A DESCRIPTIVE AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF WESTERN OLD JAPANESE

Volume One: Sources, Script and Phonology, Lexicon, Nominals

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For Sambi

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I would like to express my gratitude to two institutions: the Center of Japanese Studies at the University of Hawaii which generously supported my research on Old Japanese grammar with two grants, and the *Kokusai Nihon bunka kenkyû sentaa* (International Center for the Japanese Studies, Kyoto), where I spent my sabbatical year in 2001-02, when the first draft of this book was written.

Various parts of this book, or some of the ideas that appear in it, were discussed with a number of colleagues. I am most grateful to Bjarke Frellesvig, with whom I had many discussions on Old Japanese grammar in United States, Japan, and Denmark, and who finally persuaded me of the reality of the category of tense in Old Japanese. No less gratitude goes to Leon Serafim, who was my guide for things Ryukyuan. Discussions of various Japanese,

Ryukyuan, Altaic, and Ainu issues with Ikegami Jirô,[1] Juha Janhunen, Itabashi Yoshizô, Karimata Shigehisa, Kazama Shinjirô, Kirikae Hideo, Nakagawa Hiroshi, Osada Toshiki, Aleksandr Pevnov, Sakiyama Osamu, Suda Jun'ichi, and Tsumagari Toshiro were extremely helpful. I am also grateful to Stefan Georg, who opened my eyes to the illusory nature of the 'Altaic' theory as it is currently enshrined. This recovery of sight resulted in a considerable rewriting of the comparative part of the book, causing about two years' delay. However, hopefully this delay was for the best. As always, I am grateful to Samuel E. Martin for his constant feedback on many issues. It is the greatest pleasure for a teacher to receive feedback from former students who are have now become independent scholars: John Bentley, Blaine Erickson, Hino Sukenari, Marc Miyake, and Shimabukuro Moriyo are now valuable colleagues who helped me in various ways. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any mistakes or shortcomings in this book.

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[1] Japanese and other East Asian names are given in this book in the traditional order: family name first, given name last.

ABBREVIATIONS

LANGUAGES

EMC	Early Middle Chinese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
MJ	Middle Japanese
MK	Middle Korean
OC	Old Chinese
OJ	Old Japanese
OK	Old Korean
OT	Old Turkic
PAN	proto-Austronesian
PJ	proto-Japonic
PK	proto-Korean
PM	proto-Mongolic
PR	proto-Ryukyuan
PT	proto-Turkic
PTu	proto-Tungusic
WM	Written Mongolian
WOJ	Western Old Japanese

TEXTS AND SOURCES

Japonic

BS	Bussoku seki no uta, 753 CE
GSWKS	Goshûi wakashû, 1087 CE
FK	Fudoki kayô, ca. 737 CE
JDB	Jidai betsu kokugo dai jiten (Omodaka 1967)
KGU	Kagura uta, 8-9th centuries
KK	Kojiki kayô, 712 CE
MYS	Man'yôshû, ca. 759 CE
NK	Nihonshoki kayô, 720 CE
NR	Nihon ryôiki, early 9th century

NT	Norito, 7-9th centuries
OM	Ochikubo monogatari, 10th century
OS	Omoro sôshi, 16th century
RK	Ryûka, 17-19th centuries
RKJ	Okinawa go jiten
SM	Senmyô, 7-8th century
SNK	Shoku nihongi kayô
SSI	Shôsôin documents, 7-8th centuries
TN	Tosa nikki, 935 CE
TS	Jôgu teisetsu, 7th century

Korean

KKK	Kumkang kyeng samka hay, 1482 CE
HK	Hyangka, 6-10th c.
SP	Sekpo sangcel, 1449 CE
YP	Yongpi ethyenka, 1447 CE
WS	Welin sekpo, 1459 CE

Manchu

MYK	Manju-i Yargiyan Kooli, ?late 17th century
SA	Taizu Hûwangdi Ming gurun-i cooha-be Sargû alin-de ambarame efulehe baita-be tucibume araha bithe, ?late 17th — early 18th century

Old Turkic

KT E	Kül Tegin Inscription (East)
KT N	Kül Tegin Inscription (North)
KT S	Kül Tegin Inscription (South)
TK N	Toñuquq Inscription (North)

GRAMMAR TERMS

ASSER	Assertive
ATTR	Attributive
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier

COM	Comitative
COMP	Comparative
CON	Conjunctive gerund
CONC	Concessive gerund
COND	Conditional gerund
CONJ	Conjunction
CONJC	Conjectural
COOP	Cooperative
COOR	Coordinative gerund
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DEB	Debitive
DES	Desiderative
DIR	Directive
DV	Defective verb
EMPH	Emphatic
EV	Evidential
EXCL	Exclamation
FIN	Final verbal form
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerund
HON	Honorific
HORT	Hortative
HUM	Humble
INF	Infinitive
INTER	Interjection
LOC	Locative
MDL	Modulator
MOD	Modality
NEG	Negative
NML	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
OSM	Oblique stem marker
PAST	Past tense
PEJ	Pejorative
PERF	Perfective

POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potential
PREF	Prefix
PRES	Present tense
PRET	Preterite
PREV	Preverb
PROG	Progressive
PT	Particle
REC	Reciprocal
RETR	Retrospective
SUB	Subordinative gerund
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SUF	Suffix
SUP	Suppositional
TENT	Tentative
TERM	Terminative
TF	Transitivity flipper
TOP	Topic
TRANSF	Transferential gerund
VOL	Voluntative

PREFACE

This book represents the first volume of the *Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese*. The first volume covers the phonology, writing system, lexicon, and nominal parts of speech. The second volume, which is about two years away from completion, will include chapters on adjectives, verbs, adverbs, particles, and conjunctions, as well as a comprehensive index for both volumes. I decided to split the publication into two volumes for three major reasons. First, as the reader can see, the first volume already has 400 pages, and the

second volume will be twice as long. Producing a 1,200-page grammar in one volume is not only technically challenging, but it also creates a number of inconveniencies for the reader who will have to handle such a heavy brick. Second, previous scholarship concentrated heavily on the verbal system; as a result Old Japanese nominals were neglected and not sufficiently described. I hope to rectify this unbalanced situation with this volume as well as present a number of innovative ideas. Third, and most importantly, in the process of my teaching Old Japanese over the last ten years at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, I found that the lack of an up-to-date Old Japanese grammar creates a serious obstacle for graduate students who want to learn the language and start to read Old Japanese texts on their own. From this point of view, publishing just a first volume at an earlier date rather than delaying it before the second volume becomes available offers at least a partial solution to the problem.

There is a wide misconception that Old Japanese of the Asuka-Nara periods and Classical Japanese of the Heian period are essentially one and the same language. This is not true, since the differences between Old and Classical (or, better: Middle) Japanese are very significant. These differences are found in all levels of the language — in its phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. Quite a number of grammatical forms used in Old Japanese did not survive into the later language, and a great number of Middle Japanese forms are late innovations not found in Old Japanese. In addition, certain forms, common for both periods, frequently have different functions. All this demonstrates that a person who is going to read and analyze Old Japanese texts just armed with knowledge of Classical Japanese will fare no better than a person who tries to read Old English texts through the prism of Middle English. One must also keep in mind that Old Japanese and Middle Japanese are based on two geographically close and in some respects similar dialects: the dialect of the Yamato plain for Old Japanese and the dialect of Heian-kyô (Kyoto) for Middle Japanese, both belonging to Central Japonic. Nevertheless, these are two different dialects, and there is no direct continuity between

them. Finally, Old Japanese texts offer evidence for yet another different language: Eastern Old Japanese, which belongs to a completely different dialect group.

This grammar deals predominantly with the description of Western Old Japanese from the Yamato plain. The data from Eastern Old Japanese are used only for comparative purposes, thus the reader will not find here a description of any Eastern Old Japanese facts that have no counterparts in Western Old Japanese. Besides Eastern Old Japanese, I also used comparative data from different temporal and geographical varieties of the Ryukyuan language group. A word of caution is in order: besides being a descriptive grammar of Western Old Japanese, this book is also a comparative grammar of Western Old Japanese, but it is *not* a comparative grammar of the Japonic language family.

As the reader will see on several occasions, there are certain differences between early and late Western Old Japanese. Roughly speaking, the tentative boundary between these two varieties is somewhere in the late 740s or early 750s, although there are exceptions. For example, MYS XV includes poems traditionally dated between 736-741 and is better defined as a text written in late Western Old Japanese.

Besides Japonic data, I offered in some cases possible external etymologies for Western Old Japanese morphological markers. This involves data from the 'Altaic' languages (Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, and Korean), but sometimes I also used data from Austronesian and Ainu. I do not think that the Japonic language family is a member of the 'Altaic' language family in the genetic sense (although a remote genetic relationship cannot be denied or disproved), but I think that it is most certainly a member of the 'Altaic' *Sprachbund*, with most intimate ties to Korean. As the reader will find on more than one occasion, there are interesting morphological parallels between Western Old Japanese and Korean which are not found in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan. I believe that these parallels represent early loans from some variety of Old Korean, possibly the language of Paekche, into Western Old

Japanese. There are also possible parallels between Western Old Japanese and other 'Altaic' languages, which, in my opinion also represent traces of ancient contacts. In addition, there are few cases when Western Old Japanese has likely parallels in Ainu or Austronesian, which I believe also presents evidence of contact.

A few words about the presentation of the examples are in order. Examples from Western and Eastern Old Japanese texts are given in four lines: the first line provides the original spelling, the second the transliteration with morpheme breaks, the third glosses, and the fourth the English translation. The same is applicable to the examples from Old Ryukyuan and Old Korean texts. Upper case letters in the second line render the semantographic spelling, and lower case letters the phonetic one. I opted for transliteration rather than transcription for the following reasons. First, although it is believed that the orthographic distinction between *kô-rui* 毛 /mwo/ and *otsu-rui* 母 /mø/ in Western Old Japanese is preserved only in the *Kojiki*, it has been convincingly demonstrated recently that it also at least statistically survives into some later texts (Bentley 1997, 2002). Thus, I transliterate 毛 as /mwo/ and 母 as /mø/ in all Old Japanese texts. Second, it is presumed that Eastern Old Japanese had only five phonemic vowels: /a/, /u/, /i/, /o/, and /e/. However, Eastern Old Japanese texts are written in the Western Old Japanese orthography, which differentiated seven vowels /a/, /u/, /i/, /ï/, /o/, /ʹ/, /e/, and a diphthong /ʹy/. As a result, EOJ vowel /i/ is spelled as WOJ /i/ or /ï/, EOJ /o/ as WOJ /o/ or /ʹ/, and EOJ /e/ as /e/ or /ʹy/. It might seem that these variations could be ignored, and transcription uniformly rendering those as /i/, /o/, and /e/ would be less confusing. However, there is a problem. While EOJ /e/ is indeed spelled as WOJ /e/ or /ʹy/ with almost the same frequency, there is a clear tendency for a frequent variation of other vowel spellings only in certain syllables. One has also to keep in mind that Eastern Old Japanese is a dialect continuum, which was not homogeneous and could be roughly divided into three areas. The study of spelling variation within these areas has not been done so far. Therefore, unifying the transcription of Eastern Old Japanese may be a premature enterprise: we simply cannot throw out the

baby with the bathwater. Thus, transliteration, a more conservative approach, is preferable for the time being. An even more spectacular case involves Old Ryukyuan. It is generally believed that proto-Ryukyuan vowels *o and *e in Old Ryukyuan merged with *u and *i respectively, as they have done in the modern Shuri dialect. Therefore, the tendency is to transcribe Old Ryukyuan syllables spelled with *kana* /Co/ and /Ce/ syllables as /Cu/ and /Ci/ respectively. However, some Old Ryukyuan spellings may be very indicative and reflect the stage before the merger (Serafim, p.c.). Thus, for example, the Old Ryukyuan word for 'dew' is spelled predominantly as *tuyo*, not *tuyu*, and the former is supported by dialect comparative evidence, which points to PR *tuyo, not *tuyu. Therefore, before a thorough study of Old Ryukyuan spellings is done, transliteration is also preferable.

Textual examples from other languages that include various modern Ryukyuan languages and dialects, and 'Altaic' languages are given in three lines: the first line provides transcription with morpheme breaks, the second glosses, and the third gives the English translation. Transcription rather than transliteration seemed to be a better solution here, because the data largely came either from modern languages without a writing system, or from old languages with an established practice of transcription. Whenever possible, I tried to preserve the transcription from original sources, but in certain cases I opted for simplification and unification. For example, I used /y/ for the palatal voiced glide throughout, replacing the IPA [j] that some sources on Ryukyuan and 'Altaic' employed.

When discussing the Eastern Old Japanese data, I frequently employ the reference to three different regions in the Eastern Old Japanese linguistic area: Region A, Region B, and Region C (Hino 2003: 197-201). The provinces are divided as follows: Region A — Simotuke, Kamitufusa; Region B — Hitati, Simotufusa, Kamituke, Musasi, Sagami, Suruga; and Region C — Sinano, Tofotafumi. The division into three regions is due to the fact that Eastern Old Japanese represented a dialect continuum rather than a single language. Region C was the one that was most

influenced by Western Old Japanese; Region A was the least, with Region B representing the intermediate stage.

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Hawaii
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1

SOURCES AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

1.1 SOURCES

This book is predominantly based on Asuka (592-710 CE) and Nara (710-794 CE) periods literary texts written completely or almost completely phonetically in *man'yôgana* syllabic signs (see Chapter 2 for details), with the exception of the *Senmyô* and *Norito*, which have few elements written phonetically.

Nevertheless, these two texts were used extensively in this study, as they are the only representatives of Old Japanese prose. Other texts that are written either completely semantographically, or just partially phonetically were also consulted. However, I only used these sources occasionally as supplemental materials. Supplemental sources were consulted only in cases where the described grammatical forms were either not present at all in major sources or their attestation in major sources was limited and/or insufficient for descriptive purposes. All of the major sources listed below were computerized between 1993-1999 both in their romanization and *man'yôgana* forms, constituting the largest database of phonetically written Old Japanese texts available electronically. Major sources are as follows (in chronological order):

(1) The *Kojiki kayô* [The Songs of the Kojiki] (古事記歌謡, KK) — 112 poems (113 in an alternative count) from the *Kojiki* [The Records of Ancient Matters] (古事記), written completely phonetically. The narrative text itself is written in *hentai kanbun* — Classical Chinese that is influenced considerably by Japanese, and even includes some elements, completely alien to Chinese, such as, e.g., the character 坐 used to indicate the Old Japanese honorific auxiliary *-[i]mas-*. Besides the above-mentioned poems, the text of the *Kojiki* includes a great number of personal names, place names, and even non-proper nouns recorded phonetically. However, this material is more of an interest to a lexicographer, and since the present monograph centers on Old Japanese morphosyntax rather than on Old Japanese vocabulary, for the most part it has been left out. The *Kojiki* text was edited by Ô-no Yasumaro on the orders of Empress Genmei (661-721 CE, ruled in 707-715 CE) in 711 CE and took its final shape in 712 CE, the third year of the Nara period. However, Ô-no Yasumaro's work was based on the corpus of the *Teiô hitsugi* [The Imperial Genealogies] (帝王日継) and the *Sendai Kuji* [Ancient Traditions] (先代旧辞), which Emperor Tenmu (d. 686 CE, ruled 673-686 CE) ordered Hieda-no Are to

recite from his/her[2] memory. It is quite possible that other historical sources of the seventh century, no longer extant today, such as the *Tennôki* [The History of the Imperial Family] (天皇記), the *Kokuki* [The History of the State] (国記), and the *Hongi* [The Official History] (本記) were used, too. All *Kojiki* poems are written completely phonetically, without a single use of a logogram. The language is very archaic, judging from both the spelling system and grammar. Certain grammatical forms and vocabulary items are difficult to explain, so abundant differences in commentaries and explanations exist.

There are numerous modern editions with commentaries of the whole *Kojiki* text as well as of the texts of poems alone. The *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Series of the Japanese Classical Literature] from the Iwanami publishing house include both Tsuchihashi Yutaka's edition and commentary of the poems texts themselves (Tsuchihashi 1957) and Kurano Kenji's edition and commentary of the whole *Kojiki* text (Kurano 1958). Tsuchihasi has also published later a more extended commentary on the *Kojiki* poems (Tsuchihashi 1972). The *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* [A Complete Collection of Japanese Classical Literature] from the Shôgakukan publishing company has Ogihara Asao's commentary of the *Kojiki* text (Ogihara & Kônosu 1973). Another comprehensive edition of the entire *Kojiki* text is found in the *Nihon shisô taikei* [Series on Japanese Thought] from the Iwanami publishing house (Aoki, Ishimoda, Kobayashi, and Saeki 1982). One more detailed commentary on the texts of the poems is by Aiso Teizô (Aiso 1962). Finally, the fundamental *Kojiki taikei* (Series on Kojiki) has to be mentioned: it includes an edition of the text with commentaries (Kurano 1957), as well as detailed indexes (Takagi & Toyama 1974a, 1977), and an edition of the text tailored to indexes (Takagi & Toyama 1974b). As mentioned earlier, the various commentators of the *Kojiki* text disagree on the song count: Tsuchihashi and Aoki et al. recognize 112 songs, while Ogihara, Kurano, and Aiso count 113. The different count starts pretty early

[2] It is not known whether Hieda-no Are was male or female.

in the text: Ogihara, Kurano and Aiso count the KK 3 in Tsuchihashi and Aoki's count as two poems, so Tsuchihashi and Aoki's KK 4 becomes KK 5 in Ogihara, Kurano and Aoki's editions, etc.

I have followed Tsuchihashi and Aoki et al.'s count of 112 poems. In most, but not all cases, I also followed Tsuchihashi in his interpretation of the *Kojiki* poems. There are numerous cases, especially when it comes to obscure passages and words, when I opted for interpretations based on other commentaries mentioned above or even used my own solutions. This critical approach has been adopted not only for the *Kojiki kayô* text but also for the other Old Japanese texts as well. Although such an approach may be seen as eclectic by some, in my opinion it constitutes the only possible option, if one wants to get the most pertinent information on the language of the period, rather than to blindly follow a single commentator.

(2) Four poems from the *Jôgû Shôtoku hôô teisetsu* [A Biography of Prince Shôtoku, King of the Law] (上宮聖徳法王帝説, TS). The *Jôgû Shôtoku hôô teisetsu* is a biography of the prince Shôtoku Taishi. The author is unknown. It is believed to have been compiled in the beginning or the middle of the Heian period, but it is undoubtedly based on the materials from the second part of the seventh century. The text itself is written in *kanbun* (Japanese version of Classical Chinese), but there are four poems and many personal names written phonetically in Old Japanese. Judging by the consistency of spellings (there is no confusion between *kô-rui* /mwo/ and *otsu-rui* /mø/), the poems are likely to belong to Asuka period. The *Jôgû Shôtoku hôô teisetsu* is published with extensive commentaries in the *Shôtoku Taishi shû* by Ienaga Saburô and Tsukishima Hiroshi (Ienaga, Fujieda, Hayashima, and Tsukishima 1975) in the *Nihon shisô taikei* series.

(3) The *Nihonshoki kayô* [The Songs of the *Nihonshoki*] (日本書紀歌謡, NK) — 128 poems from the *Nihonshoki* [The Annals of Japan] (日本書紀), written completely phonetically. The narrative portions of this text, in contrast to the *Kojiki* are written in standard Classical Chinese. Similar to the *Kojiki*, a great number of

personal and place names are also written phonetically, although the number of non-proper nouns recorded is significantly less than in the *Kojiki*. Similar to the same kind of materials in the *Kojiki*, this material is more of interest to a lexicographer, and since the present monograph centers on Old Japanese morphosyntax rather than on Old Japanese vocabulary, for the most part it has been left out. The chief compiler of the *Nihonshoki* is believed to be prince Toneri (676?-735 CE), the third son of Emperor Tenmu, who finished the compilation of this work with his companions, including Ô-no Yasumaro, the compiler of the *Kojiki,* in 720 CE. A significant number of poems recorded in the *Nihonshoki* overlap with those from the *Kojiki*. However, since the *Nihonshoki* mostly uses a different type of spelling system than the *Kojiki* and other Old Japanese texts, it is actually a blessing rather than a curse on a linguist who wants to reconstruct Old Japanese phonology. Both (Mori 1991) and especially recently (Miyake 1999, 2003) utilized this fact to a considerable advantage in their works. The grammar of the language used in the *Nihonshoki* is as archaic as that in the *Kojiki*, but the spelling system in all probability reflects the phonology of the early Nara period rather than the Asuka period.

There are numerous modern editions with commentaries of the entire *Nihonshoki* text as well as of the texts of poems alone. The *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Series of Japanese Classical Literature] from the Iwanami publishing house include both Tsuchihashi Yutaka's edition and commentary of the poems texts themselves (Tsuchihashi 1957) and Sakamoto Tarô, Ienaga Saburô, Inoue Mitsusada, and Ôno Susumu's edition and commentary of the entire *Nihonshoki* text (Sakamoto et al. 1965-67). Tsuchihashi has also published a more extended commentary on the *Nihonshoki* poems (Tsuchihashi 1976). *The Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* [A Complete Collection of Japanese Classical Literature] from the Shôgakukan publishing house has Kônosu Hayao's commentary of the *Nihonshoki* poems texts (Ogihara & Kônosu 1973). One more detailed commentary on the texts of the *Nihonshoki* poems is by Aiso Teizô (Aiso 1962). An important edition without commentaries of the entire *Nihonshoki* text, which shows textual

differences from different variants, is that by Kuroita Katsumi and Maruyama Jirô (1965-66).

In most, but not all cases, I followed Tsuchihashi's commentaries (Tsuchihashi 1957, 1976) in his interpretation of the *Nihonshoki* poems. There are numerous cases, especially those that contained obscure passages and words, when I opted for interpretations based on the other commentaries mentioned earlier or devised my own solutions.

4) The *Fudoki kayô* [The Songs of Fudoki] (風土記歌謡, FK) contains twenty poems. The *Fudoki* [Gazetteers] (風土記) are geographical descriptions of Old Japanese provinces compiled between 713 and 737 CE, on the orders of Empress Genmei in 713 CE. Only the *Izumo fudoki* (出雲風土記), the description of the Izumo province is preserved in full; somewhat less complete are the *Hitachi fudoki* (常陸風土記) and the *Harima fudoki* (播磨風土記), descriptions of Hitachi province in Kantô and Harima province in Kinki. Even less well preserved are the *Hizen fudoki* (肥前風土記) and the *Bungo fudoki* (豊後風土記), the descriptions of Hizen and Bungo provinces in Kyûshû. Descriptions of all other provinces survived only in fragments, if at all. The text of the *Fudoki* is written in *kanbun*, but it contains a significant number of personal names and place names written phonetically in addition to the aforementioned poems. Among the twenty poems, nine belong to the *Hitachi fudoki*. Although not universally recognized, it appears that among the nine poems from the *Hitachi fudoki* two (FK 7 and FK 8) are written in the Eastern Old Japanese, which should come as no surprise, since Hitachi province is located in the Azuma region. On the other hand, it is surprising that the seven other poems from Hitachi have no apparent Eastern Old Japanese features. This might suggest that the compilers of the *Hitachi Fudoki* did some editing.

There are several modern editions of the *Fudoki* texts as well as of its poems. The main edition I relied on was Tsuchihashi's edition of the poems with his commentary (Tsuchihashi 1957), but other editions were also consulted: Kônosu's edition of the *Fudoki*

poems (Ogihara & Kônosu 1973) and Akimoto Kichirô's edition of the whole *Fudoki* text (Akimoto 1958).

5) The *Man'yôshû* [Anthology of Myriad Leaves] (万葉集) is the largest Japanese poetic anthology, consisting of 4,516 poems. The *Man'yôshû* is believed to be compiled chiefly by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi (717(?)-785 CE), a mid- and late- Nara period politician and poet, sometime in or soon after 759 CE.[3] Although the *Man'yôshû,* which consists of twenty volumes (*maki,* 巻), is the largest extant Old Japanese text, it is also the most heterogeneous in a linguistic sense. It includes the texts written both phonetically, partially phonetically, and almost non-phonetically. Some parts of the *Man'yôshû* are written not in the standard Western Old Japanese dialect of the capital Nara and the surrounding areas, but in the Eastern Old Japanese dialect of the Kantô and Southern Chûbu (at that time known as Azuma) areas (all volume XIV and a considerable part of the volume XX). Chronologically, the *Man'yôshû* includes poems composed from the late sixth century, if not earlier, to 759 CE. The present study relies heavily on volumes V, XV, XVII, XVIII, and XX, which reflect Western Old Japanese recorded phonetically or almost completely phonetically, as well as on volumes XIV and XX, where Eastern Old Japanese has been recorded phonetically. In spite of this heavy emphasis on phonetically written texts, other volumes have not been neglected either, and a substantial number of examples from these volumes is provided as well. The heterogeneous nature of the *Man'yôshû* text, as well as its sheer volume, calls for a brief description of each individual volume in this anthology.

MYS I (#1-#84) includes eighty-four miscellaneous poems (*zôka*, 雑歌),[4] arranged in chronological order. Tradition attributes

[3] The last poem in the *Man'yôshû*, MYS XX: 4516, was composed by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi at the New Year's banquet in 759 CE.

[4] Miscellaneous poems *(zôka*) represent poems composed on occasions of royal trips, banquets, journeys, nature, miscellaneous objects, etc. The classification of poetic genres in the *Man'yôshû* is based largely on the Chinese model, but at many times it turns out to be difficult to squeeze Japanese poetry into the Procrustean bed of the Chinese one. Quite frequently, the Chinese genre classification is

the poems of MYS I from the rule of Emperor Yûryaku (雄略 457-473 CE) to the Nara period (710-784 CE), but most likely the earliest specimens do not predate the early seventh century. There are different authors in this volume, but there is quite a significant percentage of poems written by or attributed to emperors and empresses. This volume exhibits predominantly mixed semantographic and phonetic spelling, although quite a few songs are written with very few phonetic elements at all, or, just the opposite include quite a good portion of phonetic writing. My own electronic database of Old Japanese texts includes only MYS V, XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, and XX, which constitute the major sources for this grammar. MYS I was used as a supplemental source for this grammar, and I did not computerize it myself or other remaining volumes of the *Man'yôshû*, but now an electronic version of it is available on a new *Man'yôshû* CD-ROM (Kinoshita 2001).

MYS II (#85-#234) includes 150 poems of love and affection (*sômon*, 相聞)[5] and elegies (*banka*, 挽歌),[6] also arranged in chronological order. Tradition attributes the poems of MYS II from the rule of Emperor Nintoku (仁徳 313-393 CE) to the 715 CE, but most likely the earliest specimens do not predate the early seventh century, either. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling is largely semantographic, with a few phonetic elements, normally indicating particles or (more seldom) other grammatical elements. MYS II was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS III (#235-#483) includes 249 poems in the genres of *zôka*, *banka*, and allegorical poems (*hiyuka*, 比喩歌). Not arranged in chronological order, but according to tradition the poems range from the end of the sixth century to 748 CE. As is the case with the

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violated, or even outright replaced with a more appropriate Japanese one, as, e.g. *mondôka* 'question and answer poems' alien to the Chinese poetic system.

[5] Besides the usual love songs, poems of love and affection (*sômon*) also include poems on friendship and relationship between sovereign and retainer.

[6] Elegies (*banka*) are poems on death, parting, sorrow, and absence from the capital.

two previous volumes, the earliest poems are unlikely to be earlier than the early seventh century. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling is largely semantographic, with few phonetic elements. The spelling system is very close to the one employed in MYS II, although some grammatical elements appear to be spelled phonetically more frequently than in MYS II. MYS III was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS IV (#484-#792) includes 309 poems in the *sômon* genre, ranging chronologically according to the tradition from the rule of Emperor Nintoku (仁徳 313-393 CE) to the 748 CE, but most likely the earliest specimens do not predate early seventh century, either. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is identical with MYS III. MYS IV was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS V (#793-#906) includes 114 poems considered to be traditionally in the *zôka* genre, although some of them can be definitely classified as *banka*, since they deal with death and sorrow. All the poems in this volume were composed between 724 and 734 CE, which represents a much greater chronological homogeneity in comparison with MYS I - IV. Most of the poems in this volume belong to Yamanoue-no Okura (山上憶良, 660-733 CE), one of the greatest *Man'yôshû* poets, who was possibly a Korean from Kudara (Paekche), or at least a descendant of Kudara immigrants to Japan. Yamanoue-no Okura is also well known an outstanding scholar of the Chinese classics and Buddhism. In addition to his poetic and scholarly talents, Yamanoue-no Okura had an illustrious career in the Asuka and Nara periods. After being a member of the Japanese embassy to Tang China in 702 CE, he served through different appointments, rising higher and higher, until he became the governor-general of *Dazaifu* in Kyûshû (*Dazai-no sochi*, 太宰帥), a highly elevated position that could only be granted to a person who held a Third Rank at court. The spelling system in this volume is predominantly phonetic, with rather few exceptions. In addition, the spelling system appears to reflect early Western Old Japanese, as demonstrated by Bentley 1997. The same can be said about its overall grammatical features. Together with

the *Kojiki kayô, Jôgû Shôtoku hôô teisetsu, Nihonshoki kayô, and Fudoki kayô* it constitutes one of the sources on early Western Old Japanese. MYS V was used as a major source for this grammar and was fully computerized.

MYS VI (#907-#1067) includes 161 poems in the *sômon* genre. All of these poems date from 723-744 CE, representing a just slightly less tight chronological frame than MYS V. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic, being identical to the one employed in MYS II and MYS IV. MYS VI was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS VII (#1068-#1417) includes 350 poems written in the *sômon* genre. Most of the poems in this volume have no dates, but they are usually believed to be from the first part of the eighth century. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. Mizushima Yoshiharu believes that poem #1265 in this volume is a *Sakimori* poem (Mizushima 2003: 863). However, the poem in question is written almost completely in semantographic script, therefore it is impossible to define whether it represents an Eastern Old Japanese text. MYS VII was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS VIII (#1418-#1663) includes 246 poems in the *zôka* and *sômon* genres. Similar to MYS VII, most of the poems in this volume have no dates, but they are believed to be from the late seventh — early eighth centuries. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS VIII was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS IX (#1664-#1811) includes 148 poems in the *zôka*, *sômon*, and *banka* genres. The poems in the *zôka* genre date up to 729 CE, and the rest are undated, but probably no poems are earlier than the late seventh century. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS IX was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS X (#1822-#2350) includes 539 poems in the *zôka* and *sômon* genres tailored to the four seasons. These poems are traditionally believed to be from the end of the seventh century, but

it is also possible that some of them were composed in the eighth. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS X was used as a supplemental source for this grammar. By the number of the poems included, this is the largest volume in the *Man'yôshû*.

MYS XI (#2351-#2840) includes 490 poems: 477 anonymous poems in the *sômon* genre without dates and thirteen poems in the *hiyuka* genre from the late seventh — early eighth centuries. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS XI was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS XII (#2841-#3220) includes 380 poems in the *sômon* genre. This general classification is violated though, as this volume includes also poems on travel and parting, which are not normally classified as *sômon*. In addition, another genre of 'question and answer poems' (*mondôka*, 問答歌)[7] is included in this volume, which does not fit into traditional Chinese classification of poetry. Dates are unknown, but most likely these poems are from the late seventh — early eighth centuries. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS XII was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS XIII (#3221-#3347) includes 127 poems in the *sômon*, *zôka*, *mondôka*, *hiyuka*, and *banka* genres. None of the poems is dated, but probably none is later than the end of the seventh century. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS XIII was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS XIV (#3348-#3577) includes 230 poems in *zôka, sômon, hiyuka*, and *banka* genres. These poems are written in the Eastern Old Japanese (Azuma) dialect. The modern descendant of Eastern Old Japanese survives only in the Hachijô and Aogashima islands; everywhere else in the Kantô region it has been replaced by a variety of Central Japanese. Thus, MYS XIV along with the

[7] Question and answer poems (*mondôka*) are paired poems, where person A asks a question with a poem, and person B replies to this question also with a poem.

sakimori (border guards) poems in MYS XX are a unique source for knowing the non-Central Japanese dialect in the shape it was attested in the eighth century. The poems in this volume are all anonymous and are undated, but at the same time in slightly less than half of the poems there is an indication from which province in the East (吾妻／東国, Azuma) a poem comes from. Technically speaking, MYS XIV also includes five poems (#3567-#3571) composed by border guards. With a very few marginal exceptions the spelling system is entirely phonetic. MYS XIV is the major source for comparative data from Eastern Old Japanese used in this grammar, and it was fully computerized. It must be noted though, that a number of poems in MYS XIV look like they are written in flawless Western Old Japanese. These poems, therefore, constitute a dubious source, and whenever I cite the material attested in these poems below, I indicate that the poems in question do not exhibit any Eastern Old Japanese features.

MYS XV (#3578-#3785) includes 208 poems in different genres. Among them, 145 poems belong to members of diplomatic mission to the Silla kingdom (新羅, *Shiragi*) in 736 CE. The remaining sixty-three poems represent the poetic exchange between Nakatomi-no Yakamori (中臣宅守) and his beloved Sano-no otogami-no wotome (狭野弟上娘子), which was probably composed before 741 CE,[8] while he was in exile in Echizen (越前) province. Nineteen poems are composed by Sano-no otogami-no wotome and forty-four by Nakatomi-no Yakamori. The spelling is predominantly phonetic, but in a few occasions semantographic spelling is used. MYS XV is a major source for this grammar, and it was fully computerized. The language of MYS XV is best defined as late Western Old Japanese.

[8] The date of 741 CE is somewhat tentative. The name of Nakatomi-no Yakamori does not appear among those who were subject to the great amnesty in the sixth month of 741 CE, but it is suggested that he was pardoned before that, in the spring of 741 CE. More than twenty years later, Nakatomi-no Yakamori was making more or less a successful career at the court, as he was promoted from the sixth rank to the lower fifth rank in 763 CE.

MYS XVI (#3786-#3889) includes 104 poems in a subvariety of the *zôka* genre: miscellaneous poems on occasion (有由縁雑歌, *yoshi aru zôka*). None of the poems is dated, but probably none is earlier than the eighth century. The poems were composed by various authors. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. MYS XVI was used as a supplemental source for this grammar.

MYS XVII (#3890-#4031) includes 142 poems with unspecified genres. All poems in this volume were either composed or collected by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi (大伴家持) during 730-748 CE. It is believed that Ôtomo-no Yakamochi (717(?)-785 CE), the son of another *Man'yôshû* poet, Ôtomo-no Tabito (大伴旅人, 665-731 CE) was the chief compiler of the whole *Man'yôshû* anthology, and he is also known as one of the best *Man'yôshû* poets himself. Similar to Yamanoue-no Okura and other *Man'yôshû* poets, he combined his poetic activities with political career, although in the latter he was not as successful as Yamanoue-no Okura. Throughout his life he had to struggle with the declining fortunes of the Ôtomo clan, one of the greatest aristocratic families of the Asuka period, whose role in the Nara period greatly diminished. Ôtomo-no Yakamochi spent five years (746-751 CE) as the governor of Etchû (越中) province, and he returned to Nara in 751 CE with the title of junior counselor (少納言, *shônagon*), corresponding to the lower adjunct fifth court rank — quite low for the scion of a famous and noble family. Only in 783 CE, two years before his death, was he promoted to middle counselor (中納言, *chûnagon*), a title corresponding to the third court rank. The spelling system in this volume is predominantly phonetic, although semantographic spelling is also used. MYS XVII is a major source for this grammar, and it was fully computerized. The language of MYS XVII is best defined as late Western Old Japanese.

MYS XVIII (#4032-#4138) includes 107 poems with unspecified genres. All poems in this volume were either composed or collected by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi during 748-750 CE, while he was the governor of Etchû province. The spelling system is

predominantly phonetic, although semantographic spelling is also used. MYS XVIII is a major source for this grammar, and it was fully computerized. The language of MYS XVIII is best defined as late Western Old Japanese.

MYS XIX (#4139-#4292) includes 154 poems with unspecified genres. Most are composed by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi (103 poems), and the rest of the poems, collected by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi belong to different authors. The poems were composed or collected between 750-753 CE, but the distinct peculiarity of this volume is that it includes a number of rather old poems, the oldest being from the end of the seventh century (#4260). Overall, however, the language of this volume is best defined as late Western Old Japanese. The spelling system of MYS XIX is somewhat unique: overall it is mostly semantographic, but at the same time there are quite long sequences in many poems written phonetically. Due to this peculiarity, MYS XIX was computerized, but it is still used in this grammar as a supplemental and not a major source.

MYS XX (#4293-#4516) includes 224 poems with unspecified genres. Like the three previous volumes, the poems in MYS XX are either collected or composed by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi in 753-759 CE. However, in contrast to the previous volume, MYS XIX, the poems in MYS XX are mostly collected. 107 poems, slightly less than half of all the poems included in MYS XX (#4321-#4359, #4363-#4394, and #4401-#4436) were composed by border guards (*sakimori*) in Eastern Old Japanese.[9] Together with the poems from MYS XIV they constitute a major source on Eastern Old Japanese. However, the volume XX of the *Man'yôshû* is linguistically split: poems #4293-#4320, #4360-#4362, #4395-#4400, and #4437-#4516 are written in late Western Old Japanese, while poems #4321-#4359, #4363-#4394, and #4401-#4436 are in Eastern Old Japanese. Therefore, MYS XX is used as a major source for this grammar in two respects: poems written in Western Old Japanese constitute the basis for the main part of this grammar, concentrating

[9] Since there are sometimes different points of view whether a given poem is a Sakimori poem, I followed (Mizushima 1996) in making a determination.

on Western Old Japanese, and poems in Eastern Old Japanese is the major source for comparative data from Eastern Old Japanese. MYS XX was fully computerized.

Annotating in detail all modern editions of the *Man'yôshû* with commentaries will undoubtedly require a full monograph treatment, roughly comparable in size to the present book. Therefore, only major editions relevant to this study will be discussed below. The main edition I relied on is by Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, and Ônо Susumu in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Takagi et al. 1957-62). Other important editions that were consulted quite frequently are: Kojima Noriyuki, Kinoshita Masatoshi, and Satake Akihiro's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* (Kojima et al. 1971-75); Nakanishi Susumu's edition (Nakanishi 1984), more readily available today in paperback (Nakanishi 1978-83),[10] and the twenty-two-volume edition by Omodaka Hisataka (Omodaka 1984), including a separate volume on each of the *Man'yôshû*'s *maki*, an index volume, and a volume with the original text (本文, *honbun*). I also occasionally consulted another multivolume edition of the *Man'yôshû* by Tsuchiya Fumiaki (Tsuchiya 1976-77), although in many respects it is inferior to the one done by Omodaka. Recently, a new edition by Satake Akihiro, Yamada Hideo, Ôtani Masao, and Yamazaki Yoshiyuki appeared in the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Satake et al. 1999-2003). Only two volumes comprising MYS I to MYS X were published at the moment of this writing. Therefore, this new edition could be consulted only to a limited extent. There are also several editions presenting only parts of the *Man'yôshû* written in Eastern Old Japanese: MYS XIV and border guards poems from MYS XX. Mizushima Yoshiharu's edition of MYS XIV together with indexes is one of the best publications the Japanese philological tradition ever produced: it combines photocopies of all manuscript variants of the original text, Mizushima's readings with commentaries, and all imaginable indexes (Mizushima 1984a). Somewhat less detailed

[10] The paperback edition also has another important advantage: it includes the *Man'yôshû jiten* [The *Man'yôshû* encyclopedia] by the same author, which is not included in the hardback edition.

but still very useful is Mizushima Yoshiharu's edition of both MYS XIV and the border guards' poems from MYS XX (much fewer indexes are provided) (Mizushima 1996). Hoshino Yukihiko's edition of the border guards' poems conveniently combines many of the old commentaries on them (Hoshino 1976). To a certain extent, I also consulted Jan L. Pierson's edition and translation of the *Man'yôshû* (Pierson 1929-1966). Although this monumental publication remains the only complete English translation, it is seriously dated in many respects.

Any work on such an enormous text as the *Man'yôshû* is impossible without appropriate indexes. Besides the aforementioned 1984 index by Omodaka, I also extensively used Masamune Atsuo's two-volume index (Masamune 1974) and the index to the poetic lines in the *Man'yôshû* (Hiyoshi 1992). The *Man'yôshû jiten* [Man'yôshû encyclopedia] by Sasaki Nobutsuna has also proven to be very useful (Sasaki 1983). Finally, when the first volume of this work was close to completion, I obtained a new CD-ROM edition of the *Man'yôshû* by Kinoshita Masatoshi (Kinoshita 2001), which was also very helpful.

6) The *Bussoku seki no uta* or *Bussoku seki ka* [Poems about the stone with footprints of the Buddha] (仏足石歌) contains twenty-one poems, preserved as an inscription on a stone now in the possession of the Yakushiji temple in Nara. Poems #11 and #21 have multiple lacunae, and poem #12 is also damaged in two places. The exact date of the inscription is believed to be the same as on the adjacent stone depicting the footprint of Buddha, which was engraved on the request of prince Chinu (智奴王) in 753 CE (Tsuchihashi 1957: 7). Chinu was probably the author of these poems. The spelling system is completely phonetic. The poems were used as a major source for this study and they are completely computerized. The language of the poems is late Western Old Japanese.

The editions of the *Bussoku seki no uta* I used are Tsuchihashi Yutaka's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Tsuchihashi 1957) and Kônosu Hayao's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* (Ogihara & Kônosu 1973). There is also Roy A.

Miller's critical edition (Miller 1975), but it is plagued with so many philological mistakes and inconsistencies aggravated by unjustified *ad hominem* attacks that most of the references made to it in the present study are of a critical nature.

7) The *Shoku Nihongi kayô* [Poems from the 'Sequence to the Annals of Japan'] (続日本紀歌謡) contains eight poems from the *Shoku Nihongi* [Sequence to the Annals of Japan] (続日本紀). The *Shoku Nihongi* was compiled by Sugano-no Mamichi (菅野真道) and others in 797 CE. It comprises forty volumes (*maki*), and describes events from 697 to 791 CE. The poems themselves range from 738 CE to the reign of Emperor Kônin (光仁, 770-781 CE), clearly representing late Western Old Japanese. The spelling is phonetic. The poems were used as a major source and are fully computerized.

The editions of the *Shoku Nihongi kayô* I used are Tsuchihashi Yutaka's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Tsuchihashi 1957) and Kônosu Hayao's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku zenshû* (Ogihara & Kônosu 1973). Also, there is a recent edition of the complete *Shoku Nihongi* text in five volumes in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Aoki et al. 1989-98), by Aoki Kazuo, Inaoka Kôji, Sasayama Haruo, and Shirafuji Noriyuki, accompanied by a separate volume with an index and chronological charts by Sasayama Haruo and Yoshimura Takehiko (Sasayama & Yoshimura 2000), which was also consulted.

8) The *Senmyô* or *Mikotonori* [Imperial edicts] (宣命) contains sixty-two edicts recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi* and one more edict on the vow to the Asuka temple, which was discovered among the Gangôji temple documents. The earliest edict is from 697 CE and the latest one is dated by 789 CE. In spite of the fact that most of the edicts except the first eight are dated from 742 CE, they probably represent mostly early Western Old Japanese, since the language appears to be quite archaic in many respects. The archaic nature of the language is probably due to the ritual role of the imperial edicts. The spelling is predominantly semantographic, with only some grammatical elements and proper names spelled

phonetically. Nevertheless, the *Senmyô* text was treated as a major source for this study, because it is the only Old Japanese text written in prose that is quite homogeneous, and recorded quite early in contrast to another Old Japanese text, *Norito* [Liturgies] that is less homogeneous and was not recorded until the tenth century. The text of the *Senmyô* was fully computerized.

I used two editions of the *Senmyô*: Kaneko Takeo's edition with extensive commentaries (Kaneko 1989) and Kitagawa Kazuhide's edition without commentaries but with several comprehensive indexes and with indication of textual variants (Kitagawa 1982), which perfectly complement each other. In addition, the full edition of the *Shoku Nihongi* text (Aoki et al. 1989-98) was also consulted.

9) The *Norito* [Liturgies] (祝詞) is a heterogeneous text, where the first fifteen liturgies found in volume eight of the *Engishiki* [Ceremonies of the Engi years] (延喜式) reflect pre-750 Western Old Japanese, and others from this volume were written after this date, possibly even in early Heian period (Bentley 2001: 25-26). One more *Norito* that appears to be ancient (Bentley 2001: 26) is found in volume sixteen of the *Engishiki*. The *Norito* uses the same type of mixed semantographic-phonetic script as the *Senmyô*. The *Norito* was used as a supplemental source for this grammar, for two reasons. First, the combined text of the sixteen *Norito* that can be dated safely as Old Japanese is relatively short, and there is much longer text of the *Senmyô* that also represents prose. Second, there is a detailed grammar of these sixteen *Norito* in English (Bentley 2001).

I mostly relied on Bentley's critical text (Bentley 2001: 264-73), but in addition I also consulted Takeda Yûkichi's critical edition (Takeda 1974).

10) The *Nihon ryôiki or Nihon reiiki* [Japanese tales of wonders] (日本霊異記) is a collection of stories and legends with a didactic Buddhist flavor in three volumes (*maki*). It was compiled by the Yakushiji temple monk Keikai (景戒) in the beginning of the Heian period and includes stories up to the 824 CE, which is usually believed to be the year of its compilation. The *Nihon ryôiki* is a text

written in *kanbun*, but it contains invaluable lexical material and also occasional phrases and sentences written phonetically in Old Japanese. The *Nihon ryôiki* Old Japanese fragments represent late Western Old Japanese, and the text was used as a supplemental source for this study.

I used Endô Yoshimoto and Kasuga Kazuo's critical edition of the *Nihon ryôiki* in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Endô & Kasuga 1967).

11) The *Kagura uta* [Songs for the Sacred Shintô dances] (神楽歌) — 102 songs, preserved in the *man'yôgana* writing, probably dating from the eighth to the ninth centuries.[11] The language of these poems is somewhat mixed: it contains obvious innovations alongside apparent archaisms, so it is difficult to classify it as either early or late Western Old Japanese. Due to its heterogeneous nature, the *Kagura uta* were used as a supplemental source for the present study.

I used Konishi Jin'ichi's critical edition of the *Kagura uta* in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series (Konishi 1957).

12) The Shôsôin documents, the documents dating from the seventh to the eighth centuries preserved in the Shôsôin (正倉院) imperial repository in Nara. Similar to the *Nihon ryôiki*, most documents are written in *kanbun*, and have only lexical data, occasional phrases or sentences written phonetically in the *man'yôgana* script. Therefore, the Shôsôin documents were used as a supplemental source for this study.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no annotated edition of the Shôsôin documents. I used the multivolume photocopy edition prepared by the Imperial Household Agency (宮内庁) (Kunaichô 1990).

Since this is not just a descriptive grammar, a brief outline of the texts written in languages other than Eastern Old Japanese and used as a source for comparison with Western Old Japanese is in order.

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[11] Seven more are known in the later *kana* writing: seven are preserved in the *Kokin wakashû* poetic anthology (921 CE) and two more in the *Utsuho monogatari* (early tenth century), but these clearly represent Middle and not Old Japanese.

First, and foremost it certainly involves the sister language of Old Japanese, the Ryukyuan language. I extensively used data from both Old Ryukyuan and modern Ryukyuan dialects. The data for the latter are taken from various published sources, which are mentioned in the body of the grammar. For Old Ryukyuan, the data come from the following two sources:

13) The *Omoro sôshi* [Omoro Records] (おもろさうし) — 1,554 poems in Old Ryukyuan, mostly reflecting the variety spoken in and around the capital city of Shuri (首里), but also possibly reflecting to a certain extent the dialects of the outer islands. The poems were recorded in the sixteenth — seventeenth centuries. Many of them have an apparent sacral nature. The poems are recorded in a pseudo-phonetic variety of the *hiragana* script, exhibiting very strong influence on spellings from the mainland Japanese, with very few semantographic signs present. The mainland influence makes the deciphering of the proper Old Ryukyuan phonetic properties based on the *Omoro sôshi* a very cumbersome and unreliable business, although recently Serafim proposed some interesting insights (see preface for details). Nevertheless, the morphosyntactic structure of the language is reflected quite well even in this imperfect script, and since the morphosyntax of Old Japanese is the primary object of this study, the *Omoro sôshi* was used as a major comparative source.

I used two modern critical editions of the *Omoro sôshi*: Hokama Shuzen and Saigô Nobutsuna's edition in the *Nihon shisô taikei* series (Hokama & Saigô 1972), and Hokama Shuzen's recent critical edition accompanied with translation into modern Japanese (Hokama 2000).

14) The *Ryûka* [Ryukyuan Songs] (琉歌) — 5,100 poems from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The poems are recorded in the same cumbersome *hiragana* script, but with a higher percentage of semantographic writing. Similar to the *Omoro sôshi*, it is a good source on Old Ryukyuan morphosyntax, but not so much on its phonology.

I used Shimizu Akira's edition of the *Ryûka* (Shimizu 1994), which includes romanization and translation into modern Japanese.

In addition, the critical edition by Shimabukuro Seibin and Onaga Toshio (Shimabukuro & Onaga 1968) was also used.

Also, a number of texts written in other 'Altaic' languages (Korean, Manchu-Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic), which contain some comparative material relevant to the history of Japonic, were consulted.

Korean

15) The *Hyangka* [Songs of the Motherland] (郷歌), twenty-six poems from the sixth to the tenth centuries. There are fourteen *Hyangka* poems from the sixth to the eighth centuries, recorded in the historical-mythological source *Samkwuk yusa* [Events Remaining from the Three Kingdoms] (三国遺事) compiled by monk Ilyen (一然) in 1283 CE, eleven recorded in the *Kyunye cen* [Biography of Kyunye] (均如伝, 1079 CE), attributed to the tenth-century Korean monk Kyunye, and one preserved in the *Kolye sa* [Koryo history] (高麗史, fourteenth century), representing a poem from the tenth century. I used Kim Wancin's and Yu Changkyun's editions of the *Hyangka* (Kim 1980), (Yu 1996).

16) The *Yongpi echenka* [Songs of the Dragons Flying in the Sky] (龍飛御天歌), the first text written in *hankul*, the newly invented Korean alphabet, in 1447 C.E. It is a long poem in 125 stanzas. Many archaic features of the language, not found in even slightly later texts, are preserved in this text. I used the edition with commentary by Kim Sangek (Kim 1983) and the facsimile edition from the Academy of Korean Studies (Hankwukhak yenkwuwen 1988.6).

17) The *Sekpo sangcel* [Buddha jataka stories] (釈譜詳節), compiled by prince Swuyang (首陽) (future king Seycwo (世祖)) in 1449 CE on occasion of queen Swohen's (昭憲) death. I used the facsimile edition from the Academy of Korean Studies (Hankwukhak yenkwuwen 1988.3).

18) The *Welin sekpo* [*Welin chen kang ci kwok* and *Sekpo sangcel* combined] (月印釈譜), a combined edition of the *Sekpo sangcel* and *Welin chen kang ci kwok* [A Song for the Moon

Reflected in One Thousand Rivers] (月印千江之曲, 1449 CE) done by a group of Confucian scholars on the orders of King Seycwo in 1459 CE. I used Kang Kyusen's facsimile edition with commentary of volumes 1-2 (Kang 1998) and Kim Yengpay's facsimile edition with commentary of volumes 7-10 (Kim 1993, 1994) and Cang Seykyeng's facsimile edition with commentary of volumes 17-18 (Cang 1995).

19) *Kumkang kyeng samka hay* [An Explanation of the Diamond Sutra by Three Scholars] (金剛經三家解), an annotated edition and translation into Korean of the *Diamond Sutra*, published in 1482 CE. I used the facsimile edition from the Hankul Society (Hankul hakhoy 1960-1961).

Tungusic

Tungusic languages do not have a long written history, with the exception of Jurchen and Manchu. Data from these languages were taken from a number of publications mentioned in the body of the present grammar. The Manchu texts used for comparative purposes are:

20) The *Manju-i Yargiyan Kooli* [The Manchu Veritable Records], compiled probably in the late seventeenth century. The text is also known in its Mongolian and Chinese versions. I used the facsimile edition from (Zhonghua shu chubanshe 1986).

21) The *Taizu Hûwangdi Ming gurun-i cooha-be Sargû alin-de ambarame efulehe baita-be tucibume araha bithe* [The Book Describing the Event of how the Founder of the Dynasty Completely Destroyed the Ming Army at the Sargu Mountain], probably written in late seventeenth — early eighteenth centuries. I used A. O. Ivanovskii's edition (Ivanovskii 1893).

Mongolic

The comparative data from various Mongolic languages, both old and modern, were taken from a number of publications mentioned in the body of the grammar. No original texts were consulted.

Turkic

Most of comparative data cited are from the Old Turkic language of the Orkhon inscriptions. Occasionally, references are made to other old and modern Turkic languages. These references are based on various publications mentioned in the body of the present grammar.

22) The Toñuquq Inscription, erected ca. 720 CE. A memorial to Toñuquq, the great statesman and commander-in-chief of the Second Turkic Khanate.

23) The Kül Tegin Inscription, erected in 732 CE. An inscription erected to commemorate prince Kül of the Second Turkic Khanate.

I used the editions of both inscriptions published by Sergei Malov (Malov 1951)) and Talât Tekin (Tekin 1968).

1.2 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The best studied aspect of Western Old Japanese, both inside and outside Japan, is its phonology. Numerous monographs, dissertations, and articles have been written on Old Japanese phonology, such as (Arisaka 1932, 1955), (Hashimoto 1938, 1950, 1966), (Pierson 1929), (Yoshitake 1934), (Ôno 1953), (Mabuchi 1957), (Lange 1973), (Unger 1977), (Whitman 1985), (Martin 1987), (Mori 1991), (Morishige 1993), (Bentley 1997), (Miyake 1999, 2003). I will not discuss in detail the previous work on Old Japanese phonology here, as the present work centers on the morphosyntax of Western Old Japanese. Interested readers can find a wonderful and most up-to-date discussion of all previous scholarship in the field of Western Old Japanese phonology in Marc Miyake's dissertation (Miyake 1999: 90-129), or his recent book (Miyake 2003: 43-65).

In contrast to the research on Western Old Japanese phonology, there are very few general descriptions of the Western Old Japanese language grammar published even in Japanese. Surprisingly enough, none of these descriptions is complete. The main and the most detailed of them is Yamada Yoshio's grammar, first published in 1912, which since underwent several enlarged and corrected editions and many reprints (Yamada 1954). This

grammar is accessible only to the people who have mastered Classical Japanese, as it is written in *bungo*. It is quite detailed, but nevertheless it is not complete: several areas of Old Japanese morphosyntax are not treated at all, for example, there is no discussion of numerals. In addition, Yamada's grammar does not really differentiate between Western and Eastern Old Japanese, treating them as if they were data from the same language, although he dedicates a special chapter in his grammar on the special 'grammar usage' of Eastern Old Japanese. Besides Yamada's grammar, which in spite of its shortcomings remains the most authoritative treatment of Western Old Japanese grammar to date, there are also several much shorter works. Saeki Umetomo's first grammar of Old Japanese *Jôko no kokugo* (Saeki 1933), limited to just 117 pages, is best defined as a sketch of Old Japanese. A later version of the same book appeared under a different title *Nara jidai no kokugo* (Saeki 1950), which has since undergone several new enlarged and improved editions. It can be used as a very good introduction to Old Japanese, but nevertheless it still remains too sketchy in many details. The recent Old Japanese grammar by Shirafuji Noriyuki (Shirafuji 1987), also suffers from incompleteness: there is no treatment of nouns, pronouns, and numerals in his grammar. However, Shirafuji's grammar is a welcome development in many aspects, such as, for example, the verbal system, and it is more detailed than Saeki's grammar in the areas it describes. There is only one general grammatical sketch of Old Japanese written in a Western language (Syromiatnikov 1972).

There are also several studies of various aspects of Old Japanese grammar that do not represent systematic grammars, such as Mabuchi Kazuo's two books on Old Japanese, treating separate issues of phonology, lexicon, and morphosyntax (Mabuchi 1972, 1999), and two monographs by Saeki Umetomo dealing with some phonological, morphological, or even textual aspects of Old Japanese texts (Saeki 1963, 1965). In addition, there are several monograph-length treatments of the language of particular Old Japanese texts (Kotani 1986), (Iwai 1981), (Matsuo 1978), (Bentley

2001); or of particular parts of grammar (Yoshida 1973), (Wada 1994).

The grammatical description of Eastern Old Japanese actually fared much better than that of Western Old Japanese: there are three comprehensive monographs on the subject. Hôjô Tadao's monograph (Hôjô 1966) is predominantly on script and phonology, although it does include a grammatical description as well. A slightly shorter description by Fukuda Yoshisuke (Fukuda 1965) has a more balanced presentation of phonology and grammar, although Hôjô's study is much more detailed regarding phonology. A more recent study of Eastern Old Japanese with a balanced presentation of phonology and grammar is that of Mizushima Yoshiharu (Mizushima 1984b). This wonderful study is also supported with accurate statistical analysis.

In addition, there are also a number of studies on particular grammar topics that do not differentiate between the Asuka-Nara period language and Heian period language, e.g. (Nakanishi 1996), lumping them together as *kodaigo* (古代語) 'Old [Japanese] language', in opposition to the terminology that differentiates these two: *jôdaigo* (上代語) 'Old Japanese' and *tyûkogo* (中古語) 'late Old Japanese'. While there are certain commonalities between these two periods, in my opinion they do represent two different historical stages of the Japanese language, corresponding to Old and Middle Japanese. Therefore, these kinds of studies were consulted minimally, since they are anachronistic, confusing two different periods of language history.

Needless to say, there are hundreds of articles published on various aspects of Western Old Japanese grammar. It is neither possible nor necessary to mention them all in this introductory chapter; the reader will find references to some of them throughout the text and in the bibliography.

2

SCRIPT AND PHONOLOGY

This chapter presents a brief outline of Old Japanese script and phonology. I tried to concentrate here on a concise presentation of a state-of-art understanding of both Old Japanese script and phonology to the extent it is necessary for those whose primary goal is learning the Western Old Japanese language and desiring a better understanding of Western Old Japanese texts. Meanwhile, I avoided a detailed treatment of some controversial questions that are predominantly of interest to the specialists in Japanese historical phonology, since dealing with these questions merits its own monograph. Those readers who are interested in a deeper treatment of Old Japanese graphemics and phonetics are referred to an excellent recent monograph by Marc Miyake (2003). I followed Miyake's solutions for many of the controversial questions the reader is going to see below.

I used the Yale system for transliterating Old Japanese data throughout this book with two exceptions. First, instead of Yale underlined o for *otsu-rui* /o/ vowel (phonetically [ʻ]), I use a

diagonally crossed *ø*. Second, the prenasalized voiced stops and fricative are rendered not as *b, d, g*, and *z*, but as *Np, Nt, Nk* and *Ns*. As the reader will see on many occasions, such a convention, no matter how 'ugly' it may seem, simplifies the morphemic analysis of Old Japanese tremendously, because very often morphemic boundaries are between the prenasalization /N/ and the following consonant.

2.1 SCRIPT

There are several writing systems used in Western Old Japanese texts. Most of our major sources are written in either completely phonetic syllabic script usually called *man'yôgana* (万葉仮名), or in a mixed semantographic-phonetic script, where Chinese characters can be used either semantographically or phonetically. There are two varieties of the mixed script: one where both semantograms and phonograms are written in the same size and the one where phonograms are written in the smaller size than the semantograms. The second variety is called *Senmyôgaki* 'Senmyô writing' (宣命書), and as the name suggests, it is used in the *Senmyô* and also in the *Norito*. Other texts with mixed script use the first type with the semantograms and phonograms of the same size. A number of poems in the *Man'yôshû* are written exclusively with semantograms so that the text represents a Chinese rather than a Japanese text, where scribes attempted to sinicize the script as much as possible, rendering even Japanese grammatical elements with their approximate Chinese equivalents. For example, OJ *myi-Ns-u* 'see-NEG-FIN' can be written as MC 不見 [put kEn^{h}] 'NEG see', with the negative particle preceding the verb unlike OJ, where negative suffix follows the verbal stem. With the exception of *Senmyôgaki*, which seems to be restricted to the *Senmyô, Norito*, and one poem in the *Shoku Nihongi kayô* (SNK 8), there are, of course, all imaginable combinations of phonetic, mixed semantographic-phonetic and 'pure' semantographic scripts, where both 'sinicization' and density of semantograms varies to a considerable degree. In some rare cases it may be difficult to draw

exact boundary between phonetic and semantographic usage. For example, the word *umey* 'plum blossom' is frequently written as *uMEY* (宇梅) (MYS 843, 3904, 3906, etc.), where the second character is simultaneously a phonogram for syllable /mey/ and a semantogram 'plum blossom.' Finally, there are different types of rebus writing that are occasionally used in the *Man'yôshû*.

2.1.1 SYLLABIC SCRIPT

The *man'yôgana* syllabic script is represented by two types: *ongana* and *kungana*. *Ongana* employs Japanicized EMC or LMC readings of the characters for phonetic values of the syllables, e.g. EMC 加 [ka-t] 'add' is used as a syllabic sign with the reading /ka/. There are two varieties of *ongana*: variety A, based on EMC readings of the Chinese characters, and variety B, based on LMC readings. Variety A is the dominant one: it is used in all OJ texts except the *Nihonshoki*, and the variety B is limited to the *Nihonshoki*.[12] There are good reasons to believe that variety A was originally borrowed from similar systems of writing adopted on the Korean peninsula (Kim 1983), (Bentley 2001b). Thus, the character readings of variety A are not directly based on EMC readings, but are conditioned by a Korean intermediary. Meanwhile, variety B appears to be modeled directly on LMC readings, although, of course, the same syllabic principle of writing underlies both varieties. There is a significant overlap between varieties A and B, since they share a number of signs. However, other signs remain specific, reflecting the differences between EMC and LMC. Different phonetic mergers within each variety represent the major difference between varieties A and B. Thus, variety A often uses the same signs for syllables containing initial voiceless obstruents /C/ and prenasalized voiced /NC/,[13] keeping the nasal sonorants /m/

[12] There is a theory that the *Nihonshoki*'s *ongana* itself includes two varieties, alpha and beta (Mori 1991). However, I agree with Miyake that there are very significant arguments against this theory (Miyake 2003: 57-60).

[13] This manifests itself primarily in the inconsistent spelling of the syllables with prenasalized consonants, which may be spelt as if they were voiceless. The reverse

and /n/ transcribed in a different way. On the other hand, variety B frequently employs the same signs for syllables with prenasalized voiced obstruents and nasal sonorants, keeping voiceless obstruents distinct.

Kungana employs the Japanese readings of the characters for their phonetic values irrespective of their meanings. For example, character 田 'rice field' (Japanese reading /ta/) and character 名 'name' (Japanese reading /na/) are used to write syllables [ta] and [na] respectively. Overall, *kungana* is used much more rarely than *ongana* both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is more typical for the *Man'yôshû* than for any other OJ texts, but even in the *Man'yôshû* it is comparatively infrequent. In addition, not every possible syllable has a corresponding *kungana*, while *ongana* exists for all syllables with a minor exception of syllable [Nswo] in variety B. The lack of *kungana* is especially noticeable for the most syllables that contain prenasalized obstruent initials [Np], [Nt], [Nk], [Ns], as well as flap [r].

As with all early syllabic scripts, the polyphonic principle is largely at work in *man'yôgana*. The polyphonic principle manifests itself in two facts: a) a syllable can normally be written with more than one written sign; b) a written sign can have different phonetic values. The polyphonic principle is well illustrated by the chart of the *man'yôgana* signs below. Thus, for example, the syllable /ka/ can be transcribed by the *ongana* signs 加 迦 可 賀 訶 珂 箇 架 嘉 甲 甘 敢 in variety A and by *ongana* signs 加 迦 可 賀 訶 河 箇 伽 舸 歌 軻 柯 介 甲 甘 in variety B. Not every given syllable has so many possibilities, but cases when only one or two signs are used, like in the case of the syllable /Nse/ written with only one character 是 in variety A and with only two characters 筮 噬 in variety B, are quite rare.

A number of the *man'yôgana* signs (most of them based on *ongana*) are disyllabic, that is, they transcribe not one syllable but two. Since there were no syllable final consonants in Old Japanese,

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(that is, spelling of syllables with voiceless consonants as if they were prenasalized) is more rare.

some of the Chinese characters that had readings with final consonants were provided with an extra vowel after the consonant. In some of cases, it is an echo vowel, like, for example, MC 壱 //it] transcribing OJ sequence /iti/, but in the other cases the second vowel may be unpredictable, for example, MC 因 //in/ transcribing OJ sequence /ina/. Care must be taken, since a number of disyllabic signs can be also used as monosyllabic, thus, for example, MC 南 /nam/ can render both OJ monosyllable /na/ and a disyllabic sequence /namyi/. Overall, however, disyllabic graphemes are used infrequently. They mostly appear in transcriptions of proper nouns, and sometimes in the texts written predominantly with semantograms. Their usage in mostly phonetically written texts is quite close to non-existent.

It is also necessary to note that some (but not all) characters are used both as *ongana* and *kungana*. For example, character 田 'rice field' may function as *ongana* for syllable [Nte] and as *kungana* for syllable [ta], or character 世 is used as ongana for syllable [se] and kungana for syllable [yø].

Below, I present a chart that includes syllabic signs from both varieties. Due to the limitations in available computer fonts not all characters used in texts could be represented in their original shape in the examples found in this book. In order not to write in by hand every such an aberrant character, I used replacements based on characters that as a rule share the same phonetic part. It is necessary to note that overwhelming majority of these aberrant characters are quite rare, and they are especially rare in the poetic texts that form the main base for the present study. All such replacements are marked in the chart by superscript letters that refer reader to notes for the chart (placed immediately after it), where all original forms can be found.

Chart 1: *Man'yôgana* signs in varieties A and B

Trans-criptionVariety A	Variety B
a	ongana: 阿 安 英	ongana:阿 安 婀 鞅

	kungana: 足 吾 disylabic: 英[aNka]	kungana: 足 吾
i	ongana: 伊 夷 以 怡 異 移 因 印 壱 kungana: 射 disyllabic:揖[ipyi, ipu] 因[ina] 印[ina] 壱[iti]	ongana: 伊 以 怡 異 易 因 壱 kungana: 胆 disyllabic: 因[ina] 壱[iti]
u	ongana: 于[a)] 宇 有 羽 烏 雲 kungana: 鵜 菟 卯 得 disyllabic: 雲[una] 鬱[utu]	ongana: 于[a)] 宇 羽 紆 禹 kungana: 鵜 菟 disyllabic: 鬱[utu]
e	ongana: 衣 愛 亜 依 kungana: 得 榎 荏	ongana: 愛 哀 埃
o	ongana: 意 於 隠 淤 応 乙 憶 飫 disyllabic: 乙[otu] 邑[opyi, opu]	ongana: 意 於 淤 乙 憶 飫 disyllabic: 乙[otu] 石段[onø]
ka	ongana: 加 迦 可 賀 訶 珂 箇 架 嘉 甲 甘 敢 kungana: 髪 鹿 香 蚊 芳 歟 disyllabic: 甘[kamu] 敢[kamu] 漢[kani] 干[kani] 葛[katu] 甲[kapyi] 香[kaNku] 各[kaku]	ongana: 加 迦 可[b)] 賀 訶 河 箇 伽 舸 歌 軻 柯 介 甲 甘 kungana: 髪 鹿 香 蚊 disyllabic: 甘[kamu] 甲[kapyi] 香[kaNku] 覚[kaku]
kyi	ongana: 支 伎 吉 岐 棄 枳 企 kungana: 寸 杵 来	ongana: 吉 岐 棄 枳 企 耆 祇 祁 kungana: 寸 杵
kiy	ongana: 紀 幾 貴 奇 騎 綺 寄 記 帰	ongana: 紀 幾 奇 基 機 己 既 気

	kungana: 城 木 樹	kungana: 城 木 樹 黄
ku	ongana: 久 玖 口 群 苦 丘 九 鳩 君 kungana: 来 disyllabic: 君[kuni]	ongana: 久 玖 句 苦 倶 区 勾 矩 約[c] 衢 婁[d] 訓 履 kungana: 来 disyllabic: 訓[kuni] 菊[kuku]
kye	ongana: 祁 家 計 鶏 介 奚 谿 価 係 結 kungana: 異 disyllabic: 兼[kyemu] 監[kyemu] 険[kyemu]	ongana: 祁 家 計 鶏 稽 啓
key	ongana: 気 既 kungana: 毛 食 飼 消	ongana: 気 居 該 戒 階 開 慨 凱 既[e] 豈[f] kungana: 毛 食 笥
kwo	ongana: 古 故 庫 高 示古 姑 孤 枯 kungana: 子 児 籠 小 粉	ongana: 古 故 庫 姑 孤 固 顧 kungana: 子 児 籠 小
kø	ongana: 己 許 区[g] 居 去 虚 忌 興 kungana: 木 disyllabic: 金[kømu] 今[kømu] 近[kønø] 乞[køti] 興[køNkø]	ongana: 許 区[g] 居 去 虚 挙 豈[h] 拠 渠 興 kungana: 木 disyllabic: 興[køNkø]
Nka	ongana: 何 我 賀 河	ongana: 我 賀 蛾 餓 峨 俄 鵝
Nkyi	ongana: 芸 祇 岐 伎	ongana: 芸 伎 儀 蟻 山者
Nkiy	ongana: 疑 宜 義	ongana: 疑 擬
Nku	ongana: 具 遇 求 隅 群 disyllabic: 群[Nkuni]	ongana: 具 遇 愚 虞 群 disyllabic: 群[Nkuni]
Nkye	ongana: 下 牙 雅 夏	ongana: 霓

Nkey	ongana: 義 宜 尋[i)]	ongana: 尋[i)] 礙 皚
Nkwo	ongana: 胡 呉 候 後 虞	ongana: 胡 呉 吾 誤 悟 娯
Nkø	ongana: 其 期 碁 凝	ongana: 語 御 馭
sa	ongana: 佐 沙 作 左 者 柴 娑 紗 草 匝 讃 散 尺 積 kungana: 狭 猴[j)] 羅 disyllabic: 三[samu] 雑[sapa, sapyi] 匝[sapyi] 颯[sapu] 讃[sanu] 散[sani] 薩[sati, satu] 相[saNka, saNku] 尺[saka] 作[saka, saku] 積[saka]	ongana: 佐 沙 作 左 瑳 磋 舎 差 匝 讃 尺 kungana: 狭 disyllabic: 匝[sapyi] 戔[sanø] 讃[sanu] 薩[sati, satu] 相[saNka, saNku] 尺 [saka]
si	ongana: 斯 志 之 師 紫 新 四 子 思 司 芝 詩 旨 寺 時 指 此 至 次 死 偲 事 詞 信 kungana: 為 磯 disyllabic: 信[sina] 鍾[siNku] 色[sikyi, sikø] 餧[sika] 式[sikyi] 拭[sikyi] 叔[siku]	ongana: 斯 志 之 師 紫 新 四 子 思 司 資 茲 芝 詩 旨 寺 時 指 糸[k)] 矢 始 尸 試 伺 塁[l)] 辞 嗣 施 泪[m)] 信 kungana: 為 磯 disyllabic: 信[sina] 色[sikyi, sikø]
su	ongana: 須 周 酒 洲 州 珠 主 数 kungana: 酢 簀 樔 栖 渚 disyllabic: 駿[suru] 足[suku] 宿[suka, suku]	ongana: 須 周 酒 洲 主 素 秀 輸 殊 葮 kungana: 酢 簀 樔 disyllabic: 駿[suru] 宿[suka, suku]
se	ongana: 勢 世 西 斉 kungana: 瀬 湍 背 脊 迫 disyllabic: 瞻[semyi]	ongana: 勢 世 西 斉 栖 細 制 是 剤 kungana: 瀬 湍 背

swo	ongana: 蘇 宗 祖 素 kungana: 十 麻	ongana: 蘇 素 泝 kungana: 十 麻
sø	ongana: 曾 所 僧 増 則 kungana: 衣 背 其 苑	ongana: 曾 所 増 則 贈 諸 層 賊 kungana: 衣 襲
Nsa	ongana: 射 蔵 邪 奢 社 謝 座	ongana: 社 蔵 装 奘[n)] disyllabic: 斬[Nsamyi][o)]
Nsi	ongana: 自 士 慈 尽 時 寺 仕 kungana: 下	ongana: 自 士 慈 尽 貳 児 尓 珥 餌 耳 茸 kungana: 下 disyllabic: 甚[Nsimu]
Nsu	ongana: 受 授 聚 殊	ongana: 受 孺 儒
Nse	ongana: 是	ongana: 筮 噬
Nswo	ongana: 俗	ongana: —
Nsø	ongana: 叙 存 序 賊	ongana: 叙 序 樽[p)] 茹 鋤
ta	ongana: 多 太 他 丹 kungana: 田 手 disyllabic: 丹[tani] 旦[tani] 塔[tapu] 但[tani, tadi] 当[taNkyi]	ongana: 多 大 陀[q)] 柁[r)] ▫多 駄 党 丹 kungana: 田 手 disyllabic: 丹[tani] 但[tani, tadi] 当[taNkyi]
ti	ongana: 知 智 恥 陳 珍 直 kungana: 道 千 乳 路 血 茅 disyllabic:珍[tinu] 直[tikyi]	ongana: 知 智 致 致 答 池 馳 珍 直 kungana: 道 千 乳 路 血 茅 disyllabic: 直[tikyi]
tu	ongana: 都 豆 通 追 川 kungana: 津 disyllabic: 筑[tukyi, tuku] 竹[tuku] 竺[tuku, tukyi]	ongana: 都 豆 頭 菟 途 屠 突 徒 覩 図 kungana: 津 disyllabic: 筑[tukyi, tuku] 竹[tuku]

te	ongana: 弖 抵[s] 提 天 帝 底 堤 kungana: 手 代 価 直 disyllabic: 点[temu]	ongana: 弖 抵[s] 提 帝 底 堤 諦 題 kungana: 手 代
two	ongana: 刀 斗 都 土 度 kungana: 戸 聡 門 利 礪	ongana: 刀 斗 都 土 度 覩 妬 杜 図 屠 塗 徒 渡 kungana: 戸 聡 門 礪
tø	ongana: 止 等 登 騰 得 kungana: 鳥 十 跡 迹 常 disyllabic:徳[toku] 得[tøkø]	ongana: 等 登[t] 騰 苔 台 藤[u] kungana: 鳥 跡 迹 disyllabic: 徳[toku] 得[tøkø]
Nta	ongana: 陀[q] 太 大 disyllabic: 弾[Ntani]	ongana: 陀[q] 太 大 騨 娜 嚢[v]
Nti	ongana: 遅 治 地	ongana: 遅 治 月貳 尼 泥
Ntu	ongana: 豆 頭 disyllabic: 曇 [Ntumyi]	ongana: 豆 頭 逗 図 弩 帑[w] disyllabic: 曇[Ntumyi]
Nte	ongana: 提 代 伝 殿 田 低 泥[x]	ongana: 提 泥[x] 耐 弟 涅
Ntwo	ongana: 度 渡 土	ongana: 度 渡 奴 怒
Ntø	ongana: 杼 騰 藤[y] 特	ongana: 杼 騰 耐 廼
na	ongana: 那 奈 寧 難 南 kungana: 名 魚 中 disyllabic: 南[namyi] 難[nani] 諾[nakyi]	ongana: 那 奈 乃 儺 娜 難 kungana: 名 魚 中 菜 七 莫 disyllabic: 冉[namyi] 難[nani]
ni	ongana: 爾 迩 仁 而 尼 耳 人 kungana: 丹 荷 似 煮	ongana: 爾[z] 迩 仁 日 二 珥 貳 kungana: 丹 瓊

nu	ongana: 奴 怒 努 濃 農 kungana: 沼 宿 寝	ongana: 奴 怒 努 濃 農 kungana: 淳
ne	ongana: 尼 禰 泥[x] 年 kungana: 根 宿 disyllabic: 念[nemu]	ongana: 尼 禰 泥[x] 涅 kungana: 根
nwo	ongana: 努 怒 弩 kungana: 野	ongana: 努 怒 奴 弩 kungana: 野
nø	ongana: 乃 能 kungana: 荷 笑 箆	ongana: 能 廼 kungana: 荷
pa	ongana: 波 播 幡 芳 婆 破 方 防 八 房 半 白番 薄 伴 泊 匸[A] kungana: 羽 葉 歯 者 disyllabic: 博[paka]	ongana: 波 播 幡 芳 婆 破 白番 簸 巴 絆[B] kungana: 羽 葉 歯 disyllabic: 博[paka]
pyi	ongana: 比 卑 必 臂 嬪[C] 毘 kungana: 日 檜 氷	ongana: 比 卑 必 臂 毘 譬 避 kungana: 日 檜 氷
piy	ongana: 非 斐 肥 悲 飛 kungana: 火 樋 干 乾	ongana: 斐 肥 悲 飛 被 彼 秘 妃 費 kungana: 火[D] 簸
pu	ongana: 布 不 敷 富 府 賦 否 負 福 kungana: 経 歴 disyllabic: 粉[puni] 福[puku]	ongana: 布 不 敷 甫 賦 府 符 輔 赴 浮 kungana: 経 歴 乾
pye	ongana: 平 弊 覇 幣 敝 陛 遍 返 反 弁 kungana: 部 辺 重 隔 disyllabic: 伯[pyekyi]	ongana: 平 弊 覇 幣 陛 蔽 稗[E] kungana: 部 辺 重
pey	ongana: 閇 倍 拝 kungana: 戸 瓦缶 綜 経	ongana: 閇 倍 市[F] 陪 背 杯 俳 珮

		kungana: 戸 綜
pwo	ongana: 菩 本	ongana: —
pø	ongana: 富 朋	ongana: —
po	ongana: 富 保 宝 番 蕃 朋 倍 抱 方 凡 品 kungana: 帆 穂 火 disyllabic: 凡[pomu] 品[pomu]	ongana: 富 保 朋 倍 褒 衰 陪 報 袍 譜 品 kungana: 帆 穂 火 disyllabic: 品[pomu] 法[popu]
Npa	ongana: 婆 伐	ongana: 婆 麽 魔 磨 縻
Npyi	ongana: 毘 鼻 妣 婢	ongana: 鼻 弥 弭 寐
Npiy	ongana: 備 肥	ongana: 備 媚 眉 縻
Npu	ongana: 夫 父 部 扶 disyllabic: 服[Npukyi]	ongana: 夫 父 部 矛 歩 務[G)]
Npye	ongana: 辨 便 別	ongana: 謎
Npey	ongana: 倍	ongana: 倍 陪 毎 謎
Npo	ongana: 煩	ongana: 煩
ma	ongana: 麻 磨 万 馬 末 満 摩 kungana: 真 間 目 信 鬼 disyllabic: 望[maNka, maNku] 莫[maku] 幕[maku]	ongana: 麻 磨 万 馬 麽 満 魔 摩 莽 kungana: 真 間 目 disyllabic: 望[maNka, maNku]
myi	ongana: 弥 美 民 kungana: 三 御 見 水 参 視 disyllabic: 敏[myinu]	ongana: 弥 美 瀰 眉[H)] 弭 寐 舌爾 kungana: 三 御 見 水 参
miy	ongana: 微 未 味 尾 kungana: 身 実 箕	ongana: 微 未 味 kungana: 身 実

mu	ongana: 牟 武 无 模 務 無 謀 鵡 舞[I)] kungana: 六 disyllabic: 目[muku]	ongana: 牟 武 模 務 霧 夢 茂 kungana: 六
mye	ongana: 賣 □羊 馬 面 kungana: 女 婦	ongana: 賣 □羊 謎 迷 綿 kungana: 女
mey	ongana: 米 梅 迷 昧 kungana: 目 眼	ongana: 梅 迷 昧 毎 妹 kungana: 目 眼
mwo	ongana: 毛	ongana: —
mø	ongana: 母	ongana: —
mo	ongana: 毛 母 茂 文 聞 忘 蒙 畝 問 門 勿 木 物 kungana: 裳 藻 哭 喪 裙 disyllabic: 物[moti]	ongana: 毛 母 茂 望 暮 謀 慕 梅 謨 悶 墓 kungana: 裳
ya	ongana: 夜 移 陽 耶 益 野 楊 也 kungana: 屋 八 矢 箭	ongana: 夜 移 陽 耶[J)] 益 野 椰 揶 kungana: 屋 八 矢 箭
yu	ongana: 由 喩 遊 油 kungana: 弓 湯	ongana: 由 喩 愈 瑜 臾[K)] 踰 kungana: 弓 湯
ye	ongana: 延 叡 曳 遙 要 kungana: 兄 江 枝 吉	ongana: 延 曳 遙 kungana: 兄 江 枝 吉
ywo	ongana: 用 欲 容 庸 kungana: 夜	ongana: 用 庸 kungana: 夜
yø	ongana: 余 与 予 餘 誉 kungana: 世 吉 四 代	ongana: 余 与 予 餘 預 誉 kungana: 世 吉
ra	ongana: 羅 良 浪 楽 disyllabic: 藍[ramu] 濫 [ramu] 覧[ramu] 臘[rapu] 楽[raku] 落[raku]	ongana: 羅[L)] 良 楽 邏 □羅 蘿[M)] disyllabic: 楽 [raku]

ri	ongana: 理 利 里 隣	ongana: 理 利 里[N] 梨 離 □利
ru	ongana: 留 流 琉 類	ongana: 留 流 瑠 屡 盧 蘆 楼 漏 婁
re	ongana: 禮 例 列 烈 連 disyllabic: 廉[remu]	ongana: 禮 例 黎 戻
rwo	ongana: 漏 路 盧 楼	ongana: 漏 盧 楼 婁 魯 露
rø	ongana: 呂 侶 里	ongana: 呂 侶 慮 盧 稜
wa	ongana: 和 丸 kungana: 輪 disyllabic: 丸[wani]	ongana: 和 倭 宛[O] kungana: 輪
wi	ongana: 韋 為 位 謂 kungana: 井 猪 居	ongana: 韋 為 位 威 萎 委 偉 kungana: 井 猪 居
we	ongana: 恵 廻 慧 徊[P] kungana: 画 坐 座 咲	ongana: 恵 廻 慧 衛 隈 穢
wo	ongana: 乎 袁 烏 遠 怨 呼 越 kungana: 小 尾 少 麻 男 雄 緒 綬 叨[R] disyllabic: 越[woti]	ongana: 乎 遠 曰 鳴 塢 弘 椀[Q] 越 kungana: 小 尾 少 麻 男 雄 disyllabic: 越[woti]

Notes for the chart:

a) Besides its own usage, the character 于 is also substituted for the character 汗.
b) Besides its own usage, the character 可 is also substituted for the character .
c) The character 約 is substituted for the character .
d) The character 婁 is substituted for the character .
e) The character 既 is substituted for the character 既.
f) The character 豈 is substituted for the character 豈.
g) The character 区 is substituted for the character 匸.
h) The character 荁 is substituted for the character 呂.
i) The character 尋 is substituted for the character .
j) The character 猴 is substituted for the character .
k) The character 糸 is substituted for the character .

l) The character 畳 is substituted for the character .
m) The character 汨 is substituted for the character .
n) Besides its own usage the character 奘 is also substituted for the character 奘.
o) The character 斬 is substituted for the character .
p) The character 樽 is substituted for the character .
q) The character 陀 is substituted for the character .
r) The character 柁 is substituted for the character .
s) The character 抵 is substituted for the character .
t) Besides its own usage, the character 登 is also substituted for the character .
u) Besides its own usage, the character 藤 is also substituted for the character .
v) The character 襄 is substituted for the characters and .
w) The character 帑 is substituted for the character .
x) Besides its own usage, the character 泥 is also substituted for the character .
y) Besides its own usage, the character 藤 is also substituted for the character .
z) Besides its own usage, the character 爾 is also substituted for the character .
A) The character 匸 is substituted for the character 匸.
B) Besides its own usage, the character 絆 is also substituted for the character .
C) Besides its own usage, the character 嬪 is also substituted for the character .
D) Besides its own usage, the character 火 is also substituted for the character .
E) The character 稗 is substituted for the character .
F) The character 市 is substituted for the character 市.
G) The character 務 is substituted for the character .
H) The character 眉 is substituted for the character 眉.
I) The character 舞 is substituted for the character 舞.
J) Besides its own usage, the character 耶 is also substituted for the character 耶.
K) Besides its own usage, the character 臾 is also substituted for the character 臾.
L) Besides its own usage, the character 羅 is also substituted for the character 羅.
M) The character 蘿 is substituted for the character 蘿.
N) Besides its own usage, the character 里 is also substituted for the character .
O) The character 宛 is substituted for the character 宛.
P) The character 徊 is substituted for the character 回.
Q) The character 椀 is substituted for the character 宛.
R) The character 叨 is substituted for the character .

2.1.2 REBUS WRITING

There are different types of rebus writing occurring predominantly in the *Man'yôshû*. Rebus writing is comparatively rare, and many examples of it are unique due to its playful and/or associative nature. A student of Old Japanese should not go to the trouble of memorizing rebus writing because of its very infrequent usage. In addition, all types of rebus writing are unsystematic, and only with

some difficulty can one devise a classification system of it, as done, for example in (Seeley 1991: 51-52), which I follow here also using Seeley's examples.

(1) Rebus writing based on Chinese usage: for example, characters 金風 in MYS 1700 are read not as *kane kaze 'metal wind' but as *aki kaze* 'autumn wind', reflecting that MC 金風 [kim puwN^{h}] means 'autumn wind,' due to the association of metal as one of Five Elements with autumn. In MYS 1844 characters 朝烏 are read not *asaNkarasu 'morning raven' but as *asapyi* 'morning sun,' reflecting that in Chinese mythology the raven can symbolize the sun.

(2) Rebus writing based on purely semantic links: for example, the character 寒 'be cold' is used to write *puyu* 'winter' (MYS 1844, 1884) and the character 暖 'be warm' is used to write *paru* 'spring' (MYS 336, 1884).

(3) Rebus writing based on double semantic association: for example, characters 少熱 'a little hot' evoke Japanese *nuru-* 'be lukewarm,' and are used to write the homonymous attributive form of the perfective marker *-n-uru* in MYS 2579.

(4) Erudite rebuses: for example, the sequence *tesi* representing a combination of perfective *-te-* with past tense attributive *-si* could be written as 大王 (MYS 1321) or 羲之 (MYS 394, 664, 1324). There was a word *tesi* 'calligrapher' in Old Japanese (< *te* 'hand' + *si* 'master'). Here the rebus is based on the association with the name of the famous Chinese calligrapher, Wang Xizhi (王羲之, 303(?)-361(?) C. E.), who was also used to be referred to as 大王 'the greater Wang' in opposition to his seventh son Wang Xianzhi (344-388 C. E.) who was referred to as 小王 'the lesser Wang.'

(5) Rebus writing based on double semantic-phonetic association: for example, numeral 八十一 'eighty-one' for 九九 /kuku/ 'nine nines' in 八十一里 /kukur-i/, an infinitive of *kukur-* 'to tie up' (MYS 3330); or numeral 十六 'sixteen' for 四四 /sisi/

'four fours' for writing homophonous *sisi* 'boar' (MYS 239, 926, 3278).

(6) Rebus writing based on graphic association, for example 山上復有山 'on the top of a mountain there is again a mountain' (MYS 1787). This character sequence represents the verb *ide-* 'to go out,' written semantographically as 出, the shape that resembles two signs for 'mountain' (山) one placed on the top of the other.

There is one more variety of rebus writing that Seely does not mention, although potentially it can be viewed as a peculiar subclass of case (5). In this variety double semantic-phonetic association is used just to indicate one particular syllable. For example, characters 馬声 'horse voice' are used to write syllable /i/, apparently by association with *inanak-* 'to neigh' (Omodaka 1967: 891).

2.2 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

On the basis of the syllabic script system described above it is possible to devise the following description of the Western Old Japanese phonetic and phonological systems. As mentioned above, the description below largely follows (Miyake 2003).

2.2.1 CONSONANTS

Cross-linguistically, the consonantal system of Western Old Japanese appears to be quite poor as it only includes thirteen consonants. Nevertheless, it is very interesting typologically, since voiceless stops and fricatives contrast not with plain voiced stops and fricatives, but with prenasalized voiced stops and fricatives. The prenasalized series is secondary; historically it developed from $NC_{[-voice]}$ (nasal + voiceless consonant) clusters, thus *Np* < *n+p, *Nt* < *n+t, *Nk* < *n+k, and *Ns* < *n+s. The consonantal system of Western Old Japanese can be represented in the following chart:

Chart 2: WOJ consonants

	labials	dentals	palatals	velars

voiceless stops	p	t		k
voiced prenasalized stops	Np [^{m}b]	Nt [^{n}d]		[^{N}g]
nasals	m	n		
voiceless fricatives		s		
voiced prenasalized fricatives		Ns [^{n}z]		
glides	w		y	
flap		r		

None of the consonants can occur in the word-final or even syllable final position, although it is possible that some representatives of the educated class were able to pronounce /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, and /n/ in the coda position in loanwords from Chinese. The evidence for this fact during Asuka and Nara periods is rather moot and controversial, and should not entertain us here, simply because most of our sources are poetic texts and poetry was kept more or less free of foreign loans until at least the twelfth century (see chapter 3 for details). In native vocabulary only /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /w/, and /y/ can occur word-initially. /Np/, /Nt/, /Nk/ and /r/ appear morpheme-initially, but cannot stand in the word-initial position in native vocabulary. This limitation does not stand for loanword phonology, where /Np/, /Nt/, /Nk/ and /r/ can be used in word-initial position.

A description of the consonants follows.

2.2.1.1 LABIALS

/p/: bilabial voiceless stop. Miyake demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that this Western Old Japanese consonant was indeed a voiceless unaspirated stop [p] and not a bilabial fricative [F] as it was frequently believed before (Miyake 2003: 164-166).

/p/ occurs before all vowels, although the distinction between *kô-rui* vowel /wo/ and *otsu-rui* vowel[14] /ø/ after /p/ is more or less reliably preserved only in the *Kojiki kayô* (Bentley 1997) Examples: *papa* 'mother,' *piy* 'fire,' *apu* 'meets,' *pyi* 'the sun,' *pwo* 'ear of the grain,' *ipye* 'house.'

It has been repeatedly suggested before that Western Old Japanese voiceless obstruents in the intervocalic position might have been realized as phonetically voiced (Wenck 1959: 238ff), (Frellesvig 1995: 66). Recently, a similar proposal that WOJ /p/ was pronounced as [b] in the intervocalic position was also put forward (Hamano 2000), (Unger 2003). Both Hamano and Unger believe that this scenario better explains why in Middle Japanese /p/ > /w/ in intervocalic position; thus they posit the development *p* > *b* > *w*. The idea (certainly inspired by phonotactics in Korean) is imaginative, but I am afraid it is incorrect, because it is contradicted by the data. First, there is evidence to the contrary from the *man'yôgana* script itself. Since variety A does not differentiate clearly between /p/ and /Np/, our only bet is to analyze the data from variety B, where the distinction between /p/ and /Np/ is consistent. Miyake and I counted all occurrences of the transcription of intervocalic /p/ in the first 100 poems from the *Nihonshoki kayô*. There were 155 cases when syllables with intervocalic WOJ /p/ were transcribed by LMC signs with voiceless *p or *ph, and only sixty cases when they were transcribed with LMC voiced *pH. Among the latter we could see a very skewed distribution:

Chart 3: Distribution of LMC signs with voiced *pH for syllables with intervocalic /p/ in the first 100 songs of the *Nihonshoki kayô*

pa	pyi	piy	pu	pye	pey	po
3	2	1	6	7	19	20

Thus, one can see that the distribution of LMC signs with initial *pH is heavily skewed towards /pey/ and /po/ syllables. I doubt that

[14] See the section on vowels for distinction between *kô-rui* and *otsu-rui* vowels.

/pey/ and /po/ were selectively pronounced as /bey/ and /bo/. Rather, statistically it demonstrates that there is overwhelming evidence that intervocalic /p/ was not voiced, and that the skewed distribution may have a better explanation as general preferences of scribes for certain signs transcribing /pey/ and /po/. Second, the Hamano-Unger hypothesis is also contradicted by Old Japanese loanwords in Ainu. In Ainu intervocalic stops are realized as voiced or half-voiced, so if the OJ *sipo* 'salt' was actually pronounced as [sibo] as Hamano and Unger believe, one would expect that Ainu would borrow it as *sipo [sibo/siBo]. As a matter of fact, Ainu borrowed OJ *sipo* as *sippo*, clearly showing that the intervocalic consonant there was voiceless.

/Np/: voiced prenasalized labial stop [^{m}b]. /Np/ occurs before any vowel only in the word-medial position in native vocabulary, but the distinction between *kô-rui* vowel /wo/ and *otsu-rui* vowel /ø/ after /Np/ is neutralized. Examples: *yukeyNpa* 'when/because one goes,' *taNpyi* 'travel,' *tøNpu* 'flies,' *uneNpiy* 'Unebi (p.n.),' *sirinuNpeysi* 'must have known,' *suNpye* 'way, method.'

/m/: voiced nasal sonorant labial stop [m]. /m/ occurs before any vowel, but the distinction between *kô-rui* vowel /wo/ and *otsu-rui* vowel /ø/ after /m/ reliably can be shown only for the *Kojiki kayô* and statistically for some early texts in the *Man'yôshû* (Bentley 1997). In Late Old Japanese texts the distinction is neutralized. Examples: *mamey* 'bean,' *umyi* 'sea,' *mune* 'breast,' *mye* 'woman,' *mey* 'eye,' *mwomwo* 'hundred,' *mønø* 'thing.'

/w/: voiced labial glide [w]. It does not occur before vowel /u/, and in addition all *kô-otsu* vowel distinctions are neutralized after /w/. Examples: *ware* 'I, we,' *wi* 'well,' *wemu* 'smiles,' *wotøkø* 'man, male,' *awo* 'blue, green,' *awa* 'foam,' *nawi* 'earthquake,' *køwe* 'voice.'

2.2.1.2 DENTALS

/t/: voiceless dental stop [t]. /t/ occurs before all vowels, but the distinction between *kô-rui* vowels /yi/, /ye/ and *otsu-rui* vowels /iy/, /ey/ are neutralized after /t/. Examples: *tare* 'who,' *ti* 'blood,'

te ‘hand,’ *two* ‘door,’ *tøku* ‘unties,’ *atø* ‘footstep,’ *ita* ‘board,’ *otu* ‘falls,’ *tati* ‘long sword,’ *matwo* ‘aim.’

/Nt/: voiced prenasalized dental stop [^{n}d]. /Nt/ occurs before any vowel only in the word-medial position in native vocabulary, but the distinctions between *kô-rui* vowels /yi/, /ye/ and *otsu-rui* vowels /iy/, /ey/ are neutralized after /Nt/. Examples: *taNta* ‘only,’ *kaNtwo* ‘gate,’ *kaNti* ‘rudder,’ *tøNtømu* ‘makes one stay,’ *taNtu* ‘crane.’

/n/: voiced nasal sonorant dental stop [n]. /n/ occurs before any vowel, but the distinctions between *kô-rui* vowels /yi/, /ye/ and *otsu-rui* vowels /iy/, /ey/ are neutralized after /n/. Examples: *nana* ‘seven,’ *numa* ‘marsh,’ *ana* ‘hole,’ *yømanu* ‘[one who] does not compose,’ *ne* ‘sound,’ *kane* ‘metal,’ *sirani* ‘not knowing,’ *nipyi* ‘new,’ *nwo* ‘field,’ *sinwo* ‘a type of bamboo grass,’ *nøru* ‘says, declares,’ *mønø* ‘thing.’

/s/: voiceless dental fricative [s] with a possible palatal allophone [Ç] before vowels /i/ and /e/ (Miyake 2003: 183). /s/ occurs before any vowel, but the distinctions between *kô-rui* vowels /yi/, /ye/ and *otsu-rui* vowels /iy/, /ey/ are neutralized after /s/. Examples: *saru* ‘monkey,’ *sika* ‘deer,’ *su* ‘does,’ *se* ‘elder brother, beloved,’ *swora* ‘sky,’ *søsøku* ‘pours,’ *asa* ‘morning,’ *asi* ‘foot, leg’ *tøse* ‘year (classifier),’ *osu* ‘pushes,’ *aswomyi* ‘courtier,’ *køsø*, particle.

/Ns/: voiced prenasalized dental fricative [^{n}z] with possible palatal allophones [$^{\neq}$j] and [$^{\neq}$Û] before front vowels (Miyake 2003: 186). /Ns/ occurs before any vowel only in the word-medial position in native vocabulary, but the distinctions between *kô-rui* vowels /yi/, /ye/ and *otsu-rui* vowels /iy/, /ey/ are neutralized after /Ns/. In addition, /Ns/ before vowel /wo/ is attested only in the *Man’yôshû*, and in one of the Shôsôin documents and only in one word: *kaNswopu* ‘counts,’ e.g. pyi-wo *kaNswopey-tutu* ‘*counting* days’ (MYS V: 890). Examples: *aNsaru* ‘rots (of a fish meat),’ *araNsi* ‘probably does not exist,’ *kaNse* ‘wind,’ *myiNsu* ‘does not see,’ *køNsø* ‘last year,’ *kaNswopu* ‘counts.’

/r/: flap [|]. /r/ occurs before any vowel only in the word-medial position in native vocabulary, but the distinctions between *kô-rui* vowels /yi/, /ye/ and *otsu-rui* vowels /iy/, /ey/ are neutralized after

/r/. Examples: *swora* ‘sky,’ *tøri* ‘bird,’ *paru* ‘spring,’ *køre* ‘this,’ *køkørø* ‘heart,’ *kurwo* ‘black.’

2.2.1.3 PALATALS

/y/: palatal glide [j]. /y/ does not occur in front of high vowels /yi/ and /iy/ (or their neutralized form /i/), and the *kô-otsu* distinction between vowels /ye/ and /ey/ is neutralized after /y/. Examples: *ya* ‘arrow,’ *yumyi* ‘bow,’ *ye* ‘branch,’ *yu* ‘hot water,’ *ywo* ‘night,’ *yø* ‘world,’ *ayamyeNkusa* ‘iris,’ *ayu* ‘sweetfish,’ *kwoyu* ‘crosses,’ *tuyø* ‘strong,’ *two-ywo* ‘from the door.’

2.2.1.4 VELARS

/k/: voiceless velar stop /k/. /k/ occurs before all vowels. Examples: *kani* ‘crab,’ *kyiku* ‘hears,’ *kiy* ‘tree,’ *kyepu* ‘today,’ *key* ‘hair,’ *kwo* ‘child,’ *køkørø* ‘heart,’ *akyi* ‘autumn,’ *kakye* ‘rooster,’ *kukiy* ‘stem,’ *pøtøkey* ‘Buddha,’ *takwo* ‘octopus.’
/Nk/: voiced prenasalized velar stop [^{N}g]. /Nk/ occurs before any vowel only in the word-medial position in native vocabulary. However, there are no cases of /Nk/ before /ye/ in the poetic texts. Examples: *aNkaru* ‘rises,’ *kyiNkyisi* ‘pheasant,’ *suNkiy* ‘cryptomeria,’ *kaNku* ‘smells,’ *suNkey* ‘sedge,’ *aNkwora* ‘high seat,’ *oNkøru* ‘behaves arrogantly.’

2.2.2 VOWELS

The prevalent modern view on Western Old Japanese vocalism is that it includes eight vowels, including *a, u* and six vowels that pair in *kô-rui* (甲類), or A-type series: *yi, ye*, and *wo*; and *otsu-rui* (乙類), or B-type series: *iy, ey*, and *ø*. However, recently Miyake convincingly demonstrated that the *otsu-rui* vowel *ey* was phonetically a falling diphthong [ˊy] (Miyake 2003: 227-231). This leaves us only with seven vowels that are provided with their possible phonetic equivalents in the following chart:

Chart 4: Western Old Japanese vocalism

yi [i]	iy [ɨ]	u [u]

ye [e]	ø [˝]	wo [o]
	a [a]	

Falling diphthong: ey [˝y]

As one can see, there is really no phonetic motivation behind the division into the *kô* and *otsu* series, so these are used as convenient traditional labels only. The only reason for the existence of these terms is the fact that by Middle Japanese, *kô-rui* and *otsu-rui* series merged as /i/, /e/, and /o/, leaving only five distinctive vowels in the language: /a/, /u/, /i/, /o/, and /e/. Thus, notions of *kô* and *otsu* represent the Western Old Japanese vocalic system viewed from the point of the later language stages. This Middle Japanese vocalic system survived up till now in the Kansai dialects of Central Japanese, and the only change that occurred in Tokyo Standard Japanese was the delabialization of /u/ > /¨/.

A description of the vowels follows.

2.2.2.1 BACK VOWELS

/u/: high rounded back vowel [u]. It occurs in any position in the word and after all consonants except /w/. Examples: *u* 'cormorant,' *urupasi* 'beautiful,' *umu* 'gives birth,' *natu* 'summer,' *puyu* 'winter,' *kumwo* 'cloud,' *tuNku* 'reports,' *tøNpu* 'flies,' *myiNtu* 'water.'

/wo/: mid rounded back vowel [o]. /wo/ occurs only in a postconsonantal position after the following consonants: /p/, /Np/, /m/, /w/, /t/, /Nd/, /n/, /s/, /Ns/, /r/, /y/, /k/, and /Nk/. The contrast between /wo/ and central mid vowel /ø/ after /p/ and /m/ is attested reliably only in the *Kojiki* (Bentley 1997), (Miyake 2003: 262). There is no /wo/ : /ø/ contrast after /w/ and /Np/, but Miyake demonstrated that phonetically it was /wo/ ([o]) and not /ø/ ([˝]) after /w/ and that there was a free variation between /wo/ and /ø/ after /Np/ (Miyake 2003: 257-258) (since there is no contrast, combination *w+wo* and *Np+wo* will be spelled as *wo* and *Npo* hereafter as it is done in Yale romanization). After /Ns/ the vowel /wo/ is attested only in one word: *kaNswop-* 'to count.' Examples: *pwo* 'ear of the grain,' *mwo* 'skirt,' *wosa* 'elder,' *two* 'door,'

kaNtwo ‘gate,’ *nwo* ‘field,’ *swoNte* ‘sleeve,’ *ywo* ‘night,’ *kwo* ‘child.’

The vowel /wo/ is usually believed to have a secondary origin in Western Old Japanese, being a monophthongization of proto-Japonic diphthongs *ua and *au. The origins from the diphthong *ua can be supported by an internal evidence, e.g. *kaNswop-* ‘to count’ < *kaNsu ap- ‘to put numbers together.’ However, the origin of /wo/ from the diphthong *au is more controversial, since it can be supported only by external evidence. In addition, it seems that in a number of cases, especially in the word-final position, WOJ /wo/ may represent an original PJ vowel *o, since this is supported by evidence from proto-Ryukyuan, which preserved the contrast between primary high and mid back vowels. This contrast was lost in Western Old Japanese everywhere except in the word-final position, e.g. WOJ *mukwo* ‘son-in-law,’ PR *moko ‘id.’

2.2.2.2 CENTRAL VOWELS

/a/: low unrounded central vowel [a], although it also might be a back one [A]. Miyake defines it just as a ‘low unrounded’ without specifying whether it is back or central, because the transcriptional evidence is indeed inconclusive regarding its exact phonetic nature (Miyake 2003: 203). /a/ occurs in any position in the word and after all consonants. Examples: *aka* ‘red,’ *maneku* ‘many,’ *asana-asana* ‘every morning, in the mornings,’ *wataramasi* ‘[one] would cross,’ *tatu* ‘stands,’ *aNkaru* ‘rises,’ *saNtamu* ‘decides, determines,’ *pyiNpari* ‘lark.’

/iy/: high central vowel [ɨ]. /iy/ occurs only in a postconsonantal position after the following consonants: /p/, /Np/, /m/, /k/, and /Nk/. The contrast between /iy/ and the high unrounded front vowel /yi/ is not attested after coronals, /w/, and in the initial position. There is good reason to believe on phonetic grounds, as demonstrated by Miyake, that a neutralization of this contrast in initial position as well as after coronals and /w/, customarily written as *i* in Yale romanization, was phonetically [i], that coincides with [yi] (Miyake

2003: 238-243). Examples: *piy* ‘fire,’ *yørøkøNpiy* ‘joy,’ *miy* ‘body,’ *kiy* ‘tree,’ *suNkiy* ‘cryptomeria.’

Historically, the vowel /iy/ has a secondary origin in Western Old Japanese. It represents monophthongization of PJ dipththongs *ui or *´i. Examples: WOJ *tukiy* ‘moon’ < PJ *tuku-i, WOJ *kukiy* ‘stem’ < PJ *kuku-i, WOJ *kiy* ‘tree’ < PJ *k´-i, WOJ *piy* ‘fire’ < *p´-i.

/ø/: mid central vowel [´]. In contrast to mid back vowel /wo/ it can occur in initial position, because, as demonstrated by Miyake, transcriptional evidence points to /ø/ rather than to /wo/ in this position (Miyake 2003: 250-251). Since there is no contrast between /ø/ and /wo/ this position, I preserve the Yale notation *o* that is used for the neutralization of this contrast. The vowel /ø/ also occurs in medial and/or final postconsonantal position after the following consonants: /p/, /Np/, /m/, /t/, /Nd/, /n/, /s/, /Ns/, /r/, /y/, /k/, and /Nk/. The contrast between /wo/ and central mid vowel /ø/ after /p/ and /m/ is attested reliably only in the *Kojiki* (Bentley 1997), (Miyake 2003: 262). There is no /wo/ : /ø/ contrast after /w/ and /Np/, but Miyake demonstrated that phonetically it was /wo/ ([o]) and not /ø/ ([´]) after /w/ and that there was free variation between /wo/ and /ø/ after /Np/ (since there is no contrast, combination *w+ø* and *Np+ø* will be spelled as *wo* and *Npo* hereafter as it is done in Yale romanization) (Miyake 2003: 257-258). Examples: *pøsu* ‘dries,’ *mønø* ‘thing,’ *tøkørø* ‘place,’ *køkø* ‘here,’ *tøNtømu* ‘stops, makes stay,’ *nøNporu* ‘climbs,’ *søkø* ‘bottom,’ *køNsø* ‘last year,’ *marø* ‘round,’ *yø* ‘world,’ *køsi* ‘waist,’ *oNkøru* ‘behaves arrogantly.’

2.2.2.3 FRONT VOWELS

/yi/: high unrounded front vowel [i]. /yi/ occurs in initial and postconsonantal positions after all consonants except /y/. There is no contrast between /yi/ and /iy/ in initial position and after coronals. There is good reason to believe on phonetic grounds, as demonstrated by Miyake, that a neutralization of this contrast in initial position as well as after coronals and /w/, customarily written as *i* in Yale romanization, was phonetically [i] = /yi/

(Miyake 2003: 238-243). Examples: *ima* ‘now,’ *kyikyinikyeri* ‘heard,’ *kyiNkyisi* ‘pheasant,’ *wi* ‘boar,’ *titi* ‘father,’ *pyi* ‘the sun,’ *myi* ‘three,’ *pyiNpyiku* ‘echoes, reverberates,’ *aNti* ‘taste.’

/ye/: mid unrounded front vowel [e]. /ye/ occurs in postconsonantal position after all consonants except /Nk/. There is no contrast between /ye/ and /ey/ in initial position, after coronals, and after glides /w/ and /y/. Miyake persuasively demonstrated that a neutralization of this contrast (spelled as *e* in Yale romanization) was realized phonetically as [e] = {ye} after coronals and after glides, but as [ˊy] = {ey} in the initial position (Miyake 2003: 244-250). Examples: *kyepu* ‘today,’ *se* ‘beloved, elder brother,’ *kaNse* ‘wind,’ *te* ‘hand,’ *swoNte* ‘sleeve,’ *ne* ‘sound,’ *pye* ‘side,’ *suNpye* ‘way, method,’ *mye* ‘woman,’ *ye* ‘branch,’ *søre* ‘that,’ *wemu* ‘smiles.’

Historically, the vowel /ye/ has a secondary origin in Western Old Japanese. It represents monophthongization of PJ diptththong *ia. This, of course, does not apply to all cases where /ye/ merged with /ey/, because the majority of those have an etymological /ey/ and not /ye/. Examples: WOJ *mye* ‘woman’ < PJ *mia, WOJ *pye* ‘side’ < PJ *pia, WOJ *kakye* ‘rooster’ < PJ *kakia.

2.2.2.4 DIPHTHONG

/ey/: falling diphthong [ˊy]. /ey/ occurs in initial position and after consonants /p/, /Np/, /m/, /k/, and /Nk/. There is no contrast between /ye/ and /ey/ in initial position, after coronals, and after glides /w/ and /y/. Miyake persuasively demonstrated that a neutralization of this contrast (spelled as *e* in Yale romanization) was realized phonetically as [e] = /ye/ after coronals and after glides, but as [ˊy] = [ey] in the initial position (Miyake 2003: 244-250). Examples: *e* ‘nettle-tree,’ *key* ‘hair,’ *suNke*y ‘sedge,’ *pey* ‘container,’ *yøNpeyNpa* ‘when [one] calls,’ *mey* ‘eye.’

Historically, the diphthong /ey/ has a secondary origin in Western Old Japanese. It represents a reflex of PJ diptththongs *ai or, more rarely, *ˊi. In most cases there is an indication that there was a morphological boundary inside the diphthong. Examples: WOJ *key* ‘hair’ < PJ *ka-i (cf. WOJ *siraka* ‘gray [lit. white] hair’ <

*sira-ka), WOJ *mey* ‘eye’ < PJ *ma-i (cf. MJ *mabuta* ‘eyelid’ < *ma-n[ø] puta). It must be kept in mind that majority of cases with phonetic vowel [e] after coronals and glides are etymologically cases of /ey/. Examples: WOJ *se* ‘back’ < *sey < PJ *s′-i (cf. WOJ *sø-muku* ‘turns one’s back on someone’), WOJ *te* ‘hand’ < *tey < PJ *ta-i (cf. MJ *tanagokoro* ‘palm of the hand’ < *ta-na-n[ø] køkørø).

2.2.3 PITCH ACCENT

There is a controversial theory advanced by Takayama that Chinese characters with the Late Middle Chinese even tone (*pingsheng*, 平聲) were used in the *Nihonshoki kayô* to transcribe Western Old Japanese syllables with low pitch, while Late Middle Chinese characters with other tones: rising (*shangsheng*, 上聲), departing (*qusheng*, 去聲), and entering (*rusheng*, 入聲) rendered Western Old Japanese syllables with high pitch (Takayama 1981, 1983). Takayama’s theory can be supported only by borderline statistics, since there are too many overlaps to the contrary. Therefore, the present study adopts the conservative attitude to the problem, maintaining that we really do not have reliable evidence on the Western Old Japanese pitch accent system.

2.2.4 PHONOTACTICS

The general rule for Western Old Japanese phonotactics is the alternation of vowels and consonants in a word structure, with no vowel and consonant clusters allowed, which can be represented by a formula [V]CVCVCV…. This rule is in sharp contrast with all other historical varieties of Japanese, starting from Middle Japanese. The exceptions to this rule in native vocabulary are extremely rare, for example, *kai* ‘oar,’ where a vowel cluster /ai/ can be found. However, WOJ *kai* ‘oar’ in all probability goes back to pre-OJ *kayi, since palatal glide /y/ does not occur in Western Old Japanese before the vowel /i/. There is also some indication that some words in pre-OJ could end in a nasal -*N*, but this nasal appears only as prenasalization when these words are used as first

element in a compound, e.g. *woN-pune* ‘small boat,’ *woN-tani* ‘little valley,’ *wa-N-tøri* ‘my bird,’ *na-N-tøri* ‘thy bird.’ This rigid phonotactic structure of Western Old Japanese is responsible for a number of morphophonological processes occurring in the language when either a vowel or a consonantal cluster has to undergo some kind of reduction due to the above mentioned [V]CVCVCV… rule. These processes are outlined below.

2.2.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The morphophonological processes that affect Western Old Japanese due to the phonotactics rule outlined above are contraction, monophthongization, nasalization, and consonant cluster simplification. For the first two processes I follow (Russell 2003), a new study of contraction and monophthongization, which supercedes an older study by Unger (1993).

2.2.5.1 CONTRACTION

Since Western Old Japanese did not allow vowel clusters, one of the two ways to deal with a vowel cluster when vowels were juxtaposed was to delete one of the vowels. Contraction, therefore, involves a deletion of one of the vowels V_1 or V_2 in a V_1+V_2 sequence. According to Russell’s recent study, contraction is triggered when:

‘1) the morphemic boundary between the following categories of words is lost:

- stative verb stem + noun
- stative verb infinitive + verb
- auxiliary verb + stative verb
- noun + noun
- particle + noun
- particle + active verb
- active verb + active verb

2) Monophthongization cannot occur because two vowels that come together do not monophthongize. This is true when the two vowels in question are the same (*a*+*a* or *i*+*i*), when one of the vowels is

already a result of monophthongization (*ye+a*), or there is simply no known vowel that results from monophthongization of a vowel cluster, as is the case with *yi+u, a+ø, ø+a, and ø+u*' (Russell 2003: 522-523).

Russell divides contraction cases into two groups (Russell 2003: 523):

Group I: polysyllabic word + monosyllabic word: $V_1+V_2 > V_2$
polysyllabic word + polysyllabic word: $V_1+V_2 > V_2$
Group II monosyllabic word + polysyllabic word: $V_1+V_2 > V_1$

However, one can see that the division in Group I is artificial because it results in the same kind of contraction. It must be noted that the overwhelming majority of 'monosyllabic words' in Group II are just clitics. Therefore, I rewrite Russell's two groups as:

Group I: polysyllabic word + any word: $V_1+V_2 > V_2$
Group II monosyllabic + polysyllabic word: $V_1+V_2 > V_1$

Examples for Group I:

kanasi-ku+ar- ➔ *kanasikar-* (MYS V: 793)
sad-INF+exist ➔ is sad

(clause) *tø+ip-* ➔ (clause) *t-ip-* (MYS V: 800)
(clause) DV say ➔ (clause) DV-say

(NP) *n-i+ar-* ➔ *n-ar-* (MYS V: 805)
(NP) DV-INF exist ➔ (NP) DV-exist

V-i-te+ar- ➔ *V+i+tar-* (MYS XV: 3872)
V-INF-SUB exist ➔ V-INF-PERF/PROG

V-aNs-u+ar- ➔ *V-aNs-ar-* (MYS XVII: 3891)
V-NEG-INF exist ➔ NEG-exist

apa+umyi ➔ *apumyi* (MYS IX: 1757)
light+sea ➔ fresh water lake

ara+iswo ➔ *ariswo* (MYS II: 181)
rough+rock ➔ jagged rocks

kata+uwo ➔ *katuwo* (MYS IX: 1740)
hard+fish ➔ katsuo (dried fish)

Examples for Group II:

(clause) *tø+ip-* ➔ (clause) *tø-p-*(MYS XV: 3638)
(clause) DV say ➔ (clause) DV-say

kwo+um- ➔ *kwom-* (KK 71)
egg+lay ➔ lay an egg

imwo-Nka ipye ➔ *imwo-Nka-pye* (MYS V: 844)
beloved-POSS house ➔ house of one's beloved

køkørø pa omøp-ey-Ntø ➔ *køkørø pa møp-ey-Ntø* (KK 51)
heart TOP love-EV-CONC ➔ although the heart loves

myi+uma ➔ *myima* (MYS V: 877)
PREF(HON)-horse ➔ honorable horse

There are, however, notable exceptions to both Group I and II. First, some of the polysyllabic words sometimes retain their last vowel:

are omøp-u ➔ *are møpu* (against the rule for the Group I) (MYS V: 852)
I think-FIN ➔ I think

Second, the behavior of the possessive case marker *Nka* may be unpredictable, cf. the following two examples:

wa-Nka ipye ➔ *wa-Nka pye* (as above, according to the rule for the Group II) (MYS V: 837)
I-POSS house ➔ my house

wa-Nka ipye ➔ *wa-Nk-yipye* (against the rule for the Group II, but according to the rule for the Group I) (NK 21)
I-POSS house ➔ my house

2.2.5.2 MONOPHTHONGIZATION

Russell proposes the following conditions for monophthongization:
1) a morpheme boundary between the following categories of words is lost: a) auxiliary verb+ auxiliary verb, b) noun+verb;
2) a consonant is lost, resulting in vowel+vowel sequence (Russell 2003: 523).

The second condition may appear at first glance to be speculative, because it involves postulating a non-specified consonant *C (Russell 2003: 531), which cannot be reconstructed by the regular comparative method for proto-Japonic. The cases when this consonant is involved include: a) an alternation between the bound form of a noun ending in a pure vowel and a free form that can be traced to an original diphthong, e.g. WOJ *tuku- ~ tukiy* (< PJ *tukui) 'moon,' WOJ *ama- ~ amey* (< PJ *amai) 'heaven'; b) transitivity flipper *-i that derives transitive verbs from intransitives and vice versa, e.g. WOJ *tuk-a-* 'to be attached' ~ *tukey-* (< PJ *tuk-a-i-) 'to attach it,' WOJ *yak-a-* 'to burn,' ~ *yakey-* (< PJ *yak-a-i-) 'to be burnt.' However, reconstructing an unspecified consonant *C between the elements of the final vowel clusters, as it is customarily done (cf. Martin 1987), is not without its merit, because it relies on Western Old Japanese phonotactics (which did not allow vowel clusters as described above), and on the cross-linguistic universal that compounds tend to preserve older forms in comparison with free forms.

Examples of monophthongization with a lost morphemic boundary:

V-i-kyi+ar- ➔ *V-i-kyer-* (MYS V: 836)
V-INF-PAST+exist ➔ V-INF-PRET

V-i-kyi+am- ➔ *V-i-kyem-* (MYS II: 104)
V-INF-PAST-TENT ➔ V-INF-PAST/TENT

V-[y]i-ar- ➔ *V-yer-* (MYS I: 16)
V-INF-exist ➔ V-PROG

kaNsu+ap- ➔ *kanSwop-* (MYS V: 890)
number+join ➔ count

naNka+ikyi ➔ *naNkeykyi* (MYS II: 199)
long+breath ➔ sigh

taka+iti ➔ *takeyti* (KK 101)
high+market ➔ Taketi (place name)

opø+isi ➔ *opiysi* (KK 13)
big+stone ➔ rock

tønø+iri ➔ *toneri* (MYS XVI: 3791)
pavilion+entering ➔ retainer

situ+ori ➔ *sitwori* (NS: II)
weaving pattern+weaving ➔ native weaving pattern

Examples of monophthongization resulting from the loss of the consonant *C:

tuk-a+Cyi- ➔ *tukey-* (MYS XX: 4420)
attach (intr.)+TRF ➔ attach it (tr.)

yak-a+Cyi- ➔ *yakey-* (MYS XVII: 3941)

burn it (tr.) +TRF ➔ burn (intr.)

kø+Cyi[15] ➔ *kiy* (MYS V: 800)
tree+? ➔ tree

ama+Cyi ➔ *amey* (BS 1)
heaven+? ➔ heaven

2.2.5.3 NASALIZATION

Nasalization is process that occurs when a voiceless obstruent becomes a prenasalized voiced one due to vowel elision between a nasal sonorant (predominantly /n/) and a following voiceless obstruent. Since the rules of Western Old Japanese phonotactics do not allow consonantal clusters, the sequence consisting of a nasal sonorant followed by voiceless obstruent results in a prenasalized voiced obstruent *NC*. This vowel elision occurs most frequently in genitive case marker *-nø*, but there are also cases when it involves the dative-locative case marker *-ni*, the comparative case marker *-nø*, and the infinitive form *n-i* or the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-*. Examples: *swora-N-ti* (MYS XV: 3694) < *swora-nø ti 'way to Heaven' (cf. *ti-mata* 'road fork'), *nwo-N-pyiru* (KK 43) < *nwo-nø pyiru* 'field garlic,' *taku-N-pusuma* (KK 5) < *taku-nø pusuma* 'taku covers,' *myi-na-N-kyipa* (MYS XX: 4462) < *myi-na-nø kyipa* 'riverbank (lit.: edge of the water),' *yamasirø-N-kapa* (KK 58) < *yamasirø-nø kapa* 'Yamasirø river,' *ipye-N-sakar-* (MYS V: 794) < *ipye-ni sakar-* 'to keep distance from home,' *myi-yama-N-kakur-i-te* (KK 112) < *myi-yama-ni kakur-i-te* 'hiding in the deep mountains,' *myiNtu-nø kapyer-an-u-N-køtø-ku* (MYS XV: 3625) < *myiNtu-nø kapyer-an-u n-i køtø-ku* 'like the water that does not return,' *osu-N-pur-ap-yi* (KK 2) < *osu n-i pur-ap-yi 'repeatedly pushes and shakes,' *pyikø-N-tur-ap-yi* (KK 2) < *pyikø n-i tur-ap-yi 'repeatedly pulls and shoves,' *ma-tama-N-te* (KK 3) < *ma-tama-nø te* 'hands like jewels.' There is one case of the elision of the last vowel in the root after a nasal:

[15] The exact function of this suffix *-Cyi in nouns is not quite clear.

siN-tu ye (KK 100) < *simwo-tu ye* 'bottom branches.' This also appears to be the only case when the nasal /m/ and not /n/ is the source of the nasalization.

However, in some rare cases the prenasalized forms in compounds reflect not the vowel elision between a nasal and a voiceless obstruent, but indicate that originally the first element of compound ended with a nasal, e.g. *woN-pune* 'small boat' (KK 52), *woN-tani* 'little valley' (KK 111), *woNti* 'old man' (MYS XVII: 4014) < *woN-* 'small' + *ti* 'father,' *wa-N-tøri* 'my bird' (KK 3), *na-N-tøri* 'thy bird' (KK 3), *a-N-kwo* 'my children' (NK 8).

2.2.5.4 *-r- LOSS

The process of *-r- loss (Whitman's law) is a residue from the previous stage of the language, no longer active in Western Old Japanese.[16] However, it is important to keep in mind, as it affected verbal morphophonology. Whitman argued that *-r- was lost in pre-OJ if the preceding vowel was short, but retained if the preceding vowel was long (Whitman 1985: 190-201). At first glance, this explanation may seem to be circular, because the evidence for pre-OJ vowel length, especially in non-first syllables, is moot, to say the least. However, it turns out that it works in the case of verbal morphophonology if we treat vowels resulting from contraction or monophthongization as long. Thus, pre-OJ *-uro > WOJ *-uru*,[17] attributive, and pre-OJ *-ure > WOJ *-ure*, evidential, undergo the following developments depending whether they follow consonantal or vowel verbal stems, cf. the following examples involving consonantal verb *omøp-* 'to think, love' and vowel verb *kwopiy-* 'to love.'

*omøp-uru ➔ *omøp-u[r]u ➔ omøp-u

[16] There seems to be two possible exceptions to this rule, reflected by WOJ *kusurisi* ~ MJ *kususi* 'medicine man,' and WOJ *urutapu* ~ MJ *utapu* 'to complain' (no direct phonetic Western Old Japanese attestations of *urutapu*, the word is usually cited on the basis of later glosses (Omodaka 1967: 137).

[17] In Western Old Japanese pre-OJ *o underwent raising to *u, thus pre-OJ *-uro > WOJ *-uru*.

*omøp-urey ➔ *omøp-u[r]ey ➔ omøp-ey

*kwopiy-uro ➔ *kwop-ru ➔ kwop-uru
*kwopiy-urey ➔ *kwop-rey ➔ kwop-ure[y]

3

LEXICON

As a lexicon of any human language, the lexicon of Western Old Japanese surely consisted of both native vocabulary and loanwords. However, the usage of loanwords was restricted in poetry (although there were some exceptions), and since most of our sources on Western Old Japanese represent poetic texts, we will probably never know the extent to which loanwords were employed in the everyday language of the time. This is especially true since the only prose source that uses loanwords more or less extensively, the *Senmyô,* has two significant limitations. First, many of the loanwords from Chinese are written in this text semantographically by Chinese characters. Second, the vocabulary of the *Senmyô* is very specific, since it represents imperial edicts. The only other Western Old Japanese prose text, the *Norito,* is hardly helpful at all. Since it is a collection of the Shintô prayers it cannot be expected to contain a substantial amount of foreign vocabulary.

However, there are two major exceptions to this otherwise almost complete absence of loanwords. The first one concerns those loanwords that are frequently labeled 'prehistoric,' although not all of them are prehistoric in the true sense of the word. Rather, it involves those borrowings that have already become the flesh and blood of the Old Japanese language, and were no longer perceived as foreign elements. These words, therefore, were treated as an organic part of the native vocabulary, and they were freely used in poetry. There are three recognizable sources of naturalized loanwords: Ainu, Korean, and Chinese. However, there were

undoubtedly many more, including languages that were once spoken in the Japanese archipelago. Since Japonic absorbed these languages comparatively early, almost no traces of them remain today. Identification of these potentially foreign elements in Japanese is an exciting, albeit controversial topic, which falls outside of the scope of the present work; therefore my focus here will be on the immediately identifiable loanwords.

The second major exception is due to the usage of Chinese loanwords in the so-called 'playful poems' (*tawamure-no uta*) that are heavily concentrated in volume sixteen of the *Man'yôshû* (Saeki 1959: 35).

3.1 Naturalized loanwords from Ainu

Apart from place names, e.g. WOJ *nøtø*, a name for the Noto peninsula (< Ainu *not* 'cape,' or *noto* 'big cape'), there are very few Ainu loanwords in Western Old Japanese. One of them is WOJ *kanipa* (or possibly *kaniNpa*) '*sakura* bark,' likely a loanword from Ainu *karinpa* 'bark of mountain *sakura*' (Saeki 1959: 32). Another example is the dimunitive prefix *wo-* < *woN-* < *bon-, a likely loanword from Ainu *pon* 'small' (see 4.1.1.3 for details).

3.2 Naturalized loanwords from Korean

Loanwords from Korean are much more numerous than loanwords from Ainu and they are found in virtually all layers of Western Old Japanese vocabulary, including basic vocabulary. This is contrary to the general belief that most of the loanwords from Korean are limited to Buddhist religious vocabulary. The difficulty of their identification is due to the fact that Western Old Japanese borrowed heavily from now extinct language of the Paekche kingdom, from which only few glosses remain. Nevertheless, the tentative identification of certain 'native' Western Old Japanese vocabulary items as Korean loanwords is still possible due to two factors. First, the Old Korean language, the language of the Silla kingdom, is attested much better, with several texts surviving. In addition, Middle Korean, which is not quite a direct descendant of Old

Korean, but which is based on an Old Korean dialect very close to the Silla language, is attested quite perfectly. Second, a number of Western Old Japanese 'native' vocabulary items have parallels in Old and/or Middle Korean, but do not have any cognates either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan. Rather than view them as Koreo-Japonic cognate sets, supporting the genetic relationship of Japonic and Korean, I prefer to identify them as loanwords from some variety of Old Korean (possibly Paekche). If they were genuine Koreo-Japonic cognates, one would expect them to show up in Eastern Old Japanese and/or in Ryukyuan. The very fact that they are absent from the two branches of Japonic that were not in direct contact with ancient languages of the Korean peninsula, speaks in favor of the loanword scenario. Besides, these words usually have semantic doublets in Western Old Japanese. The doublets normally have cognates in Eastern Old Japanese and/or Ryukyuan, but no parallels in Old and/or Middle Korean. The following chart illustrates these two vocabulary layers in Western Old Japanese lexicon.

Chart 5: Lexical doublets in Western Old Japanese

	WOJ	**EOJ**	**Ryuk.**	**OK**	**MK**
father$_1$	titi	titi	cici	—	—
father$_2$	kaso	—	—	kaso (Paekche)	—
mother$_1$	papa	papa	fafa	—	—
mother$_2$	omo	amo	—	*EME?	emi
elder brother$_1$	ani	ani	?ani	—	—
elder brother$_2$	se	se	—	?	hyeng[18]
head$_1$	MJ tub/muri	—	çiburu	—	—
head$_2$	-mata[19]	—	—	EMK mati	mari

[18] Not a Chinese loan, as frequently assumed. Chin. 兄 'elder brother' has MK Sino-Korean reading /hywuyeng/, modern Sino-Korean /hywung/.
[19] Preserved in *ya-mata nø woroti* 'eight-headed serpent' (Vovin 2000: 142-43).

eye$_1$	më	me	*me	—	—
eye$_2$	na-mîda 'tear'[20]	—	nada	*NWUN?	nwun
snow$_1$	yukî	yoki	*yoki	—	—
snow$_2$	MJ na-dare[21]	—	—	?	nwun
sea$_1$	umî	umi	*omi	—	—
sea$_2$	wata	—	—	?	parar, patah

The first word in each pair (indexed with subscript '$_1$') is apparently native, because it has obvious cognates in Eastern Old Japanese and/or Ryukyuan. The second word in each pair (indexed with subscript '$_2$') is quite plausibly a loanword from Korean, since there are no Eastern Old Japanese and/or Ryukyuan cognates, but there are Korean parallels.

Certainly, naturalized Korean loanwords are not limited to basic vocabulary alone. On the contrary, many more are found in cultural vocabulary. Some examples:

WOJ *tera* 'Buddhist temple', borrowed from some Old Korean dialect, probably Paekche: cf. MK *tyél* 'id.' MK form apparently underwent apocope, and WOJ preserves the old form of the word.

WOJ *pøtøkey* 'Buddha,' borrowed from some Old Korean dialect, probably Paekche: cf. MK *pwuthye* 'id.' MK form apparently underwent syncope, resulting from OK *pwutVhye (cf. Manchu *fucihi* 'Buddha,' also borrowed from some OK dialect, probably Parhae).

WOJ *kusirö* 'bracelet made of precious stones' borrowed from some Old Korean dialect, probably Paekche: cf. MK *kwùsúl* 'bead, precious stone.'

WOJ *katana* 'single blade sword' is an apparent compound consisting of *kata-* 'one' and *na* 'blade.' This compound as such does not present itself in Modern Korean or Middle Korean, but this can be easily explained by the fact that Koreans in recent

[20] Lit.: 'eye-water.'
[21] *Nadare* 'snowslide, avalanche.'

historical times used only double-blade swords. Although *kata-* 'one' is found in a number of compounds even in modern Japanese, such as *kata-miti* 'one way,' *kata-asi* 'one foot,' *kata-ude* 'one arm,' *kata-omoi* 'unreciprocated love,' *kata-oya* 'one parent,' *kata-gawa* 'one side', *kata-toki* 'single moment,' etc., it is not a native word. The native vocabulary item is WOJ *pyitø-* 'one.' *Kata-* 'one' is an apparent loanword from Korean: although MK has *honah* (Modern Standard Korean *hana*) 'one,' pre-fifteenth-century Korean materials clearly indicate earlier *xata- with *-t- rather than *-n-: EMK *xatun* (Kyeylim yusa #19), OK *HAtøn* 'one' (Kwangumka 6, 8). WOJ *na* 'blade' < MK *nolh* [n√rh] 'id.,' cf. native WOJ *pa* 'blade.'

WOJ *pati* 'bowl for alms.' The ultimate source for this word is Sanskrit *pÇtra* or *pÇtr¥* 'bowl,' but the immediate source is certainly Korean, the word being borrowed from Korean before the lenition
-t- > *-r-* took place, cf. MK *pal* [par] 'bowl for alms' < OK *pati. Unless the immediate Korean source is assumed for this word (since no other direct loans from Sanskrit to Western Old Japanese are known), it would be difficult to explain the following: a) the same restricted semantics ('bowl for alms' vs. 'bowl'), b) final vowel *-i* (that can be easily explained as Korean diminutive *-i*) rather than *-u*, which would be more likely to be expected if the word were a direct loan from the Chinese intermediary (EMC *pat* 'bowl for alms').

3.3 Naturalized loanwords from Old and Middle Chinese

There are few naturalized loanwords from Old and Middle Chinese, and even fewer are completely unproblematic. To illustrate the possibilities and the problems that besiege them, I will use the following four examples.

WOJ *we* 'picture' is a loanword from EMC *VwEÜj*^{h} (畫) 'id.' It freely appears in different kinds of texts, including poetry, which probably points to the fact that even then this word was not perceived as an alien element.

WOJ *tønø* ‘pavilion’ is likely to be a borrowing of OC *t-n (殿) ‘pavilion.’ Phonetically it is quite plausible, with a central mid vowel replacing Old Chinese central high vowel, and with an echo vowel added after the Chinese final consonant. The echo vowel principle also appears in some *ongana* signs that were used as disyllables, e.g. MC 作 (EMC *tsak*) or 尺 (MC *tɕʰiajk*) rendering the WOJ sequence /saka/. It is also very plausible in a cultural context, because the building of pavilions was certainly an enterprise borrowed from China, whether directly or indirectly through a Korean intermediary. The surviving samples of native Japanese architecture certainly do not include any pavilions, that all appear to be based on existing Chinese models. At any rate, this etymology is much more certain that the other two that will be discussed below.

WOJ *uma* ‘horse’ is almost universally believed to be an early loanword from OC *mra (馬) ‘horse’ (Saeki 1959: 33). It is not quite clear why OC cluster *mr- would be reflected as *um- in Western Old Japanese, one would expect more realistic reflexes *m- or *n-< *r-, thus, WOJ *ma or *na would be expected. It is highly unlikely that the word was borrowed from MC *ma, because in this case initial *u- in Western Old Japanese would be still crying for an explanation. An even greater problem confronting this comparison involves the reconstruction of the proper proto-Japonic archetype of the word. There is a diachronic alternation *Ø-* ~ *m-* in this word: WOJ *uma* ~ MJ *muma* ‘horse.’ The same alternation between WOJ form without initial *m-* and MJ with initial *m-* is observed in some other words, e.g. WOJ *umey* ~ MJ *mume* ‘plum’ (discussed below), WOJ *umaNkwo* ~ MJ *mumago* ‘grandchild,’[22] WOJ *uma-* ~ MJ *muma-* ‘to be good, excellent, splendid, delicious’ WOJ *uNpap-* ~ MJ *mubaf-* ‘to take away,’ WOJ *uNpara* ~ MJ *mubara* ‘thorn, brier,’ WOJ *uNpey* ~ MJ *muNpey* ‘really, necessity.’ It is usually believed that the Western Old Japanese

[22] Forms *muma* ‘horse’ and *mumaNkwo* ‘grandchild’ with initial *m-* are also attested in Western Old Japanese, but they occur more seldom than forms without *m-*.

forms without *m-* are more archaic than Middle Japanese forms with *m-*. However, it is necessary to explain why there are also a number of words where WOJ *um-/uN-* corresponds to MJ *um-/-u˜-*[23] and not to MJ *mum-/mu˜-*, e.g.: WOJ *umyi* ~ MJ *umi* 'sea,' WOJ *umyi* ~ MJ *umi* 'pus,' WOJ *um-* ~ MJ *um-* 'to give birth,' WOJ *um-* ~ MJ *ume-* 'to bury.'[24] Let us compare these two groups of words with their reflexes in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan (Modern Shuri will be used as an example).

Chart 6: Reflexes of *um-/uN-* in WOJ, EOJ, MJ and Shuri

gloss	**WOJ**	**EOJ**	**MJ**	**Shuri**
horse	uma	muma[25]	muma	'Nma
plum	umey	—	mume	'Nmi
grandchild	umaNkwo	—	mumago	'Nmaga
good/tasty	uma-	—	muma-	maasa-N
take away	uNpap-	—	mubaf-	'Nbay-uN
thorn	uNpara	—	mubara	—[26]
necessity	uNpey	—	mube	—
sea	umyi	umi	umi	'umi
pus	umyi	—	umi	'Nmi
give birth	um-	—	um-	'Nmari-
bury	um-	—	ume-	'Nbee-y-uN

[23] Middle Japanese consonants transcribed as *b, d, g, z* were either prenasalized voiced obstruents like WOJ *Np, Nt, Nk, Ns*, or they triggered nasalization over a preceding vowel.
[24] There are intransitives *mumare-* 'to be born' and *mumore-* 'to be buried' attested with initial *m-* in Middle Japanese, but these are probably analogical forms, since transitive verbs *um-* 'to give birth' and *ume-* 'to bury' never appear as *mum- and *mume-.
[25] The form *uma* is attested also, but only in those Eastern Old Japanese texts that have no or very few real Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV: 3439, 3537a, 3538).
[26] Shuri *'ibayaa* 'thorn' is a late loan from Japanese *ibara* 'id.'

With the exception of Shuri *maasa-N* ‘is delicious’ that represents an irregular development, we can see three distinct types of correspondences:

1) WOJ *um-* ~ EOJ *mum-* ~ MJ *mum-* ~ Shuri *’Nm-*
2) WOJ *um-* ~ EOJ *um-* ~ MJ *um-* ~ Shuri *um-*
3) WOJ *um-* ~ EOJ ? ~ MJ *um-* ~ Shuri *’Nm-*

Serafim suggested that the second correspondence should be interpreted as a reflex of PJ sequence *om-, with primary PJ *o that underwent raising to /u/ in WOJ (unconditional), EOJ (in this case), and in initial position in Shuri (Serafim, personal communication). The third correspondence is then likely to reflect PJ *um-, which was reflected as such in Central (WOJ, MJ) branch of Japanese, but shifted to *’Nm-* in Shuri. That leaves only one option for interpretation of the first correspondence: as PJ *mum-. Thus, the reconstruction of the PJ archetype for WOJ *uma* ‘horse’ should be *muma, and this short discussion demonstrates again that Western Old Japanese is not the Latin of the Japonic language family. It turns out to be the most innovative among all the Japonic languages as far as its treatment of PJ sequences *mum-, *um- and *om- is concerned: it is the only Japonic language among those used above that merged them all.

Therefore, it is quite doubtful that PJ *muma ‘horse’ (> WOJ *uma*) can be a loanword from OC *mra.[27] The reflex of OC initial cluster *mr- as PJ *mum- is not very likely. This kind of a phonetically strange development is placed even more in doubt by an apparent irregularity that arises if we take into consideration the hypothesis that WOJ *umey* ‘plum’ is also a loanword from Old Chinese, which is discussed next.

WOJ *umey* ‘plum’ is usually considered to be an early loanword from OC *m[28] (梅) ‘plum’ (Saeki 1959: 33). However, as demonstrated above the archetype of WOJ *umey* ‘plum’ was PJ

[27] The reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype as *muma also demonstrates that a comparison with MM *una’an* ‘’foal’ and other ‘Altaic’ forms (Starostin et al. 2003: 507-08) is nothing but an ‘Altaistic’ fantasy.

[28] I follow here the traditional Old Chinese reconstruction by (Baxter 1992). Beckwith suggested to me that ‘plum’ should be reconstructed as *mr- (p.c.).

*muma-i with an initial *m-*. This creates a problem in regularity of the correspondences if we compare this word with WOJ *uma* 'horse' and its alleged OC counterpart:

gloss	**WOJ**	**PJ**	**OC**
horse	uma	*muma	*mra
plum	umey	*muma-i	*m~~ɨ~~

We have two almost identical shapes in proto-Japonic, but the alleged Old Chinese sources are very different. It is really inconceivable how a PJ *muma-i or WOJ *mumey* could develop an extra initial syllable if the word for 'plum' was really borrowed from Old Chinese. Thus, I must conclude that neither WOJ *uma* 'horse' nor WOJ *umey* 'plum' are loanwords from Chinese. Their etymology remains obscure.

3.4 Loanwords from Chinese in poetry

Most Chinese loanwords found in Western Old Japanese poetry represent religious vocabulary, in particular vocabulary that is related to Buddhism. The lion's share of all Chinese loanwords in poetry is concentrated in volume sixteen of the *Man'yôshû*. The usual reason cited is that MYS XVI contains many 'playful poems' (Saeki 1959: 35) although not all the poems in volume sixteen containing Chinese loanwords are playful in their content. The following loanwords from Chinese are attested in Western Old Japanese poetic texts:[29]

suNkuroku '*sugoroku* (name of a game)' < EMC *ßɨ̈ŭwN luwk* (雙六) (MYS XVI: 3827, 3838), *kau* 'fragrance' < EMC *x~~i~~aN* (香) (MYS XVI: 3828), *kuu* 'achievement' < EMC *kˊwN* (功) (MYS

[29] The following list is based mostly on the list found in (Saeki 1959: 34), with one addition from (Shirafuji 1987: 203). Shirafuji provides several other cases, not included in the list in (Saeki 1959: 34), but they are more controversial, as native readings may in fact hide behind the semantographic script in these cases. For example, the characters 生死 in MYS XVI: 3849 are read as a lonaword *syauNsi* by Shirafuji, but native *ikyi-sini* fits better in the meter of the poem (Takagi et al. 1962: 151).

XVI: 3858), *Nkowi* ‘fifth rank’ < EMC *NO’ wi^{h}* (五位) (MYS XVI: 3858), *popusi* ‘Buddhist priest’ < EMC *puap ßi* (法師) (MYS XVI: 3846), *Nkakiy* ‘hungry demon’ < EMC *Na^{h} kuj’* (餓鬼) (MYS IV: 608, MYS XVI: 3840), *puse* ‘offering (at a Buddhist temple)’ < EMC *pO^{h} Çi´#* (布施) (MYS V: 906), *kuwasø* [kwasø] ‘travel pass’ < EMC *kwa^{h} ßɨ´#’* (過所) (MYS XV: 3754), *rikiNsi* ‘Buddhist guardian’ in *rikiNsi-mapyi* ‘Buddhist guardian dance’ < EMC *lik dÛi’* (力士) (MYS XVI: 3831), *muNkau* ‘non-existing’ in *muNkau n-ø satø* ‘non-existing village’[30] < EMC *mu´# Va wuw’* (無何有) (MYS XVI: 3851), *pakwoya* ‘Pakoya, p.n.’ in *pakwoya n-ø yama* ‘mythical mountain Pakoya where the immortals live’[31] < EMC *mjiaw’ kO jia^{h}* (藐孤射) (MYS XVI: 3851), *teusamu* ‘going to the court’ < EMC *driaw ts^{h}am* (朝参) (MYS XVIII: 4121).

Some of the Chinese loanwords can form compounds with native vocabulary items. Thus, the loanword *Nkakiy* ‘hungry demon’ can occur independently (MYS IV: 608), and also can form compounds with native vocabulary items: *mye-Nkakiy* ‘female hungry demon,’ *wo-Nkakiy* ‘male hungry demon’ (MYS XVI: 3840). The loanword *rikiNsi* ‘Buddhist guardian,’ on the other hand, occurs in poetry only in the compound *rikiNsi-mapyi* ‘Buddhist guardian dance’ (MYS XVI: 3831).

There are also three loanwords borrowed from Sanskrit via Chinese that also appear in poetry. All of them occur only in the volume sixteen of the *Man’yôshû*: *tapu* ‘pagoda’ < EMC *t^{h}ap* (塔) < Sanskrit *st□pa* (MYS XVI: 3828), *Ntaniwoti* ‘almsgiver’ < EMC *dan wuat* (檀越) < Sanskrit *dÇnapati* (MYS XVI: 3847), *Nparamoni* ‘Brahman’ < EMC *ba la m´n* (婆羅門) < Sanskrit *brÇhman¢a* (MYS XVI: 3856).

[30] An image taken from *Zhuangzi* that symbolizes the ideal unspoiled abode of immortals.
[31] Another image taken from *Zhuangzi*.

3.5 Loanwords from Chinese in prose

Chinese loanwords in prose are much more numerous in spite of the fact that they all come from the same text: the *Senmyô,* which is the only prose text that contains borrowings from Chinese. The following Chinese loanwords (including loanwords from Sanskrit via Chinese) are attested in the *Senmyô*:[32]

uwi '[people] with a rank' < EMC *wuw' wi^{h}* (有位) (SM 42), *yeni* 'karma' < EMC *jwian* (縁) (SM 41), *yemimi* 'witchcraft' < EMC */jiam mi^{h}* (厭魅) (SM 54), *omuyau* 'Ying and Yang' < EMC */im jɨaN* (陰陽) (SM 42), *kauNtoku* 'reading' < EMC *kaɨwN d´wk* (講読) (SM 42), *Nkaku* 'music' < EMC *Naɨwk* (楽) (SM 9), *kitiNsyauteni* 'name of Bishamon's spouse' < EMC *kjit zɨaN thEn* (吉祥天) (SM 42), *Nkipu* 'righteous husband' < EMC *Ni^{h} pu´#* (義夫) (SM 42), *kiyau* 'sutra' < EMC *kEjN* (経) (SM 28, 38), *Nkiyau* 'deed' < EMC *VaɨjN^{h}* (行) (SM 41), *kwanuseomu Nposati* 'bodhisattva Kannon' < EMC *kwan^{h} Çiaj^{h} /im bO sat* (観世音菩薩) (SM 19, 43), *keiuni* 'auspicious (lit.: scenic) cloud' < EMC *kijaN' wun* (景雲) (SM 42), *keuNki* 'filial piety' < EMC *xEÜw^{h} Ni^{h}* (孝義) (SM 13, 48, 50, 55, 61), *keuNsi* 'respectful son' < EMC *xEÜw^{h} tsɨ'* (孝子) (SM 42), *keuNpu* 'virtuous wife' < EMC *xEÜw^{h} buw'* (孝婦) (SM 42), *kekwa* 'penance' < EMC *xw´j' kwa^{h}* (悔過) (SM 42), *kokuwau* 'country's king' < EMC *kw´k wuaN^{h}* (国王) (SM 28), *Nkopopu* 'protect the Buddhist Law' < EMC *VO'*

[32] The following list is based on the list compiled by Shirafuji (1987: 204-05) on the basis of the index to *Senmyô* by Kitagawa Kazuhide (1982) with a few additions based on Kitagawa's index that for some reason were not included into Shirafuji's list. I also added Early Middle Chinese sources. We know virtually nothing about the phonology of Chinese loanwords in Western Old Japanese prose, because their *kana* spellings are sadly lacking, therefore the transcription below is just a speculation. I have added the vowels *-i* or *-u* after all final consonants in the tentative transcription of the examples above: judging by some relic loanwords surviving into later Japanese, it is quite possible that this was the case, i.e., e.g., the pronunciation of character 人 'person' was [Nsini] with a final echo vowel. It is possible, however, that members of the educated class were able to pronounce the Chinese syllable final *-p, -t, -k, -m, -n*, and *-N*. However, none of these hypotheses can be really proven.

puap (護法) (SM 19), *samuseni* ‘triple selection’ < EMC *sam swian’* (三選) (SM 42), *samuNpau* ‘Three Treasures’ < EMC *sam paw’* (三宝) (SM 12, 13, 38, 42, 45), *Nsamu* ‘beheading’ < EMC *tßEÜm’* (斬) (SM 53, 62), *si* ‘mentor, teacher’ < EMC *ßi* (師) (SM 24, 28, 35, 36, 48), *sikiNsi* ‘office manager’ < EMC *tÇik dÛɨʰ* (職事) (SM 24), *siNdaiteniwau* ‘Four Great Heavenly Kings’ < EMC *siʰ daj’ thEn wuaNʰ* (四大天王) (SM 19, 43), *Nsiyaukai* ‘Buddhist precepts’ < EMC *dziajNʰ kE:jʰ* (浄戒) (SM 28), *siyari* ‘Buddha’s relics’ < EMC *Çiaʰ liʰ* (舎利) (SM 41), *Nsiyunisonu* ‘obedient grandchild’ < EMC *Ûwinʰ sw´n* (順孫) (SM 42), *siyouraku* ‘bliss’ < EMC *ÇiN lak* (勝楽) (SM 45), *siyosiyau* ‘all sages’ < EMC *tÇɨa# ÇiajNʰ* (諸聖) (SM 44, 45), *siyoteni* ‘all Heavens’ < EMC *tÇɨa# thEn* (諸天) (SM 42), *sinitai* ‘advance and retreat’ < EMC *tsinʰ thw´jʰ* (進退) (SM 62), *Nsuwisiyo* ‘auspicious writing’ < EMC *dÛwiʰ Çɨ´#* (瑞書) (SM 42), *sekeni* ‘world’ < EMC *Çiajʰ kEÜnʰ* (世間) (SM 45), *setiNpu* ‘faithful wife’ < EMC *tsEt buw’* (節婦) (SM 42), *Nsenisi* ‘meditation teacher’ < EMC *dÛian ßi* (禅師) (SM 28, 41), *NtaiNkiyaku* ‘great crime’ < EMC *dajʰ Niajk* (大逆) (SM 54), *Ntaisi* ‘great teacher’ < EMC *dajʰ ßi* (大師) (SM 26, 41), *taisiyaku* ‘Taisaku (=Indra)’ < EMC *tEjʰ Çiajk* (帝釈) (SM 19, 43), *NtaiNsini* ‘minister’ < EMC *dajʰ dÛin* (大臣) (SM 28, 35, 36), *NtaiNzuwi* ‘great wonder’ < EMC *dajʰ dÛwiʰ* (大瑞) (SM 42, 48), *Ntaipau* ‘Minister of the Right (Lit.: Great Protector)’ < EMC *dajʰ paw’* (大保) (SM 25, 26), *Ntaipopusi* ‘great teacher of the Buddhist Law’ < EMC *dajʰ puap ßi* (大法師) (SM 41, 42), *Ntairitusi* ‘teacher of Great Principles’ < EMC *dajʰ lwit ßi* (大律師) (SM 41), *tiNkiyau* ‘educated monk’ < EMC *triʰ VE;jNʰ* (智行) (SM 61), *tiniNsiyu* ‘garrison commander’ < EMC *trinʰ Çuwʰ* (鎮守) (SM 62), *Ntesi* ‘disciple’ < EMC *dEj’ tsɨ’* (弟子) (SM 27), *NtokuNsiyu* ‘reading [sutras]’ < EMC *d´wk zuawN* (読誦) (SM 45), *naisau* ‘internal minister’ < EMC *nw´jʰ sɨaNʰ* (内相) (SM 19), *niyorai* ‘Tathagata’ < EMC *≠ɨ´# l´j* (如来) (SM 41), *ninikeu* ‘filial

piety' < EMC *≠in xEÜw*^{h} (仁孝) (SM 59), *Nsiniteni* 'human and Heavenly worlds' < EMC *≠in thEn* (人天) (SM 45), *pakase* 'scholar' < EMC *pak dÛɨ'* (博士) (SM 11), *pukasiNki* 'wonderful' < EMC *put kha' si*^{h} *Ni*^{h} (不可思議) (SM 19, 43), *peniNsiyu* 'border guard' < EMC *pEn swit* (辺戍) (SM 62), *Nposati* 'bodhisattva' < EMC *bO sat* (菩薩) (SM 28, 38, 41), *NpoNtai* 'enlightenment' < EMC *bO dEj* (菩提) (SM 27), *popusamuNki* 'councilor of the Buddhist Law' < EMC *puap sam Ni*^{h} (法参議) (SM 41), *popuNsini* 'minister of the Buddhist Law' < EMC *puap dÛin* (法臣) (SM 41), *popuwau* 'king of the Buddhist Law' < EMC *puap wuaN*^{h} (法王) (SM 41), *Npomuwau* 'Bonten (=Brahma)' < EMC *buam*^{h} *wuaN*^{h} (梵王) (SM 19, 43), *muponu* 'rebellion' < EMC *muw puan'* (謀反) (SM 18, 34, 53, 54), *muwi* '[people] without a rank' < EMC *mu'# wi*^{h} (无位) (SM 42), *yaupuku* 'prosperity' < EMC *wiajN puwk* (栄福) (SM 45), *rai* 'ritual' < EMC *lEj'* (礼) (SM 9), *rikiNteni* 'rice field lot' < EMC *lik dEn* (力田) (SM 13, 42), *rusiyana* 'Vairocana Buddha' < EMC *lO Çia*^{h} *na*^{h} (盧舎那) (SM 12, 19, 43), *wiNsini* 'divine' < EMC */uj Ûin* (威神) (SM 19, 43).

It can be immediately seen that the majority of the Chinese loanwords in Western Old Japanese prose are also from the domain of Buddhist vocabulary, as we have already seen in the case of the poetic texts. Interesting enough, a considerable part of the Chinese loanwords attested in prose is heavily concentrated in edicts 41-43 of the *Senmyô,* and especially in edict 42.

4

NOMINALS

As in Modern Japanese, the class of nominals in Old Japanese comprises three major subclasses: nouns, pronouns, and numerals. These three subclasses may be contrasted to verbs, a class of words, which denote action or condition and have formal markers distinguishing them from the non-verbal class. Also, verbal stems can never be used independently without suffixes. On the other hand, nominal stems can be used independently, and nominals do not have formal markers, which further distinguishes them from verbs.

Two other important characteristics of Old Japanese nominals include their relatively simple morphology and almost complete lack of fusion. On the first point, typically no more that two suffixal positions are possible in a nominal paradigm, usually a plural marker and case marker, if any; and only two prefixal positions are possible. Thus, the maximal nominal paradigm form will look like this: PREF-PREF-NOMINAL-SUF-SUF.[33] Compared to this, a verbal

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33 Theoretically, three suffixal positions should be possible, since there are plural markers, diminutive suffixes, and case markers. However, there are no examples where plural markers occur together with diminutive suffixes, so the actually attested paradigms are limited to PLUR-CASE and DIM-CASE. There is one example in Eastern Old Japanese, when two different diminutive suffixes are used in front of a case marker: imwo-na-rø-Nka *'beloved-DIM-DIM-POSS' (MYS XIV: 3446, see 4.1.2.3.3 for details).*

paradigm with its two possible prefixal positions and theoretically unlimited number of suffixal positions is much more complex. In addition, a nominal paradigm exhibits pure agglutination, with no traces of fusion (with the possible exception of *rendaku* (sequential voicing), but even in the case of *rendaku* it is still possible to draw a morphological boundary). In contrast, verbal paradigms exhibit some cases of fusion where it becomes difficult or even impossible to draw a morphological boundary between the constituents of a paradigmatic form.

4.1 NOUNS

From the standpoint of word formation, all nouns can be divided into nouns and deverbal nouns. Nouns in Old Japanese as well as in Classical Japanese or Modern Japanese do not have a formal marker distinguishing them from other classes. Therefore, nouns are classified on the basis of two criteria: semantics and distribution. The distributional criterion means that nouns combine with certain morphemes, which are connected with grammatical categories typical only of nouns. Nouns in Old Japanese are characterized by the categories of case and number.

There are two types of deverbal nouns: nouns derived from action verbs and nouns derived from quality verbs. The first type on the segmental level coincides with the infinitive (but on the suprasegmental level the infinitive and deverbal nouns have different accents) and has the formal marker *-yi, -iy* or *-ey*. The second type always has the formal markers *-sa* or *-myi*, which are added directly to the stem of a quality verb. I will discuss all deverbal nouns in Chapter 6, which is dedicated to the verb.

Nouns as a class in Western Old Japanese have a formal feature that largely disappears from the later stages of

the language. Some nouns ending in vowels /iy/ and /ey/ (or in /i/ and /e/ which had underlying *iy and *ey) in Western Old Japanese have two stems: a free stem, and a bound stem. Bound stems occur in compounds and for some of these nouns also tend to occur before genitive or possessive case marker, although free stems can also be used before these two case markers. Thus, e.g., the word *kiy* 'tree' (free stem) has also a bound stem *kø-*; the possible genitive forms are both *kø-nø* and *kiy-nø*. In Classical Japanese and later stages of the language bound stems have been preserved only in non-productive compounds, many of which became synchronically indivisible from the morphological point of view. Not all OJ nouns ending in /iy/ or /ey/ have two stems, e.g. such words as *patakey* 'dry field,' *potøkey* 'Buddha,' or *miy* 'winnow' always occur in one form only. Below is the list of nouns that have free and bound stems.

free stem	bound stem	gloss
amey	ama-	heaven
amey	ama-	rain
key	ka-34	hair
key	ka-	day, sun
kamiy	kamu-	deity
kiy	kø-	tree
kukiy	kuku-	stalk
kuti (<*kutiy)	kutu-	mouth
mey	ma-	eye
miy	mu-	body
napey	napa-	seedling
piy	po- (<*pø-)	fire
sakey	saka-	rice wine

34 Seems to occur uncontroversially only in ka-sasi *'hair-pin' (Shirafuji 1987: 95) and in* sira-Nka *(< *sira-n[ø]-ka) 'white hair.'*

sati (<*satiy)	satu-	hunt
suNkey	suNka-	sedge
te (<*tey)	ta-	hand
takey	taka-	bamboo
tukiy	tuku-	moon
tumey	tuma-	nail
tuti (<*tutiy)	tutu-	hammer
upey	upa-	top

The bound form represents the original root, and the free stem is root + suffix *i*. At present, we cannot deduce the meaning of this suffix.

4.1.1 PREFIXES

There are several nominal prefixes in the Old Japanese language: honorific *myi-*, intensive *ma-*, diminutive prefixes *wo-* and *kwo-*, and locative prefix *sa-*.

4.1.1.1 HONORIFIC PREFIX *MYI-*

There is only one honorific prefix in the Old Japanese language: *myi-*. Yamada Yoshio treats this prefix as an honorific or beautification prefix (Yamada 1954: 535). It appears that he is right, although the number of honorific usages considerably exceeds that of beautification. The system of honorific prefixes in Middle (Classical) Japanese becomes considerably richer: The following honorific prefixes occur in the Classical Japanese language: *mi-, ofomi-, ofon-, on-,* and *go-*. However, *go-* is a Chinese loan and it is used almost exclusively with words of Chinese origin, which are very few in Nara period texts, as I mentioned earlier (see Chapter 3). *Ofomi-* and its contracted forms *ofon-* and *on-* are combinations of *ofo-* 'big,' 'great' (< OJ *opo-*)and honorific prefix *mi-* itself. Both *opomyi-* and *opo-* do occur in Old

Japanese texts, but neither of them is completely grammaticalized yet, cf. *opo myi-kamiy* 'Great HON-Deity,' *opo myi-atø* 'great HON-footstep,' *opo kyimyi* 'great lord,' *opo mønø* 'food offered for deities and emperors, (lit. great thing).' Besides nouns, the prefix *myi-* can be also used with the nominalized forms of verbs. Yamada Yoshio believed that *myi-* can combine with both nominals and verbs (Yamada 1954: 535-36), however, out of his three examples for *myi-* in verbal forms two are in logographic writing, so it is difficult to be sure that they indeed represent proper verbal and not nominalized verbal forms. His remaining example in phonetic writing is purely a case of a nominalized verbal form (see MYS V: 869 below).

久路岐美祁斯遠麻都夫佐爾登理與曾比...阿遠岐美祁斯遠麻都夫佐迩登理與曾比
kurwo-kyi **myi-kyes-i**-wo ma-tuNpusa n-i tør-i-yøsøp-yi**...**awo-kyi **myi-kyes-i**-wo ma-tuNpusa n-i tør-i-yøsøp-yi
black-ATTR **HON-wear(HON)-NML**-ACC INT-without fail DV-INF take-INF-dress-INF...blue-ATTR **HON-wear(HON)-NML**-ACC INT-without fail DV-INF take-INF-dress-INF
wearing neatly a black **garment**...wearing neatly a blue **garment** (KK 4)

宇那賀世流多麻能美須麻流美須麻流迩阿那陀麻
unaNk-as-er-u tama-nø **myi-sumaru35 myi-sumaru**-ni ana-N-tama

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35 -sumaru *is a poorly understood word. It occurs only with preceding prefix* myi-*, and only in KK 6 and in the interlinear glosses in the Kojiki 1. Ônо (1990: 1255a) treats this word as a cognate to* suberu *'to glide,' but there are numerous phonetic*

wear on the neck-HON-PROG-ATTR jewel-GEN **HON-string HON-string**-LOC hole-GEN-jewel
string of jewels worn on the neck, large jewels on the **string** (KK 6)

許能美岐波和賀美岐那良受...麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢
kønø **myi-kyi** pa wa-Nka **myi-kyi** nar-aNs-u. matur-i-kø-si **myi-kyi** Nsø as-aNs-u wos-e
this HON-**wine** TOP I-POSS HON-**wine** be-NEG-FIN. present(HUM)-INF-come-PAST/ATTR **wine** PT shallow-NEG-INF eat/drink(HON)-IMP
This **wine** is not my **wine**. Drink the presented **wine** deeply! (KK 39)

美母呂能曾能多迦紀
myi-mørø-nø36 sønø taka kiy
HON-mountain-GEN that high fortress
that high fortress of the **sacred mountain** (KK 60)

波夜夫佐和気能美淤須比賀泥

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problems (correspondences m:b, e:a*), that prevent this equation in my opinion. Although formally the word might look as a verb (with ending* -u*), it must not be overlooked that a number of Old Japanese nouns can end in* -u*, too:* siNtuku *'drop,'* taniNkuku *'toad,'* susu *'soot,'* kasu *'dregs,' etc. Syntactic usage of this word in KK 6, on the other hand, suggests that it is a noun. On the basis of the context I tentatively adopt 'string [of beads]' as its translation. Omodaka (1967: 702d-703a) treats this word as a nominal, too.*

36 -mørø *is considered to mean the place of deity worship or the mountain itself (Tsuchihashi 1957: 75, headnote for KK 60). If this is the latter case, it is likely that the word is a Korean loan, cf. MK* mwoyh *R (< *mwol[o]-i-k LH-), widely attested in MK texts (Nam 1995: 219a), also MK* mwolwo *LH 'mountain,' attested in the commentary to* Yongpi Echenka *(Nam 1995: 215b).*

payaNpusawakey-nø **myi-osupyi**-Nka ne
Payabusawakey-GEN **HON-coat**-POSS cloth
[It is] a cloth for a **coat** for Payabusawakey (KK 67)

加微能美弓
kamiy-nø **myi-te**
deity-GEN **HON-hand**
hands of the deity (KK 96)

美延斯怒能袁牟漏賀多気爾
myi-yesinwo-nø womurwo-Nka takey-ni
HON-Yesinwo-GEN Womurwo-POSS peak-LOC
At the peak of Womurwo in the **beautiful/deep Yeshinwo** (KK 97)
This example seems to represent the case of the beautification usage of *myi-*.

美夜麻賀久理弖美延受加母阿良牟
myi-yama-N-kakur-i-te myi-ye-Ns-u kamø ar-am-u
HON-mountain-LOC-hide-INF-SUB see-PASS-NEG-FIN PT exist-TENT-ATTR
[you] will hide in the **mountains**, and [I] will not be able to see [you] (KK 112)

美阿止都久留伊志
myi-atø tukur-u isi
HON-footstep make-ATTR stone
Stone, where [I] carve the **footstep** [of the Buddha] (BS 1)

和何世古我多那礼乃美巨騰都地爾意加米移母
wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka ta-nare n-ø **myi-køtø** tuti-ni ok-am-ey ya mø
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR **HON-koto** ground-LOC put-TENT-EV PT PT

would anyone dare to put the favorite ***koto*** of my beloved on the ground? (MYS V: 812)

弥許許呂遠斯豆迷多麻布等
myi-køkørø-wo siNtumey-tamap-u tø
HON-heart-ACC calm down(INF)-HON-FIN DV
thinking to calm down [her] **august heart** (MYS V: 813)

美多多志世利斯伊志遠多礼美吉
myi-tat-as-i s-er-i-si isi tare myi-kyi
HON-stand-HON-NML do-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR stone who see(INF)-PAST/FIN
who has seen the stone on which [she] took [her] **stand**? (MYS V: 869)
This is the only example in phonetic writing which Yamada Yoshio (1954: 536) gives as an example of *myi-* preceding not a nominal, but verbal form. Yamada does not provide any morphological analysis of this line, but *myi-tat-as-i* is apparently a nominalized verbal form, otherwise it would not be followed by the verb *se-* 'to do.'

Historically, the honorific suffix *myi-* is also found in a number of words, which together with the suffix acquired a new meaning, such as *myikwo* 'prince' < *myi-kwo* 'honorable child,' *myiya* 'palace,' 'prince' < *myi-ya* 'honorable house,' *myiyakwo* 'capital' < *myi-ya-kwo* 'place of the honorable house,' *myikaNtwo* 'palace,' 'emperor' < *myi-kaNtwo* 'honorable gate:'

多迦比迦流比能美古
taka-pyikar-u pyi-nø **myikwo**
high-shine-ATTR sun-GEN **prince**
High-shining Sun-**prince** (KK 28)

夜麻斯呂賀波袁美夜能煩理

yamasirø-N-kapa-wo **myiya** nøNpør-i
Yamashiro-DV(ATTR)-river-ACC **palace** ascend-INF
As [I] ascend Yamashiro river [towards] the **palace** (KK 58)

比能美加度
pyi-nø **myikaNtwo**
cypress-GEN **palace**
palace [built] of cypress [wood] (KK 100)

爾詩乃美夜古
nisi-nø **myiyakwo**
west-GEN **capital**
Western **Capital** (SNK 6)

It is still possible to draw a morphological boundary between *myi-* and the following word in the above examples, however, there is at least one case where this boundary became completely obscured: *myiti* 'way, road.' However, it is quite clear on the basis of compounds like OJ *ti-mata* 'road fork,' *TaNkyima-ti* 'road to Tagyima' etc., that the original Japanese word for 'way' is just *ti, and that *myi-ti* is a morphologically complex word, containing prefix *myi-*.37

和賀由久美知
wa-Nka yuk-u **myiti**
we-POSS go-ATTR **way**
the **way** we go (KK 43)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

37 From this point of view it becomes apparent that Starostin's comparison of OJ myi-ti *with Mongolian* mör *'road' (Starostin 1991: 89) is a pure fallacy.*

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

伎美我美家思志安夜爾伎保思母
kyimyi-Nka **myi-kyes-i** si aya n-i kyi-posi mø
lord-POSS **HON-wear(HON)-NML** PT strange DV-INF wear(NML)-DES(FIN) PT
strangely, [I] want to wear [my] lord's **garment** (MYS XIV:3350)

安思我良乃美佐可加思古美
asiNkara-nø **myi-saka** kasikwo-myi
Asigara-GEN **HON-slope** awesome-GER
The **slope** of Asigara [pass] is awesome, and... (MYS XIV:3371)

於保伎美乃美己等可思古美
opo kyimyi-nø **myi-køtø** kasikwo-myi
great lord-GEN **HON-word** awesome-GER
Thinking with awe about imperial **command**... (MYS XIV:3480)

A2: Ryukyuan

Modern Shuri has both forms *mi-* and *'N-*: *mi-hwisja* 'HON-foot,' *mi-hwizi* 'HON-beard,' *mi-kusi* 'HON-waist,' *mi-/uubi* 'HON-obi,' *mi-zita* 'HON-geta;' *'N-ci* 'HON-hand,' *'N-pana* 'HON-nose,' *'N-paa* 'HON-tooth,' *'N-cuubu* 'HON-belly' (RKJ 1983: 368b, 434a). The prefix *mi-* is also attested in Old Ryukyuan, e.g. *mi-o-dono* (みおどの) 'HON-HON-palace' (Hokama 1995: 626a). Among Old Ryukyuan data, there are numerous examples of *mi-* in the *Omoro sôshi*: *mi-kau* 'HON-face,' *mi-umukagi* 'HON-appearance,' *mi-o-une* 'HON-HON-

boat,' etc. (Nakahara & Hokama 1978: 308-09). Textual examples from the *Omoro sôshi*:

みかうあわちへあすぢ
mi-kau awa-tife asu-di
HON-face join-SUB praise the gods-SUB
[they] will praise the gods together (lit. joining **faces**) (OS III:312)

みおうねかよわぎやめ
mi-o-une kayowa-gyame
HON-HON-boat pass-TERM
until the **boat** can pass (OS I:17)

Given the internal comparative evidence (also supported by Ryukyuan dialects), it seems safe to reconstruct honorific prefix *mi- for proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
No apparent external parallels.

4.1.1.2 INTENSIVE PREFIX *MA-*

Intensive prefix *ma-* is a grammaticalized usage of the noun *ma* 'truth,' which occurs only once in an independent usage:

麻許曾迩斗比多麻閇
ma køsø n-i twop-yi-tamap-ey
truth PT DV-INF ask-INF-HON-EV
[It]is **right** that you asked [me] (KK 72)

Yamada Yoshio maintains that *ma-* can precede nouns, adjectives, and adverbs (Yamada 1954: 536-37). However, most of Old Japanese adverbs are formally nouns

or adjectival nouns, adverbialized by infinitive forms of defective verbs *n-i* and *tø*. Adjectives in Old Japanese, in contrast to Classical Japanese, can be frequently used in the attributive function just in a stem form without the following attributive marker *-kyi*: thus, they are still in the process of becoming quality verbs in later Japanese. Therefore, adjectives are still, to a considerable extent, a nominal part of speech, and consequently *ma-* can be treated as a nominal prefix. Among the three examples given by Yamada for the usage of *ma-* with adjectives (Yamada 1954: 536) only one represents the case when the following adjective stem has an inflectional ending *-kyi*: (MYS XX: 4413), which is a text written in Eastern Old Japanese. Among two remaining examples, *ma-sirwo n-i* 'in a white manner' (MYS III: 318) really represents *sirwo* 'white' used adverbially, with defective verb *n-i* following directly the stem; and *ma-sakyi-ku* 'safely' (MYS XVII: 3958) represents an unclear derivation from OJ noun *sakyi* 'luck,' which does look like an infinitive form of a quality verb/adjective *sakyi-*,38 but since such a quality verb/adjective ***sakyi-*** simply does not exist in the Old Japanese texts apart from this particular form, it is not quite clear whether we can safely classify this form as adjectival. Nevertheless, I will follow Yamada in treating *ma-* as a nominal/adjectival prefix because there are uncontroversial examples of *ma-* preceding adjectival stems in Eastern Old Japanese.

麻多麻傅多麻傅佐斯麻岐
ma-tama-N-te tama-N-te sas-i-mak-yi

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38 There is also example of sakye-ku *'safely' in Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XX: 4372), indicating that *sake 'luck' was the proto-Japonic archetype.*

INT-jewel-COMP-hand jewel-COMP-hand stick-INF-entwine-INF
[your] **hands like real jewels**, hands like jewels, will entwine [with mine] (KK 3)

久路岐美祁斯遠麻都夫佐爾登理與曾比...阿遠岐美祁斯遠麻都夫佐迩登理與曾比
kurwo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo **ma-tuNpusa n-i** tør-i-yøsøp-yi...awo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo **ma-tuNpusa n-i** tør-i-yøsøp-yi
black-ATTR HON-wear(HON)-NML-ACC **INT-without fail DV-INF** take-INF-dress-INF...blue-ATTR HON-wear(HON)-NML-ACC **INT-without fail DV-INF** take-INF-dress-INF
neatly wearing a black garment... **neatly** wearing a blue garment (KK 4)

夜摩苔波区珥能摩倍邏摩
yamatø pa kuni-nø **ma-pwo**-ra ma39
Yamato TOP land-GEN **INT-top**-LOC according
Since Yamato is in **the highest place** of the country (NK 22)

麻肥迩波阿弖受
ma-piy-ni pa ate-Ns-u
INT-fire-LOC TOP expose-NEG-INF
without exposing [the rouge] to a **strong fire** (KK 42)

由都麻都婆岐

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39 Kojiki kayô *has* ma-pwo-rø-Npa *(KK 30), which, I believe, has a different explanation (see Chapter 6 on defective verb* -rø*). I use the* Nihonshoki *variant, because* -ra ma *'according to' found in* Nihonshoki *is supported by* -ra ma *'according to' widely attested in* Senmyô *(see the section 4.1.2.2.5 on the dative-locative case marker* -ra*).*

yu tu **ma-tuNpakyi**
sacred DV(ATTR) **INT-camellia**
the **real** sacred **camellia** (KK 57)

麻久比爾波麻多麻袁加気
ma-kupyi-ni pa **ma-tama**-wo kakey
INT-post-LOC TOP **INT-jewel**-ACC hang(INF)
[they] hung a **true jewel** on a **true post** (KK 90)

眞白衣不盡能高嶺尓雪波零家留
MA-SIRWO N-I sø puNsi-nø TAKA NE-ni YUKYI pa PUR-I-kyer-u
INT-white DV-INF PT Fuji-GEN high summit snow TOP fall-INF-PRET-ATTR
snow has fallen in a **very white** manner on the high summit of Fuji [mountain] (MYS III:318)

企許斯遠周久爾能麻保良
kyikøs-i-wos-u kuni-nø **ma-po**-ra
rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN **INT-top**-LOC
in the highest place (lit. **real top**) of the country, where [the emperor] rules (MYS V: 800)

麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯乎
ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ø isi-wo
INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone-ACC
two stones like **real jewels** (MYS V: 813)

麻蘇鏡弖爾登利毛知弖
ma-swo KANKAMYI te-ni tør-i-mwot-i-te
INT-clear mirror hand-LOC take-INF-hold-INF-SUB
taking the **really clear** mirror in [my] hands (MYS V: 904)

麻佐吉久登伊比低之物能乎
ma-sakyi-ku tø ip-yi-te-si MØnøwo
INT-safe-INF DV say-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR CONJ
Although [I] have said that [I return] **safely** (MYS XVII: 3958)

麻佐吉久毛安里多母等保利
ma-sakyi-ku mwo ari-ta-motøpor-i
INT-safe-INF PT ITER-PREF-wander-INF
[I pray that you] **safely** make [your] continuous wanderings (MYS XVII: 4008)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese *ma-* can precede both nominal and adjectival stems. However, the adjectival stem may not have any inflectional markers as in first example below, thus its usage being syntactically equivalent to a nominal stem.

麻具波思児呂
ma-Nkupasi-Ø KWO-rø
INT-beautiful-ATTR girl-DIM
really beautiful girl (MYS XIV: 3424)
The adjective *kupasi-* 'beautiful' belongs to the traditional *-siku* adjectival subclass, therefore the expected attributive form must be *kupasi-ke in Eastern Old Japanese. Instead, we have just a stem *kupasi-* itself. Note also the prenasalization *-N* in *-Nkupasi*, which can be a reflex of the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*, which marks the adverbial usage. Thus, the archetype form of *ma-Nkupasi* is likely *ma n-i kupasi *true DV-INF beautiful* 'truly beautiful.'

安太多良末由美波自伎
aNtatara **ma-yumyi** paNsik-yi
Adatara **INT-bow** unfasten-INF
unfastening [the string of] the **fine** Adatara **bow** (MYS XIV: 3437)

麻登保久於毛保由
ma-tøpo-ku omwop-oy-u
INT-far-INF think-PASS-FIN
[it] suddenly seems to **be very far away** (MYS XIV: 3522)
This is an uncontroversial example of *ma-* used with an inflecting adjective/quality verb.

麻多妣爾奈理奴
ma-taNpyi n-i nar-i-n-u

INT-journey DV-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN
[it] became a **really [long] journey** (MYS XX: 4388)

麻可奈之伎西呂
ma-kanasi-kyi se-rø
INT-beloved-ATTR husband-DIM
[my] **(really) beloved** husband (MYS XX: 4413)
This is an uncontroversial example of *ma-* used with an inflecting adjective/quality verb.

A2: Ryukyuan
Modern Shuri has the prefix *ma-* with the meaning 'true, real,' for example: *ma-hwiru* 'high noon,' *ma-yunaka* 'middle of the night.' It can also occur with a long vowel: *maa-* (RKJ 1983: 353a). The prefix *ma-* is also attested in Old Ryukyuan with the meanings 'true,' 'beautiful.' It can precede both nouns and quality verbs: *ma-isi* 'beautiful stone,' *ma-kuni* 'beautiful country,' *ma-fayasa* 'really fast' (Hokama 1995: 598d). Textual examples from the *Omoro sôshi*:

ねいしまいし
ne-isi **ma-isi**
root-stone **INT-stone**
base stone, **beautiful stone** (OS III: 316)

みづなきやんまみきいぢやすまくに
midu na-ki yan **ma-mi-ki** idyasu **ma-kuni**
water no-ATTR COP/ATTR **INT-HON-*sake*** serve-ATTR **INT-country**
beautiful country where [they] serve **really good *sake*** without water [in it] (OS XIV: 1043)

御事まはやさ

MI-KUTU **ma-faya-sa**
HON-word **INT-fast-NML**
the august words [are] **really fast** (OS III: 88)

Given the internal comparative evidence (also supported by dialects), it seems safe to reconstruct intensive prefix *ma- for proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Starting from Polivanov's seminal article (Polivanov 1918), it became customary to compare OJ *ma-* with Austronesian adjectival prefix *ma-* (reconstructed usually as PAN *ma- (Tryon 1995:1130)). Most recently this comparison was supported by Sakiyama Osamu (Sakiyama 2001: 473) and Itabashi Yoshizô (Itabashi 2001: 22). The comparison, however, appears to be functionally problematic in spite of the perfect phonetic fit: Austronesian prefix is used as a deverbal adjectival prefix, e.g. Nggela *rosi* 'to split,' *ma-rosi* 'split (adj.)' (Sakiyama 2001: 473), and the intensive meaning typical of Old Japanese and Ryukyuan usages is not present. Conversely, the prefix *ma-* in Japonic is never used to derive adjectives from verbal stems.

4.1.1.3 DIMINUTIVE PREFIX *WO-*

Yamada Yoshio notes that diminutive prefix *wo-* precedes only nominals and sometimes also indicates endearment (Yamada 1954: 537). All four of his examples are from volume XIV of the *Man'yôshû*, which contains songs recorded in Eastern Old Japanese. That may give a false impression that this prefix occurs only in Eastern Old Japanese, but apparently this is not the case, as there are many examples in the Western Old Japanese texts, although they mostly occur in the *Kojiki kayô* and the *Nihonshoki kayô*.

There are only two examples in the phonetically written sections of the *Man'yôshû*, and both them are confined to MYS XVII, and represent the usage with same word: *woN-pune* 'small boat.' There are certainly numerous other examples in the *Man'yôshû* where the diminutive prefix *wo-* is written with a semantogram 小 'small, little,' but since there is another diminutive prefix *kwo-*, one cannot be completely sure about the exact reading of the semantogram 小. It appears that the prefix *wo-* does not have the meaning of endearment in Western Old Japanese. There are, however, certain words, where this prefix has already lost its original meaning, e.g.: *woNti* 'old man' (< *woN-ti* 'DIM-DV(ATTR)-father,' in which the original meaning might be that of endearment.

志祁志岐袁夜迩
sikyesi-kyi **wo-ya-ni**
quiet-ATTR **DIM-house-LOC**
in the quiet **little house** (KK 19)

佐袁袁爾波波多波理陀弖
sa-wo-wo-ni pa pata par-i-Ntate
PREF-DIM-ridge-LOC TOP banner spread-INF-erect(INF)
[they] erected banners **on small ridges** (KK 89)
Note two prefixes preceding the noun in this example.

佐賀牟能袁怒迩
saNkamu-nø **wo-nwo-ni**
Sagamu-GEN **DIM-field-LOC**
in the little field of Sagamu (KK 24)

淤岐弊迩波袁夫泥都羅羅玖

okyi-pye-ni pa **woN-pune** turar-aku
offing-side-LOC **DIM-boat** be stretched in a line-NML
small boats are stretched in a line in the offing (KK 52)
The prenasalization [N] of the following consonant shows that the diminutive prefix *wo-* has the underlying form *woN-, which surfaces every time when the first consonant of the following stem is a non-nasal stop. The less likely possibility is that *wo-*is followed by the reflex *-N-* of the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-*. See the next example, too.

袁陀爾袁須疑弖
woN-tani-wo suNkiy-te
DIM-valley-ACC pass(INF)-SUB
crossing **little valleys** (KK 111)
See the preceding example on the underlying form *woN-*.

避介能烏瑳介
pyika-nø **wo-saka**
Pyika-GEN **DIM-slope**
the **little slope** in Pika (NK 50)
It is possible that *wo-saka* is a place name.

鳴贈祢鳴須擬
wo-søne-wo suNkiy
DIM-barren soil-ACC pass(INF)
crossing **small barren soil** (NK 85)

安麻乃乎夫祢
ama-nø **woN-pune**
fisherman-GEN **DIM-boat**
small boats of fishermen (MYS XVII:4006)
See the above examples from KK 52 and 111 on *woN-*.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese prefix *wo-* has both diminutive and endearment meanings.

伊利奈麻之母乃伊毛我乎杼許爾
ir-i-n-amasi mønø imwo-Nka **woN-tøkø**-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ/ATTR CONJ beloved-POSS **DIM-bed**-LOC
although [I] would like to enter the **bed** of [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3354)
In this example prefix *woN-* has the meaning of endearment.

相模祢乃乎美祢見所久思
SANKAMUne-nø **wo-myine** MYI-søNkus-i
Sagamune-GEN **DIM-peak** look(INF)-pass-INF
looking in passing on the **peak(s)** of Sagamune (MYS XIV: 3362)
In this example prefix *wo-* is likely to have the meaning of endearment.

安之我良乎夫祢
asiNkara **woN-pune**
Asigara **DIM-boat**
small boats [of] Asigara (MYS XIV: 3367)

武蔵野乃乎具奇我吉芸志
MUSASI-NWO-nø **woN-kukiy**-Nka kyiNkyisi
Musashi-field-GEN **DIM-cave**-POSS pheasant
pheasants from the **small caves** on the Musashi plain (MYS XIV:3375)

A2: Ryukyuan
There are no Ryukyuan cognates of the OJ diminutive prefix *wo-*.

Given the fact that this diminutive prefix has the underlying form *woN-* before stems starting with a non-nasal voiceless stop, it is possible to reconstruct the diminutive prefix *boN- for proto-Japanese, but not for proto-Japonic, since Ryukyuan cognates are lacking.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

If my reconstruction of the prefix *wo-* as *woN-* < PJ *bon- is correct, the likeliest external parallel to it is Ainu *pon* 'small, little,' which is also widely used in Ainu as a quasi-prefix, e.g. *pon-amuspe* 'little crab,' *pon-kuru* 'child' (lit. 'little person'), *pon-peca* 'little grebe.' Since Ainu does not have voiced stops, and Ainu /p/ is a lenis voiceless, it could have been borrowed into Japanese as proto-Japanese voiced *b. The absence of Ryukyuan reflexes of the proto-Japanese diminutive prefix *bon- further supports the possibility of the Ainu origin for this prefix.

4.1.1.4 DIMINUTIVE PREFIX *KWO-*

Diminutive prefix *kwo-* is not described in Yamada's seminal grammar. It does not occur in the *Man'yôshû* volumes written in Western Old Japanese (MYS V, XV, XVII, and XVIII). There are few examples in Western Old Japanese and they are all confined to the oldest texts: *Kojiki kayô*, and *Nihonshoki kayô*. The example from the *Fudoki kayô* (Fudoki songs), that are all traditionally considered to be written in Western Old Japanese, is from the song recorded in the *Hitachi Fudoki* (FK 7). This song probably belongs to Eastern Old Japanese, since the song has some distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features, such as the attributive form *-o* instead of *-u* after consonantal verbs. In Western Old Japanese texts only diminutive meaning of prefix *kwo-* is attested.

阿由比能古須受淤知爾岐
ayupyi-nø **kwo-suNsu** oti-n-i-kyi
trousers' cord-GEN **DIM-bell** fall(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/FIN
the **small bell** from trousers' cord fell off (KK 82)

古陀加流伊知
kwo-N-taka-[a]r-u iti
DIM-DV(ATTR)-high-exist-ATTR meeting place
slightly elevated meeting place (KK 101)
In this example *kwo-* precedes adjectival root *taka-* 'high' which is nominalized (see Chapter 5 on adjective nominalizations). In this example *kwo-* is followed by *-N-*, a reflex of the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-*. However, unlike the case with the diminutive prefix *wo-* described above in 4.1.1.3, this *-N-* appears only once before a following stop in Western Old Japanese, and once in Eastern Old Japanese (see below). Therefore, the evidence is not sufficient for reconstructing an underlying form *kwoN- of the dimunitive prefix *kwo-* similar to the underlying form *woN- reconstructed above for the diminutive prefix *wo-* (see 4.1.1.3 for details).

耶麼能謎能故思麼古喩衛爾
yamanøNpey-nø **kwo-sima** kwo yuwe n-i
Yamanobe-GEN **DIM-island** child sake DV-INF
for the sake of the girl Kwo-sima (lit.: **Small island**) from Yamanobe (NK 79)

蘇餓能古羅破宇摩奈羅麼譬武伽能古摩
swoNka-nø kwo-ra pa uma nar-aNpa pyimuka-nø **kwo-[u]ma40**
Soga-GEN son-PLUR TOP horse be-COND Pimuka-GEN **DIM-horse**

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40 kwo-ma *(古摩) 'stallion' is an apparent contraction of* kwo-uma *(古宇馬) 'DIM-horse,' attested as such in MYS XIV: 3537.*

If the sons of Soga were horses, [they would be] the **stallions** of Pimuka... (NK 103)

伊波能杯爾古佐屡渠梅野倶
ipa-nø [u]pey-ni **kwo-saru** kømey yak-u
rock-GEN top-LOC **DIM-monkey** rice fry-FIN
A **little monkey** is frying rice on the top of the rock (NK 107)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese the prefix *kwo-* has both diminutive and endearment meanings (besides FK 7 all examples are found in the volume XIV only). Thus, the diminutive prefix *kwo-* has same functional distribution as the diminutive prefix *wo-*, which also has only diminutive meaning in Western Old Japanese, but both diminutive and endearment meanings in Eastern Old Japanese.

阿是乃古麻都爾由布悉弖弖
aNse-nø **kwo-matu**-ni yupu si[N]te-te
Aze-GEN **DIM-pine**-LOC wood fiber strip hang(INF)-SUB
[you] hung wood fiber strips on a **small pine** in Aze, and... (FK 7)

麻万能古須気乃須我麻久良
mama-nø **kwo-suNkey**-nø suNka-makura
Mama-GEN **DIM-sedge**-GEN sedge-pillow
a sedge pillow from a **small sedge** of Mama (MYS XIV: 3369)

安能於登世受由可牟古馬母我

a-nø otø se-Ns-u yuk-am-u **kwo-[u]ma** møNka
foot-GEN sound do-NEG-INF go-TENT-ATTR **DIM-horse** PT
[I] want a **stallion**, which would go without making any noise with its hoofs (MYS XIV: 3387)

古奈宜可久古非牟等夜
kwo-naNkiy ka-ku kwopiy-m-u tø ya
DIM-water-hollyhock thus-INF long-TENT-FIN DV PT
Do [you] think [I] will long so [strongly] for a **small water-hollyhock**? (MYS XIV: 3415)

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西祢
asa-te **kwo-N-pusuma** kø yøpyi Ntani tuma yøs-i-køse-ne
hemp-cloth **DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding** this night PT spouse bring close-INF-DES2-IMP
Oh, **bedding** from the hemp cloth! [I] wish [you] would bring my spouse just tonight (MYS XIV: 3454)
Here prefix *kwo-* has an obvious meaning of endearment.

四比乃故夜提
sipyi-nø **kwo-yaNte**
chinquapin-GEN **DIM-branch**
small branches of chinquapin trees (MYS XIV: 3493a)

A2: Ryukyuan

The possible direct Ryukyuan cognate of the OJ diminutive prefix *kwo-* is attested only in Old Ryukyuan as diminutive prefix こ *go-/ko-* (Hokama 1995: 270b). There are no reliable attestations of this prefix in modern dialects,41 although

41 Hokama mentions ku-fin *'small vessel' in Yaeyama (no specification of a dialect is provided) (Hokama 1995: 287d), but this seems to be an isolated example.*

Shuri has a diminutive suffix
-gwaa, derived from *Qkwaa* ‘child’ (RKJ 1983: 196). This suffix is written in the *Omoro sôshi* as こ *-go/-ko* or く *-gu/-ku* (Nakahara & Hokama 1978: 136-37, 154-55). There is also a diminutive suffix
-kwo in Old Japanese, with much more limited distribution, described below (4.1.2.3.4). Both Old Japanese diminutive prefix *kwo-* and diminutive suffix *-kwo* are probably interrelated, and the same is probably true about Old Ryukyuan diminutive prefix *go-/ko-* and Shuri diminutive suffix *-gwaa*/Old Ryukyuan diminutive suffix *-go/-gu*. The prefix/suffix variation in Old Japanese and Old Ryukyuan is probably due to the process of Japonic originating as a mixed language, where suffixation of an Altaic type language got mixed with prefixation of an Austronesian or Austroasiatic type language. Examples of Old Ryukyuan diminutive prefix *go-/ko-*:

からからのやうんち小瓶
kara-kara n-o yaunti **GO-FIN**
empty-empty DV-ATTR not enough **DIM-vessel**
empty **small vessel**, with not enough [sake] (RK 1240)42

小桜のにほひ
KO-ZAKURA-no nifofi
DIM-sakura-GEN fragrance
the fragrance **of little sakura** (RK 1773)

Given the internal comparative evidence (also supported by dialects), it seems safe to reconstruct the diminutive prefix *kwo- for proto-Japonic.

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42 This and the next example are taken from (Shimizu 1994).

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There is no need to look for external comparisons, as the diminutive prefix *kwo-* has a transparent internal etymology: OJ *kwo* 'child.'

4.1.1.4 LOCATIVE PREFIX *SA-*

It is customary in the Japanese tradition either to leave the prefix *sa-* without any functional definition, just labeling it as a prefix (Ôno et al. 1980: 545a), (Omodaka 1967: 317a), or to define it as euphonic (Yamada 1954: 530), (Sasaki 1983: 186). This is unfortunate, because defining any element as 'euphonic' or 'emphatic' does not really advance our knowledge of Old Japanese grammar. A welcome departure from this long-standing tradition was done recently by Sakiyama Osamu, who proposed to define the function of the prefix *sa-* as 'derivation of the concept of similarity (類似概念の派生)' (Sakiyama 2001: 473). However, Sakiyama just cited several isolated forms without providing any textual examples, and I suspect that his definition is largely influenced by his comparison with Austronesian. The reader is welcome to peruse through the multiple examples below and decide for himself/herself whether s/he can find any examples supporting 'derivation of the concept of similarity;' I personally fail to see any. In the Western tradition there are at least two attempts to define the prefix. Thus, Pearson maintained that *sa-* is a 'prefix, denoting emphasis, a honorific or term of endearment; something fine, small, narrow, young, or close to' (Pierson 1969: 350). This, however, seems to be too broad to deserve any credibility: why should an honorific be represented by a morpheme meaning 'small' or 'narrow?' Honorifics would rather be associated with 'big,' as Old Japanese *opo-* 'big,' 'great:' *opo*

kyimyi ‘sovereign,’ lit. ‘great lord.’ Another attempt belongs to Anna Gluskina, who identified the prefix *sa-* as a contraction of *sa-tukiy* ‘fifth month’ (Gluskina 1979: 99-110). She might be right in many cases, but it does not seem that it would work universally, as many of the texts containing *sa-* refer to other seasons as well.

I believe that it is fallacious to define all cases of *sa-* as a single morpheme. There are three different types of a morpheme *no* in modern Japanese: genitive case marker, nominalizer and attributive form of a copula. Any attempt to find a common meaning of all three would end in failure. The same approach, I think, should be adopted towards *sa-* and some other morphemes in Old Japanese that have the same phonological shape but are functionally different. Below I have attempted to identify some cases of the prefix *sa-* as a broad locative, indicating both spatial and temporal locations. I will further support my conclusion with comparative data. There are other cases of *sa-* that do not fit into this picture and I think that they might represent different morpheme(s). For some I have an explanation, but not for others. Future research will help to determine the functional nature of other cases with the prefix *sa-*.

Yamada Yoshio noted that the prefix *sa-* precedes both nominals and verbs (Yamada 1954: 533-34). This is a rare case, since nominal and verbal morphology normally do not mix in Old Japanese, except for the case of nominalized verbal forms that can take nominal markers. That should further alert us that the prefix *sa-* may indeed represent not a single, but several separate morphemes. The locative prefix *sa-* occurs only before nouns and verbs, but not before adjectives. The reason for this rare distribution, I believe, is that prefix *sa-* really marks not the nominal or verbal, but the noun phrase (NP), which can contain a nominal modified by a

preceding verbal marked by the prefix *sa-*. Since the function of the prefix *sa-* is either considered controversial, or is not defined at all, I will cite a considerable number of examples from Old Japanese texts, including all examples that occur in phonetically written texts.

佐用婆比爾阿理多多斯
sa-ywoNp-ap-yi-ni ari-tat-as-i
PREF-call-ITER-NML-LOC ITER-set out-HON-INF
[I] set out (repeatedly) **to woo** [her] **there**, and... (KK 2)

佐怒都登理岐芸斯波登與牟
sa-nwo-tu tøri kyiNkyisi pa tøyøm-u
PREF-field-GEN/LOC bird pheasant TOP sound-FIN
Pheasant, the **bird of the field**, is crying (KK 2)

伊豆毛多祁流賀波祁流多知都豆良佐波麻岐佐味那志爾阿波禮
iNtumwo takyeru-Nka pak-yer-u tati tuNdura sapa mak-yi **sa-miy**43 na-si n-i apare

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43 The traditional interpretation of the word miy *in this song is 'body,' referring to the blade of a sword (Tsuchihasi 1957: 52). The song is performed by Yamato Takeru, when he kills Izumo Takeru by deceit, providing the latter with an imitation sword, which Izumo Takeru could not use in the fight. This interpretation would be fine, except that OJ* miy *and MJ* mi *'body' are not attested with the meaning of 'blade' except in this example. Although not attested in OJ, there is a MJ* mi *'inside, contents,' an obvious secondary derivative of* mi *'body,' as e.g. in the preface to the* Kokin wakashū: *ふんやのやすひではことばはた くみにてそのさま身におはず 'Fun'ya no Yasuhide used words skillfully, but the expression [of his poems] does not follow the contents.' The same word is preserved in the modern Japanese compound* nakami *'contents, filling,' written 中身 , with the* mi *rendered with the character 身 'body.' Another possible explanation would be to treat the word* miy *in this song as OJ* miy *'surroundings.'*

Izumo Takeru-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR long sword vine
many wrap-INF **PREF-inside** no-FIN DV-INF alas
The long sword that Izumo Takeru wears has many vines
around [it], but no [sword] **inside**, alas! (KK 23)

佐袁袁爾波波多波理陀弓
sa-wo-wo-ni pa pata par-i-Ntate
PREF-DIM-ridge-LOC TOP banner spread-INF-erect(INF)
[they] erected banners **on small ridges** (KK 89)

佐祢耐據茂阿黨播怒介茂
sa-ne-N-tøkø mo atap-an-u kamo
PREF-sleep(NML)-GEN-bed PT give-NEG-ATTR PT
[my wife] will not give me a **place to sleep** (NK 4)

佐夜深而
sa-YWO PUKEY-TE
PREF-night deepen(INF)-SUB
when the night deepens (lit.: when it becomes deep **in the night**) (MYS II: 105)
see also the example from MYS XV: 3627

多爾具久能佐和多流伎波美
tani-N-kuku-nø **sa-watar-u kyipam-yi**
valley-GEN-frog-GEN **PREF-cross-ATTR go to the end-NML**
[until] the **end [of the Earth], where** a toad **goes** (MYS V: 800)

遠等□羊良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎
wotømye-ra-Nka **sa-n-as-u ita two-wo** os-i-pyirak-yi
maiden-PLUR-POSS **PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR board door-ACC** push-INF-open-INF

pushing open the **wooden doors** [of the chambers] **where** maidens **sleep** (MYS V: 804)

佐祢斯欲能伊久陀母阿羅祢婆
sa-ne-si ywo-nø ikuNta mø ar-an-e-Npa
PREF-sleep-PAST/ATTR night-GEN how many PT exist-NEG-EV-CON
when not so many **nights when** [they] **slept** [together] have passed (MYS V: 804)

加波度爾波阿由故佐婆斯留吉美麻知我弖爾
kapa-two-ni pa ayu-kwo **sa-pasir-u** kyimyi mat-i-Nkate-n-i
river-door-LOC TOP sweetfish-DIM **PREF-run-ATTR** lord wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF
[I] can hardly wait for [my] lord **at the ford in the river** where little sweetfish **are swimming fast** (MYS V: 859)
Although at the first glance, this example can be taken as an exception, this song must represent an inversion from *ayu-kwo sa-pasir-u kapa-two-ni pa mat-i-Nkate n-i*, otherwise it loses its flow and will make little sense: contrary to Pierson's interpretation (Pierson 1938: 109), it is not the sweetfish, but the poet who is waiting.

佐丹塗之小船毛賀茂
sa-NI NURE N-Ø WON-PUNE mwoNkamo
PREF-cinnabar paint(NML) DV-ATTR DIM-boat PT
[he] longed for a small boat painted **in cinnabar** (MYS VIII: 1520)

酢衣乃紐解
sa-KØRØMO-nø PYIMO TØK-YE
PREF-garment-GEN cord untie-IMP
untie the **cords of [your] garment**! (MYS XII: 2866)

左檜隈檜隈河尓駐馬

sa-PYINØKUMA PYINØKUMA KAPA-ni UMA TØDØMEY-YØ
PREF-Pinokuma Pinokuma river-LOC horse stop-IMP stop [you] horse **[at] Pinokuma, at Pinokuma river** (MYS XII: 3097)

左欲布気弖
sa-ywo pukey-te
PREF-night deepen(INF)-SUB
when the night deepens (lit.: when it becomes deep **in the night**) (MYS XV: 3627)
see also the example from MYS II: 105

左奴流欲能伊米爾毛伊母我美延射良奈久尓
sa-n-uru ywo-nø imey-ni mwo imø-Nka myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku
n-i44
PREF-sleep-ATTR night-GEN dream-LOC PT beloved-POSS see-PASS-NEG-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF
in the dreams of the nights when [I] **sleep**, [my] beloved always appears (MYS XV: 3735)

左奴流欲波於保久安礼杼母
sa-n-ur-u ywo pa opo-ku ar-e-Ntømø
PREF-sleep-ATTR night TOP many-INF exist-EV-CONC
although there are many **nights when** [I] **sleep**... (MYS XV: 3760)

I believe that all the examples cited above demonstrate quite well that Old Japanese has a locative prefix *sa-* that

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44 This example demonstrates that a traditional interpretation of the sa-ne- *as always meaning 'sleep together' is incorrect. See also the example from MYS XV: 3626 below.*

marks a noun phrase. In addition, there are other cases of *sa-*, also viewed in the traditional grammar as a prefix. However, they cannot be treated as cases of the locative prefix *sa-* described above. I will review them below.

Exception (1)
These are the cases where *sa-* occurs before word *tukiy* 'moon,' 'month,' meaning 'five' (*sa-tukiy* 'fifth month'). Since in this case *sa-* is not a prefix, but a nominal, one example will be sufficient:

保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇
potøtøNkyisu nak-am-u **sa-tukiy**
cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR **five-month**
fifth month, when cuckoo will cry (MYS XVII: 3996, 3997)

Exception (2)
All the cases of exception (2) represent, in my opinion, not the prefix, but the defective quality verb *sa-* 'be so,' 'be in such way,' 'thus,' which, according to JDB never appears in its stem form, but always with the following gerund *-te* in the form *sa-te* (Omodaka 1967: 317c). A more detailed discussion will be presented in chapter five, where all verbal forms are discussed, but contrary to JDB I believe that all examples below are the cases when defective quality verb *sa-* does appear in its stem form:

情佐麻祢之
KØKØRØ **sa** mane-si
thought **so many-FIN**
so many [sad] thoughts (MYS I: 82)

比等里佐奴礼婆

pitø-ri **sa** n-ure-Npa45
one-CL **thus** sleep-EV-CON
when I **thus** sleep alone (MYS XV: 3626)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟
sa yamaNda n-ø woNti-Nka SØNØ PYI-ni møtømey ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u
so Yamada DV-ATTR old man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF) meet-NEG-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
So, old man Yamada searched for [him] on that day, but did not find [him] (MYS XVII: 4014)

Exception (3)
I do not have an uncontroversial explanation for *sa-* in the examples constituting exception (3), which all involve locations (except MYS X: 2094), but the prefix *sa-* is found on the agent and not on the nominal designating location or the verb modifying this nominal. It must be noted that most of these cases involve the phrase *sawosika*, which tradition analyzes as *sa-*, prefix, *wo* 'male,' and *sika* 'deer,' but it also seems possible that *sawo-* is a whole word, with a meaning unknown to us. It appears that the deer involved in these examples is indeed a male deer, calling for his mate, so the traditional interpretation may stand after all. However, it is also possible that male deer is referred to as *sawo-sika*, 'pole deer,' a pole being a euphemism for a phallus (in MYS X: 2094 below *sawo* is actually written with a character 竿 'pole'). My provisional explanation for this group of examples is that in all these examples except MYS XV: 3678 we have *sa-wo-sika* as well as other words being an agent in

45 This example demonstrates that a traditional interpretation of the sa-ne- *as 'sleep together' is incorrect. See also the example from MYS XV: 3735 above.*

an adnominal phrase ending in an attributive form of a verb. Given the fact that all these adnominal phrases modify nouns functioning as locations, it is possible to speculate that the prefix *sa-* here, after all, is the locative prefix described above, and that it can mark the whole noun phrase with an extended sentence modifier.

狭男壮鹿者妻呼令動山
sa-WO-siKA PA TUMA YWONP-YI-TØYØM-U **YAMA**
PREF-male-deer spouse call-INF-sound-ATTR **mountain**
a **mountain, where** a male deer calls his spouse (MYS VI: 1047)

左和良妣乃毛要出春尓
sa-waraNpyi-nø mwoye-[I]NT-URU **PARU-ni**
PREF-fern-GEN sprout(INF)-go out-ATTR **spring-LOC**
in the spring when ferns sprout (MYS VIII: 1418)

竿志鹿之心相思
sa-wo-siKA-NØ KØKØRØ APYI-OMØP-U
PREF-male-deer-GEN heart REC-think-ATTR
male deer long together in their hearts (MYS X: 2094)

左小壮鹿之朝伏**小野**
sa-wo-siKA-NØ ASA PUS-U **WO-NWO**
PREF-male-deer-GEN morning lie-ATTR **DIM-field**
small field, where a male deer lies in the morning (MYS X: 2267)

左小壮鹿之小野之草伏
sa-WO-siKA-NØ WO-NWO-NØ **KUSA-N**-PUS-I
PREF-male-deer-GEN DIM-field-GEN **grass-LOC**-lie-INF

where a male deer lies **in the grass** of the small field (MYS X: 2268)

山辺爾草乎思香奈久毛
YAMA-PYE-ni **sa-wø-sika** nak-u mwo
mountain-side-LOC **PREF(??)-male-deer** cry-FIN PT
a male deer cries at the mountain side (MYS XV: 3674)
It seems that the character 草 'grass,' which is rarely used to write OJ syllable /sa/ (there are only two examples in the volume XV (see MYS XV: 3678 for another one) and one example in the volume XIV (Tsuchihashi 1957: 81)), is nevertheless used here is the phonetic function. Pierson cites *kusa-wo-sika* 'grass male-deer' as an alternative reading (Pierson 1963/15: 80), which is probably not true, because there is a different spelling of *sa-* in *sa-wo-sika* in MYS XV: 3680 using a quite frequent phonetic character 佐 /sa/ (see below).

安伎乃野尓草乎思香奈伎都
akyi-nø NWO-ni **sa-wo-sika** nak-yi-t-u
autumn-GEN field-LOC **PREF-male-deer** cry-PERF-INF-FIN
male deer cried in the autumn field (MYS XV: 3678)

佐乎思香奈君
sa-wo-sika nak-u
PREF-male-deer cry-ATTR
male deer cries [in the mountains] (MYS XV: 3680)

左小舟乃伊行而将泊河津
sa-WON-PUNE-nø i-YUK-YI-TE PATE-M-U **KAPA-N-TU**
PREF-DIM-boat-GEN PREF-go-INF-SUB anchor-TENT-ATTR river-GEN-harbor
the **river harbor, where** [his] **small boat** will go and anchor (MYS X: 2091)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese the prefix *sa-* almost exclusively occurs with the verb *ne-* to sleep, referring almost on all occasions to sleeping together. However, this does not allow us to reconstruct the reciprocal prefix *sa-* for Proto-Japanese, as some examples in Western Old Japanese, as indicated above, use *sa-ne-* in the situations when a person sleeps alone.

佐欲布気爾家里
sa-ywo pukey-n-i-kyer-i
PREF-night deepen(INF)-PERF-INF-PRET-FIN
the night deepened (lit.: it became deep **in the night**) (MYS XIV: 3348)

佐奴良久波多麻乃緒婆可里
sa-nur-aku pa tama-nø WO Npakari
PREF-sleep-NML TOP jewel-GEN string just
sleeping together [lit.: **sleeping in**] just a string of jewels (MYS XIV: 3358)

左祢度波良布母
sa-ne-N-two parap-u mø
PREF-sleep-GEN-place clean-ATTR PT
[I] am cleaning the **place where [we] sleep [in]** (MYS XIV: 3489)

On one occasion there is clear textual evidence for a diminutive prefix *sa-* in Azuma, since *sa-yeNta* ‘small branch’ is cited in a variant of the song that uses *kwo-yaNte* ‘small branch':

思比乃佐要太
sipyi-nø **sa-yeNta**
chinquapin-GEN **DIM-branch**
small branch of chinquapin trees (MYS XIV: 3493a)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no prefix *sa-* in Ryukyuan.

A3: Mainland Japanese dialects
There is a dative-locative case marker *-sa* in all Tôhoku dialects. The proper locative function seems to be confined to Tôhoku (those dialects that have it do not have Central Japanese *-ni*). In directive and dative functions case marker *-sa* is found also in Northern and Southern Kyûshû and in Northern Kantô.

Given the internal comparative evidence, it seems safe to reconstruct locative prefix *sa- for proto-Japanese, but not for proto-Japonic, due to the absence of a Ryukyuan reflex.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
There is a general locative case marker *sa* in Tagalog, Atayal, and Rukai, with locative, dative, ablative, and directive functions. In all these languages it is a prefix or a preposition. In Atayal, for example, this case marker marks the whole NP, exactly like in Old Japanese:

sa-ko maki/ BaBao na rahejal
PREF-I exist top GEN earth
on the earth, **where** I am (Asai 1967: 34)

It seems reasonable to suggest an Austronesian origin for this prefix in Old Japanese, which seems to survive only

in peripheral modern dialects (Tôhoku and Kyûshû), where it probably became a suffix under the pressure of the SOV word order.

4.1.2 SUFFIXES

There are three types of nominal suffixes in Old Japanese: 1) plural markers, 2) case markers, 3) diminutive suffixes. Neither the representative marker *-nado* nor frequentative marker *-gati* are attested in Old Japanese texts, and they appear first only in Heian period. Case markers always follow plural markers and diminutive suffixes. Combinations of diminutive suffixes with plural markers are not attested, therefore, the following maximum strings of a stem with following suffixes is possible in the Old Japanese language:

STEM-PLUR-CASE
STEM-DIM-CASE

4.1.2.1 NUMBER AND PLURAL MARKERS

The problem of the category of number in Old Japanese is a tricky one that is closely connected to the functions of the plural markers. Quite frequently, these markers are simply ignored in the descriptions of Old Japanese, e.g. (Shirafuji 1987). Most linguists who mention these markers classify them as suffixes (Jp. 接尾語 *setsubigo*) or affixes (Jp. 接辞 *setsuji*) (Yamada 1954: 537-38)), (Martin 1988: 144). However, there is also an opinion that they are particles (Alpatov 1979: 52--53). The main problem regarding the category of number in Old (as well as in Modern) Japanese concerns the basic meaning of the noun not marked with any of the plural markers. I follow the point of view that ‘the Japanese noun is neither singular nor plural’ (Kholodovich 1946: 185), or that ‘in Japanese, as in many other languages

of East Asia, nouns are characteristically vague as to number' (Martin 1988: 143). This is not true, however, for all nominals, pronouns being the major exception in the Modern Japanese language (Martin 1988: 144). Alpatov further suggested that there are two kinds of plural in Modern Japanese: 'representative plural' and 'usual plural,' the latter existing only for pronouns, since the markers of plural for nouns are optional (Alpatov 1979: 49--51). In Old Japanese, pronouns behave more like nouns in this respect (see 4.2 below).

A noun without plural markers is neutral with respect to number in Old Japanese. Examples:

美阿止都久留伊志
myi-atø tukur-u **isi**
HON-footstep make-ATTR **stone**
Stone, where [I] carve the **footstep** [of the Buddha] (BS 1)

和何世古我多那礼乃美巨騰都地爾意加米移母
wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka ta-nare n-ø **myi-køtø** tuti-ni ok-am-ey ya mø
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR **HON-koto** ground-LOC put-TENT-EV PT PT
would anyone dare to put the favorite ***koto*** of my beloved on the ground? (MYS V: 812)

加微能美弓
kamiy-nø **myi-te**
deity-GEN **HON-hand**
hands of the deity (KK 96)

美夜麻賀久理弓美延受加母阿良牟

myi-yama-N-kakur-i-te myi-ye-Ns-u kamø ar-am-u
HON-mountain-LOC-hide-INF-SUB see-PASS-NEG-FIN PT exist-TENT-ATTR
[you] will hide in the **mountains**, and [I] will not be able to see [you] (KK 112)

Plural number is marked in Old Japanese by the suffixes -*ra*,
-*Ntømø*, -*tati*, -*na*, or by reduplication. The meaning of 'representative plurality' seems to be attested only for the marker
-*ra*, and only in the *Senmyô*.

4.1.2.1.1 Plural marker -ra

Yamada Yoshio claimed that the suffix *-ra* in Old Japanese combines only with animate nouns designating people (Yamada 1954: 538), but this is not true, as it occurs with inanimate nouns as well (e.g., see MYS V: 900 and SNK 8 below). Although *-ra* tends to occur with the words *kwo* 'child' and *wotomye* 'maiden' in most instances of its usage, it probably does not have any pejorative meaning, since it also occurs once after the word *kyimyi* 'lord' in MYS XVIII: 4071. This contrasts with the pejorative usage which *-ra* used with animate nouns acquired in Classical Japanese. Thus, I define *-ra* as a neutral plural marker, in contrast to the pejorative
-Ntømø and the honorific *-tati*.

久米能古良賀久夫都都伊伊斯都都伊母知 (KK script)
倶梅能固邏餓勾務都都伊異志都都伊毛智 (NK script)
kumey-nø **kwo-ra-Nka** kuNpu-tutui isi-tutui møt-i[46]
kumey-GEN **lad-PLUR-POSS** knob-mallet stone-mallet hold-INF
Lads of Kume, holding knob mallets, stone mallets... (KK 10, NK 9)

蘇餓能古羅破宇摩奈羅麼譬武伽能古摩
swoNka-nø **kwo-ra** pa uma nar-aNpa pyimuka-nø kwo-[u]ma
Soga-GEN **child-PLUR** TOP horse be-COND Pimuka-GEN DIM-horse
If the **sons** of Soga were horses, [they would be] the stallions of Pimuka... (NK 103)

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46 The word møt-i *'hold and' is misspelled in NK text as* mwot-i.

古良爾志与良波
kwo-ra-ni si yør-aNpa
child-PLUR-DAT PT approach-COND
when [I] approach [other] **girls** (FK 4)

遠等▫羊良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎
wotømye-ra-Nka sa-n-as-u ita two-wo os-i-pyirak-yi
maiden-PLUR-POSS PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR board door-ACC push-INF-open-INF
pushing open the wooden doors [of the chambers] where **maidens** sleep (MYS V:804)

伊毛良遠美良牟比等
imwo-ra-wo myi-ram-u pyitø
girl-PLUR-ACC see-TENT2-ATTR person
a person, who will see the **girls** (MYS V: 863)

麻都良乃于良能越等売良波等己与能久爾能阿麻越等売可忘
matura-nø ura-nø **wotømye-ra** pa tøkø-yø-nø kuni-nø ama-wotømye kamo
Matura-GEN bay-GEN **maiden-PLUR** TOP eternal-world-GEN country-GEN fisher-maiden PT
[I] wonder whether **maidens** from the Matura bay are the fisher-maidens from the Country of the Eternal World (MYS V: 865)

久多志須都良牟絹綿良波母
kutas-i sut-uram-u **KYINU-WATA-ra** pa mø
rot-INF discard-TENT2-FIN **silk cotton-PLUR** TOP PT
[their] **silk and cotton clothes** will rot and be discarded (MYS V: 900)

In this example *-ra* follows inanimate nouns *kyinu* ‘silk’ and *wata* ‘cotton.’ The sentence itself is inverted with the verbal phrase preceding the noun phrase.

安麻乎等女良我毛能須素奴礼奴
ama-wotomye-ra-Nka mwo-nø suswo nure-n-u
fisher-maiden-PLUR-POSS skirt-GEN become wet(INF)-PERF-FIN
hems of **fisher-maidens’** skirts became wet (MYS XV: 3661)

波波母都未良母安佐都由爾毛能須蘇比都知
papa mø **tuma-ra** mø asa-tuyu-ni mwo-nø suswo pyit[-i]-ut-i
mother PT **spouse-PLUR** PT morning-dew-LOC skirt-GEN hem drench[-INF]-hit-INF
both [my] mother and **wives** drenched hems of [their] skirts in morning dew (MYS XV: 3691)

故之能吉美良等可久之許曾楊奈疑可豆良枳多努之久安蘇婆米
kwosi-nø **kyimyi-ra-tø** ka-ku si køsø YAnaNkiy kaNturak-yi tanwosi-ku aswoNp-am-ey
Kwosi-GEN **lord-PLUR-COM** thus-INF PT PT willow wear as a wig-INF pleasant-INF amuse-TENT-EV
[I] will amuse [myself] **with lords** from Kwosi by putting willow [branches] in our hair (MYS XVIII: 4071)

久奈多夫礼良尓所誅誤百姓
kunataNpure-ra-ni ANSAMUK-ARE-TAR-U TAMYI
insane-PLUR-DAT deceive-PASS-PERF/PROG-ATTR people
people, who were deceived **by the insane** (SM 19)

吾家良曾昌由流也
WA-NK[A]-**IPYE-ra** sø SAK-Ay-uru ya

we-POSS-**house-PLUR** PT flourish-PASS-ATTR PT
our **houses** are flourishing, aren't they? (SNK 8)

In the *Senmyô* there are cases when the plural marker *-ra* has the meaning of representative plurality, although the evidence remains somewhat inconclusive, because there are no phonetic spellings of
-ra in this function. Examples:

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負図亀一頭献止奏賜不爾
PUDIPARA-NØ ASWOMYI MARØ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITØ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU tø MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni...
Pudipara-GEN retainer Maro-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer-NML DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC
[They] said that the **retainer Fujiwara Maro and others** had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back]...(SM 6)

奈良麻呂古麻呂等伊逆党乎伊射奈比率而
naramarø kwomarø-RA-i SAKASIMA N-I AR-U TØMØ-N-KARA-wo iNsanap-yi PYIK-YI K-YI-TE
Naramaro Komaro-PLUR-ACT rebellious DV-INF exist-ATTR companion-DV(ATTR)-relative-ACC instigate-INF bring-INF come-INF-SUB
Naramaro, Komaro and others instigated rebels and brought them...(SM 19)

紀古佐美朝臣等伊敗軍費粮弖還参来
KIY-NØ KWOSAMYI-NØ ASWOMYI-RA-i...IKUSA YABUR-I KATE-WO TUPYIYAS-I-te KAPYER-I MAWI-K-YI-T-U

Ki-GEN Kosami-GEN retainer-PLUR-ACT...army destroy-INF food supply-ACC exhaust-INF-SUB come back-INF-come(HUM)(INF)-come-INF-PERF-FIN
retainer Ki no Kosami and others, came back losing the army and exhausting food supplies (SM 62)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The plural marker *-ra* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese, albeit in only two examples.47 The poems where these examples come from exhibit other numerous features, typical for Eastern Old Japanese, so the possibility of language interference can be ruled out. Like in Western Old Japanese, the plural marker *-ra* in Eastern Old Japanese combines with both animate and inanimate nouns, and appears to have a meaning of neutral plurality.

須流河乃祢良波苦不志久米阿流可
suruNka-nø **ne-ra** pa kupusi-ku mey ar-u ka
Suruga-GEN **summit-PLUR** TOP lovely-INF PT exist-ATTR PT
are not the **summits** of Suruga [mountains] lovely? (MYS XX: 4345)

奈苦古良乎意伎弖
nak-u **kwo-ra-wo** ok-yi-te
cry-ATTR **child-PLUR-ACC** leave-INF-SUB

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47 It is possible that there is a third example: pasi-kyi tuma-ra *'dear* wives*' in MYS XX: 4331, but it is not clear whether this song was composed by a border guard (sakimori) from Azuma, or by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi. As there are no typical Eastern Old Japanese features in this song, I prefer to be on a conservative side and not count it as an Azuma text.*

leaving [my] crying **children** (MYS XX: 4401)

A2: Ryukyuan
The plural marker *-ra* seems to be attested in Ryukyuan only in the *Omoro sôshi*, where it occurs twice with the words *ase* 'man, soldier' and *ko* 'man.'

あせらためやらば
ase-ra tame-yar-aba
soldier-PLUR pacify(INF)-do-COND
if [he] pacifies the **soldiers** (OS I: 36)

こらがおやおうねはおしうけて
ko-ra-ga oya-o-une fa os-i-uke-te
man-PLUR-NOM parent-HON-boat TOP push-INF-make float(INF)-SUB
men set afloat the parent-boat... (OS XIII: 948)

Absence of *-ra* in the Ryukyuan dialects probably indicates that OR *-ra* is a loan from Japanese. Given the internal comparative evidence, it seems safer to reconstruct plural marker *-ra for proto-Japanese, but not for proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
There is a neutral plural marker *-lar/-lär* in Turkic that is traditionally compared with OJ *-ra*. OT *-lar/-lär* is used only with animate nouns designating people (Tekin 1968: 121). It seems to fit with Japonic *-ra quite well phonetically, although the functional overlap is not complete, since OJ *-ra* can be used with inanimate nouns as well. It is also possible that Turkic *-lar/-lär* historically represents a compound *l-ar (Georg 1990). In addition, since Japanese *-ra can be reconstructed only on proto-Japanese level, and PT *-lar/-lär

only on the Common Turkic level,48 it is likely that we are dealing here with a chance resemblance. In short, the comparison is unreliable. Old Turkic examples:

türk **bäg-lär** bodun bun-ï äsid-iN
Turkic **lord-PLUR** people this-ACC hear-2pp/IMP
Turkic **lords** and people, hear this! (KT S10)

ög-lär-im äkä-lär-im käliN-(g)ün-üm49 **qunc&uy-lar-ïm**
bun⊂&a yämä tirig-i küN bol-täc&i är-ti
mother-PLUR-1psPOSS elder sister-PLUR-1psPOSS
daughter-in-law-PLUR-1psPOSS **princess-PLUR-1psPOSS**
this much PT life-3pPOSS slave become-FUT/PART be-PAST
my [step]mothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, **my princesses**, all of them [who] survive would have become slaves (KT N9)

4.1.2.1.2 Plural marker -Ntømø

The suffix *-Ntømø* in Western Old Japanese combines only with animate nouns designating people (Yamada 1954: 538); but even with those it has a very limited distribution, as it can follow only five words: *kwo* 'child,' *wotomye* 'maiden',50 *warapa* 'boy,' *pyitø* 'person,' and *yatu* 'scoundrel, bad person' (last two occur with *-Ntømø* only in the *Senmyô*). In addition, *warapa-Ntømø* 'boy-PLUR' is not attested in phonetic script. We can figure out on the basis of poetic meter that the plural marker must be *-Ntømø* and not *-ra* (honorific -

*48 It is not possible to reconstruct PT *-lar/-lär, because it is not attested in the Bulghar branch of Turkic (Georg 1990: 142).*
49 kälin *'daughter-in-law'* + -gün*, plural marker* => käliNün.
50 Including cases when these two are used as a second element of a compound: ama-wotømye *'fisher-maiden,'* mye-kwo *'girl' (lit.: 'woman-child'), and* waku-N-kwo '*young child.'*

tati being excluded on semantic grounds), but we have no way of knowing for sure that the noun itself is *warapa* 'boy,' and not *waku-N-kwo* 'young child.' Such usage is in sharp contrast with Classical Japanese where *-domo* (<-*Ntømø*) is the most frequently used plural marker that combines with both animate and inanimate nouns. Limited usage in Western Old Japanese probably demonstrates that *-Ntømø* as a plural marker is a recent development, and I will demonstrate below that it is indeed a Western Old Japanese innovation. Since *-Ntømø* occurs only with the nouns designating young or bad people, we can suppose that it has a pejorative meaning in Western Old Japanese. Examples:

袁登賣杼母多禮袁志摩加牟
wotømye-Ntømø tare-wo si mak-am-u
maiden-PLUR who-ACC PT pillow-TENT-FIN
whom will you take to bed [among] the **maidens**? (KK 15)

伊邪古杼母怒毘流都美迩
iNsa **kwo-Ntømø** nwo-N-pyiru tum-yi-ni
hey **child-PLUR** field-GEN-garlic gather-NML-LOC
[Come, my] **children** to pick wild garlic (KK 43)

宇利波米婆胡藤母意母保由
uri pam-ey-Npa **kwo-Ntømø** omøp-oy-u
melon-ACC eat-EV-CON **child-PLUR** think-PASS-FIN
When I eat melon, [I] cannot help thinking of [my] **children** (lit.: I suddenly think of my **children**) (MYS V: 802)

安麻乎等女等母思麻我久流見由
ama-wotøme-Ntømø sima-N-kakur-u MYI-y-u

fisher-maiden-PLUR island-LOC-hide-ATTR see-PASS-FIN
[I] see **fisher-maidens** hiding in [the shadow of] the island (MYS XV: 3597)

小兒等草者勿苅
WARAPA-NTØMØ KUSA PA NA-KAR-I-SØ
boy-PLUR grass TOP not-cut-INF-do
boys, do not cut the grass (MYS XVI: 3842)

安麻乎等女登母多麻藻可流美由
ama-wotømye-Ntømø tama-MWO kar-u myi-y-u
fisher-maiden-PLUR jewel-seaweed cut-ATTR see-PASS-FIN
I saw **fisher-maidens** cutting jewel seaweeds (MYS XVII: 3890)

伊爾之敞欲伊麻乃乎追通爾奈我佐敞流於夜乃子等毛曾
inisipye-ywo ima-nø wotutu-ni naNkas-ap-yer-u oya-nø **KWO-Ntømo** sø
old times-ABL now-GEN reality-LOC flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR ancestor-GEN **child-PLUR** PT
The offspring (lit.: **children**) of the ancestors who passed [their glorious names] from old times to the present (MYS XVIII: 4094)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為
tuma mø **kwo-Ntømø** mwo woti køti-ni sapa n-i kakum-yi wi
spouse PT **child-PLUR** PT there here-LOC many DV-INF surround-INF exist(INF)
both my spouse and **children** are around [me] in great numbers here and there (MYS XX: 4408)

逆在流人止母在而
SAKASIMA NAr-u **PYITØ-Ntømø** AR-I-TE
rebellious be-ATTR **person-PLUR** exist-INF-SUB
there were **people** who were rebellious (SM 16)

悪奴止母止相結弖
ASI-KYI **YATU-Ntømø**-tø APYI-MUSUNP-YI-te
bad-ATTR **scoundrel-PLUR**-COM REC-tie-INF-SUB
[they] got involved with bad **scoundrels**, and... (SM 43)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There are no examples of the plural marker -*Ntømø* in Eastern Old Japanese texts.

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no plural marker -*Ntømø* in Ryukyuan. The lack of attestation in Ryukyuan and in Easterrn Old Japanese point to the fact that -*Ntømø* is a recent innovation in Western Old Japanese. Therefore, I did not reconstruct any proto-Japanese form for this suffix and consequently I do not think that the search for any external parallels would be justified.

4.1.2.1.3 Plural marker -tati

The usage of the suffix -*tati* is restricted to animate nouns. For both Old and Classical Japanese it is believed to be an honorific plural marker used exclusively with names of deities, titles of princes, princesses, and other relatives of an emperor or an empress (Yamada 1954: 537), (Ikeda 1975:189).51 This, however, is not completely true. In the *Senmyô -tati* also occurs with the second person pronoun twice (see the examples from SM 17 and SM 37 below, directed to lower-ranking courtiers (SM 17) and provincial governors (SM 37)); it also occurs with the words *omyi* 'noble,' *opo kyimyi* 'great lord' and possibly with *aswomyi* 'retainer,' who all rank lower on a social scale than emperors and princes. Keeping in mind that all *Senmyô* edicts represent the emperor's words, -*tati* can be hardly taken as an honorific

51 There are however, exceptions to this rule in Classical Japanese: the plural marker -tati *is also used with* oya *'parent' and* go *'lady attendant' (Vovin 2003: 24).*

marker. Yet, its usage seems to be restricted to gods and members of the court.

美知能可味多知麻比波勢牟
miti-nø **kamiy-tati** mapyi pa se-m-u
road-GEN **deity-PLUR** offering TOP do-TENT-FIN
Deities of roads! [I] will make [you] an offering (MYS XVII: 4009)

伊波敞神多智
ipap-ye **KAMIY-tati**
protect-IMP **deity-PLUR**
protect [him], oh **deities**! (MYS XIX: 4240)

汝多知諸者吾近姪奈利
IMASI-tati MORØ PA WA-NKA TIKA-KYI WOPYI nar-i
you-PLUR all TOP I-POSS close-ATTR nephew be-FIN
All [of] **you** are my close nephews (SM 17)

御宇天皇大御霊多知
AMEY-NØ SITA SIRASIMEYS-U SUMEYRA-NKA **OPO-MYI-TAMA-tati**
heaven-GEN bottom rule-ATTR emperor-POSS **big-HON-soul-PLUR**
great souls of emperors, who ruled the earth (SM 19)

汝多知方貞仁明伎心乎以天
IMASI-tati pa SANTAKA n-i AKA-kyi KØKØRØ-wo MØT-I-te
you-PLUR TOP loyal DV-INF bright-ATTR heart-ACC hold-INF-SUB
you, with loyal and clear hearts... (SM 37)
This edict is addressed to two provincial governors.

親王多知臣多知百官能人等
MYIKWO-tati OMYI-tati MWOMWO N-Ø TUKASA PYITØ-RA(/-TATI?)
prince-PLUR noble-PLUR hundred DV-ATTR office person-PLUR
princes, nobles, and officials from hundred offices (SM 38)

王多知止藤原朝臣等止方朕親在
OPO-KYIMYI-tati-tø PUDIPARA ASWOMYI-TATI-tø pa WA-NKA UNKARA N-I AR-U
great-lord-PLUR-COM Fujiwara retainer-**PLUR-COM** TOP I-POSS relative DV-INF exist-ATTR
great lords and Fujiwara retainers are my relatives (SM 39)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is no plural marker *-tati* in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
There are plural markers *-taa* (Shuri) and *-caa* (Shuri, Nakijin), but it seems that they do not regularly correspond to OJ *-tati*. In the *Omoro sôshi* there is just one example of *-tati*:

てたかみたちとよで
teda-kami-tati toyo-di
sun-deity-PLUR sing-SUB
noble female deities sing, and... (0S XII: 740)

It is quite interesting that in the same song the more frequent plural marker *-ta[a]* also occurs in the words 大ころた *magi-koro-ta* 'men' (lit.: big-person-PLUR) and まもりあへこた *mamori-afe-ko-ta* 'soldiers' (lit.: 'children, protecting together'). The extreme rarity of the suffix *-tati* in the *Omoro sôshi* and absence of it in other Ryukyuan sources makes it highly probable that it is a loan from mainland Japanese.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
Given the above distribution in Ryukyuan, and lack of *-tati* in Eastern Old Japanese, it seems that the plural marker *-tati* is confined to Western Old Japanese. This limited distribution and semantically narrow area of its application, as described above
(*-tati* is used only with deities and members of the nobility), increases the probability that it is a loan. The well-known genetic comparison of *-tati* with MK plural marker *-tólh*, should be revised in the light of these data: *-tati* in all probability represents a loan from the Old Korean predecessor of MK *-tólh* in the from predating the lenition *t* > *l* and vowel reduction *a* > *o*. This conclusion can be further supported by the fact that MK *-tólh* is a neutral marker of plurality, while Old Japanese *-tati* significantly narrowed its

meaning referring only to deities and members of the elite that can naturally be expected in this case, since the Japanese state was essentially founded by people from the Korean peninsula.

4.1.2.1.4 Plural marker -na

There is another plural marker *-na* in Western Old Japanese that is not productive: it survives predominantly in compounds. Traditional Japanese analysis defines it as a genitive case marker in some cases (Yamada 1954: 419-20), and as a locative suffix in other cases (Omodaka 1967: 512d-513a), (Ôno 1994: 964b), but a closer examination reveals that it has nothing to do with either the genitive or the locative. This plural marker also survives in modern compounds like *ta-na-gokoro* 'palm of the hand(s),' *mi-na-giwa* 'water front,' *ma-na-ko* 'pupil of the eye,' etc. From the examples below it becomes clear that *-na* follows stems of nouns designating paired body parts (*ma-* 'eye,' *ta-* 'hand,' *a-* 'foot'), objects usually used in multitude (*nu-* 'jewel'), uncountable nouns (*myi-* 'water'), and two temporal nouns: *asa-na* 'mornings' (*asa* 'morning'), more frequently appearing in the reduplicated form as *asa-na [a]sa-na* 'every morning' (also surviving in Classical Japanese poetry as *asa-na asa-na* 'every morning') and *yupu-na* 'evenings' (*yupu* 'evening').52 Such usage seems to be in perfect agreement with the above proposal that *-na* represents a relic plural marker. It is interesting that it predominantly occurs with inanimate nouns, although from the historical view it appears that it could have been used with animate nouns as well at

52 There is also ywo-na ywo-na *(night-PLUR night-PLUR) 'every night,' attested in the kana glosses in the* Nihonshoki *text (Omodaka 1967: 800b), but since these glosses are later than any Old Japanese texts, I omit this example here.*

one time (see on suffix
-naNkara below).

美那許袁呂許袁呂爾
myi-na køworø køworø n-i
water-PLUR churning churning DV-INF
waters churning, churning (KK 100)

美那曾曾久淤美能袁登賣
myi-na søsøk-u omyi-nø wotømye
water-PLUR pour-ATTR noble-GEN maiden
daughter of a noble, who pours **water(s)** (KK 103)

麻奈迦比爾母等奈可可利提
ma-na kapyi-ni møtøna kakar-i-te
eye-PLUR interval-LOC for no reason hang-INF-SUB
[they] hover for no reason in front (lit.: between) [my] **eyes**
(MYS V: 802)

水之三名沫如
MYINTU-NØ **myi-na-[A]WA**-N-KØTØ-SI
water-GEN water-PLUR-foam-DV(ATTR)-like-FIN
like the (water)foam on the water (MYS VII: 1269)
It is interesting that this example is sometimes cited as one of the cases of the genitive marker *-na* (Omodaka 1967: 514a). However, comparing it with the above examples from the *Kojiki kayô*, where *-na* in *myi-na* cannot be a genitive case, clearly shows that *-na* is not a genitive case marker.

伊勢乃白水郎之朝魚夕菜尓潜
ISE-nø AMA-NØ **ASA-na YUPU-na-ni** KANTUK-U
Ise-GEN fisherman-GEN **morning-PLUR evening-PLUR-LOC** dive-FIN

Fishermen of Ise dive [into the sea] **in the mornings and in the evenings** (MYS XI: 2798)

If *-na* was a locative case marker, as tradition has it, it is incomprehensible why it would have another locative case marker *-ni* after it, as in *yupu-na-ni* 'in the evenings.' This example, therefore, proves, that *-na* is not a locative case marker.

奈泥之故我波奈爾毛我母奈安佐奈佐奈見牟
naNtesikwo-Nka pana n-i mwoNkamø na **asa-na [a]sa-na** MYI-m-u
pink-POSS flower DV-INF PT PT **morning-PLUR morning-PLUR** see-TENT-FIN
[I] wish [you] were a pink flower, so [I] would see [you] **every morning** (MYS XVII: 4010)

Another evidence against *-na* as a locative case marker comes from this and the next example. To the best of my knowledge, there are no cases of reduplication in Old Japanese that would have a locative case marker on both members of a reduplicated form.

阿佐奈佐奈安我流比婆理爾奈里弖之可
asa-na [a]sa-na aNkar-u pyiNpari n-i nar-i-te-sika
morning-PLUR morning-PLUR rise-ATTR skylark DV-INF become-INF-PERF-PAST/EV
every morning, [I would] have become a skylark, flying up (MYS XX: 4433)

Other examples of *-na* in the phonetic script:
(1) 奴那登 *nu-na-to* (< *nu-na oto*) 'jewel sound.' This compound occurs in the following passage in the *Kojiki*:

天照大御神先乞度建速須佐之男命所佩十拳劍。打折三段而。奴那登母母由良迩【此八字以音。下效此】振滌天之眞名井而
The Great Goddess Amaterasu first asked Susanowo-no mikoto for a sword as long as ten spans, broke it in three

parts, and *with the* **sound of jewels** [[read] these eight characters by sound. [when you see these characters] below follow this reading] washed them in the Heavenly Well (KJK I:16a)

The passage is not quite clear, but it probably describes that parts of the broken sword were clinging one against the other like the jewels. In any case, it is quite obvious that several jewels must have been involved, as one jewel does not produce any sound. Thus, I gloss 奴那登 *nu-na-[o]to* as 'sound[s] of jewels.'

(2) 多奈須衛 *ta-na suwe* 'finger nails' (lit.: 'hands' end') and 安那須恵 *a-na suwe* 'toe nails' (lit. 'feet end'). These compounds occur in a commentary in the *Nihonshoki*, where they transcribe characters 手端 'hands end' and 足端 'feet end' in the following passage:

是以有手端吉棄物。足端凶棄物。
[Susanowo's] **fingernails** became offerings [bringing] luck, and [his] **toenails** became offerings [protecting from] calamity (NSK I: 35.7)

Historically, the same plural marker *-na* is found within the suffix *-naNkara* 'having the nature of' < *na*, plural marker + *-N-*, genitive + *kara* 'clan,' 'nature.' As one can see, it precedes the genitive marker *-N-* < *-nø*, so it is highly unlikely that there were two genitive markers on the top of each other. From the same point of view, compounds such as *ta-na-N-køkørø* ('hand-PLUR-GEN-heart') 'palm of the hand(s)' and *myi-na-N-kyiwa* ('water-PLUR-GEN-edge') 'water front,' 'bank' would contain double genitive markers if *-na* is to be analyzed as a genitive and not as a plural marker. Examples of *-naNkara*:

可武奈何良可武佐備伊麻須

kamu-na-N-kara kamu-saNpiy imas-u
deity-PLUR-GEN-nature deity-like exist(HON)-FIN
[these two stones] are lying [there] **having the nature of deities**, and being like deities (MYS V: 813)

臣奈何良自首之
OMYI-na-N-kara MINTUKARA ARAP-As-i
noble-PLUR-GEN-nature self clean-CAUS-INF
having the nature of nobles, [he] himself confessed [his crime] (SM 53)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese *-na* is not productive, either. It occurs only in compounds *myinatwo* 'estuary, harbor,' *yanaNkiy* 'willow,' and *myinasøkø* 'bottom.' It is not difficult to see that most of these compounds contain *myi-na* 'waters,' which occurs independently in Western Old Japanese in examples where *-na* cannot be interpreted as a genitive marker; consequently one concludes that it is not a genitive marker in Eastern Old Japanese either, although the examples of the independent usage of *myi-na* 'waters' are not present in the Eastern Old Japanese texts.

美奈刀能安之
myi-na-two-nø asi
water-PLUR-door-GEN reed
reeds at the **estuary** (lit.: **waters' door**) (MYS XIV: 3445)

可家能水奈刀爾伊流思保
kakye-nø **MYI-na-two**-ni ir-u sipo
Kake-GEN **water-PLUR-door**-LOC enter-ATTR tide
tide, entering the **estuary** (lit.: **waters' door**) of Kake (MYS XIV: 3553)

和加加都乃以都母等夜奈枳
wa-Nka katu-nø itu-møtø **ya-na-N-ki53**

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53 Cf. yanaNki *(WOJ* yanaNkiy*) 'willow' and its doublet* yaNkiy *'id.' Both words are based on a Chinese loan* ya- *'willow' (< MC 楊 yang 'id.')* + -N-, *genitive;* + -kiy *'tree.' Like in the similar examples provided above,* -na- *in* yanaNkiy *cannot be a genitive marker, because in that case we would get two genitive markers. These doublets, therefore, provide extra evidence for* -na *as a plural marker.*

I-POSS gate-GEN five-CL **willow-PLUR-GEN-tree**
five **willow trees** at my gate (MYS XX: 4386)

於保吉宇美能美奈曾己布可久
opo-kyi umyi-nø **myi-na-søkø** puka-ku
big-ATTR sea-GEN **water-PLUR-bottom** deep-INF
the **(water's) bottom** of the big sea is deep, and... (MYS XX: 4491)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is only one possible case of the plural marker *-na* in Ryukyuan, which appears in the *Omoro sôshi* in a context where it is difficult to say whether it is a plural or a genitive marker:

くになつぢみちへ
kuni-na tudi mi-tife
country-PLUR?/GEN? summit look-SUB
looking at the **province?/provinces? peaks** (OS XIV: 1025)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
It is possible to reconstruct only proto-Japanese and not proto-Japonic plural marker *-na, due to the lack of reliable attestations in Ryukyuan. The traditional Altaistic comparison is with the Written Mongolian plural marker *-nar/-ner*, but the comparison is unreliable, given the limited distribution in Japonic and the fact that OJ *-na* follows mostly inanimate nouns, while Written Mongolian marker is used exclusively with animate nouns designating people and gods, and seems to be a kind of collective plural (Poppe 1964: 69), (Grønbech & Krueger 1976: 20).

4.1.2.1.5 Reduplication

Reduplication does not seem to be a productive means of expressing the plural number, because not all nouns can have a reduplicated form. It seems that the list of nouns that can be reduplicated is rather short: *ka-Nka* 'days' (*ka-* 'day'), *pyitø-Npyito* 'people' (*pyitø* 'person'), *køtø-Nkøtø* 'things' (*køtø* 'thing'), *kuni-Nkuni* 'provinces' (*kuni* 'province'), *ipye-ipye* 'houses' (*ipye* 'house'), *kaNtwo-kaNtwo* 'gates' (*kaNtwo* 'gate') as well as an already partially lexicalized reduplication: *tøkyi-Ntøkyi* 'times,' 'seasons' (*tøkyi* 'time'). It

appears that reduplication is used in the case when the meaning of all-including plurality is present: ‘all Xs,’ ‘every X.’ Examples:

迦賀那倍弖用迩波許許能用比迩波登袁加袁
ka-Nka naNpey-te ywo n-i pa køkønø ywo pyi n-i pa tøwo-ka-wo
day-day put side by side(INF)-SUB night DV-INF TOP nine night day DV-INF TOP ten-CL-ACC
counting **all the days**, [it] is nine nights and ten days (KK 26)

久奴知許等其等美世摩斯母乃乎
kun[i]-uti **køtø-Nkøtø** myi-se-masi mønøwo
land-inside **thing-thing** see-CAUS-SUBJ/ATTR CONJ
[I] would show [her] **all things** in the land, but… (MYS V: 797)

任賜幣留国々宰等
MAKEY-TAMAp-yer-u **KUNI-NKUNI**-NØ MYIKØTØMØTI-NTØMØ
appoint(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR **province-province**-GEN official-PLUR
appointed officials of **all provinces** (SM 1)

冠位上可賜人々治賜
KANKAPURI KURAWI AGEY-TAMAP-UNPEY-KYI **PYITØ-NPYITØ** WOSAMEY-TAMAP-U
rank-hat rank raise(INF)-HON-DEB-ATTR **person-person** rule(INF)-HON-FIN
[we] promote **all people** who should be promoted (SM 4)

己家々己門々祖名不失勤仕奉礼

ONØ-NKA **IPYE-IPYE** ONØ-NKA **KANTWO-KANTWO**
OYA-NØ NA USINAP-ANZ-U TUTWOMEY-TUKAPEY-MATUr-e
self-POSS **house-house** self-POSS **gate-gate** ancestor-GEN name lose-NEG-INF serve(INF)-serve(INF)-HUM-IMP
[At] **every house**, [behind] **every gate**, serve without losing the names of your ancestors (SM 16)

All examples of reduplication, which have the initial obstruent, prenasalize it in the second part of the reduplicated complex according to Lyman's Law (see the example from Eastern Old Japanese for phonetic representation of this prenasalization). Since neither genitive case marker *-nø*, nor any forms of the defective verb *n-* seem to be possible in this position, I suppose that the underlying form of the reduplication in Old Japanese is *X-ni X*, where *-ni* is a dative/locative marker. Thus, *pyitø-Npyitø* 'people' can be explained as *pyitø-ni pyitø 'person to a person' (cf. English '[from] time to time').

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is one clear example of reduplication attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

等伎騰吉乃波奈波佐家登母
tøkyi-Ntøkyi-nø pana pa sak-ye-Ntømø
time-time-GEN flower TOP bloom-EV-CONC
Although the flowers of **all [four] seasons** bloom... (MYS XX: 4323)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is also reduplication in Ryukyuan. An example from Old Ryukyuan:

からからのやうんち小瓶
kara-kara n-o yaunti GO-FIN
empty-empty DV-ATTR not enough DIM-vessel
empty small vessel, with not enough [sake] (RK 1240)

4.1.2.2 CASE MARKERS

The following case markers are attested in Old Japanese: active -*i*, possessive -*Nka*, genitive -*nø*, genitive-locative -*tu,* locatives -*ni*,
-*ra,* and -*na;* accusative-absolutive -*wo*, comitative -*tø*, ablative
-*ywo/-ywori/-yu/-yuri*, directive -*Nkari*, directive -*pye*, terminative
-*maNte*, comparative -*nø/-ni/-nasu/-nøsu*, and new ablative -*kara* (found only in late Western Old Japanese). Japanese linguists normally also list two other case markers: locative -*nite* and genitive -*na*, but I consider the first to be the gerund

form *n-i-te* of the defective verb *n-*, where gerund *-te* follows the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*, which is thus homophonic with the case marker *ni*, following Samuel E. Martin's proposal to view *n-i* as a copula infinitive (Martin 1988: 34); and the second to be the relic plural form (see 4.1.2.1.4 above).

Case markers are traditionally defined in both Japanese and Western traditions as particles (Jp. *kakujoshi* 格助詞) (Yamada 1913), (Tokieda 1950a), (Tsukishima 1969), (Aston 1877), (Sansom 1928), (Martin 1988), (Lewin 1959), (Muciolli 1970). However, in another major school of Japanese studies, the Russian school, three conflicting points of view have been debated over a long period of time. According to one, Japanese case markers are agglutinative suffixes (Konrad 1937: 81-83), (Fel'dman 1979: 60-61), (Syromiatnikov 1972: 96); the supporters of the second point of view consider them to be postpositions (Vardul' 1964: 33-36), (Golovnin 1970: 18; 1986: 227); while according to the third point of view, they are classified neither as suffixes, nor as postpositions, but as agglutinative case markers (Pashkovskii 1957: 117), (Alpatov 1981: 34-41). The last point of view is exactly the one I adhere to for the following reasons:

1) Old Japanese case markers are not suffixes in the sense Indo-European cases suffixes are, since they are not flective; that is that one case marker carries always one and only one grammatical meaning (cf. Russian *stol-ov* genitive plural form of the word *stol* 'table,' where the suffix *-ov* combines the grammatical meanings of plural and genitive), and they do not exhibit any fusion with the preceding stem. Formally they are also unlike the Korean or Turkic case markers, since their choice is not dependent on the phonetic shape of the preceding stem.

2) Nevertheless, apart from that, the character of these case markers joining to the stem is not different from that of, for example, Turkish. Compare:

Old Japanese	Turkish
pyitø-**ywo**	adam-**dan**
person-**ABL**	person-**ABL**
from the person	**from** the person
pyitø-ra-**ywo**	adam-lar-**dan**
person-PLUR-**ABL**	person-PLUR-**ABL**
from the persons	**from** the persons

3) Similarly to Turkish, it is impossible to insert anything between the stem and the case marker except plural markers, restrictive particles *Npakari, sapey*, and *dani*, or, in some cases, another case marker. These limitations would be unlikely if these were pure particles or postpositions, because the latter are less bound with the stem (cf. the behavior of the topic particle *pa* (described in Chapter 8), which is typical in this respect).

4.1.2.2.1 Case marker -i

An active construction is attested in Old Japanese, with subjects of active verbs optionally marked also by *-i* (Vovin 1997), but this construction has an apparent skewed distribution. The active case marker *-i* is attested predominantly in the *Senmyô* (Imperial edicts), where it is attested twelve times in sixty-two texts while it appears only five times in the whole Western Old Japanese part of the *Man'yôshû*, comprising about 4,200 poems. There is only one attestation of *-i* in the whole Eastern Old Japanese corpus, which includes around 340 poems, and this particular case probably has a different explanation. The case marker *-i* is not attested in the oldest Old Japanese poems in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*. This skewed distribution with predominant usage in imperial edicts where the Korean language influence must have been the greatest suggests that *-i* was borrowed from Korean, and that the whole active construction in OJ was short-lived. It was probably created as an imitation of Korean patterns.

不聴跡雖謂話礼話礼常詔許曾志斐伊波奏強話登言
INA TØ IP-EY-NTØ KATAr-e KATAr-e tø NØR-AS-E køsø **Sipiy-i** pa MAWOS-E SIPIY-N-KATAR-I tø NØR-U no DV say-EV-CONC speak-IMP speak-IMP DV say-HON-EV **Sipiy-ACT** TOP say(HUM)-EV forced-DV(ATTR)-say-NML DV say-FIN
Though [I] say: 'No,' [you] command [me]: 'Speak, speak!,' [but the things that] **Sipi** says, [you] call a forced speech (MYS III: 237)

玉緒乃不絶射妹跡結而石

TAMA-NØ WO-nø **TAYE-NSI-i54** IMWO-tø MUSUNP-YI-TE-si
pearl-GEN cord-GEN **tear-NEG/TENT-ACT** beloved-COM tie-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR
Insolubility of the pearly cord tied [me] with [my] beloved (MYS III: 481)

木乃関守伊将留鴨
Kiy-nø **SEKYI-MØRI-i** TØNTØMEY-TE-M-U kamwo
Ki-GEN **barrier-guard-ACT** stop(INF)-PERF-TENT-FIN PT
Will the **barrier guard** at Ki stop me? (MYS IV: 545)

菟原牡士伊仰天
UNAPYI-WOTØKØ-i AMEY APUNK-YI-TE
Unapi-man-ACT sky look up-INF-SUB
Man from Unapi looked up at the sky and...(MYS IX: 1809)

家有妹伊将欝悒
IPYE-N-AR-U **IMWO-i** ONPONPOS-I-MYISE-M-U
house-LOC-be-ATTR **beloved-ACT** worry-INF-show-TENT-FIN
[My] beloved, who is at home, will worry [about me] (MYS XII: 3161)

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負図亀一頭献止奏賜不爾
PUDIPARA-NØ ASWOMYI MARØ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITØ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU tø MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni...

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54 The -i *in this example may be also interpreted as a quasi-free noun 'one, thing, person,' cognate to the Korean quasi-free noun* -i *with the same function (Martin 1987: 64).*

Pudipara-GEN retainer Maro-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer-NML DV say-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC
[They] said that the **retainer Fujiwara Maro and others** had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back]...(SM 6)55

敬福伊部内少田郡仁黄金出在奏弖献
KYAUPUKU-i KUNI-NØ UTI-NØ WONTA-NØ KØPORI-ni KUNKANE-WO INTE-TAR-I TØ MAWOS-I-te TATEMATUR-ER-I
Kyôpuku-ACT province-GEN inside-GEN Woda-GEN district-LOC gold-ACC go out(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN DV say(HUM)-INF-SUB offer-PROG-FIN
Kyôpuku reported that gold had been found on the territory of the province, in the district of Woda (SM 12)

奈良麻呂古麻呂等伊逆党乎伊射奈比率而
naramarø kwomarø-RA-i SAKASIMA N-I AR-U TØMØ-N-KARA-wo iNsanap-yi PYIK-YI K-YI-TE
Naramaro Komaro-PLUR-ACT rebellious DV-INF exist-ATTR companion-DV(ATTR)-relative-ACC instigate-INF bring-INF come-INF-SUB
Naramaro, Komaro and others instigated rebels and brought them...(SM 19)

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55 Itabashi on the basis of his proposal that there is an accusative marker -i *in OJ (1990), claimed that the* -i *in the examples from the* Senmyô *is also an accusative marker, which is used to mark a subject in indirect discourse. But there is very meager ground for establishing an accusative marker* -i *for OJ. Besides, why should a subject in indirect discourse in the* Senmyô *be marked by an accusative marker, while left unmarked elswhere? A comparison of examples from the* Senmyô *with examples from the* Man'yôshû *clearly demonstrates that* -i *marks the subject whether it is a subject in indirect discourse or not.*

仲末呂伊詐姦流心乎以天兵乎発
Nakamaro-i ITUPAR-I KANTAM-YEr-u KØKØRØ-wo MØT-I-te IKUSA-wo OKØS-I...
Nakamaro-ACT lie-INF deceit-PROG-ATTR heart-ACC have-INF-SUB army-ACC raise-INF
Nakamaro having a deceitful heart raised an army, and...(SM 28)

国王伊王位仁坐時方菩薩乃浄戒乎受与止勅天在
KOKU-WAU-i WAU-WI-ni IMAS-U TØKYI pa BOSATU-nø ZYAUKAI-wo UKEY-yø tø NØTAMAP-YI-te AR-I
country-king-ACT king-position-LOC be(HON)-ATTR time TOP bodhisattva-GEN commandment-ACC receive-IMP DV said(HON)-INF-SUB exist-FIN
[Buddha] said that **a king of a country**, when [he] is on the throne, should accept commandments of the Bodhisattva (SM 28)

仲末呂伊忠臣止之天侍都
Nakamarø-i TANTASI-KYI OMYI tø s-i-te PANPYER-I-t-u
Nakamaro-ACT loyal-ATTR noble DV do-INF-SUB serve-INF-PERF-FIN
Nakamaro served as a loyal noble (SM 34)

和気伊申天在
Wakey-i MAWOS-I-te AR-I
Wake-ACT report(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-FIN
[prince] **Wake** reported [to us about Nakamaro's plot] (SM 34)

道鏡伊所賜天彼等我惑心乎方教導天

DAUKYAU-i TAMAPAR-I-te KARE-RA-Nka MATWOP-YER-U KØKØRØ-woNpa WOSIPEY-MYITINPYIK-YI-te
Dôkyô-ACT grant-INF-SUB he-PLUR-GEN go astray-PROG-ATTR heart-ACC(EMPH) teach(INF)-guide-INF-SUB
Dôkyô will deign to teach and guide their hearts that went astray...(SM 35)

二禅師等伊同心乎以天
PUTA-RI N-Ø **ZENSI-TATI-i** ONANSI KØKØRØ-wo MØT-I-te...
two-CL DV-ATTR meditation **teacher-PLUR-ACT** same heart-ACC have-INF-SUB
two **meditation teachers** have the same heart...(SM 41)

朕徳伊天地乃御心乎令感動末都流倍岐事波无
WA-NKA UTUKUSINPIY-i AMEY TUTI-nø MYI-KØKØRØ-wo UNKWOK-AS-I-matur-uNpey-kyi KØTØ pa NA-SI
we-POSS virtue-ACT heaven earth-GEN HON-heart-ACC move-CAUS-INF-HUM-DEB-ATTR thing TOP no-FIN
there was no occasion that **our virtues** would move the hearts of heaven and earth (SM 42)

法均伊物奏利
POUKUN-i MØNØ MAWOS-Er-i
Pôkun-ACT thing say(HUM)-PROG-FIN
Pôkun was saying speeches (SM 44)

紀古佐美朝臣等伊敗軍費粮弖還参来

KIY-NØ KWOSAMYI-NØ ASWOMYI-RA-i...IKUSA YABUR-I KATE-WO TUPYIYAS-I-te KAPYER-I MAWI-K-YI-T-U
Ki-GEN Kosami-GEN retainer-PLUR-ACT...army destroy-INF food supply-ACC exhaust-INF-SUB come back-INF-come(HUM)(INF)-come-INF-PERF-FIN
retainer Ki-no Kosami and others, came back losing the army and exhausting food supplies (SM 62)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is one example of case marker *-i* attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

波播已毛礼杼母
papa-i mwor-e-Ntømø
mother-ACT guard-EV-CONC
Though [my] **mother** guards [me]... (MYS XIV: 3393)
This is the poem from *Simotufusa* province in Region B of Eastern Old Japanese, which was influenced moderately by the standard literary language of Western Old Japanese. In addition, this is the only example found in Eastern Old Japanese, and it can be reanalyzed as containing not the active case marker *-i*, but the *i-* prefix on the following verb that indicates the locative focus, thus we can rewrite it as:

波播已毛礼杼母
papa **i-mwor-e-Ntømø**
mother **LF-guard-EV-CONC**
Though [my] mother **guards [me] here**... (MYS XIV: 3393)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no active marker *-i* in Ryukyuan.

A3: Mainland Japanese dialects
Among all modern Japanese dialects a possible cognate of OJ *-i* survived only in a southern subdialect of the Ôita dialect in Kyûshû as a nominative case marker:

kaziya-i sit-tyor-u56
blacksmith-NOM know-PROG-FIN
Blacksmith knows [it].

ame-i fur-u
rain-NOM fall-FIN
It rains (lit.: **Rain** falls)

kuruma-i oo-i
car-NOM many-FIN
There are many **cars**.

From these examples we can see that *-i* in Ôita is a real nominative case marker: it marks the subject not only of active transitives and intransitives, but also of inactive intransitives.57 But the isolated nature of this form in Ôita and lack of the understanding of its history alongside with its functional difference (active vs. nominative) make this comparison less than perfect.

Thus, the active case marker *-i* is limited to Western Old Japanese. As mentioned earlier, there are only five cases of its occurrence in the *Man'yôshû*, and in addition one case (from MYS III: 481) is doubtful, as it may have an alternative explanation. The remaining twelve cases are all confined to the 'Imperial edicts' (*Senmyô*). If active marker *-i* was indeed an archaism, surviving only in Western Old Japanese and

56 All examples are taken from Matsuda (1991).
57 Martin also reports this usage in Ôita(1990: 500).

going back to remote times of 'Proto-Koreo-Japonic,' it is strange that it is completely absent from the archaic songs of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*, as well as from songs in the *Jôgu Teisetsu*. After the Nara period, *-i* is occasionally used in the language of early Heian commentaries, but it never appears in literary texts. After mid-Heian it essentially disappears altogether. Thus, we can clearly see that *-i* is an innovation and it was limited only to Central Japanese, but even there it was short-lived. Such restricted usage within Japonic can have only one explanation: it is a loan from a variety of Old Korean.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The active case marker *-i* has been traditionally compared with Middle Korean nominative case marker *-i*.58 Examples:

soym-i kiph-un mul-un
spring-NOM deep-ATTR water-TOP
rivers, whose source is deep (YP 2)

seycwon-i ssyangtwu-san-ey ka-sy-a
Buddha-NOM Ssyangtwu-mountain-LOC go-HON-INF
Buddha went to Ssyangtwu mountain, and... (SP VI.1)

i-poyk-hwo-lol enu **nwu-y** chyeng-ho-n-i
two-hundred-house-ACC which **who-NOM** request-do-PERF-NOM
Who is the one who asked for two hundred houses? (YP 18)

There are no other external parallels for OJ *-i*.

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58 It was convincingly demonstrated by Ross King that MK -i *is actually a relic ergative marker (King 1988).*

4.1.2.2.2 Case marker -Nka

The case marker -*Nka* is a possessive case marker. Its functions are very similar to that of the genitive case marker -*nø*, yet the usage does not completely overlap. Thus, only -*Nka* is used after personal, reflexive and interrogative pronouns, while only -*nø* appears after demonstrative pronouns. However, both -*Nka* and -*nø* are used before quasi-postpositions like *tamey* 'for,' 'in order to,' *upey* 'top,' 'on,' *uti* 'inside,' *sita* 'below,' bottom,' *muta* 'together,' and *møtø* 'near,' 'base.' The claim that -*Nka* follows animate nouns while -*nø* follows inanimates does not hold true, although there is a certain tendency towards a more frequent usage of -*Nka* after personal names and titles. It looks like that it probably was the case in proto-Japonic, if we take into consideration the archaic distribution still preserved in Ryukyuan (see below). In Old Japanese -*Nka* has the following functions: 1) possessive marker, 2) subject marker in dependent clause, 3) subject marker in main clause. In the first and second functions, -*Nka* can be used not only after a noun, but also after a substantivized sentence, although in this usage -*Nka* is still extremely rare in comparison with Classical Japanese (there are just two examples for the first function and one example for the second function after a nominalized clause). Case marker -*Nka* is not attested in Western Old Japanese as a subject marker in the main clause after a nominalized sentence.

Pronouns used with the possessive marker -*Nka* or the genitive marker -*nø* exhibit many morphological peculiarities so these cases will be described below in the section dedicated to pronouns (4.2). The usage of these markers with nouns is regular.

POSSESSIVE MARKER

多知賀遠母伊麻陀登迦受弓
tati-Nka wo mø imaNta tøk-aNs-u-te
long sword-POSS cord PT still untie-NEG-INF-SUB
without untying the cords of **[my] long sword** (KK 2)

和何許許呂
wa-Nka køkørø
I-POSS heart
my heart (KK 3)

許能美岐波和賀美岐那良受
kønø myi-kyi pa **wa-Nka** myi-kyi nar-aNs-u
this HON-wine TOP **I-POSS** HON-wine be-NEG-FIN
This wine is not **my** wine (KK 39)

波夜夫佐和気能美淤須比賀泥
payaNpusawakey-nø **myi-osupyi-Nka** ne
Payabusawakey-GEN **HON-coat-POSS** cloth
[It is] a cloth **for a coat** for Payabusawakey (KK 67)

美延斯怒能袁牟漏賀多気爾
myi-yesinwo-nø **womurwo-Nka** takey-ni
HON-Yesinwo-GEN **Womurwo-POSS** peak-LOC
At the peak **of Womurwo** in the beautiful/deep Yeshinwo
(KK 97)

乎武例我兎杯爾倶謨娜尼母旨屡倶之多多婆
wo-mure-Nka upey-ni kumo Ntani mø siru-ku si tat-aNpa
DIM-mountain-POSS top-LOC cloud PT PT distinct-INF
PT rise-COND

if even the clouds rise **above the small mountain** (NK 116)

知知波波賀多米爾毛呂比止乃多米爾
titi papa-Nka tamey n-i mworø pyitø-nø tamey n-i
father mother-POSS for DV-INF many person-GEN for DV-INF
for father and mother, for many people (BS 1)

和何世古我多那礼乃美巨騰都地爾意加米移母
wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka ta-nare-nø myi-køtø tuti-ni ok-am-ey ya mø
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS hand-accustom(NML)-GEN HON-koto ground-LOC put-TENT-EV PT PT
would anyone dare to put the favorite koto **of my beloved** on the ground? (MYS V: 812)

安麻乎等女良我毛能須素奴礼奴
ama-wotomye-ra-Nka mwo-nø suswo nure-n-u
fisher-maiden-PLUR-POSS skirt-GEN become wet(INF)-PERF-FIN
hems of **fisher-maidens'** skirts became wet (MYS XV: 3661)

君我牟多由可麻之毛能乎
KYIMYI-Nka muta yuk-amasi mwonøwo
lord-POSS together go-SUBJ/ATTR PT
although [I] would go **together with [my] lord**... (MYS XV: 3773)

There are two examples in Western Old Japanese when possessive *-Nka* is used after a nominalized sentence:

多久夫須麻佐夜具賀斯多爾

taku-N-pusuma sayaNk-u-Nka sita-ni
***taku*-GEN-cover rustle-ATTR-POSS** bottom-LOC
under **the rustling of *the taku* covers** (KK 5)

安布倍伎与之能奈伎我佐夫之佐
ap-uNpey-kyi yøsi-nø na-kyi-Nka saNpusi-sa
meet-DEB-ATTR chance-GEN no-ATTR-POSS sad-NML
sadness **of non-existence of chance to meet** (MYS XV:
3734)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A DEPENDENT CLAUSE
This usage of *-Nka* as a nominative case marker is different from Classical Japanese in the respect that in the latter *-ga (< -Nka)* always marks the subject in dependent clauses that have a predicate in the attributive form (Vovin 2003: 51). No such restriction is observed in Old Japanese.

淤曾夫良比和何多多勢禮婆比許豆良比和何多多勢禮婆
osø-N-pur-ap-yi **wa-Nka** tat-as-er-e-Npa pyikø-N-tur-ap-yi
wa-Nka tat-as-er-e-Npa
push-DV(INF)-shake-ITER-INF **I-POSS** stand-HON-PROG-
EV-CON pull-DV(INF)-shove-ITER-INF **I-POSS** stand-
HON-PROG-EV-CON
[I] was pushing and shaking [the door], when **I** stood [there],
[I] was pulling and shoving [it], when **I** stood [there] (KK 2)

阿遠夜麻迩比賀迦久良婆
awo-yama-ni **pyi-Nka** kakur-aNpa
green-mountain-LOC **sun-POSS** hide-COND
when the **sun** hides [behind] the green mountains (KK 3)

那賀那加佐麻久阿佐阿米能疑理爾多多牟叙

na-Nka nak-as-am-aku asa-amey n-ø kiyri-ni tat-am-u Nsø
you-POSS cry-HON-TENT-NML morning-rain DV-ATTR fog-LOC rise-TENT-ATTR PT
your weeping will rise into fog like the morning rain (KK 4)

伊豆毛多祁流賀波祁流多知
iNtumwo takyeru-Nka pak-yer-u tati
Izumo Takeru-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR long sword
The long sword that Izumo Takeru wears (KK 23)

和賀由久美知
wa-Nka yuk-u myiti
we-POSS go-ATTR way
the way **we** go (KK 43)

遠等▫羊良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎
wotømye-ra-Nka sa-n-as-u ita two-wo os-i-pyirak-yi
maiden-PLUR-POSS PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR board door-ACC push-INF-open-INF
pushing open the wooden doors [of the chambers] where **maidens** sleep (MYS V: 804)

伊米爾毛伊母我美延射良奈久尓
imey-ni mwo **imø-Nka** myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i
dream-LOC PT **beloved-POSS** see-PASS-NEG-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF
in the dreams [my] **beloved** [always] appears (MYS XV: 3735)

There is one example in Western Old Japanese when *-Nka* is used as a subject marker after the nominalized sentence in a dependent clause:

由久美都能可敞良奴其等久布久可是能美延奴我其登久
yuk-u myiNtu-nø kapyer-an-u-N-køtø-ku **puk-u kaNse-nø myi-ye-n-u-Nka**-N-køtø-ku
go-ATTR water-GEN return-NEG-ATTR-DV(INF)-like-INF **blow-ATTR wind-GEN see-PASS-NEG-ATTR-POSS**-DV(ATTR)-like-INF
like the flowing water that does not return, like **the blowing wind that [one] cannot see** (MYS XV: 3625)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A MAIN CLAUSE
This usage is still very infrequent in Old Japanese compared to the modern language; but nevertheless several examples can be found:

志芸和那波留和賀麻都夜
siNkyi-wana par-u **wa-Nka** mat-u ya
snipe-trap stretch-FIN **we-POSS** wait-FIN PT
[we] set a snipe trap. **We** waited! (KK 9)

久米能古良賀久夫都都伊伊斯都都伊母知宇知弖斯夜麻牟
kumey-nø **kwo-ra-Nka** kuNpu-tutui isi-tutui møt-i ut-i-te si yam-am-u
kumey-GEN **lad-PLUR-POSS** knob-mallet stone-mallet hold-INF hit-INF-SUB PT stop-TENT-FIN
Lads of Kume will pound [them] to their death with knob mallets and stone mallets (KK 10)

岐美賀由岐気那賀久那理奴
kyimyi-Nka yuk-yi key naNka-ku nar-i-n-u
lord-POSS go-INF day long-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN

[My] **lord** went [away], and the days became long (KK 88)

和我恵比爾祁牟
wa-Nka wep-yi-n-i-ky-em-u
I-POSS get intoxicated-INF-PERF-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
I got intoxicated (FK 6)

伊弊爾由伎弖伊可爾可阿我世武
ipye-ni yuk-yi-te ika n-i ka **a-Nka** se-m-u
home-LOC go-INF-SUB how DV-INF PT **I-POSS** do-TENT-ATTR
What will **I** do, when I go back home? (MYS V: 795)

遠等▫羊良何遠等▫羊佐備周等可羅多麻乎多母等爾麻可志余知古良等手多豆佐波利提阿蘇比家武
wotømye-ra-Nka wotømye saNpiy s-u tø kara-tama-wo ta-møtø-ni mak-as-i yøti kwo-ra-tø TE taNtusapar-i-te aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden behave graciously(NML) do-FIN DV China-jewel-ACC hand-base-LOC wrap-HON-INF same age child-PLUR-COM hand hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
The **maidens**, thinking to behave graciously [like] maidens, wrap their wrists with [bracelets made of] Chinese jewels, and would play holding hands with girls of the same age (MYS V: 804)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟
sa yamaNda n-ø **woNti-Nka** SØNØ PYI-ni møtømey ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u
so Yamada DV-ATTR **old man-POSS** that day-LOC search(INF) meet-NEG-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN

So, **old man** Yamada searched for [him] on that day, but did not find [him] (MYS XVII: 4014)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese *-Nka* occurs in the same functions as in the Western Old Japanese, except it is not attested as a subject marker after a nominalized clause.

POSSESSIVE MARKER

伎美我美家思志安夜爾伎保思母
kyimyi-Nka myi-kyes-i si aya n-i kyi-posi mø
lord-POSS HON-wear(HON)-NML PT strange DV-INF wear(INF)-DES(FIN) PT
strangely, [I] want to wear [my] **lord's** garment (MYS XIV: 3350)

伊利奈麻之母乃伊毛我乎杼許爾
ir-i-n-amasi mønø **imwo-Nka** woN-tøkø-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ/ATTR CONJ **beloved-POSS** DIM-bed-LOC
although [I] would like to enter the bed **of [my] beloved** (MYS XIV: 3354)

武蔵野乃乎具奇我吉芸志
MUSASI-NWO-nø **woN-kukiy-Nka** kyiNkyisi
Musashi-field-GEN **DIM-cave-POSS** pheasant
pheasants **from the small caves** on the Musashi plain (MYS XIV: 3375)

In Eastern Old Japanese, *-Nka* also can be used after a nominalized sentence:

巨麻爾思吉比毛登伎佐気弖奴流我倍爾
køma nisikyi pyimwo tøk-yi-sakey-te n-uru-Nka [u]pey-ni
Korea brocade cord untie-INF-put apart(INF)-SUB sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC
besides **the fact that [I] slept [with her] untying the cord [made of] Korean brocade** (MYS XIV: 3465)

波波乎波奈例弖由久我加奈之佐
papa-wo panare-te **yuk-u-Nka** kanasi-sa
mother-ACC go away(INF)-SUB **go-ATTR-POSS** sad-NML
sadness **of going**, leaving [my] mother behind (MYS XX: 4338)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A DEPENDENT CLAUSE

布時能夜麻備爾和我伎奈婆
puNsi-nø yama-N-piy-ni **wa-Nka** k-yi-n-aNpa
Fuji-GEN mountain-GEN-side-LOC **I-POSS** come-INF-PERF-COND
if **I** come to the side of the mountain Fuji (MYS XIV: 3356)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A MAIN CLAUSE

児呂我爾努保佐流可母
KWO-rø-Nka ninwo pos-ar-u kamø
beloved-DIM-POSS cloth dry-PROG-ATTR PT
[my] **beloved** is drying linen (MYS XIV: 3351)

A2: Ryukyuan

In the Shuri dialect, *-ga (<*-Nka)* is used as a subject marker after pronouns and nouns designating people:

Shuri

Nabii-ga waray-uN
Nabii-NOM laugh-FIN
Nabii is laughing.

arii-ga miati ya-N
that-NOM mark COP-FIN
That is the mark.

In all other cases, case marker *-nu (<-nø)* is used as a subject marker:
Shuri

husi-nu chura-sa-N
star-NOM beautiful-NML-FIN
The **star** is beautiful.

In Ryukyuan dialects *-ga* also marks subjects after personal pronouns. The following examples are from Miyako dialects that were less influenced by Japanese than the Central and Northern Ryukyuan dialects:59

Miyako

ba-ga mi:
I-NOM see(FIN)
I see

---

59 These examples are taken from (Nohara 1998: 372).

uva-ga du basïka-N
thou-NOM PT bad-FIN
You are bad

This distribution suggests that *-ga* in Ryukyuan originally was a subject marker after animate nouns, and *-nu* was a subject marker after inanimate nouns. The usage of *-ga* not only after personal but also after demonstrative pronouns probably constitutes an innovation in Shuri. The innovative nature of *-ga* usage after demonstrative pronouns is further confirmed by the fact that in its possessive function it occurs only after the second person pronoun *'uNju* 'you' and the third person pronoun *'ari* 's/he' (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 94), that formally coincides with a demonstrative pronoun *'ari* 'that:'60

Shuri

'ari-ga muN ya sa
he-POSS thing COP PT
[It] is **his** thing

'uNju-ga nasaki
you-POSS kindness
your kindness

The fact that the possessive *-ga* in Shuri occurs only with personal pronouns further proves its original function as an animate possessive marker in proto-Japonic. This is further supported by examples from the Miyako dialects where *-ga* as

60 These examples are taken from (Nishioka & Nakahara 200: 94).

a possessive marker appears only after personal pronouns as well:61

Miyako

ba-ga yaa
I-POSS house
my house

udu-ga faa
you-POSS child
your child

Unfortunately, there are no detailed studies of the distribution of *-ga* and *-nu* in Old Ryukyuan, and one can only hope that this omission will be filled by the future research, but it is beyond the scope of the present grammar.

Comparing this distribution in Ryukyuan with Old Japanese
-Nka used with personal pronouns and *-nø* used after demonstratives, as well as taking into consideration that there is a strong tendency in Old Japanese for *-Nka* to be used after personal names and titles, we can come to the tentative conclusion that *-Nka* was an animate possessive/subject marker and *-nø* an inanimate possessive/subject marker in proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no reliable 'Altaic' parallels for the OJ possessive *-Nka*. However, the parallels between Saisiyat62 genitive

61 The examples are from (Nohara 1998: 393).

markers *noka-, no-* (that also have cognates in other Formosan languages, e.g. Paiwan63 *noa-, no-* (Asai 1967: 112) and Old Japanese possessive *-Nka* and genitive *-nø* are striking phonetically, given the fact that OJ *-Nka* probably developed from a phonetic sequence *-nVka. However, it is more than probable that these parallels represent a chance correspondence because there is no functional parallelism: Saisiyat genitive markers *noka* and *no* are used after all non-proper nouns, while the genitive case of proper nouns is marked by *ni* (Ye 2000: 73).

4.1.2.2.3 Genitive case marker -nø

The case maker *-nø* has practically the same primary functions as the possessive case marker *-Nka*: 1) genitive case marker, 2) subject marker in a dependent clause, 3) subject marker in a main clause. The crucial difference between case markers *-Nka* and *-nø* is that the former can mark a nominalized sentence, while the latter does not occur in this function. The case marker *-nø* is not to be confused with its homonym, the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'be.' Examples:

GENITIVE CASE MARKER

波夜夫佐和気能美淤須比
payaNpusawakey-nø myi-osupyi
Payabusawakey-GEN HON-coat
Payabusawakey's coat (KK 67)

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62 Saisiyat is an Austronesian language that belongs to a tentative Northwest Formosan group proposed by Robert Blust (Blust 1997: 13, 18).
63 Paiwan is an Austronesian language that belongs to Northern Formosan branch of East Formosan group (Blust 1997: 12-17).

加微能美弓
kamiy-nø myi-te
deity-GEN HON-hand
hands **of the deity** (KK 96)

蘇餓能古羅破宇摩奈羅麼譬武伽能古摩
swoNka-nø kwo-ra pa uma nar-aNpa **pyimuka-nø** kwo-[u]ma
Soga-GEN son-PLUR TOP horse be-COND **Pimuka-GEN** DIM-horse
If the sons **of Soga** were horses, [they would be] the stallions **of Pimuka**... (NK 103)

伊波能杯爾古佐屡渠梅野倶
ipa-nø [u]pey-ni kwo-saru kømey yak-u
rock-GEN top-LOC DIM-monkey rice fry-FIN
A little monkey is frying rice on the top **of the rock** (NK 107)

知知波波賀多米爾毛呂比止乃多米爾
titi papa-Nka tamey n-i **mworø pyitø-nø tamey n-i**
father mother-POSS for DV-INF **many person-GEN for DV-INF**
for father and mother, **for many people** (BS 1)

爾詩乃美夜古
nisi-nø myiyakwo
west-GEN capital
Western Capital (SNK 6)

酢衣乃紐解
sa-KØRØMO-nø PYIMO TØK-YE
PREF-garment-GEN cord untie-IMP

untie the cords **of [your] garment**! (MYS XII: 2866)

安伎乃野尓
akyi-nø NWO-ni
autumn-GEN field-LOC
in the **autumn** field (MYS XV: 3678)

欲能伊米爾
ywo-nø imey-ni
night-GEN dream-LOC
in the dreams **of the nights** (MYS XV: 3735)

安麻乃乎夫祢
ama-nø woN-pune
fisherman-GEN DIM-boat
small boats **of fishermen** (MYS XVII:4006)

SPECIAL COMPRESSED GENITIVE FORM
The genitive case marker *-nø* may have a special compressed form which surfaces as a prenasalized *-N-* before the modified noun if its underlying form starts with an obstruent /p/, /t/, /k/, or /s/. This form resulted from a loss of vowel /ø/ in the genitive marker *-nø:*
-nø > *-n[ø]* > *-N*. Care must be taken to distinguish this compressed form *-N-* of the genitive marker *-nø* from the compressed form *-N-* of the attributive form *n-ø* of the copula *n-*. The compressed form *-N-* of the case marker *-nø* occurs only as a genitive case marker and never as a subject marker. Examples:

都麻碁微爾夜弊賀岐都久流
tuma-N-kømiy-ni ya-pye-N-kakyi tukur-u

spouse-GEN-be secluded(NML)-LOC eight-fold-
DV(ATTR)-fence make-FIN
[I] am making eight-folded fence **for [my] spouse to seclude herself** [in there] (KK 1)

多久夫須麻佐夜具賀斯多爾
taku-N-pusuma sayaNk-u-Nka sita-ni
***taku*-GEN-cover** rustle-ATTR-POSS bottom-LOC
under the rustling of the ***taku* covers** (KK 5)

美須麻流迩阿那陀麻
myi-sumaru-ni **ana-N-tama**
HON-string-LOC **hole-GEN-jewel**
large jewels (lit. **jewels with a hole**) on the string (KK 6)

伊邪古杼母怒毘流都美迩
iNsa kwo-Ntømø **nwo-N-pyiru** tum-yi-ni
hey child-PLUR **field-GEN-garlic** gather-NML-LOC
[Come, my] children to pick **wild garlic** (KK 43)

佐祢耐據茂阿黨播怒介茂
sa-ne-N-tøkø mo atap-an-u kamo
PREF-sleep(NML)-GEN-bed PT give-NEG-ATTR PT
[my wife] will not give me a **place to sleep** (NK 4)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A DEPENDENT CLAUSE
This usage is the same as that of the possessive marker *-Nka*. The genitive case marker *-nø* as a subject marker can occur similar to
-Nka in various types of dependent clauses.

遠登賣能那須夜伊多斗

wotømye-nø n-as-u ya ita two
maiden-GEN sleep-HON-ATTR house board door
board doors of the house, where the **maiden** sleeps (KK 2)

多爾具久能佐和多流伎波美
tani-N-kuku-nø sa-watar-u kyipam-yi
valley-GEN-frog-GEN PREF-cross-ATTR go to the end-NML
[until] the end [of the Earth], where a **toad** goes (MYS V: 800)

佐祢斯欲能伊久陀母阿羅祢婆
sa-ne-si **ywo-nø** ikuNta mø ar-an-e-Npa
PREF-sleep-PAST/ATTR **night-GEN** how many PT exist-NEG-EV-CON
when not so many **nights** when [they] slept [together] have passed (MYS V: 804)

左和良妣乃毛要出春尓
sa-**waraNpyi-nø** mwoye-[I]NT-URU PARU-ni
PREF-**fern-GEN** sprout(INF)-go out-ATTR spring-LOC
in the spring when **ferns** sprout (MYS VIII: 1418)

左小舟乃伊行而将泊河津
sa-**WON-PUNE-nø** i-YUK-YI-TE PATE-M-U KAPA-N-TU
PREF-**DIM-boat-GEN** PREF-go-INF-SUB anchor-TENT-ATTR river-GEN-harbor
the river harbor, where [his] **small boat** will go and anchor (MYS X: 2091)

左小壮鹿之朝伏小野
sa-**WO-siKA-NØ** ASA PUS-U WO-NWO

PREF-**male-deer-GEN** morning lie-ATTR DIM-field
small field, where a **male deer** lies in the morning (MYS X: 2267)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A MAIN CLAUSE
In this function the case marker *-nø* occurs less frequently than even in Classical Japanese.

曾能波那能弖理伊麻須
sø-nø **pana-nø** ter-i-imas-u
it-GEN **flower-GEN** shine-INF-HON-FIN
its **flowers** are shining (KK 101)

多良志比売可尾能美許等能奈都良須等
tarasi-pyimye kamiy-nø myi-køtø-nø na tur-as-u tø
Tarasi-princess deity-GEN HON-thing-GEN fish angle-HON-FIN DV
The deity Tarasi-pime is thinking about fishing (MYS V: 869)

竿志鹿之心相思
sa-wo-siKA-NØ KØKØRØ APYI-OMØP-U
PREF-male-deer-GEN heart REC-think-ATTR
male deer long together in their hearts (MYS X: 2094)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Case marker *-nø* in Eastern Old Japanese has almost the same functions as in Western Old Japanese: genitive marker, and subject marker in a main clause. However, it does not occur in a function of subject marker in a dependent clause.

GENITIVE MARKER

多麻乃緒
tama-nø WO
jewel-GEN string
a string **of jewels** (MYS XIV: 3358)

麻万能古須気乃須我麻久良
mama-nø kwo-suNkey-nø suNka-makura
Mama-GEN DIM-sedge-GEN sedge-pillow
a sedge pillow **from a small sedge of Mama** (MYS XIV: 3369)

安能於登
a-nø otø
foot-GEN sound
noise **of hooves** (MYS XIV: 3387)

四比乃故夜提
sipyi-nø kwo-yaNte
chinquapin-GEN DIM-branch
small branches **of chinquapin trees** (MYS XIV: 3493a)

SPECIAL COMPRESSED GENITIVE FORM

布時能夜麻備爾和我伎奈婆
puNsi-nø **yama-N-piy-ni** wa-Nka k-yi-n-aNpa
Fuji-GEN **mountain-GEN-side-LOC** I-POSS come-INF-PERF-COND
if I come **to the side of the mountain** Fuji (MYS XIV: 3356)

SUBJECT MARKER IN A DEPENDENT CLAUSE

There are no examples of *-nø* as a subject marker in the dependent clause in Eastern Old Japanese.

SUBJECT MARKER IN A MAIN CLAUSE
There is only one example of *-nø* as a subject marker in the main clause in Eastern Old Japanese:

左乎思鹿能布須也久草無良
sa-**wo-siKA-nø** pus-u ya kusa-mura
PREF-**male-deer-GEN** lie-FIN PT grass-group
Is a **male deer** lying in the thicket? (MYS XIV: 3530)

The absence of EOJ *-nø* as a subject marker in dependent clauses and a singular example as a subject marker in main clauses does not indicate that these functions represent an innovation in Western Old Japanese, since these functions are attested in Ryukyuan.

A2: Ryukyuan
In the Shuri dialect genitive case marker *-nu (< -nø)* functions as a genitive case marker except after personal pronouns and as a subject marker after all nominals except nouns designating people and pronouns. Examples:

Shuri

'anu hushi-nu na ya ninuhwabushi ya sa
that star-GEN name TOP North Star COP PT
The name **of that star** is North Star.

chuu ya **'u-yuwee-nu** yii hwii ya-N
today TOP **HON-celebration-GEN** good day COP-FIN
Today is the good day **for celebration**.

husi-nu chura-sa-N
star-NOM beautiful-NML-FIN
The **star** is beautiful.

A similar picture is found in the Miyako dialects:64

Miyako

kii-nu pa
tree-GEN leaf
leaves **of the tree**

yaa-nu tʃibi
house-GEN back
back **of the house**

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
See 4.1.2.2.2 for external comparisons.

4.1.2.2.4 Dative-locative case marker -ni

The case marker *-ni* has to be distinguished from the homophonic *n-i*, an infinitive of the defective verb *n-* 'to be,' usually treated by Japanese linguists as a conjunction particle (Jp. *setuzokujoshi* 接続助詞) (Ikeda 1975: 211), (Yamada 1954: 487-88), which will be discussed in Chapter 6 together with other verbs. The case marker *ni* has the following functions in the language of Classical Japanese prose: 1) dative case marker, 2) locative case marker, 3) agent marker in passive constructions, 4) directive case marker. It also has a special conjunctional usage connecting two clauses, and

64 The examples are taken from (Nohara 1998: 394).

indicates either a reason or concession. In this last case, the case marker -*ni* follows the attributive form of a verb.

DATIVE CASE MARKER
In this function -*ni* is used after animate nouns only. Examples:

袁登賣爾多陀爾阿波牟登
wotømye-ni taNta n-i ap-am-u tø
maiden-DAT straight DV-INF meet-TENT-FIN DV
thinking to meet **maidens** face to face (KK 18)

多爾加母余良牟加微能美夜比登
ta-ni kamø yør-am-u kamiy-nø myiya-pyitø
who-DAT PT rely-TENT-ATTR deity-GEN palace-person
On whom will [you] rely, servants of the deity? (KK 94)

多禮曾意富麻弊爾麻袁須
tare sø **opø-mapye-ni** mawos-u
who PT **great-front-DAT** say(HUM)-ATTR
Who will report **to the emperor**? (KK 97)

比能美古爾登余美岐多弖麻都良勢
pyi-nø **myikwo-ni** tøyø myi-kyi tatematur-as-e
sun-GEN **prince-DAT** abundant HON-sake present-HON-IMP
Present the abundant *sake* **to the honorable child** of the Sun! (KK 101)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美
ware-ni otør-er-u pyitø-wo opo-myi
I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS many-GER

because there are many people who are worse **than me** (BS 13)

古良爾志与良波
kwo-ra-ni si yør-aNpa
child-PLUR-DAT PT approach-COND
when [I] approach [other] **girls** (FK 4)

伎美爾故非和多流香母
kyimyi-ni kwopiy-watar-u kamø
lord-DAT love(INF)-cross-FIN PT
[I] will love **you** for a long time! (MYS XV: 3603)

伊母爾見勢武爾和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比弖由賀奈
imø-ni MYI-se-m-u-ni wata-tu-[u]myi-nø okyi-tu SIRA TAMA pyirip-yi-te yuk-ana
beloved-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC sea-GEN/LOC-sea-GEN offing-GEN/LOC white jewel pick up-INF-SUB go-DES
[I] want to go, picking up the white jewels from the open sea in order to show [them] **to [my] beloved** (MYS XV: 3614)

LOCATIVE CASE MARKER
As a locative case marker, *-ni* has both spatial and temporal meanings. Examples:

多久夫須麻佐夜具賀斯多爾
taku-N-pusuma sayaNk-u-Nka **sita-ni**
taku-GEN-cover rustle-ATTR-POSS **bottom-LOC**
under the rustling of the *taku* covers (KK 5)

美須麻流迩阿那陀麻

myi-sumaru-ni ana-N-tama
HON-string-LOC hole-GEN-jewel
large jewels **on the string** (KK 6)

志祁志岐袁夜迩
sikyesi-kyi **wo-ya-ni**
quiet-ATTR **DIM-house-LOC**
in the quiet **little house** (KK 19)

淤岐弊迩波袁夫泥都羅羅玖
okyi-pye-ni pa woN-pune turar-aku
offing-side-LOC DIM-boat be stretched in a line-NML
small boats are stretched in a line **in the offing** (KK 52)

佐袁袁爾波波多波理陀弖
sa-wo-wo-ni pa pata par-i-Ntate
PREF-DIM-ridge-LOC TOP banner spread-INF-erect(INF)
[they] erected banners **on small ridges** (KK 89)

麻久比爾波麻多麻袁加気
ma-kupyi-ni pa ma-tama-wo kakey
INT-post-LOC TOP INT-jewel-ACC hang(INF)
[they] hung a true jewel **on a true post** (KK 90)

伊波能杯爾古佐屡渠梅野倶
ipa-nø [u]pey-ni kwo-saru kømey yak-u
rock-GEN top-LOC DIM-monkey rice fry-FIN
A little monkey is frying rice **on the top of the rock** (NK 107)

和何世古我多那礼乃美巨騰都地爾意加米移母

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka ta-nare n-ø myi-køtø **tuti-ni** ok-am-ey ya mø
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR HON-koto **ground-LOC** put-TENT-EV PT PT
would anyone dare to put the favorite koto of my beloved **on the ground**? (MYS V: 812)

加波度爾波阿由故佐婆斯留吉美麻知我弖爾
kapa-two-ni pa ayu-kwo sa-pasir-u kyimyi mat-i-Nkate-n-i
river-door-LOC TOP sweetfish-DIM PREF-run-ATTR lord wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF
[I] can hardly wait for my lord **at the ford in the river** where little sweetfish are swimming fast (MYS V: 859)

麻蘇鏡弖爾登利毛知弖
ma-swo KANKAMYI **te-ni** tør-i-mwot-i-te
INT-clear mirror **hand-LOC** take-INF-hold-INF-SUB
taking the really clear mirror **in [my] hands** (MYS V: 904)

左和良妣乃毛要出春尓
sa-waraNpyi-nø mwoye-[I]NT-URU **PARU-ni**
PREF-fern-GEN sprout(INF)-go out-ATTR **spring-LOC**
in the spring when ferns sprout (MYS VIII: 1418)

毛美知葉能知里能麻河比波計布仁聞安流香母
mwomyiNti-N-PA-nø tir-i-nø maNkap-yi pa **kyepu-ni** mo ar-u kamø
maple-GEN-leaf-GEN fall-NML-GEN scatter around-NML TOP **today-LOC** PT exist-ATTR PT
The scattering of maple leaves occurs **today**, too! (MYS XV: 3700)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟
sa yamaNda n-ø woNti-Nka **SØNØ PYI-ni** møtømey ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u
so Yamada DV-ATTR old man-POSS **that day-LOC** search(INF) meet-NEG-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
So, old man Yamada searched for [him] **on that day**, but did not find [him] (MYS XVII: 4014)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為
tuma mø kwo-Ntømø mwo **woti køti-ni** sapa n-i kakum-yi wi
spouse PT child-PLUR PT **there here-LOC** many DV-INF surround-INF exist(INF)
both my spouse and children are around [me] in great numbers **here and there** (MYS XX: 4408)
In this example locative case marker *-ni* marks only the last member *køti* 'here' of the phrase *woti køti* 'there [and] here.'

SPECIAL COMPRESSED LOCATIVE FORM
The locative case marker *-ni* may have a special compressed form, which surfaces as a prenasalized *-N-* before the following verb if its underlying form starts with an obstruent /p/, /t/, /k/, or /s/. This form resulted from a loss of vowel /i/ in the locative marker *-ni: -ni* > *-n[i]* > *-N*. Examples:

美夜麻賀久理弖美延受加母阿良牟
myi-yama-N-kakur-i-te myi-ye-Ns-u kamø ar-am-u
HON-mountain-LOC-hide-INF-SUB see-PASS-NEG-FIN PT exist-TENT-ATTR
[you] will hide in the **mountains**, and [I] will not be able to see [you] (KK 112)

可多良比斯許許呂曾牟企弖伊弊社可利摩須
katar-ap-yi-si køkørø sømuk-yi-te **ipye-N-sakar-i-imas-u**
talk-ITER-INF-PAST/ATTR heart turn one's back-INF-SUB **home-LOC-be at the distance-INF-HON-FIN**
turning [you] back on what [you] promised, **[you] are keeping the distance from [our] home** (MYS V: 794)

安麻乎等女等母思麻我久流見由
ama-wotøme-Ntømø **sima-N-kakur-u** MYI-y-u
fisher-maiden-PLUR **island-LOC-hide-ATTR** see-PASS-FIN
[I] see fisher-maidens hiding **in [the shadow of] the island** (MYS XV: 3597)

安可等吉能安左宜理其問理可里我祢曾奈久
aka tøkyi-nø **asa-N-kiyri-N-kømor-i** kari-Nka ne Nsø nak-u
bright time-GEN **morning-GEN-fog-LOC-hide-INF** wild goose-POSS sound PT cry-ATTR

wild geese cry hidden **in the dawn fog in the morning** (MYS XV: 3665)

SPECIAL REDUCED LOCATIVE FORM

There is also a reduced form *-n* of locative case marker *-ni* that is found in front of the verb *ar-* 'to exist.' It originated as a result of the elision of the vowel /i/ in front of the initial vowel of the verb, due to overall tendency in Old Japanese to avoid vowel clusters.

袁都能佐岐那流比登都麻都
wotu-nø **sakyi-n-ar-u** pyitø-tu matu
Wotu-GEN **cape-LOC-exist-ATTR** one-CL pine
a lone (lit.: one) pine **that stands at the cape** of Wotu (KK 29)

多迦紀那流意富韋古賀波良
taka kiy-n-ar-u opø-wikwo-Nka para
high place-LOC-exist-ATTR big-boar-POSS plain
the plain of the Great Boar **that is at the high place** (KK 60)

伊敞奈流伊毛爾安比弖許麻之乎
ipye-n-ar-u imwo-ni ap-yi-te kø-masi-wo
home-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB come-SUBJ/ATTR-ACC
[I] would come to meet my beloved, **who is at home** (MYS XV: 3671)

AGENT MARKER IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In this function, as the following examples show, *-ni* marks animate nouns as agents in a passive construction. In Classical Japanese, both animate and inanimate nouns could be used as agents in passive construction (Vovin 2003: 326),

but in Old Japanese inanimate nouns do not appear in this function yet. This may be due to the scarcity of Old Japanese texts in comparison to Classical Japanese texts, but overall this is unlikely: it appears that the passive construction is relatively new in Old Japanese, as only two examples are attested in the texts.

可由既婆比等爾伊等波延可久由既婆比等爾迩久麻延
ka yuk-ey-Npa **pyitø-ni** itøp-aye ka-ku yuk-ey-Npa **pyitø-ni** nikum-aye
that go-EV-CON **person-DAT** avoid-PASS(INF) thus-INF go-EV-CON **person-DAT** hate-PASS(INF)
when [they] go that [way], [they] are avoided **by people**, and when [they] go this way, [they] are hated **by people**... (MYS V: 804)

比等爾波美要縞
pyitø-ni pa myi-ye-Nsi
person-DAT TOP see-PASS-NEG/TENT
[I] should not be seen **by people** (MYS XV: 3708)

There is one example in Old Japanese when the case marker *-ni* marks an agent in the sentence that includes the verb *sayar-* 'be prevented,' which is not marked by a passive morpheme, but has an inherent passive meaning:

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴
INTE-pasir-i in-ana tø OMØP-EY-Ntø **kø-ra-ni** sayar-i-n-u
exit(INF)-run-INF go-DES DV think-EV-CONC **child-PLUR-DAT** be prevented-INF-PERF-FIN
although [I] would like to run away, [I] am prevented **by** [my] **children** (MYS V: 899)

DIRECTIVE CASE MARKER
As a directive case marker, *-ni* indicates the direction of movement, as in modern Japanese. Examples:

麻肥迩波阿弖受
ma-piy-ni pa ate-Ns-u
INT-fire-LOC TOP expose-NEG-INF
without exposing [the rouge] **to a strong fire** (KK 42)

伊志乃比鼻伎波阿米爾伊多利
isi-nø pyiNpyik-yi pa **amey-ni** itar-i
stone-GEN echo-NML TOP **heaven-LOC** reach-INF
echo of the stone reaches **(to) the Heaven**, and... (BS 1)

伊弊爾由伎弖伊可爾可阿我世武
ipye-ni yuk-yi-te ika n-i ka a-Nka se-m-u
home-LOC go-INF-SUB how DV-INF PT I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
What will I do, when I go back **home**? (MYS V: 795)

麻佐礼留多可良古爾斯迦米夜母
masar-er-u takara **kwo-ni** sik-am-ey ya mø
excel-PROG-ATTR treasure **child-LOC** reach-ATTR-EV PT PT
Could the excellent treasures be equal **to children**? (MYS V: 803)

美也故爾由加波伊毛爾安比弖許祢
myiyakwo-ni yuk-aNpa imwo-ni ap-yi-te kø-ne
capital-LOC go-COND beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB come-IMP

if [you] go **to the capital**, meet [there my] beloved, and come back (MYS XV: 3687)

伊爾之敞欲伊麻乃乎追通爾奈我佐敞流於夜乃子等毛曾
inisipye-ywo ima-nø **wotutu-ni** naNkas-ap-yer-u oya-nø KWO-Ntømo sø
old times-ABL now-GEN **reality-LOC** flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR ancestor-GEN child-PLUR PT
The offspring (lit.: children) of the ancestors who passed [their glorious names] from old times **to** the present ('s **reality**) (MYS XVIII: 4094)

As a subvariety of this function, *ni* is used after the nominalized form of a verb and before a following verb to express the goal of this movement. Most often this following verb is a verb of movement, but not always, as the following example from KK 1 shows. In Classical Japanese and later periods the following verb is always the verb of movement. Examples:

都麻碁微爾夜弊賀岐都久流
tuma-N-kømiy-ni ya-pye-N-kakyi tukur-u
spouse-GEN-be secluded(NML)-LOC eight-fold-DV(ATTR)-fence make-FIN
[I] am making eight-folded fence **for [my] spouse to seclude herself** [in there] (KK 1)

佐用婆比爾阿理多多斯
sa-ywoNp-ap-yi-ni ari-tat-as-i
PREF-call-ITER-NML-LOC ITER-set out-HON-INF
[I] set out (repeatedly) **to woo** [her] **there**, and... (KK 2)

伊邪古杼母怒毘流都美迩
iNsa kwo-Ntømø nwo-N-pyiru **tum-yi-ni**
hey child-PLUR field-GEN-garlic **gather-NML-LOC**
[Come, my] children **to pick** wild garlic (KK 43)

SPECIAL USAGE

The case marker *-ni* occurs frequently after the attributive form of verbs.65 In this function, *-ni* serves as a conjunction between two clauses, often with the meaning 'and,' 'because,' 'since,' 'as' or 'when,' and, more rarely, 'but' or 'although.' It is reasonable to believe that we are dealing here with a case marker *ni* rather than with the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'be.' The reason for this belief is mainly typological: in other 'Altaic' languages that are similar to Japanese structurally, the dative-locative case marker has exactly the same function when used after attributive forms of verbs.

This usage of *-ni* after the attributive form signals that the subject in the following clause is going to be different from the subject in the clause that precedes *-ni*, as was pointed out by Akiba (Reynolds) mainly on the basis of Classical Japanese data (Akiba 1977). The same seems to be true for Old Japanese, although there is one example below from MYS XV: 3694, where the subject is the same before and after *-ni*, and which, therefore, might contradict Akiba's generalization.

奴延鳥乃能杼与比居爾伊等乃伎提短物乎端伎流等云之
如楚取五十戸良我許恵波寝屋度麻弖来立呼比奴

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65 The exception is found after the quality verb na- *'to be non-existent,' when* -ni *follows the final form* na-si *rather than the attributive form* na-kyi. *See the example from MYS V: 904 below.*

nuye-N-TØRI-nø **nøNtøyøp-yi-WOR-U-ni** itø nøkyite MYINSIKA-KYI MØNØ-wo pasi kyir-u tø IP-YER-U-NKA NKØTØ-KU SIMOTØ TØR-U SATWO-WOSA-Nka køwe pa NE-YA-N-two-maNte K-YI-TAT-I YWONP-Ap-yi-n-u
nuye-DV(ATTR)-bird-COMP **cry in small voice-INF-exist-ATTR-LOC** very exceptionally short-ATTR thing-ACC end cut-FIN DV say-PROG-ATTR-POSS be like-INF whip take-ATTR village-headman-POSS sleep(INF)-house-GEN-door-TERM come-INF-stand-INF-call-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN
when [we] are crying in small voices like *nuye* birds, like [the proverb] says: 'to cut the end of an already very short thing,' the voice of the village headman, who came out holding a whip to the door of the house where [we] sleep, called us repeatedly (MYS V: 892)

於毛波奴爾横風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆
omwop-an-u-ni YØKØSIMA-KANSE-nø nipuNpuka n-i OPOP-YI-K-YI-TAr-e-Npa
think-NEG-ATTR-LOC cross-wind-GEN sudden DV-INF cover-INF-come-INF-PERF/ROG-EV-CON
when [I] did not think [about it], a cross wind suddenly came (MYS V: 904)

余家久波奈之爾漸漸可多知都久保利
yø-ky-eku pa na-si-ni YAKUYAKU N-I katati tukupor-i
good-ATTR-NML TOP no-FIN-LOC gradually DV-INF facial features get emaciated-INF
as there was no improvement, [his] face became gradually emaciated, and... (MYS V: 904)

奈良能美也故爾由久比等毛我母久左麻久良多妣由久布祢能登麻利都旱武仁

nara-nø myiyakwo-ni yuk-u pitø mwoNkamø kusa-makura taNpyi yuk-u pune-nø tømar-i **tuNkey-m-u-ni**
Nara-GEN capital-LOC go-ATTR person PT grass-pillow journey go-ATTR boat-GEN stop-NML **report-TENT-ATTR-LOC**
I wish [there were] people who go to the capital of Nara, **since [I] would tell [them]** about the stopping-place of the boat on which [I] go for a journey, [where I use] grass [for my] pillow (MYS XV: 3612)

伊射里須流安麻伊敞妣等能麻知古布良牟爾安可思都流宇乎
iNsar-i s-uru ama ipye-pitø-nø **mat-i-kwop-uram-u-ni** akas-i tur-u uwo
catch fish-NML do-ATTR fisherman home-person-COMP **wait-INF-long-TENT2-ATTR-LOC** dawn-INF angle-ATTR fish
fishermen catching the fish, [you are] like [my] people at home who angle fish **when waiting through the night and longing for [me]** (MYS XV: 3653)

伊母乎於毛比伊能祢良延奴爾安可等吉能安左宜理其問理可里我祢曾奈久
imø-wo omwop-yi **i-nø ne-raye-n-u-ni** aka tøkyi-nø asa-N-kiyri-N-kømor-i kari-Nka ne Nsø nak-u
beloved-ACC think-INF **sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC** bright time-GEN morning-GEN-fog-LOC-hide-INF wild goose-POSS sound PT cry-ATTR
When [I] cannot sleep (a sleep), thinking of [my] beloved, wild geese cry hidden in the dawn fog in the morning (MYS XV: 3665)

可多夜伎弖由加武土須流爾伊米能其等美知能蘇良治爾和可礼須流伎美
kata yak-yi-te yuk-am-u two s-uru-ni imey-nø N-køtø myiti-nø swora-N-ti-ni wakare s-uru kyimyi
shoulder burn-INF-SUB go-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR-LOC dream-GEN DV(ATTR)-like way-GEN sky-GEN-way-LOC depart(NML) do-ATTR lord
although [he] scorched a shoulder [blade of a deer], intending to return [safely], as in a dream, [my] lord departed on the road to Heaven (MYS XV: 3694)
In this example the subject does not change after the locative case marker *-ni*.

宇良麻知乎流爾月可多夫伎奴
ura-mat-i-wor-u-ni TUKIY kataNpuk-yi-n-u
inside-wait-INF-exist-ATTR-LOC moon wane-INF-PERF-FIN
while [I] eagerly waited for [you], the moon has waned (MYS XX: 4311)

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負図亀一頭献止奏賜不爾所聞行驚賜
PUDIPARA-NØ ASWOMYI MARØ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITØ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU tø **MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni** KYIK-ØSIMYES-I ONDØRØK-YI-TAMAP-YI
Pudipara-GEN retainer Maro-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer-NML DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC hear-HON-INF be surprised-INF-HON-INF
When [they] **said** that the retainer Fujiwara Maro and others had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back], [we] were surprised, hearing [about this]... (SM 6)

There are some examples when locative marker *-ni* after the attributive form of the tentative occurs in the meaning 'in order to:'

銀母金母玉母奈爾世武爾麻佐礼留多可良古爾斯迦米夜母
SIRWO KANE mø KU-N-KANE mø TAMA mø **nani se-m-u-ni** masar-er-u takara kwo-ni sik-am-ey ya mø
white metal PT yellow-DV(ATTR)-metal PT jewel PT **what do-TENT-ATTR-LOC** excel-PROG-ATTR treasure child-LOC reach-TENT-EV PT PT
What shall [I] do [with] silver, gold, and jewels**?** Could the excellent treasures be equal to children? (MYS V: 803)

伊母爾見勢武爾和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比弖由賀奈
imø-ni **MYI-se-m-u-ni** wata-tu-[u]myi-nø okyi-tu SIRA TAMA pyirip-yi-te yuk-ana
beloved-DAT **see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC** sea-GEN/LOC-sea-GEN offing-GEN/LOC white-jewel pick up-INF-SUB go-DES
[I] want to go, picking up the white jewels from the open sea **in order to show** [them] to [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3614)

何爲牟尓吾乎召良米夜
NANI SE-m-u-ni WA-wo MYES-Uram-ey ya
what do-TENT-ATTR-LOC I-ACC summon-TENT2-EV PT
should you have summoned me **in order to do something**? (MYS XVI: 3886)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The dative-locative case marker *-ni* in Eastern Old Japanese occurs in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese except the function of an agent marker in a passive construction. This limitation together with the previously mentioned scarcity of examples where *-ni* marks an agent in the passive construction in Western Old Japanese texts, is more evidence for a relatively recent origin of this function in Japonic. Examples:

DATIVE CASE MARKER

波播爾多我比奴
papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
mother-DAT went against-INF-PERF-FIN
[I] went against **[my] mother** (MYS XIV: 3359)

麻許登可聞和礼爾余須等布
ma-køtø kamo **ware-ni** yøs-u tø [i]p-u
INT-thing PT **I-DAT** bring close-FIN DV say-ATTR
it is true that [people] say that [she] has an intimate relationship **with me** (MYS XIV: 3384)

和爾余曾利
wa-ni yøsør-i
I-DAT become intimate-INF
becoming intimate **with me** (MYS XIV: 3408)

和奴爾故布奈毛
wanu-ni kwop-unam-wo
I-DAT long-TENT2-ATTR
[you] will probably long for me (MYS XIV: 3476)

LOCATIVE CASE MARKER

阿是乃古麻都爾由布悉弖弖
aNse-nø **kwo-matu-ni** yupu si[N]te-te
Aze-GEN **DIM-pine-LOC** wood fiber strip hang(INF)-SUB
[you] hung wood fiber strips **on a small pine** in Aze, and...
(FK 7)

伊利奈麻之母乃伊毛我乎杼許爾
ir-i-n-amasi mønø imwo-Nka **woN-tøkø-ni**
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ/ATTR CONJ beloved-POSS **DIM-bed-LOC**
although [I] would like to enter the **bed** of [my] beloved
(MYS XIV: 3354)

伊豆乃宇美爾多都思良奈美能安里都追毛
iNtu-nø umyi-ni tat-u sira namyi-nø ar-i-tutu mwo
Izu-GEN sea-LOC rise-ATTR white wave-GEN exist-INF-COOR PT
Although [I] continue to live like the white waves, rising **in the Izu sea**... (MYS XIV: 3360)

DIRECTIVE CASE MARKER

可家能水奈刀爾伊流思保
kakye-nø **MYI-na-two-ni** ir-u sipo
Kake-GEN **water-PLUR-door-LOC** enter-ATTR tide
tide, entering (**to**) the **estuary** (lit.: **waters' door**) of Kake
(MYS XIV: 3553)

布時能夜麻備爾和我伎奈婆

puNsi-nø **yama-N-piy-ni** wa-Nka k-yi-n-aNpa
Fuji-GEN **mountain-GEN-side-LOC** I-POSS come-INF-PERF-COND
if I come **to the side of the mountain** Fuji (MYS XIV: 3356)

SPECIAL USAGE

In Eastern Old Japanese there are both examples supporting the aforementioned Akiba rule about the change of the subject after *-ni* (Akiba 1977), and examples contradicting it.

阿爾久夜斯豆之曾能可抱与吉爾
ani k-u ya siNtu-si sø-nø kapo **yø-kyi-ni**
INTER come-FIN PT be calm-FIN it-GEN face **good-ATTR-LOC**
[contrary to my expectations,] does [it] come? [It] is calm. Its face **is good, but** [it does not move forward] (MYS XIV: 3411)
The subject does not change after *-ni* in this example.

和須礼波勢奈那伊夜母比麻須爾
wasure pa se-n-ana iya **[o]møp-yi-mas-u-ni**
forget(NML) TOP do-NEG-DES more **think-INF-increase-ATTR-LOC**
[I] wish [you] will not forget me, **because [my] desire [for you] increases more and more** (MYS XIV: 3557)
The subject changes after *-ni* in this example.

Like in Western Old Japanese, in the case of the quality verb *na-* 'no,' 'to be non-existent,' *-ni* follows not the attributive form, but the final:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾
ne-nømiy-wo ka nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u **ap-u tø pa na-si-ni**
sound-PT-ACC PT cry-INF-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR **meet-FIN DV TOP no-FIN-LOC**
shall [I] just continue to cry, **because there is no [chance] to meet [you]**? (MYS XIV: 3390)

A2: Ryukyuan
The case marker *-ni* is used in Naha dialect in the same functions as it is used in Old Japanese (Nohara 1986: 73-74). Nohara does not provide examples of the directive usage, though:

DATIVE CASE MARKER
chu-ni kwi-ta-N
person-DAT give-PERF-FIN
[I] gave it **to the person**

LOCATIVE CASE MARKER

yaa-ni wu sa
home-LOC be PT
[I] am **at home**

AGENT MARKER IN A PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION

inu-ni kuu-ra-tta-N
dog-DAT bite-PASS-PERF-FIN
[I] was bitten **by the dog**

SPECIAL CONJUNCTIVE USAGE

siriziti-ni an i-i sa
know-LOC INTER say-IMP PT
say **since [you] know [it]**

However, in the other dialects included in Nohara's study not all of these functions are attested. Thus, in the Tokunoshima dialect only dative and locative functions are present (Nohara 1986: 191-93). In the Kumejima dialect *-ni* has only a locative function attested (Nohara 1986: 126-27). Furthermore, in the *Omoro sôshi* only locative function and agentive function in passive construction are attested (Nohara 1986: 27-28). Since both the Naha dialect and the language of the *Omoro sôshi* were influenced by mainland Japanese more than any other Ryukyuan dialects, it can shed further doubt on the validity of reconstruction of the agentive function in the passive construction for proto-Japonic. Thus, I suggest reconstructing *-ni only as a dative-locative marker for proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There is no reliable external etymology for *-ni*. If Whitman is right in his assumption that all cases of OJ /ni/ are indeed *otsu-rui* *niy (Whitman 1985: 36-38), it is possible to speculate that OJ *-ni* < *-nø-i, and that it is connected etymologically with Eastern Old Japanese locative *-na* (see 4.1.2.2.6), which was already moribund in the eighth century.

4.1.2.2.5 Dative-locative case marker -ra

The dative-locative case marker *-ra* is poorly attested in Western Old Japanese. Most of the Japanese sources provide only one example with this case marker: MYS XV: 3689 below. I believe, however, that it also is preserved in some other cases. Most of the examples are preserved in the *Senmyô*, where it appears in the construction *opo-myi-køtø-ra ma tø* (great-HON-deity-DAT according DV) 'according to the Great Deity (i.e. the emperor),' which is frequently believed to be a petrified formation *-rama* of unknown origin. However, already Yamada Yoshio convincingly demonstrated on the basis of the detailed analysis of the *Senmyô* examples that this formation is bi-morphemic, including euphonic
-ra and *ma* 'according to' (Yamada 1954: 371-81). I disagree with his point of view that *-ra* is just a euphonic device; since Yamada himself pointed out that imperial edicts were read by imperial messengers, rather than emperors themselves, therefore, it seems plausible to identify *-ra* as a dative case marker in the phrase *opo-myi-køtø-ra ma tø* (great-HON-deity-DAT according DV) 'according to the Great Deity (i.e. the emperor),' already mentioned above. This is further confirmed, contrary to Yamada's opinion (Yamada 1954: 375), by the fact that the same *-ra* is found in the *Nihonshoki* and the *Man'yôshû* as an apparent locative case marker.

夜摩苔波区珥能摩倍邏摩
yamatø pa kuni-nø **ma-pwo-ra** ma[66]
Yamato TOP land-GEN **INT-top-LOC** according

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66 See footnote 7 for this chapter on the Kojiki kayô *textual variant* kuni-nø ma-pwo-rø-Npa *(KK 30).*

Since Yamato is **in the highest place** of the country (NK 22)

企許斯遠周久爾能麻保良叙可爾迦久爾保志伎麻爾麻爾斯可爾波阿羅慈迦
kyikøs-i-wos-u kuni-nø **ma-po-ra** Nsø ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kyi mani-mani sika n-i pa ar-aNsi ka
rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN **INT-top-LOC** PT thus DV-INF thus-INF DV-INF desire-ATTR according thus DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT
in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, it cannot be thus according to what [you] wish in this way and that way, can it? (MYS V: 800)

此夜等者沙夜深去良之
KØNØ YWO-ra PA sa-YWO PUKEY-N-Urasi
this night-LOC TOP PREF-night deepen(INF)-PERF-SUP
It seems that (**in this night**) the night has grown deep (MYS X: 2224)67

伊波多野爾夜杼里須流伎美伊敞妣等乃伊豆良等和礼乎等波婆伊可爾伊波牟
ipata-NWO-ni yaNtør-i s-uru kyimyi ipye-N-pyitø-nø **iNtu-ra** tø ware-wo tøp-aNpa ika n-i ip-am-u
Ipata-field-LOC lodge-NML do-ATTR lord home-GEN-person-GEN **where-LOC** DV I-ACC ask-COND how DV-INF say-TENT-FIN

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67 I would like to thank Anton Antonov, who pointed out for me the examples from MYS X: 2224, MYS XI: 2763, and MYS XVI: 3884 in his recent presentation (Antonov 2004). I disagree with his analysis of nwo-ra-ni in MYS XI: 2763 as 'field-LOC-LOC,' as it seems to me that in the context of this poem it should be rather taken as 'field-PLUR-LOC.'

[Oh, my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field. If people from [your] home ask me **where** [are you], what should [I] answer? (MYS XV: 3689)

伊夜彦神乃布本今日良毛加鹿乃伏良武
IyaPYIKWO KAMIY-nø puMØTØ-NI **KYEPU-ra** mwo ka SIKA-nø PUS-Uram-u
Iyapiko deity-GEN foot [of the mountain]-LOC **today-LOC** PT PT deer-GEN lie-TENT2-ATTR
Will the deer lie at the foot of [the mountain] of the deity Iyapiko **today**, too? (MYS XVI: 3884)

現御神止大八嶋国所知天皇大命良麻止詔大命乎集侍皇子等王等百官人等天下公民諸聞食
AK-YI-TU MYI-KAMIY tø OPØ-YA-SIMA-N-KUNI SIRASIMYES-U **SUMYERA-NKA OPØ-MYI-KØTØ-ra ma tø** NØR-I-TAMAP-U OPØ-MYI-KØTØ-wo UNKØNAPAR-I-PANPYER-U MYIKWO-TATI OPØ-KYIMYI-TATI MWOMWO TUKASA-NØ PYITØ-NTØMØ AMEY-NØ SITA-NØ TAMYI MØRØ-MØRØ KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YØ
open-NML-GEN/LOC HON-deity DV great-eight-island-GEN-country rule(HON)-ATTR **emperor-POSS great-HON-deity-DAT according DV** say(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR great-HON-thing-ACC gather-INF-POL-ATTR prince-PLUR great-lord-PLUR hundred office person-PLUR heaven-GEN under-GEN people many-many listen-INF-HUM-IMP
Princes, lords, officials of hundred offices, and the common people of the land, all of you listen to the Great Edict **according to the emperor — Great Deity** who rules the Great Country of Eight Islands as a Manifest Deity (SM 1)

The dative-locative case marker *-ra* possibly survives in the pronouns *koti-ra* 'here,' and *soti-ra* 'there,' both indicating direction, but not attested in Old Japanese.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is one example of dative *-ra* in Eastern Old Japanese:

児良波安波奈毛比等理能未思弖
KWO-ra pa ap-an-am-wo pyitø-ri nømiy s-i-te
girl-DAT TOP meet-DES-TENT-ATTR one-CL PT do-INF-SUB
being absolutely alone, [I] wish to meet [this] **girl** (MYS XIV: 3405)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no dative-locative case marker *-ra* in Ryukyuan. The lack of attestations in Ryukyuan rules out the reconstruction of proto-Japonic *-ra. Even the proto-Japanese reconstruction is questionable, because in spite of the fact that the above example of EOJ *-ra* is found in a song that has other Eastern Old Japanese features, it is still a *hapax legomenon* that could invite other explanations.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
The apparent external parallel to Western Old Japanese *-ra* is Old Korean dative-locative case marker *-la[ng]*:68

Old Korean

68 For the detailed discussion of this marker, see (Vovin 2000a: 150-53).

千手觀音叱前良中祈以支白屋尸置内乎多
CHYEN SWU [CUMUN SWON?] KWANUM-c~~ɨ~~ **ALPH-lang** PIL-Gi-ki SOLG-wu-l TWU-no-h-wo-ta69
thousand hand Kwanum-GEN **front-LOC** pray-TF-NML say(HUM)-MDL-ACC put-PRES-do-MDL-FIN
[I] am saying [my] prayers **in front** of Kwanum with one thousand arms (Hyangka VII: 3)

沙是八陵隱汀理也中耆郎矣白史是史藪邪
MWOLGAY-i phall-on **NAri-lang** KILANG-uy CUs-i i-si-swo-la
sand-NOM blue-ATTR **river-LOC** Hwarang Kipha-GEN image be-HON-ASSER-be
In the river, where the sand is dark (lit.: blue — dark part of the specter) the image of [Hwa]rang Ki[pha] is [right there] (Hyangka IV: 4)

東京明期月良夜入伊遊行如可
TWONGKYENG POLK-ki **TOLAL-lang** PAM TUL-Gi NWOL-NI-taWi-ka
Eastern-Capital bright-NML **moon-LOC** night enter-TF play-GER-FIN-TRANSF
In [the light of] **the bright moon** in the Eastern Capital [I] was playing around in the night, and... (Hyangka V: 1)

二于萬吾羅一等沙隱賜以古只内乎叱等邪
TWUGwu ma-n **NA-la** HOton-sa-un CWU-Si kwoki-no-wo-c-to-la

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69 All examples of Hyangka *presented in this work are given in my own decipherment, although I am greatly indebted to the work of my predecessors in this field, particularly Ogura Shinpei (1974), Kim Wanjin (1980), and above all to Yu Changkyun (1996).*

two no-ATTR **I-DAT** one-EMPH-TOP give-HON support-PRES-MOD-exist-ASSER-IMP
Please support [me] by giving just one [eye] **to me**, who does not have two (Hyangka VII: 7)

Since *-ra* is mostly limited to Western Old Japanese texts, it is more likely to represent a loan from Old Korean rather than a genuine cognate. There is also Tungusic locative *-laa, attested in all Tungusic languages (excluding Manchu): Ewenki, Ewen, Solon, Neghidal *-laa*; Udeghe, Oroch, Nanai, Ulcha, Orok *-la* (Ikegami 1989: 1078), which relationship to Old Korean marker is not clear. But it is quite obvious that it cannot be claimed to be a cognate of WOJ *-ra* for exactly the same reason as OK *-la[ng]*: limited attestation in Japonic.

4.1.2.2.6 Locative case marker -na

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The locative case marker *-na* is not attested in Western Old Japanese, but it occurs twice in Eastern Old Japanese. Normally, since this grammar is dedicated to Western Old Japanese, this marker would not be included into the description, but since it appears to be an Eastern Old Japanese archaism well supported by data from Ryukyuan sources, I feel it is justifiable to describe it here, in spite of the fact it is not preserved in Western Old Japanese.

安努奈由可武等
anwo-na yuk-am-u tø
Ano-LOC go-TENT-FIN DV
I intended to go **to Ano** (MYS XIV: 3447)

与比奈波許奈爾
yøpi-na pa kø-na n-i
evening-LOC TOP come-NEG DV-INF
as [he] did not come **in the evening** (MYS XIV: 3461)

A2: Ryukyuan
The locative marker *-na* is well attested in the various Ryukyuan dialects, although it is not present in Naha or Shuri dialects. The following examples are from the Kumejima and Tokunoshima dialects (Nohara 1986: 126, 193-96):

Kumejima

yaa-naa wu-N yoo
house-LOC be-FIN PT
[I] am **at home** (Nohara 1986: 126)

mitʃi-naa ninti
road-LOC sleep(PROG)
[he] is sleeping **on the road** (Nohara 1986: 126)

Tokunoshima

sina ya **hama-na** ʔa
sand TOP **beach-LOC** exist
The sand is **on the beach** (Nohara 1986: 193)

kuma-na ʔa ya
here-LOC exist PT
Is it **here**? (Nohara 1986: 194)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There is no reliable external etymology for the locative case marker *-na*. See 4.1.2.2.4 on possible connection with Western and Eastern Old Japanese locative case marker *-ni*.

4.1.2.2.7 Genitive-locative case marker -tu

Like the locative marker *-ra*, the genitive-locative marker *-tu* was already moribund in Old Japanese texts. It occurs much more frequently than *-ra*, but it seems that it is limited to certain number of set expressions. In other words, *-tu* is no longer productive even in the earliest Old Japanese texts, although it occurs much more frequently in early than in the late Old Japanese texts. Tradition defines *-tu* as a genitive marker (Yamada 1954: 417); however, it appears to be used as a genitive of nouns denoting location. Martin makes an important observation that 'there are examples that point to a wider use, such as *asatuki* 'chives' < *asa tu ki* 'mild onion' with adjective stem *asa(-)*' (Martin 1990: 488),[70] and not only in the examples like *nipa-tu tori* 'chicken (lit.: bird of the yard).' *Asa tu ki* 'mild onion', of course, has nothing to do with 'locative' whatsoever. However, I doubt that that the *tu* in *asa tu ki* is a genitive case marker. All examples of the usage of *-tu* other than genitive-locative appear after the adjective, numeral, and pronominal stems only. In addition to *asa tu ki* 'chives' (not attested in Old Japanese), we also have WOJ *towo tu pyitø* 'people from far[away]' (MYS V: 857, 871), *taka tu sima* 'high island' (Norito), *sikø tu okyina* 'stupid old man' (MYS XVII: 4011), etc. It is easy to see that *tu* in these cases is not a genitive case marker: it apparently has a function of a copula, and it is necessary to differentiate this *tu* from genitive-locative *-tu* in the same way we

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70 A similar position is taken in JDB, where it is outlined that tu *can indicate a place or character/qualification (the latter is the usage after adjective stems) (Omodaka 1967: 458b).*

differentiate defective verb *n-ø* from the genitive case marker *-nø*. This *tu* probably represents one of the forms of defective copula *t- postulated by Frellesvig 2001, and will be discussed in Chapter 6. All other examples of *-tu* are uncontroversial cases of a genitive-locative:

佐怒都登理岐芸斯波登與牟爾波都登理迦祁波那久
sa-nwo-tu tøri kyiNkyisi pa tøyøm-u **nipa-tu tøri** kakye pa nak-u
PREF-field-GEN/LOC bird pheasant TOP sound-FIN **garden-GEN/LOC bird** rooster TOP cry-FIN
Pheasant, the **bird of the field**, is crying. Rooster, the **bird of the garden**, is crying (KK 2)

弊都那美
pye-tu namyi
(sea)side-GEN/LOC wave
waves **on the beach** (KK 4)

斯理都斗用伊由岐多賀比麻弊都斗用伊由岐多賀比
siri-tu two-ywo i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi **mapye-tu** two-ywo i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi
back-GEN/LOC door-ABL PREF-go-INF-differ-INF **front-GEN/LOC** door-ABL PREF-go-INF-differ-INF
going from different [directions], from the **front** door, [and] from the **back** door (KK 22)

賀美都勢爾伊久比袁宇知斯毛都勢爾麻久比袁宇知
kamyi-tu se-ni i-kupyi-wo ut-i **simwo-tu** se-ni ma-kupyi-wo ut-i
top-GEN/LOC shallow-LOC sacred-post-ACC hit-INF **bottom-GEN/LOC** shallow-LOC INT-post-ACC hit-INF

in the **upper** shallows, [they] staked a sacred post, in the **lower** shallows [they] staked a true post (KK 90)

本都延波阿米袁淤弊理那加都延波阿豆麻袁淤弊理志豆延波比那袁淤弊理
pwo-tu ye pa amey-wo op-yer-i **naka-tu** ye pa aNtuma-wo op-yer-i **siN-tu** ye pa pyina-wo op-yer-i
top-GEN/LOC branch TOP heaven-ACC cover-PROG-FIN **middle-GEN/LOC** branch TOP east-ACC cover-PROG-FIN **bottom-GEN/LOC** branch TOP rural region-ACC cover-PROG-FIN
[Its] **top** branches cover the Heaven, [its] **middle** branches cover [the lands in the] East, [its] **lower** branches cover the rural regions (KK 100)

烏梅我志豆延爾
uMEY-Nka **siN-tu** ye-ni
plum-POSS **bottom-GEN/LOC** branch-LOC
on the plum's **lower** branches (MYS V: 827)

伊母爾見勢武爾和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比弖由賀奈
imø-ni MYI-se-m-u-ni **wata-tu-[u]myi-nø okyi-tu** SIRA TAMA pyirip-yi-te yuk-ana
beloved-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC **sea-GEN/LOC-sea-GEN offing-GEN/LOC** white-jewel pick up-INF-SUB go-DES
[I] want to go, picking up the white jewels **from the open sea** in order to show [them] to [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3614)

現御神止大八嶋国所知天皇大命良麻止詔大命乎集侍皇子等王等百官人等天下公民諸聞食

AK-YI-TU MYI-KAMIY tø OPØ-YA-SIMA-N-KUNI SIRASIMYES-U SUMYERA-NKA OPØ-MYI-KØTØ-ra ma tø NØR-I-TAMAP-U OPØ-MYI-KØTØ-wo UNKØNAPAR-I-PANPYER-U MYIKWO-TATI OPØ-KYIMYI-TATI MWOMWO TUKASA-NØ PYITØ-NTØMØ AMEY-NØ SITA-NØ TAMYI MØRØ-MØRØ KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YØ
open-NML-GEN/LOC HON-deity DV great-eight-island-GEN-country rule(HON)-ATTR emperor-POSS great-HON-deity-DAT according DV say(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR great-HON-thing-ACC gather-INF-POL-ATTR prince-PLUR great-lord-PLUR hundred office person-PLUR heaven-GEN under-GEN people many-many listen-INF-HUM-IMP
Princes, lords, officials of hundred offices, and the common people of the land, all of you listen to the Great Edict according to the emperor — Great Deity who rules the Great Country of Eight Islands as a **Manifest** Deity (SM 1)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese the genitive/locative case marker *-tu* occurs only in six examples, twice after the noun *okyi* 'offing,' three times in the phrase *muka-tu wo* 'peak on the opposite side,' and once after the noun *kakyi* 'fence.' All six examples of *-tu* occur in the *Aduma-uta* (MYS XIV) (Mizushima 1983: 899), but *-tu* is conspicuously absent from the *Sakimori-uta* (MYS XX). Let us look at the poems where these examples occur in their entirety:

奈都素妣久宇奈加美我多能於伎都渚爾布祢波等杼米牟佐欲布気爾家里

natu-swo-N-pyik-u una-kamyi-N-kata-nø **okyi-tu** SU-ni pune pa tøNtømey-m-u sa-ywo pukey-n-i-kyer-i
summer-hemp-GEN-pull-ATTR sea-top-GEN-harbor-GEN **offing-GEN/LOC** sand bank-LOC boat TOP stop-TENT-FIN PREF-night deepen(INF)-PERF-INF-PRET-FIN
Let us stop the boat at the sand bank **in the offing** from the upper harbor on the sea 'that pulls like summer hemp' (*makura-kotoba*). The night has deepened! (MYS XIV: 3348)
This poem is from *Kamitufusa* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region A. However, the poem does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features, and what is even more interesting it faithfully preserves Western Old Japanese vocalism, without a single misspelling, so typical for normal Eastern Old Japanese texts. Thus, I am inclined to discard evidence from this poem for the EOJ *-tu*.

波奈治良布己能牟可都乎乃乎那能乎能比自爾都久麻提伎美我与母賀母
pana-N-tir-ap-u kønø **muka-tu** wo n-ø wona-nø wo-nø pyiNsi-ni tuk-u-maNte kyimyi-Nka yø møNkamø
flower-GEN-fall-ITER-ATTR this **opposite side-GEN/LOC** peak DV-ATTR Wona-GEN peak-GEN sandbank-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM lord-POSS age PT
[I] wish [my] lord live until the peak of Wona, which is the peak **on the opposite side**, where flowers fall, will reach the sandbanks [in the sea] (MYS XIV: 3448)
The location of this poem is not known, but again it looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text, with no peculiarities typical for Eastern Old Japanese. I do not think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ *-tu*.

古非思家婆伎麻世和我勢古可伎都楊疑宇礼都美可良思和礼多知麻多牟
kwopiysi-ky-eNpa k-yi-mas-e wa-Nka se-kwo **kakyi-tu** YANkiy ure tum-yi karas-i ware tat-i-mat-am-u

miss-ATTR-COND come-INF-HON-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM **fence-GEN/LOC** willow top pluck-INF wither-CAUS-INF I stand-INF-wait-TENT-FIN
If [you] miss [me], please come, my beloved! Plucking the ends [of branches] of willows **at the fence**, and letting them wither I will wait [for you] (MYS XIV: 3455)
The location of this poem is not known either, and again it looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text, with no peculiarities typical of Eastern Old Japanese. I do not think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ *-tu*.

於曾波夜母奈乎許曾麻多賣牟可都乎能四比乃故夜提能安比波多我波自
osø paya mø na-wo køsø mat-am-ye **muka-tu** wo-nø sipyi-nø kwo-yaNte-nø ap-yi pa taNkap-aNsi
slow fast PT you-ACC PT wait-TENT-EV **opposite-side-GEN/LOC** peak-GEN chinquapin-GEN DIM-branch-GEN meet-NML TOP differ-NEG/TENT
Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] will wait for you. It is not different from the meeting of small branches of chinquapin trees at the peak **on the opposite side** (MYS XIV: 3493a)
The location of this poem is not known either, but it has one feature typical of Eastern Old Japanese: *matamey* 'will surely wait' is misspelled as *matamye*. In addition, the word *yaNte* 'branch,' although it is a *hapax legomenon*, clearly represents a dialectal form of WOJ *yeNta* 'branch.' I think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ *-tu*, but not very strong, because everything else in this poem can be treated as Western Old Japanese.

於曾波夜毛伎美乎思麻多武牟可都乎能思比乃佐要太能登吉波須具登母
osø paya mwo kyimyi-wo si mat-am-u **muka-tu** wo-nø sipyi-nø sa-yeNta-nø tøkyi pa suNk-u tømø
slow fast PT lord-ACC PT wait-TENT-FIN **opposite side-GEN/LOC** peak-GEN chinquapin-GEN PREF-branch-GEN time TOP pass-FIN CONJ

Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] will wait for [my] lord, even if the time passes [between] the branches of chinquapin trees at the peak **on the opposite side** (MYS XIV: 3493b)

This is a variant of the preceding poem, but it does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features. I do not think this poem constitutes evidence for EOJ *-tu*.

麻乎其母能布能末知可久弖安波奈敞波於吉都麻可母能奈気伎曾安我須流

mawo-N-kømø-nø pu-nø ma tika-ku-te ap-anap-ye-Npa **okyi-tu** ma-kamø-nø naNkeyk-yi sø a-Nka s-uru

nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space close-INF-SUB meet-NEG-EV-CON **offing-GEN/LOC** INT-duck-COMP cry-NML PT I-POSS do-ATTR

Because [we] do not meet being as close [to each other] as spaces between the meshes of a nettle mat, I cry like a real duck **in the offing** (MYS XIV: 3524)

This poem is clearly Eastern Old Japanese, because it includes a typical EOJ negative marker *-anap-*.

Thus, among the six examples in the *Aduma-uta* (MYS XIV), only two poems seem to be written in EOJ. Four other appear to be normal WOJ texts. In addition, the occurrence of EOJ *-tu* seems to be limited to just two contexts: *okyi-tu N* 'N of the offing' and *muka-tu wo* 'peak on the opposite side.' Both contexts appear frequently in Western Old Japanese poetry, and it is quite possible that they were just imitated by Eastern poets. Or it is possible that *-tu* was 'introduced' to EOJ texts by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi, who collected and edited the texts. In any case, EOJ *-tu* looks like a loan from WOJ to me and I consider that it constitutes no evidence for reconstructing proto-Japanese *-tu.

After the Nara period, *-tu* remains only in set expressions, like *wata-t[u] umi* 'sea;' in other words it became fossilized. Thus, one can clearly see that even in WOJ *-tu* was probably

short-lived, although it appears in the oldest extant texts of the *Kojiki* in contrast to active case marker *-i*.

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no genitive-locative marker *-tu* in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
In an important article 'Morphological clues to the relationship of Japanese and Korean,' Martin argues that Middle Korean genitive
-s (with a cognate also found in Old Korean — A.V.) and Old Japanese 'locative genitive' *-tu* are likely cognates (Martin 1990: 488). However, the fact that *-tu* is not attested in Ryukyuan and that its attestation in EOJ is not particularly strong brings us to the logical conclusion that it must be a loan from Korean. However, we have in this case a difficulty: why was Korean *-s* borrowed as WOJ *-tu* and not, let us say, WOJ *-su? The answer, I believe, lies in Old Korean. The genitive marker of OK, corresponding to the later MK -s is written with the character 叱. This character has EMC reading *t$_{\text{ɕ}}^{\text{h}}$it, which indicates that Old Korean predecessor of MK *-s* had an affricate articulation. I believe that this OK marker can be tentatively reconstructed as *-c~~ɨ~~ or *-ci. Western Old Japanese, which had no affricates, borrowed OK *-c~~ɨ~~ or its possible dialectal variant (Paekche?) *-cu as *-tu.

Old Korean

蓬次叱巷中
TAPWOci-c~~ɨ~~ KWULHENG-HUY
mugwort-GEN alley-LOC
in the **'mugwort'** alley (Hyangka I: 8)

逸烏川理叱磧惡希
ilGo NAri-ci COYWYek-huy
IlGo river-GEN pebble-LOC
in the river bed **of the river IlGo** (Hyangka IV: 6)

栢史叱枝次
CAsi-ci KAci
cedar-GEN branch
branches **of the cedar** (Hyangka IV: 9)

4.1.2.2.8 Accusative-absolutive case marker -wo

The case marker -*wo* has two basic functions in the language of Classical Japanese prose: accusative case marker, marking the object of an active transitive verb; and absolutive case marker, marking the subject of an inactive verb. The second function is not recognized in the traditional grammar; for the detailed discussion please refer to (Vovin 1997). Like the case marker -*ni*, -*wo* can also be used after the attributive form of verbs, serving as a conjunction of concession or reason.

ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKER

久路岐美祁斯遠麻都夫佐爾登理與曾比...阿遠岐美祁斯遠麻都夫佐迩登理與曾比
kurwo-kyi **myi-kyes-i-wo** ma-tuNpusa n-i tør-i-yøsøp-yi...awo-kyi **myi-kyes-i-wo** ma-tuNpusa n-i tør-i-yøsøp-yi
black-ATTR **HON-wear(HON)-NML-ACC** INT-without fail DV-INF take-INF-dress-INF...blue-ATTR **HON-wear(HON)-NML-ACC** INT-without fail DV-INF take-INF-dress-INF
neatly wearing a black **garment**... neatly wearing a blue **garment** (KK 4)

袁登賣杼母多禮袁志摩加牟
wotømye-Ntømø **tare-wo** si mak-am-u
maiden-PLUR **who-ACC** PT pillow-TENT-FIN
whom will you take to bed [among] the maidens? (KK 15)

麻久比爾波麻多麻袁加気
ma-kupyi-ni pa **ma-tama-wo** kakey
INT-post-LOC TOP **INT-jewel-ACC** hang(INF)
[they] hung a **true jewel** on a true post (KK 90)

遠等▫羊良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎
wotømye-ra-Nka sa-n-as-u **ita two-wo** os-i-pyirak-yi
maiden-PLUR-POSS PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR **board door-ACC** push-INF-open-INF
pushing open the **wooden doors** [of the chambers] where maidens sleep (MYS V: 804)

弥許許呂遠斯豆迷多麻布等
myi-køkørø-wo siNtumey-tamap-u tø

HON-heart-ACC calm down(INF)-HON-FIN DV
thinking to calm down [her] **august heart** (MYS V: 813)

伊毛良遠美良牟比等
imwo-ra-wo myi-ram-u pyitø
girl-PLUR-ACC see-TENT2-ATTR person
a person, who will see the **girls** (MYS V: 863)

伊母乎於毛比伊能祢良延奴爾
imø-wo omwop-yi i-nø ne-raye-n-u-ni
beloved-ACC think-INF sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC
When [I] cannot sleep (a sleep), thinking of [my] **beloved** (MYS XV: 3665)

何爲牟尓吾乎召良米夜
NANI SE-m-u-ni **WA-wo** MYES-Uram-ey ya
what do-TENT-ATTR-LOC **I-ACC** summon-TENT2-EV PT
should you have summoned **me** in order to do something? (MYS XVI: 3886)

奈良麻呂古麻呂等伊逆党乎伊射奈比率而
naramarø kwomarø-RA-i **SAKASIMA N-I AR-U TOMO-N-KARA-wo** iNsanap-yi PYIK-YI K-YI-TE
Naramaro Komaro-PLUR-ACT **rebellious DV-INF exist-ATTR companion-GEN-relative-ACC** instigate-INF bring-INF come-INF-SUB
Naramaro, Komaro and others instigated **rebels** and brought [them]...(SM 19)

仲末呂伊詐姦流心乎以天兵乎発
Nakamarø-i ITUPAR-I KANTAM-YEr-u **KØKØRØ-wo** MØT-I-te **IKUSA-wo** OKØS-I...

Nakamaro-ACT lie-INF deceit-PROG-ATTR **heart-ACC**
have-INF-SUB **army-ACC** raise-INF
Nakamaro having a deceitful **heart** raised an **army**,
and...(SM 28)

EMPHATIC ACCUSATIVE -woNpa

The accusative case marker -*wo* sometimes appears in the emphatic form -*woNpa*. Originally it probably represents an accusative marker -*wo* followed by a topic marker *pa* with a secondary voicing. Except the example from the *Kojiki kayô* below, which occurs as a set pattern several times, the emphatic accusative
-*woNpa* occurs in phonetically written Western Old Japanese texts only four times. Other multiple examples are all confined to the *Senmyô*. In Classical Japanese emphatic accusative -*woNpa* is used with greater frequency, and this probably indicates that this formation is more typical for the prose than for the poetry.

加多理其登母許遠婆
katar-i-N-køtø mø **kø-woNpa**
talk-NML-GEN-thing PT **this-ACC**
[this] story, too, **this [one]** (KK 2)

伎多奈伎微乎婆伊止比須都閇志波奈礼須都倍志
kyitana-kyi **miy-woNpa** itøp-yi-sut-uNpey-si panare-sut-uNpey-si
dirty-ATTR **body-ACC(EMPH)** hate-INF-discard-DEB-FIN
leave(INF)-discard-DEB-FIN
[I] should hate and discard [my] unclean **body**. [I] should leave and discard [it] (BS 19)

阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可
are-woNpa mø ika n-i se-yø tø ka
I-ACC(EMPH) PT how DV-INF do-IMP DV PT

What do [you] think **I** should do? (MYS V: 794)

伊毛乎婆美受曾安流倍久安里家留
imwo-woNpa myi-Ns-u sø ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u
beloved-ACC(EMPH) see-NEG-INF PT exist-DEB-INF exist-INF-PRET-ATTR
[I] should not have seen [my] **beloved** (MYS XV: 3739)

大伴乃遠都神祖乃其名乎婆大来目主等於比母知弖
OPØTØMØ-nø TØPO tu KAMU-OYA-nø SØNØ **NA-woNpa** OPØKUMEYNUSI tø op-yi-møt-i-te
Opotomo-GEN distant DV deity-ancestor-GEN **that name-ACC(EMPH)** Opokumenusi DV bear-INF-hold-INF-SUB
Opotomo clan, bearing the **name** of [our] distant divine ancestor, Opokumenusi (MYS XVIII: 4094)

授留人乎波一日二日止択比
SANTUK-Uru **PYITØ-woNpa** PYITØ PYI PUTU-KA tø ERANp-yi
approve-ATTR **person-ACC(EMPH)** one-day two-CL DV select-INF
do [they] select an approved **person** just for one or two days? (SM 7)

天下乎婆撫賜恵賜夫
AMEY-NØ SITA-woNpa NANTE-TAMAP-YI UTUKUS-I-TAMAp-u
heaven-GEN bottom-ACC(EMPH) cherish(INF)-HON-INF love-INF-HON-FIN
[emperor] cherishes and loves the **[country] under heaven** (SM 13)

奈良麻呂我兵起爾被雇多利志秦等乎婆遠流賜都
Naramarø-Nka IKUSA OKØS-U-ni YATOP-ARE-tar-isi **PANTA-NTØMØ-woNpa** TØPØ-KU NANKAS-I-TAMAP-YI-t-u
Naramaro-POSS army raise-ATTR-LOC hire-PASS-PERF/PROG-PAST/ATTR **Pada-PLUR-ACC(EMPH)** distant-INF exile-INF-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
[We] deigned to send to a distant exile **members of the Pada [clan]**, whom Nakamaro employed as an army (SM 21)

There is only one example in poetic texts where the accusative marker *-wo* marks the entire nominalized sentence, which becomes the object of the verb *myi-* 'to see' in this case. Other cases of similar usage are found only in the *Senmyô*. Examples:

毛呂比登能阿蘇夫遠美礼婆
mworø-pyitø-nø aswoNp-u-wo myi-re-Npa
all person-GEN enjoy-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CON
when [I] see **all people enjoying [themselves]** (MYS V: 843)

令文所載多流乎跡止為而
NØRI-NØ PUMYI-NI NØSE-tar-u-wo ATØ TØ S-I-TE
law-GEN scripture-LOC place(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC FOOTSTEP DV DO-INF-SUB
taking **what is written in the law scriptures** as a precedent (SM 2)

浄伎明心乎持低波波刀比供奉乎所見賜者
KYIYWO-kyi AKA-KYI KØKØRØ-wo MØT-I-te papatwopyi TUKAPEY-MATUR-U-wo MYI-TAMAP-EY-NPA

clear-ATTR bright-ATTR heart-ACC hold-INF-SUB ? serve(INF)-HUM-ATTR-ACC see-HON-EV-CON
when [we] deigned to see **that [he] serves [the emperor] with clear and bright heart** (SM 7)

天乃不授所乎得天
AMEY-nø SANTUKEY-N-U-wo E-te
heaven-GEN approve-NEG-ATTR-ACC get(INF)-SUB
getting **the one who is not approved by Heaven** (SM 31)

ABSOLUTIVE CASE MARKER
In the function of an absolutive case marker, -*wo* occurs in both dependent and main clauses, although it appears more frequently in dependent clauses. All occurring examples for main clauses and selected examples for dependent clauses are provided below:

In a dependent clause:

意富岐美能許許呂袁由良美
opø-kyimyi-nø **køkørø-wo** yura-myi
great-lord-GEN **heart-ABS** gentle-GER
great lord's **heart** is gentle and... (KK 107)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美
ware-ni otør-er-u **pyitø-wo** opo-myi
I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR **person-ABS** many-GER
because there are many **people** who are worse than me (BS 13)

心乎痛見奴要子鳥卜歎居者

KØKØRØ-wo ITA-myi nuye KWO-TØRI ura-NAKEY-WOR-E-Npa
heart-ABS hurt-GER nuye DIM-bird PREF-cry(INF)-exist-EV-CON
when [my] **heart** hurts and little *nuye* birds are crying (MYS I: 5)

山越乃風乎時自見寝夜不落
YAMA KWOS-YI-nø **KANSE-wo** TØKYINsi-myi N-URU YWO OTI-NS-U
mountain cross-NML-GEN **wind-ABS** is out of season-GER sleep-ATTR night fall-NEG-FIN
the **wind** which crossed the mountains is unexpected this time and the night [when I could] sleep does not come (MYS I: 6)

花毛佐家礼杼山乎茂入而毛不取
PANA mwo sak-yer-e-Ntø **YAMA-wo** SINKEY-MYI IR-I-TE mwo TØR-ANS-U
flower PT bloom-PROG-EV-CON **mountain-ABS** thick-GER enter-INF-SUB PT take-NEG-FIN
though flowers have bloomed, too, because **mountains** [are covered by] deep [bush], [you] will not even enter the mountains and take [flowers] (MYS I: 16)

紫草能爾保敞類妹乎爾苦久有者
MURASAKYI-nø nipop-yer-u **IMWO-wo** niku-ku AR-ANPA
violet-COMP beautiful-PROG-ATTR **beloved-ABS** unpleasant-INF exist-COND
If [my] **beloved**, who is beautiful like a violet, was distasteful [to me] (MYS I: 21)

京都乎遠見
MYIYAKWO-wo TØPØ-myi
capital-ABS far-GER
because the **capital** is far... (MYS I: 51)

青駒之足掻乎速
AWO-KWOMA-NØ **ANkakyi-wo** PAYA-MYI
dark-stallion-GEN **running-ABS** fast-GER
because **speed** of the dark stallion is fast (MYS II: 136)

道乎多遠見
MYITI-wo ta-TØPØ-myi
way-ABS PREF-far-GER
because the **way** is far (MYS IV: 534)

縁乎無三
YØSI-wo NA-myi
way-ABS no-GER
because there is no **possibility** (MYS IV: 714)

In a main clause:

故志能久邇邇佐加志売遠阿理登岐加志弖久波志売遠阿理登岐許志弖
Kwosi-nø kuni-ni **sakasi mye-wo** ar-i tø71 kyik-as-i-te
kupasi mye-wo ar-i tø kyik-øs-i-te
Kosi-GEN province-LOC **wise woman-ABS** exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB **beautiful woman-ABS** exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB

71 A declarative sentence followed by the citation particle to *must be treated as a main clause because its predicate is always in a final form.*

[Okuni-nusi] heard that there is a **wise woman** in the Kosi province, heard that there is a **beautiful woman** (KK 2)

古波陀袁登売袁迦微能碁登岐許延斯迦杼母阿比麻久良麻久
KwopaNta **wotømye-wo** kamiy-nø N-køtø kyik-øye-sika-Ntømø apyi-makuramak-u
Kowada **maiden-ABS** deity-GEN DV(ATTR)-like hear-PASS-PAST-CONC REC-pillow-FIN
Although it is said that the **maiden** from Kowada is like a goddess, [I] shared the nuptial bed with [her] (KK 45)

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登
kurapasi-yama-wo saNkasi-myi tø
Kurapasi-mountain-ABS steep-GER DV
[I] think that **mountain Kurapasi** is steep (KK 69)

伊毛袁斯多那岐爾
imwo-wo sita nak-yi n-i
beloved-ABS secretly weep-NML DV-INF
[My] **beloved** secretly wept, and... (KK 78)

山乎高三香裳国遠見可聞
YAMA-wo TAKA-myi kamo KUNI TØPØ-myi kamo
mountain-ABS high-GER PT province far-GER PT
Is it because the **mountains** are high? Is it because the province is far? (MYS I: 44)
Note that the second part of the pair, *kuni* 'province,' has no case marking.

人事乎繁美許知痛美
PYITØ-N-KØTØ-wo SINKEY-myi køt[ø]-iTA-myi
person-GEN-speech-ABS thick-GER word-painful-GER

People's gossip is thick [like a bush], and words are painful
(MYS II: 116)

秋夜乎奈我美爾可安良武
AKYI-NØ **YWO-wo** naNka-myi n-i ka ar-am-u

autumn-GEN **night-ABS** long-GER DV-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR
Is it probably because the autumn **night** is long (MYS XV: 3684)

落雪乎腰爾奈都美弖
PUR-U **YUKYI-wo** KØSI-ni naNtum-yi-te
fall-ATTR **snow-ABS** waist-LOC cling-INF-SUB
The falling **snow** clung to [my] waist, and... (MYS XIX: 4230)

PECULIARITIES OF USAGE
Some verbs of motion, like *yuk-* 'go,' *nøNpør-* 'ascend,' *sugiy-* 'pass,' *pey-* 'go through,' *panare-* 'go away,' etc., require the accusative case marker, being in fact quasi-intransitive verbs (Martin 1988: 186):

多加佐士怒袁那那由久袁登賣杼母
takasaNsi-nwo-wo nana yuk-u wotømye-Ntømø
Takasaji-field-ACC seven go-ATTR maiden-PLUR
seven maidens going across the **Takasazi field** (KK 15)

夜麻斯呂賀波袁美夜能煩理
yamasirø-N-kapa-wo myiya nøNpør-i
Yamashiro-DV(ATTR)-river-ACC palace ascend-INF
As [I] ascend **Yamashiro river** [towards] the palace (KK 58)

袁陀爾袁須疑弖
woN-tani-wo suNkiy-te
DIM-valley-ACC pass(INF)-SUB
crossing **little valleys** (KK 111)

鳴贈祢鳴須擬
wo-søne-wo suNkiy
DIM-barren soil-ACC pass(INF)
crossing **small barren soil** (NK 85)

伊久与乎倍弖加
iku **yø-wo** pey-te ka
how many **generation-ACC** pass(INF)-SUB PT
passing through how many **generations** (MYS XV: 3621)

伎美乎波奈礼弖古非爾之奴倍之
kyimyi-wo panare-te kwopiy-ni sin-uNpey-si
lord-ACC go away(INF)-SUB love(NML)-LOC die-DEB-FIN
leaving [my] **lord** behind, [I] should die from love (MYS XV: 3578)

SPECIAL USAGE

The accusative case marker *-wo* can also be used after the attributive form of a verb, serving as a conjunction with the meanings 'although,' 'but' or 'because.' It is parallel to the similar usage of the case marker *-ni* described above. A crucial difference between the conjunction usage of case marker *-wo* and case marker *-ni* is that the former almost never signals the change of a subject in a sentence in contrast to the latter, although there are possible exceptions (cf. examples from KK 3 (first one) and MYS XV: 3719 below). Examples:

能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠伊能知波那志勢婆多麻比曾
nøti pa na-N-tøri **n-i ar-am-u-wo** inøti pa na-si-se-tamap-yi-sø
later TOP you-OSM-bird **DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC** life TOP NEG-die-CAUS-HON-INF-do
because [I] **will be** your bird later, do not kill [your] life [with desire] (KK 3)

伊波那佐牟遠阿夜爾那古斐岐許志
i pa **n-as-am-u-wo** aya n-i na-kwopiy-kyikøs-i
sleep TOP **sleep-HON-TENT-ATTR-ACC** extremely DV-INF NEG-love(INF)-HON-INF
because [you] **will sleep** (a sleep), do not yearn too much (KK 3)

宇良志麻能古我多麻久志義阿気受阿理世波麻多母阿波麻志遠
urasima-nø kwo-Nka tama-kusiNkey akey-Ns-u ar-i-se-Npa mata mø **ap-amasi-wo**
Urasima-GEN child-POSS jewel-box open-NEG-INF exist-INF-PAST-COND again PT **meet-SUBJ/ATTR-ACC**
If the boy from Urasima did not open the jewel box, [he] **would meet again** [dragon's daughter], **but** [it did not happen] (FK 15)

伊弊那良婆迦多知波阿良牟乎
ipye-n-ar-aNpa katati pa **ar-am-u-wo**
home-LOC-exist-COND shape TOP **exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC**
if [you] were at home, your shape **would** [still] **be** [there] (i.e. you would be still alive), **but** [you are dead now] (MYS V: 794)

比等等波安流乎比等奈美爾安礼母作乎
pyitø **tø pa ar-u-wo** pyitø namyi-ni are mø **TUKUR-U-wo**
person **DV TOP exist-ATTR-ACC** person usual-COMP I PT **make-ATTR-ACC**
although [I] **am** a human being, [and] **although** I also **make** [it] like usually people [make it] (MYS V: 892)

伊敞奈流伊毛爾安比弖許麻之乎
ipye-n-ar-u imwo-ni ap-yi-te **kø-masi-wo**
home-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB **come-SUBJ/ATTR-ACC**
[I] **would come** to meet my beloved, who is at home, **but** [it is not possible] (MYS XV: 3671)

伊毛爾伊比之乎等之能倍奴良久
imwo-ni **ip-yi-si-wo** tøsi-nø pey-n-ur-aku
beloved-LOC **say-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC** year-GEN pass(INF)-PERF-ATTR-NML
although [I] **told** [my] beloved: '...,' a year has passed (MYS XV: 3719)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Case marker *-wo* is used in Eastern Old Japanese texts in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese.

ACCUSATIVE CASE MARKER
Case marker *-wo* frequently appears in the Eastern Old Japanese texts as an accusative case marker.

波也之爾奈乎多弖天
payasi-ni **na-wo** tate-te
forest-LOC **you-ACC** place(INF)-SUB
placing **yourself** in the forest (MYS XIV: 3353)

和我世古乎夜麻登敞夜利弖
wa-Nka **se-kwo-wo** yamatø-pye yar-i-te

I-POSS **beloved-DIM-ACC** Yamato-DIR send-INF-SUB
Having sent my **beloved** to Yamato (MYS XIV: 3363)

和我世故**乎**安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo aN-tø kamø ip-am-u
I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC what-DV PT say-TENT-ATTR
What shall [I] say **about my beloved**? (MYS XIV: 3379)

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾
ne-nømiy-wo ka nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u ap-u tø pa na-si-ni
sound-PT-ACC PT cry-INF-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
meet-FIN DV TOP no-FIN-LOC
shall [I] just continue to cry (**loudly**), because there is no
[chance] to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

奈苦古良乎意伎弖
nak-u **kwo-ra-wo** ok-yi-te
cry-ATTR **child-PLUR-ACC** leave-INF-SUB
leaving [my] crying **children** (MYS XX: 4401)

EMPHATIC ACCUSATIVE -woNpa
Emphatic accusative *-woNpa* is attested only once in Eastern Old Japanese:

於毛思路伎野乎婆奈夜吉曾
omwosirwo-kyi **NWO-woNpa** na-yak-yi-sø
beautiful-ATTR **field-ACC(EMPH)** no-burn-INF-do
Do not burn the beautiful **field** (MYS XIV: 3452)

Like in Western Old Japanese, the accusative case marker *-wo* can mark a whole nominalized sentence in Eastern Old Japanese as well. It is attested only twice in this function:

曾能可奈之伎乎刀爾多弖米也母
sønø kanasi-kyi-wo two-ni tate-m-ey ya mø
that beloved-ATTR-ACC door-LOC place-TENT-EV PT PT
would [I] let **that beloved** [of mine] stand at the door? (MYS XIV: 3386)

伊弖可天爾世之乎見多弖思伊敞能児良
iNte-kate-n-i se-si-wo MYI-tate-si ipye-nø KWO-ra
exit(INF)-POT-NEG-NML do-PAST/ATTR-ACC see(INF)-send off(INF)-PAST/ATTR home-GEN girl-DIM
[my] beloved, who saw [me] off [as I] **could not go out** [and part with her] (MYS XIV: 3534)

ABSOLUTIVE CASE MARKER
In contrast to Western Old Japanese -*wo* as an absolutive marker is attested only in dependent clauses:

佐吉多万能津爾乎流布祢乃可是乎伊多美
sakyitama-nø TU-ni wor-u pune-nø **kaNse-wo** ita-myi
Sakitama-GEN harbor-LOC exist-ATTR boat-GEN **wind-ABS** unbearable-GER
The wind over the boat in Sakitama harbor is unbearable, and... (MYS XIV: 3380)

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美
apyiNtune-nø **kuni-wo** saN-tøpo-myi
Apidune-GEN **land-ABS** PREF-far-GER
The **land** of Apidune is far, and... (MYS XIV: 3426)

都豆良野乎比呂美

tuNtura **NWO-wo** pyirø-myi
vine **field-ABS** wide-GER
the vine **field** is wide, and... (MYS XIV: 3434)

PECULIARITIES OF USAGE
Similar to Western Old Japanese some verbs of motion in Eastern Old Japanese, like *kwoye-* 'cross,' *køNk-* 'row,' *panare-* 'go away,' etc., require the accusative case marker, being in fact quasi-intransitive verbs:

宇須比乃夜麻乎古由流日
usupyi-nø yama-wo kwoy-uru PYI
usupyi-GEN mountain-ACC cross-ATTR day
on the day when [you] cross **the mountain Usupi** (MYS XIV: 3402)

斯太能宇良乎阿佐許求布祢
siNta-nø ura-wo asa køNk-u pune
Sida-GEN bay-ACC morning row-ATTR boat
boat, rowing in the morning **through the bay of Sida** (MYS XIV: 3430)

波波乎波奈例弖由久我加奈之佐
papa-wo panare-te yuk-u-Nka kanasi-sa
mother-ACC be separated(INF)-SUB go-ATTR-POSS sad-NML
sadness of going, leaving [my] **mother** behind (MYS XX: 4338)

SPECIAL USAGE
Like in Western Old Japanese, the accusative case marker *-wo* can also be used in Eastern Old Japanese after the

attributive form of a verb, serving as a conjunction with the meanings ‘although,’ ‘but’ or ‘because,’ ‘since.’ Examples:

波姑祢乃夜麻爾安波麻吉弖実登波奈礼留乎阿波奈久毛安夜思
pakwone-nø yama-ni apa mak-yi-te MIY tø pa nar-er-u-wo ap-an-aku/apa na-ku mwo ayasi
Pakone-GEN mountain-LOC millet sow-INF-SUB fruit DV PT become-PROG-ATTR-ACC meet-NEG-NML/millet no-NML PT strange(FIN)
Although [I] have sown millet on the Pakone mountain and [it] ripened, it is strange that [we] do not meet/there is no millet (MYS XIV: 3364)72

可伎武太伎奴礼杼安加奴乎安杼加安我世牟
kakyi-muNtak-yi n-ure-Ntø **ak-an-u-wo** aN-tø ka a-Nka se-m-u
PREF-embrace-INF sleep-EV-CONC **satisfy-NEG-ATTR-ACC** what-DV PT I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
although [I] slept [with her] keeping [her] in my arms, **since it was not enough** [for me], what should I do? (MYS XIV: 3404)

思麻良久波祢都追母安良牟乎伊米能未爾母登奈見要都追
simaraku pa ne-tutu mø ar-am-u-wo imey-nømiy-ni møtøna MYI-ye-tutu

72 This poem is build on a word play: apanaku *may mean both ‘there is no meeting’ (*ap-an-aku*) and ‘there is no millet’ (*apa na-ku*).*

for a while TOP sleep(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC dream-only-LOC for no reason see-PASS(INF)-COOR
Although [I] intended to sleep for a while, [you] continue to appear only in [my] dreams for no reason (MYS XIV: 3471)

A2: Ryukyuan
Nohara indicates that there are two accusative case markers in the *Omoro sôshi*: *-yu* and *-fa*, which also appear in the *Ryûka* (Nohara 1986: 28-29). While the first of these case markers corresponds regularly to OJ *-wo*,[73] it is problematic whether the second one represents the cognate to OJ *-woNpa*, because it requires the unconditioned loss of the previous *woN. Examples:

おもろよみおやせせるむよみおやせ
omoro-yo mioyas-e **serumu-yo** mioyas-e
sacred song-ACC present(HUM)-IMP **prayer-ACC** present(HUM)-IMP
Present the **sacred song**, present the **prayer** (OS VIII: 411)

誰よ恨めとて鳴きゆが浜千鳥
TARU-yo URAm-e-tote NAkiy-u ga HAMA-CIDURI
who-ACC resent-INF-COOR cry-ATTR PT shore-plover
Shore plovers, **whom** do you resent and cry over? (*Ryûka* in RKJ 1983: 284a)

The Northern Ryukyuan dialects of Amami and Okinawa lost

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73 For phonetic development, cf. OJ iwo *'fish' and OR* iyo *(Shuri* 'iyu*) 'id.'*

-yu as the direct object marker, and the direct object always has a zero case marking, e.g. in the Shuri dialect:

taruu ya meenachi **sumuchi** yum-uN
Taroo TOP every day **book** read-FIN
Taroo reads **books** every day

'aree **saNshiN** hwich-uN
he(TOP) **shamisen** pull-FIN
He is playing a **shamisen**

However, the accusative case marker *-yu* is preserved in Southern Ryukyuan dialects such as Miyako, Ikema, Irabu, Ishigaki, Hatoma, etc. (Nohara 1998: 9). The following examples are from (Nohara 1998: 332, 376):

Miyako

saki-yu num
sake-ACC drink(FIN)
[he] drinks **sake**

tʃa:-yu num-e
tea-ACC drink-IMP
drink **tea**!

noo-yu mee ss-aN
what-ACC PT know-NEG(FIN)
[I] do not know **anything**

Therefore, we can reliably reconstruct proto-Japonic *-wo as an accusative marker.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Murayama Shichirô was the first to propose a comparison with the proto-Tungusic accusative marker *-ba/*-be (> Ewenki -*wa*, Ewen -*w*, Solon -*we*, Neghidal -*wa*, Udeghe -*we*, Oroch -*wa*, Nanai -*wa*, Ulcha -*wa*, Orok -*wa*,74 Manchu -*be*) (Murayama 1957). Examples from Classical Manchu and Nanai:

Manchu

si facuhûn **gurun-be** dasa-me tokto-bu-me banji-Ø
thou disordered **country-ACC** rule-GER fix-CAUS-GER live-IMP
You pacify and rule a **country** in disorder and thus live (MYK 3)

Yehe gurun-i cooha-i emgi aca-fi **Sancara angga-be** tuci-mbi
Yehe country-GEN troops-GEN with meet-GER **Sancara barrier-ACC** go out-FIN
[the Ming army] met with troops of the Yehe tribe and passed the **through Sancara barrier** (SA 19)

Nanai

Mi biblioteka-la **dangsa-wa** xola-go-i japa-xa-mbi
I library-LOC **book-ACC** read-GER-1psp take-PAST-1ps
I took a **book** in the library for [my] reading (Avrorin 1961: 169)

74 These are the underlying forms. I exclude various phonetic realizations found in Tungusic languages from this list due to the influence of the last sound in a stem.

I suggested before that the Old Korean accusative marker -*V̈il* < *bï-l, found in the *Hyangka* texts might be somehow connected to OJ -*wo* < -*bo (for the detailed discussion see Vovin 1995). Examples:

Old Korean

吾月兮不喩慚月兮伊賜等
NA-V̈il ANti PWUSkuli-SY-A-tun
I-ACC NEG feel shy-HON-INF-COND
If [you] are not feeling shy **of me** (Hyangka II: 3)

心未際叱月兮逐内良齋
MOZOm-oy **KOc[o]-V̈il** CWOS-no-ra-cy-e
heart-GEN **limit-ACC** follow-PRES-?-?-INF
following the **limits** of [my] heart (Hyangka IV: 8)

It further possible that it is connected to the Written Mongolian accusative case marker -*i/-yi*, which goes back to proto-Mongolic *-(i)V̈i (Poppe 1955: 191-92). Since proto-Mongolic intervocalic
*-V̈- can correspond to both velars and labials in Japanese, Korean, and Tungusic, there is a possibility that this marker is also etymologically (but not necessarily genetically) connected. Examples:

aqa degü qoyar **bars-i** ec&ige-dür-iyen ög-bei
elder brother younger brother two **tiger-ACC** father-DAT-POSS give-PAST
Elder brother [and] younger brother two [of them] gave **the tiger** to their father

köbegün ber **eke-yi** asaⱯu-bai
son TOP **mother-ACC** ask-PAST
The son asked [his] **mother**

It remains to be seen whether this ‘Altaic’ parallel can really testify for the remote genetic relationship, or it represents a trace of ancient contacts, but being based on attestations in four ‘Altaic’ branches it seems to be real, and not illusory like many others that I surveyed above or will deal with below. Мда. Вот уж где иллюзорность, так иллюзорность. Тогда как японский с тунгусским действительно хороши, корейский притянут за уши (да еще по дороге оторван –l), а монгольская форма насильственно возведена (пусть даже и Поппе) к iVi.

4.1.2.2.9 Comitative case marker -tø

The case marker *-tø* has only one function in Old Japanese: comitative case marker. Comitative case indicates that either an action is taken together with someone, or two persons or objects share the same characteristics or features. Examples:

阿袁那母岐備比登登等母迩斯都米婆多怒斯久母阿流迦
awo na mø kyiNpiy **pyitø-tø** tømø n-i si tum-ey-Npa tanwosi-ku mø ar-u ka
green vegetables PT Kibi **person-COM** together DV-INF PT pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT
Isn’t it delightful when [I] pick green vegetables together **with the girl** from Kibi? (KK 54)

許知能夜麻登多多美許母弊具理能夜麻能許知碁知能夜麻能賀比爾

køti-nø yama-tø tatamyi-kømø pyeNkuri-nø yama-nø køti-N-køti-nø yama-nø kapyi-ni
here-GEN mountain-COM mat-rush Peguri-GEN mountain-GEN here-LOC-here-GEN mountain-GEN interval-LOC
between the mountains here and there, **the mountain here and** the Peguri mountain [which is like] a rush mat (KK 91)

玉緒乃不絶射妹跡結而石
TAMA-NØ WO-nø TAYE-NSI-i **IMWO-tø** MUSUNP-YI-TE-si
pearl-GEN cord-GEN tear-NEG/TENT-ACT **beloved-COM** tie-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR
Indissolubility of the pearly cord tied [me] **with [my] beloved** (MYS III: 481)

遠等▫羊良何遠等▫羊良佐備周等可羅多麻乎多母等爾麻可志余知古良等手多豆佐波利提阿蘇比家武
wotømye-ra-Nka wotømye saNpiy s-u tø kara-tama-wo tamøtø-ni mak-as-i yøti **kwo-ra-tø** TE taNtusapar-i-te aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden behave graciously(NML) do-FIN DV China-jewel-ACC hand-base-LOC wrap-HON-INF same age **child-PLUR-COM** hand hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
The maidens, thinking to behave graciously [like] maidens, wrap their wrists with [bracelets made of] Chinese jewels, and would play holding hands **with girls** of the same age (MYS V: 804)
故之能吉美良等可久之許曾楊奈疑可豆良枳多努之久安蘇婆米

kwosi-nø **kyimyi-ra-tø** ka-ku si køsø YAnaNkiy kaNturak-yi tanwosi-ku aswoNp-am-ey
Kwosi-GEN **lord-PLUR-COM** thus-INF PT PT willow wear as a wig-INF pleasant-INF amuse-TENT-EV
[I] will amuse [myself] **with lords** from Kwosi by putting willow [branches] in our hair (MYS XVIII: 4071)

王多知止藤原朝臣等止方朕親在
OPØ-KYIMYI-tati-tø PUDIPARA ASØMYI-TATI-tø pa WA-NKA UNKARA N-I AR-U
great-lord-PLUR-COM Fujiwara retainer**-PLUR-COM** TOP I-POSS relative DV-INF exist-ATTR
great lords and Fujiwara retainers are my relatives (SM 39)

悪奴止母止相結弖
ASI-KYI YATU-Ntømø-tø APYI-MUSUNP-YI-te
bad-ATTR scoundrel-PLUR-COM REC-tie-INF-SUB
[they] got involved **with bad scoundrels**, and... (SM 43)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Comitative case marker *-tø* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

西奈等都麻佐祢
se-na-tø tum-as-ane
beloved-DIM-COM pick-HON-DES
[I] want to pick [them] **with [my] beloved**! (MYS XIV: 3444)

乎久佐乎等乎具佐受家乎等斯抱布祢乃那良敞弖美礼婆
wokusa-wo-tø woNkusa-N-sukye-wo-tø sipo-pune-nø naraNpye-te myi-re-Npa
Wokusa-man-COM Wogusa-GEN-helper-man-COM tide-boat-COMP stand side by side(INF)-SUB see-EV-CON
when [I] see **a man from Wokusa and a helper-man from Wogusa** standing side by side like sea boats... (MYS XIV: 3450)

奈等布多里
na-tø puta-ri
you-COM two-CL
you and [me], two [of us] (MYS XIV: 3492)

A2: Ryukyuan
According to Nohara 1986, the comitative case marker *-tu*, corresponding to Old Japanese *-tø* is attested both in Old Ryukyuan and in modern Ryukyuan dialects. An example from the *Omoro sôshi*:

いしとかねとあわちへすもせ
isi-to kane-to awa-tife-su mo[do]s-e
stone-COM metal-COM combine-SUB-do retreat-IMP
make [them] retreat using both **stones and metal** (OS II: 47)

Examples from the Shuri dialect:

juusu-gwaa-tu kwaashi-gwaa-tu koo-ti-kara ’ik-a
juice-DIM-COM sweets-DIM-COM buy-SUB-ABL go-HORT
Let us go after [we] buy **juice and sweets**75

75 This example is taken from (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 34).

jiruu-tu oo-ta-N
Jirô-COM quarrel-PERF-FIN
[I] have quarreled **with Jirô**76

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Possible external counterparts to Old Japanese comitative case *-tø* are the Written Mongolian comitative *-tu/-tü* for masculine and
-tai/-tei for feminine (Grønbech & Krueger 1975: 18-19).77 There are, however, several problems with this equation: first, there is an older Mongolian comitative case marker *-luVa/-lüge*,78 that has been replaced by the feminine *-tai/-tei* form in modern Mongolian; second, the Mongolian case markers *-tu/-tü* and *-tai/-tei* seem to be more restricted functionally than their Japanese counterpart, designating the meaning 'belonging to, possessed of,' as in *usu-tu quduV* 'a well with water;' third, certain phonetic correspondence problems remain in the domain of vocalism that need to be solved. Still, this appears to me as a *possible* etymology (и то хлеб), so I include it here. Examples:

nigen teneg kümün ber altan-luVa adali **üne-tü** gors&is&a
nere-tü c&andan modun-i ol-uVad
one foolish man TOP gold-COM like **price-COM** type of sandalwood **name-COM** sandalwood wood-ACC find-GER

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76 This example is taken from (Nohara 1986: 76).
77 Manchu also has the suffix -tu *with the close meaning 'having X, possessing X,' e.g.* kesi-tu *'lucky man'* (kesi *'luck'),* yali-tu *'fatso'* (yali '*meat, flesh'),* beki-tu *'strong man'* (beki *'strength'), etc,. but since this suffix is isolated in Manchu it is likely to be a Mongolian loan.*
78 There is, however, a possibility that Mongolian comitative -luVa/-lüge *was borrowed from [Old] Turkic, cf. OT comitative* -lXGU/-lUGU *(Erdal 1998: 142).*

One foolish man found a sandalwood named gors&is&a (lit.: **with a name** gors&is&a), **with a price** equal to gold, and...

nigen **arVa-tu** kümün
one **trick-COM** man
one crafty (lit.: **with a trick**) man

4.1.2.2.10 Ablative case marker -yu/-yuri/-ywo/-ywori

There are two functions of this case marker: ablative and comparative. The ablative case indicates a starting point of an action in space or time. The comparative case indicates that someone does something to a different extent than another, or that something has another extent of quality than another thing. The ablative case marker is one of the two case markers in Old Japanese that has several different allomorphs: *-yu, -yuri, -ywo,* and *-ywori*, all other cases markers have just one allomorph.79 Only the last one of these four survives into Classical Japanese as *-yori*. The allomorphs *-yu* and *-yuri* have only the function of an ablative case marker; the allomorphs *-ywo* and *-ywori* can function as an ablative or comparative case markers, although this function is represented only by three examples: one with *-ywo* (MYS V: 848) and two with *-ywori* (MYS V: 892 and MYS XVIII: 4080). In one of these examples, the case marker *-ywori* in the function of a comparative case marker is followed by the particle *mø* (MYS V: 892). The case marker *-yori* later in Classical Japanese most frequently appears in the combination *-yori mo* when it is used as a marker of a comparative case (Vovin 2003: 73). The comparative case

79 Another case marker with four allomorphs is the comparative case marker (see 4.1.2.2.14).

marker function is obviously a secondary one, derived from the basic meaning of the ablative case.

The difference between allomorphs *-yu, -yuri, -ywo,* and *-ywori* appears to be purely textual, at least in the earlier texts: thus, out of three examples of the ablative *-yu* attested in the *Nihonshoki kayô* two appear as *-ywo* in the *Kojiki kayô* in identical contexts (see below). There are no examples of *-ywo* in the *Nihonshoki kayô* (although the allomorph *-ywori* appears twice in NK 18 and NK 86). On the other hand, the allomorph *-yu* does not appear at all in the *Kojiki kayô*, where only the allomorphs *-ywo* and *-ywori* are attested (the latter appears just once in KK 112, which is almost identical to NK 86). Both *-yu* and *-ywo* can appear in the same later texts, e.g., in MYS V, where *-yu* appears twice and *-ywo* appears once (there are also several examples of *-ywori* but none of *-yuri* in MYS V). Yamada Yoshio came out with the following interesting statistics of the distribution of the different allomorphs in the texts (Yamada 1954: 462) (since he does not differentiate between Eastern and Western Japanese data, I modified his data in the following chart including only data from the Western Old Japanese texts):

Chart 7: Allomorphs of the ablative case marker in Western Old Japanese

	Kojiki kayô	**Nihonshoki kayô**	**Man'yôshû**	**Norito**	**Senmyô**
yu	0	3	28	0	1
yuri	0	0	0	0	2
ywo	8	0	10	0	0
ywori	1	2	36*	3	13

*Most of the examples are in later texts.

It becomes apparent from this chart that the shorter forms *-yu* and *-ywo* are original, and the longer forms *-yuri* and *ywori* are innovations.

ALLOMORPH -YU

The allomorph *-yu* is attested only in the function of the ablative case marker:

伊那瑳能椰摩能虚能莽由毛易喩耆摩毛羅毘
inasa-nø yama-nø **kø-nø ma-yu**80 mwo i-yuk-yi mamwor-ap-yi
Inasa-GEN mountain-GEN **tree-GEN interval-ABL** PT PREF-go-INF watch-ITER-INF
going **from between the trees** of the mountain Inasa and watching [out for enemies] (NK 12)

和芸幣能伽多由区毛位多知区暮
wa-Nk[a]-yipye-nø **kata-yu**81 kumwo wi-tat-i-k-u mo
I-POSS-home-GEN **side-ABL** cloud be(INF)-rise-INF-come-FIN PT
Clouds rise **from the side** of my home (NK 21)

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80 This might seem a somehow puzzling example, because the verb yuk- *'go' is usually believed to require an accusative* -wo*, and not an ablative* -yu*. An almost identical textual example occurs in KK 14 (see below under* -ywo*), with* ma-ywo *'interval-ABL' instead of* ma-yu*. Tsuchihashi treats KK 14 example as if it were an equivalent to* ma-wo *'interval-ACC' (Tsuchihashi 1957: 48). That would suggest that the noun* ma *'interval' has an underlying form *may-; however, there is no other evidence for this tentative underlying form, nor there are any other cases of* -ywo *or* -yu *in Old Japanese as an accusative marker. Therefore, it seems safer to opt in this case for an unusual verbal government with an ablative instead of an accusative, especially since there is another uncontroversial example of the verb* yuk- *'go' used with an ablative case marker* -ywo *in KK 22 (see below).*

81 See the identical example but with -ywo *instead of* -yu *in KK 32 below.*

比羅可駄喩輔曳輔枳能朋楼
pyirakata-yu puye puk-yi-nøpør-u
Pirakata-ABL flute blow-INF-rise-FIN
[Sounds of the funeral] flutes rise **from Pirakata** (NK 98)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾
køkørø-yu mø omøp-an-u apyiNta-ni
heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC
while [I] did not even think [about it] in (lit.: **from) [my] heart** (MYS V: 794)

伊豆久由可斯和何伎多利斯
iNtuku-yu ka siwa-Nka k-yi-tar-i-si
where-ABL PT wrinkle-POSS come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR
Where did the wrinkles come **from**? (MYS V: 804)

奈美能宇倍由奈豆佐比伎爾弖
namyi-nø **upey-yu** naNsusap-yi k-yi-n-i-te
wave-GEN **top-ABL** soak-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
being soaked **from the top** of the waves, [I] came [towards Silla] (MYS XV: 3691)

ALLOMORPH -YURI
Overall, *-yuri* seems to be the rarest attested form: it appears only twice in the *Senmyô* and within the same edict.82 It has only the function of an ablative case marker.

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尓至麻低六年尓成奴

82 Two other examples from MYS XX: 4321 and 4365 cited in the literature (Yamada 1954: 459) belong to Eastern Old Japanese.

WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SØMEYS-U-yuri
KØ-TØSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte MU-TØSI n-i NAR-I-n-u
I high HON-seat-LOC be(HON)-INF-begin-ATTR-ABL
this-year-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM six-year DV-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN
It has been six years this year **since I have been on the high throne** (SM 7)

本由利行来迹事曽
MØTØ-yuri OKØNAP-YI-KØ-SI ATØ-N-KØTØ sø
root-ABL conduct-INF-come-ATTR footstep-DV(ATTR)-matter
it is a traditional matter that has been conducted **from the beginning** (SM 7)

ALLOMORPH -YWO
The allomorph *-ywo* can have both ablative and comparative functions, although the latter is rare.

伊那佐能夜麻能許能麻用母伊由岐麻毛良比
inasa-nø yama-nø **kø-nø ma-ywo** mø i-yuk-yi mamwor-ap-yi
Inasa-GEN mountain-GEN **tree-GEN interval-ABL** PT PREF-go-INF watch-ITER-INF
going **from between the trees** of the mountain Inasa and watching [out for enemies] (KK 14)

斯理都斗用伊由岐多賀比麻弊都斗用伊由岐多賀比
siri-tu two-ywo i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi **mapye-tu two-ywo** i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi
back-GEN/LOC door-ABL PREF-go-INF-differ-INF **front-GEN/LOC door-ABL** PREF-go-INF-differ-INF
going from different [directions], **from the front door**, [and] **from the back door** (KK 22)

和岐弊能迦多用久毛韋多知久母
wa-Nk[a]-yipye-nø **kata-ywo** kumwo wi-tat-i-k-u mø
I-POSS-home-GEN **side-ABL** cloud be(INF)-rise-INF-come-FIN PT
Clouds rise **from the side** of my home (KK 34)

那爾波能佐岐用伊傅多知弖
nanipa-nø sakyi-ywo iNte-tat-i-te
Nanipa-GEN cape-ABL exit(INF)-set out-INF-SUB
setting out **from the Naniwa cape**... (KK 53)

久須利波牟用波美也古弥婆伊夜之吉阿何微麻多越知奴倍之
kusuri pam-u-ywo pa myiyakwo myi-Npa iyasi-kyi a-Nka miy mata woti-n-uNpey-si
medicine eat-ATTR-ABL TOP capital see-COND ignoble-ATTR I-POSS body again rejuvenate(INF)-PERF-DEB-FIN
rather than take the medicine, my ignoble body would have been rejuvenated if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)
In this example the case marker *-ywo* has a function of a comparative case marker.

伊爾之敞欲伊麻乃乎追通爾奈我佐敞流於夜乃子等毛曾
inisipye-ywo ima-nø wotutu-ni naNkas-ap-yer-u oya-nø KWO-Ntømo sø
old times-ABL now-GEN reality-LOC flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR ancestor-GEN child-PLUR PT
The offspring (lit.: children) of the ancestors who passed [their glorious names] **from old times** to the present ('s reality) (MYS XVIII: 4094)

ALLOMORPH -YWORI

Like the allomorph *-ywo*, the allomorph *-ywori* can have both ablative and comparative functions, although the latter is rare.

阿須用理波美夜麻賀久理弖
asu-ywori pa myi-yama-N-kakur-i-te
tomorrow-ABL TOP HON-mountain-LOC-hide-INF-SUB
[you] will hide in the mountains **from tomorrow** (KK 112)[83]

於朋耆妬庸利于介伽卑低
opø-kyi two-ywori ukakap-yi-te
big-ATTR door-ABL peek-INF-SUB
peeking **from the big door** (NK 18)

阿須用利簸弥野磨我倶利底
asu-ywori pa myi-yama-N-kakur-i-te
tomorrow-ABL TOP HON-mountain-LOC-hide-INF-SUB
[you] will hide in the mountains **from tomorrow** (NK 86)

伊波紀欲利奈利提志比等迦
ipa-kiy-ywori nar-i-[i]Nte-si pyitø ka
rock-wood-ABL become-INF-exit-PAST/ATTR person PT
Are [you] a person born **from rock and wood**? (MYS V: 800)

伊豆久欲利枳多利斯物能曾
iNtuku-ywori k-yi-tar-i-si mønø sø
where-ABL come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR thing PT
Where did [you] come **from**? (MYS V: 802)

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83 Identical to NK 86 below.

和礼欲利母貧人乃父母波
ware-ywori mø MANTUSI-KYI PYITØ-nø TITI PAPA pa
I-ABL PT poor-ATTR person-GEN father mother TOP
fathers and mothers of people poorer **than me** (MYS V: 892)
In this example the case marker *-ywori* functions as a comparative case marker, and it is followed by the particle *mø*.

Similar to the case markers *-ni* and *-wo*, ablative case marker
-yu/-yuri/-ywo/-ywori can also mark a nominalized clause, with both ablative and comparative meanings:

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尓至麻低六年尓成奴
WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SØMEYS-U-yuri
KØ-TØSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte MU-TØSI n-i NAR-I-n-u
I high HON-seat-LOC be(HON)-INF-begin-ATTR-ABL
this-year-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM six-year DV-INF
become-INF-PERF-FIN
It has been six years this year **since I have been on the high throne** (SM 7)

久須利波牟用波美也古弥婆伊夜之吉阿何微麻多越知奴倍之
kusuri pam-u-ywo pa myiyakwo myi-Npa iyasi-kyi a-Nka miy mata woti-n-uNpey-si
medicine eat-ATTR-ABL TOP capital see-COND ignoble-ATTR I-POSS body again rejuvenate(INF)-PERF-DEB-FIN
rather than take medicine, my ignoble body would have been rejuvenated if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

比例布利之用利於返流夜麻能奈
pyire pur-i-si-ywori op-yer-u yama-nø na

scarf wave-INF-PAST/ATTR-ABL bear-PROG-ATTR mountain-GEN name
Since [she] waved [her] scarf, the mountain bears [its] name
(MYS V: 871)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弖
tune pyitø-nø kwop-u tø ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te
ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP excess DV-INF-SUB
[feeling] much more **than what ordinary people call 'love'**
(MYS XVIII: 4080)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
All four allomorphs of the ablative case marker *-yu, -yuri, -ywo*, and *-ywori* are attested in Eastern Old Japanese texts, but the monosyllabic variants *-yu* and *-ywo* are much more frequent than the disyllabic *-yuri* and *-ywori*, which probably again represents the evidence in favor of the former being the original forms. Only the allomorph *-ywo* occurs in both ablative and comparative functions; the other three allomorphs are attested only in the ablative usage.

ALLOMORPH -YU
Similar to Western Old Japanese, this allomorph occurs only in the ablative function.

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
aswo-nø KApara-ywo isi pum-aNs-u **swora-yu** tø k-yi-n-u yø
Aswo-GEN river-bed-ABL stone tread-NEG-INF **sky-ABL** DV come-INF-PERF-FIN PT

[I] came from the river-bed of Aswo, **from the sky,** without treading on stones (MYS XIV: 3425)
This example is interesting because allomorphs *-yu* and *-ywo* occur within the same text (see below the section on the allomorph *-ywo*, too).

久毛能宇倍由奈伎由久多豆
kumwo-nø **upey-yu** nak-yi yuk-u taNtu
cloud-GEN **top-ABL** cry-INF go-ATTR crane
cranes, who fly and cry **from the top** of the clouds (MYS XIV: 3522)

伊豆由可母加奈之伎世呂我和賀利可欲波牟
iNtu-yu kamø kanasi-kyi se-rø-Nka wa-Nkari kaywop-am-u
where-ABL PT beloved-ATTR husband-DIM-POSS I-DIR visit-TENT-ATTR
where will my beloved husband visit me **from**? (MYS XIV: 3549)

於保夫祢乎倍由毛登母由毛可多米提之
opo-N-pune-wo **pey-yu mwo tømø-yu mwo** katamey-te-si
big-DV(ATTR)-boat-ACC **bow-ABL PT stern-ABL PT** secure(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR
[our relationship], secured [by ropes like a] big boat **both from the bow and from the stern** (MYS XIV: 3559)

ALLOMORPH -YURI
The allomorph *-yuri* is very rare in Eastern Old Japanese: it appears only two times and in both cases has a function of an ablative case marker.

阿須由利也加曳我牟多祢牟
asu-yuri ya kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u
tomorrow-ABL PT reed-POSS together sleep-TENT-ATTR

from tomorrow, [I] will sleep together with reeds (MYS XX: 4321)

奈爾波能都由利布奈与曾比阿例波許芸奴
nanipa-nø **tu-yuri** puna-yøsøp-yi are pa køNk-yi-n-u
Nanipa-GEN **harbor-ABL** boat-equip-INF I TOP row-INF-PERF-FIN
having equipped [my] boat, I rowed [out] **from the harbor** of Naniwa (MYS XX: 4365)

ALLOMORPH -YWO
Like in Western Old Japanese, the allomorph *-ywo* is attested in both ablative and comparative functions in Eastern Old Japanese, although the latter occurs only once and after a nominalized sentence.

之気吉許能麻欲多都登利
sikey-kyi kø-nø **ma-ywo** tat-u tøri
dense-ATTR tree-GEN **interval-ABL** rise-ATTR bird
birds, rising **from between** the dense trees (MYS XIV: 3396)

与曾爾見之欲波伊麻許曾麻左礼
yøsø-ni MYI-si-ywo pa ima køsø masar-e
distance-LOC see(INF)-PAST/ATTR-ABL TOP now PT surpass-EV
rather than having seen [you] in the distance, [your loveliness] is greater now! (MYS XIV: 3417)

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
aswo-nø **KApara-ywo** isi pum-aNs-u swora-yu tø k-yi-n-u yø
Aswo-GEN **river-bed-ABL** stone tread-NEG-INF sky-ABL DV come-FIN-PERF-FIN PT

[I] came **from the river-bed** of Aswo, from the sky, without treading on stones (MYS XIV: 3425)

美都乎多麻倍奈伊毛我多太手欲
myiNtu-wo tamapey-na imwo-Nka taNta **TE-ywo**
water-ACC give(HUM)-DES beloved-POSS just **hand-ABL**
[I] wish [you] give [me] water **from** your **hands** (MYS XIV: 3439)

ALLOMORPH -YWORI

The allomorph *-ywori* occurs just once in MYS XIV: 3375 in the ablative function. It also occurs several times in MYS XX, but always in the songs that either were composed by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi himself, or *might* have been composed by Ôtomo-no Yakamochi, and not by the border-guards (*sakimori*) from the Eastern provinces. For example, some commentators consider that MYS XX: 4360 (where *-ywori* occurs twice) might have been composed by a border-guard, and not by Yakamochi, but since this poem does not exhibit any apparent Eastern Old Japanese features and it appears to be written in the standard Western Old Japanese, it is safer, I believe, not to classify it as an Eastern Old Japanese text.

多知和可礼伊爾之与比欲利世呂爾安波奈布与
tat-i-wakare in-i-si **yøpyi-ywori** se-rø-ni ap-an-ap-u yø
depart-INF-part(INF) go away-INF-PAST/ATTR **night-ABL**
beloved-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN PT
from the night when [we] parted and [he] went away, [I] never met [my] beloved! (MYS XIV: 3375)

A2: Ryukyuan

According to Nohara, the case marker *-yori* is attested in Old Ryukyuan only in the ablative function (Nohara 1986: 28).

However, both Old Ryukyuan case markers *-yori* and *-yoka* can be used in the comparative function. Examples:

おがやへよりおわよりな
o-ga ya-fe-yori owa-yor-i na
you-POSS home-side-ABL come(HON)-approach-INF PT
Did you come **from your home**? (OS XIV: 998)

おとときみきみまさりあんじのつんじおとぢやよりまさり
ototo-kimi kimi masar-i **anzi-no tunzi otodiya-yori** masar-i
younger-priestess priestess surpass-INF **official-GEN head brother-ABL** surpass-INF
Younger priestesses, [you] are better, [you] are better **than brothers head officials** (OS XVI: 1143)

芋の葉の露や真玉よかきよらさ
IMU-no FA-no CIYO ya **MA-TAMA-yoka** kiyora-sa
sweet potato-GEN leaf-GEN dew TOP **INT-jewel-ABL** beautiful-NML
The dew on the leaves of sweet potatoes is more beautiful **than real jewels** (RK 437)

The Shuri dialect has the comparative case marker *-yaka/-yakaa* (Nohara 1986: 75), but it is probably an assimilated form of
*-yoka. Other Ryukyuan dialects seem to exhibit more archaic forms (all with the comparative function), e.g. Kumejima *-yukaN,*
-yukaa, -yooka (Nohara 1986: 127-28), and Tokunoshima *-yuri, yuuka, -yuka* (etc.) (Nohara 1986: 204). The following examples are all from the Kumejima dialect (Nohara 1986: 127-28):

ʃiʃi-yukaN iyu ya taka-ha-N

meat-ABL fish TOP expensive-NML-FIN
Fish is more expensive **than meat**

Fuyu-yukaa natʃi-ga ru maʃi
winter-ABL summer-NOM PT better
Summer is better **than winter**

Since Old Ryukyuan texts are highly contaminated due to influence from Classical Japanese, it is possible that the form *-yori* is due to this influence. Thus, the form *-yoka/-yuka* (and its variants) seems to be the original Ryukyuan form. Comparing Ryukyuan *-yoka/-yuka* with the Old Japanese forms *-yu/-yuri* and *-ywo/-ywori*, the former appears to represent the same kind of development when an augment *-ka* was added to the original monosyllabic *-yo/-yu* shape.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
There are no apparent external parallels.

4.1.2.2.11 Directive case marker -Nkari

The directive case marker *-Nkari* does not frequently appear in Western Old Japanese: it occurs only eleven times and all of them in *Man'yôshû* VII-IX. It is quite possible that it was already on its way to extinction in Old Japanese.84 *-Nkari* only follows personal pronouns and nouns denoting people. None of the existing Old Japanese grammars discusses it, although there is a short mention of it in (Omodaka 1967: 232a) and (Ôno 1994: 348b). The traditional etymology deriving *-Nkari* from *-Nka ar-i* 'POSS exist-NML' (Takagi et al. 1959: 209), (Martin 1990: 498) is controversial and is not universally accepted even among Japanese scholars (cf. Ôno

84 There are, nevertheless, rare Heian and Kamakura attestations of 10th and 13th c. (Ôno 1990: 348b).

1994: 348b). In Western Old Japanese texts there is no uncontroversial phonetic spelling of the case marker -*Nkari*; in most cases it is written with the character 許, which probably represents a truncation from its Japanicized reading (*kun-yomi*): *(Npa)kari*. The reading -*Nkari*, is, however, confirmed by phonetic spellings found in Eastern Old Japanese texts. Examples from Western Old Japanese:

妹等所我通路
IMWO-RA-NKARI WA-NKA YUK-U MYITI
beloved-DIM-DIR I-POSS go-ATTR road
the road, on which I go **to [my] beloved** (MYS VII: 1121)

今夜可君之我許来益武
KØ YØPYI ka KYIMYI-NKA **WA-Nkari** K-YI-MAS-Am-u
this night PT lord-POSS **I-DIR** come-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR
Is it tonight that [my] lord will come **to me**? (MYS VIII: 1519)

妹許将遣黄葉手折奈
IMWO-Nkari YAR-AM-U MWOMYINTI TA-WOR-Ana
beloved-DIR send-TENT-ATTR maple leaves hand-break-DES
I would like to break with [my] hand [branches with] maple leaves to send **to [my] beloved** (MYS IX: 1758)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There are four examples of the directive case marker -*Nkari* in Eastern Old Japanese texts, all written phonetically.

伊母我理登倍婆
imø-Nkari tø [i]p-ey-Npa
beloved-DIR DV say-EV-CON
as [I] said that I [would go] **to [my] beloved** (MYS XIV: 3356)

伊可奈流勢奈可和我理許武等伊布
ika nar-u se-na ka **wa-Nkari** kø-m-u tø ip-u
how be-ATTR beloved-DIM PT **I-DIR** come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
what kind of beloved [is he], who says that [he] will come **to me**? (MYS XIV 3536)

己許呂能未伊母我理夜里弖和波己許爾思天
køkørø nømiy **imø-Nkari** yar-i-te wa pa køkø-ni s-i-te
heart PT **beloved-DIR** send-INF-SUB I TOP here-LOC do-INF-SUB
I [have] to stay here, sending just [my] heart **to [my] beloved** (MYS XIV: 3538)

伊豆由可母加奈之伎世呂我和賀利可欲波牟
iNtu-yu kamø kanasi-kyi se-rø-Nka **wa-Nkari** kaywop-am-u
where-ABL PT beloved-ATTR husband-DIM-POSS **I-DIR** visit-TENT-ATTR
From where will [my] beloved husband come **to me**? (MYS XIV: 3549)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is a directive case marker *-kai* attested in the *Ryûka* (Nohara 1986: 27), as well as a locative-directive *-nakai/-Nkai/-kai* in the Shuri dialect and a dative-locative *-nakai* in the Kumejima dialect (Nohara 1986: 66-69, 126). The Kumejima dialect also exhibits

-*naa* as a locative. The following examples are from the Shuri and Kumejima dialects:

Shuri

Naafa-Nkai ic-uN
Naha-DIR go-FIN
[I am] going **to Naha** (Nohara 1986: 66)

ama-Nkai mayaa-nu u-N
there-LOC cat-GEN exist-FIN
There is a cat **there** (Nohara 1986: 67)

Yamatu-Nkai ic-uN
Japan-DIR go-FIN
[I am] going **to Japan** (Nohara 1986: 68)

Kumejima

yaa-nakai ʔu-N na
home-LOC exist-FIN PT
[I] am **at home** (Nohara 1986: 126)

Since in Ryukyuan *r* > *Ø/__i*, Ryukyuan -*nakai/-Nkai* perfectly corresponds to Old Japanese -*Nkari*. As implied by the Ryukyuan uncontracted form -*nakai*, unless it is an innovation, the -*N*- part of Old Japanese -*Nkari* and Ryukyuan -*Nkai* probably represents the locative case marker -*na*, attested in Eastern Old Japanese and various Ryukyuan dialects (see 4.1.2.2.6). That allows us to reconstruct the

directive marker as a bimorphemic *-na-kari and leaves *-kari as a potential proto-Japonic directive marker.[85]

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

One of the external parallels to the proto-Japonic directive *-kari is not so obvious at first glance. I believe it is Middle Korean locative-directive *-ay/-ey-oy/-uy*, which is well attested in the Middle Korean texts. The process *r* > *Ø/__i* in the history of Korean can be justified internally, cf. OK *NWUri* 'world' > MK *nwuy* R 'id.,' OK *NAri* 'river' > MK *nay* R 'id.,' OK *NWIrim* 'lord' > MK *nim* R 'id.,' so the reconstruction of MK *-ay/-ey/-oy/-uy* as *-ari/*-eri/*-ori/-*uri does not represent any problem. The reconstruction of the initial consonant may be more problematic, but I think it stands on firm ground due to the following data from Old Korean. In at least two instances in the *Hyangka* texts the case marker that corresponds to Middle Korean *-ay/-ey* is written with the character 希 (Early Middle Chinese *xïy), which starts with a velar /x/ in Early Middle Chinese. I tentatively reconstruct this case marker as Old Korean *-huy* (with no additional forms adjusting to vowel harmony, following Martin 2000 proposal about the lack of vowel harmony in Old Korean). The development of proto-Korean *-k- > *-h-* in all environments except after sonorants where the development *-k- > -G- takes place, is consistent with the

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*85 This form *-na-kai, actually attested as* -nakai *in Ryukyuan rules out Martin's etymology deriving this marker from* muka[w]i < **muka-pa-Ci 'facing' (Martin 1990: 498). Another Martin's suggestion that it may be from* naka ni *'at/to within' (Martin 1990: 498) is also questionable, since in those Ryukyuan dialects, where dative-locative case marker* -ni *is present, and which also have locatives*
-nakai *or* -na *such as Kumejima and Tokunoshima,* -ni *is reflected as* -ni*, and not as *-i.*

new variant of the lenition theory (Vovin 2005).86 In combination with the above-mentioned *-r- loss in front of /i/ in Korean, allows a reconstruction of the proto-Korean *-kuri as a locative-directive marker, with the development into *-huy* in Old Korean and *-ay/-ey/ -oy/-uy* in Middle Korean.87 It is also possible that this Old Korean locative-directive *-huy* survives as a Middle Korean dative marker *-kuy*, added to locative-directive marker *-oy/-uy88* or genitive marker *-s*,89 and *-ngey* (< *-n-key), added to the locative-directive markers *-oy* and *-uy* (Yi Swungnyeng 1981: 206-10). The reconstruction of the proto-Korean form as *-(n)-kuri leaves a problem of vocalic correspondence PK *u: PJ *a with proto-Japonic *-na-kari, but although this correspondence is rare, there are other instances of it, cf. MK *kulyeki* LLH 'wild goose,' OJ *kari* ?2.4 'id.;' MK *tuluh* LH 'field,' OJ *ta* 1.3a 'rice field' < *taa < **tara. Examples from Old Korean *Hyangka* texts:

紫布岩乎辻希執音乎手母牛放教遣
CIpwo PAhwo **KOSO-huy** TUL-um SWON AMSYWO NWOH-Osi-kwo

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*86 Cf. Martin 1996 where the universal lenition *-k- > -G- is maintained.*

87 Old Korean Hyangka *texts also have a locative case marker written by the characters 衣 and 矣, which suggest just Old Korean* -ʔey *without a velar. There is, however, a good historical explanation for this aberration, which is too long to present in the present study. It will be included in the author's forthcoming monograph on Hyangka reconstruction.*

88 The absence of lenition in this case (after -oy/-uy*) is conspicuous, but it is conceivable to interpret non-leniting MK* -oy-kuy *and* -uy-kuy *as going back to *-oy-n-kuy and *-uy-n-kuy, with a nasal blocking lenition according to Vovin 2001. That might give a further support to comparison with proto-Japonic *-na-kari.*

89 MK -s-kuy *results in modern Korean honorific dative* -kkey.

purple rock **edge-LOC** hold-NOM hand cow leave-HON-GER
leaving the cow that [I] lead **at the edge** of the purple rock (Hyangka II: 3)

逸烏川理叱磧惡希郎也持以支如賜烏隱心未際叱月兮逐内良齋
ilGo NAri-cɨ **COYWYek-huy** LANG-la TUL-Gi-ki TAW-Osi-wo-n MOZOm-oy KOs[o]-Vïl CWOS-no-ra-cy-e
IlGo river-GEN **pebble-LOC** [Hwa]rang-DAT hold-PASS-NML like-HON-MOD-PERF/ATTR heart-GEN limit-ACC follow-PRES-?-?-INF
following the limits of [my] heart, that is like being hold by the [Hwa]rang **in the river bed** of the river IlGo (Hyangka IV: 8)

Nevertheless, we end up this only one case marker that can be reconstructed for Proto-Japonic and is at the same time comparable with Korean. Needless to say, Korean and Japonic paradigms of case markers are very different and it is impossible to reconstruct an original paradigm that would account for both systems. In some cases, as I demonstrated above, similarities between Korean and Japonic can be better explained by loan relationship, since case markers in question are not really Japonic, but Japanese or even Western Old Japanese. A singular case of a directive locative marker is unlikely to prove the genetic relation alone.

Another interesting external parallel is represented by the Old Turkic directive -*Varu/-gärü* and -*Naru/-Närü*, the latter form believed to have developed from *-nVaru/-ngärü

(Tekin 1968: 135), which can further strengthen its external comparison with Japanese. Examples:

biri-gärü kün **ortu-sï-Naru**
south-DIR sun **middle-3pp-DIR**
to the south, **to the mid**day (KT S 2)

yïrï-Varu tün **ortu-sï-Naru**
north-DIR night **middle-3pp-DIR**
to the north, **to the mid**night (KT S 2)

il-gärü s&antuN yazï-qa tägi sülä-di-m
east-DIR Shandong plain-LOC PT wage war-PAST-1ps
I waged war **to the East** up to the Shangdong plain (KT S 3)

apa tarqan-Varu ic&rä sab ïd-mïs
Apa Tarqan-DIR secret word send-PERF
[he] has sent a secret message **to Apa Tarqan** (TK N 10)

However, since this Turco-Japonic parallel is also quite unique within Turkic and Japonic case marker paradigms, which are very different, it is also better viewed as a result of contact rather than proof of a genetic relationship.

4.1.2.2.12 Directive case marker -pye

The directive case marker *-pye* is a result of the grammaticalization of the noun *pye* 'side.' This noun is used frequently in both early and later Old Japanese texts as a quasi-postposition in combination with the following dative-locative-directive case marker *-ni* in the form *pye-ni* 'to the side' or 'at the side.'
淤岐弊迩波袁夫泥都羅羅玖
okyi-pye-ni pa woN-pune turar-aku

offing-side-LOC DIM-boat be stretched in a line-NML
small boats are stretched in a line **in the offing** (KK 52)

夜麻登弊迩爾斯布岐阿宜弖
yamatø-pye-ni nisi puk-yi-aNkey-te
Yamato-side-LOC western wind blow-INF-raise(INF)-SUB
Western wind blows **towards Yamato**, and... (KK 55)

夜麻登弊迩由玖波多賀都麻
yamatø-pye-ni yuk-u pa ta-Nka tuma
Yamato-side-LOC go-ATTR TOP who-POSS spouse
Whose spouse goes **towards Yamato**? (KK 56)

山辺爾草乎思香奈久毛
YAMA-PYE-ni sa-wø-sika nak-u mwo
mountain-side-LOC PREF(??)-male-deer cry-FIN PT
a male deer cries **at the mountain side** (MYS XV: 3674)

There are, however, a number of examples where *-pye* appears to be completely grammaticalized as a directive case marker:

摩佐豆古和芸毛玖迩弊玖陀良須
masaNtukwo wa-Nk-yimwo **kuni-pye** kuNtar-as-u
Masaduko I-POSS-beloved **province-DIR** descend-HON-FIN
Masaduko, my beloved, goes **towards [her] province** (KK 52)

阿米弊由迦婆
amey-pye yuk-aNpa
heaven-DIR go-COND

if [you] go **to heaven** (MYS V: 800)

宮弊能保留等
MYIYA-pye nøNpor-u tø
palace-DIR ascend-FIN DV
thinking of going **to the palace** (MYS V: 886)

新羅奇儛可伊儛爾可加反流
sirakiy-pye ka ipye-ni ka kapyer-u
Silla-DIR PT home-LOC PT return-ATTR
[Will I go] **to Silla**, or will [I] return home? (MYS XV: 3696)

和我勢古我久爾儛麻之奈婆
wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka **kuni-pye** [i]mas-i-n-aNpa
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS **land-DIR** come(HON)-INF-PERF-COND
If my beloved returns **to [his] land** (MYS XVII: 3996)

It is interesting that *-pye* as a directive case marker in Western Old Japanese is used only with an animate agent, who moves by himself/herself to some point. This limitation on *-pye* usage was suggested by Syromiatnikov for Classical Japanese (Syromiatnikov 1983: 65), where it is not true (Vovin 2003: 75-76), but apparently it seems to be true for Old Japanese.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is one example in Eastern Old Japanese with *-pye* as a grammaticalized directive case marker:

和我世古乎夜麻登敞夜利弖
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo **yamatø-pye** yar-i-te
I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC **Yamato-DIR** send-INF-SUB
Having sent my beloved **to Yamato** (MYS XIV: 3363)

4.1.2.2.13 Terminative case marker -maNte

The terminative case marker *-maNte* indicates the limit of a movement or another action in time or space, or in other words, the point beyond which the action does not reach. It must be noted that *-maNte* can be followed by the locative case marker *-ni*, with no apparent change in meaning. This usage predominantly occurs with *-maNte-ni* used after a nominalized clause (see below), although there are two examples of the same usage after a noun. That differs from the modern Japanese double case marker *-made-ni*, which expresses a terminative-directive meaning 'by,' as in *getsuyôbi-made-ni* 'by Monday.' Examples:

美夜故摩提意久利摩遠志弖
myiyakwo-maNte okur-i-mawos-i-te
capital-TERM see off-INF-HUM-INF-SUB
[I would] see [you] off **to the capital**, and... (MYS V: 876)

寝屋度麻弖来立呼比奴
NE-YA-N-two-maNte K-YI-TAT-I YWONP-Ap-yi-n-u
sleep(INF)-house-GEN-door-TERM come-INF-stand-INF-call-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN
[the village headman] came out **up to our bedroom door** and called [us] repeatedly (MYS V: 892)

伊豆礼能日麻弖安礼古非乎良牟
iNture n-ø PYI-maNte are kwopiy-wor-am-u

which DV-ATTR day-TERM I long(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN
until what day should I long for [you]? (MYS XV: 3742)

伊都麻弖可安我故非乎良牟
itu-maNte ka a-Nka kwopiy-wor-am-u
when-TERM PT I-POSS long(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
until when should I long for [you]? (MYS XV: 3749)

安里我欲比都加倍麻都良武万代麻弖爾
ari-kaywop-yi tukapey-matur-am-u **YØRØNTU YØ-maNte-ni**
ITER-go back and forth-INF serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN **ten thousand generation-TERM-LOC**
constantly going back and forth, [we] will serve the [emperor] **until ten thousand generations** (MYS XVII: 3907)

之路髪麻泥爾大皇爾都可倍麻都礼婆
sirwo KAMYI-maNte-ni OPO-KYIMYI-ni tukapey-matur-e-Npa
white hair-TERM-LOC great-lord-DAT serve(INF)-HUM-EV-CON
when [I] serve the emperor **until [I get] white hair** (MYS XVII: 3922)

Similar to the case markers *-wo*, *-ni* and *-yuri/-ywo/-ywori,*
-maNte can also mark a nominalized clause, meaning 'until.' It is interesting that in the oldest Old Japanese texts the terminative case marker *-maNte* occurs only after a nominalized sentence, and not after a noun, like in the following two examples from the *Nihonshoki kayô* and the *Bussoku seki uta*. Besides, even in the later texts from the *Man'yôshû,* its usage after a nominalized clause occurs much

more frequently than after a noun (with a ratio almost 3:1). Yamada Yoshio suggested that *-maNte* might be originally an adverb (Yamada 1954: 474); however the more frequent and ancient usage after nominalized clauses rather points to the fact that *-maNte* is originally some kind of a bound noun. Its etymology is obscure. Examples after a nominalized clause:

志我都矩屡麻泥爾飫褒枳瀰爾柯柁倶都柯陪麻都羅武
si-Nka tukur-u90**-maNte-ni** opo kyimyi-ni kata-ku tukapey-matur-am-u
they-POSS come to an end-ATTR-TERM-LOC great lord-DAT strong-INF serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN
Until they come to an end, [I] intend to serve faithfully to the emperor (NK 78)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟多太爾阿布麻弖爾麻佐爾阿布麻弖爾
atø-wo myi-tutu sinøp-am-u **taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni masa n-i ap-u-maNte-ni**
footstep-ACC see(INF)-COOR praise-TENT-FIN **direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC real DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC**
[I] will be looking at [Buddha's] footstep and praise [it], **until [I] meet [him] directly, until [I] really meet [him]** (BS 6)

布流由岐得比得能美流麻提烏梅能波奈知流
pur-u yukyi tø pyitø-nø myi-ru-maNte uMEY-nø pana tir-u

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90 The verb tukur- *is an intransitive counterpart of* tukus- *'to exhaust, to exert (oneself).' It occurs only in the Old Japanese, and it is interesting that it did not make its way into any dictionaries, including (Omodaka 1967). The much more widespread intransitive equivalent of* tukus- *is OJ* tukiy-<**tuku-Ci- 'to come to an end.'*

fall-ATTR snow DV person-GEN see-ATTR-TERM plum-GEN flower fall-FIN
plum blossoms fall **(up) to [such extent] that people will perceive them as falling snow** (MYS V: 839)

伊波敞和我勢古多太爾安布末低爾
ipap-ye wa-Nka se-kwo **taNta ap-u-maNte-ni**
pray-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM **direct meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC**
pray, my beloved, **until [we] meet directly** (MYS XV: 3778)

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尓至麻低六年尓成奴
WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SØMEYS-U-yuri **KØ-TØSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte** MU-TØSI n-i NAR-I-n-u
I high HON-seat-LOC be(HON)-INF-begin-ATTR-ABL **this-year-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM** six-year DV-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN
It has been six years **(reaching up to) this year** since I have been on the high throne (SM 7)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese the terminative case marker *-maNte* occurs only after nominalized sentences.91 This probably represents another piece of evidence for the innovative nature

91 A possible, but unlikely exception is MYS XX: 4482, where -maNte *occurs after the noun* satwo *'village.' However, it is not clear whether the author of this song, Opopara-no Imaki, is a border guard: judging by his close affiliation with Pudipara-no Toriyumi, the second in command in Harima province, he is probably not. In addition, the poem itself does not have any Eastern Old Japanese distinctive features, and therefore it is safer to treat it as a Western Old Japanese text.*

of the use of
-maNte after nouns.

努自能安良波路万代母佐祢乎佐祢弖婆
nwoNsi-nø arapar-wo-maNte mø sa-ne-wo sa-ne-te-Npa
rainbow-GEN appear-ATTR-TERM PT PREF-sleep(NML) PREF-sleep(INF)-PERF-COND
if [we] sleep (a sleep) [together] **until the rainbow appears**
(MYS XIV: 3414)

乎那能乎能比自爾都久麻提伎美我与母賀母
wona-nø wo-nø pyiNsi-ni tuk-u-maNte kyimyi-Nka yø møNkamø
Wona-GEN peak-GEN sandbank-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM lord-POSS age PT
I wish my lord's age [will last] **until the Wona peak reaches the sandbanks** [in the sea] (MYS XIV: 3448)

和可加敞流弖能毛美都麻弖宿毛等和波毛布
waka kapyerute-nø mwomyit-u-maNte NE-m-wo tø wa pa [o]mwop-u
young maple-GEN become red (of leaves)-ATTR-TERM sleep-TENT-ATTR DV I TOP think-FIN
I think that [we] should sleep [together] **until the young maple becomes red** (MYS XIV: 3494)

A2: Ryukyuan
The only cognate of the terminative case marker *-maNte* in Ryukyuan is attested in the Shuri dialect as *-madi*. The lack of attestation in other Ryukyuan dialects and in Old Ryukyuan makes it a likely loan from mainland Japanese. Examples:

kuma-madi kuwaa

here-TERM come(IMP)
Come **(up to) here** (RKJ 1983: 357b)

'ari-ga c-uuru-madi maQco-ok-ee
he-NOM come-ATTR-TERM wait(INF)-put-HORT
Let us wait **until he comes** (RKJ 1983: 357b)

Therefore, it is unlikely that there are any external parallels of
-maNte as a case marker.

4.1.2.2.14 Comparative case marker -nø/-ni/-nasu/-nøsu

Japanese tradition defines only *-nøsu* and *-nasu* as a comparative case particles (Yamada 1954: 546-50), (Omodaka 1967: 522d-523a). It was only recently that Peter Hendriks came up with an interesting and persuasive analysis according to which Old Japanese *-nø*, homophonous to OJ genitive case marker *-nø* and OJ attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be,' is an independent adverbial particle meaning 'like,' used pretty much in the same way as OJ *-nasu* and *-nøsu* (Hendriks 1994: 240). Hendriks further claimed that there also is an Old Japanese adverbial particle *-ni*, homophonous to the OJ dative-locative case marker *-n*i and infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be,' which has the same function as adverbial *-nø* (Hendriks 1994: 247-48).

While Hendriks is probably right that all these four forms *-nø,*
-ni, -nasu, and *-nøsu* are etymologically related to the verb *ni-* 'to resemble' (< *nø-Ci-) (Hendriks 1994: 246-50), I cannot agree with his statement that *-nasu* functions in Old Japanese as a full verb (Hendriks 1994: 243). Hendriks provides a single example from Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XIV: 3358, see below), where *-nasu* appears in a final position, not being

followed by a noun or a verb. There are at least three serious counter-arguments against treatment of *-nasu* as a full verb: 1) a single example cannot prove anything, as there are other possible ways of explanation, e.g. ellipsis of a final verb, which occurs quite frequently in the language of Old Japanese poetry; 2) the example in question comes from Eastern Old Japanese, and, therefore, we cannot just induce that Western Old Japanese had a similar usage, without actual data supporting the claim; 3) most importantly, *-nasu* cannot be a full verb, because there are no traces of its paradigm, attested in the texts: it always appears in only one form as *-nasu*. Thus, it differs in this respect from the real OJ verb *pori se-* 'want,' which is used in a way very similar to *-nasu*, but has different paradigmatic forms, such as *pori s-u* 'want-FIN' and *pori se-m-* 'want-TENT-FIN.' Although, as I said above, Hendricks is right *historically*, the *synchroni*c description of Old Japanese requires some other definition.

Hendricks's use of the term 'adverbial' is confusing to me. None of the forms *-nø, -ni, -nasu*, and *-nøsu* participate in adverbializations *per se*, which are normally marked by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' (see Chapter 6 on adverbs). These forms, on the contrary, have quite a limited function of comparing noun X to noun or verb Y, which can be translated into English as 'like' or resembling. Since *-nø, -ni, -nasu*, and *-nøsu*, like other case markers, occur exclusively either after nominals or after nominalized verbal forms and sentences, I define them as allomorphs of the comparative case marker.

The distribution of three out of the four allomorphs is skewed in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese: while *-nø* occurs frequently in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese, *-ni* is attested infrequently and only in Western Old Japanese.

The allomorph
-nasu appears infrequently in Western Old Japanese (thirteen examples) and rarely in Eastern Old Japanese (only five examples).92 This distribution demonstrates that *-nasu* is not exclusively a Western Old Japanese form. The allomorph *-nøsu*, on the other hand, is attested eight times in Eastern Old Japanese, but there is only one and not quite clear example in Western Old Japanese. This demonstrates that *-nøsu* must be a predominant Eastern Old Japanese form. As noted by Hendriks,
-nasu tends to occur after nouns, and *-nøsu* (in Eastern Old Japanese) after nominalized verbal forms (Hendriks 1992: 246). Besides these four allomorphs, a special form *-N* appears in Western Old Japanese, a reduction from either *-nø* or *-ni*.

ALLOMORPH -NØ

阿佐比能恵美佐迦延岐弓多久豆怒能斯路岐多陀牟岐阿和由岐能和加夜流牟泥遠曾陀多岐
asa-pyi-nø wem-yi-sakaye-k-yi-te **taku-N-tunwo-nø** sirwo-kyi taNtamukyi **awa-yukyi-nø** waka-yar-u mune-wo søNtatak-yi
morning-sun-COMP smile-INF-flourish(INF)-come-INF-SUB **mulberry-GEN-rope-COMP** white-ATTR arm **foam-snow-COMP** young-?-ATTR breast-ACC embrace-INF

92 Since the Western Old Japanese corpus is larger than Eastern Old Japanese, these numbers are comparable. The distribution of -nasu *in Western Old Japanese texts is as follows: KK - 3, NK - 2, MYS V - 5, MYS XVII - 1, MYS XVIII - 2, MYS XX - 1. It does not occur in MYS XV, BS, SNK, TS, and FK. All five examples of* -nasu *in Eastern Old Japanese texts are found in MYS XIV.*

[you] will come smiling **like the morning sun**, and [your] white arms, [sturdy] **like mulberry ropes,** will embrace my breasts, young **like light snow** (KK 3)

紫草能爾保敞類妹乎爾苦久有者
MURASAKYI-nø nipop-yer-u IMWO-wo niku-ku AR-ABA
violet-COMP beautiful-PROG-ATTR beloved-ABS unpleasant-INF exist-COND
If [my] beloved, who is beautiful **like a violet,** was distasteful [to me] (MYS I: 21)

奴延鳥乃能杼与比居爾
nuye-N-TØRI-nø nøNtøyøp-yi-WOR-U-ni
nuye-DV(ATTR)-bird-COMP cry in small voice-INF-exist-ATTR-LOC
when [we] are crying in small voices **like *nuye* birds**... (MYS V: 892)

伊射里須流安麻伊敞妣等能麻知古布良牟爾安可思都流宇乎
iNsar-i s-uru ama **ipye-pitø-nø** mat-i-kwop-uram-u-ni akas-i tur-u uwo
catch fish-NML do-ATTR fisherman **home-person-COM**P wait-INF-long-TENT2-ATTR-LOC dawn-INF angle-ATTR fish
fishermen catching the fish, [you are] **like [my] people at home** who angle fish when waiting through the night and longing for [me] (MYS XV: 3653)

ALLOMORPH -NI
Allomorph *-ni* is comparatively rare (Hendriks 1994: 248).

斗迦麻迩佐和多流久毘
two kama-ni sa-watar-u kuNpyi
sharp scythe-COMP PREF-cross-ATTR swan
swan, flying across [with wings] **like sharp scythes** (KK 27)

以嗣箇播箇柁輔智箇柁輔智爾阿弥播利和柁嗣妹慮予嗣爾予嗣予利據祢
isi-kapa-kata-puti kata-puti-ni amyi par-i-watas-i mey-rø **yøs-i-ni** yøs-i yør-i-kø-ne
stone-river-side-pool side-pool-LOC net spread-INF-cross-INF mesh-DIM **bring near-NML-COMP** bring near-NML approach-INF-come-DES
[Girls, I] wish [you] come near, **like [they] bring near** the meshes, spreading nets across at the side pool of a stony river (NK 3)

泣涙霑霈尓落
NAK-U NAMYINTA **KWO-SAMEY-ni** PUR-I-TE
cry-ATTR tear **DIM-rain-COMP** fall-INF-SUB
the tears that [they] shed fall **like a light rain** (MYS II: 230)

比等等波安流乎比等奈美爾安礼母作乎
pyitø tø pa ar-u-wo pyitø **namyi-ni** are mø TUKUR-U-wo
person DV TOP exist-ATTR-ACC person **usual-COMP** I PT make-ATTR-ACC
although [I] am a human being, [and] although I also make [it] **like usually** people [make it] (MYS V: 892)

ALLOMORPH -NASU

麻多麻那須阿賀母布伊毛加賀美那須阿賀母布都麻

ma-tama-nasu a-Nka [o]møp-u imwo **kaNkamyi-nasu** a-Nka [o]møp-u tuma
INT-jewel-COMP I-POSS love-ATTR beloved **mirror-COMP** I-POSS love-ATTR spouse
[my] beloved, whom I love, **[is] like a true jewel**; [my] spouse, whom I love, **[is] like a mirror** (KK 90)

泣子那須斯多比枳摩斯提
NAK-U **KWO-nasu** sitap-yi k-yi-mas-i-te
cry-ATTR **child-COMP** long-INF come-INF-HON-INF-SUB
[She] came longing **like a** crying **child** (MYS V: 794)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閇騰母
tøk[ø]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si møNkamø tø omøp-ey-Ntø mø
eternal-rock-COMP thus-INF PT PT DV think-EV-CONC PT
Although [I] think that [I] would like to be (thus) **like an eternal rock**... (MYS V: 805)

麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯乎
ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ø isi-wo
INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone-ACC
two stones **like real jewels** (MYS V: 813)

ALLOMORPH -NØSU
Hendriks mentions that *-nøsu* in Western Old Japanese occurs only twice, once in a poem from the *Kojiki kayô* (but does not indicate which one), and another time in the name of a deity in the *Nihonshoki* (Hendriks 1994: 244).93 The possible, but

93 I will not admit the name of the deity as evidence here, following my overall conservative policy not to deal with onomastic material, since it is not very reliable.

not certain example from the *Kojiki* which he mentions, but does not cite, is probably the following one:

布由紀能須加良賀志多紀能佐夜佐夜
puyu-kiy-nøsu kara-Nka sita-kiy-nø saya-saya
winter-tree-COMP trunk-POSS bottom-tree-GEN rustling
a shrub [near the] trunk [tree] rustling **like a winter tree** (KK 47)

The problem here is with the segmentation of the poem: it is unclear whether /su/ is really the part of the case marker *-nøsu* (Yamada 1954: 548) or a prefix *su-* 'barren,' which belongs to the next word *kara* 'trunk:' *su-kara* 'barren trunk' (Tsuchihashi 1957: 67, 116).94 I follow Yamada's point of view here, and will consider that there is one example of *-nøsu* in Western Old Japanese.

SPECIAL FORM -N

Besides the four allomorphs *-nø, -ni, -nasu*, and *-nøsu*, there also is the special form *-N*, appearing only between two nouns, which is a contraction of either allomorph *-nø* or allomorph *-ni*.

麻多麻傳多麻傳佐斯麻岐
ma-tama-N-te tama-N-te sas-i-mak-yi
INT-jewel-COMP-hand jewel-COMP-hand stick-INF-entwine-INF
[your] **hands like real jewels**, **hands like jewels**, will entwine [with mine] (KK 3)

94 Ogihara adopts almost the same explanation as Tsuchihashi, but suggests that su- *is a prefix meaning 'straight' (Ogihara 1973: 255).*

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese, as mentioned above, only three allomorphs of the comparative case marker *-nø, -nasu*, and *-nøsu* are attested.

ALLOMORPH -NØ

多都思良奈美能安里都追
tat-u **sira namyi-nø** ar-i-tutu
rise-ATTR **white wave-COMP** exist-INF-COOR
[I] continue to live **like** rising **white waves** (MYS XIV: 3360)

可麻久良乃美胡之能佐吉能伊波久叡乃伎美我久由倍伎己許呂波母多自
kamakura-nø myiNkwosi-nø sakyi-nø **ipa-kuye-nø** kyimyi-Nka kuy-uNpey-kyi køkørø pa møt-aNsi
Kamakura-GEN MyiNkwosi-GEN cape-GEN **rock-slide-COMP** lord-POSS regret-DEB-ATTR heart TOP hold-NEG/TENT
[My] lord should not have the heart, **like the rockslide** at the MyiNkwosi cape in Kamakura, which [he] will have to regret [later] (MYS XIV: 3365)

乎久佐乎等乎具佐受家乎等斯抱布祢乃那良敞弖美礼婆
wokusa-wo-tø woNkusa-N-sukye-wo-tø **sipo-pune-nø** naraNpye-te myi-re-Npa
Wokusa-man-COM WoNkusa-GEN-helper-man-COM **tide-boat-COMP** stand side by side(INF)-SUB see-EV-CON

when [I] see a man from Wokusa and a helper-man from Wogusa standing side by side **like sea boats**... (MYS XIV: 3450)

ALLOMORPH -NASU

伊豆能多可祢能奈流佐波奈須与
iNtu-nø taka-ne-nø nar-u **sapa-nasu** yø
INtu-GEN high-peak-GEN sound-ATTR **mountain stream-COMP** PT
[My breast is disturbed] **like the mountain stream** rumbling at the high peak of INtu (MYS XIV: 3358)95
This is the only example, which, as mentioned above, Hendriks uses to demonstrate that *-nasu* is a full verb (Hendriks 1994: 243-44). However, since there is an apparent ellipsis, it is inadmissible as evidence. Hendriks translates this passage as '(My breast) is as disturbed as the rumbling gorges of the high peaks of Izu,' but while he indicates that '(my breast)' is not present in the original, he fills in 'is as disturbed' as if it were in the original. But it is apparently not there, and since there is an ellipsis, it is not possible to treat *-nasu* as a full verb.

夜麻敞呂能思之奈須於母敞流
yama pye-rø-nø **sisi-nasu** omøp-yer-u
mountain side-DIM-GEN **deer-COMP** think-PROG-ATTR
[they] think [of me] **like** [of] **a deer** on the mountain (little) side (MYS XIV: 3531)

奈流世呂爾木都能余須奈須伊等能伎提可奈思家世呂爾比等佐敞余須母
nar-u se-rø-ni køtu-nø yøs-u-nasu itø nøkyite kanasi-kye se-rø-ni pyitø sapye yøs-u mø

95 This passage is from the first of the two alternative variants of this poem.

sound-ATTR rapid-DIM-LOC debris-GEN approach-ATTR-COMP very specially beloved-ATTR beloved-DIM-DAT person PT relate-FIN PT
[I] wish that [other] people relate [my heart] to [my] very special beloved, **like the debris approaches each other in the singing rapids** (MYS XIV: 3548)

ALLOMORPH -NØSU
Seven out of the eight attested examples of *-nøsu* in Eastern Old Japanese (six in MYS XIV and one in MYS XX) occur after a nominalized sentence, ending in the attributive form.

美可母乃夜麻能許奈良能須麻具波思児呂
myikamø-nø yama-nø **kø-nara-nøsu** ma-Nkupasi KWO-rø
Myikamo-GEN mountain-GEN **DIM-oak-COMP**96 INT-beautiful girl-DIM
the girl, beautiful **like the small oak** on the Mount Myikamo (MYS XIV: 3424)

多可伎祢爾久毛能都久能須和礼左倍爾伎美爾都吉奈那
taka-kyi ne-ni kumwo-nø tuk-u-nøsu ware sapey n-i kyimyi-ni tuk-yi-n-ana
high-ATTR peak-LOC cloud-GEN attach-ATTR-COMP I PT DV-INF lord-DAT attach-INF-PERF-DES

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96 I follow here Takagi et al.'s explanation that kø-nara *is 'DIM-oak' (Takagi et al. 1960: 425). The point of view that* kø-nara *in this poem is not 'DIM-oak,' but 'tree-oak,' based on the fact that* otsu-rui */kø/ is never used instead of* kô-rui */kwo/ in Eastern Old Japanese texts, although the reverse cases are known (cited in Omodaka 1967: 303b), is a weak argument if indeed the orthographic confusion has started in Eastern Old Japanese. It is seems more preferable to me to suppose that* kø- *here is a misspelling of diminutive prefix* kwo-*, rather than to analyze* ko-nara *as 'tree-oak,' which runs against the basic rule of nominal compounding in Japanese, where the modifying noun always precedes the modified.*

Even I would like to cling to [my] lord **like clouds cling to a high peak** (MYS XIV: 3514)

水久君野爾可母能波抱能須児呂我宇倍爾許等乎呂波敞而
MYIkuku NWO-ni kamø-nø pap-o-nøsu KWO-rø-Nka upey-ni køtø-wo-rø papye-TE
Myikuku field-LOC duck-GEN crawl-ATTR-COMP girl-DIM-POSS top-LOC word-string-DIM spread(INF)-SUB
Rumors are spreading about this girl, **like ducks crawling at the field of Myikuku** (MYS XIV: 3525)

A2: Ryukyuan

The comparative case marker *-nu* (< *-nø) is attested only in the Shuri dialect (Nohara 1986: 65), but it may be due to the fact that grammatical descriptions of other Ryukyuan dialects are very sketchy. Examples:

Shuri

yuci-nu hwizu-i
snow-COMP cold-NML
coldness **like snow** (Nohara 1986: 65)

kusu-nu wajaN
feces-COMP grimace
grimace **like feces** (Nohara 1986: 65)

Since it is impossible that the Shuri dialect borrowed directly from Old Japanese, and since neither of the allophones of the comparative case marker survived into Middle Japanese, we can safely reconstruct *-nø as a comparative case marker in proto-Japonic. There is no need

to look for external cognates of this case marker, since Hendriks 1994 has cogently demonstrated that it goes back to the verb *ni-* < *nø-[C]i 'to resemble.'

4.1.2.2.15 Origins of the new ablative case marker -kara

The ablative case marker -*kara*, found in Classical and Modern Japanese, is a result of the grammaticalization of the noun *kara* 'clan,' 'relationship,' 'character.' Two examples of -*kara* as an ablative case marker are attested in late Western Old Japanese texts:

霍公鳥宇能花辺柄鳴越来
POTØTØNKYISU **u-nø PANA-N-PYE-kara** NAK-YI-TE KWOYE-K-YI-N-U
cuckoo hare-GEN **flower-GEN-side-ABL** cry-INF-SUB cross(INF)-come-INF-PERF-FIN
Crying, the cuckoo has crossed over **from the deutzia flowers** (lit.: hare flowers) (MYS X: 1945)

之乎路可良多太古要久礼婆
siwo-N-ti-kara taNta kwoye-k-ure-Npa
Siwo-GEN-road-ABL direct cross(INF)-come-EV-CON
when [I] cross [the mountains] directly **from Siwo Road**97
(MYS XVII: 4025)

There are no uncontroversial examples of -*kara* as an ablative case marker in Eastern Old Japanese texts.98

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97 Takagi et al. treat this example as 'crossing Siwo Road,' without providing any explanation for their interpretation (Takagi et al. 1962: 245). That might be possible, if we did not have the previous example from MYS X: 1945, where the ablative function of -kara *is obvious. Thus, I prefer Yamada Yoshio's explanation of* -kara *in this example as an early example of a new ablative case marker (Yamada 1954: 470).*

4.1.2.3 DIMINUTIVE SUFFIXES

There are four diminutive suffixes in Old Japanese: *-ra, -rø, -na*, and *-kwo*.

4.1.2.3.1 Diminutive suffix -ra

Diminutive suffix *-ra* has a very limited distribution, as it occurs after words designating love or family relationships: *se* 'beloved, husband' (lit.: 'elder brother'), *imwo* 'beloved, wife' (lit.: 'younger sister'), *titi papa* 'farther and mother,' and *kwo* 'girl, beloved' (lit.: 'child'). Only the endearment meaning is attested for the diminutive suffix *-ra*.

和賀美斯古良迦久母賀
wa-Nka myi-si **kwo-ra** ka-ku møNka
I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR **girl-DIM** thus-INF PT
[I] desire this much **the girl** I saw (KK 42)

武舸都烏爾陀底屡制▫羅我
muka-tu wo-ni tat-er-u **se-ra-Nka**
opposite-GEN/LOC peak-LOC stand-PROG-ATTR **beloved-DIM-POSS**
[my] beloved who stands on the opposite peak (NK 108)

阿袁麻多周良武知知波波良波母
a-wo mat-as-uram-u **titi papa-ra** pa mø
I-ACC wait-HON-TENT2-ATTR **father mother-DIM** TOP PT

---

98 Yamada Yoshio presents MYS XIV: 3541 as an example of -kara *in Eastern Old Japanese (Yamada 1954: 470), but the context there (aNsupye* kara *kwoma-nø yuk-wo nøsu (precipice* kara *stallion-GEN go-ATTR like) 'like the stallion going at the precipice' does not warrant the interpretation of* kara *as an ablative case marker.*

dear mother and father, who will probably wait for me
(MYS V: 890)
It is interesting that *-ra* only marks the second word *papa* 'mother' in this example, although there is no doubt that the endearment spreads to *titi* 'father' as well.

妹等所我通路
IMWO-RA-NKARI WA-NKA YUK-U MYITI
beloved-DIM-DIR I-POSS go-ATTR road
the road, on which I go **to [my] beloved** (MYS VII: 1121)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese diminutive suffix *-ra* occurs only after the word *kwo* 'girl, beloved.'

児良波可奈之久於毛波流留可毛
KWO-ra pa kanasi-ku omwop-ar-uru kamwo
beloved-DIM TOP loving-INF think-PASS-ATTR PT
oh, how passionately [I] long for [my] **beloved** (MYS XIV: 3372)

可奈師家児良爾伊夜射可里久母
kanasi-kye **KWO-ra-ni** iya-N-sakar-i k-u mø
beloved-ATTR **girl-DIM-DAT** more and more-DV(INF)-become distant-INF come-FIN PT
Oh, [I] came [here] growing more and more distant **to** [my] beloved **girl** (MYS XIV: 3412)

伊弖可天爾世之乎見多弖思伊敞能児良
iNte-kate-n-i se-si-wo MYI-tate-si ipye-nø **KWO-ra**

exit(INF)-POT-NEG-NML do-PAST/ATTR-ACC see(INF)-send off(INF)-PAST/ATTR home-GEN **girl-DIM**
[my] beloved, who saw [me] off [as I] could not go out [and part with her] (MYS XIV: 3534)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is no diminutive suffix *-ra* in Ryukyuan. I am not aware of any possible external parallels to this Old Japanese suffix, either.

4.1.2.3.2 Diminutive suffix -rø

It seems that the diminutive suffix *-rø* occurs in Western Old Japanese only twice: in NK 3 and FK 3,99 in both texts with a diminutive meaning after the words *mey* 'mesh' (lit.: 'eye'), and *ywo* 'night.' Yamada Yoshio confuses this diminutive suffix *-rø* with the defective verb *rø* that I will discuss in Chapter 6 (Yamada 1954: 522-24), but other specialists keep them distinct (Omodaka 1967: 811a-b). Examples:

以嗣箇播箇柁輔智箇柁輔智爾阿弥播利和柁嗣妹慮予嗣爾予嗣予利據祢

isi-kapa-kata-puti kata-puti-ni amyi par-i-watas-i **mey-rø** yøs-i-ni yøs-i yør-i-kø-ne

stone-river-side-pool side-pool-LOC net spread-INF-cross-INF **mesh-DIM** bring near-NML-COMP bring near-NML approach-INF-come-DES

[Girls, I] wish [you] come near, like [they] bring near **the meshes**, spreading nets across at the side pool of a stony river (NK 3)

都麻奈志爾和我尼牟欲呂波波夜母阿気奴賀母

tuma na-si-ni wa-Nka ne-m-u **ywo-rø** pa paya mø akey-n-u kamø

spouse no-FIN-LOC I-POSS sleep-TENT-ATTR **night-DIM** fast PT dawn-PERF-FIN PT

Oh, I wish that **the night** that I sleep without my spouse would end soon (FK 3)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

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99 Although FK 3 is from Hitachi province, I treat it as a Western Japanese text, because there are no apparent Eastern Old Japanese features.

A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The diminutive suffix *-rø* in Eastern Old Japanese appears with greater frequency than in Western Old Japanese, and it occurs with both diminutive and endearment meanings. With the latter meaning *-rø* is typically found after words designating familial or romantic relationships: *se* 'beloved, husband' (lit.: 'elder brother'), *imwo* 'beloved, wife' (lit.: 'younger sister'), and *kwo* 'girl, beloved' (lit.: 'child'), like the diminutive suffix *-ra* in Western Old Japanese. Examples:
Diminutive meaning:

波故祢能祢呂乃爾古具佐
pakwone-nø **ne-rø-nø** nikwo-N-kusa
Pakone-GEN **peak-DIM-GEN** nikwo-DV(ATTR)-grass
niko grass **of the little peak** in Pakone (MYS XIV: 3370)

佐祢奈敞波己許呂乃緒呂爾能里弖
sa-ne-n-ap-ye-Npa køkørø-nø **WO-rø-ni** nør-i-te
PREF-sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-CON heart-GEN **cord-DIM-LOC** ride-INF-SUB
when [we] continue not to sleep [together], [you] are riding **on [my] heart's little cord** (MYS XIV: 3466)

夜麻敞呂能思之奈須於母敞流
yama **pye-rø-nø** sisi-nasu omøp-yer-u
mountain **side-DIM-GEN** deer-COMP think-PROG-ATTR
[they] think [of me] like a deer **on the** mountain **(little) side** (MYS XIV: 3531)

伊波呂爾波安之布多気騰母
ipa-rø-ni pa asi pu tak-ey-Ntømø
house-DIM-LOC TOP reed fire burn-EV-CONC

although [I] make a fire out of reeds **in [my] little house**...
(MYS XX: 4419)

There is one example in Eastern Old Japanese which can possibly contradict the diminutive meaning of *-rø*, unless *opo-nwo* 'big field' represents a place name:

於抱野呂爾多奈婢久君母
opo-NWO-rø-ni tanaNpyik-u kumø
big-field-DIM?-LOC trail-ATTR cloud
clouds that trail over **the big field** (MYS XIV: 3520)

Endearment meaning:

多知和可礼伊爾之与比欲利世呂爾安波奈布与
tat-i-wakare in-i-si yøpyi-ywori **se-rø-ni** ap-an-ap-u yø
depart-INF-part(INF) go away-INF-PAST/ATTR night-ABL
beloved-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN PT
from the night when [we] parted and [he] went away, [I] never met **[my] beloved**! (MYS XIV: 3375)

児呂波多賀家可母多牟
KWO-rø pa ta-Nka kye ka møt-am-u
girl-DIM TOP who-POSS container PT hold-TENT-ATTR
whose container will **the girl** hold? (MYS XIV: 3424)

伊毛呂乎多弖天左祢度波良布母
imwo-rø-wo tate-te sa-ne-N-two parap-u mø
beloved-DIM-ACC make stand(INF)-SUB PREF-sleep(NML)-GEN-place clean-ATTR PT
[I] left [my] **beloved** standing, as [I] clean [our] sleeping place (MYS XIV: 3489)

A2: Ryukyuan
There are no cognates of the diminutive suffix *-rø* in Ryukyuan. As far as I am aware, there are no external parallels of this suffix, either.

4.1.2.3.3 Diminutive suffix -na

The diminutive suffix *-na* occurs only in Eastern Old Japanese. It is sometimes considered an Eastern Old Japanese cognate of the Western Old Japanese diminutive *-ra*, but this is doubtful, since the diminutive suffix *-ra* also occurs in Eastern Old Japanese (see 4.1.2.3.1). It is quite possible that the diminutive suffix *-na* is present in Western Old Japanese as an obsolete suffix in compounds like *okyi-na* 'old man' and *omyi-na* 'old woman.' In Eastern Old Japanese this suffix occurs only after words designating familial or romantic relationships: *se* 'beloved, husband' (lit.: 'elder brother'), *imwo* 'beloved, wife' (lit.: 'younger sister'), *teNkwo* 'girl,' and *kwo* 'girl, beloved' (lit.: 'child'). All its usages are in the endearment meaning.

麻許登可聞和礼爾余須等布麻末乃弓胡奈乎
ma-køtø kamo ware-ni yøs-u tø [i]p-u mama-nø **teNkwo-na-wo**
INT-thing PT I-DAT bring close-FIN DV say-ATTR Mama-GEN **girl-DIM-ACC**
it is true that [people] say that **the girl** from Mama has an intimate relationship with me (MYS XIV: 3384)

西奈等都麻佐祢
se-na-tø tum-as-ane
beloved-DIM-COM pick-HON-DES

[I] want to pick [them] **with [my] beloved**! (MYS XIV: 3444)

伊毛奈呂我都加布河伯豆
imwo-na-rø-Nka tukap-u kapaNtu
beloved-DIM-DIM-POSS use-ATTR washing place
the washing place [my] **beloved** uses (MYS XIV: 3446)
In this example two diminutive suffixes *-na* and *-rø* are used together.

A2: Ryukyuan
There are no cognates of the diminutive suffix *-na* in Ryukyuan. As far as I am aware, there are no external parallels of this suffix, either.

4.1.2.3.4 Diminutive suffix -kwo

The diminutive suffix *-kwo* has a very limited distribution in Old Japanese: it occurs only after the words *imwo* 'beloved, wife' (lit.: 'younger sister'), *se* 'beloved, husband' (lit.: 'elder brother'), and *ayu* 'sweetfish.' There is also a diminutive prefix *kwo-*, described above (4.1.1.4). Both the Old Japanese diminutive prefix *kwo-* and the diminutive suffix *-kwo* are probably interrelated; and the same is probably true for Old Ryukyuan diminutive prefix *go-/ko-* and the Shuri diminutive suffix *-gwaa*/Old Ryukyuan diminutive suffix *-gu*. The prefix/suffix variation in Old Japanese and Old Ryukyuan is probably due to the fact that Japonic had been heavily influenced by substratum languages, where the suffixation typical for an 'Altaic' type language was mixed with the prefixation of an Austroasiatic or Austronesian type language. The suffix *-kwo* with the diminutive meaning occurs only with the word *ayu* 'sweetfish.' In all other cases it has only the meaning of endearment. Examples:

Diminutive meaning:

河湍尓波年魚小狭走
KAPA SE-ni pa **AYU-KWO** sa-PASIR-I
river rapids-LOC TOP **sweetfish-DIM** PREF-run-INF
little sweetfish are swimming fast in the river rapids
(MYS III: 475)

加波度爾波阿由故佐婆斯留吉美麻知我弖爾
kapa-two-ni pa ayu-kwo sa-pasir-u kyimyi mat-i-Nkate-n-i
river-door-LOC TOP sweetfish-DIM PREF-run-ATTR lord wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF
[I] can hardly wait for my lord **at the ford in the river** where little sweetfish are swimming fast (MYS V: 859)

Endearment meaning:

佐餓始枳椰摩茂和芸毛古等赴駄利古喩例麼
saNkasi-kyi yama mo **wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-tø** puta-ri kwoy-ure-Npa
steep-ATTR mountain PT **I-POSS-beloved-DIM-COM** two-CL cross-EV-CON
when two [of us, I] **and my beloved** cross the steep mountain
(NK 61)

和何世古我多那礼乃美巨騰都地爾意加米移母
wa-Nka **se-kwo-Nka** ta-nare n-ø myi-køtø tuti-ni ok-am-ey ya mø
I-POSS **beloved-DIM-POSS** hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR HON-koto ground-LOC put-TENT-EV PT PT
would anyone dare to put the favorite *koto* **of** my **beloved** on the ground? (MYS V: 812)

吾妹子之阿乎偲良志
WA-NK-**YIMWO-KWO** si a-wo SINWOP-Urasi
I-POSS-**beloved-DIM** PT I-ACC long-SUP
It seems my **beloved** longs for me (MYS XII: 3145)

和伎毛故波伊都登加和礼乎伊波比麻都良牟
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo pa itu tø ka ware-wo ipap-yi mat-uram-u
I-POSS-beloved-DIM TOP when DV PT I-ACC pray-INF wait-TENT2-ATTR
My beloved will probably wait for me, praying [to the gods], and thinking: 'When [will he return]?' (MYS XV: 3659)

伊波敞和我勢古多太爾安布末低爾
ipap-ye wa-Nka **se-kwo** taNta ap-u-maNte-ni
pray-IMP I-POSS **beloved-DIM** direct meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC
pray, my **beloved**, until [we] meet in person (MYS XV: 3778)

和我勢古我久爾敞麻之奈婆
wa-Nka **se-kwo-Nka** kuni-pye [i]mas-i-n-aNpa
I-POSS **beloved-DIM-POSS** land-DIR come(HON)-INF-PERF-COND
If my **beloved** returns to [his] land (MYS XVII: 3996)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The diminutive prefix *-kwo* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese only after the word *se* 'beloved, husband.'

和我世古乎夜麻登敞夜利弖
wa-Nka **se-kwo-wo** yamatø-pye yar-i-te
I-POSS **beloved-DIM-ACC** Yamato-DIR send-INF-SUB
Having sent my **beloved** to Yamato (MYS XIV: 3363)

和我世故乎安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nka **se-kwo-wo** aN-tø kamø ip-am-u
I-POSS **beloved-DIM-ACC** what-DV PT say-TENT-ATTR
What shall [I] say **about** my **beloved**? (MYS XIV: 3379)

A2: Ryukyuan
As mentioned above, there is a diminutive suffix *-gu* in Old Ryukyuan and a diminutive suffix *-gwaa* in the modern Shuri dialect, which are cognates to the Old Japanese diminutive suffix *-kwo*. In Old Ryukyuan the diminutive suffix *-gu* is added exclusively to personal names and has the function of endearment (Nakahara & Hokama 1978: 154c). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan:

おしぢへたるゑつかさくどゑ
os-i-dife-tar-u we **tukasa-gu** do we
push-INF-exit-PERF/PROG-ATTR hey **tukasa-DIM** PT hey
hey, [we] pushed [the boat] ahead; hey, [priestess] **Tukasa** (OS XIII: 747)

Shuri:

juusu-gwaa-tu kwaashi-gwaa-tu koo-ti-kara ’ik-a
juice-DIM-COM sweets-DIM-COM buy-SUB-ABL go-HORT

Let us go after [we] buy **juice and sweets**100

4.2 PRONOUNS

There are five subclasses of pronouns in Old Japanese prose: personal, reflexive, demonstrative, collective, and interrogative. Pronouns represent the nominal subclass in Old Japanese that exhibits the greatest morphological irregularities/peculiarities compared to other nominal subclasses represented by nouns and numerals. I will discuss them in the next section.

4.2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES OF PRONOUNS

In contrast to modern Japanese, none of the pronouns in Old Japanese can be followed by plural markers, while nouns can be followed by plural markers. A possible historical explanation for this strange limitation will be discussed below. Several pronouns (*wa* 'I, we,' *a* 'I, we,' *na* 'thou,' *kø-* 'this,' *sø-* 'that,' *ka-* 'that yonder,' *ta-* 'who,' *onø-* 'self') have two stems: the unextended one represented by the pronominal root: *wa, a, na, kø, sø, ka, ta*, and the extended being a combination of the pronominal root with the suffix *-re*. Personal pronouns *wa*, *a* 'I, we,' *na* 'thou,' *si* 's/he, it' and interrogative pronoun *ta* 'who' do not occur in combination with a genitive marker *-nø*; on the other hand, demonstratives *kø* 'this,' *sø* 'that,' and *ka* 'that yonder' never combine with the case marker -*Nka*. The modifier forms of these demonstrative pronouns are derived by adding the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' to their first stem: *kønø, sønø, kanø*. The third person pronoun *si* 's/he,' exhibits three possible stems: *si, sø-,* and *søne-*.

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100 This example is taken from (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 34).

4.2.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are four first person pronouns in Western Old Japanese: *wa/ware*, *a/are, marø*, and *na*. The last two are marginal and rare; in addition they are never used as plural 'we.' In the overwhelming majority of cases one finds either *wa/ware* or *a/are*. The main second person pronoun is *na/nare*, with more rarely occurring *masi/myimasi/imasi.* The third person pronoun is *si*, although Roy A. Miller claimed that *si* can be also used as a second person pronoun. This claim is very controversial, and I will discuss this controversy at full length in 4.2.2.7. Apart from the controversial *si*, there are no special third person pronouns in Western Old Japanese.

Regarding the first person pronouns *wa/ware* and *a/are*, no significant difference in their grammatical or sociolinguistic usage can be deduced from the existing texts, with the exception of the fact that *a/are* is found in combination with fewer case markers than *wa/ware*. But that might well be the matter of attestation, and not of grammatical difference, especially taking into consideration the fact that *a/are* occurs overall more rarely than *wa/ware*. It is also obvious that both forms do not belong to different dialects within Western Old Japanese since both of them may occur within the same text, e.g.:

和我多妣波比左思久安良思許能安我家流伊毛我許呂母
能阿可都久見礼婆

wa-Nka taNpyi pa pyisasi-ku a-rasi kønø **a-Nka** k-yer-u imwo-Nka kørømø-nø aka tuk-u MYI-re-Npa

I-POSS journey TOP long-INF exist-SUP this **I-POSS** wear-PROG-ATTR beloved-POSS garment-GEN dirt attach-ATTR see-EV-CON

It seems that **my** journey was long, when [I] see that this garment of [my] beloved which **I** wear became dirty (MYS XV: 3667)

According to the traditional Japanese point of view, they both represent the variant of the same pronoun, and the variant *a-* is older than variant *wa-* (Yamada 1954: 55-57), (Saeki 1959: 99). Yamada's position is based on two observations: first, he claims that *a-* occurs in compounds, and *wa-* does not (Yamada 1954: 55). Second, he believes that since *wa-* occurs more frequently than *a-* (271 *wa-* and 132 *a-* in Yamada's count)*, a-* must be the older form (Yamada 1954: 56-57). Both arguments, are, however, fallacious. First, both forms occur in compounds and each of them just once: *wa-N-tøri* 'my bird' (KK 3) and *a-N-kwo* 'my children' (NK 8), if we properly discard all examples with *a-* based on folk etymology, as I will demonstrate in 4.2.2.2. Second, bare statistics without chronology is pointless. If one believes, following Yamada, that both *wa-* and *a-* represent a variant of the same word, and that lower number of *a-* should point to its greater antiquity, it is incomprehensible why *wa-* is much more frequent in the earlier Old Japanese texts, and *a-* gains frequency only in the later Old Japanese texts. Cf. the following chart, where the *Kojiki kayô,* the *Nihonshoki kayô*, and MYS V are taken as early Old Japanese texts and MYS XV, MYS XVII, MYS XVIII, and MYS XX as late Old Japanese texts.[101]

Chart 8: Distribution of the first person pronouns *wa-* and *a-* in the early and late OJ texts

101 Only Western Old Japanese part of MYS XX was subjected to this statistical analysis.

	wa-	**ware**	**a-**	**are**
KK	38	5	5	3
NK	28	10	8	3
MYS V	10	9	7	6
MYS XV	37	15	24	9
MYS XVII	13	9	13	9
MYS XVIII	8	10	3	3
MYS XX	2	5	4	2

The overall low numbers for first person pronouns in MYS XX reflect the fact that the Western Old Japanese part of this volume is shorter than any other of the above texts, and therefore it is not significant. Otherwise, it can be clearly seen that the ratio of *wa-* forms versus *a-* forms gradually decreases. The first person pronoun *a-* is also used much more frequently in late than in early Western Old Japanese texts. If Yamada were right that *a-* is an old moribund pronoun, it must be more frequent in the early Old Japanese texts, and *wa-* in the late Old Japanese texts. Another argument against the traditional point of view can be made on the basis of the phonological history of Japanese: the fortition *Ø* > *w/___a* is otherwise unknown both in Old Japanese in particular and in the history of Japanese in general. Moreover, a comparison with cognates from Ryukyuan demonstrate that the proto-Japonic form of OJ *wa-* was *ba/*ba-n, which would make the fortition explanation even more difficult.[102]

*102 There is an opinion that South Ryukyuan *b- corresponding to OJ* w- *is a result of a fortition. The evidence for this point of view is largely based on several Chinese loanwords in South Ryukyuan, such as, e.g. Miyako* boo *'king' (used as child's name)* < *MJ* wau < *Chinese* wang *(王) 'id.' as well as on distribution patterns (see Karimata 1999: 55-56 for details). The counter-argument against this point of view is based on an assumption that these loanwords were phonologically 'grandfathered' into Miyako and other South Ryukyuan dialects (Serafim, p.c.).*

Certainly, one can claim a prothesis of [w-] in front of /a/, but again no other cases of such a prothesis are known. This, together with the aforementioned tendency of replacing *wa-* with *a-* in Old Japanese, should point to the fact that *a-* forms are secondary as compared to *wa-* forms, and are due to the general process of /w/ lenition in Japanese. This lenition explanation, although more plausible than the fortition one, faces two problems. First, there are no other examples of *w* > *Ø/___a* attested in Old Japanese, although there is one more in Middle Japanese: *wamek-/amek-* 'to cry, to shout,' so the change is irregular. Second, on the basis of the above statistics in Chart 8 and the fact that *a-* forms did not survive into Middle Japanese, including the earliest Classical Japanese texts, and have much more limited Ryukyuan attestations than *wa-* forms, it looks like that the *a-* forms were short-lived, probably originating in proto-Japonic, but quickly fading away after Old Japanese in mainland Japanese and surviving after Old Ryukyuan only in few Ryukyuan dialects.

All these facts bring reasonable doubt in traditional belief that both *wa-* and *a-* forms represent genetically related phonetic variants of the same pronoun, in spite of their significant morphological similarity: both have an extended stem in *-re*, and it appears that both have an oblique stem marker *-N-*, although in the case of *a-* forms there is no enough evidence due to the lack of evidence from modern Ryukyuan dialects, which is crucial. Yoshizô Itabashi was the first linguist who proposed to view *wa-* and *a-* forms as etymologically different (Itabashi 1999). Although I do not personally agree with his Austronesian etymology for *a-* forms (see 4.2.2.2 below), I believe that his general proposal to separate the two forms genetically is probably a step in a right direction.

4.2.2.1 First person pronoun *wa/ware*

The first person pronoun *wa/ware* is a neutral pronoun from a sociolinguistic point of view, which can be used without any regards to the gender or social status. By the beginning of the Heian period, the extended stem *wa-re* with the obsolete suffix *-re* was used in the nominative case and all oblique cases except the genitive, where the unextended stem *wa-* was used. In Old Japanese the situation was different: there are examples when the unextended stem is used independently or with the following dative, directive and accusative case markers, thus we have: *wa* 'I,' *wa-ni* 'I-DAT,' *wa-Nkari* 'I-DIR' and *wa-wo* 'I-ACC,' alongside with more common *ware* 'I,' *ware-ni* 'I-DAT,' and *ware-wo* 'I-ACC.' There is no directive form *ware-Nkari, however. All forms in isolation and dative forms are attested only in Eastern Old Japanese, as well as the majority of examples of accusative forms. In one example (KK 3) unextended stem *wa-* appears in the compound *wa-N-tøri* 'my bird' as if it were followed by the compressed genitive *-N-*. Since this is the only example and since we know that personal pronouns combine with possessive case marker *-Nka* and not genitive case marker *-nø*, it is safer to assume that this *-N-* is a marker of the oblique stem of pronoun. This proposal will be further supported below by Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data, where the oblique stem of the first person pronoun appears as *wanu, waN, banu* (see the example with *wanu* 'I' from MYS XIV: 3476 below).[103]

While modern Japanese strictly differentiates the number of personal pronouns: thus, *watakusi* means only 'I,' but *watakusi-tati* means only 'we,' it is usually considered that OJ *wa-/ware* can mean both. However, the unextended

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*103 Martin reconstructs PJ *ba[nu] 'I' (Martin 1987: 567).*

stem *wa-* occurs in the plural meaning in Western Old Japanese only in the possessive form *wa-Nka*: in all other cases it is always singular. In all other cases plural meaning is associated with the extended stem *ware* only, which can be used in both singular and plural meanings. This leads to a hypothesis that extending suffix *-re* goes back to a plural suffix *-ra* plus active case marker *-i*: *wa-re* < *wa-ra-i. By the time when the first Old Japanese texts were recorded the distinction between singular *wa-* and plural *wa-re* was lost in most cases, but the former singular stem has managed to retain its original meaning in isolation and before all case markers except the possessive *-Nka*.

The following chart summarizes the distribution of both unextended stem *wa* and extended stem *ware* in isolation and with the following case markers in Western and Eastern Old Japanese.

Chart 9: First person pronoun *wa/ware* in combination with case markers

	Unextended stem wa-	**Extended stem ware**
Isolation	wa* S	ware SP
Possessive	wa-Nka SP	—
Dative	wa-ni* S, wanu-ni* S	ware-ni S
Accusative	wa-wo S	ware-wo** SP
Directive	wa-Nkari S	—
Ablative	—	ware-yori** S

* - Eastern Old Japanese only, ** - Western Old Japanese only, S - singular, P - plural

Stem *wa-*

The unextended stem *wa-* in Western Old Japanese never occurs without following case markers, except in one case in

a compound (see below). In most cases it is followed by the possessive case marker *-Nka*, although accusative *wa-wo* and directive *wa-Nkari* are also attested.

Oblique stem *wa-N-* in a compound

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迩阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠
ima køsø pa **wa-N-tøri** n-i ar-am-ey nøti pa na-N-tøri n-i ar-am-u-wo
now PT TOP **I-OSM-bird** DV-INF exist-TENT-EV after TOP you-OSM-bird DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC
Now [I] am **my bird**, later [I] will be your bird, so... (KK 3)

Possessive *wa-Nka*

淤曾夫良比和何多多勢禮婆比許豆良比和何多多勢禮婆
osø-N-pur-ap-yi **wa-Nka** tat-as-er-e-Npa pyikø-N-tur-ap-yi **wa-Nka** tat-as-er-e-Npa
push-DV(INF)-shake-ITER-INF **I-POSS** stand-HON-PROG-EV-CON pull-DV(INF)-shove-ITER-INF **I-POSS** stand-HON-PROG-EV-CON
[I] was pushing and shaking [the door], when **I** stood [there], [I] was pulling and shoving [it], when **I** stood [there] (KK 2)

和何許許呂
wa-Nka køkørø
I-POSS heart
my heart (KK 3)

志芸和那波留和賀麻都夜
siNkyi-wana par-u **wa-Nka** mat-u ya
snipe-trap stretch-FIN **we-POSS** wait-FIN PT

[we] set a snipe trap. **We** waited! (KK 9)

許能美岐波和賀美岐那良受
kønø myi-kyi pa **wa-Nka** myi-kyi nar-aNs-u
this HON-wine TOP **I-POSS** HON-wine be-NEG-FIN
This wine is not **my** wine (KK 39)

和賀由久美知
wa-Nka yuk-u myiti
we-POSS go-ATTR way
the way **we** go (KK 43)

和我恵比爾祁牟
wa-Nka wep-yi-n-i-ky-em-u
I-POSS get intoxicated-INF-PERF-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
I got intoxicated (FK 6)

和何世古我多那礼乃美巨騰都地爾意加米移母
wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka ta-nare n-ø myi-køtø tuti-ni ok-am-ey ya mø
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR HON-koto ground-LOC put-TENT-EV PT PT
would anyone dare to put the favorite *koto* of **my** beloved on the ground? (MYS V: 812)

伊波敞和我勢古多太爾安布末低爾
ipap-ye **wa-Nka** se-kwo taNta ap-u-maNte-ni
pray-IMP **I-POSS** beloved-DIM direct meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC
pray, **my** beloved, until [we] meet in person (MYS XV: 3778)

The possessive form *wa-Nka* can occasionally lose the vowel /a/ in the possessive marker -*Nka* in front of the words *imwo* 'beloved,' and *ipye* 'home,' producing close-to-compounds forms *wa-Nk-yimwo* 'my beloved' and *wa-Nk-yipye* 'my home.'104 Examples:

摩佐豆古和芸毛玖迩弊玖陀良須
masaNtukwo **wa-Nk-yimwo** kuni-pye kuNtar-as-u
Masaduko **I-POSS-beloved** province-DIR descend-HON-FIN
Masaduko, **my beloved**, goes toward [her] province (KK 52)

和芸幣能伽多由区毛位多知区暮
wa-Nk-yipye-nø kata-yu kumwo wi-tat-i-k-u mo
I-POSS-home-GEN side-ABL cloud be(INF)-rise-INF-come-FIN PT
Clouds rise from the side of **my home** (NK 21)

The possessive form *wa-Nka* can assimilate the vowel /a/ to /ø/ in the possessive marker -*Nka* in front of the compound *opo kyimyi* 'emperor' (lit.: 'great lord'), becoming *wa-Nkø*:105

和期於保伎美余思努乃美夜乎安里我欲比賣須

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104 The uncontracted forms wa-Nka imwo *'my beloved' and* wa-Nka ipye *'my home' are also plentifully attested in Old Japanese texts. Interesting enough, when the word* imwo *'beloved' is followed by the diminutive suffix* -kwo*, there is just one example of uncontracted* wa-Nka imwo-kwo*, attested in Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XX: 4405); in all other known attestations there is always contracted* wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo.

105 Unassimilated wa-Nka opo kyimyi *'my emperor' is also attested in Old Japanese texts, although* wa-Nkø opo kyimyi *seems to be more frequent.*

wa-Nkø opo kyimyi yøsinwo-nø myiya-wo ari-Nkaywop-yi-myes-u
I-POSS great lord Yoshino-GEN palace-ACC ITER-go back and forth-INF-HON-FIN
My emperor constantly visits the palace in Yoshino (MYS XVIII: 4099)

Accusative *wa-wo*

和乎待難尓
wa-wo MAT-I-KATE-n-i
I-ACC wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF
[she] is unable to wait for **me** (MYS XI: 2483)

何爲牟尓吾乎召良米夜
NANI SE-m-u-ni **WA-wo** MYES-Uram-ey ya
what do-TENT-ATTR-LOC **I-ACC** summon-TENT2-EV PT
should you have summoned **me** in order to do something? (MYS XVI: 3886)

Directive *wa-Nkari*

今夜可君之我許来益武
KØ YØPYI ka KYIMYI-NKA **WA-Nkari** K-YI-MAS-Am-u
this night PT lord-POSS **I-DIR** come-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR
Is it tonight that [my] lord will come **to me**? (MYS VIII: 1519)

Stem *ware*
The extended stem *ware* in Western Old Japanese occurs in isolation, and also followed by the dative case marker *-ni*, accusative case marker *-wo*, and ablative case marker *-ywori*.

Isolated form *ware*

和禮波和須禮士
ware pa wasure-Nsi
I TOP forget-NEG/TENT
I will not forget (KK 12)

和禮波夜恵奴
ware pa ya we-n-u
we TOP PT starve-PERF-FIN
we are starving (KK 14)

迦美斯美岐迩和禮恵比迩祁理
kam-yi-si myi-kyi-ni **ware** wep-yi-n-i-kyer-i
brew-INF-PAST/ATTR HON-sake-LOC **I** be drunk-INF-PERF-INF-PRET-FIN
I got drunk with brewed holy *sake* (KK 49)

和礼由久
ware yuk-u
I go-FIN
I will go (M XV: 3706)

Dative *ware-ni*

伊慕我堤鳴倭例爾魔柯斯每
imo-Nka te-wo **ware-ni** mak-asimey
beloved-POSS hand-ACC **I-DAT** use as a pillow-CAUS(INF)
[my] beloved will let **me** use [her] hands as a pillow (NK 96)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美
ware-ni otør-er-u pyitø-wo opo-myi
I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS many-GER
because there are many people who are worse **than me** (BS 13)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弖於毛布良米也母
pyikwoposi mø **ware-ni** masar-i-te omwop-uram-ey ya mø
Altair PT **I-DAT** surpass-INF-SUB long-TENT2-EV PT PT
Will Altair long for [his beloved] more than I [do]? (lit.: surpassing **me**) (MYS XV: 3657)

Accusative *ware-wo*

和例烏斗波輸儺
ware-wo twop-as-u na
I-ACC ask-HON-FIN PT
[You] asked **me**! (NK 63)

烏麼野始爾倭例烏比岐例底
woN-payasi-ni **ware-wo** pyik-yi-[i]re-te
DIM-wood-LOC **I-ACC** pull-INF-insert(INF)-SUB
Taking **me** into the small wood... (NK 111)

伊敞妣等乃伊豆良等和礼乎等波婆伊可爾伊波牟
ipye-N-pyitø-nø iNtu-ra tø **ware-wo** tøp-aNpa ika n-i ip-am-u
home-GEN-person-GEN where-LOC DV **I-ACC** ask-COND how DV-INF say-TENT-FIN
If people from [your] home ask **me** where [are you], how should [I] answer? (MYS XV: 3689)

和礼乎於吉弖比等波安良自

ware-wo ok-yi-te pyitø pa ar-aNsi
we-ACC leave-INF-SUB person TOP exist-NEG/TENT
except **us**, there would be no [other] men (MYS XVIII: 4094)

Ablative *ware-ywori*

和礼欲利母貧人乃父母波
ware-ywori mø MANTUSI-KYI PYITØ-nø TITI PAPA pa
I-ABL PT poor-ATTR person-GEN father mother TOP
fathers and mothers of people poorer **than me** (MYS V: 892)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
As was mentioned above, Eastern Old Japanese has more combinations of the unextended stem *wa* with case markers than Western Old Japanese, and it also can be used in isolation. The plural meaning of the first person pronoun *wa/ware* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

Stem *wa*
The unextended stem *wa* is used very frequently in Eastern Old Japanese: it occurs eleven times in isolation, two times with the dative case marker *-ni* (one more time the dative form *wanu-ni* based on the oblique stem *wanu-*), four times with accusative marker *-wo*, and one time with directive marker *-Nkari*.

Isolated form *wa*

和可加敞流弖能毛美都麻弖宿毛等和波毛布
waka kapyerute-nø mwomyit-u-maNte NE-m-wo tø **wa** pa [o]mwop-u
young maple-GEN become red (of leaves)-ATTR-TERM sleep-TENT-ATTR DV **I** TOP think-FIN
I think that [we] should sleep [together] until the young maple becomes red (MYS XIV: 3494)

己許呂能未伊母我理夜里弖和波己許爾思天
køkørø nømiy imo-Nkari yar-i-te **wa** pa køkø-ni s-i-te
heart PT beloved-DIR send-INF-SUB **I** TOP here-LOC do-INF-SUB
I [have] to stay here, sending just [my] heart to [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3538)

Possessive *wa-Nka*

布時能夜麻備爾和我伎奈婆
puNsi-nø yama-N-piy-ni **wa-Nka** k-yi-n-aNpa
Fuji-GEN mountain-GEN-side-LOC **I-POSS** come-INF-PERF-COND
if **I** come to the side of the mountain Fuji (MYS XIV: 3356)

和我世故乎安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo aN-tø kamø ip-am-u
I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC what-DV PT say-TENT-ATTR
What shall [I] say about **my** beloved? (MYS XIV: 3379)

Dative *wa-ni, wanu-ni*

和爾奈多要曾祢
wa-ni na-taye-sø-ne
I-DAT NEG-break-do-IMP
Do not become estranged **from me** (MYS XIV: 3378)

和爾余曾利
wa-ni yøsør-i
I-DAT become intimate-INF
becoming intimate **with me** (MYS XIV: 3408)

和奴爾故布奈毛
wanu-ni kwop-unam-wo
I-DAT long-TENT2-ATTR
[you] will probably long for **me** (MYS XIV: 3476)
In this example *wanu* in all probability represents in the Eastern Old Japanese a trace of the first person pronoun oblique stem *wa-n[u]-, which is well attested in Ryukyuan.

Accusative *wa-wo*

和乎布利弥由母阿是古志麻波母
wa-wo pur-i-myi-y-u mø aNse kwo si map-am-ø
I-ACC swing-INF-look-PASS-FIN PT Aze girl PT dance-TENT-ATTR
the girl from Aze is going to dance, looking back **at me** (FK 7)
This song from Hitachi province has other typical Eastern Old Japanese features, such as attributive in *-o*, so I consider it to be an Azuma text.

和乎可麻都那毛伎曾毛己余必母
wa-wo ka mat-unam-wo kyisø mwo kø yøpyi mø
I-ACC PT wait-TENT2-ATTR last night PT this night PT
will [she] have waited for **me,** both last night and tonight? (MYS XIV: 3563)

Directive *wa-Nkari*

伊豆由可母加奈之伎世呂我和賀利可欲波牟
iNtu-yu kamø kanasi-kyi se-rø-Nka **wa-Nkari** kaywop-am-u
where-ABL PT beloved-ATTR husband-DIM-POSS **I-DIR** visit-TENT-ATTR
where will my beloved husband visit **me** from? (MYS XIV: 3549)

Stem *ware*

The extended stem *ware* is rather rare and has limited usage in Eastern Old Japanese compared to the unextended stem *wa*: it occurs only four times in isolation and once with the following dative-locative case marker *-ni* in MYS XIV (all examples are below). The accusative form *ware-wo* is not attested. There is an isolated example of *warø* 'I,' probably a phonetic variant of *ware* in MYS XX: 4343. In addition, there are two attestations in MYS XX: 4344 and MYS XX: 4348, but none of these two poems include any distinctive Eastern Japanese features.

Isolated form *ware*

久君美良和礼都賣杼
kuku-myira **ware** tum-ye-Ntø
stalk-leek **I** pick up-EV-CONC
Although **I** pick stalk-leeks... (MYS XIV: 3444)

和礼多知麻多牟
ware tat-i-mat-am-u
I stand-INF-wait-TENT-FIN
I will stand and wait [for you] (MYS XIV: 3455)

伎美波和須良酒和礼和須流礼夜
kyimyi pa wasur-as-u **ware** wasur-ure ya
lord TOP forget-HON-FIN **I** forget-EV PT

[My] lord will forget [me]. Will **I** forget [you]? (MYS XIV: 3498)

和礼左倍爾伎美爾都吉奈那
ware sapey n-i kyimyi-ni tuk-yi-n-ana
I even DV-INF lord-DAT cling-INF-PERF-DES
Even **I** want to cling to [my] lord (MYS XIV: 3514)

Variant *warø*

和呂多比波多比等於米保等
warø taNpyi pa taNpyi tø omeypo-Ntø
I journey TOP journey DV think-CONC
Although **I** think that [my] journey is [just] a journey... (MYS XX: 4343)

Dative *ware-ni*

麻許登可聞和礼爾余須等布
ma-køtø kamo **ware-ni** yøs-u tø [i]p-u
INT-thing PT **I-DAT** bring close-FIN DV say-ATTR
it is true that [people] say that [she] has an intimate relationship **with me** (MYS XIV: 3384)

A2: Ryukyuan

The Ryukyuan cognate *waa/baa/waN/banu* to the Old Japanese *wa/ware* is well supported by all Ryukyuan dialects.[106] It is always used as a first person singular pronoun 'I.' There are two morphological peculiarities of this pronoun in Ryukyuan, that are significant for the

106 Interesting enough, this cognate has survived in Ryukyuan up to this day, long after the first person pronoun wa/ware *had disappeared from Central Japanese itself.*

reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype. First, there are practically no traces in Ryukyuan of the extended stem *ware*,107 which together with the rarity of *ware* in Eastern Old Japanese further supports the claim that this stem is an innovation. Second, in some Ryukyuan dialects this pronoun has two stems: the unextended stem *waa-* and the extended stem ending in *-N*: *waN*. Examples from the Northern Ryukyuan dialects: Shuri *waa/waN*, Sesoko *waa/waN*, Kunigami *waa/waN* (Uchima 1984: 45-46). There are other dialects, however, particularly in the Southern Ryukyus, which do not have this distinction, employing either an unextended or an extended stem only: Kawahira *banu*, but Hateruma *baa* (Uchima 1984: 48-50). Since the choice in Southern Ryukyus is not limited to one stem, either extended or unextended, but seems to be rather an arbitrary choice, it appears that this simpler situation is an innovation in the south, and, therefore, our attention must be directed to Northern Ryukyuan dialects that exhibit two different stems. As an example, let us look at the paradigm of the first person *waa/waN* in Shuri:108

Chart 10: The paradigm of Shuri first singular person pronoun *waa/waN*

Topic form	waN-nee
Nominative	waa-ga
Genitive (in compounds)	waa-
Dative	waN-ni

107 ware *'I' appears once in Ryukyuan plays (Hokama 1995: 740d), but it is a singular example in a group of texts highly influenced by mainland Japanese.*

108 The sample of paradigm is taken from (Kaneshiro & Hattori 1955: 531), with some simplification of their transcription, which mainly involves converting their phonetic transcription into a phonological and omitting accent notations.

Accusative	waN
Comitative	waN-tu
Directive	waN-niNkai

On the surface, this chart looks like a perfect counterpart to the Classical Japanese paradigm, where the unextended stem *wa*- appears only before the possessive case marker -*ga* (corresponding to the nominative case marker -*ga* in Shuri), and the extended stem *ware* is used in all other cases. However, there are at least three problems facing this superfluous approach. First, as shown above, the distribution of extended and unextended stems in Old Japanese was different from Classical Japanese, especially if Eastern Old Japanese data is taken into consideration. Second, Classical and Old Japanese /re/ corresponds regularly to Shuri /ri/, not /N/. Third, the Ryukyuan extended stem *waN* never has the plural meaning 'we,' which is well attested in both Old and Classical Japanese *ware*.

Comparing the above chart with the data from Old Japanese, we find the following major discrepancies: a) the form before a topic marker, as well as accusative and directive forms use the extended form *waN*, not the unextended form *waa*-; b) genitive form in compounds is unextended *waa*-, but not the special oblique form *wa*-*N*- as in Old Japanese. The major problem is the difference between the unextended form *wa* in Eastern Old Japanese and extended form *waN* in Shuri before the topic particle, since this is the form that in Old Japanese can be equaled to a form in isolation. There are two arguments that, as I believe, point to the fact that the Shuri extension to the usage of the extended form before the topic particle is an innovation. First, most combinations of Shuri nominals with the following topic particle *ya* result in fusion. When fusion occurs, it is very

difficult if not impossible, to draw a proper morphological boundary. Examples:

Chart 11: Shuri nominals in combination with a topic particle *ya*

nominal	**nominal + ya**	**meaning**
sima	simaa	island
’ami	’amee	rain
kumu	kumoo	cloud
saNsiN	saNsinoo	shamisen

Second, in Old Ryukyuan the unextended stem *wa* and not the extended stem *waN* appears in isolation and before the topic marker (Hokama 1995: 730b), although this usage is not found in the *Omoro sôshi*, where unextended *wa-* appears only before nominative *-ga* (Nakahara & Hokama 1978: 364c). Nevertheless, usage in isolation of the unextended stem *wa* not in the possessive function occurs in the *Ryûka*, although very infrequently, compared to the usage of the same stem in the possessive function:

誰もわていやは
TARU mo **wa** te iy-aba
who PT **I** DV say-COND
if everyone says ‘**I**’ (RK 617)

あれやわ自由しゆすが
are ya **wa** ziyu shiyu-su ga
she TOP **I** freedom do-NML PT
Will **I** be [able to] do with her as I want? (RK 1531)

Therefore, it seems most likely that the proto-Ryukyuan paradigm of the first person pronoun could be reconstructed in the following way:

non-oblique stem: wa < *ba
oblique stem: waN < *ba-n[u]

The fact that Eastern Old Japanese has *wanu-* as an oblique stem before the dative case marker *-ni* suggests that a similar system should be reconstructed for proto-Japonic. The only obstacle to this reconstruction is the fact that the Old Japanese possessive case marker *-Nka*, which should appear after an oblique stem, appears after a non-oblique stem *wa*. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the possessive case marker *-Nka* itself begins with an *-N-* < *-n-, and it is quite possible that the possessive case marker *-Nka* should be reanalyzed as *-N-ka*, with *-N-* belonging to the stem of the pronoun instead to the following case marker. Needless to say, such an analysis is going to upset the possible alternative etymological analysis of the possessive case marker *-Nka* and genitive case marker *-nø* offered in 4.1.2.2.2 and 4.1.2.2.3; and it will be necessary to explain why possessive *-Nka* follows also other nominals except pronouns in Old Japanese and Ryukyuan. It seems to me that no further investigation of the internal Japonic data could offer a solution to this problem at the present stage, although it is quite possible that it will be solved by the future research.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The traditional external comparisons of Old Japanese first person pronoun *wa-/ware* < PJ *ba- are with 'Altaic' languages: PT *bä-n 'I,' *bi-z 'we;' WM *bi* 'I,' *ba* 'we' (exclusive), PTu *bi 'I,' *be/*bu 'we.' Examples:

Old Turkic

bän äb-gärü tüs-ayiin
I camp-DIR go down-VOL
I will go down to the camp (TK N 6)

Written Mongolian

c&imege-yi **bi** sonos-uVsan bü-lüge109
sound-ACC **I** hear-ATTR/PAST be-PAST
I heard the sound

Manchu

min-de sargan bu-ci
I-DAT girl give-COND
if [you] give me the **girl** (MYK 208)

However, the phonetic problems related to vocalism seem to be quite tantalizing, and in addition Mongolic and Tungusic non-oblique form *bi 'I', and oblique form *bin- (мягко говоря, неочевидная реконструкция косвенной формы.)'me', suspiciously look like proto-Bulghar *bi 'I' and *bin- 'me' (> Chuvash *e-pe** and *man-*), but not like proto-Turkic forms, so there is a definite possibility of borrowing that I discuss in a forthcoming paper (Vovin 2006). If so, Japonic forms cannot be related to Mongolic and Tungusic forms. One might, though, make one additional argument in favor of the remote genetic relationship between Turkic and Japonic on the basis of the above reconstruction of

109 This example is taken from (Grønbech & Krueger 1976: 26).

the first person pronoun in proto-Japonic, as having two stems: non-oblique *ba and oblique *ba-n. Cf. e.g. a paradigm of the first person pronouns in Chuvash:

Chart 12: First person singular pronoun in Chuvash

Nominative	e-pe⋆
Genitive	man-a⋆n
Dative	man-a
Accusative	man-a
Instrumental	man-pa
Locative	man-ra
Ablative	man-ran

In Chuvash, *p-* < PT *b-, and *e* in *e-pe⋆* is a late prothesis. Keeping in mind that initial *m-* in oblique cases is a result of assimilation of *b* > *m* before the following /n/, it is easy to reconstruct this paradigm in the following way:

Chart 13: First person singular pronoun in proto-Bulghar

Nominative	*bi
Genitive	*bi-n-in
Dative	*bi-n-i
Accusative	*bi-n-i
Instrumental	*bi-n-bi
Locative	*bi-n-di (почему di???)
Ablative	*bi-n-din

Now let us compare the reconstructed paradigms for first person pronouns in proto-Japonic and proto-Bulghar, disregarding case markers:

Chart 14: Comparison of proto-Japonic and proto-Bulghar first person pronouns

	proto-Japonic	**proto-Bulghar**
non-oblique	*ba	*bi
oblique	*ba-n	*bi-n

We can see that proto-Bulghar and proto-Japonic share one important paradigmatic feature: they both mark the non-oblique case stem with Ø, and oblique case stems with *-n*. It is well known that paradigms cannot be borrowed: they can be either inherited, or they can be maintained as a part of a mixed language inheritance. The difference in vocalism may not be so insurmountable, if we remember that proto-Bulghar *i is secondary, reflecting PT *ä. Thus, proto-Japonic *ba, *ba-n- and proto-Turkic *bä, bä-n- are at least comparable (!ну хоть на что-то согласился). This does not mean, however, that a remote genetic relationship between Turkic and Japonic can be established on the basis on this paradigm alone.

4.2.2.2 First person pronoun *A/ARE*

The first person pronoun *a/are* exhibits in Old Japanese more limited distribution compared to *wa/ware,* as it combines with less number of case markers than the latter. In contrast to *wa/ware*, there are no examples when the unextended stem *a*, even in combination with the following possessive marker -*Nka*, has a plural meaning, and even the extended stem *are* is attested in plural function only once. Both the unextended

stems *a* and *are* can occur in isolation and with the accusative case marker -*wo*; the only difference between them concerns the usage with the possessive case marker -*Nka*, which occurs only after the unextended stem *a*, and the dative case marker -*ni,* which is used exclusively after the extended stem *are*, as the following chart demonstrates.

Chart 15: Personal pronoun *a/are* in combination with case markers

	Unextended stem *a*	**Extended stem *are***
Isolation	a*	are
Possessive	a-Nka	—
Dative	—	are-ni*
Accusative	a-wo	are-wo

* - Only in Western Old Japanese

Stem *a*

Isolated form *a*

阿波母與賣迩斯阿禮婆那遠岐弖遠波那志
a pa mø yø mye n-i si ar-e-Npa na-wo (o)k-yi-te wo pa na-si
I TOP PT PT woman DV-INF PT exist-EV-CON you-ACC leave-INF-SUB man TOP no-FIN
Because **I** am a woman, I have no [other] man, besides you (KK 5)

比登都麻都阿勢袁
pyitø-tu matu **a** se wo
one-CL pine **I** beloved PT
Oh, lone (lit.: one) pine, **my** beloved! (KK 29)

吾耳也之可流
I PT PT thus-exist-ATTR
A110 NØMIY ya sik[a]-ar-u
is it so only [for] **me**? (M V: 892)

Oblique stem *a-N-* in a compound
Similar to the oblique stem *wa-N-*, there is just one reliable example of the oblique stem *a-N-* in a compound:

阿誤予阿誤予
aN-kwo yø **aN-kwo** yø
I-child PT **I-child** PT
Oh, **my children**! Oh, **my children**! (NK 8)

There are no other uncontroversial examples for the oblique stem *a-N-* in Old Japanese texts. Yamada Yoshio cites *aNkyi* 'my lord' and *aNtuma* 'East' which allegedly contains *a-N-* (Yamada 1954: 32-33), but the first word in all likelihood just means 'child' and does not include *a-N-* (cf. MK *ákí* 'child' < *anki), since there is no coherent phonological explanation for the contraction of *kyimyi* 'lord' > *kyi.* The etymology of *aNtuma* 'East' as *a-N-tuma* 'my wife' is just a folk etymology.

Possessive *a-Nka*

阿賀美斯古迩

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110 Takagi et al. read this pronoun as ARE (Takagi et al. 1959: 100-101). Since it is written logographically, it is not possible to be absolutely sure where the reading is ARE or A, but reading it as ARE breaks the meter of the poem, making this line eight syllables long instead of seven. Since this poem does not show other irregularities in meter, I prefer to follow the reading A, suggested by Nakanishi Susumu (Nakanishi 1978: 403).

a-Nka myi-si kwo-ni
I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR girl-DAT
to the girl **I** saw (KK 42)

伊弊爾由伎弖伊可爾可阿我世武
ipye-ni yuk-yi-te ika n-i ka **a-Nka** se-m-u
home-LOC go-INF-SUB how DV-INF PT **I-POSS** do-TENT-ATTR
What will **I** do, when I go back home? (MYS V: 795)

久須利波牟用波美也古弥婆伊夜之吉阿何微麻多越知奴倍之
kusuri pam-u-ywo pa myiyakwo myi-Npa iyasi-kyi **a-Nka** miy mata woti-n-uNpey-si
medicine eat-ATTR-ABL TOP capital see-COND ignoble-ATTR **I-POSS** body again rejuvenate(INF)-PERF-DEB-FIN
rather than take the medicine, **my** ignoble body would have rejuvenated if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

伊都麻弖可安我故非乎良牟
itu-maNte ka **a-Nka** kwopiy-wor-am-u
when-TERM PT **I-POSS** long(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
until when should **I** long for [you]? (MYS XV: 3749)

Accusative *a-wo*

阿袁麻多周良武知知波波良波母
a-wo mat-as-uram-u titi papa-ra pa mø
I-ACC wait-HON-TENT2-ATTR father mother-DIM TOP PT
dear mother and father, who will probably wait for **me** (MYS V: 890)

安乎忘為莫
a-wo WASUR-AS-UNA
I-ACC forget-HON-NEG/IMP
Do not forget **me** (MYS XII: 3013)

吾妹子之阿乎偲良志
WA-NK-YIMWO-KWO si **a-wo** SINWOP-Urasi
I-POSS-beloved-DIM PT **I-ACC** long-SUP
It seems my beloved longs for **me** (MYS XII: 3145)

Stem *are*

Isolated form *are*

佐泥牟登波阿禮波意母閇杼
sa-ne-m-u tø pa **are** pa omøp-ey-Ntø
PREF-sleep-TENT-FIN DV TOP **I** TOP long-EV-CONC
Although **I** long to sleep together [with you] (KK 27)

阿禮許曾波余能那賀比登
are køsø pa yø-nø naNka pyitø
I PT TOP world-GEN long person
I, [the most] long[-living] man in the world (KK 72)

比等奈美爾安礼母作乎
pyitø namyi-ni **are** mø NAR-ER-U-wo
person ordinary-COMP **I** PT born-PROG-ATTR-ACC
although **I** also was born like an ordinary person (M V: 892)

安礼麻多無
are mat-am-u

I wait-TENT-FIN
I will wait [for you] (M XV: 3747)

Dative *are-ni*

安礼爾都気都流
are-ni tuNkey-t-uru
I-DAT report(INF)-PERF-ATTR
[thus he] reported **to me** (MYS XVII: 3957)

佐刀毘等能安礼迩都具良久
satwo-N-pyitø-nø **are-ni** tuNk-ur-aku
village-GEN-person-GEN **I-DAT** report-ATTR-NML
what the village people report **to me** (MYS XVII: 3973)

Accusative *are-wo[Npa]*

阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可
are-woNpa mø ika n-i se-yø tø ka
I-ACC(EMPH) PT how DV-INF do-IMP DV PT
What do [you] think **I** should do? (MYS V: 794)

伊多豆良爾阿例乎知良須奈
itaNtura n-i **are-wo** tir-as-una
useless DV-INF **we-ACC** drop-CAUS-NEG/IMP
Do not let **us** fall in vain (MYS V: 852)111
This is the only example when *are* is attested as the first person plural pronoun.

安礼乎於伎弖人者安良自等富己呂倍騰
are-wo ok-yi-te PYITØ PA ar-aNsi tø pøkør-øp-ey-Ntø

111 This line is from a variant reading of the poem.

I-ACC leave-INF-SUB person TOP exist-NEG/TENT DV boast-ITER-EV-CONC
although [I] repeatedly boast that there are probably no other persons except **me** (MYS V: 892)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The first person pronoun *a-/are* is attested also in Eastern Old Japanese, but with a slightly more limited distribution: the unextended stem *a-* occurs only with the possessive marker *-Nka* and accusative marker *-wo*, and the extended stem *are* appears only in isolation and with the accusative marker *-wo*. There is one example of a special usage in Eastern Old Japanese, when possessive form *a-Nka* means not the possessive form 'my' of the first person pronoun, but the possessive form of the second person reflexive pronoun 'your own' (see MYS XX: 4420 below).
Stem *a*

Possessive *a-Nka*

可伎武太伎奴礼杼安加奴乎安杼加安我世牟
kakyi-muNtak-yi n-ure-Ntø ak-an-u-wo aN-tø ka **a-Nka** se-m-u
PREF-embrace-INF sleep-EV-CONC satisfy-NEG-ATTR-ACC what-DV PT **I-POSS** do-TENT-ATTR
although [I] slept [with her] keeping [her] in my arms, since it was not enough [for me], what should **I** do? (MYS XIV: 3404)

安我古非能未思等伎奈可里家利
a-Nka kwopiy nømiy si tøkyi na-k-ar-i-kyer-i

I-POSS love(NML) PT PT time no-INF-exist-INF-PRET-FIN
only **my** love does not have a [special] time (MYS XIV: 3422)

奈気伎曾安我須流
naNkeyk-yi sø **a-Nka** s-uru
lament-NML PT **I-POSS** do-ATTR
I lament [deeply] (MYS XIV: 3524)

SPECIAL USAGE
There is one example in Eastern Old Japanese, when possessive *a-Nka* means not the first person, but the second person reflexive pronoun 'your own:'

比毛多要婆安我弖等都気呂許礼乃波流母志
pyimwo taye-Npa **a-Nka** te-tø tukey-rø køre n-ø paru møs-i
cord tear-COND **your own-POSS** hand-COM attach-IMP this DV-ATTR needle hold-INF
if the cords [of your garment] tear, attach them with **your own** hand, holding this needle (MYS XX: 4420)

Accusative *a-wo*

吾乎祢之奈久奈
A-wo ne si nak-una
I-ACC sound PT cry-NEG/IMP
Do not let **me** cry (MYS XIV: 3362)

安乎奈多要曾祢
a-wo na-taye-sø-ne
I-ACC NEG-cut(INF)-do-IMP

Do not cut **me** off (MYS XIV: 3416)

安乎麻知可祢弖
a-wo mat-i-kane-te
I-ACC wait-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB
[she] cannot wait for **me** (MYS XIV: 3563)

Stem *are*

Isolated form *are*

許呂安礼比毛等久
kø-rø **are** pyimwo tøk-u
beloved-DIM **I** cord untie-FIN
[my] beloved [and] **I** will untie our [garment] cords (MYS XIV: 3361)

安礼波伊多良牟
are pa itar-am-u
I TOP reach-TENT-FIN
I am going to come [to you] (MYS XIV: 3428)

奈礼毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弖流
nare mwo **are** mwo yøti-wo sø møt-er-u
you PT **I** PT same age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR
both you and **me** have [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440)

安比見受安良婆安礼古非米夜母
ap-yi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa **are** kwopiy-m-ey ya mø
meet-INF-see-NEG-INF exist-COND **I** long-TENT-EV PT PT

if [I] did not meet [her], would **I** long [for her]? (MYS XIV: 3508)

Accusative *are-wo*

安礼乎多能米弖
are-wo tanømey-te
I-ACC rely(INF)-SUB
relying on **me** (MYS XIV: 3429)

和我世奈阿礼乎之毛波婆
wa-Nka se-na **are-wo** si [o]mwop-aNpa
I-POSS beloved-DIM **I-ACC** PT love-COND
my beloved, if [you] love **me** (MYS XX: 4426)

A2: Ryukyuan

The first person pronoun *a* is attested in Old Ryukyuan, (namely in the *Omoro sôshi* and the *Ryûka*), in the Sesoko dialect on Okinawa island, in Ogami, Irabu, Minna, and Nakasuji subdialects of the Miyako dialect (Thorpe 1983: 218), and in the Yonaguni dialect. The Sesoko forms: *'a, 'agan* (< *'agami*), and *'agami* are used only as plural 'we' (Uchima 1984: 85). The Yonaguni form *'anu* 'I' is used as first person singular pronoun (Hirayama 1967: 239), but *ba-* is used in plurals (Thorpe 1983: 218). Such limited distribution, confined to few dialects, mostly in South Ryukyus and to Old Ryukyuan texts, the latter being known to be highly influenced by mainland Japanese, could have provoked reasonable doubts in the authenticity of *a* in Old Ryukyuan, but since *a/are* did not survive even into early Classical Japanese, the possibility that authors of Old Ryukyuan texts were using Old Japanese texts as their desk reference tools is very slim. Even more unrealistic is direct

borrowing from Old Japanese to the Sesoko, Miyako and Yonaguni dialects. Similar to the Ryukyuan counterpart of OJ *wa*, there are no traces of the extended stem *are* in Ryukyuan. The *a* form in Old Ryukyuan appears either in isolation (followed by a topic marker), or before the case marker *-ga* (< *-Nka). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

あはいのて
a fa ino-te
I TOP pray-SUB
I pray, and... (OS XIII: 747; OS XXII: 1535)

あがおとぢや
a-ga oto-diya
I-POSS younger brother-person
my younger brother (OS XVI: 1155)

Sesoko dialect

'a-ga ya
we-POSS house
our house (Uchima 1984: 85)

'agan ik-a
we go-HORT
Let **us** go (Uchima 1984: 85)

'agami ya wur-a
we TOP stay-HORT
Let **us** stay (Uchima 1984: 85)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

As mentioned earlier, Itabashi Yoshizô proposed viewing OJ *wa/ware* and *a/are* as etymologically unrelated under his version of the genetic origins of Japanese as a mixed language. While *wa/ware* is considered by Itabashi to have an Altaic origin, according to the prevalent point of view, he proposed that OJ *a* is related to PAN *aku 'I' (Itabashi 1999). While his attempt is a welcome break from the tradition, I can see several problems on both Japanese and Austronesian sides preventing a positive identification of OJ *a* 'I' with Austronesian *aku 'id.' First, no intervocalic loss of /k/ before /u/ is attested for any variety of Japanese, except in the infinitive form of quality verbs *-ku* > *-u* in Classical Japanese and in Kansai-type dialects. Even if such a morphologically unconditioned loss was attested, it would likely result in a secondary vowel /wo/ in Old Japanese (cf. also modern Kansai *tako:* < *taka-ku* 'is high, and'). Moreover, there is no known truncation of the sequence /aku/ to /a/, that can be justified by internal Japanese data. Second, *k*-less forms in

Austronesian such as *au, yau, vau*, *a/u* etc. are all attested on the lower-level subgroups node, with the exception of the Tsou language in Taiwan which has *a/o* 'I.' Even if we disregard the most likely contraction of *au into OJ /wo/ rather than /a/, we will still be faced with the problem of showing that Japonic must be related to one of the lower-level Austronesian groups, which in my opinion is not possible to demonstrate. There is the Kagayanen language, belonging to Philippine Palawan subgroup, that has first person pronoun *a* 'I,' as Itabashi pointed out to me (personal communication, spring 2001). However, this is a single example from another language, which is on a lower-level node of subgrouping. It is extremely doubtful, that only one low-subgrouping language among more than 900 Austronesian languages preserved a form to be found in Old Japanese. In addition, it turns out that Kagayanen *a* 'I' is a form of focused actor, while it also has *ko* 'I' as a form of a non-focused actor (Tryon 1995/II: 248). That seems pretty consistent with a trend found in other Austronesian languages, e.g. in Sarangani Blaan, which has *agu* for focused first person pronoun, and *-gu* for a non-focused first person pronoun, or in Timungon Murut, which has *aku* as an emphatic form and *-ku* as a clitic form (Tryon 1995/II: 248). In addition to this fact, we know almost nothing about Kagayanen phonology and morphophonology. Thus, Itabashi's Austronesian etymology for OJ *a*, sharp as it is, rests on very slippery ground.

If we are to look for external origins of OJ *a/are*, which can be reconstructed as PJ *a, and also possibly as *a-N- (the oblique stem reconstructed on the basis of the example in NK 8 and Yonaguni *'anu* 'I'), there are two other possible solutions. The first might involve a comparison with proto-Austroasiatic *a/*an! 'I.' The argument in favor of the Austroasiatic connection is based on the fact that few

Japanese basic vocabulary might have an Austroasiatic origin, so it is quite possible that Austroasiatic elements could also be found in the grammar. There is, however, another possibility as well, which is closer to home. I believe that the first person pronoun *a/*a-N- can be related to the so-called 'indefinite pronoun' agreement marker *a-/an-*(with transitive verbs) or *-an* (with intransitive verbs) in the Ainu language. Kirsten Refsing on the basis of her data from the Shizunai dialect of the Ainu language proposed that this 'indefinite' personal pronoun is etymologically related to the existential verb *an* 'to exist,' and listed the following possible functions of it: a) indefinite person, b) 1st person singular 'I,' c) 1st personal 'we,' d) 1st person in the folk tales, e) 2nd person honorific, f) passive marker (Refsing 1986: 218-19). The last function strikes me as something very incongruent with a function of a personal pronoun or an agreement marker, but quite compatible with a special usage of an existential verb. Maybe it is appropriate after all to keep the existential verb *an* and the pronominal *an* separately, without suggesting an etymological link between the two, which seems not to be supported by other data. Looking at Kirsten Refsing's examples for the function of indefinite person (2 examples are provided, Refsing 1986: 219-20), I wonder whether this usage is in fact a camouflaged first person usage. Even more doubtful is Refsing's only example of the 2nd person honorific usage, where she interprets *an-nu* as 'you-ask' (Refsing 1986: 222), but the problem is that it could be also interpreted as 'I-hear,' especially that the reader is provided with only one example. It is necessary to keep in mind that in Ainu folklore *a-* or *an-* is used overwhelmingly for the first person. Tamura Suzuko calls *a-/an-/-an* form the 'indefinite pronoun,' too, without explaining what is 'indefinite' about it (Tamura 2000: 49). The welcome break from this

'indefiniteness' in description is provided recently by Nakagawa Hiroshi and Nakamoto Mutsuko in their textbook of Ainu based on the Chitose dialect, who while defining in the charts the form in question by the hard-to-understand term '4th person,' in the notes give a coherent and convincing explanation of it as inclusive first person plural pronoun (Nakagawa & Nakamoto 1997: 34-35). In the Chitose dialect the forms seem to be prefix *a-* for transitive verbs and suffix *-an* for intransitive verbs. Morphologically it seems to be in good agreement with OJ *a* as a non-oblique stem and *a-N-* as an oblique stem. The remaining problem is of a semantic nature: while the Ainu form is first person plural inclusive form, OJ *a/are* is attested in plural function only once (in the form *are*).

4.2.2.3 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *MARØ*

This pronoun is used only as a first-person personal pronoun. It occurs *once* in the *Kojiki kayô* and *once* in the *Nihonshoki kayô* in the identical context. Ôno Susumu believes that this pronoun is etymologically related to *-marø*, a suffix of male names, e.g. *Yasu-marø, Kotu-marø, Uta-marø,* etc. (Ôno 1990: 1241a). In Old Japanese it is attested only as male first person pronoun, but there are too few examples to draw any decisive conclusions.112 In Classical Japanese it can be used

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112 Roy A. Miller, in an apparent haste to secure an additional Altaic etymology for Japonic, goes as far as to claim that the marø *form has external Altaic connections, and that it is an alternative variant of EOJ* warø *'I' (Miller 1971: 157; 177-78), which has a singular attestation in MYS XX: 4343, cited above in 4.2.2.1. Unfortunately for Miller's Altaic theory, both WOJ* marø *'I' and EOJ* warø *'id.' have simpler internal explanations. EOJ* warø *apparently corresponds to WOJ* ware*, as can be seen from the verbal form* omeyp[-]**o**-Nto*, corresponding to WOJ* omøp-**ey**-Ntø *'although [I] think,' which occurs in the next line in the same poem (MYS XX: 4343). As for Miller's statement that WOJ marø 'I '*later *becomes a common element used in second position in aristocratic*

as a first person pronoun by both men and women. It is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan. Examples:

岐許志母知袁勢麻呂賀知 (KK script)
枳居之茂知塢勢摩呂餓智 (NK script)
kyikøs-i-møt-i-wos-e **marø-Nka** ti
drink(HON)-INF-hold-INF-drink(HON)-IMP **I-POSS** father
Deign to drink [it], **my** father (KK 48, NK 39)

4.2.2.4 FIRST PERSON PRONOUN *NA*

The first person pronoun *na* 'I' occurs slightly more frequently than the first person pronoun *marø*. Apart from several controversial examples, the following attestations seem quite certain, in spite of Yamada Yoshio's treating them as second person pronouns (Yamada 1954: 60-61). First person pronoun *na* is always used as a first person singular 'I.'

名兄乃君
na SE n-ø KYIMYI
I beloved DV-ATTR lord
my beloved and lord (MYS XVI: 3885)

奈弟乃美許等

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given names' (Miller 1971: 177; italics are mine — A.V.), it is fallacious in two respects. First, -marø *as a suffix of male names is attested before the examples of* marø *as a first person pronoun in the* Kojiki kayô *(712 C. E.) and the* Nihonshoki kayo *(720 C. E.): Ô-no Yasumaro, the author of the preface to the* Kojiki, *and Ôtomo-no Yasumaro (d. 714), the grandfather of the great* Man'yôshû *poet Ôtomo-Yakamochi, both have* -marø *in their personal names. Second,* -marø *as the last element of male names, frequently occurs in the peasant names of the Mino province census of 702 (Shôsôin 2 1990), so I doubt that there is anything 'aristocratic' about it at all.*

na OTØ n-ø myi-køtø
I younger brother DV-ATTR HON-thing
my dear younger brother (MYS XVII: 3957)

These examples lacking the possessive case marking (we would expect *na-Nka se* 'my beloved and *na-Nka otø* 'my younger brother'), could have been probably taken as *na* 'you' as an address form plus the rest: 'you, my beloved and lord,' 'you, my dear younger brother,' but this seems unlikely in the light of *a se* 'my beloved' attested in KK 29 (see 4.2.2.2).

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The first person pronoun *na* 'I' occurs in Eastern Old Japanese also in two examples:

奈西乃古何夜蘇志麻加久理
na se n-ø kwo-Nka ya-swo sima kakur-i
I beloved DV-ATTR child-POSS eight-ten island hide-INF
my beloved hides [behind] eighty islands... (FK 8)

奈勢能古
na se n-ø kwo
I beloved DV-ATTR child
my beloved (MYS XIV: 3458)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no first person pronoun *na* in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Limited attestation of the first person *na* and its limited usage as a singular first person pronoun probably point to the fact that it is a loan. The likeliest source is some form of Old Korean (Paekche?), cf. MK *nà* 'I'.113 Examples:

na non icey silum-i kiph-e
I TOP now sadness-NOM deep-INF
I am very sad now, and... (WS II: 5)

na-y nimkum kuli-sy-a
I-GEN king miss-HON-INF
My king is lonely, and... (YP 50)

4.2.2.5 SECOND PERSON PRONOUN *NA/NARE*

The second person pronoun *na/nare* 'you'114 is believed to be a non-honorific familiar pronoun, used towards one's friends and family members or towards people ranking lower on the social scale (Omodaka 1967: 512c). This definition is, I believe, incorrect. Although the majority of the examples below reflect such distribution, e.g. it is frequently used in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese by a man to a woman, by a husband to his wife, etc., but there are also examples when it is used by a woman towards a man. The most important counter-example to the traditional definition can be found in the KK 73 below, when it is used by a courtier towards the emperor. Thus, I believe that *na/nare* has to be redefined as a neutral second person pronoun, pretty

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113 There are no phonetic attestations of this pronoun in Old Korean.
114 There is a later Middle Japanese form namuti/namudi *'you,' which is obviously derived from OJ* na. Namuti *is attested in Old Japanese as well, but the attestations are limited to either glosses in the texts, or the transcriptional usage. Because there are no textual examples, I exclude* namuti *from this grammar.*

much as its first person counterpart *wa/ware*, which also can be used without any regards to the gender or social status.

There is one example demonstrating that the second person pronoun *na*, like its first person counterpart *wa*, might have an oblique stem marker -*N* (see KK 3 below, where the oblique stem *na*-*N* is found in a compound).

The extended stem *nare* occurs exceedingly rare in comparison to the unextended stem *na* (two examples in Western Old Japanese texts and three examples in Eastern Old Japanese texts). The unextended stem *na* never has a plural meaning, the extended stem *nare* is attested in plural meaning only once. That can probably be taken as the further evidence to the proposal discussed in 4.2.2.1 in connection with the first person pronoun *wa/war*e, that the extended form in -*re* was originally a plural form.

Similar to the situation with the first person unextended stem *wa*, the second person unextended stem *n*a also shows more versatility in combination with different case markers in Eastern Old Japanese than in Western Old Japanese. That demonstrates that Eastern Old Japanese is likely to be more archaic in this respect. The following chart summarizes possible combinations of the unextended stem *na* and the extended stem *nare* with following case markers as well as their respective occurrence in Western and Eastern Old Japanese texts.

Chart 16: Second person pronoun *na/nare* in combination with case markers

	Unextended stem na	**Extended stem nare**
Isolation	na S	nare SP
Possessive	na-Nka, na-ne-	—

	Nka**	
Dative	na-ni* S	—
Accusative	na-wo S	nare-wo** S
Comitative	na-tø* S	—

* - only in Eastern Old Japanese, ** - only in Western Old Japanese, S - Singular, P - Plural

Stem *na*

Isolated form *na*

那迦士登波那波伊布登母
nak-aNsi tø pa **na** pa ip-u tømø
weep-NEG/TENT DV TOP **you** TOP say-FIN CONJ
Although **you** say that [you] would not weep (KK 4)
(the husband to his wife)

那許曾波遠迩伊麻世婆
na køsø pa wo n-i imas-e-Npa
you PT TOP man DV-INF exist(HON)-EV-CON
since **you** are a man (KK 5)
(the wife to her husband)

那許曾波余能那賀比登
na køsø pa yø-nø naNka pyitø
you PT TOP world-GEN long person
you, [the most] long[-living] man in the world (KK 71)
(the emperor to his courtier)

儺波企箇輸揶
na pa kyik-as-u ya
you TOP ask-HON-FIN PT
Shall [I] ask **you**? (NK 62)

(the emperor to his subject)

Oblique stem *na-N-* in a compound

能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠伊能知波那志勢婆多麻比曾
nøti pa **na-N-tøri** n-i ar-am-u-wo inøti pa na-si-se-tamap-yi-sø
later TOP **you-OSM-bird** DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC life TOP NEG-die-CAUS-HON-INF-do
because [I] will be **your bird** later, do not kill [your] life [with desire] (KK 3)
(the female deity to the male deity)

Possessive *na-Nka*

那賀那加佐麻久
na-Nka nak-as-am-aku
you-POSS weep-HON-TENT-NML
the fact that **you** will weep (KK 4)
(the husband to his wife)

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾
sawa-sawa n-i **na-Nka** ip-yes-e køsø
noisily-noisily DV-ATTR **you-POSS** speak-HON-EV PT
you spoke noisily (KK 63)
(the emperor to the empress)

那賀美古夜那毘迩斯良牟登加理波古牟良斯
na-Nka myikwo ya tuNpyi n-i sir-am-u tø kari pa kwo (u)m-urasi
you-POSS115 prince PT ? DV-INF rule-TENT-ATTR DV wild goose TOP egg bear-SUP

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115 This poem presents a certain difficulty in interpretation of na-Nka *as 'you-POSS.' Traditional interpretation of* na- *here as a second person pronoun (Tsuchihashi 1957: 81), (Tsuchihashi 1972: 275) is in contradiction with the traditional definition of* na/nare *as a familiar second person pronoun used towards relatives, friends, and lower-ranking people, since in this case it used by a courtier (although old) towards an emperor. I thought about a possibility to interpret it is a first person* na *'I,' especially since this poem is from*

Wild goose probably laid an egg to show that **your** prince
will rule ?-ly (KK 73)
(the courtier to the emperor)

奈何名能良佐祢
na-Nka na nør-as-ane
you-POSS name name-HON-DES
[I] wish [you] tell [me] **your** name! (MYS V: 800)
(didactic poem to a friend or a junior official)

奈我奈気婆
na-Nka nak-ey-Npa
you-POSS cry-EV-CON
when **you** cry (MYS XV: 3785)
(the man to a cuckoo)

Accusative *na-wo*

阿波母與賣迩斯阿禮婆那遠岐弖遠波那志
a pa mø yø mye n-i si ar-e-Npa **na-wo** (o)k-yi-te wo pa na-si
I TOP PT PT woman DV-INF PT exist-EV-CON **you-ACC** leave-INF-SUB man TOP no-FIN
Because I am a woman, I have no [other] man, besides you (KK 5)
(the wife to her husband)

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a section of the Kojiki *dedicated to Emperor Nintoku, who is believed to have strong Korean connections (Ledyard 1975: 251). This interpretation, although plausible at the first glance, also meets with difficulty: if* na-Nka myikwo *is to be understood as 'my prince,' it remains unclear why the old man addresses Nintoku, who is already an emperor, as a prince. To be on the conservative side, I decided to follow the tradition here, and interpret* na-Nka myikwo *as 'your prince,' believing that it refers to Nintoku's successor, who will rule after his father, not being replaced by an outsider. Thus, the traditional definition of* na/nare *as a familiar second person pronoun probably has to go in the light of this example. I redefine it is a neutral second person pronoun.*

Special form *na-ne*

There are two examples, where the unusual form *na-ne* appears. It is usually explained as a contraction of *na-ane* ‘my beloved,’ lit. ‘my elder sister’ (Takagi 1957: 305), but the problem is that the female beloved is usually called *imwo*, lit. ‘younger sister.’ In addition, in the second example (MYS IX: 1800) there is *imwo na-[a]ne-Nka* ‘younger sister you-elder sister-POSS,’ where both *imwo* ‘younger sister’ and *ane* ‘elder sister’ are used together, which makes little or no sense at all. I think that it is more likely that in both cases we have the extended stem of *na* ‘you’ ending in *-ne* (compare also *sø-ne* 2nd/3rd(?) person pronoun in 4.2.2.6):

名姉之恋曾
na-ne-NKA KWOP-URE sø
you-?-POSS love-EV PT
you love [me] (MYS IV: 724)
(the man to the woman)

妹名根之作服異六白細乃紐
IMWO **na-ne-NKA** TUKUR-I KYI-SE-kye-m-u SIRWO-TAPEY-nø PYIMO
beloved **you-?-POSS** make-INF wear-CAUS-PAST-TENT-ATTR white-cloth-GEN cord
the cord of the white cloth that **you**, beloved, made and made [me] wear (MYS IX: 1800)
(the man to the woman)

Stem *nare*

The extended stem *nare* very rarely occurs in Western Old Japanese texts: only two examples are attested, one as the isolated form, and another in the accusative form *nare-wo*. The latter example occurs in the *Nihon ryôiki*, which is a comparatively late text.

Isolated form *nare*

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鶏迷夜
oya na-si n-i **nare** nar-iky-em-ey ya
parent no-FIN DV-INF **you** be born-PAST-TENT-EV PT
Were **you** born without parents? (NK 104)
(the prince to the beggar)

Accusative *nare-wo*

奈禮乎曾與▫羊爾保師登多禮
nare-wo sø yømye n-i posi tø tare
you-ACC PT bride DV-INF be desirable DV who
who wants **you** as [his] bride? (NR II: 33)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The second person pronoun *na/nare* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Similar to Western Old Japanese, the unextended stem *na* occurs much more frequently.

Stem *na*
The unextended stem *na* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese not only in isolation and with the possessive case marker *-Nka* and the accusative case marker *-wo*, as in Western Old Japanese, but also with the dative case marker *-ni* and the comitative case marker *-tø*.

Isolated form *na*
Unfortunately, the only two examples of the isolated form *na* in Eastern Old Japanese are not attested phonetically, but an

educated guess on the basis of the meter of poems and widespread usage of the unextended stem *na* in Eastern Old Japanese suggests that this logographic usage represents *na* pretty accurately.

汝者故布婆曾毛
NA PA kwop-u[re]-Npa sømwo
you TOP love-EV-CON PT
because **you** love [me] (MYS XIV: 3382)
(the man to the woman)

汝波安杼可毛布
NA pa aN-tø ka [o]mwop-u
you TOP what-DV PT think-ATTR
What do **you** think? (MYS XIV: 3494)
(the man to the woman)

Possessive *na-Nka*

奈我目保里勢牟
na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
you-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
[I] wish [to see] **your** eyes (MYS XIV: 3383)
(the man to the woman)

奈我己許呂能礼
na-Nka køkørø nør-e
you-POSS heart tell-IMP
Reveal [to me] **your** heart (MYS XIV: 3425)
(the man to the woman)

麻都等奈我伊波婆
mat-u tø **na-Nka** ip-aNpa
wait-FIN DV **you-POSS** say-COND

if **you** say that [you] will wait [for me] (MYS XIV: 3433)
(the man to the woman)

Dative *na-ni*

奈爾与曾利鶏米
na-ni yøsør-iky-em-ey
you-DAT approach-PAST-TENT-EV
[I] approached **you** (MYS XIV: 3468)
(the man to the woman)

奈爾己曾与佐礼
na-ni køsø yøs-ar-e
you-DAT PT approach-PASS-EV
[I] am attracted **to you** (MYS XIV: 3478)
(the man to the woman)

Accusative *na-wo*

波也之爾奈乎多弖天
payasi-ni **na-wo** tate-te
forest-LOC **you-ACC** place(INF)-SUB
placing **yourself** in the forest (MYS XIV: 3353)
(the man to the woman)

奈乎許曾麻多賣
na-wo køsø mat-am-ye
you-ACC PT wait-TENT-EV
[I] will wait for **you** (MYS XIV: 3493)
(the woman to the man)

可波刀爾奈乎麻都
kapa-two-ni **na-wo** mat-u
river-door-LOC **you-ACC** wait-FIN
[I] wait for **you** at the ford (MYS XIV: 3546)
(probably a woman to a man, but it is unclear)

Comitative *na-tø*

奈里毛奈良受毛奈等布多里波母
nar-i mwo nar-aNs-u mwo **na-tø** puta-ri pa mø
be-FIN PT be-NEG-FIN PT **you-COM** two-CL PT PT
be [it] or not, two [of us, me] **and you**, [will be together] (MYS XIV: 3492)
(probably a man to a woman, but it is unclear)

勢奈那登布多理左宿而久也思母
se-na **na-tø** puta-ri sa-NE-TE kuyasi mø
beloved-DIM **you-COM** two-CL PREF-sleep(INF)-SUB regrettable PT
it is regrettable that [I], my beloved, slept **with you**, two [of us] (MYS XIV: 3544)
(the woman to the man)

Stem *nare*

Stem *nare* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only in three examples, and in all of them *nare* is used in isolation.

Isolated form *nare*

奈礼也比母登可受祢牟
nare ya pyimø tøk-aNs-u ne-m-u
you PT cord untie-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-ATTR
Will **you** sleep without untying the cords [of your garment]? (MYS XIV: 3370)
(the man to his wife)

奈礼毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弖流
nare mwo are mwo yøti-wo sø møt-er-u
you PT I PT same age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR

both **you** and me have [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440)
(the man to the woman)

和我可度乃可多夜麻都婆伎麻己等奈礼
wa-Nka kaNtwo-nø kata yama tuNpakyi ma-køtø **nare**
I-POSS gate-GEN side mountain camellia INT-thing **you**
[Oh,] camellia [flowers] at the mountain near my gate, [it is] really **you** (MYS XX: 4418)
(the man to flowers, this is the only apparent usage of *nare* as a plural form)

A2: Ryukyuan

The second person pronoun *na* is attested comparatively well in Ryukyuan: there are no attestations in the *Omoro sôshi* or the *Ryûka*: the Old Ryukyuan *naa* 'you' seems to be confined to Ryukyuan plays (Hokama 1995: 472b). However, there is no lack of attestations in the modern dialects, mostly in the Northern Ryukyus, where such forms as Koniya *nam ¡*; Namizato *naa*; Sesoko *naa, naN*; Shuri *naa*, etc. are attested (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 358). Hateruma has an aberrant form *daa*, which is probably not related. It seems that in all these dialects this second person pronoun has a similar or close function to the Shuri pronoun *naa*, which is a familiar pronoun used towards older people of lower status (RKJ 1983: 399b).116 An example from the Shuri dialect:

naa ya /içi mooca ga
you TOP when come/PERF PT
When did **you** come? (RKJ 1983: 399b)

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116 Uchima and Arakaki gloss their Ryukyuan dialect attestation as modern Japanese anata *'you' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 358), which is a semi-formal pronoun used towards relatives (e.g., wife to her husband), or towards lower-ranking people, when some minimal degree of respect is maintained.*

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The well-known comparison for Old Japanese second person pronoun *na* is Middle Korean second person pronoun *nè*, also well attested in modern standard Korean and the dialects. Examples from Middle Korean:

ne-y na-y mal-ol ta tul-ul-tta hoy-a-nol
you-NOM I-GEN word-ACC all hear-IRR/PART-QF say-INF-CON
When [I] say: 'Are **you** going to listen to all my words?' (SP VI: 7)

ne non kisk-e two
you rejoice-INF PT
Although **you** rejoiced... (KKK II: 5)

Given the fact that in Ryukyuan the second person pronoun *na* 'you' is a kind of honorific, it is likely that the Korean second person pronoun was borrowed by Western Old Japanese from Korean, and then was borrowed from the former into Eastern Old Japanese, and into Ryukyuan.

4.2.2.6 SECOND PERSON PRONOUN *MASI/MYIMASI/IMASI*

The second person pronoun *masi/myimasi/imasi* occurs in Old Japanese texts in the phonetic spelling quite rarely. In Western Old Japanese it occurs only in the forms *imasi* and *myimasi*. The first of these forms occurs in the *Man'yôshû* and the *Senmyô* once each, the second appears exclusively in the *Senmyô*, although much more frequently — nine times altogether. Yamada Yoshio believes that the original form of this pronoun is just *masi*, which appears only in Eastern Old Japanese, with *myi-* and *i-* being prefixes (Yamada 1954: 95).

He is probably right: *myi-* in *myi-masi* is likely to be an honorific prefix *myi-*, which could have irregularly changed to *i-* before the following /m/, although this is difficult to prove with certainty. Yamada gives an ambivalent definition to this pronoun as either honorific or pejorative (Yamada 1954: 94). Omodaka et al. define *masi* as an originally honorific second person pronoun, which was also used as a familiar pronoun toward people with a lower social status (Omodaka 1967: 673c). At the same time Omodaka et al. claim that *myimasi* is more honorific than *imasi* or *masi*, although *myimasi* can also be used towards ministers and children (Omodaka 1967: 715b). This claim seems to be contradicted by the example from SM 29 below, where it is used by Empress Kôken towards the dethroned Emperor Jûnin. Ôno et al., on the other hand, define *masi/imasi/myimasi* as second person pronoun used towards equal or socially lower people, although at the same time they suggest that *masi/imasi/myimasi* is derived from the nominalization of the honorific verb *imas-* 'to exist' (Ôno 1990: 1220c). It is unclear, however, why a nominalization of an honorific verb is used for a non-honorific pronoun. In addition, the form *myi-masi* remains unexplained under this scenario. In Eastern Old Japanese the second person pronoun *masi* occurs as a textual variant of *na* 'you,' which probably demonstrates that at least in the Eastern Old Japanese *na* and *masi* did not have any functional differences. The overall paucity of examples precludes any exact definition of socio-linguistic function of the second person pronoun *masi/imasi/myimasi* in Old Japanese, although it is extremely likely that it was not a honorific pronoun as alleged, since in most examples it is found in the speech directed by a person higher in the social hierarchy to a person lower in the same hierarchy.

伊麻思毛吾毛事応成
imasi mwo WARE mwo KØTØ NAR-UNPEY-SI YA
you PT I PT thing be-DEB-FIN PT
Should [it] be something for both **you** and me? (MYS XI: 2517)
(probably a man to a woman)

天下方朕子伊麻之仁授給
AMEY-NØ SITA pa WA-NKA KWO **imasi-ni** SANTUKEY-TAMAP-U
heaven-GEN bottom TOP I-POSS child **you-DAT** give(INF)-HON-FIN
[I] give **to you,** my child, the land under the Heaven (SM 29)
(Empress Kôken to Emperor Jûnin on the occasion of the latter's dethronement)

美麻斯乃父止坐天皇乃美麻斯尓賜志天下
myimasi-nø TITI tø IMAS-U SUMYERA-MYIKØTØ-nø **myimasi-ni** TAMAP-YI-si AMEY-NØ SITA
you-GEN father DV be(HON)-ATTR emperor-deity-GEN y**ou-DAT** give(HON)-INF-PAST/ATTR heaven-GEN bottom
the land under the Heaven that the emperor-deity, who is **your** father, gave **to you** (SM 5)
(Empress Genshô to Emperor Shômu)

美麻斯王乃齢乃弱爾
myimasi MYIKWO-nø YØPAPYI-nø YWOWA-KYI-ni
you prince-GEN age-GEN weak-ATTR-LOC
because **you**, prince, were in infancy... (SM 5)
(Empress Genshô to Emperor Shômu)

美麻志大臣乃仕奉状
myimasi OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-nø TUKAPEY-MATUR-I-KØ-SI SAMA
you minister-GEN serve(INF)-HUM-INF-come-PAST/ATTR shape

the way how **you**, minister, served [us] until now (SM 52)
(the emperor to the deceased minister)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese only the forms *masi* and *imasi* are attested (each once). In all probability, both are neutral second person pronouns, although *imasi*, used by the woman to the man, may be slightly more honorific. Again, the paucity of data precludes any exact definition of a socio-linguistic function.

麻之毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弖流
masi mwo are mwo yøti-wo sø møt-er-u
you PT I PT same age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR
both **you** and me have [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440)117
(the man to the woman)

伊麻思乎多能美波播爾多我比奴
imasi-wo tanøm-yi papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
you-ACC trust-INF mother-DAT go against-INF-PERF-FIN
[I] went against [my] mother, trusting **you** (MYS XIV: 3359)
(the woman to the man)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no second person pronoun *masi/imasi/myimasi* in Ryukyuan.

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117 This is the variant of MYS XIV: 3440, where second pronoun *masi* is used instead of *nare* 'you.' In the basic variant *nare* is found:
奈礼毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弖流
nare mwo are mwo yøti-wo sø møt-er-u
you PT I PT same age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR
*both **you** and me have [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440).*

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS

There are no apparent external parallels.

4.2.2.7 THIRD PERSON PRONOUN *SI*

This pronoun in Old Japanese occurs exclusively with the following possessive case marker -*Nka*, with both animate and inanimate referents. Whether the personal pronoun *si* represents second or third person is a debated question. Tradition generally holds it to be the third person pronoun (Yamada 1954: 70), cf. also the commentaries on the Old Japanese texts discussed below (Tsuchihashi 1957), (Tsuchihashi 1976), (Takagi et al. 1959), (Nakanishi 1978), (Kojima et al. 1972), (Satake et al. 1999); although there is also another point of view stipulating that *si* represents a mesial (*chûshô*) demonstrative pronoun (Omodaka 1967: 346a). In the light of absence of earlier commentaries on Old Japanese texts where this pronoun appears, the value of the traditional point of view, starting at best from the eighteenth century, can be debated. The first known challenge to the traditional point of view known to me was presented by Roy A. Miller (Miller 1971: 159), although unfortunately he did not present any philological discussion of texts, where this pronoun appears, limiting himself to a bare statement that OJ *si* is a second person pronoun supported by a reference to Yamada Yoshio's grammar (Yamada 1954: 75-76), which is an unfortunate mistake, because Yamada clearly states his point of view earlier that *si* is a third person pronoun (Yamada 1954: 70). Samuel E. Martin adopted the traditional point of view defining *si* as 'it, that, he' (Martin 1987: 521). This controversy can be resolved only by a linguistic and philological analysis of texts where the pronoun *si* appears.

One general consideration in favor of Miller's position is that it is typologically odd that a third person pronoun would disappear completely from a language where it once appeared, and that would be the case with Old Japanese: if *si* is a genuine third person pronoun it is unclear why it disappears in the later history of the language. Generally, the typology of third person pronouns works in the opposite direction: there are many languages that originally did not have third person pronouns, but acquire them for one reason or another; however, I am not aware of any cases where a language unconditionally loses original third person pronouns. Nevertheless, language typology is only the secondary evidence as compared to the internal language data.

Miller gives two examples in support of his point of view that OJ *si* represents a second person pronoun, NK 80 and MYS V: 904, without providing any evidence in support of his point of view (Miller 1971: 159). Let us start the discussion from these two as well. I will translate *si* as second person 'you'/'he' until the data positively prove whether it is second person or third person pronoun in the following examples:

偉儺謎能陀倶弥柯該志須弥儺播旨我那稽麼柁例柯柯該武預
winaNpey-nø takumyi kakey-si sumyi-napa **si-Nka** na-ky-eNpa tare ka kakey-m-u yø
Winabe-GEN carpenter apply(INF)-PAST/ATTR ink-cord **you/he-POSS** no-ATTR-COND who PT apply-TENT-ATTR PT
the ink-cord that the carpenter of Winabe applied: if **you/he** are/is no more, who would apply it? (NK 90)

This poem is preceded by the following text in the *Nihonshoki*:

> 'The carpenter, Mane, of the Wina-be, planed timber with an axe, using a stone as a ruler. All day long he planed and never spoiled the edge by mistake. The emperor visited the place, and, wondering, asked of him, saying: 'Dost thou never make a mistake and strike the stone?' Mane answered and said: 'I never make a mistake!' Then the emperor called together the Uneme, and made them strip off their clothing and wrestle in open view with only their waistcloths on. Hereupon Mane ceased for a while and looked upon them, and then went on with his planing. But unawares he made a slip of the hand, and spoilt the edge of his tool. The emperor accordingly rebuked him, saying: — 'Where does this fellow come from that, without respect to us, he gives such heedless answers with unchastened heart?' So he handed him over to the Mononobe to be executed on the moor.
> Now against his comrades there was a carpenter who lamented for Mane, and made a song, saying…'118

On the basis of this introduction to the poem, it is really difficult to choose between the second or third person personal pronoun: Mane's comrade could have made an address in either second or the third person. It seems, however, that the third person 'he' would be more natural, given the fact that Mane is no longer present at the scene, but this is difficult to prove, unless some additional evidence is found.

Miller's next example is from MYS V: 904, a Yamanoue-no Okura's poem dedicated to the untimely death of his son, Purupyi. For the sake of the following philological analysis, the poem has to be cited in full:

世人之貴慕七種之宝毛我波何為和我中能産礼出有白玉
之吾子古日者明星之開朝者敷多倍乃登許能辺佐良受立

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118 I cite William G. Aston's translation of the Nihonshoki *(Aston 1896: 361-62).*

礼杼毛居礼杼毛登母爾戯礼夕星乃由布弊爾奈礼婆伊射
祢余登手乎多豆佐波里父母毛表者奈佐我利三枝之中爾
乎祢牟登愛久志我可多良倍婆何時可毛比等等奈理伊弖
天安志家口毛与家久母見武登大船乃於毛比多能無爾於
毛波奴爾横風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆世武須便乃多杼伎
乎之良爾志路多倍乃多須吉乎可気麻蘇鏡弖爾登利毛知
弖天神阿布芸許比乃美地祇布之弖額拝可加良受毛可賀
利毛神乃末爾麻爾等立阿射里我例乞能米登須臾毛余家
久波奈之爾漸漸可多知都久保利朝朝伊布許等夜美霊剋
伊乃知多延奴礼立乎杼利足須里佐家婢伏仰武祢宇知奈
気吉手爾持流安我古登婆之都世間之道
YØ-NØ PYITØ-NØ TAPUTWOP-YI-NENKAP-U NANA-KUSA-NØ TAKARA mo WARE pa NANI SE-M-U wa-Nka NAKA-nø UMARe-INTE-TAR-U SIRA TAMA-NØ WA-NKA KWO PURUPYI PA AKA-POSI-NØ AK-URU ASITA PA SIK-YI-tapey-nø tøkø-nø PYE sar-aNs-u TAT-Er-e-Ntø mo WOr-e-Ntø mo tømø n-i TAPANP-Ure YUPU-TUNSU-nø yupu-N-pye n-i nar-e-Npa iNsa ne-yø tø TE-wo taNtusapar-i TITI-PAPA mø UPEY PA na-saNkar-i SAKYI-KUSA-NØ NAKA-ni-wo ne-m-u UTUKUSI-ku **si-Nka** katar-ap-ey-Npa ITU SI kamo pyitø tø nar-i-iNt-te asi-ky-eku mo yø-ky-eku mø MYI-m-u-tø OPO-PUNE-nø omwop-yi-tanøm-u-ni omøp-an-u-ni YØKØ-SIMA-KANSE-nø nipuNpuka n-i OPOP-YI-K-YI-TAr-e-Npa se-m-u suNpye-nø taNtøkyi-wo sir-an-i sirwo-tapey-nø tasukyi-wo kakey ma-swo KANKAMYI te-ni tør-i-mwot-i-te AMA-TU KAMIY apuNk-yi-køp-yi-nøm-yi KUNI-TU KAMIY pus-i-te NUKA TUK-YI kakar-aNs-u mo kakar-i mo KAMIY-nø manimani tø TAT-I-aNsar-i ware KØP-YI-nøm-ey-Ntø SIMASI-KU mø yø-ky-eku pa na-si-ni YAKU-YAKU N-I katati tukupor-i ASA-NA ASA-NA ip-u køtø yam-yi TAMA-KYIPARU inøti

taye-n-ure TAT-YI-woNtør-i ASI sur-i sakyeNp-yi FUS-I APUNK-YI mune ut-i naNkeyk-yi TE-ni MOT-Er-u a-Nka kwo tøNp-as-it-u YØ-NØ NAKA-NØ MYITI

world-GEN person treasure-INF-desire-ATTR seven-type-GEN treasure I TOP what do-TENT-FIN we-POSS inside-GEN be born(INF)-exit-PERF-ATTR white jewel-COMP we-POSS child Purupyi TOP bright-star-GEN be bright-ATTR morning TOP spread-INF-cloth-GEN bed-GEN side go away-NEG-FIN stand-PROG-EV-CONC PT sit-PROG-EV-CONC PT together DV-INF play-EV evening-star-GEN evening-GEN-side DV-INF become-EV-CON INTER sleep-IMP DV hand-ACC take-INF father-mother PT top TOP NEG-leave-INF three-stems-COMP middle-LOC-ACC(?) sleep-TENT-FIN beautiful-INF **you/he-POSS** talk-ITER-EV-CON when PT PT person DV become-INF-exit(INF)-SUB bad-ATTR-NML PT good-ATTR-NML PT see-TENT-FIN DV big-boat-COMP think-INF-request-ATTR-LOC think-NEG-ATTR-LOC side-island-wind sudden DV-INF cover-INF-come-INF-PERF/PROG-EV-CON do-TENT-ATTR way-GEN measure-ACC know-NEG-INF white-cloth-GEN cord-ACC tuck up(INF) INT-clear mirror hand-LOC take-INF-hold-INF-SUB heaven-GEN/LOC deity look up-INF-request-INF-pray-INF land-GEN/LOC deity prostrate-INF-SUB forehead touch-INF work-NEG-INF PT work-INF PT deity-GEN according DV stand-INF-?-INF I request-INF-pray-EV-CONC for a while-INF good-ATTR-NML TOP no-FIN-LOC gradually-gradually DV-INF facial form get emaciated-INF morning-PLUR morning-PLUR say-ATTR thing stop-INF jewel-? life cease-PERF-EV stand-INF-jump-INF foot rub-INF scream-INF prostrate-INF look up-INF chest hit-INF lament-INF hand-LOC hold-PROG I-POSS fly-CAUS-PERF-FIN world-GEN inside-GEN way

What shall I do with the Seven Treasures that people of the world value and desire? Our child Purupyi, born between us, who was like a white jewel, [you/he] did not leave the side of our white-clothed bed in the morning when the bright stars become pale. Whether standing or sitting, [you/he] played [with us]. When it became evening with the evening stars, and [we] told [you/him]: 'Go to sleep!;' taking [our] hands, as **you/he** used to say beautifully: 'Father and mother, do not leave [me]! [I] would like to sleep between you, [three of us], like 'three [stems] grass,'' [I] would like to see what bad things and what good things [were in store for you/him] when [you/he] becomes a [grown-up] person — thus [I] thought and prayed, [confident] as a big boat. But suddenly a[n evil] crosswind from the island came and covered [us]. Not knowing what to do, [I] tucked up the [sleeves of my *kimono*] with white cloth cords, and taking in [my] hands a clear mirror, [I] prayed looking up with a request to the deities of Heaven; and [I] prostrated [myself] before the deities of the Earth, touching [the floor] with [my] forehead. Although I stood and prayed so it would be according to the wishes of deities, whether [my prayers] work or not, for a while there was no improvement and [your/his] face get gradually thinner and thinner, and [you/he] stopped to say things in the mornings, and [your/his] jewel-like life ended. [I] jumped, and [I] rubbed my feet, and [I] screamed, [I] prostrated [myself], [I] looked up, and hit [myself] in the chest, and [I] lamented. [I] let [you/him], whom [I] had in [my] hands, to fly away. [Alas, this is] the way of this world (MYS V: 904)

Without exception, modern commentators of the *Man'yôshû* interpret *si-Nka* in this poem as 'he-POSS' (Takagi et al. 1959: 119), (Kojima et al. 1972: 117), (Nakanishi 1978: 423),

(Satake et al. 1999: 524). And, it seems to me, that there is serious philological evidence supporting this interpretation. There is a poem (MYS V: 794) composed by the same poet, Yamonoue-no Okura, as an elegy for the death of Ôtomo-no Tabito's wife:

大王能等保乃朝庭等斯良農比筑紫国爾泣子那須斯多比枳摩斯提伊企陀爾母伊摩陀夜周米受年月母伊摩他阿良祢婆許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼伊波牟須弊世武須弊斯良爾石木乎母刀比佐気斯良受伊弊那良婆迦多知波阿良牟乎宇良売斯企伊毛乃美許等能阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可爾保鳥能布多利那良毘為可多良比斯許許呂曾牟企弖伊弊社可利摩須
OPØ-KYIMYI-nø tøpo n-ø MYIKANTWO tø siranupyi TUKUSI KUNI-ni NAK-U KWO-nasu sitap-yi k-yi-mas-i-te ikyi Ntani mø imaNta yasumey-Ns-u TØSI TUKIY mø imaNta ar-an-e-Npa køkørø-yu mø omøp-an-u apyiNta-ni uti-naNpik-yi køy-as-i-n-ure ip-am-u suNpye se-m-u suNpye sir-an-i ipa-kiy-wo mø twop-yi sakey sir-aNs-u ipye-n-ar-aNpa katati pa ar-am-u-wo uramyesi-kyi imwo n-ø myikøtø-nø are-woNpa mø ika n-i se-yø tø ka nipo-N-tøri-nø puta-ri naraNp-yi-wi katar-ap-yi-si køkørø sømuk-yi-te ipye-N-sakar-i-imas-u

Great Lord-GEN far DV-ATTR Imperial Court DV Tukusi land-LOC cry child-COMP long-INF come-INF-HON-INF-SUB breath PT PT yet rest-NEG-FIN year month PT yet be-NEG-EV-CON heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC PREF-stretched out-INF lie down-HON-INF-PERF-EV say-TENT-ATTR way do-TENT-ATTR way know-NEG-INF rock-tree-ACC PT ask-NML avoid(INF) know-NEG-FIN home-LOC- exist-COND form TOP exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC

dear/cruel-ATTR beloved DV-ATTR spirit-GEN I-ACC(EMPH) how DV-INF do-TENT-IMP DV PT yuanyan-DV(ATTR)-bird-like two-CL be side by side-be swear-ITER-INF-PAST/ATTR heart turn back-INF-SUB home-LOC-turn away-INF-HON-FIN

[She] came longing like a crying baby to Tukusi, which is called a distant Palace of the great Lord, not taking a rest even for one breath. But while years and months have not yet elapsed, while even in [my] heart [I] did not think, stretched out [she] was lying. [I] do not know what to say and what to do, nor do I know how to escape [my grief even if I] ask even the trees and rocks. If [you] were [still] at home, [your] form would be there [at least]! [My] dear and cruel beloved, what do [you] think [I] should do, like two grebes [we] swore to live together, but [you] left home, turning [your] back on that promise (MYS V: 794)

The parallelism between MYS V: 904 and the first part of MYS V: 794 is too striking to ignore. Apparently, we have in both cases a lament about the deceased member of the family, and it is made in the third person. There is, however, a considerable difference as well: MYS V: 794 also has the second part, representing an incantation to the soul of the deceased, made in the second person, but MYS V: 904 has no analog of it: it ends with a description of the author's grief. Still, additional evidence is needed to establish *si* as a third person pronoun in Old Japanese.

Next combined linguistic and textual evidence comes from KK 57 and KK 101, which have very close but not identical contexts:

迦波能倍迩淤斐陀弖流佐斯夫袁佐斯夫能紀斯賀斯多迩
淤斐陀弖流波毘呂由都麻都婆岐斯賀波那能弖理伊麻斯
芝賀波能比呂理伊麻須波淤富岐美呂迦母
kapa-nø [u]pey-ni opiy-Ntat-er-u sasiNpu-wo sasiNpu n-ø kiy **si-Nka** sita-ni opiy-Ntat-er-u pa-N-pyirø yu tu ma-tuNpakyi **si-Nka** pana-nø ter-i-imas-i **si-Nka** pa-nø pyirør-i-imas-u opø-kyimyi rø kamø
river-GEN top-LOC grow(INF)-stand-PROG-ATTR sasiNpu-ABS sasiNpu DV-ATTR tree **it-POSS** bottom-LOC grow(INF)-stand-PROG-ATTR leaf-GEN-broad sacred DV INT-camellia **it-POSS** leaf-GEN shine-INF-HON-INF **it-POSS** leaf-GEN are broad-INF-HON-FIN great-lord DV PT
under the *sasiNpu* tree, growing above the river, below **it** [there is] a sacred true camellia growing, **its** flowers are shining, **its** leaves are broad, as the great lord (KK 57)

It seems impossible to interpret all *si-Nka* in this poem as the second person 'you-POSS:' we will get a nonsense text with second person pronouns referring to two different trees, like '*sasiNpu* tree, below you grows camellia, your flowers and leaves' — whom does second 'your' refer to? In addition, the next passage, also from the *Kojiki kayô*, proves almost without any doubt that we are dealing with the third person pronoun:

淤斐陀弖流波毘呂由都麻都婆岐曾賀波能比呂理伊麻志
曾能波那能弖理伊麻須多加比迦流比能美古爾登余美岐
多弖麻都良勢
opiy-Ntat-er-u pa-N-pyirø yu tu ma-tuNpakyi **sø-Nka** pa-nø pyirør-i imas-i **sø-nø** pana-nø ter-i-imas-u taka-pyikar-u pyi-nø myi-kwo-ni tøyø myi-kyi tatematur-as-e

grow(INF)-stand-PROG-ATTR leaf-GEN-broad sacred DV INT-camellia **it-POSS** leaf-GEN be broad-INF i**t-GEN** flower-GEN shine-INF-HON-FIN high-shine-ATTR sun-GEN HON-child-DAT abundant HON-sake present-CAUS-IMP
growing broad-leafed sacred true camellia, **its** leaves are broad, **its** flowers are shining. Present the abundant sake to the honorable child of the high-shining Sun (KK 101)

Looking at this text, one can clearly see that *si-Nka* appears to be a textual variant of *sø-Nka*, a third person pronoun possessive form also attested in Classical Japanese (Vovin 2003: 114), which is derived from the demonstrative *sø-* 'that.' Moreover, there are the following two examples in the *Kojiki kayô*, which have *si-Nka* that can be interpreted only as a third person pronoun:

加良怒袁志本爾夜岐斯賀阿麻里許登爾都久理
karanwo-wo sipwo-ni yak-yi **si-Nka** amar-i køtø-ni tukur-i
Karanwo-ACC salt-LOC burn-INF **it-POSS** remain-NML koto-LOC make-INF
[They] burned [the ship] Karanwo for salt, and made **its** remainders into a *koto* (KK 74)
It would be a complete folly to imagine that the ship is addressed in the second person in this example.

意布袁余志斯毘都久阿麻余斯賀阿禮婆宇良胡本斯祁牟斯毘都久志毘
op[ø]-uwo yøsi siNpyi tuk-u ama yø **si-Nka** ar-e-Npa ura-kwopwosi-ky-em-u siNpyi tuk-u siNpyi
big-fish ? tuna harpoon-ATTR fisherman PT **she-POSS** go away-EV-CON inside-sorrowful-ATTR-TENT-FIN tuna harpoon-ATTR Sinpyi

Oh, fisherman, who harpoons tuna, the big fish! [You] will be sorrowful when **she** gets away, Sinpyi who harpoons tuna (KK 110)
If we are interpret *si-Nka ar-e-Npa* as 'when you get away,' the poem would not make any sense at all.

The final and the most conclusive evidence for the fact that *si* represents the third, and not the second person pronoun comes from the *Senmyô* texts, where it is written not only phonetically, but also logographically using the Old Chinese oblique third person pronoun 其 'he, she, it:'

先仁之我奏之事
SAKYI-ni **SI-Nka** MAWOS-I-si KØTØ
before-LOC **he-POSS** say(HUM)-INF-PAST/ATTR thing
things **he** said before (SM 28)

清麻呂其我姉法均止甚大尓悪久奸流妄語乎作弖
KYIYWOMARØ **SI-Nka** ANE POPUKUN-tø ITØ OPO-KYI n-i ASI-ku KANTAM-YEr-u ITUPAR-I-N-KØTØ-wo TUKUR-I-te
Kiyomaro **he-POSS** elder sister Pôkun-COM very big-ATTR DV-INF bad-INF be insincere-PROG-ATTR lie-NML-GEN-thing make-INF-SUB
Kiyomaro with **his** elder sister Pôkun created an extremely bad and insincere lie... (SM 44)

There is also one example in late Old Japanese, where *si* also can be only interpreted as the third person pronoun:

老人毛女童児毛之我願心太良比爾
O-I-PYITØ mwo WOMYINA WARAPA mwo **si-Nka** NENKAP-U KØKØRØ-N-tar-ap-yi n-i
old-INF-person PT woman child PT t**hey-POSS** desire-ATTR heart-LOC-be enough-ITER-NML DV-INF

old people, women, and children, all [of them get] enough
what **they** desire to [their] hearts' content (MYS XVIII: 4094)

Special forms

Besides the special form *sø-Nka*, mentioned above in KK 101, there is also a special form *sø-ne-Nka* and *sø-ne*, attested just once each in the same text. These forms appear to be parallel to the second person pronoun special form *na-ne* (see 4.2.2.5):

曾泥賀母登曾泥米
sø-ne-Nka møtø **sø-ne** mey
it-?-POSS root **it-?** bud
its roots, **its** buds (KK 11)119

It seems that none of the examples attested in Old Japanese offers uncontroversial support for *si* as the second person pronoun; and quite to the contrary, most of the attested examples can be safely interpreted as the cases of the third person pronoun.
There is one example from an early Middle Japanese text, known to me, that might be an evidence for Miller's point of view on *si* as a second person pronoun, but it falls out of the scope of the grammar dedicated to Old Japanese:

しが身の程知らぬこそいと心憂けれ
si-ga mi-no fodo sir-an-u koso ito kokoro u-kere
you-POSS body-GEN time know-NEG-ATTR PT heart sad-EV
[I] feel very sad to the extent **you** never felt (OM 1)

The construction *si-ga mi* 'your body' (= 'you') seems to be perfectly parallel to the construction *wa-ga mi* 'my body'

119 The same song is attested in NK 13 with the phonetic variant sø-nø-Nka møtø sø-ne mey.

(= ‘I’) that frequently appears in Middle Japanese texts in the function of the first person pronoun. However, a singular attestation of *si* as a second person pronoun in this example does not allow us to reconstruct the second person pronoun *si* for the earlier stages of the Japanese language.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is no second or third person pronoun *si* in Eastern Old Japanese, but the genitive form *sø-nø* ‘it-GEN’ of third person *sø-* ‘it’ is attested once, and there is also one example of the accusative form *sø-wo*, which does not occur in Western Old Japanese.

曾能可抱与吉爾
sø-nø kapo yø-kyi-ni
it-GEN face good-ATTR-LOC
its face is good, but [it does not move forward] (MYS XIV: 3411)

比登豆麻等安是可曾乎伊波牟
pyitø-N-tuma tø aNse ka **sø-wo** ip-am-u
person-GEN-wife DV why PT **she-ACC** say-TENT-ATTR
Why should [I] call **her** the wife of another? (MYS XIV: 3472)

A2: Ryukyuan
There is no second or third person pronoun *si* in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS
Since there is no *si* attested as a second or third person pronoun either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan, this makes a connection with Altaic second person pronouns in *s-*

(Miller 1971: 159-60) even more unrealistic. The aforementioned alternation between *si-Nka* and *sø-Nka* in KK 57 and KK 101 suggests that the Western Old Japanese third person pronoun *si* is likely to be derived from the mesial demonstrative pronoun *sø-*.

4.2.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUN ONØ/ONØRE

There is only one reflexive pronoun in Old Japanese: *onø/onøre*, which can be used as a reflexive involving any person: first, second, or third. The forms of the reflexive pronoun *onø/onøre* seem to be parallel morphologically (although not exactly) to personal pronouns *wa/ware, a/are,* and *na/nare*: the unextended stem *onø* occurs almost exclusively in combination with the following possessive case marker *-Nka*, although there are two examples of it occurring in isolation found in the same text. The unextended stem *onø* occurs in Western Old Japanese only six times, and the extended stem *onøre* is even more rare (only two examples of phonetic spelling are attested) and it occurs only in isolation.120 None of the case markers are attested after *onø/onøre* except possessive *-Nka* after the unextended stem *onø*.

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120 In the early Heian texts both stems of the personal-reflexive pronoun ono *and* onore *are used, while in the later Heian texts there is a distinct preference for the extended stem* onore*, the stem* ono- *being used very rarely. In the* Taketori monogatari *possessive forms* ono-ga *and* onore-ga *co-occur (Vovin 2003: 102). The Heian period personal-reflexive pronoun* onodukara*, derived from* onø*, is not attested in phonetic spelling in Old Japanese texts, therefore, it is excluded from this grammar. Another personal reflexive pronoun,* midukara*, becomes prominent in Classical Japanese, especially in the later Heian texts, but it occurs in Old Japanese texts only in later glosses, and never appears in the texts themselves, therefore it is excluded from the present description.*

Stem *onø*

Isolated form *onø*

於乃毛於乃毛貞仁能久清伎心乎以天奉仕
onø mwo onø mwo SANTAKA n-i YØ-ku KYIYWO-kyi KØKØRØ-wo MOT-I-te TUKAPEY-MATUR-E
yourself PT yourself PT truthful DV-INF good-INF clear-ATTR heart-ACC hold-INF-SUB serve(INF)-HUM-IMP
All of you, serve truthfully and well, with a clear heart (SM 33)

Possessive *onø-Nka*

意能賀袁袁奴須美斯勢牟登
onø-Nka wo-wo nusum-yi si-se-m-u tø
yourself-POSS cord-ACC steal-INF die-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV
[they] are going to steal **your [own** life-]cord and murder [you] (KK 22)121

意乃何身志伊多波斯計礼婆
onø-Nka MIY122 si itapasi-kyere-Npa
myself-POSS body PT ill-EV-CON
as **my [own]** body became ill (MYS V: 886)

於能我於弊流於能我名負弖
onø-Nka op-yer-u **onø-Nka** NA OP-YI-te

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121 A variant of this poem also appears in NK 18 as onø-Nka wo-wo si-se-m-u tø nusum-aku *'the fact that [they] will steal with intention to kill your [own life-] cord.'*
122 Ono-ga mi *occurs as a personal reflexive pronoun in early Heian texts (Vovin 2003: 104); however, there is just a singular example in Old Japanese in this context that does not allow to treat the OJ construction* onø-Nka miy *as a grammaticalized pronoun.*

himself-POSS carry-PROG-ATTR **himself-POSS** name carry-INF-SUB
[everyone of] themselves carrying **their own** names (MYS XVIII: 4098)

人祖乃意能賀弱児乎養治事乃
PYITØ N-Ø OYA-nø **onø-Nka** WAKU-N-KWO-wo PYITAS-U KØTØ-nø
person DV-ATTR parent-GEN **their selves-POSS** young-DV(ATTR)-child-ACC rear-ATTR thing-COMP
like human parents rear **their own** young children (SM 3)

Stem *onøre*

Isolated form *onøre*

於能礼故所詈而居者
onøre YUWE NOR-AYE-TE WOR-E-NPA
myself reason scold-PASS-SUB exist-EV-CON
As you were scolded because of **me** (MYS XII: 3098)

伊夜彦於能礼神佐備
iyaPYIKWO **onøre** KAMU saNpiy
Iyapyikwo **itself** deity behave as(INF)
[The mountain] Iyapiko **itself** behaves deity-like (MYS XVI: 3883)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Only the unextended stem *onø* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese; the extended stem *onøre* is not attested. Similar to personal pronouns *wa/ware, a/are*, and *na/nare*, the reflexive

pronoun *onø* is also attested in one example with the following oblique stem marker -*N* in form *onø-N-*.

Stem *onø*

Oblique stem *onø-N-* in a compound

於能豆麻乎比登乃左刀爾於吉
onø-N-tuma-wo pyitø-nø satwo-ni ok-yi
myself-OSM-spouse-ACC person-GEN village-LOC leave-INF
leaving **my own spouse** in [other] people's village (MYS XIV: 3571)

Possessive *onø-Nka*

於能我乎遠於保爾奈於毛比曾
onø-Nka wo-wo opo n-i na-omwop-yi-sø
yourself-POSS cord-ACC careless DV-INF NEG-think-INF-do
Do not think carelessly about **your own** [life-]cord (MYS XIV: 3535)

A2: Ryukyuan
It seems that a possible cognate to OJ *onø/onøre* is attested only in the Shuri literary language as *'ʉga* (RKJ 1983: 541a), and in Old Ryukyuan as *oga* (おが、おか) (Hokama 1995: 123c-d), (Nakahara & Hokama 1978: 73c-74a). However, this limited distribution, along with its predominant function as a second person and not a reflexive pronoun (it has the reflexive function only in the Shuri literary language), as well as its peculiar phonetic shape *'ʉga* < *onø-Nka, with no other morphological variants attested, strongly suggest that in

Ryukyuan it is a loan from Classical Japanese, and not a genuine cognate dating back to Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS

There are no apparent external parallels for Old Japanese reflexive pronoun *onø/onøre*.

4.2.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative pronouns in Old Japanese show considerable morphological similarity to the major personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun, since all of them also have unextended stem and extended stem in *-re*. However, there are also two significant differences: first, demonstrative pronouns do not add the possessive case marker *-Nka* to an unextended stem. They have a modifier form in *-nø*, which looks like an unextended stem, followed by a genitive case marker *-nø*, but in reality it is not the genitive case marker, but the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-*.123 Thus, e.g., historically proximal modifier form *kønø* < *kø n-ø 'this DV-ATTR.' Second, they do not have the oblique stem marker *-N*. Similar to modern and Classical Japanese demonstrative pronouns in Old Japanese can be subdivided into three groups: proximal, mesial, and distal. However, in contrast to modern and Classical Japanese, these three groups do not seem to be connected to the speaker/addressee axis, denoting just general levels of proximity: proximal, mesial, and distal.

Chart 17: Demonstrative pronouns

	proximal	**mesial**	**distal**
isolated	kø	sø*$^{+}$	ka*

123 There is also a modifier form køre n-ø*, although it is used much less frequently than* kønø*. Neither *søre n-ø nor *kare n-ø are attested in Old Japanese texts.*

extended	køre	søre	kare*
modifier	kønø	sønø	kanø**
place	køkø	søkø	—
place/direction	køti*, kønata*	—	kanata*, woti*, wotø*, wote

* - only in Western Old Japanese, ** - only in Eastern Old Japanese, $^{+}$ - only in combination with the following accusative marker.

4.2.4.1 PROXIMAL DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

It is considered that proximal demonstrative pronouns denote something that is closer to the speaker than to his/her addressee, however this speaker-oriented function becomes apparent only in Classical Japanese. The usage in Old Japanese seems to provide evidence only for the general proximity, without any regard to a speaker or an addressee's position. All pronouns of this group incorporate as their first element the stem *kø*, the unextended stem of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø/køre*.

4.2.4.1.1 Proximal demonstrative pronoun kø/ køre

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø/køre* indicates that something is located in close proximity. In contrast to Classical Japanese, the unextended stem *kø* occurs in Old Japanese more frequently than the extended stem *køre*, and not only in the modifying form *kønø*, but also in isolation and with the following case markers. Furthermore, the unextended stem *kø* never occurs in plural usage, but there is one example when the extended stem *køre* has a plural meaning (see MYS XV: 3638 below). This is quite reminiscent of the similar usage of the extended stems *ware* and *are* of the personal pronouns *wa/ware* and *a/are* described above (see 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2). Therefore, this plural usage of *køre* can be used as

further evidence in the favor of the hypothesis outlined in 4.2.2.1 that the extending suffix *-re* originally incorporated plural marker *-ra*. The following chart summarizes the distribution of both the unextended stem *kø* and the extended stem *køre* in isolation, modifier form, and with the following case markers in Western and Eastern Old Japanese.

Chart 18: Proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø/køre*

	unextended stem kø	**extended stem køre**
isolated	kø$^{+}$ S	køre* SP
modifier	kønø S	køre n-ø S
accusative	kø-woNpa	køre-wo* S
ablative	kø-yu*, kø-ywo* S	—

* - only in Western Old Japanese, + - can also be used as a modifier, S - singular, P - plural

Stem *kø*

Isolated from *kø*

Isolated form *kø* is attested in Western Old Japanese in three examples in the *Kojiki kayô* with the following particles, and once in the *Nihonshoki kayô*, modifying the following noun *yøpyi* 'night.' Both usages survived into Classical Japanese, but there they become even more infrequent. In modern Japanese this isolated form survived only in compounds like *kotosi* 'this year' (OJ *kø tøsi*).

許母布佐波受
kø mø pusap-aNs-u
this PT be suitable-NEG-FIN
This is not suitable, either (KK 4)

許斯與呂志

this PT be good
kø si yørøsi
this is good (KK 4)

許斯母阿夜爾加志古志
kø si mø aya n-i kasikwo-si
this PT PT very DV-INF be awesome-FIN
This is very awesome, too (KK 100)

区茂能於虚奈比虚予比辞流辞毛
kumo-nø okønap-yi **kø yøpyi** siru-si mwo
spider-GEN perform-NML **this night** be distinctive-FIN PT
the spider's performance is distinctive **tonight** (NK 65)
In this example *kø* has a modifier function without the following *n-ø*.

Modifier form *kønø*

許能登理母宇知夜米許世泥
kønø tøri mø uti-yamey-køse-ne
this bird PT PREF-stop-DES2-IMP
[I] wish [you] would stop [the singing] of **these** birds (KK 2)

許能美岐波和賀美岐那良受
kønø myi-kyi pa wa-Nka myi-kyi nar-aNs-u
this HON-wine TOP I-POSS HON-wine be-NEG-FIN
This wine is not my wine (KK 39)

許能迦迩夜伊豆久能迦迩
kønø kani ya iNtuku-nø kani
this crab PT where-GEN crab
This crab, where it is from? (KK 42)

許能久斯美多麻
kønø kusi myi-tama
this precious HON-jewel

these precious jewels (MYS V: 814)

許能安我家流伊毛我許呂母能阿可都久見礼婆
kønø a-Nka k-yer-u imwo-Nka kørømø-nø aka tuk-u MYI-re-Npa
this I-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR beloved-POSS garment-GEN dirt attach-ATTR see-EV-CON
when [I] see that **this** garment of [my] beloved which I wear became dirty (MYS XV: 3667)

Emphatic accusative *kø-woNpa*

加多理其登母許遠婆
katar-i-N-køtø mø **kø-woNpa**
talk-NML-GEN-thing PT **this-ACC(EMPH)**
[this] story, too, **this [one]** (KK 2; also in KK 3 (twice), 4, 100, 101, 102)
Since *-woNpa* occurs after *kø* in the same context, it probably suggests a rudimental usage.

Ablative *kø-ywo* and *kø-yu*
There are only three examples of the unextended stem *kø*, used with the following ablative case marker *-yu/-ywo*. All three occur in very similar contexts, that probably suggests a rudimental usage. In all three cases *kø* refers to a place and not an object, thus having a usage similar to *køkø* 'here.'

保登等伎須和我須武佐刀爾許欲那伎和多流
pøtøtøNkyisu wa-Nka sum-u satwo-ni **kø-ywo** nak-yi watar-u
cuckoo I-POSS live-ATTR village-LOC **this-ABL** cry-INF cross-FIN
the cuckoo crosses over, crying, **from here** to the village where I live (MYS XV: 3783)

許由奈伎和多礼

kø-yu nak-yi watar-e
this-ABL cry-INF cross-IMP
[Oh, cuckoo,] cross **from here**, crying (MYS XVIII: 4035)

保等登芸須許欲奈枳和多礼
potøtøNkyisu **kø-ywo** nak-yi watar-e
cuckoo **this-ABL** cry-INF cross-IMP
[Oh,] cuckoo, cross **from here**, crying (MYS XVIII: 4054)

Stem *køre*

Isolated form *køre*

許禮婆布佐波受
køre pa pusap-aNs-u
this TOP be suitable-NEG-FIN
This is not suitable (KK 4)

巨礼也己能名爾於布奈流門能宇頭之保爾多麻毛可流登布安麻乎等女杼毛
køre ya kønø NA-ni op-u NaruTWO-nø uNtu-sipo-ni tama-mwo kar-u tø [i]p-u ama wotømye-Ntømø
This PT this name-LOC carry-ATTR Narutwo-GEN whirl-pool-LOC jewel-seaweed cut-ATTR DV fisher maiden-PLUR
Are **these** the fisher-maidens who are said to cut precious seaweeds in the whirlpool bearing this name of Narutwo (MYS XV: 3638)

波里夫久路己礼波多婆利奴
pari-N-pukurwo **køre** pa taNpar-i-n-u
needle-GEN-bag **this** TOP receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-FIN
Needle bag — **this** [I] have received (MYS XVIII: 4133)

Modifier form *kore n-ø*

Only three examples of the modifier form *køre n-ø* are attested in Western Old Japanese texts:

許礼能水嶋
køre n-ø MYINTUSIMA
this DV-ATTR Midushima
This Midushima (MYS III: 245)

己礼乃与波宇都利佐留止毛
køre n-ø yø pa utur-i-sar-u tømwo
this DV-ATTR world TOP change-INF-go away-FIN CONJ
Although **this** world changes and goes away... (BS 10)

己礼乃微
køre n-ø miy
this DV-ATTR body
this body (BS 20)

Accusative *køre-wo*

許礼乎於伎低麻多波安里我多之
køre-wo ok-yi-te mata pa ar-i-N-kata-si
this-ACC leave-INF-SUB again TOP exist-NML-GEN-be hard-FIN
It is difficult to get another [falcon of the same quality], except **this** [one] (MYS XVII: 4011)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese the distribution of the unextended stem *kø* is more limited than in Western Old Japanese: it occurs only in isolation and in modifier form *kønø*, but that can probably be explained by the limited amount of the

Eastern Old Japanese corpus. The extended stem *køre*, on the other hand, occurs just once, and this seems quite consistent with limited usage of the extended stems of other pronouns in Eastern Old Japanese. Ultimately, this is additional oblique evidence for the secondary nature of the extended stem, which almost certainly was originally a plural form.

Stem *kø*

Isolated form *kø*

Isolated form *kø* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese twice only as a modifier of the following word *yøpyi* 'night:'

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西祢
asa-te kwo-N-pusuma **kø yøpyi** Ntani tuma yøs-i-køse-ne
hemp-cloth DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding **this night** PT spouse bring close-INF-DES2-IMP
Oh, bedding from the hemp cloth! [I] wish [you] would bring my spouse just t**onight** (MYS XIV: 3454)

和乎可麻都那毛伎曾毛己余必母
wa-wo ka mat-unam-wo kyisø mwo **kø yøpyi** mø
I-ACC PT wait-TENT2-ATTR last night PT **this night** PT
will [she] have waited for me, both last night and **tonight**? (MYS XIV: 3563)

Modifier form *kønø*

許乃河伯爾安佐菜安良布児
kønø KApa-ni asa-NA arap-u KWO
this river-LOC morning-greens wash-ATTR girl
girl, who washes morning greens in **this** river (MYS XIV: 3440)

伎美我見延奴己能許呂

kyimyi-Nka MYI-ye-nu **kønø** kørø
lord-POSS see-PASS-NEG-ATTR **this** time
lately (lit.: **this** time), when [I] cannot see [my] lord (MYS XIV: 3506)

伎奴流許能美知
k-yi-n-uru **kønø** myiti
come-INF-PERF-ATTR **this** road
this road that [I] came (MYS XIV: 3571)

Stem *køre*

Modifier form *køre n-ø*
There is one example in Eastern Old Japanese of the modifier form *køre n-ø*:

比毛多要婆安我弖等都気呂許礼乃波流母志
pyimwo taye-Npa a-Nka te-tø tukey-rø **køre n-ø** paru møs-i
cord tear-COND your own-POSS hand-COM attach-IMP **this DV-ATTR** needle hold-INF
if the cords [of your garment] tear, attach them with your own hand, holding **this** needle (MYS XX: 4420)

A2: Ryukyuan
In Ryukyuan, only the extended stem *kuri* and modifier form *kunu* are attested, including Old Ryukyuan. The unextended stem *ku does not appear in isolation: it is found only in the modifier form *kunu* and in the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kuma* 'here,' indicating place. This situation is typical for both Old Ryukyuan and modern dialects. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

これはつにしや
kore facu nisi ya
this first northern wind COP
this is the first northern wind (OS XIII: 899)

ちゑねんもりくすくこの世まさり
tiwenenmori kusuku **kono** YO masar-i
Tiwenenmori castle **this** world surpass-INF
Tiwenenmori castle surpasses [all in] **this** world... (OS XIX: 1302)

Shuri

kuree nuu yaibii ga
this(TOP) what is(POL) PT
What is **this**? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 44)

kunu maNgaa umu-sa-N doo
this cartoon be interesting-NML-FIN PT
this cartoon is interesting (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 18)

Thus, there is sufficient internal evidence for reconstruction of proto-Japonic proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø 'this.'

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are several attempts to find Altaic etymologies for PJ *kø 'this.' Martin compared it with MK *kù* 'that' (Martin 1966: 244), but there are two problems: first, the Middle Korean pronoun is not proximal, but mesial: and, second, there are no other cognates among Japonic and Korean

demonstrative pronouns,[124] which is strange if these two were really related. Normally, if the demonstrative pronouns are related, they are related as a set. Starostin further added to this Chuvash *ku* 'this' (Starostin 1986: 111). At first glance, this looks better than the Korean comparison, because in Volga Bulghar we have *kö* (Erdal 1993: 99).[125] However, this comparison is also problematic due to the same problem as with Korean: there are no other demonstrative pronoun cognates in Japonic and Chuvash. Moreover, although Chuvash is at the top level branching of Turkic, the isolated nature of this pronoun, not found in any other Turkic language, makes this comparison questionable.

4.2.4.1.2 Proximal demonstrative pronoun køkø

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *køkø* 'here' is a combination of the unextended stem *kø-* of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø/køre* and the obsolete word *kø 'place.'[126] It is basically a stative demonstrative pronoun, showing location, not direction, but it can also be used as a directional demonstrative when followed by the

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124 Martin has also compared the Japanese mesial sø *'that' with the Middle Korean distal demonstrative pronoun* tyé *'that over there,' but this comparison should be rejected on the same phonetic and semantic grounds: it involves Japanese mesial and Korean distal pronouns. In addition, the correspondence of PJ *s- to MK* t- *can be justified only for obvious loanwords.*

125 This Volga Bulghar form is not mentioned, of course, by Starostin due to his typical wordlist linguistics approach, based on comparisons of dictionaries without looking into the details of language history.

*126 It is possible that *kø 'place' in* køkø *'here' and* søkø *'there' is a result of progressive vowel assimilation, cf.* -kwo *'place' with* kô-rui *vowel /wo/ in* myiya-kwo *'capital (lit.: palace-place),' where the conditions for such progressive assimilation are not present; as well as* -ka *'place' in* ar-i-ka *'place to be' and* sum-yi-ka *'place to live,' where* -ka *can be a truncation of *-ka[C]u (>* -kwo*).*

locative/directive case marker *-ni*, although this usage is rare in comparison to Classical Japanese. Examples:

母登弊波岐美袁淤母比傳須恵幣波伊毛袁淤母比傳伊良那祁久曾許爾淤母比傳加那志祁久許許爾淤母比傳
møtø-pye pa kyimyi-wo omøp-yi-[i]Nte suwe-pye pa imwo-wo omøp-yi-[i]Nte irana-ky-eku søkø-ni omøp-yi-[i]Nte kanasi-ky-eku **køkø-ni** omøp-yi-[i]Nte
root-side TOP lord-ACC think-INF-exit(INF) top-side TOP beloved-ACC think-INF-exit(INF) be regrettable-ATTR-NML there-LOC think-INF-exit(INF) be sorrowful-ATTR-NML **here-LOC** think-INF-exit(INF)
at the root [of the tree, I] remember [my] lord, at the top [of the tree, I] remember [my] beloved, [I] remember [my lord] there with a regret, [I] remember [my beloved] **here** with sorrow (KK 51)127

許己乎志毛間細美香母
køkø-wo si mwo ma-KUPASI-myi kamø
here-ABS PT PT INT-beautiful-GER PT
It is beautiful **here** (MYS XIII: 3234)

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弖許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里爾之母能乎
a-Nka miy køsø sekyi-yama kwoye-te **køkø-ni** ar-am-ey køkørø pa imwo-ni yør-i-n-isi mønøwo
I-POSS body PT barrier-mountain cross(INF)-SUB **here-LOC** exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-LOC approach-INF-PERF-PAST/ATTR CONJ
My body has crossed the barrier-mountain, and is probably **here**. But my heart is near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

可奈之家口許己爾思出伊良奈家久曾許爾念出

127 NK 43 represents a very close textual variant of this poem.

kanasi-ky-eku **køkø-ni** OMØP-YI-[I]NTE irana-ky-eku søkø-ni OMØP-YI-[I]NTE
be sorrowful-ATTR-NML **here-LOC** think-INF-exit(INF) be regrettable-ATTR-NML there-LOC think-INF-exit(INF)
[I] remember [the parting with you] **here** with sorrow, [I] remember [the parting with you] there with a regret (MYS XVII: 3969)

保等登芸須許許爾知可久乎伎奈伎弖余
potøtøNkyisu **køkø-ni** tika-ku-wo k-yi nak-yi-te-yø
cuckoo **here-LOC** be close-INF-ACC come-INF cry-INF-PERF-IMP
Cuckoo! Come close **to here**, and cry! (MYS XX: 4438)
This is the only example attested in Western Old Japanese where *køkø* with the following locative/directive case marker *-ni* has a function of a directional demonstrative pronoun.

In the following four examples *køkø* retains much of its original meaning 'this place' or 'this location:'

許己念者胸許曾痛
køkø [O]MØP-EY-NPA MUNE køsø ITAM-EY
here think-EV-CON chest PT is painful-EV
when [I] think of **this situation**, my heart hurts (MYS VIII: 1629)

許己乎之母安夜爾多敷刀美宇礼之家久伊余与於母比弖
køkø-wo si mø aya n-i taputwo-myi uresi-ky-eku iyøyø omøp-yi-te
here-ABS PT PT extreme DV-INF be venerable-GER be glad-ATTR-NML more and more think-INF-SUB
thinking with joy more and more how extremely venerable **our position** is (MYS XVIII: 4094)

許己乎之母安夜爾久須之弥
køkø-wo si mo aya n-i kususi-myi
here-ABS PT PT extreme DV-INF be wonderful-GER

this situation is extremely wonderful, and... (MYS XVIII: 4125)

許己見礼婆宇倍之神代由波自米家良思母
køkø MYI-re-Npa uNpey-si KAMIY-YØ-yu paNsimey-kyer-[ur]asi mø
here look-EV-CON must be-FIN deity-age-ABL begin-PRET-SUP PT
when [you] look at **this place**, it is indeed [they] began [building of the palaces] from the Age of Gods (MYS XX: 4360)128

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There is just one example of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *køkø* in Eastern Old Japanese:

己許呂能未伊母我理夜里弖和波己許爾思天
køkørø nømiy imø-Nkari yar-i-te wa pa **køkø-ni** s-i-te
heart PT beloved-DIR send-INF-SUB I TOP **here-LOC** do-INF-SUB
I [have] to stay **here**, sending just [my] heart to [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3538)

A2: Ryukyuan
There are no direct cognates in Ryukyuan of the Old Japanese proximal demonstrative pronoun of place *køkø*, since the Ryukyuan counterpart of OJ *køkø* is *kuma*, consisting of the proximal demonstrative *ku* < *kø and *ma* 'interval.'

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128 Opinions differ, whether this poem belongs to a border-guard, or to Ôtomo-no Yakamochi himself. The latter seems more probable, since the poem is preceded by the line in Chinese: 陳私拙懐一首 'a poem stating my own humble thoughts,' and also because it is written in perfect Western Old Japanese, without any elements typical for Eastern Old Japanese. Therefore, I treat it as a Western Old Japanese text.

Ryukyuan *kuma* is amply attested in Old Ryukyuan, and in all modern dialects, except Hateruma (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 397), so apparently it goes back to proto-Ryukyuan, as well as OJ *køkø* goes back to proto-Japanese. Thus, both Japanese *køkø* and Ryukyuan *kuma* seem to be late independent formations in two branches of Japonic, and it is not possible to reconstruct a common proto-Japonic archetype. Therefore, any search for external cognates of *køkø* will be fallacious. This, of course, does not rule out a possibility for external cognates of both *kø 'place' and *ma* 'interval,' but since this is a lexical and not morphological comparison, it will not be treated here.

4.2.4.1.3 Proximal demonstrative pronoun køti

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *køti* in Western Old Japanese indicates the place, and not the direction, contrary to what might have been expected on the basis of its etymology. It tends to occur in the set phrase *woti køti* 'there [and] here,' or in the reduplicated form *køti-N-køti* 'here [and] there (lit.: here and here).' Etymologically *køti* probably goes back to the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø* 'this' plus *ti* 'way,' which is attested exclusively in compounds, like *myi-ti* 'HON-road' or *ti-mata* 'road-fork' (see 4.1.1.1).129

許知能夜麻登多多美許母弊具理能夜麻能許知碁知能夜麻能賀比爾

køti-nø yama-tø tatamyi-kømø pyeNkuri-nø yama-nø **køti-N-køti-nø** yama-nø kapyi-ni

here-GEN mountain-COM mat-rush Peguri-GEN mountain-GEN **here-LOC-here-GEN** mountain-GEN interval-LOC

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*129 As far as internal evidence is concerned, this *ti 'road' is probably from* otsu-rui **tiy: the distal demonstrative pronoun* woti *'the place over there' occurs in compounds as* wotø-*, which suggests that OJ* ti < **tø-[C]i.*

between the mountains **here [and] there**, the mountain **here** and the Peguri mountain [which is like] a rush mat (KK 91)

己知其智乃國之三中從
køti-N-køti-nø KUNI-NØ myi-NAKA-YU
here-LOC-here-GEN province-GEN HON-middle-ABL
from the provinces **here [and] there** (MYS III: 319)

己智其智乃花
køti-N-køti-nø pana
here-LOC-here-GEN flower
flowers **here [and] there** (MYS IX: 1749)

和可伎児等毛波乎知許知爾佐和吉奈久良牟
waka-kyi KWO-Ntømwo pa woti **køti-ni** sawaNk-yi-nak-uram-u
young-ATTR child-PLUR TOP there **here-LOC** make noise-INF-cry-TENT2-FIN
young children will probably cry loudly **here** [and] there (MYS XVII: 3962)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為
tuma mø kwo-Ntømø mwo woti **køti-ni** sapa n-i kakum-yi wi
spouse PT child-PLUR PT there **here-LOC** many DV-INF surround-INF exist(INF)
both my spouse and children are around [me] in great numbers **here** and there (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There are no examples of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *køti* in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
There are no cognates of the Old Japanese proximal demonstrative pronoun *køti* 'here' in Ryukyuan. Thus, *køti* appears to be a pure Japanese formation, and a reconstruction of the Japonic archetype is not feasible.

4.2.4.1.3 Proximal demonstrative pronoun kønata

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *kønata* 'here,' 'this side' originated as a result of a contraction of the modifier form *kønø* of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kø/køre-* and the word *kata* 'side,' 'direction.' It is not attested in the phonetic script in Western Old Japanese, but there is one example in the logographic script that allows us to read the characters 此方 as *kønata* and not *køti* due to the meter of the poem:

壯士墓此方彼方二造置有故
WOTØKØ-N-TUKA **KØNATA** KANATA-ni TUKUR-I-OK-YER-U YUWE
[young] man-GEN-grave **here** there-LOC make-INF-put-PROG-ATTR reason
because the graves of [young] men were built **here** [and] there (MYS IX: 1809)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *kønata* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
It seems that the proximal demonstrative pronoun *kogata* < *kun[u] kata < *kønø kata is attested only in Old Ryukyuan: although RKJ lists an attestation in Shuri, the example provided there (RKJ 1983: 327b) is from the *Ryûka* given below:

恩納嶽あがた里が生まれ島森もおしのけてこがたなさな
UNNA-DAKI agata SATU-ga Umare-JIMA MUI mo os-i-noke-te **kogata** nas-ana
Unna-peak over there village-POSS born(INF)-island mountain PT push-INF-put away(INF)-SUB **here** do-DES
On the other side of the peak Unna [there is] the village on the island where [my beloved] was born. Pushing the mountain aside, [I] would like to place [it] **here** (RK 1243)

Isolated attestations in Old Ryukyuan not supported by the modern dialect data are always suspicious, but in this particular case OR *kogata* cannot be a loan from Classical Japanese *konata* (< OJ *kønata*), since the patterns of contraction are different in Japanese (*kønata* < *køn[ø k]ata) and in Ryukyuan (*kugata* < *kun[u] kata < *kønø kata). Thus, it is possible to reconstruct proto-Japonic phrase *kønø kata 'this side' with a deictic usage 'here.'

4.2.4.2 MESIAL DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Similar to proximal demonstrative pronouns, mesial demonstrative pronouns are considered to denote that something is closer to the addressee than to the speaker, however this addressee-oriented function becomes apparent

only in Classical Japanese. The usage in Old Japanese seems to provide the evidence only for the generally based remoteness, without any regard to a speaker or an addressee's position. All pronouns of this group incorporate as their first element the stem *sø*, the unextended stem of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *sø/søre*. In contrast to the proximal demonstratives with *kø*, which have the full set of pronouns, there are no mesial demonstratives *søti and *sønata attested in Old Japanese texts.

4.2.4.2.1 Mesial demonstrative pronoun sø/søre

The mesial demonstrative pronoun *sø/søre* indicates that something is relatively remote in a general sense, without reference to a speaker/addressee axis. This pronoun can also have an anaphoric usage, referring to something previously mentioned in the text.

The forms of the mesial demonstrative pronoun *sø/søre* 'that' occur in Old Japanese with a very skewed distribution. The most frequent form is the modifier form *sønø*,130 based on the unextended stem *sø*. Other usages of the unextended stem *sø* are extremely rare: it never occurs in isolation,131 and the only example with the following case marker is with the accusative case marker -*wo* attested twice in Western Old Japanese. The extended stem *søre* is also very rare, and what is more important, it occurs only once in the phonetic spelling. There are several more examples where it is written

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130 The modifier form sønø*, similar to the proximal demonstrative modifier form* kønø*, historically consists of the unextended base of the demonstrative pronoun* sø *or* kø *plus the attributive form* n-ø *of the defective verb* n- *'to be.'*

131 Yamada Yoshio gives one Eastern Old Japanese example in isolation from MYS XIV: 3451 (Yamada 1954: 73), but he apparently misreads swo*, an exclamation chasing away a horse, as* sø *'that,' cf. (Takagi et al. 1960: 431) and (Kojima et al. 1973: 474), who agree that* swo *in this poem is an exclamation.*

logographically with the character 其,132 but we can surmise on the basis of the meter in the poems that this character indeed represents *søre.

Stem *sø*

Accusative *sø-wo*

其乎奈何不來者來者其乎
SØ-wo naNTØ?/naNSØ? KØ-NS-U PA KØ-NPA **SØ-wo**
that-ACC why come-NEG-INF TOP come-COND **that-ACC**
if [you] do not come or if [you] come, why [should I be impatient] **about that**? (MYS XI: 2640)

曾乎見礼婆許己呂乎伊多美
sø-wo MYI-re-Npa køkørø-wo ita-myi
that-ACC see-EV-CON heart-ABS be painful-GER
when [one] sees **that**, [one's] heart aches (MYS XVIII: 4122)
This is an example of the anaphoric usage, referring to a situation previously described in the text.

Modifier form *sønø*

夜弊賀岐都久流曾能夜弊賀岐袁
ya-pye-N-kakyi tukur-u **sønø** ya-pye-N-kakyi-wo
eight-fold-GEN-fence make-FIN **that** eight-fold-GEN-fence-ACC
[I] am making eight-folded fence, **that** eight-folded fence (KK 1)

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132 Yamada Yoshio believes that the character 彼 also was read as søre *and not* kare*, because, according to his opinion* kare *was not yet used extensively in Old Japanese (Yamada 1954: 77-78). He even points out a place name 彼杵 which has reading /sønøkiy/. However,* kare *'that over there' is actually attested in Old Japanese (e.g., in MYS XVIII: 4045) (this example is cited by Yamada himself (Yamada 1954: 77), and it is well known how slippery the evidence from place names could be. Thus, I think that only the cases where the character 其 is used can be treated as* søre *with a certain degree of confidence.*

This is an example of the anaphoric usage, referring to the fence previously mentioned in the text.

和賀淤岐斯都流岐能多知曾能多知波夜
wa-Nka ok-yi-si turukyi n-ø tati **sønø** tati pa ya
I-POSS put-INF-PAST/ATTR sword DV-ATTR long sword
that long sword TOP PT
I put [down my] long sword, **that** long sword! (KK 33)
This is an example of the anaphoric usage, referring to the sword previously mentioned in the text.

美母呂能曾能多迦紀
myi-mørø-nø **sønø** taka kiy
HON-mountain-GEN **that** high fortress
that high fortress of the sacred mountain (KK 60)

曾能阿牟袁阿岐豆波夜具比
sønø amu-wo akyiNtu paya-N-kup-yi
that horsefly-ACC dragonfly quick-DV(INF)-eat-INF
a dragonfly quickly ate **that** horsefly (KK 97)

秋風左無美曾乃可波能倍爾
AKYI KANSE samu-myi **sønø** kapa-nø [u]pey-ni
autumn wind be cold-GER **that** river-GEN top-LOC
above **that** river, the autumn wind is cold (MYS XVII: 3953)

曾能許己呂多礼爾見世牟
sønø køkørø tare-ni MYI-se-m-u
that feeling who-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-FIN
to whom will [I] show **that** feeling? (MYS XVIII: 4070)
In this example *sønø* refers to the author's (speaker's) feeling, demonstrating well that there is no apparent connection of *sønø* with addressee, as in later Japanese.

Stem *søre*

The stem *søre* occurs only in isolation if we exclude all dubious cases. The only phonetic example of *søre* is attested in a Shôsôin document:

之可流可由恵尔序礼宇気牟比止良
sik[a]-ar-u-Nka yuwe n-i **søre** ukey-m-u pyitø-ra
thus-exist-ATTR-POSS reason DV-INF **that** receive-TENT-ATTR person-PLUR
by this reason, the people who will receive **that** (SSI)133

All other examples of *søre* are in logographic spelling. Some of them are questionable, or have competing readings, however. The following example is the only reliable case:

吾勢子尓令見常念之梅花其十方不所見
WA-NKA se-KWO-ni MYI-SE-M-U tø OMØP-YI-si UMEY-NØ PANA **SØRE** tø mo MYI-YE-NS-U
I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-FIN think-INF-PAST/ATTR plum-GEN flower **that** DV PT see-PASS-NEG-INF
The plum blossoms that [I] was going to show to my beloved, do not look like **those** (i.e., like plum blossoms) (MYS VIII: 1426)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese

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133 I cite this example according to (Omodaka 1967: 407d), who, unfortunately does not indicate what exactly the document is. Since there is no wider context, it is not possible to tell whether søre *in this example refers to a single or multiple objects.*

There is only one example of the mesial demonstrative pronoun *sø/søre* in Eastern Old Japanese, occurring as the modifier form *sønø*.

Stem *sø*

Modifier form *sønø*

曾能可奈之伎乎刀爾多弖米也母
sønø kanasi-kyi-wo two-ni tate-m-ey ya mø
that beloved-ATTR-ACC door-LOC place-TENT-EV PT PT
would [I] let **that** beloved [of mine] stand at the door? (MYS XIV: 3386)

A2: Ryukyuan
Ryukyuan cognates of the Western Old Japanese mesial demonstrative pronoun *sø/søre* are questionable, since in all Ryukyuan dialects as well as in Old Ryukyuan we have reflexes of *'u-/'uri 'that,' e.g. Shuri *'unu/'uri* 'id.,' corresponding to Old Japanese *sønø/søre*. The dubious point is the correspondence of Ryukyuan initial *'- to Japanese *s-, which is irregular. There is only one other example where the same correspondence can be observed: OJ *sak-* 'to split' (intr.) vs. Shuri *ac-uN* 'id.'

It is worth noting that the Ryukyuan second person pronoun *'ura is probably based on the same pronominal root, although with irregular development of the initial consonant.

4.2.4.2.2 Mesial demonstrative pronoun søkø

The proximal demonstrative pronoun *søkø* 'here' is a combination of the unextended stem *sø-* of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *sø/søre* and the obsolete word *kø

‘place.’ It is a stative demonstrative pronoun showing location. Examples:

母登弊波岐美袁淤母比傳須恵幣波伊毛袁淤母比傳伊良那祁久曾許爾淤母比傳加那志祁久許許爾淤母比傳
møtø-pye pa kyimyi-wo omøp-yi-[i]Nte suwe-pye pa imwo-wo omøp-yi-[i]Nte irana-ky-eku **søkø-ni** omøp-yi-[i]Nte kanasi-ky-eku køkø-ni omøp-yi-[i]Nte
root-side TOP lord-ACC think-INF-exit(INF) top-side TOP beloved-ACC think-INF-exit(INF) be regrettable-ATTR-NML **there-LOC** think-INF-exit(INF) be sorrowful-ATTR-NML here-LOC think-INF-exit(INF)
at the root [of the tree, I] remember [my] lord, at the top [of the tree, I] remember [my] beloved, [I] remember [my lord] **there** with a regret, [I] remember [my beloved] here with sorrow (KK 51)

可奈之家口許己爾思出伊良奈家久曾許爾念出
kanasi-ky-eku køkø-ni OMØP-YI-[I]NTE irana-ky-eku **søkø-ni** OMØP-YI-[I]NTE
be sorrowful-ATTR-NML here-LOC think-INF-exit(INF) be regrettable-ATTR-NML **there-LOC** think-INF-exit(INF)
[I] remember [the parting with you] here with sorrow, [I] remember [the parting with you] **there** with a regret (MYS XVII: 3969)

曾己乎之毛安夜爾登母志美
søkø-wo si mwo aya n-i tømøsi-myi
there-ABS PT strange DV-INF attractive-GER
those places are strangely attractive, and... (MYS XVII: 4006)

則許母倍婆許己呂志伊多思
søkø [o]møp-ey-Npa køkørø si ita-si
there think-EV-CON heart PT be painful-FIN

when [I] think of t**hose places**, [my] heart aches (MYS XVII: 4006)

曽己由恵尓情奈具也
søkø yuwe n-i KØKØRØ naNk-u ya
there reason DV-INF heart calm down-FIN PT
will [my] heart calm down due to **those circumstances**?
(MYS XIX: 4154)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The mesial demonstrative pronoun *søkø* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
Similar to the case with *køkø*, described above (4.2.4.1.2), there are no direct cognates in Ryukyuan of the Western Old Japanese mesial demonstrative pronoun of place s*økø*, since the Ryukyuan counterpart of OJ *søkø* is *'uma*, consisting of the proximal demonstrative *'u* and *ma* 'interval.' Ryukyuan *'uma* is amply attested in Old Ryukyuan, and in all modern dialects, so apparently it goes back to proto-Ryukyuan. Thus, both Japanese *søkø* and Ryukyuan *'uma* seem to be late independent formations in two branches of Japonic, and it is not possible to reconstruct a common proto-Japonic archetype. It is a different problem, whether OJ mesial *sø* and Ryukyuan mesial *'u* are related (4.2.4.2.1): if they are not, then these formations are completely unrelated in Japanese and Ryukyuan.

4.2.4.3 DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Distal demonstrative pronouns denote that something is located at a considerable distance in a general sense. This general orientation is typical in Old Japanese for all demonstrative pronouns, as was noted above, and is quite different from the speaker/addressee orientation that started to be prevalent from Classical Japanese. There are two sets of distal demonstrative pronouns: the pronouns of the first set group are based on the stem *ka*-, and the pronouns of the second set on the stem *wo*-.[134] It is worth noting that among distal demonstratives indicating place there is a kind of complimentary distribution of derivatives: thus, the *-ti* form is based on the *wo*- set (*woti*), but the *-nata* form is based on the *ka*- set (*kanata*).[135]

4.2.4.3.1 Distal demonstrative pronoun ka/kare

The distal demonstrative pronoun *ka/kare* indicates that something is located at a considerable distance. Both its unextended stem *ka* and extended stem *kare* are very rare in Old Japanese compared to later periods in Japanese language history. For example, in contrast to proximal and mesial modifier forms *kønø* and *sønø*, that are the most frequent forms of the respective proximal and mesial sets, the distal modifier form *kanø* occurs only once in Eastern Old Japanese, but is unattested in Western Old Japanese. This low frequency could potentially indicate that distal demonstrative pronouns are a comparatively recent innovation in Old

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134 There are two sets of distal demonstrative pronouns in Classical Japanese as well, but only the first set based on the stem ka- *is identical with Old Japanese. Another Classical Japanese set of distal demonstrative pronouns is based on the stem* a- *(Vovin 2003: 120).*

135 Cf. the proximal demonstratives where both -ti *form and* -nata *form are based on* kø-: køti, kønata.

Japanese,[136] and that the proto-Japanese deictic system probably included just the bipartite (*kø* and *sø*) system, but not the tripartite (*kø, sø, ka*), which flourishes only during the Heian period. However, the existence of *ka-* series in South Ryukyuan dialects prevents such a conclusion, and probably indicates that there was distal demonstrative *ka- in proto-Japonic.

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136 This possibility was suggested by Bjarke Frellesvig (personal communication).

Stem *ka*

The unextended stem *ka* occurs in Western Old Japanese only in isolation.

Isolated form *ka*

The isolated form *ka* occurs in Western Old Japanese only in the construction *ka...ka-ku* 'that [way/much]...this [way/much].' This construction may also include the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' after each of its members: *ka n-i...ka-ku n-i*.

阿波志斯袁美那迦母賀登和賀美斯古良迦久母賀登
ap-as-i-si womyina **ka** møNka tø wa-Nka myi-si kwo-ra ka-ku møNka tø
meet-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR woman **that** PT DV I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM thus-INF PT DV
[I] wish **that** [much] the woman [I] met; [I] wish this [much] the girl I saw (KK 42)

可爾迦久爾保志伎麻爾麻爾斯可爾波阿羅慈迦
ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kyi mani-mani sika n-i pa ar-aNsi ka
that DV-INF thus-INF DV-INF be desirable-ATTR according thus DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT
[acting] **that** [way] and this way, according to [your] desires, it cannot be that way, can it? (MYS V: 800)

可由既婆比等爾伊等波延可久由既婆比等爾迩久麻延
ka yuk-ey-Npa pyitø-ni itøp-aye ka-ku yuk-ey-Npa pyitø-ni nikum-aye
that go-EV-CON person-DAT avoid-PASS(INF) thus-INF go-EV-CON person-DAT hate-PASS(INF)
when [they] go **that** [way], [they] are avoided by people, and when [they] go this way, [they] are hated by people... (MYS V: 804)

Stem *kare*

There is one example of the extended stem *kare* in Western Old Japanese attested in phonetic spelling:

支見我弥不根可母加礼
kyimyi-Nka myi-pune kamø **kare**
lord-POSS HON-boat PT **that**
[Is] **that** [my] lord's boat? (MYS XVIII: 4045)

Besides this example, there are several others spelled logographically with the character 彼. In the examples from the poetry, we can speculate that this character renders *kare*, but chances are that it also may be *søre*: all we can say on the basis of the meter is that the word this character renders is disyllabic. Examples:

誰彼我莫問
TA SØ **KARE** WARE-WO NA-TWOP-YI-SØ
who PT **that** I-ACC NEG-ask-INF-do
Do not ask me: 'Who is **that**?' (MYS X: 2240)

誰彼登問者
TA SØ **KARE** tø TWOP-ANPA
who PT **that** DV ask-COND
if [someone] asks: 'Who is **that**?' (MYS XI: 2545)

COMPARATIVE DATA:

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of the distal demonstrative pronoun *ka/kare* in Eastern Old Japanese. It occurs in the modifier form *kanø*:

Modifier form *kanø*

可能古呂等宿受夜奈里奈牟
kanø kwo-rø-tø NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u
that girl-DIM-COM sleep-NEG-INF PT become-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN
Will it become [so that I] will not sleep with **that** girl? (MYS XIV: 3565)

A2: Ryukyuan

Ryukyuan data represent an interesting picture from the comparative perspective. Most of the Ryukyuan dialects, as well as Old Ryukyuan, have the distal demonstrative pronoun *'ari/'anu*, based on the stem *'a-*, which does not have a counterpart in Old Japanese, but has parallels in Classical Japanese and later historical stages of Japanese. However, in dialects of South Ryukyus we find the distal demonstrative pronoun *kari/kanu*, based on the stem *ka-*, such as the Agarinakasone and the Yonaha dialects on Miyako island, the Tonoshiro dialect on Ishigaki island (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 359), the Yonaguni dialect, and other Yaeyama dialects (Hirayama 1967: 195). Since direct borrowing from Old Japanese into South Ryukyuan is out of the question, this distribution suggests that *ka-* forms in Ryukyus are original, and that the *'a-* forms were probably spread by the language interference with Classical Japanese via Old Ryukyuan. However, the unnaturally low frequency of *ka-* forms in Old Japanese as compared to Classical Japanese, still presents a puzzle, although not an obstacle for reconstructing distal demonstrative *ka- on the proto-Japonic level.

4.2.4.3.2 Distal demonstrative pronoun kanata

The distal demonstrative pronoun *kanata* 'there,' 'that side' originated as a result of a contraction of the modifier form *kanø* of the distal demonstrative pronoun *ka/kare-* and the word *kata* 'side,' 'direction.' It is not attested in the phonetic script in Western Old Japanese, but there is one example in the logographic script that allows us to read the characters 彼方 as *kanata* due to the meter of the poem:

壯士墓此方彼方二造置有故
WOTØKØ-N-TUKA KØNATA **KANATA-ni** TUKUR-I-OK-YER-U YUWE
[young] man-GEN-grave here **there-LOC** make-INF-put-PROG-ATTR reason
because the graves of [young] men were built here [and] **there** (MYS IX: 1809)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The distal demonstrative pronoun *kanata* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

In contrast to proximal demonstrative *kogata*, attested in Old Ryukyuan (4.2.4.1.3), its distal counterpart *kagata does not appear in Old Ryukyuan texts.

4.2.4.3.3 Distal demonstrative pronoun woti/wotø/wote

The distal demonstrative pronoun *woti/wotø/wote* indicates the remote place or time. Only the form *woti* can be used independently (but always within the construction *woti køti* 'there [and] here'), but all three forms can be used as a modifier without the following attributive forms *n-ø* and *t-u* of the defective verbs *n-* and *t-* 'to be' for the nouns *kata* 'side,' 'direction' (*woti kata*), *mo* 'side,' 'direction' (*wote mo*), *tøsi* 'year' (*wotø tøsi*),137 and with the following attributive form *t-u* for the noun *pyi* 'day' (*wotø t-u pyi*) and one noun *pataNte* 'edge' (?) (see KK 105 below). Although it almost went out of active usage by the Heian period,138 its reflexes still survive in the modern language in the compounds *oto-to-i*139 'the day before yesterday' < OJ *wotø t-u pyi* and *oto-tosi* 'the year before last' < OJ *wotø tøsi*. It is quite apparent that even in Old Japanese *woti/wotø/wote* has became a kind of bound form that probably represents a remainder of an old form from the earlier stages of the language history.

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137 The form wotø tøsi *does not occur in the phonetic writing, therefore, other readings may be possible, although this particular reading is supported by the data from the later periods of the Japanese language history.*

138 Ôno Susumu gives one attestation of woti *in the* Kokin wakashû *(380) for the Heian period, and one in the* Uji shûi monogatari *for the Kamakura period (Ôno et al. 1990: 1457c).*

139 The modern standard Japanese from ototoi '*the day before yesterday' is, of course, irregular. However, the regular form* ototui *is preserved in dialects, e.g. in the Fukumitsu dialect in Western Toyama.*

意富美夜能袁登都波多傅須美加多夫祁理
opø-myiya-nø **wotø t-u** pataNte sumyi kataNpuk-yer-i
great-place-GEN **that DV-ATTR** edge (?) corner incline-PROG-FIN
The edge corners of **that** side of the great palace are falling apart (KK 105)

前年之先年從至今年恋跡
WOTØ TØSI-NØ SAKYI-TU TØSI-YWORI KØ TØSI-MANTE KWOP-URE-Ntø
that year-GEN before-GEN/LOC year-ABL this year-TERM love-EV-CONC
although [I] love [you] from the year before two years ago (lit.: from the year before **the year before last**) up to this year (MYS IV: 783)

波都世乃加波乃乎知可多尓伊母良波多多志己乃加多尓和礼波多知弖
patuse-nø kapa-nø **woti kata-ni** imø-ra pa tat-as-i kønø kata-ni ware pa tat-i-te
Patuse-GEN river-GEN **that side-LOC** beloved-DIM TOP stand-HON-INF this side-LOC I TOP stand-INF-SUB
[My] beloved is standing on **that side** of the Patuse river, and I stand on this side (MYS XIII: 3299a)140

乎登都日毛昨日毛今日毛由吉能布礼礼婆
wotø t-u PYI mwo KYINØPU mwo KYEPU mwo yukyi-nø pur-er-e-Npa
that DV-ATTR day PT yesterday PT today PT snow-GEN fall-PROG-EV-CON
when the snow has been falling **the day before yesterday**, yesterday, and today (MYS XVII: 3924)

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140 This is a variant of the poem MYS XIII: 3299.

和可伎児等毛波乎知許知爾佐和吉奈久良牟
waka-kyi KWO-Ntømwo pa **woti** køti-ni sawaNk-yi-nak-uram-u
young-ATTR child-PLUR TOP **there** here-LOC make noise-INF-cry-TENT2-FIN
young children will probably cry loudly here [and] **there** (MYS XVII: 3962)

二上能乎弖母許能母爾安美佐之弖
PUTANKAMYI-nø **wote mø** kønø mø-ni amyi sas-i-te
Putagami-GEN **that side** this side-LOC net spread-INF-SUB
Spreading nets on **that side** [and] this side of the [Mt.] Putagami (MYS XVII: 4013)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為
tuma mø kwo-Ntømø mwo **woti** køti-ni sapa n-i kakum-yi wi
spouse PT child-PLUR PT **there** here-LOC many DV-INF surround-INF exist(INF)
both my spouse and children are around [me] in great numbers here and **there** (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Only the form *wote* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese, and only twice in the same construction *wote mo kønø mo-ni* 'on that side [and] this side:'

安思我良能乎弖毛許乃母爾佐須和奈
asiNkara-nø **wote mwo** kønø mø-ni sas-u wana
AsiNkara-GEN **that side** this side-LOC set-ATTR trap
the traps [they] set on **that side** [and] this side of the [Mt.] Asigara (MYS XIV: 3361)

筑波祢乃乎弖毛許能母爾毛利敞須恵

tukupa-ne-nø **wote mwo** kønø mø-ni mworiNpye suwe
Tukupa-peak-GEN **that side** this side-LOC guard place(INF)
Placing the guards on **that side** [and] this side of the Tukuba peak (MYS XIV: 3393)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of the Old Japanese distal demonstrative pronoun *woti/wotø/wote* in Ryukyuan. As mentioned above, *woti*, by analogy with *køti* should consist of the distal deictic element *wo-* < *bo-, and the remainder *-ti,* which probably represents the word *ti* 'way' < *tiy < *tø-[C]i.[141] Here, however, we come to a halt, because to the best of my knowledge there are no reliable external cognates of this distal deictic *bo-.

4.2.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Western Old Japanese has the following interrogative pronouns: *ta-/tare* 'who;' *nani* 'what;' *ika* 'how;' *iNtu/iNtuku, iNtuti* 'where;' *iNture* 'which;' *itu* 'when;' *naNsø, naNtø* 'why,' *iku/ikura/ikuNta* 'how many,' 'how much.' Indefinite pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns with adding to the latter the interrogative particle *ka*. In a similar way, collective pronouns are combinations of interrogative pronouns with the following particle *mø*.

4.2.5.1 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *TA-/TARE*

Similar to the most personal and demonstrative pronouns interrogative pronoun *ta/tare* 'who' also has the unextended stem *ta-* and the extended stem *tare*. The unextended stem *ta-* never occurs in isolation, but is always followed by a case marker, in most cases the possessive case marker *-Nka*. The

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141 The otsu-rui *nature of the vowel /i/ in* ti *is supported by the forms* wotø *and* wote*, which allow us to reconstruct *wo-tø-[C]i.*

extended stem *tare* occurs both in isolation and in combination with the following case markers, except the possessive -*Nka*. Although the extended stem *tare* is used more extensively than extended stems of other pronouns, and the unextended stem *ta-* in contrast to the unextended stem of other pronouns has much more limited usage, it is still likely that in the period preceding first written texts, the unextended stem *ta-* had a wider usage. Thus, e.g., both dative *ta-ni* and *tare-ni* are attested once each in Western Old Japanese, but *ta-ni* occurs in earlier Old Japanese, and *tare-ni* in later Old Japanese. Therefore, it is possible to believe that the extended stem *tare* was gradually replacing the unextended stem *ta-*.

The combination of *tare* 'who' with the following interrogative particle *ka* in Old Japanese always has the function of an emphatic question, in contrast to Classical Japanese, where the combination of *tare* with particle *ka*: *tare ka* has the function of an indefinite pronoun and usually means 'somebody' or 'anybody' (in questions), although there are also cases when the interrogative particle *ka* simply emphasizes the question asked about *tare*. There is, however, one possible exception, when the construction *ta-Nka...ka*, attested in the *Fudoki kayô*, probably has the function of an indefinite pronoun. Combination of *tare* with particle *mø: tare mø* which in Classical Japanese has the function of a collective pronoun meaning 'everybody,' or 'nobody' / 'anybody' (in negative sentences), does not occur in Old Japanese texts. Examples:

Stem *ta*

The unextended stem *ta-* occurs only in combination with possessive case marker -*Nka* and dative case marker -*ni*.

Possessive *ta-Nka*

The possessive form *ta-Nka* in Western Old Japanese occurs only in the function of a modifier of the following noun, and never in the function of a subject of the dependent clause.

夜麻登弊迩由玖波多賀都麻
yamatø-pye-ni yuk-u pa **ta-Nka** tuma
Yamato-side-LOC go-ATTR TOP **who-POSS** spouse
Whose spouse goes towards Yamato? (KK 56)

賣杼理能和賀意富岐美能淤呂須波多他賀多泥呂迦母
myeNtøri n-ø wa-Nka opø kyimyi-nø or-øs-u pata **ta-Nka** tane rø kamø
Medori DV-ATTR I-POSS great lady-GEN weave-HON-ATTR fabric **who-POSS** material DV PT
The fabric my lady Medori weaves, for whom (lit. **whose**) the material is? (KK 66)

柁我佐基泥佐基泥曾母野倭我底騰羅須謀野
ta-Nka sakiy-N-te sakiy-N-te sø møya wa-Nka te tør-as-u moya
who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-FIN PT
whose chapped hand, chapped hand will take my hand? (NK 108)

都久波尼爾阿波牟等伊比志古波多賀己等岐気波加弥尼阿波巣気牟
tukupa-ne-ni ap-am-u tø ip-yi-si kwo pa **ta-Nka** køtø kyik-ey-Npa **ka** myi-ne ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u
Tukupa-peak-LOC meet-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR girl TOP **who-POSS** word listen-EV-CON **PT**

HON-peak/sleep(NML)142 meet-NEG-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
The girl, who promised [to me] that [we] will meet at the Tukuba peak, did not meet [me] at the peak/for sleeping, because [she] listened to **somebody's** words (FK 2)
This is the only example in Western Old Japanese where *ta-Nka* with the following interrogative particle *ka* probably is used in the indefinite pronoun function.

多我多米爾奈礼
ta-Nka tamey n-i nare
who-POSS for DV-INF you
for **whom**? [For] you! (MYS XVII: 4031)

波奈爾保比弖里低多弖流波波之伎多我都麻
pana nipop-yi ter-i-te tat-er-u pa pasi-kyi **ta-Nka** tuma
flower be fragrant-INF shine-INF-SUB stand-PROG-ATTR TOP be lovely-ATTR **who-POSS** spouse
whose lovely spouse is the one who is standing, fragrant and shining [as] a flower? (MYS XX: 4397)

Dative *ta-ni*
There is only one example of the dative form *ta-ni* in Western Old Japanese texts.

多爾加母余良牟
ta-ni kamø yør-am-u
who-DAT PT rely-TENT-ATTR
On whom will [you] rely? (KK 94)

Stem *tare*

142 The word ne *here represents a play on words:* ne *'peak' and* ne *'sleep(INF).'*

The extended stem *tare* occurs in Western Old Japanese in isolation and with dative case marker -*ni* and accusative case marker -*wo*.

Isolated form *tare*

多禮曾意富麻弊爾麻袁須
tare sø opø mapye-ni mawos-u
who PT great front-DAT say(HUM)-ATTR
Who will report to the emperor? (KK 97)

柁例柯擧能居登飫褒磨陛爾麻鳴須
tare ka kønø køtø opo mapye-ni mawos-u
who PT this matter great front-DAT say(HUM)-ATTR
Who will report this matter to the emperor? (NK 75)
In this example, which represents a textual variant of the example from KK 97 above, the combination *tare ka* is used in the function of an emphatic question, not as an indefinite pronoun.

偉儺謎能陀倶弥柯該志須弥儺播旨我那稽麼柁例柯柯該武預
winaNpey-nø takumyi kakey-si sumyi-napa si-Nka na-ky-eNpa **tare ka** kakey-m-u yø
Winabe-GEN carpenter apply(INF)-PAST/ATTR ink-cord he-POSS no-ATTR-COND **who PT** apply-TENT-ATTR PT
the ink-cord that carpenter of Winabe applied: if he is no more, **who** would apply it? (NK 90)
Like in the example above (NK 75), *tare ka* in this example is not the indefinite pronoun 'somebody:' the interrogative particle *ka* simply emphasizes the question asked with *tare*.

美多多志世利斯伊志遠多礼美吉
myi-tat-as-i s-er-i-si isi **tare** myi-kyi
HON-stand-HON-NML do-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR stone **who** see(INF)-PAST/FIN

who has seen the stone on which [she] took [her] stand? (MYS V: 869)

念意緒多礼賀思良牟母
OMØP-U KØKØRØ-wo **tare ka** sir-am-u mø
love-ATTR heart-ACC **who PT** know-TENT-ATTR PT
who will know [my] loving heart? (MYS XVII: 3950)
Like in the examples above (KK 97) and (NK 75), *tare ka* in this example is not the indefinite pronoun 'somebody:' the interrogative particle *ka* simply emphasizes the question asked with *tare*.

山人夜多礼
YAMA-N-PYITØ ya **tare**
mountain-GEN-person PT **who**
Who is the hermit? (MYS XX: 4294)

奈禮乎曾與□羊爾保師登多禮
nare-wo sø yømye n-i posi tø **tare**
you-ACC PT bride DV-INF be desirable DV **who**
who wants you as [his] bride? (NR II: 33)

Dative *tare-ni*
Only one example is attested in Western Old Japanese texts:

曾能許己呂多礼爾見世牟等於母比曾米家牟
sønø køkørø **tare-ni** MYI-se-m-u tø omøp-yi-sømey-ky-em-u
that feeling **who-DAT** see-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV think-INF-begin(INF)-PAST-TENT-FIN
[I] started to think: '**Whom** will [I] show that feeling?' (MYS XVIII: 4070)

Accusative *tare-wo*
Only one example is attested in Western Old Japanese texts:

袁登賣杼母多禮袁志摩加牟

wotømye-Ntømø **tare-wo** si mak-am-u
maiden-PLUR **who-ACC** PT pillow-TENT-FIN
whom will you take to bed [among] the maidens? (KK 15)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
In Eastern Old Japanese the unextended stem *ta*- occurs only with the following possessive case marker -*Nka*, and extended stem *tare* occurs in isolation and with the following accusative case marker
-*wo*.

Stem *ta*

Possessive *ta-Nka*
Only two examples are attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

児呂波多賀家可母多牟
KWO-rø pa **ta-Nka** kye ka møt-am-u
girl-DIM TOP **who-POSS** container PT hold-TENT-ATTR
whose container will the girl hold? (MYS XIV: 3424)

佐伎毛利爾由久波多我世
sakyimwori-ni yuk-u pa **ta-Nka** se
border guard-LOC go-ATTR TOP **who-POSS** beloved
Whose beloved is going to (be a) border guard? (MYS XX: 4425)

Stem *tare*

Isolated form *tare*
Only one example is attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

多礼曾許能屋能戸於曾夫流

tare sø kønø YA-nø TWO osø-N-pur-u
who PT this house-GEN door push-DV(INF)-shake-ATTR
Who pushes and shakes the door of this house? (MYS XIV: 3460)

Accusative *tare-wo*
Only one example is attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

多礼乎可伎美等弥都都志努波牟
tare-wo ka kyimyi tø myi-tutu sinwop-am-u
who-ACC PT lord DV see(INF)-COOR long for-TENT-ATTR
whom shall [I] long for, viewing [him] as [my] lord? (MYS XX: 4440)

A2: Ryukyuan
The interrogative pronoun cognate to OJ *ta-/tare* is attested in all Ryukyuan dialects and in Old Ryukyuan. On the basis of comparative evidence from the modern dialects we can reconstruct the proto-Ryukyuan form *taa, which is attested in most dialects as *taa* or *ta* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 416). In addition, there is good evidence for reconstructing an extended stem *taro (Thorpe 1983: 223), which is attested in Old Ryukyuan as *taru* and has reflexes mostly in the Northern Ryukyus, but the form *taru* is also attested in the Tonoshiro dialect on Ishigaki island. Several dialects also have the form *taN*, and on the basis of the data from the Sesoko dialect it appears that this form represents a contraction of the extended form *taru*, although the final conclusion has to wait until the descriptive data from other dialects become available.

Old Ryukyuan data present evidence for the unextended stem *ta/taa* and extended stem *taru*. The crucial difference from the Old Japanese data is that both of these stems mostly

occur with the following possessive case marker *-ga*, although there is one example when *ta* is attested with the following dative case marker *-ni*, and one example when *taru* is attested in isolation (before the particle *mo*):

Stem *ta*

たかとりよらたかうちよら
ta-ga tor-i-yor-a **ta-ga** ut-i-yor-a
who-POSS take-INF-exist-TENT **who-POSS** hit-INF-exist-TENT
Who will take [it]? **Who** will hit [it]? (OS XVI: 1157)

おの玉やたあに呉ゆが
ono tama ya **taa-ni** KWIy-u ga
that jewel TOP **who-DAT** give-FIN PT
whom will [I] give that jewel?143

Stem *taru*

たるかさちへにせる
taru-ga satife ni-se-ru
who-POSS wear(COND) fit-CAUS-FIN
for **whom** will [it] be appropriate to wear? (OS XI: 594)

誰もわていやは
TARU mo wa te iy-aba
who PT I DV say-COND
If e**veryone** says 'I' (RK 617)

In the Sesoko dialect the unextended stem *taa* can be used as: 1) a modifier of the following noun; 2) before the certain

143 This example from the Ryûka *is cited according to (Hokama 1995: 380b).*

case markers and particles, such as the comitative case marker, the topic marker or the restrictive particle *bakee*; 3) before the case marker *-ga* used in the function of a subject marker. The extended stem *taru* appears only before the case marker *-ga* used in the possessive function (Uchima 1984: 107-08). The form *taN* is used exactly as the extended stem *taru*.

Sesoko dialect

Stem *taa*

taa muN ga
who thing PT
Whose thing [is this]? (Uchima 1984: 107)

taa-tu taa-tu ’ik-uu ga
who-COM who-COM go-FIN PT
Who and who will go? (Uchima 1984: 108)

taa-ga hatʃaa ga
who-NOM write(PAST) PT
Who wrote? (Uchima 1984: 107)

Stem *taru, taN < taru*

taru-ga muN ga
who-POSS thing PT
Whose thing [is this]? (Uchima 1984: 107)

taN-ga ʃida yee ga
who-POSS elder brother be(FIN) PT
Whose elder brother is [it]? (Uchima 1984: 141)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no reliable external cognates for proto-Japonic *ta ‘who.’

4.2.5.2 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *NANI*

The interrogative pronoun *nani* ‘what’ can modify a noun with or without the following attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be.’ Similar to *ta-/tare,* in most cases combinations of *nani* with the following interrogative particle *ka* functions as an emphatic question, although there is one example below (MYS XV: 3733) where it can be treated as an indefinite pronoun. A combination of *nani* with particle *mø* is not attested in Old Japanese texts. Out of all of the case markers, only a combination of *nani* with the following accusative case marker *-wo* is attested.

As noted by Yamada Yoshio, in a number of Old Japanese examples *nani* means ‘why’ rather than ‘what’ (Yamada 1954: 85), however this alone cannot be a sufficient basis to claim that in OJ *nani* was not a pronoun, but an adverb, as he suggests (Yamada 1954: 84).

Yamada Yoshio believes that *nani* ‘what’ is segmentable into *na+ni*, where *-ni* is the same *ni* as in *ika ni* ‘how’ (that, is, in our terminology the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’). To support his point of view, he provides two examples from MYS XIV: 3430 and MYS XV: 3684 (Yamada 1954: 87). However, in MYS XV: 3684 we apparently deal with the OJ *naNsø* ‘why’ (Omodaka 1967: 523b), (Kojima et al. 1975: 73), spelled as 奈曾 /nasø/, but as was noted in Chapter 2, the prenasalized obstruents in the script variety A are not always spelt consistently. In any case, more uncontroversial examples found in combinations other than with the following particle *sø* would be necessary to

prove Yamada's hypothesis, but they apparently do not exist. The example from MYS XIV: 3430, an Eastern Old Japanese text, is even less reliable, because the alleged *na there spelled 奈 is likely to be a scribal mistake of 余 /yø/,[144] occurring in other manuscripts, a possibility acknowledged by Yamada himself (Yamada 1954: 87). Even if it is not, *na there again occurs before syllable *si,* with the resulting form *nasi*, which is treated by some commentators as an Azuma dialect form of *naNsø* 'why' (Pierson 1961: 80). Finally, a combination of *nani* 'what' with the following infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' is attested in Western Old Japanese (see MYS XIII: 3265 below). A double sequence of defective verb infinitives *n-i n-i* in *na n-i n-i is ungrammatical. Below I will also demonstrate on the basis of internal Japonic evidence that segmentation of *nani* into *na-ni* is not justified.

那爾騰柯母于都倶之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農
nani tø kamø utukusi imø-Nka mata sak-yi-[i]Nte-kø-n-u
what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS again bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-ATTR
for **what** [reason], does [my] beautiful beloved not bloom again? (NK 114)

那爾柯那皚柯武
nani ka naNkeyk-am-u
what PT lament-TENT-ATTR
why would [I] lament? (NK 116)
The combination of *nani* with the interrogative particle *ka* here expresses an emphatic question.

奈爾能都底擧騰多柁尼之曳鶏武

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144 Both NKBT and NKBZ adopt the variant /yø/ (Takagi et al. 1960: 427), (Kojima et al. 1973: 468-69).

nani n-ø tute-køtø taNta n-i si ye-ky-em-u
what DV-ATTR report(INF)-word direct DV-INF PT good-PAST-TENT-FIN
What message [do you have]? It would be better [to say it] directly (NK 128)
In this example *nani* modifies the following noun *tute-køtø* 'message' with the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* following after *nani.* Cf. MYS XV: 3733 and MYS XVII: 3912 below.

銀母金母玉母奈爾世武
SIRWO KANE mø KU-N-KANE mø TAMA mø **nani** se-m-u
white metal PT yellow-DV(ATTR)-metal PT jewel PT **what** do-TENT-ATTR
What shall [I] do with silver, gold, and jewels? (MYS V: 803)

奈爾可佐夜礼留
nani ka sayar-er-u
what PT prevent-PROG-ATTR
what will be preventing [me]? (MYS V: 870)
The combination of *nani* with the interrogative particle *ka* here expresses an emphatic question.

吾哉難二加還而将成
WARE YA **nani n-i ka** KAPYER-I-TE NAR-AM-U
I PT what **DV-INF PT** return-INF-SUB become-TENT-ATTR
Why should I return? (MYS XIII: 3265)
The combination of *nani* with the interrogative particle *ka* here expresses an emphatic question. Also, note that *nani* is followed by the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be,' which prevents analyzing *ni* in *nani* as this verb.

奈爾之可母奇里爾多都倍久奈気伎之麻佐牟
nani si kamø kiyri-ni tat-uNpey-ku naNkeyk-yi s-i-mas-am-u
what PT PT fog-COMP rise-DEB-INF lament-NML do-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR

why should [you] lament so that [your tears] have to rise as a fog? (MYS XV: 3581)

和伎毛故我可多美能許呂母奈可里世婆奈爾毛能母弖加伊能知都我麻之
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka katamyi n-ø kørømø na-k-ar-i-se-Npa **nani** mwonø møt-e **ka** inøti tuNk-amasi
I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS keepsake DV-ATTR garment no-INF-exist-INF-PAST-COND **what** thing hold-EV **PT** life join-SUBJ/FIN
If [I] did not have a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, would having **anything** keep me alive? (MYS XV: 3733)
In this example *nani* with the following *ka* probably has a function of an indefinite pronoun, although other analyses are not impossible either. Also, in this example *nani* modifies the following noun *mønø* 'thing' without having the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' after it. Cf. NK 128 above and MYS XVII: 3912 below.

何爲牟尓吾乎召良米夜
NANI SE-m-u-ni WA-wo MYES-Uram-ey ya
what do-TENT-ATTR-LOC I-ACC summon-TENT2-EV PT
should you have summoned me in order to do **something**? (MYS XVI: 3886)
In this example *nani* has a function of an indefinite pronoun without the following interrogative particle *ka*.

保登等芸須奈爾乃情曾
potøtøNkyisu **nani n-ø** KØKØRØ sø
cuckoo **what DV-ATTR** feeling PT
[Oh,] cuckoo! **What** feelings [do you have?] (MYS XVII: 3912)
In this example *nani* modifies the following noun *køkørø* 'feeling' with the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' after it. Cf. NK 128 and MYS XV: 3733 above.

奈爾乎可於母波牟
nani-wo ka omøp-am-u

what-ACC PT think-TENT-ATTR
what should [I] think **about**? (MYS XVII: 3967)
The combination of *nani* with the interrogative particle *ka* here expresses an emphatic question.

SPECIAL FORM

Besides *nani* 'what,' there is a special form *aN-* 'what' of the same pronoun occurring once in front of the defective verb *tø* 'to say' in Western Old Japanese.[145]

安杼毛倍香許己呂我奈之久伊米爾美要都流
aN-tø [o]mwop-ey ka køkørø-N-kanasi-ku imey-ni myi-ye-t-uru
what DV think-EV PT heart-GEN-loving-INF dream-LOC see-PASS(INF)-PERF-ATTR
[she] suddenly appeared in [my] dream with a loving heart, thinking **what**? (MYS XV: 3639)

The loss of the initial *n-* does not occur in Old Japanese, so this word *aN-* might have been viewed as another word for 'what,' etymologically unconnected with *nani* 'what,' but as I will demonstrate below the comparative evidence offers a cogent explanation for this seeming irregularity.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese

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145 Influenced by the kana *syllabary, Japanese linguists usually list this pronoun as* aNtø *(Omodaka 1967: 32b). However, it is quite clear from the syntactic pattern it appears in that this* -tø *is nothing but a defective verb 'to say' with a prenasalization from the first element* aN- *'what.' Some Japanese scholars also believe that 阿跡念 used in MYS X: 2140 to spell the verb* aNtømop-u *'to lead' also supports* aN-tø *(Omodaka 1967: 32b), (Kojima et al. 1973: 119), but this is more controversial, since first two characters 阿跡 may be just a case of phonetic spelling, while the last character 念 alone represents rebus writing.*

In Eastern Old Japanese the interrogative pronoun *nani* ‘what’ is attested only twice: once in an Azuma poem, and once in a Sakimori poem:

奈仁曾許能児乃己許太可奈之伎
nani sø kønø KWO-nø køkøNta kanasi-kyi
what PT this girl-GEN this much be dear-ATTR
why this girl is so dear [to me]? (MYS XIV: 3373)
This poem is from Sagami province, that is in Region B which was moderately influenced by Western Old Japanese. However, there are no typical Eastern Old Japanese features in this poem. Thus, for example, attributive *-kyi* is typically WOJ, and not EOJ that has *-ke*.

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟
nani s-ure sø papa tø [i]p-u pana-nø sak-yi-[i]Nte-kø-Ns-u-ky-em-u
what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
why (lit.: having done **what**) has the flower called ‘Mother’ not bloomed? (MYS XX: 4323)
There are no typical Eastern Old Japanese features in this poem with the exception of the form *sak-ey-Ntø* ‘although bloom’ earlier in the poem which has typical Eastern Old Japanese misspelling *sak-ye-Ntø*.

This limited distribution is suspicious, especially since in Eastern Old Japanese there is the aforementioned interrogative pronoun *aN-* ‘what,’ ‘why'146 occurring seven times before the defective verb *tø* ‘to say’ or the defective verb *tø* ‘to be.’

和我世故乎安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo **aN-tø** kamø ip-am-u
I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC **what-DV** PT say-TENT-ATTR

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146 JDB glosses aN-tø *as ‘how,’ ‘why’ instead of ‘what’ (Omodaka 1967: 32b). However, the meaning ‘how’ does not occur in the texts at all, and in only one example out of seven* aN- *means ‘why,’ while it certainly means ‘what’ in the remaining six.*

What shall [I] say about my beloved? (MYS XIV: 3379)

阿杼可多延世武
aN-tø ka taye se-m-u
why-DV PT break(NML) do-TENT-ATTR
why should [we] break up? (MYS XIV: 3397)

安加奴乎安杼加安我世牟
ak-an-u-wo **aN-tø** ka a-Nka se-m-u
satisfy-NEG-ATTR-ACC **what-DV** PT I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
since it was not enough [for me], **what** should I do? (MYS XIV: 3404)

奴流我倍爾安杼世呂登可母
n-uru-Nka [u]pey-ni **aN-tø** se-rø tø kamø
sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC **what-DV** do-IMP DV PT
besides that [I] slept with [her], **what** [else do I] do? (MYS XIV: 3465)

汝波安杼可毛布
NA pa **aN-tø** ka [o]mwop-u
you TOP **what-DV** PT think-ATTR
What do you think? (MYS XIV: 3494)

安騰須酒香可奈之家児呂乎於毛比須吾左牟
aN-tø s-u s-u ka kanasi-kye KWO-rø-wo omwop-yi-suNkwos-am-u
what-DV do-FIN do-FIN PT lovely-ATTR girl-DIM-ACC think-INF-pass-TENT-ATTR
how (lit.: doing **what**) would I forget the lovely girl? (MYS XIV: 3564)

安杼毛敞可
aN-tø [o]mwop-ye ka

what-DV think-EV PT
Thinking **what**? (MYS XIV: 3572)

Since in Old Japanese the sequence /ni/ can become /N/ before the following obstruent, cf. *sir-an-i* 'not knowing' (know-NEG-INF) and *sir-aNs-u* 'not knowing' < *sir-an-i s-u (know-NEG-NML do-FIN), it is logical to presume that *aN-* < *ani 'what.' I believe that the interrogative pronoun *aN-* which occurs in Eastern Old Japanese three times more frequently than *nani* is the genuine Eastern Old Japanese form for the interrogative 'what,' while the existence of EOJ *nani* is probably due to the Western Old Japanese influence. This is further confirmed by the fact that Eastern Old Japanese poems containing *nani* 'what' appear to be in almost perfect Western Old Japanese. On the other hand, the single instance of *aN-* in Western Old Japanese is in MYS XV: 3639, written by Tanobe-no Akinipa, about whom nothing is known;[147] but it is possible to speculate that he might be from the Azuma region. The basis for this speculation rests on two observations. First, the phrase *aN-tø [o]mope[y] ka* 'thinking what,' with a quite unusual gerundive usage of the evidential form occurs only in two places in the *Man'yôshû*: in the aforementioned poem by Tanobe-no Akinipa and in MYS XIV: 3572, a poem in Eastern Old Japanese (see above). Second, in another poem by Tanobe-no Akinipa (MYS XV: 3638), we find a contracted form *tø [i]p-u* 'DV say-ATTR,' which does not occur exclusively in Eastern Old Japanese, but tends to be more frequent in it than in Western Old Japanese. Also, a single example of *aN-* in the entire Western Japanese corpus is suspicious. Thus, if my supposition is

147 Tanobe-no Akinipa is also the author of the poem MYS XV: 3638. Only two of his poems are preserved in the Man'yôshû.

correct, we probably have a Western Old Japanese *nani* 'what' vs. Eastern Old Japanese *an[i]* 'id.'

A2: Ryukyuan

Most Ryukyuan dialects have *nuu* 'what' or *noo* 'id.' (the latter is attested in the South Ryukyus on the islands of Miyako and Ishigaki) (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 428). At first glance, it seems that it is impossible to establish a cognateship on the basis of regular correspondences between these forms and Western Old Japanese *nani*, because they share only initial consonant *n*-, while the rest of both forms seems to be unrelated. However, in Old Ryukyuan we have the form *nau* 'what' (spelled なお {nao})148 which demonstrates that the modern Ryukyuan dialectal forms *nuu* and *noo* go back to *noo* < *nau*. There are also two modern Ryukyuan dialect forms that support this reconstruction: Sawada *nau* and Ôkami *naò* 'what' (Ôshiro 1972: 492-93). Now we have to remember that OJ /ni/ may be an *otsu-rui* *niy which goes back to *nu-[C]i or *nø-[C]i. The Old Ryukyuan and Sawada form *nau* as well as Ôkami form *naò* perfectly support the *otsu-rui* nature of /ni/ in WOJ *nani*, which can be reconstructed as *nanu-[C]i or *nanø-[C]i. The first variant is more plausible, because the vowel sequence *a-u* occurs much more frequently than the vowel sequence *a-ø*, therefore I tentatively reconstruct it as *nanu. At this stage, the Eastern Old Japanese form *aN*- has to be brought into play,

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148 Hokama believes that the word was read /nu/ in Old Ryukyuan like the modern dialect forms (Hokama 1995: 473b). However his belief seems to be based on modern dialect data, which is circular, and on the spelling 루읔*/lwuwuk/ found in the Korean source* Haytong ceykwukki*, where we have Old Ryukyuan transcribed with Hankul. However, this form /lwuwuk/, which probably transcribes Ryukyuan /nu:k/ is suspicious because of the final* -k *which is not attested anywhere else. In addition, the spelling /au/ for /u/ in the* Omoro sôshi *is not used in other cases.*

demonstrating that the initial *n- was in all likelihood a segmentable element. Thus, the reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype should be *n-anu. The development in the daughter languages then must be as follows. In proto-Central Japanese, the ancestor of Western Old Japanese, the morphological boundary between *n- and *-anu was obliterated, and the suffix *-[C]i was added to the stem, blending with the final vowel of the stem /u/ into *otsu-rui* *iy, which then merged with a *kô-rui* *yi, resulting in WOJ *nani*, which is attested in the texts. In the ancestor of Eastern Old Japanese, the initial morpheme *n- was lost. Since EOJ *aN*- is not attested with its original final vowel, it is not completely clear what happened to the end of this interrogative pronoun in Eastern Old Japanese. However, it is likely that the same suffix *-[C]i was added like in Western Old Japanese, because the sequence -*NC*- is more likely to be derived from *-niC- than from *-nuC-. In proto-Ryukyuan, the morphological boundary between *n- and *-anu was obliterated like in Western Old Japanese, and the medial *-n- in *nanu was lost (an irregular change), resulting in the form *nau*, attested in Old Ryukyuan, which further developed (quite regularly) into *nuu* or *noo* in modern dialects. Examples from Ryukyuan:

Old Ryukyuan

やまとたひなおかいかのほてやましろたひなおかいかのほて
yamato tabi **nao** ka-i ga nobo-te yamasiro tabi **nao** ka-i ga nobo-te
Yamato journey **what** buy-INF PT go up(INF)-SUB
Yamasiro journey **what** buy-INF PT go up(INF)-SUB

[she] goes to Yamato to buy **what,** [she] goes to Yamasiro to buy **what** (OS XI: 637)

Shuri

nu-nu 'a ga
what-GEN exist PT
what is there? (RKJ 1983: 427a)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype as *n-anu 'what' demonstrates quite well that its comparison with proto-Altaic *Nya 'what'149 (Starostin 1991: 104) is fallacious. On the other hand, it coincides completely with the hypothetical PAN *n-anu (?) 'what,' as reconstructed by (Blust 1997: 47). This may be one more piece of evidence that Japonic originated as a mixed language.

4.2.5.3 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *IKA*

In most cases the interrogative pronoun *ika* 'how,' 'what' in Western Old Japanese occurs with the following infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be.' Outside of this usage it is used also with the following defective verb *tø* 'to be'

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*149 Proto-Altaic *Nya 'what' is itself a highly implausible construct. It rests on Turkic *ya, Mongolic *ya, Tungusic *Nya 'what' and Korean *nu 'who' (Starostin 1991: 55). However, Starostin blends together two unconnected stems in Tungusic, *Nui 'who' (Ikegami 1989: 1080) and *ya 'what.' After this separation is conducted, we are left with *ya attested in Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic on one hand, and Tungusic *Nui 'who' and Korean *nu 'who,' with irregular correspondence* N- : n-. *In addition, the Korean form *nu is just the Middle Korean form with an asterisk, as are all of Starostin's Korean 'reconstructions.' The reconstruction of the interrogative pronoun 'who' for proto-Korean is not that easy, as it involves several problems, but I leave this discussion for now, because it falls outside the scope of the present work.*

(twice in the same text), in the construction *ika sama n-i* 'in what manner' (seven examples are attested),150 and once in the construction *ika Npakari* 'how,' 'to what extent.'151 The first usage with defective verb *tø* did not survive into the Heian period.

高照日之皇子何方尓所念食可
TAKA TER-AS-U PYI-NØ MYIKWO **IKA SAMA n-i**
OMØPOS-I-MYES-E ka
high shine-ATTR sun-GEN prince **what manner DV-INF**
think(HON)-INF-HON-EV PT
in what manner does the prince of the high-shining Sun think?
(MYS II: 162)

何方爾念座可
IKA SAMA n-i OMØP-YI-[I]MASE ka
what manner DV-INF think-INF-HON(INF) PT
in what manner did [he] think? (MYS III: 443)

伊加登伊可等有吾屋前尓
ika tø ika tø AR-U WA-NKA YANTWO-ni
how DV how DV exist-ATTR I-POSS dwelling-LOC
how, how, in my (existing) dwelling (MYS VIII: 1507)

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150 Unfortunately, none of these examples is written phonetically. We can guess that the spellings 何方尓 or 何方 indeed represent ika sama n-i *on the basis of the meter of the poems and also on the basis of the fact that* ika sama n-i *occurs in the later stages of the Japanese language, e.g. in the* Genji monogatari *(Ono et al. 1990: 84a). However, since* nani-sama *also occurs, we cannot be completely sure that these examples represent* ika sama n-i *and not* nani-sama n-i.

151 Since the particle Npakari *'only,' 'about' goes back to* N-pakar-i, *where* pakar-i *is an infinitive of the verb* pakar- *'to measure,' it is quite possible that* N- *historically represents a contracted form of the infinitive form* n-i *of the defective verb* n- *'to be,' thus further reducing the number of cases when* ika *occurs without the following* n-i.

伊加婆加利故保斯苦阿利家武麻都良佐欲比売
ika Npakari kwoposi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u saywo-pyimye
how PT be longing-INF exist-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN Sayo-pime
how Sayo-pime must have been longing (MYS V: 875)

The most frequently occurring form *ika n-i* 'how DV-INF' also appears with the following interrogative particle *ka* in the form *ika n-i ka*.[152] There is no apparent difference in meaning between *ika n-i* and *ika n-i ka*. It is possible that the interrogative particle *ka* is used here to make question more emphatic, as with other interrogative pronouns.

柯羅履爾鳴以柯爾輔居等所
kara-kuni-wo **ika n-i** [i]p-u køtø sø
Korea-country-ACC h**ow DV-INF** say-ATTR matter PT
What (lit.: **how**) will [you] say about Korea? (NK 99)

阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可
are-woNpa mø **ika n-i** se-yø tø ka
I-ACC(EMPH) PT **how DV-INF** do-IMP DV PT
What (lit.: **how**) do [you] think I should do? (MYS V: 794)

伊弊爾由伎弖伊可爾可阿我世武
ipye-ni yuk-yi-te **ika n-i ka** a-Nka se-m-u
home-LOC go-INF-SUB **how DV-INF PT** I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
What (lit.: **how**) will I do, when I go back home? (MYS V: 795)

伊可爾可由迦牟可利弖波奈斯爾
ika n-i ka yuk-am-u karite pa na-si-ni
how DV-INF PT go-TENT-ATTR food supply TOP no-FIN-LOC

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152 OJ ika n-i ka *is, of course, the predecessor of Classical and modern Japanese* ikaga *'how' (*< ikaNka < ika n[-i] ka*).*

because [I] do not have a food supply, **how** would [I] go? (MYS V: 888)

伊敞妣等乃伊豆良等和礼乎等波婆伊可爾伊波牟
ipye-N-pyitø-nø iNtu-ra tø ware-wo tøp-aNpa **ika n-i** ip-am-u
home-GEN-person-GEN where-LOC DV I-ACC ask-COND **how DV-INF** say-TENT-FIN
If people from [your] home ask me where [are you], what (lit.: **how**) should [I] answer? (MYS XV: 3689)

In contrast to Classical Japanese, where the construction *ika nar-u* 'what kind of' occurs as a set modifier, in Old Japanese the verb *nar-* 'to be,' used after *ika* 'how' still has a number of paradigmatic forms, and may be separated from the word it modifies by a particle *ya*. Historically, *ika nar-* 'to be of what kind,' 'to be how' certainly goes back to a combination ika *n-i ar-* 'how DV-INF exist,' since the verb *nar-* 'to be' originated from the contraction of the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' with the verb *ar-* 'to exist.' In Western Old Japanese there are two examples where *ika nar-* still occurs in its uncontracted form *ika n-i ar-* (see MYS V: 810 and MYS XVIII: 4036 below).

伊可奈留夜比止爾伊麻世可
ika nar-u ya pyitø n-i imase ka
how be-ATTR PT person DV-INF be(HON)(INF) PT
Oh, **what kind of** person **is** [he]? (BS 5)

空事何在云
MUNA-N-KØTØ-WO **IKA NAR-I** TØ IP-YI-TE
empty-DV(ATTR)-word-ACC **how be-FIN** DV say-INF-SUB
how [can you] call [it] an empty word? (MYS XI: 2466)

面忘何有人之為者焉

OMO WASURE **IKA NAR-U** PYITØ-NØ S-URU MØNØ SØ
face forget(NML) **how be-ATTR** person-GEN do-ATTR thing PT
What kind of person will forget [her] face? (MYS XI: 2533)

如何有哉人之子故曾
IKA NAR-U YA PYITØ-NØ KWO YUWE sø
how be-ATTR PT person-GEN girl reason PT
due to **what** kind of girl (MYS XIII: 3295)

Uncontracted form *ika n-i ar-*:

伊可爾安良武日能等伎爾可母
ika n-i ar-am-u PYI-nø tøkyi-ni kamø
how DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR day-GEN time-LOC PT
I wonder, in **what** time of the day... (MYS V: 810)

伊可爾安流布勢能宇良曾毛
ika n-i ar-u puse-nø ura sø mwo
how DV-INF exist-ATTR Puse-GEN bay PT PT
Bay of Puse, **how** [beautiful it] **is**! (MYS XVIII: 4036)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The interrogative pronoun *ika* 'how,' 'what' occurs in Eastern Old Japanese texts four times. There are three examples of it in the form *ika n-i* and one example in the form *ika nar-u*.

伊可爾思弖古非波可
ika n-i s-i-te kwopiy-Npa ka
how DV-INF do-INF-SUB love-COND PT
if [I] love [you], in **what** way... (MYS XIV: 3376)

伊麻波伊可爾世母
ima pa **ika n-i** se-m-ø

now TOP **how DV-INF** do-TENT-ATTR
What (lit.: **how**) shall [I] do now? (MYS XIV: 3418)

古非爾思奈武乎伊可爾世余等曾
kwopiy n-i sin-am-u-wo **ika n-i** se-yø tø sø
love(NML) DV-INF die-TENT-ATTR-ACC **how DV-INF** do-IMP DV PT
although [I] will die from love, what (lit.: **how**) will [you] tell [me] to do? (MYS XIV: 3491)

伊可奈流勢奈可和我理許武等伊布
ika nar-u se-na ka wa-Nkari kø-m-u tø ip-u
how be-ATTR beloved-DIM PT I-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
what kind of beloved **is** [he], who says that [he] will come to me? (MYS XIV: 3536)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are a number of different forms, corresponding to Old Japanese *ika* in the modern Ryukyuan dialects in Northern Ryukyus: Nase *kyasi* (Uemura & Suyama 1993: 403), Yuwan, Koniya *'ikyaʃi*; Izena *'itʃantu*; Oku *'isaaʃi, tʃaaʃi*; Benoki *kaaʃi*; Kijôka, Sesoko, Namizato, Maejima, Tokashiki *tʃaa*; Arumi *tʃaNgutu*; Kowan *tʃantuu*; Tomigusuku *tʃanʃi*, and Kumejima *'itʃa* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 423). There are several things that have to be noted here: first, the Northern Amami dialects point to initial proto-Ryukyuan *e-, not *i-. Second, -*ʃi, -ntu[u],* and -*Ngutu* are historically suffixes, because there are forms without them, and because the last two suffixes, -*ntu[u]* and -*Ngutu* each have attestations in one or two particular dialects. Third, there are Ryukyuan forms with and without initial *i-*. Fourth, the Benoki form *kaaʃi* without initial *i-* is the only form that does not show any

traces of the progressive palatalization /ika/ > /ikya/ > /itʃa/ > /isa/. Since Benoki does not regularly lose initial *i- in front of a velar (cf. Benoki *'iki* 'pond,' Jp. *ike*), the logical conclusion is that the initial *i-* < *e- in the Ryukyuan archetype *e-ka is segmentable, and that it is responsible for this palatalization: *e-ka > *i-ka > *ikya* > *itʃa* > *isa*.153 It is also quite apparent that some of the forms above with palatalization but without the initial *i-* just lost it at a later stage after the palatalization was completed. The chronology of this change is well demonstrated by the Shuri dialect, where *caa* 'how' occurs in the colloquial, and *'icaa* 'how' in the literary variety (RKJ 1983: 244b).

Old Ryukyuan represents a considerable array of different forms, almost all of which are already affected by the progressive palatalization: *ikya* (いきや), *ita* (いた), *itya* (いちや, いちゃ), *tya* (ちや, ちゃ), *tyaa* (ちやあ, ちゃあ) in the *Omoro sôshi* and the *Ryûka*, and *ika* (いか), *ikya* (いきや), *kya* (きや), *kyaa* (きやあ) in the *Ryûka* (Hokama 1995: 53d).

In contrast to both Western Old Japanese, where the interrogative pronoun *ika* 'how' is followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' in the majority of cases, and Eastern Old Japanese, where *n-i* is always used after *ika*, Old Ryukyuan *ika/ikya* and Shuri '*icaa/caa* are always used in isolation. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

いきやおさうずめしやいが

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153 The progressive palatalization of a velar after a preceding /i/ is well known in Ryukyuan, cf. case marker -ga > -gya *in Old Ryukyuan after nominals ending in /i/ (Hokama 1995: 177a).*

ikiya osauzu-mesiyai ga
how think-HON PT
what (lit.: **how**) do [you] think? (RK 20)

いろいろに言ちもいかなしも行かぬ
iro-iro n-i I-ti-mo **ika** nas-i-mo ik-an-u
different DV-INF say(INF)-SUB-PT **how** do-INF-PT go-NEG-FIN
whatever [you] say, and **wha**tever [you] do, [I] will not go (RK 725)

Shuri

caa debiru ga
how be(POL) PT
How is it? (RKJ 1983: 140a)

'icaa usoozi-mishee ga
how think-HON PT
what (lit.: **how**) do [you] think? (RKJ 1983: 244b)

Apparently, the addition of *n-i* to *ika* represents an innovation in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese. Taking into consideration what was said earlier about the segmentability of *eka into *e-ka on the basis of Ryukyuan dialect data, it is proper to reconstruct the proto-Japonic archetype as *e-ka.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Given the above reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype as *e-ka, the likeliest external parallels for both *e- and *-ka are found in Korean. For the first element *e- a possible external comparison seems to be MK *e:styé, e:sté,*

e:styéy ‘how,’ which probably goes back to a complex formation *e-is-ti ‘how-exist-ADV.’

Comparative examples for *e-:

Middle Korean

icey **estye** Lahwula-lol aski-no-n-ta
now **how** Rahula-ACC take away-PRES-ATTR-QS
how [can you say that I] am taking away Rahula now? (WS VI: 9)

4.2.5.4 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *iNTU/iNTUKU*

The interrogative pronoun *iNtu* ‘where’ occurs in Western Old Japanese only three times, once followed by the locative case marker *-ra*, and twice by the noun *pye* ‘side:’

何時邊乃方二我戀將息
iNtu154**-PYE-nø KATA-ni** A-NKA KWOPIY YAM-AM-U
where-side-GEN side-LOC I-POSS love(NML) end-TENT-FIN
where will my love end? (MYS II: 88)

伊敝妣等乃伊豆良等和礼乎等波婆伊可爾伊波牟
ipye-N-pyitø-nø **iNtu-ra** tø ware-wo tøp-aNpa ika n-i ip-am-u
home-GEN-person-GEN **where-LOC** DV I-ACC ask-COND how DV-INF say-TENT-FIN
If people from [your] home ask me **where** [are you], how should [I] answer? (MYS XV: 3689)

伊頭敝能山乎鳴可将超

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*154 In this poem the Japanese reading (*kun-yomi*)* itu *of the characters 何時 used ideographically for the interrogative pronoun* itu *‘when’ is used as a rebus writing to write the interrogative pronoun* iNtu *‘where.’*

iNtu-pye-nø YAMA-wo NAK-YI ka KWOY-URAM-U
where-side-GEN mountain-ACC cry-INF PT cross-TENT2-ATTR
on **what side** will [the cuckoo] cross the mountains, crying? (MYS XIX: 4195)
In this example the interrogative particle *ka* is used for emphasizing the question.

In all other examples only the form *iNtuku* appears, with the obsolete suffix *-ku* of unclear origin.

許能迦迩夜伊豆久能迦迩
kønø kani ya **iNtuku-nø** kani
this crab PT **where-GEN** crab
This crab, **where** it [is] **from**? (KK 42)

都奴賀能迦迩余許佐良布伊豆久迩伊多流
tunuNka-nø kani yøkø sar-ap-u **iNtuku-ni** itar-u
TunuNka-GEN crab side go-ITER-FIN **where-LOC** reach-FIN
Crab from Tunuga goes all the time along the side[way]. **Where [to]** will [it] arrive? (KK 42)

伊豆久欲利枳多利斯物能曾
iNtuku-ywori k-yi-tar-i-si mønø sø
where-ABL come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR thing PT
Where did [you] come **from**? (MYS V: 802)

伊豆久由可斯和何伎多利斯
iNtuku-yu ka siwa-Nka k-yi-tar-i-si
where-ABL PT wrinkle-POSS come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR
Where did the wrinkles come **from**? (MYS V: 804)

烏梅能波奈知良久波伊豆久
uMEY-nø pana tir-aku pa **iNtuku**
plum-GEN flower fall-NML TOP **where**
Where will the plum blossoms fall? (MYS V: 823)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Only the interrogative pronoun *iNtu* 'where' is attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but not the extended form *iNtuku*.

伊豆由可母加奈之伎世呂我和賀利可欲波牟
iNtu-yu kamø kanasi-kyi se-rø-Nka wa-Nkari kaywop-am-u
where-ABL PT beloved-ATTR husband-DIM-POSS I-DIR visit-TENT-ATTR
where will my beloved husband visit me **from**? (MYS XIV: 3549)

A2: Ryukyuan
Old Ryukyuan has *idu-ma/zuma* (< *eNtu-ma) 'where,' consisting of *idu-* 'where' and *-ma* 'place,' which is attested in the *Ryûka* (Hokama 1995: 74b). The actual pronunciation of OR *iduma* is supposed to be [dzïma], which is collaborated by the Middle Korean transcription *coma*, found in the *Haytong ceykwukki* of 1501 C. E. (Hokama 1995: 74b). Among the modern Ryukyuan dialects, the apparent cognate to the Old Ryukyuan *iduma* [dzïma] is found in the Tonoshiro dialect on Ishigaki island in the Southern Ryukyus. Other likely cognates in the Southern Ryukyus are Agarinakasone *ndza*, Yonaha *ndzan* (on the Miyako island), and Hateruma *dza* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 424). Apparent cognates in the Northern Ryukyus are attested in the China and Wadomari dialects on Okinoerabu island: *'uda* 'where' (Hirayama 1986: 508a). Also cf. Kijôka *dZaa* in the Northern part of Okinawa island and forms *da, daa, and raa* attested in different localities in Northern Ryukyus (Uchima & Arakaki 2000:

424).155 South and central Okinawa, including the Shuri dialect, as well as some neighboring islands have apparently innovative *maa* 'where' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 424), (RKJ 1983: 353a), which still may be partially related to OJ *iNtu/iNtuku* 'where,' if, as Hokama believes, this *maa* developed from *dzïma through the loss of the first syllable (Hokama 1995: 74b). Thorpe reconstructed *ezu(ro) as the proto-Ryukyuan archetype for 'where' and 'which' (Thorpe 1983: 347), but preservation of *-d-* in a number of dialects probably allows a reconstruction of PR *edu.

Old Ryukyuan

北京お主てだやずまにそなれゆが
FICIN o-SHU-teda ya **zuma-ni** so nar-i-yu ga
Ficin-GEN HON-lord-sun TOP **where-LOC** next be-INF-FIN PT
Where does the emperor of Beijing live? (RK 3888)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The proto-Japonic archetype should be reconstructed as *entu 'where' on the basis of Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. The most striking external parallel is MK *ètúy* 'where.' Since MK *ètúy* does not show lenition *-t-* > *-l-* in the typical lenition environment $V\dot{}C^{u}/_{o}$ (Martin 1996:2-3), it should go back to PK *èntúy, with a nasal sonorant blocking the lenition (Vovin 2005: 89-103). This reconstruction allows us to see that PK *èntúy 'where' is in fact bimorphemic, going back to *ènú*

155 All these various forms ending in -a *probably underwent peculiar irregular developments. They are all likely to be derived from the archetype *eNtuma through the following processes: *eNtuma* > *endzïma* > *ndzïa* > ndza*; *eNtuma* > *endzïma* > *dzïa* > dzaa*; *enduma* > *idua* > daa*; *enduma* > *idua* > *ida* > *ira* > raa.*

'which' and *túy* 'place:' *ènú + túy > *èntúy > *ètúy*. Unfortunately, we do not have similar internal evidence to segment PJ *entu, but the plausibility of the comparison remains high. As a speculation, the following possible scenario can be offered. We have seen above that proto-Japonic *e- in *e-ka 'how' is likely to be connected to PK *e- in MK *e:styé* 'how' (4.2.5.3). It is quite possible that PJ *entu consists historically of three morphemes: the same interrogative root *e- as found in *e-ka, *-n-, contracted attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be,' and *tu 'place.' MK *ènú* 'which,' which is always used as an attributive form can also historically consist of *e- 'what/how' and *-nu-*, which might be the exact parallel to OJ attributive *n-ø*.

4.2.5.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *iNTUTI*

The interrogative pronoun *iNtuti* 'where to' is apparently related to *iNtu/iNtuku* 'where' in the same way as the demonstrative pronouns *køkø* and *køti* 'here' are related: they share the first element. The second element *-ti*, as was discussed above, probably represents the word *-ti* 'way' < *tø-[C]i, as evidenced by distal demonstrative pronouns *woti* and *wotø*. Only one example of *iNtuti* in phonetic writing is attested in Western Old Japanese,156 where it is used as an

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156 There are two other examples written logographically as 何処 (MYS III: 287, MYS VII: 1412), but it is not clear whether these characters should be read as iNtuti *or* iNtuku*. The argument by Omodaka that they must represent *iNtuti and not *iNtuku because they denote direction and not location (Omodaka 1967: 83b) could have been valid only if we had several reliable examples of* iNtuti *in Western Old Japanese all pointing exclusively to direction. Besides, these characters in MYS III: 287 obviously denote location, and not direction:* ipye ya mo **iNtuku** *'where is [my] home?' Takagi et al. read these characters as* iNtuku *in both cases (Takagi et al. 1957: 160-61; 1959: 266-67).*

interrogative pronoun referring to direction, and not to stative location.157

伊豆知武伎提可阿我和可留良武
iNtuti muk-yi-te ka a-Nka wakar-uram-u
where face-INF-SUB PT I-POSS part-TENT2-ATTR
facing **what direction** will I part [with this world]? (MYS V: 887)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The interrogative pronoun *iNtuti* 'where to' in Eastern Old Japanese also denotes direction. Only two examples are attested:

伊豆知武吉弖加伊毛我奈気可牟
iNtuti muk-yi-te ka imwo-Nka naNkeyk-am-u
where face-INF-SUB PT beloved-POSS lament-TENT-ATTR
facing **what direction** will [my] beloved lament? (MYS XIV: 3357)

可奈思伊毛乎伊都知由可米
kanasi imwo-wo **iNtuti** yuk-am-ey
dear beloved-ABS **where** go-TENT-EV
Where would [my] dear beloved go? (MYS XIV: 3577)

In addition, there is a special form *iNtusi* 'where to' occurring once in Eastern Old Japanese. It is puzzling, because as was mentioned in Chapter 2, the palatalization of *ti* > *si* in Eastern Old Japanese occurs only with *kô-rui* ti < *tyi, but never with *otsu-rui* ti < *tiy. Since -*ti* in *iNtuti* should be an *otsu-rui* *tiy < *tø-[C]i (see above), such

157 Note the contrast to the proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns køti *and* woti *that in Old Japanese refer only to stative location.*

development is strange.158 The passage where *iNtusi* occurs is practically identical to MYS XIV: 3357 above except the difference between *iNtusi* and *iNtuti*.

伊豆思牟伎弖可伊毛我奈気可牟
iNtusi muk-yi-te ka imwo-Nka naNkeyk-am-u
where face-INF-SUB PT beloved-POSS lament-TENT-ATTR
facing **what direction**, will [my] beloved lament? (MYS XIV: 3474)

A2: Ryukyuan
In Ryukyuan I could find formations of interrogative pronouns in
-ti/-tʃi attested only in three dialects: Kunigami *dzaaNgatʃi*, Sesoko *raaNgati,* and Jashiki *dzaatʃi* 'where to' (Uchima 1984: 45-47). The initial elements *dzaa-* and possibly *raa-* as well are related to OJ *iNtu* 'where' (see 4.2.5.4 above). On reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype also see 4.2.5.4.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
For external parallels see 4.2.5.4.

4.2.5.6 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *INTURE*

The interrogative pronoun *iNture* 'which' is attested four times in late Western Old Japanese in phonetic writing. It always appears in the extended form *iNture* including the obsolete suffix *-re*,159 found in other pronouns, and in most

158 There is an example of the coordinative gerund -tutu *palatalized into* -susu *in MYS XX: 4386. This is also a unique case of palatalization* t > s/__u. *However, there are no cases of palatalization of /t/ before /ɸ/.*
159 There is no unextended stem iNtu *meaning 'which,' since as was noted in 4.2.5.4,* iNtu *means 'where.'*

cases *iNture* is found followed by the attributive form *n-ø* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be.' *INture* can be used in combination with the interrogative particle *ka* which emphasizes a question. Its first element *iNtu-* is apparently related to *iNtu/iNtuku* and *iNtuti* 'where,' discussed above in 4.2.5.4 and 4.2.5.5. Yamada Yoshio suggested that *iNture* 'which' and *itu* 'when' should have the same origin (Yamada 1954: 91-92), but this seems unlikely, because *itu* always appears as /itu/ without the prenasalization *-N-*. It is true that *iNture* is spelled as /iture/ once in Western Old Japanese (see MYS XV: 3593 below) and in the only available example in Eastern Old Japanese (see MYS XX: 4392 below), but this can be attributed to the occasional inconsistency in spelling prenasalized voiced obstruents in the Old Japanese writing (see Chapter 2).

伊都礼乃思麻爾伊保里世武和礼
i[N]ture n-ø sima-ni ipori se-m-u ware
which DV-ATTR island-LOC hut do-TENT-FIN I
on **which** island will I build [my] hut? (MYS XV: 3593)

伊豆礼能日麻弖安礼古非乎良牟
iNture n-ø PYI-maNte are kwopiy-wor-am-u
which DV-ATTR day-TERM I long(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN
until **what** day should I long for [you]? (MYS XV: 3742)

伊頭礼乃時加吾孤悲射良牟
iNture n-ø TØKYI **ka** WA-NKA kwopiy-Ns-ar-am-u
which DV-ATTR time **PT** I-POSS love-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
which time will I not love [her]? (MYS XVII: 3891)
The interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

伊豆礼乎可和枳弖之努波无

iNture-wo ka wakyite sinwop-am-u
which-ACC PT specially long-TENT-ATTR
for **which** [bird] would [we] specially long? (MYS XVIII: 4089)
The interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The interrogative pronoun *iNture* 'which' occurs in Eastern Old Japanese just once in a Sakimori poem:

阿米都之乃以都例乃可美乎以乃良波加
amey-tusi-nø **i[N]ture n-ø** kamyi-wo inør-aNpa **ka**
heaven-earth-GEN **which DV-ATTR** deity-ACC pray-COND **PT**
if [I] pray to **which** deities of Heaven and Earth... (MYS XX: 4392)
The interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

A2: Ryukyuan
The cognates of OJ *iNture* 'which' are well attested in most modern Ryukyuan dialects: Wadomari, China *'uduru* (Hirayama 1986: 519a); Yuwan *dërï;* Koniya *dirȼ*; Izena *diru;* Oku, Kijôka, Arumi, Namizato, Toguchi, Kowan, Maejima, Tomigusuku, Tokashiki *dZiru*; Uezu *duri*; Henza *dZuri*; Agarinakasone, Yonaha *ndZi*; Tonoshiro *dZiri* 'which' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 426). The Modern Standard Shuri dialect has *ziru* 'which' (RKJ 1983: 603a). OR *idure/[i]zure* (probably pronounced as [izïri]/[izuru] or [zïri]/[ziru]) is plentifully attested in various Old Ryukyuan texts (Hokama 1995: 75a). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

ずれがててとうな
zure-ga te [i]-te to-u na
which-POSS DV say-SUB ask-FIN PT

do not ask **which** [boat] (OS XIII: 882)

Shuri

ziru-Nkai syu ga yaa-N di 'umu-too-N
which-LOC do(HORT) PT be-FIN DV think-PERF/PROG-FIN
[I] thinking **on which** [one] to decide (RKJ 1983: 603a)

The reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype should be *entu-re 'which' on the basis of Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. Since this interrogative pronoun is based on the same stem *entu- as *iNtu/iNtuku* and *iNtuti* 'where,' for external cognates to *iNtu- see 4.2.5.4

4.2.5.7 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *ITU*

The interrogative pronoun *itu* 'when' occurs in Western Old Japanese quite frequently, but examples of it in phonetic writing in earlier Old Japanese are rare. One is found in the *Harima Fudoki*, where 伊都 /itu/ is used as a phonetic gloss to the logographically written character sequence 何時 'when' (Omodaka 1967: 80d). Two others are attested in MYS V: 804 and MYS V: 886, both composed by Yamanoue-no Okura. All other examples are found in later texts. With the following particle *ka,* the interrogative pronoun *itu* 'when' may acquire the function of an indefinite pronoun with the meaning 'some time,' but not always, since *ka* may simply be used as a interrogative particle reinforcing the interrogative pronoun *itu* 'when.' A combination of *itu* 'when' with the following focus particle *mø* is not attested in Western Old Japanese. Examples:

迦具漏伎可美爾伊都乃麻可斯毛乃布利家武

ka-Nkurwo-kyi kamyi-ni **itu-nø** ma **ka** simwo-nø pur-i-ky-em-u
PREF-black-ATTR hair-LOC **when-CEN** interval **PT** frost-GEN fall-INF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
at **some** point in **time**, the frost will have fallen on [their] pitch-black hair (MYS V: 804)
In this example, *itu* 'when' followed by the interrogative particle *ka* functions as an indefinite pronoun 'sometimes.'

伊都斯可母京師乎美武
itu si kamø MYIYAKWO-wo myi-m-u
when PT PT capital-ACC see-TENT-ATTR
when, I wonder, will [I] see the capital? (MYS V: 886)

和伎毛故波伊都登加和礼乎伊波比麻都良牟
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo pa **itu** tø **ka** ware-wo ipap-yi mat-uram-u
I-POSS-beloved-DIM TOP **when** DV **PT** I-ACC pray-INF wait-TENT2-ATTR
My beloved will probably wait for me, praying [to the gods], and thinking: '**When** [will he return]?' (MYS XV: 3659)
In this example the interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

多都多能山乎伊都可故延伊加武
tatuta-nø YAMA-wo **itu ka** kwøye-ik-am-u
Tatuta-GEN mountain-ACC **when PT** cross(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR
When will [I] go, crossing Tatuta mountain? (MYS XV: 3722)
In this example the interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

伊都麻弖可安我故非乎良牟
itu-maNte ka a-Nka kwopiy-wor-am-u
when-TERM PT I-POSS long(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
until when should I long for [you]? (MYS XV: 3749)

宇梅乃花伊都波乎良自

uMEY-no PANA **itu** pa wor-aNsi
plum-GEN flower **when** TOP break-NEG/TENT
when [one] should not pick plum blossoms (MYS XVII: 3904)

伊都可聞許武
itu kamo kø-m-u
when PT come-TENT-ATTR
I wonder, **when** will [he] come? (MYS XVII: 3962)

伊都之加登奈気可須良牟曾
itu si **ka** tø naNkeyk-as-uram-u sø
when PT **PT** DV lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR PT
[she] probably laments: '**When** [will he return]?' (MYS XVII: 3962)
In this example the interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

多麻久之気伊都之可安気牟
tama-kusi-N-key **itu** si **ka** akey-m-u
jewel-comb-GEN-container **when** PT PT dawn/open-TENT-ATTR
When will it dawn?**/When** will one open a jewel comb-box? (MYS XVIII: 4038)160
In this example the interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The interrogative pronoun *itu* 'when' is attested in Eastern Old Japanese in three examples: one is found in an Azuma poem, and the other two in Sakimori poems. In combination with the following interrogative particle *ka, itu* does function as an indefinite pronoun 'sometimes' in Eastern Old Japanese, but just emphasizes the question. However, with the following focus

160 Tama-kusi-N-key *'jewel comb-box' is used as a* makura-kotoba *to the verb* akey- *'to open' (tr.), 'to dawn' (intr.).*

particle *mø*, *itu* has the function of a collective pronoun meaning 'always.'

伊毛我敞爾伊都可伊多良武安由賣安我古麻
imwo-Nka [i]pye-ni **itu ka** itar-am-u ayum-ye a-Nka kwoma
beloved-POSS house-LOC **when PT** reach-TENT-ATTR walk-IMP I-POSS stallion
When will [I] reach the house of [my] beloved? Walk [fast], my stallion! (MYS XIV: 3441)
In this example the interrogative particle *ka* emphasizes the question.

都久之閇爾敞牟加流布祢乃伊都之加毛都加敞麻都里弖久爾爾閇牟可毛
tukusi-pey-ni pye muk-ar-u pune-nø **itu** si kamwo tukapye-matur-i-te kuni-ni pey muk-am-wo
Tukusi-side-LOC bow turn-PROG-ATTR boat-GEN **when** PT PT serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB province-LOC bow turn-TENT-ATTR
I wonder **when** the boat which turns [its] bow [now] towards Tukusi will turn its bow towards [my home] province, after [I finish my] service (MYS XX: 4359)

以都母以都母於母加古比須須
itu mø itu mø omø-Nka kwopyi-susu
when PT when PT mother-POSS love(INF)-COOR
[my] mother **always, always** loves [me] (MYS XX: 4386)
Here the combination of *itu* 'when' with the focus particle *mø* functions as a collective pronoun 'always.'

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates to OJ *itu* 'when' are well attested in modern Ryukyuan dialects: Wadomari, China *'it ʃ i*; Tokunoshima *'itsï* (Hirayama 1986: 74b); Yuwan *'itsï*; Koniya *'itii*; Izena, Oku, Benoki, Kijôka, Arumi, Namizato, Toguchi, Sesoko, Uezu, Henza, Kowan, Maejima, Tomigusuku, Tokashiki *'it ʃ i*; Kumejima *'it ʃ ii*;

Agarinakasone, Yonaha, Tonoshiro, Hateruma *itsï* ‘when’ (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 364), Shuri *’içi* ‘when’ (RKJ 1983: 246a). In Old Ryukyuan we have *itu* (いつ) ‘when,’ probably pronounced as [itsï], cf. Korean transcription *itco* from the *Haytong ceykwukki* (1501 C. E.) (Hokama 1995: 72c).

Old Ryukyuan

いつよりもまなしや
itsu-yori mo manasi ya
when-ABL PT dear be(FIN)
[it] is dear **from any time** (OS III: 99)

Shuri

’içi ca ga
when come(PERF) PT
When did [he] come? (RKJ 1983: 246: a)

Thorpe reconstructs the proto-Ryukyuan archetype as *etu (Thorpe 1983: 223), and for proto-Japonic we also have to reconstruct *etu ‘when,’ since Japanese raised proto-Japonic *e to *i. I am less convinced by a recent proposal by Whitman to analyze *etu ‘when’ as bimorphemic *e-tu in the same way as *eka ‘how’ < *e-ka (Whitman 2001: 9). While we have internal Japonic evidence for the bimorphemic nature of *e-ka, discussed above (4.2.5.3), it seems to me that such evidence is lacking for *etu, although such possibility definitely exists since the interrogative root *e- can be reconstructed for proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

No apparent external cognates, unless *etu is really segmentable (see 4.2.5.3 for external cognates of the interrogative root *e-).

4.2.5.8 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *IKU*

The interrogative pronoun *iku* 'how many,' 'how much' in phonetic spelling occurs in Western Old Japanese eight times in seven examples (it appears twice in NK 15). Five of these examples are provided below. In addition, there are two special forms *ikura* and *ikuNta* 'how many' which include the obsolete suffixes *-ra* and *-Nta* with unclear meaning.[161] In phonetic spelling each of these special forms occurs just once.

伊久用加泥都流
iku ywo ka ne-t-uru
how many night PT sleep(INF)-PERF-ATTR
how many nights have [we] slept? (KK 25)

於朋望能農之能介瀰之瀰枳伊句臂佐伊句臂佐
opo-monø-nusi-nø kam-yi-si myi-kyi **iku** pyisa **iku** pyisa
great-thing-master-GEN brew-INF-PAST/ATTR HON-wine **how much** long **how much** long
The holy sake brewed by [the deity] Great Master of Things, [flourish] eternally (lit.: **how much** long, **how much** long) (NK 15)

伊久与乎倍弖加
iku yø-wo pey-te ka
how many generation-ACC pass(INF)-SUB PT
passing through **how many** generations (MYS XV: 3621)

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161 It is possible to speculate that -ra *represents plural marker* -ra*, but the paucity of examples prevents any positive identification. Similarly, one may argue that* -Nta *is a collective suffix* -Nta*, found, e.g. in the word* namyiNta *'tears'* < na-myi-Nta *'eye-water-COLL,' but again the paucity of examples prevents any definite conclusion.*

伊久与布流末弖伊波比伎爾家牟
iku yø p-uru-maNte ipap-yi k-yi-n-i-ky-em-u
how much time pass-ATTR-TERM pray-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST-TENT-FIN
how much time will pass to the moment when he will have come back, praying [to the deities] (MYS XV: 3637)

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾
iku ywo p-u tø yøm-yi-tutu imwo pa ware mat-uram-u sø
how many night pass-FIN DV count-INF-COOR beloved TOP I wait-TENT2-FIN PT
[My] beloved will probably wait for me, counting: '**How many** nights have passed?' (MYS XVIII: 4072)

SPECIAL FORMS

The peculiarity of the usage of the special forms *ikuNta* and *ikura* is that they occur with the focus particle *mø* and with the following verb in the negative form, which makes them function as negative collective pronouns with the meaning '[not] so many,' 'not at all.'

佐祢斯欲能伊久陀母阿羅祢婆
sa-ne-si ywo-nø **ikuNta mø** ar-an-e-Npa
PREF-sleep-PAST/ATTR night-GEN **how many PT** exist-NEG-EV-CON
when not **so many** nights when [they] slept [together] have passed (MYS V: 804)

左尼始而何太毛不在者
sa-ne-SØMEY-TE **IKUNta mo** AR-AN-E-NPA
PREF-sleep(INF)-start(INF)-SUB **how many PT** exist-NEG-EV-CON
because no [time] **at all** has passed since [we] started to sleep [together] (MYS X: 2023)

年月毛伊久良母阿良奴爾
TØSI TUKIY mwo **ikura mø** ar-an-u-ni
year month PT **how many PT** exist-NEG-ATTR-LOC
although not **so many** years [and] months have passed (MYS XVII: 3962)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The interrogative pronoun *iku* 'how many,' 'how much' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese texts.

A2: Ryukyuan
The Ryukyuan cognates of OJ *ikura* and MJ *ikutu* (not attested in OJ) 'how much,' 'how many' are attested in practically all modern Ryukyuan dialects. Old Ryukyuan still has *iku* 'how much.' Some dialects, like Namizato and Kowan do not differentiate between PR *ekura and *ekutu: Namizato *tʃassaa*, Kowan *tʃassa* 'how much,' 'how many,' although most others do, e.g. Kowan *'ikutsï* < *ikutu* 'how many,' but *'ikyassaa* < *ikura* 'how much' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 363). In case of *ekura all Ryukyuan dialects show the same progressive assimilation *ky* > *tʃ* > *s* after /i/ as in the case of *e-ka, described above in 4.2.5.3, with the same exception of Benoki *kassaa* 'how much' (cf. Benoki *kaaʃi* 'how').162 Similar to its reflex of *kaaʃi* 'how,' the Benoki

*162 Three dialects in the Southern Ryukyus also do not show palatalization in their reflexes of *ikura: Agarinakasone* isïka*, Yonaha* isaka*, and Hateruma* ikooba*. However, Agarinakasone and Yonaha forms obviously exhibit metathesis which blocked the palatalization. In any case all these three dialects do not have cognates of OJ* ika*, therefore we do not have a basis for comparison, in contrast to other dialects.*

dialect does not show any trace of the initial *i-* in *kassaa* ‘how much’ either, therefore it is reasonable to suggest that *eku in proto-Japonic was also segmentable like *e-ka ‘how.’ Thus, I reconstruct proto-Japonic archetype as *e-ku ‘how many,’ ‘how much.’ Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

幾度ながめゆが
IKU DU nagame-yu ga
how many times look(INF)-FIN PT
how many times will [I] look on [autumn nights]? (RK 4666)

Shuri

caQsa-N kooy-uN
how much-PT buy(INF)-FIN
[I] will buy no matter **how (much)** expensive (RKJ 1983: 142)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL PARALLELS

The proto-Japonic archetype *e-ku ‘how many,’ ‘how much’ suggests that this interrogative pronoun is related to the interrogative pronoun *e-ka ‘how.’ The element *-ku has an unclear meaning. See 4.2.5.3 for external cognates of the interrogative root *e-.

4.2.5.9 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *NANTØ, NANSØ*

The interrogative pronouns *naNtø, naNsø* ‘why’ are historically derived from *nani* ‘what:’ *naNtø* is a contraction of *nani* ‘what’ and defective verb *tø* ‘to say,’ while *naNsø* is a

contraction of *nani* ‘what’ and particle *sø*.163 The uncontroversial examples in phonetic spelling include only two examples of *naNtø* and one example of *naNsø* in Western Old Japanese. Omodaka et al. claim that *naNtø* is used with a following verb, while *naNsø* is used predominantly with a following adjective (Omodaka 1967: 523b-c). The number of examples in Western Old Japanese is too limited to verify or disprove this claim, but overall I am skeptical: notice the example from MYS XV: 3684 below, where *naNsø* is used with a following verb. Examples:

那杼佐祁流斗米
naNtø sak-yer-u two mey
why tattoo-PROG-ATTR sharp eye
Why the tattooed sharp eyes? (KK 17)

奈騰可聞妹尓不告來二計謀
naNtø kamo IMWO-ni NØR-ANS-U K-YI-n-yi-ky-em-u
why PT beloved-DAT tell-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-PAST-TENT-ATTR
why, I wonder, did [I] come [here] without telling my beloved [the words of good-bye]? (MYS IV: 509)

奈曾許許波伊能祢良要奴
naNsø køkøNpa i-nø ne-raye-n-u
why extremely sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR
why cannot [I] sleep at all? (MYS XV: 3684)

In addition, there are two examples in Western Old Japanese where this interrogative pronoun is spelled half-phonetically and half logographically as 奈何. Since the crucial second syllable is spelled

163 Another etymological possibility is that this sø *is a stem of the verb* se-/sø- *‘to do.’ In the light of MJ* naze < **naNse ‘why’ this etymology is likely to be more plausible.*

logographically with the character 何 ‘what,’ there is no way to tell whether this spelling renders *naNTØ* or *naNSØ*.

奈何其玉之手二巻難寸
naNTØ?/naNSØ? SØNØ TAMA-NØ TE-ni MAK-YI-NKATA-kyi
why that jewel-COMP hand-LOC wind-INF-difficult-ATTR
why is that [jewel bracelet] difficult to wind around the arm that is like a jewel? (MYS III: 409)

其乎奈何不來者來者其乎
SØ-wo **naNTØ?/naNSØ?** KØ-NS-U PA KØ-NPA SØ-wo
that-ACC **why** come-NEG-INF TOP come-COND that-ACC
if [you] do not come or if [you] come, **why** [should I be impatient] about that? (MYS XI: 2640)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The Eastern Old Japanese cognate to the Western Old Japanese *naNsø* ‘why’ is *aNse,* which occurs eight times (seven times in Azuma texts and once in a Sakimori poem). In six Azuma poems and in the Sakimori poem *aNse* means ‘why,’ but in one Azuma poem it means ‘how.’ The interrogative pronoun *aNse* in all examples but one occurs with the following question particle *ka*, which apparently just emphasizes the question. Eastern Old Japanese *aNse* ‘why’ is derived from the Eastern Old Japanese interrogative pronoun *aN*- ‘what’ in the same way as Western Old Japanese *naNs*e is derived from the Western Old Japanese interrogative pronoun *nani* ‘what.’ The difference in vocalism of the second syllables in Western and Eastern Old Japanese words can probably be explained by their slightly different

morphological composition: WOJ *naNsø* consists of *nani* 'what' and the stem *sø-* of the verb *se-/sø-* 'to do,' while EOJ *aNse* consists of *aN-* 'what' and the stem *se-* of the verb *se-/sø-* 'to do.' There also might be an alternative phonological explanation: some /e[y]/ in Old Japanese go back to *ø-[C]i, e.g. OJ *se* 'back' (< *sø-[C]i), but *sø-muk-* 'to turn one's back on somebody.' Ultimately, these two explanations should probably be combined, as the stem *se-* of the verb *se-/sø-* 'to do' is likely to include historically a diphthong *øi, thus OJ *se* < *søi. The proto-Japanese archetype should be reconstructed as *n-anu sø or *n-aniy sø (see 4.2.5.2 for reconstruction of the archetype of *nani* 'what' as *n-anu).

須我麻久良安是加麻可左武
suNka-makura **aNse ka** mak-as-am-u
sedge-pillow **why PT** pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR
why do [you] put your head [on] a sedge pillow? (MYS XIV: 3369)

波比爾思物能乎安是加多延世武
pap-yi-n-i-si monø-wo **aNse ka** taye se-m-u
crawl-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR thing-ACC **why PT** break(NML) do-TENT-ATTR
why do [you] want to break off our relationship (lit.: the thing) which spread [like a vine] (MYS XIV: 3434)

安是登伊敞可
aNse tø ip-ye **ka**
why DV say-EV **PT**
for what reason (lit.: saying: '**Why**?') (MYS XIV: 3461)

阿是曾母許与比与斯呂伎麻左奴
aNse sø mø kø yøpyi yøs-i-rø k-yi-[i]mas-an-u

why PT PT this night approach-INF-? come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
why did not [you] come tonight? (MYS XIV: 3469)
In this example *aNse* 'why' is used without the following interrogative particle *ka*.

比登豆麻等安是可曾乎伊波牟
pyitø-N-tuma tø **aNse ka** sø-wo ip-am-u
person-GEN-wife DV **why PT** she-ACC say-TENT-ATTR
Why should [I] call her the wife of another? (MYS XIV: 3472)

安是可多要牟等伊比之児呂
aNse ka taye-m-u tø ip-yi-si KWO-rø
why PT break off-TENT-ATTR DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM
the girl who said: '**Why** should [our relationship] be broken off?' (MYS XIV: 3513)

安是可加奈思家
aNse ka kanasi-kye
why PT be dear-ATTR
Why is [she so] dear [to me]? (MYS XIV: 3576)
This is a Sakimori poem.

In the following example *aNse* means 'how' rather than 'why:'

思良久毛能多要爾之伊毛乎阿是西呂等
sira kumwo-nø taye-n-i-si imwo-wo **aNse** se-rø tø
white cloud-COMP break off(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR beloved-ACC **how** do-IMP DV
what (lit.: **how**) should [I] do about [my] beloved who separated from [me] like a white cloud (MYS XIV: 3517)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates in Ryukyuan of WOJ *naNsø* and EOJ *aNse* ‘why,’ which appears to be an exclusive proto-Japanese formation.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Since proto-Japanese *n-anu sø or *n-aniy sø ‘why’ is derived from proto-Japonic *n-anu ‘what,’ see 4.2.5.2 for external cognates.

4.2.6 COLLECTIVE PRONOUNS

There are two collective pronouns in Western Old Japanese: *miyna* and *morø* ‘all.’

4.2.6.1 COLLECTIVE PRONOUN *MIYNA*

The collective pronoun *miyna* ‘all’ is attested in phonetic spelling in Western Old Japanese four times. It may refer to both animate and inanimate nouns. When modifying a noun, *miyna* ‘all’ is always found in postposition. It is interesting to note, that case marker may be found both after the modified noun, and after the modifying *miyna*, with no apparent change in meaning, as in *pyitø-nø miyna* and *pyitø miyna* ‘all people’ found in the examples below.

伽遇破志波那多智麼那辞豆曳羅波比等未那等利
ka-Nkupasi pana-tatiNpana siN-tu ye-ra pa pyitø **miyna** tør-i
PREF-beautiful flower-tatiNpana bottom-GEN/LOC branch-PLUR TOP person **all** take-INF
As for the lower branches of beautiful white *tatibana*, **all** people break [them], and... (NK 35)

比等未奈能美良武麻都良能多麻志末乎
pyitø **miyna-nø** myi-ram-u matura-nø tamasima-wo
person **all-GEN** see-TENT2-FIN Matura-GEN Tamasima-ACC
All people will probably see Tamasima in Matura (MYS V: 862)

可治能於等波於保美也比等能未奈伎久麻泥爾
kaNti-nø otø pa opo myiya-N-pyitø-nø **miyna** kyik-u-maNte-ni
rudder oar-GEN sound TOP great palace-GEN-person-GEN **all** hear-ATTR-TERM-LOC
until **all** people in the Great Palace will hear the sound of a rudder oar (MYS XX: 4459)

古非波未奈和我宇弊邇於知奴
kwopiy164 pa **miyna** wa-NKa upey-ni oti-n-u
love(NML) TOP **all** I-POSS top-LOC fall(INF)-PERF-FIN
As for love, [it] **all** has descended on me (NR I: 2)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
Only one example of the collective pronoun *miyna* 'all' is attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

比等未奈乃許等波多由登毛
pyitø **miyna-nø** køtø pa tay-u tømwo
person **all-GEN** word TOP break off-FIN CONJ
Even if the words **of all** people are broken off... (MYS XIV: 3398)

A2: Ryukyuan
Cognates of the Old Japanese collective pronoun *miyna* 'all' are attested in several modern Ryukyuan dialects: Uezu, Maejima *nna*; Kowan *n:na*; Agarinakasone *m¢:na* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 410), Shuri *'Nna* (RKJ 1983: 436a). There is also the Oku form *minna*, but it looks like a loanword from modern Standard Japanese

164 Different manuscripts of the Nihon ryôiki *show the variation between etymological spelling 古非 /kwopiy/ and unetymological 古比 /kwopyi/ for this word.*

minna ‘all,’ especially since there is another collective pronoun *muttuu* in Oku. *Muttuu* is apparently related to another Old Japanese collective pronoun *morø* ‘all’ that will be discussed in the section 4.2.6.2. In Old Ryukyuan the collective pronoun in question is attested only in the *Haytong ceykwukki* and the *Ryûka*. It probably was pronounced as *mina* in the late fifteenth — early sixteenth century according to the Korean transcription *mina* (미나) in the *Haytong ceykwukki* (1501 C. E.), becoming later *’Nna* or *’Nnya*, as different existing spellings in the *Ryûka* indicate: *mina* (みな), *nna* (んな), *nnya* (んにや) (Hokama 1995: 639d). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

つくづくと浮世みな思て
Tsukuzuku to UCI-YU **mina** UMU-te
Intently DV floating-world **all** think-SUB
Everybody is thinking intently about the floating world (RK 2766)

Shuri

shidini naa **’Nna**-yaka ‘ippee diki-too-N
already already **all**-ABL very be able-PERF/PROG-FIN
[he] is already more skillful than **everybody** (else) (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 26)

The reconstruction of the proto-Japonic archetype should be *møCina or *muCina. It is possible to speculate that *-na represents a plural marker *-na*, discussed in 4.1.2.1.4, while the remainder *møCi-/*muCi- is the root of the collective pronoun. If this is true, and if the original vowel was *ø and not *u, it is quite possible that *møCi can be derived from

*mør[ø]-Ci according to Whitman's law,165 and is therefore a variant of the another Old Japanese collective pronoun *morø* 'all' < *mørø, discussed in the next section 4.2.6.2.166

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Starostin compared OJ *miyna* 'all' to MK *mwòtón* 'all' and Turkic *bütün* 'all' (Starostin 1986: 105), (Starostin 1991: 27, 274), but this comparison is a good example of Starostin's failure to account for language internal data as well as for the regularity in correspondences when making external comparisons. MK *mwòtón* 'all' is nothing but an attributive form *mwòt-ón* of the Middle Korean verb *mwòt-* 'to gather,' 'to collect,' which is used exclusively as a modifier of the following noun phrase. It is also significant that in Middle Korean there are two other forms: *mwòtá* and *mwòtwó* 'all,' used adverbially in front of a verb. The form *mwòtá* is apparently an infinitive form *mwòt-á,* and the form *mwòtwó*, a predecessor of modern Korean *mwotwu* 'all,' is probably an irregular gerund form *mwòt-wó* < *mwòt-kwó. In addition, neither MK or Turkic *-t-* correspond regularly to PJ *-C- in *mø/uCi-na. For more probable external cognates, see the next section 4.2.6.2.

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165 The possibility of an etymological relationship between OJ miyna *and* morø *is further supported by the congruency in their accent register (both belong to high register accent classes):* miyna *is 2.2b (HL) and* morø *is 2.1 (HH). Martin further suggests that* miyna *2.2b could go back to 2.1 (HH) (Martin 1987: 479).*

166 Martin also treats miy-*as a possible derivation from *morø-Ci 'many,' but interprets* -na *as 'person' (Martin 1987: 479), which occurs as a second element in the compounds* okyi-na *'old man' and* oto-na *'adult.' He further adds* wo-mina *'woman' (Martin 1987: 490), but* -mina *probably means 'woman' by itself, as suggested by Whitman (cf. OJ* mye *'woman' < *mina) (Whitman 1985: 238). Since* miyna *'all' can refer also to inanimate nouns, it is more likely that* -na *is a plural marker rather than a bound noun with the meaning 'person.'*

4.2.6.2 COLLECTIVE PRONOUN *MORØ*

The collective pronoun *morø* 'all' is attested four times in phonetic spelling in Western Old Japanese. Besides, there are a number of examples when it is written logographically with the Chinese character 諸 as in the example from SM 17 below. In the phonetic spelling it is predominantly written as 毛呂 /mworø/ with the *kô-rui* syllabic sign 毛 /mwo/. The spelling 母呂 /mørø/ occurs only once in the MYS V: 832, once in the *Bussoku seki no uta* (in the reduplicated form spelled *mworø-mørø*, see BS 18 below) and in Eastern Old Japanese. However, the contrast between /mwo/ and /mø/ is generally believed to be lost after the *Kojiki kayô*, which is the only text that preserves it consistently. Therefore, the spelling in later texts may be unetymological, confusing *kô-rui* 毛 /mwo/ and *otsu-rui* 母 /mø/.[167] The crucial point here is, however, the well-known fact that the *kô-rui* vowel /wo/ and the *otsu-rui* vowel /ø/ cannot combine within the same morpheme, the only possible sequences being *wo-wo* and *ø-ø*, e.g. *mwomwo* 'hundred,' but *køkørø* 'heart.' Since the contrast between the *kô-rui* syllable /rwo/ and the *otsu-rui* syllable /rø/ was much more long-lived than the contrast between /mwo/ and /mø/, we must arrive at the inescapable conclusion that the original vocalism is preserved in the second syllable /rø/ of the word in question. Given the above-mentioned constraint on distribution of /wo/ and /ø/, the pre-Old Japanese form of the word must be reconstructed as *mørø, which is further supported by Ryukyuan data (see below).

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167 John Bentley demonstrated that in MYS V the difference between kô-rui */mwo/ and* otsu-rui */mø/ is preserved to a certain extent, but only statistically (Bentley 1997).*

There is a tendency to gloss OJ *morø* as ‘various,’ ‘several’ (Martin 1987: 485), or as ‘several’ in addition to ‘all’ (Omodaka 1967: 752c-d), or even puzzling ‘two’ in addition to ‘many’168 (Ôno et al. 1990: 1331a). However the data do not support this interpretation: all examples below indicate that OJ *morø* means just ‘all,’ with a possible exception of MYS V: 843, where the meaning ‘many’ can be argued for. The example from BS 1 below is especially important, since the Buddhist idea of salvation extends to all sentient beings. The fact that OJ *morø* is a collective pronoun ‘all’ is further supported by the Ryukyuan data, where its cognate *muru* also functions as a collective pronoun. It is quite possible to believe that the collective pronoun developed from the original word meaning ‘many’ on the basis of external comparisons, but this does not necessarily define exactly the function of this word in Old Japanese.

Contrary to the collective pronoun *miyna* ‘all,’ discussed above in 4.2.6.1, the collective pronoun *morø* ‘all’ almost always is found preceding the noun it modifies. The only apparent exception is SM 17 below, but since the pronoun in question is written there logographically with the Chinese character 諸, one cannot be completely sure that this character must be read as *morø*, and not as *miyna*.

It is also possible that there might be a slight functional difference between *miyna* ‘all’ and *morø* ‘all’ in Western Old Japanese, unless it is not the effect of attestation. While the former is used with both animate and inanimate nouns, the latter refers only to animate beings, at least in the examples written phonetically, where we can be completely sure that

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168 This ‘two’ is obviously inspired by turuNkyi tati morø-pa *‘two blades of a sword’ in MYS XI: 2636. Unfortunately, sword cannot have more than two blades, so ‘two blades’ are certainly ‘all blades.’*

we deal with *morø*, and not with *miyna*. There is no such difference in Eastern Old Japanese, where *morø* can refer to both animate and inanimate nouns.

母呂比得波家布能阿比太波多努斯久阿流倍斯
mørø pyitø pa kyepu-nø apyiNta pa tanwosi-ku ar-uNpey-si
all person TOP today-GEN interval TOP be joyful-INF exist-DEB-FIN
all people today must be joyful (MYS V: 832)

宇梅能波奈乎理加射之都都毛呂比登能阿蘇夫遠美礼婆弥夜古之叙毛布
uMEY-nø pana wor-i kaNsas-i-tutu **mworø** pyitø-nø aswoNp-u-wo myi-re-Npa myiyakwo si Nsø [o]mwop-u
plum-GEN flower break off-INF put in the hair-INF-COOR **all** person-GEN play-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CON capital PT PT think-ATTR
When [I] see that **all** people enjoy themselves breaking off plum blossoms and putting [them] in [their] hair, [I] think of the capital (MYS V: 843)

美阿止都久留伊志乃比鼻伎波阿米爾伊多利都知佐閇由須礼知知波波賀多米爾毛呂比止乃多米爾
myi-atø tukur-u isi-nø pyiNpyik-yi pa amey-ni itar-i tuti sapey yusur-e titi papa-Nka tamey n-i **mworø** pyitø-nø tamey n-i
HON-footprint make-ATTR stone-GEN echo-NML TOP heaven-LOC reach-INF earth PT shake-EV father mother-POSS for DV-INF **all** person for DV-INF

The echo of the stone, where [I] carved the footprint [of the Buddha], reaches the Heaven, and shakes the earth as well, for father and mother, for **all** people (BS 1)169

吾大王乃毛呂比登乎伊射奈比多麻比
WA-NKØ OPØ KYIMYI-nø **mworø** pyitø-wo iNsanap-yi-tamap-yi
I-POSS great lord-GEN **all** person-ACC induce-INF-HON-INF
Our great lord induced **all** people... (MYS XVIII: 4094)

汝多知諸者吾近姪奈利
IMASI-tati **MORØ** PA WA-NKA TIKA-KYI WOPYI nar-i
you-PLUR **all** TOP I-POSS close-ATTR nephew be-FIN
All [of] you are my close nephews (SM 17)

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169 Roy A. Miller translates this poem as 'The ringing of the rock on which the holy footprints are cut reaches to heaven and even the earth resounds: for father and mother, for all men' (Miller 1975: 75). To give Miller partial credit, he mentions that the verb yusur- *'is clearly transitive' in MYS 1239, but then he obscures that matter with a long and irrelevant discussion of examples from Middle Japanese, which he clearly misunderstands (Miller 1975: 77), and ends up translating* yusur- *as an intransitive verb, in spite of the fact that all extant Old Japanese examples of* yusur- *are transitive. This is further aggravated by Miller's mistaken belief that the particle* sapey *'even' is involved in* kakari-musubi*, triggering the final verbal form to acquire the evidential form (Miller 1975: 78); if Miller bothered to check all existing Old Japanese examples of* sapey *usage, he would undoubtedly discover that this is not the case. In addition, among multiple philological mistakes one is especially revealing: the translation of* yusur- *as Chinese* dòng *(動) 'to move' (tr.) does not go back to the Tokugawa period scholar Kariya Ekisai as Miller alleges (Miller 1975: 77), but to the Heian period dictionary* Ruiju myôgishô *(1081 CE). Listing the much more superior and better translation of the* Bussoku seki no uta *by Douglas E. Mills (Mills 1960) as one of the three major disasters that has befallen the stone with the poems (Miller 1975: 3-5), Miller apparently forgot to mention the greatest of them all: his own* ad hoc *interpretations and translations of the poems. In fact, the only evidence of understanding* yusur-e *as an evidential form rather than an imperative, is the use of the topic particle* pa *after* pyiNpyik-yi *'echo-NML,' which would seem to be a strange device, if the form* yusur-e *would be indeed an imperative.*

SPECIAL FORM
The collective pronoun *morø* 'all' also occurs in a special reduplicated form *morø-morø* 'all.' There is no apparent difference in meaning.

毛呂毛呂須久比和多志多麻波奈
mworø-mworø sukup-yi-watas-i-tamap-ana
all-all save-INF-lead across-INF-HON-DES
[I] wish [the Buddha's footprint] will save and lead **everybody** across (BS 4)

与伎比止乃伊麻須久爾爾波和礼毛麻胃弖牟毛呂毛呂乎為弖
yø-kyi pyitø-nø imas-u kuni-ni pa ware mwo mawi-te-m-u **mworø-mworø-wo** wi-te
good-ATTR person-GEN exist(HON)-ATTR land-LOC TOP I PT go(HUM)(INF)-PERF-TENT-FIN **all-all-ACC** lead(INF)-SUB
I will also have gone to the land where the Buddha (lit.: good person) resides, leading **everybody** (BS 8)

都止米毛呂毛呂須須賣毛呂母呂
tutømey **mworø-mworø** susum-ye **mworø-mørø**
strive(INF) **all-all** go forward-IMP **all-all**
strive, **everybody**, go forward, **everybody** (BS 18)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The collective pronoun *morø* 'all' is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only twice: once in a basic form *mørø* and once in a reduplicated form *mørø-mørø*. In Eastern Old Japanese *morø* can

refer to both animate and inanimate nouns, as can be seen from the following examples.

武蔵野乃久佐波母呂武吉
MUSASI-NWO-nø kusa pa **mørø** muk-yi
Musasi-field-GEN grass **all** face-INF
The grass on the Musasi plain faces **all** [sides]... (MYS XIV: 3377)

母呂母呂波佐祁久等麻乎須
mørø-mørø pa sakye-ku tø mawos-u
all-all TOP safe-INF DV say(HUM)-FIN
[I] will ask [the deities] that **everbody** [would return] safely
(MYS XX: 4372)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of the Old Japanese pronoun *morø* 'all' are well attested in the modern Ryukyuan dialects: Kikaigashima *muru/munu* 'all' (Iwakura 1941: 302), Izena, Benoki, Kijôka, Arumi, Namizato, Toguchi, Sesoko, Uezu, Henza, Kowan, Maejima, Tomigusuku, Tokashiki, Kumejima *muru*; Tonoshiro, Hateruma *muuru* 'all' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 410), Shuri *muru* 'all' (RKJ 1983: 395a). The collective pronoun *muru* 'all' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan (spellings: *moro* (もろ), *muru* (むる), *moru* (もる)) (Hokama 1995: 677b). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

野辺のもろ人も雪の噂
NU-BI-nu **moro**-BITU mo YUCI-no UWASA
field-(GEN)side-GEN **all**-(DV-ATTR)person PT snow-GEN rumor
all people at the field, too, are talking about snow (RK 2673)

Shuri

muru mii-too-N
all grow-PERF/PROG-FIN
everything has grown (RKJ 1983: 395b)

The crucial Northern Amami attestations such as Kikaigashima *muru/munu* 'all' show that the word clearly goes back to PJ *mørø, since in Northern Amami PJ *o (> OJ /wo/) is reflected as /o/, and PJ *´ (> OJ /ø/) is reflected as /u/.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARSONS

The most likely external parallel of PJ *mørø 'all' is MK *múlì* 'group,' 'crowd,' attested in WS VI: 7. There is another competing MK form *mwùlì*, attested in WS XXIV: 21, which becomes prevalent in later Early Modern Korean texts, and is also present in modern Standard Korean as *muli*. The form *mwùlì* is probably secondary, because it reveals the process of merger of MK /wu/ and /u/ as /wu/ after labial consonants, typical for Early Modern Korean.

THUK-un nom-oy **muli-yey** pto-lwo tal-ol ssi [i]-la
THUK-TOP other-GEN **crowd-DAT** separate-COP differ-IRR/ATTR word be-FIN
THUK is the word that means that [it] is different **from** the other **bunch** (WS VI: 7)

4.3 NUMERALS

Regarding the numerical system, Western Old Japanese differs considerably from Middle Japanese and Modern Japanese in two respects. First, in sharp contrast to the later stages of Japanese language history, the numerals of Chinese origin are not attested in the texts. It is quite possible that they already penetrated the colloquial language of the time, but

this cannot be proven either way. The overwhelming majority of Old Japanese texts are poetry, and the poetic language was not generally integrating contemporary loanwords from Chinese at least until the twelfth century. Second, as a partial sequence of the lack of the Chinese numerals in the system,[170] the ordinal numerals as a separate class are practically non-existent, with the major exception of the ordinal numeral *patu* 'first.' There is no distinction between cardinal and ordinal numerals among the numerals of Japanese origin, which are all essentially cardinal, but also can be theoretically used in an ordinal function. The cardinal and ordinal functions of native Japanese numerals should have been differentiated exclusively by context, but in Old Japanese texts there are in fact no examples of ordinal numerals in the cardinal function (in the phonetic spelling).

It seems that the classifier system so typical for the modern Japanese language was still in the process of formation in Old Japanese. Although Old Japanese possesses several 'real' classifiers that are bound nouns used only in combination with the preceding numeral, there are also regular nouns that are used in free form elsewhere that can assume the classifier function. Needless to say, there are no classifiers of Chinese origin attested in the texts. Besides, numerals can be used with nouns without the intervening classifiers, which is atypical for the modern language, where such formations mostly represent idiomatic expressions.

In the Japanese linguistic tradition, it is considered that a number of numerals, such as *ya* 'eight,' *yaswo* 'eighty,' *ipwo* 'five hundred,' *yapwo* 'eight hundred,' *ti* 'thousand,' *ya-ti* 'eight thousand,' and *yørøNtu* 'ten thousand' in most cases meant just 'many.' It is a possibility, but it leaves unanswered

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170 The suffix -me*, marking native Japanese ordinal numerals in modern Japanese appeared only in the Early Modern Japanese.*

the question why there were so many numeral forms with the same meaning 'many.' In the case of *ya* 'eight' and its derivatives, it is possibly to surmise that magic meaning of 'eight' as being a sum of female number 'three' and male number 'five' is brought into play. It is less apparent in the case of other numerals, and it might be safer to treat them at face value before we have an exhaustive socio-cultural-historical explanation for this usage.

4.3.1 CARDINAL NUMERALS

4.3.1.1 CARDINAL NUMERAL *PYITØ* 'ONE'

The numeral *pyitø* 'one' can occur with and without the following classifiers. Examples:

夜麻登能比登母登須須岐
yamatø-nø171 **pyitø**-møtø susukyi
Yamato-GEN one-CL silver grass
one silver grass in Yamato (KK 4)

袁都能佐岐那流比登都麻都比登都麻都阿勢袁
wotu-nø sakyi-n-ar-u **pyitø-tu** matu **pyitø-tu** matu a se wo
Wotu-GEN cape-LOC-exist-ATTR **one-CL** pine **one-CL** pine I beloved PT
a lone (lit.: **one**) pine that stands at the cape of Wotu. Oh, lone (lit.: **one**) pine, my beloved! (KK 29)

夜多能比登母登須宜波古母多受

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171 Tsuchihashi treats yamatø *as* yama-tø *'mountain place' (Tsuchihashi 1957: 39-40). However, 'place' is* two *with* kô-rui *vowel /wo/, not* otsu-rui */ø/. Ogihara adopts the same explanation, noting that the syllabic sign with* otsu-rui *vowel is a 'mistake' here (Ogihara 1973: 104-05). One is just left to wonder why there are no other mistakes substituting /two/ with /tø/ in the* Kojiki kayô *text. Thus, I adopt a text-based interpretation of* yamatø *as 'Yamato,' the only one which seems to be feasible in this context.*

yata-nø **pyitø**-møtø suNkey pa kwo møt-aNs-u
Yata-GEN **one**-CL sedge TOP child hold-NEG-FIN
One sedge from Yata does not have children (KK 64)

等之爾安里弖比等欲伊母爾安布比故保思
tøsi-ni ar-i-te **pyitø** ywo imø-ni ap-u pyikwoposi
year-LOC exist-INF-SUB **one** night beloved-DAT meet-ATTR Altair
Altair, who meets [his] beloved **one** night in a year (MYS XV: 3657)

In combination with the following noun *kuni* 'land,' 'country,' *pyitø* acquires the meaning 'another:'

比等国爾須疑加弖奴可母
pyitø KUNI-ni suNkiy-kate-n-u kamø
one land-LOC pass-POT-NEG-ATTR PT
It is unbearable to pass away in **an[other]** land, alas (MYS V: 885)

比等久爾波須美安之
pyitø kuni pa sum-yi a-si
one country TOP live-NML bad-FIN
[It] is difficult to live in **an[other]** country (MYS XV: 3748)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The numeral *pyitø* 'one' is attested once in Eastern Old Japanese without the following classifier (see the examples with classifiers under the respective classifiers in 4.3.3).

比登祢呂爾伊波流毛能可良
pyitø ne-rø n-i ip-ar-u mwonøkara
one peak-DIM DV-INF say-PROG-ATTR CONJ

Although [they say] that [we] are **one** mountain..(MYS XIV: 3512)

A2: Ryukyuan

As a rule, in modern Ryukyuan dialects all digit numerals that take the classifier *-tu* in Old Japanese are attested only in a bound form with this classifier, although the stems of these numerals could be found in compounds, like in Modern Standard Japanese. All Ryukyuan dialects in Northern and Central Ryukyus have reduced form of the numeral *pitø-tu 'one' which has truncated the first syllable *pi-: Shuri *tiiçi* (RKJ 1983: 517b),172 Yuwan *t'iitsï*, Izena *t'iitʃi,* Uezu *tiitʃi* etc. 'one' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442). However, in the Sakishima islands the untruncated forms are still found: Agarinakasone, Yonaha *psï∞tiitsï,* Tonoshiro *pï∞tiidzï*, Hateruma *pï∞tsï∞tsï* 'one' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442). It is believed that the Old Ryukyuan form was *hwitu-çi (Hokama 1995: 565c). Although Hokama does not provide examples of phonetic spellings in his dictionary of Old Ryukyuan (Hokama 1995), some can be found in the *Ryûka*.173 Combined Southern Ryukyuan and Old Ryukyuan data constitute a good basis for reconstructing PR *pitu- 'one.' There are also the Old Ryukyuan form *fîtu-ri* and Shuri written form *hwicui* (colloquial *cui*) 'one person,' representing a combination of the numeral *pitu- 'one' with the classifier *-ri* 'person,' that offer further support to this reconstruction. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

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172 The archaic form hwituçi *'one' is also found in Shuri, but only in the written language (RKJ 1983: 241b-42a).*

173 There is also an intriguing form futetsu *'one' in the OS XIII: 898.*

ふてつたむななのおとぢや
fute-tsu ta mu nana n-o otodiya
one-CL two six seven DV-ATTR brother
one, two, six, seven brothers (OS XIII: 898)

月やひとつ
TSUCHI ya **fito-tsu**
moon TOP **one-CL**
[there is only] **one** moon (RK 485)

ただひとり
tada **fito-ri**
just **one-CL**
just **one person** (OS XIV: 997)

Shuri

sjuutee **tii-çi** nay-uN
household **one-CL** become-FIN
[Members of] the household represent **one unit** (RKJ 1983: 517b)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARSONS

Combining Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data, we can reconstruct the PJ archetype as *pitø 'one.' The best external counterpart for this numeral is MK *pìlúsé* 'at first,' with the later forms *pìlúswó* and *pìlúswú* also attested (Nam 2001: 737b-38a), suggested by Samuel Martin (1966: 238). A further comparison with proto-Turkic *bir 'one,' offered by Starostin (1991: 99), appears much less credible. It calls for a correspondence of PJ *-t- : PK *-l- : PT *-r-, reflecting original PA *-r_1-, first proposed by Miller (1971: 230), and

supported by Starostin (1986, 1991, 1995). However, the MK *pìlúsé* 'at first' has a good internal explanation as development from PK *pitu-se via the process of *t* > *l* lenition under the conditions outlined in Martin's monograph on lenition in Middle Korean (Martin 1996: 2-3). Thus, it appears that both PJ and PK exhibit *-t- in this etymology that cannot correspond to PT *-r-. Thus, Turkic etymology can be safely disposed of on phonetic grounds. Moreover, it remains unclear whether Japonic and Korean forms are really the cognates: while the Japonic form is apparently a numeral 'one,' the Korean form looks like a verbal stem *pilu-* < *pitu- plus verbal suffix *-se* < *is-e 'exist-INF;' and, in addition, it has adverbial meaning 'at first' or 'first of all,' well supported by the example below.174 Что, конечно же говорит о том, что если корейскую форму выкинуть, то получаем идеальную тюрко-японскую параллель и фонетик граундс Вовина можно выкидывать на помойку. Логика отличная: мы выкидываем тюркскую, потому что фонетика не соответствует корейскому, но корейский мы выкидываем, потому что он не сюда. Тогда чего же кивать на корейский вообще?

Middle Korean

piluse tyel-ey tul-e
first of all temple-LOC enter-INF
first of all, [he] entered the temple (SP XI: 1)

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174 It is quite possible that the real Old Japanese counterpart for MK piluse *'at first' is really* patu *'first,' that agrees with the Middle Korean word much better semantically. The vowel correspondence of OJ* -a- *to MK* -i- *may seem unusual, but it can be supported by another example: OJ* patwo *'pigeon' : MK* pitwulki *'id.' Such a difference in vocalism could probably have an explanation if the OJ word was borrowed from Paekche that might have had a different vocalism from the Old Korean of the Silla kingdom.*

4.3.1.2 CARDINAL NUMERAL *PUTA* 'TWO'

The cardinal numeral *puta* 'two' can occur with or without the following classifiers. Examples:

美多迩布多和多良須阿治志貴
myi-tani **puta** watar-as-u aNtisikiy
HON-valley **two** cross-HON-ATTR Antisikiy
Antisikiy [deity], who crosses **two** valleys (KK 6)

袁夜迩須賀多多美伊夜佐夜斯岐弖和賀布多理泥斯
wo-ya-ni suNka-tatamyi iya-saya sik-yi-te wa-Nka **puta-ri** ne-si
DIM-house-LOC sedge-mat more(?)-rustling spread-INF-SUB we-POSS **two-CL** sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR
in the little hut, spreading very rustling sedge mats, **two** of us slept (KK 19)

阿波泥辞摩異椰敷多那羅弭阿豆枳辞摩異椰敷多那羅弭予呂辞枳辞摩之魔
apaNti-sima iya **puta** naraNp-yi aNtukyi-sima iya **puta** naraNp-yi yørøsi-kyi sima-sima
ApaNti-island clearly **two** line up-INF ANtukyi-island clearly **two** line up-INF good-ATTR island-island
Awazi island clearly lines up [with another island as] **two**, Azuki island clearly lines up [with another island as] **two**, [they are] good islands (NK 40)

麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯乎
ma-tama-nasu **puta-tu** n-ø isi-wo
INT-jewel-COMP **two-CL** DV-ATTR stone-ACC
two stones like real jewels (MYS V: 813)

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等曾太礼留比止
myiswo-ti amar-i **puta-tu** n-ø katati yaswo kusa tø søNtar-er-u pyitø

thirty-CL exceed-INF **two-CL** DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person
a person, who is complete with thirty-**two** marks and eighty [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

COMPARATIVE DATA:

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese the numeral *puta* 'two' can be used with and without a following classifier, as the example below demonstrates:

奴麻布多都可欲波等里賀栖安我己許呂布多由久奈母
numa **puta-tu** kaywop-a tøri-Nka su a-Nka køkørø **puta** yuk-unam-ø
marsh **two-CL** go over-ATTR bird-POSS nest I-POSS heart **two** go-TENT2-ATTR
Should my heart go [to] **two** [different places like] nests of birds that go over **two** marshes? (MYS XIV: 3526)

A2: Ryukyuan

For the most part, the same development as that of the *pitø 'one,' outlined above in 4.3.1.1, befell the *puta 'two' in Ryukyuan: in the modern North Ryukyuan dialects the first syllable was lost, resulting in such forms as Yuwan *t'aatsï*, Izena *t'aat ʃ i,* Uezu *taat ʃ i* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442), Shuri *taaçi* (RKJ 1983: 501a) etc. 'two.' Meanwhile, the original disyllabic form is well preserved in the Southern Ryukyuan dialects: Agarinakasone, Yonaha *fu∞taatsï*; Tonoshiro *Fu∞taadzï*; Hateruma *Fu∞taatsï* 'two' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442). Old Ryukyuan here appears of less help, since almost all the examples of the numeral 'two' in the *Ryûka* are not in the phonetic spelling, and only the older text of the *Omoro sôshi* has a clear example of *ta* [taa] in phonetic spelling. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

ふてつたむななのおとぢや
fute-tsu **ta** mu nana n-o otodiya
one-CL **two** six seven DV-ATTR brother
one, **two**, six, seven brothers (OS XIII: 898)

Shuri

taa-çi sy-uN
two-CL do-FIN
to double (lit.: make [it] **two**) (RKJ 1983: 501a)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *puta 'two.' Samuel Martin compared it with MK *pcàk* 'one of the pair' (Martin 1966: 249). This etymology was further extended by Starostin, who misglossed MK *pcàk* as 'pair' and added to it Turkic *bucak* 'half' (Starostin 1991: 278). The problem here is semantic: MK *pcàk* really means 'one of the pair,' and not 'pair.' This semantics seem to go along well with Turkic *bucak* 'half,' but not with OJ *puta* 'two.' In short, it is possible, but not an extremely impressive etymology.

Middle Korean

HAP-un TOY-hoy-a selwo **pcak** machwu-l ssi (i-)n-i
Set-TOP contrast-do-INF together **one part of the pair** put together-IRR/ATTR word (COP-)PERF-NML
'Set' is a word that [means] that [one] puts together **single parts of a pair** (WS: Introduction 7)

4.3.1.3 CARDINAL NUMERAL *MYI* 'THREE'

The cardinal numeral *myi* 'three' occurs in Western Old Japanese in phonetic spelling only with the following general classifier *-tu* 'thing' in two almost identical contexts in the *Kojiki kayô*. However, we can conclude that it was used independently without the following classifiers before the noun like the cardinal numerals *pyitø* 'one' and *puta* 'two' on the basis of several pieces of oblique evidence: 1) it appears in logographic writing as a Chinese character in the poetic texts where it cannot be read as bisyllabic Sino-Japanese /samu/ < MC *sam* (三) 'three' on the basis of poetic meter; 2) it is attested in combinations 'three + noun' that are verified by Heian period texts as including *myi* 'three' without the following classifier *-tu*, as in the *myi tøse* 'three years' below; 3) it is attested phonetically in the proper name *Myiwa* (lit.: *myi-wa* 'three rings'), occurring in NK 16 and NK 17 in the phrase *Myiwa-nø tønø* (瀰和能等能) 'the shrine of Miwa;' 4) *myi* is attested in the numeral *myi-swo-ti* 'thirty' (three+ten+classifier) written phonetically in BS 2 as 弥蘇知 (see 4.3.1.2 above); 5) the *kun-yomi* /myi/ of the Chinese character 三 'three' is used to render OJ syllable /myi/, as, for example, in *NA-myi* (無三) 'there is no' (no-GER) in MYS IV: 714.

美都具理能曾能那迦都迩
myi-tu-N-kuri-nø sønø naka-tu ni
three-CL-DV(ATTR)-chestnut-COMP that middle-GEN/LOC clay
that clay from the middle that is like **three** chestnuts (KK 42)

美都具理能那迦都延
myi-tu-N-kuri-nø naka-tu ye
three-CL-DV(ATTR)-chestnut-COMP middle-GEN/LOC branch
the middle branches that are like **three** chestnuts (KK 43)

三歳之間爾

MYI TØSE-NØ PONTØ-ni
three year-GEN time-LOC
in the interval of **three** years (MYS IX: 1740)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The cardinal numeral *myi* 'three' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'three' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any irregular developments: Yuwan *miitsï*; Izena *miitʃi*; Agarinakasone, Hateruma *miitsï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442); Shuri *miiçi* (RKJ 1983: 372a) 'three,' etc. The cardinal numeral *mitu* [miçi] 'three' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

あおりみつたてて
aori **mi-tu** tate-te
sun umbrella **three-CL** put(INF)-SUB
putting up **three** sun umbrellas (OS XIX: 1321)

Shuri

'ikuçi-N **mii-çi**-N
how many-PT **three-CL**-PT
Many (lit.: even how many, even **three**) (RKJ 1983: 372a)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *mi- 'three.' The only reliable cognate seems to be in the (pseudo-)Koguryo language, which has 密 *mrï 'three.' If the use of the Old Chinese

pronounciation for this Koguryo numeral is correct,175 the pre-proto-Japonic form should be reconstructed as *miri-. No other external parallels to this numeral exist to the best of my knowledge.

4.3.1.4 CARDINAL NUMERAL *YØ* 'FOUR'

It appears that the numeral *yø* 'four' in phonetic spelling is found in original Western Old Japanese texts (not in later glosses176) only in one example in combination with the following classifier *-tu* 'thing:'

与都乃閇美伊都都乃毛乃乃阿都麻礼流伎多奈伎微乎婆
yø-tu n-ø peymyi itu-tu n-ø monø-nø atumar-er-u kyitana-kyi miy-woNpa
four-CL DV-ATTR snake five-CL DV-ATTR thing-GEN gather-PROG-ATTR dirty-ATTR body-ACC(EMPH)
the dirty body which accumulates **four** snakes and five demons (lit.: things) (BS 19)

However, there is oblique evidence that the numeral *yø* could be used independently in Western Old Japanese, since the *kun-yomi* /yø/ of the Chinese character 四 'four' is used as *kungana* to write the imperative suffix *-yø*:

愛寸事盡手四
URUPASI-kyi KØTØ TUKUS-I-te-**yø**
splendid-ATTR word exhaust-INF-PERF-**IMP**

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175 There seem to be many instances in the 'Koguryo' language when the Old Chinese rather than the Late Middle Chinese reading is applicable (see, e.g. Vovin 1999). Recently, Beckwith also proposed that 'Koguryo' readings are based on Late Northeastern Old Chinese (Beckwith 2003). This represents a significant improvement over his earlier proposal suggesting Late Middle Chinese as the basis for 'Koguryo' readings (Beckwith 2000), although I still disagree with a number of his readings and some of the general conclusions.

176 For attestation in later glosses see (Omodaka 1967: 791d, 799d).

exhaust [your] splendid words (MYS IV: 661)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *yø* 'four' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'four' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any irregular developments: Yuwan *yuuttsï*; Izena *yuutʃi*; Agarinakasone, Hateruma *yuutsï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442); Shuri *'yuuçi* (RKJ 1983: 294b) 'four,' Yonaguni *duutʃi* (Hirayama 1967: 227) etc. The cardinal numeral *yo-tu* 'four' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan, although there seems to be no examples with phonetic spelling.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *yø- 'four' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. The well-known comparison is with the Altaic languages: Turkic *tört*, Mongolic *dörben*, Manchu-Tungusic *dïgin, but it rests on the false assumption that OJ *y-* < PJ *d-.

4.3.1.5 CARDINAL NUMERAL *ITU* 'FIVE'

The numeral *itu* 'five' in phonetic spelling is found in original Western Old Japanese texts (not in later glosses) only in one example in combination with the following classifier *-tu* 'thing:'

与都乃閇美伊都都乃毛乃乃阿都麻礼流伎多奈伎微乎婆

yø-tu n-ø peymyi **itu-tu** n-ø monø-nø atumar-er-u kyitana-kyi miy-woNpa
four-CL DV-ATTR snake **five-CL** DV-ATTR thing-GEN gather-PROG-ATTR dirty-ATTR body-ACC(EMPH)
the dirty body which accumulates four snakes and **five** demons (lit.: things) (BS 19)

There is no oblique phonetic evidence that *itu* 'five' could be used independently without classifiers, but we still can speculate it could on the basis of analogy with other numerals.

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *itu* 'five' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'five' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any irregular developments: Yuwan ʔ*itsïsï*; Izena ʔ*itʃi∞tʃi*; Agarinakasone *itsï∞tsï*; Hateruma *issïï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442); Shuri ʔ*içiçi* (RKJ 1983: 246a) 'five,' etc. The cardinal numeral *itu-tu* [iti-ti] 'five' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

さしふいつつころ
sasifu **itu-tu** koro
priestess **five-CL** person
five priestesses (OS VI: 312)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *itu- 'five' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. Apart from (pseudo-)Koguryo *utsï 'five,' there are no uncontroversial external etymologies, although the comparisons with MK *tàsós*, WM *tabun*, and Tungusic *tuñNa* ~ Manchu *sunja* 'five' have been proposed. The Tungusic form comes closest to the Japanese phonetically, and it might be tempting to explain the Tungusic /t/ : Manchu /s/ correspondence by the existence of the initial *i- in proto-Tungusic which disappeared, but left its trace as a palatalization in Manchu. However, this internal Manchu-Tungusic alternation has a good internal explanation, offered by Norman, who pointed out that PTu *t- > proto-Manchu *s- when there is a following proto-Manchu *j (Norman 1977: 230-33), therefore the tentative reconstruction PTu *itu- 'five' with an initial *i- has to be discarded. Thus, the 'Altaic' etymologies are to be rejected.

4.3.1.6 CARDINAL NUMERAL *MU* 'SIX'

The cardinal numeral *mu* 'six' is not attested in phonetic writing in Western Old Japanese texts, but there is oblique evidence for its existence, since the *kun-yomi* reading /mu/ of the Chinese character 六 'six' is used as *kungana* to write syllable /mu/ on a number of occasions:177

妹名根之作服異六白細乃紐
IMWO NA-ne-NKA TUKUR-I KYI-SE-kye-**m-u** SIRWO TAPEY-nø PYIMO
beloved you-?-POSS make-INF wear-CAUS-PAST-**TENT-ATTR** white cloth-GEN cord

177 See also MYS III: 302 and MYS XII: 2940 for examples of the same usage.

the cord of the white cloth that you, [my] beloved, made and made [me] wear (MYS IX: 1800)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *mu* 'six' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'six' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any irregular developments: Yuwan *muutsï*; Izena *muutʃi*; Agarinakasone *mmtsï;* Hateruma *nntsï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 442); Shuri *muuçi* (RKJ 1983: 397b) 'six,' etc. The cardinal numeral *mu* 'six' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

ふてつたむななのおとぢや
fute-tsu ta **mu** nana n-o otodiya
one-CL two **six** seven DV-ATTR brother
one, two, **six**, seven brothers (OS XIII: 898)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *mu 'six' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. The only external comparison was offered by Starostin, who compared this numeral with PTu *ñuNun 'six' (Starostin 1991: 78), also uncritically accepted in (Vovin 1994a, 1994b, 1994c). This etymology rests on the external correspondence of PJ *m- : PTu *ñ-, proposed by Starostin (1991: 78), which is not unproblematic. In addition, it runs into two problems. One of these problems is morphological on the Tungusic side: there is no internal Tungusic evidence for the morphological segmentaion of PTu *ñuNun 'six' as *ñu-Nun: the only

morphological division suggested by the internal Tungusic evidence is *ñuNu-n. This problem can be certainly circumvented by suggesting that both PA *-N- and *-n went to *-Ø in proto-Japanese, leaving a reflex of *mu-. However, under this scenario second problem arises: the loss of a medial *-N- should have resulted in a long vowel in pre-proto-Japonic with its reflex as a low-register word in proto-Japonic. Unfortunately for Starostin's etymology, *mu- 'six,' is a high-register word (Martin 1987: 487, 489), suggesting a short vowel in proto-Japonic. А разве тоны зависят исключительно от долготы/краткости праяпонской? Про это надо где-то почитать. У нас-то они вполне себе соответствуют различной алтайской просодии.

4.3.1.7 CARDINAL NUMERAL *NANA* 'SEVEN'

The cardinal numeral *nana* 'seven' is attested in Western Old Japanese in phonetic spelling in three examples with and without the following classifiers. The only classifier attested phonetically with *nana* 'seven' is *-pye* 'layer.'

多加佐士怒袁那那由久袁登賣杼母
takasaNsi-nwo-wo **nana** yuk-u wotømye-Ntømø
TakasaNsi-field-ACC **seven** go-ATTR girl-PLUR
seven girls going across the Takasazi field (KK 15)

飫瀰能古簸多倍能波伽摩鳴那那陛鳴糸
omyi-nø kwo pa tapey-nø pakama-wo **nana-pye** wos-i
noble-GEN child TOP mulberry cloth-GEN pants-ACC **seven-CL** wear(HON)-INF
The son of a noble wears **seven layers** of mulberry cloth pants, and... (NK 74)

麻都良我波奈奈勢能與騰

matura kapa **nana** se-nø yøNtø
Matura river **seven** rapid-GEN pool
Pools at the **seven** rapids of the Matura river (MYS V: 860)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The cardinal numeral *nana* 'seven' is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only once with the following classifier *-pye* 'layer.'

志毛用爾奈奈弁加流去呂毛
simwo ywo-ni **nana-pye** k-ar-u kørømwo
frost night-LOC **seven-CL** wear-PROG-ATTR garment
in the frosty night [I] wear **seven layers** of garments (MYS XX: 4431)

A2: Ryukyuan

The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'seven' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any irregular developments: Yuwan *nanatsï*; Izena *nanat ʃ i*; Agarinakasone, Hateruma *nanatsï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 443); Shuri *nanaçi* (RKJ 1983: 409a) 'seven,' etc. The cardinal numeral *nana* 'seven' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

ふてつたむななのおとぢや
fute-tsu ta mu **nana** n-o otodiya
one-CL two six **seven** DV-ATTR brother
one, two, six, **seven** brothers (OS XIII: 898)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *nana 'seven' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data.

Besides (pseudo-)Koguryo *nanïn ‘seven,’ various scholars have proposed the connection with PTu *nada ‘seven.’ Miller proposed that PTu *nada ‘seven’ was a loanword from PM *doluVan ‘seven,’ with a metathesis of consonants, and then *l- > *n- in proto- Tungusic (Miller 1971: 221, 242). This is, of course, pure fantasy. There is ample evidence for initial *l- in proto-Tungusic, which is preserved in a number of etymons in spite of Miller’s confusing (or confused?) remarks on the issue (Miller 1971: 242), and quite clearly PTu *nada ‘seven’ is not one of them. Miller has also suggested that OJ *nana* ‘seven’ must be a loanword (Miller 1971: 242), but has failed to provide his readership with a straightforward explanation where it was borrowed from.

Needless to say, any attempt to establish an external etymology must be preceded by careful internal analysis, and an unverified metathesis is the last thing a serious historical linguist wants to rely on. It turns out that the *nVn sequence was impossible in proto-Tungusic, so both pre-proto-Manchu Tungusic *nVd and *nVn would be realized as *nVd in proto-Tungusic (Vovin 2000b). Given this fact, it is *likely* that both PJ *nana and PTu *nada ‘seven’ are related either genetically or as loans in one or the other direction. Overall, a common genetic origin seems to be a less plausible explanation, since it calls for a unique genetic relationship for just one numeral in proto-Tungusic and proto-Japonic. Although this is not impossible, it faces a typological difficulty: there are no other known cross-linguistic cases where only the numeral ‘seven’ would be related.

4.3.1.8 CARDINAL NUMERAL *YA* ‘EIGHT’

The cardinal numeral *ya* ‘eight’ is attested in Western Old Japanese in phonetic spelling in three examples with and without the following classifiers. Traditionally it is

considered that *ya* ‘eight’ may mean just ‘many,’ however some linguists who support this point of view, (e.g. Omodaka 1967: 754b), overlook the important fact that the number ‘eight’ is the sum of ‘three’ (female number) and ‘five’ (male number). Therefore, it’s meaning in KK 1 (in essence, a bridal song) below as well as in other examples should be just ‘eight’ (as a symbol of marital union). Still, there might be examples where *ya* means ‘many’ rather than ‘eight,’ e.g. NK 91 below. It is more likely that a woven brushwood fence had many meshes rather than just ‘eight,’ however, we do not know for sure since no samples of these fences from the Asuka or Nara period survive.

夜久毛多都伊豆毛夜弊賀岐都麻碁微爾夜弊賀岐都久流
ya kumwo tat-u iNtumwo **ya-pye**-N-kakyi tuma-N-kømiy-ni **ya-pye**-N-kakyi tukur-u
eight cloud rise-ATTR INtumwo **eight-CL**-DV(ATTR)-fence spouse-GEN-be secluded(NML)-LOC **eight-CL**-DV(ATTR)-fence make-FIN
[I] am making **eight-folded** fence for [my] spouse to seclude herself, **eight-folded** fence in Izumo, where **eight** clouds rise (KK 1)

夜斯麻久爾都麻麻岐迦泥弖
ya sima kuni tuma mak-yi-kane-te
eight island country spouse pillow-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB
not being able to obtain a spouse in the country of **Eight** Islands (KK 2)

耶賦能之魔柯枳
ya pu-nø siNpa kakyi
eight (**many?**) mesh-GEN brushwood fence
a woven brushwood fence with **eight** (**many?**) meshes (NK 91)

於弥能古能野陛能比母騰倶
omyi-nø kwo-nø **ya-pye** n-ø pyimø tøk-u
noble-GEN son-GEN **eight-CL** DV-ATTR cord untie-FIN
The sons of nobles were going to untie **eight** cords (NK 127)

夜都代爾母安礼波和須礼自許乃多知婆奈乎
ya-tu YØ-ni mø are pa wasure-Nsi kønø tatiNpana-wo
eight-CL year-LOC PT I TOP forget-NEG/TENT this tatiNpana-ACC
I will not forget these *tatibana* flowers even in **eight** (**many?**) years (MYS XVIII: 4058)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *ya* 'eight' is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only once in the combination with the following classifier *-pye* 'layer' (misspelled as *pey*).

多妣己呂母夜倍伎可佐祢弖
taNpyi kørømø **ya-pey** kyi-kasane-te
travel garment **eight-CL** put on(INF)-pile(INF)-SUB
[I] put on **eight layers** of travel clothes one onto another...
(MYS XX: 4351)

A2: Ryukyuan
The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'eight' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any irregular developments: Yuwan *yaatsï*, Izena *yaatʃi,* Agarinakasone and Hateruma *yaatsï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 443) Shuri *yaaçi* (RKJ 1983: 270b), Yonaguni *daatʃi* (Hirayama 1967: 229) 'eight,' etc. The cardinal numeral *ya* 'eight' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

やここのことをいぬつれて
ya kokono-ko towo inu ture-te
eight nine-CL ten dog lead(INF)-SUB
leading **eight**, nine, ten dogs (RK 11)178

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *ya 'eight' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. Starostin et al. (2003: 1524) compared this numeral with PTu *jabkun 'eight.' This comparison is possible, but several problems are present. First, there is no certainty that this numeral in proto-Tungusic had *-b- rather than *-p-. Second, the choice between internal conflicting reconstructions *jakpun and *jakpun (опечатка?) may be difficult, as indicated by Ikegami (1989: 1079). Third, there is no internal justification in Tungusic for the morphological boundary *jap-kun or *jak-pun in this numeral.

Manchu

jakûn tanggû cooxa-be gida-xa
eight hundred army-ACC defeat-PERF
[they] defeated an army of **eight** hundred (MYK I: 92)

4.3.1.9 CARDINAL NUMERAL *KØKØNØ* 'NINE'

The cardinal numeral *køkønø* 'nine' is attested in Western Old Japanese twice in phonetic spelling in the *Kojiki kayô* and the *Nihonshoki kayô,* but in an identical context:

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178 Cited according to (Hokama 1995: 678a).

迦賀那倍弖用迩波許許能用比迩波登袁加袁 (KK 26)
伽餓奈倍低用珥波虚虚能用比珥波苔塢伽塢 (NK 26)
ka-Nka naNpey-te ywo n-i pa **køkønø** ywo pyi n-i pa tøwo-ka-wo
day-day put side by side(INF)-SUB night DV-INF TOP **nine** night day DV-INF TOP ten-CL-ACC
counting all the days, [it] is **nine** nights and ten days (KK 26, NK 26)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *køkønø* 'nine' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The reflexes of the cardinal numeral 'nine' are attested in all Ryukyuan dialects without any significant irregular developments (the following Yuwan form appears to be slightly irregular): Yuwan *kuunutsï*, Izena *kukunut ∫ i*, Agarinakasone and Tonoshiro *kukunutsï* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 443); Shuri *kukunuçi* (RKJ 1983: 330a) 'nine,' etc. The cardinal numeral *kokono* 'nine' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

やここのことをいぬつれて
ya **kokono-ko** towo inu ture-te
eight **nine-CL** ten dog lead(INF)-SUB
leading eight, **nine**, ten dogs (RK 11)179

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *køkønø 'nine' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data.

179 Cited according to (Hokama 1995: 678a).

There are no apparent external etymologies, however Starostin et al. (2003: 772) compared this numeral with PTu *xegün ‘nine.’ Nevertheless, this does not seem feasible: the alleged PTu *xegün is a contamination of two unrelated groups of words within Tungusic itself, apparently resulting from Starostin et al.’s uncritical use of the corresponding entry in the ‘Comparative dictionary of Manchu-Tungusic languages’ (Cincius 1975: 352-53), which is a *comparative*, and not an *etymological* dictionary, and therefore frequently includes unrelated forms. (Ср. многочисленные восклицания Вовина о мудрости разнесения авторами ТМСа в разные статьи слов, объединенных в нашем словаре)Two different words are: 1) PTu *yegin ‘nine’ > Ewenki *yegin*, Solon *yegin*, Udihe *yei*; and 2) PTu *xüyün > Ewen *uyuun*; Oroch, Orok, Ulcha *xuyu;* Nanai *xuyun*, Manchu *uyun*. Although Ikegami already noted that these are two different words, unlikely to be related (Ikegami 1989: 1079), this publication seems to have been overlooked by Starostin et al.

4.3.1.10 CARDINAL NUMERAL *TØWO* ‘TEN’

The cardinal numeral *tøwo* ‘ten’ in phonetic spelling is attested in Western Old Japanese twice but in an identical context found in the *Kojiki kayô* and the *Nihonshoki kayô*.

迦賀那倍弖用迩波許許能用比迩波登袁加袁 (KK 26)
伽餓奈倍低用珥波虛虛能用比珥波苔塢伽塢 (NK 26)
ka-Nka naNpey-te ywo n-i pa køkønø ywo pyi n-i pa **tøwo-ka**-wo
day-day put side by side(INF)-SUB night DV-INF TOP nine night day DV-INF TOP **ten-CL**-ACC
counting all the days, [it] is nine nights and **ten** days (KK 26, NK 26)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *tøwo* 'ten' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The reflexes of the numeral 'ten' are practically uniform in all modern Ryukyuan dialects: *tuu* (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 443), (RKJ 1983: 533). The numeral *too* 'ten' is also attested in Old Ryukyuan (with spelling variants とう /tou/ and とを /towo/).

Old Ryukyuan

ふてつたむとうのおとぢや
fute-tsu ta mu **tou** n-o otodiya
one-CL two six **ten** DV-ATTR brother
one, two, six, **ten** brothers (OS XIII: 898)

やここのことをいぬつれて
ya kokono-ko **towo** inu ture-te
eight nine-CL **ten** dog lead(INF)-SUB
leading eight, nine, **ten** dogs (RK 11)180

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
The proto-Japonic archetype can be reconstructed as *tøwo 'ten' on the basis of both Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data. The well-known comparison is with (pseudo-)Koguryo *t´k (德) 'ten.' However, this comparison, likely as it is, is not as unproblematic as the comparisons of the other Japonic and Koguryo numerals, due to the unusual correspondence of PJ *-w- to Koguryo *-k-. Another comparison is with PTu

180 Cited according to (Hokama 1995: 678a).

*juban ‘ten,’ suggested by Starostin et al. (2003: 398), is possible, but again not without problems. First, it is not really clear whether one has to reconstruct *-b-, *-w- or *-g- in this word. Ikegami, for example, opts for *-g- in his reconstruction *jUgaan (Ikegami 1989: 1079). The second problem is with the correspondences of initial consonants: both PTu *jabkun ‘eight’ and *juwan ‘ten’ have initial *j- that corresponds to PJ *y- in *ya ‘eight and PJ *t- in *təwo ‘ten.’ Multiple correspondences are not impossible, of course, but they are not persuasive if they are not conditioned. Apparently, no persuasive conditioning rules are provided by Starostin et al.

Manchu

juwan juwe gashan-de te-ci
ten two village-LOC live-COND
when [they] lived in twelve (lit.: **ten** + two) villages (MYK I: 24)

4.3.1.11 COUNT ABOVE ‘TEN’

The text of the *Kojiki* offers a number of later glosses to the numbers of deities above the number ‘ten,’ all of them in combination with the classifier *pasira* ‘column,’ used to count deities. The pattern is identical: *təwo* ‘ten’ + *[a]mar-i* ‘exceed-INF’ + digital numeral + classifier *pasira* (Takagi & Toyama 1974a: 269a-b):

təwo [a]mar-i pyitø-pasira	11 deities
təwo [a]mar-i puta-pasira	12 deities
təwo [a]mar-i myi-pasira	13 deities
təwo [a]mar-i yø-pasira	14 deities
təwo [a]mar-i itu-pasira	15 deities

tøwo [a]mar-i mu-pasira 16 deities
tøwo [a]mar-i nana-pasira 17 deities
tøwo [a]mari køkønø-pasira 19 deities

The only number absent from this list below 'twenty' is *tøwo [a]mar-i ya- 'eighteen.' The problem is, of course, that the *Kojiki* kana glosses are of a late origin, and cannot be trusted independently. However, there is one example in the *Bussoku seki uta* that includes the numeral 32 in phonetic spelling: *myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu* 'thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL,' that demonstrates that the above glosses in all probability reflect the Western Old Japanese system of count above 'ten:'

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等曾太礼留比止
myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ø katati yaswo kusa tø søNtar-er-u pyitø
thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person
a person, who is complete with **thirty-two** marks and eighty [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

Therefore, numerals above 'ten' and other tens were built on the pattern: *ten number [+CL] + exceed-INF + unit number [+CL]*.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' as well as other combinations of tens and digits are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
A similar, but not identical system, of counting above 'ten' is found in South Ryukyuan dialects, e.g.: Agarinakasone and Yonaha *tuu-psitiitsï*, Tonoshiro *tuu-pïtiidzï*, Hateruma *tuu-pï∾tutsï* 'eleven (lit.: ten+one)' (Uchima & Arakaki 2000: 443). The South Ryukyuan system apparently does not include *amar-i* 'exceed-INF' placed after tens and before digits in Western Old Japanese. In other Ryukyuan dialects, as well as in Old Ryukyuan, the system of counting above 'ten' seems to have been already supplanted by Chinese loans, as in Middle Japanese.

4.3.1.12 TENS

All tens in Western Old Japanese with the exception of *pata* 'twenty' are build on the pattern: corresponding digit number + *-swo* 'ten.' Not all tens are actually attested in phonetic spelling in Western Old Japanese texts; those that are not attested in phonetic writing or in borrowed *kun-yomi* writing (see below) are marked in the following list by an asterisk. Nevertheless, we can tentatively reconstruct the missing tens on the basis of the fact that attested tens follow the above structural pattern, as well as on the basis of poetic meter and evidence from Heian period Middle Japanese.

pata	20
myiswo	30
yøswo	40
*iswo	50
*muswo	60
*nanaswo	70
yaswo	80
*køkønøswo	90

The form *iswo* ‘fifty’ is irregular (instead of the expected *itu-swo). Possibly, a truncation occurred here. The tens can be followed by the general classifier *-ti*, similar to the general classifier *-tu* that occurs after digit numbers, e.g. *myiswo-ti* ‘thirty-CL.’

The second element *-swo* ‘ten’ in the tens has an unclear origin. Connecting it etymologically with WOJ *tøwo* ‘ten’ is dubious for phonetic reasons: first, it would require setting a unique internal correspondence of /t/:/s/ in Western Old Japanese: second, there seems to be no other knows cases of contraction of the sequence /øwo/ to /wo/. Third, there are no traces of *-swo* in Ryukyuan except in apparent loans from Japanese. That suggests that the origin of *-swo* ‘ten’ in Western Old Japanese may be later than the split between Japanese and Ryukyuan. I suspect that this *-swo* ‘ten’ may be really a loan from the Paekche or another Korean-type language on the Korean peninsula. Cf. the tens in Middle Korean:

súmúlh, súmú[181]	20
syèlhún	30
màzòn	40
swuy:n	50
yèswyuy:n	60
nìlhún	70
yètún	80
àhón	90

These tens except *súmúlh* ‘twenty’ are likely to include the suffix *-son/-sun in its different phonetic variants: *-hun, -zon, -un,*

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181 MK súmú ‘*20’ is an attributive form.*

-on, -Vn. I think that this suffix may have a close genetic link to the source (probably Paekche) from which Western Old Japanese *-swo* ‘ten’ was borrowed.

PATA ‘twenty,’ strictly speaking, is not attested phonetically in Western Old Japanese texts. There is, however, one example in the *Man’yôshû* when the *kun-yomi* ***pata*** of the character 廿 ‘twenty’ is used as a borrowed *kun-yomi* writing to spell the homonymous word *pata* ‘loom.’ Since the word *pata* ‘loom, cloth’ is attested phonetically (e.g., in KK 66), there is little doubt that the word for ‘twenty’ was also *pata* in Western Old Japanese.

我廿物白麻衣
WA-NKA **pata**-MØNØ SIRWO ASA KØRØMØ
I-POSS **loom**-thing white hemp garment
white hemp garment [from] my **loom** (MYS VII: 1298)

MISWO- ‘thirty’ is attested phonetically in Western Old Japanese in one example:

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等曾太礼留比止
myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ø katati yaswo kusa tø søNtar-er-u pyitø
thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person
a person, who is complete with **thirty**-two marks and eighty [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

WOJ *miswo-* ‘thirty’ is the only ten numeral that survived into the modern language, where it is still found in the compounds *miso-ka* ‘the last day of the month’ and *oo-miso-ka* ‘the last day of the year.’

YOSWO ‘forty,’ like *pata* ‘twenty’ is attested in Western Old Japanese only indirectly in the borrowed *kun-yomi* writing when the kun-yomi *yøswo* of the character 廾卄 ‘forty’ is used to write the word *yøsø* ‘other place.’ There is certainly a problem that these two words are only nearly-homophonous, since *yøswo* ‘forty’ has a *kô-rui* vowel /wo/ in the second syllable, while *yøsø* ‘other place’ has an *otsu-rui* vowel /ø/, but for the time being I prefer to follow the traditional explanation of the poem in question, since there seems to be no better solution.

築羽根矣廾卄耳見乍
TUKUPA-NE-WO **yøs[w]ø** NØMIY MYI-NANKARA
Tukupa-peak-ACC **other place** only look(INF)-COOR
looking at the Tukuba peak only [from] the **other place** (MYS III: 383)

ISWO ‘fifty’ is not attested in Western Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). The first phonetic attestation is only Middle Japanese one, found in the preface to the Heian period poetic anthology *Goshûi wakashû*, compiled in 1087 CE:

たへなるうたももちあまりいそちかきいだして
tafe nar-u uta momo-ti amar-i **iso-ti**-wo182 kak-i-idas-ite
excellent be-ATTR song hundred-CL exceed-INF **fifty-CL**-ACC write-INF-exit-SUB
[he] recorded one hundred and **fifty** excellent poems, and... (GSWKS PREF: 8.10)

MUSWO ‘sixty’ is not attested in Western Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

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182 The modern commentators transcribe this numeral as iso-di *(Kubota & Hirata 1994: 8), but the choice for* -di *rather than* -ti *is not quite clear.*

NANASWO ‘seventy’ is not attested in Western Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). The first phonetic attestation is only Middle Japanese one, found in the *Tosa nikki* (935 CE):

ななそちやそちはうみにあるものなりけり
nanaso-ti yaswo-ti fa umi-ni ar-u mono nar-iker-i
seventy-CL eighty-CL TOP sea-LOC exist-ATTR thing be-PRET-FIN
Being at sea makes [you] look like **seventy** [or] eighty [years old] (TN 43.15)

YASWO ‘eighty’ is attested three times in Western Old Japanese and twice in Eastern Old Japanese. This better rate of attestation compared to the other tens is probably connected to the sacral importance attached to the number ‘eighty.’

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等曾太礼留比止
myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ø katati **yaswo** kusa tø søNtar-er-u pyitø
thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark **eighty** type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person
a person, who is complete with thirty-two marks and **eighty** [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

海原乎夜蘇之麻我久里伎奴礼杼母
UNA-N-PARA-wo **yaswo** sima-N-kakur-i k-yi-n-ure-Ntømø
sea-GEN-field-ACC **eighty** island-LOC-hide-INF come-INF-PERF-EV-CONC
Although [I] came across the sea hiding [between] **eighty** (**many?**) islands... (MYS XV: 3613)

夜蘇登毛乃乎波宇加波多知家里
yaswo tømwo n-ø wo pa u kapa tat-i-kyer-i

eighty companion DV-ATTR man TOP cormorant river stand-INF-PRET-FIN
eighty male companions [of mine] were cormorant fishing at the river (MYS XVII: 4023)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The cardinal numeral *yaswo* 'eighty' is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

夜蘇久爾波那爾波爾都度比
yaswo kuni pa nanipa-ni tuNtwop-yi
eighty province TOP Nanipa-LOC gather-INF
Eighty provinces gather at Naniwa, and... (MYS XX: 4329)

夜蘇志麻須義弓
yaswo sima suNkiy-te
eighty island pass(INF)-SUB
[I] passed **eighty** islands, and... (MYS XX: 4349)

KØKØNØSWO 'ninety' is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

4.3.1.13 HUNDREDS

All hundreds in Western Old Japanese with the exception of *mwomwo* 'hundred' are build on the pattern: corresponding digit number + *-pwo*183 'hundred.' Only *mwomwo* 'hundred,' *ipwo* 'five hundred,' and *yapwo* 'eight hundred' are actually attested in phonetic spelling in Western Old

183 The form -pwo *with the* kô-rui *vowel [wo] can be deduced on the basis of the KK spelling* 本.

Japanese texts; those that are not attested are marked in the following list by an asterisk. Nevertheless, we can tentatively reconstruct the missing hundreds on the basis of the fact that the attested hundreds follow the structural pattern mentioned above, as well as on the basis of poetic meter.

mwomwo	100
*putapwo	200
*myipwo	300
*yøpwo	400
ipwo	500
*mupwo	600
*nanapwo	700
yapwo	800
*køkønøpwo	900

The form *ipwo* ‘five hundred’ is irregular (instead of the expected *itu-pwo). Possibly, a truncation occurred here. The hundreds can be followed by the general classifiers *-tu*, the one that follows units, or *-ti*, the one that follows tens, e.g. *ipo-tu*, *ipo-ti* ‘five hundred-CL.’ The second element *-pwo* ‘hundred’ in the hundreds has an unclear origin. Connecting it etymologically with WOJ *mwomwo* ‘hundred’ seems to be impossible: there is no internal correspondence *p : m* in Western Old Japanese. In addition, there are no traces of *-pwo* in Ryukyuan. That suggests that the origin of *-pwo* ‘hundred’ in Western Old Japanese may be later than the split between Japanese and Ryukyuan.

MWOMWO ‘hundred’ is well attested in Western Old Japanese:

毛毛知陀流夜迩波母美由

mwomwo-ti-N-tar-u ya nipa mø myi-y-u
hundred-thousand-GEN-be enough-ATTR house garden PT see-PASS-FIN
[I] can see flourishing (lit.: plentiful with **hundreds** and thousands) houses and gardens (KK 41)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流
op-yi-k-uru mønø pa **mwomwo** kusa n-i semey-yør-i-k-yi-tar-u
pursue-INF-come-ATTR thing TOP **hundred** kind DV-INF assault(INF)-approach-INF-come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR
the things that pursue [us], come assaulting [us] in **hundred** varieties (MYS V: 804)

毛毛等利能己恵能古保志枳波流岐多流良斯
mwomwo tøri-nø køwe-nø køposi-kyi paru k-yi-tar-urasi
hundred bird-GEN voice-GEN be missing-ATTR spring come-INF-PERF/PROG-SUP
It looks like that the spring [with] voices of **hundred** birds, that [I] missed, [finally] has come (MYS V: 834)

毛毛可斯母由加奴麻都良遅
mwomwo-ka si mø yuk-an-u matu[u]ra-N-ti
hundred-CL PT PT go-NEG-ATTR Matuura-GEN-way
[on] the way to Matuura, [one] does not go one **hundred days** (MYS V: 870)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The cardinal numeral *mwom[w]o* ‘hundred’ is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese in one example:

毛母久麻能美知波紀爾志乎
mwomø kuma-nø myiti pa k-iy-n-i-si-wo

hundred corner-GEN road TOP come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC
although [I] came along the road with a **hundred** corners (MYS XX: 4349)

A2: Ryukyuan

The Ryukyuan cardinal number *mumu* 'hundred,' seems to be attested only in Old Ryukyuan as *momo* and in the Shuri written language as *mumu* (RKJ 1983: 390a). Thus, it apparently represents a loan from Middle Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

かみのふねももおうね下のふね
kami-no fune **momo** o-une SITA-no fune
top-GEN boat **hundred** HON-boat bottom-GEN boat
top boats, **hundred** boats, lower boats (OS XIII: 813)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Starostin (1991: 78) suggested comparing WOJ *mwomwo* 'hundred' and Tungusic *ñamaa 'id.' Even if one accepts Starostin's theory of WOJ *m-* reflecting PA *ñ-, two significant problems remain. The first is the one most frequently found in Starostin's version of 'Altaic' — the problem of regular phonetic correspondences: the WOJ word apparently has a *kô-rui* /wo/. Even if this /wo/ reflects not *a[C]u or *u[C]a, but the primary PJ *o, the problem of a regularity in vocalic phonetic correspondences will remain: primary PJ *o does not correspond to Tungusic *a. The second one is distributional: Tungusic *ñamaa 'hundred' is limited to Northern Tungusic, and, therefore, could be a local innovation.

PUTAPWO ‘two hundred’ is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

MYIPWO ‘three hundred’ is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

YØPWO ‘four hundred’ is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

IPWO ‘five hundred’ is attested in Western Old Japanese in three examples. There are no attestations in Eastern Old Japanese.

伊制能奴能娑柯曳鳴伊褒
ise-nø nwo-nø saka-ye-wo **ipo**
Ise-GEN field-GEN flourishing-branch-ACC **five hundred**
five hundred branches of flourishing [trees] on the Ise plain (NK 78)

安波妣多麻伊保知毛我母
apaNpyi tama **ipo-ti** mwoNkamø
abalone pearl **five hundred-CL** PT
[I] wish [to have] **five hundred** abalone pearls (MYS XVIII: 4101)

思良多麻能伊保都追度比乎手爾牟須妣
sira tama-nø **ipo-tu** tuNtwop-yi-wo TE-ni musuNp-yi
white pearl-GEN **five hundred-CL** collect-NML-ACC hand-LOC tie-INF

to bind a set of **five hundred** white pearls to [your] arms
(MYS XVIII: 4105)

MUPWO ‘six hundred’ is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

NANAPWO ‘seven hundred’ is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

YAPWO ‘eight hundred’ is attested once in Western Old Japanese. There are no attestations in Eastern Old Japanese.

夜本爾余志伊岐豆岐能美夜
yapwo ni yø-si i-kyiNtuk-yi n-ø myiya
eight hundred ground good-FIN PREF-build-INF DV-ATTR palace
a palace build on an **eight hundred** [times] good soil (KK 100)

KØKØNØPWO ‘nine hundred’ is not attested in Old Japanese texts (neither phonetically, nor in character writing). There seems to be no phonetic attestations in Heian period texts, either.

4.3.1.14 HIGHER NUMERALS

Only two higher cardinal numerals are attested in Western Old Japanese texts, *ti* ‘thousand’ and *yørøNtu* ‘ten thousand.’

TI ‘thousand’ is well attested in Western Old Japanese:

夜知富許能迦微能美許登
ya-**ti** pøkø n-ø kamiy-nø myi-køtø
eight-**thousand** spear DV-ATTR deity-GEN HON-deity

the deity Yatipoko (lit.: Eight **thousand** spears) (KK 2)

毛毛知陀流夜迩波母美由
mwomwo-**ti**-N-tar-u ya nipa mø myi-y-u
hundred-**thousand**-GEN-be enough-ATTR house garden PT see-PASS-FIN
[I] can see flourishing (lit.: plentiful with hundreds and **thousands**) houses and gardens (KK 41)

知余珥茂訶勾志茂餓茂
ti yø-ni mo ka-ku si moNkamo
thousand year-LOC PT thus-INF PT PT
[I wish that my sovereign] will be [like] that in **a thousand** years, too (NK 102)

志良久毛能知弊仁辺多天留都久紫能君仁波
sira kumwo-nø **ti-pye**-ni pyeNtat-er-u tukusi-nø kuni pa
white cloud-GEN **thousand-CL**-LOC be separated-PROG-ATTR Tukusi-GEN land TOP
land of Tukushi, which is separated [from me] by **a thousand** white clouds (MYS V: 866)

伎美乎見麻久波知登世爾母我母
kyimyi-wo MYI-m-aku pa **ti** tøse n-i møNkamø
lord-ACC see-TENT-NML TOP **thousand** year DV-INF PT
[I] would like to see [my] lord for **a thousand** years (MYS XX: 4304)

伊爾志加多知与乃都美佐閇保呂夫止曾伊布
in-i-si kata **ti** yø-nø tumyi sapey porøNp-u tø sø ip-u
go-INF-PAST/ATTR side **thousand** life-GEN sin PT disappear-FIN DV PT say-ATTR
[they] say that even the sins of **one thousand** former lives will disappear (BS 17)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The cardinal numeral *ti* 'thousand' is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese in one example. This example is in quite unusual for Eastern Japanese texts logographic writing, but the meter of the poem as well as a parallel phrase *ti tose* 'thousand years' attested phonetically in Western Old Japanese (see MYS XX: 4304 above) allow us to calculate with a great degree of certainty that the reading of the character 千 'thousand' is likely to be /ti/:

安比見弖波千等世夜伊奴流
apyi-MYI-te pa **TI** tøse ya in-uru
REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP **thousand** year PT go-ATTR
since [we] have seen each other, did **one thousand** years pass? (MYS XIV: 3470)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cardinal numeral *ti* 'thousand' is attested only in Old Ryukyuan and exclusively in the combination *ya-ti-yo/ya-di-yo/ya-ti-ya* 'eternally,' 'for ever' (lit.: 'eight thousand generations/years'). Such a limited distribution makes it a probable loan from mainland Japanese.

やちよかけて
ya-ti-yo kake-te
eight-thousand-year hang(INF)-SUB
being mindful for ever (lit.: **eight thousand years**) (OS III: 147)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no apparent external etymologies for OJ *ti* ‘thousand'.

YØRØNTU ‘ten thousand’ is well attested in Western Old Japanese:

予呂豆余珥訶勾志茂餓茂
yørøNtu yø-ni ka-ku si moNkamo
ten thousand year-LOC thus-INF PT PT
[I wish that my sovereign] will be [like] that in **ten thousand** years (NK 102)

余呂豆余爾伊麻志多麻比提
yørøNtu yø-ni imas-i-tamap-yi-te
ten thousand year-LOC exist(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB
[may you] live for **ten thousand** years (MYS V: 879)

餘呂豆代爾可多理都具倍久
yørøNtu YO-ni katar-i-tuNk-uNpey-ku
ten thousand year-LOC talk-INF-continue-DEB-INF
[it] would be talking for **ten thousand** years (MYS XVII: 3914)

己乃美阿止夜与呂豆比賀利乎波奈知伊太志
kønø myi-atø **ya-yørøNtu** pyikari-wo panat-i-iNtas-i
this HON-footstep **eight-ten thousand** light-ACC emit-INF-exit-INF
This footstep [of the Buddha] emits **eighty thousand** lights (BS 4)

爾詩乃美夜古波与呂豆与乃美夜
nisi-nø myiyakwo pa **yørøNtu** yø-nø myiya
west-GEN capital TOP **ten thousand** year-GEN palace
The Western Capital [is] the palace [for] **ten thousand** years (SNK 6)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The cardinal numeral *yørøNtu* ‘ten thousand’ is also attested in one example in Eastern Old Japanese:

与呂頭多妣可弊里見之都追
yørøNtu taNpyi kapyer-i-MYI s-i-tutu
ten thousand times return-INF-look(NML) do-INF-COOR
ten thousand times [I] look back (MYS XX: 4408)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cardinal numeral *yorodu* ‘ten thousand’ is attested only in Old Ryukyuan. Due to this limited attestation it is likely to be a borrowing from mainland Japanese.

よろづ物事
yorodu MUNU-GUTU
ten thousand thing-thing
ten thousand things (RK 1173)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

OJ *yørøNtu* ‘ten thousand’ has been frequently compared with MK *yèléh* ‘many.’ A correspondence of OJ *y-* to MK *y-* suggests a late loanword. The different suffixation in Old Japanese and Middle Korean suggests that it may be a loanword from some variety of Old Korean (Paekche?).

4.3.2 ORDINAL NUMERALS

The only ordinal numeral attested in Old Japanese texts is *patu* ‘first.’ The other ordinal numerals were probably formally indistinguishable from cardinals, like in Classical Japanese, where one can tell the difference on the basis of the

context alone. However, the cases like that are not attested in the Old Japanese texts: one can only speculate that they indeed existed in the colloquial.

波都迩波波陀阿可良気美
patu ni pa paNta aka-ra-key-myi
first clay TOP surface red-NML-COMP-GER
As for the **first** clay, [its] surface was red-like (KK 42)

相見婆登許波都波奈爾
APYI-MYI-RE-Npa tøkø **patu** pana n-i
REC-look-EV-CON eternal **first** flower DV-INF
when [we] looked at each other, it was always like eternal **first** flowers (MYS XVII: 3978)

波都波奈乎延太爾多乎理弖
patu pana-wo yeNta-ni ta-wor-i-te
first flower-ACC branch-LOC hand-break-INF-SUB
breaking off the **first** flowers from the branch (MYS XVIII: 4111)

波都由伎波知敞爾布里之家
patu yukyi pa ti-pye n-i pur-i-sik-ye
first snow TOP thousand-CL DV-INF fall-INF-cover-IMP
First snow, fall in a thousand layers! (MYS XX: 4475)

波都波流能家布敷流由伎
patu paru-nø kyepu pur-u yukyi
first spring-GEN today fall-ATTR snow
snow that is falling today, on the **first** spring [day] (MYS XX: 4516)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The ordinal numeral *patu* ‘first’ is also attested in one example in Eastern Old Japanese:

夜麻杼里乃乎呂能波都乎
yama-N-tøri-nø wo-rø-nø **patu** wo
mountain-GEN-bird-GEN tail-DIM-COMP **first** hemp
the **first** hemp [of the year] that is like the tail of a mountain bird (MYS XIV: 3468)

A2: Ryukyuan

The ordinal number *haçi/faci/pacii* ‘first’ is attested in the two best-described modern Ryukyuan dialects: Nakijin and Shuri, as well as in Old Ryukyuan. This makes one suppose that it probably exists in other dialects as well, at least in the Northern Ryukyus, and is simply not reflected in existing grammars and dictionaries of other dialects. Nakijin examples: *pacii tabi* ‘first trip,’ *pacii maaga* ‘first grandchild’ (Nakasone 1983: 393b). Shuri examples: *haçi ’aQcii* ‘first walk after the birth,’ *haçi mumu* ‘first willows/plum trees [in the year]’ (RKJ 1983: 198b).

Old Ryukyuan

はつにしがおしいぢへば
facu nisi-ga os-i-id-ife-ba
first northern wind-NOM push-INF-exit-EV-CON
when the **first** northern wind starts to blow (OS VII: 349)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no apparent internal or external etymologies for *patu* ‘first.’184 Some *kokugogaku* scholars want to derive it from *pyitø-tu* ‘one’ by ubiquitous ‘vowel alternation,’ but the accents are incongruent: while *patu* ‘first’ is high-register 2.1

184 But see footnote 142 on p. 349 for a possible etymology.

class, *pyitø-tu* is low-register 3.7b class (Martin 1987: 402, 411).

4.3.3. CLASSIFIERS

The system of classifiers in Old Japanese is much less developed than in the modern Japanese. Only the six following classifiers are attested in the texts in the phonetic writing: *-tu* (classifier for objects used with digits and hundreds), *-ti* (classifier for objects used with tens and hundreds, starting with *pata* 'twenty'185), *-ri* (classifier for persons), *-møtø* (classifier for grassy plants), *-pye* (classifier for layers and folds), and *-ka* (classifier for days). Two more are possible: *-pasira* (classifier for deities) and *-taNpyi* (classifier for times), but none of these appear in phonetic script, and they are therefore excluded from the present description. The word *tøse* 'year' comes close to being a classifier, because it replaces a regular word *tøsi* 'year' when preceded by a numeral, but since it never loses its lexical meaning, I do not consider it a classifier.

4.3.3.1 CLASSIFIER *-TU*

The classifier *-tu* 'thing' is a general classifier for inanimate objects used with digits (even if these digits appear after tens, see BS 2 below), although there is one example defying this rule in MYS XVIII: 4105 (see below), where it is used after

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185 There is no form *pata-ti* 'twenty-CL' attested phonetically in Old Japanese texts, but the Middle Japanese form *fata-ti* appears in the phonetic writing in one of the earliest Classical Japanese texts *Ise monogatari*:
その山はここにたとへばひえの山を**はたち**ばかりかさねあげたらんほどして
sono yama fa koko-ni tatof-e-ba Fiye n-o yama-wo **fata-ti** bakari kasane-age-tar-an fodo s-ite
that mountain TOP here-LOC compare-EV-CON Hiei DV-ATTR mountain-ACC **twenty-CL** PT pile up(INF)-raise-PERF/PROG-TENT/ATTR degree do-SUB
*That mountain, when [one] compares [it] with [mountains] here, is as high as Mt. Hiei, piled up about **twenty** [times]... (IM IX:117.14).*

the numeral *ipwo-* ‘five hundred.’ Probably a more exact definition of this classifier would be as a classifier for non-humans and non-deities, since it appears in one example from the *Bussoku seki no uta* as a classifier for snakes and demons (see BS 19 below).

袁都能佐岐那流比登都麻都比登都麻都阿勢袁
wotu-nø sakyi-n-ar-u **pyitø-tu** matu **pyitø-tu** matu a se wo
Wotu-GEN cape-LOC-exist-ATTR **one-CL** pine **one-CL** pine I beloved PT
a lone (lit.: **one**) pine that stands at the cape of Wotu. Oh, lone (lit.: **one**) pine, my beloved! (KK 29)

美都具理能曾能那迦都迩
myi-tu-N-kuri-nø sønø naka-tu ni
three-CL-DV(ATTR)-chestnut-COMP that middle-GEN/LOC clay
that clay from the middle that is like **three** chestnuts (KK 42)

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等曾太礼留比止
myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ø katati yaswo kusa tø søNtar-er-u pyitø
thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person
a person, who is complete with **thirty-two** marks and eighty [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

与都乃閇美伊都都乃毛乃乃阿都麻礼流伎多奈伎微乎婆
yø-tu n-ø peymyi **itu-tu** n-ø monø-nø atumar-er-u kyitana-kyi miy-woNpa
four-CL DV-ATTR snake **five-CL** DV-ATTR thing-GEN gather-PROG-ATTR dirty-ATTR body-ACC(EMPH)
the dirty body which accumulates **four** snakes and **five** demons (lit.: things) (BS 19)

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負図亀一頭献止奏賜不爾
PUDIPARA-NØ ASWOMYI MARØ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-YER-U KAMEY-WO **PYITØ-TU** TATEMATUR-AKU tø MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni...
Pudipara-GEN retainer Maro-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC **one-CL** offer-NML DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC
[They] said that the retainer Fujiwara Maro and others had offered a (lit.: **one**) tortoise bearing writing [on its back]...(SM 6)

麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯乎
ma-tama-nasu **puta-tu** n-ø isi-wo
INT-jewel-COMP **two-CL** DV-ATTR stone-ACC
two stones like real jewels (MYS V: 813)

夜都代爾母安礼波和須礼自許乃多知婆奈乎
ya-tu YØ-ni mø are pa wasure-Nsi kønø tatiNpana-wo
eight-CL year-LOC PT I TOP forget-NEG/TENT this tatiNpana-ACC
I will not forget these *tatibana* flowers even in **eight** (**many?**) years (MYS XVIII: 4058)

思良多麻能伊保都追度比乎手爾牟須妣
sira tama-nø **ipo-tu** tuNtwop-yi-wo TE-ni musuNp-yi
white pearl-GEN **five hundred-CL** collect-NML-ACC hand-LOC tie-INF
to bind a set of **five hundred** white pearls to [your] arms (MYS XVIII: 4105)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The classifier *-tu* ‘thing’ is attested only once in Eastern Old Japanese:

奴麻布多都可欲波等里賀栖安我己許呂布多由久奈母
numa **puta-tu** kaywop-a tøri-Nka su a-Nka køkørø puta yuk-unam-ø
marsh **two-CL** go over-ATTR bird-POSS nest I-POSS heart two go-TENT2-ATTR
Should my heart go [to] two [different places like] nests of birds that go over **two** marshes? (MYS XIV: 3526)

A2: Ryukyuan

The classifier *-çi/-ci* ‘thing,’ a cognate of OJ *-tu*, is well attested in various modern Ryukyuan dialects and in Old Ryukyuan. The numeral digit stem with this classifier appears to be more bound than the corresponding stem in the Old Japanese. See 4.3.1 for more details and more examples.

Old Ryukyuan

月やひとつ
TSUCHI ya **fito-tu**
moon TOP **one-CL**
[there is only] **one** moon (RK 485)

Shuri

sjuutee **tii-çi** nay-uN
household **one-CL** become-FIN
[Members of] the household represent **one unit** (RKJ 1983: 517b)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no apparent external etymologies for the classifier -*tu* ‘thing.’

4.3.3.2 CLASSIFIER -*TI*

The classifier -*ti* ‘thing’ is a general classifier for inanimate objects used with tens and hundreds. Only two examples are attested in Old Japanese texts in phonetic writing. Probably a more exact definition of this classifier would be as a classifier for non-humans and non-deities, as in one of the examples below it is used with the word *apaNpyi* ‘abalone.’

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等曾太礼留比止
myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ø katati yaswo kusa tø søNtar-er-u pyitø
thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be complete-PROG-ATTR person
a person, who is complete with **thirty**-two marks and eighty [lesser sign] types (BS 2)

安波妣多麻伊保知毛我母
apaNpyi tama **ipo-ti** mwoNkamø
abalone pearl **five hundred-CL** PT
[I] wish [to have] **five hundred** abalone pearls (MYS XVIII: 4101)

COMPARATIVE DATA

The classifier -*ti* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan. There are also no apparent external parallels.

4.3.3.3 CLASSIFIER -*RI*

The classifier -*ri* ‘person’ occurs in phonetic script in Old Japanese texts only in combination with the preceding numerals *pitø* ‘one’ and *puta* ‘two,’ like in the modern

language. Later glosses on logographically written combinations that indicate also *mi-tari* ‘three people,’ *yon-dari* ‘four people,’ and *iku-tari* ‘how many people’ (Ôno 1990: 830c), would suggest that *-ri* is a truncation of *-tari*, but these glosses’ authenticity is very doubtful. It is quite possible that these glosses are the later creations inspired by the incorrectly analyzed forms *pyitøri* ‘one person’ and *putari* ‘two persons.’ In the absence of the contrary evidence, it is safer to rely on actual phonetic attestations in Old Japanese texts. It is also significant that just the evidence for *-ri,* and not for *-tari* is collaborated by both Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan.

袁夜迩須賀多多美伊夜佐夜斯岐弖和賀布多理泥斯
wo-ya-ni suNka-tatamyi iya-saya sik-yi-te wa-Nka **puta-ri** ne-si
DIM-house-LOC sedge-mat more(?)-rustling spread-INF-SUB we-POSS **two-CL** sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR
in the little hut, spreading very rustling sedge mats, **two** of us slept (KK 19)

夜多能比登母登須宜波比登理袁理登母意富岐弥斯與斯登岐許佐婆比登理袁理登母
yata-nø pyitø-møtø suNkey pa **pyitø-ri** wor-i tømø opø kyimyi si yø-si tø kyik-øs-aNpa **pyitø-ri** wor-i tømø
Yata-GEN one-CL sedge TOP **one-CL** exist-FIN CONJ great lord PT be good-FIN DV say-HON-COND **one-CL** exist-FIN CONJ
Even if one sedge from Yata is **alone**, if the great lord says [it] is fine, even if [she] is **alone** (KK 65)

烏梅能波奈比等利美都都
uMEY-nø pana **pyitø-ri** myi-tutu
plum-GEN flower **one-CL** see(INF)-COOR
looking **alone** at the plum blossoms (MYS V: 818)

COMPARATIVE DATA:

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The classifier *-ri* 'person' is attested in one example in Eastern Old Japanese:

児良波安波奈毛比等理能未思弖
KWO-ra pa ap-an-am-wo **pyitø-ri** nømiy s-i-te
girl-DAT TOP meet-DES-TENT-ATTR **one-CL** PT do-INF-SUB
being absolutely **alone**, [I] wish to meet [this] girl (MYS XIV: 3405)

A2: Ryukyuan

The classifier *-ri* is also attested in Old Ryukyuan and its regular reflex *-i* in modern Shuri dialect, e.g. *cu-i* 'one person' < *pitø-ri* (Shuri written language still has *hwicu-i* 'one person,' with preservation of the first syllable).

Old Ryukyuan

ただひとり
tada **fito-ri**
just **one-CL**
just **one person** (OS XIV: 997)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no apparent external parallels for the classifier *-ri* 'person.' Since it begins with the /r/, which is unusual even for morpheme-initial position in Old Japanese, I think that it probably has a perfect internal etymology, being a truncation of *ar-i* 'being' (lit.: exist-NML), due to the fact that it appears only after stems *pyitø* 'one' and *puta* 'two,' ending in a non-high vowel.

4.3.3.4 CLASSIFIER *-MØTØ*

The classifier *-møtø* 'root' is used for grassy plants. It is well attested in Western Old Japanese.

夜麻登能比登母登須須岐
yamatø-nø **pyitø-møtø** susukyi
Yamato-GEN **one-CL** silver grass
one silver grass in Yamato (KK 4)

阿波布爾波賀美良比登母登
apa-pu-ni pa ka-myira **pyitø-møtø**
millet-tussock-LOC TOP smell-leek **one-CL**
one smelly leek in the millet tussock (KK 11)

夜多能比登母登須宜波古母多受
yata-nø **pyitø-møtø** suNkey pa kwo møt-aNs-u
Yata-GEN **one-CL** sedge TOP child hold-NEG-FIN
One sedge from Yata does not have children (KK 64)

比登母等能奈泥之故宇恵之
pyitø-møtø n-ø naNtesikwo uwe-si
one-CL DV-ATTR pink plant(INF)-PAST/ATTR
[I] planted **one** pink (MYS XVIII: 4070)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The classifier *-møtø* 'root' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan, although there is certainly the word *mu[u]tu* 'root,' 'base' in Okinawan. However, it is likely to be a Japanese loan, as there are no attestations in the Southern Ryukyuan dialects.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no apparent external etymologies of *-møtø* as a classifier for grassy plants, although the word *møtø* 'root' itself may have a possible Korean parallel: MK *mìth* 'base,' 'bottom.' Nevertheless, the correspondence of OJ /ø/ to MK /i/ in the first syllable represents a considerable problem.

4.3.3.5 CLASSIFIER *-PYE*

The classifier *-pye* 'layer,' 'fold' is well attested in Western Old Japanese. It is used to count fences, garments, cords, and clouds.

伊豆毛夜弊賀岐都麻碁微爾夜弊賀岐都久流
INtumwo **ya-pye**-N-kakyi tuma-N-kømiy-ni **ya-pye**-N-kakyi tukur-u
Izumo **eight-CL**-DV(ATTR)-fence spouse-GEN-be secluded(NML)-LOC **eight-CL**-DV(ATTR)-fence make-FIN
[I] am making **eight-folded** fence for [my] spouse to seclude herself, **eight-folded** fence in Izumo (KK 1)

虚呂望虚曾赴多幣茂予耆
kørømø køsø **puta-pye** mo yø-kyi
garment PT **two-CL** PT good-ATTR
[It] is good [to wear] **two layers** of garments (NK 47)

虚呂望赴多幣枳低
kørømo **puta-pye** kyi-te
garment **two-CL** wear(INF)-SUB
wearing **two layers** of garments (NK 49)

飫瀰能古簸多倍能波伽摩鳴那那陛鳴糸
omyi-nø kwo pa tapey-nø pakama-wo **nana-pye** wos-i
noble-GEN child TOP mulberry cloth-GEN pants-ACC **seven-CL** wear(HON)-INF

The son of a noble wears **seven layers** of mulberry cloth pants, and... (NK 74)

於弥能古能野陛能比母騰倶
omyi-nø kwo-nø **ya-pye** n-ø pyimø tøk-u
noble-GEN son-GEN **eight-CL** DV-ATTR cord untie-FIN
The sons of nobles were going to untie **eight** cords (NK 127)

志良久毛能知弊仁辺多天留都久紫能君仁波
sira kumwo-nø **ti-pye**-ni pyeNtat-er-u tukusi-nø kuni pa
white cloud-GEN **thousand-CL**-LOC be separated-PROG-ATTR Tukusi-GEN land TOP
land of Tukushi, which is separated [from me] by **thousand** white clouds (MYS V: 866)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The classifier *-pye* 'layer' is attested once in Eastern Old Japanese:

志毛用爾奈奈弁加流去呂毛
simwo ywo-ni **nana-pye** k-ar-u kørømwo
frost night-LOC **seven-CL** wear-PROG-ATTR garment
in the frosty night [I] wear **seven layers** of garments (MYS XX: 4431)

A2: Ryukyuan
The classifier *-pye* 'layer' is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS
There are no apparent external etymologies of *-pye* as a classifier, although the word *pye* 'layer' itself has a reliable Korean parallel: Early Modern Korean *pel* 'set [of clothes].'

Its absence in Ryukyuan suggests that OJ *pye* is a loan from Korean.

4.3.3.6 CLASSIFIER *-KA*

The classifier *-ka* 'day' occurs in Western Old Japanese in phonetic writing in a few examples. It is used starting from the numeral 'two.' 'One day' is *pyitø-pyi* 'one day,' without any classifiers used. Unfortunately, most of the numbers occurring with the classifier *-ka* are not attested in phonetic writing in Old Japanese texts (the phonetically attested ones are only *putu-ka* 'two days,' *nanu-ka* 'seven days,' *tøwo-ka* 'ten days,' and *mwomwo-ka* 'hundred days'). The majority of them probably were irregular as they are in the language of later periods, including modern Japanese, but we simply cannot tell due to the absence of their attestation in the phonetic writing. The best thing we can do is to reconstruct their phonetic values relying on the data from Middle and Early Modern Japanese, and in the case of *yau-ka 'eight days' even from modern Japanese. The reconstructed entries are marked with an asterisk (*) in the chart below:

Chart 19: Combinations of numerals with classifier *-ka* 'day'

	OJ	**MJ and EMJ**	**Modern Japanese**
1 day	pyitø-pyi	MJ fito-fi	(iti-n[i]ti)
2 days	**putu-ka**	MJ futu-ka	futu-ka
3 days	*myi-ka	MJ mi-ka	mik-ka
4 days	*yø-ka	EMJ yo-ka	yok-ka
5 days	*itu-ka	EMJ itu-ka	itu-ka
6 days	***mui-ka**	EMJ mui-ka	mui-ka
7 days	**nanu-ka**	MJ nanu-ka	nano-ka/nanu-ka
8 days	***yau-ka**	?	yoo-ka

9 days	***køkønu-ka**	MJ kokonu-ka	kokono-ka
10 days	tøwo-ka	MJ towo-ka	too-ka
20 days	***patu-ka**	MJ fatu-ka	hatuka
100 days	mwomwo-ka	MJ momo-ka	(hyaku-niti)

OJ forms in bold are irregular. Loans from Chinese are included in parentheses.

Examples:

迦賀那倍弖用迩波許許能用比迩波登袁加袁
ka-Nka naNpey-te ywo n-i pa køkønø ywo pyi n-i pa **tøwo-ka**-wo
day-day put side by side(INF)-SUB night DV-INF TOP nine night day DV-INF TOP **ten-CL**-ACC
counting all the days, [it] is nine nights and **ten** days (KK 26)

毛毛可斯母由加奴麻都良遅
mwomwo-ka si mø yuk-an-u matu[u]ra-N-ti
hundred-CL PT PT go-NEG-ATTR Matuura-GEN-way
[on] the way to Matuura, [one] does not go one **hundred days** (MYS V: 870)

比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弖於毛倍也
pyitø-pyi mø imwo-wo wasure-te omwop-ey ya
one-day PT beloved-ACC forget(INF)-SUB think-EV PT
would [I] forget [my] beloved even for **one day**? (MYS XV: 3604)

知加久安良婆伊麻布都可太未等保久安良婆奈奴可
tika-ku ar-aNpa ima **putu-ka** Ntamiy tøpo-ku ar-aNpa **nanu-ka**
close-INF exist-COND now **two-CL** ? far-INF exist-COND **seven-CL**

if it is soon, [from] now only (?) **two days**; if it is long, **seven days** (MYS XVII: 4011)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
The classifier *ka* 'day' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The classifier -*ka* 'day' is attested in Old Ryukyuan as well as in the modern Shuri and Nakijin dialects. This distribution makes it possible that this classifier is present in other Ryukyuan dialects as well, at least in the Northern Ryukyus, but is not reflected in descriptions or dictionaries. Nevertheless, the possibility of borrowing is also quite strong, and will remain a likelier explanation unless some attestations of -*ka* are found in the Southern Ryukyus. Similar to Western Old Japanese, the classifier -*ka* is used only starting from 'number two.' 'One day' is *hwiQcii* in Shuri and *phiQcui* in Nakijin, both being regular correspondences to OJ *pyitø-pyi*.

In Shuri the native numbering of days is preserved only for numerals 1-4, 10, and 20. The combinations for days 5-9 are replaced by Chinese loanwords. The situation is more complicated in Nakijin, where the native count is attested for numerals 1-4, 7, 10, and 20. However, these are the only combinations recorded in Nakosone Seizen's 1983 Nakijin dictionary. It remains unclear whether the combinations for 5-6 and 8-9 were simply not recorded or are replaced by Chinese loans like in Shuri. In Old Ryukyuan only the combinations for 'two days,' 'three days,' 'four days,' 'seven days,' 'ten days,' and 'twenty days' are attested. The following chart represents a combined evidence from Old Ryukyuan, Shuri, and Nakijin:

Chart 20: Combinations of numerals with the classifier *-ka* 'day' in Ryukyuan

	OR	**Shuri**	**Nakijin**
1 day	—	fiQcii	phiQcui
2 days	fucika	huçika	puciika
3 days	mika	mica/miQca/mika	mikha
4 days	yoka	'yuQka	yuQkha
5 days	—	(gunici)	?
6 days	—	(dukunici/rukunici)	?
7 days	nanuka	(sicinici)	nankhaa
8 days	—	(hacinici)	?
9 days	—	(kunici)	?
10 days	tooka	tuka	tuhwaa
20 days	facika	haçika	paciikhaa

Chinese loanwords are in parentheses.

Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

月よかたてば
CIKI **yo-ka** tat-e-ba
moon **four-CL** rise-EV-CON
when the moon rises on the **fourth day** (OS XIV: 1032)

Shuri

hwiiQcii ya kuutuguutu nukubaay-uN
one-day TOP every get warm-FIN
Every **(single) day** it gets warmer (RKJ 1983: 237b)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Before attempting any external comparisons, it is important to reconstruct the proto-Japonic archetype of the classifier *-ka* 'day.' Although it is routinely believed to be just *-ka* in the Japanese grammatical tradition (Omodaka 1967: 170c), (Ôno 1990: 266c), it remains unclear why a simple /ka/ form would cause considerable irregularities in combinations with preceding numeral roots. Let us review the irregular forms vs. corresponding numeral roots:

Chart 21: Numeral roots and irregular forms for the count of days

numeral	**number of days**
puta- '2'	putu-ka
mu- '6'	mui-ka
nana '7'	nanu-ka
ya- '8'	yau-ka
køkønø- '9'	køkønu-ka
pata- '20'	patu-ka

In all these cases except *mui-ka* 'six days' we see a ubiquitous /u/ added to the stem of a numeral, which replaces either a final original low central vowel /a/ or a final original mid-central vowel /ø/ in the numerical stem. The exception *mui-ka* which exhibits not /u/, but /i/ is not attested in the phonetic writing until the sixteenth century. No other combination of these numeral roots with other classifiers or nouns provides evidence for an /u/ inherent to any of these numeral roots. Under these circumstances it is logical to surmise that this /u/ really belongs to a classifier rather than to a numeral root. The following chart presents this reanalysis together with a reconstruction of the archetypes for the number of days:

Chart 22: Archetypes for the count of days

number of days	**archetype**
put-uka ‘3 days’	*puta-uka
mu-ika ‘6 days’	*mu-ika
nan-uka ‘7 days’	*nana-uka
ya-uka ‘8 days’	*ya-uka
køkøn-uka ‘9 days’	*køkønø-uka
pat-uka ‘20 days’	*pata-uka

I suggest that the archetype of this classifier is really *-uka, not *-ka. The aberrant form *mu-ika*, attested only in Early Modern Japanese, probably represents a late and unique case of a progressive vowel dissimilation. The remaining ‘regular’ cases can be easily explained as cases where /u/ in *-uka is lost following not a final central but a final front or back vowel in a numeric root. The cases of *myi-ka* ‘three days’ < *mi-uka, *itu-ka* ‘five days’ < *itu-uka, and *mwomwo-ka* ‘hundred days’ < *mwomwo-uka are quite apparent: they all involve final front or back vowel in the numeral stem. Less clear are the cases of *yø-ka* ‘four days’ and *tøwo-ka* ‘ten days:’ both numeral stems *yø-* ‘four’ and *tøwo-* ‘ten’ end in a mid-central vowel /ø/.186 However, the process of *yø-uka > *y-uka ‘four days’ may be blocked due to the fact that OJ *yø-* ‘four’ is a monosyllabic morpheme: all other numeral morphemes undergoing the loss of a final vowel in the numerical root before the classifier *-uka are either di- or tri-syllabic (note that neither *ya-* ‘eight’ or *mu-* ‘six’ lose their final vowels, either). Under this additional condition the

186 Since OJ vowels /ø/ and /wo/ cannot combine within a single morpheme, the archetype of OJ tøwo *‘ten’ must be *tøwø, and not *tøwwo.*

outcome of *tøwø-uka should be *tøw-uka, but there is no syllable /wu/ in Old Japanese, and it is also highly questionable whether this syllable could be reconstructed for proto-Japonic. Therefore, it is likely that all or almost all pre-proto-Japonic *wu were lowered to *wo, which gives us then the following scenario of the development: *tøwø-uka > *tøw-uka > *tøw-oka, with a subsequent reanalysis as *tøwo-ka.

There is one possible counter-argument to the analysis presented above. It has long been suggested under the traditional analysis that the classifier *-ka* 'day' is related to the independent word *key* 'day' < *ka-[C]i well attested in Old Japanese. The problem is, however, that *-ka* is only used as a classifier, and never appears as a first element of compounds or in front of a genitive marker *-nø*, which typical for other words that show [-]Ca-/[-]Cey alternation as described in 4.1. This distribution with *-ka* only as a classifier and with *key* only as an independent word seems to be quite unique. Therefore, there is a formidable internal obstacle in relating both of them *directly*.

Both the classifier *-ka* 'day' and the independent word *key* 'day' have been compared to the MK word *hóy* 'sun.' In modern Korean the word *hay* < *hóy* also means 'daytime' besides 'sun,' and the meaning 'day' for proto-Korean could be also reconstructed from numerical complexes denoting the number of days in Middle Korean and modern Korean: MK *it-hul* 'two days,' *sa-Gol* < *sa-hol 'three days' (cf. modern Korean *sa-hul*), *na-Gol* < *na-hol 'four days' (cf. modern Korean *na-hul*), *yel-hul* 'ten days,' etc., with its phonetic archetype as *hol-i. As I recently tried to argue, MK /h/ represents a lenited form of *k, which is found in the complimentary distribution with MK /G/ (Vovin 2005). It is quite possible that initial MK *h-* represents these lenition

cases after the initial vowel was lost; thus PK *Vkol-i > MK *hóy* ‘sun,’ *-hol* ‘day’ (classifier). Therefore, it looks like PJ *-uka ‘day’ is an earlier loan from PK *Vkol ‘sun,’ ‘day,’ while the OJ independent noun *key* ‘day’ looks like a later loan from a Korean-type language which had a word *hoy ‘sun,’ ‘day,’ similar to MK *hóy* ‘sun.’187 There are no other reliable external parallels to PJ *-uka ‘day.’

4.3.4 MONTHS OF THE YEAR

The Old Japanese historical texts, such as the *Nihonshoki* and the *Shoku Nihongi*, widely use the Chinese system of notation for lunar months, representing the combination of the corresponding numeral with the character 月 ‘moon,’ ‘month:’ 一月 ‘first month,’ 二月 ‘second month,’ 三月 ‘third month,’ 四月 ‘fourth month,’ 五月 ‘fifth month,’ 六月 ‘sixth month,’ 七月 ‘seventh month,’ 八月 ‘eighth month,’ 九月 ‘ninth month,’ 十月 ‘tenth month,’ 十一月 ‘eleventh month,’ and 十二月 ‘twelfth month.’ These are, of course, logographic representations, and we have no means of knowing whether the actual readings of these combinations were already borrowed from Chinese, as in the later stages of the language, or they still were the native Japanese words for the months, represented with Chinese characters. Since the native names for the months of the year are still in use in the Classical Japanese language, the second possibility is quite strong, although it does not rule out completely the possibility of the parallel usage of both Chinese loanwords and native words denoting the months of the year.

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187 Both must be loans, because they are doublets with the native Old Japanese word pyi *‘day.’ I believe that the latter is native, because it has a broader distribution, while OJ* -uka *and* ka/key *have much more limited usage.*

The native Japanese names for the months are not based on numerals like Chinese and modern Japanese names for months, which were borrowed from Chinese. However, this is not surprising since neither Latin names for the months that are adopted in most European languages, nor the Slavic names for the months, still used in virtually all Slavic languages except Russian, are based on a numerical system. Only three native names of the months are attested in phonetic writing in Old Japanese: *mutukiy* 'first lunar month,' *satukiy* 'fifth lunar month,' and *sipasu* 'twelfth lunar month.' One more, *simwoTUKIY* 'eleventh lunar month' is attested in only partial phonetic spelling, with its *-tukiy* 'month' part spelled logographically as 月. However, the absent names of lunar months can be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of Middle Japanese evidence. This combined evidence is provided in the chart below along with the alternative character spellings that came into being during the Heian period, with reconstructed readings marked by an asterisk (*). Since these spellings are late, in most cases they probably reflect folk etymologies, but in some cases they might be following some ancient tradition.

Chart 23: Native names for lunar months in Old Japanese and Middle Japanese

	OJ	**MJ**	**Character spelling**
1st month	mutukiy	mutuki	睦月／正月
2nd month	*kisaraNki	kisaragi	如月
3rd month	*yayopi	yayofi	弥生
4th month	*uNtukiy	uduki	卯月
5th month	satukiy	satuki	五月

6th month	*myinaNtukiy	minaduki	水無月
7th month	*pumyitukiy	fuduki	文月
8th month	*pa[N]tukiy	faduki	葉月
9th month	*naNkatukiy	nagatuki	長月
10th month	*kamunaNtukiy	kamunaduki	神無月
11th month	simwoTUKIY	simotuki	霜月
12th month	sipasu	sifasu	師走

Examples:

武都紀多知波流能吉多良婆
mu-tukiy tat-i paru-nø k-yi-tar-aNpa
first lunar month rise-INF spring-GEN come-INF-PERF/PROG-COND
When the **first lunar month** begins, and the spring has come...(MYS V: 815)

保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇波佐夫之家牟可母
potøtøNkyisu nak-am-u **sa-tukiy** pa saNpusi-ky-em-u kamø
cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR **fifth lunar month** TOP lonely-PAST-TENT-FIN PT
[in] the **fifth lunar month** when the cuckoo will cry, [I] would be lonely! (MYS XVII: 3996)

乎美名古乃左衣八志毛月志波須乃加伊古本千
womyina-kwo-nø sae pa **simwo-TUKIY sipasu**-nø kai kwopwot-i
woman-DIM-GEN talent TOP **eleventh lunar month twelfth lunar month**-GEN fence break-INF

Breaking fences in the **eleventh [and] twelfth lunar months**
[is the] women's talent (KGU 68)

COMPARATIVE DATA:
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC
A1: Eastern Old Japanese
There are no phonetic attestations of lunar months names in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan
The native names for the lunar months are attested only in Old Ryukyuan, and not all of them. Only the following are extant, according to Hokama 1995: *mutuki* /muçici/ 'first lunar month,' *uduki* 'fourth lunar month,' *fuduki* 'seventh lunar month,' *faduki* 'eighth lunar month,' *nagatuki* /nagaçici/ 'ninth lunar month,' *simutuki* 'eleventh lunar month,' and *sifasu* 'twelfth lunar month.' Among those only *uduki, fuduki, faduki*, and *simotuki* occur in the oldest of Old Ryukyuan texts — the *Omoro sôshi*.188 Examples:

ふつきしめあらしにはつきしめあらしに
fuduki sime-arasi-ni **faduki** sime-arasi-ni
seventh lunar month storm-LOC **eighth lunar month** storm-LOC
during the storm in the **seventh lunar month**, during the storm in the **eight lunar month** (OS XIII: 961)

しも月たてよれば
simoTUKI-ga tat-e-yor-e-ba
eleventh lunar month-NOM rise-INF-exist-EV-CON
As the **eleventh lunar month** begins... (OS XIII: 817)

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188 It is believed that uduki *'fourth lunar month' in OS XIV: 1000 is a mistake for* mutuki*, because it occurs in the phrase:* uduki yuki fur-i-ni '*when it snows in the fourth lunar month,' which is, of course, nonsense.*

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

A quick glance over the native names for the lunar months reveals that they have heterogeneous origins. Most of these names end in
-tukiy 'month,' but three do not: *kisaraNki* 'second lunar month,' *yayopi* 'third lunar month,' and *sipasu* 'twelfth lunar month.' Some of the names ending in *-tukiy* seem to have transparent etymologies, although not necessarily in accordance with their alternative character spellings that appeared in the Heian period. Thus, *myinaNtukiy* is apparently the 'month of water' (*myina-n[ø]-tukiy*), since in this month water was brought to paddies, and not the 'month without water,' as the alternative character spelling 水無月 suggests. *KamunaNtukiy* is probably the 'month of deities' (kamu-na-n[ø] tukiy 'deity-PLUR-GEN month'), since in this month many important ancient rites involving offerings to deities were performed, and not the 'month without deities,' as the alternative character spelling 神無月 suggests. The names of *paNtukiy* 'leaf month,' *simwotukiy* 'frost month,' and possibly *naNkatukiy* 'long month' are likely to have the original meanings suggested by the character spelling. However, the etymologies of other months' names are not that obvious. Let me deal only with three of the remaining names here, because I suspect that they might have at least partial external connections.

Satukiy 'fifth month' is the only one among the native names for the lunar months that does not have an alternative character spelling: the only existing character spelling for it is the one based on the Chinese system: 五月 'fifth month.' It is, therefore, quite likely, that *sa-* in *satukiy* means just 'five,' which has been pointed out before (Gluskina 1979). But there is no word *sa 'five' in Japonic, so it probably represents a

foreign loanword. The likely source is some Central Asian language of the Altaic type, which is extinct, but which had a initial *s*- instead of *t*- in the numeral 'five:' *sa-.189 Thus, contrary to what has been said above regarding the fact that Old Japanese native names for months do not represent a numerical system like in Chinese, it may not be completely true — some native names for lunar months actually can represent vestiges of a system typologically close to Chinese.

Two other likely candidates for loanwords are *kisaraNki* 'second lunar month' and *mutukiy* 'first lunar month.' *Mu*- in *mutukiy* 'first lunar month' can be tentatively identified with Tungusic *emu 'one.' Since *kisaraNki* 'second lunar month' is not attested in phonetic writing in Old Japanese, it is impossible to know whether it has *kô-rui* /kyi/ or *otsu-rui* /kiy/. The hypothesis which I published several years ago treats this word as *kiy saran-ki 'second month-?,' being a possible loan from Mongolic, cf. Mongolian *qoyar* 'two' and *saran* 'moon,' 'month' (Vovin 1993). It is, of course, based on the assumption that at least the first /ki/ syllable in *kisaraNki* has an *otsu-rui* vowel /iy/ < *ø[C]i, *u[C]i. The last element -*ki* is left unexplained, but I believe that this might be at least a working etymology.

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189 There is some intimate variation between /t/ and /s/ in various Altaic languages, especially when it gets to 'fifty' vs. 'five.' Thus, MK has ta-sos *'five' but* swuyn *'fifty;' Written Mongolian has* ta-bun *'five' (Kidan* tau*), but Kidan word for 'fifty' probably had* s- *initial, as witnessed by Manchu* susai*, which likely to be a Kidan loan.*

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