye. For VS verbs, the imperative suffix is yo̲.

'go' yuk+ye > yukye
'read' yo̲m+ye > yo̲mye
'wear' kyi+yo̲ > kyiyo̲
'come' ko̲+yo̲ > ko̲yo̲
'do' se+yo̲ > seyo̲

5.3 Irregular Verbs

There are several verbs that exhibit irregular patterns of conjugation, and traditionally have been categorized according to the consonant of the last syllable of the verb stem. Thus, there is a k-irregular verb, an s-irregular verb, and an r-irregular verb. The k-irregular verb is 'come' (*k-*), the s-irregular verb 'do' (*s-*), and the r-irregular verb 'be' (*ar-*). The conjugation of these three verbs is set forth below:

	k-irregular	s-irregular
1. imperfective	ko	se
2. conjunctive	kyi	si
3. conclusive	ku	su
4. attributive	kuru	suru
5. perfective	kure	sure
6. imperative	ko(yo)	seyo

	r-irregular
1. imperfective	ara
2. conjunctive	ari
3. conclusive	ari
4. attributive	aru
5. perfective	are
6. imperative	are

The r-irregular verb is a Quadri-grade verb (aside from the conclusive suffix, *ari*), and this verb may be a relic of a VS verb changing to a CS verb, lexicalized before the process had run its course.

The other two verbs, 'come' and 'do', cannot be explained as easily. If we set aside the imperfective and imperative, these two verbs have the same conjugation, which leads me to believe that the archetypal stems were the same. Miller (1971:268-69) originally postulated that the stems of these two verbs were **kw* and **sw*. While Shirafuji does not come right out and say it, I interpret his explanation to mean that he believes the stems to be **ki* and **si* (1987:142-43). We could follow Martin (1987:759) and view the stem of *suru* as *so (analogous to the stem of *kuru*), and some suffix *-i attached, and these two vowels monophthongized to se-. The evidence for this is the *so* of the strong prohibitive (circumfix) *na-so* (*na*-Verb-INF-*so*), believed to be the prohibitive particle *na* plus the archetypal stem of the verb 'do'.

This is possible, but Martin's line of reasoning does not explain the form se-, which would derive from *sia, or *soi. Whitman (1985:235) posits a proto-Japanese-Korean form *šo- (Middle Korean *ho-* 'does'). For the time being I follow Vovin, and suggest that two stems exist for this verb, *so and *soi.[6] The stem of the verb 'come' was *ko.

5.4 Defective Verbs

I have borrowed the label 'defective verb' from Vovin (forthcoming). This label refers to a small class of verbs that only preserve certain paradigmatic shapes. This class is in sharp contrast to the other verbs where the full range of verbal paradigms still exists. Traditional grammars say nothing about this class of verbs, analyzing these as conjunctions or other particles. Martin (1988:35) has briefly touched upon these verbs, but only to the effect of calling these copulae. Peter Hendriks (1992) has expanded on the work of Martin, writing about copular particles. The work of Hendriks concentrates on *n-i,* but he does mention the existence of other copulae: *to* and *tari*. These are excluded from his study, however (1992:13, fn).

In the language of the liturgies, there are three defective verbs, *n-* 'be', *to-* 'be', and *to-* 'say', which are discussed below in that order.

5.4.1 Defective Verb *n-* 'be'

The texts of the liturgies preserve only two paradigmatic forms of this verb, the infinitive *n-i*, and attributive *n-o*.

The infinitive *n-i* occurs after nouns, and is roughly translated as 'being N'.

汁　爾母　顯　爾母　称　　辞　　竟
SIRU ***n-i*** *mo KAPYI* ***n-i*** *mo TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY*
broth **DV-INF** PT rice **DV-INF** PT praise-(INF) thing finish-INF
I end my words of praise, [those words having] **been** [about] broth,

奉　　牟
MATUR-Am-u
HON-TENT-FIN
and also rice...(3).

[6] For the time being, I believe that the stem *soi is a later development from *so.

一年　二年 爾 不　在
PYITO TOSE ***n-i*** *AR-AZ-U*
one year two years **DV-INF** be-NEG-FIN
[It] is not one or two years (4).

Another case of the defective *n-i* occurs after conjunctive nouns like *yuwe* 'reason', and *manima* 'following'.

歳　真尼久 傷　　故　爾
TOSI maneku YABUR-URU [GA] ***YUWE n-i***
year repeatedly break-ATT GEN **CONJ DV-INF**
Because [crops] **were** damaged for so many years,

百　　能 物　知　人　等 乃卜事　爾出 牟
MWOMWO no MONOSIRI PYITO-TATI no URAGOTO ni IDE-m-u
hundred GEN thing know person-PLR GEN divination thing LOC appear-TENT-ATT
at the hundred wise people's divination, [the will of the deity] that will appear...(4).

安　良気 久　令　　奉　　仕　　賜
YASUrakey-ku TUKAPEY MATUR-ASIMEY TAMAP-U [GA]
peacefully-INF serve-(INF) HON-CAUS-(INF) HON-ATT GEN
And **thus** [lit. thus being] cause [those at court] to serve peacefully,

故　爾　御 名 乎 称　　辞　竟
YUWE n-i *MYI-NA wo TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY*
CONJ DV-INF HON-name ACC praise-(INF) thing finish-INF
I finish my words of praise

奉　　久 登　白
MATUR-AKU to MAWOS-U
HON-NML DV-INF say-FIN
of the august name (9).

御 孫　　命　乃　大 嘗　聞　　食 牟
MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO no OPONIPEY KYIKOY-ESIMYES-Am-u
HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity GEN great first fruits eat-INF-

CAUS-TENT-ATT
Because the imperial deities together glorify [the throne],

為　　故 爾 皇　　神　等
*TAMEY [N-O] **YUWE n-i** SUMYE KAMIY-TATI*
for DV-ATT **CONJ DV-INF** imperial deity-PLR
the grandchild together will **be** made to partake of

相　宇豆乃比 奉　弖
APYI-udunop-yi MATUR-Ite
PV-glorify-INF-HON-GER
the great first fruits [of the harvest]...(14).

乞　志 給　　乃 麻爾麻爾
*KOP-As-iTAMAP-YI no **manima n-i***
petition-HON-INF HON-INF **GEN follow DV-INF**
According to the will [lit. petition of the great deity]

此　所　能 底　津 石根 爾 宮　柱
KONO TOKORO no SOKO tu IPANE ni MYIYA PASIRA
this-GEN place GEN bottom LG boulder root LOC palace pillar
the palace pillars have been raised widely on the deep-rooted

広　敷　立　弖
PYIRO SIK-YI TATE-te
wide spread-INF establish-(INF)-GER
boulders of this place, and...(5).

The defective verb *n-* also connects the verbal **koto-* "be like X" to a clause. It is the attributive of this defective *n-o* that causes prenasalization, changing *koto-* to *goto-* (noun + *n-o* + *koto-* > noun *n-o goto-*). There are no examples of 'noun *ga gotoku*' in the liturgies, suggesting that *goto-* with *ga* developed later than that with the defective verbal.

湯都 磐　村　能　如
*yutu IPA MURA **n-o KOTO-KU***
sacred rock cluster **DV-ATT be like-INF**
[and block it] **like** the sacred cluster of rocks...(1).
伊加志 夜久波叡　能　如　久

ikasi yakupaye ***n-o KOTO-ku***
vibrant flourish **DV-ATT be like-INF**
[May the emperor's court] flourish **like** the full [trees] (2).

I will address the problem of semantics with the word *yakupaye* in a later section dealing with *hapax* and other interesting lexical items in the liturgies (Chapter 10, #4).

In *Kojiki* there is only one phonetic example of this defective verbal plus *koto* (KJK 45), given below:

迦微能碁登	*kamiy no goto*	We had heard that
岐許延斯迦杼	*kyikoyesikado*	[she] is like a deity [rolling thunder].

There are four examples of *no goto-* and three examples of *ga goto-* in the edicts. It should be noted that all examples of *ga goto-* appear in edicts from the years 765 or later.

There are various examples of both *no goto-* and *ga goto-* in *Man'yôshû*. These usages are listed in figure 28 (only phonetic examples have been counted).

no goto-	*ga goto-*	*Ø goto-*
10	6	14

Fig. 28 *Goto-* in *Man'yôshû*

It should be noted that 14 of these examples attach to the attributive suffix of a verb, making the use of any defective verbal unnecessary. Interestingly, four of these examples of *ga goto-* appear in books of *Man'yôshû* compiled in the middle to late Nara era (two from Book Fifteen, ca. 736-740, and two from Book Eighteen, ca. 748-750). The last two examples are from Book Five and Nine respectively. I submit that these usages of *ga goto* are innovative.

On this evidence, I postulate that the archaic form was *n-o koto-*, and this defective verb was later analyzed as a case marker, and analogous to *no~ga* alternation, *ga* was later inserted in the grammatical slot *n-o* originally occupied.

5.4.2 Defective Verb *to̲*- 'be'

As mentioned above, Hendriks does mention *to̲*, but says (1992:12, fn), "There is actually another set of copular expressions in Old Japanese—*to* and *tari*—but I shall not discuss them here." It is interesting that he separates *to* and *tari*, because traditional grammarians believe *tari* to derive from this defective verb *to̲* (though the traditional grammarians do not call *to* a defective verb) and the verb *ar*- 'be' (*to̲* + *ari* > *tari*). I agree with this explanation, and because *tari* does not appear in the liturgies, it will not be dealt with here.

This *to̲* is treated as a defective verbal (defective copula, if you will), because it only has two paradigmatic forms, *to̲* 'be' and *to̲ s-ite* 'be doing, and'. There is only one example of this defective copula in the liturgies.

今 年　二 月　爾 御　年 初　将　賜
KO̲TO̲SI KISARAGI ni MYI-TO̲SI PAZIMEY TAMAP-AM-U
this year second month LOC HON-YEAR begin-(INF) HON-TENT-ATT
In the second month of this year, cultivation [lit. the honorific year]

登 為而
to̲ S-ITE
DV-INF do-GER
is about to [lit. **do**] begin...(1).

Below are two additional examples from the edicts:

仲　麻呂伊 忠　　臣 止之天 侍　都
*NAKAmaro̲ i TADASI-KYI OMYI **to̲ s-ite** PABER-It-u*
Nakamaro SUB true-ATT servant **DV-INF do-GER** be (HUM)-PER-FIN
Nakamaro has served as a faithful servant (edict #34).

汝　多知方 貞　仁　明 伎　心　乎 以 天
IMASI tati pa SADAKA n-i AKA-kyi KO̲KO̲RO̲ wo MO̲T-Ite
you-PLR TOP reliable DV-INF clear-ATT heart ACC hold-GER
It is because you servants have served the court **[acted] as** reliable,

朝廷　　乃　護　　止之天　関仁　奉
*MYIKDAWO no MAMWOR-I **to s-ite** SEKYI ni TUKAPEY-*
HON-court SUB protect-NML **DV-INF do-GER** barrier gate DAT serve-(INF)
pure protectors of the barrier that Echizen and Mino Provinces

供　礼方己曾　国　方　多久在　止毛　美濃　止
MATUr-eba koso KUNI pa OPO-ku AR-Edomo MYINWO to
HON-EV HYP PT land TOP many-INF be-EV PT Mino PT
[have been selected] from among many provinces, and have been

越　　前　止　御占　爾合天
KWOSI NO MYITI NO KUTI to MYIURA ni AP-YIte
Echizen DV-INF HON-divination ACC suit-GER
suitable [to the divine will shown through] divination...(edict #37).

5.4.3 Defective Verb *to-* 'say'

Traditional grammars treat this as a quotative particle. The defective verb *to-* has only two forms, the infinitive form *to*, and the subordinative gerund, *to-te*, which is found only rarely in the liturgies.[7] Some may find this analysis strange, but I agree with Vovin (forthcoming), who notes that isostructure languages of the Altaic family, like Mongolian, introduce a citation with the gerund form of the verb 'say'. Vovin supplies this example from Mongolian:

margaash yaw-an **ge-j** xel-sen
tomorrow go-PRES **say-SUB** speak-PAST
[He] said that he would go tomorrow.

[7] It is tempting to relate this defective verb to Japanese *top-* 'ask'. The problem with this theory is that *top-* 'ask' is really *twop-*, and the nuclear vowels of this verb and the defective verb do not match. Ôno Tôru (1962:940-42) has shown rather conclusively that there is no spelling error with *top-* 'ask' and 'visit' in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The spelling regularity proves that what we actually have are two distinct verbs: *twop-* meant 'ask', and *top-* meant 'visit'.

5.4.3.1 Infinitive *to*

There are many examples of the infinitive of this defective verb, but the majority of them occur in the same structure, because the liturgies were recited before the emperor (and supposedly the deities). That structure is *to mawos-* 'say' or *to nor-* 'declare'. Below are various examples of each, with additional verbs gleaned from the edicts.

to nor-

事 不 過 捧 持 奉
KOTO AYAMAT-AZU SASAGEY MOT-ITE TATEMATUR-E
thing transgress-NEG/INF present-(INF) hold-GER HON-COM
I **declare, saying**, 'Bring and present [the items]

登 宣
to NOR-U
DV-INF declare-FIN
without transgressing (1).

諸 聞 食 止 宣
*MOROMORO KYIKOSIMYES-E **to NOR-U***
everyone give ear-COM **DV-INF proclaim-FIN**
I **declare, saying**, 'Give ear, all of you' (10).

to mawos-

此 神 止 白 止 負 賜 支
*KONO KAMIY **to MAWOS-E to OPOS-E** TAMAP-Yikyi*
this deity **DV-INF say-COM DV-INF order-INF** HON-INF-PERF
He **commanded them, saying**, '**Tell** me which deity [it is]' (4).[8]

称 辞 竟 奉 久 登 申
*TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY MATUR-Aku **to MAWOS-U***
praise-(INF) thing finish-INF HON-NML **DV-INF say-FIN**
I **say**, having ended praising things...(5).

[8] Literally this means, 'Tell me that it is this deity who does these evil things.'

to ip-

女　止云波婆 等　美 夜 我　加久 云
*WOMYINA **to Ip-aba** PYITOS-Imyi ya WA [GA] kaku IP-U*
woman **DV-INF say-HYP** equal-NML PT I GEN thus say-FIN
If we compare women [lit. **if say** women], are they all equal? [That's why] I spoke thus (edict #7).

此　乎　殺　賜 幣 止 云天　在
*KORE wo KOROS-I TAMAp-ye **to IP-YIte** AR-I*
this ACC kill-INF HON-COM **DV-INF say-GER** be-FIN
There are [his words, which he] **said**, "Kill these [two people]" (edict #34).

to omop-

盧舎那　仏　乃　慈　賜 比 福　波倍
rusana POTOKEY no UTUKUSIB-IY TAMAp-yi SAKYIpapey
Rushana Buddha GEN mercy-(INF) HON-INF bless-(INF)
We say, since we **think** that there is the gift of mercy and blessings

賜　物　爾 有 止 念　閇... 恐　美
*TAMAP-U MONO ni AR-I **to OMOp-ye**...KASIKWOm-yi*
HON-ATT thing LOC be-INF **DV-INF think-EV**...awe-NML
from the Rushana Buddha....we have said in reverence

恐　美 毛 奏　賜 波久 止　奏
KASIKWOm-yi mo MAWOS-I TAMAp-aku to MAWOS-U
awe-NML PT say-INF HON-NML DV-INF say-FIN
and awe...(edict #12).

5.4.3.2 Subordinative Gerund *to-te*

Iwai (1981:178) claims that *to-te* means *to omopite* 'I think, and'. This may be a good semantic approximation, but his explanation will undoubtedly cause some confusion, because people may be tempted to analyze *to-te* as an abbreviated form of *to omopite*, which it is not. There are others who believe this gerund to be a contraction of *to ip-yite*, which it surely cannot be. The lenition of -p- to zero does not occur even in the era of Late Old Japanese.

There is only one example of this gerund in the liturgies. I have not been able to find any examples of this in the edicts.

隠　　坐　　事　　奇　　止弖
KAKUR-I MASU KOTO AYAS-I ***to-te***
hide-INF HON-ATT thing strange-FIN **DV-GER**
saying, what a strange thing [that she hid herself for seven days]...(12).

5.5 Stative Verbs

What are usually referred to as 'adjectives' in the literature are here called stative verbs. In the traditional description of Japanese, there are two kinds of 'adjectives', *ku-katsuyô* (く活用, -ku conjugating) and *siku-katsuyô* (しく活用, -shiku conjugating). To complicate matters even more, three bases of these 'adjectives' have two different variations, labeled below as 'alpha' and 'beta'. Below is an example of each kind of adjective and the various bases of conjugation.

	i. ku-katsuyô takasi 'be tall'	ii. shiku-katsuyô tadasi 'be correct'
1 α . imperfective	takaku	tadasiku
1 β . imperfective	takakara	tadasikara
2 α . conjunctive	takaku	tadasiku
2 β . conjunctive	takakari	tadasikari
3. conclusive	takasi	tadasi
4 α . attributive	takaki	tadasiki
4 β . attributive	takakaru	tadasikaru
5. conditional	takakere	tadasikere

The beta (β) conjugations belong to a special conjugation, -kar-, which attached to the stem of stative verbs. Suffixes did not attach directly to any 'base' of the stative verbs, but attached to the secondary *kari* conjugation. In his work on Nara era Japanese, Shirafuji (1987:157) notes that *kari katsuyô* was rare in Old Japanese, and gives six examples. It should be noted that his six examples come from *Man'yôshû*. What is of greater interest is the fact that this conjugation (*kari-katsuyô*) does not appear in the liturgies, perhaps again

demonstrating the antiquity of the material. Lewin (1959:137) notes that *kari* (of *kari-katsuyô*) is a contraction of *-ku* and *ar-* (*ku+ar-* > *kar-*), an idea Japanese scholars have held to for years. Clearly *kari-katsuyô* is a later innovation, but it has never been stated when this innovation took place.

The evidence found in the liturgies is only negative evidence, because stative verbs are never used in the negative (no twisted pun intended), but I wonder if perhaps the innovation of *-ku-ar-* > *-kar-* occurred in the late EOJ or early Late Old Japanese period. If the liturgies had preserved stative verbs in the negative, the form would likely have paralleled that found in *Kojiki*, where the verb *ar-* 'be' attaches to the infinitive of the stative, and it is here that negation takes place, as the examples below demonstrate.

putwo-si 'fat, thick'
putwo-ku ar-ikyi 'was thick' (thick-INF+be+RETRO)
putwo-ku ar-az-u 'is not thick' (thick-INF+be+NEG+FIN)

It is important to note that this same form is preserved in the edicts, but modern editors (or later scribes) have glossed the forms as if these were *kari katsuyô*. Below is one of the few examples preserved in phonograms.

一　豆乃　善　有良努　行　爾 在
PYITOtu no ***YO-KU A-ran-u*** *WAZA ni AR-I*
one GEN **good-INF be-NEG-ATT** behavior LOC is-FIN
Here is one behavior **that is not good** (edict #7).

Most editions have this glossed as *yokaranu*, but I submit that the form above is the original. As noted in Morphonological rule 3.5.5, a word boundary blocked –r- loss. I submit that a word boundary also blocked vowel loss in the above example, until the stative verb and the appended 'be' verb ar- were lexicalized as one word, whereupon the first vowel was dropped: yoku aranu > yok-aranu > yokaranu.

Mabuchi (1970:230-43) shows evidence that these stative verbs originally were simply stems that acted somewhat like nouns, attaching directly to other parts of speech. This he labels stage one. Stage two stative verbs were stems plus a suffix –si. Stage three stative verbs have the innovative suffix –siku. Similar to Mabuchi, Ôno Tôru (1978:297) theorizes that the *-ku katsuyô* group was older than the

-shiku katsuyô. He notes that originally these verbs acted like nouns, where the stem attached directly to a noun. Shirafuji (1987:149-152) agrees with these two scholars, and gives several pages of examples from poetry as supporting data. My data from the liturgies also support the work of Mabuchi and Ôno. When quotes from the edicts contain ambiguous *kari katsuyô* (viz. the editors gloss it thus), I analyze it as an imperfect suffix (IMPSF).

If we analyze the alpha group of these stative verbs as original, viewing the special *kar-* conjugation as secondary, then we can generalize that stative verbs have only three forms: conjunctive, conclusive, and attributive (cf. Syromiatnikov 1981:74-75). This is in contrast to action verbs, which have the full set of (conjugation) forms.

Rather than posit two classes of stative verbs (*ku-katsuyô* and *shiku-katsuyô*), only one class is necessary. Compare the stative verbs noted above, this time with the three conjugations. While the conjunctive and conclusive of 'tall' respectively are *takasi* and *takaku*, 'correct' has *tadasi* and *tadasiku*. We would have expected **tadasi-si* for the conclusive.

Yamada (1936:215) notes that the difference between these two classes of adjectives is whether the suffix *-si* exists on the end of the stem or not. He states that in the one class, the *-si* does not function in conjugation, so the stem is the same as the conclusive form. Yuzawa (1943:56) suggests somewhat more directly that haplology accounts for this apparent anomaly in stative verbs (though he does not call these stative verbs).[9] I have followed both Yamada and Yuzawa. Thus, rather than create various rules to account for *-shiku katsuyô*, it is more productive to posit a single rule of haplology to take care of the supposed anomaly with these two classes. I analyze the stems of these two verbs as follows:

	taka- 'high'	tadasi- 'correct'
Conjunctive	taka-ku	tadasi-ku
Conclusive	taka-si	tadasi-Ø
Attributive	taka-ki	tadasi-ki

Below are several examples of stative verbs in the liturgies.

[9] It should be noted that in a later work, Yuzawa (1959:117-18) back pedals somewhat on this theory, saying that if we analyze *tadasi* as the stem, then the conclusive base of verbal conjugation ceases to exist. He thus reanalyzes the base as *tada-* with *si* attached as a suffix.

狭　國　者　広　久　峻　　國　者　平　久
SA-KYI KUNI PA PYIRO-ku SAGASI-KYI KUNI PA TAPYIRAKEY-ku
narrow-ATT land TOP **wide-INF steep-ATT** land TOP **flat-INF**
[May] the **narrow** land be **broad**, and the **steep** land be **flat**..(1).

It is interesting to note that all manuscripts gloss the character 狭 with the interlinear reading *saki*, which is a stative verb appearing only once in MYS 892. I make a point of it here, because *Man'yôshû* only has 狭也, and scholars theorize that this should be read *saku ya*, based on evidence from *norito*. This 狭 is a stative verb, *sa-si*, the above example being the attributive form, *sa-kyi*.

聞　直　志見　直　志弖平　良気久　安　良気久
*KYIK-YI NAPOs-i MYI NAPOs-ite **TAPYIrakey-ku YASUrakey-ku***
listen-INF remedy-INF see-INF remedy-GER **safe-INF peaceful-INF**
[Please] remedy [bad things] seen and heard, and [so this building will be] **safe and peaceful**...(8).

5.6 Preverbs

Preverbs, as the term denotes, are morphemes prefixed to verbs. Most grammars treat these preverbs as prefixes (接頭語 *settôgo*). I have followed Vovin (forthcoming) in treating these as a subclass of verbs. There are three preverbs preserved in the liturgies: *uti-*, *moti-*, and *apyi-*.

5.6.1 Preverb *uti-*

It is not completely clear what the meaning of this preverb is. Ôno et al. (1994:166) state that *uti-* is a prefix meaning 'suddenly, from the instant impact of a hit'. It has been suggested to me that the meaning may be closer to the English sense of doing something *impulsively* (Mathias, p.c.).

遠　國　者八十　綱　打　掛　弖　引
*TOPO-KYI KUNI PA YASWO TUNA **UTI-KAKEY-te** PYIK-YI*

far-ATT land TOP eighty ropes **PV-attach-(INF)-GER** pull-INF
The distant lands are like **something up and tied** with eighty ropes,

寄 如 事
YOS-URU KOTO [N-O] KOTO-KU
draw close-ATT thing DV-ATT be like-INF
pulled closer [to the capital]...(1).

如 横 山 打 積 置弖
*YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU **UTI-TUM-YI OK-YIte***
line of mountains DV-ATT be like-INF **PV-pile up-INF** place-GER
and **piled up** like a line of mountains...(1).

本 末 打 切 弖持 参 来弖
*MOTO SUWE **UTI-KYIR-Ite** MOT-I MAWI K-YIte*
base tip **PV-cut-GER** hold-INF HON-INF come-INF-GER
cut the base and top [of big and small trees] and respectfully bring them here...(1).

天 津 金木 乎 本 打 切 末 打 断 弖
*AMA tu KANAGIY wo MOTO **UTI-KYIR-I** SUWE Ø **UTI-TAT-Ite***
heaven LG metal tree ACC base **PV-cut-INF** tip Ø **PV-sever-GEN**
cut the heavenly tree at the base, and **sever** its top...(10).

敏鎌 以 弖 打 掃 事 之 如 久
TWOGAMA[10] *MOT-Ite UTI-PARAP-U KOTO n-o KOTO-ku*
sharp sickle use-GER **PV-sweep-ATT** DV-ATT be like-INF
like the **sweeping** [motion] of a sharp sickle...(10).

5.6.2. Preverb *moti-*

It is not clear what *moti-* means. Omodaka et al. (1967:740) interpret this *moti-* to mean 'use, utilize'. There are only two examples in the liturgies, but from these examples the preverb would appear to mean something like 'keep, preserve, protect'. I have interpreted it thus.

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[10] There is no interlinear gloss for 敏鎌, but *Kojiki* calls it the sickle of Mt. Kagu 斗迦麻 *twogama*, which is of an unclear meaning. Motoori Norinaga in *Kojiki den* interpreted this word as 'sharp sickle' (MNZ 1969.11:254). I have followed his interpretation.

持　由麻波利 仕　奉　禮留　幣 帛　乎
MO̲TI-yumapar-i *TUKAPEY MATUr-er-u MYI-TEGURA wo*
PV-purify-INF serve-(INF) HON-PERF-ATT HON-offering ACC
[and present] these offerings that have been made and **kept pure**... (1).

持　可可呑　弖 牟
MO̲TI-kaka NO̲M-YI*tem-u*
PV-swallow in gulps-GER-TENT-FIN
[The deity] **will swallow** [**and keep** the defilement] in gulps (10).

This last example suggests that when the deity swallows the defilement (crimes, sins), she will keep the defilement from coming back out, and hold it until the next deity appears, who will blow the defilement into oblivion.

5.6.3. Preverb *apyi-*

This preverb may be derived from the verb *ap-* 'meet', but the sense of 'together' or 'in harmony' is closer to the intended meaning. In both the liturgies and edicts, this preverb is transcribed with the graph 相 'mutually'.

相　麻自許利 相　口　会　賜　事　無久
APYI-mazikori APYI-KUTI APEY TAMAP-U KO̲TO̲ NA-ku
PV-bewitch-INF PV-mouth meet-(INF) HON-ATT thing not-INF
And that there be no (situations where there is) mutual bewitching, or speaking together...(9).

皇　神　等　相 宇豆乃比 奉　弖
SUMYE KAMIY-TATI ***APYI-udunop-yi*** *MATUR-Ite*
imperial deity-PLR **PV-appreciate-INF**-HON-GER
The imperial deities **appreciate** [the food] **together**...(14).

天　坐　神　地　坐　祇　乃
AMEY [NI] MAS-U KAMIY KUNI [NI] MAS-U KAMIY no
Heaven LOC HON-ATT deity earth LOC HON-ATT deity SUB
The deities in the heavens, and the deities in the earth

相　于豆奈 比　奉
APYI-udunap-yi MATUR-I
PV-appreciate-INF-HON-INF
appreciate [the blessings] **together**...(edict #4).

相　従　事 波 无 之弖
APYI-SITAGAP-U KOTO pa NAKU si-te
PV-follow-ATT thing TOP not-INF do-GER
As for **following together,** (the previous emperor) did not...
(edict #27).

5.7 Verbal Circumfix

There is only one verbal circumfix in the language of the liturgies, *na-...so*, and it is a negative imperative that is milder than the negative imperative *-na* attached after verbs (cf. section 8.2). The circumfix frames the infinitive form of verbs, aside from the verb 'do', and then it frames *se-*.

As noted above, Martin views this circumfix as just the negative imperative particle *na* occurring with the stem of the verb 'do' (1988:967). Zachert (1950:154, n12) calls *na* a negative particle attaching to the stem of the verb, and *so* attached at the end. Mathias has suggested to me that *na* is actually a prefix (p.c.). There is only one example of this circumfix in the liturgies.

夜　七夜　昼 七日　吾 乎 奈 見　給 比 曾
YWO NANUKA PYI NANUKA WA wo ***na MYI TAMAp-yi so***
night seven days day seven days I ACC **PT see HON-INF do**
[She] said, 'For seven days and seven nights, **do not look upon me**,

吾　奈背乃 命　止 申　給　比支
WA [GA] nase no MYI-KOTO to MAWOS-I TAMAp-yikyi
I GEN beloved GEN HON deity DV-INF say-INF HON-INF-RETR
my beloved deity' (12).

The strong negative particle *na* that attaches to the final form of the verb (cf. *myi-tamap-u na* 'do not look at me!') is treated in section 8.2. As noted above, Mathias (p.c.) proposes that there are examples where *na* appears before the verb with no following *so*, making one suspicious of the term 'circumfix'. It needs to be understood that all

examples where *so* does not follow the construction *na* + verb-INF appear in poetry. My study concentrates on prose (at least the liturgical form of the language that had not undergone evolution to the extent of 'song'), and I suggest that the prohibitive lacking *so* is a special usage peculiar to poetry / song. This implies that the usage without *so* is a later innovation.

The sole example from the liturgies is admittedly weak evidence, so I provide the following three example from the edicts.

此　　状　　悟　　而　人　乃　見 可 咎
KAKU [NO] SAMA SATOR-ITE PYITO no MYI-TOGAM-U
thus GEN condition realize-GER person SUB see-(INF) criticize-ATT
Realizing that things are in this state, do not do anything people

事 和射 奈世 曾
BEYKYI KOTO waza ***na s-e so***
DEBT thing-action **PT do-COM do**
should criticize (edict #16).

是　　以　汝　等　　罪　者　免
KORE [WO] MOT-ITE IMASI-TATI [NO] TUMYI PA YURUS-I
this ACC hold-GER you-PLR GEN crimes TOP forgive-INF
With this [we] pardon your crimes.

驚　呂　驚　呂之岐　事　　行　奈世 曾
ODOro　ODOrosikyi　KOTO WAZA ***na se so***
Startled-ATT thing feat **PT do-COM do**
Do not do anything that startles [people] (edict #56).

労　　久 奈　思　　麻志 曾
ITOPOSI-ku ***na OMOP-YI-mas-i so***
painful-INF **PT think-INF HON-INF do**
Do not think painfully [on this] (#58).

On this evidence I call *na-...so* a verbal circumfix. The example from the liturgies has Izanami telling her husband/brother not to look upon her. The three examples of prohibitives in the edicts are spoken by the emperor, who is using a negative imperative with a benevolent air, thus

the structure *na-...so*. Therefore, this prohibitive was weaker (gentler) than the usage of the particle *na*.

CHAPTER SIX

VERBAL SUFFIXES

6. Verbal Suffixes

Traditional grammatical analyses of pre-modern Japanese (as well as modern Japanese) have tended to analyze verbal suffixes as attaching to a specific 'base' of a verb. Charts are organized along the lines of six 'bases' (noted in section 5), and the student is required to know which suffix attaches to which 'base'. For example, traditional grammars explain that tentative *mu* attaches to the *mizenkei* base of a verb (cf. Lewin 1959:161, Ikeda 1975:59).

I have followed Vovin (forthcoming) in reanalyzing suffixes by morphosyntactic position, i. e., where the suffix occurs in the sentence. This kind of analysis requires that suffixes be divided into three groups: (i) sentence-final, (ii) sentence-non-final, and (iii) word-non-final suffixes.

6.1 Sentence-Final Suffixes

Several sentence-final suffixes are preserved in the language of the liturgies: the predicative marker: -u for verbs, -si for stative verbs, and a special predicative marker: -i; attributive marker: -uru for verbs, and -kyi for stative verbs, and the evidential marker (-ure); imperative suffix: -ye; the negative tentative suffix: -azi, and the retrospective marker: -ikyi.

6.1.1 Predicative Markers

There are two allomorphs of the predicative marker *-u*: *-u* and *-ru*. There are no concrete examples of the *-ru* predicative form in the liturgies or the edicts.

Japanese linguists traditionally analyze the predicative *-u* to have the meaning of termination, or final predication (cf. Yuzawa 1943:45-46; Ikeda 1975:20; Nishida 1993:139). Many western

linguists prefer the term 'non-past'. Syromiatnikov (1981:82) states that *-u* functions as 'a non-preceding tense', which insinuates that Old Japanese had tense. Sansom's description (1928:131) is worded nicely,

> The function of the predicative form is to predicate, without reference to time. It is true that, being neutral as to time, it can usually be translated by a present tense in English; but context may demand other tenses.

I agree with Sansom, and think it is better to avoid using the term 'tense' at all here. The Japanese predicative form is better viewed as neutral in reference to tense.

The Predicative Marker *-u*

天 津 祝詞 乃 太 祝詞 事 乎 以 弖
AMA tu NORITWO no PUTWO NORITWO GOTO wo MOT-Ite
heaven LG liturgy GEN thick liturgy thing ACC hold-GER
I **say**, 'And with the heavenly liturgy, the thick liturgical things,

称 辞 竟 奉 止 申
*TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY MATUR-AKU to **MAWOS-U***
praise-(INF) thing finish-INF HON-NML DV-INF **say-FIN**
I have ended praising things' (12).

卿 等 乃 問 来 政
MAPYETUKYIMYI TATI no TOP-YI K-OM-U MATURIGOTO
minister PLR SUB ask-INF come-TENT government
Will we **answer** thus, when the ministers come asking about

乎 者 加久耶 答 賜
*woBA kaku ya KOTAPEY **TAMAP-AM-U***
ACC TOP thus PT answer-(INF) **give-TENT-FIN**
the affairs of the government?

加久耶 答 賜
*kaku ya KOTAPEY **TAMAP-AM-U***
thus PT answer-(INF) **give-TENT-FIN**
Or **will** we **answer** thus (edict #6)?

皇 朕 高 御 座 爾 坐 初 由利
SUMYERA WARE TAKAMYIKURA ni IMAS-I PAZIMEY yuri

emperor I high-HON-throne LOC exist-INF begin-INF ABL
Up to this year, it **has been** six years from the beginning when I,

今 年 爾 至 麻氐 六 年 爾 成 奴
*KOTOSI ni ITAR-U made MU-TOSI ni **NAR-In-u***
this year LOC reach-ATT TERM six years LOC **become-PERF-FIN**
the emperor, took the high throne (edict #7).

6.1.1.1 Special Predicative Marker *-i*

There are two verbs that do not have *-u* as the predicative marker, *ar-* 'be' and the assertive *nar-* 'be'. I posit that these two verbs are relics of VS verbs in the process of changing to a CS paradigm, but somehow the process was never completed.

While both verbs (*ar-* and *nar-*) appear in the liturgies, *nar-* appears in the predicative form once, while *ar-* appears in various forms, but not the predicative. The example of *ar-* in the predicative below comes from the edicts.

是 木 霊 也
*KORE Ø KIY [NO] TAMA **NAR-I***
this Ø tree GEN spirit **is-FIN**
This **is** the spirit of trees (8).

汝 多知 諸 者 吾 近 姪 奈利
*IMASI tati MOROMORO PA WA [GA] TIKA-KYI WOPI **nar-i***
you PLR various TOP I GEN close-INF nephew **be-FIN**
As for all you various servants, **you are** [like] my close nephews (edict #17).

一 豆 乃 善 有良努 行 爾 在
*PYITOtu no YO-KU A-ran-u WAZA ni **AR-I***
one GEN good-INF be-NEG-ATT behavior LOC **be-FIN**
[Here] **is** one behavior that is not good (edict #7).

謀 反 乃 心 阿利
*MUPEN n-o KOKORO **ar-I***

rebellion DV-INF heart **be-FIN**
[Naramaro's] heart **is** [inclined to] rebellion (edict #34).

6.1.2 Attributive Marker *–uru*

The attributive marker converts verbs into a form that modifies nouns or nominals. As noted earlier (5.2.4), this same marker likely attached to CS verbs also, but with -r- loss, the marker lenited and is now indistinguishable from the predicative.

Nishida (1993:140-41) notes that the attributive has three functions: attributive (noun modifying), substantive, and predicative. The third function is triggered when *namo* or *so* (later *zo*) appears in the sentence. It will make our analysis much easier if we group Nishida's three functions under the same rubric of attributive.

大 野 原 爾 生 物 者 甘菜 辛菜
*OPO-NWO [NO] PARA ni **OP-URU** MONO PA AMANA KARANA*
HON-field GEN field LOC **grow-ATT** thing TOP sweet herbs bitter herbs
As for those things **that grow** in the field of Ôno, [there are] sweet

青 海 原 住 物 者 鰭 能 広物
*AWOMYI [NO] PARA [NI] **SUM-U** MONO PA PATA no PYIRO MONO*
blue sea GEN field LOC **live-ATT** thing TOP fin GEN broad thing
and bitter herbs, and as for those things that live in the field of

鰭 能 狭 物
PATA no SAMONO
fin GEN narrow thing
the blue sea [there are] things with broad and narrow fins...(1).

自 陸 往 道 者 荷 緒 縛
*KUGA YWORI **YUK-U** MYITI PA NI [NO] WO YUP-YI*
land ABL **go-ATT** path TOP load GEN thread tie-INF
As for the paths [**going**] through the land, the threads of [tributary]

堅 弓 磐 根 木 根 履 佐久彌弓 馬 爪
KATAMEY-te IPANE KIYNE PUM-YI sakum-yite UMA [NO]

TUMEY
make firm-(INF)-GER rock root tree root trample-INF scatter-GER horse GEN hoof
loads are firmly tied, and as far as the hooves of horses **penetrate**

至 留 限
[NO] ITAR-I TODOMAR-U KAGYIRI
SUB reach-INF **rest-ATT** limit
[the land], they trample and scatter the deep-rooted boulders and deep-rooted trees...(1).

有礼志与呂許保志 止奈毛 見 留
uresi yorokobosi to namo MYIru
happy-satisfied DV-INF PT **see-ATT**
How we **feel** [lit. see thus feel] happy and satisfied (edict #46).

今 方 身 毛 不 敢 阿流良牟 物 乎
IMA pa MIY mo AP-EZU aru ramu MONO wo
Now TOP bosy PT endure-NEG/INF **be-ATT** thing ACC
Now my body [has become] a thing **that will not** endure (edict #41).

6.1.3 Evidential Marker *–ure*

The evidential marker is used rarely in the liturgies. The allomorph of this marker *–ure* attached to VS verbs. As noted in 5.2.5, when the evidential marked attached to CS verbs, -r- loss resulted in –e(y).

Lewin (1959:105) calls this the conditional form (Konditionalform), used as a predicative form with *koso*. Ikeda (1975:27) states that the evidential expresses the action or condition that has already taken place. Vovin (forthcoming) says that the exact meaning of the evidential marker is hard to pinpoint, but the isolated form (not *kakari-musubi*) is a kind of emphatic statement.

此 乎 物 知 人 等 乃卜 事 乎 以弖
KORE wo MONO SIR-I PYITO-TATI no URAGOTO wo MOT-Ite
this ACC thing know-INF person-PLR GEN divination thing ACC have-INF-GER
Even though the wise men took this [the will of the deity]

卜　　止母　出　留　神　乃御　心　母　無
URAP-YE DOMO *ID-Uru KAMIY no MYI-KOKORO mo NA-SI*
divine-EV CSS appear-ATT deity GEN HON-mind PT not-FIN
and **used divination** on it, they declared that the will of the deity

止　白
to MAWOS-U
DV-INF say-FIN
was not known (lit. 'did not appear') (4).

黙　　在　牟止 為礼 止毛　止　　事　不得
MODA AR-Amu to ***S-Ure domo*** *YAM-U KOTO E-Z-U*
silence be-TENT DV-INF **do-EV CSS** stop-ATT thing can-NEG-FIN
Though I have [tried to] remain still, I cannot stop (edict #25).

無　上　岐　　仏　乃御　法　波 至誠
KAMYI NA-kyi POTOKEY no MYI-NORI pa SIZYAU
above not-ATT Buddha GEN HON-law TOP peerless
As for the law of Buddha which has no parallel,

心　乎以 天　　拝　　尊　　備
[NO] KOKORO wo MOT-Ite ***WOROGAM-YI TAPUTWObiy***
GEN heart ACC hold-GER **worship-INF revere-(INF)**
when (we) worship and revere it with peerless devotion,

献　　礼波　必　　異　　奇　験　乎
MATU-reba *KANARAZU KOTO [N-I] AYASI-KYI SIRUSI wo*
HON-EV HYP surely different DV-INF wonderful-ATT sign ACC
surely (the heavenly powers) will display and bestow (upon us)

阿良波之　授　　賜　　物　爾伊末志家利
arapas-i SADUKEY TAMAP-U MONO ni imas-ikyer-i
appear-INF bestow HON-ATT thing LOC exist-RETR-FIN
a wonderful sign that is exceptional (edict #41).

人　方不　秦　　天在 等毛　心　　中
PYITO pa MAWOS-AZU-te ***ARE-domo*** *KOKORO [NO] NAKA*
people TOP saw-NEG/INF-GER **be-EV CSS** heart GEN inside
Though [these] people do not make their report (lit. **though people**

悪久 垢 久濁 天 在 人 波 必
ASI-ku KYITANA-ku NIGOR-Ite AR-U PYITO pa KANARAZU
evil-INF filthy-INF muddied-GER be-ATT people TOP surely
exist who do not report), as for people whose inner hearts are evil,

天 地 現 之 示 給 豆留 物 曾
AMEY TUTI ARAPAs-i SIMYES-I TAMAP-YIturu MONO so
heaven earth appear-INF show-INF HON-PERF-ATT thing PT
filthy, and polluted, surely [the deities] of heaven and earth will make these known (edict #44).

6.1.4 Imperative Suffix *–ye*

There are two imperative suffixes in Old Japanese, the suffix *-ye* and *yo*. The suffix *-ye* is affixed to CS verbs. The other suffix, *yo*, follows VS and irregular verbs. The imperative suffix *-ye* is the only imperative suffix attested in the liturgies. Because of the nature of the liturgies, the imperative suffix is never added directly to the stem of a verb, but always follows an auxiliary, usually an honorific auxiliary. This makes the request of the speaker--a mortal--as polite and elevated as possible, because the listener is always a deity or the emperor.

Imperative *-ye*
事 不 過 捧 持
KOTO AYAMAT-AZ-U SASAGEY MOT-ITE
thing transgress-NEG/INF present-(INF) **hold-GER**
I declare, saying, '**Bring and present** [the items]

奉 登 宣
***TATEMATUR-E** to NOR-U*
present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
without transgressing' (1).

宇豆乃 大 幣 帛 乎 安 幣 帛 乃 足
udu n-o OPO-MYI-TEGURA wo YASU MYI-TEGURA no TARI
rare DV-INF HON-HON-offering ACC peaceful HON-offering GEN plentiful
'[I present] the rare, great offerings, as plentiful offerings of

幣 帛 登 平 久 安 久
MYI-TEGURA to TAPYIRAKEY-ku YASUKEY-ku
HON-offering DV-INF quiet-INF peaceful-INF
peaceful [offerings], which I **pray you will accept** quietly

聞 看 登 皇 大 御 神 等 乎
***KYIKOSIMYES-E** to SUMYE OPO-MYI-KAMIY-TATI wo*
(accept) HON-COM DV-INF imperial great HON-deity-PLR ACC
and calmly; I say, and end these words of praise for

称 辞 竟 奉 久 登 白
TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY MATUR-Aku to MAWOS-U
praise-(INF) words finish-(INF) HON-NML DV-INF say-FIN
the great imperial deities (2).

Imperative *-yo*
今 乃 勅 乎 用 与....
*IMA no OPOMYIKOTO wo **MOTIWI yo**....*
now GEN great-HON-command ACC **use-(INF) PT**
Use the decree (I have) now (declared)....

菩薩 乃 浄戒 乎 受 与止 勅 天 在
*BOSATU no ZYAUKAI wo **UKEY yo** to NOR-I TAMAP-YIte AR-I*
Bodhisattva GEN pure precept ACC **accept-(INF) PT** DV-INF declare-GER is-FIN
There is the declaration, '**Accept** the pure precept of the Bodhisattva' (edict #28).

6.1.5 Negative Tentative Suffix *–azi*

The negative tentative suffix has two allomorphs: *-azi* after CS verbs, and *-zi* after VS and irregular verbs. Saeki (1950:178), Lewin (1959:188), and Ikeda (1975:64) explain that *-azi* is the negative equivalent of *-am-*, being a negative tentative suffix. Syromiatnikov (1981:109) labels this the privative-suppositional mood, and explains that it was used more with the first person than the third.

Lewin (ibid.) mentions two meanings for *azi*: an expression of doubt, and intention, which I believe refers to the intention *not* to do

something. Ikeda (1075:64) notes that the negative tentative carried three different meanings: negative presumption, negative intention, and a mild prohibition. The negative presumption is the original meaning, and the other two are derivations. Only the first meaning appears in the liturgies. There is only one example of negative intention in the edicts.

Negative Presumption

天　下　四方　国　爾波　罪　止云布
AMA [NO] SITA YOMO [NO] KUNI ni pa TUMYI to Ip-u
heaven GEN below four quarters GEN land LOC TOP crime DV-INF say-ATT
[I]n the four quarters of the land under heaven transgressions

罪　波　不在　止
*TUMYI pa **AR-AZI** to*
crime TOP **be-NGT** DV-INF
transgressions **will be no more**, I say...(10).

遺　罪　波　不在 止 祓　給 比
*NOKOR-U TUMYI pa **AR-AZI** to PARAPEY TAMAp-yi*
remain-ATT crime TOP **be-NGT** DV-INF cleanse-(INF) HON-INF
As for the remaining sins, [I] cleanse [them] so **there will be no more**...(10).

御　心　一速　比　給　波志止為弖
*MYI-KOKORO ITIPAYABYI **TAMAp-azi** to S-Ite*
HON-heart show divine violence-INF **HON-NGT** DV-INF do-GER
[So the fire deity] **will not do** divine violence [in the emperor's court]...(12).

美麻斯　親王　乃　齢　乃　弱　爾荷　重　波
myimasi MYIKWO no YOPAPI no WAKA-KYI ni NI OMO-KYI pa
Mimasi Prince GEN age SUB young-ATT DV-INF load heavy-ATT TOP
I have thought, as for you, Prince Mimashi, being young in age, you

不 堪 自加止　所念　坐　而
***TAPEYzi** ka to OMOPOS-I MAS-ITE*
endure-NGT PT DV-INF think-HON-GER

will not [be able] to **endure** the weight of the load (of responsibility)...(edict#5).

Negative Intention
王　　乃 幣 爾去曾 死　米、能杼 爾波 不死
*OPOKYIMYI no pye ni koso SIN-Am-ey nodo nipa **SIN-AZI***
great-ruler GEN side LOC PT die-TENT quiet LOC-TOP **die-NGT**
I will die at the side of the ruler. I **will not die** quietly (edict #13).

It is interesting that a *chôka* composed by Yakamochi (MYS 4094) has been influenced by this edict. That poem has the following stanzas:

大皇乃
OPOKYIMYI no　　I shall die

敝爾許曾死米
pye ni koso SIN-Amey　　by the great ruler.

可敝里見波
kapyer-i MYI pa　　As for looking back,

勢自等許等太弖
sezi to kotodate　　I promise I will not.

6.1.6 Retrospective Suffix *–ikyi*

I have followed the scholarly consensus in calling *-ikyi* the retrospective, my reasons noted below. The retrospective suffix only has one allomorph, *-ikyi*, but has an interesting array of forms: *-ise* (IMP), *-ikyi* (FIN), *-isi* (ATT), and *-sika* (COND). Of these four forms, two appear in the liturgies. The other forms are noted from examples found in the edicts. Also because this is a synchronic study, I do not intend to go into detail as to why -k- and -s- alternate, other than to note that the form with -s- is suppletive.

Lewin (1959:162) calls *-ki Präteritum* 'preterite', but then notes that *–ki* marks past tense, but is neutral as to aspect. This is a better explanation than Komai, who calls this suffix 'past tense' and 'subjunctive' (1979:150-51). Lewin's explanation still needs some refining, however. Ikeda (1975:104) explains that the retrospective

suffix is 'either the recollection of something directly experienced in the past, or the recollection of something known to be a fact.' Syromiatnikov (1981:114) groups *-iki* with a few other suffixes, which he calls 'past tense'. Martin (1988:574-75) groups *-iki* with other suffixes he labels 'perfective'. Vovin (1997a) has compared the OJ retrospective with Middle Korean and Manchu-Tungusic. I quote his examples below:

First, consider the perfective –ke, -ka in Middle Korean:
ni-ke-n-i "the one who went"

Next consider –ha, -he, -ho in Manchu:[1]
ala-ha niyalma "a man who said"

These examples make it clear that the suffix functioned as a perfective, and not as a marker of a past tense. I wish to avoid the problems of analyzing Japanese in 'tenses', so I have used the label retrospective.

Imperfect Form
可 受 賜 物 奈利世波
UKEYTAMAP-AR-UBEY-KYI MONO ***nar-ise-ba***
receive-(HUM)-DEB-ATT thing **be-RETR-HYP**
If I **could have** received (the decree),

祖父 仕 奉 天 麻自
OPODI TUKAPEY MATUR-Ite masi
grandfather serve-(INF) HON-GER-TENT-FIN
perhaps my grandfather could have served...(edict #26).
The literal meaning of this is 'If it had been a thing I could have received....'

Conclusive Form
天 降 依左志 奉 岐
AMA KUDAS-I YOsas-i ***MATUR-Ikyi***
heaven descend-INF draw near-INF **HON-RETR-FIN**
[The heavenly grandchild] **came down** from heaven [**we know**]...(10).

[1] It should be noted that h- in Manchu derives from *k- (cf. Vovin 1997c).

Attributive Form

皇 御 神 能 乞比 給 万比之 任 爾
*SUMYE MYI-KAMIY no KOp-yi **TAmap-yisi** MANIMA n-i*
imperial HON-deity SUB beg-INF **HON-INF-RETR-ATT** follow DV-INF
According to [the wishes] **supplicated by the imperial deity [we know]**...(6).

志貴 嶋 爾 大 八 嶋 國 知 志 皇
*sikiy SIMA ni OPOYASIMA KUNI **SIR-AS-Isi** SUMYE*
SIKI island LOC great eight island land **rule-HON-INF-RETR-ATT** imperial
The imperial grandchild **who ruled** the great eight island land from

御 孫 命
MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO
HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity
Siki Island **[we know]**...(4).

事 問 之 磐根 木乃立知
*KOTO **TWOP-YIsi** IPANE KOnoTAti*
thing **ask-INF-RETR-ATT** rock root standing tree
The deep-rooted rocks and the standing trees **that had asked things [we know]**...(8).

Evidential Form

退 賜 止 奏 之可止毛 此 禅師 乃
*SIRIZOKEY TAMAP-YE to **MAWOS-Isika-domo**, KONO ZENZI no*
withdraw-(INF) HON-COM DV-INF **say-RETR-CSS** this Zen priest GEN
And **though I had said** 'Withdraw!', upon looking at the actions of

行 乎 見 爾 至 天 浄 之
OKONAPYI wo MYIRU ni ITAR-Ite KYIYWO-si
actions ACC see-ATT LOC reach-GER pure-FIN
this Zen priest, (his actions) are pure (edict #28).

6.2 Sentence-Non-Final Suffixes

Sentence-non-final suffixes include infinitives[2] and gerunds, and these cannot end a sentence, but can conclude a verbal form.

6.2.1 Infinitives

I follow Martin (1988:316) in viewing the simplest form of a sentence as the infinitive plus some auxiliary. Thus, the infinitive is the basic building block of a sentence. The infinitive can also be used to form compound sentences, which later can become complex predicates that function at the end of a sentence.

6.2.1.1 Infinitive *–i*

The infinitive marker of verbs (aside from stative verbs) is *-i*. If the infinitive *-i* follows a VS verb, the infinitive marker drops. When the infinitive follows a monosyllabic VS verb, the opposite happens: the infinitive suppresses the nuclear vowel of the stem. There are two irregular verbs: ko-i > k-i 'come' and se-i > s-i 'do'. Used alone (without any auxiliaries), the infinitive is a non-final predicate, as the three examples below show.

瓶　閇　高　知
MYIKA [NO] pey ***TAKASIR-I***
jar GEN top **high pile-INF**
piling [the rice offerings] **high** on top of the jars,

瓶　腹　満　雙　弖
MYIKA [NO] PARA MYITE NARABEY-te
jar GEN belly fill-(INF) arrange-(INF)-GER
and filling the bellies of the jars, [then] arrange [them], and...(1).

御　弓　御　梓　御　馬 爾 備　奉　理
MYI-TORASI MYI-POKO MYI-UMA ni ***SONAPEY MATUr-i***
HON-take in hand HON-halberd HON-horse DAT **prepare-(INF)**

[2] I make a distinction between the infinitive *-i* and nominalizer *-i*, based on pitch accent. Pitch accent is not preserved in the liturgies, but the work of Martin shows that the two forms, the infinitive and the nominalized form, have different pitches (1987:155; 1995:149, fn. 3).

HON- INF
preparing [to complete the set] for the bows, halberds, and horses,

御 服 波 明 多閇 照 多閇 和 多閇 荒
MYISWO pa AKAR-U tapey TER-U tapey NIKYI tapey ARA
clothing TOP bright-ATT offering shine-ATT soft offering rough
and as for clothing, present [things being] bright offerings, shining

多閇爾 仕 奉 弖
tapey n-i TUKAPEY MATUR-Ite
offering DV-INF serve-(INF) HON-GER
offerings, soft offerings, and rough offerings...(2).

自 上 往 波上 護 利
*UPEY YWORI YUK-Aba UPEY [WO] **MAMWOr-i***
top ABL go-HYP top ACC **protect-INF**
If it goes from the top, **protect the top** [and]

自 下 往 波 下 護 利....
*SITA YWORI YUK-Aba SITA [WO] **MAMWOr-i...***
bottom ABL go-HYP bottom ACC **protect-INF**
if it goes from the bottom, **protect the bottom**....

言 排 坐 弖
IP-YI OS-I MAS-Ite
say-INF push-INF HON-GER
and verbally push aside [the evil], and...(9).

6.2.1.2 Infinitive *–ku*

The infinitive of stative verbs is formed by attaching *-ku*. The usage of this infinitive is almost identical to the infinitive of verbs discussed above, though the two forms are not related. One other function of this infinitive is adverbialization (cf. Martin 1988:392), where the stative verb is used as an adverb.

狭 國 者 広 久 峻 國 者
*SA-KYI KUNI PA **PYIRO-ku** SAGASI-KYI KUNI PA*

narrow-ATT land TOP **broad-INF** steep-ATT land TOP
As for the narrow land, [it will] **broaden**, and the steep land

平　　久
TAPYIRAKEY-ku
level-INF
[will] **level**...(1).

安　　久聞　　食　　弖豊　　明　　爾
YASURAKEY-ku *KYIKOSIMYES-Ite TOYO [NO] AKAR-I n-i*
peaceful-INF partake-GER eternal GEN bright-INF DV-INF
The imperial grandchild, beaming brighter than bright, **peacefully**

明　　坐牟　　皇　　御孫　　命
AKAR-I MAS-AM-U SUMYE MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO
bright-INF HON-TENT-ATT imperial HON-grandchild GEN deity
partakes [of the first fruits]...(14).

6.2.1.3 Negative Infinitive *–azu*

The negative infinitive *-azu* attaches to CS verbs, and the allomorph, *-zu*, attaches to VS verbs, with suppression of the vowel in the suffix. Explanations in traditional grammars do not seem to make a distinction between this negative infinitive, which is used as a sentence non-final predicate (cf. 6.4.2), and the negative *-az-*, a word-non-final suffix. Our analysis will make a distinction.

The negative was originally *-az-u*, which goes back to **-an-su*. As Martin (1987:111) notes, -su likely is a form of the verb 'do'. The negative suffix, *-an* is well attested in other languages. It is well-known that the negative in Korean is ani, and Tungusic has the following forms: Even aan or aaŋ, Oroch ana, Ulcha ana, Nanai anaa, and Orok ana, anaa, or anaɣa (Tsintsius 1975-77:41). It should be noted that Tsintsius also mentions Korean an⁓ani.

In OJ, the original negative suffix was *–az-u*, in the predicative. Perhaps analogous to the infinitive –ku of stative verbs, *-azu* also came to be used as a negative infinitive.

事　　不　　過　　捧　　持
KOTO AYAMAT-AZU SASAGEY MOT-ITE

thing **transgress-NEG/INF** present-(INF) hold-GER
I declare, saying, 'Bring and present [the items]

奉　　登　宣
TATEMATUR-E to NOR-U
present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
without transgressing' (1).

神　主　　祝部　　等　　請　　弖
KAMUNUSI PAPURI-TATI Ø UKEY-TAMAPAR-Ite
officiator minor official-PLR Ø accept-HUM-GER
I declare, saying, 'Bring and present [the items] **without leaving**

事　　不落　　捧　　持弖　　奉　　登　宣
*KOTO **OTI-ZU** SASAGEY MOT-Ite TATEMATUR-E to NOR-U*
thing **drop-NEG/INF** present-(INF) hold-GER present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
any out, and the officials and minor officials will receive [the offerings] (14).

然　　人　止之天　　恩　　乎　不知
*SIKAR-U [N-I] PYITO to s-ite MEYGUM-YI wo **SIR-AZU***
Although-ATT DV-INF person DV-INF do-GER mercy-NML ACC **know-NEG/INF**
In spite of this, even in the law of the sages, it should be

恩　　乎不報奴乎波　聖　乃　御　法　仁毛
MEYGUM-YI wo MUKI-n-u woba PYIZIRI no MYI-NORI nimo
mercy-NML ACC reward-NEG-ATT ACC TOP sage GEN HON-law DAT PT
admonished when as people we **do not know** the mercies

禁　　給　弊流　物　仁　在
ISAMEY TAMAp-yeru MONO ni AR-I
admonish-(INF) HON-PRG-ATT thing LOC be-FIN
[of the Buddha], and do not reward with mercy (edict #41).

6.2.2 Gerunds

The liturgies forming the database of this study contain three gerunds: subordinative *-ite*, hypothetical-conditional *-ba*, and concessive *-domo*.

6.2.2.1 Subordinative Gerund *–ite*

The subordinative gerund *-ite* has an allomorph *-ite* after CS verbs, and the initial vowel is suppressed after VS verbs. Irregular verbs show the exact opposite phenomenon, because the vowel of the stem is suppressed: ko-ite > k-ite 'come and', se-ite > s-ite 'do and'. This makes one believe that the subordinative gerund is really the infinitive *–i* plus *te*. For ease of analysis, I analyze this as a set, *-ite*.

Ikeda (1975:213) defines this gerund as: "The first action continues up to the time of the second action." Syromiatnikov (1981:101) says that *-te* indicates precedence in speaking about the past, present, or future. Neither definition is sufficiently precise. In most cases in the liturgies where the subordinate gerund is used, the first action is realized before the next, thus meaning 'do A, and then do B', or 'A happens, and then B'.

千 穎　八百穎　爾 奉　　置 弖
*TIKAPYI YAPOKAPYI ni TATEMATUR-I **OK-YIte***
thousand rice eight hundred rice DAT offer-INF **place-GER**
Present the thousand rice ears, the eight hundred rice ears **and place**

瓶　　閇 高 知 瓶　　腹 満
MYIKA [NO] pey TAKASIR-I MYIKA [NO] PARA MYITE
jar GEN top high pile-INF jar GEN insides fill-INF
these, piling [the rice] high on the jars, filling the insides of the jars

雙　　弖
NARABEY-te
line up-(INF)-GER
that are lined up...(1).

本　末　打 切 弖 持 参　来 弖
*MOTO SUWE **UTI-KYIR-Ite** MOT-I MAWI **K-YIte***
base tip **PV-cut-GER** hold-INF HON-INF **come-GER**

cut the base and top [of big and small trees] and respectfully **bring them here**...(1).

Both examples show a series of actions, one happening after the other. The first example does not necessarily require that each action be completed before the next action takes place, because one would believe that while rice was put into jars, it was also piled upon the mouths of the jars. These two actions of piling or inserting rice into jars seem to be simultaneous. The second example, however, requires the first action to be completed before the second one can be attempted. Trees must be cut down before the woodcutter can bring them in.

The next example, while quite long, also shows that one action takes place, and then another occurs. An explanation then occurs, and these are all demarcated by the subordinative gerund.

楯　　戈　御馬　爾　御鞍　　具　　弖
*TATE POKO MYIMA ni MYIKURA **SWONAPEY-te***
shield halberd HON-horse DAT HON-saddle **arrange-(INF)-GER**
Arrange the shields, halberds, saddles for the horses,

品　々　乃　幣帛　　備　弖
*KUSAGUSA no MYITEGURA **SWONAPEY-te***
thing thing GEN HON-offering **arrange-(INF)-GER**
and then arrange the various paper offerings,

吾　　宮　者　朝日乃　日　向　　處
WA GA MYIYA PA ASAPYI no PYIMUKAP-U TOKORO
I GEN HON-palace TOP morning sun GEN sun face-ATT place
and establish my palace on the moor of Tachino of

夕　日　乃　日　隠　　處　乃　龍田 能
YUPUPYI no PYIKAKUR-URU TOKORO no TATUTA no
evening sun SUB sun hide-ATT place GEN Tatsuta GEN
Tatsuta where the morning sun shines, and

立　野　乃 小野　爾 吾　　宮　波　定　　奉　弖
*TATINWO no WONWO ni WA GA MYIYA pa **SADAMEY-MATUR-Ite***
Tachino GEN Ono LOC I GEN HON-palace TOP **establish-(INF)**

HON-GER
the evening sun hides, **and** if you finish speaking these words

吾 前 乎 称 辞 竟 奉 者
WA [GA] MAPYE wo TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY MATUR-ABA
I GEN before ACC praise-(INF) thing finish-(INF) HON-HYP
of praise before me, then regarding the things produced by

天 下 乃 公 民 乃 作
AMEY [NO] SITA no OPOMYITAKARA no TUKUR-I
heaven GEN below GEN great-HON-treasure SUB produce-INF
the people under heaven, **beginning** with the five grains,

作 物 者 五 穀
TUKUR-U MONO pa ITUKUSA [N-O] TANATUMONO [WO]
produce-ATT thing TOP five kinds DV-INF grains ACC
then [the deities] will bless to fruition [everything]

始 弖 草 乃 片葉 爾 至 万弖 成
PAZIMEY-te *KUSA n-o KAKYIPA ni ITAR-U made NAS-I*
begin-GER Herbs DV-ATT part of a leaf DAT reach-ATT TERM become-INF
even up to [including] the individual leaves

幸 閇 奉 牟
SAKYIPApey MATUR-Amu
prosper-(INF) HON-TENT
of the herbs (4).

There is also a case where the subjunctive gerund is topicalized, *-ite pa*, which is used as a conditional (when X, then Y).

如此 所聞 食 弖波皇 御孫 之 命 乃
KAKU ***KYIKOSIMYES-Ite pa*** *SUMYE MYI-MA no MYI-KOTO no*
thus **hear-GER TOP** imperial HON-grandchild GEN court GEN
Thus, when [they] **heard** [these words], beginning with the court of

朝 廷 乎 始 弖 下 四方
MYI-KADWO wo PAZIMEY-te AMEY [NO] YOMO [NO]

court ACC begin-(INF)-GER heaven GEN four sides GEN
the imperial grandchild, then there will be no more transgressions

国　爾波 罪　止云布 罪 波 不在 止
KUNI nipa TUMYI to Ip-u TUMYI pa AR-AZI to
land LOC TOP crime DV-INF say-ATT crime TOP be-NGT DV-INF
known transgressions in the four quarters of the land under heaven, I say...(10).

6.2.2.2 Hypothetical Conditional *–aba*

The hypothetical *-aba* attaches to CS verbs and suffixes, and an allomorph, *-ba*, attaches to VS verbs and suffixes. When the hypothetical conditional suffix *-aba* is attached to VS or irregular verbs, the vowel of the suffix is dropped: kyi-aba > kyi-ba 'if x wears', ko-aba > ko-ba 'if x comes', and se-aba > se-ba 'if x does'.

Ikeda (1975:205) combines both the hypothetical ('if'), and the conjunctive ('when') suffixes *–ba* together. Syromiatnikov (1981:105) calls this suffix the conditional-temporal form. I do not agree with either definition, and follow Vovin (forthcoming) in slightly modifying Martin's term of hypothetical (1988:554-55) to hypothetical-conditional suffix.

皇　大 御神　能寄　奉　波...
*SUMYE OPO-MYI-KAMIY no YOSAS-I **MATUR-Aba**...*
imperial great HON-deity SUB gather-INF **HON-HYP**
If the imperial deity **pulls** [the land toward him]...

如　横　山　打積　置弖
YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU UTI-TUM-YI OK-IYte
side mountain DV-ATT like-INF PV-pile-INF place-GER
like a mountain range, I pile and place [the offerings]...(1).

汝　命　乃成 幸 波閇 賜 者
*NA [GA] MYI-KOTO no NAS-I SAKYIpapey **TAMAP-ABA**...*
you GEN HON-deity SUB make-INF prosper-(INF) **HON-HYP**
If you, honorific deity, **make and prosper** [the rice]....

如　横　山　打 積　置 弓
YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU UTI-TUM-YI OK-YIte
side mountain DV-ATT like-INF PV-pile-INF place-GER
like a mountain range, I will pile and place

奉　牟
MATUR-Am-u
HON-TENT-FIN
[those offerings of rice] (3).

自　上　往　波 上　護　利
*UPEY YWORI **YUK-Aba** UPEY [WO] MAMWOr-i*
top ABL **go-HYP** top ACC protect-INF
If it goes from the top, protect the top [and]

自　下　往　波 下　護　利
*SITA YWORI **YUK-Aba** SITA [WO] MAMWOr-i*
bottom ABL **go-HYP** bottom ACC protect-INF
if it goes from the bottom, protect the bottom [and]...(9).

如此久乃良波　天 津　神 波　天　磐門　乎
*KAku **nor-aba** AMA tu KAMIY pa AMEY [NO] IPATWO wo*
thus **proclaim-HYP** heaven LG deity TOP heaven GEN rock-door ACC
If he **proclaims** thus, then as for the deity of heaven, he will push

押　披　弓
OS-I PYIRAK-YIte
push-INF open-GER
open the rock-door of heaven, and...(10).

無　上 岐　仏　乃 御　法　波
KAMYI NA-kyi POTOKEY no MYI-NORI pa
above not-ATT Buddha GEN HON-law TOP
As for the law of Buddha

至誠　心　乎
SIZYAU [NO] KOKORO wo

peerless GEN heart ACC
which has no parallel,

以 天 拝 尊 備 献 礼波 必
MO̲T-Ite ***WORO̲GAM-YI TAPUTWObiy MATU-reba*** *KANARAZU*
hold-GER **worship-INF revere-(INF) HON-EV HYP** surely
when (we) worship and revere it with peerless devotion,

異 奇 験 乎 阿良波之 授 賜
KO̲TO̲ [N-I] AYASI-KYI SIRUSI wo arapas-i SADUKEY TAMAP-U
different DV-INF wonderful-ATT sign ACC appear-INF bestow HON-ATT
surely (the heavenly powers) will display and bestow (upon us) a

物 爾伊末志家利
MO̲NO̲ ni imas-ikyer-i
thing LOC exist-RETR-FIN
wonderful sign that is exceptional (edict #41).

6.2.2.3 Concessive *–do̲mo̲*

The concessive *-do̲mo̲* appears only once in our database of liturgies. Ôno et al. (1994:1502) are likely correct in saying that *-do̲* is original, and the emphatic form with *mo̲* is a later addition. The concessive connects to the evidential suffix. The meaning is 'even though X', 'although X', but I am at a loss to describe the difference in meaning between *-do* and *-domo*. The liturgies do not have any examples of *–do̲*, so I have provided an example of *-do̲* from the edicts.

Concessive *-do*
体 方 灰 止 共 仁 地 仁 埋 利奴礼止
MIY pa PAPI to̲ TO̲MO̲ ni TUTI ni ***UDUMOR-Inure-do̲***
body TOP ash CMT together LOC earth LOC **bury-PERF-EV-CSS**
Though my body **is buried** in the earth together with its ashes,

名 波 烟 止 共 仁 天 仁 昇 止 云 利
NA pa KEYBURI to̲ TO̲MO̲ ni AMEY ni NO̲BOR-U to̲ IP-YEri
name TOP smoke CMT together LOC heaven LOC climb-ATT

DV-INF say-PRG
(people) will say that my name climbed to heaven with the smoke (edict #45).

Concessive *-domo_*
此 乎 物 知 人 等 乃卜 事 乎 以弖
KORE wo MONO SIR-I PYITO-TATI no URAGOTO wo MOT-Ite
this ACC thing know-INF person-PLR GEN divination thing ACC have-INF-GER
Even though the wise men took this [the will of the deity]

卜 止母 出留 神 乃 御 心 母
URAP-YE DOMO *ID-Uru KAMIY no MYI-KOKORO mo*
divine-EV CSS appear-ATT deity GEN HON-mind PT
and **used divination** on it, they declared that the will of the deity

無 止 白
NA-SI to MAWOS-U
not-FIN DV-INF say-FIN
was not known (lit. 'did not appear') (4).

6.2.2.4 Concurrent Gerund *–itutu*

I follow Martin (1988:417) in calling *-itutu* the concurrent gerund. This suffix has two allomorphs, *-itutu* affixed to CS verbs, and *-tutu* affixed to VS verbs. As the label implies, *-itutu* is used to show that several activities are simultaneously happening. There is only one example in the liturgies, given below.

悪 風 荒 水 爾 相 都都
ASI-KYI KAZE ARA-KYI MYIDU ni ***AP-ASE-tutu***
evil-ATT wind violent-ATT water LOC **meet-CAUS-CONC**
[It is I who] **causes** [the grain] to **meet [over and over] with** evil winds and violent water...(4).

Here the usage of *-itutu* is that the grain is being destroyed by a combination of evil winds and violent waters that strike in waves.

朕　波　金　少　牟止　念
WARE pa KUGANE SUKUNAKEY-mu to OMOPOS-I
I TOP gold few-TENT DV-INF think-INF
As for me, I am (here) thinking and **worrying [over and over]** that

憂　川川　在爾.... 天　坐　神　地
***UREPEY-tutu** AR-U n-i...AMEY [NI] IMAS-U KAMIY KUNI [NI]*
worry-(INF)-CONC be-ATT DV-INF heaven LOC be-ATT deity land LOC
the gold will be too sparse (not be sufficient), while I celebrate

坐　神　乃 相 宇豆奈比　奉　佐枳波倍 奉 利
IMAS-U KAMIY no APYIudunap-yi MATUR-I sakyipapey MATUr-i
be-ATT deity SUB PV-appreciate-INF HON-INF celebrate-(INF) HON-INF
the value of the deities in heaven, and the deities in the land...(edict #13).

Here the emperor is continually worrying about whether there will be enough gold to finish the Buddhist statue, even as he prizes the deities of heaven and earth.

是　以　意　中 爾 昼　毛
KORE [WO] MOT-ITE KORORO [NO] NAKA ni PYIRU mo
this [ACC] hold-GER heart [GEN] inside LOC daytime PT
With this, in his heart, he serves us **continually observing good**

夜　毛 倦　怠　己止无久　謹　美
YWORU mo UM-YI OKOTAR-U koto NA-ku TUTUSIm-yi
night PT get tired-INF be lax-ATT thing not-INF be reserved-INF
form and etiquette, even day and night, without getting tired

礼　末比　仕　奉　都都 侍 利
***WIYAmap-yi TUKAPEY MATUR-I tutu** PABEr-i*
observe good form-INF serve-INF HON-INF-CSS serve-FIN
and becoming lax in his service (edict #41).

6.3 Nominalizers

There are two nominalizers in the liturgies. One is the nominalizer *-(y)i*, which must be kept distinct from the infinitive form of the verb. The other is the nominalizer *-aku*. Other nominalizers that attach to stative verbs, *-sa* and *-myi*, do not appear in our database, and *-myi* only rarely in the edicts, and these will not be addressed. It should be mentioned that *-sa* only appears in *Man'yôshû*, and may have begun as a poetic device. At any rate, these nominalized forms do not appear in the prose texts under scrutiny here.

6.3.1 Nominalizer *-i*

As noted above, this nominalizer *-i* must be kept distinct from the infinitive form of the verb, a distinction made by pitch accent. The accent of the infinitive is different from the nominalized form. Pitch accent is not preserved in the texts of the liturgies, so evidence from other sources has been used. I have also been told that a manuscript of *Kokinshû* in St. Petersburg containing accent marks also shows that the accent of these two forms are different (Vovin p.c.).

朝日　能　豊　逆　登　爾
ASAPYI no TOYO SAKA ***NOBOR-I*** *n-i*
morning sun SUB eternal opposite **rise-NML** DV-INF
[now] is **the rising** of the eternal, opposite [direction] morning sun...(1).

大　宮　地　底　津 磐根 乃 極　美...
OPO-MYI-YA DOKORO [NO] SOKO tu IPANE no ***KYIPAm-yi***...
HON-HON-palace place GEN bottom LG rock root GEN **limit-NML**
To **the limits** of the deep-rooted rocks of the base of the great

青　雲　乃 靄　久 極　美
AWO KUMWO no TANABYIk-u ***KYIPAm-yi***
blue cloud GEN trail-ATT **limit-NML**
palace...and to **the limits** of the blue trailing clouds...(8).

6.3.2 Nominalizer *–aku*

The nominalizer *-aku* was very productive in the EOJ period. It attaches to verbs, but is not used with stative verbs in the liturgies. This nominalizer was used after the attributive form of action verbs (as opposed to stative verbs). When affixed to the attributive form of the verb, the attributive marker -u elided (*-uru* > *-ur-*), as the following examples show:

ip-u 'say'	ip-u+aku > ipaku 'saying'
myi-ru 'see'	myi-ru+aku > myiraku 'seeing'
s-u 'do'	s-uru+aku > suraku 'doing'

Most examples of this nominalizer in the liturgies appear with 'to say' verbs, or auxiliary verbs.

四 柱 能 皇 神 等 能 広 前 仁
YO PASIRA n-o SUMYE KAMIY-TATI no PYIRO MAPYE ni
four CLAS DV-ATT imperial deity PLR GEN broad before LOC
The saying [said] before the four imperial deities,

白 久 大 神 等 能 乞 賜 比
MAWOS-Aku *OPO-KAMIY-TATI no KOP-ASI TAMAp-yi*
say-ATT-NML great deity-PLR SUB beg-HON-INF HON-INF
"[As] the great deities have requested..." (2).

皇 御 孫 命 詔 久
SUMYE MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO [NO] ***NOR-ITAMAP-Aku***
imperial HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity SUB **proclaim-INF HON-ATT-NML**
The decree of the imperial grandchild, saying,

神 等 乎波 天 社 國 社 止
KAMIY-TATI woba AMA [TU] YASIRO KUNI [TU] YASIRO to
deity-PLR ACC-TOP heaven LG shrine land LG shrine DV-INF
"Without forgetting any of the deities, being the shrines of heaven,

忘 事 無久
WASUR-URU KOTO NA-ku

forget-ATT thing not-INF
and the shrines of the land...(4).

天 津 璽 乃 劔 鏡 乃 捧 持
AMA tu SIRUSI n-o TURUKYI KAGAMYI no SASAGEY MOT-I
heaven LG symbol DV-INF sword mirror SUB present-(INF) hold-INF
Presenting [to the imperial grandchild] the heavenly symbols,

賜 天 言壽(許止保企) 宣 志久
TAMAP-YIte kotopok-yi ***NOR-I TAMAP-YIsi-ku***
HON-GER thing pray-INF **declare-INF HON-INF-RETR-ATT-NML**
the sword and mirror, (the heavenly deity) **proclaimed a blessing**, [saying]...(8).

是 東人 波 常 爾 云 久
KORE ADUMABYITO pa TUNE n-i ***IP-Aku***
this eastern people TOP always DV-INF **say-NML**
And this [is what] the people in the east are always **saying**...(edict #45).

神 随 所 念 坐 久 止
KAMUNAGARA ***OMOPOS-I MAS-Aku*** *to*
deity-CONJ **think-INF-HON-NML** DV-INF
We declare that all people give ear to the great command

勅 天皇 御 命 乎
NOR-I TAMAP-U SUMYERA [GA] OPOMYIKOTO wo
declare-INF-HON-ATT emperor GEN great-HON-command ACC
of the emperor, which is declared according to **the thoughts**

衆 聞 食 宣
MOROMORO KYIK-YI TAMAP-YE [TO] NOR-U
various give ear-INF-HON-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
of the deities (edict #14).

答 曰 豆羅久 朕 者 不堪
KOTAPEY ***MAWOS-It-ur-aku*** *WA PA APEY-ZI*

answer-(INF) **say-PERF-(ATT)-NML** I TOP bear-NGT
Having answered, **saying**, "I will not [be able to] bear it" (edict #3).

6.4 Word-Non-Final Suffixes

Word-non-final suffixes attach to verbs, and cannot conclude a verb or clause by itself. Word-non-final suffixes must be followed either by a particle, or a sentence-final suffix.

6.4.1 Verbalizer

There are several stative verbs preserved in Old Japanese that have two related forms. Compare the list below (taken from the OJ corpus).

akara- 'red'	akara-key- 'reddish'
tapyira- 'quiet'	tapyira-key- 'safe, quiet'
yasu- 'easy, peaceful'	yasu-ra-key- 'peaceful'
asara- 'light colored'	asara-ka 'shallow'
kyiywo- 'pure'	kyiywo-ra-ka 'pure'
pogara- 'serene'	pogara-ka 'serene'
tubara- 'circular'	tubara-ka 'even, circular'
yapara- 'soft'	yapara-ka 'soft, supple'

Ôno et al. (1994:1402) state that *–raka* is a suffix that attaches to stative verbs, and means the condition or state of X. *Aka* means 'red color', and *akaraka-* means 'state of red' > 'reddish'. In some cases, if the stem was –ra final, then the –ra- of the suffix elided: tapyira+raka > tapyira-ka.[3] This suffix was productive in the EOJ period, but I wish to draw attention to another suffix attached to this suffix. Of the eight examples I have found, only three have -rakey-.

Very little has been said about this form in the literature, other than it functions as a *ku-katsuyô* adjective. Iwai (1981:93-95) notes the existence of this –rakey- type of stative verb, and classifies it as a type two (2) *ku-katsuyô*. He then adds, "These -rakey- adjectives become fossilized after the Heian era, and are generally used in poetry. As a

[3] It is just as plausible that the –ra of the stem elided. There really is no way to know which elided.

rule, words like *akiraka nari*, *haruka nari*, *tapiraka nari* are used as adjectival verbs." These adjectives plus *nari* are *keiyô-dôshi* in Japanese (adjectival verb). Martin (1988:749) calls these forms objective adjectival nouns.

Stative verb stems plus *nari* do not appear in the language of the liturgies, but this verbalized form with -key- is quite prominent. Thus, I analyze this suffix –key- (< *ka-Ci-) as a verbalizer, though presently I do not know what *[C]i is. It is possible that this verbalizer –Ci- also attaches to verbs, but for now even that is still unclear. For the moment I only claim that this verbalizer attaches to the stem of the suffix –raka- that is attached to certain stative verb stems. Below are two examples, one from the liturgies, and one from the edicts.

御　床　都比 能 佐夜伎
MYI-YUKA tu pyi no sayak-yi
HON-floor LG spirit SUB creak-INF
[Bless that] there is no creaking of the spirit in the floor,

夜女　乃伊須須伎　伊豆都志伎　事　無久
yamye no isusuk-yi　itutusi-kyi　KOTO NA-ku
roof-female GEN be restless-INF dreadful-ATT thing not-INF
and no restless haunting of the dreadful roof female [spirits],

平　気久　安　久　奉　護　留
***TAPYIRA-key-ku YASU-RAKEY-ku** MAMWOR-I MATUr-u*
safe-VBZ-INF peaceful-VBZ-INF protect-INF-HON-ATT
and speaking the name of the deity who protects [the palace] in

神　御名　乎　白　久
KAMIY [NO] MYINA wo MAWOS-Aku
deity GEN HON-name ACC say-NML
safety and peacefully...(8).

朕　毛　天地　乃　明　伎　奇　岐　微　乃
*WARE mo AMEYTUTI no **AKYIRA-KEY-kyi** AYASI-kyi SIRUSI no*
I PT heaven earth SUB **clear-VBL**-ATT wondrous-ATT sign SUB
I also think that heaven and earth will show a **clear and wondrous**

授　賜　人　方出奈牟止　念　天　在
SAZUKEY-TAMAP-U PYITO pa IDE-n-am-u to OMOP-YIte AR-I

receive-(INF) HON-ATT person TOP come out-PERF-TENT-DV-INF think-GER be-FIN
sign [regarding] the person who will receive [the post of Crown Prince] (edict #33).

6.4.2 Negative *-az- / -an-*

For a historical analysis of this suffix, see 6.2.1.3. According to our analysis, the negative suffix can be divided into two series, each with two allomorphs. The *-az-* series has allomorphs *-az-* and *-z-*. The allomorph *-az-* attaches to CS verbs and suffixes, and *-z-* attaches to VS verbs and suffixes. The other series, *-an-*, has allomorphs *-an-* and *-n-*, with the former attaching to CS verbs, and the latter to VS verbs.

The original form of the negative suffix was *an-, and the verb s-u 'do' attached at a later period, resulting in prenasalization of the fricative: *-an-s-* > *-a^ns* > *a^nz* > *-az-*. The other series was never bound to the verb 'do', and remained *-an-*. This explanation counters the traditional definition, represented by Suzuki et al. (1985:12), "'Nu' and 'zu' come from two different series, which originally were *different words* (this author's emphasis)."

The suffix *-an-* is only found in the attributive form in the liturgies, and there is only one example:

草　乃 片葉　爾 至　万弖　不　成
*KUSA no KAKIPA ni ITAR-U made NAS-I TAMAP-**AN-U** [KOTO]*
grass GEN part of a leaf DAT reach-ATT TERM make-INF HON-**NEG-ATT** thing
Not even one blade of grass **coming to fruition**...(4).

Another example occurs in the edicts:

然　人　止之天　恩　乎　不知
SIKAR-U [N-I] PYITO to s-ite MEYGUM-YI wo SIR-AZU
Although-ATT DV-INF person TRN do-GER mercy-NML ACC know-NEG/INF
In spite of this, even in the law of the sages, it should be

恩　乎 不報 奴　乎波　聖　乃 御法　仁毛
*MEYGUM-YI wo **MUKI-n-u** woba PYIZIRI no MYINORI nimo*

mercy-NML ACC **reward-NEG-ATT** ACC TOP sage GEN HON-law DAT PT
admonished when, as people, we do not know the mercies [of the

禁　　給 弊流 物 仁 在
ISAMEY TAMAp-yeru MONO ni AR-I
admonish-(INF) HON-PRG-ATT thing LOC be-FIN
Buddha], and **do not reward** with mercy (edict #41).

All remaining examples of the negative in the liturgies belong to the *-az-* series. Below are three examples.

悪　　風　　荒　　水 爾 不 相　　賜
*ASI-KYI KAZE ARA-KYI MYIDU ni AP-ASE **TAMAP-AZ-U***
evil-ATT wind violent-ATT water LOC meet-CAUS-(INF) **HON-NEG-FIN**
[Bless that the deities] **will not** cause [us] to meet evil winds and violent water...(3).

一　　年　　二　　年 爾 不 在
*PYITO TOSE PUTA TOSE ni **AR-AZ-U***
one year two years DV-INF **be-NEG-FIN**
[It] **is not** one or two years (4).

此　　食　　国　　天　　下 乎 撫　　賜 比
KONO WOS-U KUNI AMEY [NO] SITA wo NADE TAMAp-yi
this rule-ATT land heaven GEN below ACC smooth-(INF) HON-INF
As for the smoothing [of relations] and bestowing of mercy upon

慈　　賜　　事 者 辞 立　　不 在
*UTUKUSIBIY TAMAP-U KOTO PA KOTODAT-U [N-I] **AR-AZ-U***
mercy-(INF) HON-ATT thing TOP be special-ATT DV-INF **be-NEG-FIN**
the land ruled under heaven, we clearly state this **is not** exceptional (edict #3).

6.4.3 Tentative *-am-*

I follow Martin (1988:605) in calling *-am-* the tentative suffix. It has two allomorphs, *-am-* that attaches to CS verbs and suffixes, and *-m-* attaching to VS verbs and suffixes. When *–am-* attaches to irregular verbs, the vowel of the suffix is dropped: *ko̲-am-* > *ko̲-m-* 'will come', and *se-am-* > *se-m-* 'will do'. The tentative cannot be used with an imperative suffix, or an infinitive suffix.

The function of the tentative is a matter of debate. Saeki (1950:167) labels *-am-* 'conjecture'. Yamada (1954:275) calls it *sôzô o arawasu fukugobi* "suffixes denoting supposition". Lewin (1959:161) labels the suffixes *-mu* and *-nu* 'future'. Komai (1979:92-94) calls *mu* "conjecture, intention, inducement". He then further muddies the water by saying *mu* functions as "the probability of the present", an obscure phrase. Syromiatnikov (1981:103) follows Yamada, and places *-am-* within a group of suffixes he labels 'suppositional mood'. McCullough (1988:2) tries to cover too many bases by defining *-mu* as 'conjecture, probability, possibility, anticipation, desire, suitability'. Perhaps she was simply following Ikeda's plethora of meanings (Ikeda 1975:68-69).

Ikeda (ibid.) lists four categories of meanings of *-mu*: 1) volition when used with regard to the speaker's own actions, 2) volition when regarding a third person (at this point subdivided into five subcategories: presumption, expectation of a future event, euphemism or suggestion, proper or suitable action, and supposition), 3) persuasion in regard to a second person's actions, and 4) irony.

Suzuki et al. (1985:20-1) divides the uses of *-am-* into two groups, 'conjecture' and 'volition'. All examples in the liturgies use *-am-* as a sense of volition, where if something happens, then the narrator (officiator) will do something, or something will occur.

Vovin (1997a) compares this suffix with Middle Korean *–ma* and Evenki, a Tungusic language, *-mu, -mee*. The examples below are his.

> Middle Korean:
> hwo-ma "I intend to do."
>
> Evenki:
> suru-mu- "(I) want to go."

I classify this suffix as simply the tentative. The examples from the liturgies do not appear to make a distinction regarding person, only denoting the tentative nature of an action.

初 穂 乎波 千 穎 八百 穎 爾 奉 置 弖
PATUPO woba TI KABYI YAPO KABYI ni TATEMATUR-I OK-YIte
first fruits ACC TOP thousand rice eight hundred rice DAT offer-INF place-GER
Present the first fruits, the thousand rice ears, the eight hundred rice

瓶 閇 高知 瓶 腹 満
MYIKA [NO] pey TAKASIR-I MYIKA [NO] PARA MYITE
jar GEN top high pile-INF jar GEN insides fill-INF
ears, and place them, piling [the rice] high on the jars, filling

雙 弖 汁 爾 母 穎 爾 母 称 辞
NARABEY-te SIRU n-i mo KABYI n-i mo TATAPEY GOTO
line up-(INF)-GER broth DV-INF PT rice DV-INF PT praise-(INF) thing
the insides of those [jars that] are lined, up and [we] **will finish**

竟 奉 牟
*WOPEY **MATUR-Am-u***
finish-(INF) **HON-TENT-FIN**
these words of praise [by offering up] the jars of both broth and rice (1).

御服 者 明 妙 照 妙 和 妙
MYI-SWO PA AKARUTAPEY TER-U TAPEY NIKYITAPEY
HON-cloth TOP bright-offering shining-ATT offering soft offering
And I **will finish** these words of praise, by offering up cloth, bright

荒 妙 爾 称 辞 竟 奉 牟
*ARATAPEY ni TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY **MATUR-Am-u***
rough offering DAT praise-(INF) thing finish-(INF) HON-**TENT-FIN**
offerings, shining offerings, soft offerings, and rough offerings (1).

皇　神　等 能寄 志 奉　牟 奥都
*SUMYE KAMIY-TATI no YOSAs-i **MATUR-Am-u** OKYI tu*
imperial deity PLR SUB draw near-INF **HON-TENT-ATT** offing LG
[If we present] the first fruits of the offing so the imperial deities

御 年 乎
MYI-TOSI wo
first fruits ACC
will draw near...(1).

如 横 山 打 積 置 弖 秋
YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU UTI-TUM-YI OK-YIte AKYI
side mountain DV like-INF PV-pile-INF place-GER AUTUMN
Like a mountain range, I pile and place [the offerings] **to offer**

祭 爾 奉　牟 登 皇 神
*[NO] MATURI ni **TATEMATUR-Am-u** to SUMYE KAMIY*
GEN festival LOC **present (HUM)-TENT-ATT** DV-INF imperial deity
at the autumn festival. I proclaim that these things be made

前 爾 白 賜 登 宣
[NO] MAPYE ni MAWOS-I TAMAP-YE to NOR-U
GEN before LOC say-INF HON-COM DV-INF proclaim-FIN
known [lit. be said] before the imperial deity (3).

百 能 物知 人 等 乃 卜 事 爾
MWOMWO no MONOSIRI PYITO-TATI no URAGOTO ni
hundred GEN thing know person-PLR GEN divination thing LOC
at the hundred wise people's divination, the will of the deity

出 牟 神 乃 御 心 者
***IDE-M-U** KAMIY no MYI-KOKORO PA*
appear-TENT-ATT deity GEN HON-mind TOP
that will be made known (lit. will appear)...(4).

持 可可呑 弖 牟
*MOTI-kaka **NOM-YItem-u***

PV-**swallow** in gulps-**GER-TENT-FIN**
[The deity] **will swallow** [the defilement] in gulps (10).

中　今　至　麻弖爾　天皇　御子　之
NAKA IMA ITAR-U made n-i SUMYERA [GA] MYIKWO no
middle present[4] reach-ATT TERM DV-INF emperor GEN HON-child SUB
[From] the middle [of the successive emperors] and up to

阿礼坐　牟　彌　継　継　爾　大八嶋　国　将知
are MAS-Am-u** IYA TUG-YI TUG-YI n-i OPOYASIMAKUNI **SIR-AS-AM-U
exist (HON)-(INF) HON-TENT-ATT more continue-INF continue-INF DV-INF great eight island land **rule-CASU-TENT-ATT**
the present as the emperors **will be born**, and continued even more

次　止　天都　神　乃　御子　随　母　天
TUG-YITE to AMA tu KAMIY no MYIKWO NAGARA mo AMEY [NI]
continue-GER DV-INF heaven LG deity GEN HON-child while PT heaven LOC
to rule the land of the great eight islands, and even as the child of

坐　神　之依　之　奉　之　随　此
IMAS-U KAMIY no YOSAs-i MATUR-Isi MANIMA [N-I] KONO
HON-ATT deity SUB entrust-INF HON-RETR CONJ DV-INF this
the deity of heaven, they were entrusted [with this right] by

天　津　日　嗣　高　御座　之　業　止現
AMA tu PYI TUG-YI TAKA MYIKURA no WAZA to AKYI [TU]
heaven LG day inherit-INF high HON-throne GEN work DV-INF visible LG
the deities residing in heaven, and accordingly, they were the work

[4] The text has 中今 which appears to be one word, and scholars are divided on the meaning. Motoori Norinaga interpreted this to mean at the present, with *naka* used as a kind of modifier of praise (MNZ 1976.7:198). I have followed Aoki et al. (1989.1:3, n.24) who believe it means 'in the middle [of a time frame] and in the present.'

御 神 止大 八嶋 国 所 知
MYIKAMIY to OPOYASIMA KUNI SIR-AS-IMYES-U
HON-deity DV-INF great eight island land rule-CAUS-HON-ATT
of the high throne of the sun in the heaven inheritance, and as

倭 根子 天皇 命 授
YAMATO NEKWO SUMYERA [NO] MYIKOTO [NO] SADUKEY
Yamato Neko emperor GEN HON-existence SUB bestow-(INF)
a visible deity, the Emperor Yamato Neko who ruled the great eight

賜 比 負 賜 布 貴 支高 支
TAMAp-yi OPOSE TAMAp-u TAPUTWO-kyi TAKA-kyi
HON-INF bear-(INF) HON-ATT noble-ATT high-ATT
island land bestowed [upon me this right], and I am in awe,

広 支厚 支大 命 乎 受 賜 利
PYIRO-kyi ATU-kyi OPOMYIKOTO wo UKEY TAMAPAr-i
wide-ATT thick-ATT great HON-existence ACC accept-(INF)
HUM-INF
and accept this noble, lofty, broad, and profound great command,

恐 坐 弖
KASIKWOM-YI MAS-Ite
be in awe-INF HON-GER
and...(Edict #1).

6.4.4 Tentative Retrospective *-ikyem-*

This suffix consists of the retrospective *-ikyi* fused together with the tentative *-am-* (*-ikyi+am-*), the final vowel of the first suffix forming a diphthong from the initial vowel of the second suffix. This diphthong then monophthongized to -ye-. The meaning is conjecture about a past event the person is recalling, "must have been...". There are two examples of this suffix in the liturgies, but both occur in the same context. I have added one example from the edicts.

官 官 爾仕 奉 留人 等乃
TUKASA DUKASA ni TUKAPEY MATUr-u PYITO-TATI no

official official DAT serve-(INF) HON-ATT person-PLR GEN
[Expurgate] the various crimes that must have been **committed by**

過　　犯　　家牟　雑　雑　　罪　乎
*AYAMAT-I **WOKAS-Ikyem-u** KUSAGUSA [NO] TUMYI wo*
transgress-INF **commit-TENT-RETR-ATT** various various GEN crimes ACC
transgression of the people who serve the officials [of the Emperor's court]...(10).

清　　麻呂　等 止　相　謀　　家牟　人　　在 止方
*KYIYWO maro TATI to **APYI-PAKAR-Ikyem-u** PYITO AR-I to pa*
Kiyomaro PLR CMT **PV-plot-TENT-RETR-ATT** person be-INF CMT TOP
And though we were made aware that as for Kiyomaro and others,

所　　知　　天　在 止毛
SIR-AS-IMYES-Ite AR-E domo
know-CAUS-HON-GER be-EV CSS
there was another person who **must have been plotting with** him...(edict #44).

6.4.5 Debitive *-ubey-*

The suffix *-ubey-* has only one allomorph, regardless of the class of verb it attaches to. When this suffix attaches to VS verbs and irregular verbs, the vowel of the suffix suppresses the vowel of the verb:

'go' yuk+ubey- > yuk-ubey-　　'read' yom+ubey- > yom-ubey-
'close' todi+ubey- > tod-ubey-　　'do' se+ubey- > s-ubey-
'come' ko+ubey- > k-ubey-

When this suffix attaches to a monosyllabic VS verb, the attributive form is used, allowing the vowel of *-ubey-* to attach, without dropping the vowel of the stem.

'see' myi-ru+ubey- > myir-ubey-
'wear' kyi-ru+ubey- > kyir-ubey-

Rather than view this as an exception to the rule, it will make the analysis simpler to say that this small group of verbs preserves the original form. Thus, this suffix was originally a free adverb (*ubey* 'reasonably'), and was modified by the attributive form. This adverb was later reanalyzed as a verbal suffix.

One problem with the traditional analysis of this suffix is that most grammarians have failed to come to grips with the wide range of meanings for the usage of *-ubey-*.

Saeki (1950:167) calls *-ubey-* conjectural. Yamada (1954:306-7) labels this suffix *genjitsu sessô* 'realistic supposition'. Sansom (1928:110-11) writes that the suffix *-ubey-* 'conveys an idea of futurity'.

Lewin (1959:174, 177, 182-83) describes this suffix as having the meanings of 'dubitative, intentional, necessative, and imperative.' Komai (1979:106-09) mentions five meanings: 'conjecture, intention, potentiality, propriety, and command'.

Ikeda (1975:128-29) casts an even wider net than Lewin or Komai, noting that *-ubey-* has seven meanings: 1) conjecture containing confidence, 2) expectation, 3) natural expectation, 4) obligation, 5) intention, 6) potential, and 7) weak imperative (suggestion). Since the original form was a free adverb 'reasonably', and there also was an adnominalized word *ubeysi* 'reasonably so', is it not more reasonable to claim that the primary meaning of this suffix was debitive (must, should)?

That having been said, we can now arrange Ikeda's seven meanings into three simplified groups: i) debitive, ii) potential, and iii) expectation. The latter two are derived from the primary meaning, because if something must happen, then one can naturally infer that it is going to happen (potential), or expect it to happen.

吾　　名背能　命　　波上津国乎
WA [GA] NASE no MYI-KOTO pa UPA tu KUNI wo
I GEN beloved GEN HON-deity TOP upper LG land ACC
As for my beloved, [you] **should rule**

所知食　倍志　　吾波下　津国　乎
SIROSIMYES-Ubey-si *WARE pa SIMWO tu KUNI wo*
rule-DEB-FIN I TOP lower LG land ACC
the upper land. I will rule

所 知 牟
SIRO̲S-Am-u
rule-TENT-FIN
the lower land (12).

天 地 能 諸 御 神 等 波
AMATUTI no̲ MO̲RO̲ [N-O̲] MYI-KAMIY-TATI pa
heaven earth GEN various DV-INF HON-deity PLR TOP safe-INF
As for the various deities in heaven and earth, you **should remain**

平 久 於太比 爾伊麻佐布倍志
*TAPYIRAKEY-ku odapyi n-i **imasap-ubey-si***
quiet DV-INF **continue being-DEB-FIN**
safe and quiet (16).

此乃 天 豆 日 嗣 之 位 者
KO̲no̲ AMA tu PYI TUG-YI no̲ KURAWI pa
this heaven LG sun inherit GEN position TOP
As for this position of the inheritance of the sun in heaven,

大命 爾 坐世 大 坐 坐 而
OPOMYIKO̲TO̲ ni IMAs-e OPOMASIMAS-ITE
great HON-existence LOC HON-COM HON-GER
[she] said to follow the great command, and I **should**

治 可 賜
WOSAMEY TAMAP-UBEY-SI
rule-(INF) HON-DEB-FIN
rule (edict #3).

天 下 政 置 而
AMEY [NO̲] SITA [NO̲] MATURIGO̲TO̲ [NI] OK-YITE
heaven GEN below GEN government LOC place-GER
Regarding the government of the [land] under heaven,

独 知 倍 伎 物 不 有
*PYITO̲RI **SIR-Ubey-kyi** MO̲NO̲ AR-AZ-U*
alone **know-DEB-ATT** thing be-NEG-FIN
it is not something you **should comprehend** alone (edict #7).

由　　此　天　理　　波　法　乃末爾末 爾
KORE [NI] YWOR-Ite KOTOWARI pa NORI no manima n-i
this ABL because-GER reason TOP law GEN CONJ DV-INF
According to this [evidence], following the dictates of the law,

治　　給　　倍久　在
***WOSAMEY TAMAP-Ubey-ku** AR-I*
execute-(INF) HON-DEB-INF be-FIN
[the defendants] should be executed (edict #35).

The last example from edict #35 is interesting, because the debitive is in the infinitive, so the final verb *ar-* 'be' can carry full weight in the sentence. The literal meaning is something like, "It is [a fact] that according to the dictates of the law, these men should be executed."

6.4.6 Perfective *-it-*

The perfective suffix in the liturgies has two allomorphs, *-it-* and *-t-*. The first allomorph, *-it-* attaches to CS verbs and suffixes, as well as irregular verbs, while the second attaches to VS verbs and suffixes. When the perfective suffix attaches to irregular verbs, however, the vowel of the stem is suppressed: ko-it-u 'has come' > k-yit-u, se-it-u 'has done' > s-it-u.

The perfective appears in the liturgies in two conjugations: imperfective, and conclusive. Data from the edicts allow us to add the infinitive, attributive, and evidential to this list.

Imperfective
如此久可可 呑　弖波　気吹戸　　坐 須
KAku kaka NOM-YIte pa IBUKYIdwo [NI] IMAs-u
thus (?) swallow-PERF-INF TOP breath-gate LOC be (HON)-ATT
Thus, as the deity has swallowed [the defilement] in great gulps,

気吹　戸 主 止 云　神　根　　国　底 之
IBUKYIdwoNUSI to IP-U KAMIY NE [NO] KUNI SOKO no
breath-gate lord DV-INF say-ATT deity root GEN land bottom
the deity known as Lord Ibuki who dwells in the gate of breath

国 爾 気吹 放 弖 牟
*KUNI ni IBUK-YI **PANAT-Ite-m-u***
GEN land LOC breath out-INF **disperse-PERF-**TENT-FIN
will have expelled his breath and dispersed [the defilement] (10).

Infinitive
先 仁 捨 岐良比 賜 天之 道祖 我
*SAKYI ni **SUTE kyirap-yi TAMAP-YIte-si** PUNATO ga*
before DV-INF **discard-(INF) avoid-INF HON-PERF-RETR-ATT** Funato GEN
[Cause] Prince Shioyaki, the older brother of Prince Funato **who**

兄 塩焼 乎
ANI SIPOYAKYI wo
older brother Shioyaki ACC
earlier **was completely removed** [to be Crown Prince]...(edict #28).

Conclusive
吾 乎見阿波多志 給 比津
*WA wo MYIapatas-i **TAMAp-yit-u***
I ACC see displease-INF **HON-PERF-FIN**
You **have seen** [and thus] displeased me (12).

Attributive
心 中 悪久 垢 久 濁 天
KOKORO [NO] NAKA ASI-ku KYITANA-ku NIGOR-Ite
heart GEN middle evil-INF filthy-INF muddied-GER
Surely it is something that heaven and earth **will** uncover and **show**,

在 人 波 必 天地 現 之
AR-U PYITO pa KANARAZU AMEY TUTI ARAPAs-i
be-ATT person TOP surely heaven earth appear-INF
because there is a person whose inner soul is evil,

示 給 豆留 物 曾
***SIMYES-I TAMAP-YIt-uru** MONO so*

show-INF HON-PERF-ATT thing PT
filthy and muddied...(edict #44).

Evidential
男 波 随 仕 奉 状 弖
WOTOKWO pa TUKAPEY MATUR-U SAMA [NI] SITAGAP-YIte
man TOP serve-(INF) HON-ATT state ABL follow-GER
As for the man, **even though he has governed** the various affairs

種々 治 賜 比川礼 等母
*KUSAGUSA **WOSAMEY TAMAp-yit-ure domo***
various **govern-(INF) HON-PERF-EV CSS**
according to the circumstances of serving [the court],

女 不 治 賜
MYENOKWO [PA] WOSAMEY TAMAP-AZ-U
woman TOP govern-(INF) HON-NEG-FIN
women do not govern (edict #13).

Nominalized
答 曰 豆羅久 朕 者 不堪
*KOTAPEY **MAWOS-It-ur-aku** WA PA APEY-ZI*
answer-(INF) **say-PERF-(ATT)-NML** I TOP bear-NGT
Having answered, **saying**, "I will not [be able to] bear it"...(edict #3).

6.4.7 Perfective *-in-*

The second perfective of Old Japanese has two allomorphs, *-in-*, used after CS and irregular verbs, and *-n-* used with VS verbs. Saeki (1950:161) outlines the difference between *-in-* and *-it-* as follows: generally, *-it-* affixes to transitive verbs, and *-in-* affixes to intransitive verbs. He then notes that this theory is not without problems, because there are examples of *k-yit-u* 'has come' and *k-yin-u* 'has come'.

Yamada (1954:286-87) explains that *-it-* describes a specific event as it is performed by the subject (speaker), while *-in-* is the opposite, where the listener describes the event. Thus Yamada views the

difference being one of perspective, one from the speaker, the other the listener. Ikeda (1975:85, n.1) essentially follows both theories noted above. Komai (1979:160) mentions the theory of transitivity, then comments, "However, in many instances /tu/ and /nu/ seem to be interchangeable and the validity of the above statement (about transitivity) is doubtful."

Lewin (1959:166-67) places both *tsu* (our *-it-*) and *nu* (our *-in-*) under the heading of perfective aspect, but gives offers little help on how to differentiate the two. Syromiatnikov (1981:116) follows Saeki in saying that transitivity (or intransitivity) determines which suffix is used.

As if anticipating these arguments, Sansom (1928:179) writes years earlier, "There is a variety of opinion as to the respective meanings of *tsu* and *nu*, but the distinctions drawn are very fine and not entirely convincing." Sansom's own conclusion is that *tsu* is more emphatic than *nu*.

Vovin (forthcoming) introduces the work of Kolpakchi, who postulates that two phenomena are behind the use of these two perfectives: transitivity, and animacy (cf. Kolpakchi 1956:121). Therefore, the animacy of the subject also constrained the selection of a perfective. With transitive verbs plus animate subjects, either perfective could be used, but intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects only allowed the use of *-it-*. Vovin calls this 'Kolpakchi's constraint' (ibid.). There is only one supportive example in the liturgies:

吾 乎 見阿波多志 給 比 津
*WA wo MYlapatas-i **TAMAp-yit-u***
I ACC see displease-INF **HON-PERF-FIN**
You **have seen** [and thus] displeased me (12).

Below are two examples of the perfective *-in-* in our database, in two conjugations, imperfective, and conclusive. Other examples have been added from the edicts.

Imperfective
遺 罪 波 不在 止 祓 給 比
NOKOR-U TUMYI pa AR-AZI to PARAPEY TAMAp-yi
remain-ATT crimes TOP be-NGT DV-INF purge-(INF) HON-INF
As for the remaining crimes, these will be no more, the deity

清 給 事 乎高 山 短
KYIYWOMEY TAMAP-U KOTO wo TAKAYAMA MYIZIKA
cleanse-(INF)HON-ATT thing ACC high mountain low
Seoritu Hime who lives in the shallows of the fast river that gushes

山 之 末 与理佐久那太理爾 落 多支津
YAMA no SUWE yori sakunadari n-i OTI takyit-u
mountain GEN tip ABL gush forth DV-INF fall-INF flow violently-ATT
forth from the tips of the high and low mountains, flowing down

速 川 能 瀬 坐 須 瀬織 津比 咩 止 云
PAYAGAPA no SE [NI] IMAs-u SEORItu pyimye to IP-U
fast river GEN shallows LOC be (HON)-ATT Seori GEN female DV say-ATT
violently, [and this deity] who has purged and cleansed [the crimes]

神 大海 原 爾 持 出 奈 武
*KAMIY OPOMYI [NO] PARA ni **MOT-I IDE-n-am-u***
deity great sea GEN field LOC **hold-INF come out-PERF-TENT-FIN**
will have taken [the crimes] **out** to the great ocean (10).

Conclusive
心 悪 子 乎 生 置 弖 来 奴
*KOKORO ASI-KYI KWO wo UM-YI OK-YIte **K-YIn-u***
mind evil-ATT child ACC bear-INF place-GER **come-PERF-FIN**
(I) **have given birth** to [that] evil-minded child (12).

固 辞 申 而不 受 賜 成 爾岐
*KATA-KU INABIY MAWOS-ITE UKEY-TAMAP-AZU **NAR-In-ikyi***
firm-INF decline-(INF) say-GER receive-(INF) HON-NEG/INF **be-PERF-RETR-FIN**
Firmly say you decline and have nothing to do with accepting it [lit. had being such that you did not accept it] (edict #52).

6.4.8 Progressive *-yer-*

The progressive suffix has only one allomorph, *-yer-*. As noted by Ikeda (1975:100), this progressive suffix originated from the verb *ar-* 'be' being attached to the infinitive of another verb, and the two vowels underwent monophthongization according to our rule #2 (*-i + ar- > yer-*). Using Ikeda's example with the verb *yuk-* 'go', the following development takes place: yuk-i + ar-i > yuk-yer-i.

Ikeda (1975:95) shows that there are essentially two meanings to this suffix, 1) the continuing effect of a completed action or process, and 2) completion of an action. To differentiate this suffix from the two perfectives already described above, I have opted to call this the progressive, even though the progressive function of this suffix does not appear in the liturgies. The progressive example listed below is from the edicts.

Perfective
忌部 能 弱 肩 爾太 多須支 取 掛 弖
IMYIBYE no YWOWA KATA ni FUTWO tasukyi TOR-I KAKEY-te
Imibe GEN weak shoulders LOC fat shoulder straps take-INF hang-GER
[Receive] the offerings that the Imibe, with thick shoulder straps

持 由麻波利 仕 奉 禮留 幣帛 乎
*MOTI-yumar-i TUKAPEY **MATUr-er-u** MYI-TEGURA wo*
PV-purify-INF serve-(INF) **HON-PROG-ATT** HON-offering ACC
hung over their weak shoulders, **have made** and purified...(1).

取 葺 計留 草 乃 噪岐(蘇蘇岐) 無久
*TOR-I **PUk-yer-u** KUSA no swoswok-yi NA-ku*
take-INF **thatch-PROG-ATT** grass GEN rustle-NML not-INF
[Bless that] there is no rustling of the grass **that is thatched** [on the roof] (8).

Progressive
如此久 奇 久 尊 岐 驗 波 顯
*Kaku AYASI-ku TAPUTWO-kyi SIRUSI pa **ARAPAS-I***
thus strange-INF revere-ATT sign TOP **appear-INF**
Thus, a strange, venerable sign had appeared

賜　弊利
TAMAp-yer-I
HON-PROG-FIN
(and still persisted) [edict #41].

6.4.9 Perfective Progressive *-itar-*

The perfective progressive has two allomorphs, *-itar-* after CS and irregular verbs, and *-tar-* after VS verbs. The vowel of the stem of irregular verbs is suppressed by the vowel of the suffix: se+itar- > s-itar- 'has done', and ko+itar- > k-yitar- 'has come'.

It is generally agreed that *-itar-* is a perfective. There appears to be a consensus among grammarians that this suffix derives from the perfective *-it-* plus the verb *ar-* (cf. Sansom [1928:175-77], Saeki [1950:162], Yamada [1954:325], Lewin [1959:170], Ikeda [1975:95], Syromiatnikov [1981:118], Suzuki et al. [1985:61], and Martin [1988:574]). This theory may ultimately originate from a folk tradition extending back to the days of *Man'yôshû* poetry, where 而有 is glossed as *tari* (cf. MYS 230, 366, 927, 1383, 2211 *passim*). This suggests that in the days of the *Man'yô* poets *tari* sometimes was *te-ari*. Our problem, however, is with analyzing *te* as the perfective.

I agree with Vovin (forthcoming), however, that it is more plausible to view *-itar-* as derived from the subordinative gerund *-ite* + *ar-* (which is how *Man'yôshû* poets interpreted this suffix when they wrote 而有). Aside from the logographic writing in *Man'yôshû*, the reason for my analysis is straightforward. There are examples within the same predicate where the perfective *-in-* combines with *-itar-*, which should not be allowed if the latter suffix was derived from the perfective *-it-* (and *ar-*), because, as logic would dictate, the perfectives *-it-* and *-in-* never combine in the same predicate. Consider the following stanza from *Man'yôshû* (MYS 4080):

和礼 波 之奴倍久 奈里爾多良受也
ware pa sin-ubey-ku ***nar-in-itar-****az-u ya*
I TOP die-DEB-INF **become-PERF-PERF-PROG-**NEG-FIN INTR
As for me, am I not about **to become one who must have** died [from love]?

Lewin (1959:169-70) says that *tari* is a perfective, noting that this suffix marks the moment the action is completed. Ikeda (1975:95) explains that this suffix has two meanings: 1) completion of an action, and 2) the continuation of an action. Suzuki et al. (1985:61) explain that this suffix is a perfective, but also has the meaning of continuation, or progression. Based on this description, I label this a perfective-progressive. This means that an action has been completed, but the effect or result of that action persists. There is only one example of this suffix in the liturgies. The other examples appear in the edicts.

Infinitive

奈良麿 我 兵 起 爾 被 雇 多利志

*naraMARO ga IKUSA OKOS-U ni **YATOP-AYE-tar-isi***

Naramaro SUB army raise-ATT DV-INF **employ-PASS-PERF-PROG-RETR-ATT**

When Naramaro raised troops, the Hada Clan **were employed**

奏 等 乎婆 遠 流 賜 都

PADA TATI woba TOPO-KU NAGAS-I TAMAP-YIt-u

Hada PLR ACC TOP far-INF banish-INF HON-PERF-FIN

[as soldiers,and continue to be], so they are banished far away (edict #21).

Conclusive

和 銅 出 在 止 奏 而 献 焉

*NIKYI AKAGANE **IDE-TAR-I** to MAWOS-ITE TATEMATUR-ER-I*

soft copper **come out-(INF)-PERF-PROG-INF** DV-INF say-GER present-PROG-FIN

They said that soft copper **had been found**, and they presented it [to court] (edict #4).

Attributive

堀 堅 多留 柱 桁 梁 戸

*POR-I **KATAMEY-tar-u** PASIRA KETA UTUBARI two*

dig-INF **harden-PERF-PROG-ATT** pillar crossbeam girder door

[May there] not be moving and making noise at the joints of the

窓　　乃 伎加比　動　　鳴　事　無久
MADWO no kyikapyi UGOK-YI NAR-U KOTO NA-ku
window-GEN joint move-INF make noise-ATT thing not-INF
firmly planted [lit. dug and hardened] pillars, crossbeams, girders, doors, and windows...(8).

6.4.10 Passive *-aye-*

The passive has one allomorph, *-aye-* that attaches to CS verbs. While there are only a few examples in Old Japanese, Suzuki et al. (1985:104) suggest that the other allomorph, *-raye-*, which is not attested in our liturgy database, attached to VS verbs. Data from the edicts do not contradict Suzuki et al.'s claim.

There has been much debate among grammarians about the various meanings of the passive suffix. Saeki (1950:150) calls *-aye-* both a passive and a potential. Yamada (1954:253) echoes this sentiment. Lewin (1959:150) also calls *yu* a passive suffix. Miller (1967:332) treats both the passive and potential as the same suffix (though he only deals with *–rare-* and *–are-*). Ikeda (1975:111-12) does not describe the usage of this passive, other than a passing remark relegated to a footnote, but he equates the meaning of *-aye-* with the other passive, *-rare-*, which has four meanings: 1) spontaneity, 2) passive voice, 3) potential, and 4) respect. Of these, Ikeda claims that spontaneity was the original meaning (1975:112, n.1). Syromiatnikov (1981:97) also claims that spontaneity was the basic meaning of the passive. Below is the only example from the liturgies.

Passive *-aye*
火　結　　神　　生　給　　弖 美保止
POMUSUBYI [NO] KAMIY Ø UM-YI TAMAP-YIte myipoto
Pomusubi GEN deity Ø bear-INF HON-GER HON-vulva
[She] gave birth to the deity Pomusubi [the fire deity] and

被　焼　弖
YAK-AYE-te
burn-PASS-GER
her vulva burned up...(12)

On this single example it is difficult to distinguish between a true passive and a spontaneous action. As one example is insufficient, data from the edicts would be of great help. Unfortunately, there is only one example of *–aye-* in the edicts, so I have also added the only example of *–raye-* in the edicts.

奈良 麿 我 兵 起 爾 被 雇 多利志
*naraMARO ga IKUSA OKOS-U ni **YATOP-AYE-tar-isi***
Naramaro SUB army raise-ATT DV-INF **employ-PASS-PERF-PROG-RETR-ATT**
As for the [members of] the Hata clan who **were employed**

奏 等 乎婆 遠 流 賜 都
PADA TATI woba TOPO-KU NAGAS-I TAMAP-YIt-u
Hada PLR ACC TOP far-INF banish-INF HON-PERF-FIN
when Naramaro raised troops, [we] have banished them far away (edict #21).

In this example, members of the Hata clan who participated in the revolt of Naramaro are punished, even though they *were conscripted* into the army. This is clearly a passive and nothing more. This means that there is one clear example of a passive, and one example that could go either way. Finally, consider an example of the related allomorph, *-raye-*.

Passive *–raye-*
亦 不 被 告 而 縁 道 祖王 者
*MATA **TUGEY-RAYE-N-E-DOMO** PUNATO MYIKWO [NI]*
again **report-(INF)-PASS-NEG-EV-CSS** Funato Prince ABL
Again **though the report was not made**, because Prince Funato is

応 配 遠 流 罪
KAKAR-ERE-BA TOPO-KU NAGAS-U TUMYI [NI] WOSAM-UBEY-SI
related-EV-CND far-INF banish-ATT transgression DV-INF judge-DEB-FIN
related [to Prince Shioyaki, the perpetrator] he should be judged as [worthy] of banishment far away (edict #20).

This final quote shows another example of the passive. On this admittedly sparse evidence, I tentatively call *–aye-* a passive suffix. It has been suggested to me that the honorific usage of the passive may derive from the passive not marking the subject. Thus, the lack of clearly specifying who did the action showed reserve, and thus respect.[5]

6.4.11 Causative *-ase-*

Analogous to the passive *-aye-*, the causative *-ase-* attaches to CS verbs, while *-sase-* attaches to VS and irregular verbs. There are no examples of the latter in the liturgies. It is generally accepted that the causative has two functions, causative and honorification (cf. Ikeda 1975:117). The second function appears to be derived from the causative function. There are two examples in the liturgies of this causative.

悪　風　荒　水　爾　不　相・賜
*ASI-KYI KAZE ARA-KYI MYIDU ni **AP-ASE** TAMAP-AZ-U*
evil-ATT wind violent-ATT water LOC **meet-CAUS-(INF)** HON-NEG-FIN
[Bless that the deities] will not cause [us] to meet evil winds and violent water...(3).

悪　風　荒　水　爾　相　都都
*ASI-KYI KAZE ARA-KYI MYIDU ni **AP-ASE-tutu***
evil-ATT wind violent-ATT water LOC **meet-CAUS-CONC**
[It is I who] **causes** [the grain] to **meet [over and over] with** evil winds and violent water...(4)

6.4.12 Causative *-asimey-*

There are two causatives used in the liturgies, *-ase-* and *-asimey-*. There does not seem to be any difference between *-ase-* and *-asimey*, though one would expect there to have been a difference in meaning, or one of the two would have likely disappeared.[6] The suffix *-asimey-*

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[5] Thanks to an anonymous reader who pointed this out to me.

[6] An anonymous reader has suggested to me that perhaps the suffix *–ase-* is a

has two allomorphs, *-asimey-* after CS verbs, and *-simey-* after VS and irregular verbs.

This suffix is described by grammarians as having two functions, causative, and honorification (cf. Saeki [1950:148], Yamada [1954:256-58], Ikeda [1975:121], Syromiatnikov [1983:99], Suzuki et al. [1985:110], and Ôno et al. [1994:1469]). Most grammarians, however, agree that the honorific usage derives from the causative function, and this derived function appears in the Heian era. I believe that the honorific usage is derived from this causative suffix when an honorific auxiliary verb has been added: *-asimey* + *tamap-*. Below are examples of the causative, and the causative with an auxiliary verb.

Imperfective
手 麻我比 足 麻我比 不 令 為 弖
TE [NO] magapyi ASI [NO] magapyi ***NAS-ASIMEY-ZU*** *S-Ite*
hand GEN confusion feet GEN confusion **make-CAUS-NEG-GER** do-GER
Prevent [lit. **do not make there to be**] confusion of the hands

親 王 諸 王 諸 臣
MYI-KWO-TATI OPO-KYIMYI-TATI MAPYE-[TU]-KYIMYI-TATI
HON-child PLR HON-lord PLR before-LG-lord PLR
and feet, and **let there be** no selfish opposition [lit. self opposing

百 官 人 等乎 己
MWOMWO [NO] TUKASA PYITO-TATI wo ONO [GA]
hundred GEN officials person-PLR ACC self GEN
and opposing] by the imperial princes, princes, various ministers,

乖 乖 不 令 在
SOMUK-YI SOMUK-YI ***AR-ASIMEY-Z-U***
oppose-INF oppose-INF **exist-CAUS-NEG-FIN**
and the hundred officials (8).

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contraction of *–asimey-*. While this possibility perhaps cannot be denied outright, it seems highly improbable. The suffix *–asimey-* is itself a contraction: **-asima-Ci*. The –Ci- may be related to the verbalizer noted above (6.4.1), but that is only conjecture. The problem we need to keep in mind is that contraction in two stages would have to take place to get from **-asima-Ci* to *–ase-*. It is possible that one of the suffixes is dialectal in origin, while the other was prominent in the central, capital dialect. Further research may yet answer this question.

Infinitive
天皇　我　朝廷　爾伊加志夜久波叡能 如　久
SUMYERA ga MYI-KADWO ni ikasi yakupaye n-o KOTO-ku
emperor GEN HON-court DAT vibrant efflorescence DV-ATT like-INF
I speak [words of] praise, saying, "**Cause** them to serve the

仕　奉 利 佐加叡 志米　賜　登 称
*TUKAPEY MATUr-i **sakaye-simey** TAMAP-YE to TATAPEY*
prosper-CAUS-(INF) present-COM DV-INF praise-(INF)
emperor's court, so it **will prosper** like the vibrant and efflorescence of the trees...(2).

立　栄　之米 令 仕 奉　給
*TAT-I SAKAYE-simey **MATUR-ASIMEY-**TAMAP-YE*
stand-INF prosper-TENT-CAUS-(INF) **HON-CAUS-(INF)**-HON-COM
Cause that [the servants] **will serve** [the emperor's court], so it will endure and prosper...(5).

万　世 爾 御 令 坐　米　給
*YORODU YO ni **OPOMASIMAS-ASImey-**TAMAP-YE*
ten thousand reign LOC **HON-CAUS-**(INF)-HON-COM
[**Cause** that the emperor] **will remain** for a myriad generations...(6).

Conclusive
三　関 仁 使　乎 遣 天
MYITU [NO] SEKYI ni TUKAPYI wo YAR-Ite
three GEN barrier gates LOC messenger ACC send-GER
[Nakamaro] sent messengers to the three barrier gates,

窃　仁 関 乎 閉 一　二 乃 国 仁
PISOKA n-i SEKYI wo TODI PYITOTU PUTATU no KUNI ni
secretly DV-INF barrier gate ACC close-(INF) one two GEN provinces DAT
and secretly caused these gates to be closed, and then he begged for

軍　丁　乎　乞　兵　発　之武
*IKUSA YOPORO wo KOP-YI IKUSA **OKOS-Asim-u***
soldiers armor ACC beg-INF soldiers **raise-CAUS-FIN**
soldiers and armor in one or two provinces, and **caused solders to be raised** (edict #28).

Attributive
可久　申　須乎　皆　人仁之毛　辞止
kaku MAWOs-u wo MIYNA PYITO ni simo INA to
thus say-ATT ACC everyone person DAT PT nay DV-INF
Thus [Nakamaro] says to everyone, "I have said that I definitely

申　仁依天此　官　乎婆　授　不　給
MAWOS-U ni YOR-Ite KONO TUKASA woba SADUKEY TAMAP-AZ-U
say-ATT DV-INF through-GER this official ACC TOP promote-(INF) HON-NEG-ATT
declined, and because [of this] this official post will not be

止　令　知流　事　不得
*to **SIR-ASIM-Uru KOTO** E-Z-U*
DV-INF **inform-CAUS-ATT thing** can-NEG-FIN
granted." [But] we cannot **inform everyone of this thing** [lit. cause this to be informed] (edict #26).

6.4.13 Honorific *-as-*

There is only one honorific suffix preserved in the liturgies. This suffix has one allomorph, *-as-*, and it attaches to CS and irregular verbs. I make a distinction (following Iwai [1981:110-113]) between honorific *-as-* and the causative *-ase-*. Ôno et al. (1994:1469) believe the honorific suffix and the causative to have originated from the same etymon. The reasoning is that the powerful elite in society caused those below them to do certain things, and this was later reanalyzed as honorification. An allomorph of the causative is *-sase-*, suggesting that *-ase-* is derived from *-sase-*, with suppression of the *-s-*.

The honorific appears in the infinitive, and attributive in the liturgies, and examples from each are given below.

Infinitive
志貴嶋　爾大八嶋　國　知　志　皇
*sikiy SIMA ni OPOYASIMA KUNI **SIR-AS-Isi** SUMYE*
Siki island LOC great eight island land **rule-HON-INF-RETR-ATT** imperial
The imperial grandchild **who ruled** the great eight island land from

御　孫　命
MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO
HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity
Siki Island...(4).

Attributive
遺　事　無久称　辞　竟　奉　止
NOKOR-U KOTO NA-ku TATAPEY KOTO WOPEY MATUR-U to
remain-ATT thing not-INF praise-(INF) thing finish-(INF) HON-ATT DV-INF
Without any omission, I **thought** in my heart **and acted**, finishing

思　志　行　波須乎
*OMOPOs-i **OKONAp-as-u** wo*
think-INF **act-HON-ATT** ACC
my words of praise...(4).

6.4.14 Iterative *-ap-*

I have followed Vovin (forthcoming) in calling *-ap-* the iterative, though the fundamental idea is not original with him. Ôno et al. (1994: 1100) posited a suffix *-pu*, which affixes to Quadri-grade verbs, and functions as an iterative, showing the repetition of an action. This suffix was very productive in the EOJ period, and there are many examples of the iterative in Old Japanese (with a few noted below):

kakus- 'hide'	>	*kakusap-* 'conceal continuously'
katar- 'speak'	>	*katarap-* 'speak repeatedly'
kayu- 'go, depart'	>	*kaywop-* 'visit, go back and forth'
motopor- 'go around'	>	*motoporop-* 'revolve'

neg- 'calm through prayer '		
	>	*negap-* 'ask, request'
pakar- 'plot'	>	*pakarap-* 'plot together'
sum- 'reside'	>	*sumap-* 'reside continuously'
utur- 'move'	>	*uturwop-* 'move one's residence'
watar- 'cross'	>	*watarap-* 'cross over'
ywob- 'call'	>	*ywobap-* 'call repeatedly'

There are only three examples of the iterative in the liturgies, and another two in the edicts:

imas- 'be (HON)'	>	*imasap-* 'continue being'
ip- 'say'	>	*ipap-* 'celebrate' (say repeatedly)
pok- 'pray'	>	*pokap-* 'pray repeatedly'
katar- 'speak'	>	*katarap-* 'speak repeatedly'
mat- 'wait'	>	*matap-* 'continue waiting'

大　殿　祭　此云　於保登能保加比
OPO-TONO POKAP-I KORE [WO] opo ***tono pok-ap-yi*** *[TO] IP-U*
great mansion pronounce blessings-INF this ACC great mansion **pronounce blessings-ITR-INF** DV-INF say-FIN
The Great Mansion Blessing: this is read *opo tono pok-ap-yi*.

This example is not from the liturgies, but from a different book of *Engi shiki*. It should be remembered that the title of liturgy eight is the Great Mansion Blessing, and this same reading glosses the characters of the title of liturgy eight (大殿祭).

天　下　公　民　爾至　万弖爾
AMEY [NO] SITA [NO] OPO-MYI-TAKARA ni ITAR-U made n-i
heaven GEN below GEN great-HON-treasure DAT reach-ATT TERM DV-INF
Bless [lit. say repeatedly so good will happen] even the common

平　久斎　給　部
TAPYIRAKEY-ku ***IP-AP-YI*** *TAMAp-ye*

safe-INF **bless-ITR-INF** HON-COM
people under the heavens [so they will be] safe...(13).

天　地　能　諸　御神　等波
AMEY TUTI no MOROMORO [NO] MYI-KAMIY-TATI pa
heaven earth GEN various GEN HON-deity-PLR TOP
As for the various deities of heaven and earth, [we say they]

平　久 於太比爾 伊麻佐布倍志
*TAPYIRAKEY-ku odapyi n-i **imas-ap-ubey-si***
safe-INF calmness DV-INF HON-ITR-DEB-FIN
should remain safe and calm (16).

内外　二種　乃人　等仁　置天　其
UTITO PUTAKUSA no PYITO TATI ni OK-YIte SONO
Inside outside two kinds DV-INF person-PLR LOC place-GER that
(Dôkyô) has shown charity toward the two types of people, those

理　仁　慈哀　天　過　无久毛
KOTOWARI ni UTUKUSIBIY-te AYAMATI NAku mo
reason ABL charity-(INF)-GER transgression not-INF PT
who follow Buddhist law and those who do not, according to their

奉　仕　之米 天 志可等念　保之米之天
TUKAPEY MATUR-Asimey-t-e sika to OMOposimeysi-te
serve-(INF) HON-CAUS-PERF-INF-DESIRATIVE TRN think-GER
reason without transgressing; he also believes that he wants

可多良比 能利多布 言　乎 聞 久仁
***katarap-yi** noritap-u KOTO wo KYIk-u ni*
speak repeatedly declare-ATT words ACC hear-ATT DV-INF
to serve the court, and when he hears the **repeated words**...(edict #36).

大　臣　明日者 参　出 来
OPOMAPEYTUKYIMYI ASU PA MAWI IDE K-YI
Great minister tomorrow TOP HON-INF appear-(INF) come-INF
As for tomorrow, (while) I **am waiting** for the great minister

仕 牟止待 比
TUKAPEY-mu to ***MATAp-yi***
Serve-(INF)-TENT DV-INF **wait-ITR-INF**
to come and appear (at court) and serve...(edict #51).

6.5 Honorific Verbs

Because of the nature of the liturgies--prayers offered to the deities on behalf of the imperial family--there are many honorific verbs preserved in the text. Most of these honorific verbs are replacements for verbs such as 'see', 'hear', 'eat', 'rule', or 'know'.

6.5.1 Honorific Verb *opomasimas-*

The honorific verb *opomasimas-* is the highest form of honorification in Old Japanese, and was used expressly for deified beings (the emperor, Sun goddess, and other deities of heaven). This auxiliary consists of the honorific *masimas-* elevated further by adding *opo* 'great'. It means 'to be, to exist'. This honorific verb is mainly found in the liturgies and edicts. There is only one example of this honorific auxiliary in *Kojiki*, making me believe it was generally reserved for addressing the emperor.

万 世爾 御坐 令在米 給 登
YORODU YO n-i ***OPOMASIMAS-ASImey*** *TAMAP-YE to*
ten thousand reigns DV-INF **HON-TENT-CAUS-(INF)** HON-COM DV-INF
[I say,] **may [the emperor] remain** for ten thousand reigns...(5)

平 久御坐 所 令 御坐
TAPYIRAKEY-ku OPOMASIDOKORO [NI] ***OPOMASIMAS-ASIMEY***
safely-INF great-abide-place LOC **HON-TENT-CAUS-INF**
[I say,] **may [the spirit of the emperor] remain** safely in

給 止
TAMAP-YE to
HON-COM DV-INF
the great place where he resides...(15).

There is understandable concern over whether this verb is actually *opomasimas-*, or *opasimas-*, because there are no phonetic examples in the liturgies. Fortunately, there is one phonetic example in the edicts:

然　　朕　波 御 身 都可良之久 於保麻之麻須
SIKAR-ABA WARE pa MYI-MIY tukarasi-ku ***opomasimas-u***
thus-COND I TOP HON-body tired-INF **HON-ATT**
If it is thus, then because my body **is exhausted**...

爾 依 天
n-i YO̲R-Ite
DV-INF through-GER
(edict #45).

6.5.2 Honorific Verb *siro̲simyes-*

This honorific verb means 'to rule', and can also mean 'to understand.' Only the first meaning appears in the liturgies. This verb is a variant (related) form of *sirasimyes-* (cf. MYS 4098). It is unclear what the difference is, though these two forms may show a leveling of *siro̲-* to *sira-*. This change in the vowel (a ⇔ o̲) reminds one of a similar change in how Emperor Kimmei's (r. 540-571) name was recorded over time. Compare five recorded spellings of this emperor's name (the modern spelling being Ame Kuni Oshihiraki Hironiwa), found in (Table 2).

Perhaps the oldest version of this name is the one contained in the Gangô Temple Record, making me believe that the original version of this name was *osipara̲kyi*, and this later changed to *osiparu̲kyi*. I propose that the same can be said of this verb, where *siro̲simyes-* was the older, and *sirasimyes-* is a later change.

皇　我　宇都　御子　皇　御 孫 之 命
SUMYE WA [GA] udu [N-O̲] MYI-KWO SUMYE MYI-MA no̲ MYI-KO̲TO̲
imperial I GEN noble DV-ATT HON-child imperial HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity
My imperial, noble child, the imperial grandchild--

Tenjô Shûchô (ca. 622):
阿米久爾意斯波留支比里爾波乃彌己等
*amey kuni osipa**ru**kyi pyiro̲nipa no̲ myiko̲to̲*
Gangôji Temple Record (ca. 630):
阿末久爾意斯波羅岐比里爾波乃彌己等
*amey kuni osipa**ra**kyi pyiro̲nipa no̲ myiko̲to̲*
Jôgû Shôtoku Hôô Teisetsu (ca. 800):
阿米 久爾於志波留支 広 庭 天皇
*amey kuni osipa**ru**kyi PYIRO̲NIPA [NO̲] MYIKO̲TO̲*
Kojiki (712):
天 国 押波流岐 広 庭 天皇
*AMEY KUNI OSIpa**ru**kyi PYIRO̲NIPA [NO̲] MYIKO̲TO̲*
Nihon shoki (720):
天 国 排 開 広 庭 天皇
AMEY KUNI OSIPARUKYI PYIRO̲NIPA [NO̲] MYIKO̲TO̲

Tbl. 2. Spellings of Emperor Kimmei's Name

此乃 天 津 高 御 座 爾 坐 弖 天 津
KO̲no̲ AMA tu TAKA MYI-KURA ni IMAS-Ite AMA tu
this-ATT heaven LG high HON-throne LOC (be) HON-GER heaven LG
[he will] sit in this high throne of heaven, and **rule over**

日 嗣 乎 万 千 秋 乃 長 秋 爾
pyiTUG-YI wo YO̲RO̲DU TIAKYI no̲ NAGA AKYI ni
sun inherit-INF ACC ten thousand thousand autumns GEN long autumn LOC
the heavenly sun-inheritance, the great eight island eternal reed

大 八 洲 豊 葦 原 瑞 穂 之 國 乎
OPOYASIMA TO̲YO̲ ASI PARA [NO̲] MYIDUPO no̲ KUNI wo
great eight island eternal reed plain GEN rare rice ear GEN land ACC
land of ten thousand, onethousand autumns, long autumns, the land

安 國 止 平 気 久志呂志女須
*YASU KUNI to̲ TAPYIRAkey-ku **siro̲simyes-u***
peace land DV-INF safe-INF (**rule**) **HON-FIN**
of rare rice ears, [ruling] in peace and safety (8).

6.5.3 Honorific Verb *myisonapas-*

Myisonapas- is an honorific verb elevating the action of seeing or viewing someone or something. No phonetic spellings are preserved in pre-Nara texts, so the value of the vowel of *sonapas-i* remains unclear.[1] The verb is created by attaching *sonapas-* to the infinitive of the verb 'see' *myi*.

隠　坐　事　奇　止弖　見　所　行　須　時
*KAKUR-IMAS-U KOTO AYASI to-te **MYISONAPAs-u** TOKYI*
hide-INF (be) HON-ATT thing strange DV-GER **see (HON)-ATT** when
When he [Izanagi] **looked** [at Izanami] because he thought it strange that she had hidden [herself]....(12).

此　乎　朕　自　毛　見　行　之
*KO wo WARE MYIDUKARA mo **MYISONAPAs-i***
this ACC I self PT **see (HON)-INF**
And having seen this for myself...(edict #42).

6.5.4 Honorific Verb *kyikosimyes-*

This honorific verb in the liturgies is built on the verb meaning 'hear.' Ôno et al. (1994:367) note that this verb has two main meanings: to accept (as the throne, and points to accepting the right to rule, or even food), and to hear. In most cases in the liturgies, 'accept' is most often used. I have noted these two main usages below, including the slight variations.

Hear
如此　所聞　食　弖波皇　御孫　之　命　乃
*KAKU **KYIKOSIMYES-Ite pa** SUMYE MYI-MA no MYI-KOTO no*
thus **hear-GER TOP** imperial HON-grandchild GEN court GEN
Thus, **having heard** [these words], then beginning with the court

[1] There is only one phonetic spelling from the late Nara era, in *Takahashi Ujibumi*. There the syllable *so* is spelled with the graph 曾, suggesting this might be *myisonapas-*.

朝 廷 乎 始 弖
MYI-KADWO wo PAZIMEY-te
court ACC begin-(INF)-GER
of the imperial grandchild...(10).

Accept
宇豆乃 大 幣 帛 乎 安 幣 帛 乃 足
udu no OPO-MYI-TEGURA wo YASU MYI-TEGURA no TARI
noble GEN HON-HON-offering ACC peaceful HON-offering GEN plentiful
'[I present] the noble, great offerings, as plentiful offerings of

幣 帛 登 平 久 安 久
MYI-TEGURA to TAPYIRAKEY-ku YASUKEY-ku
HON-offering DV-INF quiet-INF peaceful-INF
peaceful [offerings], which I **pray you will accept** quietly and

聞 看 登 皇 大 御 神 等 乎
***KYIKOSIMYES-E** to SUMYE OPO-MYI-KAMIY-TATI wo*
accept HON-COM DV-INF imperial great HON-deity-PLR ACC
peacefully; I say, and end these words of praise for

称 辞 竟 奉 久 登 白
TATAPEY GOTO WOPEY MATUR-Aku to MAWOS-U
praise-(INF) words finish-(INF) HON-NML DV-INF say-FIN
the great imperial deities (2).

Accept (partake of food)
安 久 聞 食 弖 豊 明 爾
*YASURAKEY-ku **KYIKOSIMYES-Ite** TOYO [NO] AKAR-I n-i*
peaceful-INF **accept-GER** eternal GEN bright-INF DV-INF
partake [of the first fruits] peacefully, the imperial grandchild

明 坐 牟 皇 御 孫 命
AKAR-I MAS-AM-U SUMYE MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO
bright-INF HON-TENT-ATT imperial HON-grandchild GEN deity
who is beaming, [partaking] with a glowing face...(14).

6.5.5 Honorific Verb *omoposimyes-*

This is an honorific verb meaning 'to think'. There is another honorific verb, *omopos-*, which does not appear in the liturgies. It is also an honorific verb meaning 'to think', but the form *omoposimyes-* is more honorific than *omopos-* (cf. Ônо et al. 1994:260). There is only one example of this verb in the database.

与美津坂　爾至　坐弖所　思　食久
yomyi tu SAKA ni ITAR-I MAS-Ite ***OMOPOSIMYES-Aku***
Yomi LG hill LOC reach-INF HON-GER **(think) HON-NML**
Having reached the pass (lit. hill) of Yomi, **her** (Izanami) **thinking**

吾　名背　命　能所知食　上津
WA [GA] na se [NO] MYI-KOTO no SIROSIMYES-U UPA tu
I GEN beloved GEN HON-deity SUB rule-ATT upper LG
was: My beloved, I have given birth to a child with an evil

国　爾心　悪　子乎生　置弖来奴
KUNI niKOKORO ASI-KYI KWO wo UM-YI OK-YIte KO-n-u
land LOC mind evil-ATT child ACC give birth-INF place-GER come-PERF-FIN
disposition in the upper land where you rule (12).

加久　言良之止念　召　波　愧　自彌
kaku IP-Urasi to ***OMOPOSIMYES-Eba*** *PADUKAsi-myi*
thus say-seems DV-INF **(think) HON-HYP** shame-NML
Thus, because it seems they say this, I feel shameful and

伊等保自彌奈母　念　須
itoposi-myi namo OMOPOs-u
painful-NML PT think-FIN
greatly pained (edict #27).

6.6 Humble Verbs

Humble verbs show that the speaker (or some person) is deferring to a person of higher social status. The liturgies are prayers to the deities, so a humble verb shows that the officiator is deferring either to the

deity the prayer is addressed to, or to the emperor, since the officiator is often a proxy for the emperor. There are only two humble verbs in the liturgies, *tatematur-*, meaning 'to present', or 'offer', and *mau* 'respectfully do.'

6.6.1 Humble Verb *tatematur-*

As noted above, this is a humble verb meaning to present or offer something to a person of higher social rank or status.

事 不 過 捧 持
KOTO AYAMAT-AZU SASAGEY MOT-ITE
thing transgress-NEG/INF present-(INF) hold-GER
I declare, saying, 'Bring and **present** [the items]

奉 登 宣
***TATEMATUR-E** to NOR-U*
present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
without transgressing (1).

奉 流 宇豆乃 幣 帛 者...
***TATEMATUr-u** udu n-o MYI-TEGURA PA...*
present (HUM)-ATT noble DV-ATT HON-offering TOP...
As for the noble offerings that are **presented**...

置 足 弖 奉 久登 皇 神
*OK-YI TARAPAS-Ite **TATEMATUR-Aku** to SUMYE KAMIY [NO]*
place-INF sufficiently do-GER **present (HUM)-NML** DV-INF imperial deity GEN
present [the offerings by] placing them completely [here] before

前 爾 白 賜 部
MAPYE ni MAWOS-I TAMAp-ye
before LOC say-INF HON-COM
the imperial deity (3).

6.6.2 Humble Verb *mau*

This verb is problematic, because it only appears in the OJ records in the infinitive, *mawi*. This verb is also found in the OJ records as *mawir-*, but this is a compound: *mawi* + *ir-* 'enter'. Martin (1987:722) believes this verb is *mawi* < **mawiy*, meaning it belongs to the VS class. Below are two examples, both in the infinitive.

本　末　打 切 弖 持　参　来 弖
*MOTO SUWE UTI-KYIR-Ite MOT-I **MAWI** K-YIte*
base tip PV-cut-GER hold-INF **HON-INF** come-GER
cut the base and top [of big and small trees] and **respectfully** bring them here...(1).

今年　某　月　某　日　諸
KOTOSI SORE [NO] TUKIY [NO] SORE [NO] PYI MOROMORO
this year such-and such GEN month GEN such-and such GEN day various
On such-and such a day in such-and such a month, the various

参　出 来 弖
***MAWI** IDE K-YIte*
HON-INF appear-(INF) come-GER
[officials] will **respectfully** come and appear [here], and ...(3).

6.7 Auxiliary Verbs

The liturgies contain several honorific verbs that are not used independently, and thus are labeled as auxiliary verbs. As was the same with honorific and humble verbs, there are two types of auxiliary verbs: honorific, and humble. These auxiliaries are important in the texts, because many times the subject is not clearly stated, but the status of the speaker relative to the listener is made clear by the auxiliary verb, whether it be honorific, or humble.

6.7.1 Honorific Auxiliary Verbs

There are three honorific auxiliary verbs used in the liturgies: *imas-*, *tamap-*, and *matur-*.

6.7.1.1 Honorific Auxiliary *imas-*

The auxiliary verb *imas-* is perhaps the most often used honorific auxiliary. It is a CS verb, as found in the liturgies. It can be found in two forms, *imas-* and *mas-*. The second form is found when connecting to the *-i* infinitive of CS verbs, and one of the two -i- vowels elides. For the sake of simplicity, I analyze the form as if the initial vowel of the auxiliary drops.

高 間 原 爾 神 留 坐 皇
*TAKAMA [NO] PARA ni KAMUDUMAR-**I-MAS-U** SUMYE*
high heaven GEN plain LOC deity stay-**INF-HON-ATT** imperial
The imperial kindred deities Kamuroki and Kamuromi, **who dwell**

睦 神 漏伎 命 神 漏彌 命
MUTU KAMUrwokyi [NO] MYI-KOTO KAMUrwomyi [NO] MYI-KOTO
kindred deity male GEN HON-deity deity female GEN HON-deity
in the high plain of heaven...(1).

皇 神 能 敷 坐 下 都 磐根 爾
*SUMYE KAMIY no SIK-**YI-MAS-U** SIMWO tu IPANE ni*
imperial deity SUB rule-**INF-HON-ATT** below LG rock-root
Plant and stand high the thick palace pillars in the deep bedrock,

宮 柱 太 知 立 高天 原 爾
MYI-YA PASIRA PUTWO SIR-I TATE TAKAMA [NO] PARA ni
HON-palace pillar thick rule-INF stand-(INF) high heaven GEN plain LOC
Below [land] **ruled over by the imperial deity**, and raise high to

千木 高 知 弖 皇 御 孫 命 能
TIGIY TAKASIR-Ite SUMYE MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO no
cross beam high rule-GER imperial HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity GEN
the high plain of heaven the crossbeams, and serve the noble and

宇豆乃 瑞 能 御 舍 乎 仕 奉 弖
udu no MYIDU no MYI-ARAKA wo TUKAPEY MATUR-Ite

noble GEN rare GEN HON-serve-(INF) HON-GER
rare palace of the imperial grandchild in which **he hides**,

天　御　蔭　日　御　蔭　登
AMEY [NO] MYI-KAGEY pyi [NO] MYI-KAGEY to
heaven GEN HON-shade sun GEN HON-shade DV-INF
[using the palace as] shade from the heavens, and

隠　坐　弖
*KAKUR-**I-MAS-Ite***
hide-**INF-HON-GER**
shade from the sun...(1).

神　等　能伊須呂許比阿禮比 坐　乎
*KAMIY-TATI no isurokop-yi arep-**yi-MAS-U** wo*
deity PLR SUB fight? be violent-**INF-HON-ATT** ACC
[He] corrects and soothes with words the fighting and violence

言　直　志夜波志　坐 弖
*KOTO NAPOs-i yapas-**I-MAS-Ite***
words correct-INF soothe-**INF HON-GER**
of the deities...(8).

6.7.1.2 Honorific Auxiliary *tamap-*

This honorific auxiliary is found quite frequently in the liturgies, used specifically like modern Japanese *kudasaru* 'give', reflecting the action of a person giving something to another (socially upper level person to a lower, from the point of view of the lower person). That explains why this honorific auxiliary is written with the Chinese character 賜 *cì* 'bestow' or 給 *gěi* 'give'.

今年　二月　爾 御年　初
KOTOSI KISARAGI ni MYI-TOSI PAZIMEY-
this year second month LOC HON-year begin-(INF)-
In the second month of this year,

将　賜　登為而
***TAMAP-AM-U** to S-ITE*

HON-TENT-ATT DV-INF do-INF-GER
cultivation is **about to begin**...(1).

遺　　罪　　波　不在 止 祓　　給　比
*NOKOR-U TUMYI pa AR-AZI to PARAPEY-**TAMAp-yi***
remain-ATT crime TOP be-NGT DV-INF cleanse-(INF)-**HON-INF**
As for the remaining sins, [I] **cleanse** [them] so there will be no more...(10).

6.7.1.3 Honorific Auxiliary *matur-*

This auxiliary can be both an honorific and humble auxiliary. As an honorific auxiliary, *matur-* means to partake of food. There are very few examples of this honorific in Old Japanese records. Below are two examples, one from the liturgies, and the other a poem attached to edict #10.

皇　　神　　等　　相 宇豆乃比 奉　　弖
*SUMYE KAMIY-TATI APYI **udunop-yi MATUR-Ite***
imperial deity-PLR PV-**appreciate-INF-HON-GER**
The imperial deities **appreciate and partake** [of the food] together...(14).

夜須美斯志・和己於保支美波・多比良気久
yasumyisisi / wago opokyimyi pa / tapyirakey-ku
epithet I-GEN HON-lord TOP safe-INF
Peacefully, my great lord **partakes** of the august wine

那何久伊末之弖・等与美岐 麻都流
*naga-ku imas-ite / toyo myikyi **matur-u***
long-INF HON-GER forever HON-wine **partake-FIN**
safely and for a long time (edict #10).

6.7.2 Humble Auxiliary Verbs

Humble auxiliary verbs indicate that one person is deferring to another, usually because of social status. There are two humble auxiliary verbs in the liturgies, *matur-*, and *tamapar-*.

6.7.2.1 Humble Auxiliary *matur-*

According to Ôno et al. (1994:1229), *matur-* originally meant to present offerings to deities and men. The verb *tatematur-* derives from *tate-* 'stand' and *matur-* 'present'. This auxiliary means to present something to a superior, and that explains why this auxiliary is often written with the character 奉 *fèng* 'present an object (to a superior).' The texts of the liturgies make a clear distinction between the auxiliary *-matur-* and the independent verb *tatematur-*. There are a few cases where the text has 進 *jìn* 'advance, present something', but these are all glossed as *tatematur-*.

御 弓 御 梓 御 馬 爾 備 奉 理
*MYI-TORASI MYI-POKO MYI-UMA ni **SONAPEY MATUr-i***
HON-take in hand HON-halberd HON-horse DAT **prepare-(INF)-HON-INF**
preparing [to complete the set] for the bows, halberds, and horses,

御服 波 明 多閇 照 多閇 和 多閇 荒
MYI-SWO pa AKARU tapey TERU tapey NIKYI tapey ARA
HON-clothing TOP bright offering shining offering soft offering rough
and as for the robes, **[present]** cloth of bright offerings,

多閇 爾 仕 奉 弖
*tapey ni **TUKAPEY MATUR-Ite***
offering DAT **serve-(INF) HON-GER**
shining offerings, soft offerings, and rough offerings...(2).

不 成 傷 神 等 波 我
NAS-I TAMAP-AZU SOKONAPEY-RU KAMIY-TATI pa WA [GA]
make-INF HON-NEG/INF damage-ATT deity-PLR TOP I GEN
by the people [great treasures of the emperor] under heaven, not

御 心 曾止 悟 奉 禮止宇気比 賜 支
MYI-KOKORO so to ***SATOS-I MATUr-e*** *to ukeyp-yi TAMAP-YIkyi*
HON-heart PT DV-INF **realize-INF HON-COM** DV-INF vow-INF HON-RETR-FIN
allowing it to reach fruition? **Enlighten me** by telling me (4)!

6.7.2.2 Humble Auxiliary *ukeytamapar-*

I follow Iwai (1981:244-45) who includes the auxiliary *ukeytamapar-*, and notes that there are only two examples in the liturgies:

① 神主祝部等受賜弖
② 神主祝部等請弖

神 主 祝部 等 受 賜 弖 事
KAMUNUSI PAPURI-TATI Ø ***UKEYTAMAPAR-Ite*** *KOTO*
officiator minor official-PLR Ø **accept (HUM)-GER** thing
I declare, saying, 'Bring and present [the items] without

不 過 捧 持 奉 登 宣
AYAMAT-AZU SASAGEY MOT-ITE TATEMATUR-E to NOR-U
transgress-NEG/INF present-(INF) hold-GER present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
Transgressing and the officials and minor officials will **receive** [the offerings] (1).

神 主 祝部 等 請 弖
KAMUNUSI PAPURI-TATI Ø ***UKEYTAMAPAR-Ite***
officiator minor official-PLR Ø **accept (HUM)-GER**
I declare, saying, 'Bring and present [the items] without leaving

事 不落 捧 持弖 奉 登 宣
KOTO OTI-ZU SASAGEY MOT-Ite TATEMATUR-E to NOR-U
thing drop-NEG/INF present-(INF) hold-GER present (HUM)-COM DV-INF declare-FIN
Any out, and the officials and minor officials will **receive** [the offerings] (14).

I add one example from the edicts:

負　賜布　貴　支高　支広　支厚　支
OPOSE TAMAp-u TAPUTWO-kyi TAKA-kyi PYIRO-kyi ATU-kyi
bear-(INF) HON-ATT noble-ATT high-ATT wide-ATT thick-ATT
I am in awe, and accept this noble, lofty, broad and

大　命　乎　受　賜　利　恐　坐弖
*OPOMYIKOTO wo **UKEYTAMAPAr-i** KASIKWOM-YI MAS-Ite*
great HON-existence ACC **accept (HUM)-INF** be in awe-INF HON-GER
profound great command, and...(edict #1).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ADVERBS

7. Adverbs

Martin (1988:783) divides adverbs into pure adverbs (which are always adverbial), and predicable adverbs, which are followed by a copula. Using this definition, most of the adverbs found in the liturgies are pure adverbs. Shirafuji (1987:116) points out that adverbs that attach to verbs without a copula appear to be primordial. Three examples of these pure adverbs found in the liturgies are: *taka* 'high', and *iya* 'more'.

The adjectival stem *taka* 'high' is used in the sense of 'raise highly (raised high into the air)'. Later the form *taka-ku* (high-INF) will be used in place of this stem added to the verb.

高　天　原　爾 千木　高　知弖
*TAKAMAPARA ni TIGIY **TAKA** SIR-Ite*
high heaven GEN plain LOC roof rafters **high** rule-GER
raise the roof rafters **high** to the high plain of heaven...(2).

如　横　山　　置　高　成弖
*YOKOYAMA [N-O] KOTO-KU OK-YI **TAKA** NAS-Ite*
line of mountains DV-INF be like-INF place-INF **high** become-GEN
[I present tribute] and place it **high** [so it may] become [long-lived] like a range of mountains (5).

Another adverb that occurs in the liturgies is *iya* 'more', but in this example it modifies an adverbial stem with a defective verb.

天皇　我 朝廷　爾 弥　高　爾 弥　広 仁
*SUMYERA ga MYI-KADWO ni **IYA TAKA n-i IYA PIRO n-i***
emperor GEN HON-court LOC **more high DV-INF more broad DV-INF**

May the court of the emperor [flourish] **even** higher, **even** broader...(6).

Interestingly, the same sort of diction appears in edict #5.

彌 高 彌 広 爾 天 日 嗣 止
IYA TAKA IYA PYIRO n-i *AMA [TU] PYITUG-YI to*
more high DV-INF more broad DV-INF heaven LG sun inherit-INF DV-INF
[May the emperor] be in the high throne, and the heavenly

高 御座 爾 坐 而
TAKA MYIKURA ni IMAS-ITE
high HON-throne LOC HON-GER
inheritance of the sun be **even** higher, **even** broader...(edict #5).

与 天 地 共 爾 絶 事 無久
AMEY TUTI TO TOMO n-i TAY-URU KOTO NA-ku
heaven earth CMT together DV-INF cease-ATT thing not-INF
I humbly accept the **continuing succession** [lit. more succession]

彌 継 爾 受 賜 波利 行 牟 物
IYA TUG-YI n-i *UKEY TAMAp-ari YUK-Am-u MONO*
more succeed to-NML DV-INF accept-(INF) (receive) HUM-INF go-TENT-ATT thing
as something that ceases not, as [eternal] as the heavens and the earth...(edict #9).

There are but few typical adverbs in the liturgies. By 'typical' I mean a stative verb plus the defective verbal *n-i*. So far I have only found one adverb, used in two examples below:

山 山 乃 自口 狭久那多利爾
YAMA YAMA no KUTI YWORI ***sakunatari n-i***
mountain mountain GEN mouth ABL **violently DV-INF**
from the mouths of the mountains **violently fell**

下 賜 水 乎
KUDAR-IS-I TAMAP-U MYIDU wo

fall-PROG-INF HON-ATT water ACC
the water...(3).

山　之 末　与理 佐久那太理爾 落
YAMA no SUWE yori ***sakunadari n-i*** *OTI*
mountain GEN tip ABL **violently DV-INF** fall-(INF)
from the tip of the mountains **violently falls** [the rapid river]...
(10).

Lastly, I include an example from the edicts:

我　　子　爾佐太加 爾牟倶佐加　爾
WA [GA] KWO ni ***sadaka n-i mukusaka n-i***
I GEN child DAT **certain DV-INF beneficial (?) DV-INF**
Bestow [the throne] upon my son, and he certainly, and

無　過　事　授　賜
AYAMAT-U KOTO NA-KU SADUKEY TAMAP-YE
Go astray-ATT thing not-INF grant-(INF) HON-COM
beneficially will not go astray (edict #5).

CHAPTER EIGHT

PARTICLES

8. Particles

This section concentrates on particles. Saeki (1950:188) says, "As far as particles are concerned, I will limit my remarks to two or three (particles) that one should be careful with." Having said this, he does not address many of the particles in the language of the liturgies or edicts. Yamada (1954:390-519) and other grammarians have divided particles into various groups: 'case markers' (格助詞), 'adverbial particles' (副助詞), 'conjunctive particles' (接続助詞), 'emotive particles' (係助詞), 'final particles' (終助詞), and 'exclamatory particles' (間投助詞). When a particle does not fit under one of these labels, most grammarians have grouped it under the generic label 'exclamatory particles'.

Perhaps the stumbling block has been the definition of what a particle is. A particle typically belongs to a class of lexical items that are not inflected, and attach directly to a noun, or the attributive form of a verb. Traditionally grammars have created various categories of particles, but a few categories of particles are actually heterogeneous. For example, the class 'conjunctive particles' is actually composed of suffixes, defective verbs, and gerunds. Following Vovin (forthcoming) I group the particles in the liturgies under the following labels: focus particles (*pa, mo, so*), and the negative imperative particle (*na*). There are other classes of particles, but they do not appear in the language of the liturgies, and are not addressed. Case markers are found in section 4.5.4.2.

8.1 Focus Particles

Labeling this group of particles as 'focus particles' follows Martin (1988:52-60), where he states that *wa* (OJ *pa*) subdues the focus, and *mo* highlights it. The three particles in this group thus either

concentrate the focus on a specific part of the sentence, or shift the focus to another part.

8.1.1 Topic Particle *pa*

It seems that there has been little shift in usage of *pa* over time. Iwai (1981:204) states that *pa* originally was an emphatic, postulating that it came from an exclamatory tone of voice. This does not explain, however, how such a vague usage came to be a topicalizer.

Martin notes three usages of modern Japanese *wa* (1988:60-63): 1) The speaker is asking--or answering--a question about some other part of a sentence. 2) The speaker is denying something about some other part of a sentence. 3) The speaker is supplying information about two points of contrast in a sentence (two subjects or two objects). I believe this definition is also valid for OJ. Only two of these three usages appear in the liturgies: number one and three.

Asking/Answering a Question
辞 代 主 登 御名 者 白 而
*KOTOSIRONUSI to MYINA **PA** MAWOS-ITE*
Kotoshironushi DV-INF HON-name **TOP** say-GER
I speak the name of Kotoshironushi...(1).

This answers the question (or supplies information) about which deities out of the great heavenly pantheon are to be addressed, and appeased.

百 能 物 知 人 等 乃 卜事 爾
MWOMWO no MONO SIR-I PYITO-TATI no URAGOTO ni
hundred GEN thing know-INF person PLR GEN divination thing DAT
The ruler commanded that the various geomancers divine

出 牟 神 乃 御 心 者
*IDE-M-U KAMIY no MYI-KOKORO **PA***
appear-TENT-ATT deity GEN HON-mind **TOP**
[and determine] the august will of the deity and

此 神 止 白 止 負 賜 支
KONO KAMIY to MAWOS-E to OPOSE TAMAP-YIkyi
this-ATT deity DV-INF say-COM DV-INF command-(INF) HON-RETR-FIN
and find out who this deity is [lit. say it is this deity] (4).[1]

Here the topic particle *pa* sets off the answer to the question about what the will and name of the mysterious deity is.

Contrast
山 野 物 波 甘 菜 辛 菜
*YAMANWO [NO] MONO **pa** AMA NA KARA NA*
mountain level land GEN thing **TOP** sweet herb bitter herb
As for things from the mountains and valleys, [things] like

青 海 原 物 波 鰭 広 物
*AWOMYI [NO] PARA MONO **pa** PATA [N-O] PYIRO-KYI MONO*
blue ocean GEN field thing **TOP** fin DV-INF wide-ATT thing
sweet and bitter herbs. As for things from the blue sea, [things] like

鰭 狭 物 奥 津 海菜 邊 津
PATA [N-O] SA-KYI MONO OKYI tu MWOPA PYE tu
fin DV-INF narrow-ATT thing offing LG seaweed shore LG
[fish] with wide fins, and narrow fins, and the seaweed of

海菜 爾 至 万弖
MWOPA ni ITAR-U made
seaweed LOC reach-ATT TERM
the offing and of the shore (15).

This is the only example in the liturgies where two objects (or subjects) are contrasted. Here the contrast is between products of the mountains and fields and products from the sea. Another example comes from the edicts.

体 方 灰 止 共 仁 地 仁 埋 利奴 礼止
***MIY pa** PAPI to TOMO n-i TUTI ni UDUMOr-in-uredo*

[1] Literally conduct divination and the will of the deity will appear.

body TOP ash CMT together DV-INF ground LOC bury-PERF-COND
As for my body, though it will be buried in the ground with the ash,

名 波　　烟　　止 共　　仁　天　仁　　昇
*NA **pa** KEYBURI to TOMO n-i AMEY ni NOBOR-U*
name TOP smoke CMT together DV-INF heaven LOC climb-FIN
[but] **as for my name**, it will ascend up to heaven together with the smoke (edict #45).

Here the contrast is between the body that will die and be buried in the ground, and his name and reputation that will live on forever.

8.1.2 Focus Particle *mo*

As noted above, the particle *mo* shifts focus to the word it modifies. As Martin (1988:66) notes, *mo* (modern Japanese *mo*) is used to 'highlight' something. I interpret this to mean that some information has been set aside, and *mo* highlights an addition to this set of information. *Mo* can also function as highlighting a specific member within that set. Thus the particle can be translated as 'also' or 'even'.

汁　　爾母　穎　　爾 母 称　　辞
*SIRU n-i **mo** KAPYI n-i **mo** TATAPEY KOTO*
broth DV-INF **PT** rice DV-INF **PT** praise-(INF) thing
[We] will finish these words of praise [by offering up] **both**

竟　　奉　　牟
WOPEY MATUR-Am-u
finish-(INF) HON-TENT-FIN
broth **and** rice (1).

今　母　去　　前　母　天皇　我　朝廷　　乎
*IMA **mo** YUK-U SAKYI **mo** SUMYERA ga MYIKADWO wo*
now **PT** go before **PT** ruler SUB HON-gate ACC
[We petition] that the ruler's court may be safe and peaceful,

平　　久 安　　久
TAPYIRAKEY-ku YASURAKEY-ku

safe-INF peaceful-INF
both now **and** in the future...(2).

山 口 爾 坐 皇 神 等
YAMA [NO] KUTI ni IMAS-U SUMYE KAMIY-TATI [NO]
mountain GEN mouth LOC be (HON)-ATT imperial deity-PLT GEN
And **even** before the ruling deities who exist in the mouth

前 爾母皇 御 孫 命 能宇
*MAPYE ni **mo** SUMYE MYI-MA [NO] MYI-KOTO no*
front LOC **PT** imperial HON-grandchild GEN HON-deity GEN
[the cave] of the mountain, [present] the noble offerings

宇豆乃 幣 帛 乎
udu no MYI-TEGURA wo
noble GEN HON-offering ACC
for the imperial grandchild...(3).

卜 事 乎 以 弖 卜 止母 出 留 神 乃
URA GOTO wo MOT-Ite URAPEY-DOMO ID-Uru KAMIY no
divination thing ACC use-GER divine-COND appear-ATT deity GEN
And though [the geomancers] used divination to divine [the will of

御 心 母 無
*MYI-KOKORO **mo** NA-SI*
HON-will **PT** not-FIN
the deity, they did] not [find out] **even** which deity's will it was (4).

This last example shows that the speaker is talking about a group of deities, and the geomancers could not, in effect, highlight which deity within the group they wished to question his/her intentions.

8.1.3 Focus Particle *so* (> *zo*)

In manuscripts that have preserved Old Japanese spellings this particle is written with graphs such as 叙序曾衣, which are often interpreted as transcribing *zo*, with a prenasalized initial consonant. Ôno et al.

(194:1498) explain that this particle originally had a voiceless initial. The liturgies only use the one character, 曾. Below in figure 29 I list several reconstructed readings for the initial of this character.

Graph	Pulleyblank 1991	Coblin 1983	Coblin 1994	Starostin 1989
曾	dzəŋ tsəŋ	Sjwän	dzəŋ tsəŋ	cə̄ŋ

Fig. 29. Reconstructions of Chinese 曾

As can be seen from this chart, there appears to have been two different initials for this character, a voiceless and a voiced initial. I have elected to treat this as a voiceless *so* for the following reasons.[2] The character 曾 is never used as a voiced *zo* in other words. Consider the place name, 曾布 *sopu*. This is modern 添上郡 Soekami District, showing the loss of medial -p- (sopu > sowu > sou). This name then appears to have been reanalyzed as the verb *soeru* 添える 'add, affix'.[3] The only time the character 曾 *so* is interpreted as *zo* is when it is used as the focus particle. Rather than assume that 曾 is voiced when used to transcribe the particle, but voiceless when incorporated in other words, it is simpler to say that the character is used to transcribe voiceless *so* regardless.[4]

The focus particle *so* causes emphasis to be placed on the word it modifies. This particle often appears with an interrogative and Ôno et al. (1994:1498) call *so* an interrogative particle. When this particle appears in a sentence, the verb of that sentence is changed from final (or conclusive) to attributive form. There are only a few examples in the database.

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[2] The following explanation has greatly benefited from discussions with Marc Miyake.

[3] This place name is first seen in *Nihon shoki*. In the second month of the first year of Emperor Kimmei (Ienaga et al. 1967.2:64-65), the following appears, 百済人己知部投化。置倭国添上郡山村. "Kotipu, a man from Paekche, emigrated [lit. threw away his past culture, and became cultured]. He settled in Yamamura of the district of Sopunokami in Yamato province." This record is clearly from the early eighth century, because of the character 郡. A wooden document (*mokkan*) from the Fujiwara Palace (late seventh century) contains the words 所布評 *sopu KOPORI* 'district of Sopu'.

[4] Of the 22 examples of this particle in the edicts, twenty are spelled 會, and two are 叙.

持 五 兵 弓 追 走
ITUKUSA [NO] TUPAMONO Ø MOT-Ite OP-YI PASIR-I
five kinds GEN warriors Ø use-GER chase-INF run-INF
Use the five kinds of warriors, run and chase after [that person] and

刑 殺 物 曾登 詔
KOROS-AM-U MONO so to NOR-U
kill-TENT-ATT thing **PT** DV-INF declare-ATT
kill him [lit. so that he **will be a thing** that is killed] (16).

誰 神 曾 天 下 乃 公 民
IDURE [NO] KAMIY so AMEY [NO] SITA no OPO-MYI-TAKARA
which GEN deity **PT** heaven GEN below GEN great-HON-treasures
[The emperor] vowed, "Which deity, exactly, **is it** who destroys

乃 作 作 物 乎
no TUKUR-I TUKUR-U MONO wo
make-INF make-ATT thing ACC
the rice created [harvested] by the people

不 成 傷 神 等 波 我
NAS-I TAMAP-AZU SOKONAPEY-RU KAMIY-TATI pa WA [GA]
make-INF HON-NEG/INF damage-ATT deity-PLR TOP I GEN
[lit. great treasures of the emperor] under heaven, not allowing

御 心 曾止 悟 奉 禮止宇気比 賜 支
MYI-KOKORO so to SATOS-I MATUr-e to ukeyp-yi TAMAP-YIkyi
HON-heart **PT** DV-INF realize-INF HON-COM DV-INF vow-INF HON-RETR-FIN
it to reach fruition? Enlighten me by telling me (4)!

In this last example, there are two examples of *so*, and there is no attributive, because the verb ends with an imperative suffix. Below is one more example, from the edicts, where this focus particle forces the final form of the verb to be in the attributive.

人 乎 伊佐奈比須須牟 己止 莫 己 可 衣之 不 成
PYITO wo isanap-yi susum-u koto NA-KARE ONO ga e-si NAS-AN-U

person invite-INF recommend-ATT thing not-COM self SUB can PT make-NEG-ATT
Do not invite and advocate [this] to people! Because they plotted

事 乎 謀 止曾 先 祖 乃 門 毛 滅
*KOTO wo PAKAR-U to **so** TOPOTU OYA no KADWO mo POROBOS-I*
thing ACC plot-ATT DV-INF **PT** far parent GEN gate PT destroy-INF
to do what they could not make [come true], **even** their ancestral

継 毛 絶
*TUG-YI mo **TAY-URU***
inherit-INF PT **cease-ATT**
gates will be destroyed, and their inheritance will cease (edict #31).

8.2 Negative Imperative Particle *na*

As noted in the section on the verbal circumfix *na...so* (5.7), the negative imperative is used rarely in the liturgies. As Iwai explains (1981:224-25), *na* attaches to the final form of the verb, and expresses a negative imperative. Iwai, however, does not quote any examples from the liturgies, giving the reader the impression that there are none. In my database I found one example.

吾 乎 御 給 布 奈
*WA wo MYI-TAMAp-u **na***
I ACC look-HON-FIN **PT**
Do not look at me (12)!

There is a second potential candidate, but it occurs within the name of a deity. I explore the meaning of this name in the lexicon section (cf. Chapter 10).

久那斗 止 御名 者 申 弖
kunatwo to MYINA PA MAWOS-Ite
Kunato (come-**not**-gate) DV-INF HON-name TOP say-GER
as for [the deity whose] name is Kunato, I say... (13).

I provide one more example below from the edicts.

過　　無　　罪　　無　　有者
AYAMAT-I NA-KU TUMYI NA-KU AR-ABA
mistake-NML not-INF transgression not-INF be-HYP
If there is no mistake, and no transgression,

捨　　麻須 奈　忘　　麻須 奈
SUTE-mas-u na WASURE-mas-u na
discard-(INF)-HON-ATT PT forget-(INF)-HON-ATT PT
then **do not discard him, do not forget him** (edict #7).

CHAPTER NINE

CONJUNCTIONS

9. Conjunctions

What traditional grammarians consider 'connective particles' (接続助詞), I consider to be conjunctions, this defined according to the function of each to connect clauses. Particles that connect a noun to another noun are classified as genitive case markers. Conjunctions, on the other hand, connect complex parts of sentences together, and therefore are not particles. Furthermore, conjunctions in OJ are originally nouns, and again are not particles. In the liturgies I have found only two conjunctions: *yuwe*, and *manima*.

9.1 Conjunction *yuwe*

The use of the conjunction *yuwe* was likely influenced by written Chinese. Martin (1987:579) suggests that this word originates from Chinese 縁 *yuen* 'reason' (*yuan* < EMC *jwian*). The conjunction *yuwe* is almost always written with the Chinese characters 故 or 由, though in *Kojiki* graphs 所以 and 所由 are also used. Only the former graph (故) is used in the liturgies. All examples in the liturgies follow this construction: the attributive form of a verb + *ga* + *yuwe*+ *n-i*.

四方　　國　乎　安　國　登平　　久
YOMO [NO] KUNI wo YASU KUNI t-o TAPYIRA-KEY-ku
Four quarters GEN land ACC peace land DV-INF safe-VBL-INF
[I declare that] **because** the four quarters of the land are ruled as

知　食　須我　故　　皇　　御孫　　命
SIROSIMYEs-u ***ga YUWE [N-I]***, *SUMYE MYI-MA [NO] MYIKOTO*
(rule) HON-ATT GEN **CONJ DV-INF** Imperial HON-grandson GEN HON-deity
a peaceful land, in safety, [I present] the rare offerings of

能 宇豆乃 幣 帛 乎 称 辞 竟
no udu no MYI-TEGURA wo TATAPEY KOTO WOPEY
GEN rare-GEN HON-offering ACC praise-(INF) thing finish-(INF)
the imperial grandson, and finish

奉 久 登 宣
MATUR-Aku to NOR-U
HON-NML DV declar-FIN
my words of praise...(1).

歳 真尼久 傷 故 爾
TOSI maneku YABUR-URU [GA] ***YUWE n-i***
year repeatedly break-ATT GEN **CONJ DV-INF**
Because [crops] **were** damaged for so many years

百 能 物 知 人 等 乃 卜 事
MWOMWO no MONO SIR-I PYITO-TATI no URAKOTO
hundred GEN thing know-people-PLR GEN divination thing
many wise people [used] divination...(4).

9.2 Conjunction *manima*

This conjunction connects two clauses, and the meaning is 'following' or 'in accordance with'. The etymology of this conjunction is not readily clear, but Nakata et al. (1983:1531) wonder if this is related to *mani-* 'imitate', from *mane-* 'imitate'. The second *ma* may be 'space, situation'. The sole example in the liturgies is followed by the infinitive of the defective verb *n-* 'be'.

皇 大 御 神 乃 乞 志 給 乃 麻爾麻爾
SUMYE OPO MYI-KAMIY no KOP-As-i TAMAP-YI no ***manima n-i***
imperial great-HON-deity SUB beg-HON-INF HON-INF GEN
CONJ DV-INF
According to the wishes [lit. begging] of the great imperial deity,

此 所 能 底 津 石根爾
KONO TOKORO no SOKO tu IPANE ni
this-GEN place GEN bottom LG rock root LOC

[the palace pillars are raised] here on the deep-rooted rock bottom...(5).

I add one more example from the edicts:

大 八 嶋 国 将 知 次 止
OPOYASIMAKUNI SIR-AS-AM-U TUG-YITE to
great eight island land rule-CASU-TENT-ATT continue-GER DV-INF
[As the emperors will be born], and even continue even more to rule

天 都 神 乃 御子 随 母 天
AMA tu KAMIY no MYIKWO NAGARA mo AMEY [NI]
heaven LG deity GEN HON-child while PT heaven LOC
the land of the great eight islands, and even as the child of

坐 神 之 依 之 奉 之 随
*IMAS-U KAMIY no YOSAs-i MATUR-Isi **MANIMA [N-I]***
be (HON)-ATT deity SUB entrust-INF HON-RETR **CONJ DV-INF**
the deity of heaven, they were entrusted [with this right] by

此 天 津 日 嗣 高 御 座 之 業 止
KONO AMA tu PYI TUG-YI TAKA MYIKURA no WAZA to
this heaven LG day inherit-INF high HON-throne GEN work DV-INF
the deities residing in heaven, **accordingly**, they were the work

現 御 神 止 大 八 嶋 国
AKYI [TU] MYI-KAMIY to OPOYASIMA KUNI
visible LG HON-deity DV-INF great eight island land
of the high throne of the sun in heaven inheritance, and as a visible

所 知 倭 根子天 皇 命
SIR-AS-IMYES-U YAMATO NEKWO SUMYERA [NO] MYIKOTO
rule-CAUS-HON-ATT Yamato Neko emperor GEN HON-existence SUB bestow-(INF) HON-INF
deity, the Emperor Yamato Neko who ruled the great eight island

授　賜 比 負　賜 布 貴　支
[NO] SADUKEY TAMAp-yi OPOSE TAMAp-u TAPUTWO-kyi
bear-(INF) HON-ATT noble-ATT high-ATT
land bestowed [upon me this right], and I am in awe,

高　支 広　支 厚 支 大　命　乎
TAKA-kyi PYIRO-kyi ATU-kyi OPOMYIKOTO wo
wide-ATT thick-ATT great HON-existence ACC
and accept this noble, lofty, broad, and

受　賜　利 恐　坐 弖
UKEY TAMAPAr-i KASIKWOM-YI MAS-Ite
accept-(INF) HUM-INF be in awe-INF HON-GER
profound great command, and...(edict #1).

CHAPTER TEN

THE LEXICON

10. The Lexicon

The sentences of these liturgies are very formulaic and repetitive, but that does not mean there are no interesting tidbits in the language of *norito*. On the contrary, there are various hapax legomena in these liturgies, as well as poorly understood lexical items. Furthermore, various uses of some of the OJ lexicon in the *norito* lend further proof that these liturgies date from a much earlier period than the Nara era, when most of the extant records originated. This section on the lexicon deals with hapax and other words that have received little attention before in the literature.

One problem scholars face when interpreting many of these words is that some are hapax. It is important to make sure that the word and spelling in our text is correct. Some words are not preserved in phonograms (such as 彌迦 *myika* 'jar'), but are transcribed with a logogram with an interlinear gloss in *katakana* (瓶 ミカ). As the texts of the liturgies were transmitted generation after generation, the interlinear readings themselves were corrupted. Before analyzing specific words, a word should be said (again) about the texts.

The rules of textual analysis make it possible to recover what the original rendering of many interlinear *kana* was (assuming there originally was some interlinear readings on certain words). Below are two examples (figure 30).

(i) スメラ
天皇

(ii) ミワ
a) 御酒

ミキ
b) 御酒

Fig. 30. Examples of Dissimilar Glosses

As can be seen in (i) all manuscripts agree that 天皇 'emperor' was to be read as *sumera* when reciting the liturgy. Other texts have fortunately preserved this same word in phonograms, thus *sumyera*. What the interlinear script does not provide are clues to the OJ vocalism. Now consider the reading for the word 御酒 'august wine', where it is clear there are two textual groups: the word is glossed *miwa* in one manuscript, but *miki* in an other. This is a legitimate problem, because *miwa* is wine presented to a deity (Omodaka et al. 1967:718), but *miki* is an honorific name for wine (Omodaka et al. 1967:699). The second liturgy (Kasuga-sai) details wine sent to the court as tribute, so the proper word here would be *miki*. This is the process used to determine what the gloss is, showing how one can determine the proper word when there are conflicting glosses preserved in the various manuscripts.

I list all such interesting lexical items below, with a small amount of commentary, and where possible, etymologies have also been provided. To make this small lexicon easy to use, the Japanese entries have been alphabetized. The number in parentheses refers to the number of the liturgy where the word appears for the first time.

(1) 甘・辛, read *ama* 'sweet, delicious', and *kara* 'bitter, pungent' (1). *Ama-* has two meanings, 'sweet' and 'delicious'. A possible cognate is MT **amŋa* 'mouth', while MT **amta* 'taste' is cognate with OJ *adi* 'taste' (< **anti*).

Kara- 'pungent' on the other hand does not seem to have an external etymology, but may be cognate with Mongolian *xurca* 'sharp, greasy food'. In passing it should be noted that Mongolian x- comes from *k-.

(2) 阿良可 *araka*, meaning 'palace' (8). This is likely a compound of the stem of the stative verb *ara* 'rustic' + *ka* 'place'. This *ka* is found in other words like *arika* 'a location', *sumyika* 'residence' or *okuka* 'the edge'.

I theorize that before the era of Emperor Temmu (r. 673-686), who scholars believe was the first ruler to tie the imperial line to the mythology of the Sun goddess, and thus deify the king (emperor),[1] the palace was called *araka*. After the move to deify the emperor, the word *myiya*, originally used to designate buildings in Shintô shrines, was applied to the residence of the king. There is only one sure example of *araka* in *Man'yôshû*, 御在香 *MYI-ARAka* (MYS 167). *Kogo shûi*

[1] Cf. Ôwa 1983.

contains the following two interesting interpretations of the word: 瑞殿、古語、美豆能美阿良可 'auspicious palace, in the old language [this is] *myidu no myi-araka*' (Iida 1986:8); 麁香...古語、正殿謂之麁香 '[the village of Araka]....In the old language, the state chamber [of the palace] is called *ARAka*' (1986:22). The first example concerns the construction of an auspicious shrine hall for the deities. The second example shows that anciently the palace was also called *araka.* What likely happened was that with Temmu's shifting of priority of the native religion to the Sun goddess, and thus the imperial family, two different terms became intermingled. In 806 when Imibe Hironari compiled *Kogo shûi*, the terminology was already in confusion, and he felt compelled to give the older [and thus orthodox] readings for certain words. This penchant for proper linguistic rendering of various words in the liturgies is also seen in the two liturgies the Imibe had authority to recite (numbers 8 and 9).

(3) 青, read *awo*, 'the color blue' (1). There are no phonetic examples in the liturgies, but *Shinsen jikyô* records blue as 阿乎 *awo*, and an apparently related word, 阿井 *awi* 'indigo blue'.

I agree with Martin (1987:382) that the proto-form was **zabo*, because of forms like *massao* 'pale blue'. This form is analogous to *harusame* 'spring rain' < *paru + samey (< *zama-Ci) for *amey* 'rain', or *kumasine* 'white rice put on an altar' < *kuma + siney (< *zina-Ci) for *ine* 'rice plant'.

Etymologies for 'blue' have failed so far, because scholars have continued comparing *awo* with other languages. It is possible that **zabo* is cognate with the Manchu-Tungusic languages of Evenki *čulba* 'green', and Even *čūlbāl*. It needs to be noted that in Udehe and Solon, this palatal stop lenites to s-. Thus, it is possible that the palatal lenited to a spirant, *suba*. This form may be cognate with proto-Japanese *zabo, and then underwent vocalic metathesis.

(4) 伊加志夜久波叡 *ikasi-yakupaye* (2). This word only appears this one time in the liturgies, and nowhere else in extant OJ records. Interpretations of this word are somewhat varied. Most scholars explain *ikasi* as an adjective (more accurately, a stative verb) meaning 'thick, full of power, mighty' (Nakata et al. 1983:99). This explanation, however, does not take into account that if the word is an adjective, it is in the conclusive form, attaching to what appears to be a noun, *yakupaye*.[2] For the time being I consider *ikasi* to be an archaic stem,

[2] Martin (1987:806-7) notes that there is evidence in OJ that the predicative and

added directly to another noun of unclear meaning. Nakata et al. (1983:1657) believe *yakupaye* to refer to the efflorescence of a tree with its branches outstretched and full of leaves. Further work needs to be done, because a related form, *yagapaye*, appears in a different liturgy.

(5) 伊須呂許比 *isurokopyi* a word of unclear meaning (8). This word occurs in the following passage:

神　　等 能伊須呂許比阿礼比 坐　乎
KAMIY-TATI no isurokopyi areb-yi MAS-U wo
deity-PLR SUB fight? be violent-INF HON-ATT ACC
[soothe with words] the fighting and violence of the deities...(8).

I tentatively posit that *isurokop-* is a verb related to *iswok-* 'fight'. It should be noted that because -wo- is often a result of monophthongization (of -u- and -a-, our rule #4), this alternation (*isurok* and *iswok-*) is quite natural in Old Japanese phonology. Other than that, I have nothing else to add.

(6) 伊豆都志伎 *itutusi-kyi*, a stative verb of unclear meaning (8). Below is the context for this word:

御　　床　都比 能佐夜伎
MYI-YUKA tu pyi no sayak-yi
HON-floor LG spirit SUB creak-INF
[Bless that] there is no creaking of the spirit in the floor,

夜女　乃伊須須伎 伊豆都志伎事　無久
yamye no isusuk-yi ***itutusi-kyi*** *KOTO NA-ku*
roof-female GEN be restless-INF **dreadful-ATT** thing not-INF
and no restless haunting of the **dreadful** roof female [spirits]...(8).

The interpretation of certain words in this passage has prevented the proper understanding of other words. Takeda (1958:418, fn. 14) believes 夜女 transcribes *ywomey*, 'night eyes'. This is implausible because 女 is *mye*, but 'eye' is *mey*. It is also unlikely that 夜 is *ywo* in this sentence, because a few graphs before this segment the word 佐夜伎 *sayak-yi* 'creaking' appears with 夜 transcribing *ya*. Thus, I interpret this word as *yamye*.

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attributive forms were not always clearly marked.

Philippi (1959:42) interprets this same passage as "[May there be] no panic and fearful appearance during the night." Bock (1972:82) follows the interpretation of 'night ladies,' when she translated this section as "Let not the night attendants make disturbance nor fail in their duty." The main problem with both interpretations is that the parallelism in the original has been lost. The personification of the creaking of the floors is paralleled by another part of the building that is also personified. Notice that the floor undergoes personification: *myi-yuka tu pyi* 'spirit of/in the august floor'. This personification reminds one of the evil spirit mentioned in *Kojiki*: 大禍津日神 *OPOMAGA tu pyi KAMIY* 'the deity, Great evil spirit'. I am compelled to follow Omodaka et al. (1967:774) who believe that the *ya* refers to the roof of the palace (like *myi-ya* HON-roof, viz. palace). *Mye* may be the female suffix, creating the parallel of 'floor'-male, and the 'roof'-female.

From context I interpret *itutusi* to be a stative verb meaning something like dreadful, or uneasy. Perhaps this is related to *itu-* a noun meaning 'divine power'.

(7) 伊恵利 *iweri*, a word of unclear meaning (10). There is even speculation that this is actually a mistake for 伊穂利 *ipori* 'hut' (Takeda 1985:425, fn. 32).[3] The main problem with changing the spelling of this word is that there is not a single manuscript that preserves 穂 for 恵. It is unsettling that while Aoki lists the variants (1978:43), Torao's collated text (1991:265) writes 伊穂利 as if all the manuscripts agreed that the archetype was 穂. There is no note indicating that the older handwritten manuscripts all have 恵. The passage in question is:

高　　山 之伊恵利 短　　山　之伊恵利乎
TAKA YAMA no ***iweri*** *MYIZIKA YAMA no* ***iweri*** *wo*
high mountain GEN **iweri** short mountain GEN **iweri** ACC
[disperse and divide] **the iweri** on the high and low
mountains...(10).

Both Philippi (1959:47) and Bock (1972.2:86) interpret *iweri* as mists, without giving a footnote as to the reason. Takeda (1958:425, fn. 32)

[3] While this discussion deals with a scribal error (穂 misunderstood, and written as 恵), it should also be noted that a change from *ipori* > *iweri* is an impossible sound change at this stage, because OJ -p- did not lenite to -w- until the Heian era.

says, "[Iweri] is a word of unclear meaning. Various theories claim this actually is 伊穂利, read *ipori*, meaning 'mists'." Context suggests that something is being dispersed and divided (撥別), so it could be 'mist', 'high clouds', 'fog' or a number of other natural phenomena.

(8) 可可呑弖牟 *kakaNOM-YIte-m-u* (10). This word only occurs in the liturgies. The traditional interpretation is 'drink in great gulps,' or 'drink with loud swallows'. Philippi (1959:48) translates this as "swallowed with a gulp". Bock (1972.2:87) does the same, translating this word as "swallow them up." I have interpreted it as "swallow in gulps." It is unclear what the *kaka* is, but the whole word appears to be a verb. Notice that in one instance this verb appears with the preverb, *moti-*, 持可可呑弖牟, *MOT-I kakaNOM-YIte-m-u* (10).

(9) 隠布留 *KAKUR-Apuru*, a rare form of the verb 'hide' (16). In the same liturgy, the form 加久良波 *kakuraba* also appears. The form *kakurapur-* is likely the verb *kakur-* 'hide' and the iterative suffix *-ap-*, meaning 'to continue hiding'.

(10) 堅磐, read *kakipa* (1). This word is only found in the liturgies. Martin (1987:434) believes the word derives from *katakyi* 'hard' and *ipa* 'rock'. I know of no other examples where medial -ta- lenites to zero. My own theory derives the word from *kakyi* 'rock fence' and *ipa* 'boulder'.[4]

(11) 神/加牟 *kami* or *kamu* (1). This is the word for deity in Old Japanese. The bound form is *kamu*, while the free form is *kamiy*, as attested in *Kojiki* 加微 *kamiy*, *Nihon shoki* 柯微 *kamiy*, and *Man'yôshû* 可未 *kamiy*. Obviously, this cannot be equated with the word for 'above', *kami*, because it is spelled 加美 *kamyi* in *Kojiki*, and 伽瀰 *kamyi* in *Nihon shoki*. The final vowels do not match. Martin (1987:435) reconstructs 'above' as *kami, but 'deity' as *kamu-Ci.

Japan's greatest philologist, Motoori Norinaga (MNZ 1976.9:125), once wrote the following about the word *kami*, "I do not know the heart (of the etymology) of the word *kamiy*, but all former explanations about this word miss the point."

As Murayama (1981:277) points out, evidence from poetry suggests that *kamu* has an m~b alternation like 'smoke' (keymuri~keyburi), 'snake' (peymyi~peybi[5]), or 'bathe' (amu~abu). The alternation that

[4] There is another word, *katasipa*, where the etymology is believed to be *kata-si* hard-ATT + *ipa* 'boulder'. There is only one example of this word, in *Nihon shoki*, and for the time being I view these as two different, unrelated words.

[5] There are no OJ phonetic attestations of *pebi*, but it likely was **peybyi*.

concerns us here is *kamurokyi* and *kaburokyi* (加夫呂岐). On this evidence, Murayama reconstructs *kambu-. The problem is that we analyze OJ -b- as being prenasalized, mp or np. Because of this, we reconstruct the proto-form for 'deity' as *kampu-. The development of this word thus splits as shown below (figure 31):

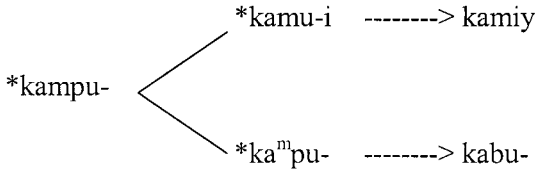

Fig. 31. Development of *kamiy*

Murayama (1981:278-82) then tries to relate this word to a reed sending forth a tender shoot. This usage is then extended to include a supposed cognate from Proto-Tsouic, *bu'ah 'fruit'. I find this etymology to be too tenuous to seriously consider, and will ignore it.

I propose the following etymology, stressing that it is only tentative. A remnant of *Karak kwukki* (駕洛国記, The National Record of Karak) quoted in *Samkwuk yusa* records a supernatural experience related to the legendary founding of the nation-state of Karak. The story revolves around a tortoise. Thus, the tortoise symbolizes a supernatural power in this myth, and in the founding of the state.

'Tortoise' in MK is kepwup (LR), and the register for OJ *kamiy* is LL. I submit that proto-Japanese *kampu maybe cognate with kepwup 'tortoise'. There are still several problems with this etymology that require explaining, but I leave that for further research.

(12) 加牟加比 *kamukapyi* (1). Omodaka et al. (1967:222) say that this word is composed of *kamu* 'deity' plus *kapyi* 'rice still on the stalk'. It thus means rice to be presented to the deities. If *kapyi* does refer to unhusked rice, then this is the only phonetic example of that word. This is important, because Martin (1987:431) notes that this noun is not attested in the Old Japanese corpus, aside from an interlinear gloss in *Nihon shoki* that is actually a Heian era contamination with *kami*.

(13) 御巫, read *kamunagi*. This word refers to female attendants at native religious ceremonies (1). *Shinsen jikyô* confirms this interlinear reading: 巫、加无奈支, "Shaman, [read] *kamunaki*". *Wamyôshô*

provides the following definition (1930.2:11b): 巫和名加牟奈岐、祝女也....覡乎乃古加牟奈岐男祝也, "Shaman. The native name [reading] is *kamunaki*, [which] is 'prayer girl'....Male shaman. [This] is *wonoko kamunaki*, 'prayer boy'."

This leads one to believe that *kamunaki* originally denoted a female, and if a male attendant participated, the word *wonoko* 'male' was attached. The etymology of *kamunaki* is *kamu* 'deity' and *nak-*. Ôno et al. (1994:340) say the final two syllables are *nagï* (our *nagiy*), which means 'to soothe'. Thus the word means 'soothe the heart of the deity'.[6]

(14) 木, read *kiy* 'tree' (1). This word is well-known because it has so far defied the attempts of many scholars to find a good etymology. We know from internal reconstruction that OJ *kiy* derives from *ko-Ci (Martin 1987:449), though there may be no need to posit a medial consonant. Murayama (1975:247-48) reconstructs *köi, and then offers a complicated etymology for this word, relating it to Austronesian *kahui / *kahiu. Vovin (1997b) compares the OJ form with a Koguryo fragment, 斤乙 which he reconstructs as *kənət or *kənər. Bentley (2000:430) provides the following data from the dead language of Paekche: 其 *kə, used for the Paekche word 'grove'. Because Paekche did not have initial voiced obstruents, I have reconstructed *kə (其 LOC *gə > *kə). Vovin has posited a rather complicated phonological reduction from Koguryo to OJ, but it is just as possible that the simple form in Paekche is also cognate with that in OJ, and an *-i was later suffixed, resulting in monophthongization: *kə+i > kiy. Either way, it seems clear that this OJ word is related to a language on the Korean peninsula.

(15) 許許太久 *kokodaku*. It means 'many times' (10). This derives from **kokonota-*. This word is related to *kokiyda* 'many, much' (as in KJK #9 許紀陀 *kokiyda*). It should be noted that the diphthong -iy- derives either from -ui > iy or oi > iy. This second derivation fits nicely with the form *kokiyd-* (*kokoinota* > *kokiynta* > *kokiy^{n}ta* > *koiyda*). Thus, we should posit an original form of **koko* and to this was attached *-nota-* and *-inota-*. It is tempting to relate this to the number nine *kokono-tu*. If these two are actually related, then it stands to reason that

[6] It should be noted that Ôno et al.'s form *kamunagï* is a reconstructed form (with an asterisk). This is based on the paradigm of *nagiy-* 'soothe'. Unfortunately, there are no phonetic readings of *kamunaki* from the Nara era. I leave the final syllable unmarked.

the original meaning was 'nine', and the meaning of 'many' is a later development. I leave this word for further research.

(16) 許止保企 *kotopokyi*, 'prayer words' (8). This word has the following annotative note attached: 古語云許止保企言壽詞如今壽觴之詞. "An old word, called (in the vernacular) *kotopokyi*. What are called 'words of praise' are like salutations when lifting the cup." This shows that prayers and words of salutation were both considered auspicious.

Pok- is found in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* spelled as *pwok-* (cf. Bentley 1997). Kim (1981:476) proposes that *pok-* is related to MK phul (his p^{h}ïl) 'beg, pray'. Martin (1996:76) proposes (rather tentatively) that MK phul < *pil$^{u}/_{o}$- (accented LH) is related to Manchu *firu* 'curse'. The MT reflexes are: Evenki *hiru-ɤe-*, Solon *ipugɞ-*, Even *hipge-*, Neghidal *xīɤɞ-*, and Manchu *firu-* (cf. Tsintsius 1977:327-28). This suggests that the proto-MT form was **firu-ge* < **piru-ge*. If this word underwent vowel backing and shifting, it would be a candidate for *pwok-* < **purak-* <**piru-k-*.

(17) 久度 *kudwo*, which means a chimney hole in the back of a large hearth (6). *Shinsen jikyô* (1991:770) records: 竈埃竈尾也久止, 'Chimney hole of a hearth. The back of the hearth, *kudo*.' It is not clear why one of the shrines was known as Kudo Shrine, unless as Takeda (1958:407) theorizes, this shrine worshipped the deity of the hearth.

The etymology of this word is not clear, but what can be said is the *-dwo* of *kudwo* is the same as *kamadwo* 'hearth'. As Martin shows (1987:462), this word derives from *kunto (*kunəto > *kunto > kudo).

(18) 陸, read *kuga* (1). It means 'dry land', as opposed to the sea, and marshes. Ôno et al. (1994:401, 421) believe this word to be derived from two different but related words (figure 32):

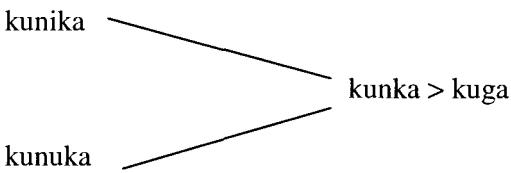

Fig. 32. Evolution of *Kuga*

It is unfortunate that no phonetic examples survive in the ancient corpus. There is the possibility that the vowel of the second syllable devoiced, and when written, it was variously written *kunu* and *kuni*. Is

it possible that the actual evolution was *kunika* > *kunuka* > *kunka* > *kuga*?

(19) 久那斗 *kunatwo*, the name of a deity (13). Scholars (cf. Nakada 1983:511) have interpreted this name to mean 'place where you come not' (*ku-na-two* come-FIN-PT-place). One problem with this interpretation is ascribing the meaning of 'place' to *kô-rui* /two/. Ôno et al. (1994:923) list *to* 'place' as both *two* and *to̲* (my romanization; *to* and *tö* in theirs). Bentley (1999) demonstrates that there is a better explanation than appealing to spelling confusion with -to-. There were different words, with different meanings, and thus, different spellings.

Consider that *Nihon shoki* spells the name of this deity as 来名戸 (Ienaga et al. [1967.1:99]), which appears in this important context:

自此以還雷不敢来是謂岐神此本号曰来名戸之祖神焉 "[Izanagi threw down his staff and declared] '[You deities of] thunder dare not come beyond this [point].' This [staff] is known as the deity Funato. This [deity] originally was called the ancestor deity Kunatwo."

It does not seem plausible that the name originally meant 'do not come', but perhaps later generations interpreted the name as such. What I take issue with here is the final syllable, *two*. Perhaps the *Nihon shoki* rebus spelling is closer to the truth, with *two* meaning 'gate, door, entrance'.

A better etymology for this name may come from a name used as a form of punishment preserved in the edicts.

悪　　逆　　在　　奴　久奈多夫礼 麻度比
ASI-KU SAKASIMA [N-I] AR-U YATUKWO ***kunatabur-e*** *madwop-yi*
evil-INF rebellion DV-INF exist-ATT servant **Kuna crazy-INF** Madopi
The evil, rebellious servants, [named] **Crazy Kuna**, Madopi,

奈良麻呂 古麻呂　等　伊
naramaro̲ kwomaro̲ TATI i
Naramaro Komaro PLR SUB
Naramaro and Komaro and others...(edict #19).

Here the court has changed the names of two princes as punishment. The court changed the name of rebellious Prince Kifumi (黄文) to

Kuna Tabure, which means Crazy Kuna. But as we can see from the name change of Prince Funato to Madopi--which means confusion--the court selected names that would make people remember the revolt against the government. I doubt that *kuna* is a name, so it must be a word with a bad connotation.

(20) 胡久美 *kwokumyi*, a boil or some kind of eruption of the skin (10). *Wamyôshô* defines this word thus (1930.3:26a): 瘜肉和名阿万之之一云古久美寄肉也, "Extra flesh. The native name [reading] is *amasisi*. Another name is *kokumi*. [This] is an eruption." This word likely is a nominalized form of a stative verb: *kwoku-myi* 'swelling up (of flesh)'. If this assumptions is true, then it may be cognate with MK *hwok* (accent R) 'lump, swelling, tumor' (*hwok* < Old Korean **kwokV*).

(21) 伎加比 *kyikapyi*, which glosses the character 錯, and means 'the joints where objects mesh' (8). Ôno et al. (1994:361) interpret this hapax to be *kyikap-*, the infinitive, meaning 'not aligned, not mesh well'. I interpret it the other way around, meaning the joint where two or more objects come together. Context makes more sense when this word is used as a noun, because it is followed by the compound verb *ugo̲k-yinar-u* (move-INF make noise-ATT)[7] *ko̲to̲ na-ku* 'may there be no moving and making of noise [from the joints].' This word appears in a line where the creaking of pillars, beams, crossbeams, doors, and windows is subdued.

Below is the passage from liturgy eight, Ôtonosai, "The festival of the great palace".

堀　堅　多留柱　桁　梁　戸　窓　乃
POR-I KATAMEY-tar-u PASIRA KETA UTUBARI two MADWO no̲
dig-INF **harden-PERF-PROG-ATT** pillar crossbeam girder door window GEN
[May there] not be moving and making noise at the joints of

錯比(伎加比)動　鳴　事　無久
kyikapyi UGO̲K-YI NAR-U KO̲TO̲ NA-ku
joint move-INF make noise-ATT thing not-INF

[7] It is generally accepted by scholars that we do not know if the vowel of the first syllable of *ugok-* was a type A (-wo-) or type B (-o̲-). Arisaka (1957:131-44) has shown that the distinction between *kô̲-otsu* /ko/ survives in *Shinsen jikyô*, so for the time being I write this verb as *ugo̲k-*.

the **firmly planted** [lit. dug and hardened] pillars, crossbeams, girders, doors, and windows...(8).

(22) 麻我許登 *magakoto*, 'evil thing' (9). The reading 麻我許登 glosses the Chinese characters 悪事 'evil doings'. Motoori Norinaga (MNZ 1976.9:276) believed this word to be related to the verb *magar-* 'to twist', and thus interpreted *magagoto* to mean something bad, because of perversion, twisting precepts, or broken rules. Both words have high pitch accent (*maga* HH, and *magar-* HHH), strengthening Norinaga's theory. This word derives from **manka*, and a likely cognate is MK *mech* (accent LR) 'disaster, evil'.

(23) 甕, read *mika*. This is a large jug used to brew wine (1). Martin (1987:477) records this word as Old Japanese *myika*, but unless recent excavations of *mokkan* confirm the vowel of the first syllable, it is only fair to say that we do not know what the vowel of the first syllable was. Perhaps Martin was swayed by Japanese scholars who either believe the first syllable to be an honorific prefix (like 御 *myi*), or others who believe the *mi* to be *myi* 'water' (cf. Nakata 1983:1551).

The *-ka* likely means some kind of container. There are other names of containers written with *key*. These are related to *-ka*. As explained in morphonological rule three, *key* is derived from *kaCi*, where C represents some as yet unknown consonant, though it could just as easily have been *ai* without a consonant. Consider the following words:

kamey 'jar' (*ka-n-pa-Ci)
pyiraka 'flat plate' (*pira-ka)
sarake 'shallow jar' (*sara-ka-Ci)[8]
wokey 'bucket' (*bo-ka-Ci)

(24) 水分, read *mikumari* (1). This refers to forks in rivers and streams issuing from the mountains. Philippi (1959:94-5) writes, "Believed to refer to the water-shed, the peak where the waters divide. The deities of these peaks were worshipped as the tutelary deities of irrigation." Thus, *mi* is actually *myi* 'water', providing evidence that the word for water was originally *myi*, and the word *myidu* is a compound. *Kumari* means 'to divide'. *Kojiki* contains this note: 訓分

[8] This word is first attested in *Wamyôshô*, so it is not clear if *-ke* is *kye* or *key*, but from the semantics (the Chinese character is 瓮, a shallow jar), I believe it is *key.

云久麻理 'The character 分 is read *kumari*' (Onoda 1977:63). Ôno et al. (1994:426) say that this is a variant of *kubari* 'divide, distribute'.

(25) 孫, read *mima*. This is the word for grandchild (1). This word appears to be a compound of the honorific prefix *myi* and *ma* 'grandchild'. A related word for grandchild is *umagwo*, preserved in *Ryô no shûge* as 嫡孫・衆孫...俗云宇麻古也, "'Grandchild heir' 'other grandchildren'...in the vernacular these are called *umagwo*".

Perhaps this is actually *myi* + *uma* > *myima* with loss of the first vowel of the second element, but it is not clear what the *uma* would mean. I explain this as the stem of a stative verb being attached to the noun: *uma-* 'beautiful, delicious' + *kwo* 'child' (hence a grandchild). Thus, if *umagwo* (the modern word being *mago*) was the original word and *myi* was simply added without knowing the original etymology that would result in *myima*. I do not know of any external etymologies.

(26) 御服, read *miso* (1). This is another rare word found primarily in the liturgies. Omodaka et al. (1967:703) believe there is enough textual evidence to posit the Old Japanese spelling as *myiso*. This word may derive from an honorific prefix 御 *myi*, and the *so* would necessarily mean 'clothing', 'robe' or 'fabric'. I believe that since the spelling of this word is uncertain (Martin 1987:481 hints at this), perhaps it is better to derive this word from 御麻 *myiswo* 'honorific hemp.' This *swo* is presumably related to *swode* 'sleeve' (hemp-hand).

(27) 幣帛, read *mitegura* (1). The etymology for this word is unknown. The word refers to paper offerings presented to various deities at shrines. Martin (1987:481) follows one group of Japanese scholars who believe the word to be *myi* 'honorific' *te* 'hand' and *kura* 'throne' (cf. Omodaka et al. (1967:710)). Needless to say, this etymology has little to do with paper offerings. I have nothing further to add, but agree that the *mi* is likely the honorific prefix *myi-*.

(28) 睦, read *mutu* (1). This word appears in the liturgies, and the edicts. The passage from the imperial edicts preserves a phonetic example of this word, and I give it below for reference.

御 事 法 者 常 事 爾波
MYIKOTONORI PA TUNE [N-O] KOTO nipa
HON-edict TOP common DV-ATT thing DAT-TOP
The edict [promulgated previously] is not a common edict.

不有 武都 事 止 思 坐
AR-AZ-U ***mutu****GOTO to OMOPOS-I MAS-U*

exist-NEG-FIN **intimate** thing DV-INF think-HON-ATT
[Because] we intend to be **intimate** [with our servants]...(edict #8).

The example from the liturgies is 睦神, which I translate as 'kindred deity'. Perhaps this word, *mutu*, is the bound stem *mu* 'fruit, body' and the locative-genitive *tu*. It may have been used much as archaic English uses 'seed' to refer to one's posterity.

(29) 毛波 *mwopa*, meaning seaweed (5). There appears to have been little difference between *mwo* and *mwopa*. The dictionary *Wamyôshô* (1930.17:17a) contains this entry: 藻、和名毛、一云毛波 'Seaweed, the native [Wa, Japanese] name is *mo*, [but] another source has *mopa*'. The *pa* may be 'leaf', perhaps a type of counter, like English *blade* of grass. The above example shows that the vowel was *kô-rui*, *mwopa*, which was the value of the vowel posited in Bentley (1997:39), using evidence from sources other than the liturgies.

(30) 見阿波多志 *myiapatasi*, a word of unclear meaning that occurs only in the Hoshizume liturgy (12). This word is composed of 'see' *myi* plus a word that means something like 'displease' *apatas-*. This second word likely is related to another word in the mythology regarding Awaji Island in the creation story of Izanagi and Izanami. *Nihon shoki* records (Ienaga et al. 1967.1:81), "The time to give birth came, and [Izanami] first gave birth to Apadi, and this was the first child. [Izanagi and Izanami] were not pleased with it, thus they named it such [apadi]." This is a folk-etymology, but scholars have interpreted it to be *a-padi* 吾恥 'my-shame'. I propose that the word found in the liturgies is really the same as the island name, except that the above is the verb in the imperfect with a suffix denoting familiarity (*apat-as-i* shame-HON-INF). The word thus does not mean 'shame,' but rather 'displease'.

(31) 美保止 *myipoto* 'vulva' (12). This word only appears in the Old Japanese corpus in the context of Izanami giving birth to the fire deity, and passing away because her genitals were burned. Glosses in the manuscripts of *Nihon shoki* preserve the form *poto*. Thus, this word is composed of the honorific prefix *myi* and *poto* 'vulva'. Ôno et al. (1994:1198) wonder if this is not cognate with Middle Korean pöʃti (poti, cf. Kim 1981:453). This OJ word may be cognate with Nanay putē 'hole' (Starostin, Starling electronic database, 2000).

(32) 和支, read *nikokyi* (3). This is the only example of this word in the Old Japanese corpus. Perhaps this is the stative verb 'soft' with the attributive suffix *-kyi* attached. A related word is *nikyi* 'soft'. One

would then be tempted to see 和支 as spelling *nikyi* and not *nikokyi*. All manuscripts have the same interlinear *kana*, so to amend the word to *nikyi* would break textual rules. For the time being I leave the question unanswered. The value of the second vowel is unclear.

(33) 荷前, read *no̲saki*, and means grains of rice of the first harvest (1). This word does not appear in phonetic script in any known text, but *Nihon shoki* preserves the reading for a place name, 荷持, glossed as 能登利, *no̲to̲ri*. Thus we can say that the first syllable of this word is *no̲*, which is related to *ni* 'load, luggage', referring to rice being loaded and transported to the capital, or burial tumuli of emperors. Because of this usage, we now know that *ni* < *niy* (cf. Whitman 1985:36). It is unclear what the *saki* is, but the character 前 implies the meaning *sakyi* 'ahead, destination'. This *no̲-* may be a relic from the dead language of Paekche, since *Nihon shoki* (and *Shiki*) preserves the Paekche place name 荷山 as ノムレ *nomure* 'burden-mountain'.

(34) 大嘗, read *oponipey*, 'great feast (of the first fruits)' (14). I follow Martin (1987:496) who theorizes that this word *nipey* is a shortened form of *nipyi* 'new' + *apey* 'harvest' (*nipyiapey* > *nipey*). *Apey* is usually translated as 'entertain, give a banquet'. Starostin (electronic database 2000) believes *nipyi* is cognate with Even *nēyi* 'new'. This etymology may work if it can be shown that medial –y- < *p/b.

(35) 祝部, read *papuri* (1). This was an office in the native religion. Low ranking officiators in festivals and ceremonies were called *papuri*. These people invoked the deities with prayer, and that explains why the character *zhù* 祝 was used for this group. The problem is the etymology. Ôno et al. (1994:1084) posit that the title of this post originated from the verb *papur-* 'discard, avoid', because on a primitive level, the native religion was chiefly concerned with defilement, how to get rid of it, and appease the deities who the ancients believed were angered by the violation of purity.

The greatest impediment to this theory is the problem with the pitch accent. The verb *papur-* has a B-type register (low pitch), while the title *papuri* is high (HHH). Kim (1981:480) suggests that this verb is related to MK phul (accent R) 'dispel, dismiss'. This MK word is clearly of trisyllabic origin: phul < *phu-lu < *pu-hu-lu.[9] If this Korean word and the Japanese title are cognate, then perhaps the original meaning was 'dispel evil'.

[9] The proto-form is from Martin (1996:41-2)

(36) 泥, read *pidiriko*. This word means 'mud' (3). According to the spellings in other old texts, this word is likely *pyidi-kwo*, but the only known word is either *pyidi* or *pyidinokwo*. The word *pidiriko* only appears in the liturgies. I am not sure what the medial *-ri-* is, but it is possible that the word *pidiriko* is the older form, and medial -r- loss resulted in a later form that was reanalyzed as needing the genitive *no*.

(37) 短山, read *piki yama* 'low mountain' (10). This word does not appear in phonograms in OJ records, so it is unclear what the OJ vowels were. The word is preserved in various dialects in Japan. The dialect of Southern Ôita still uses *pikiyama* 'low mountain'. The word for 'low' is also preserved in the Hatoma dialect of Miyako in Okinawa, *pikooru-aru*. On this Ryûkyûan evidence, we can posit the following vowels: *pikooru* < **pikə*.[10] This is important evidence, because in Hatoma (as well as much of Sakishima) *ku lenites to hu, but *ko simply undergoes vowel raising, ko > ku. On this evidence, I posit OJ *pyikiy* < **pyiko-i*.

Starostin (1991:292) notes that there is a MT word, **poko(-l-)* 'short' that is cognate with Mongolian *fokor- 'short', but he does not relate these two etyma to OJ *pyikiy*. This etymology is quite promising.

(38) 百, read *po* 'hundred' (1). This word appears in numbers like 五百 *ipo* 'five hundred' and 八百 *yapo* 'eight hundred'. This was a bound morpheme, and only was used with numbers greater than two hundred. 'One hundred' was *mwomwo*. A promising etymology relates this word to the Tungusic language Orok, pōwo 'ten' (Cf. Tsintsius 1977:40).

(39) 祭, read *pokapi* (8). There is no internal evidence from the liturgies for this reading, other than the interlinear reading attached to the titles of the liturgies eight and nine. Regardless, there is internal evidence from another book in *Engi shiki*, where this gloss is found in the section on the Imperial Household Agency (宮内省): 大殿祭 此云於保登能保加比 'the festival of the great palace: this is called *opo tono pokapyi*' (Kuroita 1985.3:750).

This verb incorporates the iterative *-ap-* (cf. 6.4.13) to another verb found in the Imibe liturgies, *pok-*: 言寿古語云許止保企 'pronounce words of blessing, in the old language this is called *kotopokyi*'. Ôno et al. (1994:1191) say *pokapi* is the verb *poki* with a continuative (or

[10] The postulation of these vowels is based on my reconstruction of Proto-Sakishima (Bentley 1998). I have then checked those results against Serafim's vocalic reconstructions (Serafim 1999).

repetitive) suffix *-pi* attached. The verb thus means 'pronounce blessings repeatedly.'

(40) 比古・比賣 *pyikwo* and *pyimye*, usually interpreted as prince and princess (4). In this liturgy 神 'deity' follows these words (比古神、比賣神), suggesting that these two words are actually used to mark gender more than anything else.

On this evidence, I suggest that the idea of male and female is the original meaning, and this fact helps explain the supposed titles of a few people mentioned in the *Wei zhi* chapter concerning the barbarians, especially in a place called Wa (ancient Japan). The queen of Wa is called 卑彌呼 (ONWC pie-mie-ho, LOC *pje-m(h)je-xo, EH pje-mje-xwa).[11] One of the administrators to the king of Kuna (狗奴国) is called 狗古智卑狗 (ONWC kou-ko-pie-kou, LOC *kôw-kô-pje-kow, EH kwa-ko-pje-kwa). The last two graphs of this title/name are what interest me, 卑狗 (ONWC pie-kou, LOC pje-kow, EH pje-kwa). Thus, I posit that these two titles/names represent pre-OJ **pimi* [*pimi] and **piko* [*pikɔ]. The vowel of the second syllable of the female title may have been an older form, also attested in the genealogy of Prince Shôtoku recorded in the fragment of *Jôgûki* (上宮記, Onoda 1986:311-12), where several female names have *pyimyi* attached to their names: 践坂大中比彌 PUMYISAKA OPO NAKATU Pyimyi, 弟田宮中比彌 OTO TAMYIYA NAKATU Pyimyi, 阿那爾比彌 Anani Pyimyi, 布利比彌 Puri Pyimyi. From this evidence, I believe the original meaning of **piko* and **pimi* (> *pyimye*) was simply 'male' and 'female'.[12]

(41) 漏伎・漏彌 *rwokyi* and *rwomyi* (1). These two suffixes are always appended to names of deities, and are often believed to refer indirectly to the famous brother-sister duo of Izanagi and Izanami. This is not completely unfounded, but for the purposes of this discussion, I will treat the names separately. Both names (Kamurwokyi and Izanagi, as well as Kamurwomyi and Izanami) have a common final syllable. It appears that *kyi* refers to the male, and *myi* refers to the female (cf. Ôno et al. 1994:340). I believe that these two words parallel the words *pyikwo* and *pyimye* (< *pyimyi*, cf. #25 below). I do not know what the

[11] ONWC is from Coblin (1994). LOC and EH are from Starostin (1989).

[12] These two words may mean 'son of the sun', and 'daughter of the sun'. By saying male and female, it is possible that the difference between these words, and other words like *wo* 'male' and *mye* 'female' is that *pyikwo* and *pyimyi* were for people of status. The word *pyimyi* may have changed to *pyimye* by analogy with *mye* 'female'.

rwo is. I have tentatively translated these two suffixes as 'male progenitor' and 'female progenitor'.

(42) 佐加叡志米 *sakayesimey*. This verb and its suffix appears a few words after *ikasi-yakupaye*, and means 'cause to flourish' (2). That both words are written phonetically means that the orator (and writer) wished to stress the meaning of prospering, and this could only be accomplished if the precise word was used. It has been pointed out that the phonetic spelling could mean that there was no precise Chinese equivalent (Vovin, p.c.), but there are other examples of *sakayu* 'prosper' written with the character 栄.

(43) 狭久那多利爾 *sakunatari n-i*. This is a puzzling word found only in the liturgies (3). It is of unclear meaning, but from context it appears to mean water gushing forth from the mountains and rushing downward. I interpret this to be *saku-nadari* (with the verb *nadar-* 'break down', 'flow downward'). I am not sure what *saku* would be, however.

(44) 佐須良比 *sasurapyi*, meaning to wander or roam about (10). This verb is not seen in any other OJ texts. I wonder if this may be **sasur-* plus the iterative *-ap-*, meaning 'go hither and thither (repeatedly)'.

(45) 某, read *sore* (2). From this and other examples in the liturgies, we can interpret this word to mean something like 'so-and-so', according to the Chinese character. What is interesting is that the liturgies are the only text to preserve such a usage in Old Japanese. This word is very likely *sore* 'that' and this pronoun was used as an indefinite pronoun, pointing to someone who is yet to be identified. This word later becomes classical Japanese *soregasi* 'such-and-such'.

(46) 皇, read *sumye*, 'emperor' (1). This is the bound form, the free form being *sumyera*. Both forms appear in the liturgies. The bound form is 皇神 *sumye gamiy* 'imperial deity'. The accent of 'emperor' *sumyera* (HHH) appears to match the accent of the verb *sumyer-* (high pitch) 'rule, unite'. Ôno et al. (1994:725) relate this to Mongolian *sumel*, 'the highest mountain'. Semantically, this etymology seems somewhat farfetched to me. Starostin (electronic database, 2000) relates this to Manchu-Tungusic *sama-n 'shaman', but this looks like a loan from a neighboring language, maybe Persian. A better choice, at least semantically, would be Mongolian *sume* 'shrine, ancestral temple.'

(47) 蘇蘇岐 *swoswok-yi*, a nominalized form of the verb *swoswok-*, meaning 'rustle, become tangled' (8). *Shinsen jikyô* (1991:200)

preserves this definition: 髣加美曾曾介彌爾久志, *kami sosoke minikusi* 'ugliness, with hair tangled up (like the mane of a horse).' This word is used in the liturgies in the following sentence:

取　　葺 計留　草　乃 噪岐(蘇蘇岐) 無久
TOR-I PUk-yer-u KUSA no ***swoswok-yi*** *NA-ku*
take-INF thatch-PROG-ATT grass GEN **rustle-NML** not-INF
[Bless that] there is no **rustling** of the grass that is thatched [on the roof]...(8).

(48) 穀物, read *tanatumono*, meaning 'seeds' (4). This word is a combination of *tana* 'seed' *tu* locative-genitive case marker and *mono* 'thing'. *Wamyôshô* contains this entry: 水田種子, 和名太奈都毛乃 "Seeds in paddies, the native word is *tanatumono*" (accented HHHHL), but *tane* is also included in *Wamyôshô* as 太禰, with register LH.

I follow Martin (1987:541) who reconstructed *tane* 'seed' as an earlier **tana-i*. Kim (1981:428) attempts to derive *tane* from MK pus-k, positing a sound change of t-p and n-k, but *how such changes came about* in the history of Japanese and Korean is never sufficiently dealt with in his book.

Any explanation of this word must take into account the related form, *sane* 'seed', preserved in many dialects of Okinawa and Kyûshû. Many places in Japan try to keep the two semantically distinct, with *tane* referring to seeds from grain, and *sane* referring to pits in fruit. It is plausible that *tane* comes from *ta* 'field' and *na-i* 'root'. It would thus be interesting to know what *sa* of *sane* means. Martin (1987:518) opts for 'true', but the reasoning for this is unclear to me.

Possible etymologies for *tane* are Evenki *tala* (alternating with *tāle*) 'black, fertilized soil', and Neghidal *talan* 'spring water'. If *tala* is the original form, then Whitman's law would give us OJ *ta* with a long vowel (*tala > taa).

The word *ne* 'root' must come from *na-i or *na-Ci (cf. Martin 1987:495). It is thus tempting to relate this to Manchu *na* 'earth, land', and Jurchen *nah* ibid.

(49) 谷蟇, read *taniguku* 'toad' (1). This word literally means 'valley toad'. Scholars traditionally say that *kuku* is an old word for toad (cf. Ôno et al. 1994:817). Possible cognates are MK *kaykwori* (accent LLL) 'frog', and Manchu *koki* 'tadpole'.

(50) 常磐, read *tokipa* (1). This word also appears in *Man'yôshû*, written 等伎波 *tokyipa*. This is a coalesced form of *toko* 'eternal' and *ipa* 'boulder'. It thus means 'eternal rock', or 'eternal (as) bedrock'.

Murayama originally posited an etymology of this with Tungusic *tękęn 'dirt foundation' (1961:18).

(51) 豊栄登, read *toyo saka nobori*, 'rising luxuriously and thriving' (3). This interesting phrase appears in the following sentence:

朝 日 乃 豊 栄 登 爾 称 辞 竟
*ASAPYI n-o **TOYO SAKA NOBORI** n-i TATAPEY KOTO WOPEY*
morning sun DV-ATT **luxurious prosperous rise-NML** DV-INF praise-(INF) thing end-(INF)
The morning sun **rises luxuriously, thriving**, and I finish my words

奉 久
MATUR-Aku
HON-NML
of praise (3).

This usage modifies 'morning sun' and appears only in the *norito*, and then once in the *waka* anthology *Kin'yô waka shû* (#333[13]):

kumori naku	Without a cloud in the sky
toyosakanoboru	my lord serves
asahi ni fa	the morning sun--
kimi zo tukafen	luxurious and beautiful--
yorodu yo made ni	for ten thousand reigns.

It should not surprise the reader to note that the head note to this poem says, "The former priestess to the Ise Shrine composed this song to express her feelings of celebration about the time she was heading to the shrine, and was playing a game of stones." This suggests that the priestess at the Ise Shrine had studied the liturgies as part of her education.

(52) 罪, read *tumi*, meaning 'transgression' (10). This word appears written in phonograms in one poem on the *Bussoku sekika* 'Poems on the stone of the Footprints of the Buddha', quoted below:

於保美阿止乎	
opomyiato wo	To the person who comes

[13] Ôno et al. (1994:954) has poem #354, which likely is from a variant numbering system. I have relied on the SNKBT (Kashiwagi et al. 1989:93).

美爾久留比止乃
myi ni kuru pyitǫ nǫ — to view the great footprints--
伊爾志加多
inisi kata — even a thousand transgressions
知与乃都美佐閇
tiyǫ nǫ tumyi sapey — from the past
保呂夫止曾伊布
porǫbu tǫ sǫ ipu — vanish, or so they say.
乃曾久止叙伎久
nǫsǫku tǫ zǫ kyiku — Thus we hear--[these sins] are taken away.

Thus, the word for transgression or crime was *tumyi*. I know of no external etymologies.

(53) 刀禰 *twone*, 'official, chief' (3). This word appears in the following context:

倭 國 乃 六 御 縣 能 刀禰
YAMAMTǪ [NǪ] KUNI nǫ MUTU [NǪ] myi-AGATA nǫ ***twone,***
Yamato GEN land GEN six GEN HON-district GEN **chiefs**
even up to the men and women, **the chiefs** of the six districts

男 女 爾 至 万弖
WOTǪKWO WOMYINA ni ITAR-U made
male female LOC reach-ATT TERM
of the province of Yamato...(3).

Martin (1987:550) suggests that this *twone* is related to *toneri* (舍人), officials at the palace, a title likely derived from *tǫnǫ* 'palace' + *iri* 'enter', which yields *tǫneri* (止尼利), but the vowels do not match with *twone*. *Twone* derives from either **tuCa-ni-a, *tuCa-na-i, *taCu-ni-a,* or **taCu-na-i*. The first syllable may be 'door' (*two* < **tura*), but that is as far as we can presently go.

(54) 宇豆 *udu* (1). Because the orthography in the liturgies rarely makes a distinction between voiceless and voiced dental plus high back vowel (*tu* and *du*), it is not readily clear if this is actually *utu* or *udu*. We cannot say that it does not matter, because the semantics of the two are different. *Utu* means 'empty, false', 'complete, perfect', 'visible'. On the other hand, *udu* means 'foam', or 'rare, noble'. The phrase in question from the liturgies is 宇豆能幣帛乎 *udu nǫ*

myi-tegura wo, which I interpret as '(I bring and present) the noble paper offerings.' Granted, it could be 'perfect paper offerings,' but the word *utu* appears in the Old Japanese corpus as *utupagi* 'strip hide off completely' (*Nihon shoki* example). In this example *utu* acts as a preverb, while the example above is a noun.

(55) 宇加 *uka*. This word means 'food' (3), and is related to *ukey* as seen in the deity name, *Ukeymo̲ti no̲ kamiy* (保食神、宇気母知能加微 'preserve-food-deity', read *ukeymo̲ti no̲ kamiy*), recorded in *Nihon shoki*. This deity is rather obscure in the mythology, but is believed to be a protector of grain (rice). A related deity is *Uka no̲ myitama* (倉稲魂命), is also noted in *Nihon shoki*, where the character for storehouse 倉 is interpreted to be a place to store and protect rice.

(56) 宇気比 *ukeypyi*, often interpreted as 'vow' (4). It actually means to enter into a contract with another person, and divine the results from that contract. Thus, *ukeypyi* can be viewed as a form of divination. This is what the Sun goddess and Susanoo performed to see if her younger brother (Susanoo) had come to the high plain of heaven with pure intentions. The two made vows (which also meant they had intercourse), and children were born. According to the mythology, the birth of male children meant one thing, and female children meant another. Because of this usage of the word, it is tempting to relate this word to *ukey-* 'receive'.

(57) 頸根, read *unane* 'nape of the neck' (1). This usage is peculiar to the liturgies. The more common word is *una* or *unazi*. This may be nothing more than *una* 'nape' + *ne* 'root', thus 'stick out the root of the neck.' (頸根衝抜弖). It is tempting to relate this word to MT **mongo* 'neck, throat', which is cognate with MK *mwok* 'nape of the neck', to *una* (**mongo* > *ᵐona* > *una*) with initial m- loss, and vowel raising.

(58) 卜, read *urapu* 'divine, divination' (4). This word only appears three times, all in the same liturgy, the Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami (festival of the deity of the wind of Tatsuta). Here the various geomancers perform divination to illuminate which deity causes destruction. The answer is:

卜　事　乎　以　弖　卜　　止母 出 留　神　乃
URAGO̲TO̲ wo MO̲T-Ite ***URAPEY to̲mo̲*** *ID-Uru KAMIY no̲*
Divine thing ACC hold-GER **divine-(INF)-CSS** come out-ATT deity GEN
And though [they] divined with the things of divination, nothing of

御　心　母　無
MYI-KO̲KO̲RO̲ mo̲ NA-SI
HON-will PT neg-FIN
the will of [which deity it was] came out (4).

Starostin (Starling electronic database, 2000) relates this word to Manchu-Tungusic *īrme 'ask', from Even īrmu, Orok ireme, and Ulche iremesi (cf. Tsintsius 1975:328).

(59) 宇事, read *uzi*. Looking through the various manuscripts, it is clear that the reading of these two graphs was in dispute (1). The various manuscripts have two different readings: *utumuru* or *utomuru*. I believe 宇事 is actually spelling *uzi*, and this is the same word seen in liturgy seven, 鵜自物 (the example from liturgy one and three is 宇事物). The reading must be *u-zi MO̲NO̲*. I have described this *-zi* as a 'resemblance marker' (cf. section 4.4.4.3).

(60) 猪, read *wi*, 'boar' (1). *Nihon shoki* preserves this word in a poem, with 'boar' spelled 偉 *wi*. The dialect of Hatoma in the Sakishima chain of islands in the southern Ryûkyûs has bi: for pig. The proto-form of this word is *bi (> wi). This may be cognate with Manchu *buldu* 'small male pig'.

(61) 与美 *yo̲myi*, 'Hades, the land of the dead' (12). *Yomi* is an anthropologically important word, and is only spelled phonetically in the liturgies, meaning that the spelling is important. Table three below shows how the word is written in other OJ texts.

Kojiki	黄泉
Shoki	黄泉
Man'yôshû	黄泉 or 死
Norito	与美

Tbl. 3. *Yomi* in OJ Texts

Because *Shoki* preserves the spelling 余母津比羅佐可, *yo̲mo̲-tu-pyirasaka* 'the flat hill of Yo̲mo̲', one would expect *yo̲miy* to be the etymological spelling, but the liturgies have *yo̲myi*. Rather than call it a spelling error, I leave the question open, this being the only phonetic example preserved in the OJ corpus.

Perhaps this word is cognate with MT **dobo* 'food for ancestral spirits, sacrifice'. On the surface, the semantics do not seem to fit well, but the phonological fit is very good. Consider the following etymologies and the correspondences (figure 33).

Gloss	MT	Proto-Japanese	OJ
mountain	*dawa 'mountain pass'	*dama	yama
night	*dolbo 'night'	*dura	ywo(ru)
burn	*deg- 'burn'	*dak-	yak-
hot water	*dul- 'warm'	*du	yu 'hot water'
four	*dɪ 'four'	*də-	yo-
Hades	*dobo 'food for dead'	*domo-Ci	yomo-

Fig. 33. Manchu-Tungusic / OJ Etymologies

The story of Izanami dying when she gave birth to the fire god, and travelling to Yomi where she ate of the food of the hearth of Hades may help bridge the semantic gap. The myth portrays the dead going to a place to eat.

(62) 湯都 *yutu* (1). This means 'sacred', and traditionally this word is analyzed as *yu-tu* sacred-LG. There are no examples of *yu* independently (without *-tu*). Omodaka et al. (1967:776) explain that this word is usually used as a prefix to modify two different types of nouns (or noun phrases): 1) plant names, and 2) things prepared for the deities. The five examples in the liturgies all belong to the second category.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

11. Old Japanese versus Classical Japanese

The tradition of using the term *bungo* 文語 to refer to pre-modern Japanese dates at least back to the *kokugakusha*. Motoori Norinaga wished to purge all Chinese influence from the Japanese language, and return to what he considered a primordial, pure state of the language. This thinking was influenced by his master, Kamo no Mabuchi. The impetus for this philosophy was research into *Man'yôshû*, Japan's oldest poetic anthology, which had little Chinese influence in the poetry (at least from the stand-point of the lexicon).

Regardless of this, the language that has been studied, and labeled *bungo*, is actually the language of the Heian era. There have been few attempts to differentiate the language of Nara era from the Heian era. Thus, it is unfortunate that most students of Japanese who learn *bungo* do not realize that what they are in essence learning is really Classical Japanese, the language primarily of the Heian and later eras. Any mention of Nara era Japanese is usually a brief talk about a few verbal suffixes that are obsolete by the time of *Kokinshû*. This methodology means the average student comes away with the impression that there is little difference between the language of Nara and Heian era works.

Old Japanese, the language under analysis here, was used during the Nara era and earlier. In reality, Nara and Heian Japanese are quite different. The problem of not making a distinction between the two languages is not necessarily the fault of any one person. Yamaguchi (1987:12) states our problem cogently,

> As for the languages of the Nara and the Heian eras, one is the continuation of the other, but regarding the substances of those two languages, there is a lack of continuity. It is customary to treat the language of the middle ages [read 'Heian era'] as the core of the classical language, so it is necessary to describe these [two languages] as one synchronic phenomenon....

In other words, there is a rather wide gulf between the languages of Old Japanese and Classical Japanese. The contributing factor is a lack of texts written in a script that makes the native language transparent at all stages. Regardless that Heian is a continuation of the Nara language (just as Chaucerian English is a continuation of earlier Anglo-Saxon), the two languages are very different. Naturally, this statement (regarding both Japanese and English) is overly simplistic. Below I give a brief overview of the differences between Old Japanese and Classical Japanese, illustrating the gulf between these two languages.

① The nominalizer *-aku* is very productive in OJ, but becomes fossilized in the classical language.

② The iterative *-ap-* is productive in OJ, but there are few good examples of this iterative--other than in fossilized words--in the classical language.

③ Stative verbs in OJ do not have as broad a range of conjugations as found in the classical language. The imperfect of a stative verb is formed by using the infinitive plus the verb *ar-* and negating this verb. *Kari katsuyô* is more productive in the classical language.

④ So-called *kakari musubi* is somewhat different. The particle *koso* in OJ causes stative verbs to take the attributive form, but in the classical language the stative verb takes the evidential.

⑤ The following suffixes and particles either become obsolete or evolve into different forms in the classical language (figure 34).

Suffix/Particle	Function/meaning	OJ	Classical
-aye-, -raye-	PASS	used	not used[1]
-umazis-	NGT	used	only *-umazi*
-as-	HON	used	not used
-ana	want	used	not used
-umo	emphatic	used	not used
-ane	want	used	not used
kamo	emphatic	used	*kana*
namo	want	used	*namu*
yu, ywo, ywori	ABL	used	only *yori*
-uras-	seems	used	only *-urasi*

Fig. 34. Differences between OJ and Classical Japanese

[1] The passive construction *–ar-, -rar-* is used in the Heian era.

⑥ The subject in a main clause was not marked,[2] but in Heian era Japanese, the case markers *no* and *ga* began marking the nominative case in Japanese.

There are other differences we can mention that are not necessarily morphological. There was a change in the phonology of the language, as the eight-vowel system of OJ collapsed into the five-vowel system in use today. This phonological simplification had ramifications on the morphology, however. The vowels in the evidential suffix and the imperative suffix were different in the early OJ period (EV *-Cey*, and COM *-Cye*), but with the merger of /ey/ and /ye/, these became essentially the same suffix.

As this simple overview illustrates, the language of OJ was a very different animal than Classical Japanese. On a different note, it is interesting that almost all grammars on the language of OJ have focused on the poetry. Yamaguchi (1987:12) makes it clear why scholars have concentrated on the poetry in *Man'yôshû* when studying Old Japanese, "Regarding data related to prose, conversation, and essays of this era [Nara Japanese], it is not an exaggeration to say that there is a dearth of systematically recorded materials."

It is unfortunate that the liturgies and edicts have been ignored. As noted in the beginning, these data are crucial for an understanding of the grammar of what I have termed Early Old Japanese. It is well known that poetry tends to be a very conservative medium, suggesting that if there was a moderate change between Nara era poetry and Heian poetry, then perhaps the change in the vernacular was much greater. I have relied on one set of data to set the parameters for the grammar, augmenting certain data from the edicts. Hopefully, this study also has shown that there *is systematically recorded prose material*. It is not as abundant as poetry, but we should not ignore what data we have.

Thus, the purpose of this book has been to describe the grammar of a language contained in a very old Japanese document: the ancient Shintô liturgies. The scholarly consensus has so far been that these liturgies date from the Heian era, because "most [of the liturgies] are recorded in *Engi shiki*, which originated in the Heian era" (Ono and Sakurai 1998:510). As has been demonstrated several times throughout this study, however, the liturgies are not a Heian document in the strict

[2] Vovin (1997d) mentions the marker *–i* used to mark the subject in the main clause in Old Japanese, mainly attested in the edicts. I have not dealt with the marker, because *–i* does not appear in the liturgies.

sense, because the spelling tradition dates from the Nara era (or earlier). Naturally this also means that the language and grammar of the liturgies are not that of the classical language of the Heian era.

We have concluded that the language of the liturgies is of great antiquity. The rather high number of hapax and obscure vocabulary attests to this fact. Furthermore, given the fact that there are as yet no descriptions of the prose language of Old Japanese--there are a few grammars based on Old Japanese song--this study is the first description of the language of *norito*. There are several translations of the liturgies (Philippi (1959) and Bock (1972)), but other than Iwai (1981) there has yet to be a full description of the language of the liturgies or edicts.

An investigation of the spelling tradition of the liturgies shows that when compared with *Kojiki*, the liturgies preserve the etymological spelling of every attested syllable, other than *po*.[3] In order to make this discovery, it was necessary to divide the liturgies into two groups, based on the attested spelling tradition. Thus I have concentrated on the oldest liturgies, and have ignored the newer ones.

A description of the liturgies is important because while most work on OJ grammar has concentrated on poetic texts (being both anthologies, or songs recorded in historical chronicles written in Chinese), the liturgies are closer to the style of prose than poetry. As noted earlier, the liturgies are an expansion of archaic religious ceremony, which preserves a primordial rhythm that vaguely mirrors the 5-7-syllable repetition of *waka*.

There are several interesting generalizations regarding the language of the liturgies that can be made. First, the spelling tradition preserved in the liturgies predates the Nara era, providing important evidence about the hapax and other lexical items in the liturgies. Also *kari katsuyô* for stative verbs is never used, showing that attaching *kar-* to the stem of stative verbs was a later development, likely from the late Old Japanese era. I have also given what I believe is the first complete discussion on the full range of defective verbs in Early Old Japanese: *n-* 'be', *to* 'say', and *to* 'be'.[4] Thus, in the *norito* there appear to be remnants of older verbs that were on the path to becoming obsolete

[3] By *attested* I refer to evidence that can be gleaned from actual texts, not evidence that is gleaned from internal reconstruction.

[4] Vovin (forthcoming) is the first complete discussion of these defective verbs (and the term is his), but his grammar describes the language of Classical (or Heian) Japanese.

(these defective verbs becoming something akin to particles). Usage of the nominalizing suffix *-aku* is very high. For example, in just the first liturgy, this suffix is used 22 times.

There also was an elaborate system of making neutral verbs into independent honorific verbs (with words like *imas-* > *masimas-* > *opomasimas-*). In the classical language of the Heian era, honorific auxiliaries take a larger role in creating honorific verbs. In a related vein, the liturgies contain very few simplex sentences like X copula (X *nar-i*). The same is true of the imperial edicts. Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that the liturgies were written in flowery speech, to appease and please the deities as well as the mortals (the court) who heard the recitation. On the other hand, it just as well may be that regular prose tended to avoid simple sentences.

If more proof was needed as to the antiquity of our text of the liturgies, it has also been pointed out that in most cases nouns were modified by simply placing modifiers before the noun. This is true of many so-called adjectives (*takayama* 'high mountain', *pikiyama* 'low mountain', *opokyimyi* 'great lord') and adverbials (*taka nas-ite* 'made high', *iya taka n-i* '[make] even higher').

Because of this style of diction, and the fact that these words were recited before the deities, I believe that the liturgies were actually a performance. Related to this style of language are the imperial edicts (*semmyô*), which are likely derived from the style of the liturgies.

Finally, I analyzed the language of the liturgies from a structuralist point of view, because the many traditional analyses of the Japanese language have been trammeled by the *kana* orthography. Without an accurate description of the language of OJ, problems dealing with morphology, syntax, and grammar will continue to resist complete solutions. By using the spelling tradition to screen out older and new liturgies, it was possible to posit a tentative dating of the liturgies. This has allowed me to divide the language of Old Japanese into two stages, Early Old Japanese and Late Old Japanese, and be the first to analyze the language of EOJ. The major dividing line between these two stages is the rich vowel inventory of EOJ.

This study has proposed various solutions to verbal morphology, verb class categorization, and verbal suffixes that hopefully will make the study of the language of Old Japanese easier in the future. While this has been a synchronic study, a diachronic study of the language of OJ still needs to be done; the present study, however, hopefully has laid the groundwork for a diachronic study. The chapter on the lexicon

of the liturgies has been an attempt to show that a diachronic study of OJ is of critical importance to linguists who continue to debate the origins of the language of Japan.

Several important points can be concluded from this study. (i) Scholars should reexamine the language of the liturgies, paying special heed to the spelling of various words contained therein. The lexicon of the liturgies is especially important, because there are many hapax or otherwise poorly understood words contained in it.

(ii) Descriptions of the language of OJ have generally concentrated on the songs contained in *Kojiki, Nihon shoki*, and *Man'yôshû* (Saeki [1950:8]; Yamada [1954:18], Syromiatnikov [1981:15]). We cannot fault scholars for selecting this genre (songs) to study, because OJ records are written in classical Chinese, and in most cases song (or loosely 'poetry') is preserved in phonograms. It should be remembered, however, that one disadvantage to using poetry is that the scholar is analyzing (or describing) a language that tends to not only be conservative, but also highly stylized (cf. Jakobson [1981], Mukařovský [1970]). It is hoped that a study of the language of the liturgies and edicts will add some balance to previous studies of Old Japanese poetry. It is true that the liturgies were also composed in a stylized language, but the language in the liturgies was composed with fewer constraints than poetry. The unfortunate fact is that common prose of the OJ period (what we may find in Heian era literature, where direct narration tends to preserve everyday conversation) was not preserved in a script that allows us to reconstruct the phonology. The prose of the liturgies was recorded in Chinese with graphs used as phonograms inserted. Thus, we have had to use what we have. But this should not be used as ammunition to proclaim that the secrets of the liturgies cannot be unlocked.

(iii) It is hoped that a study of *norito* will re-ignite excitement in the linguistic, literary, and cultural aspects of this often neglected text of liturgies. A proper understanding of the language of the liturgies will enable scholars to better analyze and interpret the language of these *norito*, making it possible to glean more information from this brief text. This in turn will facilitate a better understanding of the language of Old Japanese in general.

In the end, that is the purpose of this study, to promote deeper research and analysis of the grammar of the language of the Old Japanese period. When instructors and students make a distinction between Old Japanese and Classical Japanese, then interest in Old

Japanese as a distinct linguistic entity will increase. Greater attention to the language of OJ will naturally stimulate greater interest in the history, literature, and religion of this period.

While it may sound like an exaggeration, the difference between the language of Old Japanese and Classical Japanese is akin to the difference between the language of *Beowulf* and Chaucer. No one would write a single grammar treating these two languages as if they were the same. It is time to treat Old Japanese as a separate language, and examine that language on its own terms.

APPENDIX

Text of *Norito*

(1)

祈年祭穎
集侍神主祝部等諸聞食登宣。高間原爾神留坐皇睦神漏伎命。神漏彌命以。天社國社登称辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。今年二月爾御年初将賜登為而。皇御孫命宇豆能幣帛乎。朝日能豊逆登爾称辞竟奉久登宣。御年皇神等能前爾白久。皇神等能依左志奉牟奥津御年乎。手肱爾水沫書垂。向爾泥書寄弖取作牟奥津御年乎。八束穂能伊加志穂爾。皇神等能依左志奉者。初穂乎波千穎八百穎爾奉置弖瓶閇高知瓶腹満雙弖。汁爾母穎爾母称辞竟奉牟。大野原爾生物者。甘菜辛菜。青海原住物者。鰭能広物鰭能狭物。奥津藻菜邊津藻菜爾至弖爾。御服者明妙。照妙。和妙。荒妙爾称辞竟奉牟。御年皇神能前爾。白馬。白猪。白鶏。種々色物乎備奉弖。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
大御巫能辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久神魂。高御魂。生魂。足魂。玉留魂。大宮乃賣。大御膳都神。辞代主登御名者白而辞竟奉者。皇御孫命御世乎。手長御世登堅磐爾常磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閇奉故。皇吾睦神漏伎命。神漏彌命登皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
座摩乃御巫乃称辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。生井。栄井。津長井。阿須波。婆比支登御名者白弖辞竟奉者。皇神能敷坐。下都磐根爾宮柱太知立。高天原爾千木高知弖皇御孫命能宇豆乃瑞能御舎乎仕奉弖天御蔭日御蔭登隠坐弖四方國乎安國登平久知食故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
御門能御巫能称辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。櫛磐間門命。豊磐間門命登御名者白弖。辞竟奉者。四方能御門爾湯都磐村能如塞坐弖朝者御門開奉。夕者御門閇奉弖疎夫留物能自下往者下乎守。自上往者上乎守。夜能守日能守爾守奉故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
生嶋能御巫能辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。生國足國登御名者白弖辞竟奉者。皇神能敷坐嶋能八十嶋者谷蟆能狭度極塩沫能留限。狭國者広久。峻國者平久。嶋能八十嶋堕事無皇神等能依左志奉故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

辞別伊勢爾坐天照太御神能太前爾白久。皇神能見霽志坐四方國者。天能壁立極。國能退立限。青雲能靆極白雲能墮坐向伏限。青海原者棹柁不干。舟舳能至留極。大海爾舟満都都気弖。自陸往道者荷緒縛堅弖磐根木根履佐久彌弖。馬爪至留限。長道無間久立都都気弖狭國者広久。峻國平久。遠國者八十綱打掛弖引寄如事。皇大御神能寄奉波。荷前者皇太御神能太前爾。如横山打積置弖。残乎波平聞看又皇御孫命御世乎手長御世登堅磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閇奉故。皇吾睦神漏伎神漏彌命登宇事物頚根衝抜弖。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎。称辞竟奉久登宣。

御懸爾坐皇神等乃前爾白久。高市葛木。十市志貴。山邊。曾布登御名物白弖。此六御懸爾生出甘菜辛菜乎持参来弖皇御孫命能長御膳能遠御膳能聞食故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。

山口坐皇神等能前爾白久。飛鳥。石村。忍坂。長谷。畝火。耳無登御名者白弖。遠山近山爾生立留大木小木乎。本末打切弖持参来弖。皇御孫命能瑞能御舎仕奉弖。天御蔭日御蔭登隠坐弖。四方國乎安國登平久知食須我故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎。称辞竟奉久登宣。

水分坐皇神等能前爾白久。吉野。宇陀。都祁。葛木登御名者白弖。辞竟奉者。皇神等能寄志奉牟奥都御年乎。八束穂能伊加志穂爾寄志奉者。皇神等爾初穂波頴爾母汁爾母瓶閇高知瓶腹満雙弖 称辞竟奉弖。遺乎波皇御孫命能朝御食夕御食能加牟加比爾長御食能遠御食登赤丹穂爾聞食故。皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛。称辞竟奉久登。諸聞食登宣。辞別忌部能弱肩爾太多須支取掛弖。持由麻波利仕奉禮留幣帛乎・神主祝部等受賜弖。事不過捧持奉登宣。

(2)

春日祭

天皇我大命爾坐世。恐岐鹿嶋坐健御賀豆智命。香取坐伊波比主命。枚岡坐天之子八根命。比賣神四柱能皇神等能広前仁白久。太神等能乞賜比能任爾春日能三笠山能下津石根爾宮柱広知立。高天原爾千木高知弖。天乃御蔭日乃御蔭止定奉弖。貢流神寶者御鏡御横刀。御弓御梓御馬爾備奉理御服波明多閇照多閇。和多閇荒多閇爾仕奉弖。四方國能獻礼留御調能荷前取並弖。青海原乃物者。波多能広物。波多能狭物。奥藻菜。邊藻菜。山野物者甘菜辛菜爾至麻弖。御酒者甕上高知。甕腹満並弖雑物乎如横山積置弖神主爾某官位姓名乎定弖獻流宇豆乃大幣帛乎安幣帛乃足幣帛登。平久安久聞看登皇大御神等乎称辞竟奉久登白。如此仕奉爾依弖今母去前母天皇我朝廷乎平久安久足御世乃茂御世爾齋奉利常石爾堅石爾福閇奉利

預而仕奉流處處家家。王等卿等乎母平久天皇我朝廷爾伊加志夜久波叡能如久仕奉利。佐加叡志米賜登称辞竟奉良久登白。

(3)

広瀬大忌祭

広瀬能川合爾称辞竟奉流皇神能御名乎白久。御膳持須留若宇加能賣能命登御名者白弖此皇神御前爾辞竟奉久。皇御孫命能宇加能幣帛乎令捧持弖王臣等乎為使弖称辞竟奉久乎。神主祝部等諸聞食登宣。奉流宇豆乃幣帛者。御服明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物。楯戈御馬御酒者瓫能閇高知。瓫能腹満雙弖。和稲荒稲爾山爾住物者毛能和支物。毛能荒支物。大野能原爾生物者。甘菜辛菜。青海原爾住物者。鰭能広支物。鰭能狭支物。奥津藻菜。邊津藻菜爾至万弖置足弖奉久登皇神前爾白賜部止宣。如此奉宇加乃幣帛乎安幣帛能足幣帛止。皇神御心平久安久聞食弖。皇神孫命能長御膳能遠御膳乃赤丹能穂爾聞食。皇神能御刀代乎始弖。親王等王等臣天下公民能取作奥部御歳者。手肱爾水沫昼垂。向股爾泥昼寄弖取将作奥部御歳乎。八束穂爾皇神能成幸賜者。初穂者汁爾母顕爾母千稲八千稲爾引居弖如横山打積置弖秋祭爾奉牟登皇神前爾白賜登宣。倭國能六御縣乃山口爾坐皇神等前爾母皇御孫命能宇加乃幣帛乎。明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物。楯戈爾至万弖奉。如此奉者。皇神等乃敷坐須山山乃自口。狭久那多利爾下賜水乎甘水登受而。天下乃公民乃取作禮留奥都御歳乎悪風荒水爾不相賜。汝命乃成幸波閇賜者。初穂者汁爾母顕爾母瓫乃閇高知。瓫腹満雙弖。如横山打積置弖奉牟登王等臣等百官人等倭國乃六御縣能刀禰男女爾至万弖。今年某月某日諸参出来弖皇神前爾宇事者頚根築抜弖。朝日乃豊栄登爾称辞竟奉久乎神主祝部等諸聞食止宣。

(4)

龍田風神祭

龍田爾称辞竟奉皇神乃前爾白久。志貴嶋爾大八嶋國知志皇御孫命乃遠御膳乃長御膳止赤丹乃穂爾聞食須五穀物乎始弖。天下乃公民乃作物乎。草乃片葉爾至万弖不成。一年二年爾不在。歳真尼久傷故爾百能物知人等乃卜事爾出牟神乃御心者。此神止白止負賜支。此乎物知人等乃卜事乎以弖卜止母。出留神乃御心母無止白止聞看弖。皇御孫命詔久。神等乎波天社國社止忘事無久遺事無久称辞竟奉止思志行波須乎誰神曾天下乃公民乃作作物乎。不成傷神等波我御心曾止悟奉禮止宇気比賜支。是以皇御孫命大御夢爾悟奉久。天下乃公民乃作作物乎。悪風荒水爾相都都。不成傷波我御名者天乃

御柱乃命。國乃御柱乃命止御名者悟奉弖。吾前爾奉牟幣帛者。御服者明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色乃物。楯戈御馬爾御鞍具弖品々乃幣帛備弖。吾宮者朝日乃日向處。夕日乃日隠處乃龍田能立野乃小野爾吾宮波定奉弖吾前乎称辞竟奉者。天下乃公民乃作作物者。五穀始弖。草乃片葉爾至万弖成幸閇奉牟止悟奉支是以皇神乃辞教悟奉處仁宮柱定奉弖。此乃皇神能前爾称辞竟奉久止。皇神乃前爾白賜事乎。神主。祝部等諸聞食止宣。

奉宇豆乃幣帛者。比古神爾御服明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物。楯戈御馬爾御鞍具弖品々乃幣帛獻。比賣神爾御服備。金能麻笥。金能喘。金能枷。明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色能物。御馬爾御鞍具弖雜幣帛奉弖.御酒者瓶能閇高知。瓶腹雙弖。和稲荒稲爾山爾住物者。毛乃和物。毛乃荒物。大野原生物者。甘菜辛菜。青海原爾住物者。鰭能広物。鰭能狭物。奥都藻菜邊都藻菜爾至万弖爾如横山打積置弖奉此宇豆乃幣帛乎。安幣帛能足幣帛止。皇神能御心爾平久聞食弖。天下能公民能作作物乎。悪風荒水爾不相賜。皇神乃成幸閇賜者。初穂者瓶能閇高知。瓶腹満雙弖。汁爾母頴爾母八百稲千稲爾引居置弖秋祭爾奉牟止.王卿等百官能人等。倭國六縣能刀禰。男女爾至万弖爾今年四月(七月者云今年七月)諸参集弖。皇神能前爾宇事物頚根築抜弖.今日能朝日能豊栄登爾称辞竟奉流。皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎。神主祝部等被賜弖。惰事無奉禮登宣命乎諸聞食止宣。

(5)

平野祭

天皇我御命爾坐世。今木與利仕奉来流皇太御神能広前爾白給久。皇大御神乃乞志給乃麻爾麻爾。此所能底津石根爾宮柱広敷立弖。高天乃原爾千木高知弖。天能御蔭日能御蔭登定奉弖。神主爾神祇某官位姓名定弖進流神財波御弓御大刀御鏡鈴衣笠御馬乎引並弖御衣波明多閇照多閇和多閇荒多閇爾備奉利弖。四方國能進礼流御調能荷前乎取並弖。御酒波瓶戸高知。瓶腹満並弖。山野能物波甘菜辛菜。青海原能物波波多能広物波多能狭物奥都毛波邊津毛波爾至麻弖。雑物乎如横山置高成弖獻流宇豆乃大幣帛乎。平久所聞弖天皇我御世乎堅石爾常石爾齋奉利。伊賀志御世爾幸閇奉弖。万世爾御坐令在米給登。称辞竟奉久登申。

又申久。参集弖仕奉流親王等王等臣等百官人等乎母夜守日守爾守給弖天皇朝廷爾伊夜高爾伊夜広爾伊賀志夜具波江如久立栄之米令仕奉給登称辞竟奉久登申。

(6)

久度古関
天皇我御命爾坐世。久度古関二所能宮爾弖供奉来流皇御神能広前爾白給久。皇御神能乞比給万比之任爾此所能底津石根宮柱広敷立。高天能原爾千木高知弖天能御蔭日能御蔭止定奉弖神主某官位姓名定弖。進流神財波御弓御大刀御鏡鈴衣笠御馬乎引並弖御衣波明多閇照多閇和多閇荒多閇爾備奉弖。四方國乃進礼留御調乃荷前乎取並弖御酒波瓶乃閇高知。瓶能腹満並弖。山野能物波甘菜辛菜。青海原乃物波鰭乃広物鰭乃狭物奥都毛波邊津毛波爾至麻天雑物乎如横山置高成弖獻流宇豆乃大幣帛乎平久所聞弖天皇我御世乎堅石爾常石爾齋奉利伊賀志御世爾幸閇奉弖。万世爾御令坐米給登。称辞竟奉久登申。
又申久。参集弖仕奉親王等王等臣等百官人等乎毛夜守日守爾守給弖天皇我朝廷爾彌高爾彌広仁伊賀志夜具波江能如久立栄之米令仕奉給登称辞竟奉良久登申。

(7)

六月月次
集侍神主祝部等諸聞食登宣。高天原爾神留坐皇睦神漏伎命神漏彌命以天社國社登称辞竟奉皇神等前爾白久。今年乃六月月次幣帛(十二月者云今年十二月月次幣帛)。明妙照妙和妙荒妙備奉弖朝日乃豊栄登爾皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎。称辞竟奉久登宣。大御巫能称辞竟皇神等能前爾白久。神御魂高御魂生魂足魂玉留魂大宮賣御膳都神辞代主登御名者白弖。称辞竟者皇御孫命乃御世乎手長御世登堅磐爾常磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閇奉故。皇吾睦神漏伎命神漏彌命登皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
座摩乃御巫称辞竟奉皇神等乃前爾白久生井栄井津長井阿須波婆比伎登御名者白弖称辞竟奉者皇神能敷坐下都磐根爾宮柱太知立。高天原爾千木高知弖皇御孫命瑞乃御舎仕奉弖天御蔭日御蔭登隠坐弖四方國乎安國登平久知食須故皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
御門乃御巫能称辞竟奉皇神等能前爾白久。櫛磐間門命豊磐間門命登御名者白弖称辞竟奉者四方能御門爾湯都磐村能如久塞坐弖朝者御門開奉。夕者御門閇奉弖疎布留物乃自下往者下乎守。自上往者上乎守。夜乃守日乃守爾守奉故皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
生嶋乃御巫能称辞竟奉皇神等乃前爾白久。生國足國登御名者白弖称辞竟奉者皇神乃敷坐嶋乃八十嶋者谷蟆能狭度極塩沫乃留限利

狭國者広久険國者平久嶋乃八十嶋堕事無久。皇神等寄志奉故皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
辞別伊勢爾坐天照太御神乃太前爾白久。皇神乃見霽志四方國者天乃壁立極國乃退立限青雲能靄極白雲乃向伏限青海原者棹柁不干。舟艫乃至留極大海原爾舟満都都気弖自陸往道者荷緒結堅弖磐根木根履佐久彌弖馬爪至留限長道無間久立都都気弖狭國者広久峻國者平久遠國者八十綱打掛弖引寄如事。皇太御神寄志奉良波荷前者皇太御神乃前爾如横山打積置弖残乎波平聞看。又皇御孫命御世乎長御世登堅磐爾齋比奉。茂御世爾幸閇奉故皇吾睦神漏伎命神漏彌命登鵜自物頸根衝抜弖皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
御縣爾坐皇神等乃前爾白久高市葛木十市志貴山邊曾布登御名者白弖此六縣爾生出甘菜辛菜乎持参来弖皇御孫命乃長御膳乃遠御膳登聞食故皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
山能口坐皇神等乃前爾白久。飛鳥石村忍坂長谷畝火耳無登御名者白弖。遠山近山爾生立流大木小木乎。本末打切弖持参来弖皇御孫命乃瑞乃御舎仕奉弖天御蔭日御蔭登隠坐弖四方國乎安國登平久知食須我故。皇御孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。
水分坐皇神等乃前爾白久吉野宇陀都祁葛木登御名者白弖称竟奉者皇神等依志奉牟奥都御年乎八束穂乃伊加志穂爾依志奉者皇神等爾初穂者穎爾母汁爾母瓶閇高知。瓶腹満雙弖。称辞竟奉弖遺乎波皇御孫命乃朝御食夕御食乃加牟比爾長御食乃遠御食登赤丹穂爾聞食故皇孫命乃宇豆乃幣帛乎称辞竟奉久登宣。諸聞食止宣。辞別忌部乃弱肩爾太襷取掛弖持由麻波利仕奉礼留幣帛乎神主祝部等受賜弖事不過捧持奉登宣。

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大殿祭
高天原爾神留坐須皇親神魯企神魯美之命以弖皇御孫之命乎天津高御座爾坐弖。天津璽乃劔鏡乃捧持賜天言壽(古語云許止保企言壽詞如今壽傷之詞)宣志久。皇我宇都御子皇御孫之命此乃天津高御座爾坐弖天津日嗣乎万千秋乃長秋爾大八洲豊葦原瑞穂之國乎安國止平気久所知食止(古語云志呂志女須)言寄奉賜比弖以天津御量弖事問之磐根木乃立知草能可岐葉乎毛言止弖天降利賜比志食國天下登天津日嗣所知食須皇御孫命乃御殿乎今奥山乃大峡小峡爾立留木乎齋部能齋斧乎以伐採弖本末乎波山神爾祭弖中間乎持出来弖齋鋤乎以弖齋柱立弖皇御孫之命乃天之御翳日之御翳止造奉仕礼流瑞之御殿。(古語云阿良可)汝屋般命爾天津奇護言乎(古語云久須志伊波比許登)以弖言壽鎮白久此乃敷坐大宮地底津磐根

乃極美下津綱根(古語番縄之類。謂之綱根)波府虫能禍無久。高天原波青雲乃靄久極美天乃血垂飛鳥乃禍無久堀堅多留柱桁梁戸窓乃錯比(古語云伎加比)動鳴事無久。引結幣留葛目能緩比取葺計留草乃噪岐(古語云蘇蘇伎)無久御床都比能佐夜伎夜女乃伊須須伎伊豆都志伎事無久平気久安久奉護留神御名乎白久屋船久久遅命(是木霊也)屋船豊宇気姫命登。是稲霊也。俗詞宇賀能美多麻。今世産屋以辟木束稲。)
御名乎波奉称利弖皇御孫命乃御世乎堅磐常磐爾奉護利五十槻御世乃足良志御世爾田永能御世止奉福爾依弖齋玉作等我持齋波利持浄麻波利造仕礼留瑞八尺瓊能御吹支乃五百都御統乃玉爾明和幣(古語云爾伎弖)曜和幣乎附気弖齊部宿禰某我弱肩爾太襷取懸弖言寿伎鎮奉事能漏落武事乎波。神直日命大直日命聞直志見直志弖平良気久安良気久所知食登白。
詞別白久大宮賣命登御名乎申事波皇御孫命乃同殿能裏爾塞坐弖参入罷出人能選比所知志神等能伊須呂許比阿禮比坐乎言直志和志（古語云夜波志）坐弖皇御孫命朝乃御膳。夕乃御膳供奉流比禮懸伴緒。襷懸伴緒乎手蹲足蹲（古語云麻我比）不令為弖親王諸王諸臣百官人等乎。己乖乖不令在邪意穢心無久宮進進米宮勤勤之米弖咎過在乎波見直志聞直坐弖平良気久安良気久令仕奉坐爾依弖大宮賣命止御名乎称辞竟奉久登白。

(9)

御門祭
櫛磐窓豊磐窓命登御名乎申事波四方内外御門爾如湯津磐村久塞坐弖四方四角与利疎備荒備来武天能麻我都比登云神乃言武悪事爾（古語云麻我許登）相麻自許利相口会賜事無久自上往波上護利自下往波下護利待防掃却言排坐弖朝波開門。夕波閉門弖参入罷出人名乎問所知志咎過在乎波神直備大直備爾見直聞直坐弖平良気久安良気久令奉仕賜故爾豊磐窓命櫛磐窓命登御名乎称辞竟奉久登白。

(10)

六月晦大祓
集侍親王諸王諸臣百官人等諸聞食止宣。天皇朝廷爾仕奉留比禮挂伴男。手襷挂伴男剣佩伴男伴男能八十伴男乎始弖官官爾仕奉留人等乃過犯家牟。雑雑罪乎今年六月晦之大祓爾祓給比清給事乎。諸聞食止宣。

高天原爾神留坐皇親神漏岐神漏美乃命以弖八百万神等乎神集賜比。神議議賜弖我皇御孫之命波豊葦原乃水穂之国乎安国止平久知所食止事依奉岐。如此依志奉志国中爾荒振神等乎波神問志賜神掃掃賜比弖語問志磐根樹立草之垣葉乎毛語止弖天之磐座放天之八重雲乎伊頭乃千別爾千別弖天降依左志奉岐。如此久依左志奉志四方之国中登大倭日高見之国乎安国止定奉弖下津磐根爾宮柱太敷立、高天原爾千木高知弖皇御孫之命乃美頭乃御舎仕奉弖天之御蔭日之御蔭止隠坐弖安国止平気久所知久武国中爾成出武天之益人等我過犯家牟雑雑罪事波天津罪止畔放・溝埋・樋放・頻蒔・串刺・生剥・逆剥・屎戸許許太久乃罪乎天津罪止法別気弖国津罪止生膚断・死膚断・白人・胡久美・己母犯罪・己子犯罪・母与子犯罪・子与母犯罪・畜犯罪・昆虫乃災・高津神乃災・高津鳥災・畜仆志蟲物為罪許許太久乃罪出武。如此出波天津宮事以弖大中臣天津金木乎本打切。末打断弖千座置座爾置足波志弖天津菅會乎本刈断・末刈切弖・八針爾取辟弖天津祝詞乃太祝詞事乎宣禮。如此久乃良波天津神波天磐門乎押披弖天之八重雲乎伊頭乃千別爾千別弖所聞食武。国津神波高山之末短山末爾上坐弖高山之伊恵理乎撥別弖所聞食武。如此所聞食弖波皇御孫之命乃朝廷乎始弖天下四方国爾波罪止云布罪波不在止。科戸之風乃天之八重雲乎吹放事之如久。朝之御霧夕御霧乎朝風夕風乃吹掃事之如。大津邊爾居大船乎舳解放艫解放弖大海原爾押放事之如久。彼方之繁木本乎焼鎌乃敏鎌以弖打掃事之如久。遺罪波不在止祓給比清給事乎。高山短山之末与理佐久那太理爾落多支津速川能瀬坐須瀬織津比咩止云神大海原爾持出奈武。

如此持出往波荒塩之塩乃八百道乃八塩道乃塩乃八百会爾坐須速開都比咩止云神持可可呑弖牟如此久可可呑弖波気吹戸坐須気吹戸主止云神根国底之国爾気吹放弖牟。如此久気吹放弖波根国底之国爾坐速佐須良比咩登云神持佐須良比失弖武。如此久失弖波天皇我朝廷爾仕奉留官官人等乎始弖天下四方爾波自今日始弖罪止云布罪波不在止高天原爾耳振立聞物止馬牽立弖今年六月晦日夕之降乃大祓爾祓給比清給事乎。諸聞食止宣。四国卜部等大川道爾持退出弖祓却止宣。

(11)

東文忌寸部拠横刀時咒

謹請。皇天上帝三極大君日月星辰。八方諸神司命司籍。左東大父右西大母。五方五帝四時四気。捧以禄人請除禍災捧以金刀請延帝祚咒曰東至扶桑西至虞淵南至炎光北至弱水千城百国精治万歳万歳。

(12)

鎮火祭
高天原爾神留坐皇親神漏義神漏美能命持弖皇御孫命波豊葦原乃水穂国乎。安国止平久所知食止天下所寄奉之時爾事寄奉之天都詞太詞事乎以弖申久。神伊佐奈伎伊佐奈美乃命妹背二柱嫁継給弖国能八十国嶋能八十嶋乎生給比八百万神等乎生給比弖麻奈弟子爾火結神生給弖美保止被焼弖石隠坐弖夜七夜昼七日吾乎奈見給比曾吾奈背乃命止申給比支。此七日爾波不足弖隠坐事奇止弖見所行須時、火乎生給弖御保止乎所焼坐支。如是時爾吾名背乃命能吾乎御給布奈止申乎吾乎見阿波多志給比津止申給弖吾名背能命波上津国乎所知食倍志吾波下津国乎所知牟止申弖石隠給比与美津坂爾至坐弖所思食久。吾名背命能所知食上津国爾心悪子乎生置弖来奴止宣弖返坐弖更生子。水神・匏・川菜・埴山姫・四種物乎生給弖此能心悪子乃心荒比留波水神・匏・埴山姫・川菜乎持弖鎮奉禮止事教悟給支依此弖称辞竟奉者皇御孫能朝廷爾御心一速比給波志止為弖進物波明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物乎備奉弖青海原爾住物者鰭広物鰭狭物奥津海菜邊津海菜爾至万弖爾御酒者瓶邊高知、瓶腹満雙弖和稲荒稲爾至万弖爾如横山置高成弖天津祝詞乃太祝詞事以弖称辞竟奉久止申。

(13)

道饗祭
高天之原爾事始弖皇御孫之命止称辞竟奉。大八衢爾湯津磐村之如久塞坐皇神等之前爾申久。八衢比古・八衢比売・久那斗止御名者申弖辞竟奉久波根国底国与利麁備疎備来物爾相率相口会事無弖下行物下乎守理上往者上乎守理夜之守日之守爾守奉斎奉禮比進幣帛者明妙照妙和妙荒妙爾備奉御酒者瓶邊高知瓶腹満雙弖汁爾母穎爾母山野爾住物者毛能和物毛能荒物青海腹爾住物者鰭乃広物鰭狭物奥津海菜邊津海菜爾至万弖爾横山之如久置所足弖進宇豆乃幣帛乎平気久聞食弖八衢爾湯津磐村之如久塞坐弖皇御孫命乎堅磐爾常磐爾斎奉。茂御世爾幸閇奉給止申。又親王等王等臣等百人等天下公民爾至万弖爾平久斎給部止。神官天津祝詞乃太祝詞事乎以弖称辞竟奉止申。

(14)

大嘗祭
集侍神主祝等諸聞食止宣。

高天原爾神留坐皇睦神漏伎神漏彌命以天杜国杜止敷坐留皇神等前爾白久。今年十一月中卯日爾天部御食乃長御食能遠御食止皇御孫命乃大嘗聞食牟為故爾皇神等相宇豆乃比奉弖堅磐爾常磐爾斎比奉利茂御世爾幸閇奉牟爾依弖志千秋五百秋爾平久安久聞食弖豊明爾明坐牟皇御孫命能宇豆乃幣帛乎明妙照妙和妙荒妙爾備奉弖朝日豊栄登爾称辞竟奉久乎。諸聞食止宣。
事別忌部能弱肩爾太襷取持弖持由麻波利仕奉禮留幣帛乎神主祝部等請弖事不落捧持弖奉登宣。

(15)

鎮御魂斎戸祭
高天之原爾神留坐須皇親神漏岐神漏美乃命乎以弖皇御孫之命波豊葦原能水穂国乎安国止定奉弖下津磐根爾宮柱太敷立高天原爾千木高知弖天之御蔭日之御蔭止称辞竟奉弖奉御衣波上下備奉弖宇豆乃幣帛波明妙照妙和妙荒妙五色物御酒波瓶腹満雙弖山野物波甘菜辛菜青海原物波鰭広物鰭狭物奥津海菜邊津海菜爾至万弖爾雑物乎如横山置高成弖拠留宇豆幣帛乎安幣帛能足幣帛止平久聞食弖皇良我朝廷乎常磐爾堅磐爾斎奉。茂御世爾幸閇奉給弖自此十二月始来十二月爾至万弖爾平久御坐所令御坐給止今年十二月某日斎比鎮奉止申。

(16)

儺祭詞
諦定位可候。大宮内爾神祇官宮主能伊波比奉里敬奉留天地能諸御神等波平久於太比爾伊麻佐布倍志登申。事別弖詔久穢悪伎疫鬼能所所村村爾蔵里隠布留乎波千里之外四方之堺東方陸奥西方遠値嘉南方土佐北方佐渡与里乎知能所乎奈牟多知疫鬼之住加登定賜比行賜弖五色宝物海山能種々味物乎給弖罷賜移賜布所所方方爾急爾罷往登追給登詔爾挟姦心弖留里加久良波大儺公小儺公持五兵弖追走刑殺物曾登聞食登詔。

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