

A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese

PART 2: ADJECTIVES, VERBS, ADVERBS,
CONJUNCTIONS, PARTICLES, POSTPOSITIONS

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Alexander Vovin



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A DESCRIPTIVE AND COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF WESTERN OLD JAPANESE

PART 2: Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs,
Conjunctions, Particles, Postpositions

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Adverbs, Conjunctions,
Particles, Postpositions



ALEXANDER VOVIN
University of Hawai'i



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PART 2: Adjectives, Verbs, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Particles, Postpositions

by Alexander Vovin

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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

CR	Classical Ryukyuan
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
OR	Old Ryukyuan
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 AD
GGJEG	Gangōji engi, 747 AD
GSWKS	Goshūi wakashū, 1087 AD
FK	Fudoki kayō, ca. 737 AD
JDB	Jidai betsu kokugo dai jiten (Omodaka 1967)
KGU	Kagura uta, 8-9 th centuries
KJK	Kojiki, 712 AD

KK	Kojiki kayō, 712 AD
MYS	Man'yōshū, ca. 759 AD
NK	Nihonshoki kayō, 720 AD
NR	Nihon ryōiki, early 9 th century
NS ¹	Nihonshoki, 720 AD
NSK ²	Nihonshoki, 720 AD
NT	Norito, 7-9 th centuries
OM	Ochikubo monogatari, 10 th century
OS	Omoro sōshi, 16-17 th centuries
RK	Ryūka, 17-19 th centuries
RKJ	Okinawa go jiten
SM	Senmyō, 7-8 th century
SNK	Shoku nihongi kayō
SSI	Shōsōin documents, 7-8 th centuries
TN	Tosa nikki, 935 CE
TS	Jōgū Shōtoku hōō teisetsu, 7 th century

Korean

KKK	Kumkang kyeng samka hay, 1482 AD
HK	Hyangka, 6-10 th c.
Nung	Nungem kyeng enhay, 1461 AD
PT	Pak thongsa, 1515 AD
SP	Sekpo sangcel, 1449 AD
YP	Yongpi ethyenka, 1447 AD
WS	Welin sekpo, 1459 AD

Manchu

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

¹ Cited according to Kuroita, Katsumi & Matuyama Jirō (ed.) 1965-66.

² Cited according to Sakamoto, Tarō; Ienaga Saburō, Inoue Mitsusada, Ōno Susumu (eds.) 1965-67.

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 AND LITERARY TERMS

ADJ	Adjectivizer
ADV	Adverbilizer
AFFIR	Affirmative
ASSER	Assertive
ATTR	Attributive
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COMP	Comparative
CON	Conjunctive gerund
CONC	Concessive gerund
COND	Conditional gerund
CONJ	Conjunction
CONJC	Conjectural
CONT	Continuative
COOP	Cooperative
COOR	Coordinative gerund
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DEB	Debitive
DES	Desiderative
DIR	Directive
DLF	Directive-locative focus
DV	Defective verb
EMPH	Emphatic
EV	Evidential
EXCL	Exclamation, Exclamative

FIN	Final verbal form
GEN	Genitive
GER	Gerund
HON	Honorific
HORT	Hortative
HUM	Humble
IF	Interrogative form
INF	Infinitive
INT	Intensive
INTL	Intentional
INTER	Interjection
LOC	Locative
MDL	Modulator
MK	Makura-kotoba (Pillow word)
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
RA	Reported action
REC	Reciprocal-cooperative
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 second part of the Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese. The first part covered the phonology, writing system, lexicon, and nominal parts of speech. The second part includes chapters on adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, particles, and postpositions, as well as comprehensive indexes for both volumes.

As already mentioned in the acknowledgements, several important technical developments happened between the publication of the first part and the completion of the second part. As a result, a number of modifications and expansions were introduced into the second part that need to be mentioned here.

First, with the availability of the *Man'yōshū* CD-ROM (Kinoshita 2001), a new index to the *Man'yōshū* (Kinoshita et al. 2003) which is far superior to an older index to the *Man'yōshū* (Masamune 1974), and Sven Osterkamp's *Man'yōshū Searcher* engine, there was no longer a necessity to treat some volumes of the *Man'yōshū* as major sources, and others as supplementary. In the second part all text of the *Man'yōshū* is treated as the major source. Still, when citing textual examples, I normally give preference to the phonetically or partially phonetically written volumes of the *Man'yōshū*: books V, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. The reader will notice that particularly in chapter six, dedicated to the description of the Western Old Japanese verb, the examples from book XV of the *Man'yōshū* are especially frequent. This is due to the fact that MYS XV, in spite of numerous phonetic misspellings found there, is probably the most important Western Old Japanese text as far as the grammatical system is concerned: many forms attested therein are not found anywhere else in the Western Old Japanese corpus. Also, I frequently opted to provide more examples from MYS XV because it is not dominated by one single poet like, for example, books XVII -- XX are clearly dominated by Opotōmō-nō Yakamōti.

Second, before I started to write the second part, I switched over from Macintosh to PC. This gave me access to the Mojikyō map

for Mojikyō fonts that was not available for Macintosh four years ago. Consequently, there was no longer the necessity to use substitute characters for the *man'yōgana* signs that were not easily accessible or altogether lacking in Macintosh. Thus, the second part reproduces Western Old Japanese in its original form, without any substitute characters. If a second edition of this book ever materializes, the appropriate corrections will be made to part one as well.

Third, I have introduced two minor changes into my transcriptional conventions. First, due to the same switch to PC, long vowels in modern Japanese are no longer written with an accent circumflex mark, but with a macron over the vowel (that was extremely difficult to type on the Macintosh). Thus, for example, in the second part the reader will see *Man'yōshū* and not *Man'yōshû* as in the first part. Second, the *otsu-rui* vowel /o₂/ that was spelled as *ø* in part one is transcribed as *ö* in part two. This is due to feedback received from some colleagues who suggested that *ø* looks too alien to Japanologists. Since, while I am using Yale transliteration for Old Japanese, I was and am still reluctant to use its notation *o* for the *otsu-rui* vowel /o₂/, I opted for a compromise and borrowed *ö* from the traditional transliteration of Old Japanese. I hope that my readers will view these changes only as minor inconveniences.

Fourth, over the years that this book was written my understanding and/or analysis of some Western Old Japanese expressions and passages has changed. This resulted, on some (although not numerous) occasions, in discrepancies between chapter four in the first part and the following chapters in the second part. To give an example, I used to understand the expression *pyitō kuni* 'land/province of other people' as consisting of the numeral *pyitō* 'one' and *kuni* 'land, province.' Now I prefer to analyze it as consisting of *pyitō* 'person' and *kuni* 'land.' The overall meaning of the expression does not change, but the analysis does. Rather than preserving uniformity with the first part and repeating the erroneous analysis, I opted for the discrepancy and the correction of what I believe was a mistake.

Fifth, the reader will undoubtedly notice the paucity of examples from the *Norito* in the second part as compared to the *Senmyō*. There are three main reasons for what may seem to be a neglect, partially outlined in 1.1. The *Norito* is a heterogeneous text, and the

sixteen oldest *Norito* representing Western Old Japanese and not Middle Japanese are comparatively short as compared to the *Senmyō*. The text of *Norito* also uses much more semantographic writing as compared to the *Senmyō*, therefore it is not as valuable as the latter. Finally, there is already a grammar of *Norito* in English (Bentley 2001), and I was reluctant to duplicate his work. Thus, the examples from *Norito* were used only if a point in question could not be illustrated by any other Western Old Japanese texts.

Finally, chapter 1 in part 1 (p. 12) provides incorrect numbering for poems written by border guards (*sakimori*) mostly in Eastern Old Japanese. I apologize to my readers for any inconvenience that this mistake might have caused. The correct numbering for *sakimori* poems is: MYS XX: 4321-4430, 4337- 4359, 4363-4394, 4401-4407, 4413-4432, and 4436. The remaining poems are in Western Old Japanese (MYS XX: 4293-4320, 4431-4436, 4360-4362, 4395-4400, 4408-4412, 4433-4435, and 4437-4516).

Alexander Vovin
Kyoto
June 2008

ADDITIONS TO PART 1

I provide here three important additions to the first volume of this book. The first of them includes a revised chart of the *man'yōgana* signs: with the recent development of computer technology there is no longer a need for substitute signs, as even the rarest *man'yōgana* signs are now available in Mojikyō fonts. Two other additions include an important note on the Western Old Japanese phonology, and a description of the second person pronoun *ore* that I overlooked in the first volume.

REVISED MAN'YŌGANA CHART

Chart 1: *Man'yōgana* signs in varieties A and B (revised from part 1)

Transcription	Variety A	Variety B
a	ongana: 阿安英 kungana: 足吾鳴呼 disyllabic: 英[aNka]	ongana: 阿安婀鞅 kungana: 足吾
i	ongana: 伊夷以怡異 移因印耄 kungana: 射五十馬声 disyllabic: 揖[ipyi, ipu] 因[ina] 印[ina] 耄[iti]	ongana: 伊以怡異 易因耄 kungana: 胆 disyllabic: 因 [ina] 耄 [iti]
u	ongana: 于汗宇有羽 烏雲 kungana: 鶉菟卯得鷗 disyllabic: 雲[una] 鬱[utu]	ongana: 于汗宇羽紆 禹 kungana: 鶉菟 disyllabic: 鬱[utu]
e	ongana: 衣愛垂依 kungana: 得榎荏	ongana: 愛哀埃
o	ongana: 意於隱淤 乙憶飫 disyllabic: 乙 [otu] 邑 [opyi, opu]	ongana: 意於淤乙 憶飫 disyllabic: 乙 [otu] 礪 [onō]

ka	ongana: 加迦可賀訶 珂箇架嘉甲甘敢 kungana: 髮鹿香蚊芳 敷 disyllabic: 甘 [kamu] 敢 [kamu] 漢[kani] 干[kani] 葛[katu] 甲[kapyi] 香 [kaNku] 各[kaku]	ongana: 加迦可哥賀 訶河箇伽訶歌軻柯 介甲甘 kungana: 髮鹿香蚊 disyllabic: 甘[kamu] 甲 [kapyi] 香 [kaNku] 覺 [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 綺寄記埽 kungana: 城木樹	ongana: 紀幾奇基機 己既氣 kungana: 城木樹黃
ku	ongana: 久玖口群苦 丘九鳩君 kungana: 来 disyllabic: 君[kuni]	ongana: 久玖句苦俱 区勾矩絢衢寰訓履 kungana: 来 disyllabic: 訓[kuni] 菊 [kuku]
kye	ongana: 祁家計鷄介 奚谿倆係結 kungana: 異 disyllabic: 兼[kyemu] 監 [kyemu] 險[kyemu]	ongana: 祁家計鷄稽 啓
key	ongana: 氣既稀塏拳 kungana: 毛食飼消	ongana: 氣居該戒階 開慨凱概愷 kungana: 毛食筭
kwo	ongana: 古故庫高姑 孤枯 kungana: 子兒籠小粉	ongana: 古故庫姑孤 固顧 kungana: 子兒籠小
kō	ongana: 己許巨居去 虛忌興 kungana: 木 disyllabic: 金[kōmu] 今 [kōmu] 近[kōnō] 乞[kōti] 興[kōNkō]	ongana: 許巨居去虛 拳莒拋渠興 kungana: 木 disyllabic: 興[kōNkō]
Nka	ongana: 何我賀河蛾	ongana: 我賀餓峨俄 鵝
Nkyi	ongana: 芸祇岐伎	ongana: 芸伎儀蟻嶠
Nkiy	ongana: 疑宜義	ongana: 疑擬
Nku	ongana: 具遇求隅群	ongana: 具遇愚虞群

	disyllabic: 群 [Nkuni/Nkuri]	disyllabic: 群 [Nkuni/Nkuri]
Nkye	ongana: 下牙雅夏	ongana: 霓
Nkey	ongana: 義宜尋	ongana: 尋礙體
Nkwo	ongana: 胡吳候後虞	ongana: 胡吳吾誤悟 娛
Nkö	ongana: 其期碁礙	ongana: 語御馭
sa	ongana: 佐沙作左者 柴娑紗草匝讚散尺 積 kungana: 狹猿羅 disyllabic: 三 [samu] 雜 [sapa, sapyi] 匝 [sapyi] 颯 [sapu] 讚 [sanu] 散 [sani] 薩 [sati, satu] 相 [saNka, saNku] 尺 [saka] 作 [saka, saku] 積 [saka]	ongana: 佐沙作左瑳 磋舍差匝讚尺 kungana: 狹 disyllabic: 匝 [sapyi] 芟 [sanō] 讚 [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 [sikiyi, sikō] 飭 [sika] 式 [sikiyi] 拭 [sikiyi] 叔 [siku]	ongana: 斯志之師紫 新四子思司資茲芝 詩旨寺時指絕矢始 尸試伺璽辭嗣施泊 信 kungana: 為磯 disyllabic: 信 [sina] 色 [sikiyi, sikō]
su	ongana: 須周酒洲州 珠主數 kungana: 酢簣櫟栖渚 為 disyllabic: 駿 [suru] 足 [suku] 宿 [suka, suku]	ongana: 須周酒洲主 素秀輸殊芻 kungana: 酢簣櫟 disyllabic: 駿 [suru] 宿 [suka, suku]
se	ongana: 勢世西齊 kungana: 瀨湍背脊迫 disyllabic: 瞻 [semyi]	ongana: 勢世西齊栖 細制是劑 kungana: 瀨湍背
swō	ongana: 蘇宗祖素 kungana: 十麻	ongana: 蘇素泝 kungana: 十麻
sō	ongana: 曾所僧增則 kungana: 衣背其苑	ongana: 曾所增則贈 諸層賊 kungana: 衣襲
Nsa	ongana: 射藏邪奢社	ongana: 社藏裝奘

	謝座	disyllabic: 覲[Nsamyi]
Nsi	ongana: 自士慈尽時 寺仕	ongana: 自士慈尽貳 兒尔珥餌耳茸 kungana: 下 disyllabic: 甚[Nsimu]
Nsu	ongana: 受授聚殊	ongana: 受孺儒
Nse	ongana: 是	ongana: 筮噬
Nswō	ongana: 俗	ongana: 一
Nsō	ongana: 叙存序賊 ¹	ongana: 叙序罇茹鋤
ta	ongana: 多太他丹 kungana: 田手 disyllabic: 丹 [tani] 旦 [tani] 塔 [tapu] 但 [tani, taNti] 当 [taNkyi]	ongana: 多大陔柁哆 馱党丹 kungana: 田手 disyllabic: 丹 [tani] 但 [tani, taNti] 当 [taNkyi]
ti	ongana: 至知智恥陳 珍直 kungana: 道千乳路血 茅 disyllabic: 珍 [tinu] 直 [tikyi]	ongana: 知智致控答 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 屠突徒覩囟 kungana: 津 disyllabic: 筑 [tukyi, tuku] 竹 [tuku]
te	ongana: 弓氏提天帝 底堤代 kungana: 手佃直 disyllabic: 点 [temu]	ongana: 弓氏提帝底 堤諦題代 kungana: 手
two	ongana: 刀斗都土度 kungana: 戸聡門利礪 速	ongana: 刀斗都土度 覩妬杜囟屠塗徒渡 kungana: 戸聡門礪

¹ The phonogram 賊 is listed as a sign for /Nsō/ attested only in the *Man'yōshū* (Omodaka et al. 1967: 896). However, it appears as a phonogram in the *Man'yōshū* just once, in the word *kyiNsō* (伎賊) 'last night' (MYS II: 150). This is the only phonetic attestation of this word in the Western Old Japanese part of the *Man'yōshū*. Interestingly enough, Omodaka et al. transcribe this word in the same poem as *kyisō* in the entry on *kyisō* 'last night' (1967: 241). In addition, the same word is attested in Eastern Old Japanese four times in MYS XIV: 3505, 3522, 3550, and 3563 written as 伎曾 /kyisō/ with a voiceless /s/. Thus, I believe that the phonogram 賊 was read /sō/ and I think that this word should be read as *kyisō* in Western Old Japanese as well.

tö	ongana: 止等登騰得 kungana: 鳥十跡迹常 disyllabic: 德 [tökö] 得 [tökö]	ongana: 等劉騰苔台 藤 kungana: 鳥跡迹 disyllabic: 德 [toku] 得 [tökö]
Nta	ongana: 陔太天 disyllabic: 彈[Ntani]	ongana: 陔太天驩娜 襄儂
Nti	ongana: 遲治地	ongana: 遲治膩尼泥
Ntu	ongana: 豆頭 disyllabic: 曇 [Ntumi]	ongana: 豆頭逗凶弩 弩 disyllabic: 曇[Ntumi]
Nte	ongana: 提代佗殿田 低泥涅	ongana: 提泥涅耐弟 涅
Ntwo	ongana: 度渡土	ongana: 度渡奴怒
Ntö	ongana: 杼騰藤特	ongana: 杼騰耐迺
na	ongana: 那奈寧難南 kungana: 名魚中菜七 莫 disyllabic: 南[nami] 難 [nani]	ongana: 那奈乃儺娜 難 kungana: 名魚中 disyllabic: 冉[nami] 難 [nani] 諾[nakî]
ni	ongana: 爾迺仁日二 而尼耳人 kungana: 丹荷似煮	ongana: 爾爾迺仁珥 貳 kungana: 丹瓊
nu	ongana: 奴怒努濃農 kungana: 沼宿寢渟	ongana: 奴怒努濃農 kungana: 渟
ne	ongana: 尼襴泥涅年 kungana: 根宿 disyllabic: 念[nemu]	ongana: 尼襴泥涅涅 kungana: 根
nwo	ongana: 努怒弩 kungana: 野	ongana: 努怒奴弩 kungana: 野
nö	ongana: 乃能 kungana: 荷笑筓	ongana: 能迺 kungana: 荷
pa	ongana: 波播幡芳婆 破方防八房半幡薄 伴泊叵 kungana: 羽葉齒者 disyllabic: 博[paka]	ongana: 波播幡芳婆 破幡簸巴絆泮 kungana: 羽葉齒 disyllabic: 博[paka]
pyi	ongana: 比卑必臂嬭 賁毘 kungana: 日檜冰	ongana: 比卑必臂毘 譬避 kungana: 日檜冰
piy	ongana: 非斐肥悲飛	ongana: 斐肥悲飛被

	kungana: 火槌干乾	彼秘妃費 kungana: 火燻簸
pu	ongana: 布不敷富府 賦否負福 kungana: 經歷 disyllabic: 粉 [puni] 福 [puku]	ongana: 布不敷甫賦 府符輔赴浮 kungana: 經歷乾
pye	ongana: 平弊霸幣蔽 陛遍返反弁 kungana: 部辺重隔 disyllabic: 伯[pyekyi]	ongana: 平弊霸幣陛 蔽鞞鞞 kungana: 部辺重
pey	ongana: 閑倍拜 kungana: 戸飢綜經	ongana: 閑倍沛陪背 杯俳珮 kungana: 戸綜
pwo	ongana: 善本	ongana: —
pö	ongana: 富朋	ongana: —
po	ongana: 富保宝番蕃 朋倍抱方凡品 kungana: 帆穗火 disyllabic: 凡 [pomu] 品 [pomu]	ongana: 富保朋倍褒 哀陪報袍譜品 kungana: 帆穗火 disyllabic: 品 [pomu] 法 [popu]
Npa	ongana: 婆伐	ongana: 婆麼魔磨糜
Npyi	ongana: 毘鼻妣婢	ongana: 鼻弥弭寐
Npiy	ongana: 備肥	ongana: 備媚眉糜
Npu	ongana: 夫父部扶 disyllabic: 服 [Npukyi]	ongana: 夫父部矛步 驚
Npye	ongana: 辨便別	ongana: 謎
Npey	ongana: 倍	ongana: 倍陪每謎
Npo	ongana: 煩	ongana: 煩
ma	ongana: 麻磨万馬末 滿摩 kungana: 真間目信鬼 disyllabic: 望 [maNka, maNku] 莫 [maku] 幕 [maku]	ongana: 麻磨万馬麼 滿魔摩莽 kungana: 真間目 disyllabic: 望 [maNka, maNku]
myi	ongana: 弥美民 kungana: 三御見水参 視 disyllabic: 敏 [myinu]	ongana: 弥美瀾湄弭 寐 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 無謀鷓儻 kungana: 六 disyllabic: 目[muku]	ongana: 牟武模務霧 夢茂 kungana: 六
mye	ongana: 賣咩馬面 kungana: 女婦	ongana: 賣咩謎迷綿 kungana: 女
mey	ongana: 米梅迷昧 kungana: 目眼	ongana: 梅迷昧每妹 kungana: 目眼
mwo	ongana: 毛	ongana: —
mö	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: 夜移陽耶耶 益野椰挪 kungana: 屋八矢箭
yu	ongana: 由喻遊油 kungana: 弓湯	ongana: 由喻愈瑜與 庾踰 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 kungana: 夜	ongana: 用庸 kungana: 夜
yö	ongana: 余与予餘譽 kungana: 世吉四代	ongana: 余与予餘預 譽 kungana: 世吉
ra	ongana: 羅良浪樂邏 disyllabic: 藍[ramu] 濫 [ramu] 覽[ramu] 臘[rapu] 樂[raku] 落[raku]	ongana: 羅攤良樂邏 囉蘿 disyllabic: 樂[raku]
ri	ongana: 理利里隣	ongana: 理利里梨離 喇釐
ru	ongana: 留流琉類	ongana: 留流瑠屢盧 蘆樓漏婁
re	ongana: 禮例列烈連 disyllabic: 廉[remu]	ongana: 禮例黎戾
rwo	ongana: 漏路盧樓	ongana: 漏盧樓婁魯 露
rö	ongana: 呂侶里	ongana: 呂侶慮盧稜
wa	ongana: 和丸	ongana: 和倭沅

	kungana: 輪 disyllabic: 丸[wani]	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: 惠廻慧徊 kungana: 画坐座咲	ongana: 惠廻慧衛隈 穢
wo	ongana: 乎袁烏遠怨 呼越 kungana: 小尾少麻男 雄緒綬叫 disyllabic: 越[woti]	ongana: 乎遠曰鳴塢 弘惋越 kungana: 小尾少麻男 雄 disyllabic: 越[woti]

IMPORTANT NOTE ON WESTERN OLD JAPANESE PHONOLOGY

It is traditionally believed that Western Old Japanese had the *[V]CVCVCV...* phonotactics, at least in the native vocabulary, and that there are only few exceptions to this rule, for example *kai* ‘oar’ or *kui* ‘regret’ where we have vowel clusters /ai/ and /ui/. The traditional transcription *kai* is based on the belief that there were no /yi/ or /wu/ syllables in Western Old Japanese. Nevertheless, this belief presents a significant problem: why does *kai* ‘oar’ not monophthongize to **key*, or contract to **kyi* as would be expected?² In volume one, still sharing this belief, I suggested that *kai* goes back to earlier **kayi* (see 2.2.4). Now I would like to revise my previous position, and posit syllables /yi/ and /wu/ for Western Old Japanese itself, and not for pre-Old Japanese.

The major evidence for the existence of /yi/ and /wu/ comes from the morphophonology of the Western Old Japanese vowel verbs *kōyi-* ‘to lie down,’ *oyi-* ‘to age,’ and *uwe-* ‘to plant.’ Notice that the first two were traditionally transcribed as *kōi-* and *oi-*. But this traditional representation violates the general rule of the Western Old Japanese phonotactics mentioned above and it also raises the same problem as in the case of *kai* ‘oar’: why do *kōi-* and *oi-* not monophthongize into **kiy-* and **i[y]-*, or contract into **kyi* and **i* respectively? Surely, both monophthongization and contraction are present in the Old Japanese verbal system. For

² Cf. *ka* ~ *key* ‘day,’ *ka* ~ *key* ‘hair’ < **ka-i*, and *wa-Nk-yimwo* ‘my beloved,’ *wa-Nk-yipyē* ‘my house’ < *wa-Nka imwo*, *wa-Nka ipyē*.

example, *kö-* ‘come’ has the progressive form *k-yer-* < **k-yi-ar-*, and *e[y]-* ‘to get’ loses its root altogether in the final or the attributive form: *u* < **e-u* and *uru* < **e-uru*.

The case of *uwe-* ‘to plant’ is even more spectacular. Its attributive form traditionally written as *u-uru* is attested. But it would be impossible for two identical vowels not to contract into one: examples are plentiful, and the only exceptions occur when a juncture between infinitive *-yi* and the following auxiliary verb starting with vowel /i/ is present. But it is impossible to posit the juncture between a root and a suffix. Therefore, I believe that the syllable /wu/ was still present and I transcribe consequently this word form as *uw-uru*. Let me present the actual textual examples before we proceed to further discussion:

(1) *köyi-* ‘to lie down’ written phonetically as 許伊 or 己伊:

久佐太袁利志婆刀利志伎提等許自母能字知許伊布志提
kusa-N-ta-wor-i siNpa twor-i sik-yi-te tökö Nsimönö uti-köyi-pus-
i-te

grass-?-hand-break-INF road.side.grass hold-INF spread-INF-SUB
 bed like **PREF-lie.down-INF-lie.prone-INF-SUB**

[I] broke off some herbs, and taking some road side grass, [I] spread [it] and **lied down** on a bed-like [thing] (MYS V: 886)

字知奈妣伎登許尔己伊布之

uti-naNpyik-yi tökö-ni köyi-pus-i

PREF-stretch-INF bed-LOC **lie.down(INF)-lie.prone-INF**

[I] **lie down**, stretched on [my] bed (MYS XVII: 3969)

(2) *oyi-* ‘to age’ written phonetically as 淤伊 or 意伊:

和加久閑爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母

waka-ku pey-ni wi ne-te-masi mönö oyi-n-i-kyer-u kamö
 young-INF ?-DV-INF bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ
age(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

[I] would have brought [her with me] and have slept [with her] if [she] were young, but [it] **turned out that [she] has become old**, alas! (KK 93)

意伊豆久安我未

oyi-Ntuk-u a-Nka miy

age(INF)-attach-ATTR I-POSS body
 my body **that came close to aging** (MYS XIX: 4220)

(3) The attributive *uw-uru* of *uwe-* to plant written phonetically as 宇々流:

比等能宇々流田
 pyitō-nō **uw-uru** TA
 person-GEN **plant-ATTR** paddy
 a paddy **that people plant** (MYS XV: 3746)

Early Middle Chinese and Late Middle Chinese definitely had the contrast *wu : *ʔu and likely also the contrast *yi : *ʔi (Marc Miyake, p.c.). The fact that the characters 伊 and 宇 are respectively EMC and LMC *yi and *wu may further strengthen my point above. Unfortunately, this may not be completely relevant here, as all the examples above are written in variety A of *man'yōgana*, which was borrowed or at least filtered through a Korean intermediary, as mentioned in 2.1.1. And, as far as we know, the Korean language did not have the contrasts /i/ : /yi/ and /u/ : /wu/ throughout its history.³ Thus, if the scribes in Ancient Japan were trying to adopt a syllabic writing system that did not have these contrasts, we would expect that they may not indicate the contrasts that were present in their own language either. Nevertheless, the morphophonological evidence discussed above is not going to disappear. It is therefore necessary in the future to scrutinize the text of the *Nihonshoki kayō* written in variety B of the *man'yōgana* (based directly on Late Middle Chinese) to see if any difference in usage between the Chinese characters that exhibit the contrasts *yi : *ʔi and *wu : *ʔu can be detected.

So far I have established that syllables /yi/ and /wu/ existed in Western Old Japanese in medial position preventing the violation of the phonotactic constraint [V]CVCVCV... .The legitimate question that arises next is whether the existence of syllables /yi/ and /wu/ can also be demonstrated in the initial position. Once again the verbal morphophonology comes to our help. The regular vowel verb *wi-* 'to sit, to exist' (upper bi-grade in traditional classification) has the final form that is traditionally spelled as *u*

³ It remains to see whether the same is true for Old Korean, once we achieve a more accurate decipherment of its texts.

and is attested once in the phonetic writing in the *man'yōgana* gloss in the *Nihonshoki*:

菟岐于
 tuk-yi-w-u (my spelling)
 attach-INF-sit-FIN
 [she] sat down (NS V: 166)⁴

The *Nihonshoki* uses variety B of the *man'yōgana*, and the character 于 has LMC reading *wu. Thus, we find extra evidence for the existence of the syllable /wu/ in Western Old Japanese, this time in the initial position. Let me also note that analyzing the final form of *wi-* 'to sit, to exist' as *w-u* rather than *u* shows consistency with the conjugation of other vowel verbs, and also does not leave us stranded with a verbal form that has no root.

In addition, there are also interesting doublets like *ututu* and *wotutu* 'reality.' Examples:

打乍二波更毛不得言
 ututu-ni pa SARA N-I mwo E-IP-ANSI
 reality-LOC TOP again DV-INF PT POT-say-NEG/TENT
 [I] would not be able to say [it] again in reality (MYS IV: 784)

宇豆都仁波安布余志勿奈子
 ututu-ni pa ap-u yösi mo na-si
 reality-LOC TOP meet-ATTR chance PT no-FIN
 There is not even a chance to meet in reality (MYS V: 807)

久志美多麻伊麻能遠都豆尔多布刀伎呂可儻
 kusi myi-tama ima-nō wotutu-ni taputwo-kyi rö kamu
 mysterious HON-stone now-GEN reality-LOC awesome-ATTR
 DV(ATTR) PT
 [these] mysterious stones are awesome in the present [day's]
 reality! (MYS V: 813)

宇都追尔之多太尔安良祢婆
 ututu-ni si taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa
 reality-LOC PT direct DV-INF exist-NEG-EV-CON
 because [it] was not directly in the reality (MYS XVII: 3978)

⁴ Cited according to Kuroita & Matsuyama 1965-66, vol. 1a.

伊尔之敝由伊麻乃乎都豆尔

inisipyē-yu ima-nō **wotutu-ni**

old.times-ABL now-GEN **reality-LOC**

from old times to the present [day's] **reality** (MYS XVII: 3985)

伊爾之敝欲伊麻乃乎追通爾奈我佐敝流於夜乃子等毛曾

inisipyē-ywo ima-nō **wotutu-ni** naNkas-ap-yer-u oya-nō KWO-Ntōmo sō

old.times-ABL now-GEN **reality-LOC** make.flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR ancestor-GEN child-PLUR PT

The offspring (lit.: children) of the ancestors who have passed continuously [their glorious names] from old times to the present [day's] **reality** (MYS XVIII: 4094)

The form *wotutu* probably represents a relic of the pre-raised form preserving primary PJ *o. Since the raising of *o > /u/ occurred around 590 A.D. (Miyake 2003b: 126),⁵ it is not very likely that initial /w-/ immediately disappeared after that. Thus, it is quite probable that *ututu* 'reality' should be actually transcribed as *wututu*.

A similar case also involves *usaNkyi* 'hare' attested phonetically as 宇佐岐 in the *Honzō wamyō* (901-23 A.D.), which at best represents the very late Western Old Japanese attestation. But on the other hand there is EOJ *wosaNkyi* spelled as 乎佐藝 (MYS XIV: 3529) that also preserves a pre-raised form. Although here we deal with two different dialects, the case is still quite indicative.

Turning now to the problem of the initial /yi-/ in Western Old Japanese, we also have evidence that is based on the following doublets in Western Old Japanese:

(1) *yuk-* and *ik-* 'to go:'

都祢斯良農道乃長手袁久礼々々等伊可尔可由迦牟

⁵ In a personal communication J. Marshall Unger suggested to me that the raising of mid-vowels in Pre-Old Japanese must have occurred earlier than 590 A.D. because if it were around 590 A.D. then the WOJ *tera* 'Buddhist temple' that certainly entered the language by mid-sixth century would be also raised. I do not think that this argument is valid, because WOJ *tera* was borrowed from an Old Korean form that was either *tiara or *taira (cf. MK *tyèl* 'Buddhist temple' and see Vovin 2007: 75-77 for a detailed discussion). Neither Pre-OJ *ai or *ia were subject to raising, as we well know, since they resulted in WOJ /e[y]/ and /y[e]/ respectively.

tune sir-an-u MYITI-nō NANKA te-wo kure-kure tō ika n-i ka
yuk-am-u

usual know-NEG-ATTR road-GEN long place-ACC dark-dark DV
how DV-INF PT **go-TENT-ATTR**

How **would** [I] **go** along the full length of the road that [I] normally
do not know, being in a dark [mood]? (MYS V: 888)

和我勢故波多麻尔母我毛奈手尔麻伎氏見都追由可牟乎於吉氏
伊加婆乎思

wa-Nka se-kwo pa tama n-i mōNkamwo na TE-ni mak-yi-te MYI-
tutu **yuk-am-u-wo** ok-yi-te **ik-aNpa** wosi

I-POSS beloved-DIM TOP jewel DV-INF PT PT arm-LOC wrap-
INF-SUB look(INF)-COORD **go-TENT-ATTR-ACC** leave-INF-
SUB **go-COND** be.regrettable

[I] want my beloved to be a jewel! Although [I] **would go**
wrapping [him] around my arm and looking at [him], [it] is
regrettable **if** [I] **go** leaving [him] (MYS XVII: 3990)

The variant *yuk-* rules supreme in Western Old Japanese: there
are only two examples of *ik-* attested phonetically and in identical
contexts. Nevertheless, *ik-* does exist and is further amply
supported by later Middle Japanese data.

(2) *yu* and *i* ‘sacred, taboo:’

波毘呂由都麻都婆岐

pa-N-pyirō **yu** t-u ma-tuNpaki

leaf-GEN-broad **sacred** DV-ATTR INT-camellia

a true **sacred** camellia with broad leaves (KK 57)

賀美都勢爾伊久比袁宇知斯毛都勢爾麻久比袁宇知

kami-tu se-ni **i** kupyī-wo ut-i simwo-tu se-ni ma-kupyī-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)

(3) *Yuki* and *Ikyi* ‘Iki island:’

柯羅履爾鳴以柯爾輔居等所梅豆羅古枳馱樓武可左履樓以祗能
和馱喇鳴梅豆羅古枳馱樓

kara-kuni-wo ika n-i [i]p-u kötö sö meyNturakwo k-yi-tar-u mukasakuru **Ikyi**-nö watar-i-wo meyNturakwo k-yi-tar-u Kara-land-ACC how DV-INF say-ATTR thing PT MeyNturakwo come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (*makura kotoba*) Ikyi-GEN cross-NML-ACC MeyNturakwo come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR What to call the land of Kara? MeyNturakwo has come; through the crossing of **Ikyi** MeyNturakwo has come (NK 99)

到壹岐嶋雪連宅滿忽遇鬼病死去之時作歌一首 并短歌
One [long] poem and two accompanying *tanka* envoys composed when Yukyi-nö muraNsi Yakamarö upon arrival to **Ikyi** island suddenly contracted an evil illness and died (preface to poems MYS XV: 3688-3690)

由吉能安末

Yukyi-nö ama

Yukyi-GEN fisherman

Fishermen of **Yukyi** island (MYS XV: 3694)

In addition, there is a diachronic example of the same alternation: WOJ *imey* ‘dream’ and MJ *yume* ‘id.’ It is quite possible that Western Old Japanese *ik-* ‘to go,’ *i* ‘sacred’ and *imey* ‘dream’ were actually pronounced as /yik-/ , /yi/ , and /yimey/. However, the evidence here is not as conclusive as in the other examples, so I spell these three words in the traditional way. The same applies to *ututu* ‘reality,’ but in all other cases I introduced new spellings: *kayi* ‘oar,’ *kuyi* ‘regret,’ *köyi-* ‘to lie down,’ *oyi-* ‘to age,’ *uw-uru* ‘plant-ATTR,’ and *w-u* ‘sit-FIN.’

Thus, I believe I was able to present some compelling evidence in favor of the fact that the syllables /yi/ and /wu/ probably were present in Western Old Japanese

SECOND PERSON PRONOUN ORE

The second person pronoun *ore* can be both singular and plural. It probably has the same structure as other pronouns ending in *-re*, namely that the form *ore* represents an extended stem. Unfortunately, the unextended stem *o is not attested in Western Old Japanese texts, but it seems that one can make an educated guess and introduce a morphemic boundary into *o-re* by analogy with *wa-re* ‘I, we’ and *na-re* ‘you.’ Once again we see that the extended stem in *-re* probably has a connection with plural marker -

ra (see 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.5 on the tendency to use the extended stems *ware* and *nare* for plural usage). The second person pronoun *ore* clearly functions as a pejorative pronoun. This is probably the reason why it is not attested in poetic texts. Examples:

意禮二字以音爲大國主神

ore [ni Nsi i on] OPO KUNI NUSI KAMIY NAR-I

you [two characters by sound] great land master deity become-FIN

you ([these] two characters [to be read] phonetically) will become the deity Opo kuni nusi (lit.: the master of the great land) (KJK I: 30a)

Susanowo speaking to *Opo kuni nusi* who eloped with the daughter of the former.

所作仕奉於大殿內者意禮此二字以音先入

OPO TÖNÖ-NÖ UTI-NI PA TUKUR-I-TUKAPEY-MATUR-U
PA **ore** [ni Nsi i on] MANTU IR-I

great palace-GEN inside-LOC TOP make-INF-serve(INF)-HUM-ATTR TOP **you** [these two characters by sound] first enter-INF

you will enter first into the great palace that [you] have built (KJK II: 5b)

Retainers of the emperor *Jinmu* speaking to the person who plotted to kill the emperor.

意禮熊會建二人不伏無禮聞看而取殺意禮詔而遣

ore kumasö TAKYERU PUTA-RI MATUR-AP-ANS-U REI NA-SI TÖ KYIKÖS-I-MYES-I-TE **ore** TÖR-I-KÖRÖS-E TÖ NÖTAMAP-YI-TE TUKAP-AS-ER-I

you *Kumasö* brave two-CL serve-ITER-NEG-INF ritual no-FIN DV hear(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB **you** take-INF-kill-IMP DV say(HON)-INF-SUB send-HON-PROG-FIN

[the emperor] heard that **you** two *Kumasö* brave [brothers] do not submit and have no manners, so [he] sent [me] ordering to kill **you** (KJK II: 39a)

Prince Yamatō-takyeru talking to a *Kumasö* leader about the latter and the latter's elder brother whom he killed earlier.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The second person pronoun *ore* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

Both Old Ryukyuan and most modern Ryukyuan languages have a second person singular pronoun that is apparently cognate to WOJ *ore* ‘you,’ for example: OR *o, u*; Shuri *ʔyaa*; Nase *ʔya*; Koniya, Chabana *ʔura*; Hentona *ya*; Kuroshima *ʔuva*; Psara *vva* (Hirayama 1966: 303), etc. (Hirayama 1967: 241). This pronoun functions as an informal or pejorative pronoun. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

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)

Shuri

ʔari-ga yum-aa ʔyaa-N yum-ee

he-NOM read-COND **you**-PT read-IMP

If he reads [it], **you** read it, too (RKJ 69)

Miyako

ʔuva-ga du basika-N

thou-NOM PT bad-FIN

You are bad (Nohara 1998: 372)

vva ndza-ŋkai ga ik-i

you where-LOC PT go-FIN

Where **are** you going? (Nohara 1998: 381)

The familiar and pejorative pronouns very often reflect the original pronominal system. Given also the functional and geographical limitations of the Western Old Japanese second person pronouns *na* ~ *nare* and *masi* ~ *myimasi* ~ *imasi* discussed in 4.2.2.5 and 4.2.2.6, it seems reasonable to assume that WOJ *ore* and PR *o-ra represent the original proto-Japonic second person pronoun: singular *ə and plural *ə-ra.

I am not aware of any possible external comparisons.

ADJECTIVES

In Western Old Japanese adjectives form a transitional class between nominals and verbs in contrast to Modern and Middle Japanese, where adjectives are best defined as a special subclass of verbs, namely quality verbs (Vovin 2003: 187). The crucial distinction is that in both Modern and Middle Japanese adjectives are always inflected similar to verbs. First, they always have attributive forms such as MdJ *-i* and MJ *-ki ~ -i* when modifying the following head noun, with very few exceptions that are limited to non-productive usage in obsolete compounds like *sira-nami* ‘white waves,’ where a bound adjectival stem can modify a following head noun. It is usually believed that Western Old Japanese had a similar usage, namely that an adjectival stem preceding a following head noun was also bound, and that all the existing cases represent obsolete compounds as well (Yamada 1954: 118), (Shirafuji 1987: 149). As I will demonstrate below, this is certainly not the case in Western Old Japanese.

Second, while in Middle Japanese the attributive and predicative functions are strictly differentiated between attributive form *-ki* and final predication form *-si* (when there are no focus particles in the sentence); this is not the case for Western Old Japanese, where especially *-si* can have an attributive function (Martin 1987: 807-09). All this probably points out the fact that the system of verb-like inflection in Western Old Japanese was still in the process of establishing itself, and that originally pre-Old Japanese adjectives behaved quite similar to adjectives in Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic, that is they were nominals rather than verbs.

5.1 UNINFLECTED ADJECTIVES

As mentioned above, uninflected adjectives could modify following head nouns in Western Old Japanese, and this usage is not limited to a few obsolete compounds as in Middle Japanese.

Below I provide a list of the most typical adjectives that could be used as uninflected modifiers in Western Old Japanese:

aka ‘red,’ *ara* ‘rough,’ *arata* ‘new,’ *awo* ‘green, blue,’ *i* ~ *yu* ‘sacred,’ *kata* ‘hard,’ *kupasi* ~ *Nkupasi* ‘beautiful,’ *kura* ‘dark,’ *kurwo* ‘black,’ *kusi* ‘precious,’ *muna* ‘empty,’ *masura* ‘excellent,’ *myiNtu* ‘fresh,’ *naNka* ‘long,’ *nipyi* ‘new,’ *opo* ‘big,’ *osō* ‘slow,’ *paya* ‘quick, fast,’ *puru* ‘old,’ *putwo* ‘majestic, great,’ *pyirō* ‘broad,’ *pyisa* ‘long,’ *sakasi* ‘wise,’ *sikō* ‘stupid,’ *siNtu* ‘low-class,’ *sira* ~ *sirwo* ‘white,’ *taka* ‘high,’ *takye* ‘brave,’ *tawaya* ‘slender, delicate,’ *tōkō* ‘eternal,’ *tōpo* ‘distant,’ *tōyō* ‘abundant,’ *two* ‘sharp,’ *uma* ‘sweet,’ *utu* ‘real,’ *utu* ‘empty,’ *utukusi* ‘beautiful,’ *yasu* ‘easy,’ *waka* ‘young,’ *wawara* ‘frayed.’

Although at first glance the list may not seem to be long, it is necessary to keep in mind that it is longer than the list of bound adjectives occurring in compounds in Middle Japanese, which most frequently appear only with *opo*- ‘big’ and *sira*- ‘white,’ if we exclude proper nouns and titles. It is also worth noting that one of the arguments for the bound nature of these adjectives in Western Old Japanese is based on the observation that *sira* ‘white’ never occurs with a following suffix, such as infinitive *-ku*, final *-si*, or attributive *-kyi*; in other words its usage is limited to compounds. Meanwhile, *sirwo*- is always inflected, and never occurs in compounds. While this observation is certainly true for Middle Japanese, it does not work for Western Old Japanese, where both *sirwo* and *sira* could modify following nouns. Interestingly enough, even in Middle and Modern Japanese we can see traces of the original nominal nature of adjectival stems. Thus, both MJ *waka-gimi* ‘child of a nobleman’ and MdJ *ao-zora* ‘blue sky’ involve sequential voicing (連濁 *rendaku*), which can only be explained as a result of the reduction of the following structures: *waka n-o kimi* ‘young DV-ATTR lord’=> **waka-n-kimi* > *waka-gimi* and *awo n-o swora* ‘blue DV-ATTR sky’ > **ao-n-sora* > *ao-zora*. The historical presence of the copula *n-* that can only follow nominals or nominalized forms of verbs in these constructions clearly demonstrates that historically adjectival stems were just nouns.

The best evidence for the independent and free nature of adjectival stems comes from the fact that another word or

morpheme, including another adjective, can separate an adjective stem from a following head noun. Examples:

波毘呂由都麻都婆岐

pa-N-pyirō yu t-u ma-tuNpakyi

leaf-GEN-**broad sacred DV-ATTR INT**-camellia

a true **sacred** camellia with **broad** leaves (KK 57)

因名其劍謂川上部亦名曰裸伴 < 阿箇潘娜我等母 >

Therefore [they] called these swords ‘Kapakamyi set,’ their other name is **aka paNtaka tömö**, ‘completely naked companions, (lit: **red naked** companions)’ (NS VI: 189)

布刀御幣

putwo myi-teNkura

great HON-offering

great offerings (KJK I: 20a)

阿邏瀾多摩

ara myi-tama

rough HON-spirit

rough spirit (NS IX: 246)

登余美岐多弓麻都良勢

tōyō myi-kyi tatematur-as-e

abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-HON-IMP

present the **abundant** rice wine (KK 101)

高照日之皇子何方尔所念食可

TAKA TER-AS-U PYI-NÖ MYIKWO IKA SAMA n-i
OMÖPOS-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)

可敝里許牟麻須良多家乎尔美伎多弓麻都流

kapyer-i-kō-m-u **masura takye** wo-ni myi-kyi tatematur-u

return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR **excellent brave** man-DAT HON-
rice.wine present-FIN

[I] will present the rice wine to the **excellent, brave** men who will come back (MYS XIX: 4262)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流
wa-Nkö opo kyimyi pa tapyirakey-ku naNka-ku imas-i-te **töyö**
myi-kyi matur-u

I-POSS great lord TOP safe-INF long-INF exist(HON)-INF-SUB
abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-FIN

[I] present the **abundant** rice wine so that my sovereign (lit.: great lord) will live safely and long (SNK 4)

In the following two examples *töpo naNka-ku* and *töpo naNka n-i* ‘for a long, long time’ are used adverbially, but they still present the first adjectival stem separated from the modified verb by another adjective. Cf. also the EOJ example from MYS XIV: 3356 below, where *töpo naNka-kyi* ‘distant and long’ modifies a noun phrase, and not a verb.

遠長久思將往

TÖPO NANKA-ku SINWOP-YI YUK-AM-U

long long-INF yearn-INF go-TENT-FIN

[I] will go yearning **for a long, long** [time] (MYS II: 196)

都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔

tukapey-matur-am-ey iya **töpo naNka n-i**

serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV plentifully **long long DV-INF**

I will serve [you] plentifully and **for a long, long time** (MYS XVIII: 4098)

In the following five examples the nominal nature of the adjectival stems *töpo* ‘distant’ and *taka* ‘high’ is also confirmed by the fact that they can be followed directly by the copulas *n-* or *tö:*

等保乃朝廷

töpo n-ö MYIKANTWO

distant DV-ATTR court

distant court (MYS V: 794)

等保能久尔

töpo n-ö kuni

distant DV-ATTR country

distant country (MYS XV: 3688)

登保都比等

tōpo t-u pyitō

distant DV-ATTR person

people from far away (lit.: **distant** people) (MYS XVII: 3947)

等保追可牟於夜

tōpo t-u kamu-oya

distant DV-ATTR deity-ancestor

distant divine ancestors (MYS XVIII: 4096)

高津神乃災高津鳥乃災

TAKA t-u KAMIY-nō WANSAPAPYI **TAKA t-u** TÖRI-nō
WANSAPAPYI

high DV-ATTR deity-GEN calamity **high DV-ATTR** bird-GEN
calamity

calamities from deities **high** [in Heaven], calamities from birds
high [in the sky] (NT 10)

Cf. the following example with the adjective *sikō* ‘stupid’ that has no inflected forms:

之許都於吉奈

sikō t-u okyina

stupid DV-ATTR old man

stupid old man (MYS XVII: 4011)

The same construction with a first adjective stem not immediately preceding the modified noun can be observed in the transparent pillow-word (枕詞 *makura-kotoba*) *pyisa kata n-ō* ‘eternally strong,’ that mostly applies to the word *amey* ~ *ama* ‘heaven,’ but also can modify some other words, such as *tukiy* ‘moon,’ and *amey* ‘rain’ (homophonous with *amey* ‘heaven’). Examples:

比佐迦多能阿米能迦具夜麻

pyisa kata n-ō amey-nō kaNku-yama

eternal hard DV-ATTR heaven-GEN Kanku(p. n.)-mountain

eternal and strong Amey-no KaNkuyama (lit.: Heavenly KaNku
mountain) (KK 27)

比佐箇多能阿梅箇儺麼多

pyisa kata n-ō amey kana-N-pata

eternal hard DV-ATTR heaven metal-GEN-loom

eternal and strong heaven[?s] metal loom (NK 59)

比佐可多能阿米欲里由吉能那何列久流加母

pyisa kata n-ō amey-ywori yukyi-nō naNkare-k-uru kamō

eternal hard DV-ATTR heaven-ABL snow-GEN flow(INF)-come-ATTR PT

I wonder [whether it is] snow that flows down from the **eternal and strong** heaven (MYS V: 822)

Now that the nominal nature of uninflected adjectives is established, I provide below more examples of their usage as modifiers of following head nouns or noun phrases. This usage occurs more frequently in Early Old Japanese than in Late Old Japanese, and that probably indicates that this was an archaic usage on its way out:

故志能久邇邇佐加志壳遠阿理登岐加志弓久波志壳遠阿理登岐
許志弓

Kwosi-nō kuni-ni **sakasi** mye-wo ar-i tō kyik-as-i-te **kupasi** mye-wo ar-i tō kyik-ōs-i-te¹

Kwosi-GEN province-LOC **wise** woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB **beautiful** woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB

[Opo kuni nusi] heard that there is a **wise** woman in the Kwosi province, heard that there is a **beautiful** woman (KK 2)

斗迦麻迹佐和多流久毘

two kama-ni sa-watar-u kuNpyi

sharp scythe-COMP PREF-cross-ATTR swan

a swan flying across [with wings] like **sharp** scythes (KK 27)

¹ Martin treats *sakasi* ‘wise’ and *kupasi* ‘beautiful’ in this text as haplogical final forms in the attributive function (Martin 1987: 807). While I agree with his argumentation that these do not form compounds with the following word *mye* ‘woman’ because the *Nihonshoki* variant of the same text shows that they are accentuated as independent words (Martin 1987: 807), I believe that in the light of the evidence presented above they are better treated as free adjectival stems rather than haplogical final predicative forms.

多迦紀那流意富韋古賀波良

taka kiy-n-ar-u **opö** 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)

美母呂能曾能多迦紀

myi-mörö-nö sönö **taka** kiy

HON-mountain-GEN that **high** fortress

that **high** fortress of the sacred mountain (KK 60)

阿禮許曾波余能那賀比登

are kösö pa yö-nö **naNka** pyitö

I PT TOP world-GEN **long** person

I, [the most] **long**[-living] man in the world (KK 72)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陔左枳涅渠農

nani tö kamö **utukusi** imö-Nka mata sak-yi-[i]Nde-kö-n-u

what DV PT **beautiful** beloved-POSS again bloom-INF-exit(INF)-
come-NEG-ATTR

I wonder why [my] **beautiful** beloved does not bloom again. (NK 114)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閏騰母

tök[ö]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si möNkamö tö omöp-ey-Ntömö

eternal-rock-COMP thus-INF PT PT DV think-EV-CONC

Although [I] think that [I] would like to be (thus) like an **eternal**
rock... (MYS V: 805)

許能久斯美多麻

könö **kusi** myi-tama

this **precious** HON-jewel

these **precious** jewels (MYS V: 814)

志良久毛

sira kumwo

white cloud

white clouds (MYS V: 866)

安可等吉能安左宜理其問理可里我祢會奈久

aka tökyi-nö asa-N-kiyri-N-kömor-i kari-Nka ne sö nak-u

bright time-GEN morning-GEN-fog-LOC-hide-INF wild goose-
POSS sound PT cry-ATTR
wild geese cry loudly being hidden in the morning (lit.: **bright** time)
fog at the dawn (MYS XV: 3665)

之路髮

sirwo KAMYI

white hair

grey hair (MYS XVII: 3922)

敷刀能里等其等

putwo nōritō-N-kōtō

majestic Nōritō-GEN-word

words of the **majestic** Nōritō (MYS XVII: 4031)

牟奈許等母於夜乃名多都奈

muna² kōtō mö oya-nō NA tat-una

empty word PT ancestor-GEN name break-NEG/IMP

do not destroy the name of [your] ancestors [with] **empty** words
(MYS XX: 4465)

There is also one example where an adjective stem is used as a predicate without any following copula:

於朋望能農之能介瀾之瀾枳伊句臂佐伊句臂佐

opo monō nusi-nō kam-yi-si myi-kyi iku **pyisa** iku **pyisa**

great thing master-GEN brew-INF-PAST/ATTR HON-rice.wine
how much long how much long

The holy rice wine brewed by [the deity] Great Master of Things,
[flourish] **eternally** (lit.: how much **long**, how much **long**) (NK 15)

SPECIAL DERIVED FORM IN -RA

There is a special derived adjectival form in *-ra* with an unclear meaning³ that occurs only after four adjectival stems: *aka* ‘red,

² The word *muna* ‘empty’ in this example is interesting, because it involves a usage of the root *muna*, rather than the stem *muna-si*.

³ It could potentially be diminutive *-ra*, discussed in part 1 (4.1.2.3.1). Omodaka et al. argue that *sakasi-ra*, for example, actually means ‘pretended wisdom’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 318). In another case *aka-ra* clearly means ‘ruddy’ (KK 43). But in other cases we do not have a strong basis to argue for a diminutive nature of this suffix.

bright,’ *sakasi-* ‘wise,’ *usu-* ‘thin’ (Yamada 1954: 123), and *yō-* ‘good’ forming derivatives *aka-ra*, *sakasi-ra*, *usu-ra* and *yō-ra* respectively. Among these three *sakasi-ra* is used only as a nominal ‘wisdom,’ or adverbially as *sakasi-ra n-i* ‘wisely’,⁴ but two other words appear as modifiers, although *usu-ra* ‘thin’ is attested only in one example in Western Old Japanese texts:

阿迦良袁登賣袁伊邪佐佐婆余良斯那

aka-ra wotōmye-wo iNsa sas-aNpa **yō-ra-si** na

ruddy-? maiden-ACC INTER stick-COND **good-?-FIN** PT

if [you take and] stick the **ruddy** maiden [as the ornament in your hair], [it] **will be good!** (KK 43)

痛醜賢良乎為跡

ANA MYINIKU **SAKASI-ra-wo** S-U tö

INTER ignoble **wisdom-?-ACC** do-FIN DV

thinking [that they] have such an ignoble **wisdom** (MYS III: 344)

赤羅小船

AKA-ra WON-PUNE

red-? DIM-boat

red little boat (MYS XVI: 3868)

安加良多知婆奈

aka-ra tatiNpana

red-? mandarin.orange

red mandarin oranges (MYS XVIII: 4060)

安可良我之波

aka-ra N-kasipa

red-? DV(ATTR)-oak

red oak (MYS XX: 4301)

宇須良婢

usu-ra N-pyi

thin-? DV(ATTR)-ice

thin ice (MYS XX: 4478)

⁴ In MYS XVI: 3860, 3864.

The last two examples imply that the reduced attributive form *N-* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' could also be used after the special adjectival form in *-ra*.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Similar to Western Old Japanese, adjective stems can also be used in Eastern Old Japanese to modify following nouns or noun phrases. There is one example where an adjective stem modifying a noun phrase is separated from the latter by another inflected adjective:

等保奈我伎夜麻治

tōpo naNka-kyi yama-N-ti

distant long-ATTR mountain-GEN-road

distant [and] long mountain road (MYS XIV: 3356)

Other examples:

布自能多可祢

PuNsi-nō **taka** ne

PuNsi-GEN **high** peak

the **high** peak of Fuji (MYS XIV: 3358a)

伊豆乃宇美爾多都思良奈美能安里都追毛

iNtu-nō umyi-ni tat-u **sira** namyi-nō ar-i-tutu mwo

INtu-GEN sea-LOC rise-ATTR **white** wave-COMP exist-INF-COOR PT

Although [I] continue to live like the **white** waves, rising in the INtu sea ... (MYS XIV: 3360)

麻具波思兒呂

ma-Nkupasi KWO-rō

INT-beautiful girl-DIM

really beautiful girl (MYS XIV: 3424)

和可加敝流弓能毛美都麻弓宿毛等和波毛布

waka kapyerute-nō mwomyit-u-maNte NE-m-wo tō wa pa [o]mwop-u

young maple-GEN leaves.turn.red/yellow-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)

意保积美能美己等可之古美阿乎久牟乃等能妣久夜麻乎古与弓
伎怒加牟

opo kyimyi-nö myi-kötö kasikwo-myi **awo** kumu-nö tönöNpyik-u
yama-wo kwoyö-te k-yi-n-wo kamu

great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER **blue** cloud trail-ATTR
mountain-ACC cross(INF)-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR PT

Since the emperor's (lit.: **great** lord's) order is awesome, [I] came [here] crossing mountains where **dark** clouds trail (MYS XX: 4403)

A2: Ryukyuan

In modern Ryukyuan dialects, as far I can tell, all adjectives are inflected, and there are no cases when an adjectival stem can modify a following noun or a noun phrase. In Old Ryukyuan, however, we find the same situation as in Western and Eastern Japanese:

しらにしやがおしいちへば

sira nisiya-ga os-i-idife-ba

white northern wind-NOM push-INF-exist-CON

when the first (lit.: **white**) northern wind blows (OS VII: 349)

大と

OPO to

big sea

big sea (OS XIII: 956)

たかかほのみづ

taka kafa-no midu

high river-GEN water

water from an **upper** [part] of a river (OS XVII: 1222)

Certainly, one can argue that since this construction is limited only to Old Ryukyuan it was likely borrowed from Middle Japanese. Usually this is how I treat isolated Old Ryukyuan attestations in this grammar. However, this time the situation is different. First of all, we should not forget that by the time of Middle Japanese all cases of *adjectival stem + noun* were already

compounds. Therefore, we would expect that these compounds would be borrowed as such into Old Ryukyuan. Undoubtedly, some of them, like *sira-tama* 'white jewel' were borrowed into Old Ryukyuan, because (a) *sira-tama* is attested only in the *Ryūka* and the *Kumi-odori*, but not in the *Omoro sōshi*, and (b) because *sira-tama* is frequently used in Middle Japanese as a compound. However, none of the cases appearing in the above examples: *sira nisiya* 'white northern wind,' *opo to* 'big sea,' and *taka kafa* 'upstream of a river' could be loans from Middle Japanese, because none of these exist as compounds in Middle Japanese. In addition, in the Japanese branch of Japonic *to* 'sea' does not exist, *nisi* 'means' 'west,' and not 'northern wind,' and 'upstream of a river' is *kapa kamyi*, not *taka kapa*. Thus in all three cases we deal with pure Ryukyuan phrases, and it would be highly improbable if Ryukyuan borrowed certain unproductive Middle Japanese compounds, analyzed them, and then proceeded to the creation of hybrid Japanese-Ryukyuan compounds that follow a Middle Japanese pattern that was not productive itself.

Thus, it seems that a construction that allowed an uninflected adjectival stem to be used as a modifier of following nouns and noun phrases represents an archaism in all branches of Japonic. Consequently, the inflection of adjectives may be a secondary development.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Since we do not have any morphological markers here, strictly speaking there is no need to argue for or against any external connections. Let me just note that the archaic Japonic structure with adjective stems modifying following nouns typologically agrees well with Turkic, Mongolic, and Tungusic, but radically goes against the typology found in Korean. I will argue below that the adjectival inflection in Japonic could have originated under strong structural pressure from Korean.

5.1.1. -KA ADJECTIVES

In Modern Japanese there is a special class of words like *sizuka-na* 'quiet' and *taisetu-na* 'important' traditionally defined by most Japanese linguists as 'adjectival verbs' (形容動詞 *keiyōdōshi*) (Tōjō 1937: 313-15; Tsukishima 1968: 123), although other treat them as nouns (Tokieda 1950: 131). Similarly, there is no agreement among Western scholars on the nature of these words.

Some linguists define them as adjectival nouns (Martin 1988: 179-81), or as adjectives (Henderson 1948: 179; Fel'dman 1960: 5; Alpatov 1979b: 44-5). I believe that it is appropriate to classify these words in Modern Japanese as adjectives. However, in Middle Japanese they are better defined as adjectival nouns.⁵

Similar to Middle Japanese, in Western Old Japanese there is a construction consisting of *-ka* adjective + attributive form *nar-u* 'be-ATTR' of the copula *nar-* + noun phrase.⁶ Nevertheless, in contrast to both Modern and Middle Japanese, in Western Old Japanese *-ka* adjectives can directly modify following nouns or noun phrases without any following forms of a copula or any suffixes. In other words, they syntactically behave in the same way as the uninflected adjectival stems described above. However, they also have a morphological peculiarity: most of them consist of a bound stem + suffix *-ka*, although in a few cases the bound stem can be etymologically traced to an independent noun or another adjectival root: cf. for example *paNtaka* 'naked' in the first example below, which is probably derived from *paNta* 'skin.'

因名其劍謂川上部亦名曰裸伴<阿箇潘娜我等母>

Therefore [they] called these swords 'Kapakamyi set,' their other name is aka **paNtaka** *tömö*, 'completely naked companions, (lit: red **naked** companions)' (NS VI: 189)

世間之愚人乃吾妹兒尔告而語久

YÖ-NÖ NAKA-NÖ **ORÖKA** PYITÖ-nö WA-NK-YIMWO-KWO-ni NÖR-I-TE KATAR-Aku

world-GEN middle-GEN **stupid** person-GEN I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT say-INF-SUB speak-NML

the **stupid** person of this world told his beloved: ... (MYS IX: 1740)

悵使乎無跡

TASIKA NAR-U TUKAPYI-wo NA-MYI tö

certain be-ATTR messenger-ABS no-GER DV

thinking that there is no **reliable** messenger (MYS XII: 2874)

⁵ For detailed discussion see (Vovin 2003: 93-94).

⁶ If a noun is separated from a *-ka* adjective by another modifier, the *-ka* adjective is marked by the infinitive form *n-i* of the copula *n-*, see the example from SM 7 below.

今米豆良可爾新伎政者不有本由利行来迹事曾

IMA **meyNturaka**⁷ **n-i** ARATASI-kyi MATURINKÖTÖ N-I PA
AR-ANS-U MÖTÖ-yuri OKÖNAP-YI-KÖ-SI ATÖ KÖTÖ sö
now **strange DV-INF** new-ATTR governance DV-INF TOP exist-
NEG-INF root-ABL conduct-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR trace
matter PT

The present [one] is not a **strange** and new act of governance, [it is] an act that was conducted from the beginning (SM 7)

汝多知方貞仁明伎心乎以天

IMASI-tati pa **SANTAKA n-i** AKA-kyi KÖKÖRÖ-wo MÖT-I-te
you-PLUR TOP **loyal DV-INF** bright-ATTR heart-ACC hold-INF-
SUB

you, with **loyal** and clear hearts ... (SM 37)

Overall, *-ka* adjectives in Western Old Japanese occur very infrequently compared to Middle Japanese. The most frequent usage seems to be an adverbial one, which is discussed below.

ADVERBIAL USAGE

-ka adjectives are followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* when used adverbially:

於毛波奴爾橫風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆

omwop-an-u-ni YÖKÖSIMA-KANSE-nö **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)

将死命尔波可尔成奴

SIN-AM-U INÖTI **nipaka n-i** NAR-I-n-u
die-TENT-ATTR life **sudden DV-INF** become-INF-PERF-FIN
[I] will die **suddenly** (MYS XVI: 3811)

於呂可尔曾和礼波於母比之乎不乃宇良能

orōka n-i sö ware pa omöp-yi-si opu-nö ura

⁷ *meyNturaka* ‘strange’ is derived from the same independently unattested root **meyNtura-* as in the adjective *meyNtura-si-* ‘rare, strange.’

insufficient DV-INF PT I TOP think-INF-PAST/ATTR Opu-GEN
bay

the bay of Opu about which I did not think much (lit. thought **insufficiently**) (MYS XVIII: 4049)

於乃毛於乃毛貞仁能久清伎心乎以天奉仕
onö mwo onö mwo **SANTAKA n-i** YÖ-ku KYIYWO-kyi
KÖKÖRÖ-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)

SPECIAL DERIVED FORM IN -KEY-

There are inflected adjectives with the stem-forming suffix *-key-* that are clearly derived from *-ka* adjectives, although the *-ka* adjectives themselves are not attested in Western Old Japanese texts, e.g. *akyirakey-* ‘bright’ (< *akyira-ka), *siNtukey-* ‘quiet’ (< *siNtu-ka), *tapyirakey-* ‘safe’ (< *tapyira-ka), etc.

安伎良氣伎名

akyirakey-kyi NA

bright-ATTR name

bright names (MYS XX: 4466)

尔波母之頭氣師

nipa mö **siNtukey-si**

sea surface PT **quiet-FIN**

the surface of the sea is also **quiet** (MYS III: 388)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流
wa-Nkö opo kyimyī pa **tapyirakey-ku** naNka-ku imas-i-te tōyō
myi-kyi matur-u

I-POSS great lord TOP **safe-INF** long-INF exist(HON)-INF-SUB
abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-FIN

[I] present the abundant rice wine so that my sovereign (lit.: great lord) will live **safely** and long (SNK 4)

5.2 INFLECTED ADJECTIVES

In this section I will discuss the morphology that is unique to inflected adjectives. Therefore, the morphological markers that are

shared by both inflected adjectives and verbs, such as prefixes, will be treated in Chapter 6.

There are two classes of inflected adjectives in Western Old Japanese: class 1 (traditional <活用 *ku-katsuyō* type), which shows no irregularities and has suffixes attached to the adjectival stem that is identical to the adjectival root; and class 2 (traditional <活用 *shiku-katsuyō* type), which shows one slight irregularity (haplological contraction of the final *-si-si* form into *-si-Ø*) and has suffixes attached to the adjectival stem in *-si-* that represents an extension after an adjectival root.

The two adjectival classes can be summarized in the following chart that presents two typical adjectives, *aka-* ‘red’ and *utukusi-* ‘beautiful’, from each class followed by all suffixes that can directly follow an adjectival stem in Western Old Japanese.

Chart 24: Classes of inflected adjectives in Western Old Japanese

	Class 1	Class 2
forms	aka- ‘red’	utuku-si- ‘beautiful’
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	aka-ku	utuku-si-ku
final <i>-si</i>	aka-si	utuku-si-Ø
attributive <i>-kyi</i>	aka-kyi	utuku-si-kyi
evidential 1 <i>-kye</i>	aka-kye	utuku-si-kye
evidential 2 <i>-kyere</i>	aka-kyere	utuku-si-kyere
nominalizer 1 <i>-kyeku</i>	aka-kyeku	utuku-si-kyeku
nominalizer 2 <i>-sa</i>	aka-sa	utuku-si-sa
gerund <i>-myi</i>	aka-myi	utuku-si-myi

Note: both evidential forms and the nominalizer in *-kyeku* are secondary forms based on the attributive form *-kyi*.

The adjectival forms from Chart 24 above will be discussed in detail below.

5.2.1 INFINITIVE FORM -KU

The infinitive form of inflected adjectives is formed by attaching the suffix *-ku* to the stem: *aka-ku* ‘red-INF,’ *sirwo-ku* ‘white-INF,’ *utukusi-ku* ‘beautiful-INF,’ *saNkasi-ku* ‘steep-INF,’ etc. The infinitive form has two main functions in Western Old Japanese: (1) non-final predicate and (2) adverbial.

Examples of *-ku* as a non-final predicate:

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米爾之美延牟

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo **opo-ku** sik-yi-tapey-nō makura sar-aNs-u-te imey-ni si myi-ye-m-u
direct DV-INF meet-NEG-INF exist-NML PT **many-INF** spread-INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow go.away-NEG-INF-SUB dream-LOC PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN

There are many occasions when [we] do not meet directly, **and** [I] want to see [you] in [my] dream without going away from [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

萬世爾得之波岐布得母烏梅能波奈多由流己等奈久佐吉和多流倍子

YÖRÖNTU YÖ n-i tösi pa k-yi p-u tömö uMEY-nō pana **tay-uru kötō na-ku** sak-yi-watar-uNpey-si
ten.thousand generation DV-INF year TOP come-INF pass-FIN CONJ plum-GEN blossom **be interrupted-ATTR matter no-INF** bloom-INF-cross-DEB-FIN

Although years will come and pass for ten thousand generations, plum blossoms would continue to bloom **without interruption** (MYS V: 830)

雪布流欲波為部母奈久寒之安礼婆

YUKYI pur-u ywo pa **SUNPYE mö na-ku** SAMU-KU si ar-e-Npa
snow fall-ATTR night TOP **way PT no-INF** cold-INF PT exist-EV-CON

because in the night when snow is falling **nothing can be done and** [it] is indeed cold (MYS V: 892)

都追牟許等奈久波也可做里麻勢

tutum-u kötō na-ku paya kapyer-i-[i]mas-e
have.difficulty-ATTR no-INF fast return-(INF)-HON-IMP
Return quickly, **without having difficulties** (MYS XV: 3582)

清麻呂其我姊法均止甚大尔惡久奸流妄語乎作互

KYIYWOMARÖ SI-Nka ANE POPUKUN-tö ITÖ OPO-KYI n-i
ASI-ku KANTAM-YEr-u ITUPAR-I-N-KÖTÖ-wo TUKUR-I-te
Kiyiwomarö he-POSS elder.sister Popukun-COM very big-ATTR DV-INF **bad-INF** be insincere-PROG-ATTR lie-NML-GEN-word-ACC make-INF-SUB

Kyiywomarō with his elder sister Popukun created an extremely **bad and** insincere lie ... (SM 44)

狭國者広久峻國者平久

SA-KYI KUNI PA **PYRÖ-ku** SANKASI-KYI KUNI PA **TAPYIRAKEY-KU**

narrow-ATTR land TOP **broad-INF** steep-ATTR land TOP **level-INF**

The narrow land **will be broad**, and the steep land **will be level**, and... (NT 1)

Examples of an adverbial usage of *-ku*:

志我都矩屢麻泥爾飫衰枳瀾爾柯掩俱都柯陪麻都羅武

si-Nka tukur-u⁸-maNte-ni opo kyimiyi-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)

乎武例我禹杯爾俱謨娜尼母旨屢俱之多多婆

wo-mure-Nka upey-ni kumo Ntani mö **siru-ku** si tat-aNpa

DIM-mountain-POSS top-LOC cloud PT PT **distinct-INF** PT rise-COND

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

愛久志我可多良倍婆

UTUKUSI-ku si-Nka katar-ap-ey-Npa

beautiful-INF he-POSS talk-ITER-EV-CON

as he used to say **beautifully** (MYS V: 904)

麻佐吉久登伊比低之物能乎

ma-sakyi-ku tö ip-yi-te-si MÖnöwo

INT-safe-INF DV say-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR CONJ

⁸ The verb *tukur-* is an intransitive counterpart of *tukus-* ‘to exhaust, to exert (oneself).’ It occurs only in Old Japanese, and it is interesting that it did not make its way into any dictionaries, including (Omodaka et al. 1967). The much more widespread intransitive equivalent of *tukus-* is OJ *tukiy-<*tuku-i-* ‘to come to an end.’

Although [I] have said that [I return] **safely** (MYS XVII: 3958)

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-nō kyimiyi-ra-tō ka-ku si kōsō 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 **pleasantly** amuse [myself] with lords from Kwosi by
 putting willow [branches] in our hair in this way (MYS XVIII:
 4071)

於乃毛於乃毛貞仁能久清伎心乎以天奉仕
 onō mwo onō mwo SANTAKA n-i YÖ-ku KYIYWO-kyi
 KÖKÖRÖ-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)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流
 wa-Nkö opo kyimiyi pa **tapyirakey-ku naNka-ku** imas-i-te tōyō
 myi-kyi matur-u
 I-POSS great lord TOP **safe-INF long-INF** exist(HON)-INF-SUB
 abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-FIN
 [I] present the abundant rice wine so that my sovereign (lit.: great
 lord) will live **safely and long** (SNK 4)

The infinitive *-ku* can be also nominalized when it is followed by the attributive form *n-ō* of the defective verb *n-* 'to be' or by the genitive case marker *-nō*, although this usage is rare, and the only two certain examples (one each) come from Late Old Japanese texts:

此橘乎等伎自久能可久能木實等名附家良之母
 KÖNÖ TATINPANA-wo **tōkyiNsi-ku n-ō** kaNk-u n-ō KÖ-NÖ
 MIY tö NA-N-TUKEY-kyer-asi-mō
 this mandarin.orange-ACC **be.off.season-INF DV-ATTR** smell-
 ATTR DV-ATTR tree-GEN fruit DV name-LOC-attach(INF)-
 RETR-SUP-EXCL
 [we] should call these mandarin oranges fragrant tree fruits **that
 are off season!** (MYS XVIII: 4111)

故非之久能於保加流和礼波美都々之努波牟

kwopiysi-ku-nō opo-k-ar-u ware pa myi-tutu sinwop-am-u
long-INF-GEN big-INF-exist-ATTR I TOP see(INF)-COOR
 yearn-TENT-FIN

I, [who] has **great longing**, will be looking at [it] and yearning [for my beloved] (MYS XX: 4475)

SPECIAL FORM -KU-TE

The infinitive form *-ku*, in both the functions of a non-final predicate and an adverb, can be directly followed by a subordinative gerund *-te*. The only phonetically spelled example is found in Late Old Japanese, but the form *-ku-te* is unlikely to be an innovation, because it is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese (see below). In all other Western Old Japanese examples the subordinative gerund *-te* is spelled semantographically with the character 而.

Non-final predicate usage:

梶棹毛無而不樂毛己具人奈四二

KANTI SAWO mwo **NA-KU-TE** SANPUSI-mwo kōNk-u pyitō
 na-si-ni

rudder pole PT **no-INF-SUB** sad-EXCL row-ATTR person no-
 FIN-LOC

there is neither rudder **nor** pole [at the boat], and [it] is sad, as there is no one to row! (MYS III: 257)

人目繁而

PYITŌ MEY **SINKEY-KU-TE**

person eye **thick-INF-SUB**

there are many prying eyes, **and...** (MYS IV: 752)

許太加久氏佐刀波安礼騰母

kō-N-**taka-ku-te** satwo pa ar-e-Ntōmō

tree-GEN-**high-INF-SUB** village TOP exist-EV-CONC
 although trees **are high** in the village (MYS XIX: 4209)

Adverbial usage:

吾念如此而不有者

WA-NKA ŌMOP-YI **KA-KU-TE** AR-ANS-U PA

I-POSS love-NML **thus-INF-SUB** exist-NEG-INF TOP
 If my love was not **such** ... (MYS IV: 734)

好去而早還來等

MA-SAKYI-KU-TE PAYA KAPYER-I-KÖ tö
INT-safe-INF-SUB fast return-INF-come(IMP) DV
 saying: “Come back **safely** and fast!” (MYS XX: 4398)

SPECIAL USAGE: -KU + NAR- ‘TO BECOME’

The infinitive form *-ku* is also used in a special construction with the following verb *nar-* ‘to become’ meaning ‘to become Adj.’:

岐美賀由岐氣那賀久那理奴

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)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾
 家良受夜

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-tar-u sönö-nö awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-
uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u ya
 plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN
 green willow TOP wig DV-INF **do-DEB-INF become-INF-
 PERF-INF-RETR-NEG-FIN PT**

Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

烏梅能波奈佐企弓知理奈波佐久良婆那都伎弓佐久倍久奈利爾
 弓阿良受也

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-te tir-i-n-aNpa sakura-N-pana tuNk-yi-te
sak-uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-te ar-aNs-u ya
 plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-SUB fall-INF-PERF-COND
 sakura-GEN-blossom follow-INF-SUB **bloom-DEB-INF become-
 INF-PERF-INF-SUB exist-NEG-FIN PT**

If the plum blossoms have bloomed and fallen, **has [it] not become so that sakura blossoms should bloom again?** (MYS V: 829)

5.2.1.1 INFINITIVE FORM -KU + AR- ‘EXIST’

In contrast to other verbs, inflected adjectives can be followed only by a limited number of suffixes that attach directly to their stems.

These suffixes cannot be followed by any other suffixes directly, with four exceptions: the subordinative gerund *-te* can follow the infinitive *-ku* (see 5.2.1 above) and the nominalizer *-aku*, tentative *-am-*, and conditional gerund *-a^Npa* can follow the attributive form *-kyi* (see 5.2.3.1, 5.2.3.3, and 5.2.3.4 below). In order to produce more complex inflected forms, the auxiliary verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ is used after the infinitive form *-ku*, and verbal affixes are added to *ar-*. Thus, most of the adjectival forms found in the Western Old Japanese texts are analytical, consisting of STEM + *-ku* + *ar-* + SUFFIX(ES). A great difference between Western Old Japanese and Middle (Classical) Japanese is that in the former the sequence *-ku* + *ar-* is in most cases still uncontracted (especially in Early Old Japanese texts), while in the latter it always appears as a new synthetic form *-k-ar-* that resulted from elision of the vowel /u/ in the infinitive form.

阿加陀麻波袁佐閑比迦禮杼斯良多麻能岐美何余曾比斯多布斗
久阿理祁理

aka-N-tama pa wo sapey pyikar-e-Ntö sira tama-nö kyimyi-Nka
yösöpyi si **taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i**
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel TOP cord PT shine-EV-CONC white jewel-
COMP lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT **revered-INF exist-
INF-RETR-FIN**

Although even the cord of red jewels shines, [I] realized [that I] feel reverence [for my] lord’s adorned appearance, which is like a white jewel (KK 7)

阿軻娜磨廼比訶利播阿利登比登播伊珮耐企弭我譽贈比志多輔
妬勾阿利計利

aka-N-tama-nö pyikari pa ar-i tö pyitö pa ip-ey-Ntö kyimyi-Nka
yösöpyi si **taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i**
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel-GEN light TOP exist-FIN DV person TOP
say-EV-CONC lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT **revered-INF
exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

Although people say that red jewel has light, [I] realized [that I] feel reverence [for my] lord’s adorned appearance (NK 6)

This is a textual variant of the poem KK 7 given above.

伊喻之之乎都那遇舸播杯能倭柯矩娑能倭柯俱阿利岐騰阿我謨
婆憊俱爾

i-y-u sisi-wo tunaNk-u kapa pye-nö waka kusa-nö **waka-ku ar-i-
kyi** tö a-Nka [o]mop-an-aku n-i

shoot-PASS-ATTR(?) game animal-wo follow-ATTR river side-
GEN young grass-COMP **young-*INF* exist-*INF*-PAST/FIN** DV I-
POSS think-NEG-NML DV-*INF*

I do not think [he] **was as young** as young grass on the river side
where [we] followed a game animal that was shot, but ... (NK 117)

紫草能爾保傲類妹乎爾苦久有者

MURASAKYI-nō 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)

母呂比得波家布能阿比太波多努斯久阿流倍斯

mörö pyitō pa kyepu-nō 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)

伊加婆加利故保斯苦阿利家武麻都良佐欲比壳

ika Npakari **kwoposi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u** saywo-pyimye
how PT **be.longing-*INF* exist-*INF*-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**
Saywo-pyimye

how Saywo-pyimye **must have been longing** (MYS V: 875)

和我多妣波比左思久安良思

wa-Nka taNpyi pa **pyisasi-ku ar-asi**
I-POSS journey TOP **long-*INF* exist-SUP**

It seems that my journey was long (MYS XV: 3667)

伊毛乎婆美受曾安流倍久安里家留

imwo-woNpa **myi-Ns-u sō ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u**
beloved-ACC(EMPH) see-NEG-*INF* PT exist-*DEB*-*INF* exist-*INF*-RETR-ATTR

[I] **should not have seen** [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3739)

左奴流欲波於保久安礼杼毛

sa-n-ur-u ywo pa **opo-ku ar-e-Ntōmō**
PREF-sleep-ATTR night TOP **many-*INF* exist-EV-CONC**

although there are many nights when [I] sleep... (MYS XV: 3760)

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 **tōpo-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)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTIONS WITH EMPHATIC PARTICLES MŌ AND SI AND TOPIC PARTICLE PA

The construction *-ku mō ar-*, that includes focus particle *mō* (see 9.1.2) between the infinitive form and *ar-* ‘to exist,’ places emphasis on the infinitive. This construction is quite frequent in Western Old Japanese texts:

阿袁那母岐備比登登等母迹斯都米婆多怒斯久母阿流迦
 awo na mō kyiNpiy pyitō-tō tōmō n-i si tum-ey-Npa **tanwosi-ku**
mō ar-u ka
 green vegetables PT KyiNpiy person-COM together DV-INF PT
 pick-EV-CON **delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT**
Is [not it] **delightful** when [I] pick green vegetables together with
 the girl from KyiNpiy? (KK 54)

波斯多弓能久良波斯夜麻波佐賀斯祁杼伊毛登能煩禮波佐賀斯
 玖母阿良受
 kurapasi yama pa saNkasi-kye-Ntō imwo-tō nōNpör-e-Npa
saNkasi-ku mō ar-aNs-u
 Kurapasi mountain TOP steep-EV-CONC beloved-COM climb-
 EV-CON **steep-INF PT exist-NEG-FIN**
 although Mount Kurapasi is steep, when [I] climb [it] with [my]
 beloved, [it] **is not steep at all** (KK 70)

平氣久安久母阿良牟遠事母無裳無母阿良牟遠世間能宇計久都
 良計久
 TAPYIRAKEY-ku YASU-ku **mō ar-am-u-wo KÖTÖ** mō NA-KU
MŌ NA-KU mō ar-am-u-wo YÖ-NÖ NAKA-nō u-ky-eku tura-
 ky-eku
 peaceful-INF **quiet-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC** matter PT
 no-INF misfortune **no-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC** world-
 GEN inside-GEN sad-ATTR-NML painful-ATTR-NML

although [I] **want to live peacefully and quietly**, although [I] **want to live uneventfully and without misfortunes**, the fact that life is sad and painful... (MYS V: 897)

It is quite possible that in this example *ar-* ‘to exist’ still preserves its lexical meaning.

之路髮麻泥尔大皇尔都可倍麻都礼婆貴久母安流香

sirwo KAMYI-maNte-ni OPO KYIMYI-ni tukapey-matur-e-Npa
TAPUTWO-ku mö ar-u ka

white hair-TERM-LOC great lord-DAT serve(INF)-HUM-EV-
CON **awesome-INF PT exist-ATTR PT**

When [one] serves [his] sovereign until grey hair, is [not it] **awesome?** (MYS XVII: 3922)

The construction *-ku pa ar-* with an intervening topic particle *pa* are rare (only five examples, and among them only two in phonetic script), and they are all confined to the *Man'yōshū*. In all examples *pa* clearly has a contrastive function (see 9.1.1):

荒磯超浪者恐然為蟹海之玉藻之憎者不有手

AR[A]-ISWO KWOS-U NAMYI PA OSORÖ-SI SIKAsuka n-i

UMYI-NÖ TAMA MWO-NÖ NIKU-KU PA AR-ANS-U-te

rough shore cross-ATTR wave TOP fearsome-FIN on the contrary
DV-INF sea-GEN jewel seaweed-GEN **unpleasant-INF TOP
exist-NEG-INF-SUB**

The waves that go over the rough, rocky shore are fearsome. On the contrary, the precious seaweeds **are not unpleasant** (MYS VII: 1397)

大王乃美己等可之古美都麻和可礼可奈之久波安礼特

OPO KYIMYI-nö myi-kötö kasikwo-myi tuma wakare **kanasi-ku
pa ar-e-Ntö**

Great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER spouse part(INF) **sad-
INF TOP exist-EV-CONC**

Because the order of [my] sovereign is awesome, [I] part with [my] spouse, and **although [I] am sad**, [I will go to serve] (MYS XX: 4398)

佐久波奈波宇都呂布等伎安里安之比奇乃夜麻須我乃祢之奈我
久波安利家里

sak-u pana pa utur-öp-u tökyi ar-i asi-pyikiy n-ö yama suga-nö ne
si **naNka-ku pa ar-i-kyer-i**

bloom-ATTR flower TOP wither-ITER-ATTR time exist-FIN
makura-kotoba (lit: foot-low DV-ATTR) mountain sedge-GEN
root PT **long-INF exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

There is a time when blooming flowers will be withering.
[However,] roots of the mountain sedge **turned out [to last for a] long [time]** (MYS XX: 4484)

The construction *-ku si ar-* is not very frequent in Western Old Japanese (altogether fifteen examples), and all attestations are limited to the *Man'yōshū*. The exact meaning of the particle *si* is difficult to define (see 9.4.2), but it seems that it emphasizes the preceding infinitive form.

雪布流欲波為部母奈久寒之安礼婆

YUKYI pur-u ywo pa SUNPYE mö na-ku SAMU-KU **si ar-e-Npa**
snow fall-ATTR night TOP way PT no-INF **cold-INF PT exist-EV-CON**

because in the night when snow is falling nothing can be done and [it] **is indeed cold** (MYS V: 892)

人言之繁思有者

PYITÖ-N-KÖTÖ-NÖ **SINKEY-KU si AR-ABA**
person-GEN-word-GEN **thick-INF PT exist-COND**

If rumors are growing thick [like a bush] ... (MYS XII: 3110)

氣奈我久之安礼婆古非尔家流可母

key **naNka-ku si ar-e-ba** kwopiy-n-i-kyer-u kamö
day **long-INF PT exist-EV-CON** long for(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

because it has been a long time (lit.: days) [since we left], [I] long for the capital! (MYS XV: 3668)

5.2.1.2 CONTRACTED FORM -K-AR-

The contracted form *-k-ar-* (< *-ku ar-*, see 5.2.1.1 above), resulting from the elision of the vowel /u/ in the adjectival infinitive form *-ku* before the verb *ar-* 'exist,' appears to be a comparatively late innovation. Although the contracted form *-k-ar-* appears in some potentially borderline Early Western Old Japanese texts, such as MYS III-V (most of the examples are in semantographic writing, so the basis for transcribing these forms as *-k-ar-* rather than *-ku ar-* rests solely on the meter of poems), it does not present itself in the

earliest Western Old Japanese texts, such as the *Kojiki kayō*, the *Nihonshoki kayō*, or the *Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teisetsu*. However, since the contracted form is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese, it is also possible that the Asuka region dialect that underlies Early Western Old Japanese did not develop the contracted form in contrast to Late Western Old Japanese that is based on the Nara dialect.⁹ It is equally possible that the presence of the contracted form in the earlier books of the *Man'yōshū* can be explained by the fact that they were edited by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi.

常磐成石室者今毛安里家礼騰住家類人曾常無里家留
TÖK[Ö]-IPA-NASU IPA YA PA IMA mwo ar-i-kyer-e-Ntö SUM-
YI-kyer-u PYITÖ sö TUNE NA-K-Ar-i-kyer-u
Eternal rock-COMP rock house TOP now PT exist-INF-RETR-
EV-CONC live-INF-RETR person PT usual **no-INF-exist-INF-
RETR-ATTR**

Although there are now as well the rock dwellings that are like an eternal rock, **it turns that it is not** usual that people live [there] (MYS III: 308)

人毛奈吉空家者草枕旅尔益而辛苦有家里
PYITÖ mwo na-kyi MUNASI-KYI IPYE PA KUSA MAKURA
TANPYI-ni MASAR-I-TE KURUSI-K-AR-I-kyer-i
person PT no-ATTR empty-ATTR house TOP grass pillow
journey-LOC exceed-INF-SUB **painful-INF-exist-INF-RETR-
FIN**

It turned out that an empty house with nobody in [it] **is more painful** than a journey [when one uses] grass for a pillow (MYS III: 451)

吾背子尔復者不相香常思墓今朝別之為便無有都流
WA-NKA se-KWO-ni MATA PA AP-ANSI ka tö OMÖP-EY-Npa
ka KYESA-NÖ WAKARE-NÖ SUNPYE NA-K-AR-I-t-uru
I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT again TOP meet-NEG/TENT PT DV
think-EV-CON PT this.morning-GEN part(NML)-GEN way **no-
INF-exist-INF-PERF-ATTR**

Was [it] because I thought that [we] would not meet again that [I] **had no** way to part [with you] this morning? (MYS IV: 540)

⁹ The contracted form practically rules supreme in Middle Japanese.

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
可利家理

yō-nō naka pa munasi-kyi mōnō tō sir-u tōkyi si iyōyō masu-masu
kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
world-GEN inside TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR time
PT more.and.more more.and.more **sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**
When [I] realized that the world is empty, [it] **turned out to be**
more and more **sad** (MYS V: 793)

和伎毛故我可多美能許呂母奈可里世婆奈爾毛能母弓加伊能知
都我麻之

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka katamyi n-ō körömō **na-k-ar-i-s-eNpa**
nani mwonō mōt-e ka inōti tuNk-amasi
I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS keepsake DV-ATTR garment **no-**
INF-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND what thing hold-EV PT life
join-SUBJ
If [I] **did not have** a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, would
having anything keep me alive? (MYS XV: 3733)

伎美我目乎美受比佐奈良婆須敝奈可流倍思

kyimyi-Nka mey-wo myi-Ns-u pyisa nar-aNpa suNpye **na-k-ar-**
uNpey-si
lord-POSS eye-ACC see-NEG-INF long be-COND way **no-INF-**
exist-DEB-FIN
If [I] do not see your eyes for a long time, [I] am helpless (lit.:
[there] **cannot be** [any] way) (MYS XVII: 3934)

從古昔無利之瑞

INISIPYE-YU **NA-K-AR-I-si** SIRUSI
ancient times-ABL **no-INF-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR** omen
an omen that **did not exist** from ancient times (MYS XIX: 4254)

麻奈久曾奈良波古非之可利家留

ma na-ku sō nara pa **kwopiysi-k-ar-i-kyer-u**
interval no-INF PT Nara TOP **longing-INF-exist-INF-RETR-**
ATTR
[I] **am longing for** [the capital of] Nara without interruption (MYS
XX: 4461)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
 可理家利米太志加利鷄利

kusurisi pa tune n-ö mö ar-e-Ntö marapyitö n-ö ima-nö kusurisi
taputö-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

medicine man TOP usual DV-ATTR PT exist-EV-CONC guest
 DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man **revered-INF-exist-INF-
 RETR-FIN praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

Although there are usual medicine men, too, the present Guest
 Medicine Man is **indeed revered and praiseworthy** (BS 15)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Similar to Western Old Japanese, the infinitive *-ku* can also be used
 in Eastern Old Japanese as a non-final predicate or as an adverbial
 modifier. Examples of the non-final predicate usage:

宇良毛奈久和我由久美知尔

ura mwo **na-ku** wa-Nka yuk-u miti-ni

back PT **no-INF** I-POSS go-ATTR way-LOC

On the way that I went **not** [paying] attention [to anything] ...
 (MYS XIV: 3443)

夜蘇許登乃蔽波思氣久等母安良蘇比可祢弓安乎許登奈須那

yaswo kötö-nö pye pa **siNkey-ku tömö** araswop-yi-kane-te a-wo
 kötö nas-una

eighty word-GEN leaf TOP **thick-INF CONJ** resist-INF-
 NEG/POT(INF)-SUB I-ACC word do-NEG/IMP

although many rumors **are growing thick** [like a bush], do not talk
 about me, failing to resist (MYS XIV: 3456)

Examples of adverbial usage:

和我都麻波伊多久古非良之

wa-Nka tuma pa **ita-ku** kwopiy-rasi

I-POSS spouse TOP **extreme-INF** love(INF?)¹⁰-SUP

It seems that my spouse loves [me] **dearly**... (MYS XX: 4322)

¹⁰ The corresponding WOJ form is *kwop-urasi* 'love-SUP' with no infinitive form
 attested.

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte **sa-ku** ar-e te ip-yi-si keytōNpa
Nse wasure-kane-t-uru
father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) **safe-*INF*** exist-IMP
DV say-*INF*-PAST/ATTR word PT forget(*INF*)-NEG/POT(*INF*)-
PERF-ATTR

[I] cannot forget the words: “Be **safe!**” that [my] father and mother
said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

Similar to Western Old Japanese, the infinitive *-ku* can also be
nominalized in Eastern Old Japanese when it is followed by the
attributive form *n-ō* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be.’ This
construction serves as a modifier of a following noun or noun
phrase.

麻等保久能久毛為

ma-tōpo-ku n-ō kumwo-wi
INT-distant-*INF* DV-ATTR cloud-sit(NML)
distant sky (MYS XIV: 3441)

麻等保久能野尔毛安波奈牟

ma-tōpo-ku n-ō NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u
INT-distant-*INF* DV-ATTR field-LOC PT meet-DES-TENT-FIN
[I] would like to meet [you] even in a **distant** field (MYS XIV:
3463)

Eastern Old Japanese also has *-ku-te* form:

麻乎其母能布能末知可久弓安波奈敞波於吉都麻可母能奈氣伎
曾安我須流

mawo-N-kōmō-nō pu-nō ma **tika-ku-te** ap-an-ap-ye-Npa okyi-tu
ma-kamō-nō naNkeyk-yi sō a-Nka s-uru
nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space **be.close-*INF*-SUB** meet-
NEG-ITER-EV-CON offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP lament-
NML PT I-POSS do-ATTR

Because [we] continuously do not meet **being** as **close** [to each
other] as spaces between the meshes of a nettle mat, I lament like a
real duck in the offing (MYS XIV: 3524)

祁布与利波可蔽里見奈久弓意富伎美乃之許乃美多弓等伊壱多
都和例波

kyepu-yōri pa kapyer-i-MYI **na-ku-te** opo kyimyi-nō sikō n-ō myi-
tate tō iNte-tat-u ware pa
today-ABL TOP return-INF-look(NML) **no-INF-SUB** great lord-
GEN unworthy DV-ATTR HON-shield DV exit(INF)-leave-ATTR
I TOP

I leave today **without** looking back to be an unworthy shield of the
sovereign (MYS XX: 4373)

The uncontracted form *-ku ar-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only in one example:

佐氣久阿利麻弓

sakey-ku ar-i mat-e

safe-INF exist-INF wait-IMP

wait [for me] **safely** (MYS XX: 4368)

The special constructions *-ku mö ar-*, *-ku pa ar-*, and *-ku si ar-* are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

Eastern Old Japanese also has a contracted *-k-ar-* form:

安我古非能未思等伎奈可里家利

a-Nka kwopiy nōmiy si tōkyi **na-k-ar-i-kyer-i**

I-POSS love(NML) PT PT time **no-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

only my love **does not have** a [special] time (MYS XIV: 3422)

A2: Ryukyuan

The infinitive *-ku* is also attested throughout Ryukyuan, as a non-final predicate and an adverbial modifier. Examples from the Shuri dialect:

tatanoo **mii-ku** tuzee **huru-ku**

tatami(TOP) **new-INF** wife(TOP) **old-INF**

The tatami is **new**, and the wife is **old** ... (RGJ 82)

munoo **maa-ku** kam-ee

thing(TOP) **delicious-INF** eat-IMP

Eat food **with gusto!** (RGJ 82)

Most Ryukyuan dialects: Central Ryukyuan, Yaeyama, Yonaguni, and to a great extent Northern Ryukyuan as well, use the construction consisting of nominalizer *-sa ar-* ‘to exist’ to build analytical forms of inflected adjectives instead of the infinitive *-ku* + the auxiliary *a(r)-* ‘to exist’ construction (RGJ 82-86), (Shimabukuro 1997: 366-68), (Suyama 1997: 452-54), (Karimata 1997b: 410-11), (Takahashi 1997a: 421). However, the *-ku* + *a(r)-* construction exists in certain Southern Ryukyuan dialects, such as Miyako (Karimata 1997a: 399-401). The *-ku* + *a(r)-* construction in Miyako always occurs in its contracted form *-k-ar-*.

Miyako

taka-k-a-m koona

high-INF-exist-FIN buy/NEG/IMP

[It] is expensive. Do not buy [it] (Karimata 1997a: 400)

taka-k-ar-aba nuu-ina

high-INF-exist-COND climb-NEG/IMP

If [it] is high, do not climb (Karimata 1997a: 401)

Takahashi maintains that in Old Ryukyuan the construction *-sa ar-* was predominantly used, and that there is only one example of *yok-ar-u* ‘good-INF-exist-ATTR’ (Takahashi 1997b: 425). However, cf. the following example from the *Omorō sōshi*, where besides *yok-ar-u* another adjective *kiya-* ‘bright’ is also found in the same form:

ゑけようけおのよかるひにゑけようけおのきやかるひに
 weke you keo-no **yo-k-ar-u** fi-ni weke you keo-no **kiya-k-ar-u** fi-
 ni
 EXCL EXCL today-GEN **good-INF-exist-ATTR** day-LOC EXCL
 EXCL today-GEN **bright-INF-exist-ATTR** day-LOC
 Oh, yeah, on today’s **good** day; oh, yeah, on today’s **bright** day
 (OS X: 532)

Further research is needed to find out if there are other examples of the *-k-ar-* contracted form in Old Ryukyuan.

It is difficult to decide which of these two different constructions, *-ku* + *a(r)-* and *-sa* + *a(r)-*, is an innovation, and which is an archaism. The fact that the distribution of the *-sa* +

a(r)- construction is wider, speaks in favor of its proto-Ryukyuan nature. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that Miyako borrowed the *-ku + a(r)*- construction independently from Middle Japanese. Moreover, the remnants of the *-ku + a(r)*- construction in Amami in the Northern Ryukyus suggest that in this territory the *-ku + a(r)*- construction was replaced by the *-sa + a(r)*- construction, probably under the influence of Central Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

PJ infinitive **-ku* is usually compared with MK *-kwo*, a gerund that can follow both active and quality verbs (Martin 1995: 148). An example from Middle Korean:

nyeth-wo-si-kwo stwo kiph-i-si-n-i

shallow-CAUS-HON-GER again deep-CAUS-HON-PERF/ATTR
-NML

[Heaven] made [the sea] shallow, and then made [it] deep again
(YP 20)

As I mentioned above, the reflexes of the adjectival infinitive *-ku* are amply attested throughout different branches of Japonic. Thus, overall, this might be a valid comparison, but two reservations are in order. First, while the gerund *-kwo* in Korean is used with both action and quality verbs, in Japonic it is restricted to inflected adjectives only. Second, for a perfect phonetic fit we might expect that WOJ *-ku* is from PJ **-ko*, with raising of PJ **o > u*, typical for Central Japanese, but this is not the case, as PR form is definitely **-ku*, not **-ko*.¹¹

5.2.2 FINAL FORM -SI

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, in contrast to Middle Japanese, Western Old Japanese *-si* does not necessarily have an exclusive function of a final predication marker, as it can

¹¹ Martin also adds to this comparison OJ nominalizer *-ku* used after verbs, e.g. *ip-aku* 'the fact that [someone] says', but I believe it does not belong here, because it is rather *-aku* than just *-ku*, as can be seen from such forms as *myi-r-aku* 'the fact that [someone] sees' and *s-ur-aku* 'the fact that [someone] does,' which make it clear that it is *-aku* and not *-ku* that historically follows the attributive form of verbs, thus, we have the following developments: *ip-aku* < **ip-u-aku*, *myi-r-aku* < **mi-ru-aku*, and *s-ur-aku* < **s-uru-aku*. The same is true of adjectives that have nominalized forms in *-kyeku* < attributive *-kyi* + nominalizer *-aku* (see 5.2.3.1).

be sometimes used as an attributive marker as well. This specific usage certainly points to the fact that the final marker *-si* and the attributive marker *-kyi* were not as strictly differentiated functionally in Western Old Japanese as they were in Middle Japanese. This phenomenon in its own turn strongly speaks in favor of a point of view that both *-si* and *-kyi* are relatively late innovations in Japanese, especially given the fact that both markers are completely absent from the Ryukyuan branch of Japonic. Nevertheless, on the synchronic level, the function of *-si* in most Western Old Japanese textual examples is firmly connected with final predication. This phenomenon probably means that *-si* was on its way to be established as a marker of final predication of inflected adjectives. Examples:

阿波母與賣迹斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志

a pa mö yō 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)

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-nō pyitō-mōtō suNkey pa pyitō-ri wor-i tōmō opō kyimyi si
yō-si tō kyikōs-aNpa pyitō-ri wor-i tōmō

Yata-GEN one-CL sedge TOP one-CL exist-FIN CONJ great lord
PT **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)

許斯母阿夜爾加志古志

kō si mö aya n-i **kasikwo-si**
this PT PT very DV-INF **awesome-FIN**

This **is very awesome**, too (KK 100)

区茂能於虚奈比虚予比辞流辞毛

kumo-nō okōnap-yi kō yōpyi **siru-si** mwo
spider-GEN perform-NML this night **distinctive-FIN** PT

the spider's performance **is distinctive** tonight (NK 65)

情佐麻祢之

KÖKÖRO sa **mane-si**

thought so **many-FIN**

[sad] thoughts **are** so **many** (MYS I: 82)

尔波母之頭氣師

nipa mö **siNtukey-si**

sea.surface PT **quiet-FIN**

the surface of the sea **is** also **quiet** (MYS III: 388)

則許母倍婆許己呂志伊多思

sökö [o]möp-ey-Npa kökörö si **ita-si**

there think-EV-CON heart PT **painful-FIN**

when [I] think of those places, [my] heart **aches** (MYS XVII: 4006)

許礼乎於伎低麻多波安里我多之

köre-wo ok-yi-te mata pa **ar-i-N-kata-si**

this-ACC leave-INF-SUB again TOP **exist-NML-GEN-hard-FIN**

[It] **is difficult to find** again [a falcon of the same quality], except

this [one] (MYS XVII: 4011)

The attributive usage of *-si* is attested as well, albeit in fewer examples, most of which belong to Early Old Japanese, which again speaks in favor of the archaic nature of this type of usage. The clear-cut cases can only be found in the case of the adjectives belonging to class 1, since the adjectives of class 2, as I mentioned above, do not have a final predication form different from their stem. Examples:

登富登富斯故志能久迹迹

töpö **töpö-si** Kwosi-nö kuni-ni

distant **distant-FIN** Kwosi-GEN land-LOC

in the distant, **distant** land of Kwosi (KK 2)

夜本爾余志伊岐豆岐能美夜

yapwo ni **yō-si** i-kyiNtuk-yi n-ö myiya

eight.hundred ground **good-FIN** DLF-build-INF DV-ATTR palace

a palace built on an eight hundred [times] **good** soil (KK 100)

意布袁余志斯毘

op[o]-uwo **yō-si** siNpyi

big-fish **good-FIN** tuna
tuna that **is good** big fish (KK 110)

波辞枳豫辞和芸幣
pasi-kyi **yō-si** wa-Nk-yipyē
lovely-ATTR **good-FIN** I-POSS-house
my lovely and **good** house (NK 21)¹²

婀娜爾與志乃樂
awo ni **yō-si** Nara
green earth **good-FIN** Nara
Nara [mountain, where] the green earth **is good** (NK 95)

蚊黒為髮尾信櫛持於是蚊寸垂
kaN-KURWO-si KAMYI-wo MA-KUSI MÖT-I kakyi-TARE
INT-**black-FIN** hair-ACC INT-comb hold-INF PREF-
make.hang.down(INF)
making **pitch black** hair hang down with a comb (MYS XVI: 3791)

安良志乎須良尔奈氣枳布勢良武
ara-si wo sura n-i naNkeyk-yi pus-er-am-u
rough-FIN man PT DV-INF lament-INF lie.prono-PROG-TENT-
FIN
even a **rough** man would be lying down and lamenting (MYS XVII:
3962)

A clear relic of the usage of *-si* in attributive function is found in the special construction with locative marker *-ni* which normally appears after the attributive form (see 4.1.2.2.4 for details). However, in the case of the negative existential verb *na-* ‘there is no, not to exist,’ *-ni* follows not the attributive *-kyi*, but the final *-si*:

¹² Traditional Japanese scholarship treats *yōsi* in this text as an exclamation on the basis of the fact that the *Kojiki* textual variant of the same poem has *pasikye yasi* (KK 32) (Tsuchihashi 1957: 138). But the *Kojiki* text, which has a worse history of textual transmission than the *Nihonshoki*, appears to be corrupted: it is highly unlikely that Western Old Japanese would have preserved the pre-raised form of attributive form **-ke* (> WOJ *-kyi*) as in *pasikye*; therefore there is a great chance that *yasi* is also a textual corruption of *yō-si* ‘good-FIN.’ Here, as well as in other cases when the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* have discrepancies, I mostly rely on the *Nihonshoki* text.

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
na-si-ni apare

INtumo Takyeru-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR long.sword vine many
 wrap-INF PREF-body **no-FIN-LOC** INTER
 the long sword that INtumo Takyeru is wearing is wrapped with
 many vines, [but] **because there is no** blade, alas! (KK 23)

余家久波奈之爾漸漸可多知都久保利
 yö-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)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese *-si* is attested only in the function of a final predication marker.

阿爾久夜斯豆之曾能可抱与吉爾
 ani k-u ya **siNtu-si** sō-nō kapo yö-kyi-ni
 INTER come-FIN PT **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)

多妣己呂母夜倍伎可佐祢弓伊努礼等母奈保波太佐牟志伊母尔
 志阿良祢婆
 taNpyi körömō ya-pey kyī-kasane-te i n-ure-Ntömō napo paNta
samu-si imō si ar-an-e-Npa
 travel garment eight-CL wear(INF)-pile(INF)-SUB sleep sleep-EV-
 CONC still skin **cold-FIN** beloved PT exist-NEG-EV-CON
 Because [my] beloved is not [here], although [I] sleep piling up
 eight layers of [my] travel garments, [my] skin **is still cold** (MYS
 XX: 4351)

多妣波久流之
 taNpyi **pa kuru-si**
 travel TOP **hard-FIN**
 [My] travel **is hard** (MYS XX: 4406)

A2: Ryukyuan

The final predicative form *-si* is not attested in Ryukyuan. This invites two possible solutions for proto-Japonic: either Japanese *-si* is an innovation, developed in Japanese independently of Ryukyuan, or it is an archaism that was lost in Ryukyuan. Since, as I have demonstrated above, Western Old Japanese still preserves the vestiges of an earlier system when uninflected adjectival stems could modify following nominals or noun phrases, the former solution maintaining that *-si* represents a secondary development in Japanese that did not affect Ryukyuan seems to be more viable and realistic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Given the fact that OJ *-si* can serve as both a final predication form and an attributive, as well as the fact that it is not present in Ryukyuan, it is likely to be a loan from the Old Korean irrealis attributive marker *-l* (phonetically probably voiceless [lh] as indicated by the character 尸 with which it was written):¹³

慕理尸心未行乎尸道尸

KUli-l MOSOm-i NYE-wo-l KIi

long for-ATTR/IRR mind-GEN go-MOD-ATTR/IRR way
the way **that** [my] mind, **longing for** [you], **is going** (Hyangga I: 7)

臣隱愛賜尸母史也

SIN-un TOSO-si-l Esi I-LA

retainer-TOP love-HON-ATTR/IRR mother be-FIN
Retainers are **loving** mothers (Hyangga III: 2)

The case for borrowing is further supported by the fact that two other adjectival markers, uniquely attested in Japanese, but not in Ryukyuan, attributive *-kyi* and gerund *-myi*, also likely have a Korean origin (see 5.2.3 and 5.2.5).

5.2.3 ATTRIBUTIVE FORM -KYI

The main function of the marker *-kyi* is attributive. Adjectives with this marker normally modify following nominals or nominal phrases.

¹³ There are other apparent loans from OK into Japanese that reflect the correspondence OK *-l* ~ OJ *-si*, e.g. MK *kâlâp* 'oak' ~ OJ *kasi* 'id.', MK *kâl* 'cangue' ~ MJ *kasi* 'id.'

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迹登理與曾比

kurwo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo ma-tuNpusa n-i tör-i-yösöp-yi ... **awo-kyi** myi-kyes-i-wo ma-tuNpusa n-i tör-i-yösöp-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)

志祁志岐袁夜迹

sikyesi-kyi wo-ya-ni

quiet-ATTR DIM-house-LOC

in the **quiet** little house (KK 19)

於朋耆妬庸利于介伽卑氏

opö-kyi two-ywori ukakap-yi-te

big-ATTR door-ABL peek-INF-SUB

peeking from the **big** door (NK 18)

人毛奈吉空家者草枕旅尔益而辛苦有家里

PYITÖ mwo **na-kyi** MUNASI-KYI IPYE PA KUSA MAKURA TANPYI-ni MASAR-I-TE KURUSI-K-ar-i-kyer-i

person PT **no-ATTR** **empty-ATTR** house TOP grass pillow journey-LOC exceed-INF-SUB painful-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

It turned out that an **empty** house **with nobody** in [it] is more painful than a journey [when one uses] grass for a pillow (MYS III: 451)

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之可利家理

yö-nö naka pa **munasi-kyi** mönö tö sir-u tökyi si iyöyö masu-masu kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

world-GEN middle TOP **empty-ATTR** thing DV know-ATTR time PT more.and.more more.and.more sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

When [I] realized that the world is (an) **empty** (matter), [it] turned out to be more and more sad (MYS V: 793)

和可伎兒等毛波乎知許知爾佐和吉奈久良牟

waka-kyi KWO-Ntömwo pa woti köti-ni sawak-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)

安伎良氣伎名

akyirakey-kyi NA
bright-ATTR name
bright names (MYS XX: 4466)

伎多奈伎微乎婆伊止比須都閑志波奈礼須都倍志

kyitana-kyi miy-woNpa itöp-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)

In the prose texts several adjectival modifiers marked with *-kyi*
 may follow one after another as in the following example from SM
 1:

貴支高支広支厚支大命

TAPUTWO-kyi **TAKA-kyi** **PYIRÖ-kyi** **ATU-kyi** **OPO** MYI-
 KÖTÖ
awesome-ATTR **high-ATTR** **broad-ATTR** **thick-ATTR** **great**
 HON-word
awesome, high, broad, and strong imperial edict (SM 1)

今米豆良可爾新伎政者不有本由利行来迹事曾

IMA meyNturaka n-i **ARATASI-kyi** MATURINKÖTÖ N-I PA
 AR-ANS-U MÖTÖ-yuri OKÖNAP-YI-KÖ-SI ATÖ KÖTÖ sö
 now strange DV-INF **new-ATTR** governance DV-INF TOP exist-
 NEG-INF root-ABL conduct-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR trace
 matter PT

The present [one] is not a strange and **new** act of governance, [it is]
 an act that was conducted from the beginning (SM 7)

汝多知方貞仁明伎心乎以天

IMASI-tati pa SANTAKA n-i **AKA-kyi** KÖKÖRÖ-wo MÖT-I-te

you-PLUR TOP loyal DV-INF **bright-ATTR** heart-ACC hold-
INF-SUB
you, with loyal and **clear** hearts... (SM 37)

The attributive form *-kyi* also replaces the final predication form *-si* if the particles *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, *ka*, *kamō*, and *kösō* are found previously in the sentence.¹⁴ This rule is known in traditional grammar as 係り結び *kakari musubi* ‘the rule of linking.’ Note that in contrast to Middle (Classical) Japanese the particle *kösō* triggers in Western Old Japanese a change of the adjectival final predication *-si* into the attributive *-kyi*, and not into the evidential form.¹⁵

彌致喩區茂能茂多遇譬低序豫枳
myiti yuk-u monō mo taNkupyī-te Nsō yō-kyi
road go-ATTR person PT companion-hand PT **good-ATTR**
[It] is also **good** for a person who travels to have a companion (NK 50)

比等余里波伊毛曾母安之伎
pyitō-yōri pa imwo sō mō asi-kyi
person-ABL TOP beloved PT PT **bad-ATTR**
[my] beloved is **worse** than [other] people (MYS XV: 3737)

枳彌波夜那祇
kyimyi pa ya na-kyi
lord TOP PT **no-ATTR**
Do not [you] **have** a lord? (NK 104)

可牟加良夜曾許婆多敷刀伎
kamu-kara ya sökōNpa taputwo-kyi

¹⁴ Strictly speaking, the particles *ka* and *kamo* trigger the change of the final predication form *-si* to the attributive *-kyi* irrespective of their position in the sentence when action verbs are involved. However, to the best of my knowledge, the particle *ka* is not attested after adjectival predicates in attributive form in Western Old Japanese. It must also be mentioned that examples with adjectival attributives triggered by the particle *namo* (a cognate of MJ *namu*) are considered to be unattested (Yamada 1954: 115), but there is at least one controversial example in semantographic spelling (see the example from MYS XII: 2877 in 6.2.2.1.2.3 and 9.1.4).

¹⁵ This does not affect verbs that in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese change their final predication forms into evidential similar to Middle Japanese.

deity-origin **PT** very **awesome-ATTR**

Is [not] the origin of deities very awesome? (MYS XVII: 3985)

棕橋乃山乎高可夜隱尔出来月乃光乏寸

KURAPASI-nō YAMA-wo TAKA-MYI ka YWO-N-KÖMÖR-I-ni INTE-K-URU TUKIY-nō PYIKARI TÖMÖSI-kyi

Kurapasi-GEN mountain-ABS high-GER **PT** night-GEN-hide-NML-LOC exist(INF)-come-ATTR moon-GEN light **scanty-ATTR**

Is [it] because Mount Kurapasi is high that the light of the moon that goes out in the dead of the night **is scanty?** (MYS III: 290)

片念為歟比者之吾情利乃生戸裳名寸

KATA-OMÖP-YI S-URE KA KÖNÖ KÖRÖ-NÖ WA-NKA KÖKÖRÖ-two-nō IK-YER-U two mo **na-kyi**

one-love-NML do-EV **PT** this time-GEN I-POSS heart-place-GEN live-PROG-ATTR place **PT no-ATTR**

Is [not it because] of unrequited love that I have no intention to live at this time (MYS XI: 2525)

美母呂能伊都加斯賀母登加斯賀母登由由斯伎加母加志波良袁登賣

myi-mörö-nō i t-u kasi-Nka mötö kasi-Nka mötö **yuyusi-kyi kamö** kasi-para wotömye

HON-mountain-GEN sacred DV-ATTR oak-POSS below oak-POSS below **awesome-ATTR PT** oak-field maiden

Under the sacred oaks of the sacred mountain, **is [she not] awesome**, a maiden from the oak field, I wonder? (KK 92)

In this example *kamö* follows the adjectival form while in the next two examples it precedes it.

奈何鵬目言乎谷裳幾許乏寸

naNI SI **kamwo** MEY KÖTÖ-wo Ntani mo KÖKÖNTA TÖMÖSI-kyi

what **PT PT** eye word-ABS **PT PT** so.much **scarce-ATTR**

why even [our] meetings **are so scarce, I wonder?** (MYS IV: 689)

天漢敵太而礼婆可母安麻多須辨奈吉

AMA-NÖ NKAPA pyeNtat-ure-Npa **kamö** amata suNpye **na-kyi** heaven-GEN river separate-EV-CON **PT** many way **no-ATTR**

I wonder, **is [it not]** because the Heavenly River separates [them], **there is not** much that can be done (MYS VIII: 1522)

虚呂望虚曾赴多幣茂予耆

körömö **kösö** puta-pye mo **yö-kyi**

garment **PT** two-CL **PT** good-ATTR

[It] **is good** [to wear] two layers of garments (NK 47)

野乎比呂美久佐許曾之既吉

NWO-wo pyirö-myi kusa **kösö** siN**key-kyi**

field-ABS wide-GER grass **PT** **thick-ATTR**

because the fields are wide, grass **grows thickly** (MYS XVII: 4011)

The attributive form in *-kyi* can also be used as a noun:

武都紀多知波流能吉多良婆可久斯許曾烏梅乎々利都々多努之岐乎倍米

mu-tukiy tat-i paru-nö k-yi-tar-aNpa ka-ku si **kösö** uMEY-wo wor-i-tutu **tanwosi-kyi** wopey-m-ey

first lunar month rise-INF spring-GEN **come-INF-PERF/PROG-COND** be.thus-INF **PT** **PT** plum.blossom-ACC break-INF-COOR **be.pleasant-ATTR finish-TENT-EV**

When the first lunar month begins, and the spring has come, let [us] enjoy **the pleasure** to the end while picking plum blossoms (MYS V: 815)

安布倍伎与之能奈伎我佐夫之佐

ap-uNpey-kyi yösi-nö **na-kyi-Nka** saNpusi-sa

meet-DEB-ATTR chance-GEN **no-ATTR-POSS** sad-NML

sadness **of the non-existence** of a chance to be able to meet (MYS XV: 3734)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Both forms *-kyi* and *-ke* (spelled variously as *-key* or *-kye*) are attested as attributives in Eastern Old Japanese. Although the first one is statistically more frequent, it is also almost invariably found in the poems that have other Eastern Old Japanese features. In addition, only *-ke* is found in region A, both *-ke* and *-kyi* co-occur in region B, and only *-kyi* is found in region C (Hino 2003: 200). Thus, in all likelihood, the real Eastern Old Japanese form was *-ke*, that shows the pre-raised stage of the vowel *e that underwent raising to /i/ in Western Old Japanese.

等保奈我伎夜麻治

tōpo **naNka-kyi** yama-N-ti

distant **long-ATTR** mountain-GEN-road

distant [and] **long** mountain road (MYS XIV: 3356)

於毛思路伎野乎婆奈夜吉曾

omwosirwo-kyi NWO-woNpa na-yak-yi-sō

beautiful-ATTR field-ACC(EMPH) no-burn-INF-do

Do not burn the **beautiful** field (MYS XIV: 3452)

可奈之家伊母

kanasi-kye imō

pretty-ATTR beloved

pretty beloved (MYS XX: 4369)

阿志氣比等奈里

asi-key pyitō nar-i

bad-ATTR person be-FIN

[he] is a **bad** person (MYS XX: 4382)

奈賀氣己乃用

naNka-key kōnō ywo

long-ATTR this night

this **long** night (MYS XX: 4394)

麻可奈之伎西呂

ma-kanasi-kyi se-rō

INT-beloved-ATTR husband-DIM

[my] (**really**) **beloved** husband (MYS XX: 4413)

Kakari-musubi is also present in Eastern Old Japanese:

奈仁曾許能兒乃己許太可奈之伎

nani **sō** kōnō KWO-nō kōkōNta **kanasi-kyi**

what **PT** this girl-GEN so.much be **dear-ATTR**

why is this girl **so dear** [to me]? (MYS XIV: 3373)

阿母志々尔己等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之氣

amō sisi-ni kōtō mawos-aNs-u-te ima **Nsō** **kuyasi-key**

mother father-DAT word say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB now **PT**

regretful-ATTR

now [I] **regret** that [I] did not tell [my] mother and father (MYS XX: 4376)

安是可加奈思家

aNse **ka kanasi-kye**

why **PT dear-ATTR**

Why **is** [she so] **dear** [to me]? (MYS XIV: 3576)

A2: Ryukyuan

The attributive marker *-kyi* is not attested in Ryukyuan. For the same reasons as already outlined above regarding final predication marker *-si*, it is better treated as an internal innovation in Japanese that did not affect Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

As I mentioned above, since WOJ *-kyi* is paralleled by EOJ *-ke*, we have to reconstruct PJN **-ke*. Because the distribution of this marker is limited to Japanese, and because the origin of adjectival inflection appears to be a recent phenomenon, it is possible that PJN **-ke* is a loan from OK *-kuy*, an attributive marker of quality verbs:

東京明期月良

TWONG-KYENG **POLK-kuy** TOLAL-la

Eastern Capital **bright-ATTR** moon-LOC

At the **bright** moon in the Eastern Capital... (Hyangka V: 1)

Two obvious problems are present here. First, although OK 明期 *POLK-kuy* ‘bright’ is clearly used in the attributive function, this is the only example where OK 期 *-kuy* occurs as an attributive marker of a quality verb in Old Korean. Second, the *-k-* portion of *-kuy* may really belong to the stem *POLK-* ‘bright.’ There is really no way to tell, because both cases like 心未 *MOSOM-i* ‘mind-GEN’ in (Hyangka I: 7) where the phonetically used character 未 renders both final consonant of the stem and a suffix, and 月良 *TOLAL-la* ‘moon-LOC’ in the just cited Hyangka V: 1 where only the suffix is written phonetically, are present in Old Korean texts.

5.2.3.1 NOMINALIZED FORM -KY-EKU

Western Old Japanese has a special nominalized form *-ky-eku*, an apparent contraction of attributive *-kyi* and nominalizer *-aku*. The

uncontracted form *-kyi-aku is not attested in the Western Old Japanese texts. This form did not survive into the later stages of the language. Examples:

伊良那祁久曾許爾淤母比傳加那志祁久許許爾淤母比傳
 irana-ky-eku sökō-ni omöp-yi-[i]Nte kanasi-ky-eku kökō-ni
 omöp-yi-[i]Nte
sorrowful-ATTR-NML there-LOC think-INF-exit(INF) **sad-ATTR-NML** here-LOC think-INF-exit(INF)
 [I] recollect that [with] **sorrow**, [I] recollect that [with] **sadness**
 (KK 51)

宇麼能耶都擬播鳴思稽矩謀那斯
 uma-nō ya-tu-Nkiy pa wosi-ky-eku mo na-si
 horse-GEN eight-CL-? TOP **grudge-ATTR-NML** PT no-FIN
 eight horses are not even to be **grudged** (NK 79)

平氣久安久母阿良牟遠事母無裳無母阿良牟遠世間能宇計久都
 良計久
 TAPYIRAKKEY-ku YASU-ku mö ar-am-u-wo KÖTÖ mö NA-KU
 MÖ NA-KU mö ar-am-u-wo YÖ-NÖ NAKA-nō u-ky-eku tura-
 ky-eku
 peaceful-INF quiet-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC matter PT no-
 INF misfortune no-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC world-GEN
 inside-GEN **sad-ATTR-NML** **painful-ATTR-NML**
 although [I] want to live peacefully and quietly, although [I] want
 to live uneventfully and without misfortunes, **the fact that life is**
sad and painful ... (MYS V: 897)

余家久波奈之爾漸漸可多知都久保利
 yō-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)

可之故伎美知乎也須家口母奈久奈夜美伎弓
 kasikwo-kyi myiti-wo yasu-ky-eku mö na-ku nayam-yi k-yi-te
 awesome-ATTR road-ACC **peaceful-ATTR-NML** PT no-INF
 suffer-INF come-INF-SUB

[he] came along the awesome road, suffering and without **peace** [of mind] (MYS XV: 3694)

伊多家苦乃日異麻世婆

ita-ky-eku-nō PYI-NI KYE N-I mas-e-Npa

painful-ATTR-NML-GEN day-LOC unusual DV-INF increase-EV-CON

as [my] **pain** unusually increases [every] day (MYS XVII: 3969)

SPECIAL NEGATIVE NOMINALIZED FORM -KY-EN-AKU

There is also a special adjectival negative nominalized form *-ky-en-aku*,¹⁶ that consists of the adjectival attributive *-kyi*, negative *-an-*, and nominalizer *-aku*. The vowel /yi/ of the attributive and the vowel /a/ of the negative monophthongize into /ye/, so the indication of the morphemic boundary between the attributive and negative is artificial. This form occurs only with two inflected adjectives: *na-* ‘to be non-existent’ and *yasu-* ‘to be easy.’ There are only three examples where this form is attested phonographically, all of them in the *Man’yōshū*. Two of these examples represent the identical context, although in two different texts.

多婢等伊倍婆許等尔曾夜須伎須久奈久毛伊母尔戀都々須敵奈家奈久尔

taNpyi tö ip-ey-Npa kötö n-i sö yasu-kyi sukuna-ku mwo imö-ni
KWÖPIY-tutu suNpye **na-ky-en-aku** n-i

journey DV say-EV-CON word DV-INF PT easy-ATTR be.few-
INF PT beloved-DAT long.for(INF)-COORD way **no-ATTR-NEG-NML** DV-INF

It is easy to talk about a journey, but at least continuing to long for [my] beloved is a big deal (MYS XV: 3743)

奈氣久蘇良夜須家奈久尔於母布蘇良久流之伎母能乎

naNkeyk-u swora **yasu-ky-en-aku** n-i omöp-u swora kurusi-kyi
mwonöwo

lament-ATTR PT **be.easy-ATTR-NEG-NML** DV-INF long.for-
ATTR PT be.hard-ATTR CONJ

although even to lament is **not easy**, and even to long is difficult (MYS XVII: 3969)

¹⁶ I am grateful to Janick Wrona who pointed out to me the existence of this form.

嘆蘇良夜須家奈久尔念蘇良苦伎毛能乎

NANKEYK-U swora **yasu-ky-en-aku** n-i OMÖP-U swora
 KURUSI-kyi mwonöwo
 lament-ATTR PT **be.easy-ATTR-NEG-NML** DV-INF long.for-
 ATTR PT **be.hard-ATTR** CONJ
 although even to lament is **not easy**, and even to long is difficult
 (MYS XIX: 4169)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of *-ky-eku* found in Eastern Old Japanese texts, but it occurs in a poem with strong dialectal features, therefore it should be accepted as a genuine one:

安奈由牟古麻能乎之家口母奈思

a nayum-u kwoma-nö **wosi-ky-eku** mö na-si
 foot suffer-ATTR stallion-GEN **regrettable-ATTR-NML** PT no-
 FIN
 [I] have no **sorry feelings** for [my] stallion that will hurt [his] feet
 (MYS XIV: 3533)

In addition, there is another cognate Eastern Old Japanese form *-k-aku* < **-ke-aku* that represents contraction and not a monophthongization. It is also attested only in one example:

夜麻邊能之牙可久尔伊毛呂乎多弓天左祢度波良布母

yama-N-PYE-nö **siNkye-k-aku** n-i imwo-rö-wo tate-te sa-ne-N-
 two parap-umö
 mountain-GEN-side-GEN **thick-ATTR-NML** DV-INF beloved-
 DIM-ACC make stand(INF)-SUB PREF-sleep(NML)-DV(ATTR)-
 place clean-EXCL
 as the mountain (side) is **overgrown** [with bush], [I] let my beloved
 stand, and I am clearing a place to sleep [for us]! (MYS XIV: 3489)

5.2.3.2 EVIDENTIAL FORMS -KYE- AND -KYERE

There are two evidential forms in Western Old Japanese: *-kye-* and *-kyere*, with no apparent difference in function. The origin of the latter form is quite transparent: it is a contraction of the attributive *-kyi* and the evidential form *ar-e* of the verb *ar-* ‘to exist.’ The derivation of the former is not absolutely transparent, but in all

likelihood it represents the contraction of *-kyere* to *-kye-* with *-r-* loss. Only the form *-kyere* survived into Middle Japanese. The form *-kye-* is never found in the word-final position: it is always followed either by the concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]* or the conjunctive gerund *-Npa*. On the contrary, the longer form *-kyere* occurs in one example as word-final (see the example from MYS XVIII: 4118 below). Examples:

久良波斯夜麻波佐賀斯祁杼伊毛登能煩禮波佐賀斯玖母阿良受
kurapasi-yama pa saNkasi-kye-Ntō imwo-tō nōNpör-e-Npa
saNkasi-ku mö ar-aNs-u

Kurapasi mountain TOP **steep-EV-CONC** beloved-COM climb-
EV-CON steep-INF PT exist-NEG-FIN

although Mount Kurapasi is steep, when I climb [it] with [my] beloved, [it] is not steep at all (KK 70)

于泥備椰摩虛多智于須家苔多能彌介茂

uneNpiy yama kö-tat-i usu-kye-Ntō tanöm-yi kamo

UneNpiy mountain tree-stand-NML **thin-EV-CONC** rely-NML
PT

Although the lines of trees on Mount UneNpiy are thin, are [they not] reliable, I wonder? (NK 105)

挂文由遊志計礼杼母言久母綾尔畏伎

KAKEY-M-AKU mo yuyusi-kyere-Ntömō IP-AM-Aku mö AYA
n-i KASIKWO-kyi

think-TENT-NML PT **be.reserved-EV-CONC** say-TENT-NML
PT extreme DV-INF awesome-ATTR

Although [it] is unthinkable even to think [about it], and to say [it], too, is extremely awesome... (MYS II: 199)

意乃何身志伊多波斯計礼婆

onö-Nka MIY si itapasi-kyere-Npa

myself-POSS body PT **ill-EV-CON**

as my [own] body became ill (MYS V: 886)

吾戀不止本之繁家波

wa-Nka kwopiy yam-aNs-u MÖTÖ-NÖ SINKEY-kye-Npa

I-POSS love stop-NEG-FIN root-GEN **thick-EV-CON**

My love will not stop, because [its] roots are growing densely (MYS X: 1910)

美知能等保家婆間使毛遣縁毛奈美

myiti-nō **tōpo-kye-Npa** MA-N-TUKAPYI YAR-U YÖSI mwo na-
myi

way-GEN **far-EV-CON** interval-GEN-messenger send-ATTR
chance PT no-GER

since there is not even a chance to send messengers between [us]
because the way **is far** (MYS XVII: 3969)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月経礼波古非之家礼夜母

apyi-myi-ru mwonōwo sukuna-ku mö TÖSI TUKIY P-Ure-Npa
kwopiysi-kyere ya mö

REC-see-ATTR CONJ few-INF PT year month pass-EV-CON
miss-EV PT PT

although [we] see each other, as the time goes by, do [we still] **miss**
[each other] just a bit?! (MYS XVIII: 4118)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of the evidential form *-kye-* in Eastern Old Japanese, which occurs in a poem without any dialect features, so it probably can be taken as a Western Old Japanese example. The evidential form *-kyere* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese texts.

可未奈那里曾祢和我倍尔波由惠波奈家杼母兒良尔与里弓曾

kamiy na-nar-i-sō-n-e wa-Nka [u]pey-ni pa yuwe pa **na-kye-**
Ntōmō KWO-ra-ni yōr-i-te sō

[thunder] god NEG-sound-INF-do-DES-IMP I-POSS top-LOC
TOP reason TOP **no-EV-CONC** girl-DIM-DAT approach-INF-
SUB PT

Thunder god, please do not thunder! **Although I have no** reason [to
be afraid], it is because of [my] girl (MYS XIV: 3421)

5.2.3.3 TENTATIVE FORM -KY-EM-

The tentative form *-ky-em-* represents a rather transparent contraction of the attributive *-kyi* and tentative *-am-*. Since the tentative *-am-* follows stems of verbs, and not their attributive forms, it naturally leads to the hypothesis that unless this usage of the tentative *-am-* after the attributive *-kyi* is an innovation, the conditional gerund *-am-* itself must go back to some kind of

auxiliary. However, since the only Eastern Old Japanese example supporting this form is suspicious (see below), the solution that takes this form as an exclusive Western Old Japanese innovation is more viable.

奈爾能都底舉騰多拖尼之曳鷄武

nani n-ö tute-kötö taNta n-i si **ye-ky-em-u**

what DV-ATTR report(INF)-word direct DV-INF PT **good-ATTR-TENT-FIN**

What message [do you have]? [It] **would be better** [to say it] directly (NK 128)

和可礼奈波宇良我奈之家武

wakare-n-aNpa ura-N-**kanasi-ky-em-u**

part(INF)-PERF-COND heart-LOC-**sad-ATTR-TENT-FIN**

If [we] part, [I] **would be sad** in [my] heart... (MYS XV: 3584)

将若異子等丹所罾金目八

WAKA-ky-eM-U KWO-RA-ni NOR-AYE-kane-m-ey ya

young-ATTR-TENT-ATTR girl-PLUR-LOC abuse-PASS(INF)-NEG/POT-TENT-EV PT

would [you] be able not to be abused by girls **who would be younger?** [Certainly you would be abused!] (MYS XVI: 3793)

保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇波佐夫之家牟可母

potötöNkyisu nak-am-u sa-tukiy pa **saNpusi-ky-em-u** kamö

cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR fifth lunar month TOP **be.lonely-ATTR-TENT-ATTR** PT

[in] the fifth lunar month when the cuckoo will cry, [I] **would be lonely!** (MYS XVII: 3996)

故布流比於保家牟

kwop-uru pyi **opo-ky-em-u**

long.for-ATTR day **many-ATTR-TENT-FIN**

there would be many days when [I] long for [you] (MYS XVII: 3999)

孤悲之家久氣乃奈我家牟

kwopiysi-ky-eku key **naNka-ky-em-u**

long.for-ATTR-NML day **long-ATTR-TENT-FIN**

the days of longing for [you] **would be long** (MYS XVII: 4006)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one Eastern old Japanese example of the tentative form *-ky-em-*, which is found in a poem without any Eastern Old Japanese dialect features, so it probably can be taken as a Western Old Japanese example.

安波受之弓由加婆乎思家牟

ap-aNs-u s-i-te yuk-aNpa wosi-ky-em-u

meet-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB go-COND **regretful-ATTR-TENT-FIN**

If [I] go without meeting [you], [I] **would regret** [it] ... (MYS XIV: 3558)

5.2.3.4 CONDITIONAL FORM -KY-ENPA

Care must be taken to differentiate between the evidential form *-kye* followed by the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* and the conditional form *-ky-eNpa* that is obviously derived from a contraction of the attributive *-kyi* and the conditional gerund *-aNpa*. Since the conditional gerund *-aNpa* follows stems of verbs, and not their attributive forms, it naturally leads to the hypothesis that unless this usage of the conditional gerund *-aNpa* after the attributive *-kyi* is an innovation, the conditional gerund *-aNpa* itself must go back to some kind of auxiliary. However, since Eastern Old Japanese examples supporting this form are suspicious (see below), the solution that takes this form as an exclusive Western Old Japanese innovation is more viable. There are only two examples of the conditional form *-ky-eNpa* in Western Old Japanese texts:

許智多鷄波乎婆頭勢夜麻能伊波婦爾母為弓許母郎奈牟

kōt[ō]-ita-ky-eNpa woN-patuse-yama-nō ipa kiy-ni mō wi-te
kōmōr-ana-m-u

rumor-**painful-ATTR-COND** DIM-Patuse-mountain rock fortress-
LOC PT lead(INF)-SUB hide-DES-TENT-FIN

if rumors **are painful**, [I] want to take [you] along to a rocky
fortress on the Small Patuse mountain and hide away (FK 1)

戀之家婆形見尔将為

KWOPIYsi-ky-eNpa KATAMYI n-i SE-M-U

long.for-ATTR-COND farewell present DV-INF do-TENT-FIN

If [you] long for [me], [I] want to make a farewell present [for you]
(MYS VIII: 1471)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are also only two examples of the conditional form *-ky-eNpa* in Eastern Old Japanese. Both are found in poems that have no apparent Eastern Old Japanese dialect features, so it is possible to view those as additional Western Old Japanese examples.

古非思家波素弓毛布良武乎

kwopiysi-ky-eNpa swoNte mwo pur-am-u-wo

miss-ATTR-COND sleeve PT wave-TENT-ATTR-ACC

If [you] miss [me], [I] will wave my sleeves, but ... (MYS XIV: 3376)

古非思家婆伎麻世和我勢古

kwopiysi-ky-eNpa k-yi-mas-e wa-Nka se-kwo

miss-ATTR-COND come-INF-HON-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM

If [you] miss [me], please come, my beloved (MYS XIV: 3455)

There is, however, the Eastern Old Japanese conditional form *-k-aNpa* that represents a contraction $<*-ke-aNpa$, and not a monophthongization. Since contraction is more typical for Eastern Old Japanese (cf. also EOJ nominalized form *-k-aku* vs. WOJ *-ky-eku*), *-k-aNpa* probably represents the original EOJ form. Unfortunately, there are only two examples, both found in book XIV:

可久太尔毛久尔乃登保可婆奈我目保里勢牟

ka-ku Ntani mwo kuni-nō **tōpo-k-aNpa** na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
thus-INF PT PT province-GEN **far-ATTR-COND** you-POSS eye
want-NML do-TENT-FIN

if the [home] province is just so far, [I] want [to see] your eyes
(MYS XIV: 3383)

於久乎奈加祢曾麻左可思余加婆

oku-wo na-kane-sō masaka si **yō-k-aNpa**

future-ACC NEG-worry(INF)-do present PT **good-ATTR-COND**

if the present is good, do not worry about the future (MYS XIV: 3410)

5.2.4 NOMINALIZED FORM -SA

The nominalized form in *-sa* is not very frequent in Western Old Japanese texts, and most examples come from the *Man'yōshū*. There is a clearly marked tendency for *-sa* to occur with the final predicate of a given sentence, even if (as in MYS III: 314 below) it does not occur in the last line of a given text. Thus, there is a great functional difference between the nominalized form in *-ky-eku* that can occur as a subject or an object of another verb, and the form *-sa* that never does. Consequently, it seems that the Western Old Japanese form in *-sa* conveys some kind of an emphatic statement, comparable with Modern Japanese *no da* 'the fact is that...'¹⁷ It must also be noted that only very few adjectives take *-sa* in Western Old Japanese: *sayakey-* 'bright, clear,' *tömösi-* 'envious,' *yö-* 'good,' *yörösi-* 'good,' *kanasi-* 'sad, lovely, dear,' *kupasi-* 'pretty,' *tanwosi-* 'pleasant,' *taputwo-* 'awesome,' *naNka-* 'long,' *parukey-* 'distant,' *kurusi-* 'hard,' *saNpusi-* 'sad,' and *na-* 'no, non-existent.'

麻度加多波麻乃佐夜氣佐

Matwokata pama-nö **sayakey-sa**

Matwokata beach-GEN **bright-NML**

brightness of the Matokata beach (FK 20)

能登湍河音之清左多藝通瀬每尔

Nötöse-N-KAPA OTÖ-NÖ **SAYAKEY-sa** taNKiyt-u SE Nkötö
n-i

Nötöse-GEN-river sound-GEN **clear-NML** dash-ATTR rapids
every DV-INF

At every rapid that Nötöse river dashes through, [there is]
clearness of the sound [of water] (MYS III: 314)

和可由都流伊毛良遠美良牟比等能等母斯佐

waka [a]yu tur-u imwo-ra-wo myi-ram-u pyitö-nö **tömösi-sa**

young sweetfish angle-ATTR beloved-PLUR-ACC see-TENT2-
ATTR person-GEN **envious-NML**

¹⁷ There is also a nominalizer *-sa* that is used with verbs, but it is both formally and functionally different, therefore I will discuss it in Chapter 6.

envy of the people who watch their beloved angling young sweetfish (MYS V: 863)

袖今夜卷跡念之吉紗

SWONTE KÖ YÖPYI MAK-AM-U tö OMÖP-AKU-NÖ YÖ-**sa**
sleeve this night use.as.a.pillow-TENT-FIN DV think-NML-GEN
good-NML

good [feeling] of thinking that tonight [I] will use sleeves of my beloved for a pillow (MYS X: 2073)

和礼由惠尔於毛比和夫良牟伊母我可奈思佐

ware yuwe n-i omwop-yi-waNp-uram-u imö-Nka **kanasi-sa**
I reason DV-INF think-INF-worry-TENT2-ATTR beloved-POSS
dear-NML

[feeling of] the endearment for [my] beloved who probably worries because of me (MYS XV: 3727)

安布倍伎与之能奈伎我佐夫之佐

ap-uNpey-kyi yösi-nö na-kyi-Nka **saNpusi-sa**
meet-DEB-ATTR chance-GEN no-ATTR-POSS **sad-NML**

sadness of the non-existence of a chance to be able to meet (MYS XV: 3734)

伊可尔加母世牟須流須邊乃奈左

ika n-i kamö se-m-u s-uru suNpye-nö **na-sa**
how DV-INF PT do-TENT-ATTR do-ATTR way-GEN **no-NML**

What shall [I] do, I wonder? **Nothing** can be done (MYS XVII: 3928)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are only four examples of *-sa* in Eastern Old Japanese. Three of them occur in book XX, and one in book XIV. The example from book XIV comes from a poem that does not have any Eastern Old Japanese dialect features. The function of *-sa* in Eastern Old Japanese is identical to its function in Western Old Japanese described above.

麻奈登伊布兒我安夜尔可奈思佐

Mana tö ip-u KWO-Nka aya n-i **kanasi-sa**

Mana DV say-ATTR girl-POSS strange DV-INF lovely-NML
unusual **loveliness** of a girl called Mana (MYS XIV: 3462)

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

阿加古比須奈牟伊母賀加奈志作
aka kwop-yi s-unam-u imō-Nka **kanasi-sa**
offering pray-NML do-TENT2-ATTR beloved-POSS **dear-NML**
[**feeling of** **endearment** for [my] beloved, who probably prays for
[my safe return, making] offerings (MYS XX: 4391)

佐伎毛利尔由久波多我世登刀布比登乎美流我登毛之佐
sakyi-mwori n-i yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tō twop-u pyitō-wo myi-ru-
Nka **tōmōsi-sa**
border-guard DV-INF go-ATTR TOP who-POSS husband DV ask-
ATTR person-ACC see-ATTR-POSS **envious-NML**
envy of seeing people who ask: “Whose husband is going to serve
as a border-guard?” (MYS XX: 4425)

A2: Ryukyuan

In contrast to Old Japanese, *-sa* in Ryukyuan is very frequent and in modern dialects represents the most widely used piece of adjectival morphology, because most of the paradigmatic adjectival forms in the majority of dialects are built on the basis of a construction involving *-sa* and the various forms of the following verb *a(r)*- ‘to exist,’ e.g. Shuri *chura-sa-N* ‘beautiful-NML-FIN’ < **chura-sa-a-N* ‘beautiful-NML-exist-FIN,’ *chura-sa-ru* ‘beautiful-NML-ATTR’ < **chura-sa-ar-u* ‘beautiful-NML-exist-ATTR,’ etc. This construction is likely to represent an innovation, since the usage in Old and Classical Ryukyuan appears to be close, if not identical, with Old Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

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)

Classical Ryukyuan

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)Shurihusi-nu **chura-sa-N**star-NOM **beautiful-NML-FIN**The star is **beautiful** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 10)kunu maNgaa **umu-sa-N** doothis cartoon **interesting-NML-FIN** PTthis cartoon **is interesting** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 18)5.2.5. *GERUND -MYI*

The adjectival form in *-myi* should probably be defined as a consecutive gerund, since in the majority of attested cases of its usage it appears as a non-final predicate indicating a reason or consecutive nature of the following state or action. This form did not survive into the later stages of the language except in the archaic usage in the language of Middle Japanese poetry. Examples:

波都迄波波陀阿可良氣美志波迄波迄具漏岐由恵

patu ni pa paNta **akarakey-myi** sipa ni pa ni-N-kurwo-kyi yuwe

first clay TOP surface red-GER bottom clay TOP clay-GEN-black-ATTR reason

because the surface of the first clay **was red, and** the bottom clay was black ... (KK 42)意富岐美能許許呂袁由良美淤美能古能夜弊能斯婆加岐伊理多
多受阿理opö-kyimiyi-nö kökörö-wo **yura-myi** omyi-nö kwo-nö ya-pye n-ö
siNpa kakyi ir-i-tat-aNs-u ar-igreat-lord-GEN heart-ABS **gentle-GER** retainer-GEN child-GEN
eight-CL DV-ATTR brushwood fence enter-INF-stand-NEG-INF
exist-FIN

Because the great lord's heart **is gentle**, [he] does not enter the eight-fold brushwood fence of the retainer's son (KK 107)

心乎痛見奴要子鳥卜歎居者

KÖKORÖ-wo **ITA-myī** nuye KWO-TÖRI ura-NAKEY-WOR-E-Npa

heart-ABS **painful-GER** nuye DIM-bird PREF-cry(INF)-exist-EV-CON

when [my] heart **aches and** little *nuye* birds are crying (MYS I: 5)

山乎高三香裳国遠見可聞

YAMA-wo **TAKA-myī** kamo KUNI **TÖPÖ-myī** kamo
mountain-ABS **high-GER** PT province **far-GER** PT

Is it **because** the mountains **are high**, I wonder? Is it **because** the province **is far**, I wonder? (MYS I: 44)

明日香風京都乎遠見無用尔布久

ASUKA KANSE **MYIYAKWO**-wo **TÖPÖ-myī** ITANTURA n-i-puk-u

Asuka wind capital-ABS **far-GER** vain DV-INF blow-FIN

because the capital **is far**, the wind from Asuka blows in vain (MYS I: 51)

人事乎繁美許知痛美己世尔未渡朝川渡

PYITÖ-N-KÖTÖ-wo **SINKEY-myī** köt[ö]-**iTA-myī** ONÖ-NKA
YÖ-ni IMANTA WATAR-AN-U ASA KAPA WATAR-U

person-GEN-speech-ABS **thick-GER** word-**painful-GER** self-POSS life-LOC yet cross-NEG-ATTR morning river cross-FIN

Because people's gossip **is thick** [like a bush], **and** words **are painful**, [I] cross the morning river that I have not yet crossed in my life (MYS II: 116)

道乎多遠見思空安莫國嘆虛不安物乎

MYITI-wo **taN-TÖPÖ-myī** OMÖP-U swora YASUKEY NA-ku
n-i NANKEYK-U SWORA YASU-K-AR-AN-U MÖNÖwo

way-ABS **PREF-far-GER** think-ATTR PT easy no-INF DV-INF lament-ATTR PT easy-INF-exist-NEG-ATTR CONJ

although it is not easy to lament and to love **because** the way **is far** (MYS IV: 534)

情尔者思渡跡緣乎無三外耳為而嘆曾吾為

KÖKÖRÖ-ni PA OMÖP-YI-WATAR-E-Ntö YÖSI-wo NA-myī
YÖSÖ NÖMIY N-I S-I-TE NANKEYK-YI sö WA-NKA S-URU
heart-LOC TOP love-INF-cross-EV-CONC chance-ABS **no-GER**
different.place PT DV-INF do-INF-SUB lament-INF PT I-POSS
do-ATTR

Although [I] continue to love [you] in [my] heart, **because there is no chance** [to meet], I just lament in a different place (MYS IV: 714)

鴈我祢波都可比尔許牟等佐和久良武秋風左無美曾乃可波能倍爾

KARI-Nka ne pa tukapyi n-i kö-m-u tö sawak-uram-u AKYI
KANSE **samu-myī** sönö kapa-nö [u]pey-ni
wild goose-POSS cry TOP messenger DV-INF come-TENT2-FIN
DV make.noise-TENT2-FIN autumn wind **cold-GER** that river-
GEN top-LOC

Would the cries of wild geese sound as if [they] are coming as messengers? **Because** the autumn wind is cold above that river (MYS XVII: 3953)

曾乎見礼婆許己呂乎伊多美弥騰里兒乃知許布我其登久

sö-wo MYI-re-Npa kökөрө-wo **ita-myī** myiNtöri KWO-nö ti köp-
u-Nka Nkötö-ku
that-ACC see-EV-CON heart-ABS **painful-GER** green child-GEN
breast ask-ATTR-POSS like-INF

when [one] sees that, [one's] heart **aches, and** like [when] a baby asks for a breast ... (MYS XVIII: 4122)

許己乎之母安夜爾久須之弥往更年乃波其登尔安麻乃波良布里左氣見都追

kökө-wo si mo aya n-i **kususi-myī** YUK-YI KAPAR-U TÖSI-nö
pa Nkötö n-i ama-nö para purisakey-MYI-tutu
here-ABS PT PT extreme DV-INF **wonderful-GER** go-INF
change-ATTR year-GEN every every DV-INF heaven-GEN plain
look.up(INF)-look(INF)-COORD

this situation is extremely **wonderful, and** every year that goes by [I] continue to look up at the plain of Heaven (MYS XVIII: 4125)

大王乃美己等可之古美都麻和可礼可奈之久波安礼特
 OPO KYIMYI-nō myi-kōtō **kasikwo-myi** tuma wakare kanasi-ku
 pa ar-e-Ntō

Great lord-GEN HON-word **awesome-GER** spouse part(NML)
 sad-INF TOP exist-EV-CONC

Because the order of [my] sovereign **is awesome**, [I] part with [my] spouse, and although [I] am sad, [I will go to serve] (MYS XX: 4398)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美和多佐牟多米止宇都志麻都礼利
 ware-ni otōr-er-u pyitō-wo **opo-myi** watas-am-u tamey tō utus-i-
 matur-er-i

I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS **many-GER**
 lead.across-TENT-ATTR in.order.to DV carve-INF-HUM-PROG-
 FIN

because there are many people who have been worse than me, [I] have carved [Buddha's footprint] in order to save [them] (BS 13)

However, in a lesser number of examples *-myi* has a function of a nominalizer that can also be used as a final predicate in embedded nominal clauses that are followed by either verbs of mental activity or the defective verb *tō* 'to say, to think,' although in one case it is directly followed by the infinitive *n-i* of the defective copula *n-* (see MYS XV: 3684 below).

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登伊波迦伎加泥弓和賀弓登良須母
 kurapasi-yama-wo **saNkasi-myi** tō ipa kak-yi-kane-te wa-Nka te
 tōr-as-umō

Kurapasi-mountain-ABS **steep-GER** DV rock hang-INF-
 NEG/POT(INF)-SUB take-HON-EXCL

[I] think that Mount Kurapasi **is steep**. Being unable to cling to the rocks, [I wish you would] take my hand! (KK 69)

許己乎志毛間細美香母挂卷

kōkō-wo si mwo **ma-KUPASI-myi** kamō KAKEY-m-aku
 here-ABS PT PT **INT-beautiful-GER** PT think-TENT-NML
 thinking that it **is indeed beautiful** here! (MYS XIII: 3234)

秋夜乎奈我美爾可安良武

AKYI-NŌ 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)

曾己乎之毛安夜爾登母志美之怒比都追

sökö-wo si mwo aya n-i **tömösi-myi** sinwop-yi-tutu

there-ABS PT strange DV-INF **attractive-GER** admire-INF-GER
admiring **the fact that** those places **are** strangely **attractive** (MYS XVII: 4006)

許己乎之母安夜爾多數刀美字礼之家久伊余与於母比弓

kökö-wo si mö aya n-i **taputwo-myi** uresi-ky-eku iyöyö omöp-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)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese *-myi* only has the function of a gerund and never occurs in the function of a nominalizer:

安思我良乃美佐可加思古美久毛利欲能阿我志多婆倍乎許知弓
都流可毛

asiNkara-nö myi-saka **kasikwo-myi** kumwor-i ywo-nö a-Nka sita-N-papey-wo köt[ö]-iNte-t-uru kamwo

AsiNkara-GEN HON-slope **awesome-GER** become cloudy-INF night-COMP I-POSS bottom-LOC-crawl(NML)-ACC word-go.out(INF)-PERF-ATTR PT

Because the slope of AsiNkara [pass] **is awesome**, I ended up saying my inner thoughts that are hidden like a cloudy night! (MYS XIV: 3371)

佐吉多万能津爾乎流布祢乃可是乎伊多美都奈波多由

sakyitama-nö TU-ni wor-u pune-nö kaNse-wo **ita-myi** tuna pa tay-u

Sakyitama-GEN harbor-LOC exist-ATTR boat-GEN wind-ABS **unbearable-GER** rope TOP break-FIN

because the wind over the boat in Sakuyitama harbor **is unbearable**, the rope will break (MYS XIV: 3380)

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟須婆佐祢

apyiNtune-nō kuni-wo **saN-tōpo-myi** ap-an-ap-aNpa sinwop-yi ni se-m-wo tō pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e

ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS **PREF-far-GER** meet-NEG-ITER-COND long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR FIN cord tie-HON-DES-IMP

If [we] continue not to meet, **because** the land of ApyiNtune **is far**, [I] wish [you would] tie [your garment] cords, as if longing for [me] (MYS XIV: 3426)

夜麻都豆良野乎比呂美波比尔思物能乎安是加多延世武

yama tuNtura NWO-wo **pyirō-myi** pap-yi-si Mōnōwo aNse ka taye se-m-u

mountain vine field-ABS **wide-GER** creep-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ why PT break(NML) do-TENT-ATTR

because the field **is wide**, although [my heart] crept [to you like] a mountain vine, why should [we] break? (MYS XIV: 3434)

於保伎美乃美己等可思古美可奈之伊毛我多麻久良波奈礼欲太知伎努可母

opo kyimiyi-nō myi-kōtō **kasikwo-myi** kanasi imwo-Nka ta-makura panare ywo-N-tat-i k-yi-n-wo kamō

great lord-GEN HON-word **awesome-GER** dear beloved-POSS hand-pillow separate(INF) night-LOC-depart-INF come-INF-PERF-ATTR PT

Because the imperial command **is awesome**, [I] went away from the hands of my dear beloved [that I used as] a pillow, and departing at night, came [here]! (MYS XIV: 3480)

A2: Ryukyuan

The gerund *-myi* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Given the fact that *-myi* occurs in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese as a consecutive gerund, we should view unique function of nominalizer that is not attested in Western Old Japanese as an innovation in the latter.

When I still was a believer in ‘Altaic,’ I proposed that OJ *-myi* is related to the MK coordinative gerund *-(o/u)mye*, and Tungusic consecutive gerunds, such as Manchu *-me*, Ewenki *-mii*, and Nanai *-mi ~ -mei* (Vovin 2001: 191-92).

Middle Korean:

twomang-ay myeng-ul **mit-umye** nwolGay-yey ilhwum mit-un-i
escape-LOC mandate-ACC **believe-GER** song-LOC name believe-
PERF-NML

while fleeing [he] **believed** in the [Heavenly] Mandate, **and** in the
song [he] believed [his] name (YP 16)

Manchu

na-de sinda-ci **haira-me** angga-de ašu-fi
ground-LOC put-GER **regret-GER** mouth-LOC hold in the
mouth-GER

[she] **did not want** to put [the fruit] on the ground, **so** [she] holds
[it] in [her] mouth (MYK 3a)

However, before we jump to far-fetching conclusions and proclaim that Japonic is related to ‘Altaic’ on the basis of this and other parallels, we should remember that OJ *-myi* has the following peculiarities: a) it occurs only with adjectives and never with verbs; b) it is not found in Japonic outside Old Japanese. Such limited distribution, both structurally – and we should remember that inflected adjectives represent a recent innovation in Japanese –, and geographically, strongly suggests that OJ *-myi* is an early loan from Old Korean. It probably was borrowed from Old Korean preceding the raising *e > i in Western Old Japanese, and from the latter spread into Eastern Old Japanese.

5.2.6 DEVERBAL ADJECTIVES IN *-ASI*

There are deverbial adjectives in Western Old Japanese that are formed by adding the suffix *-asi* to a verbal stem or root. All of them belong to Class 2 of inflected adjectives (traditional *-siku katsuyō*). Therefore, it is quite likely that this suffix *-asi* is etymologically related to stem formant *-si* of the adjectives belonging to Class 2. Since all adjectives of Class 2 have roots ending in a vowel, we can expect that the contraction *-asi > *-si* has taken place after adjectival and verbal roots that end in a vowel, but the original shape *-asi* was preserved after the consonantal roots.

This can be further confirmed by such an adjectival form as *kwopiy-si* ‘to be longed for,’ clearly derived from the vowel verb *kwopiy-* ‘to love, to long for.’ The process of deriving adjectives from verbs with *-asi* is not productive in Western Old Japanese, as *-asi* is only found after a handful of verbs. It can be added either to a consonantal verb root, or it can follow the iterative suffix *-ap-*. In certain cases the lexicalization has occurred, for example see below *ikyīNtuk-asi* ‘lamentable,’ which is derived from *ikyīNtuk-* ‘to breathe [hard].’ After the verb *omöp-* ‘to think, to love,’ the suffix *-asi* is assimilated to *-osi*. Also, in addition to the deverbial adjective *kwopiy-si*, mentioned above, there is a different form *kwop-osi*, derived with a deletion of a final vowel of the vowel verb *kwopiy-* ‘to love, to long for’ with a subsequent assimilation of *-asi* to *-osi*.¹⁸

母智騰利乃可可良波志母与

möti-N-töri-nö **kakar-ap-asi-mö** yö

mochi-GEN-bird-COMP **be.stuck-ITER-ADJ-EXCL** PT

[You] **are stuck** like a bird on a *mochi* [trap-stick]! (MYS V: 800)

毛々等利能己惠能古保志枳波流岐多流良斯

mwomwo töri-nö köwe **kwop-osi-kyi** paru k-yi-tar-urasi

hundred bird-GEN voice-GEN **long.for-ADJ-ATTR** spring come-
INF-PERF/PROG-SUP

[It] seems that the spring with voices of a hundred birds **that** [I] **missed** has arrived (MYS V: 834)

意乃何身志伊多波斯計礼婆

onö-Nka MIY si **itap-asi-kyere-Npa**

self-POSS body PT **be.painful-ADJ-EV-CON**

because [my] own body **was in pain** ... (MYS V: 886)

世間乎宇之等夜佐之等於母倍杼母

YÖ-NÖ NAKA-wo u-si tö **yas-asi** tö omöp-ey-Ntömö

¹⁸ Historically we, of course, have two different assimilations in *omöp-osi* and *kwop-osi*, since the first has the root vowel /ö/, and the second the root vowel /wo/. But since in all texts except the *Kojiki kayō* the *kō-rui* vowel /wo/ and the *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/ merged after /p/, the forms attested in the texts both have neutralized /o/. Thus, the pre-Western Old Japanese forms were *ömöp-ösi and *kwop-wosi respectively.

world-GEN middle-ABS sad-FIN DV **get.emaciated-ADJ** DV
think-EV-CONC

Although [I] think that [this] life is sad and poor... (MYS V: 893)

空氣衝之相別去者

ANA **IKYINTUK-Asi** APYI-WAKARE-N-ANPA

EXCL **breathe-ADJ** REC-part(INF)-PERF-COND

Oh, how **lamentable!** If [we] part with each other ... (MYS VIII: 1454)

從君毛吾曾益而伊布可思美為也

KYIMYI-YWORI mwo ARE sö MASAR-I-TE iN**puk-asi-myi** S-URU

lord-COMP PT I PT increase-INF-SUB **feel.uneasy-ADJ-GER**
do-ATTR

I feel more **uneasy** than [my] lord (MYS XII: 3106)

安奈伊伎豆加思美受比佐尔指天

ana **ikyintuk-asi** myi-Ns-u pyisa n-i s-i-te

EXCL **breath-ADJ** see-NEG-INF long DV-INF do-INF-SUB

Oh, how **lamentable!** It has been a long [time] without seeing [you]
(MYS XIV: 3547)

Although this poem is found in book XIV, there are no Eastern Old Japanese features in it, so I treat it as a Western Old Japanese text.

於母保之伎許登都氏夜良受

omöp-osi-kyi kötö tute-yar-aNs-u

think-ADJ-ATTR word send.a.message(INF)-send-NEG-FIN

[I] do not send a message **that** [I] **think of** (MYS XVII: 3962)

佐由利能波奈能惠麻波之伎香母

sa-yuri-nö pana-nö **wem-ap-asi-kyi** kamö

PREF-lily-GEN flower-GEN **smile-ITER-ADJ-ATTR** PT

the lily flowers **are smile-provoking!** (MYS XVIII: 4086)

After an *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/ in the root adjectivizer *-asi* assimilates to *-ösi*:

伊豫国与利白祥鹿乎献奉天在礼方有礼志与呂許保志止奈毛見流

iyö-NÖ KUNI-yöri SIRWO-KYI SIRUSI N-Ö SIKAWO
TATEMATUR-I-te Ar-e-Npa uresi **yörököNp-osi** tö namwo MYI-ru

Iyö-GEN province-ABL white-ATTR mark DV-ATTR deer-ACC present(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON glad **joyful-ADJ** DV PT see-ATTR

when [they] presented [us] with a deer with white marks from the province of Iyö, [we] regarded this as a **joyful** and auspicious [event] (SM 46)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one uncontroversial example of *-asi* in Eastern Old Japanese:

比古布祢乃斯利比可志母與

pyik-wo pune-nō siri **pyik-asi-mō** yō

pull-ATTR boat-COMP buttocks **pull-ADJ-EXCL** PT

[I] **am in the mood of pulling** the buttocks [of my husband] like a tow boat! (MYS XIV: 3431)

A2: Ryukyuan

The deverbal adjectivizer *-asi* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

5.3 DEFECTIVE ADJECTIVES

There are two defective adjectives in Western Old Japanese: *ka-* ‘to be so, thus’ and *sa* ‘id.’

5.3.1 DEFECTIVE ADJECTIVE KA-

The defective adjective **ka-* ‘to be so, thus’ is attested in two forms: the infinitive form *ka-ku* and the subordinative gerund form *ka-ku-te*. The latter form appears in phonetic writing only once in the *Senmyō*. In most cases the infinitive *ka-ku* has an adverbial usage, modifying a following verb, but on some occasions it can also be used as a quasi-predicate with the following desiderative particle *mōNka~ mōNkamō*. The infinitive *ka-ku* can also be nominalized when it is followed by the defective verb *n-* ‘to be.’

和賀美斯古良迦久母賀

wa-Nka myi-si kwo-ra **ka-ku** mōNka

I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM **thus-INF** PT

[I] desire **this much** the girl I saw (KK 42)

加久能基登那爾淤波牟登

ka-ku-nö Nkötö na-ni op-am-u tö

thus-INF-GEN like name-LOC carry-TENT-FIN DV
in order to perpetuate that [it] was like **that** (KK 97)

豫呂豆余珥訶勾志茂餓茂知余珥茂訶勾志茂餓茂

yöröNtu yö-ni **ka-ku** si moNkamo ti yö-ni mo **ka-ku** si moNkamo
ten.thousand year-LOC **thus-INF** PT PT thousand year-LOC PT
thus-INF PT PT

[I] wish [that my sovereign] will be [**like**] **that** in ten thousand years, will be [**like**] **that** in a thousand years, too (NK 102)

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

kyikös-i-wos-u kuni-nö ma-po-ra Nsö ka n-i **ka-ku** n-i posi-kyi
manima n-i 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 DV-INF **thus**
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT

in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, [it] would not be thus according to what [you] wish in **this way** and that way, [would it]? (MYS V: 800)

可由既婆比等爾伊等波延可久由既婆比等爾迹久麻延

ka yuk-ey-Npa pyitö-ni itöp-aye **ka-ku** yuk-ey-Npa pyitö-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)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母

tök[ö]-yipa-nasu **ka-ku** si möNkamö tö omöp-ey-Ntömö
eternal-rock-COMP **thus-INF** PT PT DV think-EV-CONC

Although [I] think that [I] would like to be (**thus**) like an eternal rock ... (MYS V: 805)

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-nö kyimyi-ra-tö **ka-ku** si kösö 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 **thus** amuse [myself] with lords from Kwosi by putting
 willow [branches] in our hair in this way (MYS XVIII: 4071)

日繼波加久弓絶奈牟止為
 PYI TUNK-YI pa **ka-ku-te** TAYE-n-am-u tö S-U
 sun follow-NML TOP **thus-INF-SUB** be.interrupted(INF)-PERF-
 TENT-FIN DV do-FIN
 the inheritance of the Sun is going to be interrupted **in this way**
 (SM 27)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The infinitive *ka-ku* is attested several times in Eastern Old Japanese, but only in book XIV. It appears in both poems with Eastern Old Japanese dialect features (the first and the third examples below), and in poems without such features (the second example below). All examples represent an adverbial usage.

可久太尔毛久尔乃登保可婆奈我目保里勢牟
ka-ku Ntani mwo kuni-nö töpo-k-aNpa na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
thus-INF PT PT province-GEN far-ATTR-COND you-POSS eye
 want-NML do-TENT-FIN
 if the [home] province is just **so** far, [I] want [to see] your eyes
 (MYS XIV: 3383)

古奈宜可久古非牟等夜
 kwo-naNkiy **ka-ku** kwopiy-m-u tö 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)

安豆左由美須惠尔多麻末吉可久須酒曾
 aNtusa yumyi suwe-ni tama mak-yi **ka-ku** s-u s-u sö
 catalpa bow end-LOC jewel wrap-NML **thus-INF** do-FIN do-FIN
 PT
 [I] wrapped the ends of the catalpa bow with jewels **in this way**
 (MYS XIV: 3487)

A2: Ryukyuan

The defective adjective *ka-* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no external parallels for the defective adjective *ka-* to the best of my knowledge.

5.3.2 DEFECTIVE ADJECTIVE SA

The defective adjective *sa* ‘to be so, such’ possibly appears in two forms: the root form *sa* and the subordinative gerund *sa-te*, although the evidence for the latter is mostly semantographic, and, therefore, quite slim. Examples:

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

比等里佐奴礼婆
pyitō-ri **sa** n-ure-Npa
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 yamaNta n-ö woNti-Nka SÖNÖ PYI-ni mötömey ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u
so YamaNta DV-ATTR old man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF)
meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN
So, old man YamaNta searched for [him] on that day, but did not find [him] (MYS XVII: 4014)

住吉之岸乎田尔墾蒔稻乃而及苺不相公鴨
SUMYINÖYE-NÖ KYISI-wo ta-ni PAR-I MAK-YI-SI INE **SA-TE** KAR-U-MANTE-NI AP-AN-U KYIMYI kamwo
Sumyinöye-GEN shore-ACC paddy-LOC make-INF sow-INF-PAST/ATTR rice **be.thus(INF)-SUB** cut-ATTR-TERM-LOC
meet-NEG lord PT
Alas, [I] will not meet with [my] lord until [they] turn the shores of Sumyinöye into paddies and **thus** cut the rice that [they] sowed! (MYS X: 2244)

雪寒三咲者不開梅花縱比來者然而毛有金

YUKYI SAMU-myi SAK-YI N-I PA SAK-ANS-U UMEY-NÖ
 PANA YÖ-SI KÖNÖ KÖRÖ PA SA-TE mwo AR-U Nkane
 snow cold-GER bloom-NML DV-INF TOP bloom-NEG-INF
 plum-GEN blossom good-FIN this time TOP **be.thus(INF)-GER**
 PT exist-ATTR CONJ

[It] is good that plum blossoms do not even bloom because the snow is cold. So that [it] will be **so** at the appropriate time (MYS X: 2329)

然_レ己丑年稻目大臣薨已後

SA-te KÖ-NÖ USI TÖSI Inamey OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI
 MAKAR-I-TAMAP-YI-SI NÖTI

be.thus(INF)-SUB Kö-GEN ox year Inamey minister pass.away-
 INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR after

Thus, after the minister Inamey passed away in the year Kö-nö usi
 of the sexagenary cycle ... (GGJEG)¹⁹

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Only the free form *sa* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

左宿佐寐_レ許曾己登尔_レ尔思可

sa ne sa ne-te kösö kötö-ni [i]Nte-n-i-sika

thus sleep(INF) **thus** sleep(INF)-SUB PT word-LOC exit(INF)-
 PERF-INF-PAST/EV

[we] slept **in this way**, slept **in this way**, and [it] has become
 [people's] gossip (MYS XIV: 3497)

A2: Ryukyuan

The defective adjective *sa* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There are no external parallels for the defective adjective *sa* to the best of my knowledge.

¹⁹ Cited according to (Omodaka et al. 1967: 333)

VERBS

Before a detailed discussion of the Western Old Japanese verbal morphology, I would like to briefly outline the major grammatical categories of the verb in Western Old Japanese. Since this book is built on the principle 'from the marker to the category' rather than vice versa, I consider it necessary to cross-reference verbal markers and the categories they express at the very beginning, so that a reader who is interested in a description of a certain category in Western Old Japanese may easily find the necessary section using the Index of grammatical markers or the Contents. I list the following categories together with their markers.

6.0 VERBAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

6.0.1 MODE

There are two modes in Western Old Japanese: affirmative and negative. The affirmative mode does not have a special marker. The negative mode is marked by the suffixes *-an-* ~ *-n-*, *-aNs-* ~ *-Ns-*, in the indicative mood and by the suffix *-una*, the prefix *na-*, and the circumfix *na-...-sö* in the imperative mood. There are special negative mode forms for the negative tentative (*-aNsi* ~ *-Nsi*), and negative potential mood (*-umasiNsi*).

6.0.2 ASPECT

There are five aspects in Western Old Japanese: imperfective, with a zero marker, perfective, marked by auxiliaries *-n-* and *-te-*, progressive marked by the suffix *-yer-*¹, perfective progressive marked by the analytical construction subordinative gerund *-te +*

¹ Historically *-yer-* comes from an infinitive *-yi* followed by the auxiliary verb *ar-* 'exist'

auxiliary *ar-* ‘to exist,’ the auxiliary *-tar-* (that represents a contraction of the *-te* + *ar-* construction), and continuous (analytical, infinitive + auxiliary *wor-* ‘to exist’).

6.0.3 TENSE

There are two tenses in Western Old Japanese: present-future, with a zero marker, and past, marked by the auxiliary *-kyi* (that also has other suppletive forms).

6.0.4 MOOD

Mood is the pride and beauty of Western Old Japanese. There are thirteen moods in the language: indicative (no marker), imperative (no marker or suffixes *-ye* and *-yö*), tentative (suffix *-am-* ~ *-m-*), negative tentative (suffix *-aNsi* ~ *-Nsi*), second tentative (suffix *-uram-* ~ *-ram-*), debitive (suffix *-uNpey-*), potential (auxiliary *-kate-*), negative potential (suffix *-umasiNsi-*, auxiliary *kane-*), subjunctive (suffix *-amasi* ~ *-masi*), suppositional (suffix *-urasi*), optative (analytical, with the verb *por-* ‘to want’ or the adjective *posi* ‘to be wanted’), desiderative (suffixes *-ana* ~ *-na*), and benefactive (auxiliary *köse-*).

6.0.5 VOICE

There are four voices in Western Old Japanese: active (no marker), passive (suffixes *-aye-* ~ *-ye-* and *-are-*), causative (suffixes *-ase-* ~ *-se-* and *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*), and reciprocal-cooperative (prefix *apyi-* or analytical, infinitive + *ap-* ‘to combine, to meet’).

6.0.6 RETROSPECTIVE

The retrospective form in Western Old Japanese is rendered by the auxiliary *-kyer-*.

6.0.7 REPORTED ACTION

The reported action form in Western Old Japanese is rendered by the auxiliary *nar-*.

6.0.8 ITERATIVE

The iterative form in Western Old Japanese is rendered by the suffix *-ap-* ~ *-öp-* or by the prefix *ari-*.

6.0.9 PREDICATION

There is a sharp distinction between the forms of final and non-final predication. The former include the final predicative form (suffixes *-u* ~ *-i*), the attributive form (suffixes *-uru* ~ *-ru* ~ *-u*), the evidential form (suffixes *-ure* ~ *-re* ~ *-ey*), and others. The latter are represented by the infinitive (suffixes *-yi* ~ *-u*), the subordinative gerund (auxiliary *-te*), the coordinative gerunds (auxiliaries *-tutu* and *-naNkara*), the coordinative gerund (auxiliary *-katera*), the conditional gerund (suffix *-aŊpa* ~ *-Ŋpa*), the conjunctive gerund (suffix *-Ŋpa*), and the concessive gerund (suffix *-Ŋtō[mō]*).

6.0.10 HONORIFICATION

There are three basic degrees of honorification in Western Old Japanese. A verbal form may be honorific, humble, or neutral. There are several subdegrees of honorific and humble expressions within each of these two subsections. Honorification is expressed by a number of auxiliary verbs that are either honorific or humble. They follow the infinitive of the main verb.

6.0.11 POLITENESS

In contrast to Middle (Classical) Japanese, there is no category of politeness in Western Old Japanese.

6.1 VERBAL CLASSES

The majority of Western Old Japanese verbs fall into two major classes: consonant verbs, with a root ending in a consonant, and vowel verbs, with a root ending in the vowels /ey/ or /iy/. In traditional Japanese terminology, consonant verbs are called quadrigrade (四段 *yodan*), vowel verbs ending in /ey/ are classified as lower bi-grade (下二段 *simonidan*), and vowel verbs ending in /iy/ as upper bi-grade (上二段 *kaminidan*). Following Frellesvig's proposal, I now think that traditional 'regular' upper mono-grade verbs (上一段 *kamiichidan*) ending in the high vowels /yi/ or /iy/ are better classified as an irregular class (Frellesvig 2007: 224-25). In addition, there are four other irregular classes of verbs, known in Japanese tradition as (か変 *ka-hen*, さ変 *sa-hen*, ら変 *ra-hen*, and な変 *na-hen*). Finally, there are several defective verbs that do not have full paradigms, and which are not recognized in the traditional Japanese grammar.

It is necessary to keep in mind that a number of Western Old Japanese verbs can belong to a different verbal class vis-à-vis the same verbs in Middle (Classical) Japanese. Thus, cf. WOJ *kakur-* ~ *kakure-* 'to hide' (consonant or vowel verb) vs. MJ *kakure-* 'id.' (vowel verb), WOJ *wasur-* ~ *wasure-* 'to forget' (consonant or vowel verb) vs. MJ *wasure-* 'id.' (vowel verb), WOJ *pur-* ~ *pure-* 'to touch' (consonant or vowel verb) vs. MJ *fure-* 'id.' (vowel verb),² WOJ *ik-* 'to live' (consonant verb) vs. Late MJ *iki-* 'id.' (vowel verb), WOJ *oNp-* 'to wear at the waist' (consonant verb) vs. MJ *obi-* 'id.' (vowel verb), WOJ *mwomyit-* 'to turn red or yellow (of leaves or grass)' (consonant verb) vs. MJ *momiti-* 'id.' (vowel verb), WOJ *wak-* 'to divide' (consonant verb) vs. MJ *wak-* ~ *wake-* 'id.' (consonant or vowel verb), WOJ *yörököNpiy-* 'to rejoice' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *yorokob-* 'id.' (consonant verb), WOJ *kanasiNpiy-* 'to grieve' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *kanasib-* 'id.' (consonant verb), WOJ *yökiy-* 'to avoid' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *yok-* ~ *yoki-* 'id.' (consonant or vowel verb), WOJ *mawir-* 'to come/go (HUM)' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *mawir-* 'id.' (consonant verb), WOJ *osori-* (upper bigrade type vowel verb) vs. MJ *osore-* 'id.' (lower bigrade vowel verb), etc.

There are also several cases when Western Old Japanese irregular verbs have regular counterparts in Middle Japanese and vice versa: WOJ *isati-* 'to sob' (irregular verb) vs. MJ *isati-* (upper bigrade vowel verb), WOJ *araNpiy-* 'to be in a wild mood' (irregular or vowel verb) vs. MJ. *arabi-* 'id..' (vowel verb), WOJ *piy-* 'to dry' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *fi-* (irregular verb), WOJ *piy-* 'to blow nose' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *fi-* 'id.' (irregular verb), WOJ *kuwe-* 'to kick' (vowel verb) vs. MJ *ke-* 'id.' (irregular verb). Since Western Old Japanese irregular verbs that became regular vowel verbs in Middle Japanese are all polysyllabic, and, to the contrary, all Western Old Japanese irregular verbs that became regular vowel verbs in Middle Japanese are monosyllabic, I think that here we deal with the simple case of a structural pressure: regular vowel verbs are mostly polysyllabic, while the overwhelming majority of the monosyllabic vowel verbs are irregular. Consequently, irregular

² Shirafuji considers the WOJ consonant verbs *kakur-*, *pur-*, and *wasur-* to be earlier forms, while the WOJ vowel verbs *kakure-*, *pure*, and *wasure-* are later forms (Shirafuji 1987: 132). It is true that the former appear to belong to Early Old Japanese, and the latter to Late Old Japanese, but we should not forget that these two varieties in all probability reflect two different dialects (Asuka and Nara) rather than two chronological stages (Early WOJ and Late WOJ), because the temporal distance between them does not exceed one century.

polysyllabic verbs were under structural pressure to become regular, and in quite a similar way, regular monosyllabic vowel verbs were under structural pressure to become irregular. The only exception to this rule is WOJ *kuwe-* ‘to kick’, which is polysyllabic and regular, but turns up as an irregular MJ *ke*³. But this unique case is easily explained as a result of a secondary, albeit not quite regular, contraction *-uwe-* > *-e-*.

6.1.1 CONSONANT VERBS

Consonant verbs are by and large the most populated verbal class in Western Old Japanese, probably comprising at least 70% of all verbs attested in the Western Old Japanese corpus. As mentioned above, all roots of consonant verbs end in a consonant. Most roots have the shape VC-, CVC-, VCVC-, or CVCVC-. Although longer shapes also do occur, historically they represent compounds. In Chart 25 below I provide the main inflectional forms of consonant verbs.

Chart 25: Main inflectional forms of consonant verbs

form	twop- ‘ask’	tör- ‘take’	tök- ‘untie’
infinitive	twop-yi	tör-i	tök-yi
final	twop-u	tör-u	tök-u
attributive	twop-u	tör-u	tök-u
evidential	twop-ey	tör-e	tök-ey
imperative	twop-ye	tör-e	tök-ye
negative	twop-an-	tör-an-	tök-an-
tentative	twop-am-	tör-am-	tök-am-

As one can see from the chart above, consonant verbs have the following peculiarities:

- (1) There are no morphophonemic changes with vowel-initial suffixes.
- (2) *-r-* in the attributive (*-u* < **-uru*) and evidential (*-ey* < **-ure[y]*) forms is lost according to the rule of medial *-r-* loss (Whitman’s law, see 2.2.5.4). This results in the lack of a differentiation between final and attributive forms on the morphological level.
- (3) Since there is no contrast between /yi/ ~ /iy/ and /ye/ ~ /ey/ after coronals (see 2.2.2.3 - 2.2.2.4), there is no phonetic contrast

³ MJ *ke-* ‘to kick’ constitutes by itself its own verbal class, traditional lower mono-grade (下一段 *shimoichidan*).

between evidential and imperative forms after the roots ending in coronals.

6.1.2 VOWEL VERBS

Vowel verbs represent the second largest verbal class in Western Old Japanese, probably comprising at least 28% percent of all verbs. As mentioned above, all vowel verb roots end in the vowels /iy/ or /ey/. Most roots have the shape VCV- or CVCV-. Monosyllabic V- and CV- forms are very rare. The longer forms VCVCV- and CVCVCV- are not infrequent, although most of them can probably be traced to compounds or complex morphological derivations. In Chart 26 below I provide the main inflectional forms of vowel verbs.

Chart 26: Main inflectional forms of vowel verbs

form	okiy- 'rise'	tōNtōmey- 'stop'	e[y]- 'get'
infinitive	okiy-∅	tōNtōmey-∅	e-∅
final	ok-u	tōNtōm-u	∅-u
attributive	ok-uru	tōNtōm-uru	∅-uru
evidential	ok-ure	tōNtōm-ure	∅-ure
imperative	okiy(-yō)	tōNtōmey(-yō)	–
negative	okiy-n-	tōNtōmey-n-	e-n-
tentative	okiy-m-	tōNtōmey-m-	e-m-

Vowel verbs have a number of peculiarities:

(1) When a vowel-initial suffix is added to the root of a vowel verb, the vowel of the suffix is generally dropped, but the stem itself remains unaffected. If a suffix consists just of a single vowel, this vowel disappears altogether, like in the case of the infinitive *-yi*, which is not overtly expressed. In the chart above I marked this infinitive as a zero morpheme *-∅*, but in the description itself the infinitives that are not overtly expressed will not be marked and in the glosses the infinitive forms of vowel verbs are denoted as VERB(INF).

(2) There are exceptions to rule (1) above that concerns combinations of vowel verb roots with following final *-u*, attributive *-uru* and evidential *-ure*. In these cases the vowel of the suffix remains intact, but the last vowel of the verbal root is dropped. Since regular vowel verbs can lose their last vowel in a paradigmatic form, I call them “weak vowel verbs,” in contrast to

irregular vowel verbs (see 6.1.3.1) that never lose their last vowel of the root, and which I call “strong vowel verbs.”

(3) As a sequence of rule (2), monosyllabic vowel verbs of V-shape like *e[y]*- ‘to get’ in the chart above completely lose their root before the final *-u*, the attributive *-uru* and the evidential *-ure*, becoming in a certain way ‘empty’ roots.

(4) The imperative form in *-yō*, so typical for vowel verbs in Middle Japanese texts (MJ *-yo*), does not occur frequently after vowel verbs in Western Old Japanese texts. This is particularly true for upper bi-grade verbs ending in the vowel /iy/. Thus, the verb *okiy*- ‘to rise’ seems to be the only one among the upper bi-grade class that is attested in this form (twice in the same poem, MYS XVI: 3873). The imperative form in *-yō* is more frequent after lower bi-grade verbs ending in the vowel /ey/ (Shirafuji 1987: 141), but vowel verbs can also occur in their root forms as imperatives without any following *-yō*.

6.1.3 IRREGULAR VERBS

There are five classes of irregular verbs in Western Old Japanese. Since each of them exhibits its own idiosyncrasies, it is better to discuss them one by one. All irregular verbs combined together do not exceed 2% of the total number of verbs attested in Western Old Japanese, although among them one finds some of the most high-frequency verbs.

I must emphasize that below I describe only irregularities occurring in basic paradigmatic forms. Irregular verbs demonstrate a number of other irregularities found throughout the verbal system. These will be described below in the sections dedicated to relevant suffixes and auxiliaries when found in combination with irregular verbs.

6.1.3.1 STRONG VOWEL VERBS

All strong vowel verbs end in high vowels /yi/ or /iy/.⁴ The majority of them are monosyllabic with a CV- structure, like *myi*-

⁴ Some Japanese linguists indicate in their grammars that strong vowel verbs always ended in the *kō-ru* /yi/ vowel (Shirafuji 1987: 127). This is probably not true, as it becomes clear from the following chart and the following footnote, although the majority of strong vowel verbs indeed have *kō-ru* /yi/ and not *otsu-ru* /iy/.

‘to see’ and *miy*-⁵ ‘to go around,’ although there are some exceptions, like WOJ *isati*- ‘to sob’ or *araNpiy*- ‘to be in a wild mood.’ In Chart 27 below I provide the main inflectional forms of strong vowel verbs.

Chart 27: Main inflectional forms of strong vowel verbs

form	myi- ‘see’	miy- ‘go around’
infinitive	myi-Ø	miy-Ø
final	myi	miy
attributive	myi-ru	miy-ru
evidential	myi-re	miy-re
imperative	myi(-yō)	-
negative	myi-n-	miy-n-
tentative	myi-m-	-

Strong vowel verbs have the following peculiarities:

- (1) Being essentially vowel verbs, they never lose the final vowel of the root before any vowel-initial suffix, such as the attributive *-uru* or the evidential *-ure*. On the contrary, initial vowels of any suffixes following their roots are always deleted. Since the strong vowel verbs always preserve their root vowels, I prefer to call them ‘strong.’
- (2) The final form of strong vowel verbs is identical in form to their infinitives, but it is never found in isolation.⁶ See 6.2.2.1.1 for details. The replacement of the final form with attributive apparently had occurred only in the Middle Japanese period.
- (3) Similar to regular vowel verbs, the imperative form can occur in both the *-yō* form and as a root, see, e.g., *myi* ‘see(IMP)’ in MYS I: 27.

⁵ Most of the surviving forms of *miy*- ‘go around’ indicate that it is a strong vowel verb, although there is one example of the attributive form *m-uru* (MYS VI: 942), not *miy-ru*, that is believed to point to a regular vowel verb paradigm (Omodaka et al. 1967: 720, 719). In addition to being just a *hapax legomenon*, I believe that we have here a problem of morphological segmentation, as the context in question is 許伎多武流浦 *kōNk-yi-tam-uru* URA row-INF-*go.around-ATTR* bay ‘bays that [we] are rowing around’ (MYS VI: 942), where we actually have the verb *tamiy*- ‘to go around,’ ‘to turn.’ Since it is not possible to segment *ta-* in this verb, its relationship to *miy*- remains unproven. Thus, I prefer to view *miy*- ‘to go around’ as a strong vowel verb.

⁶ Cf. WOJ *myi tōmo* ‘see CONJ’ ‘even if [one] sees’ (the conjunction *tōmo* follows the final form of a verb).

6.1.3.2 VERB *kō-* ‘TO COME’

The verb *kō-* ‘to come’ has a paradigm highly reminiscent of regular vowel verbs, but it also has some differences. In Chart 28 below I provide the main inflectional forms of the verb *kō-*:

Chart 28: Main inflectional forms of *kō-* ‘to come’

form	<i>kō-</i> ‘come’
infinitive	k-yi
final	k-u
attributive	k-uru
evidential	k-ure
imperative	kō
negative	kō-n-
tentative	kō-m-

The verb *kō-* ‘to come’ has the following peculiarities:

- (1) In most cases it behaves like a regular vowel verb: it loses the final vowel of its stem before the final *-u*, the attributive *-uru*, and the evidential *-ure*, but retains it before other vowel-initial suffixes that lose their initial vowels upon suffixation. There is, however, one exception: in contrast to regular vowel verbs that retain their final vowels before the infinitive *-yi* that is regularly deleted, *kō-* deletes its final root vowel /ō/ but retains the following infinitive *-yi*.
- (2) Unlike regular vowel verbs and strong vowel verbs, *kō-* ‘to come’ never has an imperative form **kō-yō*, and the root form *kō* is the only possible imperative form for this verb in Western Old Japanese.

6.1.3.3 VERB *se- ~ -sō* ‘TO DO’

The verb *se- ~ -sō* ‘to do’ also has a paradigm highly reminiscent of regular vowel verbs and especially of *kō-* ‘to come,’ but it has its own peculiarities as well. In Chart 29 below I provide the main inflectional forms of the verb *se- ~ -sō*:

Chart 29: Main inflectional forms of *se- ~ -sō* ‘to do’

form	<i>se- ~ -sō</i> ‘do’
infinitive	s-i

⁷ Middle Japanese, in contrast, only has the imperative form *ko-yo* ‘come!’ and the root form is never used.

final	s-u
attributive	s-uru
evidential	s-ure
imperative	se(-yō), -sō
negative	se-n-
tentative	se-m-

The verb *se- ~ -sō* 'to do' has the following peculiarities:

- (1) Unlike any other verb in Western Old Japanese, it has two alternating roots: *se-* and *-sō*,⁸ where the alternation cannot be explained by morphophonological rules. The variant *-sō* occurs only as a part of the negative imperative circumfix *na-V-INF-sō* 'do not do V.' The variant *se-* is found in most paradigmatic forms.
- (2) In most cases *se-* behaves like a regular vowel verb: it loses the final vowel of its stem before the final *-u*, the attributive *-uru*, and the evidential *-ure*, but retains it before other vowel-initial suffixes that lose their initial vowels upon suffixation. Similar to *kō-* 'to come,' there is an exception: in contrast to regular vowel verbs that retain their final vowels before the infinitive *-yi* that is regularly deleted, *se-* deletes its final root vowel /e/ but retains the infinitive *-[y]i*.
- (3) Similar to regular and strong vowel verbs, and unlike *kō-* 'to come,' the *-yō* imperative form is optional for *se-* 'to do': in other words, there are examples of both *se* and *se-yō* imperatives in Western Old Japanese.

6.1.3.4 R-IRREGULAR VERBS

So far we have seen irregular verbs that are essentially vowel verbs that have certain idiosyncrasies in their paradigms. *R*-irregular verbs, on the other hand, are essentially consonantal verbs with roots ending in the consonant /r/ that exhibit one irregularity. There are three primary (non-derived) *r*-irregular verbs in Western Old Japanese: *ar-* 'to exist,' *wor-* 'to exist, to stay, to sit' and *por-* 'to want.' The latter is usually treated as a consonantal verb (Omodaka et al. 1967: 662), but there is some evidence that it is actually an *r*-irregular verb (see SPECIAL CONSTRUCTIONS *-(A)MA-AKU POSI* AND *-(A)M-AKU POR-I* in 6.2.2.2.3.3 for a detailed

⁸ Historically, most likely, the root *sō-* and the extended stem *se- < *sō-i*, although this speculation may be difficult to prove.

discussion). In Chart 30 below I provide the main inflectional forms of *r*-irregular verbs:

Chart 30: Main inflectional forms of *r*-irregular verbs

form	ar- 'exist'	wor- 'exist, stay'
infinitive	ar-i	wor-i
final	ar-i	wor-i
attributive	ar-u	wor-u
evidential	ar-e	wor-e
imperative	ar-e	wor-e
negative	ar-an-	wor-an-
tentative	ar-am-	wor-am-

The only irregularity that distinguishes *r*-irregular verbs from their regular consonant counterparts is that they have the final form suffix *-i*, and not *-u*. Thus, the infinitive and final forms are phonologically indistinguishable. Similar to other consonant verbs ending in coronals, there is no phonological distinction between evidential and imperative forms due to the merger of /ye/ and /ey/ after coronals.

One must keep in mind that Western Old Japanese auxiliaries that historically include *ar-* 'to exist' as their last component, such as *-tar-*, *-kyer-*, and *-yer-* follow the paradigm of *r*-irregular verbs. The same applies to the derived verbs *nar-* 'to be' < *n-i ar-* and *nar-* 'to be located at' < *ni ar-* (see 6.1.4.1.4).

6.1.3.4 N-IRREGULAR VERBS

The irregularity of *n*-irregular verbs manifests itself in the fact that these verbs mix consonant and vowel verb paradigms, although their stems end in consonants. There are only two verbs in this class: *sin-* 'to die' and *in-* 'to go away.' Because there are no regular consonant verbs in Western Old Japanese that end in /n/,⁹ it seems likely that these two verbs originally belonged to a vowel verb paradigm but later acquired parts of a consonant verb paradigm. In Chart 31 below I provide the main inflectional forms of *n*-irregular verbs:

⁹ A puzzle itself for the internal reconstruction: /n/ and /y/ and /w/ are the only consonants that do not appear as a final consonant in Western Old Japanese consonant verbs. While there might be a cogent explanation why /y/ and /w/ behave oddly in this respect, the absence of /n/ is baffling in spite of several explanations that have been offered.

Chart 31: Main inflectional forms of *n*-irregular verbs

form	sin- 'die'	in- 'go away'
infinitive	sin-i	in-i
final	sin-u	in-u
attributive	sin-uru	in-uru
evidential	sin-ure	in-ure
imperative	sin-e	in-e
negative	sin-an-	in-an-
tentative	sin-am-	in-am-

On the basis of the chart above it is possible to see that the infinitive, final, imperative, negative, and tentative forms mirror those of a consonant verb paradigm, while the attributive and evidential forms look exactly like forms of a vowel verb paradigm.

6.1.4 DEFECTIVE VERBS

All defective verbs are irregular, but in contrast to other irregular verbs they have very few paradigmatic forms. There are four defective verbs in Western Old Japanese: *n-* 'to be,' *tō* 'to be,' *rō* 'to be,' and *tō* 'to say,' which, as I will demonstrate below, have different origins.¹⁰ The necessity of a separate and detailed description of defective verbs is dictated by the fact that the Japanese linguistic tradition does not recognize them as verbs, treating different forms of these verbs as various particles. In addition, they have a number of irregularities not found in other irregular verbs. In Chart 32 below I provide all the existing inflectional forms of defective verbs, followed by a detailed discussion with textual examples of these forms.

Chart 32: Inflectional forms of defective verbs

form	n- 'be'	tō 'be'	rō 'be'	tō 'say'
infinitive	n-i	tō	-	tō
final	-	-	rō	tō
attributive	n-ō	t-u	rō	tō (?)
subordinative gerund	n-i-te	-	-	tō-te

¹⁰ Cf. Frellesvig's attempt to demonstrate that *n-* and both *tō* lexemes ultimately have the same origin (Frellesvig 1999).

-ar- form	nar- < n-i ar-	- ¹¹	-	-
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Among these defective verbs, *n-* ‘to be’ behaves basically as a consonant verb, although it has an irregular attributive form in *-ō*, not *-u*. On the other hand, *tō* ‘to be’ and *tō* ‘to say’ are likely to be vowel verbs, although *tō* ‘to be’ has an attributive form in *-u*, like a consonant verb, and both have infinitives ending in /ō/, which is not typical for any other vowel verb. The special form *nar-* is a combination of the infinitive *n-i* of *n-* ‘to be’ and verb *ar-* ‘exist’: *nar- < n-i ar-*.

6.1.4.1 DEFECTIVE VERB N- ‘TO BE’

As indicated in Chart 32 above, the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ has four paradigmatic forms: the infinite *n-i*, the attributive *n-ō*, the subordinative gerund *n-i-te*, and the special form *nar- < *n-i-ar-*. Below I provide a description of their functions in Western Old Japanese along with examples.

6.1.4.1.1 Infinitive form *n-i*

The infinitive form *n-i* ‘being’ is used in a variety of functions. It may occur after both nominals and verbs, the latter normally being in their nominalized or attributive forms.

(1) The infinitive *n-i* can be used as a copula in a nominal predicate:

那許曾波遠迹伊麻世婆
 na kōsō pa **wo n-i imas-e-Npa**
 you PT TOP man DV-INF exist(HON)-EV-CON
since you are a man (KK 5)

Note that *n-i imas-* in this and the immediately following example represents an honorific variant of the construction *n-i ar-* discussed in 6.1.4.1.4 below.

伊可奈留夜比止爾伊麻世可
 ika nar-u ya **pyitō n-i imas-e ka**
 how be-ATTR PT person DV-INF be(HON)-EV PT

¹¹ Starting from the Heian period, a copula *tar- < t-ar-* form also appears, but it is predominantly used in *kanbun kundoku* texts, which are foreign in origin. It hardly ever appears in prose, and never in poetry. This finds a good explanation in the fact that, as I will show below, *tō* ‘to be’ has a foreign origin, being borrowed from Korean. The derivation of *t-ar-* is similar to that of *n-ar-*: infinitive *tō* + *ar-* ‘exist.’

Oh, what kind of **person is** [he]? (BS 5)

迦賀那倍弓用迹波許許能用比迹波登袁加袁

ka-Nka naNpey-te **ywo n-i pa** kökönö ywo **pyi n-i** pa töwo-ka-wo
 day-day line.up(INF)-SUB **night DV-INF TOP** nine night **day**
DV-INF TOP ten-CL-ACC
 counting all the days, **as for nights** [it is] nine nights [and] **as for**
days [it is] ten days (KK 26)

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)

美那許袁呂許袁呂爾

myi-na **kōworō kōworō n-i**
 water-PLUR **churning churning DV-INF**
 waters **churning, churning** (KK 100)

汝多知方貞仁明伎心乎以天

IMASI-tati pa **SANTAKA n-i** AKA-kyi KÖKÖRÖ-wo MÖT-I-te
 you-PLUR TOP **loyal DV-INF** bright-ATTR heart-ACC hold-INF-
 SUB
 you, with **loyal and** clear hearts ... (SM 37)

清麻呂其我姉法均止甚大爾惡久奸流妄語乎作豆

KYIYWOMARÖ SI-Nka ANE POPUKUN-tö ITÖ **OPO-KYI n-i**
 ASI-ku KANTAM-YER-u ITUPAR-I-N-KÖTÖ-wo TUKUR-I-te
 Kyiywomarö he-POSS elder.sister Popukun-COM very **big-ATTR**
DV-INF bad-INF be.insincere-PROG-ATTR lie-NML-GEN-
 word-ACC make-INF-SUB
 Kyiywomarö with his elder sister Popukun created an extremely
big, bad and insincere lie ... (SM 44)

吾哉難二加還而將成

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)

伊米爾毛伊母我美延射良奈久尔

imey-ni mwo imö-Nka **myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i**

dream-LOC PT beloved-POSS **see-PASS-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF**

[my] beloved [always] **appears** in [my] dreams (MYS XV: 3735)

奈泥之故我波奈爾毛我母奈

naNtesikwo-Nka **pana n-i** mwoNkamö na

carnation-POSS **flower DV-INF PT PT**

[I] wish [you] **were a carnation flower!** (MYS XVII: 4010)

老人毛女童兒毛之我願心太良比爾

OYI-PYITÖ mwo WOMYINA WARAPA mwo si-Nka NENK-AP-U **KÖKÖRÖ-N-tar-ap-yi n-i**

old(INF)-person PT woman child PT they-POSS desire-ITER-ATTR **heart-LOC-be.enough-ITER-NML DV-INF**

old people, women, and children, all [of them get] **enough** of what they desire **to [their] hearts' [content]** (MYS XVIII: 4094)

(2) The infinitive *n-i* is frequently used after nouns and adjectives for adverbializations:

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迹登理與曾比

kurwo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo **ma-tuNpusa n-i** tör-i-yösöp-yi ... awo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo **ma-tuNpusa n-i** tör-i-yösöp-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)

袁登賣爾多陀爾阿波牟登

wotömye-ni **taNta n-i** ap-am-u tö

maiden-DAT **direct DV-INF** meet-TENT-FIN DV

thinking to meet maidens **face to face** (KK 18)

麻許曾迹斗比多麻問

ma kösö **n-i** twop-yi-tamap-ey

truth PT **DV-INF** ask-INF-HON-EV

[It] **is right** that [you] asked [me] (KK 72)

In this example the focus particle *kösö* separates the noun *ma* 'truth' from the adverbializing infinitive *n-i*.

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鷄迷夜

oya na-si n-i nare nar-i-ky-em-ey ya

parent no-FIN DV-INF you be.born-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV
PT

Were you possibly born **without parents**? (NK 104)

Note that *n-i* follows not the attributive form *na-kyi*, but the final form *na-si* of the adjective *na-* ‘not to exist’ as demonstrated by this example.

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru mönō pa mwomwo kusa n-i semey-yör-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 a hundred varieties** (MYS V: 804)

橫風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆

YÖKÖSIMA-KANSE-nō nipuNpuka n-i OPOP-YI-K-YI-TAR-e-
Npa

cross.wind-GEN **sudden DV-INF** cover-INF-come-INF-PERF/
PROG-EV-CON

a cross wind **suddenly** came to cover [us] (MYS V: 904)

都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔

tukapey-matur-am-ey iya töpo naNka n-i

serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV plentifully **long long DV-INF**

[I] will serve [you] plentifully and **for a long, long time** (MYS XVIII: 4098)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為

tuma mö kwo-Ntömō mwo woti köti-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)

波都由伎波知敏爾布里之家

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)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟多太爾阿布麻弓爾麻佐爾阿布麻弓爾
 atō-wo myi-tutu sinöp-am-u taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni masa n-i ap-
 u-maNte-ni
 footstep-ACC see(INF)-COOR yearn-TENT-FIN **direct DV-INF**
 meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC **real DV-INF** meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC
 looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] will yearn [for him], until [I]
 meet [him] **directly**, until [I] **really** meet [him] (BS 6)

(3) Another usage of *n-i* is after the quasi-postpositions *tamey* 'for,' and *yuwe* 'because,' 'for the sake of' (lit. 'reason,' 'cause,' 'sake'), which are historically bound nouns. Only the construction *yuwe n-i* is attested with relatively high frequency (50 cases in the *Man'yōshū*), and is found in both Early and Late Western Old Japanese. The construction *tamey n-i* is very rare (only 8 cases in the whole *Man'yōshū*), and it is attested reliably only in Late Western Old Japanese.¹²

耶麼能謎能故思麼古喻衛爾
 yamanōNpey-nō kwo-sima kwo **yuwe n-i**
 YamanōNpey-GEN DIM-island child **sake DV-INF**
for the sake of the girl Kwo-sima (lit.: Small island) from
 YamanōNpey (NK 79)

人孀故尔吾戀目八方
 PYITŌ-N-TUMA **YUWE n-i** ARE KWOPIY-m-ey ya mo
 person-GEN-spouse **reason DV-INF** I love-TENT-EV PT PT
because [she] is the wife of [another] person, should I love [her]?
 [Certainly not!] (MYS I: 21)

和礼由惠尔於毛比和夫良牟伊母我可奈思佐
 ware **yuwe n-i** omwop-yi-waNp-uram-u imō-Nka kanasi-sa
 I **reason DV-INF** think-INF-worry-TENT2-ATTR beloved-POSS
 dear-NML
 [feeling of] the endearment for [my] beloved who probably worries
because of me (MYS XV: 3727)

曾己由惠尔情奈具也
 sökō **yuwe n-i** KÖKÖRŌ naNk-u ya
 there **reason DV-INF** heart calm.down-FIN PT

¹² In contrast to Middle Japanese *bakari n-i* (Vovin 2003: 173), there is no construction *Npakari n-i 'being about' in Western Old Japanese.

will [my] heart calm down **due to** those circumstances? (MYS XIX: 4154)

之可流可由惠尔序礼宇气牟比止良
 sik[a]-ar-u-Nka **yuwe n-i** söre ukey-m-u pyitö-ra
 thus-exist-ATTR-POSS **reason DV-INF** that receive-TENT-ATTR
 person-PLUR
because of this, the people who will receive that (SSI)¹³

淺茅原後見多米尔
 ASANTI PARA NÖTI MYI-M-U **tamey n-i**
 AsaNti field after see-TENT-ATTR **for DV-INF**
in order to see AsaNti field later (MYS VII: 1342)

多我多米尔奈礼
 ta-Nka **tamey n-i** nare
 who-POSS **for DV-INF** you
for whom? [For] you! (MYS XVII: 4031)

和藝毛故尔美勢牟我多米尔母美知等里氏牟
 wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-ni myi-se-m-u-Nka **tamey n-i** mömyit-i tör-i-
 te-m-u
 I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-POSS **for**
DV-INF leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML take-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN
 [I] want to take red leaves **in order** to show [them] to my beloved
 (MYS XIX: 4222)

知知波波賀多米尔毛呂比止乃多米尔
 titi papa-Nka **tamey n-i** mworö pyitö-nö **tamey n-i**
 father mother-POSS **for DV-INF** many person-GEN **for DV-INF**
 for father and mother, for many people (BS 1)

(4) The infinitive *n-i* can be also followed by the verbs *nar-* ‘to become,’ *se-* ‘to do,’ and the adjective *posi* ‘be desirable.’ These combinations produce special constructions:

<i>X n-i nar-</i>	‘to become X’
<i>X n-i posi</i>	‘to want as X’, ‘to want to be X’
<i>Y(-wo) X n-i se-</i>	‘to make Y being X,’ ‘to treat as X’

¹³ I cite this example according to (Omodaka et al. 1967: 407), who unfortunately does not indicate what exactly the document is.

Examples:

由布弊爾奈礼婆伊射祢余登

yupu-N-pye n-i nar-e-Npa iNsa ne-yö tö
evening-GEN-side DV-INF become-EV-CON INTER sleep-IMP
DV

When [it] became evening, and [we] told [him]: '[Go to] sleep!';
(MYS V: 904)

阿佐奈佐奈安我流比婆理爾奈里弓之可

asa-na [a]sa-na aNkar-u pyiNpari n-i nar-i-te-si ka
morning-PLUR morning-PLUR rise-ATTR skylark DV-INF
become-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT

every morning, [I] want to have become a skylark, flying up
(MYS XX: 4433)

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尔至麻低六年尔成奴

WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SÖMEYS-U-yuri KÖ
TÖSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte MU TÖSI 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)

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

kyikös-i-wos-u kuni-nö ma-po-ra Nsö ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kyi
manima n-i 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 DV-INF thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT

in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, [it]
would not be thus according to what [you] wish to be this way and
that way, [would it]? (MYS V: 800)

奈禮乎曾與咩爾保師登多禮

nare-wo sö yömye n-i posi tö tare
you-ACC PT bride DV-INF be.desirable DV who
who wants you as [his] bride? (NR II: 33)

家尔之弓吾者将戀名

ipye n-i s-i-te WARE PA KWOPYIY-M-U na
home DV-INF do-INF-SUB I TOP long-TENT-FIN PT
 After [I] **come home**, I will long for [it]! (MYS VII: 1179)

戀之家婆形見尔将為

KWOPYIYsi-ky-eNpa **KATAMYI n-i SE-M-U**
 miss-ATTR-COND **farewell present DV-INF do-TENT-FIN**
 If [you] miss [me], [I] **want to make [it] to be a farewell present**
 [for you] (MYS VIII: 1471)

挿頭尔将為跡我念之櫻花

KANSASI n-i SE-M-U tö A-NKA OMÖP-YI-si SAKURA-NÖ
 PANA
head.ornament DV-INF do-TENT-FIN DV I-POSS think-INF-
PAST/ATTR sakura-GEN blossom
 [I] think [I] **want to make the sakura blossoms** about which I
 thought **into a head ornament** (MYS XVI: 3786)

SPECIAL COMPRESSED FORM -N-

The infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ may have a special compressed form that surfaces as a prenasalization *-N-* if the underlying form of a following head nominal starts with a voiceless consonant /p/, /t/, /k/, or /s/. However, to the best of my knowledge, there is only one uncontroversial example of the contracted form *-N-* in Western Old Japanese:

會能阿牟袁阿岐豆波夜具比

sönö amu-wo akyiNtu **paya-N-kup-yi**
 that horsefly-ACC dragonfly **quick-DV(INF)-eat-INF**
 a dragonfly **quickly ate** that horsefly (KK 97)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The infinitive form *n-i* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese with the exception of the constructions *yuwe n-i* and *tamey n-i*.

(1) Nominal predicate:

夜麻邊能之牙可久尔伊毛呂乎多弓天左祢度波良布母
 yama-N-PYE-nō siNkye-k-aku n-i imwo-rō-wo tate-te sa-ne-N-
 two parap-umō
 mountain-GEN-side-GEN **thick-ATTR-NML DV-INF** beloved-
 DIM-ACC make.stand(INF)-SUB PREF-sleep(NML)-DV(ATTR)-
 place clean-EXCL
 as the mountain (side) **is overgrown** [with bush], [I] let my beloved
 stand, and [I] am clearing a place [for us] to sleep! (MYS XIV:
 3489)

比登祢呂爾伊波流毛能可良
 pyitō ne-rō n-i ip-ar-u mwonōkara
 one peak-DIM DV-INF say-PROG-ATTR CONJ
 Although [they] say that [we] **are one peak..** (MYS XIV: 3512)

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-nō tuk-u-nōsu 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
Even I would like to cling to [my] lord like clouds cling to a high
 peak (MYS XIV: 3514)

(2) Adverbialization:

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-mō
 lord-POSS HON-wear(HON)-NML PT **strange DV-INF**
 wear(NML) be.desired-EXCL
strangely, [I] want to wear [my] lord's garment (MYS XIV: 3350)

麻奈登伊布兒我安夜尔可奈思佐
 Mana tö ip-u KWO-Nka aya n-i kanasi-sa
 Mana DV say-ATTR girl-POSS **strange DV-INF** lovely-NML
unusual loveliness of a girl called Mana (MYS XIV: 3462)

於能我乎遠於保爾奈於毛比曾
 onō-Nka wo-wo opo n-i na-omwop-yi-sō
 yourself-POSS cord-ACC **careless DV-INF** NEG-think-INF-do
 Do not think **carelessly** about your own [life-]cord (MYS XIV:
 3535)

(3) The constructions *yuwe n-i* ‘because of’ and *tamey n-i* ‘for’ are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

(4) Before the verbs *nar-* ‘to become’ and *se-* ‘to do’:¹⁴

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟
須婆佐祢

apyiNtune-nō kuni-wo saN-tōpo-myi ap-an-ap-aNpa **sinwop-yi n-i**
se-m-wo tō pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e

ApiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER meet-NEG-ITER-
COND **long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV cord tie-**
HON-DES-IMP

If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApiNtune is far, [I]
want [you] to tie [your garment] cords, **as if longing for [me]**
(MYS XIV: 3426)

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)

A2: Ryukyuan

The infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ is attested in Old Ryukyuan as well as in modern dialects, including Southern Ryukyuan. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

主里もりあせはつちぎりにきらせ

SIYORI mori ase fa **tuti-gir-i n-i** kir-as-e

Shuri castle warrior TOP **ground-(DV)cut-NML DV-INF cut-**
HON-IMP

Warriors [of] the Shuri castle, cut [the enemy] **as cutting the**
ground (OS I: 33)

Classical Ryukyuan

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

¹⁴ The construction *n-i posi* ‘to want as’ is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

different DV-INF say(INF)-SUB-PT how do-INF-PT go-NEG-FIN

whatever [you] say, and whatever [you] do, [I] will not go (RK 725)

Yaeyama

daa katti **n-i** śaa

you one's own way **DV-INF** do(IMP)

Do **as** you like (Nohara 1998: 474)

6.1.4.1.2 *Attributive form n-ö*

The function of the attributive form *n-ö* is the same as that of its Middle Japanese or Modern Japanese counterpart *n-o* in such examples as MJ *Taketori n-o okina* 'old man Bamboo-cutter,' *aruzi n-o otoko* 'a man who is the host,' *Isitukuri n-o miko* 'prince Isitukuri' and MdJ *tomodati no gakusei* 'a student who is [my] friend,' *mei no Sumiko* 'Sumiko who is [my] niece,' etc. The attributive ending *-ö*, rather than *-u* that might have been expected, is possibly paralleled by the Eastern Old Japanese attributive suffix *-o*, e.g.: *ar-o* 'exist-ATTR,' *pyik-o* 'pull ATTR,' *tat-o* 'stand-ATTR,' *yuk-o* 'go-ATTR,' which will be discussed in more detail in the section on attributive. A similar attributive form *-o* is preserved in the modern Hachijō dialect. The identification, however, is not without its problems, because there is some evidence that this final attributive *-o* in Eastern Old Japanese goes back to *kōru* /wo/ rather than to *otsu-ru* /ö/.

比佐迦多能阿米能迦具夜麻

pyisa kata n-ö amey-nö kaNku-yama

eternal hard DV-ATTR heaven-GEN KaNku(p. n.)-mountain

eternal and strong Amey-no KaNkuyama (lit.: Heavenly KaNku mountain) (KK 27)

都流岐能多知

turuky **n-ö** tati

double-edged sword DV-ATTR long.sword

a long sword **that is a double-edged sword** (KK 33)

佐斯夫能紀

sasiNpu n-ö kiy

sasiNpu DV-ATTR tree

sasiNpu tree (KK 57)

賣杼理能和賀意富岐美能淤呂須波多他賀多泥呂迦母

myeNtōri n-ō wa-Nka opō kyimiyi-nō or-ōs-u pata ta-Nka tane rō kamō

MyeNtōri DV-ATTR I-POSS great lady-GEN weave-HON-ATTR fabric who-POSS material DV PT

The fabric my lady **MyeNtōri** weaves, I wonder for whom (lit. whose) the material is? (KK 66)

奈爾能都底舉騰

nani n-ō tute-kōtō

what DV-ATTR report(INF)-word

What message [do you have]? (NK 128)

等保乃朝庭

tōpo n-ō MYIKANTWO

far DV-ATTR Imperial Court

distant Palace (MYS V: 794)

多那礼乃美巨騰

ta-nare n-ō myi-kōtō

hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR HON-koto

favorite koto (MYS V: 812)

麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯乎

ma-tama-nasu **puta-tu n-ō** isi-wo

INT-jewel-COMP **two-CL DV-ATTR** stone-ACC

two stones like real jewels (MYS V: 813)

等保能久尔

tōpo n-ō kuni

distant DV-ATTR country

distant country (MYS XV: 3688)

可多美能許呂母

katami n-ō kōrōmō

keepsake DV-ATTR garment

a garment **that is a keepsake** (MYS XV: 3733)

伊豆礼能日麻弓安礼古非乎良牟

iNture n-ö PYI-maNte are kwopiy-wor-am-u

which DV-ATTR day-TERM I long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN
until **what day** should I be longing for [you]? (MYS XV: 3742)

兄乃君

SE n-ö KYIMYI

beloved DV-ATTR lord

beloved lord (MYS XVI: 3885)

弟乃美許等

OTÖ n-ö myi-kötö

younger brother DV-ATTR HON-thing

darling who is [my] younger brother (MYS XVII: 3957)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟

sa **yamaNta n-ö** woNti-Nka SÖNÖ PYI-ni mötömey ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u

so **YamaNta DV-ATTR** old.man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF)
meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN

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

此橘乎等伎自久能可久能木實等名附家良之母

KÖNÖ TATINPANA-wo tökyiNsi-ku n-ö kaNk-u n-ö KÖ-NÖ
MIY tö NA-N-TUKEY-kyer-asi-mö

this mandarin.orange-ACC be off season-INF DV-ATTR smell-ATTR DV-ATTR tree-GEN fruit DV name-LOC-attach(INF)-RETR-SUP-EXCL

[we] should call these mandarin oranges **fragrant tree fruits that are off season** (MYS XVIII: 4111)

Note that in this example the first *n-ö* follows the infinitive form *-ku*. The usage of the second attributive *n-ö* in this example is idiosyncratic and even possibly ungrammatical, since the attributive modifies the following noun by itself, and *n-ö* is not necessary.

己礼乃与波宇都利佐留止毛

köre n-ö yö pa utur-i sar-u tömwö

this DV-ATTR world TOP change-INF go.away-FIN CONJ

Even though **this world** changes and goes away ... (BS 10)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
可理家利米太志加利鷄利

kusurisi pa **tune n-ō mō** ar-e-Ntō **marapyitō n-ō** ima-nō kusurisi
taputō-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
medicine.man TOP **usual DV-ATTR PT** exist-EV-CONC **guest**
DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man revered-INF-exist-INF-
RETR-FIN **praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

Although there are **usual** medicine men, too, the present **Guest**
Medicine Man is [indeed] revered. [He] is **praiseworthy** (BS 15)

Note the ellipsis of the word *kusurisi* ‘medicine man’ after the first *n-ō*. As a result,
tune n-ō ‘usual’ functions by itself as a noun phrase without a following head noun,
and consequently it is directly followed by the focus particle *mō*.

与都乃閑美伊都都乃毛乃乃阿都麻礼流伎多奈伎微乎婆

yō-tu n-ō peymyi **itu-tu n-ō** mwonō-nō atumar-er-u kytana-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 where **four** snakes and **five** demons (lit.: things)
have accumulated (BS 19)

SPECIAL COMPRESSED FORM -N-

The attributive form *n-ō* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ may have a
special compressed form that surfaces as a prenasalization *-N-* if
the underlying form of a following head nominal starts with a
voiceless consonant /p/, /t/, /k/, or /s/.

夜弊賀岐都久流

ya-pye-N-kakyi tukur-u

eight-fold-DV(ATTR)-fence make-FIN

[I] am making an **eight-folded fence** (KK 1)

阿加陀麻

aka-**N-tama**

red-**DV(ATTR)-jewel**

red **jewel** (KK 7)

美都具理能會能那迦都迹

mi-tu-N-kuri-nō sōnō 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)

加久能基登那爾淤波牟登

ka-ku-nō Nkōtō na-ni op-am-u tō

thus-INF-GEN like name-LOC carry-TENT-FIN DV

in order to perpetuate that [it] **was like that** (KK 97)

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)

施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** sō mō ya wa-Nka te tör-as-umo ya

who-POSS **chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-**

DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-EXCL PT

whose **chapped hand, chapped hand** will take my hand?! (NK 108)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The attributive form *n-ō* functions in Eastern Old Japanese in the same way as it does in Western Old Japanese:

西乃古何夜蘇志麻加久理

se n-ō kwo-Nka yaswo sima kakur-i

beloved DV-ATTR child-POSS eighty island hide-INF

beloved girl hides [behind] eighty islands ... (FK 8)

勢能古

se n-ō kwo

beloved DV-ATTR child

beloved man (MYS XIV: 3458)

麻等保久能野尔毛安波奈牟

ma-tōpo-ku n-ō NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u

INT-distant-INF DV-ATTR field-LOC PT meet-DES-TENT-FIN

[I] would like to meet [you] even in a **distant** field (MYS XIV: 3463)

意富伎美乃之許乃美多弓等伊壟多都和例波

opo kyimiyi-nō **sikō n-ō** myi-tate tō iNte-tat-u ware pa

great lord-GEN **unworthy** DV-ATTR HON-shield DV exit(INF)-leave-ATTR I TOP

I leave today to be an **unworthy** shield of the sovereign (MYS XX: 4373)

比毛多要婆安我弓等都氣呂許礼乃波流母志

pyimwo taye-Npa a-Nka te-tō tukey-rō **kōre n-ō** paru mōs-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)

SPECIAL COMPRESSED FORM -N-

Eastern Old Japanese also has the special compressed -N- form:

波故祢能祢呂乃爾古具佐

pakwone-nō ne-rō-nō **nikwo-N-kusa**

Pakwone-GEN peak-DIM-GEN **nikwo-DV(ATTR)-grass**
niko grass of the little peak in Pakwone (MYS XIV: 3370)

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西祢

asa-te **kwo-N-pusuma** kö yöpyi Ntani tuma yōs-i-kōse-n-e
hemp-cloth **DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding** this night PT spouse
bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP

Oh, [my] **dear** bedding from the hemp cloth! [I] wish [you would] bring my spouse close [to me] just tonight (MYS XIV: 3454)

於保夫祢乎倍由毛登母由毛可多米提之

opo-N-pune-wo pey-yu mwo tōmō-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)

A2: Ryukyuan

The attributive form *n-o* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ is well attested in Old Ryukyuan. The attributive form *n-u* is attested in many modern dialects, including South Ryukyuan, but in the available descriptions this form is mostly found in the attributive form of demonstrative pronouns, like *ŋunu* ‘that’ which is historically from *ʔu n-u ‘that DV-ATTR.’ Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

あけのみあおり

ake n-o mi-aori**beautiful DV-ATTR HON-shade.umbrella****beautiful shade umbrella (OS XII: 657)**Yaeyamapatu^ũãã n-u síma**Hatoma DV-ATTR island****Hatoma island (Nohara 1998: 445)**

ʔunu pítu

that(ATTR) person**that person (Nohara 1998: 474)**6.1.4.1.3 Subordinative gerund form *n-i-te*

The subordinative gerund form *n-i-te* is a rare form in Western Old Japanese. It is attested only in the *Man'yōshū*, where it occurs five times. *N-i-te* has only two functions: (1) copula in a nominal predicate, (2) marker of a location of an action or a state. Examples:

(1) As a copula in a nominal predicate:

常丹毛冀名常處女羨手

TUNE n-i mwoNka na TUNE WOTÖMYE n-i-te

eternal DV-INF PT PT eternal **maiden DV-INF-SUB**[I] want to be eternal, **being** an eternal **maiden!** (MYS I: 22)都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里
尔多良受也tune pyitō-nō kwop-u tō ip-u-ywori pa **amari n-i-te** ware pa sin-
uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u yaordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP **excess**
DV-INF-SUB I TOP die-DEB-INF become-INF-PERF-INF-
PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN PTDid not [it] become so that I should die, feeling (lit.: **being**) **much**
more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

(2) As a marker of a location of an action or a state:

京師尔而誰手本乎可吾將枕

MIYAKWO n-i-TE TA-NKA TAMÖTÖ-wo ka WA-NKA
MAKURAK-AM-U

capital DV-INF-SUB who-POSS sleeve-ACC PT I-POSS
use.as.a.pillow-TENT-ATTR

Whose sleeves will I use as a pillow **at the capital**? (MYS III: 439)

多婢尔弓毛母奈久波也許登

taNpyi n-i-te mwo mö na-ku paya kö tö

trip DV-INF-SUB PT misfortune no-INF quick come(IMP) DV

[my beloved] said: "Come [back] quickly without any misfortune
on [your] trip!" (MYS XV: 3717)

家尔底母多由多數命

IPYE n-i-te mö tayutap-u INÖTI

home DV-INF-SUB PT be.unstable-ATTR life

[my] life which is uncertain even **at home** (MYS XVII: 3896)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The subordinative gerund *n-i-te* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

The subordinative gerund *n-i-te* is attested only in Classical Ryukyuan (in *Ryūka*) (Hokama 1995: 508), and does not reveal itself either in Old Ryukyuan or in modern dialects. Thus, it is certainly a loan from Classical Japanese. The absence of the *n-i-te* form in both Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan suggests that this form is a result of an internal development in Central Japanese.

6.1.4.1.4 Special form *nar-* < *n-i ar-*

There is a special form *nar-*, which resulted from contraction of the infinitive form *n-i* with the following verb *ar-* 'to exist.' While in Middle Japanese this form is the only one used, except in cases when the focus particles *mo* and *fa*, the emphatic particle *si*, or the interrogative particle *ka* are placed between the infinitive *n-i* and *ar-*, in Western Old Japanese the non-contracted form with *ar-*

directly following *n-i* is used much more frequently than the contracted form. The contracted form *nar-* is quite rare, and the list of examples below includes almost all attested examples where the contracted form is written phonetically or partially phonetically. The verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ is used after *n-i* as a ‘dummy’ auxiliary that allows the attachment of other auxiliaries or suffixes that cannot directly follow the defective verb *n-*.

Care must be taken to distinguish three confusing verbs in Western Old Japanese: *nar-* ‘to become’ (consonant verb), *nar-* ‘to be’ (contraction of the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ and *ar-* ‘to exist,’ an *r*-irregular verb), and *nar-* ‘to exist at,’ ‘to be located at’ (a contraction of the locative case marker *-ni* and *ar-* ‘to exist,’ an *r*-irregular verb). For examples of the last one, see 4.1.2.2.4 (pp. 136-37).

許能美岐波和賀美岐那良受

könō myi-kyi pa wa-Nka myi-kyi **nar-aNs-u**

this HON-rice.wine TOP I-POSS HON-rice.wine **be-NEG-FIN**

This rice wine **is not** my rice wine (KK 39)

柁摩儺羅磨婀我哀屢柁摩

tama **nar-aNpa** a-Nka por-u tama

jewel **be-COND** I-POSS desire-ATTR jewel

if [my beloved] **were** a jewel, [she would be] a jewel I desire (NK 92)

蘇餓能古羅破宇摩奈羅麼譬武伽能古摩

swoNka-nō kwo-ra pa uma **nar-aNpa** pyimuka-nō kwo-[u]ma

Soga-GEN son-PLUR TOP horse **be-COND** Pyimuka-GEN DIM-horse

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

迦久能尾奈良志

ka-ku nōmiy **nar-asi**

thus-INF PT **be-SUP**

[It] **is likely** to be just this way (MYS V: 804)

安布毛能奈良婆

ap-u mwonō **nar-aNpa**

meet-ATTR thing **be-COND**

if [we] **would** meet (MYS XV: 3731)

加武賀良奈良之

kamu-N-kara **nar-asi**

deity-DV(ATTR)-nature **be-SUP**

[It] **is likely to be** [its] divine nature (MYS XVII: 4001)

秋風尔比毛等伎安氣奈多太奈良受等母

AKYI KANSE-ni pyimwo tōk-yi-akey-na taNta **nar-aNs-u** tōmō

autumn wind-LOC cord untie-INF-open-DES direct **be-NEG-FIN**
CONJ

[I] wish that the autumn wind would untie the cords, even if [it] **is not** directly (MYS XX: 4295)

伎美奈良奈久尔

kyimiyi **nar-an-aku** n-i

lord **be-NEG-NML** DV-INF

as [it] **is not** [my] lord (MYS XX: 4447)

逆在流人止母在而

SAKASIMA **NAr-u** PYITÖ-Ntōmō AR-I-TE

rebellious **be-ATTR** person-PLUR exist-INF-SUB

there were people who **were** rebellious (SM 16)

汝多知諸者吾近姪奈利

IMASI-tati MORÖ 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)

伊可奈留夜比止爾伊麻世可

ika nar-u ya pyitō n-i imas-e ka

how be-ATTR PT person DV-INF be(HON)-EV PT

Oh, **what kind** of person is [he]? (BS 5)

NON-CONTRACTED FORM *N-I AR-*:

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迹阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠

ima kōsō pa wa-N-tōri **n-i ar-am-ey** nōti pa na-N-tōri **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)

比登都麻都比登迹阿理勢婆

pyitō-tu matu pyitō **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa**
one-CL pine person **DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND**
if a lone pine **were** a person (KK 29)

伊可爾安良武日能等伎爾可母

ika n-i ar-am-u PYI-nō tōkyi-ni kamō
how DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR day-GEN time-LOC PT
I wonder, in **what** time of the day ... (MYS V: 810)

大船尔伊母能流母能尔安良麻勢婆

OPO PUNE-ni imō nōr-u mōnō **n-i ar-amas-eNpa**
big boat-LOC beloved board-ATTR thing **DV-INF exist-SUBJ-COND**
If [it] were the case that [my] beloved boarded [my] big boat ...
(MYS XV: 3579)

伊毛尔安礼也夜須伊毛祢受弓安我故非和多流

imwo **n-i ar-e** ya yasu i mwo ne-Ns-u-te a-Nka kwopiy-watar-u
beloved **DV-INF exist-EV** PT easy sleep PT sleep-NEG-INF-SUB
I-POSS love(INF)-cross-ATTR
Is [she] my beloved? I do not sleep easily, and continue to love [her]
(MYS XV: 3633)

安米都知能可未奈伎毛能尔安良婆

amey tuti-nō kamiy na-kyi mwonō **n-i ar-aNpa**
heaven earth-GEN deity no-ATTR thing **DV-INF exist-COND**
If heaven and earth **were** without deities ... (MYS XV: 3740)

烏梅乃花美夜万等之美尔安里登母

uMEY-nō PANA myi-yama tō sim-yi **n-i ar-i** tōmō
plum-GEN blossom HON-mountain DV grow.thick-NML **DV-INF exist-FIN** CONJ
Even though plum blossoms **are** blooming densely as a mountain
(MYS XVII: 3902)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里

imey-ni pa mōtōna apyi-MYI-re-Ntō taNta **n-i ar-an-e-Npa**
kwopiy yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct **DV-INF exist-NEG-EV-CON** love(NML) stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN
 although [we] see each other aimlessly in dreams, **because** [our meetings] **are not** direct, [our] love does not stop (MYS XVII: 3980)

伊可爾安流布勢能宇良曾毛

ika **n-i ar-u** puse-nō ura sō mwo

how **DV-INF exist-ATTR** Puse-GEN bay it PT

The bay of Puse, how [beautiful] it **is!** (MYS XVIII: 4036)

安佐之保美知尔与流許都美可比尔安里世婆都刀尔勢麻之乎

asa sipo mit-i-ni yōr-u kōtūmyi kapyi **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa** tutwo n-i se-masi-wo

morning tide full-NML-LOC approach-ATTR trash shellfish **DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** souvenir DV-INF do-SUBJ-ACC

if the trash that is brought up by the full morning tide **were** shellfish, [I] would bring [it] as a souvenir, but ... (MYS XX: 4396)

The non-contracted form *n-i ar-* is also found with the intervening focus particles *mō*, *pa*, *kōsō*, and *sō*, the emphatic particle *si* and the interrogative particle *ka* in the constructions *n-i mō ar-*, *n-i pa ar-*, *n-i kōsō ar-*, *n-i sō ar-*, and *n-i si ar-*. Among these, *n-i kōsō ar-* is attested only once, but the others occur several times each, although none of them are very frequent. Interestingly, neither the emphatic particle *namo*, nor the interrogative particle *ya* occur between *n-i* and *ar-*.

阿波母與賣迹斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志

a pa mō yō 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)

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

kyikōs-i-wos-u kuni-nō ma-po-ra Nsō ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kyi manima n-i 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 DV-INF thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT
 in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, [it]
would not be thus according to what [you] wish to be this way and
 that way, [would it]? (MYS V: 800)

飛立可祢都鳥尔之安良祢婆

TÖNP-YI-TAT-I-kane-t-u TÖRI n-i si ar-an-e-Npa

fly-INF-depart-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-FIN bird DV-INF PT
exist-NEG-EV-CON

[I] could not fly away **because** [I] **am not** a bird (MYS V: 893)

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼亓波許呂母亓佐牟伎母能尔曾
 安里家流

IMWO-tō ar-i-si TÖKYI PA ar-e-Ntömwo wakare-te pa
 körömōNte samu-kyi mōnō n-i sō ar-i-kyer-u

beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR time TOP exist-EV-CONC
 separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing DV-INF PT
exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Although there was a time when [I] was with [my] beloved, since
 [we] separated, [my] sleeves **are** cold (MYS XV: 3591)

秋夜乎奈我美爾可安良武

AKYI-NÖ 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)

伊敞之麻波奈尔許曾安里家礼

ipye sima pa na n-i kōsō ar-i-kyer-e

Home island TOP name DV-INF PT **exist-INF-RETR-EV**

“Home island” **turned out to be just** a name (MYS XV: 3718)

知里比治能可受尔母安良奴和礼由惠尔於毛比和夫良牟伊母
 tiri pyiNti-nō kaNsu n-i mō ar-an-u ware yuwe n-i omwop-yi-
 waNp-uram-u imō

dust dirt-COMP number DV-INF PT **exist-NEG-ATTR** I reason
 DV-INF think-INF-worry-TENT-ATTR beloved

[My] beloved, who was worrying on behalf of me who **is not even** worth counting like dust and dirt (MYS XV: 3727)

許己呂奈伎登里尔曾安利家流保登等藝須
 kökörö na-kyi töri **n-i sö ar-i-kyer-u** potötöNkyisu
 heart no-ATTR bird **DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-ATTR** cuckoo
 cuckoo, [you] **are indeed** a bird that has no heart (MYS XV: 3784)

伊毛我多可々々尔麻都良牟許己呂之可尔波安良司可
 imwo-Nka taka taka n-i mat-uram-u kökörö sika **n-i pa ar-aNsi** ka
 beloved-POSS high high DV-INF wait-TENT2-ATTR heart thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT
 the heart of [my] beloved who probably waits for [me] eagerly
would not [it] be this way? (MYS XVIII: 4107)

伊弊婢等乃伊波倍尔可安良牟
 ipye-N-pyitö-nö ipapey **n-i ka ar-am-u**
 home-GEN-person-GEN purify(NML) **DV-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR**
Is [it] probably because of [my] home folks' purification rites?
 (MYS XX: 4409)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母
 myi-m-aku-nö posi-kyi kyimiyi **n-i mö ar-u** kamö
 see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR lord **DV-INF PT exist-ATTR**
 PT
 I wonder whether [it] **is also** [my] lord whom [I] want to see (MYS
 XX: 4449)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Both the contracted form *nar-* and the non-contracted form *n-i ar-* are attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but their relative frequency is opposite to that found in Western Old Japanese: the contracted form *nar-* is attested much more frequently than the non-contracted form *n-i ar-* that appears only two times. This probably should come as no surprise, given the fact that Eastern Old Japanese has a clear tendency to various kinds of contractions.

波奈都豆麻奈礼也

pana t-u tuma **nar-e** ya

flower DV-ATTR spouse **be-EV** PT

Are you a flower-wife? (MYS XIV: 3370)

奈里毛奈良受毛奈等布多里波母

nar-i mwo nar-aNs-u mwo na-tō puta-ri pa mō

be-NML PT **be-NEG-NML** PT you-COM two-CL PT PT

be [it] or not, two [of us, me] and you, [will be together] (MYS XIV: 3492)

伊可奈流勢奈可和我理許武等伊布

ika **nar-u** se-na ka wa-Nkari kö-m-u tō 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)

阿志氣比等奈里

asi-key pyitō **nar-i**

bad-ATTR person **be-FIN**

[he] is a bad person (MYS XX: 4382)

久毛為尔美由流志麻奈良奈久尔

kumwowi-ni myi-y-uru sima **nar-an-aku** n-i

distance-LOC see-PASS-ATTR island **be-NEG-NML** DV-INF

although [it] is not an island that is seen in the distance (MYS XX: 4355)

NON-CONTRACTED FORM

哭乎曾奈伎都流手兒尔安良奈久尔

NE-wo sö nak-yi-t-uru teNKWO **n-i ar-an-aku** n-i

voice-ACC PT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR baby DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

[I] sobbed loudly, although [I] am not a baby (MYS XIV: 3485)

佐弁奈弁奴美許登尔阿礼婆

sapye-n-apye-n-u myi-kötō **n-i ar-e-Npa**

refuse(NML)-LOC-match-NEG-ATTR HON-word DV-INF exist-EV-CON

Because [it] is [my sovereign's] order that [I] cannot refuse ...
(MYS XX: 4432)

A2: Ryukyuan

It seems that only the contracted form *nar-* 'to be' is present in Ryukyuan, and in addition it is limited to Old and Classical Ryukyuan. Thus, it is more than likely that here we are dealing with a loanword from mainland Middle Japanese into Old and Classical Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

いによはのおきてもちなる

iniyofa-no okite-moti **nar-u**

Iniyofa-GEN rule-holder **be-ATTR**

[the one] who is a governor of Iniyofa (OS VIII: 456)

Classical 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-e-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

On the basis of all data presented above, it is clear that the defective verb *n-* 'to be' is present in all major branches of Japonic: Central Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese, and Ryukyuan. This allows us to project this verb back to the proto-Japonic level and to reconstruct PJ **n-* 'to be.' None of the 'Altaic' languages have any copulas that are comparable with PJ **n-*. However, the copula in Ainu is *ne*, e.g.:

Yoshiko ku-**ne** ruwe **ne**

Yoshiko 1ps-**be** AFFIR **be**

I **am** Yoshiko (Nakagawa & Nakamoto 1997: 22)

Whether PJ **n-* and Ainu *ne* represent a chance similarity, or evidence for old contacts between these two languages remains to be seen. However, my intuitive inclination is to view it as the latter possibility, since linguistic contacts between Ainu and Japonic

unfortunately remains a poorly researched area, and there are quite a number of striking parallels between these two languages.

6.1.4.2 DEFECTIVE VERB TÖ ‘TO BE’

The defective verb *tö* ‘to be’ has only two paradigmatic forms: the infinitive *tö* and the attributive *t-u*. Presumably *tö* is also the root of this verb, and the infinitive form *tö* can be explained as a result of the loss of the infinitive *-yi* after the vowel final root that can be observed with vowel verbs as well. Note that the defective verbs *n-* and *tö* are essentially doublets, although *tö* does not have as many functions or paradigmatic forms as *n-* does. *Tö* also occurs much more rarely than *n-*. In other words, it has narrower scope of application and distribution. I will provide an explanation of these phenomena at the end of this section after discussing the comparative data from Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan.

6.1.4.2.1 Infinitive form *tö*

The infinitive form *tö* ‘being’ is used in the same functions as the infinitive *n-i*, although in contrast to *n-i* it is found only once after the quasi-postposition *tamey* ‘for.’ It occurs predominantly after nominals, although there is one example when it appears after the attributive form of a verb (see MYS IV: 780 below). The almost total absence of *tö* after the attributive forms of verbs and the total lack of it after nominalized verbal forms is significant, as I will demonstrate later.

(1) The infinitive *tö* can be used as a copula in a nominal predicate:

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農
 nani **tö** kamö utukusi imö-Nka mata sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-n-u
 what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS again bloom-INF-exit(INF)-
 come-NEG-ATTR
for (lit: **being**) what [reason], I wonder, does not [my] beautiful
 beloved bloom again? (NK 114)

布流由岐得比得能美流麻提烏梅能波奈知流
 pur-u yukyi **tö** pyitö-nö myi-ru-maNte uMEY-nö pana tir-u
 fall-ATTR snow DV person-GEN see-ATTR-TERM plum-GEN
 flower fall-FIN
 plum blossoms fall to such an extent that people will perceive them
 as falling snow (MYS V: 839)

吾勢子尔令見常念之梅花其十方不所見

WA-NKA se-KWO-ni MYI-SE-M-U tö OMÖP-YI-si UMEY-NÖ
PANA SÖRE **tō** 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)

烏梅乃花美夜万等之美尔安里登母

uMEY-nō PANA myi-yama **tō** sim-yi n-i ar-i tömō

plum-GEN blossom HON-mountain **DV** grow.thick-NML DV-INF
exist-FIN CONJ

Even though plum blossoms are blooming densely as a mountain
(MYS XVII: 3902)

大伴乃遠都神祖乃其名乎婆大来目主等於比母知弓

OPÖTÖMÖ-nō TÖPO t-u KAMU-OYA-nō SÖNÖ NA-woNpa
OPÖKUMEYNUSI **tō** op-yi-möt-i-te

Opötömō-GEN distant DV-ATTR deity-ancestor-GEN that name-
ACC(EMPH) Opokumeynusi **DV** bear-INF-hold-INF-SUB

Opötömō clan, bearing the name of [our] distant divine ancestor, as
Opokumeynusi (MYS XVIII: 4094)

多礼乎可伎美等弥都都志努波牟

tare-wo ka kyimiyi **tō** 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)

現御神止大八嶋国所知天皇大命

AK-YI-TU MYI-KAMIY **tō** OPÖ-YA-SIMA-N-KUNI
SIRASIMYES-U SUMYERA-NKA OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ

open-NML-GEN/LOC HON-deity **DV** great-eight-island-GEN-
country rule(HON)-ATTR emperor-POSS great-HON-deity

emperor — Great Deity who rules the Great Country of Eight
Islands as a Manifest Deity (SM 1)

授留人乎波一日二日止扱比

SANTUK-Uru PYITÖ-woNpa PYITÖ PYI PUTU-KA **tō** 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)

Similar to the infinitive *n-i*, the infinitive *tō* can be followed by the dummy auxiliary *ar-* ‘to exist’ (or its honorific form *imas-*), although, in contrast to the *n-i ar-* construction that can contract to *nar-*, there is no contracted form *tar-* in Western Old Japanese texts. The examples of *tō ar-* in Western Old Japanese are extremely rare:

志可登阿良農比宜可伎撫而
sika **tō ar-an-u** pyiNkey kakyi-NANTE-TE
thus DV exist-NEG-ATTR beard PREF-caress(INF)-SUB
stroking my thinning (lit.: **not being** thus) beard (MYS V: 892)

伊加登伊可等有吾屋前尔
ika **tō ika tō** AR-U WA-NKA YANTWO-ni
spacious DV spacious DV exist-ATTR I-POSS house-LOC
In my [extremely] **spacious** house ... (MYS VIII: 1507)

人跡不在者桑子尔毛成益物乎
PYITŌ **tō** AR-ANS-U PA KUWA-KWO n-i mwo NAR-Amasi
MŌNŌwo
person DV exist-NEG-INF TOP mulberry-child DV-INF PT
become-SUBJ CONJ
if [I] **was not** a human being, [I] would [like to] become a
silkworm, but ... (MYS XII: 3086)

美麻斯乃父止坐天皇乃美麻斯尔賜志天下
myimasi-nō TITI **tō** IMAS-U SUMYERA-MYIKŌTŌ-nō
myimasi-ni TAMAP-YI-si AMEY-NŌ SITA
you-GEN father DV exist(HON)-ATTR emperor-deity-GEN you-
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)

The non-contracted form *tō ar-* is also found with the intervening focus particles *mō* and *pa*, although these examples are extremely rare: there is just one example of *tō mō ar-* and two examples of *tō pa ar-*. Again, in sharp contrast to *n-i ar-*, the

intervening focus particles *kösö* and *sö*, the emphatic particle *si* and the interrogative particle *ka* are not attested in the constructions **tö kösö ar-*, **tö sö ar-*, and **tö si ar-*. Similar to *n-i*, neither the emphatic particle *namo*, nor the interrogative particle *ya* occur between *tö* and *ar-*.

勤和氣登將譽十方不有

ISWOSI-KYI wakey *tö* POMEY-M-U **tö mö AR-ANS-U**
hard-working-ATTR fellow DV praise-TENT-ATTR DV PT exist-
NEG-FIN

[he] is not even to be praised as a hard-working fellow (MYS IV: 780)

比等等波安流乎比等奈美爾安礼母作乎

pyitö **tö pa ar-u-wo** pyitö *namyi-ni are mö* 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
people usually [make it] (MYS V: 892)

不戀時等者不有友

KWOPIY-N-U TÖKYI **tö PA AR-AN-E-Ntömö**
love(INF)-NEG-ATTR time DV TOP exist-NEG-EV-CONC
although [it] is not a time when [I] do not love [him] (MYS XIII:
3329)

弥蘇知阿麻利布多都乃加多知夜蘇久佐等會太礼留比止

myiswo-ti amar-i puta-tu n-ö katati yaswo kusa **tö** söNtar-er-u
pyitö

thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be
complete-PROG-ATTR person

a person, who is endowed with thirty-two marks and eighty [lesser
sign] types (BS 2)

(2) Like the infinitive *n-i*, the infinitive *tö* is used after nouns and adjectives for adverbializations, but this usage in Western Old Japanese appears to be very infrequent:

佐佐那美遲衰須久須久登和賀伊麻勢婆夜

sasanamyi-N-ti-wo **suku-suku tö** wa-Nka imas-e-Npa ya

Sasanamiy-i-GEN-road-ACC **rapidly** DV I-POSS go(HON)-EV-
CON PT

as I went **rapidly** along the Sasanamiy road, yeah (KK 42)

都祢斯良農道乃長手袁久礼々々等伊可尔可由迦牟
tune sir-an-u MYITI-nō NANKA te-wo **kure-kure** **tō** ika n-i ka
yuk-am-u

usual know-NEG-ATTR road-GEN long place-ACC **dark-dark**
DV how DV-INF PT go-TENT-ATTR

How would [I] go along the full length of the road that [I] normally
do not know, **being in a dark** [mood]? (MYS V: 888)

久礼久礼登獨曾我来

kure-kure **tō** PYITÖ-RI WA-NKA K-URU

dark-dark DV one-CL I-POSS come-ATTR

I come alone **in a dark** [mood] (MYS XIII: 3237)

(3) There is only one example in the Western Old Japanese corpus
when *tō* follows the quasi-postposition *tamey* ‘for, in order to.’

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美和多佐牟多米止宇都志麻都礼利
ware-ni otōr-er-u pyitō-wo opo-myi watas-am-u **tamey** **tō** utus-i-
matur-er-i

I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS many-GER lead
across-TENT-ATTR **in.order.to** DV carve-INF-HUM-PROG-FIN
because there are many people who have been worse than me, [I]
have carved [Buddha’s footprint] **in order to** save [them] (BS 13)

(4) The infinitive *tō* can also be followed by the verb *nar-* ‘to
become,’ and the subordinative gerund *s-i-te* of the verb *se-* ‘to do.’
In contrast to the infinitive *n-i*, it is not attested with the adjective
posi ‘be desirable.’ The combinations of *tō* with *nar-* ‘to become’
and *s-i-te* ‘do-INF-SUB’ produce special constructions:

X *tō nar-*

‘to become X’

X *tō s-i-te*

‘doing as X,’ ‘in the capacity of X’

Both constructions occur quite seldom, especially *tō s-i-te*,
which mostly appears in the *Senmyō*.

Examples:

何時可毛比等等奈理伊弓天

ITU SI kamwo pyitō **tō nar-i-iNte-te**

when PT PT person DV **become-INF-exit(INF)-SUB**

when [he] **becomes** a [grown-up] person (MYS V: 904)

古京跡成者

PURU-KYI MIYAKWO **tō NAR-I-NUR-E-NPA**

old-ATTR capital DV **become-INF-PERF-EV-CON**

because [it] **became** an old capital (MYS VI: 1048)

今者春部登成尔鷄類鴨

IMA PA PARU-pey **tō nar-i-n-i-kyer-u** kamwo

now TOP spring-? DV **become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR**

PT

[It] turned out that now [it] is (lit.: **has become**) spring! (MYS VIII: 1433)

豐乃登之思流須登奈良思雪能敷礼流波

TÖYÖ n-ō tōsi **sirus-u tō nar-asi** YUKYI-nō pur-er-u pa

abundant DV-ATTR year **show.a.sign-ATTR DV become-SUP**
snow-GEN fall-PROG-ATTR TOP

A snowfall **seems to become a good omen** for an abundant year
(MYS XVII: 3925)

真木乃伊多度乎等杼登之弓和我比良可武尔

MA-KIY-nō ita-N-two-wo tōNtō **tō s-i-te** wa-NKa pyirak-am-u-ni
INT-tree-GEN board-GEN-door-ACC rap DV **do-INF-SUB** I-
POSS open-TENT-ATTR-LOC

when I open a wooden door made of a real tree **with** a rap (MYS XIV: 3467)

Although this poem is found in the *Azuma-uta* volume, it does not have any Eastern Old Japanese features, therefore I treat it as a Western Old Japanese text.

令文所載多流乎跡止為而

NÖRI-NÖ PUMYI-NI NÖSE-tar-u-wo ATÖ **tō S-I-TE**

law-GEN scripture-LOC place(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC
FOOTSTEP DV **DO-INF-SUB**

taking what has been written in the law scriptures as a precedent
(SM 2)

仲末呂伊忠臣止之天侍都

Nakamarö-i TANTASI-KYI OMYI **tö s-i-te** PANPYER-I-t-u

Nakamarö-ACT loyal-ATTR noble **DV do-INF-SUB** serve-INF-PERF-FIN

Nakamarö has served as a loyal noble (SM 34)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The infinitive *tö* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese, but there is only one example of *tö* in the construction *tö pa nar-*, where *tö* is followed by the intervening topic particle *pa*. Most often *tö* is found in Eastern Old Japanese after the interrogative pronoun *aN-* ‘what, why.’

阿杼可多延世武

aN-tö 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-tö** 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-tö** se-rö tö kamö

sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC **what-DV** do-IMP DV PT

besides sleeping [with her], I wonder **what** [else do I] do? (MYS XIV: 3465)

波姑祢乃夜麻爾安波麻吉弓実登波奈礼留乎阿波奈久毛安夜思
pakwone-nö yama-ni apa mak-yi-te MIY **tö pa nar-er-u-wo** ap-an-aku/apa na-ku mwo ayasi

Pakwone-GEN mountain-LOC millet sow-INF-SUB fruit **DV PT become-PROG-ATTR-ACC** meet-NEG-NML/millet no-NML PT be.strange(FIN)

Although [I] have sown millet on the Pakwone mountain and [it] ripened (lit.: **became** fruits), it is strange that [we] do not meet/there is no millet (MYS XIV: 3364)

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
 aswo-nō KApāra-ywo isi pum-aNs-u swora-yu tō k-yi-n-u yō
 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, as from the sky, without
 treading on stones! (MYS XIV: 3425)

意富伎美乃之許乃美多弓等伊壑多都和例波
 opo kyimyi-nō sikō n-ō myi-tate tō iNte-tat-u ware pa
 great lord-GEN unworthy DV-ATTR HON-shield DV exit(INF)-
 leave-ATTR I TOP
 I leave today **to be** an unworthy shield of the sovereign (MYS XX:
 4373)

A2: Ryukyuan

In Old Ryukyuan, as far as I can tell, the copula *to* is attested only once: in OS XIII: 854. All other examples come from Classical Ryukyuan *Ryūka* and *Kumiodori* texts that were influenced much more by the mainland Japanese language and poetry patterns than the Old Ryukyuan texts in the *Omorō sōshi*. A comprehensive study by Nohara Mitsuyoshi (1998) reveals that Ryukyuan *tu* as a copula appears only in the Northern and Central Ryukyus. There are no traces of it to the south of Kumejima and the Okinawan islands. Even in the majority of the Northern and Central Ryukyuan languages surveyed by Nohara, the only occurrence of the copula *tu* seems to be limited to the usage after adjectival stems, and if this limitation was not enough, in most cases it is limited to reduplicated adjectival stems, like Nase *magimagii tu* ‘being extremely big’ (Nohara 1998: 65), see the data on other dialects in Nohara 1998: 207, 275, 297.

6.1.4.2.2 Attributive form *t-u*

The attributive form *t-u* is very rare in Western Old Japanese. To the best of my knowledge, the following list of examples is exhaustive (excluding controversial cases):

波毘呂由都麻都婆岐

pa-N-pyirö **yu t-u** ma-tuNpakyi

leaf-GEN-broad **sacred DV-ATTR** INT-camellia

a true **sacred** camellia with broad leaves (KK 57)

意富美夜能袁登都波多傳須美加多夫祁理

opö-myiya-nö **wotö 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)

等富都比等末都良能加波尔和可由都流

töpo t-u pyitö matu-[u]ra-nö kapa-ni waka [a]yu tur-u

distant DV-ATTR person Matu-ura-GEN river-LOC young sweetfish angle-FIN

people from far away (lit.: **distant** people) angle young sweetfish at the Matu-ura river (MYS V: 857)

乎登都日毛昨日毛今日毛由吉能布礼礼婆

wotö t-u PYI mwo KYINÖPU mwo KYEPU mwo yukyi-nö purer-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)

登保都比等

töpo t-u pyitö

distant DV-ATTR person

people from far away (lit.: **distant** people) (MYS XVII: 3947)

之許都於吉奈

sikö t-u okyina

stupid DV-ATTR old man

stupid old man (MYS XVII: 4011)

大伴乃遠都神祖乃其名乎婆大来目主等於比母知弓

OPÖTÖMÖ-nö **TÖPO t-u** KAMU-OYA-nö SÖNÖ NA-woNpa

OPÖKUMEYNUSI tö op-yi-möt-i-te

Opötömö-GEN distant **DV-ATTR** deity-ancestor-GEN that name-ACC(EMPH) Opökumeynusi DV bear-INF-hold-INF-SUB
 Opötömö clan, bearing the name of [our] **distant** divine ancestor, as Opökumeynusi (MYS XVIII: 4094)

高津神乃災高津鳥乃災

TAKA t-u KAMIY-nö WANSAPAPYI **TAKA t-u** TÖRI-nö WANSAPAPYI

high DV-ATTR deity-GEN calamity **high DV-ATTR** bird-GEN calamity
 calamities from deities **high** [in Heaven], calamities from birds **high** [in the sky] (NT 10)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of the attributive form *t-u* in Eastern Old Japanese:

波奈都豆麻

pana t-u tuma¹⁵

flower DV-ATTR wife

flowery wife (MYS XIV: 3370)

A2: Ryukyuan

The attributive form *t-u* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The fact that the defective verb *tō* has a limited usage in Western Old Japanese, both qualitatively and especially quantitatively, strongly suggests that it is a kind of anomaly. This is further supported by the fact that it is essentially a doublet of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be.’ The existence of doublets in a language normally indicates that one of them must be a loan, and it seems that, out of the two, *tō* would be the prime candidate for a loan, especially given its even more limited distribution in Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan. I have surveyed the case of *tō* elsewhere in greater detail (Vovin 2008 forthcoming: 83-88), demonstrating that it is an

¹⁵ Although the character 豆 /Ntu/ is used in most manuscripts, making this example somewhat questionable, the *Hanawa-bon* manuscript has *pana t-u tuma* with a clear voiceless initial /t-/ (Mizushima 1983: 470).

early loan from some variety of Old Korean. The borrowing possibly occurred in the Kofun period (prior to the lenition *-t- > -l- [-r-] in Korean) into the predecessor of Western Old Japanese: (MK *ilwo-* ‘be’) < OK **itwo* > WOJ *tō*.

6.1.4.3 DEFECTIVE VERB *rō* ‘TO BE’

The defective verb *rō* ‘to be’ is most frequently attested in combination with the following emphatic particle *kamō* (or once with its variant *kamu*), which prompted some Japanese scholars to treat it as a single exclamatory particle *rōkamō* (Takagi et al. 1957: 39). However, there are two examples when *rō* is attested without the following *kamō* (see MYS IV: 654 and MYS VIII: 1548 below). In addition, the emphatic particle *kamō* is well attested by itself, therefore it can be segmented from the sequence *rōkamō*. The defective verb *rō* is attested after the uninflected adjective *wosō* ‘hasty, rush,’ the attributive form *-kyi* of inflected adjectives, and after nouns. It is quite clear from the latter usage that the function of *rō* must be that of a copula; otherwise we end up with a sentence that lacks a copula part of its nominal predicate. Since the particle *kamō* always triggers the change of the preceding final form into an attributive, we should treat the defective form *rō* as an attributive form in most cases. However, there is one clear case (in MYS IV: 654) when it can only be analyzed as a final form.

宇斯呂傳波袁陀弓呂迦母

usirō-N-te pa woN-tate **rō** kamō

back-GEN-place TOP DIM-shield **DV(ATTR)** PT

[Her] back is [like] a small shield! (KK 42)

芝賀波能比呂理伊麻須波淤富岐美呂迦母

si-Nka pa-nō pyirōr-i-imas-u opō kyimyi **rō** kamō

it-POSS leaf-GEN be.broad-INF-HON-FIN great lord **DV(ATTR)**

PT

its leaves are broad, **as** the great lord! (KK 57)

賣杼理能和賀意富岐美能淤呂須波多他賀多泥呂迦母

myeNtōri n-ō wa-Nka opō kyimyi-nō or-ōs-u pata ta-Nka tane **rō**
kamō

MyeNtōri **DV-ATTR** I-POSS great lady-GEN weave-HON-ATTR
fabric who-POSS material **DV(ATTR)** PT

The fabric my lady MyeNtōri weaves, I wonder for whom (lit. whose) the material **is**? (KK 66)

微能佐加理毘登登母志岐呂加母
 miy-nō sakar-i-N-pyitō tōmōsi-kyi **rō** kamō
 body-GEN bloom-NML-DV(ATTR)-person envious-ATTR
DV(ATTR) PT
 How [I] **am** envious of the people who are in their prime! (KK 95)

耆瀾破介辞古耆呂介茂
 kyimiyi pa kasikwo-kyi **rō** kamo
 lord TOP awesome-ATTR **DV(ATTR)** PT
 [my] lord **is** awesome! (NK 47)

處女之友者乏吉呂賀聞
 WOTŌMYE-NKA TŌMŌ TŌMŌSI-kyi **rō** kamo
 maiden-POSS companion envious-ATTR **DV(ATTR)** PT
 [I] **am** envious of maidens' companions! (MYS I: 53)

更經見者悲呂可聞
 KAPAR-AP-U MYI-RE-NPA KANASI-KYI **rō** kamo
 change-ITER-ATTR see-EV-CON sad-ATTR **DV(ATTR)** PT
 when [I] see how [they] change, [it] **is** sad! (MYS III: 478)

相見者月毛不經尔戀云者乎曾呂登吾乎於毛保寒霧
 APYI-MYI-TE PA TUKIY mwo PEY-N-AKU n-i KWOP-U TŌ
 IPA-NPA **wosō rō** tō WARE-wo omwop-as-am-u kamō
 COOP-see(INF)-SUB TOP month PT pass-NEG-NML DV-INF
 love-FIN DV say-COND **hasty DV(FIN)** DV I-ACC think-HON-
 TENT-ATTR PT
 If [I] tell [you] that [I] love [you] without even a month passing
 since [we] met each other, I wonder [whether you] would think that
 [I] **am hasty** (MYS IV: 654)

久志美多麻伊麻能遠都豆尔多布刀伎呂可儻
 kusi myi-tama ima-nō wotutu-ni taputwo-kyi **rō** kamu
 mysterious HON-stone now-GEN reality-LOC awesome-ATTR
DV(ATTR) PT
 [these] mysterious stones **are** awesome in the present [day's]
 reality! (MYS V: 813)

咲花毛乎曾呂波獸

SAK-U PANA mwo **wosö rō** pa itōpasi

bloom-ATTR flower PT **hasty** DV(ATTR) TOP
be.unpleasant(FIN)

The fact that blooming flowers **are in haste** [to fall], is unpleasant (MYS VIII: 1548)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The defective verb *rō* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Limited distribution in Japonic as well as limited functionality in Western Old Japanese alongside with the fact that no native Japonic word can start with an initial /r-/ strongly suggest that WOJ *rō* is a short-lived loan. Its source is probably the same as the defective verb *tō* ‘to be,’ described above: OK *itwo- ‘to be’ > MK *ilwo-*. Certainly, WOJ *rō* must be a later loan from Korean than WOJ *tō*, which occurred after the lenition *-t- > -l- [-r-] took place in the history of the Korean language. It can probably be pinned down to the last great wave of Korean loanwords which should be associated with a large influx of immigrants from the Korean peninsula after the fall of Paekche and Koguryo in 660s AD. This later nature of borrowing probably also explains the fact why WOJ *rō* has never been fully assimilated in the language and why it turned out to be short-lived, while WOJ *tō* actually turned out to be a successful survivor that remains in the Japanese language even today.

6.1.4.4 DEFECTIVE VERB TŌ ‘TO SAY’

The defective verb *tō* ‘to say’ is attested in three forms: the infinitive *tō*, the final *tō*, and the subordinative gerund *tō-te*. The latter form is attested only in one example, so it may be questionable. There is also one example when *tō* can be treated as an attributive because it is found after the focus particle *sō* (see the example from NR II: 33 in the section 6.1.4.4.2).

6.1.4.4.1 Infinitive form *tō*

The infinitive form *tō* in Western Old Japanese is predominantly found in the position introducing quotation clauses preceding verbs

of verbal or mental activity, such as *ip-* ‘to say,’ *nör-* ‘to say, to name,’ *kyik-* ‘to hear,’ *omöp-* ‘to think,’ *töp-* ‘to ask’ etc., although there are also cases when it is found without any following verbs of verbal or mental activity, which will be surveyed below. This structural peculiarity is well supported typologically by other languages of the ‘Altaic’ Sprachbund, where the verbs of verbal and mental activity are preceded by rudimentary verbs introducing quotations, e.g.:

Manchu

ume fudara-ka hülha-de aisila-ra **se-me** ulhi-bu-me
 NEG/IMP rebel-PERF bandit-DAT help-TENT/ATTR **say-GER**
 understand-CAUS-GER
 [Jaohüi] made [the people] understand **that** [they] should not help
 the rebels

Khalkha Mongolian

margaash yaw-an **ge-j** xel-sen
 tomorrow go-PRES **say-SUB** speak-PAST
 [He] said **that** he would go tomorrow

There is no difference in Western Old Japanese between direct and indirect speech.

Contrary to the claim of Frellesvig, who maintains that *tö* ‘to be’ and *tö* ‘to say’ etymologically represent the same word, namely the copula (Frellesvig 1999), the syntactic difference between those two appears to be fundamental: while the copula *tö* ‘to be’ follows nominals and nominalized forms of verbs, the defective verb *tö* ‘to say’ is almost always found after the final form of verbs (examples of the exceptions are provided below). Below I provide the examples when the defective verb *tö* ‘to say’ is followed by verbs of verbal or mental activity.

故志能久邇邇佐加志壳遠阿理登岐加志弓久波志壳遠阿理登岐
 許志弓
 Kwosi-nö kuni-ni sakasi mye-wo ar-i **tö** kyik-as-i-te kupasi mye-
 wo ar-i **tö** kyik-ös-i-te

Kwosi-GEN province-LOC wise woman-ABS exist-FIN **DV** hear-HON-INF-SUB beautiful woman-ABS exist-FIN **DV** hear-HON-INF-SUB

[Opo kuni nusi] heard **that** there is a wise woman in the Kwosi province, heard **that** there is a beautiful woman (KK 2)

那迦士登波那波伊布登母

nak-aNsi **tö** pa na pa ip-u tömö

weep-NEG/TENT **DV** TOP you TOP say-FIN CONJ

Even though you say **that** [you] would not weep (KK 4)

佐泥牟登波阿禮波意母閑杼

sa ne-m-u **tö** pa are pa omöp-ey-Ntö

thus sleep-TENT-FIN **DV** TOP I TOP long.for-EV-CONC

Although I **long** so much to sleep [with you] (KK 27)

阿軻娜磨迺比訶利播阿利登比登播伊珮耐

aka-N-tama-nö pyikari pa ar-i **tö** pyitö pa ip-ey-Ntö

red-DV(ATTR)-jewel-GEN light TOP exist-FIN **DV** person TOP say-EV-CONC

Although people say **that** the red jewel has light (NK 6)

不聽跡雖謂話礼話礼常詔許曾志斐伊波奏強話登言

INA **tö** IP-EY-NTÖ KATAr-e KATAr-e **tö** NÖR-AS-E kösö

Sipiy-i pa MAWOS-E SIPIY-N-KATAR-I **tö** NÖR-U

no **DV** say-EV-CONC speak-IMP speak-IMP **DV** say-HON-EV

PT 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] Sipiy says, [you] **call** a forced speech (MYS III: 237)

In this example the last *tö* follows the nominalized form *katar-i* of the verb *katar-* ‘to speak.’ This is a rare usage and could be explained by the ellipsis of the final form of the copula after the nominalized form of the verb.

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
可利家理

yö-nö naka pa munasi-kyi mönö **tö** sir-u tökyi si iyöyö masu-masu
kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

world-GEN inside TOP empty-ATTR thing **DV** know-ATTR time
PT more.and.more more.and.more sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

When [I] realized **that** the world is empty, [it] turned out to be more and more sad (MYS V: 793)

In this example *tō* follows the noun *mōnō* ‘thing,’ but similar to the example above, it could be explained by the ellipsis of the final form of the copula after the noun.

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母

tōk[ō]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si mōNkamō **tō** omöp-ey-Ntömō
eternal-rock-COMP thus-INF PT PT **DV** think-EV-CONC

Although [I] think **that** [I] want to be (thus) like an eternal rock ... (MYS V: 805)

In this example *tō* follows the desiderative particle *mōNkamō* that itself functions syntactically as a predicate (“I want, I wish”).

安礼乎於伎弓人者安良自等富己呂倍騰

are-wo ok-yi-te PYITŌ PA ar-aNsi **tō** pokör-öp-ey-Ntō
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 besides me (MYS V: 892)

伊等乃伎提短物乎端伎流等云之如

itō nökyite MYINSIKA-KYI MÖNŌ-wo PASI kyir-u **tō** IP-YER-U-NKA NKŌTŌ-KU

very exceptionally short-ATTR thing-ACC end cut-FIN **DV** say-PROG-ATTR-POSS like-INF

like [the proverb] **says**: ‘to cut the end of an already very short thing’ (MYS V: 892)

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴

INTE-pasir-i in-ana **tō** OMÖP-EY-Ntō kö-ra-ni sayar-i-n-u
exit(INF)-run-INF go.away-DES **DV** think-EV-CONC child-PLUR-DAT be.prevented-INF-PERF-FIN

although [I] think **that** [I] would like to run out and go away, [I] am prevented by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

伊波多野爾夜杼里須流伎美伊徹妣等乃伊豆良等和礼乎等波婆
伊可爾伊波牟

ipata-NWO-ni yaNtör-i s-uru kyimiyi ipye-N-pyitō-nō iNtu-ra **tō**
ware-wo tōp-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

[Oh, my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field. If people from [your] home ask me (**saying**) where [are you], what should [I] answer? (MYS XV: 3689)

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

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾
 iku ywo p-u **tō** yōm-yi-tutu imwo pa ware mat-uram-u sō
 how.many night pass-FIN **DV** count-INF-COOR beloved TOP I
 wait-TENT2-ATTR PT
 [My] beloved will probably wait for me, **counting**: ‘How many nights have passed?’ (MYS XVIII: 4072)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓
 tune pyitō-nō kwop-u **tō** 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)

伊爾志加多知与乃都美佐閑保呂夫止曾伊布
 in-i-si kata ti yō-nō tumyi sapey porōNp-u **tō** sō 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)

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負凶龜一頭獻止奏賜不爾
 PUNTIPARA-NŌ ASWOMYI MARŌ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-
 YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITŌ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU **tō**
 MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni ...
 PuNtipara-GEN retainer Marō-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-
 PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer(HUM)-NML **DV**
 say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC
 [They] said **that** the retainer PuNtipara Marō and others had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back] ... (SM 6)

国王伊王位仁坐時方菩薩乃淨戒乎受与止勅天在

KOKU-WAU-i WAU-WI-ni IMAS-U TÖKYI pa BOSATU-nö
ZYAUKAI-wo UKEY-yö **tö** NÖTAMAP-YI-te AR-I
country-king-ACT king-position-LOC be(HON)-ATTR time TOP
bodhisattva-GEN commandment-ACC receive-IMP **DV**
say(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)

6.1.4.4.2 Final form *tö*

As mentioned above there are also cases when *tö* ‘to say’ can occur by itself without the following verbs of verbal or mental activity. Unless these cases can be accounted for by ellipsis, we probably should differentiate between the infinitive form *tö* preceding verbs of verbal and mental activity and the isomorphous final and/or attributive form *tö* that can be used by itself. Some of the following examples are translated with an English gerund form for the sake of the text’s flow, but this should not be taken as proof that the Western Old Japanese forms are really not final. In addition, *tö* ‘to say’ can be followed by the reported action auxiliary *nar-* (see 6.3.2.2.1) that follows final forms of verbs, so this should be additional proof for the existence of the final form *tö* in Western Old Japanese.

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 möNka **tö** wa-Nka myi-si kwo-ra ka-ku
möNka **tö**

meet-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR woman that PT **DV** I-POSS
see(INF)-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM thus-INF PT **DV**

[I] **think** [I] wish that [much] the woman [I] met; [I] **think** [I] wish this [much] the girl I saw (KK 42)

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登伊波迦伎加泥弓和賀弓登良須母

kurapasi-yama-wo saNkasi-myi **tö** ipa kak-yi-kane-te wa-Nka te
tör-as-umö

Kurapasi-mountain-ABS steep-GER **DV** rock hang-INF-
NEG/POT(INF)-SUB take-HON-EXCL

[I] **think that** Mount Kurapasi is steep. Being unable to cling to the rocks, [I wish you] take my hand! (KK 69)

阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可

are-woNpa mö ika n-i se-yö **tö** ka

I-ACC(EMPH) PT how DV-INF do-IMP DV PT

What do [you] **think** I [should] do? (MYS V: 794)

遠等咿良何遠等咿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

wotömye-ra-Nka wotömye saNpiy s-u **tö** kara tama-wo tamötö-ni
mak-as-i yöti kwo-ra-tö TE taNtusapar-i-te aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden like do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
wrist-LOC wrap-HON-INF same.age child-PLUR-COM hand
hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN

The maidens, **thinking** to behave 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)

伊射祢余登手乎多豆佐波里

iNsa ne-yö **tö** TE-wo taNtusapar-i

INTER sleep-IMP DV hand-ACC take-INF

[we] **told** [him]: 'Go to sleep!' [He], taking [our] hands ... (MYS
V: 904)

如今将相跡奈良婆此篋開勿勤

IMA NKÖTÖ AP-AM-U **tö-nar-aNpa** KÖNÖ KUSINKEY
PYIRAK-UNA YUMEY

now like meet-TENT-FIN DV(FIN)-RA-COND this comb.box
open-NEG/IMP at.all

if [you] **say that** [you] want to meet me [again] like now, do not
open this comb box at all (MYS IX: 1740)

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 **tö** 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)

伊都之加登奈氣可須良牟會

itu si ka **tö** naNkeyk-as-uram-u sö

when PT PT DV lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR PT

[she] probably laments, **saying**: ‘When [will he return]?’ (MYS XVII: 3962)

子乃去禍蒙服麻久欲為流事波為親爾止奈利

KWO-nō WANSAPAPYI-WO SAR-I SAKYIPAPYI-WO
KANKAPUR-Am-aku POR-I S-Uru KÖTÖ pa OYA-nō tamey n-i
tō-nar-i

child-GEN misfortune-ACC go.away-INF happiness-ACC receive-
TENT-NML want-NML do-ATTR matter TOP parent-GEN for
DV-INF DV(FIN)-RA-FIN

[They] **say that** the fact that children want to avoid misfortune and obtain happiness is for the sake of [their] parents (SM 25)

奈禮乎會與咩爾保師登多禮

nare-wo sō yōmye n-i posi **tō tare**

you-ACC PT bride DV-INF be.desirable DV who
who **says** [he] wants you as [his] bride? (NR II: 33)

In this example *tō* can only be attributive, as it is preceded by the particle *sō*.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Similar to Western Old Japanese, the defective verb *tō* in Eastern Old Japanese can also be used before the verbs of verbal or mental activity (infinitive form) or independently (final or attributive form). Examples of *tō* followed by verbs of verbal and mental activity:

伊母我理登倍婆

imō-Nkari **tō** [i]p-ey-Npa

beloved-DIR DV say-EV-CON

as [I] said **that** I [would go] to [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3356)

麻許登可聞和礼爾余須等布

ma-kötō kamo ware-ni yōs-u **tō** [i]p-u

INT-thing PT I-DAT bring close-FIN DV say-ATTR

I wonder [whether it is] true **that** [people] say that [she] has an intimate relationship with me (MYS XIV: 3384)

伊可奈流勢奈可和我理許武等伊布

ika nar-u se-na ka wa-Nkari kō-m-u **tō** 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)

和呂多比波多比等於米保等

warö taNpyi pa taNpyi **tö** omeyp-o-Ntö

I journey TOP journey DV think-EV-CONC

Although I think **that** [my] journey is [just] a journey ... (MYS XX: 4343)

Examples of the independent usage of *tö*:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾

ne-nömiy-wo ka nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u ap-u **tö** 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] of [even] **thinking** to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

古奈宜可久古非牟等夜

kwo-naNkiy ka-ku kwopiy-m-u **tö** 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)

奴流我倍爾安杼世呂登可母

n-uru-Nka [u]pey-ni aN-tö se-rö **tö** kamö

sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC what-DV do-IMP DV PT

besides sleeping [with her], I wonder what [else] do [you] **say** [I] should do? (MYS XIV: 3465)

Since this *tö* precedes *kamö* it can only be treated as an attributive.

古非爾思奈武乎伊可爾世余等會

kwopiy n-i sin-am-u-wo ika n-i se-yö **tö** sö

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)

There is also a special Eastern Old Japanese form *te* of this defective verb that is attested only once:

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si keytōNpa
Nse wasure-kane-t-uru

father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP
DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR word PT forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-
PERF-ATTR

[I] cannot forget the words: “Be safe!” **that** [my] father and mother
said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

A2: Ryukyuan

The reflexes of the defective verb *tō* are well presented in all Ryukyuan dialects. The modern Shuri form is said to be *Ndi*, but this form apparently represents a reanalysis of verb final *-N* + defective verb **ti* as a single morpheme. After the final verb ending in *-N* one normally finds just *di*, not *Ndi*. The form *di* is probably from **ti* that underwent voicing assimilation under the influence of the preceding /N/. Examples:

Shuri

nuu **Ndi** 'yu-ta-ga
what **DV** say-PAST-Q
What (**DV**) did [you] say? (RKJ 435)

'ic-uN **di** 'yu-ta-N
go-FIN **DV** say-PAST-FIN
[He] said **that** [he] would go (RKJ 435)

6.1.4.4.3 Subordinative gerund form *tō-te*

The subordinative gerund form *tō-te* is a kind of a puzzle. In the whole Western Old Japanese corpus it is attested only once:

此七日爾波不足弓隱坐事奇止弓見所行須時
KÖNÖ NAN-UKA-ni pa TAR-ANS-U-te KAKUR-I-[I]MAS-U
KÖTÖ AYA-SI **tō-te** MYI-SWONAP-AS-U TÖKYI
this seven-CL-LOC TOP be.enough-NEG-INF-SUB hide-INF-
HON-ATTR matter strange-FIN **DV(INF)-SUB** look(INF)-
offer(HON)-HON-ATTR time

When these seven days did not completely pass, [he] **thought that** [it] is strange that [she] secluded herself, and when [he] looked ... (NT 12)

Yamada Yoshio believed that this single example of *tō-te* is due either to the fact that this *Norito* is itself a later text, or to a later corruption of the text (Yamada 1954: 452). While we obviously cannot exclude the possibility of text corruption, this *Norito* certainly represents an Early Western Old Japanese text, as demonstrated by Bentley (2001: 25-26). Japanese linguists normally explain *tō-te* as a contraction from *tō ip-yi-te* 'DV say-INF-SUB,' but as Bentley correctly notes, the explanation should be rejected, because there was no intervocalic *-p-* loss even in Late Western Old Japanese (Bentley 2001: 137). I should also add that the form *to-te* is frequently observed in Middle Japanese texts as well, and although *-p-* > *-w-* occurred by this time, the further shift *-w-* > *-Ø-* before /i/ did not occur before the Kamakura period except in the verb *ma(w)ir-* 'to come/go(HUM)' (Tsukishima 1969: 360-63). Thus, even MJ *to-te* < *to iwite* would be speculative.

Therefore, although I normally would not accept a *hapax legomenon* as evidence, I am inclined to view the rarity of WOJ *tō-te* as a trick played on us by the existing corpus. Ryukyuan data that I briefly discuss below also indicate that the subordinative gerund form *tō-te* may go back to Proto-Japonic.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The subordinative gerund form *tō-te* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

There are many attestations of the subordinative gerund form *tete* (= *tote*) appearing in Old and Classical Ryukyuan texts in various spelling forms. These different spellings exhibit a bewildering variety: *tete*, *teti*, *dete*, *reiti* (= *tote*) (Hokama 1995: 441). The absence of a variant **tote* suggests that they are not loans from mainland Middle Japanese. Therefore, it is likely that WOJ *tō-te* and these Old Ryukyuan forms go back to a proto-Japonic formation, although one must confirm it with data from Southern Ryukyuan that so far I have been unable to find.

6.2 VERBAL AFFIXES

Verbal affixes in Western Old Japanese comprise prefixes and suffixes. There is also one circumfix *na...-sō*, but functionally it represents a variant of the prefix *na-*, so both will be treated together below in 6.2.1.2. The majority of affixes are suffixes.

6.2.1 VERBAL PREFIXES

One of the most striking differences between Western Old Japanese and Middle (Classical) Japanese is that the former has a comparatively rich system of verbal prefixes. While there are verbal prefixes in Middle Japanese as well, they all are preverbs either synchronically or diachronically, in other words they all have a more or less transparent verbal origin. Not so in Western Old Japanese, where half of the prefixes cannot be traced back to any verbal forms.

The existence of prefixes in a SOV language is, of course, an anomaly, as SOV languages normally have only suffixes. The presence of even a rudimentary prefixation system, therefore, may point to the fact that the SOV word order in Old Japanese may be a comparatively recent phenomenon due to the ‘Altaicization’ and ‘Koreanization’ of Japonic.

In most cases, a verbal form contains only one prefix, but there are three exceptions when two prefixes can be found in a verbal form. In two out of the three exceptions the prefix *ta-* occupies the second slot, and the prefix *i-* occupies the first slot. Examples:

朝奈藝尔伊可伎渡

ASA naNkyi-ni i-kakyi-WATAR-I

morning calm-LOC DLF-PREF-cross.over-INF

crossing over there in the morning calm (MYS VIII: 1520)

麻佐吉久毛安里多母等保利

ma-sakyi-ku mwo ari-ta-mōtōpor-i

INT-safe-INF PT ITER-PREF-wander.around-INF

so that [you] will be wandering around safely, and ... (MYS XVII: 4008)

乎可乃佐伎伊多牟流其等尔

woka n-ō sakyi i-ta-m-uru Nkōtō n-i

hill DV-ATTR promontory DLF-PREF-turn.around-ATTR
every DV-INF

every time [I] **turn around** a hilly promontory (MYS XX: 4408)

6.2.1.1 PREFIX I-

The prefix *i-* indicates directive-locative focus for a verb. In the previous literature this prefix is only briefly mentioned and virtually left undescribed. Thus, for example, Yamada Yoshio briefly states that this and other prefixes have only rhythmic function, and provides a list of examples which is very far from being complete, since all examples that Yamada Yoshio cites are from the *Man'yōshū* (Yamada 1954: 530-32). None of the numerous examples listed below from the *Kojiki kayō* or the *Nihonshoki kayō* are included in his grammar. The only studies that dedicate some attention to this prefix are Hino 1997 and Russell 2006: 140-42. Hino argues that the prefix *i-* is an agentive marker (1997: 2-5) while Russell defines this prefix as a focus marker indicating the goal of the predicate (Russell 2006: 142). She lists a few (but not all) attestations, but gives only two examples (Russell 2006: 141-42). I trust that the definition of the prefix *i-* as a goal focus marker is too vague. I provide below most of the examples of this prefix that I was able to locate in Western Old Japanese texts, excluding the textual variants of the *Nihonshoki kayō* songs if they are also found in the *Kojiki kayō*, as well as some examples from the *Man'yōshū* that include contexts close to other already cited examples. I believe that the following examples allow narrowing the definition of this prefix to a focus marker indicating the direction or location of an action. The prefix *i-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

<i>kakur-</i>	‘to be hidden’
<i>kapyer-</i>	‘to return’
<i>kōNk-</i>	‘to row’
<i>kōNs(i)-</i>	‘to dig out’
<i>kum-</i>	‘to entwine’
<i>kyir-</i>	‘to cut’
<i>mak-</i>	‘to whirl, to roll’
<i>mure-</i>	‘to gather’
<i>pap-</i>	‘to crawl’
<i>pate-</i>	‘to anchor’
<i>puk-</i>	‘to blow’
<i>sak-</i>	‘to bloom’
<i>sik-</i>	‘to reach’

<i>swop-</i>	‘to snuggle’
<i>ta-miy-</i> ¹⁶	‘to turn’
<i>taNtwor-</i>	‘to seek’
<i>tukus-</i>	‘to exhaust’
<i>tumor-</i>	‘to pile up’
<i>tuNk-</i>	‘to continue’
<i>twor-</i>	‘to hold’
<i>watar-</i>	‘to cross’
<i>yör-</i>	‘to lean at’
<i>yuk-</i>	‘to go’

I tried to convey the directional-locative meaning of the prefix *i-* by inserting English ‘here’ or ‘there’ wherever it was possible in the translations of the examples below.

伊勢能宇美能意斐志爾波比母登富呂布志多陀美能伊波比母登
富理宇知弓志夜麻牟

ise-nō umyi-nō opiy-[i]si-ni pap-yi-mötöpör-öp-u sitaNtamyi¹⁷-nō
i-pap-yi-mötöpör-i ut-i-te si yam-am-u

Ise-GEN sea-GEN grow(INF)-stone-LOC crawl-INF-go.around-
ITER-ATTR seashell-COMP **DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF** hit-
INF-SUB PT stop-TENT-FIN

like the shellfish that are constantly crawling around on the
growing rocks of the Ise sea, [we] **will crawl around** [them] **there**,
smite and stop [them] (KK 13)

伊那佐能夜麻能許能麻用母伊由岐麻毛良比

inasa-nō yama-nō kö-nō ma-ywo mö **i-yuk-yi** mamwor-ap-yi
Inasa-GEN mountain-GEN tree-GEN interval-ABL PT **DLF-go-**
INF watch-ITER-INF

going there from between the trees of Mount Inasa and watching
[out for enemies] constantly (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 **DLF-go-INF-differ-INF** front-
GEN/LOC door-ABL **DLF-go-INF-differ-INF**

¹⁶ With the verb *mij-* ‘to turn’ the prefix *i-* is found only preceding the prefix *ta-*.

¹⁷ 志多陀美 /sitaNtamyi/, a kind of an edible seashell (MdJ *kisago*).

going there from different [directions], from the front door, [and] from the back door (KK 22)

牟迦比袁流迦母伊蘇比袁流迦母
 mukap-yi-wor-u kamö **i-swop-yi-wor-u** kamö
 face-INF-exist-ATTR PT **DLF-snuggle-INF-exist-ATTR** PT
 Oh, [she] is facing [me]! Oh, [she] is **snuggling here with** [me]!
 (KK 42)

麻由美伊岐良牟登許許呂波母閑杼伊斗良牟登許許呂波母閑杼
 mayumyi **i-kyir-am-u** tö kökörö pa [o]möp-ey-Ntö **i-twor-am-u** tö
 kökörö pa [o]möp-ey-Ntö
 mayumyi **DLF-cut-TENT-FIN** DV heart TOP think-EV-CONC
DLF-take-TENT-FIN DV heart TOP think-EV-CONC
 although [I] wish [in my] heart **to cut** the *mayumyi* trees **here**,
 although [I] wish [in my] heart **to take** [them] **here** (KK 51)

伊岐良受曾久流
i-kyir-aNs-u sö k-uru
DLF-cut-NEG-INF PT come-ATTR
 [I] return **without cutting** [them] **there** (KK 51)

夜麻斯呂迺伊斯祁登理夜麻伊斯祁伊斯祁阿賀波斯豆摩迺伊斯
 岐阿波牟迦母
 yamasirö-ni **i-sik-ye** töriyama **i-sik-ye i-sik-ye** a-Nka pasi-N-tuma-
 ni **i-sik-yi** ap-am-u kamö
 Yamasirö-LOC **DLF-follow-IMP** Töriyama **DLF-follow-IMP**
DLF-follow-IMP I-POSS beloved-DV(ATTR)-spouse-DAT **DLF-**
follow-INF meet-TENT-ATTR PT
 To Yamasirö – **go there**, Töriyama! **Follow** [her] **there**, follow
 [her] **there!** **Follow** my beloved spouse **there** and meet [her]! (KK
 59)

意富岐美袁斯麻爾波夫良婆布那阿麻理伊賀弊理許牟叙
 opö kyimyi-wo sima-ni paNpur-aNpa puna-amar-i **i-Nkapyer-i-kö-**
m-u Nsö
 great lord-ACC island-LOC exile-COND boat-exceed-INF **DLF-**
return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR PT
 if [they] exile [my] great lord to an island, there are many boats,
 and [he] **would return here** (KK 86)

母登爾波伊久美陀氣淤斐須惠幣爾波多斯美陀氣淤斐伊久美陀
氣伊久美波泥受

mötö-ni pa **i-kum-yi-N-takey** opiy suwe-pye-ni pa ta-sim-yi-N-
takey opiy **i-kum-yi-N-takey i-kum-yi** pa ne-Ns-u
root-LOC TOP **DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo**
grow(INF) top-side-LOC TOP PREF-grow.densely-NML-
DV(ATTR)-bamboo grow(INF) **DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-**
bamboo DLF-entwine-INF TOP sleep-NEG-INF
at [their] roots grows **bamboo entwined there**, at [their] tips grows
a dense bamboo; we did not sleep **entwined there** as the bamboo
entwined there (KK 91)

袁登賣能伊加久流袁加

wotömye-nö **i-kakur-u** woka
maiden-GEN **DLF-hide-ATTR** hill
the hill **where** a maiden is **hiding** (KK 99)

夜本爾余志伊岐豆岐能美夜

yapwo ni yö-si **i-kyiNtuk-yi n-ö** myiya
eight.hundred ground good-FIN **DLF-build-NML DV-ATTR**
palace
a palace **built there** on an eight hundred [times] good soil (KK 100)

和賀淤富岐美能阿佐斗爾波伊余理陀多志由布斗爾波伊余理陀
多須和岐豆紀

wa-Nka opö kyimiyi-nö asa-two-ni pa **i-yör-i-Ntat-as-i** yupu-two-ni
pa **i-yör-i-Ntat-as-u** wakiNtuki
I-POSS great lord-GEN morning-place-LOC TOP **DLF-lean-INF-**
stand-HON-INF evening-place-LOC TOP **lean-INF-stand-HON-**
ATTR arm-rest
the arm-rest that my sovereign **leans on** in the morning and **leans**
on in the evening (KK 104)

避奈菟謎迺以和多邏素西渡

pyina-tu mye-nö **i-watar-as-u** se two
countryside-GEN/LOC woman-GEN **DLF-cross-HON-ATTR**
narrow passage
narrow passage that a woman from the countryside **crosses here**
(NK 3)

滿既能佐烏麼志魔幣菟耆滿伊和哆羅秀暮

myi-key-nō sawo-N-pasi mapyetukyimi **i-watar-as-umo**
HON-tree-GEN pole-GEN-bridge minister **DLF-cross-HON-EXCL**

[I wish] that the ministers would **cross here** the bridge [made] of the poles of the sacred trees! (NK 24)

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志

kapiy-nō kurwo kwoma kura kyi-s-eNpa **i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasi**
Kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle put.on(INF)-PAST/ATTR-COND
DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ

if [he] would put a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he] **would not reach here** [on time] (NK 81a)

以矩美娜開余囊開謨等陸鳴麼莒等爾都俱喇

i-kum-yi-N-takey yō-N-takey motō-pye-woNpa kötō-ni tukur-i
DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo section-DV(ATTR)-bamboo root-side-ACC(EMPH) koto DV-INF make-INF

[they] made roots of an **entwined** bamboo, of section bamboo into a *koto*, and... (NK 97)

阿箇悟馬能以喻企波波箇屢麻矩孺播羅

aka-N-kwoma-nō **i-yuk-yi-pa**Npakar-u ma-kuNsu-para
red-DV(ATTR)-stallion-GEN **DLF-go-INF-be hesitant-ATTR**
INT-vine-field

A red stallion is **hesitant to go through** the field covered with thick vines (NK 128)

山際伊隱萬代道隈伊積流萬代尔

YAMA-NÖ MA-NI **i-KAKUR-U**-maNte MYITI-NÖ KUMA **i-TUMOr-u**-maNte-ni

mountain-GEN space-LOC **DLF-hide-ATTR-TERM** road-GEN bend **DLF-pile.up-ATTR-TERM-LOC**

until [Mt. Myiwa] **will hide there** between the mountains, until the road bends **will pile up there** ... (MYS I: 17)

冬乃林尔飄可毛伊卷渡等念麻佻

PUYU-nō PAYASI-ni TUMUNSI kamwo **i-MAK-YI-WATAR-U**
tō OMÖP-U-maNte

winter-GEN forest-LOC whirlwind PT **DLF-whirl-INF-cross-FIN**
DV think-ATTR-TERM

to the point that [we] thought: “Could [it] be a whirlwind that **whirls there across** the winter forest?” (MYS II: 199)

神風尔伊吹或之

KAMU-KANSE-ni i-PUK-YI-MATWOP-As-i

divine-wind-LOC **DLF-blow-INF-be.confused-CAUS-INF**

making the divine wind to **blow** [them] **away in confusion** (MYS II: 199)

鹿自物伊波比伏管 ... 鶉成伊波比廻

SISI Nsimönö i-pap-yi-PUS-YI-tutu ... UNTURA-nasu i-pap-yi-MÖTÖPOR-I

deer like **DLF-crawl-INF.lie.down-INF-COOR** ... quail-COMP **DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF**

constantly crawling and lying down like a deer ... **crawling around** like a quail (MYS II: 199)

遠等咩良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎伊多度利与利提

wotömye-ra-Nka sa-n-as-u ita-two-wo os-i-pyirak-yi i-ta^Ntwor-i-yör-i-te

maiden-PLUR-POSS PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR board-door-ACC push-INF-open-INF **DLF-pursue-INF-approach-INF-SUB**

[gentlemen] push open wooden doors where maidens sleep, and [they] **pursue [maidens] there** (MYS V: 804)

伊刀良斯弓伊波比多麻比斯麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯

i-twor-as-i-te ipap-yi-tamap-yi-si ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ö isi

DLF-hold-HON-INF-SUB pray-INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone

holding two stones like real jewels that [she] was praying to ... (MYS V: 813)

四良名美乃五十開廻有住吉能濱

sira namyi-nö i-sak-YI-MEYNKUR-ER-U SUMYINÖYE-nö PAMA

white wave-GEN **DLF-bloom-INF-go.around-PROG-ATTR** Sumyinöye-GEN beach

Sumyinöye beach, where white waves **go around blooming** [like flowers] (MYS VI: 931)

去年春伊許自而

KÖNSÖ-NÖ PARU i-köNs-i-TE¹⁸

last.year-GEN spring **DLF-dig.out-INF-SUB**

having dug [them] out there in the spring of the last year (MYS VIII: 1423)

朝奈藝尔伊可伎渡

ASA naNkyi-ni i-kakyi-WATAR-I

morning calm-LOC **DLF-PREF-cross.over-INF**

crossing over there in the morning calm (MYS VIII: 1520)

左小舟乃伊行而将泊河津

sa-WON-PUNĒ-nō i-YUK-YI-TE PATE-M-U KAPA-N-TU

PREF-DIM-boat-GEN **DLF-go-INF-SUB** anchor-TENT-ATTR
river-GEN-harbor

the river harbor, **where** [his] small boat **will go and** anchor (MYS X: 2091)

左牡鹿之聲伊續伊繼

sa-WO-SIKA-NÖ KÖWE i-TUNK-YI i-TUNK-YI

PREF-male-deer-GEN voice **DLF-continue-INF DLF-continue-INF**

a call from the male deer **continues there, continues there** (MYS X: 2145)

左夫流其兒尔比毛能緒能移都我利安比弓

saNpuru SÖNÖ KWO-ni pyimwo-nō wo-nō i-tuNkar-i-ap-yi-te

whore that girl-DAT cord-GEN cord-COMP **DLF-tie-INF-join-INF-SUB**

[you] **tied** [yourself] **together** with that whore girl like a cord of cords (MYS XVIII: 4106)

四方能美知尔波宇麻乃都米伊都久須伎波美布奈乃倍能伊波都流麻泥尔

YŌ MO-nō myiti-ni pa uma-nō tumey i-tukus-u kypamyi puna-nō pey-nō **i-pat-uru-maNte-ni**

¹⁸ It is not clear whether we are dealing here with a consonant verb *kōNs-* or a vowel verb *kōNsi-*, because among its basic paradigmatic forms only the infinitive is attested (Omodaka et al. 1967: 294), (Takagi et al. 1959: 283). Since there are more consonant verbs than vowel verbs, I tentatively adopt the interpretation that this verb is a consonant one.

four direction-GEN road-LOC TOP horse-GEN hoof **DLF-exhaust-ATTR limit** boat-GEN prow-GEN **DLF-anchor-ATTR-TERM-LOC**

on the roads to four directions, [to the] **limit where** horses' hooves **reach, to the point where** a boat's prow [could be] **anchored** (MYS XVIII: 4122)

新年始尔思共伊牟礼氏乎礼婆

ARATASI-KYI TOSI-NŌ PANSIMEY-ni OMÖP-U-N-TWOTI **i-mure-te wor-e-Npa**

new-ATTR year-GEN beginning-LOC think-ATTR-GEN-companion **DLF-gather(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON**

When the friends who think [in the same way] **are gathering** at the beginning of the year ... (MYS XIX: 4284)

乎可乃佐伎伊多牟流其等尔

woka n-ö sakyi **i-ta-m-uru** Nkötö n-i

hill DV-ATTR promontory **DLF-PREF-turn.around-ATTR** every DV-INF

every time [I] **turn around** a hilly promontory (MYS XX: 4408)

之麻豆多比伊己藝和多利弓

sima-N-tutap-yi **i-kōNk-yi-watar-i-te**

island-LOC-pass.along-INF **DLF-row-INF-cross-INF-SUB**

[I] **row across** [the ocean] passing along islands (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are only two examples of the prefix *i-* in Eastern Old Japanese:

波播已毛礼杼母

papa **i-mwor-e-Ntömō**

mother **DLF-guard-EV-CONC**

Though [my] **mother** guards [me] **here** ... (MYS XIV: 3393)

伊波能倍尔伊可贺流久毛

ipa-nō [u]pey-ni **i-kakar-u** kumwo

rock-GEN top-LOC **DLF-hang-ATTR** cloud

clouds, **hanging** over the rocks (MYS XIV: 3518)

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge the prefix *i-* is attested only in Old and Classical Ryukyuan. In spite of the fact that there is no support from modern Ryukyuan languages, it is unlikely that OR *i-* represents a loan from WOJ *i-*, as there were no contacts between Western Old Japanese and Old Ryukyuan. Hokama claims that in Old and Classical Ryukyuan *i-* could be attached to adjectives and nouns as well (Hokama 1995: 53), but his examples with nouns are likely to include historically a different kind of *i-*: namely, an adjective *i* ‘sacred, tabooed’ also attested in Western Old Japanese. There is only one example of *i-* combined with an adjective: *i-duyo-ku* ~ *i-diyo-ku* ‘PREF-strong-INF’ attested exclusively in Classical Ryukyuan (Hokama 1995: 74-5). This limited attestation is unlikely to have an old provenance.

Old Ryukyuan

としが三年いきよてとしが四年いきよて
 tosi-ga SAN-NEN **i-kiyo-te** tosi-ga YO-NEN **i-kiyo-te**
 year-POSS three-year **DLF-invite-SUB** year-POSS four-year
DLF-invite-SUB
inviting [the goddess] **here** for three years, **inviting** [the goddess]
here for four years (OS XII: 658)

There is also another example cited by Hokama from Classical Ryukyuan with the verb *fasir-* ‘to run’ (Hokama 1995: 82), but since I do not have access to this text, I do not cite this example here.

6.2.1.2 PREFIX NA- AND CIRCUMFIX NA-...-SŌ

In contrast to Middle Japanese, where only the circumfix *na-...-sō* is found (Vovin 2003: 195), in Western Old Japanese there are examples containing only the first element *na-* that can be consequently treated as a prefix. Both the prefix *na-* and the circumfix *na-...-sō* function as markers of the negative imperative. The circumfix occurs much more frequently than the prefix. Martin’s observation that *-sō* in the circumfix *na-...-sō* represents the root of the verb *se- ~ sō-* ‘to do’ (Martin 1988: 967) is undoubtedly correct. At the same time, I find his definition of *na-* as a prohibitive adverb (Martin 1987: 489, 920; 1988: 967) much less convincing, because as the reader will see below, WOJ *na-* is

never separated from a verb by any other word, including particles. Thus, I will treat it as a prefix. Examples:

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-kyikös-i**

sleep TOP sleep-HON-TENT-ATTR-ACC extremely DV-INF
NEG-yearn(INF)-HON-INF

because [you] will sleep (a sleep), [do] **not yearn** too much (KK 3)

吾大王物莫御念

WA-NK-OPO KYIMYI MÖNÖ NA-OMÖP-OS-I

I-POSS-great lord thing **NEG-think-HON-INF**

Oh, my sovereign, **please do not be concerned** ... (MYS I: 77)

父母毛表者奈佐我利

TITI-PAPA mö UPEY PA **na-saNkar-i**

father-mother PT top TOP **NEG-go.down-INF**

Father [and] mother! [**Do**] **not leave** [me] (MYS V: 904)

龍田彦勤此花乎風尔莫落

TATUTA PIYKWO YUMEY KÖNÖ PANA-wo KANSE-ni **NA-TIR-AS-I**

Tatsuta male[deity] at.all this flower-ACC wind-LOC **NEG-scatter-HON-INF**

Deity of Tatsuta! **Please do not scatter** these flowers at all by the wind (MYS IX: 1748)

雲莫田名引

kumwo **NA-tanaNPYIK-YI**

cloud **NEG-trail-INF**

clouds, **do not trail** [over the moon] (MYS XI: 2669)

安礼奈之等奈和備和我勢故

are na-si tö **na-waNpiy** wa-Nka se-kwo

I no-FIN DV **NEG-be.disheartened(INF)** I-POSS elder.brother-DIM

Do not be disheartened, my elder brother that I am not [here] (MYS XVII: 3997)

和我世兒乎安宿勿令寐

wa-Nka se-kwo-wo YASU I **NA-NE-SIMEY**

I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC easy sleep **NEG-sleep-CAUS(INF)**
Do not let my beloved sleep an easy sleep (MYS XIX: 4179)

The circumfix *na-...-sō* encircles the infinitive form of verb, but in the case of the irregular verb *se- ~ -sō* ‘to do’ it encircles the root form *se-*, see the example from MYS XX: 4487 below. Examples of the circumfix *na-...-sō*:

能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠伊能知波那志勢婆多麻比曾
 nōti pa na-N-tōri n-i ar-am-u-wo inōti pa **na-si-se-tamap-yi-sō**
 later TOP you-OSM-bird DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC life
 TOP **NEG-die-CAUS(INF)-HON-INF-do**
 because [I] will be your bird later, **do not kill** [your] life [with
 desire] (KK 3)

宇梅能半奈半也久奈知利曾
 uMEY-nō pana paya-ku **na-tir-i-sō**
 plum-GEN blossom early-INF **NEG-fall-INF-do**
 Plum blossoms! **Do not fall** early (MYS V: 849)

於伎都風伊多久奈布吉曾
 okyi-tu KANSE ita-ku **na-puk-yi-sō**
 offing-GEN/LOC wind painful-INF **NEG-blow-INF-do**
 wind of the offing, **do not blow** strongly (MYS XV: 3592)

許能之具礼伊多久奈布里曾
 kōnō siNkure ita-ku **na-pur-i-sō**
 this drizzling.rain painful-INF **NEG-fall-INF-do**
 This drizzling rain! **Do not rain** hard (MYS XIX: 4222)

伊射子等毛多波和射奈世曾
 iNsa KWO-Ntōmwo tapa waNsa **na-se-sō**
 hey child-PLUR stupid deed **NEG-do-do**
 Hey, children, **do not do** stupid things (MYS XX: 4487)

A desiderative-imperative form *-(a)n-e* can be used after the negative imperative circumfix *na-...-sō*, but this usage is not very frequent in Western Old Japanese:

雪奈布美曾祢
 YUKYI **na-pum-yi-sō-n-e**

snow **NEG-step.on-INF-do-DES-IMP**
do not step on the snow (MYS XIX: 4228)

久佐奈加利曾祢
 kusa **na-kar-i-sō-n-e**
 grass **NEG-cut-INF-do-DES-IMP**
do not cut the grass (MYS XX: 4457)

COMPARATIVE DATA
LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Both the prefix *na-* and the circumfix *na-...-sō* are attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but the prefix *na-* occurs only twice. In most cases in Eastern Old Japanese the circumfix *na-...-sō* is followed by the desiderative-imperative form *-(a)n-e*. Examples of the prefix *na-*:

安乎許等奈多延
 a-wo kötō **na-taye**
 I-ACC word **NEG-break(INF)**
Do not break [exchanging] messages with me (MYS XIV: 3501)

由古作枳尔奈美奈等惠良比
 yuk-wo sakyi-ni namyi **na-tōwerap-yi**
 go-ATTR destination-LOC wave **NEG-rise-INF**
 Waves, **do not rise** on my way (MYS XX: 4385)

Examples of the circumfix *na-...-sō*:

和爾奈多要曾祢
 wa-ni **na-taye-sō-n-e**
 I-DAT **NEG-break(INF)-do-DES-IMP**
Do not become estranged from me (MYS XIV: 3378)

安乎奈多要曾祢
 a-wo **na-taye-sō-n-e**
 I-ACC **NEG-break(INF)-do-DES-IMP**
Do not break with me (MYS XIV: 3416)

可未奈那里曾祢
 kamiy **na-nar-i-sō-n-e**

[thunder] god **NEG-sound-INF-IMP-DES-IMP**

Thunder god, [please] **do not thunder!** (MYS XIV: 3421)

於能我乎遠於保爾奈於毛比會

onö-Nka wo-wo opo n-i **na-omwop-yi-sö**

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

Neither the prefix *na-* nor the circumfix *na-...-sö* are attested in Ryukyuan.

6.2.1.3 PREFIX KA-

The prefix *ka-* is a rare example of a primary morphological marker shared by both adjectives and verbs. Although all but one example of its usage are attested with adjectives, I consider that it is more appropriate to describe the prefix *ka-* in the chapter dedicated to verbs, because it occurs only with inflected, i.e., verbal forms of adjectives. The underlying form of this prefix may be *kaN-, as witnessed by a form *kaN-kurwo-* ‘pitch black’ below. Although this is the only form when *ka-* occurs before an obstruent, *kaN-kurwo-* and not *ka-kurwo- is confirmed twice in the texts, making a scribal mistake unlikely. In all other cases which do not involve an initial obstruent of a root we would normally expect a development of *kaN- > *ka-*. No definition of its function is given in Japanese scholarship (Yamada 1954: 532). As far as I can tell on the basis of the limited examples that are attested in the Western Old Japanese texts, the prefix *ka-* is an intensifier, indicating that an action or a state is extreme or full/real. Thus, the intensive prefix *ka-* for verbs and inflected adjectives probably represents an analogue for the intensive prefix *ma-* used with nouns and uninflected adjectives (see 4.1.1.2).

The prefix *ka-* with a verb:

香縁相者彼所毛加人之吾乎事將成

ka-YOR-I-AP-ANPA SÖKÖ mwo ka PYITÖ WA-wo kötö NAS-AM-U

INT-approach-INF-meet-COND there PT PT person I-ACC word do(HON)-TENT-ATTR

if [we] indeed get together, would the people spread rumors about me and you as well? (MYS IV: 512)

The prefix *ka-* with inflected adjectives:

荒磯乃上尔香青生玉藻

AR-ISWO-nō UPEY-ni **ka-AWO-KU** OP-URU TAMA MWO

rough-rock-GEN top-LOC **INT-green-INF** grow-ATTR jewel seaweed

jewel seaweeds that grow **very green** on rough rocks (MYS II: 131)

迦具漏伎可美爾伊都乃麻可斯毛乃布利家武

kaN-kurwo-kyi kamyi-ni itu-nō ma ka simwo-nō pur-i-ky-em-u

INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC when-CEN interval PT frost-GEN fall-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

at what point in time, would the frost have fallen on [their] **pitch-black** hair? (MYS V: 804)

可具呂伎可美尔都由曾於伎尔家類

kaN-kurō¹⁹-kyi kamyi-ni tuyu sō ok-yi-n-i-kyer-u

INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC dew PT put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

[it] turned out that the dew fell on the **pitch-black** hair (MYS XV: 3649)

蚊黒為髮尾信櫛持於是蚊寸垂

kaN-KURWO-si KAMYI-wo MA-KUSI MÖT-I kakyi-TARE

INT-black-FIN hair-ACC INT-comb hold-INF PREF-make.hang.down(INF)

making **pitch black** hair hang down with a comb (MYS XVI: 3791)

手放毛乎知母可夜須伎

TA-N-PANARE mwo woti mō **ka-yasu-kyi**

hand-LOC-separate(NML) PT there PT **INT-easy-ATTR**

both leaving the hand and [returning] there **were very easy** (MYS XVII: 4011)

¹⁹ The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-rui* /rō/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-rui* /rwo/.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The prefix *ka-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.2.1.4 PREFIX TA-

The prefix *ta-*, like the prefix *ka-* discussed above, can precede both verbs and inflected adjectives, although, in contrast to *ka-*, it is attested more frequently with verbs than with inflected adjectives. Similar to the prefix *ka-* < *kaN-, the underlying form of the prefix *ta-* is also likely to be *taN-, since this is the form that surfaces consistently before the first obstruent of the following root, see *taN-pasir-* ‘to run’ and *taN-töpo-* ‘to be far’ below.²⁰ The prefix *ta-* also has two other peculiarities: 1) it can occur after another prefix (examples are limited to the combinations *i-ta-* and *ari-ta-* with the prefixes *i-* and *ari-*) or after the first verb in a verbal compound (examples are limited to *pap-yi-ta-mötöpor-* ‘to crawl around,’ *köNk-yi-ta-mötöpor-* ‘to row around,’ and *töNp-yi-ta-mötöpor-* ‘to fly around’; 2) it is predominantly attested with the verb *mötöpor-* ‘to go/wander around,’ although it also occurs with other verbs. No definition of its function is given in Japanese scholarship (Yamada 1954: 534). Pierson defined *ta-* as an intensifying prefix (Pierson 1963: 8). He might be right, although the intensifying meaning is unlikely to fit into most of the examples involving the verb *mötöpor-* below. It may not be possible to find the solution at all, since examples are not numerous and most of them are limited to usage with the verb *mötöpor-*, as I have already mentioned above.

The prefix *ta-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

<i>mötöpor-</i>	‘to go around’
<i>miy-</i>	‘to turn’
<i>pasir-</i>	‘to run’
<i>sar-</i>	‘to go away’
<i>sim-</i>	‘to grow densely’
<i>wasure-</i>	‘to forget’

The prefix *ta-* with verbs:

²⁰ Two apparent exceptions are *ta-sim-* ‘PREF-grow.densely’ in KK 91 below, and *ta-sar-* ‘PREF-go.away’ in NK 40 below, but the line with *ta-sar-* is considered to have problems in interpretation (Tsuchihashi 1957: 150).

伊久美陀気伊久美波泥受多斯美陀气多斯爾波韋泥受能知母久美泥牟

i-kum-yi-N-takey i-kum-yi pa ne-Ns-u **ta-sim-yi-N-takey** tasi ni-pa wi-ne-Ns-u nōti mō kum-yi-ne-m-u
DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo DLF-entwine-INF TOP sleep-NEG-INF **PREF-grow.densely-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo** thorough DV-INF TOP exist(INF)-sleep-NEG-INF later PT entwine-INF-sleep-TENT-FIN

[we] did not sleep entwined there [as] the bamboo entwined there, and [we] did not sleep closely [like] **densely growing** bamboo, [but] later [we] will sleep entwined (KK 91)

囊伽多佐例

ta ka **ta-sar-e**

who PT **PREF-go.away-EV**

Who **goes away?** (NK 40)

其夜乃梅乎手忘而

SŌNŌ YWO-nō UMEY-wo **ta-WASURE-TE**

that night-GEN plum-ACC **PREF-forget(INF)-SUB**

[I] **forgot** about the plum [blossoms] of that night, **and** ... (MYS III: 392)

若子乃匍匐多毛登保里

MYINTŌRI KWO-nō **PAP-YI-ta-mōtōpor-i**

young child-COMP **crawl-INF-PREF-go.around-INF**

crawling around like a baby (MYS III: 458)

之夫多尔能佐吉多母登保理

siNputani-nō sakyi **ta-mōtōpor-i**

siNputani-GEN cape **PREF-go.around-INF**

going around SiNputani cape (MYS XVII: 3991)

麻佐吉久毛安里多母等保利

ma-sakyi-ku mwo **ari-ta-mōtōpor-i**

INT-safe-INF PT **ITER-PREF-wander.around-INF**

so that [you] **will be wandering around** safely, **and** ... (MYS XVII: 4008)

多古能之麻等妣多毛登保理

takwo-nō sima **tōNp-yi-ta-mwotōpor-i**

takwo-GEN island fly-**INF-PREF-go.around-*INF***
[he] **flew around** Takwo island (MYS XVII: 4011)

乎敷乃佐吉許藝多母等保里

wopu-nō sakyi **kōNk-yi-ta-mötöpor-i**

Wopu-GEN cape row-**INF-PREF-go.around-*INF***
rowing around cape Wopu (MYS XVIII: 4037)

霜上尔安良礼多婆之里

SIMWO-NŌ UPEY-ni arare **taN-pasir-i**

frost-GEN top-LOC hail **PREF-run-*INF***
Hail **falls** on the frost ... (MYS XX: 4298)

乎可乃佐伎伊多牟流其等尔

woka n-ō sakyi **i-ta-m-uru** Nkötō n-i

hill DV-ATTR cape **DLF-PREF-turn.around-ATTR** every DV-
INF

every time [I] **turn around** a hilly cape (MYS XX: 4408)

The prefix *ta-* with inflected adjectives:

道乎多遠見思空安莫國嘆虛不安物乎

MYITI-wo **taN-TŌPŌ-myi** OMŌP-U swora YASUKEY NA-ku
n-i NANKEYK-U SWORA YASU-K-AR-AN-U MŌNŌwo

way-ABS **PREF-far-GER** think-ATTR PT easy no-**INF DV-*INF***
lament-ATTR PT easy-**INF-exist-NEG-ATTR CONJ**

although it is not easy to lament and to love **because** the way **is far**
(MYS IV: 534)

言云者三々二田八醉四

KŌTŌ-NI IP-EY-Npa myimyi-ni **ta-yasu-si**

word-LOC say-EV-CON ear-LOC **PREF-easy-FIN**

when [I] say [it] in words, [it] **is insignificant** (lit.: easy) for [your]
ears (MYS XI: 2581)

道乎多騰保美山河能敵奈里氏安礼婆

MYITI-wo **taN-tōpo-myi** YAMA KAPA-nō pyenar-i-te ar-e-Npa
way-ABS **PREF-far-GER** mountain river-GEN be.separated-**INF-*INF***
SUB exist-EV-CON

because the way **is far**, and because [I] was separated from
mountains and rivers (MYS XVII: 3957)

美知乎多騰保弥間使毛夜流余之母奈之

MYITI-wo **taN-tōpo-myi** MA-N-TUKAPYI mwo yar-u yōsi mō
na-si

way-ABS **PREF-far-GER** interval-GEN-messenger PT send-
ATTR chance PT no-FIN

because the way is far, there is not even a chance to send a messenger (MYS XVII: 3962)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The prefix *ta-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.2.1.5 TRADITIONAL PREFIX SÖ-

Yamada Yoshio as well as Omodaka et al. also mention a prefix *sō-* that is carved by them from three Western Old Japanese verbs: *sōNatak-* ‘to caress,’ *sōNtar-* ‘be plentifully endowed,’ and *sōnapey-* ‘to prepare’ (Yamada 1954: 535), (Omodaka et al. 1967: 402-03). However, we have several problems here. The first of these verbs, *sōNatak-* ‘to caress’ is a *hapax legomenon* attested only in KK 3. Moreover, *tatak-* means ‘to hit,’ not ‘to caress,’ and even if we follow the speculation that *sōNatak-* ‘to caress’ actually means ‘hit slightly,’ with a prefix *sō(N)-* conveying the meaning ‘slightly,’ that will bring us into contradiction with the suggested meaning of the *sō(N)-* in the verb *sōNtar-* ‘be plentifully endowed,’ because in this case *sō(N)-* must mean ‘plentifully.’ In addition, *sōNtar-* ‘be plentifully endowed’ is also a *hapax legomenon* attested in BS 2. The last of these verbs, *sōnapey-* ‘to prepare,’ is attested in several texts, but it does not have a complete phonetic attestation,²¹ and what is even more important is that the verb **napey-* ‘to prepare’ does not present itself, thus there is no justification for segmenting any ‘prefix’ here.²² Therefore, I have a strong suspicion that here we are dealing with a case of over-segmentation, and the ‘prefix’ *sō-* simply does not exist.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The ‘prefix’ *sō-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

²¹ Only its derived form *sōnapar-* ‘be provided’ is attested phonetically.

²² Apparently WOJ *napey-* ‘to weaken, to become numb’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 530) does not belong here.

6.2.1.6 PREFIX ARI-

The prefix *ari-* is a marker of the iterative. It is defined as such in Omodaka et al. 1967: 57, but more often than not it is not even mentioned in the existing grammatical descriptions of Old Japanese, as, for example in Yamada Yoshio's seminal grammar (Yamada 1954). There is a possibility that historically it is a preverb rather than a prefix, being an infinitive form of the verb *ar-* 'to exist.' Even if this is the case, the presence of an auxiliary verb before the main verb once again manifests a strong contradiction to the SOV word order typology, where auxiliaries are supposed to follow main verbs. In spite of several cases of sporadic prenasalization of a following initial voiceless obstruent *k-* in the verb *kaywop-* 'to set out, to go back and forth,' the underlying form must be **ari-*, since this prenasalization fails to occur not only before other initial voiceless obstruents, but also before *kaywop-* in another example (KK 2). The prefix *ari-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

<i>kaywop-</i>	'to set out, to go back and forth'
<i>meyNkur-</i>	'to go around'
<i>mõtöpör-</i>	'to go around'
<i>nagusamey-</i>	'to console'
<i>sar-</i>	'to go away'
<i>tat-</i>	'to depart'
<i>tat-</i>	'to stand'
<i>watar-</i>	'to cross'

Examples:

佐用婆比爾阿理多多斯用婆比还阿理加用婆勢

sa-ywoNp-ap-yi-ni **ari-tat-as-i** ywoNp-ap-yi-ni **ari-kaywop-as-e**
 PREF-call-ITER-NML-LOC ITER-set.out-HON-INF call-ITER-
 NML-LOC ITER-set.out-HON-EV

[I] **set out (repeatedly)** to woo [her] there, [I] **set out (repeatedly)**
 to woo [her] (KK 2)

嶋之崎耶伎安利立有花橘

SIMA-NÓ SAKYI-Nsakyi **ari-TAT-ER-U** PANA TATINPANA
 island-GEN cape-cape ITER-stand-PROG flower
 mandarin.orange

flowering mandarin orange [trees] **that are standing all the time**
at the capes of the islands (MYS XIII: 3239)

阿里佐利氏能知毛相牟等於母倍許曾

ari-sar-i-te nōti mwo AP-Am-u tō omōp-ey kōsō

ITER-go.away-INF-SUB after PT meet-TENT-FIN DV think-EV
PT

[Time] **constantly goes away**, and [I] hope that [we] will meet
later, too (MYS XVII: 3933)

麻佐吉久毛安里多母等保利

ma-sakiy-i-ku mwo **ari-ta-mōtōpor-i**

INT-safe-INF PT **ITER-PREF-wander.around-INF**

so that [you] **will be wandering around safely, and ...** (MYS
XVII: 4008)

由久敵奈久安里和多流登毛

yuk-u pye na-ku **ari-watar-u** tōmwo

go-ATTR side no-INF **ITER-cross-FIN** CONJ

Even though [a cuckoo] **constantly comes over**, without having a
direction to go (MYS XVIII: 4090)

和期於保伎美余思努乃美夜乎安里我欲比賣須

wa-Nkō opo kyimi yōsinwo-nō myiya-wo **ari-[N]kaywop-yi**
myes-u

I-POSS great lord Yōsinwo-GEN palace-ACC **ITER-**
go.back.and.forth-INF look(HON)-FIN

My emperor **constantly visits** the palace in Yōsinwo, **and** looks
[around] (MYS XVIII: 4099)

之麻豆多比伊己藝和多利弓安里米具利

sima-N-tutap-yi i-kōNk-yi-watar-i-te **ari-meyNkur-i**

island-LOC-pass.along-INF DLF-row-INF-cross-INF-SUB **ITER-**
go.around-INF

[I] go rowing in a boat from island to island, and [I] **constantly go**
around [these islands] (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA**LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC****A1: Eastern Old Japanese**

There is one example of the prefix *ari-* attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

久自我波々佐氣久阿利麻弓

KuNsi-N-kapa pa sakey-ku **ari-mat-e**

KuNsi-GEN-river TOP safe-INF **ITER-wait-IMP**

Wait for [me] (all this time) safely at KuNsi river! (MYS XX: 4368)

A2: Ryukyuan

The prefix *ari-* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

6.2.1.7 PREFIX UTI-

There is a possibility that historically *uti-* is a preverb rather than a prefix, being the infinitive form of the verb *ut-* ‘to hit, to strike.’ This etymology may be supported by numerous semantographic spellings of *uti-* as 打 or, less frequently, 敲 ‘to hit, to strike.’ The difficulty of accepting this etymology is ultimately connected with the fact that it is very difficult if not plainly impossible to trace the meaning of any ‘hitting’ or ‘striking’ in most if not all of the examples given below. Omodaka et al. indicate the same problem (Omodaka et al. 1967: 119), but more often than not the prefix *uti-* is not even mentioned in the existing grammatical descriptions of Old Japanese, as, for example in Yamada Yoshio’s seminal grammar (Yamada 1954). It is nevertheless possible that this prefix or preverb is historically connected with *ut-* ‘to strike, to hit,’ as most of the examples cited below, with a possible exception of MYS V: 892, indicate some kind of momentary or punctuated action. Whether *uti-* represents a prefix or an auxiliary, the presence of either of them before the main verb once again manifests a strong contradiction to the SOV word order typology, where auxiliaries are supposed to follow main verbs and prefixes are non-existent.

The prefix *uti-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

iNte-

‘to go out’

kakey-

‘to hang, to place’

<i>köyi-</i>	‘to lie down’
<i>kwoye-</i>	‘to cross over, to pass over’
<i>kyi-</i>	‘to wear’
<i>kyiras-</i>	‘to cover in fog, to make cloudy’
<i>mure-</i>	‘to gather’
<i>myi-</i>	‘to see’
<i>naNkeyk-</i>	‘to lament, to sigh’
<i>naNpyik-</i>	‘to stretch’
<i>naNte-</i>	‘to caress, to stroke’
<i>nas-</i>	‘to make sound’
<i>nöNpör-</i>	‘to climb’
<i>ok-</i>	‘to put, to place’
<i>pamey-</i>	‘to insert’
<i>panap-</i>	‘to sneeze’
<i>panat-</i>	‘to release’
<i>papey-</i>	‘to stretch’
<i>papuk-</i>	‘to flutter wings’
<i>parap-</i>	‘to clean’
<i>pur-</i>	‘to fall (of precipitations)’
<i>pure-</i>	‘to touch’
<i>saras-</i>	‘to bleach’
<i>sinap-</i>	‘to bend’
<i>sinwop-</i>	‘to long for, to yearn’
<i>susuröp-</i>	‘to sip noisily’
<i>tukey-</i>	‘to attach’
<i>watas-</i>	‘to pass, to take over’
<i>wor-</i>	‘to break’
<i>yuk-</i>	‘to go’

Examples:

許能登理母字知夜米許世泥

könö tōri mö **uti-yamey-kōse-n-e**

this bird PT **PREF-stop(INF)-BEN-DES-IMP**

[I] **wish [you] would stop** [the singing of] these birds (KK 2)

清瀨乎馬打和多思

KYIYWO-KYI SE-wo UMA **UTI-watas-i**

clear-ATTR rapids-ACC horse **PREF-carry.across-INF**

[I] am **taking** [my] horse **across** the clear rapids (MYS IV: 715)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼
 kökörö-yu mö omöp-an-u apyiNta-ni **uti-naNpyik-yi** köy-as-i-n-
 ure
 heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC **PREF-
 stretched.out-INF** lie.down-HON-INF-PERF-EV
 while even in [my] heart [I] did not think, **stretched out** [she] was
 lying (MYS V: 794)

阿迦胡麻尔志都久良宇知意伎
 aka-N-kwoma-ni situ kura **uti-ok-yi**
 red-DV(ATTR)-stallion-LOC pattern saddle **PREF-place-INF**
 [they] **put** adorned saddles on red stallions, and ... (MYS V: 804)

久佐太衰利志婆刀利志伎提等許自母能宇知許伊布志提
 kusa-N-ta-wor-i siNpa twor-i sik-yi-te tökö Nsimönö **uti-köyi-pus-
 i-te**
 grass-?-hand-break-INF road.side.grass hold-INF spread-INF-SUB
 bed like **PREF-lie.down-INF-lie.prone-INF-SUB**
 [I] broke off some herbs, and taking road side grass, [I] spread [it]
 and **lied down** on a bed-like [thing] (MYS V: 886)

糟湯酒宇知須々呂比弓
 KASU-YU-N-SAKEY **uti-susuröp-yi-te**
 dreg-hot.water-DV(ATTR)-rice.wine **PREF-sip.noisily-INF-SUB**
 [I] **sip noisily** the hot water [containing] rice wine dregs, and ...
 (MYS V: 892)

波祢左之可倍弓宇知波良比
 pane sas-i-kapey-te **uti-parap-yi**
 feather insert-INF-cross.over(INF)-SUB **PREF-clean-INF**
 [they] mingle their feathers and **clean** [frost from them] (MYS XV:
 3625)

鷲能奈久々良多尔々宇知波米氏
 UNKUPYISU-nö nak-u kura tani-ni **uti-pamey-te**
 bush.warbler-GEN sing-ATTR dark valley-LOC **PREF-
 insert(INF)-SUB**
Throwing [myself] into a dark valley where a bush warbler sings
 (MYS XVII: 3941)

宇知奈妣伎登許尔己伊布之

uti-naNpyik-yi tökö-ni köyi-pus-i

PREF-stretch-INF bed-LOC lie.down(INF)-lie.prone-INF

[I] lie down, **stretched** on [my] bed (MYS XVII: 3969)

近在者加敝利尔太仁母宇知由吉氏

TIKA-KU AR-ANPA kapyer-i-ni Ntani mö **uti-yuk-yi-te**

close-INF exist-COND return-NML-LOC PT PT **PREF-go-INF-SUB**

if [you] were close, [I] [would] **go** [to you] just on [my] way back, **and ...** (MYS XVII: 3978)

宇麻宇知牟礼弓

uma **uti-mure-te**

horse **PREF-gather(INF)-SUB**

gathering horses [together] (MYS XVII: 3993)

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi wem-aNs-u mwo **uti-naNkeyk-yi** katar-i-ky-em-aku

smile-INF ? smile-NEG-INF PT **PREF-sigh-INF** talk-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-NML

the fact that [both of you] were probably talking, **and sighing**, smiling and not smiling (MYS XVIII: 4106)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are two examples of the prefix *uti-* in Eastern Old Japanese:

可良許呂毛須蘇乃宇知可倍安波衲杼毛

kara körömwō suswō-nō **uti-kapey-ap-an-e-Ntömwo**

Korea garment hem-COMP **PREF-cross.over(INF)-meet-NEG-EV-CONC**

Although [we] do not cross over together like the hems of a Korean garment [do not cross over] (MYS XIV: 3482)

多麻母乃宇知奈婢伎比登里夜宿良牟

tama mö-nō **uti-naNpyik-yi** pyitō-ri ya ne-ram-u

jewel seaweed-COMP **PREF-stretch-INF** one-CL PT sleep-TENT2-ATTR

will [you] sleep alone, **stretched** like a jewel seaweed? (MYS XIV: 3562)

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge the prefix *uti-* is attested only in Old and Classical Ryukyuan. Since there is no support from modern Ryukyuan languages, there is a possibility that OR and CR *uti-* represents a loan from MJ *uti-*, since the prefix *uti-* is attested not only in Old Japanese, but also in Middle Japanese. Nevertheless, there is also a chance that OR and WOJ *uti-* are genuine cognates. Examples from Old Ryukyuan:

なりとよみうちあげてなりきよらはうちあげて
 nar-i-toyom-i **uti-age-te** nar-i-kiyora fa **uti-age-te**
 sound-INF-resound-NML **PREF-raise(INF)-SUB** sound-INF-
 beautiful TOP **PREF-raise(INF)-SUB**
raising the “Resounding” [drum], **raising** the “Beautifully
 sounding” [drum] (OS I: 37)

しよりもりうちあよでまたまもりうちあよで
 siyori mori **uti-ayode** ma-tama mori **uti-ayode**
 Shuri shrine PREF-walk/SUB INT-jewel shrine PREF-walk/SUB
 walking through the Shuri shrine, walking through the true jewel
 shrine (OS I: 40)

6.2.1.8 PREFIX KAKYI-

There is a possibility that historically *kakyi-* is a preverb rather than a prefix, being an infinitive form of the verb *kak-* ‘to scratch.’ Omodaka et al. indicate that the prefix *kakyi-* precedes verbs that indicate some action done by the fingertips (Omodaka et al. 1967: 176), but more often than not this prefix is not even mentioned in the existing grammatical descriptions of Old Japanese, as, for example, in Yamada Yoshio’s seminal grammar (Yamada 1954). This etymology may be supported by numerous semantographic spellings of *kakyi-* as 掻. However, the difficulty of accepting this etymology is ultimately connected with the fact that it is very difficult if not outright impossible to trace the meaning of any ‘scratching’ in most if not all of the examples given below. It is nevertheless possible that this prefix or preverb is historically connected with *kak-* ‘to scratch,’ as most of the examples cited below, with a possible exception of those from KK 5, MYS VIII:

1520 and MYS XIX: 4191, indicate some kind of physical contact done by a hand, although not necessarily by fingertips. Whether *kakyi-* represents a prefix or an auxiliary, the presence of either of them before the main verb once again manifests a strong contradiction to the SOV word order, where auxiliaries are supposed to follow main verbs and prefixes are non-existent.

The prefix *kakyi-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

<i>kaNswopey-</i>	‘to count’
<i>kyiras-</i>	‘to cover in fog, to make cloudy’
<i>saNkur-</i>	‘to seek’
<i>sute-</i>	‘to discard’
<i>tare-</i>	‘to make hang down’
<i>tat-</i>	‘to depart’
<i>tukey-</i>	‘to attach’
<i>naNte-</i>	‘to caress, to stroke’
<i>pak-</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>pyik-</i>	‘to pull, to play (instruments)’
<i>miy-</i>	‘to turn, go around’
<i>mukey-</i>	‘to face’
<i>musuNp-</i>	‘to tie, to bind’
<i>tar-</i>	‘to hang down’
<i>tuk-</i>	‘to be attached’
<i>wakey-</i>	‘to separate, to divide’
<i>watar-</i>	‘to cross’
<i>yöse-</i>	‘to approach’

Examples:

加岐微流伊蘇能佐岐

kakyi-miy-ru iswo-nō saki

PREF-go.around-ATTR rocky.shore-GEN cape

the cape on the rocky shore that [you] **are going around** (KK 5)

之餓阿摩離虚等珥菟句離訶枳譬句椰

si-Nka amari kōtō n-i tukur-i **kakyi-pyik-u** ya

it-POSS remainder koto DV-INF make-INF **PREF-play-FIN** PT

[they] made a *koto* out of its remainders, **will [they] play?** (NK 41)

随俱符羅爾阿武柯枳都枳

ta-kuNpura-ni amu **kakyi-tuk-yi**

arm-fleshy.part-LOC gadfly **PREF-attach-INF**

a gadfly **sat** on [the sovereign's] upper arm (NK 75)

比宜可伎撫而

pyiNkey **kakyi-naNte**

beard **PREF-stroke(INF)**

stroking [my] beard (MYS V: 892)

御津松原可吉掃弓

MYITU-NÖ MATU-N-PARA **kakyi-PAK-YI-te**

Myitu-GEN pine-GEN-field **PREF-sweep-INF-SUB**

having swept the pine field of Myitu (MYS V: 895)

菅根乎衣尔書付

SUNKA-NÖ NE-wo KÖRÖMÖ-ni **kakyi-TUKEY**

sedge-GEN root-ACC garment-LOC **PREF-attach(INF)**

attaching a root of sedge to [her] garment (MYS VII: 1344)

朝奈藝尔伊可伎渡

ASA naNkyi-ni **i-kakyi-WATAR-I**

morning calm-LOC **DLF-PREF-cross.over-INF**

crossing over there in the morning calm (MYS VIII: 1520)

咲有花乎指折可伎數者

SAK-YI-TAR-U PANA-wo OYONPI WOR-I **kakyi-KANSWOP-URE-NPA**

bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR flower-ACC finger **bend-INF**
PREF-count-EV-CON

when [I] counted blooming flowers on my fingers (MYS VIII: 1537)

加吉結常代尔至

kakyi-MUSUNP-YI TÖKÖ YÖ-ni ITAR-I

PREF-bind-INF eternal life-LOC reach-INF

concluding [the agreement of marriage] and reaching [the land of] eternal life (MYS IX: 1740)

葦垣之末搔別而

ASI-N-KAKYI-NÖ SUWE **KAKYI-WAKEY-TE**

reed-GEN-fence-GEN top **PREF-divide(INF)-SUB**
dividing the top of the reed fence (MYS XIII: 3279)

蚊黒為髮尾信櫛持於是蚊寸垂
 kaN-KURWO-si KAMYI-wo MA-KUSI MÖT-I **kakyi-TARE**
 INT-black-FIN hair-ACC INT-comb hold-INF **PREF-**
make.hang.down(INF)
making pitch black hair **hang down** with a comb (MYS XVI: 3791)

吾等尔可伎无氣念之念婆
 WARE-ni **kakyi-mukey** OMÖP-YI si OMÖP-ANpa
 I-DAT **PREF-turn(IMP)** love-NML PT love-COND
 if [you] indeed love [me], **turn** to me (MYS XIX: 4191)

美母乃須蘇都美安氣可伎奈滌
 myi-mö-nö suswo tum-yi-aNkey **kakyi-naNte**
 HON-skirt-GEN hem pick-INF-raise(INF) **PREF-caress(INF)**
 [my mother] picked up [her] skirt hems and **caressed** [me] (MYS
 XX: 4408)

手肱爾水沫書垂向股爾泥書寄_弓
 TA-NA PYINTI-ni MYI-N[A] AWA **kakyi-TAR-I** MUKA
 MWOMWO-ni PYINTI **kakyi-YÖSE-te**
 arm-PLUR elbow-LOC water-PLUR foam **PREF-hang.down-INF**
 front thigh-LOC dirt **PREF-approach(INF)-SUB**
 the water foam **was dripping** at the elbows, the dirt **was sticking**
up to the thighs (NT 1)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are two examples of the prefix *kakyi-* attested in the Eastern Old Japanese texts:

可伎武太伎奴礼杼安加奴乎安杼加安我世牟
kakyi-muNtak-yi n-ure-Ntö ak-an-u-wo aN-tö 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)

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira **kakyi-naNte** sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si keytōNpa
Nse wasure-kane-t-uru

father mother-POSS head **PREF-stroke(INF)** safe-INF exist-IMP
DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR word PT forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-
PERF-ATTR

[I] cannot forget the words: “Be safe!” that [my] father and mother
said, **stroking** [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

A2: Ryukyuan

The WOJ prefix *kakyi-* can be compared to the prefix *kai- ~ kaki-* found in Classical Ryukyuan (Hokama 1995: 177, 181). However, since this prefix is not attested in Old Ryukyuan and/or modern Ryukyuan languages, and because it is also present in Middle Japanese in the form *kai- ~ kaki-* with the variant *kai-* that does not occur in Western Old Japanese, it is likely that CR *kai- ~ kaki-* represents a loan from MJ *kai- ~ kaki-*.

6.2.1.9 PREFIX APYI-

The prefix *apyi-* is a marker of the reciprocal-cooperative voice, indicating that an action is either reciprocal or is performed together. It is defined as such in (Omodaka et al. 1967: 57), but more often than not the prefix *apyi-* is not even mentioned in the existing grammatical descriptions of Old Japanese, as, for example in Yamada Yoshio’s seminal grammar (Yamada 1954). It is quite likely that historically the prefix *apyi-* represents the infinitive form of the verb *ap-* ‘to meet, to join.’ Whether *apyi-* is historically a prefix or an auxiliary, the presence of either of them before the main verb once again manifests a strong contradiction to the SOV word order, where auxiliaries are supposed to follow main verbs and prefixes are non-existent. It is also interesting that the reciprocal-cooperative voice can also be expressed in Western Old Japanese analytically by the verb *ap-* ‘to meet, to join’ that follows the infinitive form as an auxiliary. The latter form is, of course, much more consistent with the SOV typology. Thus, it is likely that the coexistence of both forms in Western Old Japanese demonstrates the last stages of transition from a SVO to a SOV language.

The prefix *apyi-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

<i>araswop-</i>	‘to fight’
<i>ip-</i>	‘to say’
<i>kyipop-</i>	‘to compete’
<i>mak-</i>	‘to roll’
<i>makuramak-</i>	‘to pillow’
<i>muk-</i>	‘to face’
<i>myi-</i>	‘to see, to look’
<i>ne-</i>	‘to sleep’
<i>nöm-</i>	‘to drink’
<i>omöp-</i>	‘to think’
<i>toNpurap-</i>	‘to visit’
<i>töyöm-</i>	‘resound’
<i>uNtunap-</i>	‘to treat with care’
<i>wakare-</i>	‘to separate’
<i>yör-</i>	‘to approach’
<i>ywoNpap-</i>	‘to marry’

Examples:

古波陀袁登壳袁迦微能碁登岐許延斯迦杼母阿比麻久良麻久
 KwopaNta wotömye-wo kamiy-nö Nkötö kyik-öye-sika-Ntömö
apyi-makuramak-u

KwopaNta maiden-ABS deity-GEN like hear-PASS(INF)-
 PAST/EV-CONC **REC-pillow-FIN**

Although [it] is rumored that the maiden from KwopaNta is like a
 goddess, [we] **slept together (lit.: pillowed each other)** (KK 45)

許許呂袁陀迹迦阿比淤母波受阿良牟

kökörö-wo Ntani ka **apyi-omöp-aNs-u ar-am-u**

heart-ACC PT PT **REC-think-NEG-INF exist-TENT-ATTR**

will [we] not think about each other at least in our hearts? (KK
 60)

吉備那流伊慕塢阿比瀨菟流慕能

kyiNpiy-n-ar-u imo-wo **apyi-myi-t-uru** monö

KyiNpiy-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-ACC **REC-see(INF)-PERF-
 ATTR CONJ**

[My] beloved who is in KyiNpiy [and I], **have seen each other,**
 but ... (NK 40)

陶黎耶始比登謀阿避於謀婆儼俱爾

tare ya si pyitō mo **apyi-omop-an-aku n-i**
 who PT PT person PT **REC-love-NEG-NML DV-INF**
because [she] is not mutually in love with anyone else (NK 93)

空氣衝之相別去者

ANA IKYINTUK-Asi **APYI-WAKARE-n-aNPA**
 EXCL breathe-ADJ **REC-part(INF)-PERF-COND**
 Oh, how lamentable! **If [we] part with each other ...** (MYS VIII:
 1454)

安比於毛波奴君尔安礼也母

apyi-omwop-an-u KYIMYI n-i ar-e ya mö
REC-think-NEG-ATTR lord DV-INF exist-EV PT PT
 is [it my] lord, who **no [longer] thinks** [about lamenting of the
 people of this world] **in return?!** (MYS XV: 3691)

相見婆登許波都波奈爾

APYI-MYI-RE-Npa tökö 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)

天地乃神安比宇豆奈比

amey tuti-nō KAMIY **apyi-uNtunap-yi**
 heaven earth-GEN deity **COOP-treat.with.care-INF**
 deities of Heaven and Earth **all together treated [us] with care...**
 (MYS XVIII: 4094)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月經礼波古非之家礼夜母

apyi-myi-ru mwonōwo sukuna-ku mö TÖSI TUKIY P-Ure-Npa
 kwopiysi-kyere ya mö
REC-see-ATTR CONJ few-INF PT year month pass-EV-CON
 miss-EV PT PT
 although [we] **see each other**, as the time goes by, do [we still]
 miss [each other] just a bit?! (MYS XVIII: 4118)

相飲酒曾斯豐御酒者

APYI-NÖM-AM-U SAKEY sö KÖNÖ TÖYÖ MYI-KYI PA
 COOP-drink-TENT-ATTR rice.wine PT this eternal HON-
 rice.wine TOP

the rice.wine that [we] **will drink together**, this eternal rice wine
(MYS XIX: 4264)

天地与相左可延牟等

AMEY TUTI-TÖ APYI-sakaye-m-u tö

heaven earth-COM COOP-flourish-TENT-FIN DV

[I] wish that [you] **would flourish together** with Heaven and Earth ... (MYS XIX: 4273)

悪奴止母止相結弓

ASI-KYI YATU-Ntömö-tö APYI-MUSUNP-YI-te

bad-ATTR scoundrel-PLUR-COM COOP-tie-INF-SUB

[they] **tied [themselves] together** with bad scoundrels, and ... (SM 43)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The reciprocal-cooperative prefix *apyi-* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese as well. Selected examples:

安比見弓波千等世夜伊奴流

apyi-MYI-te pa TI töse ya in-uru

REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP thousand year PT go.away-ATTR

since [we] **have seen each other**, did one thousand years pass?
(MYS XIV: 3470)

安礼波古非牟奈能知波安比奴登母

are pa kwopiy-m-u na nöti pa apyi-n-u tömö

I TOP yearn-TENT-FIN PT after TOP COOP-sleep-FIN CONJ

I will yearn for [you] even if later [we] **sleep together!** (MYS XIV: 3477)

和賀西奈尔阿比与流等可毛

wa-Nka se-na-ni apyi-yör-u tö kamwo

I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT COOP-approach-FIN DV PT

I wonder, does [it] say that my beloved [and I] **will meet together?**
(MYS XIV: 3483)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cooperative prefix *ai-* is possibly attested only in one example in Old Ryukyuan. There are no other attestations in Classical Ryukyuan or modern Ryukyuan languages. In spite of the fact that we are dealing here with a unique attestation, it is still possible that this example reflects an Old Ryukyuan cognate of WOJ *apyi-*, because the prefix *afi-* is not found in Middle Japanese, and direct loans from Western Old Japanese to Old Ryukyuan do not exist.

さいわたるのさくらしけしけとおりさちへけおより あいいで
らむ

sa-i-watar-u n-o sakura sike-sike to or-i-sat-ife keo-yori **ai-ide-ram-u**

bloom-INF-cross-ATTR DV-ATTR sakura dense-dense DV bend-
INF-stretch-INF today-ABL **COOP-go.out-TENT2-FIN**
[Sailors!] From today [you] **should go out together** bundling
together [like] blooming sakura [trees] (OS X: 531)

6.2.1.10 PREFIX *e-*

The prefix *e-* is a marker of the potential. It is defined as a potential adverb in (Omodaka et al. 1967: 57), but with the exception of a dubious case of *e* in MYS XVIII: 4078 that is likely to have a different explanation, *e-* is invariably found immediately before verbal roots, so it is more appropriate to view it as a prefix, at least on the synchronic level. Historically the prefix *e-* represents the infinitive form of the verb *e-* ‘to get.’

The prefix *e-* occurs only with a limited number of Western Old Japanese verbs:

<i>ar-</i>	‘to exist’
<i>ip-</i>	‘to say’
<i>myi-</i>	‘to see’
<i>se-</i>	‘to do’
<i>yuk-</i>	‘to go’

There is only one example where *e-* is written phonetically in the *Bussoku seki ka*. In all other cases it is spelled semantographically with the character 得. Examples:

打乍二波更毛不得言

ututu-ni pa SARA N-I mwo **E-IP-ANSI**

reality-LOC TOP again DV-INF PT **POT-say-NEG/TENT**
 [I] **would not be able to say** [it] again in reality (MYS IV: 784)

面忘太尔毛得為也

OMO WASURE Ntani mwo **E-S-U** ya
face forget(NML) PT PT **POT-do-FIN** PT
Could [I] **just forget** [his] face? (MYS XI: 2574)

美阿止須良乎和礼波衣美須弓伊波爾惠利都久多麻爾惠利都久
 myi-atō-sura-wo ware pa **e-myi-Ns-u-te** ipa-ni wer-i-tuk-u tama-ni
 wer-i-tuk-u

HON-footprint-PT-ACC I TOP **POT-see-NEG-INF-SUB** rock-
 LOC carve-INF-attach-FIN jewel-LOC carve-INF-attach-FIN
I was not able to see even the footprint of the Buddha, so [I] carve
 [it] on the rock, carve [it] on the jewel (BS 3)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The potential prefix *e-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.2.2 VERBAL SUFFIXES

If we follow a strict linguistic analysis of Western Old Japanese we have to divide all verbal suffixes into two major groups: sentence-final suffixes which normally occur at the end of the last verbal form in a sentence or a clause, and sentence non-final suffixes that cannot occur in sentence-final position unless ellipsis occurs. Sentence-non-final suffixes, in their turn, can be further subdivided into word-final and word-non-final suffixes. Word-final suffixes can conclude a verbal form, while word-non-final suffixes cannot be final in a verbal form by themselves: they must always be followed either by sentence-final or word-final suffixes.

The markers of final predicates, such as the suffixes of final predication, attributives, imperatives, most markers of mood, and a few other markers, are sentence-final suffixes. The infinitive and all gerunds, which are markers of non-final predicates, are sentence-non-final word-final suffixes. The markers of voice, negation, and aspect are all word-non-final suffixes.

A big watershed that divides Western Old Japanese from Middle (Classical) Japanese is that a number of auxiliaries in the former became suffixes in the latter by the process of losing the

morphemic boundary between the infinitive *-i* and a following auxiliary. Thus, for example, the Classical Japanese objective retrospective auxiliary *-iker-* goes back to a Western Old Japanese analytical construction involving the infinitive *-yi* of the main verb and the auxiliary *-kyer-* (that itself is likely to be a contraction of the infinitive *k-yi* of the verb *kō-* ‘to come’ and the auxiliary verb *ar-* ‘to exist’). While the form *-iker-* is the only one that occurs in Middle Japanese, which prevents us to subdivide it morphemically as *-i-ker-*, in Western Old Japanese *-kyer-* can follow other infinitive forms, such as an infinitive *-u*, found after the negative marker *-aN-*, for example: *kwopiy yam-aNs-u-kyer-i* love(NML) stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN ‘[our] love does not stop’ (MYS XVII: 3980). This and other examples convincingly demonstrate that at the time of Western Old Japanese there was a morphological boundary between the infinitive *-i* and the retrospective *-kyer-*.

6.2.2.1 SENTENCE-FINAL VERBAL SUFFIXES

Western Old Japanese contains a number of sentence-final verbal suffixes: the markers of final predication *-u* ~ *-i*; the attributive suffixes *-uru* ~ *-u* ~ *-ru*; the evidential marker *-ure* ~ *-ey* ~ *-re*; the imperative suffixes *-ye* ~ *-yō* ~ \emptyset ; the negative imperative *-uma*; the mood markers: the negative tentative *-aNsi* ~ *-Nsi*, the desiderative *-ana* ~ *-na*, and the subjunctive *-amasi* ~ *-masi*.

6.2.2.1.1 Final predication suffix *-u* ~ *-i*

The final predication suffix has two allomorphs *-u* and *-i*. The allomorph *-u* follows the stems of all verbs except *r*-irregular verbs that have the allomorph *-i* as their final predication suffix. The main descriptive problem concerns final predication forms of strong vowel verbs. In Middle Japanese strong vowel verbs clearly have the special allomorph *-ru* as their final predication suffix that is identical to the attributive suffix *-ru* that they also have. The situation is not that obvious in Western Old Japanese, in spite of the fact that most existing Japanese grammars promptly list *-ru* as a suffix of final predication for strong vowel verbs (Yamada 1954: 155), (Shirafuji 1987: 127). The opposite point of view is expressed by Iwai Yoshio, who believes that the final predication form of strong vowel verbs in *-ru* is not attested in Old Japanese (Iwai 1970: 52). I think that he is right, because there is only one example in the texts where we can possibly have a glimpse of the final predication form in *-ru*:

麻須羅遠能佐都夜多波佐美牟加比多知伊流夜麻度加多波麻乃
佐夜氣佐

masura wo-nō satu-ya ta-N-pasam-yi mukap-yi tat-i **i-ru** ya matwo-
kata pama-nō sayakey-sa

excellent man-GEN hunt-arrow hand-LOC-squeeze-INF face-INF
stand-INF **shoot-FIN(?)**/ATTR(?) PT Matwo-kata (lit.: Target-
shape) beach-GEN bright-NML

The brightness of the beach at Matwokata [that is like] a target
(matwo) **which** gentlemen facing [it] **shoot** at while standing,
squeezing hunting arrows in [their] hands (FK 20)

However, the interpretation of this poem and consequently the establishment of *i-ru* ‘shoot’ as the final predication form here faces several obstacles. First, the first part of the poem up to the placename *Matwokata* is believed to be a *jo*-type *makura-kotoba*, which leaves room for doubting its grammaticality. Second, although the form *i-ru* ‘shoot’ should represent a final predication form whether we interpret the particle *ya* after *i-ru* as an emphatic particle or as an interrogative particle, the interpretation of the whole text with a final predication form rather than an attributive form modifying *Matwokata* hardly makes any sense. Third, this poem comes from a fragment of the *Ise Fudoki*, which means that it may represent a dialect different from Western Old Japanese. Fourth, it is not inconceivable that the word *ya* after *i-ru* is not a particle, but the noun *ya* ‘arrow,’ which then will represent another play on words in this poem.²³ In this case *i-ru* can only be an attributive form. Finally, it is difficult to argue for the existence of the final predication form *-ru* on the basis of a single example, which, in addition, is not perfect.

There is, however, evidence for a different form of final predication for strong vowel verbs. It was already observed by Yamada Yoshio (who did not make any conclusions on the basis of this observation) that the form of the irregular vowel verb *myi*- ‘to see’ preceding the conjunction *tōmō* ‘even if’ is just *myi* in Western Old Japanese (Yamada 1954: 154). It is well known that the conjunction *tōmō* is preceded by a form of final predication, therefore Iwai Yoshio came to the correct conclusion that *myi* in

²³ I am grateful to Matthew McNicoll who drew my attention to this possibility during a seminar on Western Old Japanese that I was teaching at the University of Hawai‘i of Mānoa in the spring of 2007.

myi tömō represents a Western Old Japanese final predication form (Iwai 1970: 53).²⁴ Examples:

萬代見友將飽八

YÖRÖNTU YÖ N-I MYI **tömō** AK-AM-EY ya

ten thousand generation DV-INF **look(FIN)** CONJ lose.interest-TENT-EV PT

even if [I] **look** [at the palace] for ten thousand generations, would [I] lose interest [in looking at it? – No, I would not!] (MYS VI: 921)

比祢毛須爾美等母安久倍伎宇良尔安良奈久尔

pyinemwosu n-i **myi tömō** ak-uNpey-kyi ura n-i ar-an-aku n-i

all.day DV-INF **look(FIN)** CONJ lose.interest-DEB-ATTR bay DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

even if [I] **look** all day, it is not a bay that [one] could lose interest [in looking at] (MYS XVIII: 4037)

都婆吉都良々々尔美等母安可米也

tuNpakyi tura-tura n-i **myi tömō** ak-am-ey ya

camellia intently DV-INF **look(FIN)** CONJ lose.interest-TENT-EV PT

even if [I] **look** intently [at] the camellia, would [I] lose interest? [No, I would not!] (MYS XX: 4481)

之婆之婆美等母安加無伎弥加毛

siNpa-siNpa **myi tömō** ak-am-u kyimy kamwo

often **look(FIN)** CONJ get.enough-TENT-ATTR lord PT

even if [I] **look** [at you] often, would [I] get enough of [my] lord, I wonder? (MYS XX: 4503)

²⁴ Both Yamada and Iwai also mention such specific Western Old Japanese forms as *myi-ram-u* ‘sec-TENT2-FIN,’ and *myi-Npey-si* ‘see-DEB-FIN,’ and *ni-rasi* ‘cook-SUP’ (cf. corresponding MJ *mi-r-uram-u*, *mi-r-ube-si*, and *ni-r-urasi*) (Yamada 1954: 153-54), (Iwai 1970: 52-3). From the viewpoint of a traditional Japanese analysis, where *-ramu*, *-besi*, and *-rasi* are supposed to be auxiliaries following a final predication form, these forms may represent additional valuable evidence. However, these forms are not as valuable under a structural analysis of the Western Old Japanese verbal system. First, *-Npey* in *myi-Npey-si* certainly goes back to the adverb *uNpey* ‘must, duly;’ and, second *-ramu* and *-rasi* are likely to historically include the stative form *-ur-*, and not the final predication marker *-u*. Anyway, on the synchronic level both are analyzed better as *-(u)ram-* and *-(u)rasi*.

A couple of additional comments are in order. The underlying form of the final predication form for the strong vowel verb *myi* 'to see, to look' is probably **myi-u*, but this form has to be simplified since it contradicts the rules of Western Old Japanese phonotactics that prohibit vowel clusters. Because strong vowel verbs never lose their root vowel, it is the suffix of the final predication that has to go. The surface form in Western Old Japanese, is therefore, just *myi*, which formally looks exactly the same as the verbal root. Consequently, the Middle Japanese final predication form in *-ru* that is identical to the attributive form in all probability just represents a replacement of a final form by an attributive. It is well known that the end result of this replacement was the complete loss of final predication forms: a process that took centuries to complete. But it is quite apparent that strong vowel verbs alongside with consonant verbs were the first classes to be affected by this process in the history of Japanese.

Chart 33: Distribution of the allomorphs of the final predication suffix

verb class	allomorph
consonant verbs	-u
regular vowel verbs	-u
k-irregular verbs	-u
s-irregular verbs	-u
n-irregular verbs	-u
strong vowel verbs	-∅
r-irregular verbs	-i

Almost the same picture is applicable to suffixes and bound auxiliaries: auxiliaries that historically incorporate the *r*-irregular verb *ar-* 'to exist' have the final predication suffix *-i*; all other auxiliaries and the majority of word-non-final suffixes (with the exception of those that take predication markers identical to inflected adjectives) are followed by the predication suffix *-u*.²⁵ Thus, the predication markers *-u* and *-i* are in complimentary distribution, which can be seen in Chart 34 below. It must be emphasized that a distinction between *-u* and *-i* in Western Old Japanese is formal rather than functional, since when an auxiliary that requires *-i* after it is followed by a suffix that requires *-u* in its

²⁵ The allomorph *-ru* is not found after suffixes and auxiliaries.

turn, then the final predication suffix will be *-u*, and not *-i*, for example, a combination of *-kyer-*, RETR + *-aNs-*, NEG + *-u* or *-i*, FIN, results in *-kyer-aNs-u* RETR-NEG-FIN, and not in **-kyer-aNs-i*. Nevertheless, since *-i* follows essentially the stative verbs *ar-* ‘to exist,’ *wor-* ‘to exist, to stay, to sit,’ and *por-* ‘to want’ and the derivatives of *ar-*, while *-u* predominantly is associated with action verbs, we cannot exclude the possibility that at the proto-Japonic level a distinction between *-u* and *-i* was of a functional nature. I will return to this problem below in the comparative section.

Chart 34: Combinations of the final predication suffixes *-u* and *-i* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	<i>-u</i>	<i>-i</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-am-u</i>	-
tentative2 <i>-(u)ram-</i>	<i>-(u)ram-u</i>	-
negative <i>-(a)Ns-</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u</i>	-
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(a)y-u</i>	-
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)sim-u</i>	-
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-u</i>	-
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-u</i>	-
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-t-u</i>	-
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-u</i>	-
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	-	<i>-kyer-i</i>
progressive <i>-(y)er-</i>	-	<i>-(y)er-i</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	-	<i>-tar-i</i>

The final predication suffix does not have to be the last morpheme in the sentence. It can be followed by various particles or conjunctions, such as the interrogative particle *ya* or the conjunction *tömö* ‘even though, even if.’ In the case of direct or reported speech it is always followed by forms of the defective verb *tö-* ‘to say’ and the appropriate verb of verbal or mental activity, if any.

In most existing grammars of Old Japanese there is no definition of the function of final predication markers (Yamada 1954), (Saeki 1959), (Shirafuji 1987). It is likely that it is implied there that the final predication is the function. Iwai Yoshio, however, defines the main function of final predication markers as final predication (Iwai 1970:

11, 1981: 22), following the tradition of general histories of the Japanese language (Kobayashi 1936: 83-6), (Yuzawa 1943: 45-6).²⁶

Examples of the final predication suffix *-u*:

夜弊賀岐都久流

ya-pye-N-kakyi **tukur-u**

eight-fold-DV(ATTR)-fence **make-FIN**

[I] **am making** an eight-folded fence (KK 1)

那迦士登波那波伊布登母

nak-aNsi tö pa na pa **ip-u** tömö

weep-NEG/TENT DV TOP you TOP **say-FIN** CONJ

Even though you **say** that [you] would not weep (KK 4)

袁登賣爾多陀爾阿波牟登

wotömye-ni taNta n-i **ap-am-u** tö

maiden-DAT straight DV-INF **meet-TENT-FIN** DV

thinking **to meet** maidens face to face (KK 18)

佐泥牟登波阿禮波意母閑杼

sa **ne-m-u** tö pa are pa omöp-ey-Ntö

thus **sleep-TENT-FIN** DV TOP I TOP long-EV-CONC

Although I **long** so much **to sleep** [with you] (KK 27)

許能美岐波和賀美岐那良受

könö myi-kyi pa wa-Nka myi-kyi **nar-aNs-u**

this HON-rice.wine TOP I-POSS HON-rice.wine **be-NEG-FIN**

This rice wine **is not** my rice wine (KK 39)

毛毛知陀流夜迹波母美由

mwomwo-ti-N-tar-u ya nipa mö **myi-y-u**

hundred-thousand-GEN-be.enough-ATTR house garden PT **see-PASS-FIN**

[I] **can see** flourishing houses [and] gardens (lit: plentiful with hundreds and thousands houses and gardens **are seen**) (KK 41)

都奴賀能迦迹余許佐良布伊豆久迹伊多流

tunuNka-nö kani yökö **sar-ap-u** iNtuku-ni **itar-u**

²⁶ On the controversy in defining a function of final predication markers in Middle Japanese see Vovin 2003: 197-98.

TunuNka-GEN crab side **go.away-ITER-FIN** where-LOC **reach-FIN**

The crab from TunuNka **goes all the time** along the side[way]. [To] where **will [it] arrive?** (KK 42)

摩佐豆古和芸毛玖迹弊玖陀良須

masaNtukwo wa-Nk-yimwo kuni-pye **kuNtar-as-u**

MasaNtukwo I-POSS-beloved province-DIR **descend-HON-FIN**

MasaNtukwo, my beloved, **goes towards** [her] province (KK 52)

芝賀波能比呂理伊麻須波淤富岐美呂迦母

si-Nka pa-nö **pyirör-i-imas-u** opö kyimyi rö kamö

it-POSS leaf-GEN **are broad-INF-HON-FIN** great lord DV PT

its leaves **are broad**, as the great lord (KK 57)

加久能碁登那爾淤波牟登

ka-ku-nö Nkötö **na-ni op-am-u** tö

thus-INF-GEN like **name-LOC carry-TENT-FIN** DV

in order to **perpetuate** that [it] was like that (KK 97)

宇利波米婆胡藤母意母保由

uri pam-ey-Npa kwo-Ntömö **omöp-oy-u**

melon 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)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾
家良受夜

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-tar-u sönö-nö awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-

uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u** ya

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN

green willow TOP wig DV-INF do-DEB-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-NEG-FIN** PT

Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

布流由岐得比得能美流麻提烏梅能波奈知流

pur-u yukyi tö pyitö-nö myi-ru-maNte uMEY-nö pana **tir-u**

fall-ATTR snow DV person-GEN see-ATTR-TERM plum-GEN

flower **fall-FIN**

plum blossoms **fall** to such an extent that people will perceive them as falling snow (MYS V: 839)

等富都比等末都良能加波尔和可由都流
 töpo t-u pyitō matu[u]ra-nō kapa-ni waka [a]yu **tur-u**
 distant DV-ATTR person Matu-ura-GEN river-LOC young
 sweetfish **angle-FIN**
 people from far away (lit.: distant people) **angle** young sweetfish at
 the Matu-ura river (MYS V: 857)

飛立可祢都鳥尔之安良祢婆
 TÖNP-YI-TAT-I-kane-t-u TÖRI n-i si ar-an-e-Npa
fly-INF-depart-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-FIN bird DV-INF
 PT exist-NEG-EV-CON
 [I] **could not fly away** because [I] am not a bird (MYS V: 893)

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴
 INTE-pasir-i in-ana tö OMÖP-EY-Ntō kö-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] think that [I] would like to run away, [I] **am prevented**
 by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

安麻乎等女等母思麻我久流見由
 ama wotōMYE-Ntömō 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)

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

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 yaNtör-i s-uru kyimyi ipye-N-pyitō-nō iNtu-ra tö
 ware-wo töp-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

[Oh, my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field. If people from [your] home ask me (saying) where [are you], what **should** [I] **answer**? (MYS XV: 3689)

伊豆礼能日麻弓安礼古非乎良牟
iNture n-ö PYI-maNte are **kwopiy-wor-am-u**
which DV-ATTR day-TERM I **long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN**
until what day **should** I **be longing for** [you]? (MYS XV: 3742)

和可伎兒等毛波乎知許知爾佐和吉奈久良牟
waka-kyi KWO-Ntömwo pa woti köti-ni **sawak-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)

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

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾
iku ywo **p-u** tö yöm-yi-tutu imwo pa ware **mat-uram-u** sö
how many night pass-FIN DV count-INF-COOR beloved TOP I
wait-TENT2-ATTR PT
[My] beloved **will probably wait** for me, counting: 'How many
nights **have passed**?' (MYS XVIII: 4072)

和期於保伎美余思努乃美夜乎安里我欲比賣須
wa-Nkö opo kyimy yösino-nö myiya-wo ari-[N]kaywop-yi
myes-u
I-POSS great lord Yösino-GEN palace-ACC ITER-
go.back.and.forth-INF **look(HON)-FIN**
My emperor constantly visits the palace in Yösino, and **looks**
[around] (MYS XVIII: 4099)

曾已由惠尔情奈具也
sökö yuwe n-i KÖKÖRÖ **naNk-u** ya

there reason DV-INF heart **calm.down-FIN** PT

will [my] heart **calm down** due to those circumstances? (MYS XIX: 4154)

秋風尔比毛等伎安氣奈多太奈良受等母

AKYI KANSE-ni pyimwo tök-yi-akey-na taNta **nar-aNs-u** tömö
autumn wind-LOC cord untie-INF-open-DES direct **be-NEG-FIN**
CONJ

[I] wish that the autumn wind would untie the cords, even if [it] is **not** directly (MYS XX: 4295)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟

atö-wo myi-tutu **sinöp-am-u**
footstep-ACC see(INF)-COORD **yearn-TENT-FIN**

looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] will yearn [for him] (BS 6)

己礼乃与波宇都利佐留止毛

köre n-ö yö pa utur-i **sar-u** tömwö
this DV-ATTR world TOP change-INF **go away-FIN** CONJ
Even though this world changes and **goes away** ... (BS 10)

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尔至麻低六年尔成奴

WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SÖMEYS-U-yuri KÖ
TÖSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte MU TÖSI **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)

兵彘之武

IKUSA OKÖS-Asim-u
army **raise-CAUS-FIN**

[Nakamarö] **made armies to raise** (SM 28)

仲末呂伊忠臣止之天侍都

Nakamarö-i TANTASI-KYI OMYI tö s-i-te **PANPYER-I-t-u**
Nakamarö-ACT loyal-ATTR noble DV do-INF-SUB **serve-INF-**
PERF-FIN

Nakamarö **served** as a loyal noble (SM 34)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流
 wa-Nkö opo kyimyi pa tapyirakey-ku naNka-ku imas-i-te töyö
 myi-kyi **matur-u**

I-POSS great lord TOP safe-INF long-INF exist(HON)-INF-SUB
 abundant HON-rice.wine **present(HUM)-FIN**

[I] **present** the abundant rice wine so that my sovereign (lit.: great lord) [would] live safely and long (SNK 4)

Examples of the final predication suffix *-i*:

故志能久邇邇佐加志壳遠阿理登岐加志弓久波志壳遠阿理登岐
 許志弓

Kwosi-nö kuni-ni sakasi mye-wo **ar-i** tö kyik-as-i-te kupasi mye-
 wo **ar-i** tö kyik-ös-i-te

Kwosi-GEN province-LOC wise woman-ABS **exist-FIN** DV hear-
 HON-INF-SUB beautiful woman-ABS **exist-FIN** DV hear-HON-
 INF-SUB

[Opo kuni nusi] heard that **there is** a wise woman in the Kwosi
 province, heard that **there is** a beautiful woman (KK 2)

阿加陀麻波袁佐閑比迦禮杼斯良多麻能岐美何余曾比斯多布斗
 久阿理祁理

aka-N-tama pa wo sapey pyikar-e-Ntö sira tama-nö kyimyi-Nka
 yösöpyi si **taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i**

red-DV(ATTR)-jewel TOP cord PT shine-EV-CONC white jewel-
 COMP lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT **revered-INF exist-
 INF-RETR-FIN**

Although even the cord of red jewels shines, [I] **realized** [that I]
feel reverence [for my] lord's adorned appearance, which is like a
 white jewel (KK 7)

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 lands.in.the.east-ACC **cover-
 PROG-FIN** bottom-GEN/LOC branch TOP rural.region-ACC
cover-PROG-FIN

[Its] top branches **are covering** the Heaven, [its] middle branches **are covering** the lands in the East, and [its] lower branches **are covering** the rural regions (KK 100)

意富美夜能表登都波多傳須美加多夫祁理

opö-miya-nö wotö 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)

阿軻娜磨迺比訶利播阿利登比登播伊珮耐

aka-N-tama-nö pyikari pa **ar-i** tö pyitö pa ip-ey-Ntö
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel-GEN light TOP **exist-FIN** DV person TOP
say-EV-CONC

Although people say that the red jewel **has** light (NK 6)

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
可利家理

yö-nö naka pa munasi-kyi mönö tö sir-u tökyi si iyöyö masu-masu
kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

world-GEN middle TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR time
PT more.and.more more.and.more **sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**
When [I] realized that the world is empty, [it] **turned out to be**
more and more **sad** (MYS V: 793)

比左可多能月者弓利多里

pyisa kata n-ö TUKIY PA **ter-i-tar-i**
long hard DV-ATTR moon TOP **shine-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN**
The eternal and hard moon **is shining** (MYS XV: 3672)

烏梅乃花美夜万等之美尔安里登母

uMEY-nö PANA myi-yama tö sim-yi **n-i ar-i** tömö
plum-GEN blossom HON-mountain DV grow.thick-NML **DV-INF**
exist-FIN CONJ

Even though plum blossoms **are** blooming densely as a mountain
(MYS XVII: 3902)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里
imey-ni pa mötöna apyi-myi-re-Ntö taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa kwopiy
yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF
 exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) **stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN**
 although we see each other aimlessly in dreams, because [our
 meetings] are not direct, [our] love **does not stop** (MYS XVII:
 3980)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美和多佐牟多米止宇都志麻都礼利
 ware-ni otör-er-u pyitö-wo opo-myi watas-am-u tamey tö **utus-i-**
matur-er-i
 I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS many-GER lead
 across-TENT-ATTR in.order.to DV **carve-INF-HUM-PROG-FIN**
 because there are many people who have been worse than me, [I]
have carved [Buddha's footprint] in order to save [them] (BS 13)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
 可理家利米太志加利鷄利
 kusurisi pa tune n-ö mö ar-e-Ntö marapyitö n-ö ima-nö kusurisi
tapütö-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
 medicine man TOP usual DV-ATTR PT exist-EV-CONC guest
 DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man **revered-INF-exist-INF-**
RETR-FIN praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN
 Although there are usual medicine men, too, the present Guest
 Medicine Man **is** [indeed] **revered**. [He] **is praiseworthy** (BS 15)

汝多知諸者吾近姪奈利
 IMASI-tati MORÖ 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)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The final predication markers *-u* and *-i* are also found in Eastern Old Japanese. I cannot observe any functional difference between their usage in Western and Eastern Old Japanese.

Examples of the final predication suffix *-u*:

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
 aswo-nö KApra-ywo isi pum-aNs-u swora-yu tö **k-yi-n-u yö**

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, as from the sky, without treading on stones! (MYS XIV: 3425)

麻等保久能野尔毛安波奈牟

ma-tōpo-ku n-ō NWO-ni mwo **ap-ana-m-u**

INT-distant-INF DV-ATTR field-LOC PT **meet-DES-TENT-FIN**

[I] **would like to meet** [you] even in a distant field (MYS XIV: 3463)

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 yöpyi-ywori se-rō-ni **ap-an-ap-u** yö

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)

麻登保久於毛保由

ma-tōpo-ku **omwop-oy-u**

INT-far-INF **think-PASS-FIN**

[it] **suddenly seems** to be very far away (MYS XIV: 3522)

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)

Examples of the final predication suffix *-i*:

阿志氣比等奈里

asi-key pyitō **nar-i**

bad-ATTR person **be-FIN**

[he] **is** a bad person (MYS XX: 4382)

以弊乃母加枳世之己呂母尔阿加都枳尔迦理

ipyē-nō [i]mō-Nka kyī-se-si kōrōmō-ni aka **tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i**

home-GEN beloved-POSS wear-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR

garment-LOC dirt **attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

dirt **stuck** to the garment that my beloved at home made [me] wear (MYS XX: 4388)

A2: Ryukyuan

Ryukyuan comparative data are crucial in three respects. First, there is no distinction between the allomorphs *-u* and *-i* that we observed above in both Western and Eastern Old Japanese. Thus, Ryukyuan does not offer any evidence for the stative / active distinction between *-i* and *-u* found in Western Old Japanese. It is equally possible that either of these two languages underwent an innovation: either Ryukyuan losing it or Western Old Japanese acquiring it. The second solution may be more viable if we view this development in Western Old Japanese as a structural change under the influence of Korean. Second, although the final predication suffix is mostly spelled as *-u* ~ *-yu* in Old and Classical Ryukyuan, modern dialects clearly indicate the PR form **-um*, with a final **-m* which can be safely reconstructed both on the basis of the reflexes in dialects, cf., e.g. Koniya 'iky-um 'go-FIN' vs. Shuri 'ich-uN 'id.' as well as on Shuri morphophonemic rules, cf. the Shuri interrogative form 'ich-um-i go-FIN-QS 'will you go?' with the interrogative suffix *-i* before which we can see the underlying form **-um*. Third, and most importantly, the palatalization *k* > *ch* in Shuri, the presence of *-y-* in the Koniya form, and, finally the peculiar spellings in Old and Classical Ryukyuan, as, for example in RK 3888 below all indicate that historically the final predication suffix **-um* is an auxiliary that followed the infinitive form in *-i-*. In all probability, we can reconstruct the following development from proto-Japonic to Western Old Japanese and Shuri:

PJ *yik-i-um	→	WOJ yuk-u
go-INF-FIN	→	go-FIN
	→	Shuri 'ich-uN
	→	go-FIN

Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

さいわたるのさくらしけしけとおりさちへけおより あいいで
らむ

sa-i-watar-u n-o sakura sike-sike to or-i-sat-ife keo-yori **ai-ide-ram-u**

bloom-INF-cross-ATTR DV-ATTR sakura dense-dense DV bend-
 INF-stretch-INF today-ABL **COOP-go.out-TENT2-FIN**
 [Sailors!] From today [you] **should go out together** bundling
 together [like] blooming sakura [trees] (OS X: 531)

Classical Ryukyuan

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 whatever [you] do, [I] **will not go** (RK 725)

北京お主てだやずまにそなれゆが

FICIN o-SHU-teda ya zuma-ni so **nar-e-yu ga**

Ficin-GEN HON-lord-sun TOP where-LOC next **be-INF-FIN PT**

Where does the emperor of Beijing **live?** (RK 3888)

Shuri

'ich-uN di 'yu-ta-N

go-FIN DV say-PAST-FIN

[He] **said** that [he] **would go** (RKJ 435)

husi-nu **chura-sa-N**

star-NOM **beautiful-NML-FIN**

The star is **beautiful** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 10)

kunu maNgaa **umu-sa-N** doo

this cartoon **interesting-NML-FIN PT**

this cartoon **is interesting** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 18)

Kumejima

yaa-naa **wu-N** yoo

house-LOC **exist-FIN PT**

[I] **am** at home (Nohara 1986: 126)

Miyako

taka-k-a-m ko:na

high-INF-exist-FIN buy/NEG/IMP
 [It] is expensive. Do not buy [it] (Karimata 1997a: 400)

One of the etymological explanations that goes back to Hattori Shirō, connects this *-um with the verb *wor-* ‘to exist.’ If we take into consideration the Ryukyuan final forms of this verb, such as, for example, Shuri *wuN*, the analogy may seem perfect. But unfortunately this etymology has too many problems. First, the Shuri form itself goes back to **wor-i-um* with expected and regular development **wor-i-um* > **wu-i-um* > *wuN*. Second, the loss of intervocalic *-w-* does not occur at all in Western Old Japanese, and the reliable cases of the loss of *-r-* are found in Western Old Japanese or pre-Western Old Japanese only in some verbal morphological markers, such as the attributive or evidential (see 2.2.5.4). Finally, and most importantly, Shuri *wuN* < **wor-i-um* still includes the same morpheme of final predication *-N* < **-um*, and, therefore, the whole explanation becomes completely circular. Thus, at the present stage of our knowledge we can only conclude that **-um* is likely to be an obsolete auxiliary, but we do not know anything about its origin or etymology.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The final form **-um* was sometimes compared to the Manchu final form *-bi* < *bi-* ‘to be’, and Old Korean **-pi* found within the final form **-ta-pi*. Needless to say, this comparison can be completely rejected on the basis of incomparable phonetic forms. Other problems also besiege this comparison: Ma. *-bi* is quite a late grammaticalization, not found in other Tungusic languages except Jurchen, and the segmentation of the Old Korean form may be problematic as well.

6.2.2.1.2 Attributive -uru ~ -u ~ -ru ~ -ö

The attributive suffix’s main allomorph is *-uru*, which is found after all vowel verbs (except strong vowel verbs, where it becomes just *-ru*), and all irregular verbs (except *r*-irregular verbs). After all consonant verbs and *r*-irregular verbs the allomorph *-u* is used, according to the morphonological rule of *-r-* loss mentioned in 2.2.5.4. The defective verb *n-* has a special attributive ending in *-ö*: *n-ö*, and the defective verb *t-* has the attributive *-u* like consonant verbs.

Chart 35: Distribution of the allomorphs of the attributive suffix

verb class	allomorph
consonant verbs	-u
regular vowel verbs	-uru
<i>k</i> -irregular verbs	-uru
<i>s</i> -irregular verbs	-uru
<i>n</i> -irregular verbs	-uru
strong vowel verbs	-ru
<i>r</i> -irregular verbs	-u
defective verb <i>t</i> -	-u
defective verb <i>n</i> -	-ō

A similar picture is observed if *-uru* is used not after a verbal stem but after another verbal suffix or an auxiliary: if a suffix or an auxiliary ends with a vowel, the main allomorph *-uru* is used, and the final vowel of the preceding suffix or an auxiliary is apocopated. If a suffix or an auxiliary ends in a consonant, the allomorph *-u* is used.²⁷ The only exception is the perfective auxiliary *-n-* that has the attributive form *-n-uru*. The causative suffix *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-*, which may end either in a consonant or in a vowel, has accordingly either *-as-u* or *-as-uru*.

Chart 36: Combinations of the attributive suffixes *-uru* and *-u* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	<i>-uru</i>	<i>-u</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	-	<i>-(a)m-u</i>
tentative2 <i>-(u)ram-</i>	-	<i>-(u)ram-u</i>
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	-	<i>-(a)n-u</i>
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(a)y-uru</i>	-
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)sim-uru</i>	-
causative <i>-as-</i> ~ <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-as-u</i>	<i>-as-uru</i>
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	-	<i>-ap-u</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	-	<i>-as-u</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-t-uru</i>	-
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-uru</i>	-
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	-	<i>-kyer-u</i>
progressive <i>-(y)er-</i>	-	<i>-(y)er-u</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	-	<i>-tar-u</i>

²⁷ The allomorph *-ru* is not used after suffixes and auxiliaries.

The attributive form has three main functions: (1) a modifying function; (2) a verbal noun function (nominalized form); and (3) a final predicate function.

6.2.2.1.2.1 Attributive as a modifier

There are two types of modifiers with an attributive function: simple, when an attributive form constitutes a sentence of its own and modifies the following nominal; and extended, when the attributive represents a predicate in an extended sentence which in this case as a whole becomes a modifier of the nominal following the attributive.

都流岐能多知

turukyi n-ō tati

double-edged sword DV-ATTR long.sword

a long sword **that is a double-edged sword** (KK 33)

賣杼理能和賀意富岐美能淤呂須波多

myeNtōri n-ō wa-Nka opō kyimyi-nō or-ōs-u pata

MyeNtōri DV-ATTR I-POSS great lady-GEN weave-HON-ATTR fabric

The fabric **that my lady MyeNtōri weaves** (KK 66)

柁摩儼羅磨姁我哀屢柁摩

tama nar-aNpa a-Nka por-u tama

jewel be-COND I-POSS desire-ATTR jewel

if [my beloved] were a jewel, [she would be] a jewel **I desire** (NK 92)

企許斯遠周久爾能麻保良叙

kyikōs-i-wos-u kuni-nō ma-po-ra Nsō

rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN INT-top-LOC PT

in the highest place of the country, **where** [the emperor] **rules** (MYS V: 800)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru mōnō pa mwomwo kusa n-i semey-yōr-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 a hundred varieties (MYS V: 804)

和礼由惠尔於毛比和夫良牟伊母我可奈思佐
 ware yuwe n-i **omwop-yi-wa****Np-uram-u** imö-Nka kanasi-sa
 I reason DV-INF **think-INF-worry-TENT2-ATTR** beloved-POSS
 be.dear-NML
 [feeling of] endearment for [my] beloved **who probably worries**
 because of me (MYS XV: 3727)

家尔底母多由多數命
 IPYE n-i-te mö **tayutap-u** INÖTI
 home DV-INF-SUB PT **be.unstable-ATTR** life
 [my] life **which is uncertain** even at home (MYS XVII: 3896)

此橘乎等伎自久能可久能木實等名附家良之母
 KÖNÖ TATINPANA-wo **tökyi****Nsi-ku n-ö ka****Nk-u n-ö** KÖ-NÖ
 MIY tö NA-N-TUKEY-kyer-asi-mö
 this mandarin.orange-ACC **be off season-INF DV-ATTR** smell-
ATTR DV-ATTR tree-GEN fruit DV name-LOC-attach(INF)-
 RETR-SUP-EXCL
 [we] should call these mandarin oranges **fragrant tree fruits that**
are off season! (MYS XVIII: 4111)

Note that in this example the first *n-ö* follows the infinitive form *-ku*. The usage of the second attributive *n-ö* in this example is idiosyncratic and even possibly ungrammatical, since the attributive modifies the following noun by itself, and *n-ö* is unnecessary.

阿佐奈佐奈安我流比婆理爾奈里弓之可
 asa-na [a]sa-na **a****Nkar-u** pyiNpari n-i nar-i-te-si ka
 morning-PLUR morning-PLUR **rise-ATTR** skylark DV-INF
 become-INF-PERF-PAST/ATTR PT
 every morning, [I] want to have become a skylark, **flying up** (MYS
 XX: 4433)

佐久波奈波宇都呂布等伎安里
sak-u pana pa utur-öp-u tökyi ar-i
bloom-ATTR flower TOP wither-ITER-ATTR time exist-FIN
 There is a time **when blooming flowers will be withering** (MYS
 XX: 4484)

与都乃閑美伊都都乃毛乃乃阿都麻礼流伎多奈伎微乎婆
 yō-tu n-ō peymyi itu-tu n-ō monō-nō atumar-er-u kytana-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 where four snakes and five demons (lit.: things)
 have accumulated (BS 19)**

逆在流人止母在而

**SAKASIMA NAr-u PYITÖ-Ntömö AR-I-TE
 rebellious be-ATTR person-PLUR exist-INF-SUB
 there were people who were rebellious (SM 16)**

清麻呂其我姉法均止甚大尔悪久奸流妄語乎作弓

KYIYWOMARÖ SI-Nka ANE POPUKUN-tō ITÖ OPO-KYI n-i
 ASI-ku KANTAM-YEr-u ITUPAR-I-N-KÖTÖ-wo TUKUR-I-te
 Kiyiwomarö he-POSS elder.sister Popukun-COM very big-ATTR
 DV-INF bad-INF **be.insincere-PROG-ATTR** lie-NML-GEN-
 word-ACC make-INF-SUB

Kiyiwomarö with his elder sister Popukun created an extremely
 big, bad and **insincere** lie... (SM 44)

6.2.2.1.2.2 Attributive as a nominalized form

Either the attributive itself functions as a verbal noun or the whole sentence in which the attributive serves as final predicate can function as one nominalized form. In this function the attributive can be followed by various case markers, the focus particles *pa* and *mö*, conjunctions, and the defective verb *n-*.

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迹阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠

ima kösö pa wa-N-töri n-i ar-am-ey nöti pa na-N-töri **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)

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)**

道乎多遠見思空安莫國嘆虛不安物乎

MYITI-wo taN-TŌPŌ-myi **OMŌP-U** swora YASUKEY NA-ku n-
i **NANKEYK-U** SWORA YASU-K-AR-AN-U MŌNŌwo
way-ABS PREF-far-GER **think-ATTR** PT easy no-INF DV-INF
lament-ATTR PT easy-INF-exist-NEG-ATTR CONJ
although it is not easy even to **lament** and to **love** because the way
is far (MYS IV: 534)

布流由岐得比得能美流麻提烏梅能波奈知流

pur-u yukyi tō pyitō-nō myi-ru-maNte uMEY-nō pana tir-u
fall-ATTR snow DV person-GEN see-ATTR-TERM plum-GEN
flower fall-FIN
plum blossoms fall to such an extent that people will perceive
[them] as **falling snow** (MYS V: 839)

毛呂比登能阿蘇夫遠美礼婆

mworō-pyitō-nō aswoNp-u-wo myi-re-Npa
all person-GEN enjoy-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CON
when [I] see **all the people enjoying [themselves]** (MYS V: 843)

豊乃登之思流須登奈良思雪能敷礼流波

TŌYŌ n-ō tōsi **sirus-u tō nar-asi YUKYI-nō pur-er-u pa**
abundant DV-ATTR year **show.a.sign-ATTR** DV become-SUP
snow-GEN fall-PROG-ATTR TOP
A **snowfall** seems to become a **good omen** for an abundant year
(MYS XVII: 3925)

和藝毛故尔美勢牟我多米尔母美知等里氏牟

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-ni myi-se-m-u-Nka tamey n-i mömyit-i tōr-i-
te-m-u
I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-POSS for
DV-INF leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML take-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN
[I] want to take red leaves in order to **show [them] to my beloved**
(MYS XIX: 4222)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟多太爾阿布麻弓爾麻佐爾阿布麻弓爾

atō-wo myi-tutu sinōp-am-u taNta n-i **ap-u-maNte-ni** masa n-i **ap-
u-maNte-ni**
footstep-ACC see(INF)-COORD yearn-TENT-FIN direct DV-INF
meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC real DV-INF **meet-ATTR-TERM-
LOC**

looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] will yearn [for him], **until** [I] meet [him] directly, **until** [I] really meet [him] (BS 6)

令文所載多流乎跡止為而

NÖRI-NÖ PUMYI-NI NÖSE-tar-u-wo ATÖ tö 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)

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尔至麻低六年尔成奴

WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SÖMEYS-U-yuri KÖ

TÖSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte MU TÖSI 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 to) this year since I have been on
the high throne (SM 7)

6.2.2.1.2.3 Attributive as a final predicate

If the particles *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, *ka*, *namo*²⁸ are found anywhere in a sentence before a final verb, then the final predication suffix *-u* is automatically replaced with the attributive suffix *-uru* (or other allomorphs of the attributive suffix). The same rule applies to other attributive forms that do not involve *-uru* or its allomorphs, e.g. the past attributive *-si* or the adjectival attributive *-kyi*. This rule is known in the traditional grammar as 係り結び *kakari-musubi* 'the rule of linking'. It is necessary to note that the particle *namo* practically does not appear in the Western Old Japanese poetic texts.²⁹ All examples of its usage are limited to prose texts, and more exactly only to the *Senmyō*. Strangely enough, although the *Norito* is also a prose text, *namo* is not attested there. One more important observation is that both the particles *ka* and *kamō* trigger the change of a final predicative form to an attributive when they are found both *before* and *after* a verb, although this change when it occurs with *ka* and *kamō* following the verb is not traditionally classified as a *kakari-musubi*.

²⁸ Since the MJ cognate is *namu*, and the *otsu-ru*i vowel /ō/ does not raise to /u/, we can conjecture that the pre-OJ form was **namwo* with *kō-ru*i vowel /wo/.

²⁹ With the exception of a single attestation in MYS XII: 2877 cited below. MJ *namu* does not appear in poetic texts of the Heian period either (Iwai 1981: 207).

牟迦比袁流迦母伊蘇比袁流迦母

mukap-yi-wor-u kamō i-swop-yi-wor-u kamō

face-INF-exist-ATTR PT DLF-snuggle-INF-exist-ATTR PT

Oh, [she] is facing [me]! Oh, [she] is snuggling with [me]! (KK 42)

伊岐良受曾久流

i-kyir-aNs-u sō k-uru

DLF-cut-NEG-INF PT come-ATTR

[I] come back without cutting [them] there (KK 51)

阿袁那母岐備比登登等母迹斯都米婆多怒斯久母阿流迦

awo na mō kyinpiy pyitō-tō tōmō n-i si tum-ey-Npa tanwosi-ku mō ar-u ka

green vegetables PT Kyinpiy person-COM together DV-INF PT pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

Is [not] it delightful when [I] pick green vegetables together with the girl from Kyinpiy? (KK 54)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農

nani tō kamō utukusi imō-Nka mata sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u

what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS again bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-ATTR

for (lit: being) what [reason], does [my] beautiful beloved not bloom again? (NK 114)

京師尔而誰手本乎可吾将枕

MIYAKWO n-i-TE TA-NKA TAMÖTÖ-wo ka WA-NKA MAKURAK-AM-U

capital DV-INF-SUB who-POSS sleeve-ACC PT I-POSS use.as.a.pillow-TENT-ATTR

Whose sleeves will I use as a pillow at the capital? (MYS III: 439)

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)

In this example we have the past attributive *-si* that is used as a form of final predication after the particle *ka*.

今者春部登成尔鷄類鴨

IMA PA PARU-pey **tō nar-i-n-i-kyer-u kamwo**

now TOP spring-? DV become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

It turned out that now [it] is (lit.: **has become**) spring (MYS VIII: 1433)

戀友何如妹尔相時毛名寸

KWOP-URE-Ntömö NANI **si ka** IMWO-ni AP-U TÖKYI mwo **na-kyi**

love-EV-CONC what PT PT beloved-DAT meet-ATTR time PT **no-ATTR**

although [I] love [her], why **is there no** time at all to meet [my] beloved? (MYS XII: 2994)

In this example we have the adjectival attributive *-kyi* that is used as a form of final predication after the preceding interrogative particle *ka*.

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼弓波許呂母弓佐牟伎母能尔曾
安里家流

IMWO-tō ar-i-si TÖKYI PA ar-e-Ntömwo wakare-te pa
körömÖNte samu-kyi mönö **n-i sō ar-i-kyer-u**

beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR time TOP exist-EV-CONC
separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing DV-INF PT
exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Although there was a time when [I] was with [my] beloved, since [we] separated, [my] sleeves **are** cold (MYS XV: 3591)

Note that although in this example focus particle *sō* is inside the non-contracted form of the copula, it still triggers the change of the final form to the attributive one.

伊毛尔安礼也夜須伊毛祢受弓安我故非和多流

imwo n-i ar-e **ya yasu** i mwo ne-Ns-u-te a-Nka **kwopiy-watar-u**
beloved DV-INF exist-EV PT easy sleep PT sleep-NEG-INF-SUB
I-POSS **love(INF)-cross-ATTR**

Is [she] my beloved? I do not sleep easily, and **continue to love** [her] (MYS XV: 3633)

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 **tō 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)

秋夜乎奈我美爾可安良武

AKYI-NÖ 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)

Note that although in this example the interrogative particle *ka* is inside the non-contracted form of the copula, it still triggers the change of the final form to the attributive one.

之路髮麻泥尔大皇尔都可倍麻都礼婆貴久母安流香

sirwo KAMYI-maNte-ni OPO KYIMYI-ni tukapey-matur-e-Npa

TAPUTWO-ku mö ar-u ka

white hair-TERM-LOC great lord-DAT serve(INF)-HUM-EV-CON **awesome-INF PT exist-ATTR PT**

When [one] serves [his] sovereign until grey hair, is [it not] **awesome?** (MYS XVII: 3922)

布流雪乃比加里乎見礼婆多數刀久母安流香

pur-u YUKYI-nö pyikari-wo MYI-re-Npa **taputwo-ku mö ar-u ka**

fall-ATTR snow-GEN light-ACC see-EV-CON **awesome-INF PT exist-ATTR PT**

When [one] sees the light of the falling snow, is [it not] **awesome?** (MYS XVII: 3923)

伊都之加登奈氣可須良牟會

itu si **ka tö naNkeyk-as-uram-u sö**

when PT PT DV **lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR PT**

[she] **probably laments**, saying: ‘When [will he return]?’ (MYS XVII: 3962)

石乎毛珠等曾吾見流

ISI-wo mwo TAMA tö **sö WA-NKA MYI-ru**

stone-ACC PT jewel DV PT I POSS **see-ATTR**

I **view** stones as jewels, too (MYS XIX: 4199)

多礼乎可伎美等弥都都志努波牟

tare-wo **ka** kyimyI tö myi-tutu **sinwop-am-u**

who-ACC PT lord DV see(INF)-COORD **long.for-TENT-ATTR**

whom **shall** [I] **long for**, viewing [him] as [my] lord? (MYS XX: 4440)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母

myi-m-aku-nō posi-kyi kyimyī n-i mö ar-u kamō

see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR lord DV-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

I wonder whether [it] **is** also my lord whom [I] want to see (MYS XX: 4449)

Note that in this example the change from final to attributive is triggered by the particle *kamō* that follows the affected verb *ar-* 'to exist.'

伊爾志加多知与乃都美佐閑保呂夫止曾伊布

in-i-si kata ti yö-nō tumyi sapey porōNp-u tö sō 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)

As I mentioned above, other than a single attestation from the *Man'yōshū* cited below, the usage of the focus particle *namo* (spelt as 奈母 or 奈毛) is limited to the *Senmyō* text where it occurs ninety-three times. This is quite a spectacular number compared to the focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* (twenty-two times), the interrogative particles *ya* (twenty times) and *ka* (thirteen times), and the emphatic particle *kamō* (nineteen times). Examples:

何時奈毛不戀有登者雖不有得田直比来戀之繁母

ITU PA **namwo** KWOPiy-NS-U AR-I tö PA AR-AN-E-NTÖ utate KÖNÖ KÖRÖ KWOPiy si **SINKEY-KYI**³⁰ mö

when TOP PT love-NEG-INF exist-FIN DV TOP exist-NEG-EV-CONC unusually this time love(NML) PT **thick-ATTR** PT

Although there is no [time] when [I] say that [I] do not love [you] this time [my] love is unusually **strong** (MYS XII: 2877)

³⁰ Most of the *Man'yōshū* commentators read this as *SINKEY-SI* 'thick-FIN' (Takagi et al. 1960: 265), etc., but this reading goes against the *kakari-musubi* rule that requires a final predicate to be in its attributive form after the particle *namo*. Certainly, there are no other cases of the attributive form in *-kyi* attested after *namo*, but on the other hand there are no final forms in *-si* attested after *namo* either. Given that verbal final forms become attributives after *namo*, I believe that it is more consistent to interpret this form as *siNkey-kyi* rather than *siNkey-si*.

此食国天下之政事者平長将在止奈母所念坐

KŌNŌ WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SITA-NŌ MATURINKŌTŌ
TAPYIRAKEY-KU NANKA-KU AR-AM-U tō **namō OMŌP-OS-I-[I]MAS-U**

this rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-GEN governance safe-
INF long-INF exist-TENT-FIN DV PT **think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR**

[I] **deign to think** that the governance would be safe and last long
in this country under the Heaven that [I] rule (SM 3)

治賜比慈賜来業止奈母随神所念行瀆

WOSAMEY-TAMAp-yi UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAP-YI-K-URU
WANSA tō **namō** KAMU-NA-N-KARA **OMŌP-OS-I-MYEs-u**
rule(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-INF-come-
ATTR deed DV PT deity-PLUR-GEN-nature **think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR**

[I], as a deity, **deign to think** that [they are] the deeds that [I] deign
to administer with benevolence (SM 3)

食国天下乎婆撫賜惠賜夫止奈母神奈我良母念坐瀆

WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SITA-woNpa NANTE-TAMAP-YI
UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAp-u tō **namō** KAMU-na-N-kara mō
OMŌP-OS-YI-[I]MAS-u

rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-ACC(EMPH)
cherish(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-FIN DV PT
deity-PLUR-GEN-nature PT **think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR**

[I], as a deity, **deign to think** that [I] show benevolence and cherish
the country under the Heaven that I rule (SM 13)

成奴礼波歡美貴美奈毛念食流

NAR-I-n-ure-Npa KŌKŌRŌNPOSI-myi TAPUTWO-myi **namwo**
OMŌP-YI-TAMAP-Uru

become-INF-PERF-EV-CON glad-GER awesome-GER PT **think-
INF-HUM-ATTR**

because [it] became [as the deity said], [the sovereign] **thought** that
[it] was joyful and awesome (SM 15)

伊豫国与利白祥鹿乎献奉天在礼方有礼志与呂許保志止奈毛見流

iyō-NŌ KUNI-yōri SIRWO-KYI SIRUSI N-Ō SIKa-wo
TATEMATUR-I-te Ar-e-Npa uresi yōrōkōNp-ōsi tō **namwo MYI-
ru**

Iyö-GEN province-ABL white-ATTR mark DV-ATTR deer-ACC present(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON glad joyful-ADJ DV **PT see-ATTR**

when [they] had presented [us] with a deer with white marks from the province of Iyö, [we] **regarded** [this] as [a] joyful and auspicious [event] (SM 46)

臣等止共仁異奇久麗白伎形乎奈毛見喜流

OMYI-TATI-tō TŌMŌ n-i KŌTŌ N-I AYASI-ku URUPASI-KYI SIRWO-kyi KATATI-wo **namwo** MYI YÖRÖKÖNP-Uru noble-PLUR-COM together DV-INF different DV-INF strange-INF beautiful-ATTR white-ATTR shape-ACC **PT see(INF) rejoice-ATTR**

[we] **rejoice** together with nobles looking at this unusual, strange, and beautiful white shape [of the deer skin] (SM 46)

6.2.2.1.2.4 Attributive as a final predicate without *kakari-musubi*

There are cases when the attributive is used as a final predicate even when the particles *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, *ka*, or *namo* are not used in the sentence before the final verb.³¹ Saeki maintains that only very few examples of this usage are attested in the Old Japanese of the eighth century, and he provides eight of them for Western Old Japanese (Saeki 1959: 134).³² Below I present all examples that I was able to find in Western Old Japanese texts. As the reader will see, there are altogether more examples than are cited in the literature, but in general I have to agree with Saeki that this usage in Western Old Japanese is still rare. Saeki further notes that when the subject is present in a sentence that ends in an attributive without *kakari-musubi*, this subject is always marked by *-nō* or *-Nka*. As several examples listed below demonstrate, this is not a necessary condition. Examples:

袁夜还須賀多多美伊夜佐夜斯岐互和賀布多理泥斯
wo-ya-ni suNka-tatamyi iya-saya sik-yi-te wa-Nka puta-ri **ne-si**

³¹ The same is applicable to other attributive forms in Western Old Japanese, such as the past attributive *-si* and the adjectival attributive *-kyi*.

³² Yamada Yoshio provides only four examples, one overlapping with Saeki's list, and one being in fact an attributive functioning as a verbal noun and not as a form of final predication (Yamada 1954: 167).

DIM-house-LOC sedge-mat rustling spread-INF-SUB we-POSS
two-CL **sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR**

in a little hut two of us **slept** [together] spreading rustling sedge
mats (KK 19)

In this example we have the past attributive *-si* that is used as a form of final
predication without a preceding particle *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, or *ka*.

我二人宿之

WA-NKA PUTA-RI NE-**si**

we-POSS two-CL **sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR**

two of us **slept** [together] (MYS II: 109)

In this example we have the past attributive *-si* that is used as a form of final
predication without a preceding particle *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, or *ka*.

常丹跡君之所念有計類

TUNE n-i tō KYIMYI-NKA OMÖP-YI-TAR-I-kyer-u

eternal DV-INF DV lord-POSS **think-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-**
RETR-ATTR

[my] lord **wished** [to live] eternally (MYS II: 206)

玉緒乃不絶射妹跡結而石

TAMA-NÖ WO-nō TAYE-NSI-i IMWO-tō 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)

In this example we have the past attributive form *-si* that is used as a form of final
predication without a preceding particle *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, or *ka*.

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru mōnō pa mwomwo kusa n-i **semey-yör-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 a hundred
varieties (MYS V: 804)

我衣手乃干時毛名寸

WA-NKA KÖRÖMÖNTE-nō POR-U TÖKYI mwo **na-kyi**

I-POSS sleeve-GEN dry-ATTR time PT **no-ATTR**

there is no time at all for my sleeves to dry (MYS X: 1994)

In this example we have the adjectival attributive form *-kyi* that is used as a form
of final predication without a preceding particle *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *ya*, or *ka*.

我衣袖之干時毛奈吉

WA-NKA KÖRÖMÖNTE-nö POR-U TÖKYI mwo **na-kyi**
I-POSS sleeve-GEN dry-ATTR time PT **no-ATTR**

there is no time at all for my sleeves to dry (MYS XII: 2954)

In this example we have the adjectival attributive form *-kyi* that is used as a form of final predication without a preceding particle *sö* ~ *Nsö*, *ya*, or *ka*.

君乎衣尔有者下毛将著跡吾念有家留

KYIMYI-wo KÖRÖMÖ n-i AR-ANPA SITA mwo KYI-M-U tö
WA-NKA OMÖP-YER-I-kyer-u

lord-ACC garment DV-INF exist-COND beneath PT wear-TENT-FIN DV I-POSS **think-PROG-INF-RETR-ATTR**

I came to think that if [you] were a garment, [I] would wear you beneath [my clothes] (MYS XII: 2964)

安礼爾都氣都流

are-ni **tuNkey-t-uru**

I-DAT **report(INF)-PERF-ATTR**

[thus he] **reported** to me (MYS XVII: 3957)

伊可尔安流布勢能宇良曾毛許己太久尔吉民我弥世武等和礼平等登牟流

ika n-i ar-u puse-nö ura sö mwo kököNtaku n-i kyimyi-Nka myi-se-m-u tö ware-wo **töNtöm-uru**

how DV-INF exist-ATTR Puse-GEN bay it PT so.much DV-INF lord-POSS see-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV I-ACC **stop-ATTR**

The bay of Puse, how beautiful] it [is], [so that my] lord **will stop** [me] wishing [him] to show [it to me] (MYS XVIII: 4036)

Note that in this example *sö* is not a focus particle, but a demonstrative pronoun.

比登母等能奈泥之故宇惠之

pyitö-mötö n-ö naNtesikwo **uwe-si**

one-CL DV-ATTR carnation **plant(INF)-PAST/ATTR**

[I] **planted** one carnation (MYS XVIII: 4070)

In this example we have the past attributive form *-si* that is used as a form of final predication without a preceding particle *sö* ~ *Nsö*, *ya*, or *ka*.

保登等藝須伊登祢多家口波橘乃播奈治流等吉尔伎奈吉登余牟流

potötöNkyisu itö neta-ky-eku pa TATINPANA-nö pana-N-tir-u tökyi-ni k-yi **nak-yi-töyöm-uru**

cuckoo very distasteful-ATTR-NML TOP mandarin.orange-GEN
flower-GEN-fall-ATTR time-LOC come-INF **sing-INF-sound-ATTR**

Cuckoo, [you] are very distasteful! [You] come and **sing** at the time when mandarin orange flowers are falling (MYS XVIII: 4092)

夜度乃烏梅能知利須具流麻墜美之米受安利家流
yaNtwo-nō uMEY-nō tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte **myi-simey-Ns-u ar-i-kyer-u**

house-GEN plum-GEN fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM **see-CAUS-NEG-INF exist-INF-RETR-ATTR**

[it] **turned out that** [you] **did not let** [me] **see** the plum [blossoms] in [your] house until they had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4496)

宇梅乃波奈知利須具流麻弓伎美我伎麻左奴
uMEY-nō pana tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte kyimiyi-Nka **k-yi-[i]mas-an-u**

plum-GEN blossom fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM lord-POSS **come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR**

[you] **did not come**, [my] lord, until the plum blossoms had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4497)

加良須止伊布於保乎蘇止利能去止乎能米等母邇止伊比天佐岐陀智伊奴留

karasu tō ip-u opo woswo tōri-nō kötō-wo nōmiy³³ tōmō n-i tō ip-yi-te sakyi-N-tat-i **in-uru**

crow DV say-ATTR big hasty bird-GEN word-ACC PT together DV-INF DV say-INF-SUB ahead-LOC-depart-INF **go.away-ATTR**

Crows, big hasty birds, only cry together – [you] **departed** [from this world ahead [of me] (NR II: 2)

Practically all examples cited above and especially the two examples from MYS XX: 4496 and 4497 that represent a poetic exchange seem to indicate that the usage of an attributive as a form of final predication without *kakari-musubi* functionally represents a strong confirmatory or explanatory statement, very similar to the modern Japanese *verb + no da* construction.

³³ The original text has 能米 /nōmey/, but this is likely to be a scribal mistake for 能未 /nōmiy/.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Besides the Western Old Japanese-looking attributives in *-u* and *-uru*, Eastern Old Japanese has a special attributive *-wo* (sometimes misspelled as WOJ *-ō*) after consonant and *r*-irregular verbs as well as after suffixes ending in a consonant and *r*-irregular auxiliaries. This *-wo* attributive represents an archaic feature: namely, in pre-Old Japanese the attributive form had an original vowel /o/ that was raised to /u/ in Western Old Japanese.³⁴ In one case there is also an attributive *-a* which is difficult to explain (see MYS XIV: 3526 below). The functions of the attributive in Eastern Old Japanese are the same as in Western Old Japanese.

The attributive as a modifier:

麻奈登伊布兒我安夜尔可奈思佐

Mana tō ip-u KWO-Nka aya n-i kanasi-sa

Mana DV say-ATTR girl-POSS strange DV-INF lovely-NML
unusual loveliness of a girl **called Mana** (MYS XIV: 3462)

奴麻布多都可欲波等里賀栖安我已許呂布多由久奈母等奈与母
波里曾祢

numa puta-tu **kaywop-a** tōri-Nka su a-Nka kōkōrō puta yuk-unam-
ō tō na-y-ōmōp-ar-i-sō-n-e

marsh two-CL **go.over-ATTR** bird-POSS nest I-POSS heart two
go-TENT2-ATTR DV NEG-?-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP

[I] wish [you] are not thinking that my heart would go [to] two
[different places like] nests of birds **that go over** two marshes
(MYS XIV: 3526)

久毛為尔美由流志麻奈良奈久尔

kumwowi-ni myi-y-uru sima nar-an-aku n-i

distance-LOC see-PASS-ATTR island be-NEG-NML DV-INF

³⁴ The problem is difficult, however, and Frellesvig argues against the archaic nature of the attributive *-wo* in Eastern Old Japanese (Frellesvig 2008: 190, footnote 17). Russell, on the other hand, believes that the primary form is *-ō* as preserved in the attributive form *n-ō* of the defective verb *n-*, while the *-ur-* in *-uru* may be explained as a stative extension (Russell 2005: 641-44). Since it is not the goal of the present book to go into the details of Proto-Japanese reconstruction, I will not elaborate further on this problem here.

although [it] is not an island **that is seen in the distance** (MYS XX: 4355)

奈苦古良乎意伎弓

nak-u kwo-ra-wo ok-yi-te

cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC leave-INF-SUB
leaving [my] **crying** children (MYS XX: 4401)

佐弁奈弁奴美許登尔阿礼婆

sapye-n-apye-n-u myi-kötö n-i ar-e-Npa

refuse(NML)-LOC-match-NEG-ATTR HON-word DV-INF
exist-EV-CON

Because [it] is [my sovereign's] order **that [I] cannot refuse ...**
(MYS XX: 4432)

The attributive as a nominalized form:

奴流我倍爾安杼世呂登可母

n-uru-Nka [u]pey-ni aN-tö se-rö tö kamö

sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC what-DV do-IMP DV PT
besides **sleeping** [with her], what [else do I] do? (MYS XIV: 3465)

之良夜麻可是能宿奈敝杼母古呂賀於曾伎能安路許曾要志母
sira yama kaNse-nö NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö **ar-wo** kösö ye-si-mö

white mountain wind-GEN sleep-NEG-ITER-CONC girl-DIM-
POSS garment-GEN **exist-ATTR** PT good-FIN-EXCL

although [I] continue not to sleep at the [cold] wind from the White Mountain, [it] is good **to have** my girl's garment! (MYS XIV: 3509)

比登祢呂爾伊波流毛能可良

pyitö ne-rö n-i **ip-ar-u** mwonökara

one peak-DIM DV-INF **say-PROG-ATTR** CONJ

Although [they] **say** that [we] are one peak ... (MYS XIV: 3512)

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-nö tuk-u-nösu ware sapey n-i kyimyini
tuk-yi-n-ana

high-ATTR peak-LOC cloud-GEN **attach-ATTR-COMP** I PT
DV-INF lord-DAT attach-INF-PERF-DES

Even I would like to cling to [my] lord **like clouds cling to a high peak** (MYS XIV: 3514)

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

The attributive as a final predicate appears after the interrogative particles *ya* and *ka*, and the focus particle *sō ~Nsō ~ Nse* when these particles are found before the final verb in a sentence. Similar to Western Old Japanese, the particle *kamo ~ kamu* can trigger the change from a final form to an attributive irrespective of its position before or after a final verb.

麻許登可聞和礼爾余須等布
 ma-kōtō **kamo** ware-ni yōs-u tō [i]p-u
 INT-thing PT I-DAT bring close-FIN DV **say-ATTR**
 I wonder [whether it is] true that [people] **say** that [she] has an intimate relationship with me (MYS XIV: 3384)

阿杼可多延世武
 aN-tō **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-tō **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)

安比見弓波千等世夜伊奴流
 apyi-MYI-te pa TI tōse **ya in-uru**
 REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP thousand year PT **go.away-ATTR**
 since [we] have seen each other, **did** one thousand years **pass?**
 (MYS XIV: 3470)

哭乎曾奈伎都流手兒尔安良奈久尔
 NE-wo **sō nak-yi-t-uru** teNKWO n-i ar-an-aku n-i

voice-ACC **PT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR** baby DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

[I] **sobbed** loudly, although [I] am not a baby (MYS XIV: 3485)

伊可奈流勢奈可和我理許武等伊布

ika nar-u se-na **ka** wa-Nkari kö-m-u tö **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)

多麻母乃宇知奈婢伎比登里夜宿良牟

tama mö-nö uti-naNpyik-yi pyitö-ri **ya ne-ram-u**

jewel seaweed-COMP PREF-stretch-INF one-CL **PT sleep-TENT2-ATTR**

will [you] **sleep** alone, stretched like a jewel seaweed? (MYS XIV: 3562)

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira kaki-naNte sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si keytöNpa **Nse wasure-kane-t-uru**

father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR word **PT forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-ATTR**

[I] **cannot forget** the words: "Be safe!" that [my] father and mother said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

意保枳美能美己等可之古美阿乎久牟乃等能妣久夜麻乎古与弓伎怒加牟

opo kyimy-nö myi-kötö kasikwo-myi awo kumu-nö tönöNpyik-u yama-wo kwoyö-te **k-yi-n-wo kamu**

great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER blue cloud trail-ATTR mountain-ACC cross(INF)-SUB **come-INF-PERF-ATTR PT**

Since the sovereign's (lit.: great lord's) order is awesome, [I] **came** [here] crossing mountains where dark clouds trail! (MYS XX: 4403)

The attributive as a final predicate without *kakari-musubi*:

和乎布利弥由母阿是古志麻波母

wa-wo pur-i-myi-y-umö aNse kwo si **map-am-ö**

I-ACC swing-INF-look-PASS-EXCL ANse girl PT **dance-TENT-ATTR**

the girl from ANse is going to dance, suddenly looking back at me!
(FK 7)

兒良波安波奈毛比等理能未思弓

KWO-ra pa **ap-ana-m-wo** pyitö-ri nömiy 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)

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟
須婆佐祢

apyiNtune-nö kuni-wo saN-töpo-myi ap-an-ap-aNpa **sinwop-yi n-i**
se-m-wo tö pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e

ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER meet-NEG-ITER-
COND **long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR** DV cord tie-
HON-DES-IMP

If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApyiNtune is far,
[I] wish [you would] tie [your garment] cords, **as if longing for**
[me] (MYS XIV: 3426)

和奴爾故布奈毛

wanu-ni **kwop-unam-wo**

I-DAT **long.for-TENT2-ATTR**

[you] **will probably long** for me (MYS XIV: 3476)

和可加敝流弓能毛美都麻弓宿毛等和波毛布

waka kapyerute-nö mwomyit-u-maNte **NE-m-wo** tö wa pa
[o]mwop-u

young maple-GEN leaves.turn.red/yellow-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)

夜麻敝呂能思之奈須於母敝流

yama pye-rö-nö sisi-nasu **omöp-yer-u**

mountain side-DIM-GEN deer-COMP **think-PROG-ATTR**

[they] **are thinking** [of me] like [of] a deer on the [little] mountain side (MYS XIV: 3531)

須流河乃祢良波苦不志久米阿流可

suruNka-nō ne-ra pa kupusi-ku mey **ar-u** ka

SuruNka-GEN summit-PLUR TOP lovely-INF PT **exist-ATTR** PT **are** [not] the summits of SuruNka [mountains] lovely? (MYS XX: 4345)

A2: Ryukyuan

Most modern Ryukyuan dialects have an allomorph *-uru* that follows both consonant and vowel verbs alike and an allomorph *-ru* that is used after the copula *ya-* ‘to be’ and also may be found as an alternative form after vowel verbs. Sometimes *-ru* is used as an alternative form after consonant verbs with a root ending in *-r*. In Southern Ryukyuan a form *-i* is also found (< **-ürī* < **-uru*). Let us look at the formation of the attributive forms in Ryukyuan taking Shuri as an example:

Chart 37: Attributive forms in Shuri

gloss	verbal root	attributive form
write	kak-	kach-uru
go	'ik-	'ich-uru
stand	tat-	tach-uru
hold	mut-	much-uru
die	shin-	shin-uru
fly	tub-	tub-uru
read	yum-	yum-uru
take	tur-	tu-y-uru, tu-i-ru
laugh	warar-	wara-y-uru, wara-i-ru
boil	ni-	ni-y-uru, ni-i-ru
forget	washi-	washi-y-uru
be	ya-	ya-ru

We can see on the basis of the palatalizations *k > ch* and *t > ch* found in the attributive forms of consonant verbs ending in the consonants *-k* or *-t*, as well as on the basis of such forms as *tu-y-uru*, *tu-i-ru*, *wara-y-uru*, *wara-i-ru*, *ni-y-uru*, *ni-i-ru*, and *washi-y-uru*, that historically the attributive suffix *-uru* is likely to be an auxiliary that followed the infinitive form *-i*. Thus, the picture we discover here is quite similar to the final predication form **-um*.

Similar to *-um, which is believed to be a final predication form of *wor-*, *-uru* is also believed historically to be an attributive form *wor-u* of the verb *wor-* ‘to exist,’ the point of view that dates back to Hattori Shirō and seems to be quite widespread among Japanese linguists today as well (Nishioka and Nakahara 2000: 31). Although the phonetic equation is better than in the case of the final predication form *-um, we still face some of the same problems if we try to trace back the attributive form not only in Ryukyuan, but in Japonic in general to the attributive *wor-u* of the verb *wor-* ‘to exist.’ First, medial *-w-* is not lost in Old Japanese in intervocalic position. Second, we are still faced with the problem of circularity: under this explanation it appears that only *wor-* could have an independent attributive form *-u* < *-wo, while all other verbs could not add the attributive directly to their stems. Possibly, Russell’s analysis of the attributive *-uru* as bimorphemic, consisting of *-ur-, a stative extension plus the attributive *-ō* (preserved as such in the attributive form *n-ō* of the defective verb *n-*), with *ur-ō undergoing assimilation to *-ur-wo with a consequent raising to *-ur-u* (Russell 2005: 641-44) is on a right track. The problem of explaining the basic function of the stative *-ur-, and why it is added to vowel verbs, but not to consonant verbs, certainly remains to be solved.

One additional serious problem that prevents us from considering the Shuri attributive *-uru* that appears after all classes of verbs, consonant and vowel alike, to be an archaism is that in Old Ryukyuan the situation with consonant verbs is quite similar to the one found in Eastern Old Japanese: in most cases we find the attributive form *-u* and in some more rare cases the attributive form *-o*. If the spellings with *-o* found in the *Omorō sōshi* do indeed reflect a pre-raising situation as have been suggested before (Serafim, p.c.), the parallelism with Eastern Old Japanese is striking and cannot be easily ignored. Most vowel verbs in Old Ryukyuan with the exception of the irregular verbs *ko-* ‘to come’ and *se-* ‘to do’ have already shifted to a monograde conjugation, and therefore only the allomorph *-ru* is found directly after the final vowel of a verb root. Consider the following chart that is based on the data presented in (Torigoe 1968: 218-49):

Chart 38: Attributive forms in Old Ryukyuan

gloss	verbal root	attributive form
hear	kik-	kik-u, kik-o

bloom	sak-	sak-u
stand	tat-	tat-u
hold	mot-	mot-u
attack	oso(w)-	oso-u, oso-o
scoop	kum-	kum-u, kum-o
sound	toyom-	toyom-u, toyom-o
pray	inor-	inor-u, inor-o
rise	agar-	agar-u, agar-o
take	tor-	tor-u
protect	mabur-	mabur-u, mabur-o
exist	ar-	ar-u
see	mi-	mi-ru
descend	ori-/ore-	ore-ru
grow old	owe-	owe-ru
attach	tuke-	tuke-ru
raise	age-	age-ru
caress	nade-	nade-ru
do	se-	s-uru, shi-y-uru
come	ko-	k-uru, k-uro

Selected examples from Old Ryukyuan and Shuri are presented below:

Old Ryukyuan

いによはのおきてもちなる

iniyofa-no okite-moti **nar-u**

Iniyofa-GEN rule-holder **be-ATTR**

[the one] who **is** a governor of Iniyofa (OS VIII: 456)

せたかこかみまふろすへまさるわうにせ

se taka ko-ga **mi-mabur-o** sufe **masar-u** wau-nise

spirit high girl-POSS **see(INF)-protect-ATTR** destination **excel-ATTR** king-HON

the honorable king who [goes to] an **exhausted** destination is **protected** by the high priestess (OS XII: 741)

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(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR hey tukasa-DIM PT
 hey
 hey, [we] **pushed** [the boat] ahead; hey, [priestess] Tukasa (OS XIII: 747)

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)

きみかいのろもりに
 kimi-ga **inor-o** mori-ni
 lady-POSS **pray-ATTR** shrine-LOC
 in the shrine where the lady [priestess] **prays** (OS XXII: 1526)

Shuri

'ari-ga **ch-uuru-madi** maQco-ok-ee
 he-NOM **come-ATTR-TERM** wait(INF)-put-HORT
 Let us wait **until** he **comes** (RKJ 1983: 357)

taruu-ga **hwich-uru** sanshin-oo **chichigutu du ya-ru**
 Tarō-POSS **play-ATTR** shamisen-TOP **pleasant.to.hear PT be-ATTR**

The *shamisen* that Tarō plays is pleasant to hear (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 26)

In this example the last attributive form *ya-ru* of the copula *ya-* is triggered by the *kakari-musubi* rule due to the presence of the focus particle *du* in the sentence.

6.2.2.1.3 Evidential *-ure* ~ *-e[y]* ~ *-re*

The evidential suffix's main allomorph is *-ure*, which is found after all vowel verbs (except strong vowel verbs, where it becomes just *-re*), and all irregular verbs (except *r*-irregular verbs). After all consonant verbs and *r*-irregular verbs the allomorph *-e[y]* is used, according to the morphological rule of *-r-* loss mentioned in 2.2.5.4.

Chart 39: Distribution of the allomorphs of the evidential suffix

verb class	allomorph
consonant verbs	-e[y]
regular vowel verbs	-ure

k-irregular verbs	-ure
s-irregular verbs	-ure
n-irregular verbs	-ure
strong vowel verbs	-re
r-irregular verbs	-e

A similar picture is observed if *-ure* is used not after a verbal stem but after another verbal suffix or an auxiliary: if a suffix or an auxiliary ends with a vowel, the main allomorph *-ure* is used, and the final vowel of the preceding suffix or an auxiliary is apocopated. If a suffix or an auxiliary ends in a consonant, the allomorph *-e[y]* is used.³⁵ The only exception is the perfective auxiliary *-n-* that has the evidential form *-n-ure*.

Chart 40: Combinations of the evidential suffixes *-ure* and *-e[y]* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	<i>-ure</i>	<i>-e[y]</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	-	<i>-(a)m-ey</i>
tentative2 <i>-(u)ram-</i>	-	<i>-(u)ram-ey</i>
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	-	<i>-(a)n-e</i>
passive <i>-(a)ye-, -raye-</i>	<i>-(a)y-ure</i>	-
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)sim-ure</i>	-
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	-	<i>-ap-ey</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	-	<i>-as-e</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-t-ure</i>	-
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-ure</i>	-
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	-	<i>-kyer-e</i>
progressive <i>-(y)er-</i>	-	<i>-(y)er-e</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	-	<i>-tar-e</i>

The evidential is used by itself as a final form. In most cases it appears when the particle *kösö* precedes it in the sentence, replacing the final predication suffix.³⁶ This usage is quite similar to the replacement of the final predication form by the attributive after the particles *ya*, *sö* ~ *Nsö*, *ka*, *kamö* and *namo*, described

³⁵ The allomorph *-re* is not used after suffixes and auxiliaries.

³⁶ In contrast to Middle Japanese, if the predicate after *kösö* is an inflected adjective, in Western Old Japanese the adjectival final predication form *-si* is replaced by the attributive *-kyi*, and not by the evidential *-kyere*. See 5.2.3 for details and examples. Needless to say, auxiliaries that have an adjectival paradigm follow this rule as well in Western Old Japanese.

above in 6.2.2.1.2.3. Similar to this rule, the rule of replacement of the final form by the evidential is also known in the traditional grammar as 係り結び *kakari-musubi* ‘the rule of linking’. Nevertheless, in contrast to Middle Japanese, where *koso* always triggers the change of the final predication form to the evidential, there are many cases in Western Old Japanese when the evidential can be used as a final predication form without the preceding *kösö*.

Although it is difficult to say exactly what the evidential form means, I believe that used in isolation its function is close to that of the exclamation point in English; in any case, it obviously indicates some kind of emphatic statement. The fact that it is used together with *kösö*, a strong emphatic particle, further supports this proposal. I call it evidential because frequently it emphasizes fact(s) that should be evident to the speaker or his/her addressee.³⁷ Otherwise, the evidential is usually followed by the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* or the concessive gerund *-Ntö/-Ntömö*, usages that I survey below in the sections dedicated to them.

The evidential as a final predicate with *kakari-musubi*:

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迹阿良米
 ima **kösö** pa wa-N-töri **n-i ar-am-ey**
 now PT TOP I-OSM-bird DV-INF exist-TENT-EV
 Now [I] **am** my bird (KK 3)

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾字知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻
 韋久禮
 sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka ip-yes-e **kösö** uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu
k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-ure
 noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS speak(INF)-HON-EV PT
 PREF-carry.across-ATTR ?-POSS?-COMP **come-INF-enter-**
INF-HUM(INF)-come-EV
 you spoke noisily and [you] **came inside** like ? that crossed from
 afar (KK 63)

宇倍志許曾斗比多麻閑麻許曾迹斗比多麻閑
 unPey-si **kösö twop-yi-tamap-ey** ma **kösö** n-i **twop-yi-tamap-ey**
 be.proper-FIN PT ask-INF-HON-EV truth PT DV-INF ask-INF-
HON-EV

³⁷ This terminological usage is different from modern language typology, where ‘evidential’ is used in a sense of experiential.

[It] is proper that [you] **asked** [me], [it] is right that [you] **asked** [me] (KK 72)

可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志久能麻米
 ka-ku si **kösö** uMEY-wo kaNsas-i-te tanwosi-ku **nöm-am-ey**
 thus-INF PT PT plum-ACC decorate-INF-SUB be.merry-INF
drink-TENT-EV
 decorating [our hair] with plum [blossoms] in this way, [we]
should drink merrily (MYS V: 833)

伊毛我多毛等乎和礼許曾未加米
 imwo-Nka tamwotö ware **kösö mak-am-ey**
 beloved-POSS sleeve I PT **use.as.a.pillow-TENT-EV**
 I **will use as a pillow** the sleeves of [my] beloved (MYS V: 857)

伊敵之麻波奈尔許曾安里家礼
 lpye sima pa na **n-i kösö ar-i-kyer-e**
 Home island TOP name **DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-EV**
 “Home island” **turned out to be just** a name (MYS XV: 3718)
 Note that although in this example the focus particle *kösö* is inside the non-
 contracted form of the copula, it still triggers the change of the final form to the
 evidential.

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弓許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里
 爾之母能乎
 a-Nka miy **kösö** sekyi yama kwoye-te kökö-ni **ar-am-ey** kökörö pa
 imwo-ni yör-i-n-i-si mönöwo
 I-POSS body PT barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB here-LOC
exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT approach-INF-PERF-
 INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ
 My body has crossed barriers and mountains, and **is probably** here.
 But [my] heart stayed near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

昨日許曾敷奈弓婆勢之可
 KYINÖPU **kösö puna-[i]Nte se-sika**
 yesterday PT **boat-exit(NML) do(INF)-PAST/EV**
 Yesterday [we] **sailed out** (MYS XVII: 3893)

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-nö kyimiyi-ra-tö ka-ku si **kösö** 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 in this way (MYS XVIII: 4071)

可久之許曾都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔
ka-ku si **kösö tukapey-matur-am-ey** iya töpo naNka n-i
thus-INF PT **PT serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV** plentifully long
long DV-INF
Thus, [I] **will serve** [you] plentifully and for a long, long time
(MYS XVIII: 4098)

The evidential as a final predicate without *kakari-musubi*:

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

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾
sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka **ip-yes-e** **kösö**
noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS **speak(INF)-HON-EV** PT
you **spoke** noisily (KK 63)

囊伽多佐例
ta ka **ta-sar-e**
who PT **PREF-go.away-EV**
Who **goes away?** (NK 40)

大雪乃乱而来礼
OPO YUKYI-nö MYINTARE-TE **K-YI-TAr-e**
big snow-GEN be.chaotic(INF)-SUB **come-INF-PERF/PROG-**
EV
big snow **was falling down** chaotically (MYS II: 199)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼
kökörö-yu mö omöp-an-u apyiNta-ni uti-naNpyik-yi **köy-as-i-n-**
ure

heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC PREF-stretched
out-INF **lie.down-HON-INF-PERF-EV**

while even in [my] heart [I] did not think, stretched out [she] was
lying (MYS V: 794)

伊布許等夜美靈剋伊乃知多延奴礼

ip-u kötö yam-yi TAMA-KYIPARU inöti **taye-n-ure**

say-ATTR thing stop-INF jewel-? life **cease-PERF-EV**

[he] stopped to speak, and [his] jewel-like life **ended** (MYS V: 904)

比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弓於毛倍也

pyitö pyi mö imwo-wo wasure-te **omwop-ey** ya

one day PT beloved-ACC forget(INF)-SUB **think-EV** PT

would [I] **imagine** forgetting [my] beloved even [for] one day?
(MYS XV: 3604)

伊毛尔安礼也夜須伊毛祢受弓安我故非和多流

imwo **n-i ar-e** ya yasu i mwo ne-Ns-u-te a-Nka kwopiy-watar-u

beloved **DV-INF exist-EV** PT easy sleep PT sleep-NEG-INF-SUB

I-POSS love(INF)-cross-ATTR

Is [she] my beloved? I do not sleep easily, and continue to love [her]
(MYS XV: 3633)

安杼毛倍香許己呂我奈之久伊米爾美要都流

aN-tö [o]**mwop-ey** ka kökörü-N-kanasi-ku imey-ni myi-ye-t-uru

what-DV **think-EV** PT heart-GEN-sad-INF dream-LOC see-
PASS(INF)-PERF-ATTR

what **was** [I] **thinking** [about]? As [I] was sad in [my] heart, [she]
suddenly has appeared in [my] dream (MYS XV: 3639)

安比於毛波奴君尔安礼也母

apyi-omwop-an-u KYIMYI **n-i ar-e** ya mö

REC-think-NEG-ATTR lord **DV-INF exist-EV** PT PT

is [it my] lord, who no [longer] thinks [about lamenting of the
people of this world] in return?! (MYS XV: 3691)

和伎毛故我可多美能許呂母奈可里世婆奈爾毛能母弓加伊能知
都我麻之

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka katamiyi n-ö körömö na-k-ar-i-s-eNpa nani
mwonö **möt-e** ka inöti tuNk-amasi

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS keepsake DV-ATTR garment no-INF-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND what thing **hold-EV** PT life join-SUBJ

If [I] did not have a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, would **having** anything keep [me] alive? (MYS XV: 3733)

Omodaka et al. consider *môt-e* in the example above to be a contraction of *môt-i-te* (1967: 741), however, this kind of contraction is not attested phonetically until Middle Japanese. In addition, the above example is the only example in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus where this alleged contraction appears in phonetic script. Cf. also three similar examples of evidential followed by the interrogative particle *ka* in MYS XV: 3639 above and in Eastern Old Japanese cited below (MYS XIV: 3461, 3572).

何爲牟尔吾乎召良米夜

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? [You should not!] (MYS XVI: 3886)

阿里佐利氏能知毛相牟等於母倍許曾

ari-sar-i-te nōti mwo AP-Am-u tō **omōp-ey** kōsō

ITER-go.away-INF-SUB after PT meet-TENT-FIN DV **think-EV** PT

[Time] constantly goes away, and [I] **hope** that [we] will meet later, too (MYS XVII: 3933)

美阿止都久留伊志乃比鼻伎波阿米爾伊多利都知佐閑由須礼知
知波波賀多米爾毛呂比止乃多米爾

myi-atō tukur-u isi-nō pyiNpyik-yi pa amey-ni itar-i tuti sapey
yusur-e titi papa-Nka tamey n-i mworō pyitō-nō 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 Heaven, and **shakes** the earth as well, for father and mother, for all people (BS 1)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTIONS *-(A)M-EY YA* AND *-(U)RAM-EY YA*

There is a special usage of the evidential in combination with the preceding tentatives *-am-* ~ *-m-* or *-uram-* and the following interrogative particle *ya* that represents irony, or in other words it poses a question that implies an opposite answer (the negative

answer to the question in the affirmative, and the positive answer to the question in the negative). Examples:

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鷄迷夜

oya na-si n-i nare **nar-i-ky-em-ey ya**

parent no-FIN DV-INF you **be.born-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV PT**

Were you possibly born without parents? [Certainly not!] (NK 104)

人孀故尔吾戀目八方

PYITŌ-N-TUMA YUWE n-i ARE **KWOPIY-m-ey ya** mo

person-GEN-spouse reason DV-INF I **love-TENT-EV PT PT**

because [she] is the wife of [another] person, **should I love [her]?** [Certainly not!] (MYS I: 21)

痛背乃河乎渡金目八

ANase-nō KAPA-wo **WATAR-I-kane-m-ey ya**

Anase-GEN river-ACC **cross-INF-NEG/POT-TENT-EV PT**

would [I] be unable to cross the Anase river? [Certainly I would be able!] (MYS IV: 643)

麻佐礼留多可良古爾斯迦米夜母

masar-er-u takara kwo-ni **sik-am-ey ya** mö

excel-PROG-ATTR treasure child-LOC **reach-ATTR-EV PT PT**

Could the excellent treasures be equal to children?! [Certainly not!] (MYS V: 803)

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-ō myi-kōtō tuti-ni **ok-am-ey ya** mö

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?! [Certainly not!] (MYS V: 812)

佐夫志計米夜母吉美伊麻佐受斯弓

saNpusi-ky-em-ey ya mö kyimyī imas-aNs-u s-i-te

be.sad-ATTR-TENT-EV PT PT lord come(HON)-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB

[if my] lord does not come, **would [I] be sad?!** [Certainly not!] (MYS V: 878)

山櫻花日並而如是開有者甚戀目夜裳

YAMA SAKURA-N-PANA PYI NARANPEY-TE KA-KU si
SAK-YER-ANPA PANTA **KWOPIY-m-ey ya mo**
mountain cherry-GEN-flower day line.up(INF)-SUB thus-INF PT
bloom-PROG-COND considerably **long.for-TENT-EV PT PT**
If mountain cherry flowers were blooming thus every day, **would** [I]
long for [them] considerably? [Certainly not!] (MYS VIII: 1425)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弓於毛布良米也母

pyikwoposi mö ware-ni masar-i-te **omwop-uram-ey ya mö**
Altair PT I-DAT surpass-INF-SUB **long.for-TENT2-EV PT PT**
Will Altair **long** for [his beloved] more than I [do]?! (lit.:
surpassing me) [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3657)

能知尔毛安波射良米也母

nöti-ni mwo **ap-aNs-ar-am-ey ya mö**
later-LOC PT **meet-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-EV PT PT**
will [we] **not meet** later?! [Of course we will!] (MYS XV: 3741)

将若異子等丹所置金目八

WAKA-ky-eM-U KWO-RA-ni **NOR-AYE-kane-m-ey ya**
young-ATTR-TENT-ATTR girl-PLUR-LOC **abuse-PASS(INF)-**
NEG/POT-TENT-EV PT
would [you] **be able not to be abused** by girls who would be
younger? [Certainly you would be abused!] (MYS XVI: 3793)

何爲牟尔吾乎召良米夜

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? [You
should not!] (MYS XVI: 3886)

保登等藝須伊麻奈可受之弓安須古要牟夜麻尔奈久等母之流思
安良米夜母

potötöNkyisu ima nak-aNs-u s-i-te asu kwoye-m-u yama-ni nak-u
tömö sirusi **ar-am-ey ya mö**
cuckoo now cry-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB tomorrow cross-TENT-
ATTR mountain-LOC cry-FIN CONJ sign **exist-TENT-EV PT PT**
Cuckoo! [You] are not crying now: even if [you] cry in the
mountains that [I] will cross tomorrow, **would** [there] **be any sign**?!
[Certainly not!] (MYS XVIII: 4052)

都婆吉都良々々尔美等母安可米也

tuNpaki tura-tura n-i miy tōmō **ak-am-ey ya**

camellia intently DV-INF look(FIN) CONJ **get.enough-TENT-EV**
PT

even if [I] look intently at the camellia, **would [I] get enough?**
[Certainly not!] (MYS XX: 4481)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The evidential *-ure ~ -e[y]* has the same functions in Eastern Old Japanese as in Western Old Japanese.

The evidential as a final predicate with *kakari-musubi*:

与曾爾見之欲波伊麻許曾麻左礼

yōsō-ni MYI-si-ywo pa ima **kōsō 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)

刀奈布倍美許曾奈爾与曾利鷄米

twonap-uNpey-miy **kōsō na-ni yōsōr-i-ky-em-ey**

recite-DEB-GER **PT** you-DAT **approach-INF-PAST/FIN-**
TENT-EV

as [I] had to recite [the magic formula], [I] **approached** you (MYS
XIV: 3468)

奈爾己曾与佐礼

na-ni **kōsō yōs-ar-e**

you-DAT **PT approach-PROG-EV**

[I] **approached** you (MYS XIV: 3478)

於曾波夜母奈乎許曾麻多賣

osō paya mō na-wo **kōsō mat-am-ye**

slow fast PT you-ACC **PT wait-TENT-EV**

Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] **will wait** for you (MYS
XIV: 3493a)

The evidential *-ure ~ -e[y]* as a final predicate without *kakari-musubi*:

安是登伊敝可

aNse tö **ip-ye** ka

why DV **say-EV** PT

for what reason (lit.: **saying**: ‘Why?’) (MYS XIV: 3461)

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)

安杼毛敝可

aN-tö [**o**]mwop-ye ka

what-DV **think-EV** PT

Thinking what? (MYS XIV: 3572)

波奈都豆麻奈礼也

pana t-u tuma **nar-e** ya

flower DV-ATTR spouse **be-EV** PT

Are you a flower-wife? (MYS XIV: 3370)

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani **s-ure** sö papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-Ns-u-ky-em-u

what **do-EV** PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

why (lit.: **having done** what) has the flower called ‘Mother’ not bloomed? (MYS XX: 4323)

Irony:

都藝奈牟毛能乎美太礼志米梅楊

tuNk-yi-n-am-u mwonöwo **myiNtare-simey-m-ey** ya

continue-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR CONJ **be.confused-CAUS-TENT-EV** PT

although [I] want to continue, [what] **could make** [my heart] **confused?** [Nothing!] (MYS XIV: 3360)

曾能可奈之伎乎刀爾多弓米也母

sönö kanasi-kyi-wo two-ni **tate-m-ey ya** mö

that beloved-ATTR-ACC door-LOC **place-TENT-EV PT PT**
would [I] let that beloved [of mine] **stand** at the door?! [Certainly not!] (MYS XIV: 3386)

安左乎良乎遠家尔布須左尔宇麻受登毛安須伎西佐米也

asa-wo-ra-wo wo-kye-ni pususa n-i um-as-u tömwo asu **kyi-se-sas-am-ey ya**

hemp-hemp.thread-PLUR-ACC hemp-container-LOC many DV-
INF spin-HON-FIN CONJ tomorrow **wear(NML)-do-HON-TENT-EV PT**

Even if [you] spin many hemp threads into a hemp container,
would [you] **wear** [them] tomorrow [as a garment]? [Certainly, you would not!] (MYS XIV: 3484)

安比見受安良婆安礼古非米夜母

apyi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa are **kwopiy-m-ey ya** mö

COOP-see-NEG-INF exist-COND I **long-TENT-EV PT PT**

if [we] did not meet each other, would I **long** [for her]?! [Certainly not!] (MYS XIV: 3508)

A2: Ryukyuan

It appears that in Old Ryukyuan the evidential form consistently replaces the final form after the focus particle *siyo* ~ *su* that is claimed to be related to WOJ *kösö* (Serafim & Shinzato 2005: 12-21). All examples below are borrowed from (Serafim and Shinzato 2005) with some changes in transliteration, glossing, and translation:

しよりもりきみ々しよまふらめ

siyori mori kimi-kimi **siyo mabur-am-e**

Shuri shrine priestess-priestess **PT protect-TENT-EV**

Priestesses from the Shuri Shrine **will protect** [it] (OS XIII: 853)

はつにしやすまちよたれおきとばすまちよたれ

fatu nisi ya **su mat-i-yo-tar-e** okitoba **su mat-i-yo-tar-e**

first north.wind TOP **PT wait-INF-exist(INF)-PERF-EV**
north.wind **PT wait-INF-exist(INF)-PERF-EV**

[We] waited for the first north wind. [We] waited for the north wind (OS XIII: 899)

Similar to Western Old Japanese, there are also examples in Old Ryukyuan when the evidential form may be used as a form of final predication without the preceding focus particle *siyo ~ su*:

こばおもりのきみゝゝまやゑておこらめ
 kobao mori-no kimi-kimi ma-y-aw-e-te **okor-am-e**
 Kobao shrine-GEN priestess-priestess dance-INF-join-INF-SUB
send-TENT-EV
 Priestesses from the Kobao shrine **will** dance together and **send** [it]
 (OS XIII: 853)

あやみやのまほろあまこあわちへもとらめ
 aya miya-no ofo koro ama-ko awa-tife **modor-am-e**
 splendid palace-GEN big man eye-DIM lock(INF)-SUB **return-**
TENT-EV
 The elders at the splendid palace **will** lock [their] eyes and **return**
 (OS XXI: 1411)

The modern Shuri dialect does not have any of the above usages, and, as far as I can tell, the grammars of other Ryukyuan dialects do not offer any information on the existence of these phenomena. Quite possibly, it is attested somewhere, but the brevity of most grammars of the dialects from islands outside Okinawa does not allow any conclusions at this time.

6.2.2.1.4 Imperative *-[y]e ~ -ö*

The imperative suffix *-[y]e* is found after consonant verbs, including *r*-irregular verbs, and after *n*-irregular verbs. As its shape *-ye* (attested after stems with final labials or velars) indicates, this imperative suffix probably goes back to monophthongization of the infinitive suffix *-[y]i + *-a*, which should be the proper marker of the imperative. This imperative **-a*, since it historically follows the infinitive, originally probably was an auxiliary, but due to the monophthongization **-i-a > -ye*, Western Old Japanese acquired a new suffix. The imperative suffix *-[y]e* can follow either consonant verbal roots or the following suffixes and auxiliaries that are listed below in Chart 41. There is also an aberrant imperative form *-ö* that occurs only after the benefactive auxiliary *-köse-* with a resulting form *-kös-ö*. It is probably due to the progressive assimilation of */ye/ > /ö/* under the influence of the preceding */ö/*. Since *-köse-*

generally behaves like a vowel verb, we would expect such forms as *-köse-yō or *-köse, but they are not found in the texts.

Chart 41: Combinations of the imperative suffixes *-[y]e ~ -ō* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
desiderative <i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-(a)n-e</i>
benefactive <i>-köse-</i>	<i>-kös-ō</i>
progressive <i>-(y)er-</i>	<i>-(y)er-e</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-e</i>

As can be seen from the above chart, the imperative *-[y]e* can combine only with the desiderative *-(a)na*, the progressive *-[y]er-*, and the honorific *-as-*, besides, of course, plain consonant verb roots. The aberrant variant *-ō* is found only after *-köse-*. Examples:

許能登理母宇知夜米許世泥

könō tōri mō **uti-yamey-köse-n-e**

this bird PT **PREF-stop(INF)-BEN-DES-IMP**

[I] **wish [you] would stop** [the singing] of these birds (KK 2)

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢

matur-i-kō-si myi-kyi Nsō as-aNs-u **wos-e**

present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rice.wine PT

shallow-NEG-INF **drink(HON)-IMP**

Drink the presented rice wine deeply! (KK 39)

岐許志母知袁勢麻呂賀知 (KK script)

枳居之茂知塙勢摩呂餓智 (NK script)

kyikōs-i-mōt-i-wos-e marō-Nka ti

drink(HON)-INF-hold-INF-HON-IMP I-POSS father

Deign to drink [it], my father (KK 48, NK 39)

夜麻斯呂迄伊斯祁登理夜麻伊斯祁伊斯祁阿賀波斯豆摩迄伊斯岐阿波牟迦母

yamasirō-ni **i-sik-ye** tōriyama **i-sik-ye i-sik-ye** a-Nka pasi-N-tuma-ni **i-sik-yi** ap-am-u kamō

Yamasirō-LOC **DLF-follow-IMP** Tōriyama **DLF-follow-IMP**

DLF-follow-IMP I-POSS beloved-DV(ATTR)-spouse-DAT DLF-follow-INF meet-TENT-ATTR PT

To Yamasirö – **go there**, Töriyama! **Follow** [her] **there**, follow [her] **there!** Follow my beloved spouse there and meet [her]! (KK 59)

比能美古爾登余美岐多弓麻都良勢

pyi-nö myi-kwo-ni töyö myi-kyi **tatematur-as-e**
sun-GEN HON-child-DAT abundant HON-rice.wine
present(HUM)-HON-IMP

Present the abundant rice wine to the honorable child of the Sun!
(KK 101)

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
予利據柁

isi-kapa-kata-puti kata-puti-ni amyi par-i-watas-i mey-rö yös-i-ni
yös-i **yör-i-kö-n-e**

stone-river-side-pool side-pool-LOC net spread-INF-carry.across-
INF mesh-DIM bring.near-NML-COMP bring.near-NML
approach-INF-come-DES-IMP

[Girls, I] **wish** [you] would **come near**, like [they] bring near the
meshes, spreading nets across at the side pool of a stony river (NK
3)

不聽跡雖謂話礼話礼常詔許曾志斐伊波奏強話登言

INA tö IP-EY-NTÖ **KATAr-e KATAr-e** tö NÖR-AS-E kösö
Sipiy-i pa MAWOS-E SIPIY-N-KATAR-I tö NÖR-U
no DV say-EV-CONC **speak-IMP speak-IMP** DV say-HON-EV
PT 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] Sipiy says, [you] call a forced speech (MYS III:
237)

用流能伊味仁越都伎提美延許曾

yworu-nö imey-ni wo tuNk-yi-te **myi-ye-kös-ö**
night-GEN dream-LOC PT follow-INF-SUB **see-PASS(INF)-
BEN-IMP**

please appear [for me] continuously in [my] night dreams (MYS
V: 807)

烏梅能波奈伊米尔加多良久美也備多流波奈等阿例母布左氣尔
于可倍許曾

uMEY-nō pana imey-ni katar-aku myiyaNbiy-tar-u pana tō are
[o]möp-u sakey-ni **ukaNpey-kös-ō**
plum-GEN blossom dream-LOC tell-NML be.elegant(INF)-
PERF/PROG-ATTR blossom DV we think-FIN rice.wine-LOC
let.float(INF)-BEN-IMP

The plum blossoms told [me] in [my] dream: “We think that [we] are elegant blossoms. **Please let [us] float** in the rice wine [cup]” (MYS V: 852)

此戸開為

KÖNÖ TWO PYIRAK-As-e

this door **open-HON-IMP**

please open this door (MYS XIII: 3310)

和須礼我比与世伎弓於家礼於伎都之良奈美

wasure-N-kapyi **yōse-k-yi-te ok-yer-e** okyi-tu sira namyi
forget(NML)-GEN-shell **bring(INF)-come-INF-SUB put-PROG-IMP**
offing-GEN/LOC white wave
white waves of the offing, **bring** [to me] the shell of forgetfulness
(MYS XV: 3629)

都追牟許等奈久波也可徹里麻勢

tutum-u kötō na-ku paya **kapyer-i-[i]mas-e**

have difficulty-ATTR no-INF fast **return-INF-HON-IMP**

Return quickly, without having difficulties (MYS XV: 3582)

美也故爾由加波伊毛爾安比弓許祢

myiyakwo-ni yuk-aNpa imwo-ni ap-yi-te **kō-n-e**
capital-LOC go-COND beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB **come-DES-IMP**

if [you] go to the capital, meet [there my] beloved, and **come** [back]
(MYS XV: 3687)

之呂多倍能安我之多其呂母宇思奈波受毛弓礼和我世故多太尔
安布麻得尔

sirō tapey-nō a-Nka sita-N-körömō usinap-aNs-u **mwot-er-e** wa-
Nka se-kwo taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN I-POSS bottom-GEN-garment
lose-NEG-INF **carry-PROG-IMP** I-POSS beloved-DIM direct
DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

My beloved, **carry** [with you] my undergarment from white
mulberry tree bark cloth without losing [it], until [we] meet directly
(MYS XV: 3751)

伊波敝和我勢古多太爾安布末低爾

ipap-ye wa-Nka se-kwo taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

pray-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-
TERM-LOC

pray, my beloved, until [we] meet directly (MYS XV: 3778)

古非之奈婆古非毛之祢等也

kwopiy-sin-aNpa kwopiy mwo **sin-e** tö ya

long.for(INF)-die-COND long.for(INF) PT **die-IMP** DV PT

Do [you] tell [me]: 'If [you] die longing, **die** from longing!?' (MYS
XV: 3780)

佐伎久安礼

sakyi-ku **ar-e**

safe-INF **exist-IMP**

Be safe! (MYS XVII: 3927)

保等登芸須許欲奈枳和多礼

potötöNkyisu kö-ywo nak-yi **watar-e**

cuckoo this-ABL cry-INF **cross-IMP**

[Oh,] cuckoo, **cross** from here, crying (MYS XVIII: 4054)

雪奈布美曾祢

YUKYI **na-pum-yi-sö-n-e**

snow **NEG-step.on-INF-do-DES-IMP**

do not step on the snow (MYS XIX: 4228)

伊波敝神多智

ipap-ye KAMIY-tati

protect-IMP deity-PLUR

protect [him], oh deities! (MYS XIX: 4240)

多比良氣久於夜波伊麻佐祢都々美奈久都麻波麻多世

tapyirakey-ku oya pa **imas-an-e** tutumyi na-ku tuma pa **mat-as-e**

safe-**INF** parents TOP **exist(HON)-DES-IMP** obstacle no-**INF**
 spouse TOP **wait-HON-IMP**

Parents, **please live** safely! Wife, **please wait** [for me] without obstacles! (MYS XX: 4408)

和波己藝渥奴等伊弊尔都氣己曾

wa pa kōnk-yi-[i]Nte-n-u tö ipye-ni tuNkey-kōs-ō

I TOP row-**INF-go.out(INF)-PERF-FIN** DV **report(INF)-BEN-IMP**

Please tell [the folks at my] home that I have sailed out (MYS XX: 4408)

久佐奈加利曾祢

kusa na-kar-i-sō-n-e

grass **NEG-cut-**INF-do-DES-IMP****

do not cut the grass (MYS XX: 4457)

波都由伎波知徹爾布里之家

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)

都止米毛呂毛呂須須賣毛呂母呂

tutōmey mworō-mworō **susum-ye** mworō-mörō

strive(**IMP**) all-all **go forward-IMP** all-all

strive, everybody, **go forward**, everybody (BS 18)

己家々己門々祖名不失勤仕奉礼

ONŌ-NKA IPYE-IPYE ONŌ-NKA KANTWO-KANTWO OYA-

NŌ NA USINAP-ANS-U TUTWOMEY-TUKAPEY-MATU**r-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)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The usage of the imperative suffix *-[y]e* in Eastern Old Japanese is quite similar to Western Old Japanese with the difference that it is

not attested after the progressive markers *-ar-* or *-[y]er-*. The aberrant form *-ō* after the benefactive *-köse-* is also attested.

和爾奈多要曾祢

wa-ni **na-taye-sō-n-e**

I-DAT NEG-break(INF)-do-DES-IMP

Do not become estranged from me (MYS XIV: 3378)

安乎奈多要曾祢

a-wo **na-taye-sō-n-e**

I-ACC NEG-break(INF)-do-DES-IMP

Do not break with me (MYS XIV: 3416)

可未奈那里曾祢

kamiy **na-nar-i-sō-n-e**

[thunder] god NEG-sound-INF-IMP-DES-IMP

Thunder god, [please] **do not thunder!** (MYS XIV: 3421)

奈我已許呂能祢

na-Nka kökörö **nör-e**

you-POSS heart tell-IMP

Reveal [to me] your heart (MYS XIV: 3425)

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)

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西祢

asa-te kwo-N-pusuma kö yöpyi Ntani tuma **yōs-i-köse-n-e**

hemp-cloth DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding this night PT spouse **bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP**

Oh, [my] dear bedding from the hemp cloth! [I] **wish** [you would] **bring** my spouse **close** [to me] just tonight (MYS XIV: 3454)

古非思家婆伎麻世和我勢古

kwopiysi-ky-eNpa **k-yi-[i]mas-e** wa-Nka se-kwo

miss-ATTR-COND **come-INF-HON-IMP** I-POSS beloved-DIM

If [you] miss [me], **please come**, my beloved (MYS XIV: 3455)

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si keytōNpa
Nse wasure-kane-t-uru
father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP
DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR word PT forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-
PERF-ATTR

[I] cannot forget the words: “Be safe!” that [my] father and mother
said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

伊麻波許伎奴等伊母尔都氣許曾

ima pa kōNk-yi-n-u tö imō-ni tuNkey-kōs-ō
now TOP row-INF-PERF-FIN DV beloved-DAT report(INF)-
BEN-IMP

Please tell [my] beloved that [I] have sailed out now (MYS XX:
4363)

久自我波々佐氣久阿利麻弓

KuNsi-N-kapa pa sakey-ku ari-mat-e
KuNsi-GEN-river TOP safe-INF ITER-wait-IMP

Wait for [me] (all this time) safely at KuNsi River! (MYS XX:
4368)

A2: Ryukyuan

Forms cognate to the WOJ imperative suffix *-[y]e < *-i-a* are found
both in Old Ryukyuan and modern dialects throughout the
Ryukyuan archipelago. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

主里もりあせはつちぎりにきらせ

SIYORI mori ase fa tuti-gir-i n-i kir-as-e
Shuri castle warrior TOP ground-(DV)cut-NML DV-INF cut-
HON-IMP

Warriors of the Shuri castle, cut [the enemy] as cutting the ground
(OS I: 33)

いしとかねとあわちへすもせ

isi-to kane-to awa-tife-s-u mo[do]s-e
stone-COM metal-COM combine-SUB-do-FIN retreat-IMP
make [them] retreat using both stones and metal (OS II: 47)

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)

Naha

siriziti-ni an i-i sa
 know-LOC INTER **say-IMP** PT
say since [you] know [it] (Nohara 1986: 74)

Shuri

munoo maa-ku **kam-ee**
 thing(TOP) delicious-INF **eat-IMP**
Eat food with gusto! (RKJ 82)

Miyako

tʃa:-yu **num-e**
 tea-ACC **drink-IMP**
drink tea!

Thus, we probably can reconstruct the Proto-Japonic imperative suffix as *-a. It is quite obvious that no ‘Altaic’ parallels are even remotely possible, since the Korean basic imperative is *-la, the Proto-Tungusic imperative probably should be reconstructed as *-ka- or *-gi-, and the Mongolic and Turkic basic imperatives are suffixless, coinciding with the verb root.

6.2.2.1.5 Zero imperative and its extended form -yō

In contrast to Middle Japanese, where vowel and vowel irregular verbs always have the imperative suffix -yo, there are examples in Western Old Japanese when these verbs just have their roots used as their imperative forms without any following -yō, although forms with -yō are considerably more frequent.³⁸

³⁸ I agree with Shirafuji that -yō forms are not original, and that -yō in all probability goes back to an exclamation particle yō (Shirafuji 1987: 140).

Synchronically root imperatives should be treated as having a zero imperative marker. However, diachronically there might be a different explanation that will allow us to solve the famous puzzle of the Old Japanese imperatives, namely why imperative markers are different for consonant and vowel verbs. My solution is that diachronically there is no distinction at all. We saw in 6.2.2.1.4 that *-ye* imperatives found after consonant verbs go back to the infinitive *-i + *-a*. By default the majority of vowel verbs have infinitives that coincide with verbal roots, the only exception being *k*-irregular, and *s*-irregular verbs.³⁹ By the rules of Old Japanese phonotactics, vowel clusters are prohibited, therefore, the addition of the imperative **-a* would produce a vowel cluster that should be simplified. In the case of the majority of vowel verbs this simplification must have been achieved by the deletion of the imperative **-a*, with the verbal root acquiring a function of the imperative. The only puzzling shapes under this scenario are the imperatives *kō* ‘come(IMP)’ and *se* ‘do(IMP).’ However, *se* ‘do’ can be treated as **s-i-a* ‘do-INF-IMP,’ so the only puzzling form is *kō* ‘come.’ But even this form can be explained if we suppose that a monphthongization **-i-a > -ye* took place prior to vowel contraction. Thus, **kō-i-a > *kō-ye > kō*.

The verbal root as an imperative form:

Although in the following two examples the imperative form *se* is attested in Western Old Japanese in semantographic writing, we can make an educated guess that it is *se* and not *se-yō* on the basis of the syllable count. Cf. also the example from the *Senmyō* below, where it is written phonetically, as well as the Eastern Old Japanese imperative form *se*, cited in the comparative section (see MYS XIV: 3369).

柳之蘊為吾妹

YANANKIY-NŌ KANTURA SE WA-NK-YIMWO
willow-GEN wig **do(IMP)** I-POSS-beloved
put on the willow wig, my beloved (MYS X: 1924)

³⁹ Although *n*-irregular verbs are essentially vowel verbs (at least historically), they have imperatives in *-e*, like consonant verbs, which can be explained along the same lines as the consonant verb imperative marker *-ye < *-i-a*.

事計吉為吾兄子相有時谷

KŌTŌ PAKAR-I YŌ-KU SE WA-NKA SE-KWO AP-YER-U
TŌKYI Ntani

thing plan-NML good-INF **do(IMP)** I-POSS beloved-DIM meet-
PROG-ATTR time PT

just [at] the time when [we] meet, **do** the planning well, my
beloved (MYS XII: 2949)

伊敝妣等波可敝里波也許等

ipye-N-pyitō pa kapyer-i paya **kō** tō

house-GEN-person TOP return-INF quick **come(INF)** DV

[My] home folks say: ‘**Come** back quickly!’ (MYS XV: 3636)

多婢尔弓毛母奈久波也許登

taNpyi n-i-te mwo mö na-ku paya **kō** tō

trip DV-INF-SUB PT misfortune no-INF quick **come(IMP)** DV

[my beloved] said: ‘**Come** [back] quickly without any misfortune
on [your] trip!’ (MYS XV: 3717)

之流久之米多弓比等能之流倍久

siru-ku simey **tate** pyitō-nō sir-uNpey-ku

distinct-INF sign **erect(IMP)** person-GEN know-DEB-INF

erect a distinct sign, so the people could know (MYS XVIII: 4096)

吾等尔可伎无氣念之念婆

WARE-ni **kakyi-mukey** OMÖP-YI si OMÖP-ANpa

I-DAT **PREF-turn(IMP)** love-NML PT love-COND

if you indeed love [me], **turn** to me (MYS XIX: 4191)

都止米毛呂毛呂須須賣毛呂母呂

tutōmey mworō-mworō susum-ye mworō-mörō

strive(IMP) all-all go forward-IMP all-all

strive, everybody, go forward, everybody (BS 18)

此事俱仁西止伊射奈布尔

KŌNŌ KŌTŌ TŌMŌ n-i se tō iNsanap-u-ni

this thing together DV-INF **do(IMP)** DV entice-ATTR-LOC

when [Wonwo-nō ANtumapyitō] enticed [him] saying: ‘**Do** this
(thing) together [with us]’ (SM 19)

An extended form with *-yō* is attested in Western Old Japanese with verbal roots and after the perfective and the causative, as can be seen from the following chart:

Chart 42: Combinations of the extended imperative *-yō* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-yō</i>
causative <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-se-yō</i>

However, as far as I can tell, there is only one example of the causative with the following extended imperative *-yō*. Examples with the preceding perfective *-te-* are also rare, so in the majority of cases *-yō* is found after a vowel verb root (if we follow a synchronic description), or after a vowel verb infinitive (if we follow a diachronic description). Examples:

愛寸事盡手四

URUPASI-kyi KÖTÖ TUKUS-I-te-yō
splendid-ATTR word **exhaust-INF-PERF-IMP**
exhaust [your] splendid words (MYS IV: 661)

阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可

are-woNpa mö ika n-i **se-yō** tö ka
I-ACC(EMPH) PT how DV-INF **do-IMP** DV PT
What do [you] think I [should] **do**? (MYS V: 794)

由布弊爾奈礼婆伊射祢余登

yupu-N-pye n-i nar-e-Npa iNsa **ne-yō** tö
evening-GEN-side DV-INF become-EV-CON INTER **sleep-IMP**
DV
When [it] became evening, and [we] told [him]: '[Go to] **sleep!**;
(MYS V: 904)

吾衣於君令服与

A-NKA KÖRÖMÖ KYIMYI-NI KYI-SE-yō
I-POSS garment lord-LOC **wear-CAUS-IMP**
Put my garment **on** yourself! (MYS X: 1961)

保等登芸須許許爾知可久乎伎奈伎弓余

potötöNkyisu kökö-ni tika-ku-wo k-yi **nak-yi-te-yō**

cuckoo here-LOC be close-INF-ACC come-INF **cry-INF-PERF-IMP**
Cuckoo! Come close to here, and **cry!** (MYS XX: 4438)

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

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Similar to Western Old Japanese, the extended imperative form *-yö* in Eastern Old Japanese is also more frequent than the zero imperative form.

The verbal root as an imperative form:

須我麻久良安是加麻可左武許呂勢多麻久良
suNka-makura aNse ka mak-as-am-u kö-rö **se** ta-makura
sedge-pillow why PT use.as.a.pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR girl-DIM
do(IMP) arm-pillow
girl, why would [you] use the sedge pillow? Use [my] arms as a
pillow! (MYS XIV: 3368)

多麻古須氣可利己和我西古
tama kwo-suNkey kar-i **kö** wa-Nka se-kwo
jewel DIM-sedge cut-INF **come(IMP)** I_POSS beloved-DIM
my beloved, cut the jewel[-like] little sedge and **come** (MYS XIV:
3445)

Eastern Old Japanese has extended imperatives ending in *-yö* and *-rö*. It seems that the form in *-yö* is a loan from Western Old Japanese, as it mostly occurs in poems that have no or very limited Eastern Old Japanese features. Meanwhile, *-rö* always occurs in poems that are clearly in Eastern Old Japanese, and therefore, it should be defined as an original Eastern Old Japanese form. Cf. the following examples:

奴流我倍爾安杼世呂登可母

n-uru-Nka [u]pey-ni aN-tō **se-rō** tō kamō
 sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC what-DV **do-IMP** DV PT
 besides sleeping [with her], what [else do you] tell [me to] **do**, I
 wonder? (MYS XIV: 3465)

古非爾思奈武乎伊可爾世余等會

kwopiy n-i sin-am-u-wo ika n-i **se-yō** tō sō
 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)

思良久毛能多要爾之伊毛乎阿是西呂等

sira kumwo-nō taye-n-i-si imwo-wo aNse **se-rō** tō
 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)

比毛多要婆安我弓等都氣呂許礼乃波流母志

pyimwo taye-Npa a-Nka te-tō **tukey-rō** kōre n-ō paru mōs-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)

6.2.2.1.6 Negative imperative *-una*

The negative imperative suffix has just one allomorph *-una* that is found after consonant and vowel verbs alike. Vowel verbs lose the final vowel of their roots before *-una*. Japanese traditional linguistics treats this form as a particle *na* being added to the final form of all verbs except *r*-irregular verbs when it follows the attributive form (Omodaka et al. 1967: 513). Needless to say, this analysis does not make any sense either synchronically or diachronically. From the synchronic point of view it is not clear why the ‘particle’ *na* would follow different inflectional form of *r*-irregular verbs. It is quite clear that in both cases the alleged particle is preceded by the vowel /u/. For the diachronic evidence

that this vowel /u/ cannot be a final predication form *-u*, see the discussion of the Ryukyuan comparative data below.

The functional difference between this suffix on the one hand and the prefix *na-* and circumfix *na...-sō* (see 6.2.1.2) on the other is not clear: both can combine with honorifics and both can be used independently, so the distinction must be really subtle, if any exists at all. The existence of two negative imperatives, one expressed by a prefix, and another by a suffix, may again speak strongly in favor of the restructuring of the language, where the original SVO type morphology is gradually faded out under the influence of the neighboring SOV languages.

Chart 43: Combinations of the negative imperative *-una* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(a)y-una</i>
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)sim-una</i> ⁴⁰
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-una</i>
benefactive <i>kōse-</i>	<i>kōs-una</i>

Examples:

思寐能和俱吾鳴阿娑理逗那偉能古
*siNpyi*⁴¹ -nō waku-N-kwo-wo **asar-i-[i]Nt-una** wi-nō kwo
 tuna-GEN young-DV(ATTR)-child-ACC **fish-INF-exit-NEG/IMP**
 boar-GEN child
 child of the boar, **do not fish out** a young child of the tuna (NK 95)

吾為類和射乎害目賜名
 WA-NKA S-Uru waNsa-wo **TÖNKAmey-TAMAP-Una**
 I-POSS do-ATTR deed-ACC **reproach(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP**
Do not reproach my behavior (MYS IV: 721)

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 **fall-CAUS-NEG/IMP**
Do not let us fall in vain (MYS V: 852a)

⁴⁰ This form is attested only in Eastern Old Japanese, see MYS XIV: 3399 below.

⁴¹ There is a play on words in this poem: *siNpyi* 'tuna' is homonymous with the name of the young noble *SiNpyi*.

人尔所知名

PYITŌ-ni SIR-AY-Una

person-DAT know-PASS-NEG/IMP

Do not [let it] **be known** by people (MYS XI: 2762)

安乎忘為莫

a-wo WASUR-As-uNA

I-ACC forget-HON-NEG/IMP

Do not forget me (MYS XII: 3013)

毛美知和礼由伎彳可蔽里久流未但知里許須奈由米

mwomyit-i ware yuk-yi-te kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte **tir-i-kös-una**
yumey

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML I go-INF-SUB return-INF-come-
ATTR-TERM **fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP** at.all

Red leaves! **Please do not fall** at all until I go and come back
(MYS XV: 3702)

和我世故我可反里吉麻佐武等伎能多米伊能知能己佐牟和須礼
多麻布奈

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-am-u tökyi-nö tamey
inöti nököš-am-u **wasure-tamap-una**

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS return-INF-come-INF-HON-TENT-
ATTR time-GEN for life leave-TENT-ATTR **forget(INF)-HON-
NEG/IMP**

Do not forget, my beloved, that [I] will stay alive until [you] return
(MYS XV: 3774)

牟奈許等母於夜乃名多都奈

muna kötö mö oya-nö NA **tat-una**

empty word PT ancestor-GEN name **break-NEG/IMP**

do not destroy the name of [your] ancestors [with] empty words
(MYS XX: 4465)

過无罪無有者捨麻湏奈忘麻湏奈

AYAMAT-I NA-KU TUMYI NA-KU AR-ANPA SUTE-[i]mas-
una WASURE-[i]mas-una

make.mistake-NML no-INF sin no-INF exist-COND
abandon(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP forget(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP

if [she] has no[t committed any] sin or mistake, **do not abandon**
[her], **do not forget** [her] (SM 7)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The negative imperative suffix *-una* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

吾乎祢之奈久奈

A-wo ne si **nak-una**

I-ACC sound PT **make.cry-NEG/IMP**

Do not make me cry loudly (MYS XIV: 3362)

安思布麻之牟奈久都波氣和我世

asi **pum-asim-una** kutu pak-ey wa-Nka se

foot **step-CAUS-NEG/IMP** shoe put.on-IMP I-POSS beloved

Do not let [yourself] **step** [on it bare-]footed. Put on [your] shoes, my beloved (MYS XIV: 3399)

夜蘇許登乃敝波思氣久等母安良蘇比可祢弓安乎許登奈須那

yaswo kötö-nö pye pa siNkey-ku tömö araswop-yi-kane-te a-wo **kötö nas-una**

eighty word-GEN leaf TOP thick-INF CONJ resist-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB I-ACC **word make-NEG/IMP**

even though many rumors are growing thick [like a bush], **do not talk** about me, failing to resist (MYS XIV: 3456)

A2: Ryukyuan

Ryukyuan comparative data are important for establishing WOJ *-una* as a separate suffix rather than a sequence of the final predication suffix *-u* plus a negative particle *na*. Consider the data in the following chart:

Chart 44: Final predication and negative imperative forms in the Shuri dialect

gloss	verb root	final predication	negative imperative
write	kak-	kach-uN	kak-una
stand	tat-	tach-uN	tat-una
push	'us-	'us-uN	'us-una
read	yum-	yum-uN	yum-una

As was noted above in 6.2.2.1.1, a Ryukyuan palatalization of the final consonant of the root such as *k* > *ch* and *t* > *ch* before the

final predication suffix indicates that this suffix was originally attached to the infinitive *-i* that triggered this palatalization. However, there are no traces of this palatalization in the negative imperative form. This discrepancy demonstrates that the vowel /u/ in the WOJ final predication suffix *-u* and the negative imperative *-una* have different origins, and that consequently the traditional theory of a ‘negative final particle’ *na* following the final predication form is completely untenable.

Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

おぎもうちはなげくな

oN-kimo uti fa **nagek-una**

HON-liver inside TOP **lament-NEG/IMP**

Do not lament inside your soul (OS X: 518)

Shuri

sumuchi **yum-una**

book **read-NEG/IMP**

Do not read the book

Vowel correspondences in other dialects indicate PR **-ona* rather than **-una* (Serafim, p.c.), which consequently indicates PJ **-ona* as well. It is more than likely that the WOJ negative imperative prefix *na-*, the Proto-Japonic negative imperative suffix **-ona* and the PJ negative **-an-* are all interrelated in some way, although at the present point we do not know how to properly analyze the negative imperative **-ona*, because we do not know what the element **-o-* in this marker could be.

In any case, given this unclear internal situation in Japonic, it would be foolhardy to embark on a search for the external origins of this morpheme, although the similarity with other **-n-* negatives across Eurasia certainly invites various wild long-range comparisons, for the unrealistic ‘Altaic’ comparisons see, e.g., Starostin et al. 2003: 228, and Robbeets 2005: 414.

6.2.2.1.7 Desiderative *-ana* ~ *-na*

The desiderative suffix has two allomorphs: *-ana* after consonant verbs and *-na* after vowel verbs. It has three functions: (a) it expresses the desire of the speaker himself to perform an action (cf. Modern Japanese *-tai*), (b) it expresses the desire of the speaker for the addressee to perform an action (cf. Modern Japanese *-te hosii*), (c) hortative, i.e. an invitation to do something together. The desiderative suffix *-(a)na* can combine with the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries:

Chart 45: Combinations of the desiderative *-(a)na* with other suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
imperative <i>-[y]e</i>	<i>-(a)n-e</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-(a)na-m-</i>
exclamative <i>-(u)mö</i>	<i>-(a)na-mö</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-ana</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-na</i>
benefactive <i>-köse-</i>	<i>-köse-n-e</i> ⁴²
negative imperative <i>na-...-sö</i>	<i>na-...-sö-n-e</i>

One can see that the desiderative suffix *-(a)na* shows an idiosyncratic behavior: it follows the perfective auxiliaries *-n-* and *-te-*, the benefactive auxiliary *-köse-*, and the negative imperative circumfix *na-...-sö*, but it precedes the tentative suffix *-am-* ~ *-m-*, the exclamative suffix *-umö*, and the imperative *-[y]e*. In the latter case it loses its final vowel before the following suffix, appearing in its special contracted form *-an-* ~ *-n-* that will be discussed below separately. Examples:

伊多低於破孺破珥倍迺利能介豆岐齊奈
 ita te op-aNs-u pa nipo-N-töri-nö kaNtuk-yi se-na
 painful place carry-NEG-INF TOP grebe-DV(ATTR)-bird-COMP
dive-NML do-DES
 rather than to receive severe wounds, **let us dive** [together] like grebes (NK 29)

⁴² When preceded by the benefactive auxiliary *-köse-*, the desiderative *-ana* must always be followed by the imperative *-[y]e*. In other words, the form **-köse-na* is not attested.

阿母儻舉曾枳舉曳儒阿羅每矩儻播枳舉曳底那

amo-ni kōsō kyik-ōye-Ns-u ar-am-ey kuni-ni pa **kyik-ōye-te-na**
mother-DAT PT hear-PASS-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV land-DAT
TOP **hear-PASS(INF)-PERF-DES**

[I] probably will not be heard by [my] mother, but [I] **wish to be heard** by [the] land! (NK 82)

許智多鷄波乎婆頭勢夜麻能伊波歸爾母為弓許母郎奈牟

kōt[ō]-ita-ky-eNpa woN-patuse-yama-nō ipa kiy-ni mō **wi-te**
kōmōr-ana-m-u

rumor-painful-ATTR-COND DIM-Patuse-mountain rock fortress-
LOC PT **lead(INF)-SUB hide-DES-TENT-FIN**

if rumors are painful, [I] **want to take** [you] along to a rocky
fortress on the Small Patuse mountain **and hide away** (FK 1)

今者許藝乞菜

IMA PA **kōNk-yi-iNte-na**

now TOP **row-INF-exit-DES**

Let [us] **row out** [to the sea] now (MYS I: 8)

雲谷裳情有南畝可苦佐布倍思哉

KUMWO Ntani mo KŌKŌRŌ **AR-Ana-mo** kakus-ap-uNpey-si
YA

cloud PT PT heart **exist-DES-EXCL** PT hide-ITER-DEB-FIN PT

[I] **wish** at least the clouds [would] **have** feelings! Do [they] have
to hide [Mt. Myiwa] all the time? (MYS I: 18)

君尔因奈名

KYIMYI-ni **YÖR-I-n-ana**

lord-DAT **approach-INF-PERF-DES**

[I] **wanted to get close** to you (MYS II: 114)

烏梅能波奈...加射之尔斯弓奈

uMEY-nō pana ... **kaNsas-i n-i s-i-te-na**

plum-GEN blossom ... **decorate-NML DV-INF do-INF-PERF-DES**

Let [us] **decorate** [our hair] with plum blossoms (MYS V: 820)

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴

INTE-pasir-i in-ana tō OMÖP-EY-Ntō kö-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] think that [I] **would like to run away**, [I] am prevented by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

妹許將遣黃葉手折奈

IMWO-Nkari YAR-AM-U MWOMYIT-I **TA-WOR-Ana**

beloved-DIR send-TENT-ATTR leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML **hand-break-DES**

[I] **would like to break with [my] hand** [branches with] maple leaves to send to [my] beloved (MYS IX: 1758)

伊母爾見勢武爾和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比弓由賀奈

imö-ni MYI-se-m-u-ni wata-tu myi-nö okyi-tu SIRA TAMA pyirip-yi-te **yuk-ana**

beloved-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN offing-GEN/LOC white jewel pick up-INF-SUB **go-DES**

[I] **want to go**, picking up the white jewels from the offing of the sea dragon in order to show [them] to [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3614)

秋風尔比毛等伎安氣奈多太奈良受等母

AKYI KANSE-ni pyimwo **tök-yi-akey-na** taNta nar-aNs-u tömö

autumn wind-LOC cord **untie-INF-open-DES** direct be-NEG-FIN CONJ

[I] **wish** that the autumn wind **will untie** the cords, even if [it] is not directly (MYS XX: 4295)

美知乎多豆祢奈

myiti-wo **taNtune-na**

way-ACC **seek-DES**

[I] **want to seek** the Way (MYS XX: 4468)

安之婢乃波奈乎蘇弓尔古伎礼奈

asiNpyi-nö pana-wo swoNte-ni **kwok-yi-[i]re-na**

andromeda-GEN flower-ACC sleeve-LOC **rub.through-INF-insert-DES**

[I] **want to rub** andromeda flowers **into** [my] sleeves (MYS XX: 4512)

己乃美阿止夜与呂豆比賀利乎波奈知伊太志毛呂毛呂須久比和多志多麻波奈須久比多麻波奈

könö myi-atō ya-yōrōNtu pyikari-wo panat-i-iNtas-i mworō-mworō **sukup-yi-watas-i-tamap-ana sukup-yi-tamap-ana**
this HON-foot.print eight-ten.thousand light-ACC emanate-INF-put.out-INF all-all **save-INF-carry.across-INF-HON-DES save-INF-HON-DES**

This footprint emanates myriad lights, and [I] **want** [it] **to save** everybody, **leading** [them] **across**, [I] **want** [it] **to save** [them] (BS 4)

一二人乎治賜波奈止那毛所思行湏

PYITÖ-RI PUTA-RI-wo **WOSAMEY-TAMAp-ana** tö namwo OMÖP-OS-I-MYEs-u
one-CL two-CL-ACC **reward(INF)-HON-DES** DV PT think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I] **deign** to think that [I] **want to reward** one or two [of my subjects] (SM 10)

SPECIAL CONTRACTED FORM *-AN- ~ -N-*

The desiderative suffix has a special contracted form *-an- ~ -n-* when it is followed by the imperative suffix *-[y]e* or by the tentative suffix *-am-*. In these cases the desiderative suffix functions not as a sentence-final, but as a word non-final suffix. The combination *-(a)n-am-* of the desiderative and the tentative will be described below in the section on the tentative *-am-*. The desiderative-imperative form *-an-e ~ -n-e* can occur after the stem of a verb, after the benefactive *-köse-*, and after *-sō* 'do' which occurs as a part of the negative circumfix *na...-sō*. The desiderative-imperative form conveys a command to the addressee that also implies a desire on the part of the speaker. Examples:

許能登理母宇知夜米許世泥

könö töri mö **uti-yamey-köse-n-e**
this bird PT **PREF-stop(INF)-BEN-DES-IMP**

[I] **wish** [you] **would stop** [the singing] of these birds (KK 2)

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柁

isi-kapa-kata-puti kata-puti-ni amyi par-i-watas-i mey-rō yös-i-ni yös-i **yör-i-kō-n-e**

stone-river-side-pool side-pool-LOC net spread-INF-carry.across-
INF mesh-DIM bring near-NML-COMP bring near-NML
approach-INF-come-DES-IMP

[Girls, I] **wish** [you] **would come near**, like [they] bring near the
meshes, spreading nets across at the side pool of a stony river (NK
3)

於辭寐羅箇祢瀾和能等能渡烏

os-i-Npyirak-an-e myiwa-nö tönö two-wo
push-INF-open-DES-IMP Myiwa-GEN pavilion door-ACC
push open the door of the Myiwa pavilion (NK 17)

娑奘岐等羅佐泥

saNsaki **tör-as-an-e**
wren grab-HON-DES-IMP
[I wish you would] **catch** the wren! (NK 60)

余呂豆余尔伊麻志多麻比提阿米能志多麻乎志多麻波祢
yöröNtu yö-ni imas-i-tamap-i-te amey-nö sita **mawos-i-tamap-an-**
e

ten.thousand age-LOC exist(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB heaven-
GEN below **report(HUM)-INF-HON-DES-IMP**

May [you] live for ten thousand generations, and **report** [to the
emperor about things in the country] under Heaven (MYS V: 879)

奈良能美夜故尔咩佐宜多麻波祢

nara-nö myiyakwo-ni **myes-aNkey-tamap-an-e**
Nara-GEN capital-LOC **call(HON)(INF)-raise(INF)-HON-DES-**
IMP

[I] **want** [you] **to summon** [me to come] **up** to the capital of Nara
(MYS V: 882)

美也故爾由加波伊毛爾安比弓許祢

myiyakwo-ni yuk-aNpa imwo-ni ap-yi-te **kö-n-e**
capital-LOC go-COND beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB **come-DES-**
IMP

if [you] go to the capital, meet [there my] beloved, and **come** [back]
(MYS XV: 3687)

雪奈布美曾祢

YUKYI **na-pum-yi-sö-n-e**

snow **NEG-step.on-INF-do-DES-IMP**
do not step on the snow (MYS XIX: 4228)

多比良氣久於夜波伊麻佐祢都々美奈久都麻波麻多世
 tapyirakey-ku oya pa **imas-an-e** tutumyi na-ku tuma pa mat-as-e
 safe-INF parents TOP **exist(HON)-DES-IMP** obstacle no-INF
 spouse TOP wait-HON-IMP
 Parents, **please live** safely! Wife, please wait [for me] without
 obstacles! (MYS XX: 4408)

久佐奈加利曾祢
 kusa **na-kar-i-sö-n-e**
 grass **NEG-cut-INF-do-DES-IMP**
do not cut the grass (MYS XX: 4457)

COMPARATIVE DATA LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The desiderative suffix *-ana* ~ *-na* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Examples:

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 **receive(HUM)-DES** beloved-POSS directly hand-
 ABL
 [I] **wish to receive** the water directly from your hands (MYS XIV:
 3439)

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-nö tuk-u-nösu 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**
 Even I **would like to cling** to [my] lord like clouds cling to a high
 peak (MYS XIV: 3514)

和須礼波勢奈那伊夜母比麻須爾
wasure pa se-n-ana iya [o]möp-yi-mas-u-ni
forget(NML) TOP do-NEG-DES more.and.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 desiderative-imperative form *-an-e ~ -n-e* is found quite frequently in Eastern Old Japanese:

和爾奈多要曾祢

wa-ni **na-taye-sö-n-e**

I-DAT NEG-break(INF)-do-DES-IMP

Do not become estranged from me (MYS XIV: 3378)

安乎奈多要曾祢

a-wo **na-taye-sö-n-e**

I-ACC NEG-break(INF)-do-DES-IMP

Do not break with me (MYS XIV: 3416)

可未奈那里曾祢

kamiy **na-nar-i-sö-n-e**

[thunder] god NEG-sound-INF-IMP-DES-IMP

Thunder god, [please] **do not thunder!** (MYS XIV: 3421)

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西祢

asa-te kwo-N-pusuma kö yöpyi Ntani tuma **yös-i-köse-n-e**

hemp-cloth DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding this night PT spouse

bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP

Oh, [my] dear bedding from the hemp cloth! [I] **wish** [you would] **bring** my spouse **close** [to me] just tonight (MYS XIV: 3454)

加比利久麻弓尔已波比弓麻多祢

kapyir-i-k-u-maNte-ni ipap-yi-te **mat-an-e**

return-INF-come-ATTR⁴³-TERM-LOC pray-INF-SUB **wait-DES-IMP**

pray and **wait** [for me] until [I] return (MYS XX: 4339)

阿我母弓能和須例母之太波都久波尼乎布利佐氣美都々伊母波之奴波尼

a-Nka [o]möte-nö wasure-m-ö siNta pa tukuNpa ne-wo purisakey-myi-tutu imö pa **sinwop-an-e**

⁴³ Formally the form *k-u* looks like final, but since it is followed by the case marker *-maNte*, functionally it must be attributive.

I-POSS face-GEN forget-TENT-ATTR time TOP TukuNpa peak-ACC look.up(INF)-look(INF)-COORD beloved TOP **yearn-DES-IMP**

When [you, my] beloved will be forgetting my face, **please yearn** for me, looking up at the TukuNpa peak (MYS XX: 4367)

安之我良乃美祢波保久毛乎美等登志努波祢

asiNkara-nō myi-ne pap-o kumwo-wo myi-tōtō **sinwop-an-e**

AsiNkara-GEN HON-peak crawl-ATTR cloud-ACC see(INF)-COORD **yearn-DES-IMP**

yearn [for me] while looking at the clouds crawling at the AsiNkara peak (MYS XX: 4421)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is also a desiderative suffix *-ana* in Ryukyuan attested both in Ryukyuan and in modern dialects. In modern Shuri this form also has a hortative meaning (RKJ 399), see the example below. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

あやよりくせよりみらな

aya yor-i kuse yor-i **mi-r-ana**

beautiful dance-NML rare dance-NML **see-ATTR(?)**-DES

[I] **want to see** a beautiful dance, a rare dance (OS XIV: 1031)

Classical Ryukyuan

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 **make-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)

Shuri

too sanruu 'isuj-i tuur-ana

INTER Sanruu **hurry-INF pass-DES**

Hey, Sanruu, **let us go fast** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 115)

Since the desiderative suffix *-(a)na* is found in all branches of the Japonic language family, we can safely reconstruct PJ **-ana*. However, there are no apparent external parallels.

6.2.2.1.8 Subjunctive *-amasi* ~ *-masi*

The suffix *-(a)masi* is a marker of the subjunctive mood. It has two allomorphs: *-amasi* that is found after consonant, *r*-irregular, and *n*-irregular verbs, and *-masi* that is found after vowel verbs (including irregular vowel verbs). The same rule applies to the preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries. The subjunctive suffix *-amasi* ~ *-masi* can combine with the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries:

Chart 46: Combinations of the subjunctive suffix *-(a)masi* with other suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-amasi</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-masi</i>
causative <i>-se-</i>	<i>-se-masi</i> ⁴⁴
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-amasi</i>
conditional gerund <i>-aNpa</i>	<i>-(a)mas-eNpa</i>

When *-(a)masi* combines with the conditional gerund *-aNpa*, it becomes a word-non-final suffix. The resulting sequence *-(a)mas-eNpa* is due to the monophthongization of the vowel /i/ in *-(a)masi* and the vowel /a/ in *-aNpa* as a vowel /e/. Since the morphemic boundary is lost due to this fusion, the segmentation of this sequence as *-(a)mas-eNpa* is certainly artificial and represents only an approximation.

Already Yamada Yoshio noticed that *-(a)masi* behaves like an attributive, because it is frequently found before the conjunction *mönö* ~ *mönöwo* (Yamada 1954: 282-83)⁴⁵. I should add that *-(a)masi* is also frequently found before the accusative *-wo* when the latter is used as a conjunction (see 4.1.2.2.8 for details).

⁴⁴ This combination is attested only after strong vowel verbs *myi-* 'to see' and *kyi-* 'to wear.'

⁴⁵ The form *mönöwo* historically certainly derives from *mönö* 'thing' plus the accusative *-wo*.

In many cases, *-(a)masi* appears in Western Old Japanese in parallel constructions like: *-aNpa ... -(a)masi*, *-amas-eNpa ... -(a)masi*, 'if [it] were ... then [it] would be'. This usage is somewhat different from the one found in Middle Japanese where besides the construction *-aba ... -(a)masi*, two different constructions are used frequently: *-(a)masika-ba ... -(a)masi* and *-(a)masi ... -(a)masi*, neither of these latter two being attested in Western Old Japanese. The Western Old Japanese construction *-aNpa ... -(a)masi* is predominantly attested in the form *-s-eNpa ... -(a)masi*, with the past tense auxiliary *-s-* (< **-si*, attributive form) preceding the conditional gerund *-aNpa*.⁴⁶ Examples:

比登都麻都比登迹阿理勢婆多知波氣麻斯袁岐奴岐勢麻斯袁
 pyitō-tu matu pyitō **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa** tati **pakey-masi-wo** kyinu **kyi-**
se-masi-wo

one-CL pine person DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND
 long.sword **make.wear-SUBJ-ACC** garment wear-CAUS-SUBJ-ACC

Oh, lone pine, **if** [you] **were** a human being, [I] **would make** [you] **wear** a long sword, [I] **would make** [you] **wear** a garment, but ... (KK 29)

多遲比怒迹泥牟登斯理勢波多都碁母母母知弓許志母能
 taNtipyi nwo-ni ne-m-u tö **sir-i-s-eNpa** tat-u-N-kömö mö **möt-i-te**
kö-masi mönō

TaNtipyi field-LOC sleep-TENT-FIN DV **know-INF-**
PAST/ATTR-COND stand-ATTR-DV(ATTR)-rush.mat PT **hold-**
INF-SUB come-SUBJ CONJ

If [I] **would know** that [I] would sleep at the TaNtipyi field, [I] **would also bring** a standing rush mat (KK 75)

和加久閑爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母
 waka-ku pey-ni wi **ne-te-masi** mönō oyi-n-i-kyer-u kamō
 young-INF ?-DV-INF bring(INF) **sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ** CONJ
 age(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

[I] **would** have brought [her with me] **and have slept** [with her] if [she] were young, but it turned out that [she] has become old, alas! (KK 93)

⁴⁶ Similar to the form *-(a)mas-eNpa*, described above, this past conditional form *-s-eNpa* also results from the monophthongization of **ia* > [y]e, producing fusion that obliterates the morphemic boundary.

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志

kapiy-nō kurwo kwoma kura **kyi-s-eNpa i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasi**
kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle **put.on-PAST/ATTR-COND**
DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ

if [he] **would put** a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he]
would not reach here [on time] (NK 81a)

宇良志麻能古我多麻久志義阿氣受阿理世波麻多母阿波麻志遠
urasima-nō kwo-Nka tama kusiNkey **akey-Ns-u ar-i-s-eNpa mata**
mō **ap-amasi-wo**

Urasima-GEN child-POSS jewel box **open-NEG-INF exist-INF-**
PAST/ATTR-COND again PT **meet-SUBJ-ACC**

If the boy Urasima **did not open** the jewel box, [he] **would meet**
again [the dragon's daughter], but [it did not happen] (FK 15)

速来而母見手益物乎山背高槻村散去奚留鴨

PAYA K-YI-TE mö **MYI-te-masi** MÖNÖwo YAMASIRÖ-NÖ
TAKA TUKIY mura TIR-I-n-i-kyer-u kamwo

fast come-INF-SUBJ PT **see(INF)-PERF-SUBJ** CONJ Yamasirö-
GEN high zelkova group fall-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Although [I] **would** come fast and **look** [at them], most of the
zelkova [flowers] in Yamasirö have fallen, alas! (MYS III: 277)

可久斯良摩世婆久奴知許等其等美世摩斯母乃乎

ka-ku **sir-amas-eNpa** kun[i]-uti kötö-Nkötö **myi-se-masi** mönöwo
thus-INF **know-SUBJ-COND** land-inside thing-thing **see-CAUS-**
SUBJ CONJ

if [I] **would know** that [I] **would show** [her] all things in the land,
but ... (MYS V: 797)

國尔阿良婆父刀利美麻之家尔阿良婆母刀利美麻志

KUNI-ni **ar-aNpa TITI twor-i-myi-masi** IPYE-ni **ar-aNpa PAPA**
twor-i-myi-masi

province-LOC **exist-COND** father **hold-INF-see-SUBJ** home-
LOC **exist-COND** mother **hold-INF-see-SUBJ**

if [I] **were** in [my] province, [my] father **would take care** [of me],
if [I] **were** in [my] home, [my] mother **would take care** [of me]
(MYS V: 886)

遠妻四高尔有世婆不知十方手綱乃濱能尋来名益

TŌPO TUMA si TAKA-ni **AR-I-s-eNpa** SIR-ANS-U tōmo
TANTUNA-nō PAMA-nō TANTUNE-K-YI-n-**amasi**
distant wife PT Taka-LOC **exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** know-
NEG-FIN CONJ [TaNtuna-GEN beach-COMP – *makura-kotoba*]
visit **seek-(INF)-come-INF-PERF-SUBJ**

If my wife, who is far away [from me], were in Taka, even if [I] did not know, [I] would come looking for [her] (MYS IX: 1746)

人跡不在者桑子尔毛成益物乎

PYITŌ tō **AR-ANS-U PA** KUWA-KWO n-i mwo **NAR-Amasi**
MŌNŌwo

person DV **exist-NEG-INF TOP** mulberry-child DV-**INF PT**
become-SUBJ CONJ

if [I] was not a human being, [I] would [like to] become a silkworm, but ... (MYS XII: 3086)

大船尔伊母能流母能尔安良麻勢婆羽具久美母知弓由可麻之母能乎

OPO PUNE-ni imō nōr-u mōnō n-i ar-**amas-eNpa** PA-N-kukum-
yi mōt-i-te **yuk-amasi** mōnōwo

big boat-LOC beloved board-ATTR thing DV-**INF exist-SUBJ-COND** wing-LOC-cover-**INF hold-**INF-SUB go-SUBJ CONJ****

If [it] were the case that [my] beloved boarded [my] big boat, [I] would go holding her under [my] wings, but ... (MYS XV: 3579)

欲和多流月尔安良麻世婆伊做奈流伊毛爾安比弓許麻之乎

ywo watar-u TUKIY n-i ar-**amas-eNpa** ipye-n-ar-u imwo-ni ap-yi-
te **kō-masi-wo**

night cross-ATTR moon DV-**INF exist-SUBJ-COND** home-LOC-
exist-ATTR beloved-DAT meet-**INF-SUB come-SUBJ-ACC**

if [I] were a moon that goes over through the night, [I] would come to meet my beloved, who is at home (MYS XV: 3671)

君我牟多由可麻之毛能乎

KYIMYI-Nka muta **yuk-amasi** mwonōwo

lord-POSS together **go-SUBJ CONJ**

although [I] would go together with [my] lord ... (MYS XV: 3773)

家布毛可母美也故奈里世婆見麻久保里尔之能御馬屋乃刀尔多弓良麻之

kyepu mwo kamö myiyakwo-**n-ar-i-s-eNpa** MYI-m-aku por-i nisi-
 nö MYI-MAYA-nö two-ni **tat-er-amas**
 today PT PT capital-LOC-exist-**INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** see-
 TENT-NML desire-**INF** west-GEN HON-stable-GEN outside-LOC
stand-PROG-SUBJ

If [I] were in the capital today, too, [I] would be standing outside the Western Imperial Stables, wanting to see [you]! (MYS XV: 3776)

保里江尔波多麻之可麻之乎

Pori-ye-ni pa tama **sik-amas**-wo

Pori-bay-LOC TOP jewel **cover-SUBJ-ACC**

[I] would cover the Pori bay with jewels, but ... (MYS XVIII: 4056)

安佐之保美知尔与流許都美可比尔安里世婆都刀尔勢麻之乎

asa sipo mit-i-ni yör-u kötumyi kapyi **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa** tutwo n-i **se-
 masi-wo**

morning tide full-NML-LOC approach-ATTR trash shellfish **DV-
 INF exist-**INF-PAST/ATTR-COND**** souvenir DV-**INF do-SUBJ-
 ACC**

if the trash that is brought up by the full morning tide were shellfish, [I] would bring [it] as a souvenir, but ... (MYS XX: 4396)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The subjunctive suffix *-(a)masi* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese as well.

伊利奈麻之母乃伊毛我乎杼許爾

ir-i-n-amas mönō imwo-Nka woN-tökō-ni

enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ**** CONJ beloved-POSS DIM-bed-LOC

although [I] would [like to] enter the bed of [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3354)

伊呂夫可久世奈我許呂母波曾米麻之乎

irō-N-puka-ku se-na-Nka körömō pa **sōmey-masi-wo**

color-LOC-deep-**INF** beloved-DIM-POSS garment TOP **dye-
 SUBJ-ACC**

Although [I] **would dye** deeply [my] beloved's garment... (MYS XX: 4424)

A2: Ryukyuan

The subjunctive suffix *-(a)masi* is attested only in Old Ryukyuan in ten examples in the *Omoro sōshi* (Torigoe 1968: 178-79). The absence of reflexes in the modern dialects strongly suggests that it is a loan from Middle Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

みちへいちへいきぬはまし

mi-tife i-tife iki **nup-amasi**

look(INF)-SUB go(INF)-SUB breath extend-SUBJ

[by] going and looking [at it], [I] **would extend** [my] life (OS XI: 557)

うきおほちか世やてやもゝかめむすへまし

u-ki ofo ti-ka YO ya-te ya momo kame mu **sufe-masi**

great-ATTR big father-POSS world be(INF)-SUB TOP hundred jar PT **place-SUBJ**

because it is the world of great ancestors, [we] **would place** as much as a hundred jars [of rice wine] (OS XI: 559)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I have attempted before to compare WOJ *-(a)masi* with Tungusic subjunctive markers: Nanai *-mca* ~ *-mce* and Ewenki *-mcaa* ~ *-mcee* (Vovin 2001: 194). An example:

Nanai

Min-du miocan bi-cin ōsi-ni mi **miocala-mca-i**

I-DAT gun be-PAST/ATTR become-GER I **shoot-SUBJ-1ps**

If I had a gun, **I would shoot** (Avrorin 1961: 137)

The comparison should be abandoned, because it represents no more than wishful thinking: there are no regular correspondences in vowels, and the correspondence of WOJ *-s-* to Tungusic *-c-* is also highly questionable.

6.2.2.1.9 Suppositional *-urasi* ~ *-asi*

The suppositional suffix has reliable evidence for two allomorphs: *-urasi* and *-asi*. *-Uras*i occurs after all verbs with the possible exception of strong vowel verbs. The expected allomorph after strong vowel verbs is *-rasi*. However, there is only one example of the suppositional form of a strong vowel verb (*ni-* ‘to boil’) found in the Western Old Japanese texts: see the example from MYS X: 1879 below. Unfortunately, the part of the verb preceding the phonographically spelled *-rasi* is written semantographically, so we will never know for certain, although it is most likely that the form is indeed **ni-rasi*. The allomorph *-asi* is a special form that appears after certain paradigmatic forms. It will be discussed in detail below.

As a rule *-urasi* is found as a sentence-final suffix, but in Western Old Japanese, in contrast to Middle Japanese, it can also be followed by the adjectival attributive form *-kyi*. Thus, in this case it appears as a word-non-final suffix in the paradigmatic form *-urasi-kyi*.

Chart 47: Combinations of the suppositional suffix *-urasi* ~ *-asi* with other suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-urasi</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-urasi</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-asi</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-urasi</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-kyer-asi</i>
exclamative <i>-(u)mö</i>	<i>-urasi-mö</i>
attributive <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-urasi-kyi</i>

Thus, the suppositional *-urasi* ~ *-asi* can combine with preceding markers of honorification, aspect, and retrospection, and it can be followed by the adjectival attributive *-kyi* and the exclamative *-(u)mö*.

The basic meaning of the suppositional is a conjecture, often associated with visual or other sensual perception. Examples:

那賀美古夜都毘迺斯良牟登加理波古牟良斯

na-Nka myikwo ya tuNpyi n-i sir-am-u tö kari pa kwo [u]m-urasi

you-POSS prince PT ? DV-INF rule-TENT-FIN DV wild goose
TOP egg **bear-SUP**

A wild goose **probably laid** an egg to show that your prince will
rule ?-ly (KK 73)

祁布母加母佐加美豆久良斯多加比加流比能美夜比登
kyepu mö kamö **saka-myiNtuk-urasi** taka pyikar-u pyi-nö myiya-
pyitö

today PT PT **rice.wine-soak-SUP** high shine-ATTR sun-GEN
palace-person

Today, the courtiers from the palace of the High Shining Sun **seem
to be inebriated** in wine, too! (KK 102)

奴弓由良久母淤岐米久良斯母

nute yurak-umö okyimey **k-urasi-mö**

bell sound-EXCL Okyimey **come-SUP-EXCL**

The bells are sounding! **It seems** that Okyimey **is coming!** (KK
111)

蘇餓能古羅烏於朋枳瀾能菟伽破須羅志枳

swoNka-nö kwo-ra-wo opo kyimiyi-nö **tukap-as-urasi-kyi**

Soga-GEN child-PLUR-ACC great lord-GEN **use-HON-SUP-
ATTR**

It looks like the sovereign [can] **use** the children of Soga (NK 103)

神代從如此尔有良之古昔母然尔有許曾虛蟬毛孀乎相格良思吉
KAMIY YÖ-YWORI KA-KU n-i **AR-Urasi** inisipye mö SIKa n-i
AR-E köso UTUSEMYI mwo TUMA-wo **ARASWOP-Urasi-kyi**
deity age-ABL thus-INF DV-INF **exist-SUP** old.times PT thus
DV-INF exist-EV PT mortal PT spouse-ACC **compete-SUP-
ATTR**

[It] **seems to be** like that from the age of gods. Mortals **seem to
compete** for [their] spouses in the old times, too (MYS I: 13)

毛毛等利能己惠能古保志枳波流岐多流良斯

mwomwo töri-nö köwe-nö köposi-kyi paru **k-yi-tar-urasi**

hundred bird-GEN voice-GEN be.missing-ATTR spring **come-
INF-PERF/PROG-SUP**

It looks like the spring [with] voices of a hundred birds, that [I]
missed, [finally] **has come** (MYS V: 834)

塩乾尔祁良志

SIPO PIY-n-i-kyer-asi

tide **dry(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-SUP**

It seems that the tide **has retreated** (lit.: dried up) (MYS IX: 1671)

春立奴良志

PARU TAT-I-n-urasi

spring **stand-INF-PERF-SUP**

It seems that the spring **has arrived** (MYS X: 1819)

鷺之春成良思

UNKUPYISU-NÖ PARU N-I NAR-Urasi

bush.warbler-GEN spring DV-INF **become-SUP**

[It] **looks like** [it] **became** a bush warbler's spring (MYS X: 1845)

媿孀等四春野之菟芽子採而糞良思文

WOTÖMYE-RA si PARU NWO-NÖ UPANKIY TUM-YI-TE NI-rasi-mo

maiden-PLUR PT spring field-GEN upaNkiy pick.up-INF-SUB **boil-SUP-EXCL**

It seems that maidens pick up *upaNkiy* grass at the spring fields and **boil** [it]! (MYS X: 1879)

此夜等者沙夜深去良之

KÖNÖ 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)

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.for-SUP**

It seems that my beloved **longs** for me (MYS XII: 3145)

欲波安氣奴良之

ywo pa akey-n-urasi

night TOP **brighten(INF)-PERF-SUP**

It seems that [it] **has dawned** (MYS XV: 3598)

多奈波多之船乘須良之

TanaNpata si PUNA-NÖR-I s-urasi

Weaver PT **boat-board-NML do-SUP**

It seems that the Weaver **boards the boat** (MYS XVII: 3900)

伊尔之敝乎於母保須良之母和期於保伎美

inisipyewo **omōp-os-urasi-mō** wa-Nk-opo kyimyi

past-ACC **think-HON-SUP-EXCL** I-POSS-great lord

My sovereign who **seems to think** about the past! (MYS XVIII: 4099)

於保吉美乃都藝弓賣須良之多加麻刀能努敝

opo kyimyi-nō tuNk-yi-te **myes-urasi** Takamatwo-nō nwo-pye

great lord-GEN follow-INF-SUB **look(HON)-SUP** Takamatwo-GEN field-side

Fields of Takamatwo that [my] sovereign **seemed to look** continuously at (MYS XX: 4510)

SPECIAL FORM *-asi*

After the verbs *nar-* ‘to become’ and *ar-* ‘to exist’ as well as after the derivatives based on the latter, such as *nar-* ‘to be,’ the auxiliary retrospective *-kyer-*, and the progressive *-[y]er-*, *-urasi* appears in its special form *-asi*. Not all auxiliaries based on *ar-* ‘to exist’ follow this rule, e.g. the perfective-progressive *-tar-* and *-urasi* appear as *-tar-urasi*, and never as **-tar-asi* (see the example from MYS V: 834 above). Furthermore, the parallel forms *nar-urasi* ‘become-SUP’⁴⁷ and *ar-urasi* also occur in the texts (see the examples from MYS I: 13 and MYS X: 1845 above), although the contracted forms are much more frequent than the uncontracted ones.

There are two possibilities to explain the form *-kyer-asi* (there are no examples of **-kyer-urasi*) and the alternative forms *ar-asi* and *nar-asi*. It is possible that we are simply dealing here with a contraction due to the intervocalic **-r-* loss. But it is equally possible that *-urasi* is historically bimorphemic, consisting of a stative non-past marker **-ur-* and a suppositional suffix *-asi*, an analysis suggested by Russell (2005: 652). In this case, which seems to be more realistic as a trisyllabic suffix is likely to have a complex morphemic origin, the forms with *-asi* like *-kyer-asi* are archaic remainders, while the forms exhibiting *-urasi* are innovations. Russell’s proposal can be further supported by the fact that the negative tentative form in *-(a)Nsi* (discussed in 6.2.2.1.10

⁴⁷ But the uncontracted form **nar-urasi* ‘be-SUP’ is not attested as far as I can tell.

below) is likely to go back to the contraction of the negative suffix *-an-* and the suppositional suffix *-asi*. It also might be significant that *-asi* is found after stative verbs which would be unlikely to include the stative marker **-ur-*. Examples of *-asi*:

迦久能尾奈良志

ka-ku nömiy nar-asi

thus-INF PT be-SUP

[It] is likely to be just this way (MYS V: 804)

諾石社見人每尔語嗣儂家良思吉

UNPEY-si kösö MYI-RU PYITÖ NKÖTÖ n-i KATAR-I-TUNK-YI SINWOP-YI-kyer-asi-kyi

be.proper-FIN PT see-ATTR person every DV-INF talk-INF-pass-INF yearn-INF-RETR-SUP-ATTR

[It] is proper that every person who sees [this beach], seems to yearn [for it] and tells others [about it] (MYS VI: 1065)

由槻我高仁雲居立有良志

yu tukiy-Nka TAKEY-ni KUMWOWI TAT-Er-asi

sacred zelkova-POSS peak-LOC cloud rise-PROG-SUP

[It] seems that the clouds are rising at the Sacred Zelkova peak (MYS VII: 1087)

This is the only example of *-[y]er-asi* in the Western Old Japanese texts. Certainly, the form *-er-asi* here cannot be confirmed without any doubts due to the partial semantographic spelling. Commentators of the *Man'yōshū* almost invariably read *tat-er-urasi* here, cf. e.g. Takagi et al. 1959: 203, Kinoshita 2001 (CD-ROM edition). However, there are two powerful arguments for reading 立有良志 as *TAT-Er-asi* rather than as *TAT-ER-Urasi* here. First, *tat-er-urasi* brings the syllable count in the last line to eight, violating the meter. Second, we should not forget that the progressive suffix *-[y]er-* is derived from the infinitive *-yi* and *ar-* 'to exist,' and that the most frequent form is *ar-asi* and not *ar-urasi*.

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 ar-asi könö a-Nka kyeru-imwo-Nka körömö-nö 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 am wearing became dirty (MYS XV: 3667)

豊乃登之思流須登奈良思雪能敷礼流波

TÖYÖ n-ō tōsi sirus-u tō **nar-asi** YUKYI-nō pur-er-u pa
abundant DV-ATTR year show.a.sign-ATTR DV **become-SUP**
snow-GEN fall-PROG-ATTR TOP

A snowfall **seems to become** a good omen for an abundant year
(MYS XVII: 3925)

加武賀良奈良之

kamu-N-kara **nar-asi**
deity-DV(ATTR)-nature **be-SUP**

[It] **is likely to be** [its] divine nature (MYS XVII: 4001)

此橘乎等伎自久能可久能木實等名附家良之母

KÖNÖ TATINPANA-wo tōkyiNsi-ku n-ō kaNk-u n-ō KÖ-NÖ
MIY tō **NA-N-TUKEY-kyer-asi-mō**

this mandarin.orange-ACC be off season-INF DV-ATTR smell-
ATTR DV-ATTR tree-GEN fruit DV **name-LOC-attach(INF)-**
RETR-SUP-EXCL

[we] **should call** these mandarin oranges fragrant tree fruits that are
off season! (MYS XVIII: 4111)

許己見礼婆宇倍之神代由波自米家良思母

kökō MYI-re-Npa uNpey-si KAMIY-YÖ-yu **paNsimey-kyer-asi-**
mō

here look-EV-CON be.indeed-FIN deity-age-ABL **begin(INF)-**
RETR-SUP-EXCL

when [you] look at this place, it indeed **looks like** [they] **began** [the
building of the palaces] from the Age of Gods! (MYS XX: 4360)⁴⁸

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The suppositional suffix *-urasi* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

⁴⁸ Opinions differ, whether this poem belongs to a border-guard, or to Ōtomo-no Yakamochi himself. The latter seems more probable, since the poem is preceded by the line in Chinese: 陳私拙懷一首 ‘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.

布奈妣等佐和久奈美多都良思母
 puna-N-pyitō sawak-u namyi **tat-urasi-mō**
 boat-GEN-person make.noise-FIN wave **rise-SUP-EXCL**
 boatmen are making noise. Waves **seem to rise!** (MYS XIV: 3349)

和我都麻波伊多久古非良之
 wa-Nka tuma pa ita-ku **kwopiy-rasi**
 I-POSS spouse TOP extreme-INF **love(INF?)⁴⁹-SUP**
It seems that my spouse **loves** me dearly... (MYS XX: 4322)

伊波乃伊毛呂和乎之乃布良之
 ipa-nō imwo-rō wa-wo **sinōp-urasi**
 home-GEN beloved-DIM I-ACC **yearn-SUP**
It seems that my beloved at home **yearns** for me (MYS XX: 4427)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are very few examples of tentative cognates of WOJ *-urasi* appearing in the *Omoro sōshi* in the forms *-urasi*, *-urasiya*, *-urase*, and *-asiyo* (Torigoe 1968: 177-78).⁵⁰ The absence of reflexes in modern dialects and the limited attestations even in the *Omoro sōshi* itself may suggest that we are dealing with a loan from Middle Japanese. However, the presence of the form *-asiyo* may indicate that this is a genuine cognate, because the allomorph *-asi* was a relic morpheme already in Western Old Japanese, let alone Middle Japanese. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

けおわのかしよらしよ
 keo wa no ka **s-i-yor-asiyo**
 today TOP what PT **do-INF-exist-SUP**
 What **would** [they] **do** today? (OS VII: 376)

たらもいやとくらしや
 Tara moi ya **tok-urasiya**
 Tarō lord TOP **arrive-SUP**

⁴⁹ The corresponding WOJ form is *kwop-urasi* ‘love-SUP’ with no infinitive form preceding *-urasi* attested.

⁵⁰ The form *-urase* is dubious, though, because it appears as a part of the proper name of a boat, *Tamamedurase*, also attested as *Tamamedura* (Hokama 2000.2: 14).

It looks like lord Tarō will arrive (OS XVII: 1157)

わかまつかたくらし

Wakamatsu-ka tok-urasi

Wakamatsu-NOM arrive-SUP

It looks like Wakamatsu will arrive (OS XVII: 1207)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

On the basis of the previous discussion, we should probably reconstruct Proto-Japonic *-asi, but I am not aware of any external parallels.

6.2.2.1.10 Negative tentative *-aNsi* ~ *-Nsi*

The negative tentative suffix has two allomorphs: *-aNsi* that appears after consonant verbs and *-Nsi* that is found after vowel verbs. Surprisingly enough, it combines only with the preceding passive *-(a)ye-* or progressive *-[y]er-*. There is no reliable evidence for the combination *-[y]er-aNsi*, as it is found only in semantographic spelling and only with the verb *ik-* ‘to live,’ see the example from MYS XII: 2905 below.

Chart 48: Combinations of the negative tentative suffix *-aNsi* ~ *-Nsi* with other suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-Nsi</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-aNsi</i>

It is likely that historically *-(a)Nsi* represents a contraction of the negative suffix *-(a)n-* and the suppositional *-asi* that was discussed above in 6.2.2.1.9. The likelihood of such a development is strengthened by three simple observations: first, *-(a)Nsi* being a *negative* tentative suffix is expected to include a negative morpheme. Second, although a contraction of *naC to NC is not frequent, there are cases that demonstrate its existence, for example, *kaNtwo* ‘gate’ < *kana-two* ‘metal door.’⁵¹ Third, *-(a)Nsi* being a negative tentative suffix is expected to include a modality morpheme that has a meaning compatible with a tentative.

⁵¹ Not literally a ‘door made of metal,’ but originally a kind of door that had metal parts in it.

Certainly the suppositional *-asi* fits the bill here both phonetically and functionally.

The negative tentative suffix has three functions in Western Old Japanese: negative presumption, negative intention, and mild prohibition. Examples:

(1) negative presumption:

俱伊播阿羅珥茹

kuyi pa **ar-aNsi** Nsö

regret(NML) TOP **exist-NEG/TENT** PT

[You] **would have no** regret (NK 124)

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

kyikös-i-wos-u kuni-nö ma-po-ra Nsö ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kyi

manima n-i 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 DV-INF thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT

in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, [it]
would not be thus according to what [you] wish to be this way and
that way, [would it]? (MYS V: 800)

安礼乎於伎弓人者安良自等富己呂倍騰

are-wo ok-yi-te PYITÖ PA **ar-aNsi** tö pokör-öp-ey-Ntö

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 besides me (MYS V: 892)

幾不生有命乎

IKU-NPAKU MÖ **IK-YER-ANSI** INÖTI-wo

how.much-extent PT **live-PROG-NEG/TENT** life-ACC

[I] **probably will not live** much longer (MYS XII: 2905)

和礼乎於吉弓比等波安良自

ware-wo ok-yi-te pyitö pa **ar-aNsi**

we-ACC leave-INF-SUB person TOP **exist-NEG/TENT**

except us, **there would be no** [other] men (MYS XVIII: 4094)

伊毛我多可々々尔麻都良牟許己呂之可尔波安良司可
 imwo-Nka taka taka n-i mat-uram-u kökôrö sika **n-i pa ar-aNsi** ka
 beloved-POSS high high DV-INF wait-TENT2-ATTR heart thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT
 the heart of [my] beloved who probably waits for [me] eagerly
would not [it] be this way? (MYS XVIII: 4107)

和我加度須疑自
 wa-Nka kaNtwo **suNkiy-Nsi**
 I-POSS gate **pass-NEG/TENT**
 [the cuckoo] **probably would not pass** my gate (MYS XX: 4463)

如是醜事者聞曳自
 KA-KU N-Ô SIKÔ KÔTÔ PA **KYIK-Öye-Nsi**
 thus-INF DV-ATTR disgraceful thing TOP **hear-PASS-**
NEG/TENT
 [I] **would not be able to hear** about such disgraceful things (SM
 17)

(2) negative intention:

那迦士登波那波伊布登母
nak-aNsi tô pa na pa ip-u tömô
weep-NEG/TENT DV TOP you TOP say-FIN CONJ
 Even though you say that [you] **would not weep** (KK 4)

和賀韋泥斯伊毛波和須禮士
 wa-Nka wi ne-si imwo pa **wasure-Nsi**
 I-POSS bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR beloved TOP **forget-**
NEG/TENT
 [I] **would not forget** [my] beloved, whom I brought with [me] and
 slept with (KK 8)
 Cf. the variant of the same poem below in NK 5 that has the consonant verb
wasur-.

和禮波和須禮士
 ware pa **wasure-Nsi**
 I TOP **forget-NEG/TENT**
 I **would not forget** (KK 12)

麻都爾波麻多士
 mat-u-ni pa **mat-aNsi**

wait-ATTR-LOC TOP **wait-NEG/TENT**
 as [I] wait, [I] **would not wait** [any longer] (KK 88)

和我謂祢志伊茂播和素邏珥

wa-Nka wi ne-si imo pa **wasur-aNsi**
 I-POSS bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR beloved TOP **forget-NEG/TENT**

[I] **would not forget** [my] beloved, whom I brought with [me] and slept with (NK 5)

Cf. the variant of the same poem above in KK 8 that has the vowel verb *wasure-*.

夜都代爾母安礼波和須礼自許乃多知婆奈乎

ya-tu YŌ-ni mö are pa **wasure-Nsi** könö tatiNpana-wo
 eight-CL generation-LOC PT I TOP **forget-NEG/TENT** this
 mandarin.orange-ACC

I **would not forget** these mandarin orange [flowers] even in eight (many?) generations (MYS XVIII: 4058)

可敝里見波勢自

kapyer-i-myi pa **se-Nsi**
 return-INF-look(NML) TOP **do-NEG/TENT**
 [we] **will not** look back (MYS XVIII: 4094)

(3) mild prohibition:

比等爾波美要緇

pyitö-ni pa **myi-ye-Nsi**
 person-DAT TOP **see-PASS-NEG/TENT**
 [I] **should not be seen** by people (MYS XV: 3708)

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)

天地乃福毛不蒙自

AMEY TUTI-nō SAKYIPAP-YI mwo **KANKARAP-ANsi**
 heaven earth-HEN flourish-NML PT **receive(HUM)-NEG/TENT**
 [they] **should not receive** blessing from Heaven and Earth (SM 45)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese only the allomorph *-aNsi* is attested. It has the same functions as in Western Old Japanese:

(1) negative presumption:

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

osō paya mö na-wo kōsō mat-am-ye muka-tu wo-nō sipyi-nō kwo-
yaNte-nō 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 **probably not different** from the meeting of small branches of chinquapin trees at the peak on the opposite side (MYS XIV: 3493a)

(2) negative intention:

伊刀尔奈流等毛和波等可自等余

itwo n-i nar-u tōmwo wa pa tōk-aNsi tō yō
thread DV-INF become-FIN CONJ I TOP untie-NEG/TENT DV
PT

[I] think that I **would not untie** [the cords of my garment] even if [they] become [thin] threads! (MYS XX: 4405)

(3) mild prohibition:

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-nō myiNkwosi-nō sakyi-nō ipa-kuye-nō kyimyi-Nka
kuy-uNpey-kyi kōkōrō pa mōt-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)

A2: Ryukyuan

The negative tentative *-(a)Nsi* is attested only in Classical Ryukyuan and exclusively in the *Ryūka* (Hokama 1995: 315). The absence of its reflexes in both Old Ryukyuan and the modern dialects strongly implies that it is a relatively late loan from Middle Japanese.

6.2.2.1.11 Negative potential *-umasiNsi*

The negative potential suffix has only one allomorph *-umasiNsi* found after both consonant and vowel verbs alike. Although a four-syllable long verbal suffix must have a secondary origin, its internal etymology is unclear.

As a rule *-umasiNsi* appears in Western Old Japanese as a sentence-final suffix, but like *-umazi* in Middle Japanese, it can also be followed by inflectional adjectival suffixes. However, in contrast to Middle Japanese where *-umazi* developed a full adjectival paradigm (Vovin 2003: 292), the only two adjectival inflectional forms that are found in Western Old Japanese after *-umasiNsi* are the attributive *-kyi* and the gerund *-myi*. The latter is attested only once in SM 58.

Chart 49: Combinations of the negative potential suffix *-umasiNsi* with other suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(a)y-umasiNsi</i>
potential <i>-kate-</i>	<i>-kat-umasiNsi</i>
attributive <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-umasiNsi-kyi</i>
gerund <i>-myi</i>	<i>-umasiNsi-myī</i>

The combination of negative potential *-umasiNsi* with the passive *-(a)ye-* is strange, since the passive can have a potential meaning by itself, and the main function of the negative potential *-umasiNsi* is negative potential. The same observation can be made about its combination with the bound potential auxiliary *-kate-*. But it is possible that in both cases here we have a similar semantic reinforcement that is observed in Middle Japanese when the negative potential *-umazi* combines with the potential preverb *ye-* in the same verbal form (Vovin 2003: 294).

The negative potential suffix *-umasiNsi* is not attested at all in a number of the Western Old Japanese texts, such as the *Kojiki kayō*, the *Jōgu teisetsu*, the *Bussoku seki ka*, the *Norito*, the *Fudoki kayō*,

and the *Shoku nihongi kayō*. Overall, it is a rare form, as it appears only twice in the *Nihonsoki kayō*, only fifteen times in the whole *Man'yōshū* (not all of the examples are spelled phonetically), and only four times in the *Senmyō*.

In sharp contrast to Middle Japanese, where *-umazi* can have the functions of a negative debitive, a negative probability, and a negative potential, the WOJ suffix *-umasiNsi* is predominantly attested in the function of a negative potential. The function of the negative debitive is supported only by a single example in *Senmyō* 27, only partially written phonetically, and the function of the negative probability rests on two uncertain examples from the *Man'yōshū* (attested only in semantographic script in MYS VI: 1053 and MYS VII: 1385). Examples:

(1) negative potential:

于羅遇破能紀豫屢麻志土枳箇破能区莽遇莽

ura-N-kupa n-ō kiy **yōr-umasiNsi-kyi** kapa-nō kuma-Nkuma
back-DV-ATTR-mulberry DV-ATTR tree **approach-NEG/POT-**
ATTR river-GEN bend-bend
the bends of the river **that** the mulberry tree in the back **cannot**
approach (NK 56)

耶麻古曳底于瀾倭拖留騰母於母之樓枳伊麻紀能禹知播倭須羅
由麻旨瑀

yama kwoye-te umyi watar-u tōmo omosirwo-kyi ima kiy-nō uti pa
wasur-ay-umasiNsi
mountain cross(INF)-SUB sea cross-FIN CONJ beautiful-ATTR
Ima fortress-GEN inside TOP **forget-PASS-NEG/POT**
Even if [I] pass over the mountains and cross the seas, [I] **cannot**
forget the inside of the beautiful Ima fortress (NK 119)

佐不寐者遂尔有勝麻之自

sa-NE-NS-U PA TUPYI n-i **AR-I-kat-umasiNsi**
PREF-sleep-NEG-INF TOP final DV-INF **exist-INF-POT-**
NEG/POT
if [I] do not sleep [with you], [I] **cannot live** (MYS II: 94)

浮尊邊毛奧毛依勝益土

UK-YI NUNAPA PYE-NI mwo OKYI-NI mwo **YÖR-I-kat-**
umasiNsi

float-INF water.shield shore-LOC PT offing-LOC PT **approach-INF-POT-NEG/POT**

[my love for you is like] a water shield that **cannot approach** either a shore or an offing (MYS VII: 1352)

等保伎佐刀麻弓於久利家流伎美我許己呂波和須良由麻之自
töpo-kyi satwo-maNte okur-i-kyer-u kyimyi-Nka kökōrō pa **wasur-ay-umasiNsi**

distant-ATTR village-TERM see.off-INF-RETR-ATTR lord-POSS heart TOP **forget-PASS-NEG/POT**

[I] **cannot forget** the kindness of [my] lord who saw [me] off to [my] distant village (MYS XX: 4482)

多能遍重天勅止毛敢末之時止為弓

AMATA n-ō TANPYI KASANE-te NÖTAMAP-EY-Ntömwo **AP-UmasiNsi** tö S-I-te

many DV-INF time pile.up(INF)-SUB tell(HON)-EV-CONC **be.ready.to.do-NEG/POT** DV do-INF-SUB

although [I] told him many times [to accept the job], [he] believed that [he] **cannot be ready to do** [it] (SM 26)

王等波己我得麻之字岐帝乃尊岐寶位乎望

OPO KYIMYI-TATI PA ONÖ-NKA Ø-UmasiNsi-kyi MYIKANTWO-nō TAPUTWO-kyi KURAWI-wo NÖNSÖM-YI

great prince-PLUR TOP self-POSS **get-NEG/POT-ATTR** sovereign-GEN awesome-ATTR position-ACC desire-INF

the great princes desire the awesome position of the sovereign that [they] themselves **cannot get**, and ... (SM 45)

The root of the verb *e-* 'to get' elides before the *-umasiNsi*.

汝乃志乎婆鬚久乃間毛忘得末之自美奈毛

MYIMASI-nō KÖKÖRÖNSASI-woNpa simasi-ku n-ō MA mwo **WASUR-UmasiNsi-myi** namwo

you-GEN memorial.service-ACC(EMPH) be.a.little.while-INF DV-ATTR interval PT **forget-NEG/POT-GER** PT

because [I] **cannot forget** about memorial services for you even for a little while (SM 58)

(2) negative debitive:

不言岐辭母言奴

IP-UMASINSI-kyi KÖTÖ mö IP-YI-n-u

say-NEG/POT-ATTR word PT **say-INF-PERF-FIN**
[he] also said words that [he] **should not have said** (SM 27)

(3) negative probability:

百代尔母不可易大宮處

MWOMWO YŌ-ni mö **KAPAR-UMASINSI-KYI** OPO MIYA-N-TÖKÖRÖ

hundred generation-LOC PT **change-NEG/POT-ATTR** great palace-GEN-place

the place of the great palace that **would not change** even in [one] hundred generations (MYS VI: 1053)

埋木之不可顯事尔不有君

UMORĒ-N-KIY-NŌ **ARAPAR-UMASINSI KÖTÖ** n-i AR-AN-Aku n-i

bury(NML)-DV(ATTR)-tree-GEN **appear-NEG/POT** matter DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

as it is not the case that the buried trees **would not appear** (MYS VII: 1385)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of the negative potential *-umasiNsi* in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, but it occurs in a poem without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features. Thus, this poem should probably be treated as a Western Old Japanese text, and we should conclude that in all likelihood the negative potential *-umasiNsi* was not present in Eastern Old Japanese. Even if we are to take the following example at face value as an Eastern Old Japanese text, we should be aware of the fact that it represents the negative potential function like all the rest of the other reliable Western Old Japanese examples.

奈乎多_レ天由吉可都麻思自

na-wo tate-te **yuk-yi-kat-umasiNsi**

you-ACC make.stand(INF)-SUB **go-INF-POT-NEG/POT**

making you stand [and wait], [I] **could not go away** (MYS XIV: 3353)

A2: Ryukyuan

Old Ryukyuan has the negative debitive *-umazi* (Hokama 1995: 606), but its Middle Japanese-like form and absence of reflexes in modern dialects betray a loan from Middle Japanese. Thus, it is likely that *-umasiNsi* represents an Old Japanese innovation, and may even just be a Central Japanese one, given the dubious nature of EOJ *-umasiNsi*. An example from Old Ryukyuan:

ともすへせいいくさよせるまじ

to momo sufe sei kusa **yose-r-umazi**

ten hundred year force army **approach-ATTR-NEG/POT**

for a thousand years an [enemy] army **would not be able to approach** (OS XIII: 763)

6.2.2.1.12 Exclamative *-umö* ~ *-mö*

The Japanese linguistic tradition treats this suffix as a combination of the final predication form *-u* plus a final particle (終助詞 *shūjoshi*) *mö*. At first glance such an analysis may have a good logical ground, because the final particle *mö* also follows the adjectival final form in *-si*.

There are, however, some problems with the traditional analysis. First, the final particle *mö* suspiciously looks like the homophonous focus particle *mō*, or emphatic particle *mō* and it seems that the main reason for maintaining a special ‘final’ particle is that it is found at the end of sentences. It is of course impossible to claim that this ‘final’ *mö* is a focus particle, because the latter is found only after noun phrases including nominalized verbs. It is also unlikely that we deal here with the emphatic particle *mō*, because it also does not occur after the final form of verbs, and generally it is used as a sentence final only after the interrogative particle *ya*. Second, no other particle except the interrogative *ya* is ever found between the final predication *-u* and the ‘final’ particle *mö*, while certain particles, such as the emphatic particles *ya* and *yō* are invariably found *after* the ‘final’ *mö*, which in these cases ceases to be a ‘final’ particle in a strict sense. Third, since the adjectival final predication marker *-si* has not yet been fully established as a final predication marker and the whole adjectival inflectional system was not yet fully embedded in the language, as outlined in Chapter 5, it should come as no wonder that *-(u)mö* can be added to *-si*. Finally, and most importantly, *-umö* can function in Western Old Japanese as an independent suffix, which might have lost a

synchronic connection with the final *-u* (< **-um*). Thus, besides the expected negative exclamative form in *-(a)Ns-umö*, a negative exclamative form *-(a)n-umö* is also attested (see MYS XV: 3684 below). Certainly, *-(a)n-u* cannot be a final negative form here, because it is a final attributive form. Therefore, the analysis of *-(a)n-umö* as *-(a)n-u mö* ‘NEG-FIN PT’ turns out to be impossible.

These facts make me suspect that we in fact deal here with a special sentence-final verbal exclamative suffix *-umö*, and not with a combination of the final predication suffix *-u* with the ‘final’ particle *mö*. Historically, of course, this suffix should be bimorphemic, since the vowels /u/ and /ö/ cannot combine within the same morpheme. Remember now, that final predication suffix **-u* goes back to PJ **-um* (see 6.2.2.1.1). Therefore, diachronically I divide this suffix as **-um-ö*, where the remaining **-ö* part represents some kind of an exclamative marker. However, there is no synchronic evidence for such analysis in Western Old Japanese; therefore I treat *-umö* there as a single exclamative suffix. The exclamative *-(u)mö* combines with the following preceding suffixes and auxiliaries:

Chart 50: Combinations of the exclamative *-umö* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
negative <i>-(a)Ns-</i> , <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-umö</i> , <i>-(a)n-umö</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-(a)m-umö</i>
desiderative <i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-(a)na-mö</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-umö</i>
causative <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-(a)s-umö</i>
suppositional <i>-urasi</i>	<i>-urasi-mö</i>
adjectivizer <i>-asi</i>	<i>-asi-mö</i>
adjectival <i>-si</i>	<i>-si-mö</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-t-umö</i>

On the basis of Chart 50 above one can see that the exclamative suffix has two allomorphs: *-umö* and *-mö*. The first occurs after the perfective auxiliary *-te-* and most of the verbal suffixes with the major exception of the desiderative *-(a)na*. The second allomorph *-mö* appears after suffixes that have an adjectival paradigm and after the desiderative *-(a)na*. The exclamative *-umö* has only one function: that of exclamation. Examples:

和岐弊能迦多用久毛韋多知久母

wa-Nk[a]-yipye-nō kata-ywo kumwowi **tat-i-k-umō**

I-POSS-home-GEN side-ABL cloud **rise-INF-come-EXCL**

Clouds **rise** from the side of my home! (KK 34)

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登伊波迦伎加泥亓和賀亓登良須母

kurapasi-yama-wo saNkasi-myi tö ipa kak-yi-kane-te wa-Nka te **tör-as-umō**

Kurapasi-mountain-ABS steep-GER DV rock hang-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB **take-HON-EXCL**

[I] think that Mount Kurapasi is steep. Being unable to cling to the rocks, [I wish you would] **take** my hand! (KK 69)

奴亓由良久母淤岐米久良斯母

nute **yurak-umō** okyimey **k-urasi-mō**

bell **sound-EXCL** Ökyimey **come-SUP-EXCL**

The bells **are sounding!** It seems that Ökyimey **is coming!** (KK 111)

灞既能佐烏麼志魔幣菟耆灞伊和哆羅秀暮

myi-key-nō sawo-N-pasi mapyetukyimyi **i-watar-as-umo**

HON-tree-GEN pole-GEN-bridge minister **DLF-cross-HON-EXCL**

[I wish] that the ministers [would] **cross** the bridge **here** [made] of poles of sacred trees! (NK 24)

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 sö mö ya wa-Nka te **tör-as-umo** ya

who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand **take-HON-EXCL** PT

whose chapped hand, chapped hand **will take** my hand?! (NK 108)

雲谷裳情有南畝可苦佐布倍思哉

KUMWO Ntani mo KÖKÖRÖ **AR-Ana-mo** kakus-ap-uNpey-si YA

cloud PT PT heart **exist-DES-EXCL** PT hide-ITER-DEB-FIN PT

[I] wish at least the clouds [would] **have** feelings! Do [they] have to hide [Mt. Myiwa] all the time? (MYS I: 18)

都摩夜佐夫斯久於母保由倍斯母

tuma-ya saNpusi-ku **omöp-oy-uNpey-si-mō**

spouse-room lonely-INF think-PASS-DEB-FIN-EXCL
 [I] **must suddenly think** [how] lonely [our] bedroom [is]! (MYS V: 795)

母智騰利乃可可良波志母与
 möti-N-tōri-nō **kakar-ap-asi-mō** yō
mochi-GEN-bird-COMP **be.stuck-ITER-ADJ-EXCL** PT
 [You] **are stuck** like a bird on a *mochi* [trap-stick]! (MYS V: 800)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母余能許等奈礼婆等登尾
 可祢都母
 tōk[ō]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si möNkamō tō omöp-ey-Ntömō yō-nō kötō
 nar-e-Npa **tōNtōmiy-kane-t-umō**
 eternal-rock-COMP thus-INF PT PT DV think-EV-CONC world-
 GEN matter be-EV-CON **stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-
 EXCL**
 Although [I] think that [I] want to be (thus) like the eternal rock,
 because [it] is a matter of this world, [I] **cannot stop** [life]! (MYS
 V: 805)

烏梅乃波奈知良麻久怨之美和我曾乃々多氣乃波也之尔于具比
 須奈久母
 uMEY-nō pana tir-am-aku wosi-myi wa-Nka sōnō-nō takey-nō
 payasi-ni uNkupyisu **nak-umō**
 plum-GEN blossom fall-TENT-NML be.regretful-GER I-POSS
 garden-GEN bamboo-GEN grove-LOC bush.warbler **sing-EXCL**
 Because the bush warbler regrets that the plum blossoms will fall,
 [he] **sings** in the bamboo grove of my garden! (MYS V: 824)

古良何伊弊遲斯良受毛
 kwo-ra-Nka ipye-N-ti **sir-aNs-umō**
 girl-PLUR-POSS house-GEN-way **know-NEG-EXCL**
 [I] **do not know** the way to girls' houses! (MYS V: 856)

山辺爾草乎思香奈久毛
 YAMA-PYE-ni sa-wo-sika **nak-umwo**
 mountain-side-LOC PREF-male-deer **cry-EXCL**
 a male deer **cries** at the mountain side! (MYS XV: 3674)

奈曾許己波伊能祢良要奴毛
 naNsō kōkōNpa i-nō **ne-raise-n-umwo**

why so sleep-GEN **sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL**
Why **cannot** [I] **sleep** at all?! (MYS XV: 3684)

念意緒多礼賀思良牟母
OMÖP-U KÖKÖRÖ-wo tare ka **sir-am-umö**
love-ATTR heart-ACC who PT **know-TENT-EXCL**
who **will know** [my] loving heart?! (MYS XVII: 3950)

多知夜麻乃由吉之久良之毛波比都奇能可波能和多理瀬安夫美
都加須毛
Tati yama-nö yukyi si **k-urasi-mö** Papyitukiy-nö kapa-nö watar-i-
N-SE aNpumyi **tuk-as-umö**
Tati mountain-GEN snow PT **melt-SUP-EXCL** Papyitukiy-GEN
river-GEN cross-NML-DV(ATTR)-rapids stirrup **soak-CAUS-EXCL**
It seems that the snow on Mount Tati **has melted!** [I] **made** my
stirrups **soak** at the rapids that are the crossing of the river
Papyitukiy! (MYS XVII: 4024)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The exclamative *-(u)mö* is also amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

和乎布利弥由母阿是古志麻波母
wa-wo **pur-i-myi-y-umö** aNse kwo si map-am-ö
I-ACC **swing-INF-look-PASS-EXCL** ANse girl PT dance-TENT-
ATTR
the girl from ANse is going to dance, **suddenly looking back** at me!
(FK 7)

可奈師家兒良爾伊夜射可里久母
kanasi-kye KWO-ra-ni iya-N-sakar-i **k-umö**
beloved-ATTR girl-DIM-DAT more.and.more-DV(INF)-become
distant-INF **come-EXCL**
Oh, [I] **came** [here] growing more and more distant from [my]
beloved girl! (MYS XIV: 3412)

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼遊布麻夜万可久礼之伎美乎於母比
可祢都母

kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö yupuma yama kakure-si
 kyimiyi-wo **omöp-yi-kane-t-umö**
 love(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC Yupuma
 mountain hide(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord-ACC **think-INF-**
NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL
 Although [I] was going to continue to love [you], [I] **cannot [bear]**
thoughts about my lord, who hid [himself] on the Yupuma
 mountain! (MYS XIV: 3475)

夜麻邊能之牙可久尔伊毛呂乎多弓天左祢度波良布母
 yama-N-PYE-nö siNkye-k-aku n-i imwo-rö-wo tate-te sa-ne-N-two
parap-umö
 mountain-GEN-side-GEN thick-ATTR-NML DV-INF beloved-
 DIM-ACC make stand(INF)-SUB PREF-sleep(NML)-DV(ATTR)-
 place **clean-EXCL**
 as the mountain (side) is overgrown [with bush], [I] let my beloved
 stand, and [I] **am clearing** a place to sleep [for us]! (MYS XIV:
 3489)

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
 敵余須母
 nar-u se-rö-ni kötu-nö yös-u-nasu itö nökyite kanasi-kye se-rö-ni
 pyitö sapye **yös-umö**
 sound-ATTR rapid-DIM-LOC debris-GEN approach-ATTR-
 COMP very specially beloved-ATTR beloved-DIM-DAT person
 PT **relate-EXCL**
 even [other] people **make** [their thoughts] **approach** [my] very
 special beloved, like the debris approaches each other in the singing
 rapids! (MYS XIV: 3548)

We can probably reconstruct PJN *-um-ö, consisting of the final predication suffix *-um and the exclamative marker *-ö.

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge, there are no cognates of PJN *-um-ö in Ryukyuan.

6.2.2.2 SENTENCE-NON-FINAL VERBAL SUFFIXES

Sentence-non-final verbal suffixes are the suffixes that occur at the end of a verbal form that itself is used as a non-final predicate, a verbal noun, or a non-final form of a verbal compound. There are

three kinds of sentence-non-final verbal suffixes: infinitives, gerunds, and nominalizers.

6.2.2.2.1 *Infinitives*

I follow Samuel E. Martin in calling the infinitive a special verbal form that is used in essentially two functions. In isolation it has the function of a non-final predicate, showing that the final predicate is yet to come, further on in the sentence. This function of the infinitive would be better described as a gerund or a converb, but I do not want to unnecessarily abandon the terminology that is currently used in the field. Most infinitives are also used to build verbal compounds, including those that consist of a main verb and a following honorific verb. Every non-final component of a verbal compound must take an infinitive form: ... V-INF-V-FIN.

There are two infinitives in the language of Classical prose: the infinitive *-[y]i*, and the infinitive *-u*, that invariably occurs only after the negative suffix *-aNs-*.

6.2.2.2.1.1 *Infinitive -[y]i*

The infinitive has two allomorphs: an allomorph *-[y]i* is used after consonant and irregular verbs, and an allomorph *-Ø* after vowel verbs (including strong vowel), with *-[y]i* being suppressed after the final vowel of the stem, e.g.: *kwopiy-yi > *kwopiy-Ø* 'loves and'. In word-to-word translation I place such suppressed infinitives in parentheses: (INF). However, the infinitive *-[y]i* itself suppresses the final vowel of the stem in irregular verbs, resulting in *kō-i > *k-yi* 'comes and' and *se-i > *s-i* 'does and'. In isolation it has the function of a non-final predicate. The infinitive *-[y]i* is also used to form verbal compounds, including those that consist of a main verb and an auxiliary. If several auxiliaries are used, the infinitive almost always appears between them, functioning as a kind of glue that keeps a verbal form together. Thus, the infinitive *-[y]i* marks the non-final members of a verbal compound. Sometimes a non-final predicate in the infinitive form may be used as an adverbial modifier of a following predicate. The infinitive suffix *-[y]i* can combine with various suffixes and bound auxiliaries.

Chart 51: Combinations of the infinitive *-[y]i* with other suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-(a)n-i</i>
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-yi</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-i</i>
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-Ø</i>
passive <i>-(a)ye-, -raye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-Ø</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-[y]i-te</i>
coordinative gerund <i>-tutu</i>	<i>-[y]i-tutu</i>
coordinative gerund <i>-naNkara</i>	<i>-[y]i-naNkara</i>
coordinative gerund <i>-katera</i>	<i>-[y]i-katera</i>
past <i>-kyi, -si, -sika</i>	<i>-[y]i-kyi, -[y]i-si, -[y]i-sika</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-i-, -[y]i-n-</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-Ø-, -[y]i-te-</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-i-</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-i-, -[y]i-tar-</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-[y]i-kyer-</i>

Note: a dash after combination forms indicates that a given combination form appears only as a word-non-final form. The lack of dash indicates that a combination form may be used as a word-final form.

As one can see from the chart above, the infinitive *-[y]i* always follows suffixes, but it can either precede or follow bound auxiliaries. Some of the bound auxiliaries can be both preceded and followed by the infinitive *-[y]i*. The interesting gap in distribution that we can observe on the basis of the above chart is that *-[y]i* does not combine at all with mood markers. This gap means that non-final predicates with mood markers have a limited distribution: they cannot appear in coordinate clauses, and as the reader will see below, they can only occur as non-final predicates containing conditional and concessive gerunds. Thus, modality markers are found only in the non-final predicates in subordinate clauses.

There are also further limitations. As can be seen from the chart above, although the aspect markers unlike the mood markers can be followed by the infinitive *-[y]i*, the latter is always used after them as a link to the following auxiliary, and never as a non-final predicate. Examples:

(1) non-final predicate:

伊勢能宇美能意斐志爾波比母登富呂布志多陀美能伊波比母登
富理宇知弓志夜麻牟

ise-nō umyi-nō opiy-[i]si-ni pap-yi-mötöpör-öp-u sitaNtamyi⁵²-nō
i-pap-yi-mötöpör-i ut-i-te si yam-am-u

Ise-GEN sea-GEN grow(INF)-stone-LOC crawl-INF-go.around-
ITER-ATTR seashell-COMP **DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF** hit-
INF-SUB PT stop-TENT-FIN

like the shellfish that are constantly crawling around on the
growing rocks of the Ise sea, [we] **will crawl around** [them] **there**,
smite and stop [them] (KK 13)

伊那佐能夜麻能許能麻用母伊由岐麻毛良比多多加閉婆

inasa-nō yama-nō kö-nō ma-ywo mö **i-yuk-yi** mamwor-ap-yi
tatakap-ey-Npa

Inasa-GEN mountain-GEN tree-GEN interval-ABL PT **DLF-go-
INF** watch-ITER-INF fight-EV-CON

when [we] fought **going there** from between the trees of the
mountain Inasa and watching constantly [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宇迦迦波久
siri-tu two-ywo **i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi** mapye-tu two-ywo **i-yuk-yi-
taNkap-yi** ukakap-aku

back-GEN/LOC door-ABL **DLF-go-INF-differ-INF** front-
GEN/LOC door-ABL **DLF-go-INF-differ-INF** look(HUM)-NML

going there from the front door, **and going there** from the back
door, **and** looking [at you] (KK 22)

多古牟良爾阿牟加岐都岐曾能阿牟袁阿岐豆波夜具比加久能碁
登那爾淤波牟登

ta-kwomura-ni amu **kakyi-tuk-yi** sönō amu-wo akyiNtu **paya-N-
kup-yi** ka-ku-nō Nkötō na-ni op-am-u tö

arm-?-LOC horsefly **PREF-attach-INF** that horsefly-ACC
dragonfly **quick-DV(INF)-eat-INF** thus-INF-GEN like name-LOC
carry-TENT-FIN DV

a horsefly **sat** on [the sovereign's] arm, **and** a dragonfly **quickly**
ate that horsefly, **and** in order to perpetuate [this event] like that...
(KK 97)

麻須羅遠能佐都夜多波佐美牟加比多知伊流夜麻度加多波麻乃
佐夜氣佐

⁵² 志多陀美 /sitaNtamyi/, a kind of an edible seashell (MdJ *kisago*).

masura wo-nō satu-ya **ta-N-pasam-yi mukap-yi tat-i** i-ru ya
 matwo-kata pama-nō sayakey-sa
 excellent man-GEN hunt-arrow **hand-LOC-squeeze-INF face-
 INF stand-INF** shoot-ATTR PT Matwo-kata (lit.: Target-shape)
 beach-GEN bright-NML
 The brightness of the beach at Matwokata [that is like] a target
 (matwo) which gentlemen **facing** [it] shoot at **while standing,
 squeezing** hunting arrows in [their] hands (FK 20)

遠等咩良何遠等咩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
 wotōmye-ra-Nka wotōmye saNpiy s-u tō kara tama-wo tamötō-ni
mak-as-i yōti kwo-ra-tō TE taNtusapar-i-te aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
 maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden like do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
 wrist-LOC **wrap-HON-INF** same age child-PLUR-COM hand
 hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN
 The maidens, thinking to behave 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)

遠等咩良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎伊多度利与利提
 wotōmye-ra-Nka sa-n-as-u ita-two-wo os-i-**pyirak-yi** i-taNtwor-i-
 yōr-i-te
 maiden-PLUR-POSS PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR board-door-ACC
 push-INF-**open-INF** DLF-pursue-INF-approach-INF-SUB
 [gentlemen] push **open** wooden doors where maidens sleep, **and**
 [they] pursue [maidens] there (MYS V: 804)

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴
INTE-pasir-i in-ana tō OMÖP-EY-Ntō kō-ra-ni sayar-i-n-u
exit(INF)-run-INF go.away-DES DV think-EV-CONC child-
 PLUR-DAT be prevented-INF-PERF-FIN
 although [I] think that [I] would like **to run out and** go away, [I]
 am prevented by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

伊布許等夜美靈剋伊乃知多延奴礼
 ip-u kötō **yam-yi** TAMA-KYIPARU inōti taye-n-ure
 say-ATTR thing **stop-INF** jewel-? life cease-PERF-EV
 [he] **stopped** to speak, **and** [his] jewel-like life ended (MYS V: 904)

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 tö 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)

宇知奈妣伎登許尔己伊布之

uti-naNpyik-yi tökö-ni köyi-pus-i

PREF-stretch-INF bed-LOC lie(INF)-prostrate-INF

[I] lie down, **stretched** on [my] bed (MYS XVII: 3969)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟

sa yamaNta n-ö woNti-Nka SÖNÖ PYI-ni **mötömey** ap-aNs-u-ky-
em-u

so YamaNta DV-ATTR old.man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF)
meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN

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

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi wem-aNs-u mwo **uti-naNKeyk-yi** katar-i-ky-em-aku

smile-INF ? smile-NEG-INF PT **PREF-sigh-INF** talk-INF-
PAST/FIN-TENT-NML

the fact that [both of you] were probably **sighing and talking, smiling and** not smiling (MYS XVIII: 4106)

之麻豆多比伊己藝和多利弓

sima-N-tutap-yi i-köNk-yi-watar-i-te

island-LOC-pass.along-INF DLF-row-INF-cross-INF-SUB

[I] row across [the ocean] **passing along islands** (MYS XX: 4408)

己礼乃与波宇都利佐留止毛

köre n-ö yö pa **utur-i** sar-u tömwo

this DV-ATTR world TOP **change-INF** go.away-FIN CONJ

Even though this world **changes and** goes away ... (BS 10)

治賜比慈賜来業止奈母随神所念行演

WOSAMEY-TAMAp-yi UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAP-YI-K-URU

WANSA tö namö KAMU-NA-N-KARA OMÖP-OS-I-MYEs-u

rule(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-INF-come-ATTR deed DV PT deity-PLUR-GEN-nature think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I], as a deity, deign to think that [they are] the deeds that [I] **deign** to **administer** with benevolence (SM 3)

In Western Old Japanese there is a unique form *-(a)n-i*, consisting of the negative suffix *-(a)n-* and the infinitive *-[y]i*. This form is not attested in Middle Japanese, where it is apparently already replaced by the innovative form *-aN_s-u* 'NEG-INF' that will be discussed in the next section. Even in Western Old Japanese the form *-(a)n-i* was apparently an archaism that was on its way out, as it is usually believed to be found only after two verbs: *sir-* 'to know' and *ak-* 'to be satisfied.'⁵³ Among these verbs *-an-i* is attested after *ak-* 'to be satisfied' only once,⁵⁴ and all other cases are with the verb *sir-* 'to know' (Yoshida 1973: 262). However, besides these two, *-(a)n-i* also rather frequently occurs after the potential auxiliary *-kate-* ~ *-Nkate-*⁵⁵ The negative infinitive form *-(a)n-i* is attested only in the function of a non-final predicate. It is never used as a part of verbal compounds.

斯理都斗用伊由岐多賀比麻弊都斗用伊由岐多賀比宇迦迦波久
斯良爾登

siri-tu two-ywo i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi mapye-tu two-ywo i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi ukakap-aku **sir-an-i** tō

back-GEN/LOC door-ABL DLF-go-INF-differ-INF front-GEN/LOC door-ABL DLF-go-INF-differ-INF look(HUM)-NML **know-NEG-INF** DV

[I] say that [you are] **not knowing** that [they are] going there from the front door, and going there from the back door, and looking [at you] (KK 22)

⁵³ Yamada Yoshio also provides a negative infinitive form *wasur-an-i* from the verb *wasur-* 'to forget,' allegedly attested in NK 5 (Yamada 1954: 271), but the form in question is actually *wasur-aN_si* 'forget-NEG/TENT,' as Yamada misreads the character 珥 that stands for /N_si/ and not for /ni/ in this part of the *Nihonshoki*.

⁵⁴ Although there is also a negative nominalized form *ak-an-i* attested in MYS XVII: 3902.

⁵⁵ The variant *-kate-* occurs altogether twenty-five times, twenty-four times in the *Man'yōshū* and once in the *Nihonshoki kayō*. The variant *-Nkate-* occurs only three times: twice in the *Man'yōshū* in the form *-Nkate-* and once in the *Kojiki kayō* in the aberrant form *-Nkat-*. Therefore, the latter form seems to be a product of a secondary nasalization.

宇倍那宇倍那岐美麻知賀多爾

uNpey na uNpey na kyimyi **mat-i-Nkat-an-i**

indeed PT indeed PT lord **wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF**

Indeed, indeed! [I] **can hardly wait for** [my] lord, **and ...** (KK 28)

Note that in this example we have *-Nkat-an-i* and not *-Nkate-n-i* as in other examples below. This is a unique example when the auxiliary *-kate-* behaves like a consonant verb.

伊波牟須弊世武須弊斯良尔石木乎母刀比佐氣斯良受

ip-am-u suNpye se-m-u suNpye **sir-an-i** IPA KIY-wo mö twop-yi-sakey-sir-aNs-u

say-TENT-ATTR way do-TENT-ATTR way **know-NEG-INF**
rock tree-ACC PT ask-INF-split(INF)-know-NEG-FIN

[I] **do not know** what should [I] do and what should [I] say, **and** [I] do not know how to ask rocks and trees (MYS V: 794)

加波度爾波阿由故佐婆斯留吉美麻知我弓爾

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)

僂妙能布衣遠陶尔伎世難尔可久夜歎敢

ARA TAPEY-nö NUNWO KYINU-wo Ntani **kyi-se-KATE-n-i**
ka-ku ya NANKEYk-am-u

rough mulberry.bark.cloth-GEN cloth garment-ACC PT **wear-CAUS(INF)-POT-NEG-INF** thus-INF PT lament-TENT-ATTR

Being unable to make [my children] **wear** even a cloth garment from the rough mulberry bark cloth, would [I] lament in this way? (MYS V: 901)

和乎待難尔

wa-wo **MAT-I-kate-n-i**

I-ACC **wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF**

[she] **is unable to wait** for me, **and ...** (MYS XI: 2483)

須流須敝能多度伎乎之良尔祢能未之曾奈久

s-uru suNpye-nö taNtwokyi-wo **sir-an-i** ne nömiy si sö nak-u

do-ATTR way-GEN clue-ACC **know-NEG-INF** sound PT PT PT cry-ATTR

[I] have no (lit. **do not know**) clue what to do, **and** [I] just sob loudly (MYS XV: 3777)

可由吉賀久遊岐見都礼騰母曾許母安加爾等
 ka yuk-yi ka-ku yuk-yi MYI-t-ure-Ntömō sōkō mö **ak-an-i** tō
 thus go-INF thus-INF go-INF look(INF)-PERF-EV-CONC there
 PT **be.satisfied-NEG-INF** DV
 although [I] have looked going here and there, [I] thought that [it]
was not enough, and ... (MYS XVII: 3991)

伊滬多知加弓尔等騰己保里
 iNte-tat-i-kate-n-i tōNtökōpor-i
exit(INF)-depart-INF-POT-NEG-INF be.delayed-INF
 [I] **was unable to depart, and** [I] was delayed, and ... (MYS XX:
 4398)

(2) In verbal compounds, including the positions before and after an auxiliary:

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾字知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻
 韋久禮
 sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka ip-yes-e kōsō uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu
k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-ure
 noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS speak(INF)-HON-EV PT
 PREF-carry.across-ATTR ?-POSS?-COMP **come-INF-enter-**
INF-HUM(INF)-come-EV
 you spoke noisily and [you] **came inside** like ? that crossed from
 afar (KK 63)

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鷄迷夜
 oya na-si n-i nare **nar-i-ky-em-ey** ya
 parent no-FIN DV-INF you **be.born-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV**
 PT
Were you possibly born without parents? [Certainly not!] (NK
 104)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農
 nani tō kamō utukusi imō-Nka mata **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u**
 what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS again **bloom-INF-exit(INF)-**
come-NEG-ATTR

for (lit: being) what [reason], **does** [my] beautiful beloved **not bloom** again? (NK 114)

鹿自物伊波比伏管 ... 鶉成伊波比廻

SISI Nsimönö **i-pap-yi-PUS-YI-tutu** ... UNTURA-nasu **i-pap-yi-MÖTÖPOR-I**

dear like **DLF-crawl-INF-lie.down-INF-COOR** ... quail-COMP **DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF**
constantly crawling and lying down like a deer ... **crawling around** like a quail (MYS II: 199)

企許斯遠周久爾能麻保良

kyikös-i-wos-u kuni-nö ma-po-ra

rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN INT-top-LOC
in the highest place of the country, **where** [the emperor] **rules**
(MYS V: 800)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru mönö pa mwomwo kusa n-i **semey-yör-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 a hundred varieties (MYS V: 804)

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)

伊刀良斯弓伊波比多麻比斯麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯

i-twor-as-i-te ipap-yi-tamap-yi-si ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ö isi
DLF-hold-HON-INF-SUB **pray-INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR**
INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone
holding two stones like real jewels **that** [she] **was praying to** ...
(MYS V: 813)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾家良受夜

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-tar-u sönö-nö awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u ya**

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN
green willow TOP wig DV-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-
NEG-FIN PT**

Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

可具呂伎可美尔都由曾於伎尔家類

kaN-kurō⁵⁶-kyi kamyi-ni tuyu sō **ok-yi-n-i-kyer-u**
INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC dew PT **put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-
ATTR**

it turned out that the dew **fell** on the pitch-black hair (MYS XV: 3649)

和礼由惠尔於毛比和夫良牟伊母我可奈思佐

ware yuwe n-i **omwop-yi-waNp-uram-u** imō-Nka kanasi-sa
I reason DV-INF **think-INF-worry-TENT2-ATTR** beloved-POSS
dear-NML

[feeling of] the endearment for [my] beloved **who probably
worries** because of me (MYS XV: 3727)

波都由伎波知敵爾布里之家

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)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟多太爾阿布麻弓爾麻佐爾阿布麻弓爾
atō-wo **myi-tutu** sinōp-am-u taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni masa n-i ap-
u-maNte-ni

footstep-ACC **see(INF)-COOR** yearn-TENT-FIN direct DV-INF
meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC real DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC
looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] will yearn [for him], until [I]
meet [him] directly, until [I] really meet [him] (BS 6)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION *-[y]i-wor-*

The infinitive *-[y]i* can occur in an analytical construction with the following auxiliary verb *wor-* 'to exist.' Although this usage also represents the infinitive used with a following auxiliary, it deserves

⁵⁶ The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-ru* /rō/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-ru* /rwol/.

a special mention, because this construction has a function of a continuative aspect. Examples:

牟迦比袁流迦母伊蘇比袁流迦母

mukap-yi-wor-u kamö i-swop-yi-wor-u kamö

face-INF-exist-ATTR PT DLF-snuggle-INF-exist-ATTR PT

Oh, [she] is facing [me]! Oh, [she] is snuggling to [me]! (KK 42)

加久能未夜伊吉豆伎遠良牟

ka-ku nömiy ya **ikyin**tuk-yi-wor-am-u

thus-INF PT PT **sigh-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR**

Would [I] be sighing just like that? (MYS V: 881)

欲流波火等毛之乎流和礼乎

yworu pa PIY **tömwos-i-wor-u** ware-wo

night TOP fire **burn-INF-exist-ATTR I-ACC**

me, **who is burning** a fire at night (MYS XV: 3669)

多婢乎久流之美故非乎礼婆

taNpyi-wo kurusi-myi **kwopiy-wor-e-Npa**

travel-ABS be.hard-GER **long.for(INF)-exist-EV-CON**

because the travel is hard, **when [I] am longing** for [my home]
(MYS XV: 3674)

伊豆礼能日麻弓安礼古非乎良牟

iNture n-ö pyi-maNte are **kwopiy-wor-am-u**

which DV-INF day-TERM I **long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN**

Until what day **should [I] be longing** for [you]? (MYS XV: 3742)

(3) As an adverbial modifier of the following predicate. This function is most frequently observed with the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*, and it was described above in detail (see 6.1.4.1.1). With other verbs this usage is rare:

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迓登理與曾比

kurwo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo **ma-tuNpusa n-i** tör-i-yösöp-yi ... awo-kyi myi-kyes-i-wo **ma-tuNpusa n-i** tör-i-yösöp-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)

袁登賣爾多陀爾阿波牟登

wotömye-ni **taNta n-i** ap-am-u tö
maiden-DAT **straight DV-INF** meet-TENT-FIN DV
thinking to meet maidens **face to face** (KK 18)

伊久美陀氣伊久美波泥受

i-kum-yi-N-takey **i-kum-yi** pa ne-Ns-u
DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo **DLF-entwine-INF** TOP
sleep-NEG-INF
[we] did not sleep **entwined** there as the bamboo entwined there
(KK 91)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese the infinitive *-[y]i* occurs in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese:

(1) Non-final predicate:

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 yöpyi-ywori se-rö-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
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)

可伎武太伎奴礼杼安加奴乎安杼加安我世牟

kakyi-muNtak-yi n-ure-Ntö ak-an-u-wo aN-tö 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)

多麻母乃宇知奈婢伎比登里夜宿良牟

tama mö-nö **uti-naNpyik-yi** pyitö-ri ya ne-ram-u
jewel seaweed-COMP **PREF-stretch-INF** one-CL PT sleep-
TENT2-ATTR

will [you] sleep alone, **stretched** like a jewel seaweed? (MYS XIV: 3562)

The negative infinitive form *-(a)n-i* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese, but only after the potential auxiliary *-kate-*:

筑波祢乃祢呂尔可須美為須宜可提尔伊伎豆久伎美乎為祢弓夜良佐祢

TUKUNpa ne-nō ne-rō-ni kasumyi wi **suNkiy-kate-n-i** ikyiNtuk-u kyimiyi-wo wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e
TukuNpa peak-GEN peak-DIM-LOC mist sit(INF) **pass(INF)-POT-NEG-INF** sigh-ATTR lord-ACC bring(INF)-sleep(INF)-SUB send-HON-DES-IMP

The mist sits on the smaller peak of TukuNpa and **cannot move away, and** [I] wish [you] would bring [your] sighing lord and sleep [with him] (MYS XIV: 3388)

(2) In verbal compounds, including the positions before and after an auxiliary:

夜麻邊能之牙可久尔伊毛呂乎多弓天左祢度波良布母

yama-N-PYE-nō **siNkye-k-aku n-i** imwo-rō-wo **tate-te** sa-ne-N-two parap-umō
mountain-GEN-side-GEN **thick-ATTR-NML DV-INF** beloved-DIM-ACC **make.stand(INF)-SUB** PREF-sleep(NML)-DV(ATTR)-place clean-EXCL

as the mountain (side) is **overgrown** [with bush], [I] **let** [my] beloved **stand**, and I am clearing a place to sleep [for us]! (MYS XIV: 3489)

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-nō tuk-u-nōsu ware sapey n-i kyimiyi-ni **tuk-yi-n-ana**
high-ATTR peak-LOC cloud-GEN attach-ATTR-COMP I PT DV-INF lord-DAT **attach-INF-PERF-DES**

Even I **would like to cling** to [my] lord like clouds cling to a high peak (MYS XIV: 3514)

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)

(3) As an adverbial modifier of the following predicate:

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

於能我乎遠於保爾奈於毛比曾
 onō-Nka wo-wo **opo n-i** na-omwop-yi-sō
 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

The infinitive *-i* is also attested in Ryukyuan, and at least in Old Ryukyuan and Shuri (with one exception in the latter) it appears to have the same functions as in Western Old Japanese.

(1) Non-final predicate:

Old Ryukyuan

みこゑしやりおそわ
 mi-kowe **s-i-yar-i** osow-a
 HON-voice **do-INF-send-INF** rule-TENT
sending out [your] voice, [you] should rule [the country] (OS I: 8)

あおていきやりかたきひぢめわちへ
 ao-te **ik-i-yar-i** kataki fidimewa-tife
 fight(INF)-SUB **go-INF-send-INF** enemy pacify(INF).HON(INF)-
 SUB
 fighting, and **going forward, and** pacifying the enemies (OS I: 25)

In Shuri this function is believed to be rare, and all examples cited in (RKJ 68) are actually the examples of a nominalized form. I was not able to find any examples of the infinitive *-i* in this function in Shuri.

(2) In verbal compounds:

Old Ryukyuan

さいわたるのさくらしけしけとおりさちへけおよりあいいで
らむ

sa-i-watar-u n-o sakura sike-sike to **or-i-sat-ife** keo-yori ai-ide-ram-u

bloom-INF-cross-ATTR DV-ATTR sakura dense-dense DV
bend-INF-stretch-INF today-ABL COOP-go.out-TENT2-FIN
[Sailors!] From today [you] should go out together **bundling together** [like] **blooming** sakura [trees] (OS X: 531)

おしちへたるゑつかさくどゑ

os-i-dife-tar-u we tukasa-gu do we

push-INF-exit(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR hey tukasa-DIM PT hey

hey, [we] **pushed** [the boat] ahead; hey, [priestess] Tukasa (OS XIII: 747)

Shuri

nama-madi sanruu-taa-tu **hur-i-ashib-i** soo-ibi-ta-N

now-TERM Sanruu-PLUR-COM **be.enamored-INF-play-NML**
do(PROG)-POL-PAST-FIN

Until now [he] was **engrossed in playing** with Sanruu and others (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 97)

(3) As adverbial modifier of the following predicate:

Old Ryukyuan

主里もりあせはつちぎりにきらせ

SIYORI mori ase fa **tuti-gir-i n-i** kir-as-e

Shuri castle warrior TOP **ground-(DV)cut-NML** DV-INF cut-HON-IMP

Warriors of the Shuri castle, cut [the enemy] **as cutting the ground** (OS I: 33)

Shuri

too sanruu 'isuj-i tuur-ana
 INTER Sanruu hurry-**INF** pass-DES
 Hey, Sanruu, let us go **fast** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 115)

Thus we can reconstruct PJ *-i as an infinitive suffix. Serafim suggested that the infinitive should be reconstructed as *-e for proto-Ryukyuan (Serafim 1985: 134), but the evidence he presented is not very convincing.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I have proposed earlier a comparison of the PJ infinitive *-i with the Middle Korean infinitive *-e ~ -ye ~ -a*, e.g. *pat-a* 'receives and...', 'receiving'; *kesk-e* 'breaks and...', 'breaking' (Vovin 2001: 190-91). Even if we tentatively accept Serafim's hypothesis that the proto-Japanese infinitive *-i is a result of raising from PJ *-e, the MK infinitive *-e/-a* would still remain a dubious cognate, because Old Korean clearly has *-a and not *-e in the pre-Vowel Harmony stage of Korean: e.g., OK 折可 *KESk-a* 'breaking and ...' (Hyangka IV: 4), 入良 *TUl-a* 'entering and ...' (Hyangka V: 3), 嫁良 *El-a* 'marrying and ...' (Hyangka VI: 2) instead of the expected **kesk-e*, **tul-e* and **el-e* (cf. corresponding MK forms *kesk-e*, *tul-e*, and *el-e*). Thus, this comparison should be rejected.

More recently, Thomasz Majtcazak suggested to me that PJ *-i may be related to the gerund *-i ~ -i* attested in Old Turkic (Majtcazak, p.c.). Although phonetically this comparison fares much better than the comparison with OK *-a, there are, nevertheless, three significant problems. First, the comparison is monophonemic, therefore, the possibility of a chance resemblance rises dramatically. Second, isolated morphological markers are unlikely to present strong evidence for a genetic relationship: we need evidence from the paradigmatic morphology. In addition, it is worthwhile to note that there are practically no other morphological comparisons between Turkic and Japanese that could be even remotely acceptable. Third, OT *-i ~ -i* seems to be limited to Old Turkic, without reliable parallels anywhere else in the Turkic family.

6.2.2.2.1.2 Infinitive -u

The infinitive *-u* occurs exclusively after the negative suffix *-aN_s- ~ -N_s-*, so this combination could have been possibly treated as a

single form, but since the negative *-(a)Ns-* also occurs before the final predication suffix *-u*, it is internally divisible. It is homonymous with the final negative form *-(a)Ns-u*, and historically it certainly represents a final form that started to be used as an infinitive due to the fact that the original negative infinitive form *-an-i* (see 6.2.2.2.1.1 above) was gradually phased out. The negative form *-(a)Ns-* represents a contraction of a negative nominalized form *-an-i* plus the verb *se-* ‘to do’ as the following example with an uncontracted form demonstrates.

君波見礼登安可尔勢牟

KYIMYI pa MYI-re-Ntö **ak-an-i se-m-u**

lord TOP look-EV-CONC **be.satisfied-NEG-NML do-TENT-FIN**
 although you will look, [you] **would not be satisfied** (MYS XVII: 3902)

The negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* can combine with the following bound auxiliaries:

Chart 52: Combinations of the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* with following bound auxiliaries

bound auxiliaries	combination forms
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u-te</i>
past <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u-kyi</i>
past tentative <i>-ky-em-</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u-ky-em-</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u-kyer-</i>

The negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* has the following functions:

(1) Non-final predicate:

麻肥迹波阿弓受麻用贺岐許迹加岐多禮

ma-piy-ni pa **ate-Ns-u** maywo-N-kak-yi kö n-i kak-yi-tare

INT-fire-LOC TOP **expose-NEG-INF** eyebrow-GEN-paint-NML
 thick DV-INF paint-INF-hang(INF)

[she] painted down thickly [her eyebrows] with an eyebrow rouge
without exposing [the rouge] to a strong fire (KK 42)

伊岐良受曾久流

i-kyir-aNs-u sö k-uru

DLF-cut-NEG-INF PT come-ATTR

[I] return **without cutting** [them] **there** (KK 51)

伊久美陀氣伊久美波泥受多斯美陀氣多斯爾波韋泥受能知母久美泥牟

i-kum-yi-N-takey i-kum-yi pa **ne-Ns-u** ta-sim-yi-N-takey tasi n-i pa **wi-ne-Ns-u** nöti mö kum-yi-ne-m-u

DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo DLF-entwine-INF TOP **sleep-NEG-INF** PREF-grow.densely-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo thorough DV-INF TOP **exist(INF)-sleep-NEG-INF** later PT entwine-INF-sleep-TENT-FIN

[we] **did not sleep** entwined there as the bamboo entwined there, **and** [we] **did not sleep** closely like densely growing bamboo, [but] later [we] will sleep entwined (KK 91)

伊多低於破孺破珥倍廼利能介豆岐齊奈

ita te **op-aNs-u** pa nipo-N-töri-nö kaNtuk-yi se-na

painful place **carry-NEG-INF** TOP grebe-DV(ATTR)-bird-COMP dive-NML do-DES

rather than to receive (lit.: if [we are] **not receiving**) severe wounds, let us dive [together] like grebes (NK 29)

之呂多倍能安我之多其呂母宇思奈波受毛弓礼和我世故多太尔安布麻侶尔

sirö tapey-nö a-Nka sita-N-körömö **usinap-aNs-u** mwot-er-e wa-Nka se-kwo taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN I-POSS bottom-GEN-garment **lose-NEG-INF** carry-PROG-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

My beloved, carry [with you] my undergarment from white mulberry tree bark cloth **without losing** [it], until [we] meet directly (MYS XV: 3751)

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi **wem-aNs-u** mwo uti-naNKeyk-yi katar-i-ky-em-aku smile-INF ? **smile-NEG-INF** PT PREF-sigh-INF talk-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-NML

the fact that [both of you] were probably talking, and sighing, smiling and **not smiling** (MYS XVIII: 4106)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION -(A)NS-U PA

The negative gerund *-(a)Ns-u* followed by the topic marker *pa* may also introduce a conditional clause besides just being a simple non-final predicate:

那我古飛世殊波弥曾能不乃于梅能波奈尔忘奈良麻之母能乎
 naNka kwopiy **se-Ns-u pa** myi-sönö-pu-nö uMEY-nö pana n-i mo
 nar-amasi mönöwo
 long love(NML) **do-NEG-INF TOP HON-garden-plant-GEN**
 plum-GEN blossom DV-INF PT become-SUBJ CONJ
 [I] would become plum blossoms [among] the plants of your
 garden **without loving** [you for a] long [time], but ... (MYS V: 864)

故非和須礼我比等良受波由可自
 kwopiy wasure-N-kapyi **tör-aNs-u pa** yuk-aNsi
 love forget(NML)-GEN-shell **take-NEG-INF TOP go-**
 NEG/TENT
if [I] do not take a ‘love-forgetting’ shell, [I] would not go (MYS
 XV: 3711)

布勢能宇良乎見受波能保良自
 puse-nö ura-wo **MYI-Ns-u pa** nöNpor-aNsi
 Puse-GEN bay-ACC **see-NEG-INF TOP go.to.the.capital-**
 NEG/TENT
if [I] did not see the bay of Puse, I would not go to the capital
 (MYS XVIII: 4039)

安比美受波古非之久安流倍之
apyi-myi-Ns-u pa kwopiysi-ku ar-uNpey-si
REC-see-NEG-INF TOP be.longing.for-INF exist-DEB-FIN
if [we] do not see each other, [we] would be longing (MYS XX:
 4408)

(2) In verbal compounds in the position before an auxiliary:

多知賀遠母伊麻陀登迦受弓淤須比遠母伊麻陀登加泥婆
 tati-Nka wo mö imaNta **tök-aNs-u-te** osupyi-wo mö imaNta tök-
 an-e-Npa
 long.sword-POSS cord PT yet **untie-NEG-INF-SUB** cloak-ACC
 PT yet untie-NEG-EV-CON

as [I] **have not** yet **untied** the cords of [my] long sword, **and** have not yet untied [my] cloak (KK 2)

都久波尼爾阿波牟等伊比志古波多賀己等岐氣波加弥尼阿波巢氣牟

tukuNpa-ne-ni ap-am-u tō ip-yi-si kwo pa ta-Nka kötō kyik-ey-Npa ka myi-ne ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u

TukuNpa-peak-LOC meet-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR girl TOP who-POSS word listen-EV-CON PT HON-peak/sleep(NML)⁵⁷ **meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**

The girl, who promised [to me] that [we] will meet at the TukuNpa peak, **did not meet** [me] at the peak/for sleeping, [is it] because [she] listened to somebody's words? (FK 2)

從情毛吾者不念寸

KÖKÖRÖ-YU mwo A PA OMÖP-ANS-U-kyi
heart-ABL PT I TOP **think-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN**
I **did not think** even in my heart (MYS IV: 601)

從情毛我者不念寸

KÖKÖRÖ-YU mwo A PA OMÖP-ANS-U-kyi
heart-ABL PT I TOP **think-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN**
I **did not think** even in my heart (MYS IV: 609)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米爾之美延牟

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nō makura sar-aNs-u-te imey-ni si myi-ye-m-u

direct DV-INF meet-NEG-INF exist-NML PT many-INF spread-INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow **go.away-NEG-INF-SUB** dream-LOC PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN

There are also many occasions when [we] do not meet directly, [and I] want to see [you] in [my] dream **without going away** from [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

現毛夢毛吾者不思寸

UTUTU-NI mwo IMEY-NI mwo WARE PA OMÖP-ANS-U-kyi
reality-LOC PT dream-LOC PT I TOP **think-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN**

I **did not think** either in reality or in a dream (MYS XI: 2601)

⁵⁷ The word *ne* here represents a play on words: *ne* 'peak' and *ne* 'sleep(INF).'

夜須伊毛祢受弓安我故非和多流

yasu i mwo **ne-Ns-u-te** a-Nka kwopiy-watar-u

PT easy sleep PT **sleep-NEG-INF-SUB** I-POSS love(INF)-cross-ATTR

I **do not sleep** easily, **and** continue to love [her] (MYS XV: 3633)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里

imey-ni pa mötöna apyi-myi-re-Ntö taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa kwopiy **yam-aNs-u-kyer-i**

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) **stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN**

although [we] see each other aimlessly in dreams, because [our meetings] are not direct, [our] love **does not stop** (MYS XVII: 3980)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟

sa yamaNta n-ö woNti-Nka SÖNÖ PYI-ni mötömey **ap-aNs-u-kyem-u**

so YamaNta DV-ATTR old.man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF) **meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**

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

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION **-(A)NS-U AR-**

Besides being used before bound auxiliaries, the negative infinitive **-(a)Ns-u** also appears before the lexical auxiliary *ar-* 'to exist.' The resulting combination **-(a)Ns-u ar-** is better analyzed as a construction rather than a compound, because the focus particle *sö* and the interrogative particle *ka* can be inserted between **-(a)Ns-u** and *ar-*, as one can see in examples from MYS IV: 720 and MYS XV: 3739 below.

許許呂袁陀迹迦阿比淤母波受阿良牟

kökörö-wo Ntani ka **apyi-omöp-aNs-u ar-am-u**

heart-ACC PT PT REC-**think-NEG-INF exist-TENT-ATTR**

will [we] **not think about each other** at least in our hearts? (KK 60)

意富岐美能許許呂袁由良美淤美能古能夜弊能斯婆加岐伊理多
多受阿理

opō kyimi-nō kōkōrō-wo yura-myi omyi-nō kwo-nō ya-pye n-ō
 siNpa kakiy **ir-i-tat-aNs-u ar-i**
 great lord-GEN heart-ABS gentle-GER retainer-GEN child-GEN
 eight-CL DV-ATTR brushwood fence **enter-INF-stand-NEG-INF**
exist-FIN

Because the great lord's heart is gentle, [he] **does not enter** the eight-fold brushwood fence of the retainer's son (KK 107)

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志

kapiy-nō kurwo kwoma kura kyi-s-eNpa **i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasi**
 Kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle put.on-PAST/ATTR-COND
DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ

if [he] would put a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he] **would not reach here** [on time] (NK 81a)

宇良志麻能古我多麻久志義阿氣受阿理世波麻多母阿波麻志遠
 urasima-nō kwo-Nka tama kusiNkey **akey-Ns-u ar-i-s-eNpa** mata
 mö ap-amasi-wo

Urasima-GEN child-POSS jewel box **open-NEG-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** again PT meet-SUBJ-ACC

If the boy Urasima **did not open** the jewel box, [he] would meet again [the dragon's daughter], but [it did not happen] (FK 15)

余戀良苦乎不知香安類良武

WA-NKA KWOP-Ur-aku-wo **SIR-ANS-U ka ar-uram-u**
 I-POSS love-ATTR-NML-ACC **know-NEG-INF PT exist-TENT2-ATTR**

are [you] **probably not knowing** that I love [you]? (MYS IV: 720)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米爾之美延牟

taNta n-i **ap-aNs-u ar-aku** mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nō makura
 sar-aNs-u-te imey-ni si myi-ye-m-u

direct DV-INF **meet-NEG-INF exist-NML** PT many-INF spread-INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow go.away-NEG-INF-SUB dream-LOC PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN

There are many occasions **when** [we] **do not meet directly**, [and I] want to see [you] in [my] dream without going away from [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

伊毛乎婆美受曾安流倍久安里家留

imwo-woNpa **myi-Ns-u sō ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u**
beloved-ACC(EMPH) **see-NEG-INF PT exist-DEB-INF exist-**
INF-RETR-ATTR

[I] **must not have seen** [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3739)

夜度乃烏梅能知利須具流麻埜美之米受安利家流

yaNtwo-nō uMEY-nō tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte **myi-simey-Ns-u ar-i-kyer-u**

house-GEN plum-GEN fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM **see-CAUS-NEG-INF exist-INF-RETR-ATTR**

[it] **turned out that** [you] **did not let** [me] **see** plum [blossoms] in [your] house until they had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4496)

SPECIAL CONTRACTED FORM **-(A)NS-AR-**

Although the uncontracted special construction consisting of the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* and the lexical auxiliary *ar-* ‘to exist’ is used in Western Old Japanese texts, there is also a contracted form of this construction, where the infinitive suffix *-u* has elided completely before the following *ar-*, resulting in a contracted form *-(a)Ns-ar-*. This contracted form is found in an uncontroversial phonetic spelling only in Late Western Old Japanese, and only in four examples, all of them limited to the *Man'yōshū*. Thus, it should be a late innovation.⁵⁸

伊米爾毛伊母我美延射良奈久尔

imey-ni mwo imō-Nka **myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i**
dream-LOC PT beloved-POSS **see-PASS-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-**
NML DV-INF

in the dreams [my] beloved [always] **appears** (MYS XV: 3735)

能知尔毛安波射良米也母

nōti-ni mwo **ap-aNs-ar-am-ey ya mö**
later-LOC PT **meet-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-EV PT PT**

will [we] **not meet** later?! [Of course we will !] (MYS XV: 3741)

等之能乎奈我久安波射礼杼家之伎己許呂乎安我毛波奈久尔

tōsi-nō wo naNka-ku **ap-aNs-ar-e-Ntō** kyesi-kyi kökōrō-wo a-Nka
[o]mwop-an-aku n-i

⁵⁸ The contracted form *-(a)z-ar-* is the only one found in Middle Japanese, where the uncontracted form *-(a)zu ar-* is not attested.

year-GEN cord long-INF **meet-NEG(INF)-exist-EV-CONC**
 unusual-ATTR heart-ACC I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
although [we] **did not meet for a long time**, I am not going to
 change [my] mind (MYS XV: 3775)

伊頭礼乃時加吾孤悲射良牟
 iNture n-ö TÖKYI 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)

(3) As adverbial modifier of the following predicate:

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢
 matur-i-kö-si myi-kyi Nsö **as-aNs-u** wos-e
 present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rice.wine PT
shallow-NEG-INF drink(HON)-IMP
 Drink the presented rice wine **deeply!** (KK 39)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese the negative infinitive *-aNs-u* occurs in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese:

(1) Non-final predicate:

安能於登世受由可牟古馬母我
 a-nö otö **se-Ns-u** yuk-am-u kwo-[u]ma möNka
 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)

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
 aswo-nö KApra-ywo isi **pum-aNs-u** swora-yu tö k-yi-n-u yö
 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, as from the sky, **without**
treading on stones! (MYS XIV: 3425)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION -(A)NS-U PA

The negative gerund *-(a)Ns-u* followed by the topic marker *pa* introduces a conditional clause:

安布許等可多思家布尔思安良受波

ap-u kötö kata-si kyepu **n-i si ar-aNs-u pa**

meet-ATTR thing difficult-FIN today **DV-INF PT exist-NEG-INF TOP**

if [it] is not today, it will be difficult to meet (MYS XIV: 3401)

(2) In verbal compounds in the position before an auxiliary:

奈爾須礼會波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure sö papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-Ns-u-ky-em-u**

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN **bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR**

why (lit.: having done what) **has** the flower called ‘Mother’ **not bloomed?** (MYS XX: 4323)

阿母志々尔己等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之氣

amö sisi-ni kötö **mawos-aNs-u-te** ima Nsö kuyasi-key

mother father-DAT word **say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB** now PT regretful-ATTR

now [I] regret that [I] **did not tell** [my] mother and father (MYS XX: 4376)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION -(A)NS-U AR-

Like in Western Old Japanese, besides being used before bound auxiliaries, the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* also appears before the lexical auxiliary *ar-* ‘to exist.’

安比見受安良婆安礼古非米夜母

apyi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa are kwopiy-m-ey ya mö

COOP-see-NEG-INF exist-COND I long-TENT-EV PT PT

if [we] **did not meet each other**, would I long [for her]?!
[Certainly not!] (MYS XIV: 3508)

SPECIAL CONTRACTED FORM *-(A)NS-AR-*

There is also a contracted form *-(a)Ns-ar-* in Eastern Old Japanese, but it is found in only one poem that has no distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features, so its authenticity may be questioned.

多都登利能目由可汝乎見牟左衿射良奈久尔

tat-u töri-nö MEY-yu ka NA-wo MYI-m-u **sa-ne-Ns-ar-an-aku** n-i
rise-ATTR bird-COMP eye-ABL PT you-ACC see-TENT-ATTR
PREF-sleep-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

will [I] just see you as a bird flying up? Although **it is not that** [we] **did not sleep** [together] **there** (MYS XIV: 3396)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is a negative gerund *-ada* in Old Ryukyuan that occurs extremely rarely (Hokama 1995: 380). Its phonetic shape indicates that it is highly unlikely to be a cognate of WOJ *-(a)Ns-u*, which is, therefore, better treated as an exclusive Old Japanese innovation.

6.2.2.2.2 Gerunds

There are three gerunds in Western Old Japanese that behave like sentence-non-final suffixes: the conditional gerund *-(a)Npa*, the conjunctive gerund *-Npa*, and the concessive gerund *-Njö[mö]*. In addition, there are also the subordinative gerund *-te* and the coordinative gerunds *-tutu*, *-naNkara*, and *-katera* that behave like auxiliaries since they follow the infinitive *-[y]i*. I will deal with those latter two in the section on auxiliaries.

6.2.2.2.1 Conditional gerund *-aNpa* ~ *-Npa*

The conditional gerund in Western Old Japanese has two allomorphs: *-aNpa* after consonant verbs, *r*-irregular, and *n*-irregular verbs, and *-Npa* after the vowel and the irregular vowel verbs. After the past final *-kyi*, the past attributive *-si* and the subjunctive *-(a)masi*, the last vowel /i/ of *-kyi*, *-si* and *-(a)masi* merges with the initial /a/ of *-aNpa* as /e/, producing the special forms *-ky-eNpa*, *-s-eNpa* and *-(a)mas-eNpa*. The conditional gerund *-(a)Npa* is found in combination with the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries that all precede *-(a)Npa* in a given word form:

Chart 53: Combinations of the conditional gerund *-(a)Npa* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-aNpa*</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-aNpa</i>
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-Npa</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-aNpa</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-Npa</i>
past final <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-ky-eNpa</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-s-eNpa</i>
subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i>	<i>-(a)mas-eNpa</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-aNpa</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-aNpa</i>

* In Western Old Japanese the combination with iterative **-ap-aNpa* occurs in formations where *-ap-* can be segmented only diachronically, e.g. *ipap-aNpa* 'pray-COND', which is historically derived from **ip-ap-aNpa* 'say-ITER-COND.' However, this combination should have been possible at one time in Western Old Japanese, since it is found in Eastern Old Japanese, see the example of *ap-an-ap-aNpa* 'meet-NEG-ITER-COND' in MYS XIV: 3426 below.

The fact that the conditional gerund *-(a)Npa* can follow the past attributive form *-si* probably indicates that historically *-(a)Npa* represents some kind of a bound noun. This is one more piece of evidence in favor of the theory that most if not all Japonic morphology is secondary.

In contrast to Middle Japanese, where the conditional gerund introduces only irrealis and realis conditional clauses (Vovin 2003: 252), in Western Old Japanese *-aNpa* ~ *-Npa* also introduces a temporal connection, although it occurs only if there is a following tentative *-(a)m-* or negative tentative *-aNsi* in a sentence.

Examples:

(1) Irrealis condition:

比登都麻都比登迹阿理勢婆多知波氣麻斯袁岐奴岐勢麻斯袁
 pyitō-tu matu pyitō **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa** tati pakey-masi-wo kyinu kyise-masi-wo
 one_CL pine person DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND
 long.sword make.wear-SUBJ-ACC garment wear-CAUS-SUBJ-ACC

Oh, lone pine, **if** [you] **were** a human being, [I] would make [you] wear a long sword, [I] would make [you] wear a garment, but ... (KK 29)

斯漏多陀牟岐麻迦受祁婆許曾斯良受登母伊波米
 sirwo taNtamukyi **mak-aNs-u-ky-eNpa** kōsō sir-aNs-u tō mō ip-
 am-ey
 white arm **use.as.a.pillow-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-COND** PT
 know-NEG-FIN DV PT say-TENT-EV
if [I] **did not use** [your] white arms **as a pillow**, [you] could even say that [you] do not know [me] (KK 61)

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志
 kapiy-nō kurwo kwoma kura **kyi-s-eNpa** i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasi
 Kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle **put.on-PAST/ATTR-COND**
 DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ
if [he] **would put** a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he] would not reach here [on time] (NK 81a)

施摩儺羅磨婀我哀屢施摩
 tama **nar-aNpa** a-Nka por-u tama
 jewel **be-COND** I-POSS desire-ATTR jewel
if [my beloved] **were** a jewel, [she would be] a jewel I desire (NK 92)

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

可久斯良摩世婆久奴知許等其等美世摩斯母乃乎
 ka-ku **sir-amas-eNpa** kun[i]-uti kōtō-Nkōtō myi-se-masi mōnōwo
 thus-INF **know-SUBJ-COND** land-inside thing-thing see-CAUS-
 SUBJ CONJ
if [I] **would know** that, [I] would show [her] all things in the land, but ... (MYS V: 797)

國尔阿良婆父刀利美麻之家尔阿良婆母刀利美麻志

KUNI-ni **ar-aNpa** TITI twor-i-myi-masi IPYE-ni **ar-aNpa** PAPA
twor-i-myi-masi

province-LOC **exist-COND** father hold-INF-see-SUBJ home-LOC
exist-COND mother hold-INF-see-SUBJ

if [I] **were** in [my] province, [my] father would take care [of me], **if**
[I] **were** in [my] home, [my] mother would take care [of me] (MYS
V: 886)

山櫻花日並而如是開有者甚戀目夜裳

YAMA SAKURA-N-PANA PYI NARANPEY-TE KA-KU si
SAK-YER-ANPA PANTA KWOPHY-m-ey ya mo

mountain cherry-GEN-flower day line.up(INF)-SUB thus-INF PT
bloom-PROG-COND considerably long.for-TENT-EV PT PT

If mountain cherry flowers **were blooming** thus every day, would
[I] long for [them] considerably? [Certainly not!] (MYS VIII: 1425)

大船尔伊母能流母能尔安良麻勢婆羽具久美母知弓由可麻之母
能乎

OPO PUNE-ni imö nör-u mönö **n-i ar-amas-eNpa** PA-N-kukum-
yi möt-i-te yuk-amasi mönöwo

big boat-LOC beloved board-ATTR thing **DV-INF exist-SUBJ-
COND** wing-LOC-cover-INF hold-INF-SUB go-SUBJ CONJ

If [it] **were** the case that [my] beloved boarded [my] big boat, [I]
would go holding her under [my] wings, but ... (MYS XV: 3579)

和伎毛故我可多美能許呂母奈可里世婆奈爾毛能母弓加伊能知
都我麻之

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka katamyi n-ö körömö **na-k-ar-i-s-eNpa**
nani mwonö möt-e ka inöti tuNk-amasi

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS keepsake DV-ATTR garment **no-
INF-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** what thing hold-EV PT life
join-SUBJ

If [I] **did not have** a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, would
having anything keep me alive? (MYS XV: 3733)

音之少寸道尔相奴鴨少寸四道尔相佐婆

OTÖ-NÖ SUKUNA-kyi MYITI-ni AP-An-u kamwo SUKUNA-
kyi yö MYITI-ni **AP-As-aNpa**

sound-GEN few-ATTR road-LOC meet-NEG-ATTR PT few-
ATTR PT road-LOC **meet-HON-COND**

if [you] **would meet** [me] on the road where there are few [sounds of people]! [But], alas [we] will not meet on the road where few sounds [of people] are! (MYS XVI: 3875)

梅柳乎理加謝思氏婆意毛比奈美可毛

UMEY YANANKIY wor-i kaNsas-i-te-Npa omwop-yi na-myi kamwo

plum willow break-INF **decorate-INF-PERF-COND** think-NML no-GER PT

because, **if** [we] had broken [branches] of plum trees and willows and **decorated** [our heads], there would be no [sad] thoughts! (MYS XVII: 3905)

安布知乎宅尔宇惠多良婆夜麻霍公鳥可礼受許武可聞

aputi-wo IPYE-ni uwe-tar-aNpa yama POTÖTÖNKYISU kare-Ns-u kö-m-u kamo

chinaberry.tree-ACC house-LOC **plant(INF)-PERF/PROG-COND** mountain cuckoo separate-NEG-INF come-TENT-ATTR PT

if [I] **would plant** a chinaberry tree at my house, the mountain cuckoo would come all the time! (MYS XVII: 3910)

和我勢古我久爾敝麻之奈婆保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇波佐夫之家牟可母

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kuni-pye [i]mas-i-n-aNpa potötöNkyisu nak-am-u sa-tukiy pa saNpusi-ky-em-u kamö

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS land-DIR **come(HON)-INF-PERF-COND** cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR fifth-month TOP be.lonely-ATTR-TENT-ATTR PT

If my beloved **would have** [only] **returned** to [his] land, [because in] the fifth lunar month when the cuckoo will cry, [I] would be lonely! (MYS XVII: 3996)

安麻能我波波志和多世良波

ama-nö Nkapa pasi watas-er-aNpa

Heaven-GEN river bridge **put.accross-PROG-COND**

If [they] **would have put** a bridge **across** the Heavenly River ... (MYS XVIII: 4126)

安佐之保美知尔与流許都美可比尔安里世婆都刀尔勢麻之乎
asa sipo mit-i-ni yör-u kötumyi kapyi **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa** tutwo n-i se-
masi-wo

morning tide full-NML-LOC approach-ATTR trash shellfish **DV-
INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** souvenir DV-INF do-SUBJ-
ACC

if the trash that is brought up by the full morning tide **were** shellfish, [I] would bring [it] as a souvenir, but ... (MYS XX: 4396)

(2) Realis condition:

夜多能比登母登須宜波比登理表理登母意富岐弥斯與斯登岐許
佐婆比登理表理登母

yata-nö pyitö-mötö suNkey pa pyitö-ri wor-i tömö opö kyimyi si
yö-si tö **kyikös-aNpa** pyitö-ri wor-i tömö

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)

意富岐美袁斯麻爾波夫良婆布那阿麻理伊賀弊理許牟叙

opö kyimyi-wo sima-ni **paNpur-aNpa** puna-amar-i i-Nkapyer-i-
kö-m-u Nsö

great lord-ACC island-LOC **exile-COND** boat-exceed-INF DLF-
return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR PT

if [they] **exile** [my] great lord to an island, there are many boats, and [he] would return here (KK 86)

烏梅能波奈佐企弓知理奈波佐久良婆那都伎弓佐久倍久奈利爾
弓阿良受也

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-te **tir-i-n-aNpa** sakura-N-pana tuNk-yi-te
sak-uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-te ar-aNs-u ya

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-SUB **fall-INF-PERF-COND**
sakura-GEN-blossom follow-INF-SUB bloom-DEB-INF become-
INF-PERF-INF-SUB exist-NEG-FIN PT

If the plum blossoms **have** bloomed and **fallen**, has [it] not become so that sakura blossoms should bloom after? (MYS V: 829)

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 again if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

空氣衝之相別去者

ANA IKYINTUK-Asi **APYI-WAKARE-n-aNPA**

EXCL breathe-ADJ **REC-part(INF)-PERF-COND**

Oh, how lamentable! **If [we] part with each other ...** (MYS VIII:
 1454)

和可礼奈波宇良我奈之家武

wakare-n-aNpa ura-N-kanasi-ky-em-u

part(INF)-PERF-COND heart-LOC-sad-ATTR-TENT-FIN

If [we] part, [I] would be sad in [my] heart ... (MYS XV: 3584)

美也故爾由加波伊毛爾安比豆許祢

miyakwo-ni **yuk-aNpa** imwo-ni ap-yi-te kö-n-e

capital-LOC **go-COND** beloved-DAT meet-INF-SUB come-DES-
 IMP

if [you] go to the capital, meet [there my] beloved, and come [back]
 (MYS XV: 3687)

伊波多野爾夜杼里須流伎美伊徹妣等乃伊豆良等和礼乎等波婆
 伊可爾伊波牟

ipata-NWO-ni yaNtör-i s-uru kyimiyi ipye-N-pyitö-nö iNtu-ra tö
 ware-wo **töp-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

[Oh, my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field. **If** people from [your]
 home **ask** me (saying) where [are you], what should [I] answer?
 (MYS XV: 3689)

古非之奈婆古非毛之祢等也

kwopiy-sin-aNpa kwopiy mwo sin-e tö ya

long.for(INF)-die-COND long.for(INF) PT die-IMP DV PT

Do [you] tell [me]: **'If [you] die longing, die from longing!'** (MYS
 XV: 3780)

伊麻能其等古非之久伎美我於毛保要婆伊可尔加母世牟
 ima-nō Nkötō kwopiysi-ku kyimyi-Nka **omwop-oye-Npa** ika n-i
 kamō se-m-u
 now-GEN like longing-INF lord-POSS **think-PASS-COND** how
 DV-INF PT do-TENT-ATTR
If [I] think of you longingly like now, what shall [I] do [later], I
 wonder? (MYS XVII: 3928)

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 **tōpo-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)

吾等尔可伎无氣念之念婆
 WARE-ni kakyi-mukey OMÖP-YI si **OMÖP-ANpa**
 I-DAT PREF-turn(IMP) love-NML PT **love-COND**
if [you] indeed love [me], turn to me (MYS XIX: 4191)

(3) Temporal connection. As mentioned above, unlike Middle (Classical) Japanese, the conditional gerund *-aNpa* can also introduce a temporal connection. However, *-aNpa* appears in this function only if there is a following tentative *-(a)m-* or negative tentative *-aNsi* in a sentence.⁵⁹

阿遠夜麻迹比賀迦久良婆奴婆多麻能用波伊傳那牟
 awo-yama-ni pyi-Nka **kakur-aNpa** nuNpa tama-nō ywo pa iNte-n-
am-u
 green-mountain-LOC sun-POSS **hide-COND** pitch.black jade-
 COMP night TOP **exit(INF)-PERF-TENT-FIN**
when the sun **hides** [behind] the green mountains, the night [dark]
 like pitch-black jade **will have come** (KK 3)

与良志古良爾志与良波
 yör-aNsi kwo-ra-ni si **yör-aNpa**
approach-NEG/TENT girl-DIM-DAT PT **approach-COND**
when [I] approach [my] dear girl, [I] **will not approach** [other
 girls] (FK 4)

⁵⁹ I am grateful to Janick Wrona for pointing out to me this limitation in the *-aNpa* usage in the function of a temporal connection.

This example represents a syntactic inversion.

武都紀多知波流能吉多良婆可久斯許曾烏梅乎々利都々多努之岐乎倍米

mu-tukiy tat-i paru-nō **k-yi-tar-aNpa** ka-ku si kōsō uMEY-wo wor-i-tutu **tanwosi-kyi wohey-m-ey**
first lunar month rise-INF spring-GEN **come-INF-PERF/PROG-COND** be.thus-INF PT PT plum.blossom-ACC break-INF-COOR **be.pleasant-ATTR finish-TENT-EV**

When the first lunar month begins, and the spring **has come**, let [us] **enjoy the pleasure to the end** while picking plum blossoms (MYS V: 815)

得志能波尔波流能伎多良婆可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志久能麻米

tōsi-nō pa n-i paru-nō **k-yi-tar-aNpa** ka-ku si kōsō uMEY-wo kaNsas-i-te tanwosi-ku **nōm-am-ey**
year-GEN every DV-INF spring **come-INF-PERF/PROG-COND** thus-INF PT plum-ACC decorate-INF-SUB be.merry-INF **drink-TENT-EV**

Every year, **when** the spring **comes**, let [us] decorate [our hair] with plum [blossoms] and **drink** merrily (MYS V: 833)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese conditional gerund *-(a)Npa* may have the functions of both irrealis and realis conditions:

(1) Irrealis condition:

安比見受安良婆安礼古非米夜母

apyi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa are kwopiy-m-ey ya mō
COOP-see-NEG-INF exist-COND I long-TENT-EV PT PT
if [we] **did not meet each other**, would I long [for her]?!
[Certainly not!] (MYS XIV: 3508)

安波受之弓由加婆乎思家牟

ap-aNs-u s-i-te **yuk-aNpa** wosi-ky-em-u
meet-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB **go-COND** regretful-ATTR-TENT-FIN

If [I] would go without meeting [you], [I] would regret [it] ...
(MYS XIV: 3558)

(2) Realis condition:

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟
須婆佐祢

apyiNtune-nō kuni-wo saN-tōpo-myi **ap-an-ap-aNpa** sinwop-yi ni
i se-m-wo tō pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e

ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER **meet-NEG-ITER-
COND** long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV cord tie-
HON-DES-IMP

If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApyiNtune is far,
[I] wish [you] would tie [your garment] cords, as if longing for [me]
(MYS XIV: 3426)

阿米都之乃以都例乃可美乎以乃良波加

amey-tusi-nō i[N]ture n-ō kami-wo **inōr-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)

比毛多要婆安我弓等都氣呂許礼乃波流母志

pyimwo **taye-Npa** a-Nka te-tō tukey-rō kōre n-ō paru mōs-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, the conditional form *-aba* is attested in Old Ryukyuan and in some dialects of the Central Ryukyuan islands, such as Kumejima. It appears that in Northern and Southern Ryukyuan dialects it either disappeared or merged with the *-ba* form used after the evidential. In Shuri this form became *-awa* ~ *-aa*, and it is used only for the realis condition (RKJ 69).

Old Ryukyuan

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)

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)

Shuri

?ari-ga **yum-aa** ?yaa-N yum-ee

he-NOM **read-COND** you-PT read-IMP

If he reads [it], you read it, too (RKJ 69)

Kumejima

s-ur-aba haa-ku s-i

do-ATTR-COND quick-INF do-IMP

If [you] do [it], do [it] quickly (Nohara 1998: 311)

?ich-**ur-aba** haa-ku ?ich-i

go-ATTR-COND quick-INF go-IMP

If [you] go, go quickly (Nohara 1998: 311)

Although we have reliable attestations only from Central Ryukyuan, there is some possibility that the Ryukyuan form *-aba* was borrowed from Middle Japanese. However, since it is found not only on Okinawa, but also on Kumejima, the possibility is not very high. Furthermore, it is also possible that it was present in Southern Ryukyuan dialects as well prior to its merger with the *-ba* form. Therefore, we can probably reconstruct the PJ conditional suffix **-anpa*, although it is quite likely that originally it was some kind of a bound noun. There are no external parallels.

6.2.2.2.2.2 Conjunctive gerund *-Npa*

The conjunctive gerund *-Npa* (not to be confused with the conditional *-aNpa* ~ *-Npa*) has just one allomorph. It always follows the evidential form of a verb. In a diachronic perspective this probably means that it was once a bound noun that became a gerund suffix through a process of grammaticalization, although we can no longer recover the exact meaning of this bound noun.

It is, nevertheless, important to see what suffixes and bound auxiliaries are used before the evidential preceding the conjunctive gerund *-Npa*. The combinations of *-Npa* with the evidential forms of these markers are provided in the chart below.

Chart 54: Combinations of the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* with preceding evidential forms of suffixes and bound auxiliaries

evidential forms of suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
negative <i>-an-e-</i>	<i>-an-e-Npa</i>
iterative <i>-ap-ey-</i>	<i>-ap-ey-Npa</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-e-Npa*</i>
perfective <i>-n-ure-</i>	<i>-n-ure-Npa</i>
perfective <i>-t-ure-</i>	<i>-t-ure-Npa</i>
past evidential <i>-sika-</i>	<i>-sika-Npa</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-e-</i>	<i>-[y]er-e-Npa</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-e-</i>	<i>-tar-e-Npa</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-e-</i>	<i>-kyer-e-Npa</i>

* There are no reliable phonetic examples of the honorific **-as-e-Npa* in Western Old Japanese texts. See the example from MYS II: 196 below.

One interesting observation that can be made on the basis of the above chart is that the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* does not combine with any evidential forms of mood markers. Furthermore, in sharp contrast to Middle Japanese, where *-ba* is frequently found after the retrospective evidential *-(i)ker-e-* in the form *-(i)ker-e-ba*, in Western Old Japanese the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* is not attested after the retrospective evidential *-kyer-e-*. This probably indicates that the semantics of the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* are strongly rooted in actual and certain facts, therefore, it cannot combine with any morphemes expressing conjecture.

Although the majority of the examples cited below seem to support Akiba's generalization that *-Npa* signals a switch of the subject after it (Akiba 1977: 611), four examples clearly contradict this generalization, as the subject stays the same after *-Npa*, see KK 2, MYS II: 196, V: 802, and XX: 4480 below.

In traditional grammar *-Npa* is considered to have three meanings: (1) reason; (2) realis condition; (3) temporal connection of two actions ('when *X*, then *Y*') (Yamada 1954: 480-82). However, in Western Old Japanese the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* does not indicate the realis condition unless it is a temporal

condition. I therefore view this temporal condition as a particular case of the temporal connection function. General conditions are expressed by the conditional gerund *-aNpa* ~ *-Npa* or by other means, such as a combination of the subordinative gerund *-te* or the negative infinitive *-aNs-u* with the following topic particle *pa*.

(1) Reason:

阿波母與賣_迹斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志

a pa mö yō 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)

都久波尼爾阿波牟等伊比志古波多賀己等_{岐氣波}加弥尼阿波巢
氣牟

tukuNpa-ne-ni ap-am-u tö ip-yi-si kwo pa ta-Nka kötö **kyik-ey-
Npa ka** myi-ne ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u

TukuNpa-peak-LOC meet-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR
girl TOP who-POSS word **listen-EV-CON** PT HON-
peak/sleep(NML)⁶⁰ meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN

The girl, who promised [to me] that [we] will meet at the TukuNpa
peak, did not meet [me] at the peak/for sleeping, [is it] **because**
[she] **listened** to somebody's words? (FK 2)

吾背子尔復者不相香常思墓今朝別之為便無有都流

WA-NKA se-KWO-ni MATA PA AP-ANSI ka tö **OMÖP-EY-
Npa ka** KYESA-NÖ WAKARE-NÖ SUNPYE NA-K-AR-I-t-uru
I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT again TOP meet-NEG/TENT PT DV
think-EV-CON PT this.morning-GEN part(NML)-GEN way no-
INF-exist-INF-PERF-ATTR

Was [it] **because** I **thought** that [we] would not meet again that
there has been no way to part [with you] this morning? (MYS IV:
540)

愛久志我可多良倍婆

UTUKUSI-ku si-Nka **katar-ap-ey-Npa**
beautiful-INF he-POSS **talk-ITER-EV-CON**
as he used to say beautifully (MYS V: 904)

⁶⁰ The word *ne* here represents a play on words: *ne* 'peak' and *ne* 'sleep(INF).'

橫風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆世武須便乃多杼伎乎之良爾
 YÖKÖ-SIMA-KANSE-nō nipuNpuka n-i OPOP-YI-K-YI-TAr-e-
 Npa se-m-u suNpye-nō taNtōkyi-wo sir-an-i
 cross-wind-GEN sudden DV-INF cover-INF-come-INF-
PERF/PROG-EV-CON do-TENT-ATTR way-GEN clue-ACC
 know-NEG-INF

Because suddenly a crosswind **came and covered** [us], [I] had no clue what to do (MYS V: 904)

天漢敝太而礼婆可母安麻多須辨奈吉
 AMA-NÖNKAPA pyeNtat-ure-Npa kamō amata suNpye na-kyi
 heaven-GEN river separate-EV-CON PT many way no-ATTR
 I wonder, is [it not] **because** the Heavenly River **separates** [them], there is not much that can be done (MYS VIII: 1522)

氣奈我久之安礼婆古非尔家流可母
 key naNka-ku si ar-e-ba kwopiy-n-i-kyer-u kamō
 day long-INF PT exist-EV-CON long.for(INF)-PERF-INF-
 RETR-ATTR PT
because it has been a long time (lit.: days) [since we left], [I] have been longing for [the capital]! (MYS XV: 3668)

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉
 kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitō k-yi-tar-er-i tō ip-yi-sika-Npa potōpotō sin-i-
 kyī
 return-INF-RETR-ATTR person come-INF-PERF/PROG-PROG-
 FIN DV say-INF-PAST/EV-CON almost die-INF-PAST/FIN
Because [they] **said** that a person, who returned [from exile], had come [to the capital], [I] almost died [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里
 imey-ni pa mōtōna apyi-myi-re-Ntō taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa kwopiy
 yam-aNs-u-kyer-i
 dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF
exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN
 although [we] see each other aimlessly in dreams, **because** [our meetings] **are not** direct, [our] love does not stop (MYS XVII: 3980)

伊尔之邊遊阿里吉仁家礼婆許其志可毛伊波能可牟佐備
 inisipyē-yu **ari-k-yi-n-i-kyer-e-Npa** kōNkōsi kamwo ipa-nō kamu-
 saNpiy
 old.times-ABL **ITER-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-EV-CON**
 rugged(FIN) PT rock-GEN deity-like
because [they] **date back** to old times, deity-like rocks are rugged!
 (MYS XVII: 4003)

安米乃美加度乎可氣都礼婆祢能未之奈加由
 amey-nō myikaNtwo-wo **kakey-t-ure-Npa** ne nōmiy si nak-ay-u
 heaven-GEN sovereign-ACC **think.in.the.heart(INF)-EV-CON**
 sound PT PT cry-PASS-FIN
Because [I] **think in my heart** about [my] heavenly sovereign, [I]
 only sob loudly (MYS XX: 4480)

成奴礼波歡美貴美奈毛念食流
NAR-I-n-ure-Npa KÖKÖRÖNPOSI-myi TAPUTWO-myi
 namwo OMÖP-YI-TAMAP-Uru
become-INF-PERF-EV-CON glad-GER awesome-GER PT think-
 INF-HUM-ATTR
because [it] **became** [as the deity said], [the sovereign] thought
 that [it] was joyful and awesome (SM 15)

(2) Temporal connection:

淤曾夫良比和何多多勢禮婆比許豆良比和何多多勢禮婆
 osō-N-pur-ap-yi wa-Nka **tat-as-er-e-Npa** pyikō-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 was standing**
 [there], [I] was pulling and shoving [it], **when I was standing**
 [there] (KK 2)

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 mö kyinpiy pyitō-tō tömō n-i si **tum-ey-Npa** tanwosi-ku
 mö ar-u ka
 green vegetables PT Kyinpiy person-COM together DV-INF PT
pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

Is[n't] it delightful **when** [I] **pick** green vegetables together with the girl from KyiNpiy? (KK 54)

波斯多弓能久良波斯夜麻波佐賀斯祁杼伊毛登能煩禮波佐賀斯
玖母阿良受

kurapasi yama pa saNkasi-kye-Ntö imwo-tö **nöNpör-e-Npa**
saNkasi-ku mö ar-aNs-u

Kurapasi mountain TOP steep-EV-CONC beloved-COM **climb-**
EV-CON steep-INF PT exist-NEG-FIN

although Mount Kurapasi is steep, **when** [I] **climb** [it] with [my]
beloved, [it] is not steep at all (KK 70)

吾王能立者玉藻之母許呂臥者川藻之如久

WA-NKA OPO KYIMYI-nö **TAT-AS-E-NPA** [? **TAT-AS-ER-E-**
NPA] TAMA MO-NÖ mökörö **KÖY-AS-E-NPA** [? **KÖY-AS-**
ER-E-NPA] KAPA MO-NÖ NKÖTÖ-ku

I-POSS great lord-GEN **stand-HON-EV-CON** [? **stand-HON-**
PROG-EV-CON] jewel seaweed-GEN like **lie.down-HON-EV-**
CON [? **lie.down-HON- PROG-EV-CON**] river weed-GEN like-
INF

When my sovereign **deigns to stand**, [he is] like jewel seaweeds,
when [he] **deigns to lie down**, [he] is like river weeds (MYS II:
196)

This is the only example in the whole West Japanese corpus where we have the honorific evidential *-as-e-* followed by the conjunctive gerund *-Npa*. I must also note that both forms *tat-as-e-Npa* ‘when [he] deigns to stand’ and *köy-as-e-Npa* ‘when [he] deigns to lie down’ violate the meter of the poem by having four instead of five syllables in the corresponding lines. Although Japanese commentators seems to agree to reading these lines as such, I wonder whether we have here the honorific progressive evidential forms *tat-as-er-e-Npa* and *köy-as-er-e-Npa*. Given the fact that honorific evidential progressive forms with a following *-Npa* are attested phonetically (see the example from KK 2 above), and that they would not violate the meter, it seems reasonable to assume that they are more likely to be used here rather than *tat-as-e-Npa* and *köy-as-e-Npa* that are not attested elsewhere.

宇利波米婆胡藤母意母保由

uri **pam-ey-Npa** kwo-Ntömö omöp-oy-u
melon **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)

可由既婆比等爾伊等波延可久由既婆比等爾迹久麻延
 ka yuk-ey-Npa pyitō-ni itōp-aye ka-ku yuk-ey-Npa pyitō-ni
 nikum-aye
 that go-EV-CON person-DAT avoid-PASS(INF) thus-INF go-EV-
 CON person-DAT hate-PASS(INF)
when/if [they] go that [way], [they] are avoided by people, and
when/if [they] go this way, [they] are hated by people... (MYS V:
 804)

In this example *-Npa* is used to mark a temporal condition.

由布弊爾奈礼婆伊射祢余登
 yupu-N-pye n-i nar-e-Npa iNsa ne-yō tō
 evening-GEN-side DV-INF become-EV-CON INTER sleep-IMP
 DV
When [it] became evening, and [we] told [him]: ‘[Go to] sleep!;’
 (MYS V: 904)

吾者来南登言家礼婆妹之答久
 WARE PA K-YI-n-am-u tō IP-YI-kyer-e-Npa IMWO-NKA IP-
 YER-Aku
 I TOP come-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-RETR-EV-CON
 beloved-POSS say-PROG-NML
when [Urasima] said: “I will definitely come,” [his] beloved
 replied: ... (MYS IX: 1740)

之路髮麻泥尔大皇尔都可倍麻都礼婆貴久母安流香
 sirwo KAMYI-maNte-ni OPO KYIMYI-ni tukapey-matur-e-Npa
 TAPUTWO-ku mō ar-u ka
 white hair-TERM-LOC great lord-DAT serve(INF)-HUM-EV-
 CON awesome-INF PT exist-ATTR PT
When [one] serves [his] sovereign until grey hair, is [it not]
 awesome? (MYS XVII: 3922)

布流雪乃比加里乎見礼婆多數刀久母安流香
 pur-u YUKYI-nō pyikari-wo MYI-re-Npa taputwo-ku mō ar-u ka
 fall-ATTR snow-GEN light-ACC see-EV-CON awesome-INF PT
 exist-ATTR PT
When [one] sees the light of the falling snow, is [it not] awesome?
 (MYS XVII: 3923)

相見婆登許波都波奈爾
 APYI-MYI-RE-Npa tōkō 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)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月経礼波古非之家礼夜母
apyi-myi-ru mwonöwo sukuna-ku mö TOSI TUKIY **P-Ure-Npa**
kwopiysi-kyere ya mö

REC-see-ATTR CONJ few-INF PT year month **pass-EV-CON**
miss-EV PT PT

although [we] see each other, **as time goes by**, do [we still] miss [each other] just a bit?! (MYS XVIII: 4118)

In this example *-Npa* is used to mark a temporal condition.

曾乎見礼婆許己呂乎伊多美

sö-wo **MYI-re-Npa** kökörö-wo ita-myi

that-ACC **see-EV-CON** heart-ABS be painful-GER

when [one] sees that, [one's] heart aches (MYS XVIII: 4122)

許己見礼婆字倍之神代由波自米家良思母

kökö **MYI-re-Npa** uNpey-si KAMIY-YÖ-yu paNsimey-kyer-asi-mö

here **look-EV-CON** be.indeed-FIN deity-age-ABL begin(INF)-RETR-SUP-EXCL

when [you] look at this place, it indeed looks like [they] began [the building of the palaces] from the Age of Gods! (MYS XX: 4360)⁶¹

伊豫国与利白祥鹿乎献奉天在礼方有礼志与呂許保志止奈毛見流

iyö-NÖ KUNI-yōri SIRWO-KYI SIRUSI N-Ö SIKAWO
TATEMATUR-I-te Ar-e-Npa uresi yörököNp-ōsi tö namwo
MYI-ru

Iyö-GEN province-ABL white-ATTR mark DV-ATTR deer-ACC
present(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON glad joyful-ADJ DV PT
see-ATTR

when [they] had presented [us] with a deer with white marks from the province of Iyö, [we] regarded this as a joyful and auspicious [event] (SM 46)

⁶¹ Opinions differ, whether this poem belongs to a border-guard, or to Ōtomo-no Yakamochi himself. The latter seems more probable, since the poem is preceded by the line in Chinese: 陳私拙懷一首 '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.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The conjunctive gerund *-Npa* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese in the functions of reason and temporal connection. Examples:

(1) Reason:

汝者故布婆曾毛

NA PA kwop-u[re]-Npa sō mwo

you TOP love-EV-CON PT PT

because you love [me] (MYS XIV: 3382)

麻萬能手兒奈我安里之可婆麻末乃於須比尔奈美毛登杼呂尔

mama-nō tekwo na-Nka ar-i-sika-Npa mama-nō osu-pyi-ni namyi
mō tōNtōrō n-i

Mama-GEN girl name-POSS exist-INF-PAST/EV-CON Mama-
GEN rock-shore-LOC wave PT roaring DV-INF

because the girl from Mama was famous, even the waves roar at
the rocky shore of Mama (MYS XIV: 3385)

麻乎其母能布能未知可久弓安波奈敞波於吉都麻可母能奈氣伎
曾安我須流

mawo-N-kōmō-nō pu-nō ma tika-ku-te ap-an-ap-ye-Npa okyi-tu
ma-kamō-nō naNkeyk-yi sō a-Nka s-uru

nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space be.close-INF-SUB meet-
NEG-ITER-EV-CON offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP
lament-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 lament like a real duck in the
offing (MYS XIV: 3524)

(2) Temporal connection:

佐祢奈敞波已許呂乃緒呂爾能里弓

sa-ne-n-ap-ye-Npa kōkōrō-nō WO-rō-ni nōr-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)

伊弓久礼婆和努等里都伎弓伊比之古奈波毛

iNte-k-ure-Npa wanu tör-i-tuk-yi-te ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mö
exit(INF)-come-EV-CON I grab-INF-attach-INF-SUB say-INF-
 PAST/ATTR girl-DIM TOP PT
when [I] left [the house], oh, [that] girl who grabbed me and
 complained (MYS XX: 4358)

A2: Ryukyuan

The conjunctive gerund *-ba* is amply attested in Old Ryukyuan and in modern dialects in various parts of the Ryukyuan islands. In Northern and Central Ryukyuan dialects it has the same function as the provisional *-eba* in modern Standard Japanese. In modern Shuri the evidential and the following *-ba* merged as *-ee*. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

せいくさおしたてはけおやりやりまふらせひやくおしたては
 けおやりやりまふら

se ikusa **os-i-tat-e-ba** keo yar-i-yar-i mabur-a se fiyaku **os-i-tat-e-
 ba** keo yar-i-yar-i mabur-a

holy army **push-INF-stand-EV-CON** spiritual.force send-INF-
 send-INF protect-TENT holy hundred **push-INF-stand-EV-CON**
 spiritual.force send-INF-send-INF protect-TENT

Because [you] send forward the holy army, send [your] spiritual
 force, and protect [it], **because** [you] send forward the holy
 hundred, send [your] spiritual force, and protect [them] (OS I: 17)

Shuri

?utus-ee wariy-uN

drop-EV/CON break-FIN

Provided [you] drop [it, it] will break (RKJ 69)

Amami

?ari-ga k-ii-ba wakary-uŋ

he-NOM **come-EV-CON** understand-FIN

Provided he comes, [you] will understand (Nohara 1998: 139)

Miyako**kuucch-i-ba mach-uur-i****come.?-EV-CON wait(INF)-exist-IMP****Because [I] will come, wait (Nohara 1998: 390)**

Given the wide distribution of the Western Old Japanese conjunctive gerund *-Npa* and its cognates in Japonic, we can reconstruct PJ **-npa*. To the best of my knowledge there are no external parallels.

6.2.2.2.2.3 Concessive gerund -Ntö[mö]

The concessive gerund *-Ntö[mö]* has just one allomorph, but it has two variants: *-Ntö* and *-Ntömö* with no overt functional difference. The former appears to be its original form and the latter in all likelihood represents historically a combination of *-Ntö* with the following emphatic particle *mö*. The concessive gerund *-Ntö[mö]* always follows the evidential form of a verb. In a diachronic perspective this probably means that it was once a bound noun that became a gerund suffix through the process of grammaticalization, although we can no longer recover the exact meaning of this bound noun.

It is, nevertheless, important to see what suffixes and bound auxiliaries are used before the evidential preceding the concessive gerund *-Ntö[mö]*. The combinations of *-Ntö[mö]* with the evidential forms of these markers are provided in the chart below.

Chart 55: Combinations of the conjunctive gerund *-Ntö[mö]* with preceding evidential forms of suffixes and bound auxiliaries

evidential forms of suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
negative <i>-an-e-</i>	<i>-an-e-Ntö[mö]</i>
iterative <i>-ap-ey-</i>	<i>-ap-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>
tentative <i>-am-ey-</i>	<i>-am-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>
tentative2 <i>-(u)ram-ey-</i>	<i>-(u)ram-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>
honorific <i>-as-e-</i>	<i>-as-e-Ntö[mö]</i> *
passive <i>-(a)ye-, -raye-</i>	<i>-(a)y-ure-Ntö[mö]**</i>
perfective <i>-n-ure-</i>	<i>-n-ure-Ntö[mö]</i>
perfective <i>-t-ure-</i>	<i>-t-ure-Ntö[mö]</i>
past evidential <i>-sika-</i>	<i>-sika-Ntö[mö]</i>

progressive <i>-[y]er-e-</i>	<i>-[y]er-e-Ntō[mō]</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-e-</i>	<i>-tar-e-Ntō[mō]</i> ***
retrospective <i>-kyer-e-</i>	<i>-kyer-e-Ntō[mō]</i>

* The combination of the honorific evidential *-as-e-* (more exactly its variant *-ōs-e-*) with the concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]* can be traced only historically, since it is attested only once in the honorific verb *kyikōs-* ‘to say(HON),’ which is derived from *kyik-* ‘to hear’ + honorific suffix *-ōs-*, see the example from MYS XIII: 3289 below.

** There are no reliable phonetic attestations of the combination of the passive evidential *-(a)y-ure-* with the concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]* anywhere in the Western Old Japanese corpus. The example from MYS XI: 2595 below is probably the best semantographic attestation of this combination.

*** The combination of the perfective-progressive evidential *tar-e-* with the concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]* is not attested phonetically in the Western Old Japanese corpus. The example from MYS IV: 727 below probably is the best evidence for the existence of this form on the basis of the meter; but, nevertheless, the *TAR-E-* portion of the form *-TAR-E-Ntō* is spelled there only semantographically.

The concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]* is probably the most versatile gerund since the evidential form it follows immediately can be preceded by more suffixes and bound auxiliaries than any other gerund. In contrast to the conjunctive gerund that cannot combine with any evidential forms of mood markers and to the conditional gerund that can combine only with the subjunctive mood suffix, the concessive gerund can combine with both tentative mood markers, but does not combine with the subjunctive mood suffix.

The concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]* has only one function: introducing a concessive clause:

阿加陀麻波袁佐閑比迦禮杼斯良多麻能岐美何余曾比斯多布斗
久阿理祁理

aka-N-tama pa wo sapey **pyikar-e-Ntō** sira tama-nō kyimyi-Nka
yōsōpyi si taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i
red-DV(ATTR):jewel TOP cord PT **shine-EV-CONC** white jewel-
COMP lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT revered-INF exist-INF-
RETR-FIN

Although even the cord of red jewels **shines**, [I] realized [that I]
feel reverence [for my] lord’s adorned appearance, which is like a
white jewel (KK 7)

古波陀袁登壳袁迦微能碁登岐許延斯迦杼母阿比麻久良麻久
KwopaNta wotōmye-wo kamiy-nō Nkōtō **kyik-ōye-sika-Ntōmō**
apyi-makuramak-u

KwopaNta maiden-ABS deity-GEN like **hear-PASS(INF)-PAST/EV-CONC REC-pillow-FIN**

Although [it] **is rumored** that the maiden from KwopaNta is like a goddess, [we] slept together (lit.: pillowed each other) (KK 45)

麻由美伊岐良牟登許許呂波母閑杼伊斗良牟登許許呂波母閑杼母登弊波岐美袁淤母比傳

mayumi i-kyir-am-u tö kökörö pa [o]möp-ey-Ntö i-twor-am-u tö kökörö pa [o]möp-ey-Ntö mötö-pye pa kyimyi-wo omöp-yi-[i]Nte
mayumi DLF-cut-TENT-FIN DV heart TOP think-EV-CONC
DLF-take-TENT-FIN DV heart TOP think-EV-CONC root-side
TOP lord-ACC think-INF-exit(INF)

although [I] **wish** in [my] heart to cut mayumi trees here, **although** [I] **wish** in [my] heart to take [them] here, [I] remember my lord at the roots [of the trees], and ... (KK 51)

阿軻娜磨迺比訶利播阿利登比登播伊珮耐企弭我嘗贈比志多輔妬勾阿利計利

aka-N-tama-nö pyikari pa ar-i tö pyitö pa ip-ey-Ntö kyimyi-Nka
yösöpyi si taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel-GEN light TOP exist-FIN DV person TOP
say-EV-CONC lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT revered-INF
exist-INF-RETR-FIN

Although people **say** that the red jewel has light, [I] realized [that I] feel reverence [for my] lord's adorned appearance (NK 6)

花毛佐家礼杼山乎茂入而毛不取

PANA mwo **sak-yer-e-Ntö** YAMA-wo SINKEY-MYI IR-I-TE
mwo TÖR-ANS-U

flower PT **bloom-PROG-EV-CONC** mountain-ABS thick-GER
enter-INF-SUB PT take-NEG-FIN

though flowers **have bloomed**, too, because mountains [are covered by] deep [bush], even [if you] enter the mountains, [you] will not take [the flowers] (MYS I: 16)

梓弓引者随意依目友後心乎知勝奴鴨

ANTUSA YUMYI PYIK-ANPA MANIMA N-I **YÖR-Am-ey-Ntömö** NÖTI-NÖ KÖKÖRÖ-wo SIR-I-kate-n-u kamwo
catalpa bow pull-COND according DV-INF approach-TENT-EV-
CONC after-GEN heart-ACC know-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR PT

Although [I] would go to [you] if [you] pull [the strings of my heart like] catalpa bow, [I] cannot know [your] feelings after [that]! (MYS II: 98)

鳥翔成有我欲比管見良目杼母人社不知松者知良武
TÖRI pa NAR-I ARI-Nkaywop-yi-tutu MYI-ram-ey-Ntömö
PYITÖ KÖSÖ SIR-AN-E MATU PA SIR-Uram-u
bird TOP become-INF ITER-go.back.and.forth-INF-COOR see-
TENT2-CONC person PT know-NEG-EV pine TOP know-
TENT2-FIN

Although people would look, [they would] not recognize [the soul of prince Arima that] travels backs and forth like a bird. But [they] would know the pine [branches that he has tied] (MYS II: 145)

常磐成石室者今毛安里家礼騰住家類人曾常無里家留
TÖK[Ö]-IPA-NASU IPA YA PA IMA mwo ar-i-kyer-e-Ntö
SUM-YI-kyer-u PYITÖ sö TUNE NA-K-Ar-i-kyer-u
Eternal rock-COMP rock house TOP now PT exist-INF-RETR-
EV-CONC live-INF-RETR person PT usual no-INF-exist-INF-
RETR-ATTR

Although there are now as well the rock dwellings that are like an eternal rock, [it] turns out that [it] is not usual that people live [there] (MYS III: 308)

萱草吾下紐尔著有跡鬼乃志許草事二思安利家理
WASURE-N-KUSA WA-NKA SITA-N-PYIMO-ni TUKEY-
TAR-E-Ntö SIKÖ n-ö sikö KUSA kötö n-i si ar-i-kyer-i
forget(NML)-GEN-grass I-POSS bottom-GEN-cord-LOC
attach(INF)-PERF/PROG-EV-CONC stupid DV-ATTR stupid
grass word DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-FIN

Although [I] have tied the “forgetting grass” to the cords of my under[garment], stupid, stupid grass – [it] turned out just to be called [so] (MYS IV: 727)

安礼乎於伎弓人者安良自等富己呂倍騰
are-wo ok-yi-te PYITÖ PA ar-aNsi tö pokör-öp-ey-Ntö
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 besides me (MYS V: 892)

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴

INTE-pasir-i in-ana tō **OMÖP-EY-Ntō** kö-ra-ni sayar-i-n-u
exit(INF)-run-INF go.away-DES DV **think-EV-CONC** child-
PLUR-DAT be prevented-INF-PERF-FIN

although [I] **think** that [I] would like to run out and go away, [I] am prevented by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

夢谷何鴨不所見雖所見吾鴨迷戀茂尔

IMEY-NI Ntani NANĪ kamwo MIY-YE-N-U **MYI-Y-URE-NTÖ**
ARE kamwo MATWOP-U KWOPIY-NÖ SINKEY-KYI-ni
dream-LOC PT what PT see-PASS-NEG-ATTR **see-PASS-EV-
CONC** I PT be.worried-ATTR love(NML)-GEN be.thick-ATTR-
LOC

Why [I] cannot see [you] even in [my dreams], I wonder? **Even if** [I] **can see** [you], I am worried because of the intensity of love! (MYS XI: 2595)

戀友何如妹尔相時毛名寸

KWOP-URE-Ntömō NANI si ka IMWO-ni AP-U TÖKYI mwo
na-kyi

love-EV-CONC what PT PT beloved-DAT meet-ATTR time PT
no-ATTR

although [I] **love** [her], why there is no time at all to meet [my] beloved? (MYS XII: 2994)

相有君乎莫寐等母寸巨勢友吾情清隅之池之池底吾者不忘

AP-YI-TAR-U KYIMYI-wo NA-NE-N-E-SÖ tō PAPA **kyikōs-e-
Ntömō** WA-NKA KÖKÖRÖ KYIYWOSUMYI-NÖ IKEY IKEY-
NÖ SÖKÖ WARE PA WASUR-ANSI

meet-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR lord-ACC NEG-sleep-DES-IMP-do
DV mother **say(HON)-EV-CONC** Kyiywosumyi pond pond-GEN
bottom I TOP forget-NEG/TENT

Although [my] mother **tells** [me]: “Do not sleep with [him]!”, my love [is as deep as] the bottom of the pond Kyiywosumyi, [and] I would not forget you, with whom [I] was meeting (MYS XIII: 3289)

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼互波許呂母互佐牟伎母能尔曾
安里家流

IMWO-tō ar-i-si TÖKYI PA **ar-e-Ntömwo** wakare-te pa
körömōNte samu-kyi mōnō n-i sō ar-i-kyer-u

beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR time TOP **exist-EV-CONC**
 separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing DV-INF PT
 exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Although there was a time when [I] was with [my] beloved, after [we] separated, [my] sleeves are cold (MYS XV: 3591)

和可礼弓比左尔奈里奴礼杼比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弓於毛倍也
 wakare-te pyisa **n-i nar-i-n-ure-Ntö** pyitö pyi mö imwo-wo
 wasure-te omwop-ey ya

part(INF)-SUB long **DV-INF become-INF-PERF-EV-CONC** one
 day PT beloved-ACC forget(INF)-SUB think-EV PT

although [it] has been long since [we] parted, would [I] think of forgetting my beloved even for one day? (MYS XV: 3604)

等之能乎奈我久安波射礼杼家之伎己許呂乎安我毛波奈久尔
 tösi-nö wo naNka-ku **ap-aNs-ar-e-Ntö** kyesi-kyi kökörö-wo a-Nka
 [o]mwop-an-aku n-i

year-GEN cord long-INF **meet-NEG(INF)-exist-EV-CONC**
 unusual-ATTR heart-ACC I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF

although [we] did not meet for a long time, I am not going to change [my] mind (MYS XV: 3775)

君波見礼登安可尔勢牟

KYIMYI pa **MYI-re-Ntö** ak-an-i se-m-u

lord TOP **look-EV-CONC** be.satisfied-NEG-NML do-TENT-FIN

although you will look, [you] would not be satisfied (MYS XVII: 3902)

宇梅能花伊都波乎良自等伊登波祢登佐吉乃盛波乎思吉物奈利
 uMEY-nö PANA itu pa wor-aNsi tö **itöp-an-e-Ntö** sak-yi-nö
 SAKAR-I pa wosi-kyi MÖNÖ nar-i

plum-GEN blossom when TOP break-NEG/TENT DV **dislike-NEG-EV-CONC**
 bloom-NML-GEN blossom-NML TOP regrettable-ATTR thing be-FIN

Although [I] do not dislike [breaking] plum blossoms, thinking that [I] should not break them anytime, it is regrettable [to do so] at the peak of [their] blooming (MYS XVII: 3904)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里

imey-ni pa mötöna **apyi-MYI-re-Ntö** taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa
 kwopiy yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly **REC-see-EV-CONC** direct DV-INF
 exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN
although [we] **see each other** aimlessly in dreams, because [our
 meetings] are not direct, [our] love does not stop (MYS XVII: 3980)

可由吉賀久遊岐見都礼騰母曾許母安加爾等
 ka yuk-yi ka-ku yuk-yi **MYI-t-ure-Ntömö** sökō mö ak-an-i tö
 thus go-INF thus-INF go-INF **look(INF)-PERF-EV-CONC** there
 PT be.satisfied-NEG-INF DV
although [I] **have looked** going here and there, [I] thought that [it]
 was not enough, and ... (MYS XVII: 3991)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
 可理家利米太志加利鷄利
 kusurisi pa tune n-ö mö **ar-e-Ntö** marapyitö n-ö ima-nö kusurisi
 taputö-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
 medicine man TOP usual DV-ATTR PT **exist-EV-CONC** guest
 DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man revered-INF-exist-INF-
 RETR-FIN praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN
Although there are usual medicine men, too, the present Guest
 Medicine Man is [indeed] revered. [He] is praiseworthy (BS 15)

多能遍重天勅止毛敢末之時止為弓
 AMATA n-ö taNpyi KASANE-te **NÖTAMAP-EY-Ntömwö** AP-
 UmasiNsi tö s-i-te
 many DV-INF time pile.up(INF)-SUB **tell(HON)-EV-CONC**
 be.ready.to.do-NEG/POT DV do-INF-SUB
although [I] **told** him many times [to accept the job], [he] believed
 that [he] cannot be ready to do [it] (SM 26)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The concessive gerund *-Ntö[mö]* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

可伎武太伎奴礼杼安加奴平安杼加安我世牟
 kakyi-muNtak-yi **n-ure-Ntö** ak-an-u-wo aN-tö 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)

之良夜麻可是能宿奈敝杼母古呂賀於曾伎能安路許曾要志母
sira yama kaNse-nō **NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö** kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö ar-
wo kösö ye-si-mö

white mountain wind-GEN **sleep-NEG-ITER-CONC** girl-DIM-
POSS garment-GEN exist-ATTR PT good-FIN-EXCL

although [I] **continue not to sleep** at the [cold] wind from the White Mountain, [it] is good to have my girl's garment! (MYS XIV: 3509)

多妣己呂母夜倍伎可佐祢弓伊努礼等母奈保波太佐牟志伊母尔
志阿良祢婆

taNpyi körömö ya-pey kyi-kasane-te i **n-ure-Ntömö** napo paNta
samu-si imö n-i si ar-an-e-Npa

travel garment eight-CL wear(INF)-pile.up(INF)-SUB sleep **sleep-
EV-CONC** still skin cold-FIN beloved DV-INF PT exist-NEG-
EV-CON

Although [I] **sleep**, putting on eight layers of travel garments, it is still cold, because [it] is not [my] beloved (MYS XX: 4351)

A2: Ryukyuan

The variant *-domo* (but not *-do*) is attested only in Old Ryukyuan, but it does not appear in any of the modern dialects (Hokama 1995: 462). This probably constitutes enough evidence in favor of the fact that it should be a loan from mainland Japanese. There are no external parallels, either.

6.2.2.2.3 Nominalizers

There are four nominalizers in Western Old Japanese: *-[y]i*, *-u*, *-aku*, and *-usa*.

6.2.2.2.3.1 Nominalizer *-[y]i*

The nominalizer *-[y]i* must be distinguished from the infinitive *-[y]i*: although they might look similar, they have different accent patterns (Martin 1987: 211), not to mention their completely different syntactic functions. There is, however, a morphonological similarity between the two: like the infinitive *-[y]i*, the nominalizer *-[y]i* has an allomorph \emptyset after both weak and strong vowel verbs, *-[y]i* being suppressed after the final vowel of the stem, e.g.:

*kwopiy-yi > *kwopiy-Ø* ‘love, longing,’ *myi-yi > *myi-Ø* ‘seeing, looking.’ In the word-for-word glosses I give such suppressed nominalizers in parentheses: (NML). However, the nominalizer itself suppresses the final vowel of the stem in irregular verbs, resulting in *ko-i > *k-yi* ‘coming’ and *se-i > *s-i* ‘doing’.

Nominalized forms in *-/y/i* behave in many respects like nouns: they can be followed by case markers and by the defective copula *n-*. However, they do not take plural suffixes, or diminutive suffixes. Examples:

佐用婆比爾阿理多多斯用婆比迹阿理加用婆勢

sa-ywoNp-ap-yi-ni ari-tat-as-i ywoNp-ap-yi-ni ari-kaywop-as-e
PREF-call-ITER-NML-LOC ITER-set.out-HON-INF call-ITER-
NML-LOC ITER-set.out-HON-EV

[I] set out (repeatedly) to woo [her] there, [I] set out (repeatedly) to woo [her] (KK 2)

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迹登理與曾比

kurwo-kyi **myi-kyes-i-wo** ma-tuNpusa n-i tör-i-yösöp-yi ... awo-kyi **myi-kyes-i-wo** ma-tuNpusa n-i tör-i-yösöp-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)

麻用賀岐許迹加岐多禮

maywo-N-kak-yi kö n-i kak-yi-tare
eyebrow-GEN-paint-NML thick DV-INF paint-INF-hang(INF)
 [she] painted down thickly [her eyebrows] with an **eyebrow rouge**
 (KK 42)

微能佐加理毘登登母志岐呂加母

miy-nō sakar-i-N-pyitō tömösi-kyi rö kamö
body-GEN bloom-NML-DV(ATTR)-person envious-ATTR
 DV(ATTR) PT

How [I] am envious of the people who are in their prime! (KK 95)

夜本爾余志伊岐豆岐能美夜

yapwo ni yö-si **i-kyiNtuk-yi n-ö** myiya

eight.hundred ground good-FIN **DLF-build-NML DV-ATTR**
 palace
 a palace **built there** on an eight hundred [times] good soil (KK 100)

妹慮予嗣爾予嗣予利據衲
 mey-rö **yös-i-ni yös-i** yör-i-kö-n-e
 mesh-DIM **bring.near-NML-COMP bring.near-NML** approach-
 INF-come-DES-IMP
 [Girls, I] wish [you] would come near, **like [they] bring near** the
 meshes (NK 3)

区茂能於虚奈比虚予比辞流辞毛
 kumo-nö **okönap-yi** kö yöpyi siru-si mwo
 spider-GEN **perform-NML** this night be.distinctive-FIN PT
 the spider's **performance** is distinctive tonight (NK 65)

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** sö möya wa-Nka te tör-as-umo ya
 who-POSS **chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-DV**
 (ATTR)-hand PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-EXCL PT
 whose **chapped hand, chapped hand** will take my hand?! (NK
 108)

烏梅能波奈 ... 加射之尔斯弓奈
 uMEY-nö pana ... **kaNsas-i n-i s-i-te-na**
 plum-GEN blossom ... **decorate-NML DV-INF do-INF-PERF-**
DES
Let [us] decorate [our hair] with plum blossoms (MYS V: 820)

奈良能美也故爾由久比等毛我母久左麻久良多妣由久布衲能登
 麻利都導武仁
 nara-nö myiyakwo-ni yuk-u pyitö mwoNkamö kusa-makura taNpyi
 yuk-u pune-nö **tömar-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)

毛美知葉能知里能麻河比波計布仁聞安流香母

mwomyit-i-N-PA-nō tir-i-nō maNkap-yi pa kyepu-ni mo ar-u kamō

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-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)

毛美知和礼由伎弓可敵里久流末侶知里許須奈由米

mwomyit-i ware yuk-yi-te kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte tir-i-kōs-una yumey

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML I go-INF-SUB return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP at.all

Red leaves! Please do not fall at all until I go and come back (MYS XV: 3702)

比等久爾波須美安之

pyitō kuni pa **sum-yi** asi

person country TOP **live-NML** bad(FIN)

[It] is difficult **to live** in [other] people's province (MYS XV: 3748)

梅柳乎理加謝思氏婆意毛比奈美可毛

UMEY YANANKIY wor-i kaNsas-i-te-Npa **omwop-yi** na-myi kamwo

plum willow break-INF decorate-INF-PERF-COND **think-NML** no-GER PT

because, if [we] had broken [branches] of plum trees and willows and decorated [our heads], there would be no [sad] **thoughts!** (MYS XVII: 3905)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里

imey-ni pa mōtōna apyi-MYI-re-Ntō taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa **kwopiyi** yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF exist-NEG-EV-CON **love(NML)** stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN

although [we] see each other aimlessly in dreams, because [our meetings] are not direct, [our] **love** does not stop (MYS XVII: 3980)

思良多麻能伊保都追度比乎手爾牟須妣

sira tama-nō ipo-tu **tuNtwop-yi-wo** TE-ni musuNp-yi

white pearl-GEN five.hundred-CL **collect-NML-ACC** hand-LOC
 tie-INF
 to tie a **set** of five hundred white pearls to [your] arms (MYS XVIII:
 4105)

安佐之保美知尔与流許都美
 asa sipo **mit-i-ni** yör-u kötumyi
 morning tide **full-NML-LOC** approach-ATTR trash
 the trash that is brought up **by the full** morning tide (MYS XX:
 4396)

美阿止都久留伊志乃比鼻伎波阿米爾伊多利都知佐閑由須礼
 myi-atö tukur-u isi-nö **pyiNpyik-yi** pa amey-ni itar-i tuti sapey
 yusur-e
 HON-footprint make-ATTR stone-GEN **echo-NML** TOP heaven-
 LOC reach-INF earth PT shake-EV
 The **echo** of the stone, where [I] carved the footprint [of the
 Buddha], reaches Heaven, and shakes the Earth as well (BS 1)

SPECIAL USAGES OF NOMINALIZED VERBS

Nominalized verbs can be followed by the verb *se-* ‘to do’ or by the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’, forming secondary verbal forms with the meanings ‘doing X’ or ‘being X’.

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 (lit.: **being** secretly **weeping**)...
 (KK 78)

伊多低於破孺破珥倍迺利能介豆岐齊奈
 ita te op-aNs-u pa nipo-N-töri-nö **kaNtuk-yi se-na**
 painful place carry-NEG-INF TOP grebe-DV(ATTR)-bird-COMP
dive-NML do-DES
 rather than to receive severe wounds, let us dive [together] (lit.: **let**
us do diving) like grebes (NK 29)

多那礼乃美巨騰
 ta-nare n-ö myi-kötö
 hand-accustom(NML) DV-ATTR HON-koto
 favorite *koto* (lit.: *koto* **which is favorite**) (MYS V: 812)

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)

伊波多野爾夜杼里須流伎美

ipata-NWO-ni yaNtör-i s-uru kyimiyi

Ipata-field-LOC lodge-NML do-ATTR lord

[my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field (MYS XV: 3689)

君波見礼登安可尔勢牟

KYIMYI pa MYI-re-Ntö ak-an-i se-m-u

lord TOP look-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-NML do-TENT-FIN although you will look, [you] would not be satisfied (lit: would do no satisfaction) (MYS XVII: 3902)

This is the only example when the nominalizer *-/y/i* is used after the negative *-an-* in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus.

烏梅乃花美夜万等之美尔安里登母

uMEY-nö PANA myi-yama tö sim-yi n-i ar-i tömö

plum-GEN blossom HON-mountain DV grow.thick-NML DV-INF exist-FIN CONJ

Even though plum blossoms are blooming densely as a mountain (MYS XVII: 3902)

老人毛女童兒毛之我願心太良比爾

OYI-PYITÖ mwo WOMYINA WARAPA mwo si-Nka NENK-AP-U KÖKÖRÖ-N-tar-ap-yi n-i

old(INF)-person PT woman child PT they-POSS desire-ITER-ATTR heart-LOC-be.enough-ITER-NML DV-INF

old people, women, and children, all [of them get] enough of what they desire to [their] hearts' [content] (MYS XVIII: 4094)

伊弊婢等乃伊波倍尔可安良牟

ipye-N-pyitö-nö ipapey n-i ka ar-am-u

home-GEN-person-GEN purify(NML) DV-INF PT exist-TENT-ATTR

Is [it] probably because of [my] home folks' purification rites? (MYS XX: 4409)

Nominalized forms are also frequently used in the construction: V-NML-LOC plus verb of movement or action, meaning ‘to move to do V.’ See 4.1.2.2.4 for examples.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The nominalizer *-[y]i* is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Examples:

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

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比爾勢毛等比毛牟
 須婆佐祢
 apyiNtune-nö kuni-wo saN-töpo-myi ap-an-ap-aNpa **sinwop-yi** n-i
 se-m-wo tö pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e
 ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER meet-NEG-ITER-
 COND **long.for-NML DV-INF** do-TENT-ATTR DV cord tie-
 HON-DES-IMP
 If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApyiNtune is far,
 [I] wish [you] would tie [your garment] cords, as if **longing** for [me]
 (MYS XIV: 3426)

麻乎其母能布能末知可久弓安波奈敝波於吉都麻可母能奈氣伎
 曾安我須流
 mawo-N-kömö-nö pu-nö ma tika-ku-te ap-an-ap-ye-Npa okyi-tu
 ma-kamö-nö **naNkeyk-yi** sö a-Nka s-uru
 nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space be.close-INF-SUB meet-
 NEG-ITER-EV-CON offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP **lament-**
 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 sigh (lit.: do the **lamenting**)
 like a real duck in the offing (MYS XIV: 3524)

A2: Ryukyuan

The nominalizer *-i* is widely attested in various Ryukyuan languages. Below are some examples from Old Ryukyuan and Shuri.

Old Ryukyuan

主里もりあせはつちぎりにきらせ

SIYORI mori ase fa **tuti-gir-i** n-i kir-as-e

Shuri castle warrior TOP **ground-(DV)cut-NML** DV-INF cut-HON-IMP

Warriors of the Shuri castle, cut [the enemy] as **cutting the ground** (OS I: 33)

なりとよみうちあげてなりきよらはうちあげて

nar-i-toyom-i uti-age-te nar-i-kiyora fa uti-age-te

sound-INF-resound-NML PREF-raise(INF)-SUB sound-INF-beautiful TOP PREF-raise(INF)-SUB

raising the **“Resounding”** [drum], raising the **“Beautifully sounding”** [drum] (OS I: 37)

あやよりくせよりみらな

aya **yor-i** kuse **yor-i** mi-r-ana

beautiful **dance-NML** rare **dance-NML** see-ATTR(?)-DES

[I] want to see a beautiful dance, a rare dance (OS XIV: 1031)

Shuri

nama-madi sanruu-taa-tu **hur-i-ashib-i** soo-ibi-ta-N

now-TERM Sanruu-PLUR-COM **be.enamored-INF-play-NML** do(PROG)-POL-PAST-FIN

Until now [he] was **engrossed in playing** with Sanruu and others (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 97)

yuci-nu **hwizu-i**

snow-COMP **cold-NML**

coldness like snow (Nohara 1986: 65)

6.2.2.2.3.2 Nominalizer -u

In Western Old Japanese the nominalizer *-u*, like the infinitive *-u*, occurs only after the negative suffix *-(a)Ns-* and exclusively before

the infinitive *n-i* of the defective copula *n-* and before the gerund form *s-i-te* of the verb *se-* 'to do.' Most examples are found in semantographic or partially semantographic script.

阿麻哆絆泥受邇多囊比等用能未
 amata pa **ne-Ns-u n-i** taNta pyitö ywo nömiy
 many TOP **sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF** only one night PT
not sleeping [with her] many [times], only one night (NK 66)

佐夫志計米夜母吉美伊麻佐受斯弓
 saNpusi-ky-em-ey ya mö kyimyi **imas-aNs-u s-i-te**
 sad-ATTR-TENT-EV PT PT lord **come(HON)-NEG-NML do-**
INF-SUB
 [if my] lord **does not come**, would [I] be sad?! [Certainly not!]
 (MYS V: 878)

白玉乎手之不纏尔匣耳置有之人曾玉令詠流
 SIRA TAMA-wo TE-NI PA **MAK-ANS-U n-i** PAKWO-NÖMIY-
 NI OK-YER-I-si PYITÖ sö TAMA NANKEYK-AS-Uru
 white jewel-ACC hand-LOC TOP **wrap-NEG-NML DV-INF** box-
 PR-LOC place-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR person PT jewel lament-
 CAUS-ATTR
 A person who has just placed [her] white jewels in a box **without wearing** [them] on [her] wrists, makes the jewels lament (MYS VII: 1325)

於久都由之毛尔安倍受之弓京師乃山波伊呂豆伎奴良牟
 ok-u tuyu simwo-ni **apey-Ns-u s-i-te** MYIYAKWO-nö YAMA pa
 iröNtuk-yi-n-uram-u
 fall-ATTR dew frost-LOC **endure-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB**
 capital-GEN mountain TOP get.colored-INF-PERF-TENT2-FIN
not [being able] to endure the falling dew and frost, the mountains
 of the capital are probably already colored [with leaves] (MYS XV:
 3699)

欲流乃比毛太尔登吉佐氣受之氏
 yworu-nö pyimwo Ntani **tök-yi-sakey-Ns-u s-i-te**
 night-GEN cord PT **untie-INF-split-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB**
without untying even the cords of [my] night [garment] (MYS
 XVII: 3938)

伊母祢受尔今日毛之賣良尔孤悲都追曾乎流

i mö **ne-Ns-u n-i** KYEPU mwo siramye n-i kwop-i-tutu sö wor-u
sleep PT **sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF** today PT ? DV-INF love-
INF-COOR PT exist-ATTR

without sleeping (a sleep), [I] continue to love [you] today, too
(MYS XVII: 3969)

保登等藝須伊麻奈可受之弓安須古要牟夜麻尔奈久等母之流思
安良米夜母

potötöNkyisu ima **nak-aNs-u s-i-te** asu kwoye-m-u yama-ni nak-u
tömö sirusi ar-am-ey ya mö

cuckoo now **cry-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB** tomorrow cross-TENT-
ATTR mountain-LOC cry-FIN CONJ sign exist-TENT-EV PT PT
Cuckoo! [You] **are not crying** now: even if [you] cry in the
mountains that [I] will cross tomorrow, would [there] be any sign?!
(MYS XVIII: 4052)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are only two examples of the nominalizer *-u* after the negative suffix *-(a)Ns-* attested in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, both appearing in front of the following gerund *s-i-te* of the verb *se-* ‘to do.’ The second of them is in a poem that has no apparent Eastern Old Japanese features. Thus, the Eastern Japanese provenance of the nominalizer *-u* might be dubious.

阿須可河泊之多尔其礼留乎之良受思天勢奈那登布多里左宿而
久也思母

Asuka KApA sita niNkör-er-u-wo **sir-aNs-u s-i-te** se-na-na-tö puta-
ri sa-NE-TE kuyasi-mö

Asuka river bottom be.muddy-PROG-ATTR-ACC **know-NEG-
NML do-INF-SUB** beloved-DIM-?-COM two-CL PREF-
sleep(INF)-SUB be.regretful-EXCL

[I] regret that [I] slept with you, **not knowing** [that your heart] is
[as] muddy [as] the bottom of the Asuka river! (MYS XIV: 3544)

安波受之弓由加婆乎思家牟

ap-aNs-u s-i-te yuk-aNpa wosi-ky-em-u

meet-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB go-COND regretful-ATTR-TENT-
FIN

If [I] would go **without meeting** [you], [I] would regret [it] ...
(MYS XIV: 3558)

A2: Ryukyuan

The nominalizer *-u* is not attested in Ryukyuan. Keeping in mind its dubious nature in Eastern Old Japanese, we can safely conclude that it is a Western Old Japanese innovation.

6.2.2.2.3.3 Nominalizer *-aku* ~ *-ku*

The nominalizer *-aku* has three allomorphs: *-aku*, *-ku*, and *-eku*. The latter is used exclusively after the adjectival attributive form *-kyi* and past final form *-kyi*: both *-kyi* + *-aku* result in the fused forms *-ky-eku*, where the morphemic boundary can be only artificially shown. The first of these two similar-looking forms has been already discussed in 5.2.3.1. Among the two remaining allomorphs, *-aku* and *-ku*, the first is the main one, as it appears in all cases except after the past attributive *-si*, where the *-ku* allomorph is used.⁶² In contrast to Middle Japanese, where the nominalizer *-aku* became a fossilized form during the first part of the Heian period, it is still quite productive in Western Old Japanese. At first glance *-(a)ku* may give the impression of a true suffix, because it appears to directly follow the stems of consonant verbs, *r*-irregular verbs, suffixes, and auxiliaries ending in a consonant. However, this impression is certainly mistaken, as it always appears after the attributive form of all vowel verbs, regular, and irregular, for example: *kwop-ur-aku* (*kwopiy-*) ‘loving,’ *tuNk-ur-aku* (*tuNkey-*) ‘reporting,’ *myi-r-aku* (*myi-*) ‘seeing,’ *s-ur-aku* (*se-*) ‘doing,’ *k-ur-aku* (*kö-*) ‘coming.’ We can see that in all these forms final /u/ in the attributive *-(u)ru* is lost before *-aku*. Thus, the usage of *-aku* immediately after the stems of consonant verbs, *r*-irregular verbs, suffixes, and auxiliaries ending in a consonant can be easily explained as resulting from the expected loss of the attributive allomorph *-u* used after consonant verbs etc. according to the rules of Western Old Japanese phonotactics (see 2.2.4). For example, *ip-aku* ‘saying’ < **ip-u-aku*, *omöp-aku* ‘thinking’ < **omöp-u-aku*, *ar-aku* ‘existing’ < **ar-u-aku*, *nak-aku* ‘weeping’ <

⁶² It is interesting to note that the nominalizer *-(a)ku* can be used after both the past final *-kyi* and the past attributive *-si*, although there are only three examples of the former. I am grateful to Janick Wrona for pointing out to me the existence of the nominalized *-ky-eku* form, where the nominalizer *-(a)ku* follows the past final form.

*nak-u-aku. Since *-aku* historically follows the attributive form, it is likely that it goes back to some kind of a bound noun.

In the chart below I include all combinations of *-aku* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries that occur in Western Old Japanese. According to what has already been said above, it is necessary to keep in mind, of course, that historically an attributive **-u-* precedes *-aku* in all the combinations where it is not present on the surface.

Chart 56: Combinations of the nominalizer *-(a)ku* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-(a)n-aku</i>
adjectival attributive <i>-kyi</i> + negative <i>-an-</i>	<i>-ky-en-aku</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-(a)m-aku</i>
attributive <i>-(u)ru</i>	<i>-(u)r-aku</i>
past final <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-ky-eku</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-si-ku</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-kyer-aku</i>
adjectival attributive <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-ky-eku</i>

The difference between the nominalizer *-aku* and the nominalizer *-[y]i* is that while *-[y]i* nominalizes only the verb itself, *-aku* nominalizes the whole clause. Examples:

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-nō kiyri-ni tat-am-u Nsō
you-POSS cry-HON-TENT-NML morning rain-COMP fog-LOC
rise-TENT-ATTR PT

your weeping will rise into fog like the morning rain (KK 4)

斯理都斗用伊由岐多賀比麻弊都斗用伊由岐多賀比宇迦迦波久
斯良爾

**siri-tu two-ywo i-yuk-yi-taNkap-yi mapye-tu two-ywo i-yuk-yi-
taNkap-yi ukakap-aku** sir-an-i
back-GEN/LOC door-ABL DLF-go-INF-differ-INF front-
GEN/LOC door-ABL DLF-go-INF-differ-INF look(HUM)-
NML know-NEG-INF

[you are] not knowing **that** [they are] **going there from the front door, and going there from the back door, and looking** [at you] (KK 22)

奴那波久理波閑祁久斯良迹

nunapa kur-i-papey-ky-eku sir-an-i
water.shield pull.in-INF-make.stretch(INF)-PAST/FIN-NML
 know-NEG-INF
 not knowing **that** [you] **pulled in the water shield** (KK 44)

淤岐弊迹波袁夫泥都羅羅玖

okyi-pye-ni pa woN-pune turar-aku
offing-side-LOC DIM-boat be.stretched.in.a.line-NML
the fact that small boats are stretched in a line in the offing (KK 52)

奴那波区利破陪鷄区辞羅珥 … 比辞餓羅能佐辞鷄区辞羅珥

nunapa kur-i-papey-ky-eku sirani … pyisi-N-kara-nö sas-i-ky-eku sir-an-i
water.shield pull.in-INF-make.stretch(INF)-PAST/FIN-NML
 know-NEG-INF … **water.chestnut-GEN-stalk-GEN grow-INF-PAST/FIN-NML** know-NEG-INF
 not knowing **that** [you] **pulled in the water shield** … not knowing **that the stalk of a water chestnut grew** (NK 36)

古波囊塢等綿阿羅素破儒泥辞区塢之叙于蘆波辞彌茂布

kwopaNta wotömye araswop-aNs-u ne-si-ku-wo si Nsö urupasi-myi [o]mop-u
KwopaNta maiden resist-NEG-INF sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR-NML-ACC PT PT loving-GER think-ATTR
 [I] think lovingly about **the fact that a KwopaNta maiden slept** [with me] **without resisting** (NK 38)

挂文由遊志計礼杼母言久母綾尔畏伎

KAKEY-M-AKU mo yuyusi-kyere-Ntömö IP-AM-Aku mö AYA n-i KASIKWO-kyi
think-TENT-NML PT be.reserved-EV-CONC **say-TENT-NML** PT extreme DV-INF awesome-ATTR
 Although [it] is unthinkable even **to think** [about it], and **to say** [it], too, is extremely awesome … (MYS II: 199)

余戀良苦乎不知香安類良武

WA-NKA KWOP-Ur-aku-wo SIR-ANS-U ka ar-uram-u
I-POSS love-ATTR-NML-ACC know-NEG-INF PT exist-
 TENT2-ATTR
 are [you] probably not knowing **that I love [you]?** (MYS IV: 720)

世間之苦物尔有家良久

YO-NO NAKA-NÖ KURUSI-KYI MÖNÖ n-i AR-I-kyer-aku
world-GEN inside-GEN hard-ATTR thing DV-INF exist-INF-
RETR-NML
 The fact that life turned out to be hard (MYS IV: 738)

吾妹子之念有四九四面影二三湯

WA-NK-YIMWO-KWO-NÖ OMÖP-YER-I-si-ku si OMÖ-
 KANKEY-ni myi-y-u
I-POSS beloved-GEN think-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR-NML PT
 face-shadow-LOC see-PASS-FIN
 [I] saw at once **what my beloved thought** in [her] face (MYS IV:
 754)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo opo-ku
direct DV-INF meet-NEG-IN exist-NML PT many-INF
 There are also many **occasions when [we] do not meet directly**
 (MYS V: 809)

烏梅能波奈知良久波伊豆久

uMEY-nö pana tir-aku pa iNtuku
plum-GEN flower fall-NML TOP where
 Where [will] the **falling of the plum blossoms** [be]? (MYS V: 823)

神代欲理云傳久良久

KAMIY YO-ywori IP-YI-TUTE-k-ur-aku
deity age-ABL say-INF-convey(INF)-come-ATTR-NML
 The things [they] conveyed orally from the Age of Deities up to
 now (MYS V: 894)

可聞可聞為良久君故尔許曾

ka mo ka mo S-Ur-aku KYIMYI YUWE n-i kösö
that PT that PT do-ATTR-NML lord because DV-INF PT
 It is because of you **that [I] do this and that** (MYS VIII: 1576)

来之久毛知久相流君可聞

KO-si-ku mwo siru-ku AP-YEr-u KYIMYI kamo
come(INF)-PAST/ATTR-NML PT useful-INF meet-PROG-
 ATTR lord PT

[it] was useful **that** [I] **had came**, [as] I met you! (MYS VIII: 1577)

世間之愚人乃吾妹兒尔告而語久

YO-NÖ NAKA-NÖ ORÖKA PYITÖ-nö WA-NK-YIMWO-
KWO-ni NÖR-I-TE KATAR-Aku
 world-GEN middle-GEN stupid person-GEN I-POSS-beloved-
 DIM-DAT say-INF-SUB speak-NML

the fact that the stupid person of this world told his beloved: ...
 (MYS IX: 1740)

許己乎志毛間細美香母挂卷

kökö-wo si mwo ma-KUPASI-myi kamö KAKEY-m-aku
 here-ABS PT PT INT-beautiful-GER PT think-TENT-NML
thinking that it is indeed beautiful here (MYS XIII: 3234)

伊毛爾伊比之乎等之能倍奴良久

imwo-ni ip-yi-si-wo tösi-nö pey-n-ur-aku
 beloved-DAT say-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC year-GEN pass(INF)-
PERF-ATTR-NML

although [I] told [my] beloved: ‘...’ **the fact [is] that a year has passed** (MYS XV: 3719)

佐刀毘等能安礼迹都具良久

satwo-N-pyitö-nö are-ni tuNk-ur-aku
 village-GEN-person-GEN I-DAT report-ATTR-NML
what the village people report to me (MYS XVII: 3973)

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi wem-aNs-u mwo uti-naNKeyk-yi katar-i-ky-em-aku
 smile-INF ? smile-NEG-INF PT PREF-sigh-INF talk-INF-
 PAST/FIN-TENT-NML

the fact that [both of you] were probably talking, and sighing, smiling and not smiling (MYS XVIII: 4106)

夜麻能許奴礼能保与等理天可射之都良久波知等世保久等曾
yama-nō kō-nure-nō moyō tōr-i-te kaNsas-i-t-ur-aku pa ti tōse
 pok-u tō sō
mountain-GEN tree-top-GEN moyō take-INF-SUB
decorate.head-INF-PERF-ATTR-NML TOP thousand year pray-
 FIN DV PT
 [I] say that [I] pray for a thousand years **that [we] will have decorated [our] heads with moyō⁶³ that we take from the tops of mountain trees** (MYS XVIII: 4136)

咲花乎折毛不折毛見良久之余志母
SAK-U PANA-wo WOR-I mwo WOR-ANS-U mwo MYI-r-aku
 si yō-si-mō
bloom-ATTR flower-ACC break-NML PT break-NEG-NML
PT look-ATTR-NML PT good-FIN-EXCL
whether breaking off or not breaking off blooming flowers, [it]
is good to look [at them]! (MYS XIX: 4167)

伎美乎見麻久波知登世爾母我母
kyimiyi-wo MYI-m-aku pa ti tōse n-i mōNkamō
lord-ACC see-TENT-NML TOP thousand year DV-INF PT
 [I] would like to have a thousand years **when [I] would see [my] lord** (MYS XX: 4304)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母
myi-m-aku-nō posi-kyi kyimiyi n-i mō ar-u kamō
see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR lord DV-INF PT exist-ATTR
 PT
 [I] wonder whether [it] is also my lord whom [I] want to see (MYS XX: 4449)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION *-(A)KU N-I*

The nominalizer *-(a)ku* is frequently found in a combination with the following infinitive *n-i* of the defective copula *n-*. This construction frequently (but not always) expresses either the concessive ‘although’ or the reason ‘as, because.’ It is predominantly found at the end of a given text, and the overwhelming number of examples involve the usage combined with the preceding negative *-an-*. Examples:

⁶³ A kind of parasitic plant growing on trees.

陶黎耶始比登謀阿避於謀婆儼俱爾

tare ya si pyitō mo apyi-omop-an-aku n-i

who PT PT person PT REC-love-NEG-NML DV-INF

because [she] is not mutually in love with anyone else (NK 93)

伊喻之之乎都那遇舸播杯能倭柯矩娑能倭柯俱阿利岐騰阿我謨婆儼俱爾

i-y-u sisi-wo tunaNk-u kapa pye-nō waka kusa-nō waka-ku ar-i-kyi tō a-Nka [o]mop-an-aku n-i

shoot-PASS-ATTR game.animal-ACC follow-ATTR river side-GEN young grass-COMP young-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN DV I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF

I do not think [he] was [as] young as young grass on the river side where [we] followed a game animal that was shot, but ... (NK 117)

誰孀可國忘有家待真國

TA-NKA TUMA ka KUNI WASURE-TAR-U IPYE MAT-Am-aku n-i

who-POSS spouse PT province forget(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR home wait-TENT-NML DV-INF

Whose spouse forgot [his home] province? Although [his folks at] home probably wait [for him] ... (MYS III: 426)

埋木之不可顯事尔不有君

UMORE-N-KIY-NŌ ARAPAR-UMASINSI KŌTŌ n-i AR-AN-Aku n-i

bury(NML)-DV(ATTR)-tree-GEN appear-NEG/POT matter DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

as [it] is not the case that the buried trees would not appear (MYS VII: 1385)

黃葉乎手折曾我来師雨零久仁

MWOMIT-I-N-PA-wo TA-WOR-I sō A-NKA KŌ-si AMEY-NŌ PUR-Aku n-i

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-GEN-leaf hand-break-INF PT I-POSS come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rain-GEN fall-NML DV-INF

I came, breaking red leaves [with my] hand, although [it] was raining (MYS VIII: 1582)

戀益良國

KWOPIY MASAr-aku n-i

love(NML) increase-NML DV-INF
[my] love increases (MYS X: 2228)

木綿間山越去之公之所念良國

YUPUMA YAMA KWOYE-N-I-si KYIMYI-NKA OMÖP-OY-Ur-aku n-i

Yupuma mountain cross(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR lord-POSS think-PASS-ATTR-NML DV-INF

[I] suddenly thought about you, who crossed Yupuma mountain (MYS XII: 3191)

伊毛我保須倍久安良奈久尔和我許呂母互乎奴礼互伊可尔勢牟
imwo-Nka pos-uNpey-ku ar-an-aku n-i wa-Nka körömöNte-wo nure-te ika n-i se-m-u

beloved-POSS dry-DEB-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF I-POSS sleeve-ACC get.wet(INF)-SUB how DV-INF do-TENT-FIN
what should I do with my wet sleeves – because [my] beloved cannot dry [them] (MYS XV: 3712)

伊米爾毛伊母我美延射良奈久尔

imey-ni mwo imö-Nka myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i dream-LOC PT beloved-POSS see-PASS-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

in the dreams [my] beloved [always] appears ... (MYS XV: 3735)

等之能乎奈我久安波射礼杼家之伎已許呂乎安我毛波奈久尔
tösi-nö wo naNka-ku ap-aNs-ar-e-Ntö kyesi-kyi kökörö-wo a-Nka [o]mwop-an-aku n-i

year-GEN cord long-INF meet-NEG(INF)-exist-EV-CONC unusual-ATTR heart-ACC I-POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF
although [we] did not meet for a long time, I am not going to change [my] mind (lit.: it is not that [I] will think unusual mind) (MYS XV: 3775)

麻都能波奈花可受尔之毛和我勢故我於母敵良奈久尔母登奈佐吉都追

matu-nö pana PANA kaNsu n-i si mwo wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka omöp-yer-an-aku n-i mötöna sak-yi-tutu

pine-GEN flower flower number DV-INF PT PT I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS think-PROG-NEG-NML DV-INF in.vain bloom-INF-COOR

Because my beloved is not even thinking of pine flowers as flowers, [they] continue to bloom in vain (MYS XVII: 3942)

比祢毛須尔美等母安久倍伎宇良尔安良奈久尔

pyinemyosu n-i myi tömō ak-uNpey-kyi ura n-i ar-an-aku n-i
all.day DV-INF look(FIN) CONJ lose.interest-DEB-ATTR bay
DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

even if [I] look all day, it is not a bay that [one] could lose
interest [in looking at] (MYS XVIII: 4037)

伎美奈良奈久尔

kyimyi nar-an-aku n-i

lord be-NEG-NML DV-INF

as [it] is not [my] lord (MYS XX: 4447)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTIONS *-(A)M-AKU POR-* AND *-(A)M-AKU POSI*

The nominalizer *-aku* is occasionally found in combinations with a preceding tentative *-(a)m-* and a following adjective *posi* ‘to be wanted, to be desired’ or a verb *por-* ‘to want, to desire.’ The resulting analytical constructions *-(a)m-aku posi*⁶⁴ or *-(a)m-aku por-i* have a desiderative function. It seems that the verb *por-* ‘to want, to desire’ actually is a stative *r*-irregular verb that has its final form in *-i*, not *-u*, as there are no examples when it is attested in the final form **por-u*. Moreover, a closer look at the following examples reveals that with one exception when it can be taken as an infinitive (see MYS XV: 3776 below) it is found in the form *por-i* in the cases when the final, and not the infinitive form would be expected, such as before the defective verb *tō* ‘to say,’ and at the end of sentences. It also occurs in the nominalized form *por-i* before the following verb *se-* ‘to do.’

These constructions *-(a)m-aku posi* and *-(a)m-aku por-i* are used only with a handful of verbs: *kakey-* ‘to hang, to mention,’ *kaNkapur-* ‘to obtain,’ *kyik-* ‘to hear, to listen,’ *mwor-* ‘to guard, to protect,’ *myi-* ‘to see, to look,’ *sōmey-* ‘to dye,’ and *ne-* ‘to sleep.’ Among those, the verb *myi-* occurs in both constructions (and has the lion’s share of all the examples); *kakey-* and *sōmey-* are attested

⁶⁴ The construction *-(a)m-aku posi* contracted in Middle Japanese into *-(a)mafosi*, which functions as a verbal suffix (Vovin 2003: 285-87).

only with *-(a)m-aku posi*,⁶⁵ while *kyik-* and *ne-* are attested only with *-(a)m-aku por-i*.⁶⁶ The construction *-(a)m-aku posi* is attested only in the *Man'yōshū* and the construction *-(a)m-aku por-i* appears in both the *Man'yōshū* and the *Senmyō*. Examples:

栲領巾乃懸卷欲寸妹名乎

TAKU PYIRE-nō **KAKEY-m-aku POSI-kyi** IMWO-NÖ NA-wō
mulberry.tree magic.scarf-COMP **mention/hang-TENT-NML**
be.wanted-ATTR beloved-GEN name-ACC
name of [my] beloved that [I] **want to mention/to hang**⁶⁷ like a
magic scarf [made of] mulberry tree [bark cloth] (MYS III: 285)

前日毛昨日毛今日毛雖見明日左倍見卷欲寸君香聞

WOTÖ-TU PYI mwo KYINÖPU mwo KYEPU mwo MYI-T-
URE-NTÖ ASU sapey **MYI-m-aku POSI-kyi** KYIMYI kamo
that-GEN/LOC day PT yesterday PT today PT see(INF)-PERF-
EV-CONC tomorrow PT **see-TENT-NML be.wanted-ATTR** lord
PT

Oh, [my] lord **whom** [I] **want to see** tomorrow as well, although [I]
saw you the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today! (MYS VI:
1014)

視人乃語丹為者聞人之視卷欲為

MYI-RU PYITÖ-nō KATAR-I n-i S-URE-NPA KYIK-U PYITÖ-
NÖ **MYI-m-aku POR-I S-URU**
see-ATTR person-GEN talk-NML DV-INF do-EV-CON hear-
ATTR person-GEN **see-TENT-NML want-NML do-ATTR**
When the people who saw [it], talk about [it], the people who hear
about [it] **want to see** [it] (MYS VI: 1062)

紅衣染雖欲

KURENAWI-NI KÖRÖMÖ SÖMEY-M-AKU POSI-KYE-
NTÖMÖ
crimson.red-LOC garment **dye-TENT-NML be.wanted-EV-
CONC**

⁶⁵ Since *sōmey-* is found in this construction in semantographic writing, it is quite possible that *por-i* and not *posi* is used.

⁶⁶ Since *ne-* is found in this construction in semantographic writing, it is quite possible that *posi* and not *por-i* is used.

⁶⁷ *Kakey-* 'to mention' and 'to hang': here it implies a play on words.

although [I] **want to dye** [my] garment crimson red (MYS VII: 1297)

守卷欲寸梅花

MWOR-Am-aku POSI-kyi UMEY-NÖ PANA
protect-TENT-NML be.wanted-ATTR plum-GEN blossom
 plum blossoms **that** [I] **want to protect** (MYS X: 1858)

妹目之見卷欲家口

IMWO-NKA MEY-NÖ MYI-m-aku POSI-ky-eku
 beloved-POSS eye-GEN **see-TENT-NML be.wanted-ATTR-**
NML
 [I] **want to see** the eyes of [my] beloved (MYS XI: 2666)

比日寐之不寐敷細布手枕纏寐欲

KÖNÖ KÖRÖ-NÖ I-NÖ NE-RAYE-N-U PA SIK-YI-TAPEY-NÖ
TA-MAKURA MAK-I-TE NE-M-AKU POR-I KÖSÖ
 this time-GEN sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR TOP spread-
 INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN hand-pillow use.as.a.pillow-
 INF-SUB **sleep-TENT-NML want-FIN** PT
 [I] cannot sleep at this time because [I] **want to sleep** with the
 hands[of my beloved] as a pillow from mulberry tree bark cloth
 (MYS XII: 2844)

家布毛可母美也故奈里世婆見麻久保里尔之能御馬屋乃刀尔多
 弓良麻之

kyepu mwo kamö myiyakwo-n-ar-i-s-eNpa MYI-m-aku por-i nisi-
nö MYI-MAYA-nö two-ni tat-er-amasi
 today PT PT capital-LOC-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND **see-**
TENT-NML want-INF west-GEN HON-stable-GEN outside-
 LOC stand-PROG-SUBJ
 If [I] were in the capital today, too, [I] would be standing outside
 the Western Imperial Stables, **wanting to see** [you]! (MYS XV:
 3776)

孤悲之家口氣奈我枳物能乎見麻久保里

kwopiysi-ky-eku key naNka-kyi MÖnöwo MYI-m-aku por-i
long.for-ATTR-NML day long-ATTR CONJ see-TENT-NML
want-FIN
 although days are long when [I] long for [you], [I] **want to see** [you]
 (MYS XVII: 3957)

見麻久保里於毛比之奈倍尔賀都良賀氣香具波之君乎安比見都流賀母

MYI-m-aku por-i omwop-yi-si napey n-i kaNtura kakey kaNkup-asi KYIMYI-wo ap-yi MYI-t-uru kamō

see-TENT-NML want-FIN think-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ DV-INF vines attach(INF) dear-ADJ lord-ACC meet-INF see(INF)-PERF-ATTR PT

Just as [I] thought that [I] **want to see** [you], [I] met and saw you, [my] dear [friend], with vines [in your hair]! (MYS XVIII: 4120)

奈久許惠乎伎可麻久保理登

nak-u köwe-wo kyik-am-aku por-i tö

cry-ATTR voice-ACC hear-TENT-NML want-FIN DV

wanting to hear the crying voice of a cuckoo (MYS XIX: 4209)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母

myi-m-aku-nō posi-kyi kyimiyi n-i mō ar-u kamō

see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR lord DV-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

[I] wonder whether [it] is also my lord whom [I] **want to see** (MYS XX: 4449)

In this example we find the genitive case marker *-nō* between *-(a)m-aku* and *posi*. This form is found in Western Old Japanese only with the verb *myi-* 'to see, to look.'

子乃去禍蒙服麻久欲為流事波為親爾止奈利

KWO-nō WANSAPAPYI-WO SAR-I SAKYIPAPYI-WO KANKAPUR-Am-aku POR-I S-Uru KÖTÖ pa OYA-nō tamey n-i tö-nar-i

child-GEN misfortune-ACC go.away-INF happiness-ACC receive-TENT-NML want-NML do-ATTR matter TOP parent-GEN for DV-INF DV(FIN)-RA-FIN

[They] say that **the fact that children want to avoid misfortune and obtain happiness** is for the sake of [their] parents (SM 25)

子乃蒙服麻久欲為流事波於夜乃多米爾止奈母聞行湏

KWO-nō SAKYIPAPYI-WO KANKAPUR-Am-aku POR-I S-Uru KÖTÖ pa oya-nō tamey n-i tö namō KYIK-ÖS-I-MYEs-u child-GEN happiness-ACC receive-TENT-NML want-NML do-ATTR matter TOP parent-GEN for DV-INF DV PT hear-HON-INF-HON-FIN

[We] heard that **when children want to obtain happiness** [it] is for the sake of their parents (SM 61)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The nominalizer *-aku ~ -ku* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Examples:

佐奴良久波多麻乃緒婆可里

sa-n-ur-aku pa tama-nö WO Npakari

PREF-sleep-ATTR-NML TOP jewel-GEN string PT

sleeping together [lit.: **sleeping in**] [is] just a string of jewels (MYS XIV: 3358)

波姑祢乃夜麻爾安波麻吉弓実登波奈礼留乎阿波奈久毛安夜思
pakwone-nö yama-ni apa mak-yi-te MIY tö pa nar-er-u-wo **ap-an-aku**/apa na-ku mwo ayasi

Pakwone-GEN mountain-LOC millet sow-INF-SUB fruit DV PT become-PROG-ATTR-ACC **meet-NEG-NML**/millet no-NML PT be.strange(FIN)

Although [I] have sown millet on the Pakwone mountain and [it] ripened (lit.: became fruits), it is strange **that** [we] **do not meet**/there is no millet (MYS XIV: 3364)

多都登利能自由可汝乎見牟左祢射良奈久尔

tat-u töri-nö MEY-yu ka NA-wo MYI-m-u **sa-ne-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i**
rise-ATTR bird-COMP eye-ABL PT you-ACC see-TENT-ATTR
PREF-sleep-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

will [I] just see you as a bird flying up, **although it is not that** [we] **did not sleep** [together] **there** (MYS XIV: 3396)

哭乎曾奈伎都流手兒尔安良奈久尔

NE-wo sö nak-yi-t-uru **teNKWO n-i ar-an-aku n-i**

voice-ACC PT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR **baby DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF**

[I] sobbed loudly, **although** [I] **am not a baby** (MYS XIV: 3485)

曾我比尔宿思久伊麻之久夜思母

söNkap-yi n-i NE-si-ku ima si kuyasi-mö

turn.away-NML DV-INF sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR-NML now
 PT be.regretful-EXCL
 now [I] regret **that** [we] **slept turning away** [from each other]
 (MYS XIV: 3577)

久毛為尔美由流志麻奈良奈久尔

kumwowi-ni mi-y-uru sima nar-an-aku n-i
distance-LOC see-PASS-ATTR island be-NEG-NML DV-INF
although [it] **is not an island that is seen in the distance** (MYS
 XX: 4355)

A2: Ryukyuan

The nominalizer *-aku* ~ *-ku* is not attested in Ryukyuan. There are no reliable external parallels, either.

6.2.2.2.3.4 Nominalizer *-usa*

The nominalizer *-usa* like nominalizer *-[y]i* nominalizes only the preceding verb, but not the whole clause. However, in most cases it has a very specialized temporal meaning: ‘when,’ ‘at the time when’ (see MYS IV: 656 below for an exception). If one would follow the Japanese tradition that segments the nominalizer *-sa* (Omodaka et al. 1967: 317) and not *-usa* one should claim that it follows not the attributive, but the final form of a verb, as becomes apparent from such forms as *naNk-u-sa* ‘be.consoled-FIN-NML’ and *k-u-sa* ‘come-FIN-NML’ appearing in phonetic script in MYS IV: 656 and MYS XX: 4514 below (we would expect **naNk-uru-sa* and **k-uru-sa* if *-sa* were following the attributive). However, it is unclear why a nominalizer would follow a final form rather than an attributive form or the stem of a verb (cf. the behavior of the nominalizers *-(a)ku* and *-[y]i*). I believe that it is appropriate to treat the vowel /u/ immediately preceding /sa/ as belonging to the suffix itself. Therefore, I prefer to segment this nominalizer as *-usa*. Its morphophonological behavior is quite similar to the final *-u* or negative imperative *-una*: these suffixes follow the stem of consonant verbs directly and cause the loss of the final vowel in the stem of vowel verbs and the irregular verb *kō-* ‘to come.’ The nominalizer *-usa* is attested only in the *Man’yōshū* and it is found only after a handful of verbs: *kapyer-* ‘to return,’ *kō-* ‘to come,’

naNkiy- ‘to be consoled,’ *yuk-* ‘to go,’ and *wasur-* ‘to forget.’⁶⁸ The nominalizer *-usa* can be followed by the locative case marker *-ni*. There are just twelve examples of its usage, and all are listed below:

白菅乃真野之榛原往左来左君社見良目
SIRA SUNKEY-nō MA-NWO-NŌ PARI PARA YUK-Usa K-Usa
KYIMYI KŌSŌ MYI-ram-ey

white sedge-GEN INT-field-GEN alder field go-NML come-NML
lord PT look-TENT2-EV

You will probably look at the field of alders at the true field of white sedges **when** [you] **go** [and] **when** [you] **come** (MYS III: 281)

与妹来之敏馬能埼乎還左尔獨之見者涕具末之毛
IMWO-TŌ KŌ-si myinumey-nō SAKYI-wo KAPYER-Usa-ni
PYITŌ-RI si MYI-RE-NPA NAMYINTA-N-kum-asi-mwo
beloved-COM come(INF)-PAST/ATTR Myinumey-GEN cape-
ACC **return-NML-LOC** one-CL PT look-EV-CON tear-GEN-
draw-ADJ-EXCL

When [I] look alone **at the time of** [my] **return** at the cape of Myinumey where [I] came with [my] beloved, [I] am moved to tears! (MYS III: 449)

去左尔波二吾見之此埼乎獨過者情悲喪
YUK-Usa-ni pa PUTA-RI WA-NKA MYI-si KŌNŌ SAKYI-wo
PYITŌ-RI SUNK-URE-NPA KŌKŌRŌ KANASI-mo
go-NML-LOC TOP two-CL we-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR this
cape-ACC one-CL pass-EV-CON heart be.sad-EXCL
When [I] **go away** [and] pass alone this cape that both of us saw,
[my] heart is sad! (MYS III: 450)

吾背子之戀云事波言乃名具左曾
WA-NKA SE-KWO-NKA KWOP-URU TŌ IP-U KŌTŌ pa
KŌTŌ n-ō naNk-usa sō
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS long.for-ATTR DV say-ATTR matter
TOP word DV-ATTR **be.consoled-NML PT**

⁶⁸ There are two verbs in Western Old Japanese: the consonant verb *wasur-* ‘to forget intentionally’ and *wasure-* ‘to forget unintentionally’ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 818). Even if the form *wasur-usa* ‘forget-NML’ was written phonetically in MYS XI: 2580 below (where it appears in partial semantographic writing as *WASUR-Usa*), it would be impossible to tell on pure morphological grounds which verb is used, since their final forms are identical: *wasur-u*. However, the context of the poem indicates that it is the intentional forgetfulness that is meant here.

The fact that my beloved tells [me] that [he] longs for [me is just] a verbal **consolation** (MYS IV: 656)

海若之何神乎齋祈者歟往方毛來方毛船之早兼

WATA-TU [U]MYI-NÖ INTURE N-Ö KAMIY-wo INÖR-ANPA
KA YUK-USA mwo K-USA mwo PUNE-NÖ PAYA-ky-em-u
sea-GEN/LOC sea-GEN which DV-ATTR deity-ACC pray-COND
PT go-NML PT come-NML PT boat-GEN be.fast-ATTR-TENT-ATTR

If [I] pray to some deities of the sea, [your] boat should be fast both **when** [it] goes away and **when** [it] comes back (MYS IX: 1784)

面形之忘左在者

OMÖ KATA-NÖ WASUR-Usa AR-ANPA

face shape-GEN forget-NML exist-COND

If there is **a time that** [I] forget [your] face (MYS XI: 2580)

可敝流散尔伊母尔見勢武尔和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比豆由賀奈

kapyer-usa-ni imö-ni MYI-se-m-u-ni wata-tu myi-nö okyi-tu
SIRA TAMA pyirip-i-te yuk-ana
return-NML-LOC beloved-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC
sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN offing-GEN/LOC white pearl pick.up-
INF-SUB go-DES

When [I] return, [I] want to go picking up [some] white pearls from the offing of the sea dragon in order to show [them] to [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3614)

多麻之家流伎欲吉奈藝佐乎之保美豆婆安可受和礼由久可反流左尔見牟

tama sik-yer-u kiyiwo-kyi naNkyisa-wo sipo myit-e-Npa ak-aNs-u
ware yuk-u kapyer-usa-ni MYI-m-u
pearl spread-PROG-ATTR clean-ATTR beach-ACC tide fill-EV-
CON be.satisfied-NEG-INF I go-FIN return-NML-LOC look-
TENT-FIN

Because the tide covered the clean beach where pearls are spread, I will go away unsatisfied. [But I] will look for [them] **when** [I] return (MYS XV: 3706)

由久左久佐都々牟許等奈久布祢波々夜家無

yuk-usa k-usa tutum-u kötö na-ku pune pa paya-ky-em-u

go-NML come-NML be.hindered-ATTR matter no-INF boat TOP
 be.fast-ATTR-TENT-FIN
 [your] boat should be fast without any hindrance **when** [it] **goes**
 away [and] **when** [it] **comes back** (MYS XX: 4514)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The nominalizer *-usa* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

The nominalizer *-usa* after the final forms of verbs (different from the nominalizer *-sa* after adjectival stems, see 5.2.4) is not attested in Ryukyuan.

6.2.2.3 WORD-NON-FINAL VERBAL SUFFIXES

Word-non-final verbal suffixes are the suffixes that cannot conclude a verbal form and have to be followed by other suffix(es).

6.2.2.3.1 Negative *-an-* ~ *-aN-* ~ *-n-* ~ *-Ns-*

The negative suffix has five allomorphs: *-an-*, *-aN-*, *-n-*, *-Ns-*, and *-en-*. The allomorph *-en-* appears only in the special adjectival negative nominalized form *-ky-en-aku* (see 5.2.31). The allomorphs *-an-* and *-aN-* are used after consonant verbs and auxiliaries, and after *r*-irregular and *n*-irregular verbs, and the allomorphs *-n-* and *-Ns-* after vowel verbs (including irregular verbs) and auxiliaries. The choice between the allomorphs *-an-* ~ *-n-* on the one hand and the allomorphs *-aN-* ~ *-Ns-* depends on the following morpheme: *-aN-* ~ *-Ns-* appear only before the final *-u*, the infinitive *-u*, and the nominalizer *-u*. Before all other suffixes *-an-* ~ *-n-* are used. The negative suffix *-(a)Ns-* represents a contraction of a negative nominalized form *-an-i* plus the verb *se-* 'to do' as the following example with an uncontracted form demonstrates.

君波見礼登安可尔勢牟

KYIMYI pa MYI-re-Ntō **ak-an-i se-m-u**

lord TOP look-EV-CONC **be.satisfied-NEG-NML do-TENT-FIN**
 although you will look, [you] **would not be satisfied** (MYS XVII:
 3902)

The negative suffix *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* can be followed only by a limited number of suffixes as outlined in chart 57 below:

Chart 57: Combinations of the negative suffix *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-(a)n-u</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-(a)n-i</i>
infinitive <i>-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e</i>	<i>-(a)n-e</i>
exclamative <i>-umö</i>	<i>-(a)n-umö</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-an-i*</i>
nominalizer <i>-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u</i>
nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-(a)n-aku</i>
adjectival attributive <i>-kyi</i> + nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-ky-en-aku</i>

* Only one example is attested, see MYS XVII: 3902 above.

However, a number of suffixes and bound auxiliaries can precede the negative suffix *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-*, as demonstrated in chart 58 below:

Chart 58: Combinations of the negative suffix *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i> , <i>-raye-</i>	<i>-(ra)ye-n-</i> <i>-(a)ye-n-</i>
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-simey-Ns-*</i>
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-aNs-</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-aNs-</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-yer-aNs-**</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-aNs-</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-kyer-aNs-***</i>
potential <i>-kate-</i>	<i>-kate-n-</i> , <i>-kate-Ns-</i>
benefactive <i>-köse-</i>	<i>-köse-n-</i>
adjectival attributive <i>-kyi</i> + nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-ky-en-aku</i>

* Attested only after vowel verbs.

** No reliable phonetic attestations. Attested twice in semantographic writing. See the example from MYS VIII: 1648 below.

*** The form *-(a)Ns-u-kyer-*, with the retrospective *-kyer-* following the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* is also attested, see, e.g. example from MYS XVII: 3980 below. The *-(a)Ns-u-kyer-* form is much more frequent than *-kyer-aNs-*. The latter occurs exclusively after the infinitive forms of the perfective *-n-* and the passive *-aye-*.

It becomes apparent from the chart above that *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* cannot be preceded by mood markers, which is expected since most moods have special forms in the negative mode.

Examples of *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-*:

多知賀遠母伊麻陀登迦受弓淤須比遠母伊麻陀登加泥婆
 tati-Nka wo mö imaNta **tök-aNs-u-te** osupyi-wo mö imaNta **tök-an-e-Npa**
 long.sword-POSS cord PT yet **untie-NEG-INF-SUB** cloak-ACC
 PT yet **untie-NEG-EV-CON**
 as [I] **have not yet untied** the cords of [my] long sword, **and have not yet untied** [my] cloak (KK 2)

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

伊岐良受曾久流
 i-kyir-aNs-u sö k-uru
DLF-cut-NEG-INF PT come-ATTR
 [I] return **without cutting** [them] **there** (KK 51)

許許呂袁陀迹迦阿比淤母波受阿良牟
 kökörö-wo Ntani ka **apyi-omöp-aNs-u ar-am-u**
 heart-ACC PT PT **REC-think-NEG-INF exist-TENT-ATTR**
 will [we] **not think about each other** at least in our hearts? (KK 60)

伊多低於破孺破珥倍迺利能介豆岐齊奈
 ita te **op-aNs-u pa** nipo-N-töri-nö kaNtuk-yi se-na
 painful place **carry-NEG-INF** TOP grebe-DV(ATTR)-bird-
 COMP dive-NML do-DES
 rather than to receive (lit: **if not receiving**) severe wounds, let us
 dive [together] like grebes (NK 29)

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志

kapiy-nō kurwo kwoma kura kyi-s-eNpa **i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasī**
 Kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle put.on-PAST/ATTR-COND
DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ

if [he] would put a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he]
would not reach here [on time] (NK 81a)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農

nani tō kamō utukusi imō-Nka mata **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u**
 what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS again **bloom-INF-exit(INF)-**
come-NEG-ATTR

for (lit: being) what [reason], **does not** [my] beautiful beloved
bloom again? (NK 114)

都久波尼爾阿波牟等伊比志古波多賀己等岐氣波加弥尼阿波菓
 氣牟

tukuNpa-ne-ni ap-am-u tō ip-yi-si kwo pa ta-Nka kōtō kyik-ey-Npa
 ka myi-ne **ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u**

TukuNpa-peak-LOC meet-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR
 girl TOP who-POSS word listen-EV-CON PT HON-
 peak/sleep(NML)⁶⁹ **meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**

The girl, who promised [me] that [we] will meet at the TukuNpa
 peak, **did not meet** [me] at the peak/for sleeping, [is it] because
 [she] listened to somebody's words? (FK 2)

梓弓引者随意依目友後心乎知勝奴鴨

ANTUSA YUMYI PYIK-ANPA MANIMA N-I YÖR-Am-ey-
 Ntōmō NÖTI-NÖ KÖKÖRÖ-wo **SIR-I-kate-n-u** kamwo

catalpa bow pull-COND according DV-INF approach-TENT-EV-
 CONC after-GEN heart-ACC **know-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR** PT

Although [I] would go to [you] if [you] pull [the strings of my heart
 like] a catalpa bow, [I] **cannot know** [your] feelings after [that]!
 (MYS II: 98)

古尔有兼人毛如吾歟妹尔戀乍宿不勝家牟

INISIPYE-ni AR-I-ky-em-u PYITŌ mwo A-NKA NKŌTŌ KA
 IMWO-ni KWŌPIY-TUTU **I NE-kate-NS-U-ky-em-u**

old.times-LOC exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR person PT I-
 POSS like PT beloved-DAT long.for(INF)-COORD **sleep**
sleep(INF)-POT-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

⁶⁹ The word *ne* here represents a play on words: *ne* 'peak' and *ne* 'sleep(INF).'

Were the people who lived in old times **unable to sleep** like me, too, longing for [their] beloved? (MYS IV: 497)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼
 kökörö-yu mö **omöp-an-u** apyiNta-ni uti-naNpyik-yi köy-as-i-n-
 ure
 heart-ABL PT **think-NEG-ATTR** interval-LOC PREF-
 stretched.out-INF lie.down-HON-INF-PERF-EV
 while even in [my] heart [I] **did not think**, stretched out [she] was
 lying (MYS V: 794)

伊波牟須弊世武須弊斯良尔石木乎母刀比佐氣斯良受
 ip-am-u suNpye se-m-u suNpye **sir-an-i** IPA KIY-wo mö **twop-yi-
 sakey-sir-aNs-u**
 say-TENT-ATTR way do-TENT-ATTR way **know-NEG-INF**
 rock tree-ACC PT **ask-INF-split(INF)-know-NEG-FIN**
 [I] **do not know** what to do and what to say, **and [I] do not know**
how to ask rocks and trees (MYS V: 794)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米
 爾之美延牟
 taNta n-i **ap-aNs-u** ar-aku mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nö makura
sar-aNs-u-te imey-ni si myi-ye-m-u
 direct DV-INF **meet-NEG-INF** exist-NML PT many-INF spread-
 INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow **go.away-NEG-INF-
 SUB** dream-LOC PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN
 There are also many occasions when [we] **do not meet** directly,
 [and I] want to see [you] in [my] dreams **without going away** from
 [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

烏梅能波奈伊麻佐家留期等知利須義受和我霸能曾能尔阿利己
 世奴加毛
 uMEY-nö pana ima sak-yer-u Nkötö tir-i-suNkiy-Ns-u wa-Nka
 [i]pye-nö sönö-ni **ar-i-köse-n-u** kamwo
 plum-GEN blossom now bloom-PROG-ATTR like fall-INF-pass-
 NEG-INF I-POSS house-GEN garden-LOC **exist-INF-BEN-NEG-
 ATTR** PT
 Plum blossoms! I wonder **whether [you] would not stay [for me]**
 in the garden of my house without falling and blooming like now
 (MYS V: 816)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾
家良受夜

uMEY-nō pana sak-yi-tar-u sōnō-nō awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-
uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u ya**
plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN
green willow TOP wig DV-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-
NEG-FIN PT**

Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the
green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have
bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

加波度爾波阿由故佐婆斯留吉美麻知我弓爾

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)

佐夫志計米夜母吉美伊麻佐受斯弓

saNpusi-ky-em-ey ya mö kyimyi **imas-aNs-u s-i-te**
sad-ATTR-TENT-EV PT PT lord **come(HON)-NEG-NML do-
INF-SUB**

[if my] **lord does not come**, would [I] be sad?! [Certainly not!]
(MYS V: 878)

志可登阿良農比宜可伎撫而

sika **tō ar-an-u** pyiNkey kakyi-NANTE-TE
thus **DV exist-NEG-ATTR** beard PREF-caress(INF)-SUB
stroking my thinning (lit.: **not being** thus) beard (MYS V: 892)

梅花開含不有而

UMEY-NŌ PANA SAK-U PUPUM-YER-ANS-U S-I-TE
plum-GEN blossom bloom-FIN **hold.inside-PROG-NEG-NML
do-INF-SUB**

plum blossoms are blooming , **without keeping** [their buds] **closed**
(MYS VIII: 1648)

吾戀妹相佐受

WA-NKA KWOP-URU IMWO PA AP-As-aNs-u
I-POSS love-ATTR beloved TOP **meet-HON-NEG-FIN**
[My] beloved, whom I love, **does not meet** [me] (MYS IX: 1692)

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

奈會許許波伊能祢良要奴毛
 naNsö kököNpa i-nö **ne-rye-n-umwo**
 why extremely sleep-GEN **sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL**
why cannot [I] sleep at all?! (MYS XV: 3684)

故非和須礼我比等良受波由可自
 kwopiy wasure-N-kapyi **tör-aNs-u pa** yuk-aNsi
 love forget(NML)-GEN-shell **take-NEG-INF TOP** go-
 NEG/TENT
if [I] do not take a ‘love-forgetting’ shell, [I] would not go (MYS
 XV: 3711)

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

能知尔毛安波射良米也母
 nöti-ni mwo **ap-aNs-ar-am-ey ya mö**
 later-LOC PT **meet-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-EV PT PT**
will [we] not meet later?! [Of course we will!] (MYS XV: 3741)

之呂多倍能安我之多其呂母宇思奈波受毛亘礼和我世故多太尔
 安布麻俚尔
 sirö tapey-nö a-Nka sita-N-körömö **usinap-aNs-u** mwot-er-e wa-
 Nka se-kwo taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni
 white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN I-POSS bottom-GEN-garment
lose-NEG-INF carry-PROG-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM direct DV-
INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC
 My beloved, carry [with you] my undergarment from white
 mulberry tree bark cloth **without losing [it], until [we] meet**
directly (MYS XV: 3751)

等之能乎奈我久安波射礼杼家之伎己許呂乎安我毛波奈久尔
 tösi-nö wo naNka-ku **ap-aNs-ar-e-Ntö** kyesi-kyi kökörö-wo a-Nka
 [o]mwop-an-aku n-i
 year-GEN cord long-INF **meet-NEG(INF)-exist-EV-CONC**
 unusual-ATTR heart-ACC I-POSS **think-NEG-NML DV-INF**
although [we] **did not meet for a long time**, I am not going to
 change [my] mind (lit.: **not thinking** unusual mind) (MYS XV:
 3775)

奈氣久蘇良夜須家奈久尔於母布蘇良久流之伎母能乎
 naNkeyk-u swora **yasu-ky-en-aku** n-i omöp-u swora kurusi-kyi
 mwonöwo
 lament-ATTR PT **be.easy-ATTR-NEG-NML DV-INF** long.for-
 ATTR PT **be.hard-ATTR CONJ**
although even to lament **is not easy**, and even to long is difficult
 (MYS XVII: 3969)

伊頭礼乃時加吾孤悲射良牟
 iNture n-ö TÖKYI 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)

宇梅能花伊都波乎良自等伊登波祢登佐吉乃盛波乎思吉物奈利
 uMEY-nö PANA itu pa wor-aNsi tö **itöp-an-e-Ntö** sak-yi-nö
 SAKAR-I pa wosi-kyi MÖNÖ nar-i
 plum-GEN blossom when TOP break-NEG/TENT DV **dislike-**
NEG-EV-CONC bloom-NML-GEN blossom-NML TOP
 regrettable-ATTR thing be-FIN
Although [I] **do not dislike** [breaking] plum blossoms, thinking
 that [I] should not break them anytime, it is regrettable [to do so] at
 the peak of [their] blooming (MYX XVII: 3904)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里
 imey-ni pa mötöna apyi-MYI-re-Ntö taNta n-i **ar-an-e-Npa**
 kwopiy **yam-aNs-u-kyer-i**
 dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct **DV-INF**
exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) **stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN**
although [we] see each other aimlessly in dreams, because [our
 meetings] **are not direct**, [our] love **does not stop** (MYS XVII:
 3980)

可由吉賀久遊岐見都礼騰母曾許母安加爾等

ka yuk-yi ka-ku yuk-yi MYI-t-ure-Ntömö sökō mö **ak-an-i** tō
 thus go-INF thus-INF go-INF look(INF)-PERF-EV-CONC there
 PT **be.satisfied-NEG-INF DV**
 although [I] have looked going here and there, [I] thought that [it]
was not enough, and ... (MYS XVII: 3991)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟

sa yamaNta n-ö woNti-Nka SÖNÖ PYI-ni mötömey **ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u**
 so YamaNta DV-ATTR old.man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF)
meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN
 So, old man YamaNta searched for [him] on that day, [but] **did not**
find [him] (MYS XVII: 4014)

布勢能宇良乎見受波能保良自

puse-nö ura-wo **MYI-Ns-u pa** nöNpor-aNsi
 Puse-GEN bay-ACC **see-NEG-INF TOP** go.to.the.capital-
 NEG/TENT
if [I] did not see the bay of Puse, I would not go to the capital
 (MYS XVIII: 4039)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里
 尔多良受也

tune pyitö-nö kwop-u tō ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te ware pa **sin-uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u ya**
 ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP excess
 DV-INF-SUB I TOP **die-DEB-INF become-INF-PERF-INF-**
PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN PT
Did not [it] become so that I should die, feeling (lit.: being) much
 more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

秋風尔比毛等伎安氣奈多太奈良受等母

AKYI KANSE-ni pyimwo tök-yi-akey-na taNta **nar-aNs-u** tömö
 autumn wind-LOC cord untie-INF-open-DES direct **be-NEG-FIN**
 CONJ
 [I] wish that the autumn wind would untie the cords, even if [it] is
not directly (MYS XX: 4295)

事之乎波良婆都々麻波受可敝理伎麻勢

KÖTÖ si wopar-aNpa **tutum-ap-aNs-u** kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-e

job PT end-COND **be.hindered-ITER-NEG-INF** return-INF-come-INF-HON-IMP

when [your] job is over, come back **without being hindered** [by anything] (MYS XX: 4331)

伊埜多知加弓尔等騰己保里

iNte-tat-i-kate-n-i töNtököpor-i

exit(INF)-depart-INF-POT-NEG-INF be.delayed-INF

[I] **was unable to depart, and** [I] was delayed, and ... (MYS XX: 4398)

安比美受波古非之久安流倍之

apyi-myi-Ns-u pa kwopiysi-ku ar-uNpey-si

REC-see-NEG-INF TOP be.longing.for-INF exist-DEB-FIN

if [we] do not see each other, [we] would be longing (MYS XX: 4408)

伎美奈良奈久尔

kyimyi **nar-an-aku** n-i

lord **be-NEG-NML DV-INF**

as [it] **is not** [my] lord (MYS XX: 4447)

夜度乃烏梅能知利須具流麻埜美之米受安利家流

yaNtwo-nö uMEY-nö tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte **myi-simey-Ns-u ar-i-kyer-u**

house-GEN plum-GEN fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM **see-CAUS-NEG-INF exist-INF-RETR-ATTR**

[it] **turned out that** [you] **did not let** [me] **see** plum [blossoms] in [your] house until they had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4496)

宇梅乃波奈知利須具流麻弓伎美我伎麻左奴

uMEY-nö pana tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte kyimyi-Nka **k-yi-[i]mas-an-u**

plum-GEN blossom fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM lord-POSS **come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR**

[you] **did not come, [my] lord, until** plum blossoms had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4497)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

All four allomorphs *-an-* ~ *-aNs-* ~ *-n-* ~ *-Ns-* of the negative suffix are attested in Eastern Old Japanese as well. One interesting feature that deserves a special mention is that while in Western Old Japanese the negative *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* follows the iterative *-ap-*, in Eastern Old Japanese the negative precedes the iterative. Also, in Eastern Old Japanese, a combination of the negative *-(a)n-* with the desiderative *-ana* is attested, see, for example, MYS XIV: 3557 below. This combination does not occur in Western Old Japanese. Examples:

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 yöpyi-ywori se-rö-ni **ap-an-ap-u** yö
 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)

安能於登世受由可牟古馬母我
 a-nö otö **se-Ns-u** yuk-am-u kwo-[u]ma möNka
 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)

安加奴乎安杼加安我世牟
ak-an-u-wo aN-tö 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)

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
 aswo-nö KApra-ywo isi **pum-aNs-u** swora-yu tö k-yi-n-u yö
 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, as from the sky, **without**
treading on stones! (MYS XIV: 3425)

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟
 須婆佐祢

apyiNtune-nō kuni-wo saN-tōpo-myi **ap-an-ap-aNpa** sinwop-yi ni
i se-m-wo tō pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e

ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER **meet-NEG-ITER-COND** long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV cord tie-
HON-DES-IMP

If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApyiNtune is far, [I] wish [you] would tie [your garment] cords, as if longing for [me] (MYS XIV: 3426)

奈里毛奈良受毛奈等布多里波母

nar-i mwo nar-aNs-u mwo na-tō puta-ri pa mö

be-NML PT be-NEG-NML PT you-COM two-CL PT PT

be [it] or not, two [of us, me] and you, [will be together] (MYS XIV: 3492)

之良夜麻可是能宿奈敵杼母古呂賀於曾伎能安路許曾要志母
sira yama kaNse-nō **NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömō** kwo-rō-Nka osōkyi-nō ar-
wo kōsō ye-si-mō

white mountain wind-GEN **sleep-NEG-ITER-CONC** girl-DIM-
POSS garment-GEN exist-ATTR PT good-FIN-EXCL

although [I] continue not to sleep at the [cold] wind from the White Mountain, [it] is good to have my girl's garment! (MYS XIV: 3509)

麻乎其母能布能未知可久弓安波奈敵波於吉都麻可母能奈氣伎
曾安我須流

mawo-N-kōmō-nō pu-nō ma tika-ku-te **ap-an-ap-ye-Npa** okyi-tu
ma-kamō-nō naNkeyk-yi sō a-Nka s-uru

nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space be.close-INF-SUB **meet-NEG-ITER-EV-CON** offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP
lament-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 lament like a real duck in the offing (MYS XIV: 3524)

和須礼波勢奈那伊夜母比麻須爾

wasure pa **se-n-ana** iya [o]mōp-yi-mas-u-ni

forget(NML) TOP **do-NEG-DES** more.and.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)

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure sō papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-ky-em-u

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
why (lit.: having done what) the flower called 'Mother' has not bloomed? (MYS XX: 4323)

阿母志々尔己等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之氣

amō sisi-ni kötō mawos-aNs-u-te ima Nsō kuyasi-key
mother father-DAT word say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB now PT
regretful-ATTR
now [I] regret that [I] did not tell [my] mother and father (MYS XX: 4376)

佐弁奈弁奴美許登尔阿礼婆

sapye-n-apye-n-u myi-kötō n-i ar-e-Npa
refuse(NML)-LOC-match-NEG-ATTR HON-word DV-INF
exist-EV-CON
Because [it] is [my sovereign's] order that [I] cannot refuse ...
(MYS XX: 4432)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are several allomorphs of the negative suffix *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)z-* in Old Ryukyuan: *-az-*, *-z-*, *-an-*, *-aN*, *-n-*, and *-N*. The allomorphs *-az-* and *-z-* are not attested in modern dialects, to the best of my knowledge. Thus, they probably represent loans from mainland Japanese, which is further supported by the fact that *-az-* ~ *-z-* appears in the *Omoro sōshi* only eight times (Torigoe 1968: 179-80). Other allomorphs are attested throughout Ryukyuan.

Old Ryukyuan

みれともあかぬ首里おやくに

mi-re-domo ak-an-u Siyori oya kuni
see-EV-CONC get.enough-NEG-ATTR Shuri parent land
Shuri, [my] motherland, which [I] look at but [can]not get enough
(OS I: 7)

まはねじやきもからもさらん

Mafanezi ya kimo-kara mo sar-aN

Mafanezi TOP liver-ABL PT **go.away-NEG/FIN**
 Mafanezi **does not go away** from my heart (OS XIII: 817)

あんしけすちかわすは
 ansi kesu **tikaw-az-u** fa
 high.official low.official **pledge-NEG-INF TOP**
 If high and lower officials **do not pledge** [to each other] (OS XIII:
 824)

Shuri

jiruu-taa yaa-Nkai 'ashib-ii-ga **ik-an-i**
 Jiruu-PLUR house-LOC play-NML-ALL **go-NEG-IF**
Won't [we] **go** to Jiruu's house to play? (Nishioka & Nakahara
 2000: 34)

nichee haka-ta-N naa? **hakar-aN-ta-N** naa?
 fever(TOP) measure-PAST-FIN PT **measure-NEG-PAST-FIN PT?**
 Did [you] take [your] temperature? [Or] **did** [you] **not take** [it]?
 (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 52)

Thus, knowing that the allomorphs of the *-(a)Ns-* series come from the contraction of the negative nominalizer *-an-i* and the verb *se-* 'to do,' and that they have limited distribution in Ryukyuan, we can come to the conclusion that the *-(a)Ns-* series represents a Japanese innovation borrowed into Ryukyuan. Consequently, we can only reconstruct the Proto-Japonic negative suffix **-an-*. It appears to be one of the few 'real' suffixes that we cannot trace back to any auxiliary or bound noun.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There is a tradition to compare the PJ negative suffix **-an-* and the Middle Korean negative particle *àni* (Whitman 1985: 244), (Vovin 2001: 186). Consider the following Middle Korean example:

pwùlhwúy kiph-ún nàm-k-ón pòlòm-áy **àní** :mwuy-l-ssó-y kwòc
 :tyo-khwó yèlúm há-nò-n-í :soym-í kiph-ún mùl-ún kómòl-áy **àni**
kùchú-l-ssó-y :nayh-í ìl-é pàlól-áy ká-nò-n-í
 root(NOM) deep-REAL/ATTR tree-TOP wind-LOC **not bend-**
IRR/ATTR-matter-NOM flower good-GER fruit many-PRES-
 REAL/ATTR-NML spring-NOM deep-REAL/ATTR water-TOP

drought-LOC **not interrupt-IRR/ATTR-matter-NOM** river-NOM make-INF sea-LOC go-PRES-REAL/ATTR-NML

Because a tree with deep roots **does not bend** at the wind, [its] flowers are good and [its] fruits are many. **Because** water with a deep source **does not dry up** at the drought, it becomes a river, and flows into the sea (YP 2)

However, there are problems with this comparison. Whitman argued that MK *àni* should be directly compared with WOJ *-ani*, a negative sentence non-final form, found mostly after the verb *sir-* 'to know': *sir-am-i* (Whitman 1985: 244), but this cannot be an argument, because WOJ *-ani*, as demonstrated above, can be clearly analyzed as *-an-i*, where *-an-* is a negative, and *-i* is an infinitive. Meanwhile, it is not quite clear whether MK *àni* can be segmented as **an-i*, and MK infinitives are *-e/-a*, not *-i*. No less important is the fact that the OJ negative suffix *-an-* belongs to the verbal inflectional morphology, and they follow verbal roots, while MK *ani*, as mentioned above, is a particle that precedes verbs. Therefore, this comparison should be rejected on the basis of differences in morphology. I must also add that negatives in **-n-* are so widespread in Eurasia that it makes this comparison non-specific. Thus, it should be rejected.

6.2.2.3.2 Tentative *-am-* ~ *-m-*

The tentative suffix has two allomorphs: *-am-* and *-m-*. The allomorph *-am-* is used after consonant verbs, *r*-irregular verbs, *n*-irregular verbs, and consonant-final auxiliaries and suffixes, and the allomorph *-m-* after vowel verbs, other irregular verbs, and vowel-final auxiliaries and suffixes. In Western Old Japanese the tentative *-(a)m-* can be followed only by the following suffixes.

Chart 59: Combinations of the tentative suffix *-am-* ~ *-m-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-(a)m-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-(a)m-u</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e[y]</i>	<i>-(a)m-ey</i>
concessive gerund <i>-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>	<i>-(a)m-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>
nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-(a)m-aku</i>
exclamative <i>-umö</i>	<i>-(a)m-umö</i>

On the basis of the chart above it becomes clear that with the major exception of the concessive gerund *-Ntō[mō]*, the tentative suffix *-am- ~ -m-* does not combine with other gerunds or infinitives that represent forms of non-final predication. Therefore, in most cases *-am- ~ -m-* is found only in the final verbs of sentences or clauses.

The tentative suffix *-am- ~ -m-* can combine with the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede *-(a)m-* in a paradigmatic verbal chain:

Chart 60: Combinations of the tentative suffix *-am- ~ -m-* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-m-</i>
causative <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-m-</i>
causative <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-(a)se-m-</i>
desiderative <i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-(a)na-m-</i>
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-am-</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-am-</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-am-</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-m-</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-am-</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-am-*</i>
past <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-ky-em-</i>
negative potential <i>-kane-</i>	<i>-kane-m-</i>

* Attested once in the *Senmyō* in partially semantographic spelling, and once in the *Norito* in completely semantographic spelling.

It is clear from the chart above that *-(a)m-* does not combine with other markers of mood, which should be expected. It also does not combine with the retrospective *-kyer-*; a fact that strongly speaks for the latter also being a form of modality.

The functions of *-(a)m-* have been much debated in the literature. Yamada Yoshio seems to be the first linguist to have defined *-(a)m-* as suppositive (Yamada 1954: 275), and not as a 'future' tense form (Haga 1905). Within the framework of traditional Japanese linguistics and in reference to Middle (Classical) Japanese, Tokieda Motoki proposed subdividing the basic meanings of *-(a)m-* into three types, depending on the speaker/hearer distinction: (1) if a verb marked by *-(a)m-* refers to the speaker himself, then *-(a)m-* expresses intention; (2) if a verb marked by *-(a)m-* refers to the

hearer, then *-(a)m-* expresses a mild or indirect imperative or suggestion; (3) if a verb marked by *-(a)m-* refers to a third person who is neither the speaker nor the hearer, then *-(a)m-* expresses presumption (Tokieda 1954: 170). Tokieda's point of view seems to enjoy the status of a *teisetsu* (generally accepted theory) among some Japanese linguists who deal with Middle Japanese (Tsukishima 1969: 528; Ikeda 1975: 68). However, the majority of specialists working with Old Japanese seem to agree only on the fact that *-(a)m-* represents some kind of suppositive, intentional or presumptive mood (Saeki 1959: 167), (Yoshida 1973: 331), (Iwai 1970: 170), without specific reference to person. There is, however, at least one voice of dissent: Matsuo treats *-(a)m-* as a marker of the future tense (Matsuo 1978: 23). Meanwhile, Western linguists have long held the view that the form in question is a kind of future tense (Aston 1877; Kolpakchi 1956: 145–50; Lewin 1959: 161). More recently many non-Japanese linguists have rejected the idea that *-(a)m-* is an indicator of tense; thus, for example, Samuel E. Martin defines it as a tentative (Martin 1988: 605ff.), and Nikolai Syromiatnikov follows Tokieda and other Japanese linguists in treating it as a presumptive mood form (Syromiatnikov 1972: 121). However, the idea of *-(a)m-* as a future suffix still seems to linger on as far as Middle Japanese is concerned (Takeuchi 1987: 66). The use of *-(a)m-* in reference to the future is determined by the fact that speakers of Classical Japanese did not refer to future events in certain terms, using the unmarked (from the point of view of modality) final forms of verbs. Since a human being cannot be sure that any event in the future will certainly happen, only forms such as the tentative were used for future events. The prerogative to speak about future events in certain terms, using finite forms that did not include any modality affixes, was left to gods and supernatural creatures.

I follow Martin's definition of the *-(a)m-* form as a general tentative because, as the examples below demonstrate, there are no real distinctions based on person as proposed by Tokieda Motoki.⁷⁰ Thus, a tentative used in the first person may mean not only inclination but also supposition, or a suggestion directed to oneself. Similarly, the tentative used in connection with the second person does not necessarily mean a suggestion, but may also be used as a supposition or intention. Finally, the tentative used regarding a third

⁷⁰ See the refutation of Tokieda's hypothesis regarding Middle Japanese in Vovin 2003: 275–82.

person does not always mean a supposition, but may also describe the intention of a third person or a suggestion about his/her action. In short, any of these particular meanings proposed by Tokieda Motoki can be used with any person.

(1) Intention:

Although in several cases I translate *-am-* ~ *-m-* as ‘want to’ in the English glosses, it expresses a general intention or inclination rather than an outward positive desire.

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迺阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠
 ima kōsō pa wa-N-tōri **n-i ar-am-ey** nōti pa na-N-tōri **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] **intend to be** my bird, later [I] **will be** your bird, so ... (KK 3)

伊勢能宇美能意斐志爾波比母登富呂布志多陀美能伊波比母登
 富理宇知弓志夜麻牟
 ise-nō umyi-nō opiy-[i]si-ni pap-yi-mōtōpōr-ōp-u sitaNtamyi⁷¹-nō
i-pap-yi-mōtōpōr-i ut-i-te si yam-am-u
 Ise-GEN sea-GEN grow(INF)-stone-LOC crawl-INF-go.around-
 ITER-ATTR seashell-COMP **DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF**
hit-INF-SUB PT stop-TENT-FIN
 like the shellfish that are constantly crawling around on the
 growing rocks of the Ise sea, [we] **will crawl around** [them] **there,**
smite and stop [them] (KK 13)
 As this example demonstrates, *-(a)m-* is used only in the final verb in a string of
 verbs, even if tentative refers to all of them.

袁登賣爾多陀爾阿波牟
 wotōmye-ni taNta n-i **ap-am-u**
 maiden-DAT direct DV-INF **meet-TENT-FIN**
 [I] **want to meet** maidens face to face (KK 18)

加久能基登那爾淤波牟
 ka-ku-nō Nkōtō **na-ni op-am-u**
 thus-INF-GEN like **name-LOC carry-TENT-FIN**
 [I] **am going to perpetuate** that [it] was like that (KK 97)

⁷¹ 志多陀美 /sitaNtamyi/, a kind of an edible seashell (MdJ *kisago*).

許智多鷄波乎婆頭勢夜麻能伊波婦爾母為弓許母郎奈牟
 köt[ö] ita-ky-eNpa woN-patuse-yama-nö ipa kiy-ni mö **wi-te**
kömör-ana-m-u

rumor painful-ATTR-COND DIM-Patuse-mountain rock fortress-
 LOC PT **lead(INF)-SUB hide-DES-TENT-FIN**

if rumors are painful, [I] **want to take** [you] along to a rocky
 fortress on the Small Patuse mountain **and hide away** (FK 1)

As this example demonstrates, *-(a)m-* is used only in the final verb in a string of
 verbs, even if tentative refers to all of them.

天地与共久住波牟

AMEY TUTI-TÖ TÖMÖ n-i PYISASI-ku **SUM-Ap-am-u**
 Heaven Earth-COM together DV-INF long-INF **live-ITER-TENT-**
FIN

[I] **want to live (continuously)** for a long time with Heaven and
 Earth (MYS IV: 578)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米
 爾之美延牟

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nö makura sar-
 aNs-u-te imey-ni si **myi-ye-m-u**

direct DV-INF meet-NEG-INF exist-NML PT many-INF spread-
 INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow go.away-NEG-INF-SUB
 dream-LOC PT **see-PASS-TENT-FIN**

There are also many occasions when [we] do not meet directly,
 [and I] **want to see** [you] in [my] dreams without going away from
 [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

念意緒多礼賀思良牟母

OMÖP-U KÖKÖRO-wo tare ka **sir-am-umö**
 love-ATTR heart-ACC who PT **know-TENT-EXCL**
 who **will know** [my] loving heart?! (MYS XVII: 3950)

伊可尔安流布勢能宇良曾毛許己太久尔吉民我弥世武等和礼乎
 等登牟流

ika n-i ar-u puse-nö ura sö mwo kököNtaku n-i kyimiyi-Nka **myi-**
se-m-u tö ware-wo töNtöm-uru

how DV-INF exist-ATTR Puse-GEN bay it PT so.much DV-INF
 lord-POSS **see-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV I-ACC stop-ATTR

The bay of Puse, how [beautiful] it [is], [so that my] lord will stop
 [me] **wishing to show** [it to me] (MYS XVIII: 4036)

伎美尔伎可勢牟

kyimyi-ni kyik-ase-m-u

lord-DAT listen-CAUS-TENT-ATTR

[I] **want to make** [my] lord **listen** [to a cuckoo] (MYS XVIII: 4067)

都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔

tukapey-matur-am-ey iya töpo naNka n-i

serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV plentifully long long DV-INF

[I] **will serve** [you] plentifully and for a long, long time (MYS XVIII: 4098)

和藝毛故尔美勢牟我多米尔母美知等里氏牟

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-ni myi-se-m-u-Nka tamey n-i mömyit-i tör-i-te-m-u

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-POSS for DV-INF leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML **take-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN**

[I] **want to take** red leaves in order to **show** [them] to my beloved (MYS XIX: 4222)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母

myi-m-aku-nö posi-kyi kyimyi n-i mö ar-u kamö

see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR lord DV-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

[I] wonder whether [it] is also my lord whom [I] **want to see** (MYS XX: 4449)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟多太爾阿布麻弓爾麻佐爾阿布麻弓爾

atö-wo myi-tutu sinöp-am-u taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni masa n-i ap-u-maNte-ni

footstep-ACC see(INF)-COORD **yearn-TENT-FIN** direct DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC real DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] **will yearn** [for him], until [I] meet [him] directly, until [I] really meet [him] (BS 6)

帝止立天天下乎治之米无等念天在人

MYIKANTWO tö TATE-te AMEY-NÖ SITA-wo WOSAMEY-simey-m-u tö OMOP-YI-te AR-u PYITÖ

emperor DV place(INF)-SUB Heaven-GEN bottom-ACC **rule-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV think-INF-SUB exist-ATTR person

people who are thinking that [they] **want to place** [him on the throne] as the emperor and **let** [him] **rule** the [country] under Heaven (SM 33)

(2) Suggestion:

夜麻斯呂迓伊斯祁登理夜麻伊斯祁伊斯祁阿賀波斯豆摩迓伊斯岐阿波牟迦母

yamasirō-ni i-sik-ye töriyama i-sik-ye i-sik-ye a-Nka pasi-N-tumani i-sik-yi **ap-am-u** kamō

Yamasirō-LOC DLF-follow-IMP Töriyama DLF-follow-IMP DLF-follow-IMP I-POSS beloved-DV(ATTR)-spouse-DAT DLF-follow-INF **meet-TENT-ATTR** PT

To Yamasirō – go there, Töriyama! Follow [her] there, follow [her] there! Follow my beloved spouse there and [you] **should meet** [her]! (KK 59)

伊久美陀氣伊久美波泥受多斯美陀氣多斯爾波韋泥受能知母久美泥牟

i-kum-yi-N-takey i-kum-yi pa ne-Ns-u ta-sim-yi-N-takey tasi n-i pa wi-ne-Ns-u nöti mö **kum-yi-ne-m-u**

DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo DLF-entwine-INF TOP sleep-NEG-INF PREF-grow.densely-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo thorough DV-INF TOP exist(INF)-sleep-NEG-INF later PT **entwine-INF-sleep-TENT-FIN**

[we] did not sleep entwined there as the bamboo entwined there, and [we] did not sleep closely like densely growing bamboo, [but] later **let** [us] **sleep entwined** (KK 91)

伊波牟須弊世武須弊斯良尔石木乎母刀比佐氣斯良受

ip-am-u suNpye **se-m-u** suNpye sir-an-i IPA KIY-wo mö twop-yi-sakey-sir-aNs-u

say-TENT-ATTR way **do-TENT-ATTR** way know-NEG-INF rock tree-ACC PT ask-INF-split(INF)-know-NEG-FIN

[I] do not know what [I] **should do** or what [I] **should say**, and [I] do not know how to ask rocks and trees (MYS V: 794)

可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志久能麻米

ka-ku si kösō uMEY-wo kaNsas-i-te tanwosi-ku **nöm-am-ey**

thus-INF PT PT plum-ACC decorate-INF-SUB be.merry-INF **drink-TENT-EV**

decorating [our hair] with plum [blossoms] in this way, [we] **should drink** merrily (MYS V: 833)

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 yaNtör-i s-uru kyimiyi ipye-N-pyitö-nö iNtu-ra tö
ware-wo töp-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**

[Oh, my] lord who lodged at the Ipata field. If people from [your] home ask me (saying) where [are you], what **should** [I] **answer**? (MYS XV: 3689)

伊豆礼能日麻弓安礼古非乎良牟

iNture n-ö PYI-maNte are **kwopiy-wor-am-u**

which DV-ATTR day-TERM I **long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-FIN**
until what day **should** I **be longing for** [you]? (MYS XV: 3742)

天地与相左可延牟等

AMEY TUTI-TÖ APYI-sakaye-m-u tö

heaven earth-COM **COOP-flourish-TENT-FIN** DV

[I] wish that [you] **would flourish together** with Heaven and Earth ... (MYS XIX: 4273)

多礼乎可伎美等弥都都志努波牟

tare-wo ka kyimiyi tö myi-tutu **sinwop-am-u**

who-ACC PT lord DV see(INF)-COORD **long.for-TENT-ATTR**

whom **shall** [I] **long for**, viewing [him] as [my] lord? (MYS XX: 4440)

(3) Supposition:

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-kyikös-i

sleep TOP **sleep-HON-TENT-ATTR-ACC** extremely DV-INF
NEG-yearn(INF)-HON-INF

because [you] **will sleep** (a sleep), [do] not yearn too much (KK 3)

意富岐美袁斯麻爾波夫良婆布那阿麻理伊賀弊理許牟叙
 opö kyimyi-wo sima-ni paNpur-aNpa puna-amar-i i-Nkapyer-i-kö-
 m-u Nsö
 great lord-ACC island-LOC exile-COND boat-exceed-INF **DLF-
 return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR** PT
 if [they] exile [my] great lord to an island, there are many boats,
 and [he] **would return here** (KK 86)

痛背乃河乎渡金目八
 ANase-nö KAPA-wo **WATAR-I-kane-m-ey ya**
 Anase-GEN river-ACC **cross-INF-NEG/POT-TENT-EV** PT
would [I] be unable to cross Anase river? [Certainly I would be
 able!] (MYS IV: 643)

相見者月毛不經尔戀云者乎曾呂登吾乎於毛保寒轟
 APYI-MYI-TE PA TUKIY mwo PEY-N-AKU n-i KWOP-U TÖ
 IPA-NPA wosö rö tö WARE-wo **omwop-as-am-u** kamö
 COOP-see(INF)-SUB TOP month PT pass-NEG-NML DV-INF
 love-FIN DV say-COND hasty DV(FIN) DV I-ACC **think-HON-
 TENT-ATTR** PT
 If [I] tell [you] that [I] love [you] without even a month passing
 since [we] met each other, I wonder [whether you] **would
 probably think** that [I] am hasty (MYS IV: 654)

伊可爾安良武日能等伎爾可母
ika n-i ar-am-u PYI-nö tökyi-ni kamö
how DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR day-GEN time-LOC PT
 [I] wonder, **what would be** the time of the day ... (MYS V: 810)

家布由伎弓阿須波吉奈武遠
 kyepu yuk-yi-te asu pa **k-yi-n-am-u**-wo
 today go-INF-SUB tomorrow TOP **come-INF-PERF-TENT-
 ATTR-ACC**
 I **would** go today and **surely come back** tomorrow, but ... (MYS
 V: 870)

都祢斯良農道乃長手袁久礼々々等伊可尔可由迦牟
 tune sir-an-u MYITI-nö NANKA te-wo kure-kure tö ika n-i ka
yuk-am-u
 usual know-NEG-ATTR road-GEN long place-ACC dark-dark DV
 how DV-INF PT **go-TENT-ATTR**

How **would** [I] **go** along the full length of the road that [I] normally do not know being in a dark [mood]? (MYS V: 888)

秋夜乎奈我美爾可安良武

AKYI-NÖ 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)

君波見礼登安可尔勢牟

KYIMYI pa MYI-re-Ntö **ak-an-i se-m-u**

lord TOP look-EV-CONC **be.satisfied-NEG-NML do-TENT-FIN**
although you will look, [you] **would not be satisfied** (MYS XVII: 3902)

安布知乎宅尔宇惠多良婆夜麻霍公鳥可礼受許武可聞

aputi-wo IPYE-ni uwe-tar-aNpa yama POTÖTÖNKYISU kare-Ns-u **kö-m-u kamo**

chinaberry.tree-ACC house-LOC plant(INF)-PERF/PROG-COND
mountain cuckoo separate-NEG-INF **come-TENT-ATTR PT**

if [I] would plant a chinaberry tree at my house, the mountain cuckoo **would come** all the time! (MYS XVII: 3910)

阿里佐利氏能知毛相牟等於母倍許曾

ari-sar-i-te nōti mwo **AP-Am-u** tō omōp-ey kōsō

ITER-go.away-INF-SUB after PT **meet-TENT-FIN DV think-EV PT**

[Time] constantly goes away, and [I] hope that [we] **will meet** later, too (MYS XVII: 3933)

安良志乎須良尔奈氣枳布勢良武

ara-si wo sura n-i naNkeyk-yi **pus-er-am-u**

rough-FIN man PT DV-INF lament-INF **lie.pron-PROG-TENT-FIN**

even a rough man **would be lying down** and lamenting (MYS XVII: 3962)

然行事爾重在牟人乎波法乃麻爾麻収給牟物會

SIKA [A]R-E-NTÖMÖ SIWANSA-ni KASANAR-I-TAR-Am-u
PYITÖ-woNpa NÖRI-nö manima WOSAMEY-TAMAP-Am-u
MÖNÖ sö

thus exist-EV-CONC crime-LOC **pile.up-INF-PERF/PROG-
TENT-ATTR** person-ACC(EMPH) law-GEN according
administer(INF)-HON-TENT-ATTR thing PT

However, with those people **who have committed multiple** crimes,
[we] will deal according to the law (SM 44)

自此十二月始来十二月爾至万弓爾

KÖNÖ SIPASU-YWORİ PANTIMEY-TE K-YI-TAR-AM-U
SIPASU-ni İTAR-U-maNte-ni

this twelfth.lunar.month-ABL begin(INF)-SUB **come-INF-
PERF/PROG-TENT-ATTR** twelfth.lunar.month-LOC reach-
ATTR-TERM-LOC

starting from this twelfth month and until the end of the **coming**
twelfth month (NT 15)

This example may be dubious, as *kyitaramu* is spelled completely
semantically.

SPECIAL FORM -KY-EM-

The tentative *-am-* fuses with the preceding past final *-kyi* as a
special form *-kyem-*. I write this with a morphemic boundary as
-ky-em- PAST/FIN-TENT in order to show the origin of this form,
but it should be kept in mind that the morphemic boundary is only
tentative here, since /ye/ is a unit vowel, and that the morphemic
boundary actually goes *inside* this fused vowel. Since *-am-* follows
here the final past form *-kyi*, and not the stem of the auxiliary, it is
not inconceivable that historically *-am-* represents not a suffix, but
some kind of an auxiliary.

This form *-ky-em-* is not to be confused with the homonymous
form *-ky-em-* representing a fusion of adjectival attributive *-kyi* and
the tentative *-am-*, for example:⁷²

和可礼奈波宇良我奈之家武

wakare-n-aNpa ura-N-kanasi-ky-em-u

part(INF)-PERF-COND **heart-LOC-sad-ATTR-TENT-FIN**

If [we] part, [I] **would be sad** in [my] heart ... (MYS XV: 3584)

⁷² The usage of *-am-* after the adjectival attributive *-kyi* may be another piece of
evidence in favor of the fact that historically *-am-* is not a suffix, but an auxiliary.

Examples of the past tentative *-ky-em-*:

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鷄迷夜

oya na-si n-i nare **nar-i-ky-em-ey ya**

parent no-FIN DV-INF you **be.born-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV**
PT

Were you possibly born without parents? [Certainly not!] (NK 104)

都久波尼爾阿波牟等伊比志古波多賀己等岐氣波加弥尼阿波巢氣牟

tukuNpa-ne-ni ap-am-u tö ip-yi-si kwo pa ta-Nka kötö kyik-ey-Npa
ka myi-ne **ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u**

TukuNpa-peak-LOC meet-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR
girl TOP who-POSS word listen-EV-CON PT HON-
peak/sleep(NML)⁷³ **meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**

The girl, who promised [to me] that [we] will meet at the TukuNpa
peak, **did not meet** [me] at the peak/for sleeping, because [she]
listened to somebody's words (FK 2)

古尔有兼人毛如吾敷妹尔戀乍宿不勝家牟

INISIPYĒ-ni **AR-I-ky-em-u** PYITÖ mwo A-NKA NKÖTÖ KA
IMWO-ni KWOPYI-TUTU I NE-kate-NS-U-ky-em-u

old.times-LOC **exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR** person PT I-
POSS like PT beloved-DAT long.for(INF)-COOR sleep
sleep(INF)-POT-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

Were the people who lived in old times **unable to sleep** like me,
too, longing for [their] beloved? (MYS IV: 497)

遠等咩良何遠等咩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

wotömye-ra-Nka wotömye saNpiy s-u tö kara tama-wo tamötö-ni
mak-as-i yöti kwo-ra-tö TE taNtusapar-i-te **aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u**
maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden like do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
wrist-LOC wrap-HON-INF same.age child-PLUR-COM hand
hold-INF-SUB **play-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**

The maidens, thinking to behave like maidens, wrap their wrists
with [bracelets made of] Chinese jewels, and **would have played**
holding hands with girls of the same age (MYS V: 804)

⁷³ The word *ne* here represents a play on words: *ne* 'peak' and *ne* 'sleep(INF).'

迦具漏伎可美爾伊都乃麻可斯毛乃布利家武

kaN-kurwo-kyi kamyi-ni itu-nō ma ka simwo-nō **pur-i-ky-em-u**
INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC when-CEN interval PT frost-GEN **fall-**
INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

at what point in time, **would** the frost **have fallen** on [their] pitch-black hair? (MYS V: 804)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟

sa yamaNta n-ō woNti-Nka SŌNŌ PYI-ni mōtōmey **ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u**

so YamaNta DV-ATTR old.man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF)
meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN

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

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi wem-aNs-u mwo uti-naNKeyk-yi **katar-i-ky-em-aku**
smile-INF ? smile-NEG-INF PT PREF-sigh-INF **talk-INF-**
PAST/FIN-TENT-NML

the fact that [both of you] **were probably talking**, and sighing, smiling and not smiling (MYS XVIII: 4106)

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure sō papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-ky-em-u**

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN **bloom-INF-**
exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

why (lit.: having done what) **has** the flower called 'Mother' **(probably) not bloomed?** (MYS XX: 4323)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION *-(A)M-U TŌ S-U*

The intentional construction *-(a)m-u tō s-u* 'X is going to do Y' that is so frequent in Middle Japanese, is also attested in Western Old Japanese, but it is used very rarely. The examples below are the only examples of this construction that are attested in Western Old Japanese.

加是布加牟登須

kaNse **puk-am-u tō s-u**

wind **blow-TENT-FIN DV do-FIN**

Wind is going to blow (KK 20)

許呂佐務苔須羅句鳩志羅珥

körös-am-u tö s-ur-aku-wo sir-an-i

kill-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR-NML-ACC know-NEG-INF
[you] do not know **that** [they] **are going to kill** [you] (NK 18a)

由加武等須流尔伊米能其等

yuk-am-u tö s-uru-ni imey-nö Nkötö

go-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR-LOC dream-GEN like

although [he] **was going to go**, like in a dream ... (MYS XV: 3694)

夜麻治古延牟等須流君乎許々呂尔毛知弓

yama-N-ti **kwoye-m-u tö s-uru** KYIMYI-wo kökörö-ni mwot-i-te
mountain-GEN-road **cross-TENT-FIN DV do-ATTR** lord-ACC
heart-LOC hold-INF-SUB

in my heart [I] am holding you **who are going to cross** [mountains
along] the mountain road (MYS XV: 3723)

波都乎婆奈々々尔見牟登之

patuwo-N-pana pana n-i **MYI-m-u tö s-i**

?-GEN-flower flower DV-INF **look-TENT-FIN DV do-INF**
[He] **is going to look** on [his wife] as a flower (MYS XX: 4308)

高御座次乎加蘇毘奪將盜止為而

TAKA MYI-KURA-NÖ TUNK-YI-TE-wo **kaswop-yi-UNPAP-AM-U tö S-I-TE**

high HON-throne-GEN follow-INF-place-ACC **rob-INF**
take.away-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB

[he] **was going to steal** the succession of the high throne (SM 19)

傍上乎波宣牟止為氏奈母抑閑氏在津流

KATA-NÖ UPEY-woNpa **NÖTAMAP-Am-u tö S-I-te** namö

OSApEy-te AR-I-t-uru
side-GEN top-ACC(EMPH) **say(HON)-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-**
SUB PT hold.back(INF)-SUB exist-INF-PERF-ATTR

[we] were delaying [it], as [we] **were going to proclaim** the rest
(SM 25)

卿等庶母共喜牟止為氏奈母

MAPYETUKYIMYI-TATI MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ mö TÖMÖ N-I
YÖRÖKÖNPIY-m-u tö S-I-te namö

minister-PLUR all-all PT together DV-INF **rejoice-TENT-FIN**
DV do-INF-SUB PT

so that the ministers and all **were going to rejoice** together [with us]
 (SM 25)

默在牟止為礼止毛

MONTA **AR-Am-u tö s-ure-Ntömwo**

procrastination **exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC**

although there was going to be a procrastination (SM 25)

親王多知治賜夫日仁治不賜在牟止為弓奈母

MYIKWO-tati WOSAMEY-TAMAp-u PYI-ni WOSAMEY-
TAMAP-ANS-U AR-Am-u tö S-I-te namö

prince-PLUR reward(INF)-HON-ATTR day-LOC **reward(INF)-**
HON-NEG-INF exist-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB PT

on the day when [we] reward princes, **are not [we] going to**
reward [PuNtipara]? (SM 25)

日繼波加久弓絕奈牟止為

PYI TUNK-YI pa ka-ku-te **taye-n-am-u tö S-U**

sun follow-NML TOP thus-INF-SUB **be.interrupted(INF)-**
PERF-TENT-FIN DV do-FIN

the inheritance of the Sun **is going to be interrupted** in this way
 (SM 27)

朝廷乎傾動牟止之天鈴印乎奪

MYIKANTWO-wo **KATANPUKEY-UNKOKAS-Am-u tö s-i-te**
 SUNSU OSITE-wo UNPAP-yi

sovereign-ACC **tilt(INF)-move-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB** bell
 seal-ACC rob-INF

[Nakamarö], **going to overthrow** the empress, stole the bell and
 the seal (SM 28)

今年二月爾御年初將賜登為而

KÖ TÖSI KISARAGI-ni MYI-TÖSI PANSIMEY-TAMAP-AM-
U tö S-I-TE

this year second.lunar.month-LOC HON-year **start(INF)-HON-**
TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB

[he] **is going to start** this year in the second lunar month (NT 1)

The distribution of the attestations of the intentional construction *-(a)m-u tö s-u* in Western Old Japanese texts is quite interesting: there are only five examples in poetry. Among those five, only three examples are found in the whole *Man'yōshū*. Meanwhile, there are eight examples found in prose. The fact that there are more examples in prose than in poetry might be indicating that this is predominantly a construction found in prose, especially that the prose texts constitute only a tiny fraction of all known Western Old Japanese texts. However, the distribution in prose texts is again skewed: seven examples in the *Senmyō* and only one in the *Norito*. As the reader will see below, the same construction is found in Shuri, but there is no evidence for it in Old Ryukyuan, and I am unaware of any similar construction in modern Ryukyuan dialects except Shuri. In addition, in Eastern Old Japanese this construction occurs only in two poems without any Eastern Old Japanese features. Thus, it is more than likely that in both Eastern Old Japanese and Shuri the intentional construction *-(a)m-u tö s-u* originated under the influence Central Japanese: it is borrowed from Western Old Japanese in the case of Eastern Old Japanese, and calqued from Middle or Early Modern Japanese in the case of Shuri.

Therefore, since this construction is historically limited to Western Old Japanese from where it spread to other Japonic languages, and more than half of the attestations in Western Old Japanese are confined to the *Senmyō*, a text with known foreign influences (see, e.g. 4.1.2.2.1), a reasonable doubt may arise in its native origin. I largely suspect that the intentional construction *-(a)m-u tö s-u* is calqued from some Old Korean construction very similar to the Middle Korean intentional construction *Y-lye ho-* 'X is going to do Y,' for example:

nimkum-i naka-lye ho-sy-a twocok-i syeWul tu-te-n-i
 king-NOM go.out-INTL do-HON-INF bandit-NOM capital enter-
 RETR-ATTR/REAL-NML
 The king was going to go out, and bandits entered the capital (YP 49)

It is also worth noting that in contrast to Middle Korean *ho-* 'to do,' Japanese *se-* 'to do' does not normally imply any mental activity except in this construction.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese the tentative suffix *-am-* ~ *-m-* has the same functions as in Western Old Japanese.

(1) Intention:

和乎布利弥由母阿是古志麻波母

wa-wo pur-i-myi-y-umö aNse kwo si **map-am-ö**

I-ACC swing-INF-look-PASS-EXCL ANse girl PT **dance-TENT-ATTR**

the girl from ANse is going to dance, suddenly looking back at me!
(FK 7)

都藝奈牟毛能乎美太礼志米梅楊

tuNk-yi-n-am-u mwonöwo myiNtare-simey-m-ey ya

continue-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR CONJ be.confused-CAUS-TENT-EV PT

although [I] want to continue, [what] should make [my heart] confused? [Nothing!] (MYS XIV: 3360)

麻等保久能野尔毛安波奈牟

ma-töpo-ku n-ö NWO-ni mwo **ap-ana-m-u**

INT-distant-INF DV-ATTR field-LOC PT **meet-DES-TENT-FIN**

[I] would like to meet [you] even in a distant field (MYS XIV: 3463)

(2) Suggestion:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾

ne-nömyi-wo ka **nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u** ap-u tö 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] of [even] thinking to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

阿杼可多延世武

aN-tö 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-tō 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)

和可加做流弓能毛美都麻弓宿毛等和波毛布

waka kapyerute-nō mwomyit-u-maNte **NE-m-wo** tō wa pa
[o]mwop-u

young maple-GEN leaves.turn.red/yellow-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)

(3) Supposition:

都藝奈牟毛能乎美太礼志米梅楊

tuNk-yi-n-am-u mwonōwo **myiNtare-simey-m-ey ya**

continue-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR CONJ **be.confused-CAUS-**
TENT-EV PT

although [I] want to continue, [what] **could make** [my heart]
confused? [Nothing!] (MYS XIV: 3360)

曾能可奈之伎乎刀爾多弓米也母

sōnō kanasi-kyi-wo two-ni **tate-m-ey ya** mō

that beloved-ATTR-ACC door-LOC **place-TENT-EV** PT PT

would [I] **let** that beloved [of mine] **stand** at the door?! [Certainly
not!] (MYS XIV: 3386)

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-yō tō sō

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)

Although the special construction *-am-u tō s-u* ‘is going to do X’ is attested twice in Eastern Old Japanese corpus, it occurs only in poems without any special Eastern Old Japanese features:

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼遊布麻夜万可久礼之伎美乎於母比
可祢都母

kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö yupuma yama kakure-si
kyimiyi-wo omop-yi-kane-t-umö

love(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC
Yupuma mountain hide(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord-ACC think-INF-
NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL

Although [I] was going to continue to love [you], [I] cannot [bear]
thoughts about my lord, who hid [himself] on the Yupuma
mountain! (MYS XIV: 3475)

波奈多知波奈乎比伎余治弓乎良無登須礼杼宇良和可美許曾
pana tatiNpana-wo pyik-yi-yöNti-te **wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö** ura-
waka-myi kösö

flower mandarin.orange-ACC pull-INF-grab.and.pull(INF)-SUB
break-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC heart-young-GER PT

although [I] was going to break off a mandarin orange [flower]
by pulling [it], because [I felt in my] heart that [it is] young, [I did
not break it off] (MYS XIV: 3574)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of WOJ *-am-* ~ *-m-* are also well attested in Ryukyuan. In Old Ryukyuan it appears as either *-am-* ~ *-m-* or *-aN*. In the majority of modern dialects, the form appears as an intentional form *-a*, as a result of the loss of final *-N* (< **-m-u*), although it survives as *-aN* in the Yoron dialect of the Amami group and as *-aN*: in the Tarama dialect of the Miyako group. In Shuri the final *-N* resurfaces in the Shuri equivalent of WOJ *-(a)m-u tö s-u* construction (Nakamoto 1990: 412). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

ともゝとすとひやくさすいのらめ

to momo tosu to fiyaku sa su inor-am-e

ten hundred year ten hundred year PT **pray-TENT-EV**

Let [us] pray that [they flourish] for a thousand years (OS VII:
384)

なつたなしやれははたからむさわらん

natu-tanasi ya-re-ba fada-kara mu **sawar-aN**

summer-garment be-EV-CON skin-ABL PT **touch-TENT**
 because [it] is a summer garment, **let [us] touch** through the skin
 (OS XIII: 958)

Shuri

'ik-aN-di s-uN
go-INTL-DV do-FIN
 [I] am **going to go** (Nakamoto 1990: 412)

kuu-N-di s-uN
come-INTL-DV do-FIN
 [I] am **going to come** (Nakamoto 1990: 412)

Therefore, on the basis of combined evidence from Western Old Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese, and Ryukyuan, the Proto-Japonic tentative suffix **-am-* can be reconstructed.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

Several years ago I offered a comparison of WOJ *-am-* ~ *-m-* with the Middle Korean intentional *-ma* (Vovin 2001: 194). Consider the following example from Middle Korean:

na-y ne-tolye **kolochy-wo-ma**
 I-NOM thou-DAT **teach-MOD-INT**
 I **will teach** you (PT I: 10)

In spite of the fact that the tentative **-am-* can be reconstructed on the Proto-Japonic level, it is a weak comparison phonologically, since it involves the supposition of a metathesis either in Old Japanese or Korean. In addition, the function of MK *-ma* is much narrower than of WOJ *-(a)m-*. All these considerations lead me now to the rejection of this comparison.

6.2.2.3.3 *Tentative -uram- ~ -ram-*

The tentative suffix *-(u)ram-* has two allomorphs: *-uram-* and *-ram-*. The allomorph *-ram-* is used after strong vowel verbs, and the allomorph *-uram-* after all other verbs. In Western Old Japanese the tentative *-(u)ram-* can be followed only by the following suffixes.

Chart 61: Combinations of the tentative suffix *-(u)ram-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-(u)ram-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-(u)ram-u</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e[y]</i>	<i>-(u)ram-ey</i>
concessive gerund <i>-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>	<i>-(u)ram-ey-Ntö[mö]</i>

On the basis of the chart above it becomes clear that with the major exception of the concessive gerund *-Ntö[mö]*, the tentative suffix *-(u)ram-* does not combine with other gerunds or infinitives that represent forms of non-final predication. Therefore, in most cases *-(u)ram-* is found only in the final verbs of sentences or clauses.

The tentative suffix *-(u)ram-* can combine with the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede *-(u)ram-* in a paradigmatic verbal chain:

Chart 62: Combinations of the tentative suffix *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-uram-</i>
causative <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-uram-</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-[y]er-uram-</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-t-uram-</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-uram-</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-uram-</i>

As can be seen from the chart above, tentative *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* combines only with the honorific *-as-*, the causative *-as-*, and aspect markers.

Yamada Yoshio gave only a very vague definition of *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* as a suffix expressing conjecture about reality (Yamada 1954: 307). Saeki Umetomo maintained that while *-(a)m-* is a broad conjecture without reference to time, although it may refer to future, *-ky-em-* refers to the conjecture about the past, and *-(u)ram-* to the conjecture about the present (Saeki 1959: 167). As the following examples amply demonstrate, this is not quite true, since there are clear references to the future (see, e.g., MYS V: 887, 900 below), although clear references to the past are lacking. Yoshida Kanehiko attempted a much more detailed analysis, subdividing the functions

of *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* into: (a) conjecture about the present, (b) interrogative conjecture, and (c) objective conjecture (Yoshida 1973: 716-30). Yoshida's analysis is based predominantly on the combinations of *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* with other words found in the same text before this suffix, such as *ima* 'now,' *kyepu* 'today,' interrogative pronouns, the topic marker, etc. He further comes to the conclusion that the usage of *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* is completely similar to the suppositional *-urasi* (see 6.2.2.1.9) (Yoshida 1973: 731). This certainly has to be rejected, as synonymous morphological forms are very unlikely to exist in a language. Although Yoshida's description of *-uram-* ~ *-ram-*, like everything else in his book, contains tons of valuable information, it still leaves the main question unanswered: what is the archetype function of *-uram-* ~ *-ram-*?

The key to that answer, I believe, lies in the comparison of possible combinations of the tentative *-am-* ~ *-m-*, the suppositional *-urasi* ~ *-asi*, and the tentative *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* with other verbal markers. The suppositional *-urasi* clearly has a lesser degree of modality, since it can combine with the retrospective *-kyer-* (in the form *-kyer-asi*, see 6.2.2.1.9 above), while neither *-am-* ~ *-m-* nor *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* can. The tentative *-am-* ~ *-m-* is neutral to tense, since it can combine with the past marker *-kyi* (in the form *-ky-em-*, see 6.2.2.3.2 above), while neither *-urasi* nor *-(u)ram-* can. This probably should come as no surprise, as both *-urasi* ~ *-asi* and *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* are likely to include a non-past stative **-ur-* as their first element (see 6.2.2.1.9 above). Remember now that *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* can refer to present and future but not to the past. Thus, it seems appropriate that *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* should be defined as a non-past tentative suffix. Thus, my definition of its primary function is close to Saeki's, although it is broader in the sense that I define it as non-past tentative and not just as present tentative. Examples:

阿我柯賦古磨乎比騰瀨都羅武箇

a-Nka kap-u kwoma-wo pyitō **myi-t-uram-u** ka

I-POSS keep-ATTR stallion-ACC person **see(INF)-PERF-TENT2-FIN** PT

Could people **have seen** the stallion that I keep? (NK 115)

我振袖乎妹見都良武香

WA-NKA PUR-Ū SWONTE-wo IMWO **MYI-t-uram-u** ka

I-POSS wave-ATTR sleeve-ACC beloved **see(INF)-PERF-TENT2-FIN** PT

Would [my] beloved **have seen** the sleeve that I wave? (MYS II: 132)

鳥翔成有我欲比管見良目杼母人社不知松者知良武

TÖRI pa NAR-I ARI-Nkaywop-yi-tutu **MYI-ram-ey-Ntömö**
PYITÖ KÖSÖ SIR-AN-E MATU PA **SIR-Uram-u**

bird TOP become-**INF** ITER-go.back.and.forth-**INF-COOR see-TENT2-CONC** person PT know-NEG-EV pine TOP **know-TENT2-FIN**

Although people **would look**, [they would] not recognize [the soul of prince Arima that] travels backs and forth like a bird. But [they] **would know** the pine [branches that he has tied] (MYS II: 145)

余戀良苦乎不知香安類良武

WA-NKA KWOP-Ur-aku-wo **SIR-ANS-U ka ar-uram-u**
I-POSS love-ATTR-NML-ACC **know-NEG-INF** PT **exist-TENT2-ATTR**

do [you] **probably not know** that I love [you]? (MYS IV: 720)

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)

阿袁麻多周良武知知波波良波母

a-wo **mat-as-uram-u** titi papa-ra pa mö

I-ACC **wait-HON-TENT2-ATTR** father mother-DIM TOP PT

dear mother and father, **who will probably wait** for me (MYS V: 890)

久多志須都良牟絹綿良波母

kutas-i **sut-uram-u** KYINU-WATA-ra pa mö

make.rot-**INF discard-TENT2-FIN** silk cotton-PLUR TOP PT

[they] will make [their] silk and cotton clothes rot and **will discard** [them] (MYS V: 900)

伊射里須流安麻伊敝妣等能麻知古布良牟爾安可思都流宇乎

iNsar-i s-uru ama ipye-pyitö-nö **mat-i-kwop-uram-u-ni** akas-i tur-u uwo

catch.fish-NML do-ATTR fisherman home-person-COMP **wait-INF-long.for-TENT2-ATTR-LOC** dawn-INF angle-ATTR fish fishermen catching fish, [you are] like [my] people at home who angle fish **when probably waiting through the night and longing for** [me] (MYS XV: 3653)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弓於毛布良米也母
 pyikwoposi mö ware-ni masar-i-te **omwop-uram-ey ya mö**
 Altair PT I-DAT surpass-INF-SUB **long.for-TENT2-EV PT PT**
Will Altair **long** for [his beloved] more than I [do]?! (lit.: surpassing me) [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3657)

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 tö 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)

於久都由之毛尔安倍受之弓京師乃山波伊呂豆伎奴良牟
 ok-u tuyu simwo-ni apey-Ns-u s-i-te MYIYAKWO-nö YAMA pa
iröNtuk-yi-n-uram-u
 fall-ATTR dew frost-LOC endure-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB
 capital-GEN mountain TOP **get.colored-INF-PERF-TENT2-FIN**
 not [being able to] endure the falling dew and frost, the mountains of the capital **are probably colored** [with leaves] (MYS XV: 3699)

和礼由惠尔於毛比和夫良牟伊母我可奈思佐
 ware yuwe n-i **omwop-yi-waNp-uram-u** imö-Nka kanasi-sa
 I reason DV-INF **think-INF-worry-TENT2-ATTR** beloved-POSS
 dear-NML
 [feeling of] the endearment for [my] beloved **who probably worries** because of me (MYS XV: 3727)

大宮人者伊麻毛可母比等奈夫理能未許能美多流良武
 OPO MYIYA PYITÖ PA ima mwo kamö pyitö naNpur-i nömiy
könöm-yi-tar-uram-u
 great place person TOP now PT PT person mock-NML PT **like-INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR**

Do the people from the Great Palace **probably continue to like** just to mock [other] people now as well, I wonder? (MYS XV: 3758)

伊夜彦神乃布本今日良毛加鹿乃伏良武
IyaPYIKWO KAMIY-nö puMÖTÖ-NI KYEPU-ra mwo ka SIKAnö **PUS-Uram-u**
Iyapyikwo 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 Iyapyikwo today, too? (MYS XVI: 3884)

何爲牟尔吾乎召良米夜
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? [You should not!] (MYS XVI: 3886)

鴈我祢波都可比尔許牟等佐和久良武秋風左無美曾乃可波能倍爾
KARI-Nka ne pa tukapyi n-i kö-m-u tö sawak-uram-u AKYI
KANSE samu-myi sönö kapa-nö [u]pey-ni
wild goose-POSS cry TOP messenger DV-INF come-TENT2-FIN
DV **make.noise-TENT2-FIN** autumn wind cold-GER that river-GEN top-LOC
Would the cries of wild geese **sound** as if [they] are coming as messengers? Because the autumn wind is cold above that river (MYS XVII: 3953)

伊都之加登奈氣可須良牟曾
itu si ka tö naNkeyk-as-uram-u sö
when PT PT DV lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR PT
[she] **probably laments**, saying: ‘When [will he return]?’ (MYS XVII: 3962)

和可伎兒等毛波乎知許知爾佐和吉奈久良牟
waka-kyi KWO-Ntömwo pa woti köti-ni sawak-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)

宇具比須乃奈枳知良須良武春花

uNkupyisu-nō nak-yi **tir-as-uram-u** PARU-NÖ PANA
bush.warbler-GEN sing-INF **fall-CAUS-TENT2-ATTR** spring-
GEN flower
spring flowers that the bush warbler **will probably let fall** while
[he] sings (MYS XVII: 3966)

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾

iku ywo p-u tö yöm-yi-tutu imwo pa ware **mat-uram-u** sö
how many night pass-FIN DV count-INF-COOR beloved TOP I
wait-TENT2-ATTR PT
[My] beloved **will probably wait** for me, counting: ‘How many
nights have passed?’ (MYS XVIII: 4072)

伊毛我多可々々尔麻都良牟許己呂

imwo-Nka taka taka n-i **mat-uram-u** kökörö
beloved-POSS high high DV-INF **wait-TENT2-ATTR** heart
the heart of [my] beloved who **probably waits** for [me] eagerly
(MYS XVIII: 4107)

宮乃須蘇未乃努都可佐尔伊麻左家流良武乎美奈弊之波母

MYIYA-nō suswo miy-nō nwo tukasa-ni ima **sak-yer-uram-u**
womyinapyesi pa mö
palace-GEN hem turn(NML)-GEN field hillock-LOC now **bloom-
PROG-TENT2-FIN** carnation TOP PT
Oh, carnations! [They] **are probably blooming** now at the field
hillocks around the palace (MYS XX: 4316)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

It is widely believed that an Eastern Old Japanese cognate of Western Old Japanese *-uram-* ~ *-ram-* is *-unam-*.⁷⁴ This seems plausible at first glance, but there is one problem: the correspondence of EOJ *-n-* to WOJ *-r-* is attested only for this cognate, and possibly also for EOJ diminutive suffix *-na* versus WOJ *-ra* (see 4.2.2.4). This correspondence is not supported by any other examples. I think this might mean that EOJ *-unam-* and WOJ

⁷⁴ The form *-(u)ram-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese corpus, but it appears in the poems that, with the exception of MYS XX: 4343, have no distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features.

-uram- are in all likelihood only partially related (in their *-am-* part), but the initial parts of these two morphemes probably have different origins. Nevertheless, the possibility of an irregular correspondence cannot be completely ruled out, but even in this case it is unclear what kind of a morpheme can be reconstructed even on the Proto-Japanese level.

和奴爾故布奈毛

wanu-ni **kwop-unam-wo**

I-DAT long.for-TENT2-ATTR

[you] **will probably long** for me (MYS XIV: 3476)

奴麻布多都可欲波等里賀栖安我已許呂布多由久奈母等奈与母波里曾祢

numa puta-tu kaywop-a töri-Nka su a-Nka kökörö puta **yuk-unam-ö** tö na-y-ömöp-ar-i-sö-n-e

marsh two-CL go.over-ATTR bird-POSS nest I-POSS heart two **go-TENT2-ATTR DV NEG-?-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP**

[I] wish [you] are not thinking that my heart **would go** [to] two [different places like] nests of birds that go over two marshes (MYS XIV: 3526)

和乎可麻都那毛伎曾毛己余必母

wa-wo ka **mat-unam-wo** kyisö mwo kö yöpyi mö

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)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of WOJ *-(u)ram-* seem to be attested only in Old Ryukyuan in the forms *-urum-* (appearing only twice in the *Omoro sōshi* within the same text), *-oraN* (appearing only once in the *Omoro sōshi*), and *-[or]ai* (Torigoe 1968: 176).⁷⁵ This limited distribution not only in Ryukyuan, but also in the *Omoro sōshi* as well, further aggravated by less than clear correspondences in the

⁷⁵ The latter form actually consists of *yor-* ‘be’ and the tentative *-ai*, as the example below demonstrates. Cf. also OR *si-yor-asiyo* in the example similar to OS V: 265 cited in 6.2.2.1.9 One more form, *-ara*, that Torigoe mentions as a contraction of the iterative *-af-* and *-(u)ram-* (Torigoe 1968: 177) seems to be of a dubious provenance phonetically. In addition, it is attested twice after the same verb *sum-* ‘to dwell’ in the same text (OS XVI: 1155).

case of *-ai* that is the most frequent form, strongly suggests that we are dealing with a loan from Middle Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

おきなますすもらん

oki namasu **sum-oraN**

offing fish.salad **dye-TENT2**

let [us] cut [them into pieces like] fish salad (OS I: 36)

けよわのがしよらい

keyo wa no ga **s-i-yor-ai**

today TOP what PT **do-INF-exist-TENT2**

What **will** [they] **do** today? (OS V: 265)

のちかほうするむ

noti kafou **s-urum-u**

life happiness **do-TENT2-FIN**

[there] **will be** happiness in life (OS X: 521)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

As mentioned above, because it is not even clear what the Proto-Japanese form is, and since the Ryukyuan forms seem to be loans from Middle Japanese, the search for external parallels is doomed from the start.

6.2.2.3.4 Iterative *-ap-* ~ *-öp-*

The iterative marker has two allomorphs: *-ap-* and *-öp-*. The allomorph *-ap-* is found after consonant and regular vowel verbs, although, only a handful of vowel verbs are attested with this marker, for example *naNkar-ap-* ‘flow-ITER’ (< *naNkare-ap-), and *neNk-ap-* ‘pray/desire-ITER’ (< *neNkiy-ap-). There is an interesting phenomenon concerning the usage of *-ap-*: it can sometimes behave as a vowel stem, rather than a consonant stem: cf. the *-ap-uru* ‘ITER-ATTR’ form as attested in MYS I: 59 below (*-ap-u* would be normally expected), *-apey-* ‘ITER(INF)’ in MYS VIII: 1420, SM 51, and *-öpey-* in MYS XX: 4465 below (*-ap-yi* would be normally expected). This usage is more typical when the preceding verb is a vowel verb, but it is found after consonant verbs as well. The allomorph *-öp-* is found after consonant verbs that have a vowel /ö/ or a vowel /u/ in their stems, such as *pokör-*

'to boast' > *pokör-öp-* 'to boast repeatedly,' *mötöpör-* 'to go around' > *mötöpör-öp-* 'to go around constantly,' *utur-* 'to wither, to change' > *utur-öp-* 'to wither continuously.' While the cases after the vowel /ö/ can be easily explained as progressive assimilation, the case after /u/ in *utur-* is puzzling, because /ö/ is not a rounded vowel. However, there are two cases in the *Man'yōshū* (MYS XVII: 3916, 3982) when we have the spelling *utur-wop-* (vs. twelve cases of *utur-öp-*). Although the spelling *utur-öp-* is attested much more frequently, I believe that the only way to explain this oddity is to suggest that the form *utur-wop-* is a result of labial progressive assimilation of the non-attested **utur-ap-*, which was changed to *utur-öp-* by analogy with forms in *-öp-*.⁷⁴ The iterative suffix *-ap-* always precedes all other suffixes it combines with as it becomes clear from the following chart 63.

Chart 63: Combinations of the iterative suffix *-ap-* ~ *-öp-* with following suffixes (the main allomorph *-ap-* is used as an example)

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-ap-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-ap-u</i> , <i>-ap-uru</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e[y]</i>	<i>-ap-ey</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-ap-yi</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-ap-yi</i>
imperative <i>-[y]e</i>	<i>-ap-e[y]*</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-ap-am-</i>
negative <i>-(a)Ns-</i>	<i>-ap-aNs-</i>
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-apey-n-</i>
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-öp-aye-**</i>
adjectivizer <i>-asi</i>	<i>-ap-asi</i>
progressive <i>-yer-</i>	<i>-ap-yer-</i>
debitive <i>-uNpey-</i>	<i>-ap-uNpey-</i>

*The imperative form after *-ap-* is attested twice: once in MYS XIII: 3329, and once in SM 57. In both cases it is misspelled as if it were an evidential in *-ey* (spelled with the *man'yōgana* sign 部 /pey/). However, the context leaves no doubt that this is an imperative and not an evidential form in both cases. While MYS XIII: 3329 has no date similar to the rest of the poems in the same volume, SM 57 is reliably dated by 777 AD. Thus, since it is quite a late text, it is not

⁷⁴ Similarly, the iterative form of the verb *matur-* 'to serve' is attested in its iterative form *matur-öp-* 'to serve, to obey' several times in the *Man'yōshū* with the *otsu-rui* vowel /ö/, but in KJK and NSK it appears as *matur-wop-* with the *kō-rui* vowel /wo/ (Omodaka et al. 1967: 683).

impossible that the *kō-otsu* distinctions between /pye/ and /pey/ had already collapsed by that time.

**Attested only semantographically in Western Old Japanese (see MYS XI: 2527 below) but collaborated by the same form spelled phonetically in Eastern Old Japanese.

The iterative *-ap-* indicates either a repeated or continuous action. Examples:

佐用婆比爾阿理多多斯用婆比迹阿理加用婆勢

sa-ywoNp-ap-yi-ni ari-tat-as-i **ywoNp-ap-yi-ni** ari-kaywop-as-e
PREF-call-ITER-NML-LOC ITER-set.out-HON-INF call-ITER-
NML-LOC ITER-set.out-HON-EV

[I] set out to woo [her] there; [I] set out to woo [her] (KK 2)

淤曾夫良比和何多多勢禮婆比許豆良比和何多多勢禮婆

osō-N-pur-ap-yi wa-Nka tat-as-er-e-Npa **pyikō-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 was standing [there], [I] was pulling and shoving [it], when I was standing [there] (KK 2)

伊勢能宇美能意斐志爾波比母登富呂布志多陀美能伊波比母登
 富理宇知弓志夜麻牟

ise-nō umyī-nō opiy-[i]si-ni **pap-yi-mōtöpör-öp-u** sitaNtamyi⁷⁵-nō
 i-pap-yi-mōtöpör-i ut-i-te si yam-am-u

Ise-GEN sea-GEN grow(INF)-stone-LOC **crawl-INF-go.around-**
ITER-ATTR seashell-COMP DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF hit-
INF-SUB PT stop-TENT-FIN

like the shellfish that are constantly crawling around on the growing rocks of the Ise sea, [we] will crawl around [them] there, smite and stop [them] (KK 13)

都奴賀能迦迹余許佐良布伊豆久迹伊多流

tunuNka-nō kani yökō **sar-ap-u** iNtuku-ni itar-u

TunuNka-GEN crab side **go.away-ITER-FIN** where-LOC reach-FIN

⁷⁵志多陀美 /sitaNtamyi/, a kind of an edible seashell (MdJ *kisago*).

Crab from TunuNka **goes all the time** along the side[way]. Where [to] will [it] arrive? (KK 42)

伊那嗟能椰摩能虚能莽由毛易喻者摩毛羅毘

inasa-nō yama-nō kō-nō ma-yu mwo i-yuk-yi **mamwor-ap-yi**
Inasa-GEN mountain-GEN tree-GEN interval-ABL PT DLF-go-
INF **watch-ITER-INF**

going from between the trees of Mount Inasa and **constantly watching** [out for enemies] (NK 12)

雲谷裳情有南畝可苦佐布倍思哉

KUMWO Ntani mo KÖKÖRÖ AR-Ana-mo **kakus-ap-uNpey-si**
YA

cloud PT PT heart exist-DES-EXCL PT **hide-ITER-DEB-FIN** PT
[I] wish at least the clouds [would] have feelings! Do [they] **have to hide** [Mt. Myiwa] **all the time?** (MYS I: 18)

流經妻吹風之寒夜尔吾勢能君者獨香宿良武

NANKAR-Ap-uru TUMA PUK-U KANSE-NÖ SAMU-KYI
YWO-ni WA-NKA se n-ö KYIMYI PA PYITÖ-RI ka N-Uram-u
flow-ITER-ATTR spouse blow-ATTR wind-GEN cold-ATTR
night-LOC I-POSS beloved DV-ATTR lord TOP one-CL PT sleep-
TENT2-ATTR

Does the lord my beloved sleep alone in the cold nights, when the wind blows at [your] spouse who **is spending time** [waiting for you]? (MYS I: 59)

天地与共久住波牟

AMEY TUTI-TÖ TÖMÖ n-i PYISASI-ku **SUM-Ap-am-u**
Heaven Earth-COM together DV-INF long-INF **live-ITER-TENT-FIN**

[I] **want to live (continuously)** for a long time with Heaven and Earth (MYS IV: 578)

可多良比斯許許呂曾牟企弓伊弊社可利摩須

katar-ap-yi-si kökөрө sömuk-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 [your] back on **what** [you] **promised**, [you] are keeping the distance from [our] home (MYS V: 794)

母智騰利乃可可良波志母与

möti-N-töri-nö **kakar-ap-asi-mö** yö

mochi-GEN-bird-COMP **be.stuck-ITER-ADJ-EXCL PT**

[You] **are stuck** like a bird on a *mochi* [trap-stick]! (MYS V: 800)

安礼乎於伎弓人者安良自等富己呂倍騰

are-wo ok-yi-te PYITÖ PA ar-aNsi tö **pokör-öp-ey-Ntö**

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 besides me (MYS V: 892)

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惠波寢屋度麻弓来立呼比奴

nuye-N-TÖRI-nö nōNtöyöp-yi-WOR-U-ni itö nökyite
MYNSIKA-KYI MÖNÖ-wo PASI kyir-u tö IP-YER-U-NKA
NKÖTÖ-KU SIMOTÖ TÖR-U SATWO-WOSA-Nka köwe 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 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)

愛久志我可多良倍婆

UTUKUSI-ku si-Nka **katar-ap-ey-Npa**

beautiful-INF he-POSS **talk-ITER-EV-CON**

as he used to say beautifully (MYS V: 904)

流倍散波何物之花其毛

NANKAR-Apey-TIR-U pa NANI n-ö PANA SÖ mwo

flow-ITER(INF)-fall-ATTR TOP what DV-ATTR flower that PT
what are those flowers **that fall floating away?** (MYS VIII: 1420)

母尔所噴

PAPA-ni **KÖR-ÖP-AYE**

mother-DAT **scold-ITER-PASS(INF)**

[I] **am scolded** by [my] mother (MYS XI: 2527)

In Western Old Japanese we have only this semantographic attestation, but it is collaborated by the identical form *kōr-ōp-aye* found in phonetic writing in Eastern Old Japanese (see MYS XIV: 3529 below).

狛錦紐丹縫著刺部重部

KWOMA NISIKYI PYIMWO-ni NUP-YI-TUKEY **SAS-Apey KASAN-Apey**

Koguryo brocade cord-LOC sew-INF-attach(INF) **embroider-ITER(INF) pile.up-ITER(INF)**

sewing the Koguryo brocade to the cords, and **embroidering** [them], and then **putting on** [garments] one on the top of another (MYS XVI: 3791)

In this example the verb *sas-* 'to embroider' is a consonant verb, and the verb *kasane-* 'to pile up' is a vowel verb. Both are followed by *-apey-* rather than *-ap-*.

老人毛女童兒毛之我願心太良比爾

OYI-PYITŌ mwo WOMYINA WARAPA mwo si-Nka **NENK-AP-U KŌKŌRŌ-N-tar-ap-yi n-i**

old(INF)-person PT woman child PT they-POSS **desire-ITER-ATTR heart-LOC-be.enough-ITER-NML DV-INF**

old people, women, and children, all [of them get] **enough** of what they **desire (constantly) to [their] hearts' [content]** (MYS XVIII: 4094)

伊爾之敝欲伊麻乃乎追通爾奈我佐敝流於夜乃子等毛曾

inisipyē-ywo ima-nō wotutu-ni **naNkas-ap-yer-u** oya-nō KWO-Ntōmo sō

old.times-ABL now-GEN reality-LOC **make.flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR** ancestor-GEN child-PLUR PT

The offspring (lit.: children) of the ancestors **who have passed continuously** [their glorious names] from the old times to the present [day's] reality (MYS XVIII: 4094)

事之乎波良婆都々麻波受可敝理伎麻勢

KŌTŌ si wopar-aNpa **tutum-ap-aNs-u** kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-e
job PT end-COND **be.hindered-ITER-NEG-INF** return-INF-come-INF-HON-IMP

when [your] job is over, come back home **without being hindered** [by anything] (MYS XX: 4331)

麻都呂倍奴比等乎母夜波之

matur-öpey-n-u pyitö-wo mö yapas-i

obey-ITER-NEG-ATTR person-ACC PT pacify-INF

pacifying also the people **who are not obeying** (MYS XX: 4465)

奈保之祢我比都知等世能伊乃知乎

napo si **neNk-ap-yi-t-u** ti töse-nö inöti-wo

still PT **pray-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN** thousand year-GEN life-ACC

[I] **have still been praying** for a thousand year life (MYS XX: 4470)

佐久波奈波宇都呂布等伎安里

sak-u pana pa **utur-öp-u** tökyi ar-i

bloom-ATTR flower TOP **wither-ITER-ATTR** time exist-FIN

There is a time **when** blooming flowers **will be withering** (MYS XX: 4484)

山川淨所者孰俱加母見行阿加良閑賜牟

YAMA KAPA-NÖ KYIYWO-KYI TÖKÖRÖ-WONPA TARE-TÖ TÖMÖ n-i kamö **MYI-SÖNAP-AS-I-aNkar-apey-TAMAP-Am-u**

mountain river-GEN clean-ATTR place-ACC(EMPH) who-COM together DV-INF PT **look(INF)-put.in.order-HON-INF-rise-ITER-HON-TENT-ATTR**

With whom **will [I] be constantly looking up** together at the clean places of mountains and rivers, I wonder? (SM 51)

彼国乃王爾波語部止詔

KANÖ KUNI-nö KONIKISI-ni pa **KATAR-Ap-e[y]**⁷⁶ tö

NÖTAMAP-U

that country-GEN king-DAT TOP **tell-ITER-IMP** DV say(HON)-FIN

[we] deign to say: 'Tell [this] **(repeatedly)** to the king of that country' (SM 57)

⁷⁶ See the note to Chart 61 about the misspelling of the imperative form in this text.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The iterative *-ap-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese. However, there is a significant formal difference between Eastern and Western Old Japanese: while WOJ *-ap-* immediately follows a verbal root with all other suffixes or auxiliaries being placed after it, EOJ *-ap-* follows the negative *-an-* and the progressive *-[a]r-* as the following examples demonstrate:

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 yöpyi-ywori se-rö-ni **ap-an-ap-u** yö
 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)

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟
 須婆佐祢
 apyiNtune-nö kuni-wo saN-töpo-myi **ap-an-ap-aNpa** sinwop-yi ni
 i se-m-wo tö pyimwo musuNp-as-an-e
 ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER **meet-NEG-ITER-**
COND long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV cord tie-
 HON-DES-IMP
If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApyiNtune is far,
 [I] wish [you] would tie your [garment] cords, as if longing for [me]
 (MYS XIV: 3426)

佐祢奈敞波己許呂乃緒呂爾能里弓
 sa-ne-n-ap-ye-Npa kökörö-nö WO-rö-ni nöri-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)

之良夜麻可是能宿奈敞杼母古呂賀於曾伎能安路許曾要志母
 sira yama kaNse-nö **NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö** kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö ar-
 wo kösö ye-si-mö
 white mountain wind-GEN **sleep-NEG-ITER-CONC** girl-DIM-
 POSS garment-GEN exist-ATTR PT good-FIN-EXCL

although [I] **continue not to sleep** at the [cold] wind from the White Mountain, [it] is good to have my girl's garment! (MYS XIV: 3509)

麻乎其母能布能未知可久弓安波奈敞波於吉都麻可母能奈氣伎
曾安我須流

mawo-N-kömö-nö pu-nö ma tika-ku-te **ap-an-ap-ye-Npa** okyi-tu
ma-kamö-nö naNkeyk-yi sö a-Nka s-uru
nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space be.close-INF-SUB **meet-
NEG-ITER-EV-CON** offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP
lament-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 lament like a real duck in the offing (MYS XIV: 3524)

波伴尔許呂波要

papa-ni **kör-öp-aye**
mother-DAT **scold-ITER-PASS(INF)**

[I] **am scolded** by [her] mother (MYS XIV: 3529)

比登豆麻古呂乎麻由可西良布母

pyitö-N-tuma kwo-rö-wo ma **yuk-ase-[a]r-ap-umö**
person-GEN-wife girl-DIM-ACC eye **go-CAUS-PROG-ITER-
FIN-EXCL**

[I] **let** [my] eyes **wander** over the girl [who is] the wife of [another] person! (MYS XIV: 3541)

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge, the iterative *-ap-* is not attested in Ryukyuan. Therefore, the iterative **-ap-* or **-apey-* can be reconstructed for Proto-Japanese only.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am not aware of any external parallels for the iterative **-ap-*.

6.2.2.3.5 Passive *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-*

The passive suffix has three main allomorphs: *-aye-*, *-raye-*, and *-ye-*. The first of those appears after consonant verbs, the second after regular vowel verbs, and the third after irregular (strong) vowel verbs. The allomorph *-raye-* is attested only after the verb *ne-* 'to sleep.' This has probably prompted my colleague Bjarke

Frellesvig to call the *-raye-* allomorph a ghost (Frellesvig, p.c.). However, I do not think we can classify the *-raye-* as a ‘ghost’ even though it is attested only after one vowel verb. Although *-raye-* appears in phonetic writing only in MYS XV, there are four examples of it in this volume (see MYS XV: 3665, 3678, 3680, 3684 below), not to count the semantographic cases in other volumes, and that clearly exceeds any possible definition of not only a ‘ghost’ but also of a *hapax legomenon*. It is quite clear that four cases of phonetic spelling cannot be reduced to a scribal error. It might still remain a mystery why *-raye-* is attested only after one vowel verb, but we should not overlook two facts: (a) there are many more consonant verbs than vowel verbs at any period of the Japanese language history and (b) the Western Old Japanese corpus is quite limited when compared to the Middle (Classical) Japanese corpus. Consequently, we cannot expect to find every possible combination in our database.

Similar to the iterative *-ap-* described in 6.2.2.3.4 above, *-aye-* is assimilated to *-öye-* after the verb *omöp-* ‘to think, to love.’ The same allomorph *-öye-* is found after the verb *kyik-* ‘to hear, to listen,’ probably by analogy with *omöp-*.

The allomorph that appears after irregular (strong) vowel verbs is quite predictably *-ye-*, since strong vowel verbs never lose the final vowel of their stem. Depending on whether a following suffix has a strong vowel that is never deleted we also have three other secondary allomorphs: *-ay-*, *-öy-*, and *-y-*. Therefore, the morphophonology of the passive marker can be summarized in the following chart:

Chart 64: Morphophonological variations of the passive suffix

	weak vowel suffix	strong vowel suffix
consonant verbs	<i>-aye-</i>	<i>-ay-</i>
kyik-/omöp-	<i>-öye-</i>	<i>-öy-</i>
vowel v.	<i>-raye-</i>	-
strong vowel verbs	<i>-ye-</i>	<i>-y-</i>

The passive *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* almost always directly follows the stem of a verb, and all other suffixes are placed after *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-*, with the exception of the iterative *-ap-* that precedes it in a verbal string.

Chart 65: Combinations of the passive suffix *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* with following suffixes and auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-(a)y-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-(a)y-uru</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e[y]</i>	<i>-(a)y-ure*</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-(a)ye</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-(a)ye</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-m-</i>
negative tentative <i>-(a)Nsi</i>	<i>-(a)ye-Nsi</i>
negative <i>-aNs-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-Ns-</i>
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-raye-n-</i>
iterative <i>-(a)p-</i>	<i>-öp-aye**</i>
conditional <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>-(a)ye-Npa</i>
negative imperative <i>-una</i>	<i>-(a)y-una</i>
negative potential <i>-umasiNsi</i>	<i>-(a)y-umasiNsi</i>
debitive <i>-uNpey-</i>	<i>-öy-uNpey-</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-t(e)-***</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-n-***</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-tar-*</i>
past <i>-kyi, -si, -sika</i>	<i>-(a)ye-si, -(a)ye-sika</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-kyer-</i>
negative potential <i>-kane-</i>	<i>-aye-kane-****</i>

*Only unreliable semantographic attestations.

**Attested only in semantographic spelling (see MYS XI: 2527 below), but collaborated by Eastern Old Japanese.

***Both perfectives *-te-* and *-n-* follow the infinitive form *-[y]i-* that has merged with the preceding passive *-(a)ye-*.

**** Attested only once in partial semantographic spelling (see MYS XVI: 3793 below).

In contrast to Middle (Classical) Japanese, where the passive marker *-(r)are-* also can have an honorific function, WOJ *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* is attested only in the following functions: (1) spontaneous action, (2) passive, and (3) potential.⁷⁷ Similar to Middle Japanese, the potential function appears only with a following negative, forming a negative potential form. Examples:

⁷⁷ It has been noted before that the honorific function is not attested before the Heian period (Yuzawa 1943: 76), and that in this function the passive marker in the Heian period is almost exclusively used after honorific verbs or honorific auxiliaries (Tsukishima 1969: 506).

(1) Spontaneous action:

吾妹子之念有四九四面影二三湯

WA-NK-YIMWO-KWO-NÖ OMÖP-YER-I-si-ku si OMÖ-KANKEY-ni **myi-y-u**

I-POSS beloved-GEN think-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR-NML PT face-shadow-LOC **see-PASS-FIN**

[I] **saw at once** what my beloved thought in [her] face (MYS IV: 754)

都摩夜佐夫斯久於母保由倍斯母

tuma-ya saNpusi-ku **omöp-oy-uNpey-si-mö**

spouse-room lonely-INF think-PASS-DEB-FIN-EXCL

[I] **must suddenly think** [how] lonely [our] bedroom [is]! (MYS V: 795)

宇利波米婆胡藤母意母保由

uri pam-ey-Npa kwo-Ntömö **omöp-oy-u**

melon 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)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米爾之美延牟

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nö makura saraNs-u-te imey-ni si **myi-ye-m-u**

direct DV-INF meet-NEG-INF exist-NML PT many-INF spread-INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow go.away-NEG-INF-SUB dream-LOC PT **see-PASS-TENT-FIN**

There are also many occasions when [we] do not meet directly, [and I] **want to see** [you] in [my] dream without going away from [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

波漏々々尔於忘方由流可母

parwo-parwo n-i **omop-oy-uru kamö**

distant-distant DV-INF **think-PASS-ATTR PT**

[I] **suddenly think** [of it as] being distant! (MYS V: 866)

美夜故能提夫利和周良延尔家利

myiyakwo-nö teNpuri **wasur-aye-n-i-kyer-i**

capital-GEN custom **forget-PASS(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

it turned out that [I] have forgotten the customs of the capital
(MYS V: 880)

安杼毛倍香許己呂我奈之久伊米爾美要都流

aN-tō [o]mwop-ey ka kökōrō-N-kanasi-ku imey-ni **myi-ye-t-uru**
what-DV **think-EV** PT heart-GEN-sad-INF dream-LOC see-
PASS(INF)-PERF-ATTR

what **was [I] thinking** [about]? As [I] was sad in [my] heart, [she]
suddenly has appeared in [my] dream (MYS XV: 3639)

伊米爾毛伊母我美延射良奈久尔

imey-ni mwo imō-Nka **myi-ye-Ns-ar-an-aku n-i**
dream-LOC PT beloved-POSS **see-PASS-NEG(INF)-exist-NEG-**
NML DV-INF

in the dreams [my] beloved [always] **appears** (MYS XV: 3735)

等保家騰母許己呂之遊氣婆伊米爾美要家利

tōpo-kye-Ntōmō kökōrō si yuk-ey-Npa imey-ni **myi-ye-kyer-i**
far-EV-CONC heart PT go-EV-CON dream-LOC **see-PASS(INF)-**
RETR-FIN

although [it] is far, because [my] heart goes [to you], [it] **turned**
out that [you] appeared in [my] dreams (MYS XVII: 3981)

可波美礼婆見乃佐夜氣久母能其等尔佐可由流等伎登賣之多麻
比

kapa myi-re-Npa MYI-nō sayakey-ku mönō Nkōtō n-i **sak-ay-uru**
tō myes-i-tamap-yi

river see-EV-CON see(NML)-GEN be.bright-INF thing every DV-
INF **flourish-PASS-ATTR** DV see(HON)-INF-HON-INF

when [one] looks at rivers, [they] are bright to see, and [the
empress] sees that everything **is flourishing** (MYS XX: 4360)

安米乃美加度乎可氣都礼婆祢能未之奈加由

amey-nō myikaNtwo-wo kakey-t-ure-Npa ne nōmiy si **nak-ay-u**
heaven-GEN sovereign-ACC think.in.the.heart(INF)-EV-CON
sound PT PT **cry-PASS-FIN**

Because [I] think in my heart about [my] heavenly sovereign, [I]
only **sob** loudly (MYS XX: 4480)

(2) Passive voice:

Similar to Middle (classical) Japanese and all later historical stages of Japanese, the agent in the passive construction is marked by dative *-ni*. Like in Classical Japanese (Vovin 2003: 326), there are cases when both the agent and the patient can be inanimate or animate, so we can observe all four logical possibilities:

Chart 66: Animacy of the agent and the patient in Western Old Japanese passive constructions

	Agent	Patient
(a)	animate	animate
(b)	animate	inanimate
(c)	inanimate	animate
(d)	inanimate	inanimate

It must be admitted, though, that the most frequent usage is with both an animate agent and patient, while the least frequent is when both are inanimate.

(a) Animate agent + animate patient

古波陀袁登壳袁迦微能基登岐許延斯迦杼母阿比麻久良麻久
KwopaNta wotömye-wo kamiy-nö Nkötö **kyik-öye-sika-Ntömö**
apyi-makuramak-u

KwopaNta maiden-ABS deity-GEN like **hear-PASS(INF)-PAST/EV-CONC REC-pillow-FIN**

Although [it] is **rumored** that the maiden from KwopaNta is like a goddess, [we] slept together (lit.: pillowed each other) (KK 45)

阿母儻舉會枳舉曳儒阿羅每矩儻儻播枳舉曳底那
amo-ni kösö **kyik-öye-Ns-u ar-am-ey** kuni-ni pa kyik-öye-te-na
mother-DAT PT **hear-PASS-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV land-**
DAT TOP hear-PASS(INF)-PERF-DES

[I] **probably will not be heard** by [my] mother, but [I] wish to be heard by [the] land! (NK 82)

伊喻之之乎都那遇舸播杯
i-y-u sisi-wo tunaNk-u kapa pye
shoot-PASS-ATTR game.animal-ACC follow-ATTR river side

the riverside where [we] followed a game animal that **was shot**
(NK 117)

可由既婆比等爾伊等波延可久由既婆比等爾迹久麻延
ka yuk-ey-Npa pyitō-ni **itōp-aye** ka-ku yuk-ey-Npa pyitō-ni
nikum-aye
that go-EV-CON person-DAT **avoid-PASS(INF)** thus-INF go-EV-
CON person-DAT **hate-PASS(INF)**
when/if [they] go that [way], [they] **are avoided** by people, and
when/if [they] go this way, [they] **are hated** by people ... (MYS V:
804)

母尔所嘖

PAPA-ni **KÖR-ÖP-AYE**

mother-DAT **scold-ITER-PASS(INF)**

[I] **am scolded** by [my] mother (MYS XI: 2527)

In Western Old Japanese we have only this semantographic attestation, but it is collaborated by the identical form *kör-öp-aye* found in phonetic writing in Eastern Old Japanese (see MYS XIV: 3529 below).

安麻乎等女等母思麻我久流見由

ama wotōMYE-Ntömō sima-N-kakur-u **MYI-y-u**

fisher maiden-PLUR island-LOC-hide-ATTR **see-PASS-FIN**

the fisher maidens **are seen** hiding in [the shadow of] the island
(MYS XV: 3597)

比等爾波美要緇

pyitō-ni pa **myi-ye-Nsi**

person-DAT TOP **see-PASS-NEG/TENT**

[I] **should not be seen** by people (MYS XV: 3708)

将若異子等丹所置金目八

WAKA-ky-eM-U KWO-RA-ni **NOR-AYE-kane-m-ey ya**

young-ATTR-TENT-ATTR girl-PLUR-LOC **abuse-PASS(INF)-
NEG/POT-TENT-EV PT**

would [you] **be able not to be abused** by girls who would be
younger? [Certainly you would be abused!] (MYS XVI: 3793)

伊麻能其等古非之久伎美我於毛保要婆伊可尔加母世牟

ima-nō Nkötō kwopiysi-ku kyimyi-Nka **omwop-oye-Npa** ika n-i
kamō se-m-u

now-GEN like longing-INF lord-POSS **think-PASS-COND** how
DV-INF PT do-TENT-ATTR

If you are thought of longingly like now, what shall [I] do [later],
I wonder? (MYS XVII: 3928)

(b) Animate agent + inanimate patient

毛毛知陀流夜迹波母美由

mwomwo-ti-N-tar-u ya nipa mö **myi-y-u**

hundred-thousand-GEN-be.enough-ATTR house garden PT **see-PASS-FIN**

flourishing (lit.: plentiful with hundreds and thousands) houses and
gardens **are seen** (KK 41)

衣尔須良由奈

KYINU-ni **sur-ay-una**

garment-LOC **rub-PASS-NEG/IMP**

Do not [let it] **be rubbed** into the garment (MYS VII: 1338)

人尔所知名

PYITÖ-ni **SIR-AY-Una**

person-DAT **know-PASS-NEG/IMP**

Do not [let it] **be known** by people (MYS XI: 2762)

(c) Inanimate agent + animate patient

阿母儻舉會枳舉曳儒阿羅每矩儻儻播枳舉曳底那

amo-ni kösö kyik-öye-Ns-u ar-am-ey kuni-ni pa **kyik-öye-te-na**

mother-DAT PT hear-PASS-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV land-DAT
TOP **hear-PASS(INF)-PERF-DES**

[I] probably will not be heard by [my] mother, but [I] **wish to be heard** by [the] land! (NK 82)

This is the only example of an inanimate agent + an animate patient that I was able to find in Western Old Japanese.

(d) Inanimate agent + inanimate patient

此花乃一与能裏波百種乃言持不勝而所折家良受也

KÖNÖ PANA-nö PYITÖ yō-nö UTI pa MWOMWO KUSA-nö
KÖTÖ MÖT-I-KANE-TE **WOR-AYE-kyer-aNs-u ya**

this flower-GEN one petal-GEN inside TOP hundred type-GEN
word hold-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB **break-PASS(INF)-RETR-
NEG-FIN PT**

One petal of this flower cannot hold one hundred words, so **will not** [this flower] **be broken** [by the weight of words]? (MYS VIII: 1457)

This example is somewhat controversial, because the agent who is hinted by the context of MYS VIII: 1456 and 1457 may be in fact animate: the author of MYS VIII: 1456, to which MYS VIII: 1457 is a reply. In a sense, what is meant might be 'the flower [of your promises], will [it] not be broken [by you]?'

沫雪尔所落開有梅花

AWA YUKI-ni **PUR-AYE-TE** SAK-YER-U UMEY-NÖ PANNA
bubble snow-DAT **fall-PASS(INF)-SUB** bloom-PROG-ATTR
plum-GEN blossom
plum blossoms that are blooming **being fallen upon** by bubble
snow (MYS VIII: 1641)

This appears to be the only uncontroversial example of an inanimate agent with an inanimate patient. Both Yamada 1954: 254 and Yoshida 1973: 181 provide only this one.

(3) Potential:

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 kamö 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)

耶麻古曳底于瀾倭拖留騰母於母之楼枳伊麻紀能禹知播倭須羅
由麻旨珥

yama kwoye-te umyi watar-u tömo omosirwo-kyi ima kiy-nö uti pa
wasur-ay-umasiNsi
mountain cross(INF)-SUB sea cross-FIN CONJ beautiful-ATTR
Ima fortress-GEN inside TOP **forget-PASS-NEG/POT**

Even if [I] pass over the mountains and cross the seas, [I] **cannot forget** the inside of the beautiful Ima fortress (NK 119)

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-nö kapyer-an-u Nkötö-ku puk-u kaNse-nö **myi-ye-n-
u-Nka Nkötö-ku**

go-ATTR water-GEN return-NEG-ATTR like-INF blow-ATTR
wind-GEN **see-PASS-NEG-ATTR-POSS** like-INF
like the flowing water that does not return, like the blowing wind
that [one] cannot see (MYS XV: 3625)

伊母乎於毛比伊能祢良延奴尔 (MYS XV: 3665 spelling)
伊毛乎於毛比伊能祢良延奴尔 (MYS XV: 3678 spelling)
imö/imwo-wo omwop-yi i-nö **ne-raye-n-u-ni**
beloved-ACC think-INF sleep-GEN **sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC**
As [I] cannot sleep, thinking of [my] beloved ... (MYS XV: 3665,
MYS XV: 3678)

欲乎奈我美伊能年良延奴尔
ywo-wo naNka-myi i-nö **ne-raye-n-u-ni**
night-ABS long-GER sleep-GEN **sleep-PASS-NEG-ATTR-LOC**
As [I] cannot sleep, because the night is long (MYS XV: 3680)

奈曾許許波伊能祢良要奴毛
naNsö kökōNpa i-nö **ne-raye-n-umwo**
why extremely sleep-GEN **sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL**
why cannot [I] sleep at all?! (MYS XV: 3684)

等保伎佐刀麻弓於久利家流伎美我許己呂波和須良由麻之自
tōpo-kyi satwo-maNte okuri-i-kyer-u kyimyi-Nka kökōrō pa **wasur-ay-umasiNsi**
distant-ATTR village-TERM see.off-INF-RETR-ATTR lord-POSS
heart TOP **forget-PASS-NEG/POT**
[I] **cannot forget** the kindness of [my] lord who saw [me] off to
[my] distant village (MYS XX: 4482)

如是醜事者聞曳自
KA-KU N-Ō SIKŌ KŌTŌ PA **KYIK-Öye-Nsi**
thus-INF DV-ATTR disgraceful thing TOP **hear-PASS-NEG/TENT**
[I] **would not be able to hear** about such disgraceful things (SM
17)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The passive suffix *-aye-* ~ *-ye-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese, and it appears to be a very rare form. It is attested in Eastern Old Japanese in the same functions as in Western Old Japanese. Examples:

(1) Spontaneous action:

和乎布利弥由母阿是古志麻波母

wa-wo **pur-i-myi-y-umö** aNse kwo si map-am-ö

I-ACC **swing-INF-look-PASS-EXCL** ANse girl PT dance-TENT-ATTR

the girl from ANse is going to dance, **suddenly looking back** at me! (FK 7)

As can be seen from this example, in this function verbs with *-aye-* can take direct objects.

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 mö ar-am-u-wo imey-nömiy-ni mötöna **MYI-ye-tutu**

for a while TOP sleep(INF)-COORD PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC dream-PT-LOC for.no.reason **see-PASS(INF)-COORD**

Although [I] intended to sleep for a while, [you] **continue to appear** only in [my] dreams for no reason (MYS XIV: 3471)

麻登保久於毛保由

ma-töpo-ku **omwop-oy-u**

INT-far-INF **think-PASS-FIN**

[it] **suddenly seems** to be very far away (MYS XIV: 3522)

(2) Passive voice:

波伴尔許呂波要

papa-ni **kör-öp-aye**

mother-DAT **scold-ITER-PASS(INF)**

[I] **am scolded** by [her] mother (MYS XIV: 3529)

久毛為尔美由流志麻奈良奈久尔

kumwowi-ni **myi-y-uru** sima nar-an-aku n-i

distance-LOC **see-PASS-ATTR** island be-NEG-NML DV-INF

although [it] is not an island that is **seen** in the distance (MYS XX: 4355)

(3) Potential:

伎美我見延奴己能許呂
 kyimiyi-Nka **MYI-ye-nu** könö körö
 lord-POSS **see-PASS-NEG-ATTR** this time
 lately (lit.: this time), when [I] cannot see [my] lord (MYS XIV: 3506)

A2: Ryukyuan

Ryukyuan dialects have cognates of the WOJ passive *-are-* (discussed below in 6.2.2.3.6), but there are no cognates of WOJ *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-*. The relationship between WOJ *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* and the MJ passive suffix *-(r)are-* remains obscure, because there are no other cognates that exhibit the unique correspondence of WOJ *-y-* to MJ *-r-*, although it is likely that WOJ *-y-* is a lenited form of PJ **-r-*.

6.2.2.3.6 Passive *-are-*

Besides the passive in *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* described in 6.2.2.3.5 above, which has no cognates in Middle Japanese,⁷⁸ but, nevertheless, frequently appears in Western Old Japanese texts, there is also a passive in *-are-*, that is much less frequent,⁷⁹ but represents an apparent cognate to MJ *-(r)are-*. The difference between the two different passives in Western Old Japanese is not clear, but it probably can be attributed to the dialectal variation within the language. In contrast to Middle Japanese, the passive suffix *-are-* has only two allomorphs: *-are-* and *-ar-*, the latter being found before strong vowel suffixes, and it is attested only after a handful of consonant verbs: *ip-* ‘to say,’ *tukapas-* ‘to send,’ *mur-* ‘to scold,’ *uk-* ‘to float,’ *tuNk-* ‘to follow,’ *mak-* ‘to wrap,’ and *kakus-* ‘to hide.’ It must be noted that there are very few good

⁷⁸ With the exception of *-ye-* found in Middle Japanese only after the verb *mi-* ‘to see, to look.’

⁷⁹ Yoshida Kanehiko mentions that there are about 15 examples of *-are-* in the *Man'yōshū* (Yoshida 1973: 166), but since he does not differentiate between Western and Eastern Old Japanese, this number is actually lower, as there are two examples of *-are-* in Eastern Old Japanese texts.

phonetically written examples of the passive *-are-* in Western Old Japanese.

Chart 67: Combinations of the passive suffix *-are-* with following suffixes and auxiliaries

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-ar-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-ar-uru*</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-are</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-are-m-*</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-are-si**</i>

*Only not very reliable examples in partially semantographic or complete semantographic writing are attested.

**With a subdued infinitive *-[y]i* after *-are-*.

In contrast to the passive *-aye- ~ -raye- ~ -ye-*, the passive *-are-* appears in only two functions: spontaneous action and passive. The potential function is not attested.

(1) Spontaneous action:

言礼師君者と孰可宿良牟

IP-Are-si KYIMYI PA TARE-TÖ ka N-Uram-u

say-PASS(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord TOP who-COM PT sleep-TENT2-ATTR

[my] lord, **who suddenly declared** [that we are involved], with whom do [you] sleep? (MYS IV: 564)

浮笑緒乃得干蚊将去

UKEY-NÖ WO-nö **uk-are** ka YUK-AM-U

float-GEN string-COMP **float-PASS(INF)** PT go-TENT-FIN

Shall [we] go away **floating** like floating strings [of nets]? (MYS XI: 2646)

三笠之山尔居雲乃立者繼流戀為鴨

Myikasa-NÖ YAMA-ni WI-RU KUMWO-nö TATE-NPA **TUNK-AR-Uru** KWOPYI MÖ S-URU kamwo

Myikasa-GEN mountain-LOC sit-ATTR cloud-GEN rise-CON **come.after-PASS-ATTR** love(NML) PT do-ATTR PT

[I] love [you constantly like] the clouds that sit on Mount Myikasa - when [they] rise, [they] **immediately come back** again! (MYS XI: 2675)

(2) Passive voice:

玉二毛我真毛妹之手二所纏乎

TAMA n-i mwoNka MAKOTŌ mwo IMWO-NKA TE-ni **MAK-ARE-M-U**-wo

jewel DV-INF PT truth PT beloved-POSS hand-LOC **wrap-PASS-TENT-ATTR-ACC**

[I] want to be a jewel. [Then I] **would be** indeed **wrapped** around [my] beloved's hand, but ... (MYS IV: 734)

唐能遠境尔都加播佐礼

MŌRŌKWOSI-nō TŌPO-KYI SAKAPYI-ni **tukapas-are**

China-GEN distant-ATTR border-LOC **send-PASS(INF)**

being sent to the distant border of China (MYS V: 894)

熊来酒屋尔真奴良留奴和之佐須比立率而来奈麻之乎真奴良留
奴和之

Kumakyi SAKA-YA-ni MA **nur-ar-u** YATUKWO wasi sasup-yi-
tate WI-TE-K-YI-n-amasi-wo MA **nur-ar-u** YATUKWO wasi

Kumakyi rice.wine-shop-LOC really **scold-PASS-FIN** fellow
INTER invite-INF-put(INF) bring(INF)-SUB-come-INF-PERF-
SUBJ-ACC really **scold-PASS-FIN** fellow INTER

Hey, fellow, [you] **were** really **scolded** at the Kumakyi brewery. [I]
would have invited and brought [you here], but ... Hey, fellow,
[you] **were** really **scolded** (MYS XVI: 3879)

COMPARATIVE DATA**LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC****A1: Eastern Old Japanese**

The passive suffix *-are-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese,
but only in two examples:

(1) Spontaneous action:

兒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)

(2) Passive voice:

奈我波伴尔己良例安波由久

na-Nka papa-ni **kōr-are** a pa yuk-u

you-POSS mother-DAT **scold-PASS(INF)** I TOP go-FIN

Being scolded by your mother I will go away (MYS XIV: 3519)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of WOJ *-are-* are amply attested throughout Ryukyuan, both in Old Ryukyuan and in modern dialects. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

きみにいしやまれてぬしにこのまれて

kimi-ni **isiyam-are-te** nusi-ni **konom-are-te**

lord-DAT **cheer.up-PASS(INF)-SUB** mater-DAT **like-PASS(INF)-SUB**

being cheered up by the lord, **being liked** by the master (OS III: 94)

Shuri

kuree taari-Nkai **sugur-at-ti** nach-oo-ibii-N

he(TOP) father-DAT **hit-PASS-SUB** cry-PROG-POL-FIN

He is crying, as [he] **was hit** by [his] father (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 96)

6.2.2.3.7 *Honorific -as-*

The honorific suffix has one main allomorph *-as-* that is found after the majority of both consonant and regular vowel verbs, e.g. *nak-as-* ‘cry-HON’ (< *nak-* ‘to cry’), *tat-as-* ‘set out-HON, stand-HON’ (*tat-* ‘to set out, to stand), *watar-as-* ‘cross-HON’ (< *watar-* ‘to cross’), *n-as-* ‘sleep-HON’ (< *ne-* ‘to sleep’), and *kōy-as-* ‘lie down-HON’ (< *kōyi-* ‘to lie down’). There is also a secondary allomorph *-ōs-*, found after the verbs *omōp-* ‘to think, to love’ (*omōp-os-* ‘love-HON’) *or-* ‘to weave’ (*or-ōs-* ‘weave-HON’), and *kyik-* ‘to hear’ (*kyik-ōs-* ‘hear-HON’). The first two cases can probably be explained as a result of a progressive assimilation after the vowel /ō/ in the verbal root, although there are other verbs with the root vowel /ō/ that do exhibit the allomorph *-ōs-*: *tōr-* ‘to take’

> *tör-as-* ‘take-HON,’ *nör-* ‘to tell’ > *nör-as-*, and *nöNpor-* ‘to climb’ > *nöNpor-as-*. There is one example where an irregular form *-yes-* is attested after a consonant verb *ip-* ‘to speak.’

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾宇知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻
韋久禮 (KK spelling)

佐和佐和珥儼餓伊幣劑許曾于知和多須椰餓波曳儼須企以利摩
韋区例 (NK spelling)

sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka **ip-yes-e** kösö uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu
k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-ure

noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS **speak(INF)-HON-EV** PREF-
cross-ATTR PT ?-POSS?-COMP come-INF-enter-INF-
HUM(INF)-come-EV

you **spoke** noisily and [you] came inside like ? that crossed from
afar (KK 63, NK 57)

If this form *ip-yes-* ‘speak-HON’ was not attested just twice in the variants of the same poem, one might be tempted to view it as coming from the infinitive *-yi* + honorific *-as-*, which then would indicate that originally *-as-* was not a suffix, but an auxiliary. However, this example is clearly not a sufficient basis for such a claim.

Strong vowel verbs have irregular honorific forms, where the last vowel of the stem monophthongizes with *-as-* into *-yes-*: e.g., *kyes-* ‘wear-HON’ (< *kyl-* ‘to wear’) and *myes-* ‘see-HON’ (< *myi-* ‘to see’). The *s-*irregular verb *se-* ‘to do’ also has an irregular form *se-s-* ‘do-HON,’ which is due to the contraction of *se-* and *-as-*.

The honorific *-as-* always follows the verbal stem or root, with all other suffixes or auxiliaries being placed after it.

Chart 68: Combinations of the honorific suffix *-as-* with following suffixes (the main allomorph *-as-* is used as an example)

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-as-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-as-u</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e[y]</i>	<i>-as-e</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-as-i</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-as-i</i>
imperative <i>-[y]e</i>	<i>-as-e</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-as-am-</i>
tentative <i>-uram-</i>	<i>-as-uram-</i>

negative <i>-(a)Ns-</i>	<i>-as-aNs-*</i>
negative imperative <i>-una</i>	<i>-as-una</i>
conditional <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>-as-aNpa</i>
desiderative-imperative <i>-an-e</i>	<i>-as-an-e</i>
suppositional <i>-urasi</i>	<i>-as-urasi</i>
exclamative <i>-umō</i>	<i>-as-umō</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-as-er-</i>

*The combination *-as-an-* consisting of *-as-* and negative *-an-* is not attested in Western Old Japanese texts.

When followed by an infinitive *-[y]i*, the honorific *-as-* can combine with the following bound auxiliaries:

Chart 69: Combinations of the honorific infinitive *-as-i-* with following bound auxiliaries (the main allomorph *-as-* is used as an example)

bound auxiliaries	combination forms
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-as-i-te</i>
coordinative gerund <i>-tutu</i>	<i>-as-i-tutu*</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-as-i-te-</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-as-i-n-</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-as-i-tar-</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-as-i-si**</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-as-i-kyer-</i>

*Attested once in partially semantographic spelling. See MYS VI: 1053 below.

**Honorific past final *-as-i-kyi* and honorific past evidential *-as-i-sika* are not attested.

As an honorific marker, *-as-* expresses a mild honorification of an addressee or a third person. It appears that it has no immediate connection with the relative social status of an addressee or a third person *vis-à-vis* a speaker. Thus, it can be used by a wife addressing her husband, and vice versa, by a senior official to a junior one, or even between friends. In the speech of deities and emperors it can be used to refer to the first person as well.

故志能久邇邇佐加志壳遠阿理登岐加志弓久波志壳遠阿理登岐
許志弓

Kwosi-nō kuni-ni sakasi mye-wo ar-i tō **kyik-as-i-te** kupasi mye-wo ar-i tō **kyik-ōs-i-te**

Kwosi-GEN province-LOC wise woman-ABS exist-FIN DV **hear-HON-INF-SUB** beautiful woman-ABS exist-FIN DV **hear-HON-INF-SUB**

[Opö kuni nusi] **heard** that there is a wise woman in the Kwosi province, **heard** that there is a beautiful woman (KK 2)

佐用婆比爾阿理多多斯用婆比迺阿理加用婆勢

sa-ywoNp-ap-yi-ni **ari-tat-as-i** ywoNp-ap-yi-ni **ari-kaywop-as-e**
 PREF-call-ITER-NML-LOC **ITER-set.out-HON-INF** call-ITER-
 NML-LOC **ITER-set.out-HON-EV**

[I] **set out (repeatedly)** to woo [her] there, [I] **set out (repeatedly)** to woo [her] (KK 2)

In this and in the next example *-as-* is used with the first person, because the speaker is the deity Opö kuni nusi.

淤曾夫良比和何多多勢禮婆比許豆良比和何多多勢禮婆

osö-N-pur-ap-yi wa-Nka **tat-as-er-e-Npa** pyikö-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 was standing** [there], [I] was pulling and shoving [it], **when I was standing** [there] (KK 2)

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-kyikös-i

sleep TOP **sleep-HON-TENT-ATTR-ACC** extremely DV-INF
 NEG-yearn(INF)-HON-INF

because [you] **will sleep** (a sleep), [do] not yearn too much (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
 都夫佐迺登理與曾比

kurwo-kyi **myi-kyes-i-wo** ma-tuNpusa n-i tör-i-yösöp-yi ... awo-
 kyi **myi-kyes-i-wo** ma-tuNpusa n-i tör-i-yösöp-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)

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-nō kiyri-ni tat-am-u Nsō
 you-POSS **cry-HON-TENT-NML** morning-rain-COMP fog-LOC
 rise-TENT-ATTR PT
 your **weeping** will rise into fog like the morning rain (KK 4)

宇那賀世流多麻能美須麻流美須麻流迹阿那陀麻
unaNk-as-er-u tama-nō myi-sumaru⁸⁰ myi-sumaru-ni ana-N-tama
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)

美多迹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)

和賀祁勢流意須比
 wa-Nka **kyes-er-u** osupyi
 I-POSS **wear(HON)-PROG-ATTR** cloak
 the cloak **that I am wearing** (KK 28)

阿波志斯袁美那迦母賀登
ap-as-i-si womyina ka mōNka tō
meet-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR woman that PT DV
 [I] think [I] wish that [much] the woman [I] **met** (KK 42)
 Here the honorific *-as-* is used by the emperor Ōjin in reference to himself.

摩佐豆古和芸毛玖迹弊玖陀良須
 masaNtukwo wa-Nk-yimwo kuni-pye **kuNtar-as-u**
 MasaNtuko I-POSS-beloved province-DIR **descend-HON-FIN**
 MasaNtuko, my beloved, **goes** towards [her] province (KK 52)

⁸⁰ *-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. Ōno et al. (1990: 1255) treat this word as a cognate to *suberu* 'to glide,' but there are numerous phonetic 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 et al. (1967: 702-703) treat this word as a nominal, too.

賣杼理能和賀意富岐美能淤呂須波多他賀多泥呂迦母
 myeNtöri n-ö wa-Nka opö kyimyí-nö **or-ös-u** pata ta-Nka tane rö
 kamö

MyeNtöri DV-ATTR I-POSS great lady-GEN **weave-HON-ATTR**
 fabric who-POSS material DV PT

The fabric my lady MyeNtöri **weaves**, I wonder for whom (lit. whose) the material is? (KK 66)

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登伊波迦伎加泥弓和賀弓登良須母
 kurapasi-yama-wo saNkasi-myi tö ipa kak-yi-kane-te wa-Nka te
tör-as-umö

Kurapasi-mountain-ABS steep-GER DV rock hang-INF-
 NEG/POT(INF)-SUB **take-HON-EXCL**

[I] think that Mount Kurapasi is steep. Being unable to cling to the
 rocks, [I wish you] **take my hand!** (KK 69)

比能美古爾登余美岐多弓麻都良勢

pyi-nö myi-kwo-ni töyö myi-kyi **tatematur-as-e**
 sun-GEN HON-child-DAT abundant HON-rice.wine
present(HUM)-HON-IMP

Present the abundant rice wine to the honorable child of the Sun!
 (KK 101)

和賀淤富岐美能阿佐斗爾波伊余理陀多志由布斗爾波伊余理陀
 多須和岐豆紀

wa-Nka opö kyimyí-nö asa-two-ni pa **i-yör-i-Ntat-as-i** yupu-two-ni
 pa **i-yör-i-Ntat-as-u** wakyiNtukiy

I-POSS great lord-GEN morning-place-LOC TOP **DLF-lean-INF-
 stand-HON-INF** evening-place-LOC TOP **lean-INF-stand-HON-
 ATTR** arm-rest

the arm-rest that my sovereign **leans on** in the morning and **leans
 on** in the evening (KK 104)

避奈菟謎迺以和多邏素西渡

pyina-tu mye-nö **i-watar-as-u** se two
 countryside-GEN/LOC woman-GEN **DLF-cross-HON-ATTR**
 narrow passage

narrow passage that a woman from the country side **crosses here**
 (NK 3)

滿既能佐烏麼志魔幣菟耆滿伊和哆羅秀暮

myi-key-nō sawo-N-pasi mapyetukyimyī **i-watar-as-umo**
HON-tree-GEN pole-GEN-bridge minister **DLF-cross-HON-EXCL**

[I wish] that ministers would **cross** the bridge **here** [made] of poles of sacred trees! (NK 24)

娑奘岐等羅佐泥

saNsakuyi **tōr-as-an-e**
wren **grab-HON-DES-IMP**

[I wish you would] **catch** the wren! (NK 60)

難波企箇輸擲

na pa **kyik-as-u** ya
you TOP **ask-HON-FIN PT**
Shall [I] **ask** you? (NK 62)
(the emperor to the old nobleman)

和例烏斗波輸難

ware-wo **tōp-as-u** na
I-ACC **ask-HON-FIN PT**
[You] **asked** me! (NK 63)
(the old nobleman to the emperor)

蘇餓能古羅烏於朋枳滿能菟伽破須羅志枳

swoNka-nō kwo-ra-wo opo kyimyī-nō **tukap-as-urasi-kyi**
Soga-GEN child-PLUR-ACC great lord-GEN **use-HON-SUP-ATTR**

It looks like the sovereign [can] **use** the children of Soga (NK 103)

拖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 sō mō ya wa-Nka te **tōr-as-umo** ya
who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-
DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand **take-HON-EXCL PT**
whose chapped hand, chapped hand **will take** my hand?! (NK 108)

多日夜取世須

taNpyi yaNtwor-i se-s-u
travel **stay.for.the.night-NML do-HON-FIN**
[the emperor] **stays for the night** [on his] travel (MYS I: 45)

作良志之香来山之宮

TUKUr-as-i-si kaNku-YAMA-NÖ MYIYA

make-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR KaNku-mountain-GEN palace
the palace on Mount KaNkuyama **that** [the prince] **built** (MYS II:
199)

名者告志弓余

NA PA **NÖR-As-i-te-yö**

name TOP **tell-HON-INF-PERF-IMP**

Tell [me your] name! (MYS III: 362)

吾背子之盖世流衣

WA-NKA SE-KWO-NKA **KYEs-er-u** KÖRÖMÖ

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS **wear(HON)-PROG-ATTR** garment
the garment that my beloved **is wearing** (MYS IV: 514)

相見者月毛不經尔戀云者乎曾呂登吾乎於毛保寒毳

APYI-MYI-TE PA TUKIY mwo PEY-N-AKU n-i KWOP-U TÖ

IPA-NPA wosö rö tö WARE-wo **omwop-as-am-u** kamö

COOP-see(INF)-SUB TOP month PT pass-NEG-NML DV-INF
love-FIN DV say-COND hasty DV(FIN) DV I-ACC **think-HON-**
TENT-ATTR PT

If [I] tell [you] that [I] love [you] without even a month passing
since [we] met each other, I wonder [whether you] **would think**
that [I] am hasty (MYS IV: 654)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼

kökörö-yu mö omöp-an-u apyiNta-ni uti-naNpyik-yi **köy-as-i-n-**
ure

heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC PREF-
stretched.out-INF **lie.down-HON-INF-PERF-EV**

while even in [my] heart [I] did not think, stretched out [she] **was**
lying (MYS V: 794)

奈何名能良佐祿

na-Nka na **nör-as-an-e**

you-POSS name **tell-HON-DES-IMP**

[I] **wish** [you] would **tell** [me] your name! (MYS V: 800)

(didactic poem to a friend or a junior official)

遠等咩良何遠等咩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

wotömye-ra-Nka wotömye saNpiy s-u tö kara tama-wo tamötö-ni
mak-as-i yöti kwo-ra-tö TE taNtusapar-i-te aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
 maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden like do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
 wrist-LOC **wrap-HON-INF** same.age child-PLUR-COM hand
 hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN
 The maidens, thinking to behave 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)

遠等咩良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎伊多度利与利提
 wotömye-ra-Nka **sa-n-as-u** ita-two-wo os-i-pyirak-yi i-taNtwor-i-
 yör-i-te
 maiden-PLUR-POSS **PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR** board-door-ACC
 push-INF-open-INF DLF-pursue-INF-approach-INF-SUB
 [gentlemen] push open wooden doors **where** maidens **sleep**, and
 [they] pursue [maidens] there (MYS V: 804)

伊刀良斯_三伊波比多麻比斯麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯
 i-twor-as-i-te ipap-yi-tamap-yi-si ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ö isi
DLF-hold-HON-INF-SUB pray-INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR
 INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone
holding two stones like real jewels that [she] was praying to ...
 (MYS V: 813)

許能久斯美多麻志可志家良斯母
 kōnō kusi myi-tama **sik-as-i-kyer-asi-mō**
 this mysterious HON-stone **lay-HON-INF-RETR-SUP-EXCL**
 [it] **looks like** [the empress Jingū] **laid** these mysterious stones!
 (MYS V: 814)

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)

阿袁麻多周良武知知波波良波母
 a-wo **mat-as-uram-u** titi papa-ra pa mō
 I-ACC **wait-HON-TENT2-ATTR** father mother-DIM TOP PT

dear mother and father, **who will probably wait** for me (MYS V: 890)

八千年尔安礼衝之乍

YA-TI TÖSE n-i **areTUNK-As-i-TUTU**

eight-thousand year DV-INF **be.born.in.succession-HON-INF-COOR**

[emperors] **are born one after another** for eight thousand years (MYS VI: 1053)

吾戀妹相佐受

WA-NKA KWOP-URU IMWO PA AP-As-aNs-u

I-POSS love-ATTR beloved TOP **meet-HON-NEG-FIN**

[My] beloved, whom I love, **does not meet** [with me] (MYS IX: 1692)

安乎忘為莫

a-wo **WASUR-As-uNA**

I-ACC **forget-HON-NEG/IMP**

Do not forget me (MYS XII: 3013)

波都世乃加波乃乎知可多尔伊母良波多多志己乃加多尔和礼波多知弓

patuse-nö kapa-nö woti kata-ni imö-ra pa **tat-as-i** könö 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)

此戶開為

KÖNÖ TWO **PYIRAK-As-e**

this door **open-HON-IMP**

please open this door (MYS XIII: 3310)

音之少寸道尔相奴鴨少寸四道尔相佐婆

OTÖ-NÖ SUKUNA-kyi MYITI-ni AP-An-u kamwo SUKUNA-kyi yö MYITI-ni **AP-As-aNpa**

sound-GEN few-ATTR road-LOC meet-NEG-ATTR PT few-ATTR PT road-LOC **meet-HON-COND**

if [you] **would meet** [me] on the road where there are few [sounds of people]! [But], alas [we] will not meet on the road where few sounds [of people] are! (MYS XVI: 3875)

伊都之加登奈氣可須良牟曾
 itu si ka tö **naNkeyk-as-uram-u** sö
 when PT PT DV **lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR** PT
 [she] **probably laments**, saying: ‘When [will he return]?’ (MYS XVII: 3962)

伊尔之敝乎於母保須良之母和期於保伎美余思努乃美夜乎安里
 我欲比賣須
 inisipyé-wö **omöp-os-urasi-mö** wa-Nkö opo kyimiyi yösinwo-nö
 myiya-wö ari-Nkaywop-yi **myes-u**
 past-ACC **think-HON-SUP-EXCL** I-POSS great lord Yösinwo-
 GEN palace-ACC ITER-go.back.and.forth-INF look(HON)-FIN
 My sovereign who **seems to think** about the past constantly visits
 the palace in Yösinwo, and **looks** [around] (MYS XVIII: 4099)

阿波之多流今日乎波自米氏
ap-as-i-tar-u KYEPU-wö paNsimey-te
meet-HON-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR today-ACC start(INF)-
 SUB
 starting from today when [you] **have met** [me] (MYS XVIII: 4116)

多比良氣久於夜波伊麻佐祢都々美奈久都麻波麻多世
 tapyirakey-ku oya pa imas-an-e tutumiyi na-ku tuma pa **mat-as-e**
 safe-INF parents TOP exist(HON)-DES-IMP obstacle no-INF
 spouse TOP **wait-HON-IMP**
 Parents, please live safely! Wife, **please wait** [for me] without
 obstacles! (MYS XX: 4408)

於保吉美乃都藝弓賣須良之多加麻刀能努敝
 opo kyimiyi-nö tuNk-yi-te **myes-urasi** Takamatwo-nö nwo-pye
 great lord-GEN follow-INF-SUB **look(HON)-SUP** Takamatwo-
 GEN field-side
 Fields of Takamatwo that [my] sovereign **seemed to look**
 continuously at (MYS XX: 4510)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The honorific suffix *-as-* is amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese.
Examples:

須我麻久良安是加麻可左武許呂勢多麻久良

suNka-makura aNse ka **mak-as-am-u** kö-rö se ta-makura

sedge-pillow why PT **use.as.a.pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR** girl-
DIM do(IMP) arm-pillow

girl, why **would** [you] **use** a sedge pillow? Use my arms as a pillow!
(MYS XIV: 3368)

筑波祢乃祢呂尔可須美為須宜可提尔伊伎豆久伎美乎為祢弓夜
良佐祢

TUKUNpa ne-nö ne-rö-ni kasumyi wi suNkiy-kate-n-i ikyiNtuk-u
kyimyi-wo **wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e**

TukuNpa peak-GEN peak-DIM-LOC mist sit(INF) pass(INF)-
POT-NEG-INF sigh-ATTR lord-ACC **bring(INF)-sleep(INF)-**
SUB send-HON-DES-IMP

The mist sits on the smaller peak of TukuNpa and cannot move
away, and [I] **wish** [you] would **bring** [your] sighing lord **and**
sleep [with him] (MYS XIV: 3388)

安比豆祢能久爾乎佐杼抱美安波奈波婆斯努比尔勢毛等比毛牟
須婆佐祢

apyiNtune-nö kuni-wo saN-töpo-myi ap-an-ap-aNpa sinwop-yi ni
se-m-wo tö pyimwo **musuNp-as-an-e**

ApyiNtune-GEN land-ABS PREF-far-GER meet-NEG-ITER-
COND long.for-NML DV-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV cord **tie-**
HON-DES-IMP

If [we] continue not to meet, because the land of ApyiNtune is far,
[I] **wish** [you] would **tie** [your garment] cords, as if longing for [me]
(MYS XIV: 3426)

西奈等都麻佐祢

se-na-tö **tum-as-an-e**

beloved-DIM-COM **pick-HON-DES-IMP**

[I] **want to pick** [them] with [my] beloved! (MYS XIV: 3444)

安左乎良乎遠家尔布須左尔宇麻受登毛安須伎西佐米也
 asa-wo-ra-wo wo-kye-ni pususa n-i **um-as-u** tömwo asu **kyi-se-**
sas-am-ey ya

hemp-hemp.thread-PLUR-ACC hemp-container-LOC many DV-
 INF **spin-HON-FIN** CONJ tomorrow **wear(NML)-do-HON-**
TENT-EV PT

Even if [you] **spin** many hemp threads into a hemp container,
would [you] **wear** [them] tomorrow [as a garment]? [Certainly,
 you would not!] (MYS XIV: 3484)

In this example we see a special Eastern Old Japanese honorific form *-sas-* found after the verb *se-* 'to do.'

伎美波和須良酒和礼和須流礼夜

kyimiyi 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)

A2: Ryukyuan

The honorific auxiliary *-as-* is attested only in Old Ryukyuan, but even there the examples of its usage are few (Torigoe 1968: 200). Nevertheless, since a direct borrowing from Western Old Japanese to Ryukyuan is out of question, we might accept it as a cognate. However, the limited distribution of *-as-* in Ryukyuan still remains a puzzle, and it is not inconceivable that the imperative form *-ase-* cited below is actually the MJ imperative *-ase* (without the following particle *-yo*), and the infinitive form *-as-i-*, also cited below actually reflects MJ *-ase-*, rather than WOJ *-as-i-*, given the inconsistent nature of Old Ryukyuan orthography. Thus, it is not inconceivable that we deal here with a masked loan from Middle Japanese. Examples:

主里もりあせはつちぎりにきらせ

SIYORI mori ase fa tuti-gir-i n-i **kir-as-e**

Shuri castle warrior TOP ground-(DV)cut-NML DV-INF **cut-**
HON-IMP

Warriors of the Shuri castle, **cut** [the enemy] as cutting the ground
 (OS I: 33)

あもとよらしよわちへ

a-moto **yor-as-i-yow-a-tife**

foot-under **shake-HON-INF-HON-PASS-SUB**

shaking the foundation (OS X: 513)

Therefore, it seems safer to reconstruct just PJN *-as-, although there is a possibility that the reconstruction of PJ *-as- is also viable.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

A comparison of PJN or PJ *-as- with the Middle Korean honorific suffix *-osi-* ~ *-usi-* was first proposed in Whitman 1985: 234-35, and repeated with modifications in Martin 1991: 289, and in Vovin 2001: 197. An example from Middle Korean:

wuli sicwo-y kyenghung-ey **sal-osy-a** wang-ngep-ul **yel-usi-n-i**
 we founder of the dynasty-NOM Kyenghung-LOC **live-HON-INF**
 king-deed-ACC **open-HON-REAL/ATTR-NML**
 When the founder of our dynasty **lived** in Kyenghung, [he] **started**
 [to do] royal deeds (YP 3)

Martin's comparison of Japonic and Korean forms largely depends on his analysis of *yodan* verbs as vowel verbs uniformly ending in *-a* (with the occasional and rare *-ö*). As my morpheme breaks indicate throughout this grammar, I disagree with his point of view and treat *yodan* verbs as consonant verbs. I have several counterarguments, which I am not going to present in full form here, because the problem deserves quite a separate and lengthy treatment that concerns the reconstruction of Proto-Japanese or Proto-Japonic, and not the description of Western Old Japanese grammar, and also because, as will be clear from the discussion below, the way this problem is going to be solved does not have a direct impact on the comparison in question. But it might be worthwhile to mention briefly my two most important objections. First, it is not quite clear why only *-a* is present as a stem-final vowel (with *-ö* being extremely rare, and sometimes alternating with *-a* as in the example above). This exclusive occurrence of *-a* after consonant verbs may call for a different explanation, namely, that it was a separate morpheme. Second, the fact that the addition of vowel-initial suffixes to consonant stems, for example, the infinitive *-[y]i*, did not result in the expected monophthongization *-a+i > -ey*, is bizarre. These two points, however, can be easily reconciled if the infinitive *-[y]i* never followed *-a*.

Nevertheless, if *-a* or *-ö* in the WOJ honorific *-as-/-ös-* would historically represent a separate morpheme, Martin's comparison could possibly stand. This is exactly the approach that is taken by

Whitman, who posits OJ *-s-* as an honorific suffix (1985: 234-35). However, there are three problems that besiege this etymology. First, it seems that the WOJ morpheme was really *-as-*, and not just *-s-*, otherwise the honorific forms of vowel verbs such as WOJ *kyes-* ‘wear(HON)’ < **kyi-as-*, *myes-* ‘see(HON)’ < **myi-as-*, *n-as-* ‘sleep-HON’ ‘sleep < **ne-as-*, and *köy-as-* ‘lie down-HON’ < **köyi-as-* are difficult to explain: if the honorific suffix were really **-s-*, we would expect **kyi-s-*, **myi-s-*, **ne-s-* and **köyi-s-*. Second, similar to a number of cases discussed above, we are faced here with a problem of a limited distribution in Japonic. As mentioned above, there are no attestations of this honorific marker or its reflexes in any modern Ryukyuan language. Although it is attested in Eastern Old Japanese and Old Ryukyuan, it might be a masked Middle Japanese loan in the latter. Third, we face the problem of an unaccounted segment *-i* in MK *-osi-* ~ *-usi-* that does not correspond to anything in WOJ *-as-*. All these problems strongly suggest that we deal here with a likely loan from Korean into Japanese, but not with a genuine cognate.

6.2.2.3.8 Causative *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*

The causative suffix has two main allomorphs: *-asimey-* that follows consonant verbs and *-simey-* that follows regular vowel verbs, strong vowel verbs, and the irregular verb *se-* ‘to do’. Depending on whether a following suffix may have a strong vowel that is never deleted we also have two other secondary allomorphs: *-asim-* and *-sim-*. Therefore, the morphophonology of the causative suffix can be summarized in the following chart:

Chart 70: Morphophonological variations of the causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*

	weak vowel suffix	strong vowel suffix
consonant verbs	<i>-asimey-</i>	<i>-asim-</i>
vowel verbs	<i>-simey-</i>	<i>-sim-</i>

The causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* always follows the root of a verb. Thus, it never combines with either the iterative *-ap-* or the passive *-aye-* ~ *-raye-* ~ *-ye-* that occupy the same slot. Therefore, similar to Middle Japanese, but unlike modern Japanese, the causative-passive construction is not present in Western Old Japanese. With the exception of a singular poem in the *Nihonshoki kayō*, the causative *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* is attested only in the

Man'yōshū and the *Senmyō*. All possible combinations of *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries are provided in the chart below.

Chart 71: Combinations of the causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-(a)sim-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-(a)sim-uru</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-(a)simey</i>
imperative <i>-Ø, -yō</i>	<i>-(a)simey, -(a)simey-yō</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-m-</i>
negative <i>-Ns-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-Ns-</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-(a)simey-si*</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-te-</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-tar-**</i>
coordinative gerund <i>-tutu</i>	<i>-(a)simey-tutu</i>

*All bound auxiliaries starting from this and to the end of the chart follow the subdued infinitive *-[y]i* after *-(a)simey-*.

**Attested only once in a semantographic spelling.

The causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* has only one function of general causation: 'make X do Y' or 'let X do Y.' The causee is marked by the dative case marker *-ni* if the verb is transitive, or with the accusative case marker *-wo* if the verb is intransitive.⁸¹ Examples:

伊慕我堤鳴倭例儻魔柯斯每倭我堤鳴麼伊慕儻魔柯絕每
 imo-Nka te-wo ware-ni **mak-asimey** wa-Nka te-woNpa imo-ni
mak-asimey
 beloved-POSS hand-ACC I-DAT **use.as.a.pillow-CAUS(INF)** I-
 POSS hand-ACC(EMPH) beloved-DAT **use.as.a.pillow-**
CAUS(INF)
 [my] beloved **will let me use** [her] arm as a pillow, and [I] **will let**
 [my] beloved **use my arm as a pillow** (NK 96)

塩乎令干
 sipo-wo **PIY-SIM-URU**

⁸¹ There is not enough data to judge whether a causee can be marked by *-ni* with a following intransitive verb in the case of voluntary causation, as in Modern Japanese.

tide-ACC **ebb-CAUS-ATTR**

[the sea deity] **makes** the tide **ebb** (MYS III: 388)

古人乃令食有吉備能酒

PURU PYITÖ-nö **TAMAPEY-SIMEY-TAR-U** KyiNpiy-nö
SAKEY

old person-GEN **receive(HUM)-CAUS(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR** KyiNpiy-GEN rice.wine

the rice wine of KyiNpiy that an old acquaintance gave [me] (lit.: **made** [me] **receive**) (MYS IV: 554)

阿麻治思良之米

ama-N-ti **sir-asimey**

heaven-GEN-road **know-CAUS(IMP)**

let [him] **know** the road to Heaven (MYS V: 906)

乱戀耳令為乍不相妹鴨

MYINTARE-KWOPIY NÖMIY **SE-SIMEY-TUTU** AP-AN-U
IMWO kamwo

be.confused(INF)-love(NML) PT **do-CAUS(INF)-COOR** meet-NEG-ATTR beloved PT

ah, [my] beloved who does not meet [me], just **making** [my] love **to be** confused! (MYS XI: 2474)

吾乎如是許令戀波小可者在来

WARE-wo **KA-KU** NPAKARI **KWOPIY-SIM-URU** PA ASI-KU
PA AR-I-KYER-I

I-ACC thus-INF PT **long.for-CAUS-ATTR** TOP bad-INF TOP
exist-INF-RETR-FIN

[It] is bad **to make** me **long** for [you] so much (MYS XI: 2584)

故非毛奈久安良末思毛能乎於毛波之米都追

kwopiy mwo na-ku ar-amasi mwonöwo **omwop-asimey-tutu**

long.for(NML) PT no-INF exist-SUBJ CONJ **love-CAUS(INF)-COOR**

[I] would have no longing for [you], but [you] **make** [me] **love** [you] **constantly** (MYS XV: 3737)

奈泥之故我波奈乃佐可里尔阿比見之米等曾

naNtesikwo-Nka pana-nö sakar-i-ni **ap-yi-MYI-simey** tö sö

carnation-POSS flower-GEN full.bloom-NML-LOC **meet-INF-see-CAUS(IMP)** DV PT

[I] say: “When carnations are in full bloom, **let** [me] **meet** [with my beloved]” (MYS XVII: 4008)

和我世兒乎安宿勿令寐

wa-Nka se-KWO-wo yasu i **NA-NE-SIMEY**

I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC easy sleep **NEG-sleep-CAUS(INF)**

Do not let my beloved **sleep** an easy sleep (MYS XIX: 4179)

山人乃和礼尔依志米之夜麻都刀曾許礼

YAMA-N-PYITÖ-nö ware-ni **e-simey-si** yama tutwo sö köre

mountain-GEN-person-GEN I-DAT **receive-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR** mountain present PT this

this [is] a mountain present that a mountaineer gave me (lit.: **made me receive**) (MYS XX: 4293)

夜度乃烏梅能知利須具流麻湮美之米受安利家流

yaNtwo-nö uMEY-nö tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte **myi-simey-Ns-u ar-i-kyer-u**

house-GEN plum-GEN fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM **see-CAUS-NEG-INF exist-INF-RETR-ATTR**

[it] **turned out that** [you] **did not let** [me] **see** plum [blossoms] in [your] house until they had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4496)

兵發之武

IKUSA **OKÖS-Asim-u**

army **raise-CAUS-FIN**

[Nakamarö] **made armies to raise** (SM 28)

本乃大臣位仁仕奉之武流事乎諸聞食止宣

MÖTÖ-nö OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-NÖ KURAWI-ni

TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asim-uru KÖTÖ-wo MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ

KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ tö NÖTAMAP-U

root-GEN minister-GEN position-LOC **serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS-ATTR** matter-ACC all-all listen-INF-HUM-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN

[We] deign to say: “Everyone listen to the fact that [we] **make** Toyonari **serve** [again] in [his] previous position of the minister” (SM 28)

帝止立天天下乎治之米无等念天在人

MYIKANTWO tō TATE-te AMEY-NŌ SITA-wo **WOSAMEY-simey-m-u** tō OMOP-YI-te AR-u PYITŌ
 emperor DV place(INF)-SUB Heaven-GEN bottom-ACC **rule-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV think-INF-SUB exist-ATTR person
 people who are thinking that [they] **want to** place [him on the throne] as the emperor and **let** [him] **rule** the [country] under Heaven (SM 33)

奉仕之米天志可等念保之米之天

TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asimey-te-si ka tō OMŌp-os-i-meys-i-te
 serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT
 DV think-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB
 [Dōkyō] thought: “[I] want to **make** [them] **serve**” (SM 36)

近護止之天護之米与

TIKA-KYI MAMWOR-I tō s-i-te **MAMWOR-Asimey-yō**
 close-ATTR guard-NML DV do-INF-SUB **guard-CAUS-IMP**
let [them] **guard** [us] as [our] close guards (SM 45)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

都藝奈牟毛能乎美太礼志米梅楊

tuNk-yi-n-am-u mwonōwo **myiNtare-simey-m-ey ya**
 continue-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR CONJ **be.confused-CAUS-TENT-EV PT**
 although [I] want to continue, [what] **could make** [my heart] **confused?** [Nothing!] (MYS XIV: 3360)

安思布麻之牟奈久都波氣和我世

asi **pum-asim-una** kutu pak-ey wa-Nka se
 foot **step-CAUS-NEG/IMP** shoe put.on-IMP I-POSS beloved
Do not let [yourself] **step** [on it bare-]footed. Put on [your] shoes, my beloved (MYS XIV: 3399)

伊射祢之賣刀良

iNsa **ne-simye** twora

INTER **sleep-CAUS(IMP)** Twora (p.n.?)
 Hey, Twora, **let [me] sleep [with you]** (MYS XIV: 3518)

A2: Ryukyuan

The causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* is not attested in Ryukyuan per se, but the following forms from the Shuri dialect are worth attention. The causative form of the verb *s-* ‘to do’ in Shuri is *shimii-* ~ *shimiy-*. Also, the consonant verbs with their roots or stems ending in /s/ have the causative form in *-imiy-* (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 101). Examples:

Shuri

'ari-Nkai **shimiy-uN**
 he-DAT **do(CAUS)-FIN**
 [I] **will make** him **do** [it] (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 102)

kusa ka-i **shimiy-uN**
 grass cut-NML **do(CAUS)-FIN**
 [I] **will make** [him] **cut** the grass (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 102)

miji **nagas-imiy-uN**
 water **flush-CAUS-FIN**
 [I] **will make** [him] **flush** the water (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 102)

It is impossible for modern Shuri to borrow directly from Western Old Japanese, so these Shuri forms are likely to be connected genetically with WOJ *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*. However, it is not quite clear what kind of a form we are supposed to reconstruct here for Proto-Japonic.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am not aware of any external parallels for the causative suffix *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*.

6.2.2.3.9 Causative *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-*

There is another causative marker attested in Western Old Japanese texts in addition to *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*. There appears to be no functional difference between these two. The second causative is

represented by two basic variants: *-as-* and *-(a)se-*.⁸² Both variants can be found after consonant verbs. Two consonant verbs, *töyöm-* 'to sound' and *op-* 'to carry', are followed by the special allomorphs *-öse-/ -ose- ~ -ös-/ -os-*, that result from the same type of progressive assimilation as was observed above for the iterative *-ap-* and the passive *-aye-*. It must be noted that if *-as-* or *-ase-* after a consonant verb is followed by a strong vowel suffix, it is not possible to tell which variant was used because the /e/ in *-ase-* would be regularly deleted before a strong vowel suffix.

Only the variant *-as-* occurs after the regular vowel verbs, although only three of them are attested in combination with the following causative *-as-* in reliable phonetic spelling: *n-as-* 'to make/let sleep' (< *ne-* 'to sleep'), *nur-as-* 'to make wet' (< *nure-* 'to be wet'), and *kar-as-* 'to make/let wither' (*kare-* 'to wither, to dry'). On the other hand, irregular (strong) vowel verbs are always followed by the variant *-se-* (< *-ase-*, with the expected initial vowel loss in the suffix after a stem of a strong vowel verb). The morphophonological variations of *-as- ~ -(a)se-* are represented in the following chart.

Chart 72: Morphophonological variations of the causative suffix *-as- ~ -(a)se-*

	weak vowel suffix	strong vowel suffix
consonant verbs	<i>-as-, -ase-</i>	<i>-as-</i>
regular vowel verbs	<i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-</i>
irregular vowel verbs	<i>-se-</i>	<i>-s-</i>
töyöm- sound 'to	<i>-ös-, -öse-</i>	<i>-ös-</i>
op- 'to carry'	<i>-ose-</i>	-

The causative suffix *-as- ~ (a)se-* always follows the root of a verb. Similar to the causative *-asimey- ~ -simey-*, it never combines with either the iterative *-ap-* or the passive *-aye- ~ -raye- ~ -ye-* that occupy the same slot. Therefore, similar to Middle Japanese, but

⁸² It is not possible to call them allomorphs because *-as-* and *-(a)se-* are not completely complimentary distributed. It is not impossible that we have some dialectal variation here. Note that there is no form *-sase-* like in Middle and modern Japanese.

unlike modern Japanese, the causative-passive construction is not present in Western Old Japanese.

The causative marker *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* can combine with a greater number of following suffixes and bound auxiliaries than the causative marker *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-*, although there is a significant overlap in usage. Since both causative markers combine essentially with markers belonging to the same verbal categories, the distinction between *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* and *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* is unlikely to be functional. The only two significant discrepancies seem to be that the causative *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* combines with the past attributive *-si*, while *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* does not; and vice versa, while *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* combines with the following potential auxiliary *-kate-*, *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* does not. But these minor discrepancies may also be attributed to the fact that our corpus is somewhat limited, and, consequently, not all verbal forms are attested. In contrast to the causative *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* that is practically attested only in the *Man'yōshū* and the *Senmyō*, the causative marker *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* seems to be confined only to poetry,⁸³ and it has several attestations in the earliest texts. Thus, the distinction between the causatives *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* and *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* may probably be defined in the terms that *-asimey-* ~ *-simey-* was more colloquial than *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* in the Nara period. All possible combinations of *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries are provided in the chart below.

Chart 73: Combinations of the causative suffix *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and bound auxiliaries	combination forms
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-ös-u</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-as-u</i> , <i>-os-u</i> , <i>-as-uru*</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-as-i</i> , <i>-(a)se</i> , <i>-ose</i>
imperative <i>-e</i> , \emptyset	<i>-as-e (?)</i> , <i>-ase (?)</i>
exclamative <i>-(u)mö</i>	<i>-as-umö</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-ase-m-</i> , <i>-se-m-</i>
tentative <i>-(u)ram-</i>	<i>-as-uram-</i>
negative <i>-Ns-</i>	<i>-os-aNs-</i>
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-as-an-</i>

⁸³ There are no attestations of *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* in the *Senmyō*. Bentley provides two examples from the *Norito* (2001: 196), but neither of them is reliable, because this suffix is not even spelt semantographically by the character 令 'to order.'

negative imperative <i>-una</i>	<i>-as-una</i>
subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i>	<i>-se-masi</i>
debitive <i>-uNpey-</i>	<i>-s-uNpey-*</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-as-i-t-, -se-t-</i>
potential <i>-kate-</i>	<i>-se-kate-*</i>

* Attested only in partially semantographic writing.

The causative suffix *-as-* ~ *(a)se-* has only one function of general causation 'make X do Y' or 'let X do Y.' The causee is marked by the dative case marker *-ni* if the verb is transitive, or with the accusative case marker *-wo* or a zero case marker if the verb is intransitive.⁸⁴ Examples:

能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠伊能知波那志勢婆多麻比會
 nōti pa na-N-tōri n-i ar-am-u-wo inōti pa **na-si-se-tamap-yi-sō**
 later TOP you-OSM-bird DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC life
 TOP **NEG-die-CAUS(INF)-HON-INF-do**
 because [I] will be your bird later, **do not kill** [your] life [with
 desire] (KK 3)

意能賀袁奴須美斯勢牟登
 onō-Nka wo-wo nusum-yi **si-se-m-u** tō
 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)

比登都麻都比登迹阿理勢婆多知波氣麻斯袁岐奴岐勢麻斯袁
 pyitō-tu matu pyitō n-i ar-i-s-eNpa tati pakey-masi-wo kyinu **kyi-**
se-masi-wo
 one-CL pine person DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND
 long.sword make.wear-SUBJ-ACC garment **wear-CAUS-SUBJ-**
ACC
 Oh, lone pine, if [you] were a human being, [I] would make [you]
 wear a long sword, [I] **would make** [you] **wear** a garment, but ...
 (KK 29)

烏智可拖能阿娑努能枳枳始騰余謀佐儒倭例播祢始柯騰比騰會
 騰余謀須

⁸⁴ There is not enough data to judge whether a causee can be marked by *-ni* with a following intransitive verb in the case of voluntary causation as in Modern Japanese.

woti kata-nō asa-nwo-nō kyikyisi **tōyōm-os-aNs-u** ware pa ne-sika-Ntō pyitō sō **tōyōm-os-u**
 that side-GEN Asa-field-GEN pheasant **sound-CAUS-NEG-INF** I
 TOP sleep(INF)-PAST/EV-CONC person PT **sound-CAUS-ATTR**

Although I slept **without letting** pheasants from the Asa field on yonder side **cry**, [other] people **let** [them] **cry** (NK 110)

吾欲之野嶋波見世追

wa-Nka POR-I-si NWONSIMA pa **MYI-se-t-u**
 I-POSS want-INF-PAST/ATTR NwoNsima TOP **see-CAUS-PERF-FIN**

[You] **have shown** [me] NwoNsima that [I] wanted [to see] (MYS I: 12)

磯之於尔生流馬醉木乎手折目杼令視倍吉君之在常不言尔
 ISWO-NÖ UPEY-ni OP-Uru ASINPYI-wo TA-WOR-Am-ey-Ntō
MYI-S-UNpey-kyi KYIMYI-NKA AR-I tō IP-AN-AKU n-i
 rocky.shore-GEN top-LOC grow-ATTR andromeda-ACC hand-break-TENT-EV-CONC **see-CAUS-DEB-ATTR** lord-POSS exist-FIN DV say-NEG-NML DV-INF

Although [I] was going to break [with my] hand the andromeda [flowers] that grow on the rocky shore, as [people] do not say that [my] lord, **whom** [I] **could show** [them, still] lives ... (MYS II: 166)

神風尔伊吹或之

KAMU-KANSE-ni **i-PUK-YI-MATWOP-As-i**
 divine-wind-LOC **DLF-blow-INF-be.confused-CAUS-INF**
making the divine wind **to blow** [them] **away in confusion** (MYS II: 199)

可久斯良摩世婆久奴知許等其等美世摩斯母乃乎

ka-ku sir-amas-eNpa kun[i]-uti kötō-Nkötō **myi-se-masi** mönōwo
 thus-INF know-SUBJ-COND land-inside thing-thing **see-CAUS-SUBJ CONJ**

if [I] would know that, [I] **would show** [her] all the things in the land, but ... (MYS V: 797)

夜周伊斯奈佐農

yasu i si **n-as-an-u**
 easy sleep PT **sleep-CAUS-NEG-ATTR**

[you] **do not let** [me] **sleep** an easy sleep (MYS V: 802)

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 **fall-CAUS-NEG/IMP**

Do not let us fall in vain (MYS V: 852a)

龜妙能布衣遠陶尔伎世難尔可久夜歎敢

ARA TAPEY-nō NUNWO KYINU-wo Ntani **kyi-se-KATE-n-i**
ka-ku ya NANKEYk-am-u

rough mulberry.bark.cloth-GEN cloth garment-ACC PT **wear-**
CAUS(INF)-POT-NEG-INF thus-INF PT lament-TENT-ATTR

Being unable to make [my children] **wear** even a cloth garment
from the rough mulberry bark cloth, would [I] lament in this way?
(MYS V: 901)

手爾持流安我古登婆之都

TE-ni MÖT-Er-u a-Nka kwo **tōNp-as-i-t-u**

hand-LOC hold-PROG-ATTR I-POSS child **fly-CAUS-INF-**
PERF-FIN

[I] **have let** my child **fly away**, whom [I] was holding in [my]
hands (MYS V: 904)

白玉乎手者不纏尔匣耳置有之人曾玉令詠流

SIRA TAMA-wo TE-NI PA MAK-ANS-U n-i PAKWO-NÖMIY-
NI OK-YER-I-si PYITÖ sö TAMA **NANKEYK-AS-Uru**

white jewel-ACC hand-LOC TOP wrap-NEG-NML DV-INF box-
PR-LOC place-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR person PT jewel **lament-**
CAUS-ATTR

A person who has just placed [her] white jewels in a box without
wearing [them] on [her] wrists, **makes** the jewels **lament** (MYS
VII: 1325)

山澤個具乎採将去日谷毛相為

YAMA SAPA weNku-wo TUM-YI-NI YUK-AM-U PYI Ntani
mwo **AP-As-e** (or: **AP-Ase**)

mountain stream weNku-ACC pick-INF-LOC go-TENT-ATTR day
PT PT **meet-CAUS-IMP** (or: **meet-CAUS(IMP)**)

Let [me] **meet** [you] just [on] the day when [I] go to pick weNku
[grass at] the mountain stream (MYS XI: 2760)

It is not clear whether we should segment *apase* in this example as *ap-as-e* (with the allomorph *-as-* + imperative *-e*) or as *-ap-ase* (with the allomorph *-ase-* + zero infinitive).

古非思家婆伎麻世和我勢古可伎都楊疑字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 **kar-as-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] standing (MYS XIV: 3455)

This poem looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text, with no peculiarities typical of Eastern Old Japanese, so I treat it as a Western Old Japanese text in spite of the fact that it is located in volume XIV of the *Man'yōshū*.

伊母爾見勢武爾和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比弓由賀奈
imö-ni **MYI-se-m-u-ni** wata-tu myi-nö okyi-tu SIRA TAMA
pyirip-yi-te yuk-ana

beloved-DAT **see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC** sea-GEN/LOC
dragon-GEN offspring-GEN/LOC white jewel pick up-INF-SUB go-
DES

[I] want to go, picking up the white jewels from the offspring of the sea dragon in order to **show** [them] to [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3614)

保等登藝須和我須武佐刀尔伎奈伎等余母須

potötöNkyisu wa-Nka sum-u satwo-ni k-yi nak-yi **töyöm-ös-u**
cuckoo I-POSS live-ATTR village-LOC come-INF cry-INF **sound-
CAUS-FIN**

a cuckoo comes, cries and **makes** [its voice] **resound** in the village where I live (MYS XV: 3782)

宇具比須乃奈枳知良須良武春花

uNkupyisu-nö nak-yi **tir-as-uram-u** PARU-NÖ PANA
bush.warbler-GEN sing-INF **fall-CAUS-TENT2-ATTR** spring-
GEN flower

spring flowers that the bush warbler **will probably let fall** while [he] sings (MYS XVII: 3966)

多知夜麻乃由吉之久良之毛波比都奇能可波能和多理瀬安夫美
都加須毛

Tati yama-nō yukyi si k-urasi-mō Papyitukiy-nō kapa-nō watar-i-
N-SE aNpumi **tuk-as-umō**

Tati mountain-GEN snow PT melt-SUP-EXCL Papyitukiy-GEN
river-GEN cross-NML-DV(ATTR)-rapids stirrup **soak-CAUS-
EXCL**

It seems that the snow on Mount Tati has melted! [I] **made** my
stirrups **soak** at the rapids that are the crossing of the river
Papyitukiy! (MYS XVII: 4024)

伊可尔安流布勢能宇良曾毛許己太久尔吉民我弥世武等和礼乎
等登牟流

ika n-i ar-u puse-nō ura sō mwo kōkōNtaku n-i kyimiyi-Nka **myi-
se-m-u** tō ware-wo tōNtōm-uru

how DV-INF exist-ATTR Puse-GEN bay it PT so.much DV-INF
lord-POSS **see-CAUS-TENT-FIN** DV I-ACC stop-ATTR

The bay of Puse, how [beautiful] it [is], [so that my] lord will stop
[me] **wishing to show** [it to me] (MYS XVIII: 4036)

Note that in this example *sō* is not a focus particle, but a demonstrative pronoun.

伎美尔伎可勢牟

kyimiyi-ni **kyik-ase-m-u**

lord-DAT **listen-CAUS-TENT-ATTR**

[I] **want to make** [my] lord **listen** [to the cuckoo] (MYS XVIII:
4067)

和藝毛故尔美勢牟我多米尔母美知等里氏牟

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-ni **myi-se-m-u**-Nka tameyi n-i mömyit-i tör-i-
te-m-u

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT **see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-POSS** for
DV-INF leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML take-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN

[I] want to take red leaves in order **to show** [them] to my beloved
(MYS XIX: 4222)

之路多倍乃蘇湮奈伎奴良之

sirwo tapey-nō swoNte **nak-yi-nur-as-i**

white mulberry.bark.cloth-GEN sleeve **weep-INF-be.wet-CAUS-
INF**

[they] **make wet with** [their] **tears** [their] sleeves from white
mulberry bark cloth (MYS XX: 4408)

麻須良多祁乎々佐吉尔多弓由伎登利於保世

masura takye wo-wo sakyi-ni tate yukyi **tōr-i-op-ose**

magnificent brave man-ACC front-LOC place(INF) quiver **take-INF-carry-CAUS(INF)**

[the emperor] places magnificent and brave men in front and **makes** [them] **take and carry** quivers (MYS XX: 4465)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are only four uncontroversial examples of the causative suffix *-(a)se-* in Eastern Old Japanese and all of them involve the variant *-(a)se-* and its assimilated allomorph *-ose-*. The variant *-as-* is not attested. Examples:

比登豆麻古呂乎麻由可西良布母

pyitō-N-tuma kwo-rō-wo ma **yuk-ase-[a]r-ap-umō**

person-GEN-wife girl-DIM-ACC eye **go-CAUS-PROG-ITER-FIN-EXCL**

[I] **let** [my] eyes **wander** over the girl [who is] the wife of [another] person! (MYS XIV: 3541)

佐射礼伊思尔古馬乎波佐世弓

saNsare isi-ni kwoma-wo **pas-ase-te**

small stone-LOC stallion-ACC **run-CAUS(INF)-SUB**

making [my] stallion **run** over small stones (MYS XIV: 3542)

加未尔於保世牟己許呂思良受弓

kamiy-ni **op-ose-m-u** kökōrō sir-aNs-u-te

deity-DAT **carry-CAUS-TENT-ATTR** heart know-NEG-INF-SUB

not knowing [my] heart that [I] **will let** deities **carry** [away] (MYS XIV: 3566)

以弊乃母加积世之己呂母尔阿加都积尔迦理

ipyē-nō [i]mō-Nka **kyi-se-si** köromō-ni aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i

home-GEN beloved-POSS **wear-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR**
garment-LOC dirt attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

dirt stuck to the garment that my beloved at home **made** [me] **wear** (MYS XX: 4388)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are cognates of WOJ *-as-* ~ *-(a)se-* attested throughout the Ryukyuan islands. In Shuri only the form *-as-* is attested (RKJ 81), but in Old Ryukyuan both *-as-* and *-(a)se-* are present. Torigoe claims that OR *-(a)se-* is an old form, and *-as-* is a new one (1968: 194), but his hypothesis is based on the theory that the *-as-* form in mainland Japanese is not attested before the Edo period, and therefore, he imagines here some parallel development, stating that in Old Ryukyuan *-as-* must have appeared no later than during the Muromachi period. However, in light of WOJ *-as-*, there is no need for such a speculation: both OR *-as-* and *-(a)se-* apparently represent cognates to Western Old Japanese forms.

Old Ryukyuan

かみかなしかみきよらあおるこがせや
 kami kanasi kami kiyora aor-u **kog-ase-ya**
 deity beautiful deity beautiful swing-FIN **row-CAUS-IMP**
 Beautiful goddess, beautiful goddess, swing [the wind, and] let [us]
row [out] (OS X: 530)

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)

大にしにはりやさはなよくらすしりよわめ
 OPO nisi-ni **far-i-y-as-afa** Nayokura su sir-i-yow-am-e
 great north-LOC **run-INF-send-CAUS-COND** Nayokura PT
 know-INF-HON-TENT-EV
 If [we] **make** [the boat] **run** to the Great North, Nayokura
 [goddess] would protect [us] (OS XIII: 902)

Shuri

'uttu-Nkai jii **kak-as-uN**
 younger.brother-DAT character **write-CAUS-FIN**
 [I] will **make** [my] younger **brother** write characters (Nishioka &
 Nakahara 2000: 101)

gaNmari sh-ii-nee 'ama-Nkai **tat-as-uN** doo
 mischief do-INF-COND there-LOC **stand-CAUS-FIN** PT
 If [you] are mischievous, [I] **will make** [you] **stand** there!
 (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 101)

Thus, we can reconstruct PJ *-as- ~ *-ase- as causative markers.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am not aware of any external parallels for PJ *-as- ~ *-ase-.

6.2.2.3.10 Debitive *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-*

The debitive suffix has two allomorphs: *-uNpey-* and *-Npey-*. The allomorph *-Npey-* occurs only after strong vowel verbs, but in Western Old Japanese texts only one vowel verb *myi-* ‘to see, to look’ is attested with a following *-Npey-*: *myi-Npey-* ‘should look.’⁸⁵ After all other verbs: consonant, regular vowel, and all irregular only the main allomorph *-uNpey-* is found.

The debitive suffix *-uNpey-* appears extremely rarely in the earliest Western Old Japanese texts: it is found once in the *Kojiki kayō* and once in the *Nihonshoki kayō*. This should come as no surprise, since *-uNpey-* is certainly a grammaticalized form of the adjective *uNpey-* ‘to be proper, to be indeed’ or the adverb *uNpey* ‘indeed’, both of which are attested independently in Western Old Japanese texts. Examples:

宇倍那宇倍那岐美麻知賀多爾
uNpey na uNpey na kyimyi mat-i-Nkat-an-i
indeed PT **indeed** PT lord wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF
Indeed, indeed! [I] can hardly wait for [my] lord, and ... (KK 28)

宇倍志許曾斗比多麻閑麻許曾迹斗比多麻閑
uNpey-si kōsō twop-yi-tamap-ey ma kōsō n-i twop-yi-tamap-ey
be.proper-FIN PT ask-INF-HON-EV truth PT DV-INF ask-INF-
 HON-EV
 [It] **is proper** that [you] asked [me], [it] is right that [you] asked
 [me] (KK 72)

⁸⁵ Note that in Middle (Classical) Japanese *-ube-* follows the attributive *mi-ru* of the verb *mi-* ‘to see, to look’: *mi-r-ube-*.

波流奈例婆宇倍母佐枳多流烏梅能波奈
 paru nar-e-Npa **uNpey** mö sak-yi-tar-u uMEY-nö pana
 spring becomes-EV-CON **indeed** PT bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-
 ATTR plum-GEN blossom
 plum blossoms that have **indeed** bloomed when the spring came
 (MYS V: 831)

諾石社見人每尔語嗣偲家良思吉
 UNPEY-si kösö MYI-RU PYITÖ NKÖTÖ n-i KATAR-I-TUNK-
 YI SINWOP-YI-kyer-asi-kyi
be.proper-FIN PT see-ATTR person every DV-INF talk-INF-
 pass-INF yearn-INF-RETR-SUP-ATTR
 [It] is **proper** that every person who sees [this beach], seems to
 yearn [for it] and tells others [about it] (MYS VI: 1065)

許己見礼婆宇倍之神代由波自米家良思母
 kökö MYI-re-Npa **uNpey-si** KAMIY-YÖ-yu paNsimey-kyer-asi-
 mö
 here look-EV-CON **be.indeed-FIN** deity-age-ABL begin(INF)-
 RETR-SUP-EXCL
 when [you] look at this place, it **indeed** looks like [they] began [the
 building of the palaces] from the Age of Gods! (MYS XX: 4360)

Since the debitive *-uNpey-* is derived from the adjective *uNpey-* 'to be proper,' it is no wonder that it has an adjectival paradigm:

Chart 74: Combinations of the debitive suffix *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-si</i>	<i>-uNpey-si</i>
attributive <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-uNpey-kyi</i>
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-uNpey-ku</i>
gerund <i>-myi</i>	<i>-uNpey-myi</i>

Since *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-* has an adjectival paradigm, all other suffixes or bound auxiliaries can attach only to the auxiliary verb *ar-* 'to exist' which is added to the infinitive form *-uNpey-ku*. The form *-uNpey-ku ar-* can contract to *-uNpey-k-ar-*, but the examples of this contracted form are extremely rare in Western Old Japanese, and none are found in an uncontroversial phonetic spelling.

Only the following suffixes can precede *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-*:

Chart 75: Combinations of the debitive suffix *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-* with preceding suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-uNpey-</i>
passive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-öy-uNpey-</i>
causative <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-s-uNpey-</i>
perfective <i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-uNpey-</i>
perfective <i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-uNpey-</i>

The debitive suffix *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-* can have three different functions: (1) debitive ('must do, should do'), (2) strong probability ('would do'), (3) potential ('can do'). Among these functions the debitive function is the most frequent, and judging by the fact that *-uNpey-* ~ *-Npey-* is a grammaticalization of the adjective *uNpey-* 'to be proper,' it is likely to be the primary one. Examples:

(1) Debitive:

和餓勢故餓勾倍枳豫譬奈利

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka **k-uNpey-kyi** yöpyi nar-i

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS **come-DEB-ATTR** night be-FIN

[It] is the night when my beloved **must come** (NK 65)

雲谷裳情有南畝可苦佐布倍思哉

KUMWO Ntani mo KÖKÖRÖ AR-Ana-mo **kakus-ap-uNpey-si**
YA

cloud PT PT heart exist-DES-EXCL PT **hide-ITER-DEB-FIN** PT

[I] wish at least the clouds [would] have feelings! Do [they] **have**

to hide [Mt. Myiwa] all the time? (MYS I: 18)

都摩夜佐夫斯久於母保由倍斯母

tuma-ya saNpusi-ku **omöp-oy-uNpey-si-mö**

spouse-room lonely-INF think-PASS-DEB-FIN-EXCL

[I] **must suddenly think** [how] lonely [our] bedroom [is]! (MYS V: 795)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾
家良受夜

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-tar-u sönö-nö awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-
uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u ya

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN
green willow TOP wig DV-INF **do-DEB-INF** become-INF-PERF-
INF-RETR-NEG-FIN PT

Did not [it] become so that [we] **should make** [our] wigs out of the
green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have
bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

烏梅能波奈佐企弓知理奈波佐久良婆那都伎弓佐久倍久奈利爾
弓阿良受也

uMEY-nō pana sak-yi-te tir-i-n-aNpa sakura-N-pana tuNk-yi-te
sak-uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-te ar-aNs-u ya

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-SUB fall-INF-PERF-COND
sakura-GEN-blossom follow-INF-SUB **bloom-DEB-INF** become-
INF-PERF-INF-SUB exist-NEG-FIN PT

If the plum blossoms have bloomed and fallen, does not it become
so that sakura blossoms **should bloom** after? (MYS V: 829)

母呂比得波家布能阿比太波多努斯久阿流倍斯

mōrō pyitō pa kyepu-nō 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)

伊加婆加利故保斯苦阿利家武麻都良佐欲比壳

ika Npakari kwoposi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u saywo-pyimye
how PT **be longing-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**
Saywo-pime

how Saywo-pyimye **must have been longing** (MYS V: 875)

伎美乎波奈礼弓古非爾之奴倍之

kyimiyi-wo panare-te kwopiy-ni sin-uNpey-si
lord-ACC separate(INF)-SUB love(NML)-LOC **die-DEB-FIN**
leaving [my] lord behind, [I] **should die** from love (MYS XV:
3578)

奈爾之可母奇里爾多都倍久奈氣伎之麻佐牟

nani si kamō 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

I wonder, why should [you] lament so that [your tears] **have to rise**
as a fog? (MYS XV: 3581)

伊毛我保須倍久安良奈久尔和我許呂母弓乎奴礼弓伊可尔勢牟
 imwo-Nka **pos-uNpey-ku ar-an-aku n-i** wa-Nka körömöNte-wo
 nure-te ika n-i se-m-u
 beloved-POSS **dry-DEB-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF I-POSS**
 sleeve-ACC get.wet(INF)-SUB how DV-INF do-TENT-FIN
 what should I do with my wet sleeves – **because** [my] beloved
cannot dry [them] (MYS XV: 3712)

伊毛乎婆美受會安流倍久安里家留
 imwo-woNpa **myi-Ns-u sō ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u**
 beloved-ACC(EMPH) **see-NEG-INF PT exist-DEB-INF exist-**
INF-RETR-ATTR
 [I] **must not have seen** [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3739)

乎美奈敵之佐伎多流野邊乎遊吉追都見倍之
 womyinapyesi sak-yi-tar-u NWO-PYE-wo yuk-yi-tutu **MYI-Npey-**
si
 carnation bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR field-side-ACC go-INF-
 COOR **look-DEB-FIN**
 while walking [you] **should look** at the fields where the carnations
 are blooming (MYS XVII: 3951)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里
 尔多良受也
 tune pyitö-nö kwop-u tö ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te ware pa **sin-**
uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u ya
 ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP excess
 DV-INF-SUB I TOP **die-DEB-INF** become-INF-PERF-INF-
 PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN PT
 Did not [it] become so that I **should die**, feeling (lit.: being) much
 more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

伎多奈伎微乎婆伊止比須都閑志波奈礼須都倍志
 kiyitana-kyi miy-woNpa **itöp-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)

(2) Strong probability:

伊多那加婆比登斯理奴倍志

ita nak-aNpa pyitō **sir-i-n-uNpey-si**extremely cry-COND person **know-INF-PERF-DEB-FIN**if [I] cry loudly, people **would have known** (KK 83)萬世爾得之波岐布得母烏梅能波奈多由流己等奈久佐吉和多流
倍子YORÖNTU YÖ n-i tōsi pa k-yi p-u tōmō uMEY-nō pana tay-uru
kōtō na-ku **sak-yi-watar-uNpey-si**ten.thousand generation DV-INF year TOP come-INF pass-FIN
CONJ plum-GEN blossom be.interrupted-ATTR matter no-INF
bloom-INF-cross-DEB-FINEven though years will come and pass for ten thousand generations,
plum blossoms **would continue to bloom** without interruption
(MYS V: 830)

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** again if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

秋芽者可咲有良之

AKYI PANKIY PA **SAK-YI-N-UNPEY-K-Ar-asi**autumn bush.clover TOP **bloom-INF-PERF-DEB-INF-exist-SUP**[It] **seems** that the autumn bush clover **might have bloomed** (MYS
VIII: 1514)

秋芽子乎落過沼蛇手折持雖見

AKYI PANKIY-wo **OTI-SUNKIY-n-uNpey-myi** TA-WOR-I-
MÖT-I MYI-RE-NTÖautumn bush.clover-ACC **fall(INF)-pass(INF)-PERF-DEB-GER**
hand-break-INF-hold-INF look-EV-CONC**Because** the autumn bush clover **would have fallen**, [I] broke
[them] with [my] hand and looked, but ... (MYS X: 2290)

餘呂豆代爾可多理都具倍久

yöröNtu YÖ-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)

落奴倍美袖尔古伎納都藤浪乃花

oti-n-uNpey-myi SWONTE-ni kwok-yi-IRE-t-u PUNTI NAMYI-nö PANA

fall(INF)-PERF-DEB-GER sleeve-LOC rub.through-INF-insert(INF)-PERF-FIN Fuji wave-GEN flower

because [they] **would have fallen**, [I] have rubbed into my sleeves (the waves of) wisteria flowers (MYS XIX: 4193a)

安比美受波古非之久安流倍之

apyi-myi-Ns-u pa **kwopiysi-ku ar-uNpey-si**

REC-see-NEG-INF TOP **be.longing.for-INF exist-DEB-FIN**

if [we] do not see each other, [we] **would be longing** (MYS XX: 4408)

朕德伊天地乃御心乎令感動末都流倍岐事波无

WA-NKA UTUKUSINPIY-i AMEY TUTI-nö MYI-KÖKÖRÖ-wo **UNKWOK-ASIMEY-matur-uNpey-kyi** KÖTÖ 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)

(3) Potential:

磯之於尔生流馬醉木乎手折目杼令視倍吉君之在常不言尔

ISWO-NÖ UPEY-ni OP-Uru ASINPYI-wo TA-WOR-Am-ey-Ntö **MYI-S-UNpey-kyi** KYIMYI-NKA AR-I tö IP-AN-AKU n-i

rocky.shore-GEN top-LOC grow-ATTR andromeda-ACC hand-break-TENT-EV-CONC **see-CAUS-DEB-ATTR** lord-POSS exist-FIN DV say-NEG-NML DV-INF

Although [I] was going to break [with my] hand the andromeda [flowers] that grow on the rocky shore, as [people] do not say that [my] lord, **whom** [I] **could show** [them, still] lives ... (MYS II: 166)

多夫手二毛投越都倍吉天漢

taNpute n-i mwo **NANKEY-KWOS-I-t-uNpey-kyi** AMA-NÖ
KAPA

stone DV-INF PT **throw(INF)-cross-INF-PERF-DEB-ATTR**
Heaven-GEN River

Heavenly River that [one] **can throw** even a stone **across** (MYS
VIII: 1522)

袖振者見毛可波之都倍久

SWONTE PUR-ANPA MYI mwo **kapas-i-t-uNpe-ku**
sleeve waive-COND see(NML) PT **exchange-INF-PERF-DEB-
INF**

If [you] waived [your] sleeve, [we] **could have exchanged** glances
(MYS VIII: 1525)

安布倍伎与之能奈伎我佐夫之佐

ap-uNpey-kyi yösi-nö na-kyi-Nka saNpusi-sa
meet-DEB-ATTR chance-GEN no-ATTR-POSS sad-NML
sadness of the non-existence of a chance **to be able to meet** (MYS
XV: 3734)

伎美我目乎美受比佐奈良婆須敝奈可流倍思

kyimyī-Nka mey-wo myi-Ns-u pyisa nar-aNpa suNpye **na-k-ar-
uNpey-si**
lord-POSS eye-ACC see-NEG-INF long be-COND way **no-INF-
exist-DEB-FIN**

If [I] do not see your eyes for a long time, [I] am helpless (lit.:
[there] **cannot be** [any] way) (MYS XVII: 3934)

比祢毛須尔美等母安久倍伎宇良尔安良奈久尔

pyinemwosu n-i myi tömō **ak-uNpey-kyi** ura n-i ar-an-aku n-i
all.day DV-INF look(FIN) CONJ **lose.interest-DEB-ATTR** bay
DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

even if [I] look all day, it is not a bay **that** [one] **could lose interest**
[in looking at] (MYS XVIII: 4037)

之流久之米多弓比等能之流倍久

siru-ku simey tate pyitō-nō **sir-uNpey-ku**
distinct-INF sign erect(IMP) person-GEN **know-DEB-INF**
erect a distinct sign, so the people **could know** (MYS XVIII: 4096)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are three examples of *-uNpey-* in Eastern Old Japanese. In all three cases only the debitive function is attested, and there are no examples of strong probability or potential. Examples:

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-nō myiNkwosi-nō sakyi-nō ipa-kuye-nō kyimyī-Nka
kuy-uNpey-kyi kōkōrō pa mōt-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)

刀奈布倍美許曾奈爾与曾利鷄米

twonap-uNpey-myi kōsō na-ni yōsōr-i-ky-em-ey

recite-DEB-GER PT you-DAT approach-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-
EV

as [I] **had to recite** [the magic formula], [I] approached you (MYS
XIV: 3468)

伊牟何奈流弊伎己等乎伊波須

imu-Nka **nar-uNpye-kyi** kōtō-wo ip-aNs-u

beloved-POSS **become-DEB-ATTR** thing-ACC say-NEG-INF

without telling my beloved [wife] about the things [she] must do
(MYS XX: 4364)

The lack of examples with strong probability and potential functions in Eastern Old Japanese represents another piece of evidence in favor of the suggestion that debitive is the primary function of Western Old Japanese *-uNpey-*.

A2: Ryukyuan

In Classical Ryukyuan *-ube-* is attested only in the *Ryūka* and the *Kumiodori*, but it does not occur in Old Ryukyuan (Hokama 1995: 589). Such a pattern of attestation strongly suggests that CR *-ube-* is a loan from Middle Japanese. Quite similar, in the Shuri dialect the debitive form *-(u)bichii* is attested only in the written language

(RKJ 133), so this is almost certainly a loan from Middle Japanese, since its reflexes are not found in other Ryukyuan dialects. Thus, it appears that the WOJ and EOJ debitive *-uNpey-* represents a purely Japanese innovation based on grammaticalization.

6.2.2.3.11 Progressive *-[y]er-*

The progressive suffix has only one allomorph *-[y]er-*. It is usually believed that in Western Old Japanese it is found only after consonant verbs and the irregular verb *se-* ‘to do’ (Saeki 1959: 162-63). However, Yoshida Kanehiko pointed out that although *-[y]er-* is not attested after vowel verbs *per se*, it is found after the potential auxiliary *-Nkate-* (1973: 606), with the expected loss of the final vowel of the auxiliary: *-Nkat-er-*. In addition, *-[y]er-* is also attested after the irregular form *kō-* ‘to come’ and the strong vowel verb *kyi-* ‘to wear,’ which both result in an irregular form *kyer-* ‘come(PROG)’ or ‘wear(PROG)’ (see MYS XVII: 3957 and MYS XV: 3667 below).⁸⁶

Historically *-[y]er-* represents a monophthongization of the infinitive *-[y]i* with the following verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ that is used as an auxiliary (Yamada 1954: 325). This is supported by the fact that after [-coronal] consonants it has the shape *-yer-* < **-i+ar-* with the *kō-rui* vowel /*ye/* < **ia*, and also by the fact that there is a contracted form *-ar-* in Eastern Old Japanese, which represents a different line of development of the sequence **-i+ar-*. It is necessary to note that unlike other uncontracted forms that are amply attested in Western Old Japanese, such as *-(a)Ns-u ar-* ‘-NEG-INF exist’, *-te ar-* ‘-SUB exist,’ and *-ku ar-* ‘-INF exist,’ the uncontracted form **-[y]i ar-* does not present itself. The progressive *-[y]er-* can be followed by the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries:

Chart 76: Combinations of the progressive suffix *-[y]er-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-i</i>	<i>-[y]er-i</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i-</i>	<i>-[y]er-i-*</i>
attributive <i>-(ur)u</i>	<i>-[y]er-u</i>
evidential <i>-(ur)e-</i>	<i>-[y]er-e-*</i>
conjunctive gerund <i>-Npa</i>	<i>-[y]er-e-Npa</i>

⁸⁶ Eastern Old Japanese has *k-ar-* ‘wear-PROG,’ see MYS XX: 4431 below.

concessive gerund <i>-Ntö[mö]</i>	<i>-[y]er-e-Ntö[mö]</i>
imperative <i>-[y]e</i>	<i>-[y]er-e</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-[y]er-am-</i>
tentative <i>-(u)ram-</i>	<i>-[y]er-uram-</i>
conditional gerund <i>-aNpa</i>	<i>-[y]er-aNpa</i>
suppositional <i>-(ur)asi</i>	<i>-[y]er-asi</i>
subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i>	<i>-[y]er-amasi</i>
past final <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-[y]er-i-kyi</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-[y]er-i-si</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-[y]er-i-kyer-</i>

* Attested only in combinations with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries.

The progressive *-[y]er-* can also be preceded by the following suffixes and bound auxiliaries:

Chart 77: Combinations of the progressive suffix *-[y]er-* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes	combination forms
iterative <i>-ap-</i>	<i>-ap-yer-</i>
honorific <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-er-</i>
perfective/progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-tar-er-</i>
potential <i>-Nkate-</i>	<i>-Nkat-er-</i>

The progressive suffix *-[y]er-* has two functions: (1) progressive and (2) perfective. It seems that the progressive function is the original one, as it appears more frequently not only in general, but also in the earliest texts. The perfective function probably developed from the progressive. Examples:

(1) Progressive:

淤曾夫良比和何多多勢禮婆比許豆良比和何多多勢禮婆
 osö-N-pur-ap-yi wa-Nka **tat-as-er-e-Npa** pyikö-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 was standing** [there], [I] was pulling and shoving [it], **when I was standing** [there] (KK 2)

宇那賀世流多麻能美須麻流美須麻流迹阿那陀麻

unaNk-as-er-u tama-nō myi-sumaru myi-sumaru-ni ana-N-tama

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)

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
na-si-ni apare

INtumwo Takyeru-POSS **wear-PROG-ATTR** long.sword vine
many wrap-INF PREF-inside no-FIN-LOC alas

The long sword that INtumwo Takyeru **is wearing** has many vines
around [it], [but] because no [sword] inside, alas! (KK 23)

和賀祁勢流意須比

wa-Nka **kyes-er-u** osupyi

I-POSS **wear(HON)-PROG-ATTR** cloak

the cloak **that I am wearing** (KK 28)

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 lands.in.the.east-ACC **cover-**

PROG-FIN bottom-GEN/LOC branch TOP rural.region-ACC

cover-PROG-FIN

[Its] top branches **are covering** the Heaven, [its] middle branches
are covering the lands in the East, and [its] lower branches **are**
covering the rural regions (KK 100)

意富美夜能袁登都波多傳須美加多夫祁理

opō-miyi-ya-nō wotō 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)

紫草能爾保敝類妹乎爾苦久有者

MURASAKYI-nō **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)

吾背子之盖世流衣

WA-NKA SE-KWO-NKA **KYEs-er-u** KÖRÖMÖ

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS **wear(HON)-PROG-ATTR** garment
the garment that my beloved **is wearing** (MYS IV: 514)

比例布利之用利於返流夜麻能奈

pyire pur-i-si-ywori **op-yer-u** yama-nö na

scarf wave-INF-PAST/ATTR-ABL **bear-PROG-ATTR** mountain-
GEN name

Since [she] waved [her] scarf, the mountain **is bearing** [its] name
(MYS V: 871)

手爾持流安我古登婆之都

TE-ni **MÖT-Er-u** a-Nka kwo töNp-as-i-t-u

hand-LOC **hold-PROG-ATTR** I-POSS child fly-CAUS-INF-
PERF-FIN

[I] have let my child fly away, **whom** [I] **was holding** in [my]
hands (MYS V: 904)

由槻我高仁雲居立有良志

yu tukiy-Nka TAKEY-ni KUMWOWI **TAT-Er-asi**

sacred zelkova-POSS peak-LOC cloud **rise-PROG-SUP**

[It] seems that the clouds **are rising** at the Sacred Zelkova peak
(MYS VII: 1087)

This is the only example of *-[y]er-asi* in the Western Old Japanese texts. Certainly, the form *-er-asi* here cannot be confirmed without any doubts due to the partial semantographic spelling. The commentators of the *Man'yōshū* almost invariably read *tat-er-urasi* here, cf. e.g. Takagi et al. 1959: 203, Kinoshita 2001 (CD-ROM edition). However, there are two powerful arguments for reading 立有良志 as *TAT-Er-asi* rather than as *TAT-ER-Urasi* here. First, *tat-er-urasi* brings the syllable count in the last line to eight, violating the meter. Second, we should not forget that the progressive suffix *-[y]er-* is derived from the infinitive *-yi* and *ar-* 'to exist,' and that the most frequent form is *ar-asi* and not *ar-urasi*.

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 ar-asi könö a-Nka **kyer-u** imwo-Nka
körömö-nö 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 am wearing** became dirty (MYS XV:
 3667)

波疑波佐家礼杼母見流之留思奈之

paNkiy pa **sak-yer-e-Ntömö** MYI-ru sirusi na-si

bush.clover TOP **bloom-PROG-EV-CONC** look-ATTR use no-
 FIN

Although bush clovers **are blooming**, there is no use to look [at
 them] (MYS XV: 3677)

多麻之家流伎欲吉奈藝佐乎之保美弓婆

tama **sik-yer-u** kiywo-kyi naNkyisa-wo sipo myit-e-Npa

pearl **spread-PROG-ATTR** clean-ATTR beach-ACC tide fill-EV-
 CON

Because the tide covered the clean beach **where** pearls **are spread**
 (MYS XV: 3706)

之呂多倍能安我之多其呂母宇思奈波受毛弓礼和我世故

sirō tapey-nō a-Nka sita-N-körömō usinap-aNs-u **mwot-er-e** wa-
 Nka se-kwo

white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN I-POSS bottom-GEN-garment
 lose-NEG-INF **carry-PROG-IMP** I-POSS beloved-DIM

My beloved, **carry** [with you] my undergarment from white
 mulberry tree bark cloth without losing [it] (MYS XV: 3751)

家布毛可母美也故奈里世婆見麻久保里尔之能御馬屋乃刀尔多
 弓良麻之

kyepu mwo kamō myiyakwo-n-ar-i-s-eNpa MYI-m-aku por-i nisi-
 nō MYI-MAYA-nō two-ni **tat-er-amasi**

today PT PT capital-LOC-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND see-
 TENT-NML desire-INF west-GEN HON-stable-GEN outside-LOC
stand-PROG-SUBJ

If [I] were in the capital today, too, [I] **would be standing** outside
 the Western Imperial Stables, wanting to see [you]! (MYS XV:
 3776)

乎登都日毛昨日毛今日毛由吉能布礼礼婆

wotō t-u PYI mwo KYINÖPU mwo KYEPU mwo yukyi-nō **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)

豊乃登之思流須登奈良思雪能敷礼流波

TÖYÖ n-ō tösi sirus-u tö nar-asi YUKYI-nō **pur-er-u pa**

abundant DV-ATTR year show.a.sign-ATTR DV become-SUP snow-GEN **fall-PROG-ATTR TOP**

The fact that the snow **is falling** seems to become a good omen for an abundant year (MYS XVII: 3925)

麻都能波奈花可受尔之毛和我勢故我於母敝良奈久尔母登奈佐吉都追

matu-nō pana PANA kaNsu n-i si mwo wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka **omöp-yer-an-aku n-i** mötōna sak-yi-tutu

pine-GEN flower flower number DV-INF PT PT I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS **think-PROG-NEG-NML DV-INF** in.vain bloom-INF-COOR

Because my beloved **is not** even **thinking of** pine flowers as flowers, [they] continue to bloom in vain (MYS XVII: 3942)

安良志乎須良尔奈氣枳布勢良武

ara-si wo sura n-i naNkeyk-yi **pus-er-am-u**

rough-FIN man PT DV-INF lament-INF **lie.prone-PROG-TENT-FIN**

even a rough man **would be lying down** and lamenting (MYS XVII: 3962)

宮乃須蘇未乃努都可佐尔伊麻左家流良武乎美奈弊之波母

MYIYA-nō suswo miy-nō nwo tukasa-ni ima **sak-yer-uram-u** womyinapyesi pa mö

palace-GEN hem turn(NML)-GEN field hillock-LOC now **bloom-PROG-TENT2-FIN** carnation TOP PT

Oh, carnations! [They] **are probably blooming** now at the field hillocks around the palace (MYS XX: 4316)

清麻呂其我姉法均止甚大尔悪久奸流妄語乎作弓

KYIYWOMARÖ SI-Nka ANE POPUKUN-tö ITÖ OPO-KYI n-i
 ASI-ku **KANTAM-YER-u** ITUPAR-I-N-KÖTÖ-wo TUKUR-I-te
 Kyiywomarö he-POSS elder.sister Popukun-COM very big-ATTR
 DV-INF bad-INF **be.insincere-PROG-ATTR** lie-NML-GEN-
 word-ACC make-INF-SUB

Kyiywomarö with his elder sister Popukun created an extremely
 big, bad and **insincere** lie ... (SM 44)

(2) Perfective:

那杼佐祁流斗米

naNtö **sak-yer-u** two mey
 why **tattoo-PROG-ATTR** sharp eye
 Why the **tattooed** sharp eyes? (KK 17)

花毛佐家礼杼山乎茂入而毛不取

PANA mwo **sak-yer-e-Ntö** YAMA-wo SINKEY-MYI IR-I-TE
 mwo TÖR-ANS-U
 flower PT **bloom-PROG-EV-CONC** mountain-ABS thick-GER
 enter-INF-SUB PT take-NEG-FIN

though flowers **have bloomed**, too, because mountains [are
 covered by] deep [bush], even [if you] enter the mountains, [you]
 will not take [the flowers] (MYS I: 16)

山邊乃御井乎見我弓利

YAMA-NÖ PYE-nö MYI-WI-wo **MYI-Nkat-er-i**
 mountain-GEN side-GEN HON-well-ACC **see(INF)-POT-PROG-**
FIN

[I] **have been able to see** the well at the mountain side (MYS I: 81)

麻佐礼留多可良古爾斯迦米夜母

masar-er-u takara kwo-ni sik-am-ey ya mö
excel-PROG-ATTR treasure child-LOC reach-ATTR-EV PT PT
 Could the **excellent** treasures be equal to children?! [Certainly not!]
 (MYS V: 803)

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)

白玉乎手者不纏尔匣耳置有之人曾玉令詠流

SIRA TAMA-wo TE-NI PA MAK-ANS-U n-i PAKWO-NÖMIY-NI **OK-YER-I-si** PYITÖ sö TAMA NANKEYK-AS-Uru
white jewel-ACC hand-LOC TOP wrap-NEG-NML DV-INF box-PR-LOC **place-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR** person PT jewel lament-CAUS-ATTR

A person who **has** just **placed** [her] white jewels in a box without wearing [them] on [her] wrists, makes the jewels lament (MYS VII: 1325)

和須礼我比与世伎弓於家礼於伎都之良奈美

wasure-N-kapyi **yöse-k-yi-te ok-yer-e** okyi-tu sira namyi
forget(NML)-GEN-shell **bring(INF)-come-INF-SUB put-PROG-IMP** offing-GEN/LOC white wave
white waves of the offing, **bring** [to me] the shell of forgetfulness (MYS XV: 3629)

於吉都奈美多可久多都日尔安敝利伎等美夜古能比等波伎吉弓家牟可母

okyi-tu namyi taka-ku tat-u PYI-ni **ap-yer-i-kyi** tö myiyakwo-nö
pyitö pa kyik-yi-te-ky-em-u kamö
offing-GEN/LOC wave high-INF rise-ATTR day-DAT **meet-PROG-INF-PAST/FIN** DV capital-GEN person TOP hear-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR PT

I wonder whether people in the capital might have heard that [we] **met** with a day when waves in the offing rose high (MYS XV: 3675)

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉

kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitö **k-yi-tar-er-i** tö ip-yi-sika-Npa potöpotö sin-i-kyi
return-INF-RETR-ATTR person **come-INF-PERF/PROG-PROG-FIN** DV say-INF-PAST/EV-CON almost die-INF-PAST/FIN

Because [they] said that a person, who returned [from exile], **had come** [to the capital], [I] almost died [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)
This is the only example in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus where the perfective progressive *-tar-* combines with the progressive *-er-* within the same verb form.

秋田乃穗牟伎見我氏里

AKYI-NŌ TA-nō PŌmukyī **MYI-Nkat-er-i**

autumn-GEN paddy-GEN ripened.rice **see-POT-PROG-FIN**

[I] **have been able to see** the ripened rice in the autumn paddies
(MYS XVII: 3943)

使乃家礼婆宇礼之美登

TUKAPYI-nō **kyer-e-Npa** uresi-myi tō

messenger-GEN **come(PROG)-EV-CON** glad-GER DV

because the messenger **has come**, [I] am glad (MYS XVII: 3957)

伊爾之敝欲伊麻乃乎追通爾奈我佐敝流於夜乃子等毛曾

inisipyē-ywo ima-nō wotutu-ni **naNkas-ap-yer-u** oya-nō KWO-
Ntōmo sō

old.times-ABL now-GEN reality-LOC **make.flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR** ancestor-GEN child-PLUR PT

The offspring (lit.: children) of the ancestors **who have passed**
[their glorious names] from the old times to the present [day's]
reality (MYS XVIII: 4094)

安麻能我波波志和多世良波

ama-nō Nkapa pasi **watas-er-aNpa**

Heaven-GEN river bridge **put.accross-PROG-COND**

If [they] **would have put** a bridge **across** the Heavenly River ...
(MYS XVIII: 4126)

奈泥之故波秋咲物乎君宅之雪巖尔左家理家流可母

naNtesikwo pa AKYI SAK-U MŌNŌwo KYIMYI-NKA IPYE-
NŌ YUKYI IPAPO-ni **sak-yer-i-kyer-u** kamō

carnation TOP fall bloom-ATTR CONJ lord-POSS house-GEN
snow rock-LOC **bloom-PROG-INF-RETR-ATTR** PT

Although carnations bloom in the fall, [it] **turned out that** [they]
have bloomed at the snow rocks of your house! (MYS XIX: 4231)

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-ō katati yaswo kusa tō **sōNtar-er-u**
pyitō

thirty-CL exceed-INF two-CL DV-ATTR mark eighty type DV be
complete-PROG-ATTR person

a person, **who is endowed** with thirty-two marks and eighty [lesser
sign] types (BS 2)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美和多佐牟多米止宇都志麻都礼利
 ware-ni **otōr-er-u** pyitō-wo opo-myi watas-am-u tamey tō **utus-i-**
matur-er-i

I-DAT be **worse-PROG-ATTR** person-ABS many-GER lead
 across-TENT-ATTR in.order.to DV **carve-INF-HUM-PROG-FIN**
 because there are many people who **have been worse** than me, [I]
have carved [Buddha's footprint] in order to save [them] (BS 13)

与都乃閤美伊都都乃毛乃乃阿都麻礼流伎多奈伎微乎婆
 yō-tu n-ō peymyi itu-tu n-ō monō-nō **atumar-er-u** kytana-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 **where** four snakes and five demons (lit.: things)
have accumulated (BS 19)

任賜幣留国々宰等

MAKEY-TAMAp-yer-u KUNI-NKUNI-NŌ MYIKŌTŌMŌTI-
 NTŌMŌ

appoint(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR province-province-GEN
 official-PLUR

appointed officials of all provinces (SM 1)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are two progressive markers in Eastern Old Japanese that are doublets but are not in the complimentary distribution: *-[y]er-* and *-ar-*. The first of them is likely to be a loan from Western Old Japanese, because it reflects the Western Old Japanese rule of monophthongization: **i+a > /ye/*, but the second must be native, as it follows the Eastern Old Japanese rule of contraction: **i+a > /a/*.⁸⁷ A possibility that *-yer-* and *-ar-* represent different dialect forms within Eastern Old Japanese can be ruled out because they occur in the same text (see MYS XX: 4431 below). Similar to Western Old Japanese, the progressive function in Eastern Old Japanese is also attested more frequently than the perfective function. The perfective function is attested only in poems from MYS XIV.

⁸⁷ Cf. also the WOJ retrospective *-kyer-*: EOJ *-kar-* < **-ki+ar-*.

(1) Progressive:

奈礼毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弓流

nare mwo are mwo yōti-wo sō **mōt-er-u**

you PT I PT same.age-ACC PT **have-PROG-ATTR**

You and I both **have** [children of] the same age (MYS XIV: 3440)

奴麻布多都可欲波等里賀栖安我已許呂布多由久奈母等奈与母
波里曾祢

numa puta-tu kaywop-a tōri-Nka su a-Nka kōkōrō puta yuk-unam-ō
tō **na-y-ōmōp-ar-i-sō-n-e**

marsh two-CL go over-ATTR bird-POSS nest I-POSS heart two
go-TENT2-ATTR DV **NEG-?-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP**

[I] **hope** [you] **are not thinking** that my heart would go [to] two
[different places like] nests of birds that go over two marshes
(MYS XIV: 3526)

夜麻敞呂能思之奈須於母敞流

yama pye-rō-nō sisi-nasu **omōp-yer-u**

mountain side-DIM-GEN deer-COMP **think-PROG-ATTR**

[they] **are thinking** [of me] like [of] a deer on the (little) mountain
side (MYS XIV: 3531)

比登豆麻古呂乎麻由可西良布母

pyitō-N-tuma kwo-rō-wo ma **yuk-ase-[a]r-ap-u-mō**

person-GEN-wife girl-DIM-ACC eye **go-CAUS-PROG-ITER-
FIN-EXCL**

[I] **let** [my] eyes **wander** over the girl [who is] the wife of [another]
person! (MYS XIV: 3541)

Note that in Eastern Old Japanese the iterative *-ap-* follows progressive *-[y]er-*
unlike Western Old Japanese where *-ap-* precedes *-[y]er-*.

阿須可河泊之多尔其礼留乎之良受思天勢奈那登布多里左宿而
久也思母

Asuka Kapa sita **niNkōr-er-u**-wo sir-aNs-u s-i-te se-na-na-tō puta-
ri sa-NE-TE kuyasi-mō

Asuka river bottom **be.muddy-PROG-ATTR-ACC** know-NEG-
NML do-INF-SUB beloved-DIM?-COM two-CL PREF-
sleep(INF)-SUB be.regretful-EXCL

[I] regret that [I] slept with you, not knowing [that your heart] **is** [as]
muddy [as] the bottom of the Asuka river! (MYS XIV: 3544)

都久之閑爾敝牟加流布祢乃伊都之加毛都加敝麻都里弓久爾爾
閑牟可毛

tukusi-pey-ni pye **muk-ar-u** pune-nö 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 **is** [now] **turning** [its] bow towards
Tukusi will turn its bow towards [my home] province, after [I
finish my] service (MYS XX: 4359)

伊波妣等乃和例乎美於久流等多々理之

ipa-N-pyitö-nö ware-wo myi-okur-u tö **tat-ar-i-si**

home-GEN-person-GEN I-ACC see(INF)-send-FIN DV **stand-
PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR**

[My] home folks **were standing** [in a row] going to see me off
(MYS XX: 4375)

古乃弓加之波能保々麻例等

kwonöte kasipa-nö **popom-ar-e-Ntö**

kwonöte oak-GEN **bud-PROG-EV-CONC**

although *kwonöte* oak **is** [still] **budding** ... (MYS XX: 4387)

奈々弁加流去呂毛尔麻世流古侶賀波太波毛

nana pye **k-ar-u** körömwo-ni **mas-er-u** kwo-rö-Nka paNta pa mö

seven layer **wear-PROG-ATTR** garment-LOC **be.superior-
PROG-ATTR** girl-DIM-POSS skin TOP PT

the skin of [my beloved] girl **is superior** to the seven-layered
garment that [I] **am wearing** (MYS XX: 4431)

(2) Perfective:

波姑祢乃夜麻爾安波麻吉弓夷登波奈札留乎阿波奈久毛安夜思
pakwone-nö yama-ni apa mak-yi-te MIY **tö pa nar-er-u-wo** ap-an-
aku/apa na-ku mwo ayasi

Pakwone-GEN mountain-LOC millet sow-INF-SUB fruit DV PT
become-PROG-ATTR-ACC meet-NEG-NML/millet no-NML PT
be.strange(FIN)

Although [I] have sown millet on the Pakwone mountain and [it]
ripened (lit.: **became** fruits), it is strange that [we] do not
meet/there is no millet (MYS XIV: 3364)

佐刀乃美奈可尔安敝流世奈可母

satwo-nō myi-naka-ni **ap-yer-u** se-na kamō

village-GEN HON(?)=middle-LOC **meet-PROG-ATTR** beloved-DIM PT

oh, [my] beloved whom [I] **have met** in the middle of the village!
(MYS XIV: 3463)

比登祢吕尔伊波流毛能可良

pyitō ne-rō n-i **ip-ar-u** mwonōkara

one peak-DIM DV-INF **say-PROG-ATTR** CONJ

Although [I] **have called** [you] ‘a single peak’ ... (MYS XIV: 3512)

A2: Ryukyuan

A possible Old Ryukyuan cognate of WOJ *-[y]er-* is attested only once in the *Omoro sōshi* (Torigoe 1968: 184). The example is dubious (*-r-* follows /u/), and since there are no other attestations in modern dialects, in the best case scenario it should be a loan from Middle Japanese.

きみのあちのしのくりよわるきよらや

kimi-no ati-no **sinoku-r-i-yow-ar-ATTR** kiyora ya

lord-GEN retainers **excel-PROG-INF-HON-PASS-ATTR**
beautiful COP

[The way] that priestesses of the lord **are excellent** [in their dance]
is beautiful (OS II: 75)

6.3 AUXILIARIES

The common formal feature of auxiliaries is that they all follow an infinitive form of a verb or of a verbal form. There are two basic types of auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese: bound auxiliaries that have no meaning of their own and cannot function as independent verbs by themselves, and lexical auxiliaries that have lexical meaning when they function as independent verbs.

6.3.1 BOUND AUXILIARIES

Bound auxiliaries can be divided into word-final auxiliaries and word-non-final auxiliaries. As the reader will see below, some of word-final bound auxiliaries can also be sentence-final auxiliaries, but since the distinction between sentence-final and word-final is much more blurred than in the case of suffixes, I separate them only into two formal classes: word-final and word-non-final.

6.3.1.1 WORD-FINAL BOUND AUXILIARIES

There are five word-final bound auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese: the subordinative gerund *-te*, the coordinative gerund *-tutu*, the coordinative gerund *-naNkara*, the coordinative gerund *-katera*, and the past tense marker *-kyi* ~ *-si* ~ *-sika*.

6.3.1.1.1 Subordinative gerund *-te*

The subordinative gerund has just one allomorph *-te*. It follows various types of infinitives: *-[y]i*, *-u*, and *-ku*, which can be preceded by a number of suffixes and bound auxiliaries that are listed in the following chart.

Chart 78: Combinations of the subordinative gerund *-te* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries⁸⁸

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i> ~ \emptyset	<i>-[y]i-te</i> ~ <i>-te</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-te</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-te</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-te</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-te</i>
perfective-progr. inf. <i>-tar-i-</i>	<i>-tar-i-te*</i>
negative potential inf. <i>-kane-</i>	<i>-kane-te</i>
infinitive <i>-u</i>	<i>-u-te</i>
negative infinitive <i>-aN<u>s</u>-u-</i>	<i>-aN<u>s</u>-u-te</i>
adjectival infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku-te</i>

* Only one semantographic attestation.

As it can be seen from the chart above, the subordinative gerund *-te* does not combine with markers of modality and tense, since they appear only in the sentence-final verbal forms, and consequently cannot be followed by infinitives. The honorification, voice, and potential markers can be followed by infinitives, and consequently can combine with the subordinative gerund *-te*.

Sometimes the function of *-te* is defined as describing an action that is over before the action of the following predicate starts. This definition is not precise, because *-te* rather indicates that the first action (marked with *-te*) started to occur earlier than the next action.

⁸⁸ Since the subordinative gerund *-te* can follow only the infinitives *-[y]i* and *-u*, I have also provided in this chart the suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede these infinitives.

In the example from KK 19 below the first action is over before the following one begins (they first spread the mats and then slept on them). On the other hand, the example from MYS V: 879 below illustrates a case when the first action starts earlier than the following, but both actions go on together for a certain amount of time (living certainly starts earlier than ruling). The example from KK 2 immediately below demonstrates that *V-te V* can be two simultaneous or almost simultaneous actions. Examples:

故志能久邇邇佐加志壳遠阿理登岐加志弓久波志壳遠阿理登岐
許志弓

Kwosi-nō kuni-ni sakasi mye-wo ar-i tō **kyik-as-i-te** kupasi mye-wo ar-i tō **kyik-ös-i-te**

Kwosi-GEN province-LOC wise woman-ABS exist-FIN DV **hear-HON-INF-SUB** beautiful woman-ABS exist-FIN DV **hear-HON-INF-SUB**

[Opō kuni nusi] **heard** that there is a wise woman in the Kwosi province, **heard** that there is a beautiful woman (KK 2)

多知賀遠母伊麻陀登迦受弓淤須比遠母伊麻陀登加泥婆
tati-Nka wo mö imaNta **tök-aNs-u-te** osupyi-wo mö imaNta tök-an-e-Npa

long.sword-POSS cord PT yet **untie-NEG-INF-SUB** cloak-ACC PT yet untie-NEG-EV-CON

as [I] **have not** yet **untied** the cords of [my] long sword, **and** have not yet untied [my] cloak (KK 2)

阿波母與賣迺斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志

a pa mö yō 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)

伊勢能宇美能意斐志爾波比母登富呂布志多陀美能伊波比母登
富理宇知弓志夜麻牟

ise-nō umyi-nō opiy-[i]si-ni pap-yi-mötöpör-öp-u sitaNtamyi⁸⁹-nō i-pap-yi-mötöpör-i **ut-i-te** si yam-am-u

Ise-GEN sea-GEN grow(INF)-stone-LOC crawl-INF-go.around-ITER-ATTR seashell-COMP DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF **hit-INF-SUB** PT stop-TENT-FIN

⁸⁹ 志多陀美 /sitaNtamyi/, a kind of an edible seashell (MdJ *kisago*).

like the shellfish that are constantly crawling around on the growing rocks of the Ise sea, [we] will crawl around [them] there, **smite and stop** [them] (KK 13)

袁夜須頰賀多多美伊夜佐夜斯岐_弓和賀布多理泥斯
 wo-ya-ni suNka-tatamyi iya-saya **sik-yi-te** wa-Nka puta-ri ne-si
 DIM-house-LOC sedge-mat rustling **spread-INF-SUB** we-POSS
 two-CL sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR
 in a little hut two of us slept [together] **spreading** rustling sedge
 mats (KK 19)

迦賀那倍_弓用迹波許許能用比迹波登袁加袁
 ka-Nka naNpey-te ywo n-i pa kökönö ywo pyi n-i pa töwo-ka-wo
 day-day **line.up(INF)-SUB** night DV-**INF** TOP nine night day DV-
 INF TOP ten-CL-ACC
 [after] **counting** all the days, as for nights [it] is nine nights and as
 for days [it] is ten days (KK 26)

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登伊波迦伎加泥_弓和賀_弓登良須母
 kurapasi-yama-wo saNkasi-myi tö ipa **kak-yi-kane-te** wa-Nka te
 tör-as-umö
 Kurapasi-mountain-ABS steep-GER DV rock **hang-INF-**
NEG/POT(INF)-SUB take-HON-EXCL
 [I] think that Mount Kurapasi is steep. **Being unable to cling** to the
 rocks, [I wish you would] take my hand! (KK 69)

耶麻古曳底于瀾倭施留騰母於母之樓枳伊麻紀能禹知播倭須羅
 由麻_{盲珙}
 yama **kwoye-te** umyi watar-u tömo omosirwo-kyi ima kiy-nö uti pa
 wasur-ay-umasiNsi
 mountain **cross(INF)-SUB** sea cross-FIN CONJ beautiful-ATTR
 Ima fortress-GEN inside TOP forget-PASS-NEG/POT
 Even if [I] **pass over** the mountains and cross the seas, [I] cannot
 forget the inside of the beautiful Ima fortress (NK 119)

許智多鷄波乎婆頭勢夜麻能伊波歸爾母為_弓許母郎奈牟
 köt[ö]-ita-ky-eNpa woN-patuse-yama-nö ipa kiy-ni mö **wi-te**
 kömör-ana-m-u
 rumor-painful-ATTR-COND DIM-Patuse-mountain rock fortress-
 LOC PT **lead(INF)-SUB** hide-DES-TENT-FIN

if rumors are painful, [I] want to **take** [you] along to a rocky fortress on the Small Patuse mountain **and** hide away (FK 1)

遠等咩良何遠等咩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

wotömye-ra-Nka wotömye saNpiy s-u tö kara tama-wo tamötö-ni
mak-as-i yöti kwo-ra-tö TE **taNtusapar-i-te** aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden like do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
wrist-LOC wrap-HON-INF same.age child-PLUR-COM hand
hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN

The maidens, thinking to behave 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)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米
爾之美延牟

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nö makura **sar-**
aNs-u-te imey-ni si myi-ye-m-u
direct DV-INF meet-NEG-INF exist-NML PT many-INF spread-
INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow **go.away-NEG-INF-**
SUB dream-LOC PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN

There are also many occasions when [we] do not meet directly, [and I] want to see [you] in [my] dreams **without going away** from [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

伊刀良斯弓伊波比多麻比斯麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯

i-twor-as-i-te ipap-yi-tamap-yi-si ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ö isi
DLF-hold-HON-INF-SUB pray-INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR
INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone
holding two stones like real jewels that [she] was praying to ...
(MYS V: 813)

可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志久能麻米

ka-ku si kösö uMEY-wo **kaNsas-i-te** tanwosi-ku nöm-am-ey
thus-INF PT PT plum-ACC **decorate-INF-SUB** be.merry-INF
drink-TENT-EV

decorating [our hair] with plum [blossoms] in this way, [we] should drink merrily (MYS V: 833)

家布由伎弓阿須波吉奈武遠

kyepu **yuk-yi-te** asu pa k-yi-n-am-u-wo

today **go-INF-SUB** tomorrow TOP come-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR-ACC

I would **go** today **and** surely come back tomorrow, but ... (MYS V: 870)

余呂豆余尔伊麻志多麻比提阿米能志多麻乎志多麻波祢
yöröNtu yö-ni **imas-i-tamap-i-te** amey-nö sita mawos-i-tamap-an-e

ten.thousand age-LOC **exist(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB** heaven-GEN below report(HUM)-INF-HON-DES-IMP

May [you] **live** for ten thousand generations, **and** report [to the emperor about things in the country] under Heaven (MYS V: 879)

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)

家尔之弓吾者将戀名

ipye n-i s-i-te WARE PA KWOPiy-M-U na

home DV-INF do-INF-SUB I TOP long-TENT-FIN PT

After [I] **come home**, I will long for [it]! (MYS VII: 1179)

墨吉尔還来而家見跡

SUMINÖYE-ni **KAPYER-I-K-YI-TAR-I-TE** IPYE MYI-RE-Ntö

Sumyinöye-LOC **return-INF-come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-SUB** house look-EV-CONC

although [I] looked at [my] house **after** [I] **had come back** to Sumyinöye (MYS IX: 1740)

比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弓於毛倍也

pyitö pyi mö imwo-wo **wasure-te** omwop-ey ya

one day PT beloved-ACC **forget(INF)-SUB** think-EV PT

would [I] imagine **forgetting** [my] beloved even for one day? [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3604)

伊母爾見勢武爾和多都美乃於伎都白玉比利比弓由賀奈

imö-ni MYI-se-m-u-ni wata-tu myi-nö okyi-tu SIRA TAMA **pyirip-yi-te** yuk-ana

beloved-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-LOC sea-GEN/LOC
 dragon-GEN offing-GEN/LOC white jewel **pick up-INF-SUB** go-
 DES

[I] want to go, **picking up** the white jewels from the offing of the sea dragon in order to show [them] to [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3614)

波祢左之可倍弓宇知波良比

pane **sas-i-kapey-te** uti-parap-yi

feather **insert-INF-cross.over(INF)-SUB** PREF-clean-INF

[they] **mingle** their feathers **and** clean [frost from them] (MYS XV: 3625)

伊毛尔安礼也夜須伊毛祢受弓安我故非和多流

imwo n-i ar-e ya yasu i mwo **ne-Ns-u-te** a-Nka kwopiy-watar-u

beloved DV-INF exist-EV PT easy sleep PT **sleep-NEG-INF-SUB**
 I-POSS love(INF)-cross-ATTR

Is [she] my beloved? I **do not sleep** easily, **and** continue to love [her] (MYS XV: 3633)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弓於毛布良米也母

pyikwoposi mö ware-ni **masar-i-te** omwop-uram-ey ya mö

Altair PT I-DAT **surpass-INF-SUB** long.for-TENT2-EV PT PT

Will Altair long for [his beloved] more than I [do]?! (lit.: **surpassing** me) [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3657)

美也故爾由加波伊毛爾安比弓許祢

myiyakwo-ni yuk-aNpa imwo-ni **ap-yi-te** kö-n-e

capital-LOC go-COND beloved-DAT **meet-INF-SUB** come-DES-
 IMP

if [you] go to the capital, **meet** [my] beloved [there], **and** come [back] (MYS XV: 3687)

奈美能宇倍由奈豆佐比伎尔弓

namyi-nö upey-yu naNtusap-yi **k-yi-n-i-te**

wave-GEN top-ABL be.tossed-INF **come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB**

[you] **have come** being tossed by the waves, **and** ... (MYS XV: 3691)

毛美知和礼由伎弓可敝里久流未但知里許須奈由米
 mwomyit-i ware **yuk-yi-te** kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte tir-i-kös-una
 yumey
 leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML I **go-INF-SUB** return-INF-come-
 ATTR-TERM fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP at.all
 Red leaves! Please do not fall at all until I **go and** come back (MYS
 XV: 3702)

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弓許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里
 爾之母能乎
 a-Nka miy kösö sekyi yama **kwoye-te** kökö-ni ar-am-ey kökörö pa
 imwo-ni yör-i-n-isi mönöwo
 I-POSS body PT barrier mountain **cross(INF)-SUB** here-LOC
 exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT approach-INF-PERF-
 PAST/ATTR CONJ
 My body has **crossed** barriers and mountains, **and** is probably here.
 But [my] heart is near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

阿里佐利氏能知毛相牟等於母倍許曾
ari-sar-i-te nöti mwo AP-Am-u tö omöp-ey kösö
ITER-go.away-INF-SUB after PT meet-TENT-FIN DV think-EV
 PT
 [Time] **constantly goes away**, and [I] hope that [we] will meet
 later, too (MYS XVII: 3933)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里
 尔多良受也
 tune pyitö-nö kwop-u tö ip-u-ywori pa **amari n-i-te** ware pa sin-
 uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u ya
 ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP **excess**
DV-INF-SUB I TOP die-DEB-INF become-INF-PERF-INF-
 PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN PT
 Did not [it] become so that I should die, feeling (lit.: **being**) **much**
more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

許太加久氏佐刀波安礼騰母
 kö-N-**taka-ku-te** satwo pa ar-e-Ntömö
 tree-GEN-**high-INF-SUB** village TOP exist-EV-CONC
 although trees **are high** in the village (MYS XIX: 4209)

之麻豆多比伊己藝和多利弓安里米具利
 sima-N-tutap-yi i-kōNk-yi-watar-i-te ari-meyNkur-i
 island-LOC-pass.along-INF **DLF-row-INF-cross-INF-SUB** ITER-
 go.around-INF
 [I] **go rowing** in a boat from island to island, **and** [I] constantly go
 around [these islands] (MYS XX: 4408)

美流比等乃可多里都藝弓氏
 myi-ru pyitō-nō katar-i-tuNk-yi-te-te
 see-ATTR person-GEN **talk-INF-continue-INF-PERF(INF)-SUB**
 the people who saw [it], **have continued to talk** [about it], **and ...**
 (MYS XX: 4465)

伊氣美豆尔可氣左倍見要氏
 ikey myiNtu-ni kaNkey sapey **MYI-ye-te**
 pond water-LOC reflection PT **see-PASS(INF)-SUB**
 Even [their] reflection **is seen** in the pond water, **and ...** (MYS XX:
 4512)

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

清麻呂其我姉法均止甚大尔惡久奸流妄語乎作弓
 KYIYWOMARŌ SI-Nka ANE POPUKUN-tō ITŌ OPO-KYI n-i
 ASI-ku KANTAM-YER-u ITUPAR-I-N-KŌTŌ-wo **TUKUR-I-te**
 Kyiywomarō he-POSS elder.sister Popukun-COM very big-ATTR
 DV-INF bad-INF be.insincere-PROG-ATTR lie-NML-GEN-
 word-ACC **make-INF-SUB**
 Kyiywomarō with his elder sister Popukun **created** an extremely
 big, bad and insincere lie, **and ...** (SM 44)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流
 wa-Nkō opo kyimiyi pa tapyirakey-ku naNka-ku **imas-i-te** tōyō
 myi-kyi matur-u
 I-POSS great lord TOP safe-INF long-INF **exist(HON)-INF-SUB**
 abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-FIN
 [I] present the abundant rice wine **so that** my sovereign (lit.: great
 lord) [would] **live** safely and long (SNK 4)

此七日爾波不足弓隱坐事奇止弓見所行須時

KÖNÖ NAN-UKA-ni pa **TAR-ANS-U-te** KAKUR-I-[I]MAS-U
KÖTÖ AYA-SI **tö-te** MYI-SWONAP-AS-U TÖKYI
this seven-CL-LOC TOP **be.enough-NEG-INF-SUB** hide-INF-
HON-ATTR matter strange-FIN **DV(INF)-SUB** look(INF)-
offer(HON)-HON-ATTR time

When these seven days **did not completely pass**, [he] **thought that** [it] is strange that [she] secluded herself, **and** when [he] looked ... (NT 12)

加良須止伊布於保乎蘇止利能去止乎能米等母遷止伊比天佐岐陀智伊奴留

karasu tö ip-u opo woswo töri-nö kötö-wo nömiy⁹⁰ tömö n-i tö **ip-yi-te** sakyi-N-tat-i in-uru

crow DV say-ATTR big hasty bird-GEN word-ACC PT together
DV-INF DV **say-INF-SUB** ahead-LOC-depart-INF go.away-ATTR

Crows, big hasty birds, only **cry** together – [you] departed [from this world ahead [of me] (NR II: 2)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION -TE PA

In contrast to the Middle Japanese construction *-ite fa*, which can form a conditional ‘if’ or temporal ‘when’ clause (Vovin 2003: 244-45), the Western Old Japanese construction *-te pa* does not have such functions, or to be more exact there are no reliable examples in phonetic writing that would support such functions. It appears that in Western Old Japanese this construction just represents a topicalization of the clause ending with the subordinative gerund *-te*:

人佐播尔滿弓播阿礼等母

pyitō sapa n-i **MYIT-I-te pa ar-e-Ntōmō**
person many DV-INF **be.full-INF-SUB** TOP **exist-EV-CONC**
although **there are plenty** of people (MYS V: 894)

五月蠅奈周佐和久兒等遠宇都弓々波死波不知

SA-TUKIY PAPEY-nasu sawak-u KWO-NTÖMÖ-wo **utute-te pa**
SIN-I pa SIR-ANS-U

⁹⁰ The original text has 能米 /nömey/, but this is likely to be a scribal mistake for 能未 /nömiy/.

fifth-lunar.month fly-COMP make.noise-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC
get.rid.of(INF)-SUB TOP die-NML TOP know-NEG-FIN
getting rid of children who are noisy like fifth lunar month flies, [I still] cannot die (MYS V: 897)

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼弓波許呂母弓佐牟伎母能尔曾
 安里家流

IMWO-tō ar-i-si TÖKYI PA ar-e-Ntōmwo **wakare-te pa**
 körömōNte samu-kyi mōnō n-i sō ar-i-kyer-u
 beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR time TOP exist-EV-CONC
separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing DV-INF PT
 exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Although there was a time when [I] was with [my] beloved, **after**
 [we] separated, [my] sleeves are cold (MYS XV: 3591)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION *-TE MŌ*

Similar to Middle Japanese, the subordinative gerund *-te* and the focus particle *mō* can form a concessive clause:

花毛佐家礼杼山乎茂入而毛不取

PANA mwo sak-yer-e-Ntō YAMA-wo SINKEY-MYI **IR-I-TE**
mwo TÖR-ANS-U

flower PT bloom-PROG-EV-CONC mountain-ABS thick-GER
enter-INF-SUB PT take-NEG-FIN

though flowers have bloomed, too, because mountains [are covered
 by] deep [bush], **even [if you] enter** the mountains, [you] will not
 take [the flowers] (MYS I: 16)

速来而母見手益物乎山背高槻村散去奚留鴨

PAYA **K-YI-TE mō** MYI-te-masi MŌNŌwo YAMASIRŌ-NŌ

TAKA TUKIY mura TIR-I-n-i-kyer-u kamwo
 fast **come-INF-SUB PT see(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ** Yamasirō-
 GEN high zelkova group fall-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Although [I] would **come** fast **and** look [at them], most of the high
 zelkova [trees' flowers] in Yamasirō have fallen, alas (MYS III:
 277)

多婢尔弓毛母奈久波也許登

taNpyi **n-i-te mwo** mō na-ku paya kō tō

journey **DV-INF-SUB PT** misfortune no-INF quick come(IMP)
 DV

[my beloved] said: “Come [back] quickly without any misfortune on [your] trip! (lit.: **although** [it] is a journey)” (MYS XV: 3717)

家尔底母多由多數命

IPYE **n-i-te mö** tayutap-u INÖTI

home **DV-INF-SUB PT** be.unstable-ATTR life

[my] life which is uncertain **even at** home (MYS XVII: 3896)

多知弓毛為弓母己藝米具利美礼登母安可受

tat-i-te mwo wi-te mö köNk-yi-meyNkur-i myi-re-Ntömö ak-aNs-u

stand-INF-SUB PT sit(INF)-SUB row-INF-go.around-INF look-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-FIN

whether [I] **stand or sit**, [I] cannot get enough looking at [it], while rowing around (MYS XVII: 3994)

Care must be taken because the emphatic particle *mö* and not the focus particle *mö* can be also found after *-te*. In this case the *-te mö* sequence does not have the concessive meaning:

多婢奈礼婆於毛比多要弓毛安里都礼杼伊敝尔安流伊毛之於母比我奈思母

taNpyi nar-e-Npa **omwop-yi-taye-te mwo ar-i-t-ure-Ntö** ipye-ni ar-u imwo si omwop-yi-N-kanasi-mö

journey be-EV-CON **think-INF-break(INF)-SUB PT exist-INF-PERF-EV-CONC** home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved PT think-NML-DV(INF)-dear-EXCL

[I] think dearly of my beloved who is at home **although** [she] **has stopped thinking** of [me] because [I] am on a journey! (MYS XV: 3686)

妹我多麻久良佐之加倍氏祢天蒙許万思乎

IMWO-Nka ta-makura sas-i-kapey-te **ne-te mo** kö-masi-wo beloved-POSS hand-pillow insert-INF-exchange(INF)-SUB **sleep(INF)-SUB PT** come-SUBJ-ACC

[I] would come **and sleep** with my beloved exchanging [our] sleeves as pillows (MYS XVII: 3978)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION -TE WOR-

The special construction consisting of the subordinative gerund *-te* and *wor-* to exist seems to have a function of the continuative aspect:

於能礼故所置而居者

onöre YUWE NOR-AYE-TE WOR-E-NPA

myself reason scold-PASS(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON

As [you] were scolded because of me (MYS XII: 3098)

於久礼弓乎礼杼与伎許等毛奈之

okure-te wor-e-Ntö yö-kyi kötö mwo na-si

stay.behind(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CONC good-ATTR thing PT
no-FIN

although [I] am staying behind, [it] is no good, either (MYS XV: 3773)

難麻理弓居葦河尔

namar-i-te wor-u ASI kani

hide-INF-SUB exist-ATTR reed crab

a reed crab who is hiding (MYS XVI: 3886)

新年始尔思共伊牟礼氏乎礼婆

ARATASI-KYI TÖSI-NÖ PANSIMEY-ni OMÖP-U-N-TWOTI i-
mure-te wor-e-Npa

new-ATTR year-GEN beginning-LOC think-ATTR-GEN-
companion DLF-gather(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON

When the friends who think [in the same way] are gathering at the beginning of the year ... (MYS XIX: 4284)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION -TE OK-

The special construction consisting of the subordinative gerund *-te* and verb *ok-* 'to put, to place' is used to indicate that the action is done for future use, as in modern Japanese. This construction occurs infrequently only in the *Man'yōshū*, and there is only one good example of it in phonetic spelling:

白雪乎不令消将置言者可聞奈吉

SIRA YUKYI-wo KEYT-ANS-U-TE OK-AM-U KÖTÖNPA

kamo na-kyi

white snow-ACC **let.melt-NEG-INF-SUB** **put-TENT-ATTR**
 word PT no-ATTR
 alas, there are no [magic] words that **would stop** white snow **from melting!** (MYS VIII: 1654)

天印等水無川隔而置之神世之恨
 AMA-TU SURUSI tō MYI NA-SI-N-KAPA PYENTATE-TE
OK-YI-si KAMIY YÖ si URAMEY-SI
 heaven-GEN/LOC mark DV water no-FIN-GEN-river
divide(INF)-SUB **put-INF-PAST/ATTR** deity age PT
 be.regretful(FIN)
 [I] feel with regret about the Age of Deities when [they] **divided** the [Heaven with] the river with no water as a landmark of Heaven (MYS X: 2007)

和須礼我比与世伎弓於家礼於伎都之良奈美
 wasure-N-kapyi **yöse-k-yi-te ok-yer-e** okyi-tu sira namyi
 forget(NML)-GEN-shell **bring(INF)-come-INF-SUB** **put-PROG-IMP** offing-GEN/LOC white wave
 white waves of the offing, **bring** [to me] the shell of forgetfulness (MYS XV: 3629)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The subordinative gerund *-te* is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Examples:

波姑祢乃夜麻爾安波麻吉弓実登波奈礼留乎阿波奈久毛安夜思
 pakwone-nō yama-ni apa **mak-yi-te** MIY tō pa nar-er-u-wo ap-an-aku/apa na-ku mwo ayasi
 Pakwone-GEN mountain-LOC millet **sow-INF-SUB** fruit DV PT
 become-PROG-ATTR-ACC meet-NEG-NML/millet no-NML PT
 be.strange(FIN)
 Although [I] **have sown** millet on the Pakwone mountain **and** [it] ripened (lit.: became fruits), it is strange that [we] do not meet/there is no millet (MYS XIV: 3364)

安比見弓波千等世夜伊奴流
apyi-MYI-te pa TI tōse ya in-uru
REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP thousand year PT go.away-ATTR

since [we] **have seen each other**, did one thousand years pass?
(MYS XIV: 3470)

夜麻邊能之牙可久尔伊毛呂乎多弓天左祢度波良布母
yama-N-PYE-nō siNkye-k-aku n-i imwo-rō-wo **tate-te** sa-ne-N-
two parap-umō
mountain-GEN-side-GEN thick-ATTR-NML DV-INF beloved-
DIM-ACC **make.stand(INF)-SUB** PREF-sleep(NML)-
DV(ATTR)-place clean-EXCL
as the mountain (side) is overgrown [with bush], [I] **let** my beloved
stand, and [I] am clearing a place to sleep [for us]! (MYS XIV:
3489)

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

加比利久麻弓尔已波比弓麻多祢
kapyir-i-k-u-maNte-ni **ipap-yi-te** mat-an-e
return-INF-come-ATTR⁹¹-TERM-LOC **pray-INF-SUB** wait-DES-
IMP
pray and wait [for me] until [I] return (MYS XX: 4339)

阿母志々尔己等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之氣
amō sisi-ni kōtō **mawos-aNs-u-te** ima Nsō kuyasi-key
mother father-DAT word **say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB** now PT
regretful-ATTR
now [I] regret that [I] **did not tell** [my] mother and father (MYS
XX: 4376)

意保枳美能美己等可之古美阿乎久牟乃等能妣久夜麻乎古与弓
伎怒加牟
opo kyimyi-nō myi-kōtō kasikwo-myi awo kumu-nō tōnōNpyik-u
yama-wo **kwoyō-te** k-yi-n-wo kamu
great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER blue cloud trail-ATTR
mountain-ACC **cross(INF)-SUB** come-INF-PERF-ATTR PT

⁹¹ Formally the form *k-u* looks like final, but since it is followed by the case marker *-maNte*, functionally it must be attributive.

Since the sovereign's (lit.: great lord's) order is awesome, [I] came [here] **crossing** mountains where dark clouds trail (MYS XX: 4403)

A2: Ryukyuan

The subordinative gerund *-te* is well attested in Old Ryukyuan, Classical Ryukyuan, and various modern Ryukyuan dialects. In Old Ryukyuan we find a bewildering amount of various spellings for it: *-ti*, *-te*, and *-tife*, which probably all reflect phonetic [ti] or [te]. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

なりとよみうちあげてなりきよらうちあげて
 nar-i-toyom-i **uti-age-te** nar-i-kiyora pa **uti-age-te**
 sound-INF-resound-NML **PREF-raise(INF)-SUB** sound-INF-
 beautiful TOP **PREF-raise(INF)-SUB**
raising the “Resounding” [drum], **raising** the “Beautifully
 sounding” [drum] (OS I: 37)

しよりもりうちあよでまたまもりうちあよで
 siyori mori **uti-ayode** ma-tama mori **uti-ayode**
 Shuri shrine **PREF-walk/SUB** INT-jewel shrine **PREF-walk/SUB**
 walking through the Shuri shrine, walking through the true jewel
 shrine (OS I: 40)

としが三年いきよてとしが四年いきよて
 tosi-ga SAN-NEN **i-kiyo-te** tosi-ga YO-NEN **i-kiyo-te**
 year-POSS three-year **DLF-invite-SUB** year-POSS four-year
DLF-invite-SUB
inviting [the goddess] **here** for three years, **inviting** [the goddess]
here for four years (OS XII: 658)

こばおもりのきみ々々まやゑておこらめ
 kobao mori-no kimi-kimi ma-y-aw-e-te okor-am-e
 Kobao shrine-GEN priestess-priestess **dance-INF-join-INF-SUB**
 send-TENT-EV
 Priestesses from the Kobao shrine **will dance together and send**
 [it]
 (OS XIII: 853)

あやみやの^o大^oころあまこあわちへもとらめ

aya miya-no ofo koro ama-ko **awa-tife** modor-am-e
splendid palace-GEN big man eye-DIM **lock(INF)-SUB** return-
TENT-EV

The elders at the splendid palace **will shut** [their] eyes **and** return
(OS XXI: 1411)

Classical Ryukyuan

いろいろに^o言^o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 whatever [you] do, [I] will not go (RK 725)

Shuri

kuree taari-Nkai **sugur-at-ti** nach-oo-ibii-N

he(TOP) father-DAT **hit-PASS-SUB** cry-PROG-POL-FIN

He is crying, as [he] **was hit** by [his] father (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 96)

koo-ti Nji-mishee-bir-an-i

buy-SUB see-HON-POL-NEG-QF

won't [you] try to **buy** [it]? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 44)

naada **haka-tee wur-aN** muN

yet **measure-SUB(TOP) exist-NEG(FIN)** PT

[I] **have not yet taken** [my temperature (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 52)

Thus, we can safely reconstruct the Proto-Japonic subordinative gerund *-te < pre-PJ *-tia or *tay.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am not aware of any external parallels for the subordinative gerund *-te.

6.3.1.1.2 Coordinative gerund -tutu

The coordinative gerund has just one allomorph *-tutu*. It always follows the infinitive *-[y]i ~ -Ø*, but in contrast to the subordinative gerund *-te* it is never found after the infinitives *-u* and *-ku*. A

number of suffixes and bound auxiliaries can precede the infinitive *-[y]i* ~ \emptyset followed by the coordinative gerund *-tutu*. All these possible combinations are presented in the following chart:

Chart 79: Combinations of the coordinative gerund *-tutu* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries⁹²

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i> ~ \emptyset	<i>-[y]i-tutu</i> ~ <i>-tutu</i>
iterative infinitive <i>-ap-yi-</i>	<i>-ap-yi-tutu</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-tutu</i>
causative infinitive <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-tutu</i>
causative infinitive <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-(a)se-tutu</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-tutu</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-tutu</i>

As can be seen from the chart above, the coordinative gerund *-tutu* does not combine with markers of modality and tense similar to the subordinative gerund *-te*, since they appear only in the sentence-final verbal forms, and consequently cannot be followed by infinitives. It is interesting to note that *-tutu* can follow causative and iterative forms of verbs that do not combine with the subordinative gerund *-te*. On the other hand, *-te* is more versatile in its combinations with different perfective forms, while *-tutu* is found only after the perfective *-n-*.

The coordinative gerund *-tutu* has a unique formal feature: it can be used either as a gerund, being a sentence non-final form, or as a final predication form, becoming a sentence final morpheme. The second usage is probably secondary, resulting from the ellipsis of the auxiliary verbs *ar-* and *wor-* 'to exist,' which can be found following *-tutu*. The secondary nature of *-tutu* as a form of final predication can be also supported by the fact that while *-tutu* as a gerund has two functions, *-tutu* as a final form has only one.

As a gerund, *-tutu* renders either a parallel or a habitual/continuous action. The examples of *-tutu* in the parallel action function are more frequent in Western Old Japanese texts than the examples of *-tutu* in the habitual action function. In the function of the habitual or continuous action the coordinative

⁹² Since the subordinative gerund *-tutu* can follow only the infinitive *-[y]i*, I have provided in this chart also the suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede these infinitives.

gerund *-tutu* can be followed by the auxiliary verbs *ar-* and *wor-* ‘to exist.’

(1) The auxiliary *-tutu* as a gerund:

(a) parallel action:

許能美岐袁迦美祁牟比登波曾能都豆美宇須迹多弓弓宇多比都
都迦美祁禮加母麻比都都迦美祁禮加母

könö myi-kyi-wo kam-yi-ky-em-u pyitö pa sönö tuNtumyi usu n-i
tate-te **utap-yi-tutu** kam-yi-kyer-e kamö **map-yi-tutu** kam-yi-
kyer-e kamö

this HON-rice.wine-ACC brew-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
person TOP that drum mortar DV-INF place(INF)-SUB **sing-INF-**
COOR brew-INF-RETR-EV PT **dance-INF-COOR** brew-INF-
RETR-EV PT

I wonder [whether] the person who brewed this rice wine, turned
his drum [upside down] as a mortar and brewed [it] **while singing**,
brewed [it] **while dancing!** (KK 40)

許母理豆能志多用波閉都都由久波多賀都麻

kömör-i-Ntu-nö sita-ywo **papey-tutu** yuk-u pa ta-Nka tuma
hide-INF-water-GEN below-ABL **crawl(INF)-COOR** go-ATTR
TOP who-POSS spouse

Whose spouse [is the one] who goes **crawling** from below a hidden
stream? (KK 56)

古尔有兼人毛如吾敷妹尔戀乍宿不勝家牟

INISIPYE-ni AR-I-ky-em-u PYITÖ mwo A-NKA NKÖTÖ KA
IMWO-ni **KWOPIY-TUTU** I NE-kate-NS-U-ky-em-u

old.times-LOC exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR person PT I-
POSS like PT beloved-DAT **long.for(INF)-COOR** sleep
sleep(INF)-POT-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

Were the people who lived in old times unable to sleep like me, too,
longing for [their] beloved? (MYS IV: 497)

烏梅能波奈比等利美都都夜波流比久良佐武

uMEY-nö pana pyitö-ri **myi-tutu** ya paru pyi kuras-am-u
plum-GEN flower one-CL **see(INF)-COOR** PT spring day spend-
TENT-ATTR

will [I] spend the spring day **looking** alone at the plum blossoms?
(MYS V: 818)

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-nö pana wor-i kaNsas-i-tutu mworö pyitö-nö aswoNp-u-
wo myi-re-Npa myiyakwo si Nsö [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)

乱戀耳令為乍不相妹鴨

MYINTARE-KWOPIY NÖMIY SE-SIMEY-TUTU AP-AN-U
IMWO kamwo

be.confused(INF)-love(NML) PT **do-CAUS(INF)-COOR** meet-
NEG-ATTR beloved PT

ah, [my] beloved who does not meet [me], just **making** [my] love
to be confused! (MYS XI: 2474)

乎美奈敞之佐伎多流野邊乎遊吉追都見倍之

womyinapyesi sak-yi-tar-u NWO-PYE-wo **yuk-yi-tutu** MYI-
Npey-si

carnation bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR field-side-ACC **go-INF-
COOR** look-DEB-FIN

while walking [you] should look at the fields where the carnations
are blooming (MYS XVII: 3951)

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾

iku ywo p-u tö **yöm-yi-tutu** imwo pa ware mat-uram-u sö
how many night pass-FIN DV **count-INF-COOR** beloved TOP I
wait-TENT2-ATTR PT

[My] beloved will probably wait for me, **counting**: 'How many
nights have passed?' (MYS XVIII: 4072)

多礼乎可伎美等弥都都志努波牟

tare-wo ka kyimiyi tö **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)

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟

atō-wo **myi-tutu** sinōp-am-u

footstep-ACC **see(INF)-COOR** yearn-TENT-FIN

looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] will yearn [for him] (BS 6)

(b) habitual or continuous action:

阿須箇我播瀾難蟻羅毗都都喻矩瀾都

asuka-N-kapa **myinaNkyirap-yi-tutu** yuk-u myiNtu

Asuka-GEN-river **be.full-INF-COOR** go-ATTR water

water in the Asuka river that floats **constantly being full** (NK 118)

鹿自物伊波比伏管 ... 鶉成伊波比廻

SISI Nsimōnō **i-pap-yi-PUS-YI-tutu** ... UNTURA-nasu i-pap-yi-MÖTÖPOR-I

deer like **DLF-crawl-INF-lie.down-INF-COOR** ... quail-COMP

DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF

constantly crawling and lying down like a deer ... crawling around like a quail (MYS II: 199)

比奈尔伊都等世周麻比都々美夜故能提夫利和周良延尔家利

pyina-ni itu töse **sum-ap-yi-tutu** myiyakwo-nō teNpuri wasur-aye-n-i-kyer-i

country.side-LOC five year **live-ITER-INF-COOR** capital-GEN

custom forget-PASS(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

while [I] **was continuously living** [for] five years in the country side, it turned out that [I] forgot the customs of the capital (MYS V: 880)

As mentioned above, the coordinative gerund *-tutu* in the function of the habitual action can be followed by the auxiliaries *ar-* and *wor-* 'to exist:'

見乍阿礼婆心波母延農

MYI-TUTU ar-e-Npa KÖKÖRÖ pa möye-n-u

look(INF)-COOR exist-EV-CON heart TOP burn(INF)-PERF-FIN

When [I] keep looking, [my] heart has been set on fire (MYS V: 897)

和礼乎也未尔也伊毛我古非都追安流良牟
 ware-wo yamiy-ni ya imwo-Nka **kwopiy-tutu ar-am-u**
 I-ACC darkness-LOC PT beloved-POSS **long.for(INF)-COOR**
exist-TENT-ATTR
 Will [my] beloved **continue to long for** me in the darkness? (MYS XV: 3669)

奈伎都々乎礼杼安布余思毛奈之
nak-yi-tutu wor-e-Ntō ap-u yōsi mwo na-si
cry-INF-COOR exist-EV-CONC meet-ATTR chance PT no-FIN
although [I] keep crying, there is no chance to meet (MYS XV: 3762)

伊母祢受尔今日毛之賣良尔孤悲都追曾乎流
 i mö ne-Ns-u n-i KYEPU mwo siramye n-i **kwop-i-tutu sō wor-u**
 sleep PT sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF today PT ? DV-INF **love-INF-**
COOR PT exist-ATTR
 without sleeping (a sleep), [I] **continue to love** [you] today, too
 (MYS XVII: 3969)

(2) Auxiliary *-tutu* as a sentence-final form. In this usage it occurs only in the function of a continuous or habitual action.

鳥翔成有我欲比管見良目杼母人社不知松者知良武
 TÖRI pa NAR-I **ARI-Nkaywop-yi-tutu** MYI-ram-ey-Ntömö
 PYITÖ KÖSÖ SIR-AN-E MATU PA SIR-Uram-u
 bird TOP become-INF **ITER-go.back.and.forth-INF-COOR** see-
 TENT2-CONC person PT know-NEG-EV pine TOP know-
 TENT2-FIN

Although people would look, [they would] not recognize [the soul of prince Arima that] **travels backs and forth** like a bird. But [they] would know the pine [branches that he has tied] (MYS II: 145)

許能紀能夜麻尔由企波布理都々
 könō kiy-nō yama-ni yukyi pa **pur-i-tutu**
 this castle-GEN mountain-LOC snow TOP **fall-INF-COOR**
 the snow **continues to fall** on the Castle mountain (MYS V: 823)

八千年尔安礼衝之乍

ya-ti töse n-i **areTUNK-As-i-TUTU**

eight-thousand year DV-INF **be.born.in.succession-HON-INF-COOR**

[emperors] **are born one after another** for eight thousand years (MYS VI: 1053)

伊母我麻都倍伎月者倍尔都々

imö-Nka mat-uNpey-kyi TUKIY PA **pey-n-i-tutu**

beloved-POSS wait-DEB-ATTR month TOP **pass(INF)-PERF-INF-COOR**

months when [my] beloved had to wait [for me] **have continued to pass** (MYS XV: 3685)

故非毛奈久安良末思毛能乎於毛波之米都追

kwopiy mwo na-ku ar-amasi mwonöwo **omwop-asimey-tutu**

long.for(NML) PT no-INF exist-SUBJ CONJ **love-CAUS(INF)-COOR**

[I] would have no longing for [you], but [you] **make [me] love [you] constantly** (MYS XV: 3737)

麻都能波奈花可受尔之毛和我勢故我於母敵良奈久尔母登奈佐吉都追

matu-nö pana PANA kaNsu n-i si mwo wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka omöp-yer-an-aku n-i mötöna **sak-yi-tutu**

pine-GEN flower flower number DV-INF PT PT I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS think-PROG-NEG-NML DV-INF in.vain **bloom-INF-COOR**

Because my beloved is not even thinking of pine flowers as flowers, [they] **continue to bloom** in vain (MYS XVII: 3942)

己能夜万夫吉乎美勢追都母等奈

könö yamaNpuky-i-wo **myi-se-tutu** mötöna

this rose-ACC **see-CAUS(INF)-COOR** in.vain

[you] **keep showing [me]** these roses in vain (MYS XVII: 3976)

和我佐世流安加良多知婆奈可氣尔見要都追

wa-Nka sas-er-u akara tatiNpana kaNkey-ni **MYI-ye-tutu**

I-POSS insert-PROG-ATTR red mandarin.orange moonlight-LOC **see-PASS(INF)-COOR**

the red mandarin orange [flowers] that I put into [my hair] **are seen** in the moonlight **all the time** (MYS XVIII: 4060)

与呂頭多妣可弊里見之都追

yöröNtu taNpyi **kapyer-i-MYI s-i-tutu**

ten thousand times **return-INF-look(NML) do-INF-COOR**

ten thousand times [I] **continue to look back** (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The coordinative gerund *-tutu* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

伊豆乃宇美爾多都思良奈美能安里都追毛

iNtu-nō umyi-ni tat-u sira namyi-nō **ar-i-tutu** mwo

INtu-GEN sea-LOC rise-ATTR white wave-GEN **exist-INF-COOR PT**

Although [I] **continue to live** like the white waves, rising in INtu sea (MYS XIV: 3360)

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 mö ar-am-u-wo** imey-nōmiy-ni mōtōna **MYI-ye-tutu**

for a while TOP **sleep(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC**

dream-PT-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)

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼遊布麻夜万可久礼之伎美乎於母比可祢都母

kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tō s-ure-Ntō yupuma yama kakure-si kyimiyi-wo omöp-yi-kane-t-umō

love(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC

Yupuma mountain hide(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord-ACC think-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL

Although [I] was going to **continue to love** [you], [I] cannot [bear] thoughts about my lord, who hid [himself] on the Yupuma mountain! (MYS XIV: 3475)

阿我母弓能和須例母之太波都久波尼乎布利佐氣美都々伊母波之奴波尼

a-Nka [o]mōte-nō wasure-m-ō siNta pa tukuNpa ne-wo **purisakey-myi-tutu** imō pa sinwop-an-e

I-POSS face-GEN forget-TENT-ATTR time TOP TukuNpa peak-ACC **look.up(INF)-look(INF)-COOR** beloved TOP yearn-DES-IMP

When [you, my] beloved will be forgetting my face, yearn for me, please, **looking up** at the TukuNpa peak (MYS XX: 4367)

In addition, Eastern Old Japanese also has the phonetic variants of the coordinative gerund *-susu* and *-tusi*:

以都母以都母於母加古比須々奈理麻之都之母

itu mō itu mō omō-Nka **kwopyi-susu nar-i-[i]mas-i-tusi** mō

when PT when PT mother-POSS **love(INF)-COOR do.house.work-INF-HON-COOR** PT

[my] mother always, always **loves** [me] **and does** [her] **house work** (MYS XX: 4386)

A2: Ryukyuan

The coordinative gerund *-tutu* is not attested in Ryukyuan. Thus, we can reconstruct only PJN **-tutu*.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am not aware of any external parallels for the Proto-Japanese coordinative gerund **-tutu*.

6.3.1.1.3 Coordinative gerund *-naNkara*

The coordinative gerund *-naNkara* has only one allomorph. It always follows the infinitive form of verbs. Care must be taken not to confuse it with a homophonous suffix *-naNkara* ‘having the nature of’ that is found after nouns (see 4.1.2.1.4). Like the coordinative gerund *-tutu*, the coordinative gerund *-naNkara* has a function of parallel action and a function of habitual or continuous action. Thus, the coordinative gerund *-naNkara* is essentially synonymous with the coordinative gerund *-tutu*, but there are only five examples of it in Western Old Japanese texts, all found in the

Man'yōshū.⁹³ The only other difference between *-tutu* and *-naNkara* is that the latter is not used as a final form. Examples:

(a) parallel action:

波利夫久路應婢都々氣奈我良佐刀其等迹天良佐比安流氣騰
 pari-N-pukurwo oNp-yi-tutuke-naNkara satwo Nkötö n-i terasap-
 yi aruk-ey-Ntö
 needle-GEN-bag wear.on.the.sash-INF-continue(INF)-COOR
 village every DV-INF clearly.show-INF walk-EV-CONC
 Although [I] walk and show the needle bag clearly at every village
 while [I] continue to wear [it] on my sash ... (MYS XVIII: 4130)

宇礼之備奈我良枕附都麻屋之内尔鳥座由比
 uresiNpiy-naNkara MAKURA-N-TUK-U tuma-ya-NÖ UTI-ni
 TÖNKURA yup-yi
 rejoice(INF)-COOR pillow-GEN-be.attached-ATTR bedroom-
 GEN inside-LOC coop fasten.together-INF
 while [I] was rejoicing, [I] built a coop in the bedroom where
 pillows touch together (MYS XIX: 4154)

(b) habitual or continuous action:

妻社妻依来西尼妻常言長柄
 TUMA-NÖ MORI TUMA YÖS-I-köse-n-e TUMA tö IP-YI-
 naNkara
 spouse-GEN shrine spouse bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP spouse
 DV say-INF-COOR
 Spouse shrine! [I] wish [you would] bring [a] spouse close [to me
 whom I] keep calling a spouse (i.e., I wish you would give me a
 spouse) (MYS IX: 1679)

今日良毛加鹿乃伏良武皮服著而角附奈我良
 KYEPU-ra mwo ka SIKAnö pus-uram-u KAPA KÖRÖMÖ KYI-
 TE TUNWO TUK-YI-naNkara
 today-LOC PT PT deer-GEN lie.down-TENT2-ATTR skin
 garment wear(INF)-SUB horn be.attached-INF-COOR
 will the deer also be lying today with his skin garment on and
 wearing [his] horns as usual? (MYS XVI: 3884)

⁹³ One example is in semantographic writing and is not provided below (MYS VI: 1050).

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The coordinative gerund *-naNkara* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

There is a gerund *-nagiina* in the Shuri dialect that can be potentially related to *-naNkara*, although the correspondences are problematic. In addition, it has a different function: concessive. Therefore, the cognacy is doubtful.

Shuri

ʔuya-nu yaa-nu mee **tuu-i-nagiina** nubaga-i-N s-aN
parent-GEN house-GEN front **pass-INF-GER** stop.by-NML-PT
do-NEG/FIN

Although [I] **pass** by [my] parents house, [I] do not even stop by (RKJ 405)

6.3.1.1.4 Coordinative gerund *-katera*

The coordinative gerund *-katera* has only one allomorph. It is an extremely rare form that occurs in Western Old Japanese only in two examples, both in poems by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi. It always follows the reduced form *-N-* of the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*. Given the paucity of examples, it might be impossible to define its function precisely, but it seems that it is a kind of coordinative gerund.

宇梅能波奈佐伎知流曾能尔和礼由可牟伎美我都可比乎可多麻
知我氏良

uMEY-nō pana sak-yi tir-u sōnō-ni ware yuk-am-u kyimyi-Nka
tukapyi-wo kata **mat-i-N-katera**
plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF fall-ATTR garden-LOC I go-
TENT-FIN lord-POSS messenger-ACC intently **wait-NML-**
DV(INF)-GER

I will go to the garden where the plum blossoms bloom and fall
while waiting intently for your messenger (MYS XVIII: 4041)

吾妹子我可多見我鶉良等紅之八塩尔染而於己勢多流服之襪毛
等賣利鶉濃礼奴

WA-NK-YIMWO-KWO-Nka **katamyi-N-katera** tö KURENAWI-NÖ YA-sipo-ni SÖMEY-TE oköse-tar-u KÖRÖMÖ-NÖ SUSWO mwo töpor-i-te nure-n-u

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS **keepsake-DV(INF)-GER** DV crimson-GEN eight-tide-LOC dye(INF)-SUB send(INF)-PERF/PROG garment-GEN hem PT pass-INF-SUB wet(INF)-PERF-FIN

Passing through [the water], [I] have made wet the hems of the eight times dyed in crimson garment that my beloved sent [me] thinking [of it] **as being a keepsake** (MYS XIX: 4156)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The gerund *-katera* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.3.1.1.5 Past *-kyi* ~ *-si* ~ *-sika*

The past auxiliary appears in three suppletive forms: final *-kyi*, attributive *-si*, and evidential *-sika*. These forms appear mainly as word- and sentence-final, but at the same time all three can also be followed by certain suffixes. When this happens, the final *-kyi* always appears as the abbreviated allomorph *-ky-*, the attributive *-si* may appear either in its full form *-si*, or as the abbreviated allomorph *-s-*, and the evidential *-sika* always remains unchanged. When found in a word-final position, each of the three suppletive forms has just one allomorph.

Chart 80: Combinations of the past auxiliaries *-kyi*, *-si*, and *-sika* with following suffixes

suffixes	final <i>-kyi</i>	attributive <i>-si</i>	evidential <i>-sika</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-ky-em-*</i>	—	—
nominalizer <i>-(a)ku</i>	—	<i>-si-ku</i>	—
conditional <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>-ky-eNpa*</i>	<i>-s-eNpa*</i>	—
conjunctive <i>-Npa</i>	—	—	<i>-sika-Npa</i>
concessive <i>-Ntö[mö]</i>	—	—	<i>-sika-Ntö[mö]</i>

* The morphological segmentation is conditional, because *-ky-em-*, *-ky-eNpa* and *-s-eNpa* are derived from **-kyi-am-*, **-kyi-aNpa* and **-si-aNpa* respectively, with the sequence **ia* resulting in the vowel /[y]/ with a morphemic boundary inside it.

The past auxiliaries *-kyi*, *-si*, and *-sika* follow the infinitive form like other auxiliaries, but in the case of the irregular verbs *kō-* ‘to come’ and *se-* ‘to do’ the resulting forms are irregular. We would expect forms **k-yi-kyi*, **k-yi-si*,⁹⁴ **k-yi-sika*, **s-i-si*, and **s-i-sika*, but as a matter of fact we find the following mostly irregular forms:

Chart 81: Combinations of the past auxiliaries *-kyi*, *-si*, and *-sika* with the verbs *kō-* ‘to come’ and *se-* ‘to do’

past auxiliaries	<i>kō-</i> ‘to come’	<i>se-</i> ‘to do’
final <i>-kyi</i>	—	<i>s-i-ky-</i> , <i>s-i-kyi(?)</i> *
attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>kō-si</i>	<i>se-si</i>
evidential <i>-sika</i>	<i>kō-sika</i> **	<i>se-sika</i>

* The final past form *si-kyi* is cited by Omodaka et al. (1967: 236), but no examples are provided, and I was myself unable to find an example of **s-i-kyi* used in isolation. The bound form *s-i-ky-* is attested as a part of the past tentative form *s-i-ky-em-*, see MYS XV: 3688 below.

** Attested only in partially phonetic writing *KŌ-sika* (see MYS IX: 1751 below), but Eastern Old Japanese *kō-sika* attested phonetically in MYS XIV: 3531 (see below) confirms this form and not **k-yi-sika*.

Therefore, synchronically it looks like that in the most forms in the Chart 81 with the exception of *s-i-ky-*, the past auxiliaries follow not the infinitive, but the stems of the verbs *kō-* ‘to come’ and *se-* ‘to do.’ It is certainly possible that originally past auxiliaries were suffixes that were reanalyzed as auxiliaries after consonant verbs, but remained affixes after irregular and vowel verbs (since the infinitive forms of vowel verbs coincide with their stems, it is possible to claim that past markers are also suffixes that follow stems and not infinitives). Nevertheless, it seems that analyzing the past forms *kō-si*, *kō-sika*, *se-si*, and *se-sika* as irregular contractions from **kō-i-si*, **kō-i-sika*, **se-i-si*, and **se-i-sika* seems to be the simplest explanation, further supported by the past tentative form *s-i-ky-em-* ‘probably did’ of the verb *se-* ‘to do,’ where the past final *-ky-* follows the expected infinitive *s-i-*, and not the stem *se-*.

Since the past auxiliaries are represented by three suppletive forms, I am going to present the combinations with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries separately for each form.

⁹⁴ Yoshida Kanehiko claims that there is one example of the past conditional *k-yi-s-eNpa* (1973: 638). However, this example is found in MYS X: 2148, where the *k-yi* part is written semantographically with the character 来. Therefore, there is no evidence that this character should be read as **k-yi* rather than *kō-*.

Chart 82: Combinations of the past final *-kyi* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries⁹⁵

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-[y]i-kyi ~ -kyi</i>
negative infinitive <i>-aN<u>s</u>-u</i>	<i>-aN<u>s</u>-u-kyi, -aN<u>s</u>-u-ky-</i>
progressive infinitive <i>-er-i-</i>	<i>-er-i-kyi</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-kyi</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-kyi</i>

The past final *-kyi* is a portmanteau morpheme that combines functions of the past with final predication. The past final *-kyi* can also be followed by the nominaliser *-aku*, resulting in the special form *-ky-eku* (see also 6.2.2.2.3.3). This form is attested only three times in two texts (KK 44 and NK 36).

Chart 83: Combinations of the past attributive *-si* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries⁹⁶

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-[y]i-si ~ -si</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-</i>	<i>-as-i-si</i>
progressive infinitive <i>-er-i-</i>	<i>-er-i-si</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-si</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-si</i>
perfective-progressive infinitive <i>-tar-i</i>	<i>-tar-i-si</i>

The past attributive *-si* is a portmanteau morpheme that combines the functions of the past with any of the possible functions of the attributive: attributive, nominalizer, and final predication.

It must be kept in mind that most of the past forms attested in Western Old Japanese are represented by the past attributive, since the past final and past evidential are quite rare and represent only a tiny fraction of all examples. From this perspective it is instructive that the past attributive is attested only with one extra preceding marker as compared to the past final and only two extra markers as

⁹⁵ Since the past final *-kyi* can follow only the infinitives in *-[y]i ~ -∅* and *-u*, I have also provided in this chart the suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede these infinitives.

⁹⁶ Since the past attributive *-si* can follow only the infinitives in *-[y]i ~ -∅*, I have also provided in this chart the suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede these infinitives.

compared to the past evidential. Moreover, the overlap of the combinations seems to be significant, too, as it indicates that in most cases past auxiliaries are preceded by aspectual markers.

Chart 84: Combinations of the past evidential *-sika* with preceding suffixes and bound auxiliaries⁹⁷

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-[y]i-sika ~ -sika</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-öye-sika-</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-sika</i>

The past evidential *-sika* is a portmanteau morpheme that combines functions of the past with the evidential.

Examples of the past auxiliaries:

(1) Final form *-kyi*:

奴那波久理波閑祁久斯良迹

nunapa **kur-i-papey-ky-eku** sir-an-i

water.shield **pull.in-INF-make.stretch(INF)-PAST/FIN-NML**
know-NEG-INF

not knowing **that** [you] **pulled in** the water shield (KK 44)

阿由比能古須受淤知爾岐

ayupyi-nö kwo-suNsu **oti-n-i-kyi**

trousers.cord-GEN DIM-bell **fall(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/FIN**

the small bell from the trousers' cord **fell off** (KK 82)

奴那波区利破陪鷄区辞羅珥 … 比辞餓羅能佐辞鷄区辞羅珥

nunapa **kur-i-papey-ky-eku** sirani ... pyisi-N-kara-nö **sas-i-ky-eku** sir-an-i

water.shield **pull.in-INF-make.stretch(INF)-PAST/FIN-NML**
know-NEG-INF ... water.chestnut-GEN-stalk-GEN **grow-INF-PAST/FIN-NML** know-NEG-INF

not knowing **that** [you] **pulled in** the water shield ... not knowing **that** the stalk of the water chestnut **grew** (NK 36)

⁹⁷ Since the past attributive *-sika* can follow only the infinitives in *-[y]i ~ -∅*, I have also provided in this chart the suffixes and bound auxiliaries that precede these infinitives.

伊喻之之乎都那遇舸播杯能倭柯矩娑能倭柯俱阿利岐騰阿我謨
婆儼俱爾

i-y-u sisi-wo tunaNk-u kapa pye-nö waka kusa-nö **waka-ku ar-i-kyi** tö a-Nka [o]mop-an-aku n-i
shoot-PASS-ATTR game.animal-ACC follow-ATTR river side-
GEN young grass-COMP **young-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN** DV I-
POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF

I do not think [he] **was** [as] **young** as young grass on the river side
where [we] followed a game animal that was shot, but ... (NK 117)

從情毛吾者不念寸

KÖKÖRÖ-YU mwo A PA OMÖP-ANS-U-kyi
heart-ABL PT I TOP **think-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN**
I **did not think** even in my heart (MYS IV: 601)

從情毛我者不念寸

KÖKÖRÖ-YU mwo A PA OMÖP-ANS-U-kyi
heart-ABL PT I TOP **think-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN**
I **did not think** even in my heart (MYS IV: 609)

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 **saw** the stone on which [she] took [her] stand? (MYS V: 869)

佐容比賣我必礼布理伎等敷吉民萬通良楊滿

saywo-pyimye-Nka pyire **pur-i-kyi** tö [i]p-u kyimyi-mat-ura yama
Saywo-pyimye-POSS long.scarf **wave-INF-PAST/FIN** DV say-
ATTR lord-wait-bay mountain
the “Wait-for-[my]-lord bay mountain” where [they] say Saywo-
pyimye **waved** [her] long scarf (MYS V: 883)

現毛夢毛吾者不思寸

UTUTU-NI mwo IMEY-NI mwo WARE PA OMÖP-ANS-U-kyi
reality-LOC PT dream-LOC PT I TOP **think-NEG-INF-
PAST/FIN**
I **did not think** either in reality or in a dream (MYS XI: 2601)

彼夜者吾毛宿毛寐金手寸

SÖNÖ YWO PA WARE mwo I mwo **NE-kane-te-kyi**

that night TOP I PT sleep PT **sleep(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-
INF-PAST/FIN**

I was also **unable to sleep** that night (MYS XIII: 3269)

於吉都奈美多可久多都日尔安敝利伎等美夜古能比等波伎吉豆
家牟可母

okyi-tu namyi taka-ku tat-u PYI-ni **ap-yer-i-kyi** tö myiyakwo-nö
pyitö pa kyik-yi-te-ky-em-u kamö

offing-GEN/LOC wave high-INF rise-ATTR day-DAT **meet-
PROG-INF-PAST/FIN** DV capital-GEN person TOP hear-INF-
PERF(INF)-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR PT

I wonder whether people in the capital might have heard that [we]
met with a day when waves in the offing rose high (MYS XV:
3675)

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉
kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitö k-yi-tar-er-i tö ip-yi-sika-Npa potöpotö **sin-i-
kyi**

return-INF-RETR-ATTR person come-INF-PERF/PROG-PROG-
FIN DV say-INF-PAST/EV-CON almost **die-INF-PAST/FIN**

Because [they] said that a person, who returned [from exile], had
come [to the capital], [I] almost **died** [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)

布治奈美波佐岐弓知里尔伎

puNti namyi pa sak-yi-te **tir-i-n-i-kyi**

wisteria wave TOP bloom-INF-SUB **fall-INF-PERF-INF-
PAST/FIN**

The waves of wisteria had bloomed and **fell completely** (MYS
XVII: 3993)

久母我久理可氣理伊尔伎等

kumö-N-kakur-i kakeyr-i **in-i-kyi** tö

cloud-LOC-hide-INF soar-INF **go.away-INF-PAST/FIN** DV

[the old man] said that [the hawk] soared [into the sky]
disappearing in the clouds, and **flew away** (MYS XVII: 4011)

由利毛安波牟等於母比曾米弓伎

yuri mwo ap-am-u tö **omöp-yi-sōmey-te-kyi**

future PT meet-TENT-FIN DV **think-INF-begin(INF)-
PERF(INF)-PAST/FIN**

[I] **began to think** that [we] would meet in the future, too (MYS XVIII: 4087)

阿米能之多之良志賣之伎

amey-nö sita **sirasimyes-i-kyi**

heaven-GEN under **rule(HON)-INF-PAST/FIN**

[emperors] **ruled** [the country] under Heaven (MYS XX: 4360)

Special form *-ky-* in past tentative *-ky-em-*:

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鷄迷夜

oya na-si n-i nare **nar-i-ky-em-ey** ya

parent no-FIN DV-INF you **be.born-~~INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV~~**
PT

Were you possibly born without parents? [Certainly not!] (NK 104)

遠等咩良何遠等咩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

wotömye-ra-Nka wotömye saNpiy s-u tö kara tama-wo tamötö-ni
mak-as-i yöti kwo-ra-tö TE taNtusapar-i-te **aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u**
maiden-PLUR-POSS maiden like do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
wrist-LOC wrap-HON-INF same.age child-PLUR-COM hand
hold-INF-SUB **play-~~INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN~~**

The maidens, thinking to behave 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)

迦具漏伎可美爾伊都乃麻可斯毛乃布利家武

kaN-kurwo-kyi kamyi-ni itu-nö ma ka simwo-nö **pur-i-ky-em-u**

INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC when-CEN interval PT frost-GEN **fall-~~INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR~~**

at what point in time, the frost **would have fallen** on [their] pitch-
black hair? (MYS V: 804)

多太未可母安夜麻知之家牟

taNta miy kamö ayamat-i **s-i-ky-em-u**

direct body PT mistake-NML **do-~~INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR~~**

Did [he] **probably make** a mistake himself, I wonder? (MYS XV: 3688)

佐夜麻太乃乎治我其日爾母等米安波受家牟

sa yamaNta n-ö woNti-Nka SÖNÖ PYI-ni mötömey **ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u**

so YamaNta DV-ATTR old.man-POSS that day-LOC search(INF) **meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**

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

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi wem-aNs-u mwo uti-naNKeyk-yi **katar-i-ky-em-aku**
smile-INF ? smile-NEG-INF PT PREF-sigh-INF **talk-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-NML**

the fact that [both of you] **were probably talking**, and sighing, smiling and not smiling (MYS XVIII: 4106)

The special form *-ky-* in the past conditional *-ky-eNpa* is a rare form which occurs in one text attested twice in two different scripts:

斯漏多陀牟岐麻迦受祁婆許曾斯良受登母伊波米 (KK script)

辞漏多娜武枳摩箇儒鷄麼虚曾辞羅儒等茂伊波梅 (NK script)

sirwo taNtamukyi **mak-aNs-u-ky-eNpa** köso sir-aNs-u tö mö⁹⁸ ip-am-ey

white arm **use.as.a.pillow-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-COND** PT know-NEG-FIN DV PT say-TENT-EV

if [I] did not use [your] white arms **as a pillow**, [you] could even say that [you] do not know [me] (KK 61, NK 58)

(2) Attributive form *-si*:

和賀韋泥斯伊毛波和須禮士

wa-Nka wi **ne-si** imwo pa wasure-Nsi

I-POSS bring(INF) **sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR** beloved TOP forget-NEG/TENT

[I] would not forget [my] beloved, whom I brought with [me] and **slept** with (KK 8)

袁夜迹須賀多多美伊夜佐夜斯岐弓和賀布多理泥斯

wo-ya-ni suNka-tatamyi iya-saya sik-yi-te wa-Nka puta-ri **ne-si**
DIM-house-LOC sedge-mat rustling spread-INF-SUB we-POSS two-CL **sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR**

⁹⁸ NK has unspecified *mo* here.

in a little hut two of us **slept** [together] spreading rustling sedge mats (KK 19)

In this example we have the past attributive *-si* that is used as a form of final predication without a preceding particle *sö* ~ *Nsö*, *ya*, or *ka*.

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢

matur-i-kö-si myi-kyi Nsö as-aNs-u wos-e

present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rice.wine PT
shallow-NEG-INF drink(HON)-IMP

Drink the **presented** rice wine deeply! (KK 39)

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 möNka tö wa-Nka **myi-si** kwo-ra ka-ku
möNka tö

meet-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR woman that PT DV I-POSS
see(INF)-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM thus-INF PT DV

[I] think [I] wish that [much] the woman [I] **met**; [I] think [I] wish
this [much] the girl I **saw** (KK 42)

古波囊塢等綿阿羅素破儒泥辞区塢之叙于蘆波辞彌茂布

kwopaNta wotömye araswop-aNs-u **ne-si-ku-wo** si Nsö urupasi-
myi [o]mop-u

KwopaNta maiden resist-NEG-INF **sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR-**
NML-ACC PT PT loving-GER think-ATTR

[I] think lovingly about **the fact that** a KwopaNta maiden **slept**
[with me] without resisting (NK 38)

伊豆久欲利积多利斯物能曾

iNtuku-ywori **k-yi-tar-i-si** mönö sö

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)

The attributive form in this example is triggered by the interrogative particle *ka*.

伊刀良斯弓伊波比多麻比斯麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯

i-twor-as-i-te **ipap-yi-tamap-yi-si** ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ö isi

DLF-hold-HON-INF-SUB **pray-INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR**
 INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone
 holding two stones like real jewels **that [she] was praying to ...**
 (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 saw the stone on which [she] took (lit.: **did**) [her] stand?
 (MYS V: 869)

来之久毛知久相流君可聞
KŌ-si-ku mwo siru-ku AP-YEr-u KYIMYI kamo
come(INF)-PAST/ATTR-NML PT useful-INF meet-PROG-
 ATTR lord PT
 [it] was useful **that [I] had come**, [as] I met you! (MYS VIII: 1577)

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼豆波許呂母豆佐牟伎母能尔曾
 安里冢流
 IMWO-tō **ar-i-si** TÖKYI PA ar-e-Ntömwo wakare-te pa
 körömönTe samu-kyi mönō n-i sō ar-i-kyer-u
 beloved-COM **exist-INF-PAST/ATTR** time TOP exist-EV-CONC
 separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing DV-INF PT
 exist-INF-RETR-ATTR
 Although there was a time when [I] **was** with [my] beloved, after
 [we] separated, [my] sleeves are cold (MYS XV: 3591)

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要豆許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里
爾之母能乎
 a-Nka miy kōsō sekyi yama kwoye-te kōkō-ni ar-am-ey kōkōrō pa
 imwo-ni **yōr-i-n-i-si** mönōwo
 I-POSS body PT barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB here-LOC
 exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT **approach-INF-PERF-**
INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ
 My body has crossed barriers and mountains, and is probably here.
 But [my] heart **stayed near** [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

挿頭尔将為跡我念之櫻花
 KANSASI n-i SE-M-U tō A-NKA **OMÖP-YI-si** SAKURA-NŌ
 PANA

head.ornament DV-INF do-TENT-FIN DV I-POSS **think-INF-PAST/ATTR** sakura-GEN blossom

[I] think [I] want to make sakura blossoms **about which I thought** into a head ornament (MYS XVI: 3786)

麻佐吉久登伊比低之物能乎
ma-sakyi-ku tö **ip-yi-te-si** MÖnöwo

INT-safe-INF DV **say-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR** CONJ

Although [I] **have said** that [I return] safely (MYS XVII: 3958)

比登母等能奈泥之故宇惠之

pyitö-mötö n-ö naNtesikwo **uwe-si**

one-CL DV-ATTR carnation **plant(INF)-PAST/ATTR**

[I] **planted** one carnation (MYS XVIII: 4070)

In this example we have the past attributive form *-si* that is used as a form of final predication without a preceding particle *sö ~ Nsö, ya, or ka*.

伊爾志加多知与乃都美佐閑保呂夫止曾伊布

in-i-si kata ti yö-nö tumyi sapey poröNp-u tö sö 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)

美麻斯乃父止坐天皇乃美麻斯尔賜志天下

myimasi-nö TITI tö IMAS-U SUMYERA-MYIKÖTÖ-nö
myimasi-ni TAMAP-YI-si AMEY-NÖ SITA

you-GEN father DV exist(HON)-ATTR emperor-deity-GEN you-DAT **give(HON)-INF-PAST/ATTR** heaven-GEN bottom

the land under Heaven **that** the emperor-deity, who is your father, **gave** to you (SM 5)

Special form *-s-* in the past conditional *-s-eNpa-*:

比登都麻都比登迺阿理勢婆

pyitö-tu matu pyitö **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa**

one-CL pine person DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND

if a lone pine **were** a person (KK 29)

多遲比怒迺泥牟登斯理勢波多都碁母母母知弓許志母能

taNtipyi nwo-ni ne-m-u tö **sir-i-s-eNpa** tat-u-N-kömö mö möt-i-te
kö-masi mönö

TaNtipyi field-LOC sleep-TENT-FIN DV **know-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** stand-ATTR-rush.mat PT hold-INF-SUB come-SUBJ CONJ

If [I] **would know** that [I] will sleep at the TaNtipyi field, [I] would also bring a standing rush mat (KK 75)

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志

kapiy-nō kurwo kwoma kura **kyi-s-eNpa** i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasi

Kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle **put.on(INF)-PAST/ATTR-COND** DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ

if [he] **would put** a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he] would not reach here [on time] (NK 81a)

宇良志麻能古我多麻久志義阿氣受阿理世波麻多母阿波麻志遠
urasima-nō kwo-Nka tama kusiNkey **akey-Ns-u ar-i-s-eNpa** mata
mō ap-amasi-wo

Urasima-GEN child-POSS jewel box **open-NEG-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** again PT meet-SUBJ-ACC

If the boy Urasima **did not open** the jewel box, [he] would meet again [the dragon's daughter], but [it did not happen] (FK 15)

和伎毛故我可多美能許呂母奈可里世婆奈爾毛能母弓加伊能知
都我麻之

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka katamiy n-ō körömō **na-k-ar-i-s-eNpa**
nani mwonō mōt-e ka inōti tuNk-amasi

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS keepsake DV-ATTR garment **no-INF-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** what thing hold-EV PT life join-SUBJ

If [I] **did not have** a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, would having anything keep [me] alive? (MYS XV: 3733)

家布毛可母美也故奈里世婆見麻久保里尔之能御馬屋乃刀尔多
弓良麻之

kyepu mwo kamō miyakwo-**n-ar-i-s-eNpa** MYI-m-aku por-i nisi-
nō MYI-MAYA-nō two-ni tat-er-amasi

today PT PT capital-**LOC-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND** see-
TENT-NML desire-INF west-GEN HON-stable-GEN outside-LOC
stand-PROG-SUBJ

If [I] **were in** the capital today, too, [I] would be standing outside the Western Imperial Stables, wanting to see [you]! (MYS XV: 3776)

安佐之保美知尔与流許都美可比尔安里世婆都刀尔勢麻之乎
 asa sipo mit-i-ni yör-u kötumyi kapyi **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa** tutwo n-i se-
 masi-wo
 morning tide full-NML-LOC approach-ATTR trash shellfish **DV-
 INF exist-~~INF~~-PAST/ATTR-COND** souvenir DV-~~INF~~ do-SUBJ-
 ACC

if the trash that is brought up by the full morning tide **were**
 shellfish, [I] would bring [it] as a souvenir, but ... (MYS XX: 4396)

(3) Evidential form *-sika*:

古波陀袁登壳袁迦微能碁登岐許延斯迦杼母阿比麻久良麻久
 KwopaNta wotömye-wo kamiy-nö Nkötö **kyik-öye-sika-Ntömö**
 apyi-makuramak-u
 KwopaNta maiden-ABS deity-GEN like **hear-PASS(INF)-
 PAST/EV-CONC** REC-pillow-FIN

Although [it] is **rumored** that the maiden from KwopaNta is like a
 goddess, [we] slept together (lit.: pillowed each other) (KK 45)

烏智可掩能阿娑努能枳枳始騰余謀佐儒倭例播衲始柯騰比騰會
 騰余謀須

woti kata-nö asa-nwo-nö kyikyisi töyöm-os-aNs-u ware pa **ne-
 sika-Ntö** pyitö sö töyöm-os-u
 that side-GEN Asa-field-GEN pheasant sound-CAUS-NEG-~~INF~~ I
 TOP **sleep(INF)-PAST/EV-CONC** person PT sound-CAUS-
 ATTR

Although I **slept** without letting pheasants from the Asa field on
 yonder side cry, [other] people let [them] cry (NK 110)

神登座尔之可婆

KAMU-NÖNPOR-I-IMAS-I-n-i-sika-Npa
 deity-**climb-~~INF~~-go(HON)-~~INF~~-PERF-~~INF~~-PAST/EV-CON**
when [she] divinely **went up** [to Heaven] (MYS II: 167)

昨日己曾吾超来壮鹿

KYINÖPU **kösö** WA-NKA **KWOYE-KÖ-sika**
 yesterday PT we-POSS **cross(INF)-come(INF)-PAST/EV**
 we **crossed** over yesterday (MYS IX: 1751)

The evidential form in this example is triggered by the focus particle *kösö*.

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉
 kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitō k-yi-tar-er-i tō **ip-yi-sika-Npa** potōpotō sin-i-
 kyi

return-INF-RETR-ATTR person come-INF-PERF/PROG-PROG-FIN DV **say-INF-PAST/EV-CON** almost die-INF-PAST/FIN
Because [they] **said** that a person, who returned [from exile], had come [to the capital], [I] almost died [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)

昨日許曾敷奈仔婆勢之可

KYINŌPU **kōsō puna-[i]Nte se-sika**

yesterday PT boat-exit(NML) do(INF)-PAST/EV

Yesterday [we] **sailed out** (MYS XVII: 3893)

The evidential form in this example is triggered by the focus particle *kōsō*.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The past auxiliaries are also attested in Eastern Old Japanese, although the past final form *-kyi* occurs only as the reduced allomorph *-ky-* in the past tentative *-ky-em-*. In addition, the past evidential *-sika* is attested only in four examples and only in book XIV. Thus, the attributive *-si* also rules supreme in Eastern Old Japanese.

(1) The final form *-kyi* is attested only as the special form *-ky-* in the past tentative *-ky-em-*, but none of the examples where *-ky-em-* appears have any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features, therefore the presence of *-ky-* in Eastern Old Japanese is questionable.

刀奈布倍美許曾奈爾与曾利鷄米

twonap-uNpey-myi **kōsō na-ni yōsōr-i-ky-em-ey**

recite-DEB-GER PT you-DAT **approach-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV**

as [I] had to recite [the magic formula], [I] **approached** you (MYS XIV: 3468)

The evidential form in this example is triggered by the focus particle *kōsō*.

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure sō papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-ky-em-**
u

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN **bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR**
 why (lit.: having done what) **has** the flower called ‘Mother’ **not bloomed?** (MYS XX: 4323)

(2) Attributive form *-si*:

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** yöpyi-ywori se-rö-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
 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)

与會爾見之欲波伊麻許會麻左礼
 yösö-ni **MYI-si-ywo** pa ima kösö 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)

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼遊布麻夜万可久礼之伎美乎於母比
 可祢都母
 kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö yupuma yama **kakure-si**
 kyimiyi-wo omöp-yi-kane-t-umö
 love(INF)-COORD PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC Yupuma
 mountain **hide(INF)-PAST/ATTR** lord-ACC think-INF-
 NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL
 Although [I] was going to continue to love [you], [I] cannot [bear]
 thoughts about my lord, **who hid** [himself] on the Yupuma
 mountain! (MYS XIV: 3475)

思良久毛能多要爾之伊毛乎阿是西呂等
 sira kumwo-nö **taye-n-i-si** imwo-wo aNse se-rö tö
 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)

於保夫祢乎倍由毛登母由毛可多米提之
 opo-N-pune-wo pey-yu mwo tömö-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)

曾我比尔宿思久伊麻之久夜思母
 sōNkap-yi n-i **NE-si-ku** ima si kuyasi-mō
 turn.away-NML DV-INF **sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR-NML** now PT
 be.regretful-EXCL
 now [I] regret **that** [we] **slept** turning away [from each other]!
 (MYS XIV: 3577)

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
 加祢豆流
 titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte sa-ku ar-e te **ip-yi-si** keytōNpa
 Nse wasure-kane-t-uru
 father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP
 DV **say-INF-PAST/ATTR** word PT forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-
 PERF-ATTR
 [I] cannot forget the words: “Be safe!” **that** [my] father and mother
said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

伊弓久礼婆和努等里都伎弓伊比之古奈波毛
 iNte-k-ure-Npa wanu tör-i-tuk-yi-te **ip-yi-si** kwo-na pa mō
 exit(INF)-come-EV-CON I cling.to-INF-attach-INF-SUB **say-INF-**
PAST/ATTR girl-DIM TOP PT
 when [I] left [the house], oh, [that] girl **who** clung to me and
complained (MYS XX: 4358)

以弊乃母加积世之己呂母尔阿加都积尔迦理
 ipye-nō [i]mō-Nka **kyi-se-si** körömō-ni aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i
 home-GEN beloved-POSS **wear-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR**
 garment-LOC dirt attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
 dirt stuck to the garment that my beloved at home **made** [me] **wear**
 (MYS XX: 4388)

(3) Evidential form *-sika*:

麻萬能手兒奈我安里之可婆麻末乃於須比尔奈美毛登杼呂尔
 mama-nō teNkwo-na-Nka **ar-i-sika-Npa** mama-nō osu-pyi-ni
 namyi mwo tōNtörō n-i

Mama-GEN girl-DIM-POSS **exist-INF-PAST/EV-CON** Mama-GEN rock-shore-LOC wave PT rumbling DV-INF

when a girl from Mama **lived** [there, it] was [like] the rumbling noise of waves on the rocky shore of Mama (MYS XIV: 3385)

左宿佐寐^レ許^ル曾^レ己^レ登^ル尔^レ思^ル可^ク

sa ne sa ne-te **kösö** kötö-ni [i]**Nte-n-i-sika**

thus sleep(INF) thus sleep(INF)-SUB **PT** word-LOC **exit(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/EV**

[we] slept in this way, slept in this way, and [it] **has become** [people's] gossip (MYS XIV: 3497)

The evidential form in this example is triggered by the focus particle *kösö*.

伎^レ曾^レ許^ル曾^レ波^レ兒^レ呂^レ等^レ左^レ宿^レ之^レ香^ク

kyisö **kösö** pa KWO-rö-tö **sa-NE-sika**

last.night **PT** TOP girl-DIM-COM **PREF-sleep(INF)-PAST/EV**

Last night [I] **slept together** with [my] girl (MYS XIV: 3522)

The evidential form in this example is triggered by the focus particle *kösö*.

伊^レ母^レ乎^レ許^ル曾^レ安^レ比^レ美^レ尔^レ許^ル思^ル可^ク

imö-wo **kösö** apyi-myi-ni **kö-sika**

beloved-ACC **PT** REC-see(NML)-LOC **come(INF)-PAST/EV**

[I] **came** to meet with [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3531)

The evidential form in this example is triggered by the focus particle *kösö*.

A2: Ryukyuan

There is only one example of the past attributive *-si* in Old Ryukyuan (Torioe 1968: 193):

わか^レさ^レあ^レし^レと^レき^レや^レよ^レろ^レい^レゑ^レら^レて^レき^レち^レや^レ物^ク

waka-sa **a-si** toki ya yoroi wera-te ki-tiya MONO

young-NML **exist-PAST/ATTR** time TOP armor select-SUB wear-PAST/ATTR thing

When [I] **was** young, [I] selected armor and wore [it] (OS VII: 380)

Since there are no other traces of the past auxiliaries in any other variety of Ryukyuan, this singular example should be treated as a loan from Middle Japanese. Thus, we can only reconstruct the Proto-Japanese past auxiliaries **-si*, and **-sika*. Since, as we have seen above, the evidence for EOJ *-ky-* is questionable, it seems that the reconstruction of the past final **-ki* beyond pre-WOJ would be also questionable.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am guilty of introducing the comparison of WOJ *-kyi* with the Middle Korean perfective suffix *-ke*, *-ka* ~ *-Ge* ~ *-Ga*, e.g. *tina-ke-n* ‘passed’, *ni-ke-n-i* ‘the one who went’ (Vovin 2001: 192)

Middle Korean

cwuk-taka *sal-Ge-n* poykseng
die-TRANSF *live-PERF-ATTR* people
people who were dying, but *survived* (YP 25)

The past marker *-kyi* is found only in Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese which both belong to Central Japanese; there are no Ryukyuan attestations, and even Eastern Old Japanese attestations, as we saw above, are not reliable. Therefore, the distribution suggests that this marker was borrowed from Old Korean. The difference in vocalism is significant, but one can speculate that it was borrowed as pre-WOJ **-ke*, which then underwent raising **e > /yi/*. In addition, it must be noted that while the MK perfective *-ke* is an inflectional marker, WOJ *-kyi* is clearly an auxiliary, because it follows the infinitive form.⁹⁹

6.3.1.2 WORD-NON-FINAL BOUND AUXILIARIES

There are seven word-non-final auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese: the perfectives *-n-* and *-te-*, perfectivethe *-progressive -tar-*, the retrospective *-kyer-*, the potential *-kate-*, the negative potential *-kane-*, and the benefactive *-kōse-*.

6.3.1.2.1 Perfective *-n-*

This perfective auxiliary has just one allomorph *-n-*. It is one of the most versatile morphological markers in Western Old Japanese, as it can co-occur with eventually every other morpheme within the

⁹⁹ Whitman suggested a comparison of WOJ *-kyi* with the MK deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ki* (Whitman 1985: 228-29). In addition to the fact that I disagree with Whitman that WOJ *-kyi* might be originally a participial rather than final form – I trust that the examples given above effectively rule out such a possibility – there are three problems that prevent me from accepting this comparison. The first and second are the same as in the case of the comparison with MK *-ke-*: WOJ *-kyi* is an auxiliary and not a suffix, and it has no reliable parallels in Eastern Old Japanese and no Ryukyuan cognates at all. Third, MK *-ki* is neutral to tense, while WOJ *-kyi* is not.

same verbal form. The outstanding exceptions are the causatives, the perfective *-te-*, the progressive *-[y]er-*, the imperative *-[y]e*, and the negative imperative *-una*. While the absence of combinations with the perfective *-te-* and the progressive *-[y]er-* is to be expected, since both are aspectual markers like *-n-*, the lack of combinations with the causatives and the imperative is significant for the understanding of the real function of the perfective *-n-* and its difference from the perfective *-te-* that can combine with the causatives and the imperative. I will return to this problem below when I discuss the function of *-n-*. The perfective auxiliary *-n-* does not combine with the negatives *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* directly either, but these negatives can follow other auxiliaries that are attached to *-n-*, cf. *nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u* 'did not become' in MYS V: 817 below.

The infinitive *-[y]i* can either precede or follow the perfective auxiliary *-n-*. Infinitives of the iterative *-ap-*, the honorific *-as-*, and the passive *-(a)ye-* precede the perfective *-n-* as shown in the chart below:

Chart 85: Combinations of the perfective *-n-* with preceding suffixes in their infinitive form

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i> ~ \emptyset	<i>-[y]i-n-</i> ~ <i>-n-</i>
iterative infinitive <i>-ap-yi-</i>	<i>-ap-yi-n-</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-n-</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-n-</i>

Many more suffixes and bound auxiliaries can be found after the perfective *-n-* as the following chart demonstrates:

Chart 86: Combinations of the perfective *-n-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i> ~ \emptyset	<i>-n-i-</i>
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-n-u</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-n-uru</i>
evidential <i>-[ur]e[y]</i>	<i>-n-ure</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-n-am-</i>
tentative <i>-(u)ram-</i>	<i>-n-uram-</i>
desiderative <i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-n-ana</i>
subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i>	<i>-n-amasi</i>
conditional gerund <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>-n-aNpa</i>

suppositional <i>-urasi</i>	<i>-n-urasi</i>
debitive <i>-uNpey-</i>	<i>-n-uNpey-</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-n-i-te</i>
perfective-progressive <i>-tar-</i>	<i>-n-i-tar</i> ¹⁰⁰
coordinative gerund <i>-tutu</i>	<i>-n-i-tutu</i>
past final <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-n-i-kyi</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-n-i-si</i>
past evidential <i>-sika</i>	<i>-n-i-sika</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-n-i-kyer-</i>
nominalizer <i>-(a)ku</i>	<i>-n-ur-aku</i>
conjunctive gerund <i>-Npa</i>	<i>-n-ure-Npa</i>
concessive gerund <i>-Ntö[mö]</i>	<i>-n-ure-Ntö[mö]</i>

It is quite clear that both *-n-* and *-te-* have the function of the perfective aspect, which shows that an action is completed or will be completed by a certain point in time. However, since there are two perfective markers, in order to understand properly the function of the perfective auxiliary *-n-* we must define it *vis-à-vis* the perfective auxiliary *-te-*. A considerable amount of ink has been spilled on the difference between the usage of *-n-* and *-te-*. This grammar is not the place to overview the history of this debate. The interested readers can consult my *A Reference Grammar of Classical Japanese Prose*, where the main conflicting opinions are mentioned (Vovin 2003: 305). I basically follow the theory of Elena M. Kolpakchi (1956: 121) that I will summarize below.

Kolpakchi proposed that with an animate subject either *-te-* or *-n-* could be used with transitive verbs, but *-n-* was used predominantly with intransitive verbs. An inanimate subject could not have a transitive verbal predicate, and intransitive verbs with an inanimate subject could only be used with *-n-*. Therefore, inanimate subjects could not be linked with *-te-* (Kolpakchi 1956: 121). Thus the distribution of *-n-* and *-te-* would depend not only on the transitivity of a verb, but also on the animacy of a subject. I call this distribution Kolpakchi's constraint: it shows that *-te-* cannot occur with inanimate subjects.

It can be easily seen that the majority of the examples cited below reflect the combination of an inanimate subject with an

¹⁰⁰ Note that in Western Old Japanese the perfective-progressive *-tar-* can only follow the perfective *-n-*, while in Middle (Classical) Japanese *-tar-* can either follow or precede *-n-* (Vovin 2003: 307).

intransitive verb. The next frequent category is the combination of an animate subject with an intransitive verb, and the combination of an animate subject with a transitive verb is represented by relatively few examples. At this point we should recollect that the perfective auxiliary *-n-* does not combine with causatives and imperative. The likeliest explanation for this oddity is that historically the perfective *-n-* indicates the lack of animacy for the subject: naturally the inanimate subjects cannot be causers. An inanimate subject is also highly unlikely to give a command to another inanimate subject. Thus, the difference between the perfectives *-n-* and *-te-* probably indicated an animacy agreement in pre-Western Old Japanese.

Examples:

(1) Animate subject + transitive verb with *-n-*:

伊多那加婆比登斯理奴倍志

ita nak-aNpa pyitō **sir-i-n-uNpey-si**

extremely cry-COND person **know-INF-PERF-DEB-FIN**

if [I] cry loudly, people **would have known** (KK 83)

美夜故能提夫利和周良延尔家利

myiyakwo-nō teNpuri **wasur-aye-n-i-kyer-i**

capital-GEN custom **forget-PASS(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

it turned out that [I] **have forgotten** the customs of the capital (MYS V: 880)

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
五十戶良我許惠波寢屋度麻弓来立呼比奴

nuye-N-TÖRI-nō nōNtōyöp-yi-WOR-U-ni itō nökyite

MYINSIKA-KYI MÖNÖ-wo PASI kyir-u tō IP-YER-U-NKA

NKÖTÖ-KU SIMOTÖ TÖR-U SATWO-WOSA-Nka köwe 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-

LÖC very exceptionally short-ATTR thing-ACC end cut-FIN DV

say-PROG-ATTR-POSS 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)

遠妻四高尔有世婆不知十方手綱乃濱能尋来名益

TŌPO TUMA si TAKA-ni AR-I-s-eNpa SIR-ANS-U tömo
TANTUNA-nö PAMA-nö **TANTUNE-K-YI-n-amasi**

distant wife PT Taka-LOC exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND know-
NEG-FIN CONJ [TaNtuna-GEN beach-COMP – makura-kotoba]
seek(INF)-come-INF-PERF-SUBJ

If my wife, who is far away [from me], were in Taka, even if [I] did not know, [I] **would come looking for [her]** (MYS IX: 1746)

熊来酒屋尔真奴良留奴和之佐須比立率而来奈麻之乎真奴良留
奴和之

Kumakyi SAKA-YA-ni MA nur-ar-u yatukwo wasi sasup-yi-tate
WI-TE-K-YI-n-amasi-wo MA nur-ar-u yatukwo wasi

Kumakyi rice.wine-shop-LOC really scold-PASS-FIN fellow
INTER invite-INF-put(INF) **bring(INF)-SUB-come-INF-PERF-**
SUBJ-ACC really scold-PASS-FIN fellow INTER

Hey, fellow, [you] were really scolded at the Kumakyi brewery. [I] **would have invited and brought [you here]**, but ... Hey, fellow, [you] were really scolded (MYS XVI: 3879)

不言岐辞母言奴

IP-UMASINSI-kyi KÖTÖ mö **IP-YI-n-u**

say-NEG/POT-ATTR word PT **say-INF-PERF-FIN**

[he] also **said** words that [he] should not have said (SM 27)

(2) Animate subject + intransitive verb with *-n-*:

和加久間爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母

waka-ku pey-ni wi ne-te-masi mönō **oyi-n-i-kyer-u** kamō
young-INF ?-DV-INF bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ
age(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

[I] would have brought [her with me] and have slept [with her] if [she] were young, but it turned out that [she] **has become old**, alas! (KK 93)

君尔因奈名

KYIMYI-ni **YÖR-I-n-ana**

lord-DAT **approach-INF-PERF-DES**
[I] **wanted to get close** to you (MYS II: 114)

神登座尔之可婆

KAMU-NONPOR-I-IMAS-I-n-i-sika-Npa
deity-**climb-INF-go(HON)-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/EV-CON**
when [she] divinely **went up** [to Heaven] (MYS II: 167)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼
kōkōrō-yu mö omöp-an-u apyiNta-ni uti-naNpyik-yi **kōy-as-i-n-ure**
heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC PREF-
stretched.out-**INF lie.down-HON-INF-PERF-EV**
while even in [my] heart [I] did not think, stretched out [she] **was lying** (MYS V: 794)

家布由伎弓阿須波吉奈武遠

kyepu yuk-yi-te asu pa **k-yi-n-am-u-wo**
today go-INF-SUB tomorrow TOP **come-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR-ACC**
I **would** go today and **surely come back** tomorrow, but ... (MYS V: 870)

出波之利伊奈奈等思騰許良爾佐夜利奴

INTE-pasir-i in-ana tö OMÖP-EY-Ntö kö-ra-ni **sayar-i-n-u**
exit(INF)-run-INF go.away-DES DV think-EV-CONC child-
PLUR-DAT **be.prevented-INF-PERF-FIN**
although [I] think that [I] would like to run out and go away, [I] **am prevented** by [my] children (MYS V: 899)

空氣衝之相別去者

ANA IKYINTUK-Asi APYI-WAKARE-n-aNPA
EXCL breathe-ADJ REC-**part(INF)-PERF-COND**
Oh, how lamentable! **If [we] part with each other** ... (MYS VIII: 1454)

和可礼奈波宇良我奈之家武

wakare-n-aNpa ura-N-kanasi-ky-em-u
part(INF)-PERF-COND heart-LOC-sad-ATTR-TENT-FIN
If [we] part, [I] would be sad in [my] heart ... (MYS XV: 3584)

氣奈我久之安礼婆古非尔家流可母

key naNka-ku si ar-e-Npa kwopiy-n-i-kyer-u¹⁰¹ kamō

day long-INF PT exist-EV-CON long.for(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

because it has been a long time (lit.: days) [since we left], [I] **have been longing** for [the capital]! (MYS XV: 3668)

奈美能宇倍由奈豆佐比伎尔弓

namyi-nō upey-yu naNtusap-yi k-yi-n-i-te

wave-GEN top-ABL be.tossed-INF **come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB**

[you] **have come** being tossed by the waves, **and** ... (MYS XV: 3691)

和我勢古我久爾敝麻之奈婆保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇波佐夫之家牟可母

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kuni-pye [i]mas-i-n-aNpa potōtōNkyisu nak-am-u sa-tukiy pa saNpusi-ky-em-u kamō

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS land-DIR **come(HON)-INF-PERF-COND** cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR fifth-month TOP be.lonely-ATTR-TENT-ATTR PT

If my beloved **would have** [only] **returned** to [his] land, [because in] the fifth lunar month when the cuckoo will cry, [I] would be lonely! (MYS XVII: 3996)

(3) Inanimate subject + intransitive verb with *-n-*:

阿由比能古須受淤知爾岐

ayuyi-nō kwo-suNsu oti-n-i-kyi

trousers.cord-GEN DIM-bell **fall(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/FIN**

the small bell from the trousers' cord **fell off** (KK 82)

¹⁰¹ The verb *kwopiy-* 'to long for' is predominantly intransitive in Western Old Japanese, since in most cases it requires the dative case marker *-ni* on the object. Omodaka et al. notice that sometimes *kwopiy-* also takes the accusative *-wo* (1967: 307), but out of their three examples, one is from Eastern Old Japanese (MYS XX: 4371) and one is from the Hitachi section of the Fudoki kayō (FK 5), so this usage could be influenced by Eastern Old Japanese, and only two examples appear to be genuine Western Old Japanese (MYS IV: 489 and MYS XV: 3631). Although they mention that there are other examples as well, I was not able to locate them. Therefore, it appears safer to analyze *kwopiy-* as an intransitive verb when there is no overt accusative marking.

速来而母見手益物乎山背高槻村散去奚留鴨

PAYA K-YI-TE mö MYI-te-masi MONŌwo YAMASIRÖ-NÖ
TAKA TUKIY mura **TIR-I-n-i-kyer-u** kamwo
fast come-INF-SUB PT see(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ Yamasirö-
GEN high zelkova group **fall-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR** PT
Although [I] would come fast and look [at them], most of the high
zelkova [trees' flowers] in Yamasirö have **fallen**, alas! (MYS III:
277)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾
家良受夜

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-tar-u sönö-nö awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-
uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u** ya
plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN
green willow TOP wig DV-INF do-DEB-INF **become-INF-PERF-
INF-RETR-NEG-FIN** PT
Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the
garden willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have
bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

烏梅能波奈佐企弓知理奈波佐久良婆那都伎弓佐久倍久奈利爾
弓阿良受也

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-te **tir-i-n-aNpa** sakura-N-pana tuNk-yi-te
sak-uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-te ar-aNs-u** ya
plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-SUB **fall-INF-PERF-COND**
sakura-GEN-blossom follow-INF-SUB bloom-DEB-INF **become-
INF-PERF-INF-SUB exist-NEG-FIN** PT
If the plum blossoms **have** bloomed and **fallen**, **has [it] not
become** so that sakura blossoms should bloom after? (MYS V: 829)

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** again if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

天地者比呂之等伊倍杼安我多米波狹也奈里奴流

AMEY TUTI PA pyirö-si tö ip-ey-Ntö a-Nka tamey pa SA-KU ya
nar-i-n-uru

heaven earth TOP wide-FIN say-EV-CONC I-POSS for TOP
narrow-INF PT **become-INF-PERF-ATTR**

Although [they] say that the Heaven and Earth are wide, **have** [not they] **become** narrow for me? (MYS V: 892)

伊布許等夜美靈剋伊乃知多延奴礼

ip-u kötö yam-yi TAMA-KYIPARU inöti **taye-n-ure**

say-ATTR thing stop-INF jewel-? life **cease-PERF-EV**

[he] stopped to speak, and [his] jewel-like life **ended** (MYS V: 904)

今者春部登成尔鷄類鴨

IMA PA PARU-pey **tö nar-i-n-i-kyer-u** kamwo

now TOP spring-? **DV become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR**
PT

[It] turned out that now [it] is (lit.: **has become**) spring! (MYS VIII: 1433)

春立奴良志

PARU TAT-I-n-urasi

spring **stand-INF-PERF-SUP**

It seems that the spring **has arrived** (MYS X: 1819)

此夜等者沙夜深去良之

KÖNÖ 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)

秋芽子乎落過沼蛇手折持雖見

AKYI PANKIY-wo **OTI-SUNKIY-n-uNpey-myi** TA-WOR-I-
MÖT-I MYI-RE-NTÖ

autumn bush.clover-ACC **fall(INF)-pass(INF)-PERF-DEB-GER**
hand-break-INF-hold-INF look-EV-CONC

Because the autumn bush clover **would have fallen**, [I] broke [them] with [my] hand and looked, but ... (MYS X: 2290)

欲波安氣奴良之

ywo pa **akey-n-urasi**

night TOP **brighten(INF)-PERF-SUP**

It seems that [it] **has dawned** (MYS XV: 3598)

和可礼弓比左尔奈里奴礼杼比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弓於毛倍也
 wakare-te pyisa **n-i nar-i-n-ure-Ntö** pyitö pyi mö imwo-wo
 wasure-te omwop-ey ya
 part(INF)-SUB long **DV-INF become-INF-PERF-EV-CONC** one
 day PT beloved-ACC forget(INF)-SUB think-EV PT
although [it] has been long since [we] parted, would [I] think of
 forgetting my beloved even for one day? [Certainly not!] (MYS
 XV: 3604)

可具呂伎可美尔都由曾於伎尔家類
 kaN-kurö¹⁰²-kyi kamyi-ni tuyu sö **ok-yi-n-i-kyer-u**
 INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC dew PT **put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-**
ATTR
 [it] **turned out that** the dew **fell** on the pitch-black hair (MYS XV:
 3649)

於久都由之毛尔安倍受之弓京師乃山波伊呂豆伎奴良牟
 ok-u tuyu simwo-ni apey-Ns-u s-i-te MYIYAKWO-nö YAMA pa
iröNtuk-yi-n-uram-u
 fall-ATTR dew frost-LOC endure-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB
 capital-GEN mountain TOP **get.colored-INF-PERF-TENT2-FIN**
 not [being able to] endure the falling dew and frost, the mountains
 of the capital **are probably already colored** [with leaves] (MYS
 XV: 3699)

伊母我麻都倍伎月者倍尔都々
 imö-Nka mat-uNpey-kyi TUKIY PA **pey-n-i-tutu**
 beloved-POSS wait-DEB-ATTR month TOP **pass(INF)-PERF-**
INF-COOR
 months when [my] beloved had to wait [for me] **have continued to**
pass (MYS XV: 3685)

伊毛爾伊比之乎等之能倍奴良久
 imwo-ni ip-yi-si-wo tösi-nö **pey-n-ur-aku**
 beloved-DAT say-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC year-GEN **pass(INF)-**
PERF-ATTR-NML
 although [I] told [my] beloved: ‘...’ **the fact is that** a year **has**
passed (MYS XV: 3719)

¹⁰² The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-rui* /rō/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-rui* /rwo/.

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弓許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里爾之母能乎

a-Nka miy kōsō sekyi yama kwoye-te kōkō-ni ar-am-ey kōkōrō pa imwo-ni **yōr-i-n-i-si** mōnōwo

I-POSS body PT barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB here-LOC exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT **approach-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR** CONJ

My body has crossed barriers and mountains, and is probably here. But [my] heart **stayed** near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

奈良能美夜古波布里奴礼登毛等保登等藝須不鳴安良奈久尔
nara-nō miyiyakwo pa **pur-i-n-ure-Ntōmwo** potōtōNkyisu NAK-ANS-U ar-an-aku n-i

Nara-GEN capital TOP **become.old-INF-PERF-EV-CONC** cuckoo cry-NEG-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

although the capital of Nara **has become old**, [it] is not that the cuckoo does not cry [there] (MYS XVII: 3919)

布治奈美波佐岐弓知里尔伎

puNti namyi pa sak-yi-te **tir-i-n-i-kyi**

wisteria wave TOP bloom-INF-SUB **fall-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/FIN**

The waves of wisteria had bloomed and **fell completely** (MYS XVII: 3993)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里尔多良受也

tune pyitō-nō kwop-u tō ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te ware pa sin-uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u** ya

ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP excess DV-INF-SUB I TOP die-DEB-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN** PT

Did not [it] **become** so that I should die, feeling (lit.: being) much more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

落奴倍美袖尔古伎納都藤浪乃花

oti-n-uNpey-myi SWONTE-ni kwok-yi-ire-t-u PUNTI NAMYI-nō PANA

fall(INF)-PERF-DEB-GER sleeve-LOC rub.through-INF-insert(INF)-PERF-FIN Fuji wave-GEN flower

because [they] **would have fallen**, [I] have rubbed into my sleeves (the waves of) wisteria flowers (MYS XIX: 4193a)

朕高御座爾坐始由理今年尔至麻低六年尔成奴

WARE TAKA MYI-KURA-ni IMAS-I-SÖMEYS-U-yuri KÖ
TÖSI-ni ITAR-U-maNte MU TÖSI **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)

成奴礼波歡美貴美奈毛念食流

NAR-I-n-ure-Npa KÖKÖRÖNPOSI-myi TAPUTWO-myi
namwo OMÖP-YI-TAMAP-Uru

become-INF-PERF-EV-CON glad-GER awesome-GER PT think-
INF-HUM-ATTR

because [it] **became** [as the deity said], [the sovereign] thought that [it] was joyful and awesome (SM 15)

日繼波加久豆絶奈牟止為

PYI TUNK-YI pa ka-ku-te **TAYE-n-am-u tö S-U**

sun follow-NML TOP thus-INF-SUB **be.interrupted(INF)-
PERF-TENT-FIN** DV do-FIN

the inheritance of the Sun **is going to be interrupted** in this way (SM 27)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The perfective auxiliary *-n-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese in the same combinations of an animate subject with a transitive or an intransitive verb, and of inanimate subject with an intransitive verb as in Western Old Japanese. It will be the matter of future research on Eastern Old Japanese to determine the statistics of these combinations which fall outside of the scope of this book.

(1) Animate subject + transitive verb with *-n-*:

都藝奈牟毛能乎美太礼志米梅楊

tuNk-yi-n-am-u mwonöwo myiNtare-simey-m-ey ya

continue-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR CONJ be.confused-CAUS-TENT-EV PT

although [I] **want to continue**, [what] could make [my heart] confused? [Nothing!] (MYS XIV: 3360)

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾

ne-nōmiy-wo ka **nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u**¹⁰³ ap-u tö 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] of [even] thinking to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

(2) Animate subject + intransitive verb with *-n-*:

伊利奈麻之母乃伊毛我乎杼許爾

ir-i-n-amasi mönō imwo-Nka woN-tökō-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CONJ beloved-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
although [I] **would [like to] enter** the bed of [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3354)

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与

aswo-nō KApapa-ywo isi pum-aNs-u swora-yu tö **k-yi-n-u** yö
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, as from the sky, without treading on stones! (MYS XIV: 3425)

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-nō tuk-u-nōsu 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**

Even I **would like to cling** to [my] lord like clouds cling to a high peak (MYS XIV: 3514)

思良久毛能多要爾之伊毛乎阿是西呂等

sira kumwo-nō **taye-n-i-si** imwo-wo aNse se-rō tö

¹⁰³ On the basis of this and other examples (see, e.g., MYS XIV: 3485 in the section 6.3.1.2.2) it appears that the consonant verb *nak-* was transitive in Eastern Old Japanese.

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)

(3) Inanimate subject + intransitive verb with *-n-*:

左宿佐寐弓許曾己登尔弓尔思可

sa ne sa ne-te kōsō kōtō-ni [i]Nte-n-i-sika

thus sleep(INF) thus sleep(INF)-SUB PT word-LOC **exit(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/EV**

[we] slept in this way, slept in this way, and [it] **has become**
[people's] gossip (MYS XIV: 3497)

麻多妣爾奈理奴以弊乃母加枳世之己呂母尔阿加都枳尔迦理

ma-taNpyi n-i nar-i-n-u ipye-nō [i]mō-Nka kyī-se-si kōrōmō-ni
aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i

INT-journey DV-INF **become-INF-PERF-FIN** home-GEN
beloved-POSS wear-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR garment-LOC dirt
attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

[It] **became** a really [long] journey. The dirt **stuck** to the garment
that my beloved at home made [me] wear (MYS XX: 4388)

On the basis of Western and Eastern Old Japanese attestations one can reconstruct PJN *-n-. There is a strong possibility that this PJN perfective *-n- actually goes back to the verb *in-* 'to go away.' There are two pieces of evidence that might support this claim. First, the perfective auxiliary *-n-* behaves like an *n-*-irregular verb, with the infinitive form *-n-i*, the final form *-n-u*, the attributive form *-n-uru*, and the attributive form *-n-ure*. Second, the character 去 'to go [away]' is frequently used as a *kun-yomi* spelling for *-n-*, which may not be completely accidental, cf. the examples from MYS VIII: 1454 and X: 2224 above. If this hypothesis is true, then we would expect a natural merger of the initial vowel /i/ of *in-* 'to go [away]' with the preceding infinitive *-[y]i ~ -∅*.

A2: Ryukyuan

The perfective auxiliary *-n-* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

There is a comparison with the Middle Korean: *-(o/u)n*, perfective/realis attributive (Whitman 1985: 240, #279), e.g. *ka-n-i* 'he went', *kel-un salom* 'person who walked'.

Middle Korean

ma-pyeng-on mol *tho-n* pyeng i-Gwo
horse-troops-TOP horse *ride-PERF/ATTR* troops be-GER
Cavalry are the troops that *ride* horses... (WS I: 27b)

There are no traces of this marker in Ryukyuan, therefore the comparison on the Japonic side is limited to Japanese, and this comparison again compares an auxiliary in Japanese and an inflectional marker in Korean. Given the possibility that WOJ *-n*- might be derived from *in-* 'to go [away]' as suggested above, the search for any external morphological cognates might be unwarranted.

6.3.1.2.2 *Perfective -te-*

This perfective auxiliary has two allomorphs: *-te-* and *-t-*. The first allomorph *-te-* is found before consonant-initial and weak vowel-initial suffixes as well as before auxiliaries. The second allomorph *-t-* appears before strong vowel-initial suffixes. Like the perfective auxiliary *-n-*, the perfective auxiliary *-te-* is one of the most versatile morphological markers in Western Old Japanese, as it can co-occur with eventually every other morpheme within the same verbal form. The outstanding exceptions are the perfective *-n-*, the progressive *-[y]er-*, the perfective-progressive *-tar-*, and the coordinative gerund *-tutu*. While the absence of combinations with the perfective *-n-* and the progressive *-[y]er-* is to be expected, since both are aspectual markers like *-te-*, the lack of combinations with the perfective-progressive *-tar-* and the coordinative gerund *-tutu* is more difficult to explain, especially since both of them can combine with the perfective auxiliary *-n-*. As I have already mentioned in section 6.3.1.2.1 above, the fact that the perfective *-te-* can combine with the causatives and the imperative is essential for understanding its function. I will return to this problem below when I will discuss the function of *-te-*. The perfective *-te-* does not combine with the negatives *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* or the negative imperative *-una*, and unlike the perfective *-n-*, which can be

followed by other auxiliaries with negatives after them, this does not happen with *-te-*.

The infinitive *-[y]i* can either precede or follow the perfective auxiliary *-te-*. Infinitives of the iterative *-ap-*, the honorific *-as-*, the causatives *-asimey-*, *-as-*, and *-ase-*, the passive *-(a)ye-*, and the negative potential *-kane-* precede the perfective *-te-* as shown in the chart below:

Chart 87: Combinations of the perfective *-te-* with preceding suffixes in their infinitive form

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-[y]i-t[e]- ~ -t[e]-</i>
iterative infinitive <i>-ap-yi-</i>	<i>-ap-yi-t[e]-</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-t[e]-</i>
causative infinitive <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-t[e]</i>
causative infinitive <i>-as-i-</i> , <i>-(a)se-</i>	<i>-(a)s-i-t[e]-</i> , <i>-(a)se-t[e]-</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-t[e]-</i>
negative potential infinitive <i>-kane-</i>	<i>-kane-t[e]-</i>

It must be noted that while it is expected that the perfective auxiliary *-te-* is preceded by the iterative, the passive and causatives, it is not quite expected that it is also preceded by the negative potential *-kane-*. Many more suffixes and bound auxiliaries can be found after the perfective *-te-* as the following chart demonstrates:

Chart 88: Combinations of the perfective *-te-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-te-</i>
final <i>-u</i>	<i>-t-u</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-t-uru</i>
evidential <i>-[ur]e[y]</i>	<i>-t-ure</i>
imperative <i>-yö</i>	<i>-te-yö</i>
exclamative <i>-umö</i>	<i>-t-umö</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-te-m-</i>
tentative <i>-(u)ram-</i>	<i>-t-uram-</i>
desiderative <i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-te-na</i>
subjunctive <i>-(a)masi</i>	<i>-te-masi</i>
conditional gerund <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>-te-Npa</i>
debitive <i>-uNpey-</i>	<i>-t-uNpey-</i>

subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te-te</i>
past final <i>-kyi</i>	<i>-te-kyi</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-te-si</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-te-kyer-</i>
nominalizer <i>-(a)ku</i>	<i>-t-ur-aku</i>
conjunctive gerund <i>-Npa</i>	<i>-t-ure-Npa</i>
concessive gerund <i>-Ntō[mō]</i>	<i>-t-ure-Ntō[mō]</i>

As I have already mentioned in section 6.3.1.2.1 above, the difference between the perfective auxiliaries *-n-* and *-te-* is explained by Kolpakchi's constraint: *-te-* is found with the verbs that have an animate subject. This also explains the fact that the perfective auxiliary *-te-* can combine with the causatives and the imperative, while *-n-*, which was originally the perfective auxiliary for verbs with inanimate subjects cannot. It is necessary to note that there are no cases of a violation of Kolpakchi's constraint for the perfective auxiliary *-te-* in Western Old Japanese: it always appears with an animate subject,¹⁰⁴ unlike Middle (Classical) Japanese,

¹⁰⁴ Roy A. Miller has recently attempted to criticize Kolpakchi's constraint, which is worth citing *verbatim*: "In Old Japanese, secondary formations with the former suffix (*-te-* – A.V.) were employed for actions involving external causation, those with the latter (*-n-* – A.V.) for actions, especially natural, without outside stimulus ... Vovin ignores Lewin's treatment (though he lists the Abriss on p. 462), elaborates further on Kolpački (sic! – A.V.), and finally suggests dignifying what she learned about this problem with the canonical designation "Kolpački's (sic! – A.V.) constraint." If either Bentley or Vovin had consulted the revised and enlarged 1975 printing of Lewin, they would have found (pp. 166-69) a discussion (and refutation) of Kolpački (sic! – A.V.)" (Miller 2003: 850). This is a masterpiece of Miller-style scholarship where the consistent misspelling of the Russian's scholar's name is the most benign of all mistakes. First, there is not much discussion, let alone the refutation of Kolpakchi's constraint, in Lewin 1975: 166-69. As a matter of fact, Lewin's description amounts to no more than several purely invented examples with no actual cited textual attestation from Old or Classical Japanese. It is further limited to only a few lines on p. 167, some of them delegated to the footnote #17, with a sweeping statement that Kolpakchi's theory is dubious due to the fact that the animate – inanimate dichotomy is alien to Japanese in contrast to Russian. This is certainly incorrect, since Russian has a lower degree of animacy constraints than Japanese. For example, Russian uses *kto* 'who' in questions regarding animals, but Japanese uses *nani* 'what' in the same situation provided there is no baby-talk involved. Second, on the basis of multiple examples provided in both sections 6.3.1.2.1 and 6.3.1.2.2 the reader can now judge for her/himself whether *-te-* has anything to do with 'external causation' and *-n-* with for actions 'without outside stimulus.' I trust that after even a brief perusal it will be apparent that Miller's statement has no more foundation in reality than the assumption that the Sun rotates around the Earth.

where examples of *-te-* with an inanimate subject can be occasionally found (Vovin 2003: 314). It is necessary to note that *-te-* occurs much more frequently with transitive verbs rather than with intransitives, but the main distinction still appears to be its relationship to animacy.

Finally, although it is frequently assumed that the perfective auxiliary *-te-* is derived from the subordinative gerund *-te*, the textual evidence disproves this claim, since both can combine together in the form *-te-te*, see the example from MYS XX: 4465 below.

Examples:

(1) Animate subject + transitive verb with *-te-*:

和加久閑爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母
 waka-ku pey-ni wi **ne-te-masi** mönō oyi-n-i-kyer-u kamō
 young-INF ?-DV-INF bring(INF) **sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ** CONJ
 age(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT
 [I] **would** have bring [her with me] and **have slept** [with her] if
 [she] were young, but it turned out that [she] has become old, alas!
 (KK 93)

吉備那流伊慕塢阿比瀾菟流慕能
 kyiNpiy-n-ar-u imo-wo **apyi-myi-t-uru** monō
 KyiNpiy-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-ACC **REC-see(INF)-PERF-**
ATTR CONJ
 [My] beloved who is in KyiNpiy [and I] **have seen each other**,
 but ... (NK 40)

阿母儻舉會枳舉曳儒阿羅每矩儻儻播枳舉曳底那
 amo-ni kōsō kyik-ōye-Ns-u ar-am-ey kuni-ni pa **kyik-ōye-te-na**
 mother-DAT PT hear-PASS-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV land-DAT
 TOP **hear-PASS(INF)-PERF-DES**
 [I] probably will not be heard by [my] mother, but [I] **wish to be**
heard by [the] land! (NK 82)

阿我柯賦古磨乎比騰瀾都羅武箇
 a-Nka kap-u kwoma-wo pyitō **myi-t-uram-u** ka
 I-POSS keep-ATTR stallion-ACC person **see(INF)-PERF-**
TENT2-FIN PT

Could people **have seen** the stallion that I keep? (NK 115)

吾欲之野嶋波見世追

wa-Nka POR-I-si NWONSIMA pa **MYI-se-t-u**

I-POSS want-INF-PAST/ATTR NwoNsimA TOP **see-CAUS-PERF-FIN**

[You] **have shown** [me] NwoNsimA that [I] wanted [to see] (MYS I: 12)

我振袖乎妹見都良武香

WA-NKA PUR-U SWONTE-wo IMWO **MYI-t-uram-u ka**

I-POSS wave-ATTR sleeve-ACC beloved **see(INF)-PERF-TENT2-FIN PT**

Would [my] beloved **have seen** the sleeve that I wave? (MYS II: 132)

速来而母見手益物乎山背高槻村散去奚留鴨

PAYA K-YI-TE mö **MYI-te-masi** MÖNŌwo YAMASIRÖ-NŌ

TAKA TUKIY mura TIR-I-n-i-kyer-u kamwo

fast come-INF-SUB PT **see(INF)-PERF-SUBJ** CONJ Yamasirö-GEN high zelkova group fall-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Although [I] **would** come fast and **look** [at them], most of the high zelkova [trees' flowers] in Yamasirö have fallen, alas! (MYS III: 277)

名者告志豆余

NA PA **NOR-As-i-te-yö**

name TOP **tell-HON-INF-PERF-IMP**

Tell [me your] name! (MYS III: 362)

愛寸事盡手四

URUPASI-kyi KÖTÖ **TUKUS-I-te-yö**

splendid-ATTR word **exhaust-INF-PERF-IMP**

exhaust [your] splendid words (MYS IV: 661)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母余能許等奈礼婆等登尾
可祢都母

tök[ō]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si möNkamö tö omöp-ey-Ntömö yö-nö kötö
nar-e-Npa **töNtömiy-kane-t-umö**

eternal-rock-COMP thus-INF PT PT DV think-EV-CONC world-GEN matter be-EV-CON **stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL**

Although [I] think that [I] want to be (thus) like the eternal rock, because [it] is a matter of this world, [I] **cannot stop** [life]! (MYS V: 805)

烏梅能波奈...加射之尔斯弓奈

uMEY-nö pana ... kaNsas-i n-i s-i-te-na

plum-GEN blossom ... **decorate-NML DV-INF do-INF-PERF-DES**

Let [us] decorate [our hair] with plum blossoms (MYS V: 820)

手爾持流安我古登婆之都

TE-ni MÖT-Er-u a-Nka kwo töNp-as-i-t-u

hand-LOC hold-PROG-ATTR I-POSS child **fly-CAUS-INF-PERF-FIN**

[I] **have let** my child **fly away**, whom [I] was holding in [my] hands (MYS V: 904)

多夫手二毛投越都倍吉天漢

taNpute n-i mwo NANKEY-KWOS-I-t-uNpey-kyi AMA-NÖ KAPA

stone DV-INF PT **throw(INF)-cross-INF-PERF-DEB-ATTR**
Heaven-GEN River

Heavenly River that [one] **could have thrown** even a stone **across** (MYS VIII: 1522)

袖振者見毛可波之都倍久

SWONTE PUR-ANPA MYI mwo kapas-i-t-uNpe-ku

sleeve waive-COND see(NML) PT **exchange-INF-PERF-DEB-INF**

If [you] waived [your] sleeve, [we] **could have exchanged** glances (MYS VIII: 1525)

彼夜者吾毛宿毛寐金手寸

SÖNÖ YWO PA WARE mwo I mwo NE-kane-te-kyi

that night TOP I PT sleep PT **sleep(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/FIN**

I was also **unable to sleep** (a sleep) that night (MYS XIII: 3269)

安杼毛倍香許己呂我奈之久伊米爾美要都流

aN-tō [o]mwop-ey ka kōkōrō-N-kanasi-ku imey-ni **myi-ye-t-uru**
what-DV **think-EV** PT heart-GEN-sad-INF dream-LOC see-
PASS(INF)-PERF-ATTR

what **was** [I] **thinking** [about]? As [I] was sad in [my] heart, [she] suddenly has appeared in [my] dream (MYS XV: 3639)

多婢奈礼婆於毛比多要弓毛安里都礼杼伊敞尔安流伊毛之於母
比我奈思母

taNpyi nar-e-Npa **omwop-yi-taye-te mwo ar-i-t-ure-Ntō** ipye-ni
ar-u imwo si omwop-yi-N-kanasi-mō
journey be-EV-CON **think-INF-break(INF)-SUB** PT **exist-INF-
PERF-EV-CONC** home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved PT think-
NML-DV(INF)-dear-EXCL

[I] think dearly of my beloved who is at home **although** [she] **has stopped thinking** of [me] because [I] am on a journey! (MYS XV: 3686)

梅柳乎理加謝思氏婆意毛比奈美可毛

UMEY YANANKIY wor-i **kaNsas-i-te-Npa** omwop-yi na-myi
kamwo

plum willow break-INF **decorate-INF-PERF-COND** think-NML
no-GER PT

because, **if** [we] had broken [branches] of plum trees and willows and **decorated** [our heads], there would be no [sad] thoughts! (MYS XVII: 3905)

安礼爾都氣都流

are-ni **tuNkey-t-uru**

I-DAT **report(INF)-PERF-ATTR**

[thus he] **reported** to me (MYS XVII: 3957)

麻佐吉久登伊比低之物能乎

ma-sakyi-ku tō **ip-yi-te-si** Mōnōwo

INT-safe-INF DV **say-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR** CONJ

Although [I] **have said** that [I return] safely (MYS XVII: 3958)

可由吉賀久遊岐見都礼騰母曾許母安加尔等

ka yuk-yi ka-ku yuk-yi **MYI-t-ure-Ntōmō** sōkō mō ak-an-i tō

thus go-INF thus-INF go-INF **look(INF)-PERF-EV-CONC** there
PT be.satisfied-NEG-INF DV

although [I] **have looked** going here and there, [I] thought that [it] was not enough, and ... (MYS XVII: 3991)

夜麻能許奴礼能保与等理天可射之都良久波知等世保久等曾
 yama-nō kō-nure-nō poyō tör-i-te kaNsas-i-t-ur-aku pa ti töse
 pok-u tö sö
 mountain-GEN tree-top-GEN *poyō* take-INF-SUB **decorate.head-**
INF-PERF-ATTR-NML TOP thousand year pray-FIN DV PT
 [I] say that [I] pray for a thousand years that [we] **will have**
decorated [our] **heads** with *poyō*¹⁰⁵ that we take from the tops of
 mountain trees (MYS XVIII: 4136)

落奴倍美袖尔古伎納都藤浪乃花
 oti-n-uNpey-myi SWONTE-ni kwok-yi-IRE-t-u PUNTI NAMYI-
 nō PANA
 fall(INF)-PERF-DEB-GER sleeve-LOC **rub.through-INF-**
insert(INF)-PERF-FIN Fuji wave-GEN flower
 because [they] would have fallen, [I] **have rubbed into** my sleeves
 (the waves of) wisteria flowers (MYS XIX: 4193a)

和藝毛故尔美勢牟我多米尔母美知等里氏牟
 wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-ni mi-se-m-u-Nka tamey n-i mömyit-i tör-i-
 te-m-u
 I-POSS-beloved-DIM-DAT see-CAUS-TENT-ATTR-POSS for
 DV-INF leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML **take-INF-PERF-TENT-**
FIN
 [I] **want to take** red leaves in order to show [them] to my beloved
 (MYS XIX: 4222)

美流比等乃可多里都藝弓氏
 mi-ru pyitō-nō katar-i-tuNk-yi-te-te
 see-ATTR person-GEN **talk-INF-continue-INF-PERF(INF)-SUB**
 the people who saw [it], **have continued to talk** [about it], and ...
 (MYS XX: 4465)

Since the perfective *-te-* and the subordinative gerund *-te* combine in this example it demonstrates well that they have different origins.

奈保之祢我比都知等世能伊乃知乎
 napo si neNk-ap-yi-t-u ti töse-nō inōti-wo

¹⁰⁵ A kind of parasitic plant growing on trees.

still PT **pray-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN** thousand year-GEN life-ACC

[I] **have still been praying** for a thousand year life (MYS XX: 4470)

安米乃美加度乎可氣都礼婆祢能未之奈加由

amey-nō myikaNtwo-wo **kakey-t-ure-Npa** ne nōmiy si nak-ay-u
heaven-GEN sovereign-ACC **think(INF)-PERF-EV-CON** sound
PT PT cry-PASS-FIN

when [I] think about [my] Heavenly sovereign, [I] just burst into tears (MYS XX: 4480)

都婆吉都良々々尔美等母安可米也宇惠弓家流伎美

tuNpakyi tura-tura n-i myi tōmō ak-am-ey ya **uwe-te-kyer-u**
kiyimi

camellia intent DV-INF look(FIN) CONJ get.enough-TENT-EV
PT **plant(INF)-PERF(INF)-RETR-ATTR** lord

even if [I] look intently, could [I] get enough of the camellia or you **who have planted** [it]? (MYS XX: 4481)

奈良麻呂我兵起爾被雇多利志秦等乎婆遠流賜都

Naramarō-Nka IKUSA OKŌS-U-ni YATOP-AYE-tar-isi PANTA-NTŌMŌ-woNpa TŌPŌ-KU **NANKAS-I-TAMAP-YI-t-u**

Naramarō-POSS army raise-ATTR-LOC hire-PASS(INF)-PERF/PROG-PAST/ATTR PaNta-PLUR-ACC(EMPH) distant-INF **exile-INF-HON-INF-PERF-FIN**

[We] **deigned to send to a distant exile** members of the PaNta [clan], whom Naramarō employed as an army (SM 21)

傍上乎波宣牟止為氏奈母抑閑氏在津流

KATA-NŌ UPEY-woNpa NŌTAMAP-Am-u tō S-I-te namō **OSApey-te AR-I-t-uru**

side-GEN top-ACC(EMPH) say(HON)-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB PT **hold.back(INF)-SUB exist-INF-PERF-ATTR**

[we] **have been delaying** [it], as [we] were going to proclaim the rest (SM 25)

(2) Animate subject + intransitive verb with *-te-*:

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)

吾背子尔復者不相香常思墓今朝別之為便無有都流
 WA-NKA se-KWO-ni MATA PA AP-ANSI ka tö OMÖP-EY-Npa
 ka KYESA-NÖ WAKARE-NÖ SUNPYE **NA-K-AR-I-t-uru**
 I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT again TOP meet-NEG/TENT PT DV
 think-EV-CON PT this.morning-GEN part(NML)-GEN way **no-**
INF-exist-INF-PERF-ATTR
 Was [it] because I thought that [we] would not meet again that
there has been no way to part [with you] this morning? (MYS IV:
 540)

飛立可祢都鳥尔之安良祢婆
TÖNP-YI-TAT-I-kane-t-u TÖRI n-i si ar-an-e-Npa
fly-INF-depart-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-FIN bird DV-INF
 PT exist-NEG-EV-CON
 [I] **could not fly away** because [I] am not a bird (MYS V: 893)

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

由利毛安波牟等於母比曾米弓伎
 yuri mwo ap-am-u tö **omöp-yi-sömey-te-kyi**
 future PT meet-TENT-FIN DV **think-INF-begin(INF)-**
PERF(INF)-PAST/FIN
 [I] **began to think** that [we] would meet in the future, too (MYS
 XVIII: 4087)

阿佐奈佐奈安我流比婆理爾奈里弓之可
 asa-na [a]sa-na aNkar-u pyiNpari **n-i nar-i-te-si** ka
 morning-PLUR morning-PLUR rise-ATTR skylark DV-INF
become-INF-PERF-PAST/ATTR PT
 every morning, [I] want to **have become** a skylark, flying up (MYS
 XX: 4433)

保等登芸須許許爾知可久乎伎奈伎弓余
 potötöNkyisu kökö-ni tika-ku-wo k-yi **nak-yi-te-yö**
 cuckoo here-LOC be close-INF-ACC come-INF **cry-INF-PERF-IMP**

Cuckoo! Come close here, and **cry!** (MYS XX: 4438)

与伎比止乃伊麻須久爾爾波和礼毛麻胃弓牟毛呂毛呂乎為弓
 yō-kyi pyitō-nō imas-u kuni-ni pa ware mwo **mawi-te-m-u** mworō-
 mworō-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 **would** also **have gone** to the land where the Buddha (lit.: good
 person) resides, leading everybody (BS 8)

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

奉仕之米天志可等念保之米之天
 TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asimey-te-si ka tō OMÖp-os-i-meys-i-te
serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT
 DV think-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB
 [Dōkyō] thought: “[I] want to **make** [them] **serve**” (SM 36)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The perfective auxiliary *-te-* ~ *-t-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese. There is just one example when it is attested with an animate subject followed by an intransitive verb, see MYS XIV: 3395 below. In sharp contrast to Western Old Japanese, there is also one example when Kolpakchi's constraint is violated, and an inanimate subject is followed by the inflective form of an adjective including *-te-*, see MYS XIV: 3482a below. Since we deal just with a single case here, no reliable conclusions are possible.

(1) Animate subject + transitive verb with *-te-*:

努自能安良波路万代母佐祢乎佐祢弓婆
 nwoNsi-nō arapar-wo-maNte mō sa-ne-wo sa **ne-te-Npa**
 rainbow-GEN appear-ATTR-TERM PT PREF-sleep(NML)-ACC
 thus **sleep(INF)-PERF-COND**

if [we] thus **sleep** (a sleep) there until the rainbow appears (MYS XIV: 3414)

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼遊布麻夜万可久礼之伎美乎於母比
可祢都母

kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö yupuma yama kakure-si
kyimiyi-wo **omöp-yi-kane-t-umö**
love(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC Yupuma
mountain hide(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord-ACC **think-INF-**
NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL

Although [I] was going to continue to love [you], [I] **cannot [bear] thoughts** about my lord, who hid [himself] on the Yupuma mountain! (MYS XIV: 3475)

哭乎曾奈伎都流手兒尔安良奈久尔

NE-wo sö **nak-yi-t-uru** teNKWO n-i ar-an-aku n-i
voice-ACC PT **cry-INF-PERF-ATTR** baby DV-INF exist-NEG-
NML DV-INF

[I] **sobbed** loudly, although [I] am not a baby (MYS XIV: 3485)

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si keytöNpa
Nse **wasure-kane-t-uru**
father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP
DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR word PT **forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-**
PERF-ATTR

[I] **cannot forget** the words: “Be safe!” that [my] father and mother said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

(2) Animate subject + intransitive verb with *-te-*:

萬多祢天武可聞

mata **ne-te-m-u** kamo
again **sleep(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR** PT

[I] **would like to sleep** [with you] again! (MYS XIV: 3395)

(3) Inanimate subject + intransitive verb with *-te-*:

許等多可利都母

kötö [i]ta-k-ar-i-t-umö

rumor **be.painful-INF-exist-INF-PERF-EXCL**
 rumors **have been painful!** (MYS XIV: 3482a)

Therefore, on the basis of both Western and Eastern Old Japanese data, we can reconstruct PJN *-te- as the animate perfective auxiliary.

A2: Ryukyuan

The perfective auxiliary *-t-* is attested only in Old Ryukyuan (Torigoe 1968: 183), but not in any of the modern dialects. Therefore, it makes *-t-* a perfect candidate for a loan from Middle Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

かきとなきみれつな

kakitonaki **mi-re-t-u** na

Kakitonaki **see-PASS(INF)-PERF-FIN PT**

[I] want to be able to see Kakitonaki! (OS IV: 179)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

A comparison with Middle Korean: *-te- ~ -ta-*, retrospective marker, e.g.: *ho-ta-n salom* ‘a person who has done’, *ka-te-n toy* ‘a place where [he] has gone’ was first suggested in Martin (1995: 142). Cf. the following Middle Korean example:

Middle Korean

wonol-s il-ol *kituli-zop-te-n-i*

today-GEN deed-ACC *wait-HUM-RETR-PERF-NML*

[they] *waited* for the deed of today (WCK 88)

The comparison with Korean is hazardous, because it is a comparison of a perfective with a retrospective. In addition, this is again a case when an auxiliary in Japonic is compared to an inflectional marker in Korean.

6.3.1.2.3 *Perfective-progressive -tar- and its uncontracted form -te ar-*

The perfective-progressive auxiliary has just one allomorph *-tar-*. Strictly speaking, it is not just one auxiliary, but a construction

representing the contraction of two auxiliaries: the subordinative gerund *-te* and the verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ used as an auxiliary. Interestingly enough, the uncontracted form *-te ar-* does not appear in the earliest texts at all, and the contracted form *-tar-* is possibly attested only twice in the same text in the *Nihonshoki kayō*, but this attestation is not completely uncontroversial (see NK 99 and the footnote below). The coexistence of both contracted and uncontracted forms as well as the almost total absence of both from the earliest texts probably indicates that this construction has a relatively late origin in Western Old Japanese. The perfective progressive *-tar-* can be preceded by the infinitive *-[y]i ~ -∅* and the infinitives of the following suffixes.

Chart 89: Combinations of the perfective-progressive *-tar-* with preceding suffixes in their infinitive form

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-[y]i-tar- ~ -tar-</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-tar-</i>
causative infinitive <i>-(a)simey-</i>	<i>-(a)simey-tar-*</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-tar-**</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-tar-</i>

* Attested only in semantographic spelling.

** Attested only in partial semantographic spelling.

The perfective-progressive auxiliary *-tar-* can be followed by a substantial number of suffixes and auxiliaries, although it is not as versatile as the perfectives *-n-* and *-te-*.

Chart 90: Combinations of the perfective-progressive *-tar-* with following suffixes and bound auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-tar-i-*</i>
final <i>-i</i>	<i>-tar-i</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-tar-u</i>
evidential <i>-[ur]e[y]</i>	<i>-tar-e</i>
negative <i>-aNs-</i>	<i>-tar-aNs-</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-tar-am-**</i>
tentative <i>-(u)ram-</i>	<i>-tar-uram-</i>
suppositional <i>-(u)rasi</i>	<i>-tar-urasi</i>
conditional gerund <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>-tar-aNpa</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-tar-i-te***</i>

progressive <i>-er-</i>	<i>-tar-er-</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>-tar-i-si</i>
retrospective <i>-kyer-</i>	<i>-tar-i-kyer-</i>
conjunctive gerund <i>-Npa</i>	<i>-tar-e-Npa</i>
concessive gerund <i>-Ntō[mō]</i>	<i>-tar-e-Ntō**</i>

* Attested only as a word-non final form followed by other auxiliaries.

** Attested only in partial semantographic spelling.

*** Attested only in semantographic spelling.

The contracted form *-tar-* has two functions: the perfective and the progressive. The perfective function of *-tar-* is attested much more frequently than the progressive. Examples:

(1) Perfective:

柯羅履爾鳴以柯爾輔居等所梅豆羅古枳馱樓武可左履樓以祇能和馱喇鳴梅豆羅古枳馱樓

kara-kuni-wo ika n-i [i]p-u kötō sō meyNturakwo **k-yi-tar-u**
mukasakuru ikyi-nō watar-i-wo meyNturakwo **k-yi-tar-u**

Kara-land-ACC how DV-INF say-ATTR thing PT MeyNturakwo
come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (*makura-kotoba*) Ikyi-GEN
cross-NML-ACC MeyNturakwo **come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR**¹⁰⁶

How to call the land of Kara? MeyNturakwo **has come**; through the crossing of Ikyi MeyNturakwo **has come** (NK 99)

古人乃令食有吉備能酒

PURU PYITŌ-nō TAMAPEY-SIMEY-TAR-U KyiNpiy-nō
SAKEY

old person-GEN **receive(HUM)-CAUS(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR** KyiNpiy-GEN rice.wine

the rice wine of KyiNpiy that an old acquaintance gave [me] (lit.: **made** [me] **receive**) (MYS IV: 554)

萱草吾下紐尔著有跡鬼乃志許草事二思安利家理

WASURE-N-KUSA WA-NKA SITA-N-PYIMO-ni **TUKEY-TAR-E-Ntō** SIKŌ n-ō sikō KUSA kötō n-i si ar-i-kyer-i

¹⁰⁶ There is a different analysis of the *k-yi-tar-u* form as *k-yi-[i]tar-u* 'come-INF-reach-ATTR' (Tsuchihashi 1957: 192). I follow here the analysis of Aiso (1962: 496) and Kōnosu (1973: 467).

forget(NML)-GEN-grass I-POSS bottom-GEN-cord-LOC
attach(INF)-PERF/PROG-EV-CONC stupid DV-ATTR stupid
 grass word DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-FIN

Although [I] **have tied** the “forgetting grass” to the cords of my
 under[garment], stupid, stupid grass – [it] turned out just to be
 called [so] (MYS IV: 727)

伊豆久欲利积多利斯物能會

iNtuku-ywori **k-yi-tar-i-si** mönō sō

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)

武都紀多知波流能吉多良婆

mu-tukiy tat-i paru-nō **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)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑

uMEY-nō pana **sak-yi-tar-u** sōnō-nō awo yaNkiy

plum-GEN blossom **bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR** garden-
 GEN green willow

the green willows in the garden **where** the plum blossoms **have
 bloomed** (MYS V: 817)

毛毛等利能己惠能古保志积波流岐多流良斯

mwomwo tōri-nō kōwe-nō kōposi-kyi paru **k-yi-tar-urasi**

hundred bird-GEN voice-GEN be.missing-ATTR spring **come-
 INF-PERF/PROG-SUP**

It looks like the spring [with] the voices of hundred birds, that [I]
 missed, [finally] **has come** (MYS V: 834)

横風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆世武須便乃多杼伎乎之良爾
 YŌKŌ-SIMA-KANSE-nō nipuNpuka n-i OPOP-YI-K-YI-TAr-e-
 Npa se-m-u suNpye-nō taNtōkyi-wo sir-an-i
 cross-wind-GEN sudden DV-INF cover-INF-come-INF-
PERF/PROG-EV-CON do-TENT-ATTR way-GEN clue-ACC
 know-NEG-INF

Because suddenly a crosswind **came and covered** [us], [I] had no clue what to do (MYS V: 904)

墨吉尔還来而家見跡

SUMINŌYE-ni KAPYER-I-K-YI-TAR-I-TE IPYE MYI-RE-Ntō
 Sumyinōye-LOC **return-INF-come-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-SUB**
 house look-EV-CONC

although [I] looked at [my] house **after** [I] **had come back** to Sumyinōye (MYS IX: 1740)

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉
 kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitō **k-yi-tar-er-i** tō ip-yi-sika-Npa potōpotō sin-
 i-kyi

return-INF-RETR-ATTR person **come-INF-PERF/PROG-
 PROG-FIN** DV say-INF-PAST/EV-CON almost die-INF-
 PAST/FIN

Because [they] said that a person, who returned [from exile], **had come** [to the capital], [I] almost died [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)

This is the only example in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus where the perfective progressive *-tar-* combines with the progressive *-er-* within the same verb form.

安布知乎宅尔宇惠多良婆夜麻霍公鳥可礼受許武可聞

aputi-wo IPYE-ni **uwe-tar-aNpa** yama POTŌTŌNKYISU kare-
 Ns-u kō-m-u kamo

chinaberry.tree-ACC house-LOC **plant(INF)-PERF/PROG-
 COND** mountain cuckoo separate-NEG-INF come-TENT-ATTR
 PT

if [I] **would plant** a chinaberry tree at my house, the mountain cuckoo would come all the time! (MYS XVII: 3910)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里
 尔多良受也

tune pyitō-nō kwop-u tō ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te ware pa sin-
 uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u** ya

ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP excess
DV-INF-SUB I TOP die-DEB-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-
PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN** PT

Did not [it] **become** so that I should die, feeling (lit.: being) much more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

阿波之多流今日乎波自米氏

ap-as-i-tar-u KYEPU-wo paNsimey-te
meet-HON-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR today-ACC start(INF)-
SUB

starting from today when [you] **have met** [me] (MYS XVIII: 4116)

令文所載多流乎跡止為而

NÖRI-NÖ PUMYI-NI **NÖSE-tar-u-wo** ATÖ tö S-I-TE
law-GEN scripture-LOC **place(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR-ACC**
FOOTSTEP DV DO-INF-SUB

taking **what has been written** in the law scriptures as a precedent (SM 2)

奈良麻呂我兵起爾被雇多利志秦等乎婆遠流賜都

Naramarö-Nka IKUSA OKÖS-U-ni **YATOP-AYE-tar-i-si**
PANTA-NTÖMÖ-woNpa TÖPÖ-KU NANKAS-I-TAMAP-YI-t-u
Naramarö-POSS army raise-ATTR-LOC **hire-PASS(INF)-
PERF/PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR** PaNta-PLUR-ACC(EMPH)
distant-INF exile-INF-HON-INF-PERF-FIN

[We] deigned to send to a distant exile members of the PaNta [clan], whom Naramarö **had employed** as an army (SM 21)

然行事爾重在牟人乎波法乃麻爾麻取給牟物會

SIKA [A]R-E-NTÖMÖ SIWANSANi **KASANAR-I-TAR-Am-u**
PYITÖ-woNpa NÖRI-nö manima WOSAMEY-TAMAP-Am-u
MÖNÖ sö

thus exist-EV-CONC crime-LOC **pile.up-INF-PERF/PROG-
TENT-ATTR** person-ACC(EMPH) law-GEN according
administer(INF)-HON-TENT-ATTR thing PT

However, with those people **who have committed multiple crimes**, [we] will deal according to the law (SM 44)

(2) Progressive:

大雪乃乱而来礼

OPO YUKYI-nō MYINTARE-TE K-YI-TAR-e

big snow-GEN be.chaotic(INF)-SUB **come-INF-PERF/PROG-EV**

big snow **was falling down** chaotically (MYS II: 199)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru mōnō pa mwomwo kusa n-i **semey-yōr-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 a hundred varieties (MYS V: 804)

比左可多能月者弓利多里

pyisa kata n-ō TUKIY PA **ter-i-tar-i**

long hard DV-ATTR moon TOP **shine-INF-PERF/PROG-FIN**

Eternal and hard moon **is shining** (MYS XV: 3672)

大宮人者伊麻毛可母比等奈夫理能未許能美多流良武

OPO MYIYA PYITŌ PA ima mwo kamō pyitō naNpur-i nōmiy

kōnōm-yi-tar-uram-u

great place person TOP now PT PT person mock-NML PT **like-
INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR**

Do the people from the Great Palace **probably continue to like** just to mock [other] people now as well, I wonder? (MYS XV: 3758)

乎美奈敝之佐伎多流野邊乎遊吉追都見倍之

womyinapyesi **sak-yi-tar-u** NWO-PYE-wo yuk-yi-tutu MYI-Npey-si

carnation **bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR** field-side-ACC go-
INF-COOR look-DEB-FIN

while walking [you] should look at the fields where the carnations **are blooming** (MYS XVII: 3951)

都奇見礼婆於奈自久尔奈里夜麻許曾婆伎美我安多里乎敝太弓
多里家礼

tukiy MYI-re-Npa onaNsi kuni nar-i yama kōsō pa kyimiyi-Nka
atari-wo **pyeNtate-tar-i-kyer-e**

moon see-EV-CON same province be-FIN mountain PT TOP lord-
POSS vicinity-ACC **separate(INF)-PERF/PROG-INF-EV**

When [I] look at the moon, it is the same province. [But] the mountains **are separating** you [from me] (MYS XVIII: 4073)

夏野尔吾見之草波毛美知多里家利

NATU-NŌ NWO-ni WA-NKA MYI-si KUSA pa **mwomyit-i-tar-i-kyer-i**

summer-GEN field-LOC I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR grass TOP **leaves.turn.red/yellow-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-RETR-FIN** [it] **turned out that** the grass that I had seen in the fields **became yellow** (MYS XIX: 4268)

伎美伎麻之都々可射之多里家利

kyimyī k-yi-[i]mas-i-tutu **kaŋsas-i-tar-i-kyer-i**

lord come-INF-HON-INF-COOR **decorate-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-RETR-FIN**

while you came [to my place], [you] **have decorated** [yourself with roses] (MYS XX: 4302)

UNCONTRACTED FORM -TE AR-

The uncontracted form *-te ar-* like its contracted counterpart *-tar-* has the same functions: perfective and progressive. It is attested only in the *Man'yōshū* and the *Senmyō*. Similar to the contracted form *-tar-* the perfective function of the uncontracted form *-te ar-* is attested much more frequently than the progressive.

(1) Perfective:

烏梅能波奈佐企弓知理奈波佐久良婆那都伎弓佐久倍久奈利爾
弓阿良受也

uMEY-nō pana sak-yi-te tir-i-n-aNpa sakura-N-pana tuNk-yi-te sak-uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-te ar-aNs-u ya**

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-SUB fall-INF-PERF-COND sakura-GEN-blossom follow-INF-SUB bloom-DEB-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-SUB exist-NEG-FIN PT**

If the plum blossoms have bloomed and fallen, **has** [it] **not become so that** sakura blossoms should bloom again? (MYS V: 829)

老尔弓阿留我身上尔病遠等加弓阿礼婆晝波母歎加比久良志

OYI-n-i-te ar-u WA-NKA MIY-NŌ UPEY-ni YAMAPYI-wo tō KUPAPEY-**te ar-e-Npa** PYIRU pa mö NANKEYK-Ap-yi-kuras-i

age(INF)-PERF-INF-SUB exist-ATTR I-POSS body-GEN top-LOC illness-ACC DV **add(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON** daytime TOP PT lament-ITER-INF-live-INF

because illnesses have been added to my body **that has aged** [I] spent the days lamenting, and ... (MYS V: 897)

道乎多騰保美山河能敝奈里氏安礼婆

MYITI-wo taN-tōpo-myi YAMA KAPA-nō **pyenar-i-te ar-e-Npa** way-ABS PREF-far-GER mountain river-GEN **be.separated-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON**

because the way is far, and because [I] **was separated** from mountains and rivers (MYS XVII: 3957)

波之太尔母和多之弓安良波曾乃倍由母伊由伎和多良之

pasi Ntani mö **watas-i-te ar-aNpa** sönö [u]pey-yu mö i-yuk-yi-watar-as-i

bridge PT PT **put.over-INF-SUB exist-COND** that top-ABL PT DLF-go-INF-cross.over-HON-INF

if [someone] **had just put** a bridge over [the Milky Way], [they would] go over [it] (MYS XVIII: 4125)

国王伊王位仁坐時方菩薩乃淨戒乎受与止勅天在

KOKU-WAU-i WAU-WI-ni IMAS-U TÖKYI pa BOSATU-nō ZYAUKAI-wo UKEY-yō tö **NÖTAMAP-YI-te AR-I**

country-king-ACT king-position-LOC be(HON)-ATTR time TOP bodhisattva-GEN commandment-ACC receive-IMP DV **say(HON)-INF-SUB exist-FIN**

[Buddha] **said** that a king of a country, when [he] is on the throne, [should] accept the commandments of the Bodhisattva (SM 28)

和氣伊申天在

Wakey-i **MAWOS-I-te AR-I**

Wake-ACT **report(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-FIN**

[prince] Wake **has reported** [to us about Nakamarö's plot] (SM 34)

伊豫国与利白祥鹿平献奉天在礼方有礼志与呂許保志止奈毛見流

iyö-NÖ KUNI-yōri SIRWO-KYI SIRUSI N-Ö SIKAWO **TATEMATUR-I-te Ar-e-Npa** uresi yörökōNp-ōsi tö namwo MYI-ru

Iyö-GEN province-ABL white-ATTR mark DV-ATTR deer-ACC
present(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON glad joyful-ADJ DV PT
 see-ATTR

when [they] **had presented** [us] with a deer with white marks from the province of Iyö, [we] regarded this as [a] joyful and auspicious [event] (SM 46)

(2) Progressive:

和我勢故我夜度乃也麻夫伎佐吉弓安良婆也麻受可欲波牟
 wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka yaNtwo-nö yamaNpukyi **sak-yi-te ar-aNpa**
 yam-aNs-u kaywop-am-u

I-POSS elder.brother-POSS dwelling-GEN rose **bloom-INF-SUB**
exist-COND stop-NEG-INF go.back.and.forth-TENT-FIN

If the roses **were blooming** at the dwelling of my friend, [I] would come [there] constantly (MYS XX: 4303)

傍上乎波宣牟止為氏奈母抑閑氏在津流

KATA-NÖ UPEY-woNpa NÖTAMAP-Am-u tö S-I-te namö
OSapey-te AR-I-t-uru

side-GEN top-ACC(EMPH) say(HON)-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB
 PT **hold.back(INF)-SUB exist-INF-PERF-ATTR**

[we] **have been delaying** [it], as [we] were going to proclaim the rest (SM 25)

帝止立天天下乎治之米无等念天在人

MYIKANTWO tö TATE-te AMEY-NÖ SITA-wo WOSAMEY-
 simey-m-u tö **OMÖP-YI-te AR-u PYITÖ**

emperor DV place(INF)-SUB Heaven-GEN bottom-ACC rule-
 CAUS-TENT-FIN DV **think-INF-SUB exist-ATTR** person

people **who are thinking** that [they] want to place [him on the throne] as the emperor and let [him] rule the [country] under Heaven (SM 33)

The uncontracted form *-te ar-* can occur with the intervening topic particle *pa*, the focus particles *kösö*, *mö* and *namo*, and the emphatic particle *si* between *-te* and *ar-*.¹⁰⁷

With the intervening topic particle *pa*:

¹⁰⁷ The focus particle *sö* and interrogative particles *ka*, *ya* do not occur as intervening particles between *-te* and *ar-*.

人佐播尔満弓播阿礼等母

pyitō sapa n-i **MYIT-I-te pa ar-e-Ntōmō**
 person many DV-INF **be.full-INF-SUB TOP exist-EV-CONC**
 although **there are plenty** of people (MYS V: 894)

四方國尔波比等佐波尔美知弓波安礼杼

YŌ MO-nō KUNI-ni pyitō sapa n-i **myit-i-te pa ar-e-Ntō**
 four direction-GEN province-LOC person many DV-INF **be.full-**
INF-SUB TOP exist-EV-CONC
 although **there are plenty** of people in the provinces of four
 directions (MYS XX: 4331)

With the intervening focus particle *mō*:

妹者三礼而毛有香

IMWO PA **myiture-TE mwo AR-U ka**
 beloved TOP **be.wasted(INF)-SUB PT exist-ATTR PT**
has [my] beloved **become wasted?** (MYS X: 1967)

多婢奈礼婆於毛比多要弓毛安里都礼杼伊敝尔安流伊毛之於母
 比我奈思母

taNpyi nar-e-Npa **omwop-yi-taye-te mwo ar-i-t-ure-Ntō** ipye-ni
 ar-u imwo si omwop-yi-N-kanasi-mō
 journey be-EV-CON **think-INF-break(INF)-SUB PT exist-INF-**
PERF-EV-CONC home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved PT think-
 NML-DV(INF)-dear-EXCL
 [I] think dearly of my beloved who is at home **although** [she] **has**
stopped thinking of [me] because [I] am on a journey! (MYS XV:
 3686)

Only one example is attested with the intervening focus particle *kōsō*:

君者秋山乃始黄葉尔似許曾有家礼

KYIMYI PA AKYI YAMA-nō PATU MWOMYIT-I-N-PANA-ni
NI-TE kōsō AR-I-kyer-e
 lord TOP autumn mountain-GEN first leaves.turn.red/yellow-
 NML-DV(ATTR)-leaf-LOC **look.like(INF)-SUB PT exist-INF-**
RETR-EV
 [my] beloved **is looking like** the first red leaves on an autumn
 mountain (MYS VIII: 1584)

With the intervening focus particle *namo* we have only one reliable example that is partially phonetic:

汝乃近護止之天護之米与止念天奈毛在

MYIMASI-nō TIKA-KYI MAMWOR-I tō s-i-te MAMWOR-Asimey-yō tō **OMÖP-YI-te namwo AR-U**
you-GEN close-ATTR guard-NML DV do-INF-SUB guard-CAUS-IMP DV **think-INF-SUB PT exist-ATTR**

[I] **have thought**: “Let [me] make you guard [me] as [my] close guards” (SM 45)

With the intervening emphatic particle *si* we have only one reliable example that is partially phonetic:

擇月日逢義¹⁰⁸之有者

TUKIY PYI ER-I **AP-YI-te si AR-ANPA**
month day choose-INF **meet-INF-SUB PT exist-COND**

If [we] are meeting choosing [just] one day (a month) [in a year] (MYS X: 2066)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are only two examples of the contracted form *-tar-* and one example of the uncontracted form *-te ar-* in Eastern Old Japanese. One of the examples of *-tar-* is found in a poem without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features (MYS XIV: 3507). In addition, in both cases of the uncontracted *-tar-* we have only the attributive *-tar-u* attested. All this can trigger doubts in the authenticity of the contracted form *-tar-* in Eastern Old Japanese: it probably diffused there from Western Old Japanese.

(1) Perfective:

弥年尔波比多流多麻可豆良

myine-ni **pap-yi-tar-u** tama kaNtura
peak-LOC **crawl-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR** jewel vine

The jewel vine **that has crawled** to the peak (MYS XIV: 3507)

¹⁰⁸ Here we should have the character 義 instead of the character 義, see section (4) in 2.1.2 on the reading of 義 as /te/.

(2) Progressive:

麻都能氣乃奈美多流美礼婆

matu-nō key-nō **nam-yi-tar-u** myi-re-Npa

pine-GEN trec-GEN **stand.in.line-~~INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR~~** see-
EV-CON

When [I] see that the pine trees **are standing in line** (MYS XX: 4375)

The uncontracted form *-te ar-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only once with the intervening particle *si*:

志留波乃伊宗等尔閑乃宇良等安比弓之阿良婆

sirupa-nō iswo-tō nipey-nō ura-tō **ap-yi-te si ar-aNpa**

Sirupa-GEN rocky.shore-COM Nipey-GEN bay-COM **meet-~~INF-~~**
SUB PT exist-COND

If Sirupa's rocky shore and Nipey bay **would have met** [together] ... (MYS XX: 4324)

A2: Ryukyuan

The past form in *-tar-* is attested in Old Ryukyuan. Given the high frequency of the form *-itar-* ~ *-tar-* in Classical Japanese and the Ryukyuan form's almost exact resemblance to the Classical Japanese form, we are most likely dealing with a loan here. Much more interesting are the forms from modern dialects like the Shuri past final *-ta-N* and past attributive *-ta-ru*. In all likelihood these Shuri forms represent parallel but independent developments similar to the one discussed above for Western Old Japanese: *-ta-N* < **-te* + a-N 'SUB + exist-FIN' and *-ta-ru* < **-te ar-u* 'SUB + exist-ATTR.' The reason for claiming that these developments are independent is that the separation of Central Japanese and Proto-Ryukyuan must considerably predate the origin of the *-te ar-* form in Western Old Japanese that as we saw above was relatively recent. Thus, this is a case of drift, and consequently no Proto-Japonic reconstruction is possible even for the uncontracted construction **-te ar*. This is furthermore confirmed by the extreme paucity and dubious nature of either *-te ar-* or *-tar-* in Eastern Old Japanese.

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(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR hey tukasa-DIM PT
hey

hey, [we] **pushed** [the boat] ahead; hey, [priestess] Tukasa (OS XIII: 747)

はつにしやすまちよたれおきとばすまちよたれ

fatu nisi-ya su **mat-i-yo-tar-e** okitoba su **mat-i-yo-tar-e**

first north.wind-TOP PT **wait-INF-exist(INF)-PERF-EV**
north.wind PT **wait-INF-exist(INF)-PERF-EV**

[We] **waited** for the first north wind. [We] **waited** for the north wind (OS XIII: 899)

Shuri

nuu Ndi 'yu-ta-ga

what DV **say-PAST-Q**

What (DV) **did** [you] **say?** (RKJ 435)

'ic-uN di 'yu-ta-N

go-FIN DV **say-PAST-FIN**

[He] **said** that [he] would go (RKJ 435)

nichee **haka-ta-N** naa **hakar-aN-ta-N** naa

fever(TOP) **measure-PAST-FIN** PT **measure-NEG-PAST-FIN**
PT

Did [you] **measure** [your] temperature? [Or] **did not** [you] **measure?** (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 52)

nama-madi sanruu-taa-tu **hur-i-ashib-i** soo-ibi-ta-N

now-TERM Sanruu-PLUR-COM **be.enamored-INF-play-NML**
do(PROG)-POL-PAST-FIN

Until now [he] **was engrossed in playing** with Sanruu and others (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 97)

kuri-kaa-Nkai miikuni **chukur-at-ta-ru** suba-yaa shicchoo-mishee-
m-i

this-loc newly **make-PASS-PAST-ATTR** soba-shop(TOP) know(CONT/INF)-HON-FIN-Q
 Do [you] know a soba restaurant **that was** recently **opened** in this area? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 115)

6.3.1.2.4 Retrospective *-kyer-*

The retrospective auxiliary has just one allomorph *-kyer-*.¹⁰⁹ It can be preceded by several suffixes and auxiliaries and followed only by several suffixes. This is due to the fact that the retrospective auxiliary *-kyer-* cannot have an infinitive form **-kyer-yi-*, therefore it can be followed immediately only by suffixes, but not by other auxiliaries. Thus, the occurrence of the auxiliary *-kyer-* closely resembles the modality markers: it appears mostly in the final predicates of sentences, with the only exceptions being the cases when it is found in non-final predicates formed by the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* or the concessive gerund *-Ntö*.

Chart 91: Combinations of the retrospective *-kyer-* with preceding suffixes and auxiliaries in their infinitive form

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -Ø</i>	<i>-[y]i-kyer- ~ -kyer-</i>
negative infinitive <i>-aN<u>s</u>-u-</i>	<i>-aN<u>s</u>-u-kyer-</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-kyer-</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-(a)ye-kyer-</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-n-i-</i>	<i>-n-i-kyer-</i>
perfective infinitive <i>-te-</i>	<i>-te-kyer-</i>
progressive infinitive <i>-[y]er-i-</i>	<i>-[y]er-i-kyer-</i>
perfective-progressive infinitive <i>-tar-i-</i>	<i>-tar-i-kyer-</i>

As can be seen from the chart above, *-kyer-* can combine with passive, honorific, and aspect markers. It becomes apparent from the chart below that it does not combine with any mood markers

¹⁰⁹ Frellesvig recently came with a proposal that *-kyer-* may reflect not only a retrospective auxiliary, but also a progressive form *kyer-* of the directive auxiliary *kö-* 'to come' (Frellesvig 2007: 248-50). The same approach to some *-kyer-*, although not as explicitly as in Frellesvig's article is adopted in the new index to the *Man'yōshū* (Kinoshita et al. 2003: 259). The idea is attractive and without any doubt is correct diachronically, but, I am afraid, it is difficult to prove synchronically. The main reason for my skepticism at this point is the fact that I am not aware of any examples with *-kyer-* where it could be uncontroversially interpreted as a progressive form of the directive auxiliary verb *kö-* 'to come.'

except the suppositional *-(u)rasi*. In addition to the primary occurrence in final predicates this further indicates that *-kyer-* is some kind of a modality marker.

Chart 92: Combinations of the retrospective *-kyer-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-i</i>	<i>-kyer-i</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-kyer-u</i>
evidential <i>-[ur]e[y]</i>	<i>-kyer-e</i>
negative <i>-aN_s-</i>	<i>-kyer-aN_s-</i>
suppositional <i>-(u)rasi</i>	<i>-kyer-asi</i>
nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-kyer-aku</i>
conjunctive gerund <i>-Npa</i>	<i>-kyer-e-Npa</i>
concessive gerund <i>-Ntō[mō]</i>	<i>-kyer-e-Ntō</i>

There is a debate about the origins of WOJ *-kyer-*. Since we have here the *kō-rui* vowel /ye/, it is quite clear that *-kyer-* must come from pre-WOJ **-kyi + ar-*, where *ar-* represents the auxiliary verb *ar-* ‘to exist,’ but there are two basic theories¹¹⁰ concerning the origin of the first element **kyi-*. The first of them goes back to Shinmura Izuru, who believed that WOJ *-kyer-* is a contraction of the infinitive *k-yi-* of the verb *kō-* ‘to come’ (1927: 251). It was further developed by Arai Mujirō and Yoshida Kanehiko who suggested that *-kyer-* already represents a grammaticalization of the progressive form of *kyer-* ‘come(PROG)’ (Yoshida 1973: 686). The second theory belongs to Yamada Yoshio who suggested that WOJ *-kyer-* is a contraction of the past auxiliary *-kyi* and *ar-* ‘to exist’ (1954: 227). I used to be a supporter of the second theory (Vovin 2003: 302), but it seems to me now that Yamada’s theory has two serious weak points: (a) as the reader will see below, *-kyer-* has no necessary connection to the past; (b) past *-kyi* is the *final* predication form, and although there is an exception when it is followed by the tentative suffix *-am-*, resulting in *-ky-em-*, we would rather expect *ar-* ‘to exist’ to follow the infinitive and not the final form. On the other hand, the first theory does not have these disadvantages, and moreover, its proposal that the infinitive

¹¹⁰ Yoshida Kanehiko lists seven hypotheses in total, but rejects four of them as untenable (1973: 685-86). Among the remaining three two are basically the same, representing variations of the first point of view presented below.

k-yi of the verb *kō-* 'to come' is followed by the auxiliary *ar-* seems to be quite straightforward and well supported by actual existence of the progressive form *kyer-* 'come(PROG)' in West Old Japanese texts. The lack of a connection between the progressive form *kyer-* 'come(PROG)' and the past tense also speaks in favor of the first theory.

While *-iker-* in Middle (Classical) Japanese is found primarily as an objective retrospective referring to the recollection of events not experienced by a speaker directly or referring to the sudden realization of a fact which was hitherto unknown to a speaker, even a brief perusal of the examples presented below will immediately reveal that the function of *-kyer-* in Western Old Japanese is somewhat different. While the sudden realization of a fact which was hitherto unknown to a speaker is present as well in Western Old Japanese, the recollection of events is by no means limited to indirect experience only. In addition, there are cases when *-kyer-* expresses not just 'recollection,' because there are a few cases when it does not refer exclusively to the past, but also to the present and future, and with a broader reference to an event experienced by someone. Thus, the two major meanings of Western Old Japanese retrospective *-kyer-* are experiential and sudden realization of a fact. Examples:

(1) Experiential:

許能美岐袁迦美祁牟比登波曾能都豆美宇須迹多弓弓宇多比都
都迦美祁禮加母麻比都都迦美祁禮加母

könō myi-kyi-wo kam-yi-ky-em-u pyitō pa sönō tuNtumi usu ni-
tate-te utap-yi-tutu **kam-yi-kyer-e** kamō map-yi-tutu **kam-yi-kyer-**
e kamō

this HON-rice.wine-ACC brew-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
person TOP that drum mortar DV-INF place(INF)-SUB sing-INF-
COORD **brew-INF-RETR-EV** PT dance-INF-COOR **brew-INF-**
RETR-EV PT

I wonder whether the person who brewed this rice wine, turned his
drum [upside down] as a mortar and **brewed** [it] while singing,
brewed [it] while dancing (KK 40)

迦美斯美岐迹和禮惠比迹祁理

kam-yi-si myi-kyi-ni ware **wep-yi-n-i-kyer-i**

brew-INF-PAST/ATTR HON-rice.wine-LOC I **be.drunk-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

I **got drunk** with brewed holy rice wine (KK 49)

和加久閑爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母

waka-ku pey-ni wi ne-te-masi mönō **oyi-n-i-kyer-u** kamō
young-INF ?-DV-INF bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ
age(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

[I] would bring [her with me] and have slept [with her] when [she] was young, but it turned out that [she] **has become old**, alas! (KK 93)

許能久斯美多麻志可志家良斯母

könō kusi myi-tama **sik-as-i-kyer-asi-mō**

this mysterious HON-stone **lay-HON-INF-RETR-SUP-EXCL**

[it] **looks like** [the empress Jingū] **laid** these mysterious stones! (MYS V: 814)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾家良受夜

uMEY-nō pana sak-yi-tar-u sönō-nō awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-uNpey-ku **nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u ya**

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN green willow TOP wig DV-INF do-DEB-INF **become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-NEG-FIN PT**

Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

諾石社見人每尔語嗣偲家良思吉

UNPEY-si kōsō MYI-RU PYITÖ NKÖTÖ n-i KATAR-I-TUNK-YI **SINWOP-YI-kyer-asi-kyi**

be.proper-FIN PT see-ATTR person every DV-INF talk-INF-pass-INF **yearn-INF-RETR-SUP-ATTR**

[It] is proper that every person who sees [this beach], **seems to yearn** [for it] and tells others [about it] (MYS VI: 1065)

此花乃一与能裏波百種乃言持不勝而所折家良受也

KÖNÖ PANA-nō PYITÖ yō-nō UTI pa MWOMWO KUSA-nō KÖTÖ MÖT-I-KANE-TE **WOR-AYE-kyer-aNs-u ya**

this flower-GEN one petal-GEN inside TOP hundred type-GEN
word hold-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB **break-PASS(INF)-RETR-
NEG-FIN PT**

One petal of this flower cannot hold a hundred words, so **would not** [this flower] **be broken?** (MYS VIII: 1457)

塩乾尔祁良志

SIPO PIY-n-i-kyer-asi

tide **dry(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-SUP**

It seems that the tide **has retreated** (lit. dried up) (MYS IX: 1671)

吾者来南登言家礼婆妹之答久

WARE PA K-YI-n-am-u tō **IP-YI-kyer-e-Npa** IMWO-NKA IP-
YER-Aku

I TOP come-INF-PERF-TENT-FIN DV **say-INF-RETR-EV-CON**
beloved-POSS say-PROG-NML

when [Urasima] **said**: “I will definitely come,” [his] beloved
replied: ... (MYS IX: 1740)

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼弓波許呂母弓佐牟伎母能尔曾
安里家流

IMWO-tō ar-i-si TÖKYI PA ar-e-Ntömwo wakare-te pa
kōrömōNte samu-kyi mōnō **n-i sō ar-i-kyer-u**

beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR time TOP exist-EV-CONC
separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing **DV-INF PT**

exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Although there was a time when [I] was with [my] beloved, after
[we] separated, [my] sleeves **are** cold (MYS XV: 3591)

氣奈我久之安礼婆古非尔家流可母

key naNka-ku si ar-e-Npa **kwopiy-n-i-kyer-u** kamō

day long-INF PT exist-EV-CON **long.for(INF)-PERF-INF-
RETR-ATTR PT**

because it has been a long time (lit.: days) [since we left], [I] **have**
been longing for [the capital]! (MYS XV: 3668)

伊毛乎婆美受曾安流倍久安里家留

imwo-woNpa **myi-Ns-u sō ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u**

beloved-ACC(EMPH) **see-NEG-INF PT exist-DEB-INF exist-
INF-RETR-ATTR**

[I] **must not have seen** [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3739)

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉
kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitō k-yi-tar-er-i tō ip-yi-sika-Npa potōpotō sin-
 i-kyi

return-INF-RETR-ATTR person come-INF-PERF/PROG-
 PROG-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/EV-CON almost die-INF-
 PAST/FIN

Because [they] said that a person, **who returned** [from exile], had
 come [to the capital], [I] almost died [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里
 imey-ni pa mōtōna apyi-MYI-re-Ntō taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa kwopiy
yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF
 exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) **stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN**

although [we] see each other aimlessly in dreams, because [our
 meetings] are not direct, [our] love **does not stop** (MYS XVII:
 3980)

伊尔之邊遊阿里吉仁家礼婆許其志可毛伊波能可牟佐備
 inisipye-yu **ari-k-yi-n-i-kyer-e-Npa** kōNkōsi kamwo ipa-nō kamu-
 saNpiy

old.times-ABL **ITER-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-EV-CON**
 rugged(FIN) PT rock-GEN deity-like

because [they] **date back** to old times, deity-like rocks are rugged!
 (MYS XVII: 4003)

夜蘇登毛乃乎波宇加波多知家里

yaswo tōmwo n-ō wo pa **u kapa tat-i-kyer-i**

eighty companion DV-ATTR man TOP **cormorant river stand-
 INF-RETR-FIN**

eighty male companions [of mine] **were cormorant fishing** [at]
the river (MYS XVII: 4023)

都奇見礼婆於奈自久尔奈里夜麻許曾婆伎美我安多里乎敝太弓
 多里家礼

tukiy MYI-re-Npa onaNsi kuni nar-i yama kōsō pa kyimyi-Nka
 atari-wo **pyeNtate-tar-i-kyer-e**

moon see-EV-CON same province be-FIN mountain PT TOP lord-
 POSS vicinity-ACC **separate(INF)-PERF/PROG-INF-EV**

When [I] look at the moon, it is the same province. [But] the
 mountains **are separating** you [from me] (MYS XVIII: 4073)

此橘乎等伎自久能可久能木實等名附家良之母

KÖNÖ TATINPANA-wo tökyiNsi-ku n-ö kaNk-u n-ö KÖ-NÖ
MIY tö NA-N-TUKEY-kyer-asi-mö

this mandarin orange-ACC be off season-INF DV-ATTR smell-
ATTR DV-ATTR tree-GEN fruit DV **name-LOC-attach(INF)-
RETR-SUP-EXCL**

[we] **should call** these mandarin oranges fragrant tree fruits that are
off season! (MYS XVIII: 4111)

伎美伎麻之都々可射之多里家利

kyimiyi k-yi-mas-i-tutu kaNsas-i-tar-i-kyer-i

lord come-INF-HON-INF-COOR **decorate-INF-PERF/PROG-
INF-RETR-FIN**

while you came [to my place], [you] **have decorated** [yourself
with roses] (MYS XX: 4302)

都婆吉都良々々尔美等母安可米也宇惠弓家流伎美

tuNpakyi tura-tura n-i myi tömö ak-am-ey ya **uwe-te-kyer-u**
kyimiyi

camellia intent DV-INF look(FIN) CONJ get.enough-TENT-EV
PT **plant(INF)-PERF(INF)-RETR-ATTR** lord

even if [I] look intently, could [I] get enough of the camellia [or]
you **who have planted** [it]? (MYS XX: 4481)

等保伎佐刀麻弓於久利家流伎美我許己呂波和須良由麻之自

töpo-kyi satwo-maNte **okur-i-kyer-u** kyimiyi-Nka kökörö pa
wasur-ay-umasiNsi

distant-ATTR village-TERM **see.off-INF-RETR-ATTR** lord-
POSS heart TOP forget-PASS-NEG/POT

[I] cannot forget the kindness of [my] lord **who saw** [me] **off** to
[my] distant village (MYS XX: 4482)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
可理家利米太志加利鷄利

kusurisi pa tune n-ö mö ar-e-Ntö marapyitö n-ö ima-nö kusurisi
taputö-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

medicine man TOP usual DV-ATTR PT exist-EV-CONC guest
DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man **revered-INF-exist-INF-
RETR-FIN praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

Although there are usual medicine men, too, the present Guest
Medicine Man is [indeed] **revered**. [He] is **praiseworthy** (BS 15)

仲麻呂等通家流謀乃文有

Nakamarö-tö **KAYWOP-AS-I-kyer-u** PAKAR-I-nö PUMYI AR-I
Nakamarö-COM **plan-HON-INF-RETR-ATTR** plot-NML-GEN
letter exist-FIN

there was a letter about the plot **that** [prince Pune] **was planning**
with Nakamarö (SM 30)

(2) Sudden realization of a fact:

阿加陀麻波袁佐閑比迦禮杼斯良多麻能岐美何余曾比斯多布斗
久阿理祁理

aka-N-tama pa wo sapey pyikar-e-Ntö sira tama-nö kyimyi-Nka
yösöpyi si **taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i**
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel TOP cord PT shine-EV-CONC white jewel-
COMP lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT **revered-INF exist-
INF-RETR-FIN**

Although even the cord of red jewels shines, **[I] realized [that I]**
feel reverence [for my] lord's adorned appearance, which is like a
white jewel (KK 7)

常磐成石室者今毛安里家礼騰住家類人曾常無里家留

TÖK[Ö]-IPA-NASU IPA YA PA IMA mwo **ar-i-kyer-e-Ntö**
SUM-YI-kyer-u PYITÖ sö TUNE **NA-K-Ar-i-kyer-u**

Eternal rock-COMP rock house TOP now PT **exist-INF-RETR-
EV-CONC** live-INF-RETR person PT usual **no-INF-exist-INF-
RETR-ATTR**

Although **there are** now as well the rock dwellings that are like an
eternal rock, **[it] turns out that [it] is not** usual that people live
[there] (MYS III: 308)

世間之苦物尔有家良久

YÖ-NÖ NAKA-NÖ KURUSI-KYI MÖNÖ **n-i AR-I-kyer-aku**
world-GEN inside-GEN hard-ATTR thing **DV-INF exist-INF-
RETR-NML**

The fact that the life **turned out to be** hard (MYS IV: 738)

美夜故能提夫利和周良延尔家利

myiyakwo-nö teNpuri **wasur-aye-n-i-kyer-i**
capital-GEN custom **forget-PASS(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**
it turned out that [I] have forgotten the customs of the capital
(MYS V: 880)

今者春部登成尔鷄類鴨

IMA PA PARŪ-pey **tō nar-i-n-i-kyer-u** kamwo
now TOP spring-? DV **become-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR**
PT

[It] turned out that now [it] is (lit.: **has become**). spring! (MYS VIII: 1433)

君乎衣尔有者下毛将著跡吾念有家留

KYIMYI-wo KÖRÖMÖ n-i AR-ANPA SITA mwo KYI-M-U tō
WA-NKA **OMÖP-YER-I-kyer-u**
lord-ACC garment DV-INF exist-COND beneath PT wear-TENT-
FIN DV I-POSS **think-PROG-INF-RETR-ATTR**

I came to think that if [you] were a garment, [I] would wear you
beneath [my clothes] (MYS XII: 2964)

可具呂伎可美尔都由曾於伎尔家類

kaN-kurō¹¹¹-kyi kamyi-ni tuyu sō **ok-yi-n-i-kyer-u**
INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC dew PT **put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-
ATTR**

[it] turned out that the dew **fell** on the pitch-black hair (MYS XV: 3649)

伊敝之麻波奈尔許曾安里家礼

Ipye sima pa na **n-i kōsō ar-i-kyer-e**
Home island TOP name DV-INF PT **exist-INF-RETR-EV**
“Home island” **turned out to be just** a name (MYS XV: 3718)

等保家騰母許己呂之遊氣婆伊米尔美要家利

tōpo-kye-Ntōmō kōkōrō si yuk-ey-Npa imey-ni **myi-ye-kyer-i**
far-EV-CONC heart PT go-EV-CON dream-LOC **see-PASS(INF)-
RETR-FIN**

although [it] is far, because [my] heart goes [to you], [it] **turned
out that** [you] **appeared** in [my] dreams (MYS XVII: 3981)

奈泥之故波秋咲物乎君宅之雪巖尔左家理家流可母

naNtesikwo pa AKYI SAK-U MŌNŌwo KYIMYI-NKA IPYE-
NŌ YUKYI IPAPO-ni **sak-yer-i-kyer-u** kamō
carnation TOP fall bloom-ATTR CONJ lord-POSS house-GEN
snow rock-LOC **bloom-PROG-INF-RETR-ATTR** PT

¹¹¹ The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-rui* /rō/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-rui* /rwo/.

Although carnations bloom in the fall, [it] **turned out that** [they] **have bloomed** at the snow rocks of your house! (MYS XIX: 4231)

夏野尔吾見之草波毛美知多里家利

NATU-NŌ NWO-ni WA-NKA MYI-si KUSA pa **mwomyit-i-tar-i-kyer-i**

summer-GEN field-LOC I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR grass TOP **leaves.turn.red/yellow-INF-PERF/PROG-INF-RETR-FIN** [it] **turned out that** the grass that I had seen in the fields **became yellow** (MYS XIX: 4268)

夜度乃烏梅能知利須具流麻渥美之米受安利家流

yaNtwo-nō uMEY-nō tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte **myi-simey-Ns-u ar-i-kyer-u**

house-GEN plum-GEN fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM see-CAUS-NEG-INF exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

[it] **turned out that** [you] **did not let** [me] **see** plum [blossoms] in [your] house until they had completely fallen (MYS XX: 4496)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Three different phonetic shapes of the retrospective auxiliary are attested in Eastern Old Japanese: *-kyer-*, *-keyr-*, and *-kar-*. Examples:

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氣爾家里

natu-swo-N-pyik-u una-kamyi-N-kata-nō okyi-tu SU-ni pune pa tōNtōmey-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-RETR-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 the *Kamyitupusa* 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.

保登等藝須奈久許惠伎氣婆登伎須疑尔家里

potötöNkyisu nak-u köwe kyik-ey-Npa tökyi **suNkiy-n-i-kyer-i**
cuckoo cry-ATTR voice hear-EV-CON time **pass(INF)-PERF-**
INF-RETR-FIN

when [I] heard the voice of cuckoo, [I] **realized that the time has passed** (MYS XIV: 3352)

This poem is from the *Sinanwo* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region C. It does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features either.

麻可奈思美奴良久思家良久

ma-kanasi-myi n-ur-aku **s-i-kyer-aku**

INT-dear-GER sleep-ATTR-NML **do-INF-RETR-NML**

the fact is that because [he] is dear [to me], [I] **did sleep** [with him] (MYS XIV: 3358a)

This poem is from the *SuruNka* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region B. It does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features either.

乃良奴伎美我名字良尔佶尔家里

nör-an-u kyimiyi-Nka NA ura-ni [i] **Nte-n-i-kyer-i**

say-NEG-ATTR lord-POSS name divination-LOC **go.out(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

the name of [my] beloved which [I] did not tell [to anyone] **became known** through divination (MYS XIV: 3374)

This poem is from the *Musashi* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region B. It does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features either.

波播已毛礼杼母多麻曾阿比尔家留

papa i-mwor-e-Ntömö tama sö **ap-yi-n-i-kyer-u**

mother DLF-guard-EV-CONC soul PT **meet-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR**

although [my] mother guarded [me] there, [our] souls **have met** (MYS XIV: 3393)

This poem is from the *Pyitai* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region B. It does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features either.

安我古非能未思等伎奈可里家利

a-Nka kwopiy nömiy si tökyi **na-k-ar-i-kyer-i**

I-POSS love(NML) PT PT time **no-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN**

only my love **does not have** a [special] time (MYS XIV: 3422)

This poem is from the *Kamyitukey* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region B. It does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features either.

可是能等能登抱吉和伎母賀吉西斯伎奴多母登乃久太利麻欲比
伎尔家利

kaNse-nō [o]tō-nō tōpo-kyi wa-Nk-imō-Nka kyi-se-si kyinu
tamōtō-nō kuNtari **maywop-yi-k-yi-n-i-kyer-i**
wind-GEN sound-COMP far-ATTR I-POSS-beloved-POSS wear-
CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR garment sleeve-GEN vertical.thread
become.frayed-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

The vertical threads of the sleeves of the garment that my beloved, who is as far away as the sound of the wind, made [me] wear **became frayed** (MYS XIV: 3453)

The geographical source of this poem is not known, but it also does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features.

和藝毛古賀都氣之非毛我乎多延尔氣流可母

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka tukey-si piymwo-Nka wo **taye-n-i-keyr-u**
kamō

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS attach(INF)-PAST/ATTR cord-POSS
cord **break(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT**

the cords [of my garment] that my beloved tied, **broke off!** (MYS XX: 4404)

This poem is from the *Kamyitukey* province, which belongs to the Eastern Old Japanese Region B. In contrast to all previous poems from book XIV, it has an Eastern Old Japanese feature: WOJ *-kyer-* 'RETR' is misspelled as *-keyr-*.

In addition to seven examples with *-kyer-* that are all found in the book XIV of the *Man'yōshū* that underwent more editing and polishing than the book XX, and one example of *-keyr-* in the book XX there is also one example of the form *-kar-*:

以弊乃母加积世之己呂母尔阿加都积尔迦理

ipye-nō [i]mō-Nka kyi-se-si kōrōmō-ni aka **tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i**
home-GEN beloved-POSS wear-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR
garment-LOC dirt **attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

dirt **stuck** to the garment that my beloved at home made [me] wear (MYS XX: 4388)

Although we have only one example of *-kar-*, it is necessary to note that it represents the same type of development as the Eastern Old Japanese progressive *-ar-* vs. WOJ *-[y]er-* (contraction vs.

monophthongization). Incidentally, the ‘misspelling’ *-keyr-* found in MYS XX: 4404 above may be actually an attempt to write down a form phonetically close to *-kar-* or at least a form with a different vowel than WOJ /ye/. Thus, *-kar-* probably represents the original Eastern Old Japanese retrospective auxiliary, while *-kyer-* is either loan from Western Old Japanese, or it was intentionally substituted by scribes who were speakers of Western Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of WOJ *-kyer-* in Ryukyuan.

6.3.1.2.5 Potential *-kate-* ~ *-Nkate-*

The potential auxiliary *-kate-* has two allomorphs: *-kate-* and *-kat-*. Since *-kate-* behaves as a vowel verb,¹¹² the choice between these two allomorphs is determined by the same rules as for the long and short stems of a vowel verb. The allomorph *-kat-* also appears before the progressive *-[y]er-*, which is not found after other vowel verbs (see 6.2.2.3.11). There are two phonetic variants of both allomorphs: *-kate-* ~ *-kat-* with plain voiceless /k/ and *-Nkate-* ~ *-Nkat-* with prenasalized voiced /Nk/. It is difficult to decide which one is primary, but if the potential auxiliary is somehow historically connected with the verb *kate-* ‘to join, to unite,’¹¹³ the prenasalized forms are probably secondary. The primary nature of the voiceless variant is further supported by the example from the NK 19 below, since the *Nihonshoki* is the only Western Old Japanese text that consistently differentiates between plain voiceless and voiced prenasalized consonants.

The potential auxiliary *-kate-* ~ *-Nkate-* occurs only after infinitives directly following lexical verbal stems, but not after the infinitives of other auxiliaries. On the other hand, the potential auxiliary *-kate-* ~ *-Nkate-* can be followed by several suffixes as outlined in the following chart:

Chart 93: Combinations of the potential *-kate-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-kate-n-</i> , <i>-kat-an-*</i>

¹¹² For an exception see the example from KK 28 below where we find *-Nkat-* behaving like a consonant verb

¹¹³ For the semantic development cf. English ‘put together’ that can be used not only about joining things but about ability to organize or fix something.

negative <i>-(a)Ns-</i>	<i>-kate-Ns-^{**}</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-kate-m-</i>
negative potential <i>-(u)masiNsi</i>	<i>-kat-umasiNsi</i>
progressive <i>-[y]er-</i>	<i>-kat-er-</i>

* Only one example in KK 28.

** Attested only in the partially semantographic writing.

The only function of *-kate-* is the potential. Surprisingly enough, in most examples where the potential *-kate-* is attested it appears either with the following negative *-(a)n-* ~ *-(a)Ns-* or with the following negative potential *-(u)masiNsi*. When *-kate-* does not combine with any negatives, it is followed by either the tentative suffix *-(a)m-* or by the progressive suffix *-[y]er-*. Examples:

宇倍那宇倍那岐美麻知賀多爾

uNpey na uNpey na kyimyi **mat-i-Nkat-an-i**

indeed PT indeed PT lord **wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF**

Indeed, indeed! [I] **can hardly wait** for [my] lord, **and** ... (KK 28)

In this example we have an irregular form *-Nkat-an-i* that behaves like a consonant verb instead of a regular *-Nkate-n-i*.

伊辞務邏塢多誤辞珥固佐糜固辞介低務介茂

isi mura-wo ta-N-kwos-i-ni kwos-aNpa **kwos-i-kate-m-u** kamo

stone group-ACC hand-LOC-pass-NML-LOC pass-COND **pass-INF-POT-TENT-ATTR** PT

if [you] move by hands the heaps of stones, **would [it] be possible to move** [them], I wonder? (NK 19)

山邊乃御井乎見我弓利

YAMA-NÖ PYE-nö MYI-WI-wo **MYI-Nkat-er-i**

mountain-GEN side-GEN HON-well-ACC **see(INF)-POT-PROG-FIN**

[I] **have been able to see** the well at the mountain side (MYS I: 81)

Ōmodaka et al. believe that *-Nkateri* is a gerund, related to the gerund *-katera* (1967: 201), which was discussed above (see 6.3.1.1.4). I see little evidence for this analysis, which is further complicated by the unexplained vowel correspondence /a/ ~ /i/.

佐不寐者遂尔有勝麻之自

sa-NE-NS-U PA TUPYI n-i **AR-I-kat-umasiNsi**

PREF-sleep-NEG-INF TOP final DV-INF **exist-INF-POT-NEG/POT**

if [I] do not sleep [with you], [I] **cannot live** (MYS II: 94)

吾者毛也安見兒得有皆人乃得難尔為云安見兒衣多利
 WARE PA mwo ya yasumyikwo E-TAR-I MIYNA PYITÖ-nö
E-kate-n-i S-U TÖ IP-U yasumyikwo e-tar-i
 I TOP PT PT Yasumyikwo get(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN all person-
 GEN **get(INF)-POT-NEG-NML do-FIN** DV say-ATTR
 Yasumyikwo get(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN
 I got Yasumyikwo! I got Yasumyikwo whom all people **cannot get**
 (MYS II: 95)

梓弓引者随意依目友後心乎知勝奴鴨
 ANTUSA YUMYI PYIK-ANPA MANIMA N-I YÖR-Am-ey-
 Ntömö NÖTI-NÖ KÖKÖRÖ-wo **SIR-I-kate-n-u** kamwo
 catalpa bow pull-COND according DV-INF approach-TENT-EV-
 CONC after-GEN heart-ACC **know-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR** PT
 Although [I] would go to [you] if [you] pull [the strings of my heart
 like] a catalpa bow, [I] **cannot know** [your] feelings after [that]!
 (MYS II: 98)

潤湿跡戀乍居寸君待香光
 NURE-PIT-URE-Ntö KWOPIY-TUTU WOR-I-kyi KYIMYI
MAT-I-kat-er-i
 become.wet(INF)-soak-EV-CONC long.for(INF)-COOR exist-
 INF-PAST/FIN lord **wait-INF-POT-PROG-FIN**
 although [I] got soaked, [I] was longing for [you]. [I] **was able to**
wait for you (MYS III: 370)

古尔有兼人毛如吾歟妹尔戀乍宿不勝家牟
 INISIPYE-ni AR-I-ky-em-u PYITÖ mwo A-NKA NKÖTÖ KA
 IMWO-ni KWOPIY-TUTU **I NE-kate-NS-U-ky-em-u**
 old.times-LOC exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR person PT I-
 POSS like PT beloved-DAT long.for(INF)-COOR **sleep**
sleep(INF)-POT-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
Were the people who lived in old times **unable to sleep** like me,
 too, longing for [their] beloved? (MYS IV: 497)

宇具比須能麻知迦弓尔勢斯宇米我波奈
 uNkupyisu-nö **mat-i-kate-n-i se-si** umey-Nka pana
 bush.warbler-GEN **wait-INF-POT-NEG-NML do(INF)-**
PAST/ATTR plum-POSS blossom
 plum blossoms for which the bush warbler **could hardly wait**
 (MYS V: 845)

加波度爾波阿由故佐婆斯留吉美麻知我弓爾

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)

比等国爾須疑加弓奴可母

pyitö KUNI-ni **suNkiy-kate-n-u** kamö
one land-LOC **pass-POT-NEG-ATTR** PT

It is unbearable to pass [away] (lit.: **cannot pass away**) in [another] person[’s] land, alas! (MYS V: 885)

麓妙能布衣遠陶尔伎世難尔可久夜歎敢

ARA TAPEY-nö NUNWO KYINU-wo Ntani **kyi-se-KATE-n-i**
ka-ku ya NANKEYk-am-u
rough mulberry.bark.cloth-GEN cloth garment-ACC PT **wear-**
CAUS(INF)-POT-NEG-INF thus-INF PT lament-TENT-ATTR

Being unable to make [my children] **wear** even a cloth garment from the rough mulberry bark cloth, would [I] lament in this way? (MYS V: 901)

浮蓴邊毛奧毛依勝益士

UK-YI NUNAPA PYE-NI mwo OKYI-NI mwo **YÖR-I-kat-**
umasiNsi

float-INF water.shield shore-LOC PT offing-LOC PT **approach-**
INF-POT-NEG/POT

[my love for you is like] a water shield that **cannot approach** either a shore or an offing (MYS VII: 1352)

和乎待難尔

wa-wo **MAT-I-kate-n-i**
I-ACC **wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF**

[she] **is unable to wait** for me, and ... (MYS XI: 2483)

秋田乃穗牟伎見我氏里

AKYI-NÖ TA-nö PÖmuky **MYI-Nkat-er-i**
autumn-GEN paddy-GEN ripened.rice **see-POT-PROG-FIN**

[I] **have been able to see** the ripened rice in the autumn paddies (MYS XVII: 3943)

伊湍多知加弓尔等騰己保里

iNte-tat-i-kate-n-i töNtököpor-i

exit(INF)-depart-INF-POT-NEG-INF be.delayed-INF

[I] was unable to depart, and [I] was delayed, and ... (MYS XX: 4398)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The potential auxiliary *-kate-* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

奈乎多弓天由吉可都麻思自

na-wo tate-te yuk-yi-kat-umasiNsi

you-ACC make.stand(INF)-SUB go-INF-POT-NEG/POT

making you stand [and wait], [I] could not go away (MYS XIV: 3353)

筑波祢乃祢呂尔可須美為須宜可提尔伊伎豆久伎美乎為祢弓夜良佐祢

TukuNpa ne-nö ne-rö-ni kasumyi wi suNkiy-kate-n-i ikyiNtuk-u kyimy-i-wo wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e

TukuNpa peak-GEN peak-DIM-LOC mist sit(INF) pass(INF)-POT-NEG-INF sigh-ATTR lord-ACC bring(INF)-sleep(INF)-SUB send-HON-DES-IMP

The mist sits on the smaller peak of TukuNpa and cannot move away, and [I] wish [you] would bring [your] sighing lord and sleep [with him] (MYS XIV: 3388)

布路与伎能遊吉須宜可提奴伊毛賀伊敝乃安多里

pur-wo yöki-nö yuk-yi-suNkiy-kate-n-u imwo-Nka ipye-nö atari

fall-ATTR snow-COMP go-INF-pass(INF)-POT-NEG-ATTR beloved-POSS house-GEN vicinity

the vicinity of my beloved's house, that [I], like a falling snow, cannot pass (MYS XIV: 3423)

伊弓可天爾世之乎見多弓思伊敝能児良

iNte-kate-n-i se-si-wo MYI-tate-si ipye-nö 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)

父乎於伎弓道乃長道波由伎加弓努加毛
 TITI-wo ok-yi-te MYITI-nō NANKATE pa yuk-yi-kate-n-wo
 kamwo
 father-ACC leave-INF-SUB way-GEN length TOP **go-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR** PT
 [I] **cannot go** [this] long way, leaving my father! (MYS XX: 4341)

Thus, we can reconstruct the Proto-Japanese potential auxiliary *-kate-.

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of the Proto-Japanese potential auxiliary *-kate- in Ryukyuan. Given the possibility that PJN *-kate- may have an internal etymology, it is unlikely that there would be any external parallels.

6.3.1.2.6 Negative potential *-kane-*

The negative potential auxiliary has only one allomorph *-kane-*. It behaves like a regular vowel verb. In most cases it is found immediately after the infinitive of a main verb as the following chart demonstrates.

Chart 94: Combinations of the negative potential *-kane-* with preceding infinitives

infinitives	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i, -∅</i>	<i>-[y]i-kane-, -kane-</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-aye-kane-*</i>

* Attested only once in partial semantographic spelling in MYS XVI: 3793 below.

The negative potential auxiliary *-kane-* can be followed by suffixes and auxiliaries:

Chart 95: Combinations of the negative potential *-kane-* with following suffixes and auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-kane</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i ~ -∅</i>	<i>-kane</i>
tentative <i>-(a)m-</i>	<i>-kane-m-</i>

subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-kane-te</i>
perfective <i>-te-</i>	<i>-kane-te-</i> , <i>-kane-t-</i>

In comparison with another Western Old Japanese negative potential *-umasiNsi* (see 6.2.2.1.11), the functional scope of *-kane-* is much more narrow. It always refers to impossibility of doing an action which is otherwise desired, that is “[I] want to do it, but [I] cannot.” The negative potential *-umasiNsi* does not have this limitation. Examples:

夜斯麻久爾都麻麻岐迦泥弓

ya sima kuni tuma **mak-yi-kane-te**

eight island country spouse **pillow-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB**

not being able to bed a spouse in the country of Eight Islands (KK 2)

久良波斯夜麻袁佐賀志美登伊波迦伎加泥弓和賀弓登良須母

kurapasi-yama-wo saNkasi-myi tö ipa **kak-yi-kane-te** wa-Nka te
tör-as-umö

Kurapasi-mountain-ABS steep-GER DV rock **hang-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB** take-HON-EXCL

[I] think that Mount Kurapasi is steep. **Being unable to cling to the** rocks, [I wish you would] take my hand! (KK 69)

野糸磨俱爾都磨磨祁可泥底

ya sima kuni tuma **mak-yi-kane-te**

eight island country spouse **pillow-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB**

not being able to bed a spouse in the country of Eight Islands (NK 96)

区縵刀理我泥底伊母我堤塢刀樓

kusa **twor-i-kane-te**¹¹⁴ imö-Nka te-wo twor-u

grass **hold-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB** beloved-POSS hand-ACC
hold-FIN

being unable to hold the grass, [I] will hold the hand of [my] beloved (FK 19)

枕之邊人忘可祢津藻

MAKURA-PYE-NÖ PYITÖ WASURE-kane-t-umo

¹¹⁴ The original script indicates *-Nkane-* rather than *-kane-*, but since this is the only example of *-Nkane-*, I transcribed it as *-kane-*.

pillow-side-GEN person **forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL**

[I] **could not forget** her who is [near] my bed-side (MYS I: 72)

古之嫗尔為而也如此許戀乎大尔忍金手武

PUR-I-N-I-si omyina n-i s-i-te ya ka-ku NPAKARI KWOPİY-wo Ntani **SINÖNP-YI-kane-te-m-u**

become.old-**INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR** old.woman DV-**INF do-INF-SUB** PT thus-**INF** PT love(NML)-**ACC** PT **endure-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR**

Am [I not] an old woman? [But it] **has become so** [that I] **would not be able to endure** even love (MYS II: 129)

痛背乃河乎渡金目八

ANase-nö KAPA-wo **WATAR-I-kane-m-ey** ya

Anase-GEN river-**ACC cross-INF-NEG/POT-TENT-EV** PT

would [I] be unable to cross Anase river? [Certainly I would be able] (MYS IV: 643)

等伎能佐迦利乎等々尾迦祢周具斯野利都礼

tökyi-nö sakar-i-wo **töNtömiy-kane** suNkus-i-yar-i-t-ure

time-GEN bloom-NML-**ACC stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)** pass-**INF-send-INF-PERF-EV**

[they] have spent [their lives] **being unable to stop** the prime of their lives (MYS V: 804)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母余能許等奈礼婆等登尾可祢都母

tök[ö]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si möNkamö tö omöp-ey-Ntömö yö-nö kötö

nar-e-Npa **töNtömiy-kane-t-umö**

eternal-rock-COMP thus-**INF** PT PT DV think-EV-**CONC** world-GEN matter be-EV-**CON stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL**

Although [I] think that [I] want to be (thus) like the eternal rock, because [it] is a matter of this world, [I] **cannot stop** [life]! (MYS V: 805)

由久布祢遠布利等騰尾加祢伊加婆加利故保斯苦阿利家武麻都良佐欲比賣

yuk-u pune-wo pur-i **töNtömiy-kane** ika Npakari kwoposi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u mat[u]-ura saywo-pyimye

go-ATTR boat-ACC wave-INF **stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)** how
PT be.longing-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN pine-bay
Saywo-pyimye

How Saywo-pyimye [from] the “Pine bay” must have been longing,
not being able to stop the boat that went away by waving [her
long scarf] (MYS V: 875)

飛立可祢都鳥尔之安良祢婆

TÖNP-YI-TAT-I-kane-t-u TÖRI n-i si ar-an-e-Npa
fly-INF-depart-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-FIN bird DV-INF
PT exist-NEG-EV-CON

[I] **could not fly away** because [I] am not a bird (MYS V: 893)

曉闇夜乃朝影尔吾身者成奴汝乎念金丹

AKATÖKYI YAMIY-nö ASA KANKEY n-i WA-NKA MIY PA
NAR-I-n-u NA-wo **OMÖP-YI-kane** n-i
dawn darkness-GEN morning shadow DV-INF I-POSS body TOP
become-INF-PERF-FIN you-ACC **love-INF-NEG/POT(NML)**
DV-INF

My body has become a morning shadow of darkness at dawn.
Because **loving** [you] is **unbearable** (MYS XI: 2664)

彼夜者吾毛宿毛寐金手寸

SÖNÖ YWO PA WARE mwo I mwo **NE-kane-te-kyi**
that night TOP I PT sleep PT **sleep(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-**
INF-PAST/FIN

I was also **unable to sleep** that night (MYS XIII: 3269)

奈良能美夜故波和須礼可祢都母

nara-nö myiyakwo pa **wasure-kane-t-umö**
Nara-GEN capital TOP **forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-**
EXCL

[I] **am not able to forget** the capital of Nara! (MYS XV: 3618)

将若異子等丹所置金目八

WAKA-ky-eM-U KWO-RA-ni **NOR-AYE-kane-m-ey** ya
young-ATTR-TENT-ATTR girl-PLUR-LOC **abuse-PASS(INF)-**
NEG/POT-TENT-EV PT

would [you] **be able to not be abused** by girls who would be
younger? (Certainly you would be abused) (MYS XVI: 3793)

和我世古我都美之手見都追志乃備加祢都母

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka tum-yi-si TE MYI-tutu **sinöNp-yi-kane-t-umö**

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS pinch-INF-PAST/ATTR hand see(INF)-COORD **endure-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL**

I could not endure seeing the hands that my beloved pinched!
(MYS XVII: 3940)

流涕等騰米可祢都母

NANKAR-URU NAMYINTA **töNtömey-kane-t-umö**

flow-ATTR tear **stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL**

[I] cannot stop flowing tears! (MYS XIX: 4160)

In the following two examples *kane-* is used as an independent auxiliary verb, since it is separated from the main verb by the focus particle *mö*. Therefore, it could be tentatively classified as a lexical auxiliary, but I am reluctant to do so, because these are the only examples of this kind in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus, both belonging to Late Western Old Japanese, and because there are no examples where *kane-* is used as a completely independent lexical verb with no connection to a main verb.

奈氣可久乎等騰米毛可祢氏

naNkeyk-aku-wo **töNtömey mwo kane-te**

lament-NML-ACC stop(NML) PT **be.unable(INF)-SUB**

[I] cannot stop lamenting (MYS XVII: 4008)

御調寶波可蘇倍衣受都久之毛可祢都

MYI-TUKIY TAKARA kaNswopey-e-Ns-u tukus-i mwo **kane-t-u**

HON-tribute treasure count(INF)-get-NEG-INF exhaust-NML **be.unable(INF)-PERF-FIN**

[It] is impossible to count all tribute treasures, and **[one] cannot exhaust [them]** (MYS XVIII: 4094)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The negative potential *-kane-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese. However, the functional limitation of WOJ *-kane-* as an impossibility of doing a desired action may be more questionable here, cf. the last example from MYS XX: 4346. Examples:

夜蘇許登乃蔽波思氣久等母安良蘇比可祢弓安乎許登奈須那
 yaswo kötö-nö pye pa siNkey-ku tömö **araswop-yi-kane-te** a-wo
 kötö nas-una
 eighty word-GEN leaf TOP thick-INF CONJ **resist-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB** I-ACC word make-NEG/IMP
 although many rumors are growing thick [like a bush], do not talk
 about me, **failing to resist** (MYS XIV: 3456)

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼遊布麻夜万可久礼之伎美乎於母比
 可祢都母
 kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö yupuma yama kakure-si
 kyimiyi-wo **omöp-yi-kane-t-umö**
 love(INF)-COORD PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC Yupuma
 mountain hide(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord-ACC **think-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-EXCL**
 Although [I] was going to continue to love [you], [I] **cannot [bear]**
thoughts about my lord, who hid [himself] on the Yupuma
 mountain! (MYS XIV: 3475)

安乎麻知可祢弓
 a-wo **mat-i-kane-te**
 I-ACC **wait-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB**
 [she] **cannot wait** for me (MYS XIV: 3563)

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
 加祢豆流
 titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si keytöNpa
 Nse **wasure-kane-t-uru**
 father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP
 DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR word PT **forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-ATTR**
 [I] **cannot forget** the words: “Be safe!” that [my] father and mother
 said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

Therefore, we can reconstruct the Proto-Japanese negative potential *-kane-. I am skeptical about the proposal by Omodaka et al. to derive it tentatively from the verb *kane-* ‘to join, to combine’ (1967: 205). Although such an etymology seems to be possible in the case of the potential auxiliary *-kate-* (see 6.3.1.2.5), it hardly makes any sense in the case of a *negative* potential.

A2: Ryukyuan

The negative potential auxiliary *-kane-* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

I am not aware of any external parallels for the Proto-Japanese negative potential **-kane-*.

6.3.1.2.7 Benefactive *-köse-*

The benefactive auxiliary has two allomorphs: *-köse-* and *-kös-*. Since *-köse-* behaves as a vowel verb, the allomorph *-köse-* is used before consonant-initial and vowel-initial suffixes with weak vowels, and the allomorph *-kös-* is used before vowel-initial suffixes with strong vowels. In most cases *-köse-* is found immediately after the infinitive of a main or a lexical auxiliary verb as the following chart demonstrates.

Chart 96: Combinations of the benefactive *-köse-* with preceding infinitives

infinitives	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i, -Ø-</i>	<i>-[y]i-kös[e]-, -kös[e]-</i>
passive infinitive <i>-(a)ye-</i>	<i>-ye-kös-*</i>

* Attested only after the verb *myi-* 'to see' with the following imperative *-ö* in the form *myi-ye-kös-ö*.

The benefactive auxiliary *-köse-* can be followed only by the four suffixes:

Chart 97: Combinations of the benefactive *-köse-* with following suffixes

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
imperative <i>-[y]e ~ -ö</i>	<i>-kös-ö*</i>
negative <i>-(a)n-</i>	<i>-köse-n-**</i>
negative imperative <i>-una</i>	<i>-kös-una</i>
desiderative <i>-(a)na</i>	<i>-köse-n-***</i>

* The benefactive *-köse-* has an aberrant imperative form in *-ö* (see 6.2.2.1.4).

** Attested only with the following attributive in the form *-köse-n-u*.

*** Attested only with the following imperative *-[y]e* in the form *-köse-n-e*.

The benefactive *-köse-* indicates that an action is done for the sake of someone or for someone's benefit. This analysis is further supported by the fact that when *-köse-* is spelled

semantographically, it is written either with the character 得 ‘to get, to receive’ or with the character 与 ‘to give’ (see MYS IV: 546 and MYS X: 2092 below). Examples:

許能登理母字知夜米許世泥

könö tōri mö **uti-yamey-köse-n-e**

this bird PT **PREF-stop(INF)-BEN-DES-IMP**

[I] **wish [you] would stop** [the singing] of these birds (KK 2)

秋夜之百夜乃長有与宿鴨

AKYI-NÖ YWO-NÖ MWOMWO YWO-nö NANKA-KU AR-I-**KÖSE-n-u** kamwo

autumn-GEN night-GEN hundred night-COMP **long-INF exist-INF-BEN-NEG-ATTR** PT

[I] wonder **whether** this autumn night **would not last long** [for me] like one hundred nights (MYS IV: 546)

用流能伊味仁越都伎提美延許曾

yworu-nö imey-ni wo tuNk-yi-te **myi-ye-kös-ō**

night-GEN dream-LOC PT follow-INF-SUB **see-PASS(INF)-BEN-IMP**

please appear [for me] continuously in [my] night dreams (MYS V: 807)

烏梅能波奈伊麻佐家留期等知利須義受和我霸能曾能尔阿利己世奴加毛

uMEY-nö pana ima sak-yer-u Nkötö tir-i-suNkiy-Ns-u wa-Nka [i]pye-nö sönö-ni **ar-i-köse-n-u** kamwo

plum-GEN blossom now bloom-PROG-ATTR like fall-INF-pass-NEG-INF I-POSS house-GEN garden-LOC **exist-INF-BEN-NEG-ATTR** PT

Plum blossoms! I wonder **whether [you] would not stay [for me]** in the garden of my house without falling and blooming like now (MYS V: 816)

宇米我波奈知良須阿利許曾意母布故我多米

umey-Nka pana **tir-aNs-u ar-i-kös-ō** omöp-u kwo-Nka tamey

plum-POSS blossom **fall-NEG-INF exist-INF-BEN-IMP** love-ATTR girl-POSS for

Plum blossoms! **Please do not fall** for the sake of the girl that [I] love (MYS V: 845)

烏梅能波奈伊米爾加多良久美也備多流波奈等阿例母布左氣爾
于可倍許曾

uMEY-nō pana imey-ni katar-aku myiyaNbiy-tar-u pana tō are
[o]möp-u sakey-ni **ukaNpey-kös-ō**
plum-GEN blossom dream-LOC tell-NML be.elegant(INF)-
PERF/PROG-ATTR blossom DV we think-FIN rice.wine-LOC
let.float(INF)-BEN-IMP

The plum blossoms told [me] in [my] dream: “We think that [we] are elegant blossoms. **Please let** [us] **float** in the rice wine [cup]” (MYS V: 852)

今夜耳將飲酒可毛散許須奈由米

KÖ YÖPYI NÖMIY NÖM-AM-U SAKEY kamwo **TIR-I-kös-una yumey**
this night PT drink-TENT-ATTR rice.wine PT **fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP** at.all

I wonder whether [it is] the rice wine that [we] drink only tonight. **Please do not fall** [on the ground] at all (MYS VIII: 1657)

妻社妻依來西尼

TUMA-NÖ MORI TUMA **YÖS-I-köse-n-e**
spouse-GEN shrine spouse **bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP**
Spouse shrine! [I] **wish** [you would] **bring** [a] spouse **close** [to me] (i.e., I wish you would give me a spouse) (MYS IX: 1679)

吾待今夜此川行長有得鴨

WA-NKA MAT-U KÖ YÖPYI KAPA-NÖ NANKARE-NÖ
NANKA-KU **AR-I-KÖSE-N-U** kamwo
I-POSS wait-ATTR this night river-GEN flow(NML)-COMP **long-INF exist-INF-BEN-NEG-ATTR** PT

I wonder **whether** this night when I expect [my beloved] **would not last long** [for me] (MYS X: 2092)

毛美知和禮由伎弓可敵里久流未但知里許須奈由米

mwomyit-i ware yuk-yi-te kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte **tir-i-kös-una yumey**
leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML I go-INF-SUB return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM **fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP** at.all

Red leaves! **Please do not fall** at all until I go and come back (MYS XV: 3702)

和波己藝湍奴等伊弊尔都氣己曾

wa pa kōNk-yi-[i]Nte-n-u tō ipye-ni tuNkey-kōs-ō

I TOP row-INF-go.out(INF)-PERF-FIN DV report(INF)-BEN-IMP

Please tell [the folks at my] home that I have sailed out (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The benefactive auxiliary *-kōse-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese in three examples:

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西衲

asa-te kwo-N-pusuma kō yōpyi Ntani tuma yōs-i-kōse-n-e

hemp-cloth DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding this night PT spouse
bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP

Oh, [my] dear bedding from the hemp cloth! [I] **wish** [you would] **bring** my spouse **close** [to me] just tonight (MYS XIV: 3454)

伊麻波許伎奴等伊母尔都氣許曾

ima pa kōNk-yi-n-u tō imō-ni tu[N]key-kōs-ō

now TOP row-INF-PERF-FIN DV beloved-DAT report(INF)-BEN-IMP

Please tell [my] beloved that [I] have sailed out now (MYS XX: 4363)

阿例波許藝奴等伊母尔都岐許曾

are pa kōNk-yi-n-u tō imō-ni tu[N]kyi-kōs-ō¹¹⁵

I TOP row-INF-PERF-FIN DV beloved-DAT report(INF)-BEN-IMP

Please tell [my] beloved that I have sailed out (MYS XX: 4365)

Thus, we can reconstruct the Proto-Japanese benefactive auxiliary **-kōse-*. Omodaka et al. mention that there is a theory that *-kōse-* consists of *kō-* ‘to come,’ and *se-* ‘to do,’ and they also propose their own explanation that *-kōse-* represents a causative form of *kō-* ‘to come’ (1967: 293). The first hypothesis does not

¹¹⁵ Cf. *tu[N]key-kōs-ō* with the vowel spelled as /ey/ in MYS XX: 4363 above. This variation probably reflects that there was some kind of a different vowel in Eastern Old Japanese there, possibly [e] or [i].

make sense either morphologically or functionally, and the second one is also problematic from a functional point of view, because it is unclear why a causative form of *kō-* ‘to come’ would form a benefactive form. I believe that there is a much simpler explanation. Namely, the benefactive auxiliary *-kōse-* is in all likelihood a grammaticalization of the verb *okōse-* ‘to send, to give, to deliver,’ with an expected loss of the initial vowel to avoid a vowel cluster once the juncture was lost after the grammaticalization.

A2: Ryukyuan

The benefactive auxiliary *-kōse-* is not attested in Ryukyuan. This demonstrates that the grammaticalization of *okōse-* ‘to send, to give, to deliver’ to the benefactive auxiliary *-kōse-* occurred only at the Proto-Japanese, but not at the Proto-Japonic level.

6.3.2 LEXICAL AUXILIARIES

In contrast to bound auxiliaries described above, lexical auxiliaries can be used as independent verbs and consequently have their own lexical meaning. It is convenient to divide all lexical auxiliaries into honorific and humble on the one hand and the rest on the other.

6.3.2.1 HONORIFIC AND HUMBLE AUXILIARIES

The most striking difference between Western Old Japanese and Middle (Classical) Japanese is that the former in contrast to the latter does not have the category of politeness expressed by special polite auxiliaries. Only honorific and humble auxiliaries are present in Western Old Japanese.

6.3.2.1.1 Honorific auxiliaries

There are seven honorific auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese: *tamap-* (with its contracted form *taNp-*), *imas-*, *wos-*, *kyikōs-*, *myes-*, *sirasimyes-*, and *nōritaNp-*.

6.3.2.1.1.1 Honorific auxiliary *tamap-*

The honorific auxiliary *tamap-* normally follows the infinitive of a main verb, and suffixes and other auxiliaries follow *tamap-*, but there are two exceptions: both infinitives of the honorific *-as-* and the causative *-se-* precede *tamap-*:

Chart 98: Combinations of the honorific *tamap-* with preceding infinitives

infinitives	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i, -Ø-</i>	<i>-[y]i-tamap-, -tamap-</i>
honorific infinitive <i>-as-i-</i>	<i>-as-i-tamap-</i>
causative infinitive <i>-se-</i>	<i>-se-tamap-</i>

The combination of *tamap-* with the preceding honorific infinitive *-as-i-* occurs predominantly with the verb *myes-* ‘to see(HON)’, which represents an irregular contraction of *myi-* ‘to see(INF)’ and the honorific suffix *-as-*. Otherwise it is attested only in one example with the verb *ok-* ‘to place, to put’ (see MYS V: 813) below.¹¹⁶ The causative form *-se-tamap-* is also attested only in one example (see KK 3 below).

Overall, the honorific auxiliary *tamap-* does not occur frequently in the earliest texts with the exception of MYS V and the *Senmyō*. In most cases of its usage *tamap-* is used as a honorific auxiliary referring to actions of deities, emperors, members of imperial family, and objects of worship, such as the footprint of the Buddha (see BS 4 below). In the speech of deities and emperors it can refer to their own actions. However, its usage is certainly not limited to deities, emperors, etc., as in some rare cases it can be also found in reference to other people, although certainly only to those who are in a relatively higher position than the speaker him/herself (see MYS XV: 3774 below).

Examples:

能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠伊能知波那志勢婆多麻比會
nōti pa na-N-tōri n-i ar-am-u-wo inōti pa na-si-se-tamap-yi-sō
 later TOP you-OSM-bird DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC life
 TOP NEG-die-CAUS(INF)-HON-INF-do
 because [I] will be your bird later, **do not kill** [your] life [with
 desire] (KK 3)

宇倍志許會斗比多麻閑麻許會迹斗比多麻閑
uNpey-si kōsō twop-yi-tamap-ey ma kōsō n-i twop-yi-tamap-ey
 be.proper-FIN PT ask-INF-HON-EV truth PT DV-INF ask-INF-
HON-EV

¹¹⁶ There is also *kyik-as-i-tamap-* in MYS VI: 1050, but it is in completely semantographic spelling.

[It] is proper that [you] **asked** [me], [it] is right that [you] **asked** [me] (KK 72)

弥許許呂遠斯豆迷多麻布等

myi-kökörö-wo **siNtumey-tamap-u** tö

HON-heart-ACC **calm.down(INF)-HON-FIN** DV

thinking to **calm down** [her] august heart (MYS V: 813)

伊刀良斯弓伊波比多麻比斯麻多麻奈須布多都能伊斯

i-twor-as-i-te **ipap-yi-tamap-yi-si** ma-tama-nasu puta-tu n-ö isi

DLF-hold-HON-INF-SUB

pray-INF-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR

INT-jewel-COMP two-CL DV-ATTR stone

holding two stones like real jewels **that** [she] **was praying to** ...

(MYS V: 813)

故布乃波良尔美弓豆可良意可志多麻比弓

kwopu-nö para-ni myi-te-Ntukara **ok-as-i-tamap-i-te**

Kwopu-GEN field-LOC HON-hand-own **place-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB**

[the empress] **deigned to place** [these two] stones with her own hands at the field of Kwopu (MYS V: 813)

余呂豆余尔伊麻志多麻比提阿米能志多麻乎志多麻波祢

yöröNtu yö-ni **imas-i-tamap-i-te** amey-nö sita **mawos-i-tamap-an-e**

ten.thousand age-LOC **exist(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB** heaven-GEN below report(HUM)-INF-HON-DES-IMP

May [you] **live** for ten thousand generations, **and report** [to the emperor about things in the country] under Heaven (MYS V: 879)

和我世故我可反里吉麻佐武等伎能多米伊能知能己佐牟和須礼多麻布奈

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-am-u tökyi-nö tamey

inöti nökös-am-u **wasure-tamap-una**

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS return-INF-come-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR time-GEN for life leave-TENT-ATTR **forget(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP**

Do not forget, my beloved, that [I] will stay alive until [you] return (MYS XV: 3774)

Here *tamap-* is used by a female in reference to her male lover.

吾大王乃毛呂比登乎伊射奈比多麻比

WA-NKÖ OPÖ KYIMYI-nō mworō pyitō-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)

可波美礼婆見乃佐夜氣久母能其等尔佐可由流等伎登賣之多麻比

kapa myi-re-Npa MYI-nō sayakey-ku mōnō Nkötō n-i sak-ay-uru tō **myes-i-tamap-yi**

river see-EV-CON see(NML)-GEN be.bright-INF thing every DV-INF flourish-PASS-ATTR DV **see(HON)-INF-HON-INF**

when [one] looks at rivers, [they] are bright to see, and [the empress] **sees** that everything is flourishing (MYS XX: 4360)

The honorific *myes-* represents an irregular contraction of *myi-* 'see(INF)' + honorific suffix *-as-*.

己乃美阿止夜与呂豆比賀利乎波奈知伊太志毛呂毛呂須久比和多志多麻波奈須久比多麻波奈

kōnō myi-atō ya-yōrōNtu pyikari-wo panat-i-iNtas-i mworō-mworō **sukup-yi-watas-i-tamap-ana sukup-yi-tamap-ana**

this HON-foot.print eight-ten.thousand light-ACC emanate-INF-put.out-INF all-all **save-INF-lead.across-INF-HON-DES save-INF-HON-DES**

This footprint emanates myriad lights, and [I] **want [it] to save everybody, leading [them] across, [I] want [it] to save [them]** (BS 4)

任賜幣留国々宰等

MAKEY-TAMAp-yer-u KUNI-NKUNI-NÖ MYIKÖTÖMÖTI-NTÖMÖ

appoint(INF)-HON-PROG-ATTR province-province-GEN official-PLUR

appointed officials of all provinces (SM 1)

治賜比慈賜来業止奈母随神所念行湏

WOSAMEY-TAMAp-yi UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAP-YI-K-URU WANSÄ tō namō KAMU-NA-N-KARA OMÖP-OS-I-MYEs-u

rule(INF)-HON-INF **show.benevolence-INF-HON-INF-come-ATTR** deed DV PT deity-PLUR-GEN-nature think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I], as a deity, deign to think that [they are] the deeds **that** [I] **deign to administer with benevolence** (SM 3)

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負凶龜一頭獻止奏賜不爾

PUNTIPARA-NŌ ASWOMYI MARŌ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITŌ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU tō **MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni...**

PuNtipara-GEN retainer Marō-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer(HUM)-NML DV say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC

[They] **said** that the retainer PuNtipara Marō and others had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back] ... (SM 6)

一二人乎治賜波奈止那毛所思行瀆

PYITŌ-RI PUTA-RI-wo **WOSAMEY-TAMAp-ana** tō namwo OMŌP-OS-I-MYEs-u

one-CL two-CL-ACC **reward(INF)-HON-DES** DV PT think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I] think that [I] **want to reward** one or two [of my subjects] (SM 10)

食国天下乎婆撫賜惠賜夫止奈母神奈我良母念坐瀆

WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SITA-woNpa **NANTE-TAMAP-YI UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAp-u** tō namō KAMU-na-N-kara mō OMŌP-OS-YI-[I]MAs-u

rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-ACC(EMPH) **cherish(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-FIN** DV PT deity-PLUR-GEN-nature PT think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I], as a deity, deign to think that [I] **show benevolence and cherish** the country under Heaven that I rule (SM 13)

親王多知治賜夫日仁治不賜在牟止為旦奈母

MYIKWO-tati **WOSAMEY-TAMAp-u** PYI-ni **WOSAMEY-TAMAP-ANS-U AR-Am-u** tō S-I-te namō

prince-PLUR **reward(INF)-HON-ATTR** day-LOC **reward(INF)-HON-NEG-INF exist-TENT-FIN** DV do-INF-SUB PT

on the day **when** [we] **reward** princes, **are not** [we] **going to reward** [PuNtipara]? (SM 25)

位乎退多末比天是乃年乃年己呂在都

KURAWI-wo SIRINSÖK-YI-tamap-yi-te KÖnō TÖSI-nō TÖSI-N-KÖRÖ AR-I-t-u

rank-ACC **dismiss-INF-HON-INF-SUB** this year-GEN year-GEN-time exist-INF-PERF-FIN

This year [it] has been a year's time **since** [I] **have** **deigned to dismiss** [him from his] rank (SM 28)

政乃柄乎執天奏多末不事乎以天

MATURINKÖTÖ-nō MÖTÖ-wo TÖR-I-te MAWOS-I-tamap-u KÖTÖ-wo MÖT-I-te

government-GEN foundation-ACC grab-INF-SUB **conduct-INF-HON-ATTR** matter-ACC hold-INF-SUB

because [he] **conducted** [affairs] usurping the foundation of the government (SM 28)

天地毛憎多麻波受君毛捨不給

AMEY TUTI mwo NIKUM-YI-tamap-aNs-u KYIMYI mwo SUTE-TAMAP-ANS-U

Heaven Earth PT **despise-INF-HON-NEG-INF** sovereign PT **abandon(INF)-HON-NEG-INF**

The Heaven and Earth **will not despise** [them] **and** the sovereign **will not abandon** [them] (SM 45)

In the independent usage *tamap-* means 'to give, to grant' (from a superior to an inferior). Most of the examples of this usage in Western Old Japanese are found in the *Senmyō* in semantographic or partially semantographic spelling:

阿我農斯能美多麻々々比弓

a-Nka nusi-nō myi-tama tamap-yi-te

I-POSS master-GEN HON-soul **give-INF-SUB**

Giving [me] your grace ... (MYS V: 882)

安米母多麻波祢

amey mō tamap-an-e

rain PT **give-DES-IMP**

[clouds, I] **wish** [you] **give** rain, too (MYS XVIII: 4122)

美麻斯乃父止坐天皇乃美麻斯尔賜志天下
 myimasi-nō TITI tō IMAS-U SUMYERA-MYIKÖTÖ-nō
 myimasi-ni TAMAP-YI-si AMEY-NÖ SITA
 you-GEN father DV exist(HON)-ATTR emperor-deity-GEN you-
 DAT **give(HON)-INF-PAST/ATTR** heaven-GEN bottom
 the land under Heaven **that** the emperor-deity, who is your father,
gave to you (SM 5)

手物賜方久止宣
 TE-MONÖ TAMAp-aku tō NÖTAMAP-U
 gift **grant-NML** DV say(HON)-FIN
 [I] **deign** to proclaim that [I] **grant** the gifts [for you] (SM 39)

其我名波穢麻呂止給比
 si-Nka NA pa KYITANA marö tō TAMAp-yi
 he-POSS name TOP dirty Marö DV **give-INF**
 [we] **bestow** on him the name “Dirty Marö” (SM 44)

CONTRACTED FORM taNp-

In the *Man'yōshū* the contracted form *taNp-* of *tamap-* is attested once as an auxiliary verb and once as an independent verb. In the *Senmyō* there are five examples of *taNp-* in auxiliary usage. As far as one can judge on the basis of these examples, *taNp-* is used only to the references to people who are not the emperors or members of the imperial household. Cf. also the honorific auxiliary *nōritaNp-* and the suppletive honorific verb *nōtaNp-* that both historically include *taNp-* (see 6.3.2.1.1.7 and 6.4.1.2 below) and that also refer to people who are not members of the imperial household.

足痛吾勢勤多扶倍思
 ASI PYIK-U WA-NKA SE-KWO TUTWOMEY-taNp-uNpey-si
 leg drag-ATTR I-POSS beloved-DIM **strive(INF)-HON-DEB-**
FIN
 My beloved who is limping, [you] **must strive** (MYS II: 128)

大臣止之弓仕奉止勅祁礼止数数辞備申多夫仁依弓受賜多婆受
 MAPYETUKYIMYI tō s-i-te TUKAPEY-MATUR-E tō KANSU-
 KANSU INANpiy-MAWOS-I-taNp-u-ni YÖR-I-te UKEY-
 TAMAPAR-I-taNp-aNs-u

minister DV do-INF-SUB serve(INF)-HUM-IMP DV frequently
refuse(INF)-HUM-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC rely-INF-SUB
accept(INF)-HUM-INF-HON-NEG-INF

[The empress] told [him]: “Serve as a minister,” but as [he] **refused** many times **and did not accept** ... (SM 26)

In this example *taNp-* is used as a mild honorific towards a nobleman.

大臣禪師能朕乎守多比助賜乎見礼方

OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI NSENSI-nō WARE-wo MAMOR-I-
taNp-yi TASUKEY-TANP-U-wo MYI-re-Npa
 minister meditation.master-GEN I-ACC **guard-INF-HON-INF**
help(INF)-HON-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CON
 when [I] see that the meditation master minister **guards me and**
helps [me] (SM 36)

可多良比能利多夫言乎聞久仁是能太政大臣乃官乎授未都流仁方敢多
 比奈牟可等奈毛念

katar-ap-yi-nōritaNp-u KÖTÖ-wo KYIK-u-ni Kōnō OPO
 MATURINKÖTÖ OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-nō TUKASA-wo
 SANTUKEY-matur-u-ni¹¹⁷ pa APEY-taNp-yi-n-am-u ka tö
 namwo OMÖP-OS-U

say-ITER-INF-HON-ATTR word-ACC hear-ATTR-LOC this great
 governance minister-GEN office-ACC bestow(INF)-HUM-ATTR-
 LOC TOP **endure(INF)-HON-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR** PT DV
 PT think-HON-ATTR

when [I] heard the words that [he] was repeatedly saying, [I] thought: ‘**Would [he] be appropriate** for bestowing [on him] the office of the minister of the great governance?’ (SM 36)

位乎波樂求多布事波都天无

KURAWI-woNpa NENK-AP-YI-MÖTÖMEY-taNp-u KÖTÖ pa
 KATUte NA-KU

rank-ACC/EMPH **ask-ITER-INF-seek(INF)-HON-ATTR** matter
 TOP at.all no-INF

[he] **has never asked** for a rank at all, and ... (SM 41)

¹¹⁷ Here we have a very unusual usage of the humble verb *matur-* ‘to offer to a superior.’ It certainly can only refer to the empress Kōken who bestows the office on Dōkyō. Sometimes *matur-* can be honorific, but in this case it refers only to consuming food or drink (Omodaka et al. 1967: 683), apparently offered by a person of a lower rank. But this is clearly not applicable here. Possibly Kōken shows reverence to Dōkyō.

In the independent usage *taNp-* has the meaning ‘to give:’

比流波多々婢弓

pyiru pa ta **taNp-yi-te**

daytime TOP paddy **give-INF-SUB**

in the daytime [you] **give** [me] the [work] on the paddy (MYS XX: 4455)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The honorific auxiliary *tamap-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese once as an auxiliary verb. It is found in a poem that includes typical Eastern Old Japanese features, so a borrowing from Western Old Japanese is not very likely.

志保不尼乃弊古祖志良奈美尔波志久母於不世他麻保加

sipo pune-nō pye kwos-ō sira namyi nipasi-ku mō **opuse-tamap-o**
ka

tide boat-GEN bow cross.over-ATTR white wave sudden-INF
give.order-HON-ATTR PT

Did [the emperor] **give** [me] **an order** as suddenly as white waves cross the bow of a boat in a tide? (MYS XX: 4389)

A2: Ryukyuan

In Ryukyuan the honorific auxiliary *tamaf-* and its contracted form *tab-* are attested only in the *Ryūka*, which makes them likely candidates for loans from Classical Japanese (Hokama 1995: 402, 406).

6.3.2.1.1.2 Honorific auxiliary *imas-*

The honorific auxiliary *imas-* is always placed after the infinitive of the main verb. It has two different phonetic realizations that are not allomorphs because they are not in the complimentary distribution: *imas-* and *mas-*, the latter being transliterated throughout this grammar as *[i]mas-*. Since *imas-* always follows the infinitive, the presence or absence of the initial /i-/ apparently depends on the presence or absence of a juncture. When a juncture is present, the initial /i-/ of *imas-* does not blend together with the preceding infinitive *-[y]i ~ -Ø*, otherwise it does.

Although it is sometimes claimed that WOJ *imas-* can belong either to a consonant (*imas-*) or vowel (*imase-*) paradigm (Kinoshita et al. 2003: 93-94), the basis for this assumption is quite weak, as all alleged cases of the vowel paradigm **imase-* except one occur in semantographic spelling which could reflect *imas-* belonging to the consonant paradigm as well. The only exception of the vowel verb *imase-* spelled phonetically is found in MYS XV: 3749, but it is plagued by problems as the reader will see below. Consequently, one more difference between Western Old Japanese and Middle (Classical) Japanese can be outlined: while in Middle Japanese it may belong either to a vowel or to an irregular paradigm (Vovin 2003: 347), it is clearly a consonant verb in Western Old Japanese.

In contrast to the honorific auxiliary *tama-p-* that is used predominantly with actions of exalted beings like emperors or deities, the honorific auxiliary *imas-* is much broader in scope: while it can be applied to deities, emperors, and objects of worship as well, it frequently appears to be used in reference to ordinary people, including such situations when a child uses it in reference to his parents or a wife to her husband.

Examples:

由都麻都婆岐斯賀波那能弓理伊麻斯芝賀波能比呂理伊麻須波
 淤富岐美呂迦母

yu t-u ma-tuNpakyi si-Nka pana-nö **ter-i-imas-i** si-Nka pa-nö
pyirör-i-imas-u pa opö-kyimyí rö kamö
 sacred DV-ATTR INT-camellia it-POSS leaf-GEN **shine-INF-**
HON-INF it-POSS leaf-GEN **be.broad-INF-HON-ATTR** TOP
 great-lord DV PT

a sacred true camellia, its flowers **are shining**, its leaves **are broad**,
 as the great lord (KK 57)

淤斐陀弓流波毘呂由都麻都婆岐曾賀波能比呂理伊麻志曾能波
 那能弓理伊麻須多加比迦流比能美古爾登奈美岐多弓麻都良勢
 opiy-Ntat-er-u pa-N-pyirö yu t-u ma-tuNpakyi sö-Nka pa-nö
pyirör-i-imas-i sö-nö pana-nö **ter-i-imas-u** taka-pyikar-u pyi-nö
 myi-kwo-ni töyö myi-kyi tatematur-as-e
 grow(INF)-stand-PROG-ATTR leaf-GEN-broad sacred DV-ATTR
 INT-camellia it-POSS leaf-GEN **be.broad-INF-HON-INF** it-GEN
 flower-GEN **shine-INF-HON-FIN** high-shine-ATTR sun-GEN

HON-child-DAT abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-HON-IMP
growing broad-leafed sacred true camellia, its leaves **are broad**, its flowers **are shining**. Present the abundant rice wine to the honorable child of the high-shining Sun (KK 101)

神登座尔之可婆

KAMU-NONPOR-I-IMAS-I-n-i-sika-Npa
deity-climb-INF-go(HON)-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/EV-CON
when [she] divinely **went up** [to Heaven] (MYS II: 167)

泣子那須斯多比枳摩斯提

NAK-U KWO-nasu sitap-yi **k-yi-[i]mas-i-te**
cry-ATTR child-COMP long-INF **come-INF-HON-INF-SUB**
[She] **came** longing like a crying child (MYS V: 794)

可多良比斯許許呂曾牟企弓伊弊社可利摩須

katar-ap-yi-si kökөрө sömuk-yi-te **ipyen-sakar-i-[i]mas-u**
talk-ITER-INF-PAST/ATTR heart turn.one's.back-INF-SUB
home-LOC-be at the distance-INF-HON-FIN
turning [your] back on what [you] promised, [you] **are keeping the distance from [our] home** (MYS V: 794)

今夜可君之我許來益武

KÖ YÖPYI ka KYIMYI-NKA WA-Nkari **K-YI-[i]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)

都追牟許等奈久波也可做里麻勢

tutum-u kötö na-ku paya **kapyer-i-[i]mas-e**
have difficulty-ATTR no-INF fast **return-INF-HON-IMP**
Return quickly, without having difficulties (MYS XV: 3582)

伎美伎麻之都々可射之多里家利

kyimyí **k-yi-[i]mas-i-tutu** kaNsas-i-tar-i-kyer-i
lord **come-INF-HON-INF-COOR** decorate-INF-PERF/PROG-
INF-RETR-FIN
while you **came** [to my place], [you] have decorated [yourself with roses] (MYS XX: 4302)

事之乎波良婆都々麻波受可敝理伎麻勢

KŌTŌ si wopar-aNpa tutum-ap-aNs-u **kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-e**
job PT end-COND be.hindered-ITER-NEG-INF **return-INF-**
come-INF-HON-IMP

when [your] job is over, **come back home** without being hindered
[by anything] (MYS XX: 4331)

宇梅乃波奈知利須具流麻弓伎美我伎麻左奴

uMEY-nō pana tir-i-suNk-uru-maNte kyimiyi-Nka **k-yi-[i]mas-an-**
u

plum-GEN blossom fall-INF-pass-ATTR-TERM lord-POSS **come-**
INF-HON-NEG-ATTR

[you] **did not come**, [my] lord, until plum blossoms had
completely fallen (MYS XX: 4497)

伊可奈留夜比止爾伊麻世可

ika nar-u ya pyitō **n-i imas-e ka**

how be-ATTR PT person **DV-INF be(HON)-EV PT**

Oh, what kind of person is [he]? (BS 5)

此食国天下之政事者平長将在止奈母所念坐

KŌNŌ WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SĪTA-NŌ MATORINKŌTŌ
TAPYIRAKEY-KU NANKA-KU AR-AM-U tō namō **OMŌP-**
OS-I-[I]MAS-U

this rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-GEN governance safe-
INF long-INF exist-TENT-FIN DV PT **think-HON-INF-HON-**
ATTR

[I] **deign to think** that the governance would be safe and last long
in this country under Heaven that [I] rule (SM 3)

過无罪無有者捨麻湏奈忘麻湏奈

AYAMAT-I NA-KU TUMYI NA-KU AR-ANPA SUTE-[i]mas-
una WASURE-[i]mas-una

make.mistake-NML no-INF sin no-INF exist-COND
abandon(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP forget(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP

if [she] has no[t committed any] sin or mistake, **do not abandon**
[her], **do not forget** [her] (SM 7)

食国天下平婆撫賜惠賜夫止奈母神奈我良母念坐瀝

WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SĪTA-woNpa NANTE-TAMAP-YI

UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAp-u tö **namö** KAMU-na-N-kara mö
OMÖP-OS-YI-[I]MAS-u
 rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-ACC(EMPH)
 cherish(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-FIN DV PT
 deity-PLUR-GEN-nature PT **think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR**
 [I], as a deity, **deign to think** that [I] show benevolence and cherish
 the country under Heaven that I rule (SM 13)

In the independent usage *imas-* means ‘to exist’ or ‘to go, to come.’

那許曾波遠迓伊麻世婆
 na kösö pa wo **n-i imas-e-Npa**
 you PT TOP man **DV-INF exist(HON)-EV-CON**
since you are a man (KK 5)

佐佐那美遲袁須久須久登和賀伊麻勢婆夜
 sasanamiyi-N-ti-wo suku-suku tö wa-Nka **imas-e-Npa ya**
 Sasanamiyi-GEN-road-ACC rapidly DV I-POSS **go(HON)-EV-CON INTER**
as I went rapidly along the Sasanamiyi road, yeah (KK 42)

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)

佐夫志計米夜母吉美伊麻佐受斯弓
 saNpusi-ky-em-ey ya mö kyimiyi **imas-aNs-u s-i-te**
 sad-ATTR-TENT-EV PT PT lord **come(HON)-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB**
 [if my] **lord does not come**, would [I] be sad?! [Certainly not!]
 (MYS V: 878)

余呂豆余尔伊麻志多麻比提阿米能志多麻乎志多麻波祢
 yöröNtu yö-ni **imas-i-tamap-i-te** amey-nö sita mawos-i-tamap-an-
 e
 ten.thousand age-LOC **exist(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB** heaven-
 GEN below report(HUM)-INF-HON-DES-IMP

May [you] **live** for ten thousand generations, **and** report [to the emperor about things in the country] under Heaven (MYS V: 879)

比等久尔々伎美乎伊麻勢弓

pyitō kuni-ni kyimiyi-wo **imase-te**

person province-LOC lord-ACC **let.go(HON)(INF)-SUB**

[I] **let you go** to [other] people's province, and ... (MYS XV: 3749)

This is the only case when the vowel verb *imase-* occurs in a phonetic spelling. But *imas-* is clearly an intransitive verb, and *imase-* in this example can be only a transitive, since it governs the word *kyimiyi* 'lord' that is marked by accusative case marker *-wo*. Thus, we actually have here a different verb, and the theory that *imas-* can have both consonant and vowel paradigms should be abandoned.

和我勢古我久爾敝麻之奈婆保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇波佐夫之家牟可母

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kuni-pye [i]**mas-i-n-a**Npa potōtōNkyisu nak-am-u sa-tukiy pa saNpusi-ky-em-u kamō

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS land-DIR **come(HON)-INF-PERF-COND** cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR fifth-month TOP lonely-ATTR-TENT-ATTR PT

If my beloved **would have** [only] **returned** to [his] land, [because in] the fifth lunar month when the cuckoo will cry, [I] would be lonely! (MYS XVII: 3996)

多比良氣久於夜波伊麻佐祢都々美奈久都麻波麻多世

tapyirakey-ku oya pa **imas-an-e** tutumiyi na-ku tuma pa mat-as-e safe-INF parents TOP **exist(HON)-DES-IMP** obstacle no-INF spouse TOP wait-HON-IMP

Parents, **please live** safely! Wife, please wait [for me] without obstacles! (MYS XX: 4408)

与伎比止乃伊麻須久爾爾波和礼毛麻胃弓牟毛呂毛呂乎為弓

yō-kyi pyitō-nō **imas-u** kuni-ni pa ware mwo mawi-te-m-u mworō-mworō-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 would also have gone to the land **where** the Buddha (lit.: good person) **resides**, leading everybody (BS 8)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流

wa-Nkō opo kyimiyi pa **tapyirakey-ku na**Nka-ku **imas-i-te** tōyō myi-kyi matur-u

I-POSS great lord TOP **safe-*INF* long-*INF* exist(HON)-*INF*-SUB**
 abundant HON-rice.wine present(HUM)-FIN

[I] present the abundant rice wine **so** that my sovereign (lit.: great lord) [would] **live safely and long** (SNK 4)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The honorific auxiliary *imas-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese both as an auxiliary and as independent verb:

古非思家婆伎麻世和我勢古

kwopiysi-ky-eNpa **k-yi-[i]mas-e** wa-Nka se-kwo

miss-ATTR-COND **come-*INF*-HON-IMP** I-POSS beloved-DIM

If [you] miss [me], **please come**, my beloved (MYS XIV: 3455)

阿是曾母許与比与斯呂伎麻左奴

aNse sō mö kö yōpyi yōs-i-rō **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)

以都母以都母於母加古比須々奈理麻之都之母

itu mö itu mö omō-Nka kwopyi-susu **nar-i-[i]mas-i-tusi** mö

when PT when PT mother-POSS love(*INF*)-COORD

do.house.work-*INF*-HON-COOR PT

[my] mother always, always loves [me] and **does** [her] **house work** (MYS XX: 4386)

In the independent usage EOJ *imas-* means ‘to go.’ There is only one example of its independent usage in Eastern Old Japanese, but it is found in a poem with apparent Eastern Old Japanese features:

阿米都之乃可未尔奴佐於伎伊波比都々伊麻世和我世奈

amey tusi-nō kamiy-ni nusa ok-yi-te ipap-yi-tutu **imas-e** wa-Nka se-na

heaven earth-GEN deity-DAT *nusa* place-*INF*-SUB pray-*INF*-COORD **go(HON)-IMP** I-POSS beloved-DIM

My beloved, make *nusa* offerings to the deities of heaven and earth, and **go** praying (MYS XX: 4426)

A2: Ryukyuan

Hokama Shuzen mentions the forms *imiyasi* and *imiyati* in the *Ryūka*; these could have been easily dismissed as loans from Classical Japanese, but he also cites the Miyako dialect form *imyaati* (1995: 86) that is unlikely to be borrowed. Unfortunately Hokama does not provide any textual examples from either the *Ryūka* or the Miyako dialect. Nevertheless, we are probably safe to reconstruct the Proto-Japonic honorific verb *imas-.

6.3.2.1.1.3 Honorific auxiliary *wos-*

The honorific auxiliary *wos-* always follows the infinitive of the main verb. It occurs very rarely in Western Old Japanese texts with the exception of the *Senmyō* where it is attested in independent usage thirty six times but always in semantographic spelling and only in the set phrase *wos-u kuni* ‘land that [the emperor] rules.’ As an auxiliary verb *wos-* is always found in combination with a preceding *kyikōs-* ‘to rule’ or *kyikōs-i-mōt-* ‘to drink.’ Its own paradigm is also quite limited, as only three suffixes are attested after *wos-*:

Chart 99: Combinations of the honorific *wos-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i, -Ø-</i>	<i>wos-i</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>wos-u</i>
imperative <i>-[y]e</i>	<i>wos-e</i>

Among the forms in the chart above the attributive is the most frequent, as the imperative occurs only twice, and the infinitive only once.

The honorific verb *wos-* both as an auxiliary and in independent usage apparently expresses honorification for very exalted persons: in all cases except one it refers to the emperor, and in one case to a son of a very high positioned noble.

Examples of *wos-* as an honorific auxiliary verb:

岐許志母知袁勢麻呂賀知 (KK script)

枳居之茂知塙勢摩呂餓智 (NK script)

kyikōs-i-mōt-i-wos-e marō-Nka ti

drink(HON)-INF-hold-INF-HON-IMP I-POSS father

Deign to drink [it], my father (KK 48, NK 39)

企許斯遠周久爾能麻保良叙

kyikös-i-wos-u kuni-nö ma-po-ra Nsö

rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN INT-top-LOC PT
in the highest place of the country, **where** [the emperor] **rules**
(MYS V: 800)

伎己之乎須四方乃久尔

kyikös-i-wos-u YÖ MO-nö kuni

rule-INF-HON-ATTR four direction-GEN province
provinces at four directions **that** [the emperor] **rules** (MYS XX:
4360)

In the independent usage *wos-* means ‘to drink,’ ‘to wear,’ or ‘to rule, to govern:’

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢

matur-i-kö-si myi-kyi Nsö as-aNs-u **wos-e**

present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rice.wine PT
shallow-NEG-INF **drink(HON)-IMP**

Drink the presented rice wine deeply! (KK 39)

飴瀾能古籓多倍能波伽摩鳴那那陸鳴糸

omyi-nö kwo pa tapey-nö pakama-wo nana-pye **wos-i**

noble-GEN child TOP mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pants-ACC
seven-CL **wear(HON)-INF**

The son of a noble **wears** seven layers of mulberry tree bark cloth pants, and ... (NK 74)

須賣呂伎能乎須久尔奈礼婆

sumyerökyi-nö **wos-u** kuni nar-e-Npa

emperor-GEN **rule(HON)-ATTR** land be-EV-CON

because it is the land **that** the emperor **rules** (MYS XVII: 4006)

此食国天下之政事者平長将在止奈母所念坐

KÖNÖ **wos-u** KUNI AMEY-NÖ SITA-NÖ MATURINKÖTÖ
TAPYIRAKEY-KU NANKA-KU AR-AM-U tö namö OMÖP-OS-
I-[I]MAS-U

this **rule(HON)-ATTR** country heaven-GEN under-GEN
governance safe-INF long-INF exist-TENT-FIN DV PT think-
HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I] deign to think that the governance would be safe and last long in this country under Heaven **that** [I] **rule** (SM 3)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The honorific auxiliary *wos-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.1.4 Honorific auxiliary *kyikös-*

The honorific auxiliary *kyikös-* is a grammaticalization of the honorific form *kyik-ös-* of the verb *kyik-* ‘to hear, to listen,’ as can be seen from the following example:

故志能久邇邇佐加志壳遠阿理登岐加志弓久波志壳遠阿理登岐
許志弓

Kwosi-nō kuni-ni sakasi mye-wo ar-i tō kyik-as-i-te kupasi mye-wo ar-i tō **kyik-ös-i-te**

Kwosi-GEN province-LOC wise woman-ABS exist-FIN DV hear-HON-INF-SUB beautiful woman-ABS exist-FIN DV **hear-HON-INF-SUB**

[Opō kuni nusi] heard that there is a wise woman in the Kwosi province, **heard** that there is a beautiful woman (KK 2)

In its grammaticalized form *kyikös-* any direct semantic connection with ‘hearing’ or ‘listening’ is lost, although it is frequently reflected in its semantographic spelling.

The paradigm of *kyikös-* is limited, although not as drastically as that of *wos-*:

Chart 100: Combinations of the honorific *kyikös-* with following suffixes and auxiliaries

suffixes and auxiliaries	combination forms
infinitive <i>-[y]i, -Ø-</i>	<i>kyikös-i</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>kyikös-i-te</i>
past attributive <i>-si</i>	<i>kyikös-i-si</i>
conditional gerund <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>kyikös-aNpa</i>
concessive gerund <i>-Ntō[mō]</i>	<i>kyikös-e-Ntōmō</i>

There is only one example in Western Old Japanese when *kyikös-* is found as an honorific auxiliary:

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-kyikös-i**

sleep TOP sleep-HON-TENT-ATTR-ACC extremely DV-INF
NEG-yearn(INF)-HON-INF

because [you] will sleep (a sleep), [do] not yearn too much (KK 3)

In all other cases it is used as independent verb *kyikös-* meaning 'to drink,' 'to eat,' 'to rule' or 'to say.' It can be used either by itself, or followed by the honorific auxiliaries *wos-* or *myes-*.

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)

kyikös-i-möt-i-wos-e marö-Nka ti

drink(HON)-INF-hold-INF-HON-IMP I-POSS father

Deign to drink [it], my father (KK 48, NK 39)

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-nö pyitö-mötö suNkey pa pyitö-ri wor-i tömö opö kyimyi si
yö-si tö **kyikös-aNpa** pyitö-ri wor-i tömö

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)

根毛許呂尔君之聞四手

nemwokörö n-i KYIMYI-NKA **KYIKÖs-i-te**

cordially DV-INF lord-POSS **say(HON)-INF-SUB**

you **said** [it] cordially (MYS IV: 619)

企許斯遠周久爾能麻保良叙

kyikös-i-wos-u kuni-nö ma-po-ra Nsö

rule(HON)-INF-HON-ATTR country-GEN INT-top-LOC PT

in the highest place of the country, **where** [the emperor] **rules**
(MYS V: 800)

今二日許將有等曾君者聞之二々

IMA PUTU-KA NPAKARI AR-AM-U tö KYIMYI PA **KYIKÖs-i-si**

now two-day PT exist-TENT-FIN DV lord TOP **say(HON)-INF-PAST/ATTR**

[My] lord **said** that it would be only two days now (MYS XIII: 3318)

相有君乎莫寐等母寸巨勢友吾情清隅之池之池底吾者不忘

AP-YI-TAR-U KYIMYI-wo NA-NE-N-E-SÖ tö PAPA **kyikös-e-Ntömö** WA-NKA KÖKÖRÖ KYIYWOSUMYI-NÖ IKEY IKEY-NÖ SÖKÖ WARE PA WASUR-ANSI

meet-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR lord-ACC NEG-sleep-DES-IMP-do DV mother **say(HON)-EV-CONC** Kyiywosumyi pond pond-GEN bottom I TOP forget-NEG/TENT

Although [my] mother **tells** [me]: “Do not sleep with [him]!”, my love [is as deep as] the bottom of the pond Kyiywosumyi, [and] I would not forget you, with whom [I] was meeting (MYS XIII: 3289)

櫻花伊麻佐可里奈里難波乃海於之弓流宮尔伎許之賣須奈倍

SAKURA-N-PANA ima sakar-i nar-i nanipa-nö UMYI ositeru MYIYA-ni **kyikös-i-myes-u** napey

cherry-GEN-blossom now flourish-NML be-FIN Nanipa-GEN sea (*makura-kotoba*) palace-LOC **govern-INF-HON-ATTR** CONJ

At the same time as [the emperor] **deigns to govern** in the palace on the Nanipa sea, it is now the peak of cherry blossoms (MYS XX: 4361)

和我勢故之可久志伎許散婆

wa-Nka se-kwo si ka-ku si **kyikös-aNpa**

I-POSS beloved-DIM PT thus-INF PT **say(HON)-COND**

If my beloved **says** so ... (MYS XX: 4499)

今日方新嘗乃猶良比乃豐乃明聞許之壳瀨

KYEPU pa NIPYI NAPEY-nö NAPO-ra pyi-nö TÖYÖ n-ö AKARI **KYIkös-i-myes-u**

today TOP new young.plant-GEN following-LOC day-GEN abundant DV-ATTR light **eat(HON)-INF-HON-FIN**

Today [we] **partake** [at] the banquet on the day following [the day] of new young plants (SM 46)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The honorific auxiliary *kyikös-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.1.5 Honorific auxiliary *myes-*

The honorific auxiliary *myes-* historically goes back to the honorific form *myes-* < **myi-as-* of the verb *myi-* ‘to see’ where the vowel /*ye/* represents a monophthongization of **i+a*. As an honorific auxiliary *myes-* occurs only with actions of deities and emperors. There seems to be no example when it is applicable to actions of common people. The honorific auxiliary *myes-* always follows the infinitive of the main verb. Examples:

櫻花伊麻佐可里奈里難波乃海於之弓流宮尔伎許之賣須奈倍
 SAKURA-N-PANA ima sakar-i nar-i nanipa-nö UMYI ositeru
 MYIYA-ni **kyikös-i-myēs-u** napey
 cherry-GEN-blossom now flourish-NML be-FIN Nanipa-GEN sea
 (makura-kotoba) palace-LOC **govern-INF-HON-ATTR** CONJ
 At the same time as [the emperor] **deigns to govern** in the palace
 on the Nanipa sea, it is now the peak of cherry blossoms (MYS XX:
 4361)

治賜比慈賜来業止奈母随神所念行瀆
 WOSAMEY-TAMAp-yi UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAP-YI-K-URU
 WANSA tö namö KAMU-NA-N-KARA **OMÖP-OS-I-MYEs-u**
 rule(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-INF-come-
 ATTR deed DV PT deity-PLUR-GEN-nature **think-HON-INF-**
HON-ATTR
 [I], as a deity, **deign to think** that [they are] the deeds that [I] deign
 to administer with benevolence (SM 3)

一二人乎治賜波奈止那毛所思行瀆
 PYITÖ-RI PUTA-RI-wo WOSAMEY-TAMAp-ana tö namwo
OMÖP-OS-I-MYEs-u
 one-CL two-CL-ACC reward(INF)-HON-DES DV PT **think-**
HON-INF-HON-ATTR
 [I] **deign to think** that [I] want to reward one or two [of my
 subjects] (SM 10)

奉仕之米天志可等念保之米之天

TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asimey-te-si ka tö **OMÖp-os-i-meys**¹¹⁸ **-i-te**
 serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT DV
think-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB
 [Dökyō] **thought**: “[I] want to make [them] serve” (SM 36)

今日方新嘗乃猶良比乃豐乃明聞許之壳瀆

KYEPU pa NIPYI NAPEY-nö NAPO-ra pyi-nö TÖYÖ n-ö
 AKARI **KYIkös-i-myes-u**
 today TOP new young.plant-GEN following-LOC day-GEN
 abundant DV-ATTR light eat(HON)-INF-HON-FIN
 Today [we] **partake** [at] the banquet on the day following [the day]
 of new young plants (SM 46)

子乃蒙服麻久欲為流事波於夜乃多米爾止奈母聞行瀆

KWO-nö SAKYIPAPYI-WO KANKAPUR-Am-aku POR-I S-Uru
 KÖTÖ pa oya-nö tamey n-i tö namö **KYIK-ÖS-I-MYEs-u**
 child-GEN happiness-ACC receive-TENT-NML want-NML do-
 ATTR matter TOP parent-GEN for DV-INF DV PT **hear-HON-**
INF-HON-ATTR
 [We] **heard** that when children want to obtain happiness [it] is for
 the sake of their parents (SM 61)

In independent usage *myes-* means ‘to see, to look,’ ‘to rule,’ ‘to eat,’ and ‘to summon, to call.’ In independent usage *myes-* also predominantly refers to actions of emperors, but unlike its usage as an auxiliary, there are cases when it refers to actions of common people, see examples from MYS III: 454 and MYS VIII: 1460 below.

藤原我宇倍尔食國乎賣之賜牟登

PUNTIPARA-Nka upey-ni WOS-U KUNI-wo **myes-i-tamap-am-**
u tö
 PuNtipara-POSS top-LOC rule(HON)-ATTR country-ACC
rule(HON)-INF-HON-FIN DV
 thinking **to rule** the country that [she] rules at the PuNtipara
 [palace] (MYS I: 50)

¹¹⁸ Misspelling of *-myes-*.

吾妻乃國之御軍士乎喚賜而

ANTUMA-nö KUNI-NÖ MYI-IKUSA-wo **MYES-I-TAMAP-YI-TE**

Antuma-GEN land-GEN HON-soldier-ACC **call(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB**

[he] **summoned** the soldiers from the Eastern Provinces (MYS II: 199)

昨日毛今日毛吾乎召麻之乎

KYINÖPU mwo KYEPU mwo WARE-wo **MYES-Amasi-wo**
yesterday PT today PT I-ACC **call(HON)-SUBJ-ACC**

[my lord] **would summon** me yesterday and today (MYS III: 454)

茅花曾御食而肥座

tu-N-pana sö **MYES-I-TE** KWOYE-[I]MAS-E

cogon.grass-GEN-flower PT **eat(HON)-INF-SUB** be.fat(INF)-HON-IMP

Eat the flowers of the cogon grass **and** put on weight (MYS VIII: 1460)

和期於保伎美余思努乃美夜乎安里我欲比賣須

wa-Nkö opo kyimyi yösinwo-nö myiya-wo ari-[N]kaywop-yi **myes-u**

I-POSS great lord Yösinwo-GEN palace-ACC ITER-go.back.and.forth-INF **look(HON)-FIN**

My emperor constantly visits the palace in Yösinwo, and **looks** [around] (MYS XVIII: 4099)

可波美礼婆見乃佐夜氣久母能其等尔佐可由流等伎登賣之多麻比

kapa myi-re-Npa MYI-nö sayakey-ku mönö Nkötö n-i sak-ay-uru tö **myes-i-tamap-yi**

river see-EV-CON see(NML)-GEN be.bright-INF thing every DV-INF flourish-PASS-ATTR DV **see(HON)-INF-HON-INF**

when [one] looks at rivers, [they] are bright to see, and [the empress] **sees** that everything is flourishing (MYS XX: 4360)

於保吉美乃都藝弓賣須良之多加麻刀能努敵

opo kyimyi-nö tuNk-yi-te **myes-urasi** Takamatwo-nö nwo-pye

great lord-GEN follow-INF-SUB **look(HON)-SUP** Takamatwo-GEN field-side

Fields of Takamatwo that [my] sovereign **seemed to look** continuously at (MYS XX: 4510)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The honorific auxiliary *myes-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

It seems that as an honorific auxiliary *mes-* is attested only in the *Ryūka* in Classical Ryukyuan. In the *Omoro Sōshi* it appears only as suppletive honorific verb in the forms *mesiar-* and *mesiofar-* (Hokama 1995: 657). I could not find any information on the existence of cognates in Southern Ryukyus. Thus, the Shuri form *mishee-* can be either a cognate or loan from Classical Japanese.

Classical Ryukyuan

いきやおさうずめしやいが

ikiya **osauzu-mesiyai** ga

how **think-HON PT**

what (lit.: how) do [you] **think?** (RK 20)

Shuri

'icaa **usoozi-mishee-ga**

how **think-HON(FIN)-PT**

what (lit.: how) do [you] **think?** (RKJ 1983: 244)

koo-ti **Nji-mishee-bir-an-i**

buy-SUB **see-HON-POL-NEG-QF**

won't [you] **try** to buy [it]? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 44)

kuri-kaa-Nkai miikuni chukur-at-ta-ru suba-yaa **shicchoo-mishee-m-i**

this-vicinity-LOC newly make-PASS-PAST-ATTR soba-shop(TOP) **know(CONT/INF)-HON-FIN-Q**

Do [you] **know** a soba restaurant that was recently opened in this area? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 115)

6.3.2.1.1.6 Honorific auxiliary *sirasimyes-*

The honorific auxiliary *sirasimyes-* historically represents a combination of the honorific auxiliary *myes-* described in 6.3.2.1.1.5 above with the honorific infinitive form *sir-as-i* of the verb *sir-* ‘to know.’ As a honorific auxiliary, *sirasimyes-* is attested only once:

葦原能美豆保國乎安麻久太利之良志賣之家流須賣呂伎
 asi para-nö myiNtu po-nö kuni-wo ama-kuNtar-i-sirasimyes-i-
 kyer-u sumyerökyi
 reed plain fresh rice.ear-GEN land-ACC **heaven-descend-INF-
 HON-INF-RETR-ATTR** emperor
 The emperor **who deigns to descend from Heaven** to the land of
 the Reed Plain, where ears of rice are fresh ... (MYS XVIII: 4094)

The honorific *sirasimyes-* occurs more frequently in independent usage with the meaning ‘to rule, to govern.’

天下志良之賣師家類須賣呂伎
 AMEY-NÖ SITA **sirasimyes-i-kyer-u** sumyerökyi
 heaven-GEN below **rule(HON)-INF-RETR-ATTR** emperor
 the emperor **who ruled** the [land] under Heaven (MYS XVIII:
 4098)

阿米能之多之良志賣之伎
 amey-nö sita **sirasimyes-i-kyi**
 heaven-GEN under **rule(HON)-INF-PAST/FIN**
 [emperors] **ruled** [the country] under Heaven (MYS XX: 4360)

安米能之多之良志賣之祢流須賣呂伎
 amey-nö sita **sirasimyes-i-kyer-u** sumyerökyi
 heaven-GEN below **rule(HON)-INF-RETR-ATTR** emperor
 the emperor **who ruled** the [land] under Heaven (MYS XX: 4465)

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 tö OPÖ-YA-SIMA-N-KUNI
SIRASIMYES-U SUMYERA-NKA OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ-ra ma tö
 NÖTAMAP-U OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ-wo UNKÖNAPAR-I-
 PANPYER-U MYIKWO-TATI OPÖ-KYIMYI-TATI MWOMWO

TUKASA-NÖ PYITÖ-NTÖMÖ AMEY-NÖ SITA-NÖ TAMYI
MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ

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)-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 that [I] proclaim — the Great Deity **who rules** the Great
Country of Eight Islands as a Manifest Deity (SM 1)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The honorific auxiliary *sirasimyes-* is not attested in Eastern Old
Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.1.7 Honorific auxiliary *nötamap-* ~ *nöritaNp-* ~ *nötaNp-*

The honorific auxiliary verb *nötamap-* ~ *nöritaNp-* ~ *nötaNp-* is
used as an auxiliary only after verbs of verbal activity. In
independent usage it is an honorific equivalent of the verb *ip-* ‘to
say, to tell.’ It is quite obvious that all three forms above are
contractions from the earlier **nör-i-tamap-* ‘proclaim-INF-HON-,’
but there is no evidence that this earlier form was still present in
Western Old Japanese, since **nöritamap-* is not attested
phonetically in Western Old Japanese. There is one phonetic
attestation of the contracted form *nötaNp-* in the *Man’yōshū*, and
two cases of the phonetic spelling of the contracted form *nöritaNp-*,
one in complete, and another in a partial phonetic spelling. The
contracted form *nöritaNp-* occurs only once as an auxiliary and
once in independent usage. Both examples are found in the *Senmyō*
36 in the speech of the empress Kōken regarding her favorite monk
Dōkyō. Thus, it probably represents a mild honorific. The
contracted form *nötaNp-* occurs once as an auxiliary and twice in
independent usage. It occurs in the speech of a son referring to his
father (in MYS XX: 4408) and in the speech of the emperor
referring to the empress-dowager (in SM 25). Thus, it is also
probably a mild honorific. All other examples are in complete or
partial semantographic spelling and they occur only in independent
usage. I chose to transcribe such cases as either /*nötamap-*/ or

/nötaNp-/ , because the phonetically attested cases only indicate phonetically contracted forms. The latter is used if there is a phonetic indication that the last consonant of the root was /Np/ rather than /p/.

The honorific *nötamap-* ~ *nöritaNp-* ~ *nötaNp-* occurs predominantly in the *Senmyō*, although there are also five examples in the *Norito* as well. Since we do not even have a partial phonetic spelling in any of the *Norito* examples, I provide below only the examples from the *Senmyō*.

CONTRACTED FORM *nöritaNp-*:

As an auxiliary:

可多良比能利多夫言乎聞久仁
katar-ap-yi-nöritaNp-u KÖTÖ-wo KYIk-u-ni
say-ITER-INF-HON-ATTR word-ACC hear-ATTR-LOC
 when [I] heard the words that [he] **was repeatedly saying** (SM 36)

In independent usage:

伊奈等宣多方牟止念之天
 ina tö **NÖRItaNp-am-u** tö OMÖP-Os-i-te
 no DV **say(HON)-TENT-FIN** DV think-HON-INF-SUB
 [I] thought that [he] **will say** “No,” and ... (SM 36)

CONTRACTED FORM *nötaNp-*

I suspect that 宣夫 spelled twice with 夫 in the SM 25 should be read as /nötaNpu/ rather than /nötamapu/, because the character 夫 is used in Western Old Japanese only for /Npu/, but not for /pu/.

As an auxiliary:

親王爾送奉止教比宣夫御命
 MYIKWO-ni **OKUR-I-MATUR-E** tö **OSIp-yi-NÖTANp-u** OPO
 MYI-KÖTÖ
 prince-DAT send-INF-HUM-IMP DV **instruct-INF-HON-ATTR**
 great HON-word
 [her] command when [she] **deigned to instruct** [me]: “Send [it] to the prince” (SM 25)

In independent usage:

奈美太多利奈氣伎乃多婆久

namyiNta tar-i naNkeyk-yi **nōtaNp-aku**

tear drop-INF lament-INF **say(HON)-NML**

[my father] sheds tears, laments, and **says**: “...” (MYS XX: 4408)

受賜事不得止奏世止宣夫

UKEY-TAMAPAR-Ū KÖTÖ E-NSI tö MAWOs-e tö **NÖTANp-u**

accept(INF)-HUM-ATTR thing get-NEG/TENT DV **say(HUM)-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN**

[she] **deigned to say**: “Say that [you] cannot accept [it]” (SM 25)

CONTRACTED FORM *nōtamap-*

The contracted form *nōtamap-* appears only in independent usage:

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 tö OPÖ-YA-SIMA-N-KUNI

SIRASIMYES-U SUMYERA-NKA OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ-ra ma tö

NÖTAMAP-U OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ-wo UNKÖNAPAR-I-

PANPYER-U MYIKWO-TATI OPÖ-KYIMYI-TATI MWOMWO

TUKASA-NÖ PYITÖ-NTÖMÖ AMEY-NÖ SITA-NÖ TAMYI

MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ

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)-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 **that** [I] **proclaim** — the Great Deity who rules the Great

Country of Eight Islands as a Manifest Deity (SM 1)

此辞忘給奈弄給奈止宣比之

KÖNÖ KÖTÖ WASURE-TAMAP-Una SUTE-TAMAP-Una tö

NÖTAMAp-yi-si

this word forget(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP discard(INF)-HON-

NEG/IMP DV **say(HON)-INF-PAST/ATTR**

[the empress] **deigned to say**: “Do not forget these words and do not discard [them]” (SM 13)

所念看波奈母如此宣布

OMÖP-OS-I-MYES-E-Npa namö KA-KU NÖTAMAp-u
think-HON-INF-HON-EV-CON PT thus-INF say(HON)-ATTR
as [I] thought ... [I] **proclaim** in this way (SM 16)

傍上乎波宣牟止為氏奈母抑閑氏在津流

KATA-NÖ UPEY-woNpa NÖTAMAP-Am-u tö S-I-te namö
OSApey-te AR-I-t-uru
side-GEN top-ACC(EMPH) say(HON)-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-
SUB PT hold.back(INF)-SUB exist-INF-PERF-ATTR
[we] were delaying [it], as [we] **were going to proclaim** the rest
(SM 25)

多能遍重天勅止毛敢末之時止為弓

AMATA n-ö TANPYI KASANE-te NÖTAMAP-EY-Ntömwo
AP-UmasiNsi tö S-I-te
many DV-INF time pile.up(INF)-SUB tell(HON)-EV-CONC
be.ready.to.do-NEG/POT DV do-INF-SUB
although [I] **told** him many times [to accept the job], [he] believed
that [he] cannot be ready to do [it] (SM 26)

国王伊王位仁坐時方菩薩乃淨戒乎受与止勅天在

KOKU-WAU-i WAU-WI-ni IMAS-U TÖKYI pa BOSATU-nö
ZYAUKAI-wo UKEY-yö tö NÖTAMAP-YI-te AR-I
country-king-ACT king-position-LOC be(HON)-ATTR time TOP
bodhisattva-GEN commandment-ACC receive-IMP DV
say(HON)-INF-SUB exist-FIN
[Buddha] **said** that a king of a country, when [he] is on the throne,
[should] accept the commandments of the Bodhisattva (SM 28)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The honorific *nötamap-* ~ *nörítanp-* ~ *nötanp-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.2. Humble auxiliaries

There are six humble auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese: *matur-*, *tatematur-*, *tamapey-*, *tamapar-* ~ *tanpar-*, *mawos-*, and *mawi-*.

6.3.2.1.2.1 Humble auxiliary *matur-*

The humble auxiliary *matur-* almost always follows the infinitive of the main verb. The only exception is that once it is found after the infinitive of the causative form *uNkwok-asimey-* of the verb *uNkwok-* ‘to move’ as *UNKWOK-ASIMEY-matur-* (see the example from SM 42 below). However, this example may not be very reliable, since *UNKWOK-ASIMEY-* is written semantically. Most cases of *matur-* as an auxiliary are found after the verb *tukapey-* ‘to serve.’

志我都矩屢麻泥爾飭哀枳瀰爾柯拖俱都柯陪麻都羅武
 si-Nka tukur-u-maNte-ni opo kyimiyi-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)

訶志胡瀰弓菟伽倍摩都羅武烏呂餓瀰弓菟伽倍摩都羅武宇多豆
 紀磨都流
 kasikwom-yi-te **tukapey-matur-am-u** worōNkam-yi-te **tukapey-**
matur-am-u uta-N-tukiy-matur-u
 feeling.awe-INF-SUB **serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN**
 be.profoundly.obedient-INF-SUB **serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN**
song-LOC-conclude(INF)-HUM-FIN
 feeling awe [we] **would serve** [her], being profoundly obedient [we]
would serve her, so [I] **conclude in** [my] **song** (NK 102)

安里我欲比都加倍麻都良武万代麻弓爾
 ari-[N]kaywop-yi **tukapey-matur-am-u** YÖRÖNTU YÖ-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] for
 ten thousand generations (MYS XVII: 3907)

都加倍麻都良牟大宮所
tukapey-matur-am-u OPO MYIYA-N-TÖKÖRÖ
serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-ATTR great palace-GEN-place
 the great palace **that** [I] **will** [always] **serve** (MYS XVII: 3908)

之路髮麻泥尔大皇尔都可倍麻都礼婆貴久母安流香

sirwo KAMYI-maNte-ni OPO KYIMYI-ni **tukapey-matur-e-Npa**
TAPUTWO-ku mö ar-u ka

white hair-TERM-LOC great lord-DAT **serve(INF)-HUM-EV-CON** awesome-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

When [one] **serves** [his] sovereign until grey hair, is [not it] awesome? (MYS XVII: 3922)

都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔

tukapey-matur-am-ey iya töpo naNka n-i

serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV plentifully long long DV-INF

[I] **will serve** [you] plentifully and for a long, long time (MYS XVIII: 4098)

万代尔都可倍麻都良牵黑酒白酒乎

YÖRÖNTU YÖ-ni **tukapey-matur-am-u** KURWO KYI SIRWO
KYI-wo

ten.thousand year-LOC **serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN** black
rice.wine white rice.wine

[I] **will serve** [you] for ten thousand years [both] black rice wine
and white rice wine (MYS XIX: 4275)

波吉伎欲米都可倍麻都里弓

pak-yi-kyiywomey **tukapey-matur-i-te**

sweep-INF-clean(INF) **serve(INF)-HUM-INF-SUB**

serving by sweeping clean [the approach] (MYS XX: 4465)

和礼爾於止礼留比止乎於保美和多佐牟多米止宇都志麻都礼利
ware-ni otör-er-u pyitö-wo opo-myi watas-am-u tamey tö **utus-i-**
matur-er-i

I-DAT be worse-PROG-ATTR person-ABS many-GER lead
across-TENT-ATTR in.order.to DV **carve-INF-HUM-PROG-FIN**
because there are many people who have been worse than me, [I]
have carved [Buddha's footprint] in order to save [them] (BS 13)

己家々己門々祖名不失勤仕奉礼

ONÖ-NKA IPYE-IPYE ONÖ-NKA KANTWO-KANTWO OYA-
NÖ NA USINAP-ANS-U **TUTWOMEY-TUKAPEY-MATU**r-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)

本乃大臣位仁仕奉之武流事乎諸聞食止宣

MÖTÖ-nō OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-NÖ KURAWI-ni
TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asim-uru KÖTÖ-wo MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ
KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ tö NÖTAMAP-U

root-GEN minister-GEN position-LOC **serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS-ATTR** matter-ACC all-all hear-INF-HUM-IMP DV say(HON)-FIN

[We] deign to say: “Everyone listen to the fact that [we] **make** Töyönari **serve** [again] in [his] previous position of the minister” (SM 28)

奉仕之米天志可等念保之米之天

TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asimey-te-si ka tö OMÖp-os-i-meys-i-te
serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT
DV think-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB

[Dökyō] thought: “[I] want to **make** [them] **serve**” (SM 36)

可多良比能利多夫言乎聞久仁是能太政大臣乃官乎授未都流仁方敢多
比奈牟可等奈毛念

katar-ap-yi-nōritaNp-u KÖTÖ-wo KYIK-u-ni KÖnō OPO
MATURINKÖTÖ OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-nō TUKASA-wo
SANTUKEY-matur-u-ni¹¹⁹ pa APEY-taNp-yi-n-am-u ka tö
namwo OMÖP-OS-U

say-ITER-INF-HON-ATTR word-ACC hear-ATTR-LOC this great
governance minister-GEN office-ACC **bestow(INF)-HUM-ATTR-LOC** TOP endure(INF)-HON-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR PT
DV PT think-HON-ATTR

when [I] heard the words that [he] was repeatedly saying, [I] thought: “Would [he] be appropriate **for bestowing** [on him] the office of the minister of the great governance?” (SM 36)

¹¹⁹ Here we have a very unusual usage of the humble verb *matur-* ‘to offer to a superior.’ It certainly cannot refer to the empress Köken who bestows the office on Dökyō. Sometimes *matur-* can be honorific, but in this case it refers only to the consuming of food or drink (Omodaka et al. 1967: 683), apparently offered by a person of a lower rank. But this is clearly not applicable here. It may be that it should be understood in the sense of offering one’s acceptance of bestowing.

朕德伊天地乃御心乎令感動未都流倍岐事波无

WA-NKA UTUKUSINPIY-i AMEY TUTI-nō MYI-KÖKÖRÖ-wo
UNKWOK-ASIMEY-matur-uNpey-kyi KÖTÖ 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)

In independent usage *matur-* has the meaning 'to present (to a superior)':

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢

matur-i-kō-si myi-kyi Nsō as-aNs-u wos-e
present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rice.wine PT
 shallow-NEG-INF drink(HON)-IMP
 Drink the **presented** rice wine deeply! (KK 39)

麻都里太須可多美乃母能乎比等尔之賣須奈

matur-i-[i]Ntas-u katamyi n-ō mōnō-wo pyitō-ni simyes-una
present(HUM)-put.out-ATTR keepsake DV-ATTR thing-ACC
 person-DAT show-NEG/IMP
 do not show to others the keepsake **that [I] presented [to you]**
 (MYS XV: 3765)

可未尔奴佐麻都利伊能里麻乎之弓

kamiy-ni nusa **matur-i** inōr-i-mawos-i-te
 deity-DAT *nusa* **present(HUM)-INF** pray-INF-HUM-INF-SUB
presenting nusa offerings **and** praying to the deity (MYS XX:
 4408)

和己於保支美波多比良氣久那何久伊末之弓等与美岐麻都流
 wa-Nkō opo kyimiyi pa tapyirakey-ku naNka-ku imas-i-te tōyō
 myi-kyi **matur-u**

I-POSS great lord TOP safe-INF long-INF exist(HON)-INF-SUB
 abundant HON-rice.wine **present(HUM)-FIN**
 [I] **present** the abundant rice wine so that my sovereign (lit.: great
 lord) [would] live safely and long (SNK 4)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The humble verb *matur-* occurs in Eastern Old Japanese once as an auxiliary and once as an independent verb.

As a humble auxiliary:

都久之閑爾做牟加流布祢乃伊都之加毛都加做麻都里弓久爾爾
閑牟可毛

tukusi-pey-ni pye muk-ar-u pune-nō 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 is [now] turning [its] bow towards
Tukusi will turn its bow towards [my home] province, **after** [I
finish to] **serve** (MYS XX: 4359)

In independent usage EOJ *matur-* means ‘to present (to a deity)’:

夜之里乃加美尔奴佐麻都理

yasirō-nō kami-ni nusa **matur-i**

shrine-GEN deity-DAT nusa **present(HUM)-INF**

presenting the *nusa* offering to the deities (MYS XX: 4391)

A2: Ryukyuan

The auxiliary humble verb *matur-* is not attested in Ryukyuan. There is the Classical Ryukyuan verb *matur-* ‘to worship (a deity),’ which could be related, but since it is attested only in the *Ryūka*, but not in the *Omorō Sōshi* (Hokama 1995: 613), it is likely to be a loan from the mainland Japanese.

6.3.2.1.2.2 Humble auxiliary *tatematur-*

The humble auxiliary *tatematur-* occurs only once as an auxiliary after the subordinative gerund of the main verb. This example is not very reliable because it is in semantographic spelling. There are no cases of *tatematur-* following the infinitive of the main verb that are so typical for Middle (Classical) Japanese.

敬福伊部内少田郡仁黄金出在奏弓献
 KYAUPUKU-i KUNI-NÖ UTI-NÖ WONTA-NÖ KÖPORI-ni
 KUNKANE-WO INTE-TAR-I TÖ MAWOS-I-te
TATEMATUR-ER-I

Kyaupuku-ACT province-GEN inside-GEN WoNta-GEN district-
 LOC gold-ACC go.out(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN DV say(HUM)-
INF-SUB offer(HUM)-PROG-FIN

Kyaupuku **reported** that gold had been found on the territory of the province, in the district of WoNta (SM 12)

In independent usage *tatematur-* has the meaning ‘to present, to offer (to a superior)’:

比能美古爾登余美岐多弓麻都良勢
 pyi-nö myi-kwo-ni töyö myi-kyi **tatematur-as-e**
 sun-GEN HON-child-DAT abundant HON-rice.wine
present(HUM)-HON-IMP

Present the abundant rice wine to the honorable child of the Sun!
 (KK 101)

多弓麻都流御調寶波可蘇倍衣受都久之毛可祢都
tatematur-u MYI-TUKIY TAKARA kaNswopey-e-Ns-u tukus-i
 mwo kane-t-u
present(HUM)-ATTR HON-tribute treasure count(INF)-get-
 NEG-INF exhaust-NML be.unable(INF)-PERF-FIN
 [It] is impossible to count all **presented** tribute treasures, and [one]
 cannot exhaust [them] (MYS XVIII: 4094)

可敝里許牟麻須良多家乎尔美伎多弓麻都流
 kapyer-i-kö-m-u masura takye wo-ni myi-kyi **tatematur-u**
 return-INF come-TENT-ATTR HON-tribute excellent brave man-DAT HON-
 rice.wine **present(HUM)-FIN**
 [I] **will present** the rice wine to the excellent brave men who will
 come back (MYS XIX: 4262)

四方乃久尔欲里多弓麻都流美都奇能船
 YÖ MO-nö kuni-yworì **tatematur-u** myi-tukiy-nö PUNE
 four direction-GEN province-ABL **present(HUM)-ATTR** HON-
 tribute-GEN boat
 boats with the **presented** tribute from the provinces of four
 directions (MYS XX: 4360)

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負凶龜一頭獻止奏賜不爾

PUNTIPARA-NŌ ASWOMYI MARŌ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-
YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITŌ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU tō
MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni

PuNtipara-GEN retainer Marō-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-
PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer(HUM)-NML DV
say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC

[They] said that the retainer PuNtipara Marō and others **had offered** a tortoise bearing writing [on its back] ... (SM 6)

伊豫国与利白祥鹿乎獻奉天在礼方有礼志与呂許保志止奈毛見流

IYŌ-NŌ KUNI-yōri SIRWO-KYI SIRUSI N-Ō SIKAWO
TATEMATUR-I-te Ar-e-Npa uresi yōrōkōNp-ōsi tō namwo
MYI-ru

Iyō-GEN province-ABL white-ATTR mark DV-ATTR deer-ACC
present(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON glad joyful-ADJ DV PT
see-ATTR

when [they] **had presented** [us] with a deer with white marks from the province of Iyō, [we] regarded this as [a] joyful and auspicious [event] (SM 46)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The humble auxiliary *tatematur-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

The humble auxiliary verb *tatematur-* is attested twice in Old Ryukyuan in the *Omoro Sōshi* in two different poems but in the identical context:

きこゑ大ききみやいのりたてまつれは

kik-o-we-OFO-kimi ya inor-i-tatematur-e-fa

hear-ATTR-voice(?)-great-lady TOP pray-INF-HUM-EV-CON

Because the great priestess **prays** [to the deities] ... (OS I: 14, OS III: 132)

However, because there are no cognates in the modern dialects, and because even the distribution in Old Ryukyuan is limited, not to mention the fact that *tatematur-* is widely used as a humble

auxiliary in Middle, but not in Western Old Japanese, OR *tatematur-* is better treated as a loan from Middle Japanese.

6.3.2.1.2.3 Humble auxiliary *tamapey-*

The humble verb *tamapey-* is attested as an auxiliary only in the *Senmyō* and it appears exclusively in semantographic or partially semantographic spelling. Presumably, it follows the infinitive of the main verb, but there is no way to verify this, since the only two verbs it occurs with, *omöp-* ‘to think’ and *kyik-* ‘to hear, to listen’, are always spelled completely semantographically. Examples:

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 tö OPÖ-YA-SIMA-N-KUNI
SIRASIMYES-U SUMYERA-NKA OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ-ra ma tö
NÖTAMAP-U OPÖ-MYI-KÖTÖ-wo UNKÖNAPAR-I-
PANPYER-U MYIKWO-TATI OPÖ-KYIMYI-TATI MWOMWO
TUKASA-NÖ PYITÖ-NTÖMÖ AMEY-NÖ SITA-NÖ TAMYI
MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ **KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ**

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)-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 — the Great Deity who rules the Great Country of Eight Islands as a Manifest Deity (SM 1)

成奴礼波歡美貴美奈毛念食流

NAR-I-n-ure-Npa KÖKÖRÖNPOSI-myi TAPUTWO-myi namwo
OMÖP-YI-TAMAP-Uru
become-INF-PERF-EV-CON glad-GER awesome-GER PT **think-
INF-HUM-ATTR**

because [it] became [as the deity said], [the sovereign] **thought** that [it] was joyful and awesome (SM 15)

Note that in this example the action of the sovereign is marked as humble in reverence to the deity.

本乃大臣位仁仕奉之武流事乎諸聞食止宣

MÖTÖ-nō OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-NÖ KURAWI-ni
 TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asim-uru KÖTÖ-wo MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ
KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY-YÖ tö NÖTAMAP-U
 root-GEN minister-GEN position-LOC serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS-
 ATTR matter-ACC all-all **listen-IMP-HUM-IMP** DV say(HON)-
 FIN

[We] deign to say: “Everyone **listen to** the fact that [we] make Töyönari serve [again] in [his] previous position of the minister” (SM 28)

詔己止乎諸聞食倍

NÖRITAMAP-U kötö-wo MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ **KYIK-YI-TAMAPEY**
 say(HON)-ATTR thing-ACC all-all **listen-IMP-HUM(IMP)**
 all [of you] **listen to** what [I] proclaim (SM 36)

In independent usage *tamapey-* has the meaning ‘to receive’ or ‘to drink.’ The following examples from the *Man'yōshū* do not involve receiving something from a deity or an emperor. The first example just involves an acquaintance and the second a male lover whose soul a female lover receives in a ritual.

古人乃令食有吉備能酒

PURU PYITÖ-nō **TAMAPEY-SIMEY-TAR-U** KyiNpiy-nō
 SAKEY
 old person-GEN **receive(HUM)-CAUS(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR** KyiNpiy-GEN rice.wine
 the rice wine of KyiNpiy that an old acquaintance gave [me] (lit.: **made** [me] **receive**) (MYS IV: 554)

多麻之比波安之多由布徹尔多麻布礼杼安我牟祢伊多之

tamasipyi pa asita yupu pye-ni **tamap-ure-Ntō** a-Nka mune ita-si
 soul TOP morning evening side-LOC **receive(HUM)-EV-CONC**
 I-POSS chest painful-FIN

Although [I] **receive** [your] soul in the mornings and in the evening, my heart hurts (MYS XV: 3767)

赤丹乃保仁多末倍

AKA NI-nō po-ni **tamapey**
 red soil-COMP cheek-LOC **drink(HUM)(INF)**
drinking until [your] cheeks [will be] like red soil (SM 38)

COMPARATIVE DATA**LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC****A1: Eastern Old Japanese**

There is only one example of *tamapey-* in Eastern Old Japanese in independent usage:

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 **receive(HUM)-DES** beloved-POSS directly hand-
ABL

[I] **wish to receive** the water directly from your hands (MYS XIV: 3439)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of the Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary *tamapey-* are not attested in Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.2.4 Humble auxiliary tamapar- ~ taNpar-

The two phonetic variants *tamapar-* and *taNpar-* are text specific. WOJ *tamapar-* is attested only in the *Senmyō* and in the *Norito*,¹²⁰ while the contracted WOJ form *taNpar-* is limited to the *Man'yōshū* as both an auxiliary and an independent verb. In most cases *tamapar-* is found after the verb *ukey-* 'to accept, to receive.' Since main verbs are always spelled semantographically, we can only conjecture that *tamapar-* follows the infinitive. As an auxiliary *tamapar-* is always spelled either completely or partially semantographically. WOJ *taNpar-* appears only once as an auxiliary after the negative infinitive *-aNs-u*, which is also spelled semantographically. Examples:

不令消賜良牟秋芽子乃宇礼和々良葉尔置有白露

KEYT-ANS-U-TANPAR-am-u AKYI PANKIY-nō ure wawara
PA-ni OK-YER-U SIRA TUYU

extinguish-NEG-INF-HUM-TENT-FIN autumn bush.clover-
GEN top frayed leaf-LOC put-PROG-ATTR white dew

¹²⁰ There are only two examples of *tamapar-* in the *Norito*, both in completely semantographic spelling, therefore I do not include them here. Similar to the *Senmyō*, both are also found after the main verb *ukey-* 'to accept, to receive.' See Iwai (1981: 244-45) and especially Bentley (2001: 215) for the presentation and analysis of these examples.

[I] **would like** [you] **not to extinguish** the white dew that lies on the top frayed leaves of the autumn bush clover (MYS VIII: 1618)
 The usage of *taNpar-* in this example is not fully grammaticalized, as literally *KEYT-ANS-U-TANPAR-am-u* means ‘I would humbly receive not-extinguishing.’

弥繼繼爾受賜波利行牟物等之弓

IYA TUNK-YI TUNK-YI n-i **UKEY-TAMAPar-i-YUK-Am-u**
 MÖNÖ tö s-i-te
 more follow-NML follow-NML DV-INF **accept(INF)-HUM-INF-**
go-TENT-ATTR thing DV do-INF-SUB
 as a thing **that** [we] **will continue to accept** for a greater posterity
 (SM 9)

大臣止之弓仕奉止勅祁礼止数数辞備申多夫仁依弓受賜多婆受

MAPYETUKYIMYI tö s-i-te TUKAPEY-MATUR-E tö KANSU-
 KANSU INANpiy-MAWOS-I-taNp-u-ni YÖR-I-te **UKEY-**
TAMAPAR-I-taNp-aNs-u
 minister DV do-INF-SUB serve(INF)-HUM-IMP DV frequently
 refuse(INF)-HUM-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC rely-INF-SUB
accept(INF)-HUM-INF-HON-NEG-INF
 [The empress] told [him]: “Serve as a minister,” but as [he] refused
 many times **and did not accept** ... (SM 26)

天皇大御髮乎盜給波利弓

SUMYERA-NKA OPO MYI-KAMYI-wo **NUSUM-YI-**
TAMAPar-i-te
 empress-POSS great HON-hair-ACC **steal-INF-HUM-INF-SUB**
 [they] **stole** a hair of the empress, **and** ... (SM 43)

In independent usage *tamapar-* has the meaning ‘to receive’ and it is attested only in the *Senmyō* as already mentioned above.

幣乃物乎賜方利

MAPYI n-ō MÖNÖ-wo **TAMAPar-i**
 gift DV-ATTR thing-ACC **receive(HUM)-INF**
receiving the gifts (SM 38)

生天方官位乎賜利

IK-YI-te pa TUKASA KURAWI-wo **TAMAPAR-i**
 live-INF-SUB TOP office rank-ACC **receive(HUM)-INF**
 when [they] live, [they] **receive** offices [and] ranks, **and** ... (SM 45)

此賜布帶乎多麻波利弓

KÖNŌ TAMAp-u ONPYI-wo **tamapar-i-te**
 this give(HON)-ATTR sash-ACC **receive(HUM)-INF-SUB**
receiving these sashes that [I] grant [you] (SM 45)

The contracted phonetic variant *taNpar-* as an independent verb is attested once in phonetic spelling in the Western Old Japanese part of the *Man'yōshū*:¹²¹

波里夫久路己礼波多婆利奴

pari-N-pukurwo kōre pa **taNpar-i-n-u**
 needle-GEN-bag this TOP **receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-FIN**
 Needle bag — this [I] **have received** (MYS XVIII: 4133)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

In Eastern Old Japanese both *tamapar-* and *taNpar-* are attested (once and twice respectively), but only as independent humble verbs. Examples:

奈礼毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弓流伊但兒多婆里尔

nare mwo are mwo yōti-wo sō mōt-er-u iNte kwo **taNpar-i-n-i**
 you PT I PT same.age-ACC PT have-PROG-ATTR EXCL
receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-IMP
 both you and me have [children of] the same age. Well, let [me]
receive [your] child (MYS XIV: 3440)
 The meaning of this proposal is: "I want to marry you."

阿志加良能美佐可多麻波理

asiNkara-nō myi-saka **tamapar-i**
 AsiNkara-GEN HON-slope **receive(HUM)-INF**
 [I] **received** [the permission of the deities to cross] the AsiNkara
 slope, and... (MYS XX: 4372)

美佐可多婆良婆麻佐夜可尔美無

myi-saka **taNpar-aNpa** ma-sayaka n-i myi-m-u
 HON-slope **receive(HUM)-COND** INT-clear DV-INF see-TENT-
 FIN

¹²¹ There are four other examples (MYS IV: 554, 558; MYS VIII: 1462 and MYS XVI: 3840) where *taNpar-* is spelled completely semantographically.

if [you] **receive** [the permission of the deities to cross] the slope,
[you] will see [me] clearly (MYS XX: 4424)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of the Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary *tamapar-* are not attested in Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.2.5 Humble auxiliary *mawos-* ~ *mawus-*

The humble auxiliary *mawos-* ~ *mawus-* always follows the infinitive of the main verb. The examples in the *Senmyō* are written semantographically or partially semantographically, but there are several examples of *mawos-* in phonetic spelling in the *Man'yōshū* and one example of *mawus-* in the *Bussoku seki ka*. The form *mawus-* is an apparent Western Old Japanese innovation that is due to the raising of primary *o > u. Examples:

美夜故摩提意久利摩遠志弓

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)

大御神等布奈能閑尔道引麻遠志

OPO MYI-KAMIY-TATI puna-nō pey-ni MYITINPYIK-YI-
mawos-i

great HON-deity-PLUR boat-GEN bow-LOC **guide-INF-HUM-INF**

accepting the guidance of the great deities [who would stand] at
[your] boat's bow (MYS V: 894)

可未尔奴佐麻都利伊能里麻乎之弓

kamiy-ni nusa matur-i **inōr-i-mawos-i-te**

deity-DAT *nusa* present(HUM)-INF **pray-INF-HUM-INF-SUB**

presenting *nusa* offerings and **praying** to the deity (MYS XX: 4408)

大臣止之弓仕奉止勅祁礼止数数辞備申多夫仁依弓受賜多婆受

MOPYETUKYIMYI tō s-i-te TUKAPEY-MATUR-E tō KANSU-
KANSU **INANpiy-MAWOS-I-taNp-u-ni** YÖR-I-te UKEY-
TAMAPAR-I-taNp-aNs-u

minister DV do-INF-SUB serve(INF)-HUM-IMP DV frequently
refuse(INF)-HUM-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC rely-INF-SUB
accept(INF)-HUM-INF-HON-NEG-INF

[The empress] told [him]: “Serve as a minister,” but as [he] **refused** many times and did not accept ... (SM 26)

舍加乃美阿止伊波爾宇都志於伎夜麻比弓乃知乃保止氣爾由
豆利麻都良牟佐佐義麻宇佐牟

saka-nō myi-atō ipa-ni utus-i-ok-yi uyamap-yi-te nōti-nō potōkey-
ni yuNtur-i-matur-am-u **sasaNkey-mawus-am-u**

Shakya-GEN HON-footprint rock-LOC transfer-INF-put-INF
revere-INF-SUB after-GEN Buddha-DAT hand.over-INF-HUM-
TENT-FIN **offer(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN**

[I] will carve Shakya[-muni]’s footprint on the rock, and [after]
revering [it], [I] will hand it over to the Buddha of the Future, [I]
will offer [it to him] (BS 9)

In independent usage *mawos-* has the meaning ‘to say, to report (to a superior).’ In phonetic spelling it appears in the *Man’yōshū* twice out of five times in its alternative phonetic form *mawus-*. Examples:

多禮曾意富麻弊爾麻袁須

tare sō opō mapye-ni **mawos-u**

who PT great front-DAT **say(HUM)-ATTR**

Who **will report** to the emperor? (KK 97)

柁例柯舉能居登飫褒磨陸爾麻鳴須

tare ka kōnō kōtō 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)

余呂豆余尔伊麻志多麻比提阿米能志多麻乎志多麻波祢

yōrōNtu yō-ni imas-i-tamap-i-te amey-nō sita **mawos-i-tamap-an-**
e

ten.thousand age-LOC exist(HON)-INF-HON-INF-SUB heaven-
GEN below report(HUM)-INF-HON-DES-IMP

May [you] live for ten thousand generations, and **report** [to the
emperor about things in the country] under Heaven (MYS V: 879)

安吉佐良婆可敝里麻左牟等多良知祢能波々尔麻乎之弓
 akyi sar-aNpa kapyer-i-[i]mas-am-u tö taratine-nö papa-ni **mawos-i-te**

autumn come-COND return-INF-HON-TENT-FIN DV (*makura-kotoba*) mother-DAT **tell(HUM)-INF-SUB**
 [He] **told** [his] mother: “When the autumn comes, [I] will come back,” **and** ... (MYS XV: 3688)

美布祢左須之津乎能登母波加波能瀬麻宇勢
 myi-pune sas-u siNtu wo n-ö tömö pa kapa-nö se **mawus-e**
 HON-boat punt-ATTR low-class man DV-ATTR fellow TOP
 river-GEN shallow **say(HUM)-IMP**
 Low-class men, who are punting the imperial boat! **Report** the shallows in the river (MYS XVIII: 4061)
 Here *mawus-* is used pejoratively towards the low-class men.

東國乃美知能久乃小田在山尔金有等麻宇之多麻敝礼
 ANTUMA-nö myitinöku-nö WONTA-N-AR-U YAMA-ni
 KUNKANE AR-I tö **mawus-i-tamap-yer-e**
 ANtuma-GEN Myitinöku-GEN WoNta-LOC-exist-ATTR
 mountain-LOC gold exist-FIN DV say(HUM)-HON-PROG-EV
 [The nobles] **reported to** [the emperor] that there is gold in the mountain that is in WoNta of [the province] Myitinöku in the East (MYS XVIII: 4094)

布奈漚波之奴等於夜尔麻乎佐祢
 puna-[i]Nte pa s-i-n-u tö oya-ni **mawos-an-e**
 boat-go.out(NML) TOP do-INF-PERF-FIN DV parent-DAT
say(HUM)-DES-IMP
 [I] **want** [you] **to tell** my parents [for me] that [I] have sailed out (MYS XX: 4409)

At first glance this usage of *mawos-* may seem to be honorific rather than humble, but here the action is performed by someone else on behalf of the speaker, assuming the voice of the latter, so the usage is still humble.

藤原朝臣麻呂等伊負凶龜一頭獻止奏賜不爾所聞行驚賜
 PUNTIPARA-NÖ ASWOMYI MARÖ-RA-i PUMYI-WO OP-
 YER-U KAMEY-WO PYITÖ-TU TATEMATUR-AKU tö
MAWOS-I-TAMAp-u-ni KYIK-ÖSIMYES-I ONDÖRÖK-YI-
 TAMAP-YI
 PuNtipara-GEN retainer Marö-PLUR-ACT writing-ACC bear-
 PROG-ATTR tortoise-ACC one-CL offer(HUM)-NML DV

say(HUM)-INF-HON-ATTR-LOC hear-HON-INF be surprised-
INF-HON-INF

When [they] **said** that the retainer PuNtipara Marö and others had offered a tortoise bearing writing [on its back], [we] were surprised, hearing [about this] ... (SM 6)

敬福伊部内少田郡仁黄金出在奏_三献

KYAUPUKU-i KUNI-NÖ UTI-NÖ WONTA-NÖ KÖPORI-ni
KUNKANE-WO INTE-TAR-I TÖ MAWOS-I-te
TATEMATUR-ER-I

Kyaupuku-ACT province-GEN inside-GEN WoNta-GEN district-
LOC gold-ACC go.out(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN DV **say(HUM)-
INF-SUB offer(HUM)-PROG-FIN**

Kyaupuku **reported** that gold had been found in the territory of the province, in the district of WoNta (SM 12)

先仁之我奏之事

SAKYI-ni SI-Nka MAWOS-I-si KÖTÖ

before-LOC he-POSS **say(HUM)-INF-PAST/ATTR** thing
things he **said** before (SM 28)

和氣伊申天在

Wakey-i MAWOS-I-te AR-I

Wake-ACT **report(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-FIN**

[prince] Wake **has reported** [to us about Nakamarö's plot] (SM 34)

是位乎授未都良牟等申佐方

KONÖ KURAWI-wo SANTUKEY-matur-am-u tö MAWOS-
aNpa

this rank-ACC bestow(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN DV **say(HUM)-
COND**

when [we] **told** [him] that [we] want to bestow [on him] that rank
(SM 36)

法均伊物奏利

POPUKUN-i MÖNÖ MAWOS-Er-i

Popukun-ACT thing **say(HUM)-PROG-FIN**

Popukun **was saying** speeches (SM 44)

COMPARATIVE DATA**LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC****A1: Eastern Old Japanese**

There are only two examples of *mawos-* in Eastern Old Japanese, both of them in independent usage:

母呂母呂波佐祁久等麻乎須

mörö-mörö pa sakye-ku tö **mawos-u**

all-all TOP safe-INF DV **say(HUM)-FIN**

[I] **will ask** [the deities] that everybody [would return] safely (MYS XX: 4372)

阿母志々尔己等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之氣

amö sisi-ni kötö **mawos-aNs-u-te** ima Nsö kuyasi-key

mother father-DAT word **say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB** now PT regretful-ATTR

now [I] regret that [I] **did not tell** [my] mother and father (MYS XX: 4376)

A2: Ryukyuan

Cognates of the Western Old Japanese humble auxiliary *mawos-* are not attested in Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.1.2.6 Humble auxiliary mawi-

The humble auxiliary *mawi-* follows the infinitive either of a main verb or of another auxiliary. As an auxiliary it is attested only three times: twice in the same poem that appears both in the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihonshoki kayō* in phonetic spelling and once in the *Senmyō* in semantographic spelling.

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾宇知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻
韋久禮 (KK script)

佐和佐和珥儼餓伊幣劑許曾于知和多須椰餓波曳儼須企以利摩
韋区例 (NK script)

sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka ip-yes-e kōsō uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu
k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-ure

noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS speak(INF)-HON-EV PT
PREF-cross-ATTR ?-POSS?-COMP **come-INF-enter-INF-**
HUM(INF)-come-EV

you spoke noisily and [you] **came inside** like ? that crossed from afar (KK 63, NK 57)

紀古佐美朝臣等伊敗軍費糧弓還參來
 KIY-NŌ Kwosamyi-NŌ ASWOMYI-RA-i ... IKUSA YABUR-I
 KATE-WO TUPYIYAS-I-te **KAPYER-I-MAWI-K-YI-T-U**
 Kiy-GEN Kwosamyi-GEN retainer-PLUR-ACT...army destroy-
 INF food supply-ACC exhaust-INF-SUB **come.back-INF-**
HUM(INF)-come-INF-PERF-FIN
 retainer Kiy-nō Kwosamyi and others, **came back** losing the army
 and exhausting food supplies (SM 62)

In independent usage *mawi-* has the meaning ‘to go,’ ‘to come.’

夜保許毛知麻為泥許之登吉
 ya pokō mwot-i **mawi-[i]Nte-kō-si** tōkyi
 eight spear hold-INF **come(HUM)(INF)-exit(INF)-come(INF)-**
PAST/ATTR time
 when [he] **came back out** holding eight spears (MYS XVIII: 4111)

弥夜故敵尔末為之和我世
 myiyakwo pye-ni **mawi-si** wa-Nka se
 capital side-LOC **come(HUM)(INF)-PAST/ATTR** I-POSS
 beloved
 my beloved **who came** to the capital (MYS XVIII: 4116)

伊夜麻之尔安礼波麻為許牟
 iya mas-i n-i are pa **mawī-kō-m-u**
 more increase-NML DV-INF I TOP **come(HUM)(INF)-come-**
TENT-FIN
 [I] **would like to come** even more (MYS XX: 4298)

与伎比止乃伊麻須久爾爾波和礼毛麻胃弓牟毛呂毛呂乎為弓
 yō-kyi pyitō-nō imas-u kuni-ni pa ware mwo **mawi-te-m-u** mworō-
 mworō-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 **would also have gone** to the land where the Buddha (lit.: good
 person) resides, leading everybody (BS 8)

佐伎波比乃阿都伎止毛加羅麻為多利弓
 sakyipap-yi-nō atu-kyi tōmwo-kara **mawi-[i]tar-i-te**
 be.happy-NML-GEN thick-ATTR fellow-clan **go(HUM)(INF)-**
reach-INF-SUB

The very lucky fellows **went** to India, and ... (BS 12)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of *mawi-* in Eastern Old Japanese in independent usage:

知々波々乎以波比弊等於枳弓麻為弓枳尔之乎

titi papa-wo ipap-yi pye tö ok-yi-te **mawi-[i]Nte-k-yi-n-i-si-wo**
 father mother-ACC pray-NML jar place-INF-SUB **come(HUM)-**
INF-exit(INF)-come-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC
 [I] left [my] father and mother [precious] as a sacrificial jar, and
came out [here as a border-guard], but ... (MYS XX: 4393)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is Old Ryukyuan *mafe-* ‘to go to pray’ attested in the *Omoro Sōshi*:

しけちもりにまへて

siketi mor-i-ni **mafe-te**

sake.offered.to.god fill-NML-LOC **go(HUM)(INF)-SUB**

[I] **will go to pray** the shrine to offer sake to the deity, and ... (OS XVI: 1161)

It is likely to be a cognate, because WOJ *mawi-* is not attested in Middle Japanese which has *mawir-* instead, and because a direct loan from Western Old Japanese into Ryukyuan is unlikely.

6.3.2.2 OTHER AUXILIARIES

Other auxiliaries include: the reported action auxiliary *nar-*, the cooperative auxiliary *ap-*, the auxiliaries *ar-* and *wor-* ‘to exist,’ the directive auxiliaries, the resultative auxiliary *ok-*, the auxiliary *-Nkata-*, and the potential auxiliary *ef[y]-*.

6.3.2.2.1 Reported action auxiliary *nar-*

In sharp contrast to Middle (Classical) Japanese, where the hearsay marker *-unar-* has become a suffix added to the stem of a main verb or to other suffixes or auxiliaries (Vovin 2003: 299), in Western Old Japanese the reported action marker *nar-* is still an auxiliary following the final verbal form. The evidence for this conclusion

comes from the fact that in contrast to Middle Japanese, where *-unar-* follows all conjugational types of verbs, in Western Old Japanese *nar-* follows the final form of the *r*-irregular verbs. There are four examples in Western Old Japanese texts that support this analysis:

葦原中國者伊多玖佐夜藝帝阿理那理

ASI PARA NAKA-TU KUNI PA ita-ku **sayaNkey-te ar-i-nar-i**
reed plain middle-GEN/LOC country TOP painful-INF
be.in.turmoil(INF)-SUB exist-FIN-RA-FIN
[They] say that the country in the Reed Plain was in extreme
turmoil (KJK II: 3a)

伊知比爾惠比天美奈不之天阿利奈利

itipyi-ni wep-yi-te myina¹²² **pus-i-te ar-i-nar-i**
oak-LOC get.drunk-INF-SUB all lie.down-INF-SUB **exist-FIN-**
RA-FIN
[They] say that everybody got drunk from the *itipyi* oak wine and
lay down (SSI)¹²³

左擲霓利奈離

sayaNk-yer-i-nar-i
be.in.turmoil-PROG-FIN-RA-FIN
[they] said [it] was in turmoil (NS III)¹²⁴

杏人濱過者戀布在奈利

mwomwo PYITO-NŌ PAMA-WO SUNK-URE-NPA **KWOpuSI-**
KU AR-I-nar-i
hundred people-GEN beach-ACC pass-EV-CON **be.longing-INF**
exist-FIN-RA-FIN
when a hundred people pass [this] beach, [they] say that [you] will
long [for it] (MYS IX: 1689)

This example is not as conclusive to demonstrate that the reported action auxiliary *nar-* followed the final form of verbs in Western Old Japanese because it is spelled semantographically, but in light of the three examples above it seems to be pretty safe to transcribe 在奈利 as *ar-i nar-i* rather than *ar-unar-i*.

In this respect the reported action auxiliary *nar-* is unique among other Western Old Japanese auxiliaries that all follow

¹²² *Myina* 'all' is the unetymological spelling of *miyna* 'all.'

¹²³ Cited according to (Yamada 1954: 221) and (Omodaka et al. 1967: 80).

¹²⁴ Cited according to (Yamada 1954: 221).

infinitives. The reported action auxiliary *nar-* has a very limited paradigm as it can combine only with four suffixes:

Chart 101: Combinations of the reported action auxiliary *nar-* with following suffixes

suffixes	combination forms
final <i>-i</i>	<i>nar-i</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]/u</i>	<i>nar-u</i>
concessive gerund <i>-[ur]e[y]-Ntō</i>	<i>nar-e</i>
conditional gerund <i>-(a)Npa</i>	<i>nar-aNpa</i>

There are several theories concerning the meaning of *nar-* surveyed in detail by Yoshida Kanehiko (1973: 785). Yoshida himself treats *nar-* as an emotive marker of “admiration” (Jpn. 詠嘆 *eitan*) (1973: 786). Yoshida’s research is mostly based on data from the *Man’yōshū*, and as he notes himself the choice of data and the points of view are going to dictate the outcome (1973: 785). I have tried to include here examples that are not limited to the *Man’yōshū* in order to obtain more objective results. While I agree with Yoshida that it is not possible to define all cases of *nar-* as hearsay, I also fail to see that they can all be explained as having an emotive usage. I define *nar-* as a reported action auxiliary that refers to an activity that is either heard directly or reported as a rumor. Consider both the examples cited above and below:

爾波都登理迦祁波那久宇禮多久母那久那留登理加
 nipa-tu tōri kakye pa nak-u ureta-ku mō **nak-u-nar-u** tōri ka
 garden-GEN/LOC bird rooster TOP cry-FIN hateful-INF PT **cry-**
FIN-RA-ATTR bird PT
 A rooster, the bird of the garden is crying. Is [it] a bird **that is said to cry** so hatefully? (KK 2)

于魔伊祢矢度備備播都等唎柯稽播攤俱攤梨
 uma i ne-si twoni nipa-tu tōri kakye pa **nak-u-nar-i**
 sweet sleep sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR CONJ garden-GEN/LOC bird
 rooster TOP **cry-FIN-RA-FIN**
 while [we] were sleeping a sweet sleep, [I] **heard that** the rooster,
 the bird of the garden, **cried** (NK 96)

大夫之輶乃音為奈利
 MASURA WO-NŌ TŌMO-nō **OTŌ S-U-nar-i**

brave man-GEN arm.guard-GEN **sound do-FIN-RA-FIN**
 [I] **hear** arm guards of brave men **making sounds**¹²⁵ (MYS I: 76)

山羽尔味村驂去奈礼騰吾者左夫思惠君二四不在者
 YAMA-NÖ pa-ni aNti MURA SAWAK-YI-YUK-U-nar-e-Ntö
 WARE PA saNpusi we KYIMYI n-i si AR-AN-E-NPA
 mountain-GEN edge-LOC duck flock **make.noise-INF-go-FIN-**
RA-EV-CONC I TOP sad(FIN) EXCL lord DV-INF PT exist-
 NEG-EV-CON

Although [it] is heard that flocks of ducks at the mountain edges
are making noises flying away, oh, I am sad, because [it] is not
 [my] lord (MYS IV: 486)

波流佐礼婆許奴礼我久利弓宇具比須曾奈岐弓伊奴奈流烏梅我
 志豆延尔
 paru sar-e-Npa kö-n-ure-N-kakur-i-te uNkupyisu sö **nak-yi-te in-u-**
nar-u uMEY-Nka siN-tu ye-ni

spring come-EV-CON tree-GEN-top-LOC-hide-INF-SUB
 bush.warbler PT **sing-INF-SUB go-FIN-RA-FIN** plum-POSS
 branch-LOC

When the spring comes, [they] **say that** the bush warbler, who was
 hiding in the upper branches of trees, **will go to sing** in the lower
 branches of the plum [trees] (MYS V: 827)

吾戀之君来益奈利

WA-NKA KWOPYI-si KYIMYI **K-YI-[i]mas-u-nar-i**
 I-POSS long.for(INF)-PAST/ATTR lord **come-INF-HON-FIN-**
RA-FIN

[they] **say that** you, for whom I longed, **will come** (MYS VIII:
 1518)

馬咋山自越来奈流鴈使者宿過奈利

UMAKUPYI YAMA-YU **KWOYE-K-U-nar-u** KARI N-Ö
 TUKAPYI YANTÖR-I **SUNK-U-nar-i**

Umakupyi mountain-ABL **cross.over(INF)-come-FIN-RA-ATTR**
 wild.goose DV-ATTR messenger lodge-NML **pass-FIN-RA-FIN**

[It] **appears that** wild geese messengers who **are heard to cross**
over from Mount Umakupyi **will pass** their stop for the night
 (MYS IX: 1708)

¹²⁵ When a bow string hits the arm guard worn on the left arm.

This is a unique example where the second *nar-* apparently exhibits a suppositional meaning. This is not typical for Western Old Japanese, but becomes a frequent function in Classical Japanese. Possibly, this demonstrates that the reported action auxiliary *nar-* was on its way to become a hearsay marker.

如今将相跡奈良婆此篋開勿勤

IMA NKŌTŌ AP-AM-U **tō-nar-aNpa** KŌNŌ KUSINKEY
PYIRAK-UNA YUMEY

now like meet-TENT-FIN **DV(FIN)-RA-COND** this comb.box
open-NEG/IMP at.all

**if [you] say that [you] want to meet me [again] like now, do not
open this comb box at all (MYS IX: 1740)**

多豆奈伎和多流奈里

taNtu **nak-yi-watar-u-nar-i**

crane **cry-INF-cross-FIN-RA-FIN**

[I] hear that cranes are crying and flying away (MYS XV: 3598)

於伎敝能可多尔可治能於等須奈里

okyī pye-nō kata-ni kaNti-nō **otō s-u-nar-i**

offing side-GEN side-LOC rudder-GEN **sound do-FIN-RA-FIN**

[I] hear the rudder making noise at the offing (MYS XV: 3624)

乎登賣良波於毛比美太礼弓伎美麻都等宇良吳悲須奈理

wotōmye-ra pa omwop-yi-miNtare-te kyimyī mat-u tō **ura-N-
kwopiy-s-u-nar-i**

maiden-PLUR TOP think-INF-be.confused(INF)-SUB lord wait-
FIN DV **inside-LOC-long.for(NML)-do-FIN-RA-FIN**

**[They] say that the maidens are waiting [and] longing for you in
[their] hearts with [their] thoughts in confusion (MYS XVII: 3973)**

多豆佐和久奈里

taNtu **sawak-u-nar-i**

crane **cry-FIN-RA-FIN**

[I] hear that cranes are crying (MYS XVII: 4018a)

乎乃倍乎保等登藝須奈伎弓故由奈理

wo-nō pey¹²⁶-wo potōtōNkyisu nak-yi-te **kwoy-u-nar-i**

hill-GEN side-ACC cuckoo cry-INF-SUB **cross.over-FIN-RA-
FIN**

¹²⁶ Misspelling of *pye* 'side.'

[I] **hear that** the cuckoo cries and **crosses over** the hill side (MYS XX: 4305)

保里江許具奈流可治能於等

poriye **kōNk-u-nar-u** kaNti-nō otō

canal **row-FIN-RA-ATTR** rudder-GEN sound

sounds of rudders **that are heard rowing** in the canal (MYS XX: 4459)

子乃去禍蒙服麻久欲為流事波為親爾止奈利

KWO-nō WANSAPAPYI-WO SAR-I SAKYIPAPYI-WO
KANKAPUR-Am-aku POR-I S-Uru KÖTÖ pa OYA-nō tameyi n-i
tō-nar-i

child-GEN misfortune-ACC go.away-INF happiness-ACC receive-
TENT-NML want-NML do-ATTR matter TOP parent-GEN for
DV-INF **DV(FIN)-RA-FIN**

[They] **say that** the fact that children want to avoid misfortune and obtain happiness is for the sake of [their] parents (SM 25)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The reported action auxiliary *nar-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.2.2 Cooperative auxiliary *ap-*

The verb *ap-* ‘to meet’ can function as a cooperative auxiliary in Western Old Japanese. As an auxiliary it follows the infinitive of the main verb, or the infinitive of the last verb in a verbal compound. The cooperative auxiliary *ap-* occurs less frequently than the reciprocal-cooperative prefix *apyi-* (see 6.2.1.9), and it does not have the reciprocal function that is typical for Middle (Classical) Japanese besides the cooperative one (Vovin 2003: 370-71). In addition, the cooperative auxiliary *ap-* seems to be confined to the *Man'yōshū*, and even there it predominantly appears in later Western Old Japanese texts. On the other hand, the prefix *apyi-* is well represented in earlier Western Old Japanese texts. All this probably represents another piece of evidence in favor of the hypothesis that Western Old Japanese was in the final stages of the word order restructuring from an SVO to an SOV language, gradually weeding out the remnants of the SVO typology, such as

prefixes, and replacing them with suffixes or auxiliaries placed in postposition to verbal roots.

The cooperative auxiliary *ap-* indicates that an action is performed together by two or more participants. Examples:

香縁相者彼所毛加人之吾乎事将成

ka-YÖR-I-AP-ANPA SÖKÖ mwo ka PYITÖ WA-wo kötö NAS-AM-U

INT-approach-INF-meet-COND there PT PT person I-ACC word do(HON)-TENT-ATTR

if [we] indeed get together, would the people spread rumors about me and you as well? (MYS IV: 512)

川次之立合郷

KAPA nanyi-NÖ **TAT-I-AP-U** SATWO

river wave-GEN **rise-INF-meet-ATTR** village

village **where** the waves of the rivers **rise together** (MYS VI: 1050)

由布豆久欲可氣多知与里安比

yupu-N-tuku ywo kaNkey **tat-i-yör-i-ap-yi**

evening-GEN-moon night shadow **rise-INF-approach-INF-meet-INF**

The evening moon and the night shadow **rise close together and ...** (MYS XV: 3658)

安麻能伊射里波等毛之安徹里見由

ama-nö iNsar-i pa **tömwos-i-ap-yer-i** myi-y-u

fisherman-GEN fishing-NML TOP **ignite-INF-meet-PROG-FIN** see-PASS-FIN

[I] see that fishermen's lights **are igniting together** (MYS XV: 3672)

In this poem WOJ *iNsar-i* 'fishing' is usually explained as a contraction of *iNsar-i-piy* 'fishing light.'

左夫流其兒尔比毛能緒能移都我利安比弓

saNpuru SÖNÖ KWO-ni pyimwo-nö wo-nö **i-tuNkar-i-ap-yi-te**

whore that girl-DAT cord-GEN cord-COMP **DLF-tie-INF-join-INF-SUB**

[you] **tied** [yourself] **together** with that whore girl like a cord of cords (MYS XVIII: 4106)

之良久母和多都美乃於枳都美夜敵尔多知和多里等能具毛利安
比弓安米母多麻波祢

sira kumō wata-tu myi-nō okyi-tu myiya pye-ni tat-i-watar-i tōnō-
N-kumwor-yi-ap-yi-te amey mō tamap-an-e
white cloud sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN offering-GEN/LOC palace
side-LOC rise-INF-cross-INF **line-LOC-become.cloudy-INF-
meet-INF-SUB** rain PT grant-DES-IMP

White clouds! [I] want [you] to rise over the palace of the sea
dragon in the offering and grant [us] rain **after** [you] **bundle
together in a line** (MYS XVIII: 4122)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of the cooperative auxiliary *ap-* in Eastern Old Japanese, but it appears in a poem without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features.

可良許呂毛須蘇乃宇知可倍安波祢杼毛

kara kōrōmwo suswo-nō **uti-kapey-ap-an-e-Ntōmwo**

Korea garment hem-COMP **PREF-cross.over(INF)-meet-NEG-
EV-CONC**

Although [we] do not cross over together like hems of a Korean
garment [do not cross over] (MYS XIV: 3482)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is an auxiliary *af-* in Old Ryukyuan that has a reciprocal function. I was not able to locate cognates in modern dialects.

くもこよりあふやにま玉よりあふやに

kumo **yor-i-af-u** ya n-i ma-tama **yor-i-af-u** ya n-i

cloud **approach-INF-meet-ATTR** like DV-INF INT-jewel
approach-INF-meet-ATTR like DV-INF

like the clouds **that approach each other**, like true jewels **that
approach each other** (OS IX: 477)

6.3.2.2.3 Auxiliary *ar-*

The verb *ar-* ‘to exist’ can be used an auxiliary in a variety of functions. Among its functions as an auxiliary functions (1) - (4) have been already described before in other sections, so here I provide a brief summary with a few examples of each function with

references to other sections. On the other hand, function (5) was only briefly touched in 6.3.1.1.2, so I offer a more expanded description of it here. As an auxiliary, *ar-* may follow the infinitive *-[y]i*,¹²⁷ the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u*, the adjectival infinitive *-ku*, the subordinative gerund *-te*, and the coordinative gerund *-tutu*.

(1) The auxiliary *ar-* is used as a dummy verb with no meaning of its own after the infinitive *n-i* of the copula *n-* ‘to be’ to form various paradigmatic forms of the latter, since the copula *n-* is a defective verb with a limited paradigm. Examples:

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迹阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠
 ima kōsō pa wa-N-tōri **n-i ar-am-ey** nōti pa na-N-tōri **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)

比登都麻都比登迹阿理勢婆
 pyitō-tu matu pyitō **n-i ar-i-s-eNpa**
 one-CL pine person **DV-INF exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND**
if a lone pine were a person (KK 29)

安米都知能可未奈伎毛能尔安良婆
 amey tuti-nō kamiy na-kyi mwonō **n-i ar-aNpa**
 heaven earth-GEN deity no-ATTR thing **DV-INF exist-COND**
If heaven and earth were without deities ... (MYS XV: 3740)

烏梅乃花美夜万等之美尔安里登母
 uMEY-nō PANA myi-yama tō sim-yi **n-i ar-i tōmō**
 plum-GEN blossom HON-mountain DV grow.thick-NML **DV-INF exist-FIN CONJ**
 Even though plum blossoms **are** blooming densely as a mountain
 (MYS XVII: 3902)

For more examples, as well as for the contracted form *nar-* < *n-i ar-* see 6.1.4.1.4.

¹²⁷ Synchronically *ar-* follows only the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*. Diachronically it followed infinitives of other verbs, but the sequence *-[y]i+ar-* underwent monophthongization producing the progressive suffix *-[y]er-* (see 6.2.2.3.11).

(2) The auxiliary *ar-* is used as a dummy verb with no meaning of its own after the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* to form analytical paradigmatic verbal forms involving the negative infinitive which itself can be followed only by a limited set of forms. Examples:

許許呂袁陀迓迦阿比淤母波受阿良牟
 kökörö-wo Ntani ka **apyi-omöp-aNs-u ar-am-u**
 heart-ACC PT PT **REC-think-NEG-INF exist-TENT-ATTR**
will [we] not think about each other at least in our hearts? (KK 60)

柯彼能矩盧古磨矩羅枳制播伊志歌孺阿羅磨志
 kapiy-nö kurwo kwoma kura kyi-s-eNpa **i-sik-aNs-u ar-amasi**
 Kapiy-GEN black stallion saddle put.on-PAST/ATTR-COND
DLF-reach-NEG-INF exist-SUBJ
 if [he] would put a saddle on the black stallion from Kapiy, [he]
would not reach here [on time] (NK 81a)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米
 爾之美延牟
 taNta n-i **ap-aNs-u ar-aku** mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nö makura
 sar-aNs-u-te imey-ni si myi-ye-m-u
 direct DV-INF **meet-NEG-INF exist-NML** PT many-INF spread-
 INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow go.away-NEG-INF-SUB
 dream-LOC PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN
 There are many occasions **when [we] do not meet directly**, [and I]
 want to see [you] in [my] dreams without going away from [your]
 mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

伊毛乎婆美受曾安流倍久安里家留
 imwo-woNpa **myi-Ns-u sö ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u**
 beloved-ACC(EMPH) **see-NEG-INF PT exist-DEB-INF exist-**
INF-RETR-ATTR
 [I] **must not have seen** [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3739)

For more examples, as well as for the contracted form *-(a)Ns-ar- < -(a)Ns-u ar-* see 6.2.2.2.1.2.

(3) The auxiliary *ar-* is used as a dummy verb with no meaning of its own after the adjectival infinitive *-ku* to form various

analytical paradigmatic forms of inflected adjectives, since the latter have only limited paradigms. Examples:

阿加陀麻波袁佐閑比迦禮杼斯良多麻能岐美何余曾比斯多布斗
久阿理祁理

aka-N-tama pa wo sapey pyikar-e-Ntö sira tama-nö kyimyi-Nka
yösöpyi si **taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i**
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel TOP cord PT shine-EV-CONC white jewel-
COMP lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT **revered-INF exist-
INF-RETR-FIN**

Although even the cord of red jewels shines, [I] realized [that I] feel reverence [for my] lord's adorned appearance, which is like a white jewel (KK 7)

伊喻之之乎都那遇舸播杯能倭柯矩娑能倭柯俱阿利岐騰阿我謨
婆儼俱爾

i-y-u sisi-wo tunaNk-u kapa pye-nö waka kusa-nö **waka-ku ar-i-
kyi** tö a-Nka [o]mop-an-aku n-i
shoot-PASS-ATTR(?) game animal-wo follow-ATTR river side-
GEN young grass-COMP **young-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN DV I-
POSS think-NEG-NML DV-INF**

I do not think [he] was as young as young grass on the river side where [we] followed a game animal that was shot, but ... (NK 117)

伊加婆加利故保斯苦阿利家武麻都良佐欲比壳

ika Npakari **kwoposi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u** saywo-pyimye
how PT **be.longing-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN**
Saywo-pyimye
how Saywo-pyimye **must have been longing** (MYS V: 875)

和我多妣波比左思久安良思

wa-Nka taNpyi pa **pyisasi-ku ar-asi**
I-POSS journey TOP **long-INF exist-SUP**
It seems that my journey was long (MYS XV: 3667)

For more examples, as well as for the contracted form *-k-ar-* < *-ku ar-* see 5.2.1.1.

(4) Together with the preceding subordinative gerund *-te* the auxiliary *ar-* forms a perfective-progressive aspect. Examples:

老尔弓阿留我身上尔病遠等加弓阿礼婆晝波母歎加比久良志
OYI-n-i-te ar-u WA-NKA MIY-NŌ UPEY-ni YAMAPYI-wo tō
KUPAPEY-te ar-e-Npa PYIRU pa mō NANKEYK-Ap-yi-kuras-i
age(INF)-PERF-INF-SUB exist-ATTR I-POSS body-GEN top-
 LOC illness-ACC DV **add(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON** daytime
 TOP PT lament-ITER-INF-live-INF
because illnesses **have been added** to my body **that has aged** [I]
 spent the days lamenting, and ... (MYS V: 897)

波之太尔母和多之弓安良波曾乃倍由母伊由伎和多良之
 pasi Ntani mō **watas-i-te ar-aNpa** sōnō [u]pey-yu mō i-yuk-yi-
 watar-as-i
 bridge PT PT **put.over-INF-SUB exist-COND** that top-ABL PT
 DLF-go-INF-cross.over-HON-INF
if [someone] **had** just **put** a bridge over [the Milky Way], [they
 would] go over [it] (MYS XVIII: 4125)

和我勢故我夜度乃也麻夫伎佐吉弓安良婆也麻受可欲波牟
 wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka yaNtwo-nō yamaNpukyi **sak-yi-te ar-aNpa**
 yam-aNs-u kaywop-am-u
 I-POSS elder.brother-POSS dwelling-GEN rose **bloom-INF-SUB**
exist-COND stop-NEG-INF go.back.and.forth-TENT-FIN
If the roses **were blooming** at the dwelling of my friend, [I] would
 come [there] constantly (MYS XX: 4303)

傍上乎波宣牟止為氏奈母抑閑氏在津流
 KATA-NŌ UPEY-woNpa NOTAMAP-Am-u tō S-I-te namō
OSApey-te AR-I-t-uru
 side-GEN top-ACC(EMPH) say(HON)-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-
 SUB PT **hold.back(INF)-SUB exist-INF-PERF-ATTR**
 [we] **have been delaying** [it], as [we] were going to proclaim the
 rest (SM 25)

For more examples, as well as for the contracted form *-tar-* < *-te ar-* see 6.3.1.2.3.

(5) Together with the preceding coordinative gerund *-tutu* the auxiliary *ar-* reinforces the former when it is used in its habitual function. This usage was briefly mentioned in 6.3.1.1.2, so I add more examples here. The construction *-tutu ar-* occurs rather frequently, but the overwhelming majority of examples are in

semantographic writing. I provide here the examples that are either in phonetic or partially semantographic writing. This construction is attested only in the *Man'yōshū* and the *Senmyō*. Examples:

見乍阿礼婆心波母延農

MYI-TUTU ar-e-Npa KÖKÖRÖ pa möye-n-u
look(INF)-COOR exist-EV-CON heart TOP burn(INF)-PERF-FIN

When [I] keep looking, [my] heart has been set on fire (MYS V: 897)

天地等登毛尔母我毛等於毛比都々安里家牟毛能乎

AMEY TUTI-tō tömö n-i möNkamwo omwop-yi-tutu ar-i-ky-em-u
 mwonöwo
 heaven earth-COM together DV-INF PT **think-INF-COOR exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR** CONJ

Although [you] probably continued to think: '[I] would like [to live long] together with Heaven and Earth' ... (MYS XV: 3691)

和礼乎也未尔也伊毛我古非都追安流良牟

ware-wo yamiy-ni ya imwo-Nka kwopiy-tutu ar-am-u
 I-ACC darkness-LOC PT beloved-POSS **long.for(INF)-COOR exist-TENT-ATTR**

Will [my] beloved continue to long for me in the darkness? (MYS XV: 3669)

之努比管有常将告兒毛欲得

sinwop-yi-tutu AR-I tö TUNKEY-M-U **KWO mwoNKAMÖ**
yearn-INF-COOR exist-FIN DV report-TENT-ATTR girl PT
 [I] want a girl who would tell [me] that [she] is constantly yearning for [me] (MYS XVI: 3818)

喜備都都在間仁

YORÖKÖNpiy-tutu AR-U APYINTA-ni
rejoice(INF)-COOR exist-ATTR interval-LOC
 while [they] were continuing to rejoice (SM 42)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The auxiliary verb *ar-* is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

哭乎曾奈伎都流手兒尔安良奈久尔

NE-wo sō nak-yi-t-uru teNKWO **n-i ar-an-aku n-i**
 sound-ACC PT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR baby **DV-INF exist-NEG-**
NML DV-INF

[I] sobbed loudly, although [I] **am not** a baby (MYS XIV: 3485)

安比見受安良婆安礼古非米夜母

apyi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa are kwopiy-m-ey ya mö
COOP-see-NEG-INF exist-COND I yearn-TENT-EV PT PT
if [we] did not see each other, would [I] be yearning for [you]?!
 (MYS XIV: 3508)

安豆麻乎等故能都麻和可礼可奈之久安里家牟

aNtuma wotökwo-nō tuma wakare **kanasi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u**
 East man-GEN spouse part(INF) **sad-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN-**
TENT-FIN

Men from the East, parting with [their] wives, **must have been sad**
 (MYS XX: 4333)

A2: Ryukyuan

The auxiliary *a-* ~ *ar-* is well attested both in Old Ryukyuan and in modern dialects.

Old Ryukyuan

あよがうちやまちよくあれ

ayo-ga uti ya **ma-tiyo-ku ar-e**
 liver-POSS inside TOP INT-**strong-INF exist-IMP**
Be really strong in [your] heart (OS III: 93)

Shuri

'yudi du 'ar-u

read(SUB) PT exist-ATTR
 even [though I] **have read** [it] (RKJ 115)

6.3.2.2.4 Auxiliary wor-

The verb *wor-* 'to exist' can be used as an auxiliary in four functions. The first and third were already described, but I just briefly mentioned the fourth before, and the second is introduced

here for the first time. As an auxiliary, *wor-* may follow the infinitive *-[y]i*, the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u*, the subordinative gerund *-te*, and the coordinative gerund *-tutu*.

(1) The auxiliary *wor-* in combination with the preceding infinitive *-[y]i* forms a construction which seems to have a function of the continuative aspect. The difference between this construction and the *-te wor-* construction described below is not clear. The examples of this construction are relatively rare:

意富牟盧夜爾比登佐波爾岐伊理袁理

opō murwo-ya-ni pyitō sapa n-i **k-yi-ir-i-wor-i**

big cave-house-LOC person many DV-INF **come-INF-enter-INF-exist-FIN**

many people **are coming inside** the big cave dwelling (KK 10)

牟迦比袁流迦母伊蘇比袁流迦母

mukap-yi-wor-u kamō i-swop-yi-wor-u kamō

face-INF-exist-ATTR PT DLF-snuggle-INF-exist-ATTR PT

Oh, [she] **is facing** [me]! Oh, [she] **is snuggling with** [me]! (KK 42)

加久能未夜伊吉豆伎遠良牟

ka-ku nōmiy ya **ikyin tuk-yi-wor-am-u**

thus-INF PT PT **sigh-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR**

Would [I] **be sighing** just like that? (MYS V: 881)

欲流波火等毛之乎流和礼乎

yworu pa PIY **tōmwos-i-wor-u ware-wo**

night TOP fire **burn-INF-exist-ATTR I-ACC**

me, **who is burning** a fire at night (MYS XV: 3669)

多婢乎久流之美故非乎礼婆

taNpyi-wo kurusi-myi **kwopiy-wor-e-Npa**

travel-ABS be.hard-GER **long.for(INF)-exist-EV-CON**

because the travel is hard, **when** [I] **am longing** for [my home] (MYS XV: 3674)

For one additional example see 6.2.2.2.1.1.

(2) The auxiliary *wor-* used after the negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* probably also indicates a continuative aspect, but since there is only

one example of this usage in Western Old Japanese it is difficult to define it exactly:

伊弊於毛布等伊乎衿受乎礼婆

ipyē omwop-u tö i-wo **ne-Ns-u wor-e-Npa**

home think DV sleep-ACC **sleep-NEG-INF exist-EV-CON**

when [I] continue not to sleep (a sleep) thinking of [my] home
(MYS XX: 4400)

(3) The auxiliary *wor-* in combination with the preceding subordinative gerund *-te* forms a construction which seems to have a function of the continuative aspect. Reliable examples in phonetic or partially semantographic writing are quite rare. Note the difference between the constructions *-te ar-* and *-te wor-*: the latter never has a perfective function, while the former does. Examples:

於久礼弓乎礼杼与伎許等毛奈之

okure-te wor-e-Ntō yō-kyi kötō mwo na-si

stay.behind(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CONC good-ATTR thing PT
no-FIN

although [I] am staying behind, [it] is no good, either (MYS XV: 3773)

難麻理弓居葦河尔

namar-i-te wor-u ASI kani

hide-INF-SUB exist-ATTR reed crab

a reed crab **who is hiding** (MYS XVI: 3886)

新年始尔思共伊牟礼氏乎礼婆

ARATASI-KYI TOSI-NŌ PANSIMEY-ni OMÖP-U-N-TWOTI **i-**

mure-te wor-e-Npa

new-ATTR year-GEN beginning-LOC think-ATTR-GEN-
companion **DLF-gather(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON**

When the friends who think [in the same way] **are gathering** at the beginning of the year ... (MYS XIX: 4284)

For one additional example of this construction see 6.3.1.1.1.

(4) Together with the preceding coordinative gerund *-tutu* auxiliary *wor-* reinforces the former when it is used in its habitual function. This usage was briefly mentioned in 6.3.1.1.2, so I add

two more examples here. There are not many reliable examples in the phonetic script:

多麻志未乎美受弓夜和礼波故飛都々遠良武

tamasima-wo myi-Ns-u-te ya ware pa **kwopiy-tutu wor-am-u**
Tamasima(p.n.)-ACC see-NEG-INF-SUB PT I TOP
long.for(INF)-COOR exist-TENT-ATTR

Would I continue to long for Tamasima without seeing [it]?
(MYS V: 862)

佐欲比賣能故何比列布利斯夜麻能名乃尾夜伎々都々遠良武

Saywo-pyimye n-ō kwo-Nka pyire pur-i-si yama-nō NA nōmiy ya
kyik-yi-tutu wor-am-u

Saywo-pyimye DV-ATTR girl-POSS long.scarf wave-INF-
PAST/ATTR mountain-GEN name PT PT **hear-INF-COOR exist-
TENT-ATTR**

**Would [I] continue just to hear the name of the mountain where
the girl Saywo-pyimye waived [her] long scarf?** (MYS V: 868)

奈伎都々乎礼杼安布余思毛奈之

nak-yi-tutu wor-e-Ntō ap-u yōsi mwo na-si
cry-INF-COOR exist-EV-CONC meet-ATTR chance PT no-FIN
although [I] keep crying, there is no chance to meet (MYS XV:
3762)

伊母祢受尔今日毛之賣良尔孤悲都追曾乎流

i mö ne-Ns-u n-i KYEPU mwo siramyē n-i **kwop-i-tutu sō wor-u**
sleep PT sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF today PT ? DV-INF **love-INF-
COOR PT exist-ATTR**

without sleeping (a sleep), [I] **continue to love** [you] today, too
(MYS XVII: 3969)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The auxiliary *wor-* is attested twice in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, but on both occasions it is found in poems that have no peculiar Eastern Old Japanese features.

中麻奈尔宇伎乎流布祢能許藝弓奈婆

NAKAmāna-ni **uk-yi-wor-u** pune-nō kōNk-yi-[i]Nte-Npa

Nakamana-LOC **float-INF-exist-ATTR** boat-GEN row-INF-exit-COND

if the boat **that is floating** in Nakamana [harbor] would row out ... (MYS XIV: 3401)

古非都追母乎良牟等須礼杼

kwopiy-tutu mö wor-am-u tö s-ure-Ntö

long.for(INF)-COOR PT exist-TENT-FIN DV do-EV-CONC

Although [I] think that [I] **will be longing for** [you] ... (MYS XIV: 3475)

A2: Ryukyuan

The auxiliary *wo-* ~ *wor-* is well attested in Old Ryukyuan and dialects.

Old Ryukyuan

In Old Ryukyuan a variety of spellings of this auxiliary are found: *wor-* ~ *or-* ~ *yor-*, but the most usual spelling is *yor-*:

けよわのがしよらい

keyo wa no ga **s-i-yor-ai**

today TOP what PT **do-INF-exist-TENT2**

What **will** [they] **do** today? (OS V: 265)

けおわのかしよらしよ

keo wa no ka **s-i-yor-asiyo**

today TOP what PT **do-INF-exist-SUP**

What **would** [they] **do** today? (OS VII: 376)

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)

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)

Yaeyama

num-ee ur-eeN
 drink-SUB exist-FIN
 [I] have drunk [it] (Karimata 1997b: 408)

6.3.2.2.5 *Directive auxiliaries*

Directive auxiliaries indicate the direction of movement of an action, such as up and down, towards and away from the speaker, etc.

6.3.2.2.5.1 *Directive auxiliary kö-*

The verb *kö-* ‘to come’ used as a directive auxiliary indicates that an action is directed to the place where the speaker (or, in some cases, the person under discussion) is located. It can also indicate that an action is developing towards the present moment, although the cases of this usage are not very frequent. The directive auxiliary *kö-* follows the infinitive of the main verb or the infinitive of another auxiliary.

和岐弊能迦多用久毛韋多知久母
 wa-Nk[a]-yipye-nö kata-ywo kumwowi **tat-i-k-umö**
 I-POSS-home-GEN side-ABL cloud **rise-INF-come-EXCL**
 Clouds **rise** from the side of my home! (KK 34)

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受衰勢
matur-i-kö-si myi-kyi Nsö as-aNs-u wos-e
present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR rice.wine PT
 shallow-NEG-INF drink(HON)-IMP
 Drink the **presented** rice wine deeply! (KK 39)

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾字知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻
 韋久禮
 sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka ip-yes-e kösö uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu
k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-ure
 noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS speak(INF)-HON-EV PT
 PREF-cross-ATTR ?-POSS?-COMP **come-INF-enter-INF-**
HUM(INF)-come-EV
 you spoke noisily and [you] **came inside** like ? that crossed from afar (KK 63)

意富岐美袁斯麻爾波夫良婆布那阿麻理伊賀弊理許牟叙
 opō kyimiyi-wo sima-ni paNpur-aNpa puna-amar-i i-Nkapyer-i-kō-
 m-u Nsō
 great lord-ACC island-LOC exile-COND boat-exceed-INF **DLF-
 return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR** PT
 if [they] exile [my] great lord to an island, there are many boats,
 and [he] **would return here** (KK 86)

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
 予利據柁
 isi-kapa-kata-puti kata-puti-ni amyi par-i-watas-i mey-rō yōs-i-ni
 yōs-i **yōr-i-kō-n-e**
 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-IMP**
 [Girls, I] **wish** [you] **would come near**, like [they] bring near the
 meshes, spreading nets across at the side pool of a stony river (NK
 3)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農
 nani tō kamō utukusi imō-Nka mata sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u
 what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS **again bloom-INF-exit(INF)-
 come-NEG-ATTR**
 for (lit: being) what [reason], I wonder, **does not** [my] beautiful
 beloved **bloom** again? (NK 114)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流
 op-yi-k-uru mōnō pa mwomwo kusa n-i semey-yōr-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 a hundred
 varieties (MYS V: 804)

比佐可多能阿米欲里由吉能那何列久流加母
 pyisa kata n-ō amey-ywori yukyi-nō naNkare-k-uru kamō
 eternal hard DV-ATTR heaven-ABL snow-GEN flow(INF)-**come-
 ATTR** PT
 I wonder [whether it is] snow that **flows down** from the eternal and
 strong heaven (MYS V: 822)

神代欲理云傳久良久

KAMIY YŌ-ywori **IP-YI-TUTE-k-ur-aku**

deity age-ABL **say-INF-convey(INF)-come-ATTR-NML**

The things [they] **conveyed orally** from the Age of Deities **up to now** (MYS V: 894)

横風乃爾布敷可爾覆来礼婆

YŌKŌSIMA-KANSE-nō nipuNpuka n-i **OPOP-YI-K-YI-Tar-e-Npa**

cross.wind-GEN sudden DV-INF **cover-INF-come-INF-PERF/PROG-EV-CON**

a cross wind suddenly **came to cover** [us] (MYS V: 904)

遠妻四高尔有世婆不知十方手綱乃濱能尋来名益

TŌPO TUMA si TAKA-ni AR-I-s-eNpa SIR-ANS-U tōmo TANTUNA-nō PAMA-LOC **TANTUNE-K-YI-n-amasi**

distant wife PT Taka-LOC exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND know-NEG-FIN CONJ [TaNtuna-GEN beach-COMP – *makura-kotoba*] **seek-(INF)-come-INF-PERF-SUBJ**

If my wife, who is far away [from me], were in Taka, even if [I] did not know, [I] **would come looking for** [her] (MYS IX: 1746)

保等穗跡妹尔不相来尔家里

potōpotō IMWO-ni **AP-ANS-U-K-YI-n-i-kyer-i**

almost beloved-DAT **meet-NEG-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**

[It] **came** [to the point] **that** [I] almost **do not meet** [my] beloved [any more] (MYS X: 1979)

和須礼我比与世伎弓於家礼於伎都之良奈美

wasure-N-kapyi **yōse-k-yi-te ok-yer-e** okyi-tu sira namyi

forget(NML)-GEN-shell **bring(INF)-come-INF-SUB put-PROG-IMP** offing-GEN/LOC white wave

white waves of the offing, **bring** [to me] the shell of forgetfulness (MYS XV: 3629)

毛美知和礼由伎弓可敝里久流末但知里許須奈由米

mwomyit-i ware yuk-yi-te **kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte** tir-i-kōs-una yumey

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML I go-INF-SUB **return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM** fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP at.all

Red leaves! Please do not fall at all until I go and **come back**
(MYS XV: 3702)

和我世故我可反里吉麻佐武等技能多米伊能知能己佐牟和須礼
多麻布奈

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka **kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-am-u** tökyi-nö tamey
inöti nökö-s-am-u wasure-tamap-una

I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS **return-INF-come-INF-HON-TENT-ATTR** time-GEN for life leave-TENT-ATTR forget(INF)-HON-NEG/IMP

Do not forget, my beloved, that [I] will stay alive until [you] **return** (MYS XV: 3774)

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 (MYS XVII: 4025)

可敝里許牟麻須良多家乎尔美伎多弓麻都流

kapyer-i-kö-m-u masura takye wo-ni myi-kyi tatematur-u
return-INF-come-TENT-ATTR excellent brave man-DAT HON-
rice.wine present-FIN

[I] will present the rice wine to the excellent brave men **who will come back** (MYS XIX: 4262)

事之乎波良婆都々麻波受可敝理伎麻勢

KÖTÖ si wopar-aNpa tutum-ap-aNs-u **kapyer-i-k-yi-[i]mas-e**
job PT end-COND be.hindered-ITER-NEG-INF **return-INF-come-INF-HON-IMP**

when [your] job is over, **come back** without being hindered [by anything] (MYS XX: 4331)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The directive auxiliary *kō-* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese.
Examples:

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure sō papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-ky-em-u

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
why (lit.: having done what) the flower called ‘Mother’ has not bloomed? (MYS XX: 4323)

加比利久麻弓尔已波比弓麻多祢

kapyir-i-k-u-maNte-ni ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
return-INF-come-ATTR¹²⁸ -TERM-LOC pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP

pray and wait [for me] until [I] return (MYS XX: 4339)

伊弓久礼婆和努等里都伎弓伊比之古奈波毛

iNte-k-ure-Npa wanu tör-i-tuk-yi-te ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mö
exit(INF)-come-EV-CON I grab-INF-attach-INF-SUB say-INF-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM TOP PT

when [I] left [the house], oh, [that] girl who grabbed me and complained (MYS XX: 4358)

A2: Ryukyuan

The directive auxiliary *ku-* is attested in Old Ryukyuan and in modern dialects.

Old Ryukyuan

もゝつかわりくるきやめ

momo tu kawar-i-k-uru-kiyame
hundred times change-INF-come-ATTR-TERM
until [I] am reborn [one] hundred times (OS V: 243)

Miyako

adza-ga munuu muč-i-kuu
elder.brother-POSS thing(ACC) bring-INF-come(IMP)
Bring here the things of elder brother (Karimata 1997a: 393)

¹²⁸ Formally the form *k-u* looks like a final, but since it is followed by the case marker *-maNte*, functionally it must be an attributive.

6.3.2.2.5.2 Directive auxiliary yuk-

The verb *yuk-* ‘to go’ used as a directive auxiliary indicates that an action is directed away from the place where the speaker (or, in some cases, the person under discussion) is located. It can also indicate that an action is developing towards the future. The directive auxiliary *yuk-* follows the infinitive of a main verb.

都紀波岐閑由久

tukiy pa k-yi **pey-yuk-u**

month TOP **come-INF pass(INF)-go-FIN**

months come and **pass away** (KK 28)

摩菟麼邏珥和多利喻祗低

matuNpara-ni **watar-i-yuk-yi-te**

matuNpara-LOC **cross.over-INF-go-INF-SUB**

crossing over to MatuNpara (NK 28)

箇破能区莽遇莽豫呂朋譬喻玖伽茂于羅遇破能紀

kapa-nō kuma-Nkuma **yöröp-op-yi-yuk-u** kamo ura-N-kupa n-ō
kiy

river-GEN bend-bend **approach-ITER-INF-go-ATTR** PT top-
DV(ATTR)-mulberry DV-ATTR tree

Oh! The top mulberry tree **constantly approaches** the bends of the river! (NK 56)

山羽尔味村驂去奈礼騰吾者左夫思惠君二四不在者

YAMA-NŌ pa-ni aNti MURA **SAWAK-YI-YUK-U-nar-e-Ntō**

WARE PA saNpusi we KYIMYI n-i si AR-AN-E-NPA

mountain-GEN edge-LOC duck flock **make.noise-INF-go-FIN-**

RA-EV-CONC I TOP sad(FIN) EXCL lord DV-INF PT exist-
NEG-EV-CON

Although [it] is heard that flocks of ducks at the mountain edges
are making noises flying away, oh, I am sad, because [it] is not
[my] lord (MYS IV: 486)

吉倍由久等志

k-yi **pey-yuk-u** tōsi

come-**INF pass(INF)-go-ATTR** year

the year **that** came and **passes away** (MYS V: 881)

百重山越弓須疑由伎伊都斯可母京師乎美武等意母比都々
 MWOMWO-PYE YAMA KWOYE-te **suNkiy-yuk-yi** itu si kamö
 MYIYAKWO-wo myi-m-u tö omöp-yi-tutu
 hundred-CL mountain cross.over(INF)-SUB **pass(INF)-go-INF**
 when PT PT capital-ACC see-TENT-ATTR DV think-INF-COOR
 crossing over and **passing through** hundreds of mountains [I] was
 thinking: “When will [I] see the capital, I wonder?” (MYS V: 886)

君尔也毛登奈安我孤悲由加牟
 KYIMYI-ni ya mwotöna a-Nka **kwopiy-yuk-am-u**
 lord-DAT PT in.vain I-POSS **long.for(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR**
Would I continue to long for you in vain? (MYS XV: 3690)

布祢波許藝由可奈
 pune pa **köNk-yi-yuk-ana**
 boat TOP row-INF-go-DES
 [I] **want [our] boats to row out** (MYS XV: 3721)

日能久礼由氣婆家乎之曾於毛布
 PYI-nö **kure-yuk-e-Npa** IPYE-wo si sö omwop-u
 sub-GEN **set(INF)-go-EV-CON** home-ACC PT PT think-ATTR
because the sun is setting, [I] think of [my] home (MYS XVII:
 3895)

与呂豆余尔伊比都藝由可牟
 yöröNtu yö-ni **ip-yi-tuNk-yi-yuk-am-u**
 ten.thousand generation-LOC **say-INF-follow-INF-go-TENT-FIN**
 [I] **would continue to talk** [about it] for ten thousand generations
 (MYS XVII: 4003)

敷治奈美能佐伎由久見礼婆
 puNti namyi-nö **sak-yi-yuk-u** MYI-re-Npa
 wisteria wave-GEN **bloom-INF-go-ATTR** see-EV-CON
 When [I] see the waves of wisteria **blooming everywhere** ...
 (MYS XVIII: 4042)

宇恵之田毛麻吉之波多氣毛安佐其登尔之保美可礼由苦
 uwe-si TA mwo mak-yi-si patakey mwo asa Nkötö n-i siN**pom-yi-**
kare-yuk-u
 plant(INF)-PAST/ATTR paddy PT sow-INF-PAST/ATTR field PT
 morning every DV-INF **wither-INF-wither(INF)-go-FIN**

Planted paddies and sowed fields **continue to wither** every morning (MYS XVIII: 4122)

石瀬野尔馬太伎由吉氏

IWASE NWO-ni UMA-N-tak-yi-yuk-yi-te

Iwase field-LOC horse-DAT-steer-INF-go-INF-SUB

[I] **steer** [my] **horse** to the Iwase field (MYS XIX: 4154)

白雪能布里之久山乎越由加牟君

SIRA YUKYI-nö pur-i-sik-u YAMA-wo KWOYE-yuk-am-u KYIMYI

white snow-GEN fall-INF-cover-ATTR mountain-ACC **cross.over(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR** lord

you **who will cross over** the mountains covered with white snow (MYS XIX: 4281)

宇都里由久時見其登尔許己呂伊多久

utur-i-yuk-u TÖKYI MYI-RU Nkötö n-i kökörö ita-ku

change-INF-go-ATTR time see-ATTR every DV-INF heart painful-INF

Every time that [I] see times **that are changing** [my] heart aches, and ... (MYS XX: 4483)

弥繼爾受賜波利行牟物等之弓

IYA TUNK-YI TUNK-YI n-i UKEY-TAMAp*ar*-i-YUK-Am-u MÖNÖ tö s-i-te

more follow-NML follow-NML DV-INF **accept(INF)-HUM-INF-go-TENT-ATTR** thing DV do-INF-SUB

as a thing **that [we] will continue to accept** for a greater posterity (SM 9)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The directive auxiliary *yuk-* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese in one example:

阿志加良能美佐可多麻波理可閑理美須阿例波久江由久

asiNkara-nö myi-saka tamapar-i kapyer-i-myi-Ns-u are pa **kuye-yuk-u**

AsiNkara-GEN HON-slope receive(HUM)-INF return-INF-look-NEG-INF I TOP **cross.over(INF)-go-FIN**

[I] received [the permission of the deities to cross] the AsiNkara slope, and I **will cross over**[it] without looking back (MYS XX: 4372)

A2: Ryukyuan

It seems that both Old Ryukyuan *ik-* and modern Shuri *'ich-* that are counterparts of WOJ auxiliary *yuk-* follow not the infinitive, but the subordinative gerund form of a main verb. This is highly reminiscent of the same usage in modern Japanese which is different from both Western Old Japanese and Middle Japanese. I was unable to find any examples from other modern dialects, but this may be due to the paucity of descriptions rather than the lack of the auxiliary itself.

Old Ryukyuan

しよりもりのぼていけは

shiyori mori **nobo-te ik-e-pa**

Shuri shrine **climb-SUB go-EV-CON**

when [I] **climb** [to] the Shuri shrine (OS V: 214)

Shuri

'yudi 'ich-uN

read(SUB) go-FIN

to progress in reading (RKJ 249)

6.3.2.2.5.3 Directive auxiliaries *iNte-* and *iNtas-*

The verbs *iNte-* 'to go out', 'to exit' and *iNtas-* 'to take out' used as directive auxiliaries indicate that the movement of an action is carried from inside one area to another area. Both *iNte-* and *iNtas-* can appear in their full forms, preserving the initial vowel /i/, and in their short forms /Nte-/ and /Ntas-/. These short forms are transcribed in this grammar as [i]Nte- and [i]Ntas-. The presence or absence of the initial vowel probably depended on presence or absence of a juncture between the main and the auxiliary verb. The difference between *iNte-* and *iNtas-* seems to be connected at least partially to transitivity. The former is used predominantly with intransitive main verbs (including also quasi-transitives, like *kōNk-* 'to row'), while

the latter is attested only with transitive main verbs, although there are only two examples of *iNtas-* attested in Western Old Japanese (see MYS XV: 3765 and BS 4 below). Both follow the infinitive of a main verb.

母登弊波岐美袁淤母比傳須惠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

mötö-pye pa kyimiyi-wo **omöp-yi-[i]Nte** suwe-pye pa imwo-wo
omöp-yi-[i]Nte irana-ky-eku sökō-ni **omöp-yi-[i]Nte** kanasi-ky-
eku kökō-ni **omöp-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 regret, [I] **remember** [my beloved] here with sorrow (KK 51)

和斯里底能與慮斯企夜麼

wasir-i-[i]Nte n-ō yörōsi-kyi yama
run-INF-exit(NML) DV-ATTR good-ATTR mountain
good mountains **that run out** (NK 77)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農

nani tō kamō utukusi imō-Nka mata **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u**
what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS again **bloom-INF-exit(INF)-**
come-NEG-ATTR

for (lit: being) what [reason], I wonder, **does not** [my] beautiful
beloved **bloom** again? (NK 114)

今者許藝乞菜

IMA PA **kōNk-yi-iNte-na**
now TOP **row-INF-exit-DES**
Let [us] **row out** [to the sea] now (MYS I: 8)

伊波紀欲利奈利提志比等迦

ipa-kiy-ywori **nar-i-[i]Nte-si** pyitō ka
rock-wood-ABL **become-INF-exit(INF)-PAST/ATTR** person PT
Are [you] a person **born** from rock and wood? (MYS V: 800)

和我中能産礼出有白玉之吾子古日

wa-Nka NAKA-nō **UMAre-INTE-TAR-U** SIRA TAMA-nō WA-NKA KWO Purupyī

we-POSS inside-GEN **be.born(INF)-exit(INF)-PERF/PROG-ATTR** white jewel-COMP we-POSS child Purupyī

Our white jewel-like son Purupyī **who was born** to us (MYS V: 904)

何時可毛比等等奈理伊弓天

ITU SI kamwo pyitō tō **nar-i-iNte-te**

when PT PT person DV **become-INF-exit(INF)-SUB**

when [he] **becomes** a [grown-up] person (MYS V: 904)

左和良妣乃毛要出春

sa-waraNpyi-nō **mwoye-INT-URU** PARU

PREF-fern-GEN **bud(INF)-exit-ATTR** spring

spring **when** ferns **bud** (MYS VIII: 1418)

麻都里太須可多美乃母能乎比等等尔之賣須奈

matur-i-[i]Ntas-u katamyi n-ō mōnō-wo pyitō-ni simyēs-una

present(HUM)-put.out-ATTR keepsake DV-ATTR thing-ACC person-DAT show-NEG/IMP

do not show to others the keepsake **that [I] presented** [to you] (MYS XV: 3765)

己藝仔奈牟君我美布祢

kōNk-yi-[i]Nte-n-am-u KYIMYI-Nka myi-pune

row-INF-exit(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR lord-POSS HON-boat

your boat **that has probably rowed out** (MYS XV: 3705)

和波己藝湍奴等伊弊尔都氣己曾

wa pa **kōNk-yi-[i]Nte-n-u** tō ipye-ni tuNkey-kōs-ō

I TOP **row-INF-go.out(INF)-PERF-FIN** DV report(INF)-BEN-IMP

Please tell [the folks at my] home that I **have sailed out** (MYS XX: 4408)

己乃美阿止夜与呂豆比賀利乎波奈知伊太志毛呂毛呂須久比和多志多麻波奈須久比多麻波奈

kōnō myi-atō ya-yōrōNtu pyikari-wo **panat-i-iNtas-i** mworō-mworō sukup-yi-watas-i-tamap-ana sukup-yi-tamap-ana

this HON-foot.print eight-ten.thousand light-ACC **emanate-INF-put.out-INF** all-all save-INF-lead.across-INF-HON-DES save-INF-HON-DES

This footprint **emanates** myriad lights, and [I] want [it] to save everybody, leading [them] across, [I] want [it] to save [them] (BS 4)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The directive auxiliary *iNte-* (but not *iNtas-*) is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese. It appears only with intransitive and quasi-transitive verbs. Examples:

布祢能許藝弓奈婆安布許等可多思

pune-nō **kōNk-yi-[i]Nte-n-aNpa** ap-u kötō kata-si
boat-COMP **row-INF-exit(INF)-PERF-COND** meet-ATTR
matter difficult-FIN

if [you] **row out** like a boat, it is difficult to meet (MYS XIV: 3401)

奈爾須禮曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥已受祁牟

nani s-ure sö papa tö [i]p-u pana-nō **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-ky-em-u**

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN **bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR**

why (lit.: having done what) **has** the flower called 'Mother' **not bloomed?** (MYS XX: 4323)

奈尔波刀乎已岐渥弓美例婆

nanipa two-wo **kōNk-yi-[i]Nte-te** myi-re-Npa

Nanipa harbor-ACC **row-INF-exit(INF)-SUB** look-EV-CON

When [you] **row out** of the Nanipa harbor and look ... (MYS XX: 4380)

A2: Ryukyuan

I was able to locate the intransitive verb *itife-* [ide-] 'to go out' as an auxiliary only in Old Ryukyuan. On the other hand, I found the transitive *'izas-* 'to put out' only in the Nakijin dialect. These auxiliaries probably exist in modern dialects, too, but the available descriptions do not mention them.

Old Ryukyuan

はつにしかおしいちへは

fatu nisi-ka **os-i-itife-fa**first northern.wind-NOM **push-INF-exit-CON**when the first northern wind **blows out** (OS VII: 349)Nakijin

u-i-[i]zas-uN

chase-INF-put.out-FINN

to chase out (Nakasone 1983: 40)

6.3.2.2.5.4 Directive auxiliaries ir- and ire-

The verbs *ir-* ‘to enter’ and *ire-* ‘to insert’, ‘to put in’ used as directive auxiliaries indicate that the movement of an action is carried into a certain area. Both *ir-* and *ire-* can appear in their full forms, preserving the initial vowel /i/, and in their short forms /r-/ and /re-/. These short forms are transcribed in this grammar as [i]r- and [i]re-. The presence or absence of the initial vowel probably depended on presence or absence of a juncture between the main and the auxiliary verb. The difference between *ir-* and *ire-* is connected to transitivity, although there are not many examples. The former is used with intransitive main verbs and the quasi-transitive *kōNk-* ‘to row’, while the latter is attested only with two transitive main verbs, *kwok-* ‘to rub through’ and *otōs-* ‘to drop.’ Both *ir-* and *ire-* follow the infinitive of a main verb.

意富牟盧夜爾比登佐波爾岐伊理袁理

opō murwo-ya-ni pyitō sapa n-i **k-yi-ir-i-wor-i**big cave-house-LOC person many DV-INF **come-INF-enter-INF-exist-FIN**many people **are coming inside** the big cave dwelling (KK 10)佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾宇知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻
韋久禮sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka ip-yes-e kōsō uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu
k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-urenoisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS speak(INF)-HON-EV PT
PREF-cross-ATTR ?-POSS?-COMP **come-INF-enter-INF-HUM(INF)-come-EV**

you spoke noisily and [you] **came inside** like ? that crossed from afar (KK 63)

奥津浪諍榜入来白水郎之釣船

okyi-tu NAMYI SINWONK-YI **KÖNK-YI-[I]R-I-KÖ** AMA-NÖ
TUR-I-N-PUNE

offing-GEN/LOC wave push.aside-INF **row-INF-enter-INF-come(IMP)** fisherman-GEN fish-NML-GEN-boat

Fishing boat of fishermen! **Row in here**, cutting through the waves of the offing (MYS XIII: 3225)

夜良尔新羅斧墮入和之

yara-ni SIRANKYI WONÖ **OTÖS-I-IRE** wasi

sea(?)-LOC Silla axe **drop-INF-insert(INF)** INTER

oh, [I] **dropped** the Silla axe **into** the sea (MYS XVI: 3878)

蘇泥尔毛古伎礼

swoNte-ni mwo **kwok-yi-[i]re**

sleeve-LOC PT **rub.through-INF-insert(INF)**

[they] **rub** [the flowers] **into** [their] sleeves, and ... (MYS XVIII: 4111)

袖尔古伎礼都

SWONTE-ni **kwok-yi-[i]re-t-u**

sleeve-LOC **rub.through-INF-insert(INF)-PERF-FIN**

[they] **have rubbed** [the flowers] **into** [their sleeves] (MYS XIX: 4192)

落奴倍美袖尔古伎納都藤浪乃花

oti-n-uNpey-myi SWONTE-ni **kwok-yi-[I]RE-t-u** PUNTI
NAMYI-nö PANA

fall(INF)-PERF-DEB-GER sleeve-LOC **rub.through-INF-insert(INF)-PERF-FIN** Fuji wave-GEN flower

because [they] would have fallen, [I] **have rubbed into** my sleeves (the waves of) wisteria flowers (MYS XIX: 4193a)

安之婢乃波奈乎蘇弓尔古伎礼奈

asiNpyi-nö pana-wo swoNte-ni **kwok-yi-[i]re-na**

andromeda-GEN flower-ACC sleeve-LOC **rub.through-INF-insert-DES**

[I] **want to rub** andromeda flowers **into** [my] sleeves (MYS XX: 4512)

進入倍支奥地

SUSUM-YI-IR-UNpey-kyi OKU-NÖ TÖKÖRÖ
advance-INF-enter-DEB-ATTR inside-GEN place
 the interior territory **which** [they] **should have advanced into** (SM 62)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The directive auxiliaries *ir-* and *ire-* are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

I was able to locate examples of cognates of the Western Old Japanese transitive *ire-* ‘to insert’ used as an auxiliary in Old Ryukyuan and in the Nakijin dialect. It probably exists in other modern dialects, too, but the available descriptions do not mention it.

Old Ryukyuan

とまりしらねともくちやしらねともさしまわちへいれてぬき
 まわちへいれて

tomari sir-an-e-tomo kuti ya sir-an-e-tomo **sas-i-mawatife-ire-te
 nuk-yi-mawatife-ire-te**

harbor know-NEG-EV-CONC entrance TOP know-NEG-EV-
 CONC **insert-INF-turn(SUB)-insert(INF)-SUB** **pull-INF-
 turn(SUB)-insert(INF)-SUB**

although [I] do not know the harbor, although [I] do not know the
 entrance [to the harbor], **guide** [my boat] **in**, **pull** [my boat] **in** (OS
 XIII: 798)

Nakijin

hač-i-ir-uN

write-INF-insert-FIN

to write in (Nakasone 1983: 52)

6.3.2.2.5.5 Directive auxiliaries *aNkey-* and *aNkar-*

The verbs *aNkey-* ‘to raise’ and *aNkar-* ‘to rise’ used as directive auxiliaries indicate that the movement of an action is going in an upward direction.¹²⁹ The difference between *aNkey-* and *aNkar-* might be historically connected to transitivity, although the distinction is not as clear-cut as with other similar pairs of directive auxiliaries. Both are used with transitive and intransitive verbs in Western Old Japanese, although there are only two examples of *aNkar-* and five examples of *aNkey-* spelled phonetically in the texts where we really can tell the difference between these two. Both *aNkey-* and *aNkar-* follow the infinitive of a main verb. Examples:

夜麻登弊迹爾斯布岐阿宜弓

yamatō-pye-ni nisi **puk-yi-aNkey-te**

Yamato-side-LOC western.wind **blow-INF-raise(INF)-SUB**

Western wind **blows up** towards Yamato, **and ...** (KK 55)

夜麻等弊爾加是布企阿義天

yamatō pye-ni kaNse **puk-yi-aNkey-te**

Yamato-side-LOC wind **blow-INF-raise(INF)-SUB**

Wind **blows up** towards Yamato, **and ...** (FK 13)

奈良能美夜故尔咩佐宜多麻波祢

nara-nō miyakwo-ni **myes-aNkey-tamap-an-e**

Nara-GEN capital-LOC **call(HON)(INF)-raise(INF)-HON-DES-IMP**

[I] **want** [you] **to summon** [me to come] **up** to the capital of Nara (MYS V: 882)

This is an interesting example for two reasons. First, *myes-aNkey-* is an obvious contraction of **myes-i-aNkey-*, where the infinitive marker of the main verb underwent contraction. Second, the auxiliary *aNkey-* here indicates the motion of the speaker who is outside of the capital towards the capital, expressing pretty much the same function that modern Japanese *nobor-* would have in the same case.

宇梅乃落花之安米尔登妣安我里

uMEY-nō TIR-U PANA si amey-ni **tōNp-yi-aNkar-i**

plum-GEN fall-ATTR blossom PT heaven-LOC **fly-INF-rise-INF**

falling plum blossoms **fly up** to heaven, **and ...** (MYS XVII: 3906)

¹²⁹ It is interesting that there are no uncontroversially attested auxiliaries in Western Old Japanese that indicate a downward action.

芳理夫久路等利安宜麻敏尔於吉

pari-N-pukurwo **tör-i-aNkey** mapye-ni ok-yi
 needle-GEN-bag **take-INF-raise(INF)** front-LOC place-INF
bringing up the needle bag and placing [it] in front (MYS XVIII:
 4129)

美母乃須蘇都美安氣可伎奈渥

myi-mö-nö suswo **tum-yi-aNkey** kakyi-naNte
 HON-skirt-GEN hem **pick-INF-raise(INF)** PREF-caress(INF)
 [my mother] **picked up** [her] skirt hems **and** caressed [me] (MYS
 XX: 4408)

山川淨所者孰俱加母見行阿加良閑賜牟

YAMA KAPA-NÖ KYIYWO-KYI TÖKÖRÖ-WONPA TARE-
 TÖ TÖMÖ n-i kamö **MYI-SÖNAP-AS-I-aNkar-apey-TAMAP-
 Am-u**

mountain river-GEN clean-ATTR place-ACC(EMPH) who-COM
 together DV-INF PT **look(INF)-put.in.order-HON-INF-rise-
 ITER-HON-TENT-ATTR**

With whom will [I] **be constantly looking up** together at the clean
 places of mountains and rivers, I wonder? (SM 51)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The directive auxiliaries *aNkey-* and *aNkar-* are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

Both *age-* and *agar-* are attested as auxiliaries in Old Ryukyuan. I was only able to find examples of the transitive *agiir-* used as an auxiliary in the Nakijin dialect. It probably exists in other modern dialects, too, but the available descriptions do not mention it.

Old Ryukyuan

きこゑ大きみきやあめもらんもりにいのりあかりしよ

kik-o-we-fo-kimi-kiya ame mor-aN mori-ni **inor-i-akar-i s-iyō**
 hear-ATTR-voice(?)-great-lady-NOM rain leak-NEG/ATTR
 sacred.grove-LOC **pray-INF-rise-NML do-FIN**

The great priestess **offers** [her] **prayers** in the sacred grove where the rain cannot leak (OS I: 30)

みよたちやはぬきあけてよおたちやはおしあけて

mi-yo-tat-i-ya-fa **nuk-yi-ake-te** yo-tat-i-ya-fa **os-i-ake-te**

HON-world-stand-NML-ACC-TOP **pull-INF-raise(INF)-SUB**

world-stand-NML-ACC-TOP **push-INF-raise(INF)-SUB**

pulling up the king, **pushing up** the king (OS I: 39)

Nakijin

muč-i-agiir-uN

hold-INF-raise-FIN

to bring up (Nakasone 1983: 8)

6.3.2.2.5.6 Directive auxiliary *yar-*

The verb *yar-* ‘to send’ used as a directive auxiliary indicates that the action expressed by the main verb is directed at a certain object (or goal) located some distance from the agent. It also may indicate that an action simply passes away into the distance as in the examples from MYS V: 804 and MYS XVII: 4008 below. The auxiliary *yar-* normally follows the infinitive of the main verb directly, although in one case it is attested following the infinitive of a causative stem of a verb (see MYS XIX: 4154 below). It is a rare auxiliary, attested only in the *Man'yōshū* (and predominantly in the later texts) and in the *Norito*. I provide below the majority of the phonetically attested examples from the *Man'yōshū*. All examples from *Norito* are semantographic, so I do not include them here.

等伎能佐迦利乎等々尾迦祢周具斯野利都礼

tōkyi-nō sakar-i-wo tōNtōmiy-kane **suNkus-i-yar-i-t-ure**

time-GEN bloom-NML-ACC stop(INF)-NEG/POT(INF) **pass-INF-send-INF-PERF-EV**

[they] **have spent** [their lives] being unable to stop the prime of their lives (MYS V: 804)

可敝之也流都可比奈家礼婆

kapyes-i-yar-u tukapyi na-kyere-Npa

return-INF-send-ATTR messenger no-EV-CON

because there is no messenger **to send** [it] **back** (MYS XV: 3627)

奈良能弥夜故尔許登都氣夜良武

nara-nō miyakwo-ni kötō **tuNkey-yar-am-u**

Nara-GEN capital-LOC word **report(INF)-send-TENT-FIN**

[I] **would send a message** to the capital of Nara (MYS XV: 3676)

間使毛夜流余之母奈之於母保之伎許登都氏夜良受

MA-N-TUKAPYI mwo yar-u yōsi mö na-si omöp-osi-kyi kötō
tute-yar-aNs-u

interval-GEN-messenger PT send-ATTR chance PT no-FIN think-
ADJ-ATTR word **send.a.message(INF)-send-NEG-INF**

There is no chance to send a messenger between [us]. [I] **do not send a message** that [I] think of (MYS XVII: 3962)

於毛比夜流許等母安利之乎

omwop-yi-yar-u kötō mö ar-i-si-wo

think-INF-send-ATTR matter PT exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-ACC

although there were matters **that [I] cheered [myself] up about** (MYS XVII: 4008)

白塗之小鈴毛由良尔安波勢也理

SIRA NUR-I N-Ō KWO-SUNSU mwo yura n-i **ap-ase-yar-i**

white paint-NML DV-ATTR DIM-bell cling DV-INF **fight-
CAUS(INF)-send-INF**

letting [my hawk go] off to catch [other birds] with the clinging [sound] of the little white painted bell (MYS XIX: 4154)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The auxiliary *yar-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge, *yar-* is attested as an auxiliary only in Old Ryukyuan. That makes it a potential candidate for a loan from Classical Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

みこゑしやりおそわ

mi-kowe **s-i-yar-i** osow-a

HON-voice **do-INF-send-INF** rule-TENT

sending out [your] voice, [you] should rule [the country] (OS I: 8)

あおていきやりかたきひぢめわちへ

ao-te **ik-i-yar-i** kataki fidimewa-tife

fight(INF)-SUB **go-INF-send-INF** enemy pacify(INF).HON(INF)-SUB

fighting, and **going forward, and** pacifying the enemies (OS I: 25)

6.3.2.2.5.7 Directive auxiliaries *watar-* and *watas-*

The verb *watar-* ‘to cross’ used as a directive auxiliary has two functions in Western Old Japanese. First, it can indicate that an action goes over or across some area. Second, it can indicate that an action goes on for a long time. The verb *watas-* ‘to carry across’ used as an auxiliary is attested only in the first function. The difference between the usage of *watar-* and *watas-* as auxiliaries seems to be connected to the transitivity of a main verb. The auxiliary *watar-* is used predominantly after intransitive and quasi-transitive main verbs, although it appears once after the transitive verb *möt-* ‘to hold’ (see the example from FK 12 below). The auxiliary *watas-* is found only after transitive main verbs. Overall, *watar-* is much more frequent than *watas-*. As auxiliaries *watar-* and *watas-* follow in most cases the infinitive of a main verb, but in one example from MYS XVII: 4004 below *watar-* is found after the subordinative gerund *-te*. Examples:

- (1) An action going over or across some area:

佐韋賀波用久毛多知和多理

sawi-N-kapa-ywo kumwo **tat-i-watar-i**

Sawi-GEN-river-ABL cloud **rise-INF-cross-INF**

Clouds **are rising over** from the Sawi river, **and ...** (KK 20)

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
予利據柁

isi-kapa-kata-puti kata-puti-ni amyi **par-i-watas-i** mey-rö yös-i-ni
yös-i yör-i-kö-n-e

stone-river-side-pool side-pool-LOC net **spread-INF-
carry.across-INF** mesh-DIM bring.near-NML-COMP bring.near-
NML approach-INF-come-DES-IMP

[Girls, I] wish [you] would come near, like [they] bring near the meshes, **spreading** nets **across** at the side pool of a stony river (NK 3)

等許余弊爾久母多智和多留美頭能睿能宇良志麻能古賀許等母
知和多流

tökō yō pye-ni kumō **tat-i-watar-u** myiNtunöye-nō urasima n-ö
kwo-Nka kötō **möt-i-watar-u**

eternal world side-LOC cloud **rise-INF-cross-FIN** MyiNtunöye-
GEN Urasima DV-ATTR lad-POSS word hold-INF-cross-FIN

Clouds **are rising over** at the Eternal Land. [They] **will carry over**
the words of the lad Urasima from MyiNtunöye (FK 12)

冬乃林尔飄可毛伊卷渡等念麻佞

PUYU-nō PAYASI-ni TUMUNSI kamwo **i-MAK-YI-WATAR-U**
tö OMÖP-U-maNte

winter-GEN forest-LOC whirlwind PT **DLF-whirl-INF-cross-FIN**
DV think-ATTR-TERM

to the point that [we] thought: “Could it be a whirlwind that **whirls**
there across the winter forest?” (MYS II: 199)

多豆奈伎和多流奈里

taNtu **nak-yi-watar-u-nar-i**

crane **cry-INF-cross-FIN-RA-FIN**

[I] **hear that cranes are crying and flying away** (MYS XV: 3598)

之良久母和多都美乃於枳都美夜敞尔多知和多里等能具毛利安
比弓安米母多麻波祢

sira kumō wata-tu myi-nō okyi-tu myiya pye-ni **tat-i-watar-i** tönō-
N-kumwor-yi-ap-yi-te amey mö tamap-an-e

white cloud sea-GEN/LOC dragon-GEN offing-GEN/LOC palace
side-LOC **rise-INF-cross-INF** line-LOC-become.cloudy-INF-
meet-INF-SUB rain PT grant-DES-IMP

White clouds! [I] want [you] to **rise over** the palace of the sea
dragon in the offing **and** grant [us] rain after [you] bundle together
in a line (MYS XVIII: 4122)

波之太尔母和多之弓安良波曾乃倍由母伊由伎和多良之

pasi Ntani mö watas-i-te ar-aNpa sönō [u]pey-yu mö **i-yuk-yi-
watar-as-i**

bridge PT PT put.over-INF-SUB exist-COND that top-ABL PT
DLF-go-INF-cross.over-HON-INF
 if [someone] had just put a bridge over [the Milky Way], [they
 would] **go over** [it] (MYS XVIII: 4125)

多尔乎美和多之
 tani-wo **myi-watas-i**
 valley-ACC **look(INF)-carry.across-INF**
 [I] **look across** the valley, and ... (MYS XIX: 4209)

之麻豆多比伊己藝和多利弓
 sima-N-tutap-yi **i-kōNk-yi-watar-i-te**
 island-LOC-pass.along-INF **DLF-row-INF-cross-INF-SUB**
 [I] **row across** [the ocean] passing along islands (MYS XX: 4408)

己乃美阿止夜与呂豆比賀利乎波奈知伊太志毛呂毛呂須久比和
 多志多麻波奈須久比多麻波奈
 kōnō myi-atō ya-yōrōNtu pyikari-wo panat-i-iNtas-i mworō-
 mworō **sukup-yi-watas-i-tamap-ana** **sukup-yi-tamap-ana**
 this HON-foot.print eight-ten.thousand light-ACC emanate-INF-
 put.out-INF all-all **save-INF-carry.across-INF-HON-DES** save-
 INF-HON-DES
 This footprint emanates myriad lights, and [I] **want** [it] **to save**
 everybody, **leading** [them] **across**, [I] want [it] to save [them] (BS
 4)

(2) An action continuing for a long time:

情尔者思渡跡縁乎無三外耳為而嘆曾吾為
 KŌKŌRO-ni PA **OMŌP-YI-WATAR-E-Ntō** YŌSI-wo NA-myi
 YŌSŌ NŌMIY N-I S-I-TE NANKEYK-YI sō WA-NKA S-URU
 heart-LOC TOP **love-INF-cross-EV-CONC** chance-ABS no-GER
 different.place PT DV-INF do-INF-SUB lament-INF PT I-POSS
 do-ATTR
Although [I] **continue to love** [you] in [my] heart, because there is
 no chance [to meet], I just lament in a different place (MYS IV:
 714)

萬世爾得之波岐布得母烏梅能波奈多由流己等奈久佐吉和多流
 倍子

YÖRÖNTU YÖ n-i tösi pa k-yi p-u tömö uMEY-nö pana tay-uru
 kötö na-ku **sak-yi-watar-uNpey-si**
 ten.thousand generation DV-INF year TOP come-INF pass-FIN
 CONJ plum-GEN blossom be.interrupted-ATTR matter no-INF
bloom-INF-cross-DEB-FIN
 Even though years will come and pass for ten thousand generations,
 plum blossoms **will continue to bloom** without interruption (MYS
 V: 830)

伎美爾故非和多流香母
 kyimyī-ni **kwopiy-watar-u** kamö
 lord-DAT **long.for(INF)-cross-ATTR** PT
 [I] **will continue to long for you!** (MYS XV: 3603)

伊毛尔安礼也夜須伊毛祢受弓安我故非和多流
 imwo n-i ar-e ya yasu i mwo ne-Ns-u-te a-Nka **kwopiy-watar-u**
 beloved DV-INF exist-EV PT easy sleep PT sleep-NEG-INF-SUB
 I-POSS love(INF)-cross-ATTR
 Is [she] my beloved? I do not sleep easily, and **continue to love**
 [her] (MYS XV: 3633)

多知夜麻尔布理於家流由伎能等許奈都尔氣受弓和多流波
 tati-yama-ni pur-i-ok-yer-u yukyi-nö tökö natu-ni **key-Ns-u-te**
watar-u pa
 Tati-mountain-LOC fall-INF-put-PROG-ATTR snow-GEN eternal
 summer-LOC **melt-NEG-INF-SUB cross-ATTR** TOP
 the fact that the snow that has fallen on Mount Tati **continues not**
to melt in the height of summer ... (MYS XVII: 4004)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The auxiliary *watar-* (but not *watas-*) is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only once in the function of continuing action:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾
 ne-nömiy-wo ka **nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u** ap-u tö 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] of [even]
 thinking to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge, *watar-* is attested as an auxiliary only in Old Ryukyuan. That makes it a potential candidate for a loan from Classical Japanese.

さいわたるのさくらしけしけとおりさちへけおよりあいいで
らむ

sa-i-watar-u n-o sakura sike-sike to or-i-sat-ife keo-yori ai-ide-ram-u

bloom-INF-cross-ATTR DV-ATTR sakura dense-dense DV bend-INF-stretch-INF today-ABL COOP-go.out-TENT2-FIN [Sailors!] From today [you] should go out together bundling together [like] **blooming** sakura [trees] (OS X: 531)

6.3.2.2.5.8 Directive auxiliary yör-

The verb *yör-* ‘to approach’ used as a directive auxiliary indicates that the action expressed by the main verb comes close to a certain object or person. The auxiliary *yör-* follows the infinitive of the main verb directly. It is a rare auxiliary, attested only in the *Nihonshoki kayō* (one example) and in the *Man’yōshū*. We should have expected that the transitive counterpart of *yör-*, *yöse-* ‘to bring close’ would also be attested in our texts, but as a matter of fact there are no reliable examples of *yöse-* in phonetic spelling where one can be sure that *yöse-* and not *yör-* is used.¹³⁰ In spite of the general paucity of the examples, it is also easy to notice that *yör-* is used after both transitive and intransitive verbs.

於朋摩幣烏摩幣輸区泥餓訶那杜加礙訶区多智豫羅泥

opo mapye wo-mapye sukune-Nka kana-two kaNkey ka-ku **tat-i-yör-an-e**

great front DIM-front retainer-POSS metal-door shadow thus-INF **stand-INF-approach-DES-IMP**

Senior and junior retainers, [I] **want** [you] **to stand close** [to] the shelter of the metal door (NK 72)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru mönō pa mwomwo kusa n-i **semey-yör-i-k-yi-tar-u**

¹³⁰ This is another discrepancy with Middle (Classical) Japanese, where *yose-* can be used as a directive auxiliary (Vovin 2003: 381-82).

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 a hundred
 varieties (MYS V: 804)

遠等咩良何佐那周伊多斗乎意斯比良伎伊多度利与利提
 wotōmye-ra-Nka sa-n-as-u ita-two-wo os-i-pyirak-yi **i-ta**Ntwor-i-
yōr-i-te
 maiden-PLUR-POSS PREF-sleep-HON-ATTR board-door-ACC
 push-INF-open-INF **DLF-pursue-INF-approach-INF-SUB**
 [gentlemen] push open wooden doors where maidens sleep, and
 [they] **pursue [maidens] there** (MYS V: 804)

由布豆久欲可氣多知与里安比
 yupu-N-tuku ywo kaNkey **tat-i-yōr-i-ap-yi**
 evening-GEN-moon night shadow **rise-INF-approach-INF-meet-**
INF
 The evening moon and the night shadow **rise close together**
and ... (MYS XV: 3658)

佐之与良牟磯乃埼々
sas-i-yōr-am-u ISWO-nō SAKYI-NSAKYI
come.out-INF-approach-TENT-ATTR rocky.shore-GEN cape-
 cape
 capes on the rocky shore **that will come close** (MYS XIX: 4245)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of *yōr-* as an auxiliary in Eastern Old Japanese, but we can be sure of its real existence in the language, as it appears in a poem with very typical Eastern Old Japanese features.

和賀西奈尔阿比与流等可毛欲流等家也須家
 wa-Nka se-na-ni **ap-yi-yōr-u** tō kamwo yworu tōkye-yasu-kye
 I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT **meet-INF-approach-FIN** DV PT
 night untie(INF)-easy-ATTR
 is [the garment cord] easy to untie at night because [I] think that [I]
will meet with my beloved, I wonder? (MYS XIV: 3483)

A2: Ryukyuan

The auxiliary *yor-* is not attested in Ryukyuan.

6.3.2.2.5.9 Directive auxiliary *akey-*

The verb *akey-* ‘to hang’ used as a directive auxiliary indicates that the action expressed by the main verb comes onto a certain object or person. The auxiliary *akey-* follows the infinitive of the main verb directly. It is a rare auxiliary, attested only once in the *Kojiki kayō* in phonetic spelling. There are a few more attestations in the *Man’yōshū*, but they are all completely semantographic. We should have expected that the intransitive counterpart of *akey-*, *kakar-* ‘to hang’ would also be attested in our texts, but as a matter of fact there are no reliable examples of *kakar-* in phonetic spelling where one can be sure that *kakar-* and not *akey-* is used.¹³¹

淤富美夜比登波宇豆良登理比禮登理加氣弓

opō myiya pyitō pa uNtura tōri pyire **tōr-i-akey-te**

great palace person TOP quail bird long.scarf **take-INF-hang(INF)-SUB**

The ladies from the great palace **are wearing** [their] long scarves [like] quails, **and** ... (KK 102)

曾朋舟尔綱取繫

sōpo-N-PUNE-ni TUNA **TŌR-I-KEYEY**

red.paint-DV(ATTR)-boat-LOC rope **take-INF-hang-INF**

placing the ropes **onto** the red-painted boat (MYS XIII: 3300)

COMPARATIVE DATA**LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC****A1: Eastern Old Japanese**

The auxiliary *akey-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

A2: Ryukyuan

I was able to locate the auxiliary *ake-* ~ *kaki-* only in Old Ryukyuan and in Shuri. It probably exists in other modern dialects, too, but the available descriptions do not mention it.

¹³¹ This is different from Middle (Classical) Japanese where both *akey-* and *kakar-* are clearly attested as auxiliaries (Vovin 2003: 382-83).

Old Ryukyuan

やまとしまぎやめむやしるくにぎやめむいとわたちへかけわれなわたちへかけわれ

yamato sima-giyame mu yasiru kuni-giyame mu ito **watatife-kake-war-e na watatife-kake-war-e**

Yamato island-TERM PT Yamasiro land-TERM PT cord **pass(SUB)-hang(INF)-HON-IMP** rope **pass(SUB)-hang(INF)-HON-IMP**

Put the cords and put the ropes [of your power] as far as even Yamato and Yamasiro (OS III: 93)

Shuri

kam-i-kaki-yuN
eat-INF-hang-FIN
to start eating (RKJ 302)

6.3.2.2.5.10 Directive auxiliaries tuk- and tukey-

The verbs *tuk-* ‘to reach’ and *tukey-* ‘to attach’ used as directive auxiliaries indicate that the action expressed by the main verb comes close to a certain object, person, or state. The auxiliaries *tuk-* and *tukey-* follow the infinitive of the main verb directly, and they are rare auxiliaries. Both can occur with transitive verbs, although there is one example of *tuk-* after an intransitive verb (see MYS XIX: 4220 below). Thus, there seems to be little functional difference between *tuk-* and *tukey-*, therefore when they occur as auxiliaries I gloss them in the same way as ‘attach.’¹³²

之多婢毛尔由比都氣毛知弓夜麻受之努波世
sita-N-pyimwo-ni **yup-yi-tukey** mwot-i-te yam-aNs-u sinwop-as-e
bottom-GEN-cord-LOC **tie-INF-attach(INF)** hold-INF-SUB stop-
NEG-INF yearn-HON-IMP
tie [it] to your under[garment]-cord, keep [it there], and yearn [for me] constantly (MYS XV: 3766)

加吉都播多衣尔須里都氣
kakyitupata KÖRÖMÖ-ni **sur-i-tukey**

¹³² Note that in Middle(Classical) Japanese *tuk-* and *tuke-* become resultative auxiliaries (Vovin 2003: 386-88).

iris garment-LOC **rub-*INF-attach*(*INF*)**
 [They] **rub** the irises to [their] garment, **and** ... (MYS XVII: 3921)

之良奴里能鈴登里都氣弓
 sira nur-i n-ö SUNSU **tör-i-tukey-te**
 white paint-NML DV-ATTR bell **take-*INF-attach*(*INF*)-SUB**
 [I] **put** [on him] a white-painted bell, **and** ... (MYS XVII: 4011)

意伊豆久安我未
 oyi-[N]**tuk-u** a-Nka miy
age(*INF*)-**attach-ATTR** I-POSS body
 my body **that came close to aging** (MYS XIX: 4220)

若草乃都麻等里都吉
 WAKA KUSA-nö tuma **tör-i-tuk-yi**
 young grass-COMP spouse **take-*INF-attach-*INF****
 [my] wife who is like a young grass **holds** [me] **close**, and ...
 (MYS XX: 4398)

美阿止須良平和礼波衣美須弓伊波爾惠利都久多麻爾惠利都久
 myi-atö-sura-wo ware pa e-myi-Ns-u-te ipa-ni **wer-i-tuk-u** tama-ni
wer-i-tuk-u
 HON-footprint-PT-ACC I TOP POT-see-NEG-*INF-SUB* rock-
 LOC **carve-*INF-attach-FIN*** jewel-LOC **carve-*INF-attach-FIN***
 I was not able to see even the footprint of the Buddha, so [I] **carve**
 [it] on the rock, **carve** [it] on the jewel (BS 3)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The auxiliary *tuk-* (but not *tukey-*) is attested twice in Eastern Old Japanese.

伊弓久礼婆和努等里都伎弓伊比之古奈波毛
 iNte-k-ure-Npa wanu **tör-i-tuk-yi-te** ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mö
 exit(*INF*)-come-EV-CON I **grab-*INF-attach-*INF-SUB**** say-*INF-*
 PAST/ATTR girl-DIM TOP PT
 when [I] left [the house], oh, [that] girl who **grabbed** me **and**
 complained (MYS XX: 4358)

可良己呂武須宗尔等里都伎奈苦古良乎意伎弓

kara körömu suswo-ni **tör-i-tuk-yi** nak-u kwo-ra-wo ok-yi-te
 Korea garment hem-LOC **take-INF-attach-INF** cry-ATTR child-
 PLUR-ACC put-INF-SUB
 leaving my children who **held on** to the hem of my Korean garment
and cried (MYS XX: 4401)

A2: Ryukyuan

The transitive verb *tuke-* ~ *tuki-* used as an auxiliary is attested in both Old Ryukyuan and modern dialects. I was able to locate the intransitive *tuk-* as an auxiliary only in Old Ryukyuan. It probably exists in modern dialects, too, but the available descriptions do not mention it.

Old Ryukyuan

あかくちやがゆいつき

aka kuti-ya-ka **yu-i-tuk-i**
 red mouth-?-NOM **approach-INF-attach-INF**
 The goddess of fire **comes close, and ...** (OS III: 88)

いゑや大やかかみつけたる小はなれ

iweya OFoyako-ka **mi-tuke-tar-u** KO-fanare
 Iweya Ofoyako-NOM **see(INF)-attach-PERF/PROG-ATTR**
 DIM-separate(NML)
 a small outlying [island] that Ofoyako [from] the Iweya [island]
 noticed (OS XIII: 951)

Ishigaki

mii-tsiki-N
 see(INF)-attach-FIN
 to notice (Miyara 1980: 574)

6.3.2.2.6 Resultative auxiliary *ok-*

The verb *ok-* ‘to put, to place’ used as a resultative auxiliary indicates that the action of a main verb is done for a future use, or that the action done will have an effect afterwards. Thus, we have here approximately the same function as with the modern Japanese *-te ok-* construction. The difference is rather formal: in Western Old Japanese *ok-* may follow both the infinitive and the subordinative

gerund *-te*, although there is only one example of the construction *-te ok-* in Western Old Japanese that is attested in an uncontroversial phonetic spelling (see the example from MYS XV: 3629 below, for more examples of *-te ok-* see 6.3.1.1.1). The resultative auxiliary *ok-* is attested in phonetic spelling only in the *Man'yōshū* and in the *Bussoku seki ka*. Examples:

和須礼我比与世伎弓於家礼於伎都之良奈美
 wasure-N-kapyi **yōse-k-yi-te ok-yer-e** okyi-tu sira namyi
 forget(NML)-GEN-shell **bring(INF)-come-INF-SUB put-PROG-IMP** offing-GEN/LOC white wave
 white waves of the offing, **bring** [to me] the shell of forgetfulness
 (MYS XV: 3629)

多知夜麻尔布理於家流由伎能等許奈都尔氣受弓和多流波
 tati-yama-ni **pur-i-ok-yer-u** yukyi-nō tōkō natu-ni key-Ns-u-te
 watar-u pa
 Tati-mountain-LOC **fall-INF-put-PROG-ATTR** snow-GEN
 eternal summer-LOC melt-NEG-INF-SUB cross-ATTR TOP
 the fact that the snow **that has fallen** on Mount Tati continues not
 to melt in the height of summer ... (MYS XVII: 4004)

美久之宜尔多久波比於伎氏伊都久
 myi-kusiNkey-ni **takupap-yi-ok-yi-te** ituk-u
 HON-comb.box-LOC **store-INF-put-INF-SUB** cherish-FIN
 [the jewel] that [I] **will store** in the comb box [of the sea deity] **and**
 cherish (MYS XIX: 4220)

麻須良乎乃布美於祁留阿止波伊波乃宇閑爾伊麻毛乃己礼利
 masura wo-nō **pum-yi-ok-yer-u** atō pa ipa-nō upey-ni ima mwo
 nōkōr-er-i
 excellent man-GEN **step-INF-put-PROG-ATTR** footprint TOP
 rock-GEN top-LOC now PT remain-PROG-FIN
 The footprint **that** the Buddha **has left** remains even now on the
 rock (BS 7)

舍加乃美阿止伊波爾宇都志於伎宇夜麻比弓乃知乃保止氣爾由
 豆利麻都良牟佐佐義麻宇佐牟
 saka-nō myi-atō ipa-ni **utus-i-ok-yi** uyamap-yi-te nōti-nō potōkey-
 ni yuNtur-i-matur-am-u sasaNkey-mawus-am-u

Shakya-GEN HON-footprint rock-LOC **transfer-INF-put-INF**
 revere-INF-SUB after-GEN Buddha-DAT hand.over-INF-HUM-
 TENT-FIN offer(INF)-HUM-TENT-FIN

[I] **will** carve Shakya[-muni]'s footprint on the rock, **and** [after]
 revering [it], [I] will hand it over to the Buddha of the Future, [I]
 will offer [it to him] (BS 9)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of *ok-* as an auxiliary in Eastern Old Japanese, but we can be sure of its real existence in the language, as it appears in a poem with some typical Eastern Old Japanese features.

由美波自伎於伎弓西良思馬伎那婆

yumyi paNsik-yi-**ok-yi-te** ser-asimye-k-yi-n-aNpa

bow **take.off-INF-put-INF-SUB** bend-CAUS(INF)-come-INF-
 PERF-COND

if [you] **take off** the bow [string] **and** make [the bow] bend (MYS
 XIV: 3437)

A2: Ryukyuan

I have found examples of the verb *ok-* ~ *uk-* 'to put' used as an auxiliary in Old Ryukyuan, in Nakijin, and in the Shuri dialect. It probably exists in other modern dialects, too, but the available descriptions do not mention it.

Old Ryukyuan

大ぬしか御まへにくねふげはおへておちへ

OFO nusi-ka ON-mafe-ni ku-ne-fu-ge fa **ofe-te otife**

great master-POSS HON-front-LOC nine-year-mother-tree
plant(INF)-SUB put(SUB)

having planted a mandarin orange tree in front of the great lord
 (OS XIII: 981)

Nakijin

huč-uk-ee

put(SUB)-put-IMP

Leave [it] (Nakasone 1983: 481)

Shuri

'ari-ga ch-uuru-madi **maQc-oo-k-ee**
 he-NOM come-ATTR-TERM **wait-CONT-put-HORT**
Let us wait until he comes (RKJ 1983: 357)

6.3.2.2.7 Auxiliary *-N-kata-*

The auxiliary *-N-kata-* 'to be hard, to be difficult' indicates that an action or a state is difficult to obtain or to achieve. It is the only auxiliary that follows not the infinitive but the nominalized form. It is also technically bimorphemic, including the special compressed form *-N-* of the genitive *-nö* and the adjectival *-kata-* 'to be hard, to be difficult.' This auxiliary has an adjectival paradigm. There are only two examples of *-N-kata-* in phonetic spelling in Western Old Japanese texts:

許礼乎於伎低麻多波安里我多之
 köre-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 find again [a falcon of the same quality], except
 this [one] (MYS XVII: 4011)

比止乃微波衣賀多久阿礼婆
 pyitö-nö miy pa **e-N-kata-ku ar-e-Npa**
 person-GEN body TOP **get(NML)-GEN-be.hard-INF exist-EV-**
CON
Because [it] is difficult to get a human body [when you are
 reborn] ... (BS 18)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The auxiliary *-N-kata-* is attested once in Eastern Old Japanese:

麻之波尔母衣我多伎可氣乎於吉
 ma-siNpa n-i mö **e-N-kata-kyi** kaNkey-wo ok-yi
 INT-often DV-INF PT **get(NML)-GEN-be.hard-ATTR** shade-
 ACC put-INF

leaving the shade **that is difficult to get** very frequently (MYS XIV: 3573)

There is one more example where *-N-kata* is not completely grammaticalized in Eastern Old Japanese:

許己波故賀多尔

kökōNpa **kwo-N-kata n-i**

extremely **come(NML?)-GEN-difficult DV-INF**

[It] is extremely **difficult to come** (MYS XIV: 3431)

A2: Ryukyuan

It seems that the auxiliary *-gatasa* is attested only in Classical Ryukyuan. It is not found in the *Omoro Sōshi*, and I could not locate it in the available descriptions of modern dialects.

6.3.2.2.8 Potential auxiliary *e[y]*-

The verb *e[y]*- ‘to get, to receive’ can be used as a potential auxiliary after the infinitive form of a verb. WOJ *e[y]*- ‘to get, to receive’ is a monosyllabic vowel verb that loses its stem *e[y]*- before the final form in *-u*, the attributive form in *-uru*, and the evidential form *-ure*, resulting in the forms *u* (**e-u*), *uru* (**e-uru*), and *ure* (**e-ure*) (see also 6.1.2). The examples where *e[y]*- is used as an auxiliary and is spelled phonetically are attested only in the following *Man'yōshū* poems:

之麻思久母比等利安里宇流毛能尔安礼也

simasi-ku mö pyitō-ri **ar-i-uru** mwonō n-i ar-e ya

be.for.a.little.while-INF PT one-CL **exist-INF-get(ATTR)** person
DV-INF exist-EV PT

Am [I] a person who **could be** alone even for a little while?
[Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3601)

於毛波受母麻許等安里衣牟也

omwop-aNs-u mö makötō **ar-i-e-m-u** ya

long.for-NEG-INF PT truth **exist-INF-get-TENT-FIN** PT

Could [I] really **exist** without longing [for her]? (MYS XV: 3735)

御調寶波可蘇倍衣受都久之毛可祢都

MYI-TUKIY TAKARA **kaNswopey-e-Ns-u** tukus-i mwo kane-t-u

HON-tribute treasure **count(INF)-get-NEG-INF** exhaust-NML
be.unable(INF)-PERF-FIN

[It] is **impossible to count** all tribute treasures, and [one] cannot exhaust [them] (MYS XVIII: 4094)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The potential auxiliary *e[y]-* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

ADVERBS

Following the definition given in Martin (1988: 783) for Modern Japanese, all adverbs found in the Classical Japanese prose texts can be divided into pure adverbs, adverbialized adjectives and nouns. Adverbs derived from adjectives and nouns with the help of the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* ‘to be’ have been dealt with in 5.1.1 and 6.1.4.1.1. The adverbial usage of infinitive forms in *-ku* of adjectives has also been discussed above (see 5.2.1). Therefore, in the present chapter I will deal exclusively with pure adverbs. It is impossible to describe all of the pure adverbs in a grammar, so I will limit the following examples to a few adverbs that are either important or are uniquely Western Old Japanese.

7.1 ADVERB *ITA* ~ *ITÖ* ‘VERY, EXTREMELY’

There are two phonetic variants: *ita* and *itö* both with the same meaning ‘very, extremely.’ The first variant *ita* is rarer, but it is attested in earlier texts. The second variant *itö* occurs more frequently, but its first attestations appear only in the *Man’yōshū*. There is an opinion that the variant *itö* ‘very’ can be written in two varied spellings: *itö* and *itwo*, therefore it is difficult to decide on the archetype (Omodaka et al. 1967: 85). However, there are only three examples of *itwo*, and two out of three occur in Eastern Old Japanese, not in Western Old Japanese. Thus, there is only one example of *itwo* in Western Old Japanese (see MYS VIII: 1524 below), which can be disregarded as a *hapax legomenon*, resulting in all probability from a later scribal error. The variant *itö* frequently occurs in combination with the following adverb *nökyite* ‘extremely, exceptionally.’ Examples:

伊多那加婆比登斯理奴倍志

ita nak-aNpa pyitö sir-i-n-uNpey-si

extremely cry-COND person know-INF-PERF-DEB-FIN

if [I] would cry **loudly**, people could know (KK 83)

異哆儼介麼臂等資利奴陪瀨

itā nak-aNpa pyitō sir-i-n-uNpey-myi

extremely cry-COND person know-INF-PERF-DEB-GER

because people could know if [I] would cry **loudly** (NK 71)

A textual variant of the KK 83 cited above.

梅花未咲久伊等若美可聞

UMEY-NÖ PANA IMANTA SAK-AN-Aku **itō** WAKA-myi kamo
plum-GEN blossom not.yet bloom-NEG-NML **extremely** young-
GER PT

the fact that the plum blossoms have not yet bloomed – is it
because [they] are **too** young, I wonder? (MYS IV: 786)

伊等乃伎提短物乎端伎流等云之如

itō nökyite MYINSIKA-KYI MÖNÖ-wo PASI kyir-u tö IP-YER-
U-NKA NKÖTÖ-KU

very exceptionally short-ATTR thing-ACC end cut-FIN DV say-
PROG-ATTR-POSS like-INF

like [the proverb] says: ‘To cut the end of an already **very** short
thing’ (MYS V: 892)

伊等能伎提痛伎瘡尔波鹹塩遠灌知布何其等久

itō nökyite ITA-kyi KYINSU-ni pa KARA SIPO SÖSÖK-U t-ip-u-
Nka Nkötö-ku

very extremely painful-ATTR wound-LOC TOP pungent salt
sprinkle-FIN DV-say-ATTR-POSS like-INF

like [the proverb] says: ‘To sprinkle salt on a **very** (much) painful
wound’ (MYS V: 897)

天漢伊刀河浪者多々衿杼母

AMA-NÖ KAPA **itwo** KAPA NAMYI tat-an-e-Ntömö

Heaven-GEN river **extremely** river wave rise-NEG-EV-CONC

Although the waves do not rise **too** [high] in the Heavenly River...
(MYS VIII: 1524)

This example is the only example in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus
where *itō* is misspelled as *itwo*. Since this is the only example, I believe it can be
attributed to a later scribal mistake.

五十殿寸太薄寸眉

itō nōkyite¹ USU-kyi MAYWO

very extremely narrow-ATTR eyebrow

very narrow eyebrows (MYS XII: 2903)

奈我奈氣婆安我毛布許己呂伊多母須敝奈之

na-Nka nak-ey-Npa a-Nka [o]mwop-u kökōrō **ita** mö suNpye na-si
you-POSS cry-EV-CON I-POSS love-ATTR heart **extremely** PT
way no-FIN

when you cry, my loving heart is **extremely** helpless (MYS XV:
3785)

相見祢婆伊多母須敝奈美

APYI-MYI-n-e-Npa **ita** mö suNpye na-myi

REC-see-NEG-EV-CON **extremely** PT way no-GER

because [I] am **extremely** helpless when [we] do not see each other
(MYS XVII: 3978)

保登等藝須伊登祢多家口波橘乃播奈治流等吉尔伎奈吉登余牟
流

potötōNkyisu **itō** neta-ky-eku pa TATINPANA-nō pana-N-tir-u
tōkyi-ni k-yi nak-yi-tōyōm-uru
cuckoo **very** distasteful-ATTR-NML TOP mandarin.orange-GEN
flower-GEN-fall-ATTR time-LOC come-INF sing-INF-sound-
ATTR

Cuckoo, [you] are **very** distasteful! [You] come and sing at the
time when mandarin orange flowers are falling (MYS XVIII: 4092)

秋風之將吹乎待者伊等遠弥可母

AKYI KANSE-NŌ PUK-AM-U-wo MAT-ANPA **itō** TŌPO-myi
kamō

autumn wind-GEN blow-TENT-ATTR-ACC wait-COND **very**
distant-GER PT

I wonder [whether it is] because [it would] be **very** long if [they]
would wait for the autumn wind to blow (MYS XIX: 4219)

¹ The character 殿 /tōnō/ is used to write the last syllable of *itō* and the first syllable of *nōkyite*.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are three examples of *itō* in Eastern Old Japanese, two of them spelled as *itwo*:

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
敝余須母

nar-u se-rō-ni kōtu-nō yōs-u-nasu **itō** nökyite kanasi-kye se-rō-ni
pyitō sapye yōs-umō
sound-ATTR rapid-DIM-LOC debris-GEN approach-ATTR-
COMP **very** specially beloved-ATTR beloved-DIM-DAT person
PT relate-EXCL

even [other] women make [their thoughts] approach [my] **very**
special beloved, like the debris approaches each other in the singing
rapids! (MYS XIV: 3548)

和可例奈婆伊刀毛須倍奈美夜多妣蘇弓布流

wakare-n-aNpa **itwo** mwo suNpey na-myi ya taNpyi swoNte pur-u
part(INF)-PERF-COND **extremely** PT way no-GER eight(= many)
times sleeve wave-FIN

when [we] parted, because **absolutely** nothing could be done, [I]
waved [my] sleeve many times (MYS XX: 4379)

和可流乎美礼婆伊刀母須敝奈之

wakar-u-wo myi-re-Npa **itwo** mō suNpye na-si

part-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CON **extremely** PT way no-FIN

when [I] see how [they] part [with their families], there is
absolutely nothing [that] can be done (MYS XX: 4381)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of *ita* ~ *itō* ‘very, extremely’ in Ryukyuan to the best of my knowledge.

7.2 ADVERB SÖKÖNPA ‘VERY’

There is just one example of the adverb *sökōNpa* phonetically attested in Western Old Japanese:

可牟加良夜曾許婆多數刀伎

kamu-kara ya **sökōNpa** taputwo-kyi

deity-origin PT **very** awesome-ATTR

Is [not] the origin of deities **very** awesome? (MYS XVII: 3985)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The adverb *sōkōNpa* ‘very’ is not attested either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan.

7.3 ADVERBS PANTA ~ PANAPANTA ‘CONSIDERABLY’

The variant *panapaNta* probably represents either an emphatic variant of *paNta* or its reduplication with a loss of a stop after prenasalization. There are two phonetic attestations of *paNta* and two partially phonetic attestations of the adverb *panapaNta* ‘very’ in Western Old Japanese:

甚多毛不零雨

PANAPANta mwo PUR-AN-U AMEY

considerably PT fall-NEG-ATTR rain

the rain that was not at all raining **considerably** (MYS VII: 1370)

甚多毛不零雪

PANAPANta mwo PUR-AN-U YUKYI

considerably PT fall-NEG-ATTR snow

the snow that was not at all snowing **considerably** (MYS X: 2322)

和我由惠尔波太奈於毛比曾

wa-Nka yuwe n-i **paNta** na-omwop-yi-sō

I-POSS reason DV-INF **considerably** NEG-think-INF-do

Do not long for me **so much** (MYS XV: 3745)

保登等藝須伎奈伎等余米婆波太古非米夜母

potōtōNkyisu k-yi nak-yi-tōyōm-ey-Npa **paNta** kwopiy-m-ey ya mō

cuckoo come-INF cry-INF-sound-EV-CON **considerably** long.for-TENT-EV PT PT

would [I] be longing **so much** when a cuckoo would come and cry?! (MYS XVIII: 4051)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The adverbs *paNta* ~ *panapaNta* ‘considerably’ are not attested either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan.

7.4 ADVERBS KÖKÖNPA ~ KÖKÖNPAKU, KÖKÖNTA ~ KÖKÖNTAKU ‘SO MUCH, EXTREMELY’

Each of the adverbs *kökōNpa* and *kökōNpaku* occurs in Western Old Japanese only once. The adverbs *kökōNta* and *kökōNtaku* are much more frequent, being attested sixteen and eighteen times respectively, although in most cases they are spelled semantographically as 幾許 (see, for example, MYS IV: 689 below). I provide below all cases of *kökōNpa* ~ *kökōNpaku*, and *kökōNta* ~ *kökōNtaku* attested in full phonetic spelling.

奈何鴨目言乎谷裳幾許乏寸

naNI SI kamwo MEY KÖTÖ-wo Ntani mo **KÖKÖNTA**
TÖMÖSI-kyi

what PT PT eye word-ABS PT PT **so.much** scarce-ATTR

I wonder why even [our] meetings are **so** scarce? (MYS IV: 689)

許々随母麻我不烏梅能波奈可毛

kökōNta mö maNkap-u uMEY-nö pana kamwo

extremely PT fall.down.in.confusion-ATTR plum-GEN blossom
PT

Oh, plum blossoms that fall down in **extreme** confusion! (MYS V: 844)

奈曾許許波伊能祢良要奴毛

naNsö **kökōNpa** i-nö ne-raye-n-umwo

why **extremely** sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL

why cannot [I] sleep **at all**?! (MYS XV: 3684)

許已婆久毛見乃佐夜氣吉加

kökōNpaku mwo MYI-nö sayakey-kyi ka

so.much PT see(NML)-GEN bright-ATTR PT

Is [not] the view **so** bright? (MYS XVII: 3991)

許已太久母之氣伎孤悲可毛

kökōNtaku mö siNkey-kyi kwopiy kamwo

so.much PT thick-ATTR love(NML) PT

oh, my love that is **so** deep! (MYS XVII: 4019)

伊可尔安流布勢能宇良曾毛許已太久尔吉民我弥世武等和礼乎
等登牟流

ika n-i ar-u puse-nō ura sō mwo **kōkōNtaku n-i** kyimyi-Nka myi-se-m-u tō ware-wo tōNtōm-uru

how DV-INF exist-ATTR Puse-GEN bay it PT **so.much** DV-INF lord-POSS see-CAUS-TENT-FIN DV I-ACC stop-ATTR

The bay of Puse, **how** [beautiful] it [is], [so that my] lord will stop [me] wishing to show [it to me] (MYS XVIII: 4036)

Notice that in this example *kōkōNtaku* is followed by the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*. This is apparently an optional usage.

汝等乎皇朝者己己太久高治賜乎

IMASI-TATI-wo SUMYERA-NKA MYIKANTWO PA **kōkōNtaku** TAKA-KU WOSAMEY-TAMAP-U-wo

you-PLUR-ACC emperor-POSS sovereign TOP **extremely** high-INF rule(INF)-HON-ATTR-ACC

Although the empress ruled you [with] **extremely** high [benevolence] ... (SM 18)

COMPARATIVE DATA:

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The situation in Eastern Old Japanese is somewhat opposite to Western Old Japanese: EOJ *kōkōNpa* ‘extremely, so much’ is attested twice and both times in poems with apparent Eastern Old Japanese features. On the other hand, *kōkōNta* ‘so much’ appears only once in a poem without any typical Eastern Japanese features. Examples:

奈仁曾許能兒乃己許太可奈之伎

nani sō könō KWŌ-nō **kōkōNta** kanasi-kyi

what PT this girl-GEN **so.much** be dear-ATTR

why is this girl **so** dear [to me]? (MYS XIV: 3373)

This poem is from Sagami province, which is in the Region B that 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 a typical WOJ form, and not the EOJ form *-ke*.

許己波故賀多尔

kōkōNpa kwo-N-kata n-i

extremely come(NML?)-GEN-difficult DV-INF

As [it] is **extremely** difficult to come (MYS XIV: 3431)

許己婆可那之家

kököNpa kanasi-kye

so.much sad-ATTR

[I] am so sad (MYS XIV: 3517)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of the Western Old Japanese adverbs *kököNpa* ~ *kököNpaku*, and *kököNta* ~ *kököNtaku* ‘extremely, so much’ are not attested in Ryukyuan.

7.5 ADVERB SAPA ‘MANY’

The adverb *sapa* ‘many’ as a pure adverb without the following infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* appears only in the oldest Western Old Japanese texts.

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
na-si-ni apare

INtumwo Takyeru-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR long.sword vine
many wrap-INF PREF-inside no-FIN-LOC alas

The long sword that INtumwo Takyeru is wearing has **many** vines around [it], [but] because no [sword] inside, alas! (KK 23)

菟怒瑳破赴以破

tunwo **sapa** p-u ipa

vine (horn?) **many** pass-ATTR rock

The rock where **many** vines pass (NK 56)

都奴娑播符以籛例

tunu **sapa** p-u ipare

vine (horn?) **many** pass-ATTR rock

The rock where **many** vines pass (NK 97)

Much more frequently, *sapa* ‘many’ is followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*:

意富牟盧夜爾比登佐波爾岐伊理袁理

opö murwo-ya-ni pyitö **sapa n-i** k-yi-ir-i-wor-i

big cave-house-LOC person **many** DV-INF come-INF-enter-INF-exist-FIN

many people are coming inside the big cave dwelling (KK 10)

人佐播尔満弓播阿礼等母

pyitō **sapa n-i** MYIT-I-te pa ar-e-Ntömō

person **many DV-INF** be.full-INF-SUB TOP exist-EV-CONC

although [it] is full of **many** people (MYS V: 894)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為

tuma mö kwo-Ntömō mwo woti köti-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 is only one example of the adverb *sapa* ‘many’ (with the following *n-i*) in Eastern Old Japanese:

比登佐波尔麻奈登伊布兒我安夜尔可奈思佐

pyitō **sapa n-i** mana tö ip-u KWO-Nka aya n-i kanasi-sa

person **many DV-INF** Mana DV say-ATTR girl-POSS strange

DV-INF dear-NML

the girl whom **many** people call Mana is strangely dear [to me]

(MYS XIV: 3462)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of WOJ *sapa* ‘many’ in Ryukyuan.

7.6 ADVERB TANTA ‘ONLY’

The adverb *taNta* ‘only’ occurs in Western Old Japanese exclusively before the numeral *pyitō* ‘one.’ There are only three examples of *taNta* ‘only’ in phonetic spelling. As in the first example below, *taNta* may be reinforced by the restrictive particle *nōmiy* ‘only’ used in postposition. Examples:

阿麻哆絆泥受邇多囊比等用能未

amata pa ne-Ns-u n-i **taNta** pyitō ywo **nōmiy**

many TOP sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF **only** one night PT

not sleeping [with her] many [times], **only** one night (NK 66)

佐家流佐久良乎多太比等米伎美尔弥西氏婆
 sak-yer-u sakura-wo taNta pyitō mey kyimyi-ni myi-se-te-Npa
 bloom-PROG-ATTR cherry.blossom-ACC **only** one eye lord-DAT
 see-CAUS(INF)-PERF-COND
 if [I] could have shown you blooming cherry blossoms **just** for one
 moment (lit.: one eye) (MYS XVII: 3967)

可胡自母乃多太比等里之氏
 ka kwo Nsimönö taNta pyitō-ri s-i-te
 deer child like **only** one-CL do-INF-SUB
 being all alone like a fawn (MYS XX: 4408)

Care must be taken to distinguish *taNta* ‘only’ from *taNta n-i* ‘directly’ that with one exception is always followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* or its derivatives like *nar-* ‘to be’:

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

多太未可母安夜麻知之家牟
taNta miy kamō ayamat-i s-i-ky-em-u
direct body PT mistake-NML do-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
 Did [he] probably make a mistake himself (lit. **direct** body), I
 wonder? (MYS XV: 3688)
 This is the only example when *taNta* ‘direct’ is not followed by *n-i*.

秋風尔比毛等伎安氣奈多太奈良受等母
 AKYI KANSE-ni pyimwo tök-yi-akey-na taNta nar-aNs-u tömö
 autumn wind-LOC cord untie-INF-open-DES **directly be-NEG-**
FIN CONJ
 [I] wish that the autumn wind would untie the cords, even if [it] is
not directly (MYS XX: 4295)
 Remember that *nar-* ‘to be’ consists of *n-i* + *ar-*.

阿止乎美都都志乃波牟多太爾阿布麻弓爾麻佐爾阿布麻弓爾
 atō-wo myi-tutu sinöp-am-u taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni masa n-i ap-
 u-maNte-ni
 footstep-ACC see(INF)-COORD yearn-TENT-FIN **direct DV-INF**
 meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC real DV-INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

looking at [Buddha's] footstep, [I] will yearn [for him], until [I] meet [him] **directly**, until [I] really meet [him] (BS 6)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of *taNta* in Eastern Old Japanese that means 'directly' and not 'only,' but it is not followed by defective copula infinitive *n-i* like in Western Old Japanese:

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 receive(HUM)-DES beloved-POSS **directly** hand-ABL
[I] wish to receive the water **directly** from your hands (MYS XIV: 3439)

A2: Ryukyuan

I was not able to find Ryukyuan cognates of WOJ *taNta* 'only' except in Old Ryukyuan, Nakijin, and Shuri. Pending their presence or absence in South Ryukyuan, which is to be clarified by future research, they are to be defined either as cognates or as borrowings from mainland Japanese.

Old Ryukyuan

たたひとりやたもの

tata fito-ri ya-ta mono

only one-CL send-PAST CONJ

because [I] send [him] **all** alone (OS XIV: 997)

Nakijin

tadaa hic-uN

just go-FIN

to go **empty-handed** (Nakasone 1983: 229)

Shuri

tada 'aQc-uN

just walk-FIN

to walk **aimlessly** (RKJ 505)

7.7 ADVERB MATA ‘AGAIN’

The adverb *mata* ‘again’ occurs very frequently: it is attested sixty times in the *Man’yōshū*, 119 times in the *Senmyō*, nine times in the *Norito*, and once each in the *Nihonshoki kayō*, *Fudoki*, and *Bussoku seki ka*. However, in the overwhelming majority of cases (including all examples from the *Senmyō* and the *Norito*), *mata* is written semantographically with the characters 復, 又, or 亦. Below I provide all examples of the adverb *mata* ‘again’ written phonetically in Western Old Japanese.

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農

nani tō kamō utukusi imō-Nka **mata** sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u
what DV PT beautiful beloved-POSS **again** bloom-INF-exit(INF)-
come-NEG-ATTR

I wonder, for (lit: being) what [reason], does not [my] beautiful
beloved bloom **again**? (NK 114)

宇良志麻能古我多麻久志義阿氣受阿理世波麻多母阿波麻志遠
urasima-nō kwo-Nka tama kusiNkey akey-Ns-u ar-i-s-eNpa **mata**
mō ap-amasi-wo

Urasima-GEN child-POSS jewel box open-NEG-INF exist-INF-
PAST/ATTR-COND **again** PT meet-SUBJ-ACC

If the boy Urasima did not open the jewel box, [he] would have met
[the dragon’s daughter] **again**, but [it did not happen] (FK 15)

久須利波武等母麻多遠知米也母

kusuri pam-u tōmō **mata** woti-m-ey ya mō
medicine eat-FIN CONJ **again** rejuvenate-TENT-EV PT PT
will [I] be rejuvenated **again** even if [I] take the medicine?! (MYS
V: 847)

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 **again** if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

麻多母安比見牟

mata mō aypi-MYI-m-u

again PT REC-see-TENT-FIN

[we] will probably see each other **again** (MYS XV: 3619)

麻多於伎都流可毛

mata ok-yi-t-uru kamwo

again leave-INF-PERF-ATTR PT

[I] have left [them there] **again**, alas! (MYS XV: 3627)

之良多麻比利敵礼杼麻多曾於伎都流見流比等乎奈美

sira tama pyrip-yer-e-Ntō **mata** sō ok-yi-t-uru MYI-ru pyitō na-
myi

white pearl pick.up-PROG-EV-CONC **again** PT leave-INF-PERF-
ATTR see-ATTR person no-GER

although [I] picked up white pearls, because there is nobody to look
[at them], [I] have left [them there] **again** (MYS XV: 3628)

之保非奈婆麻多母和礼許牟

sipo piy-n-aNpa **mata** ware kō-m-u

tide dry(INF)-PERF-COND **again** I come-TENT-FIN

When the tide ebbs, I will come **again** (MYS XV: 3710)

許礼乎於伎低麻多波安里我多之

kōre-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 find **again** [a falcon of the same quality], except
this [one] (MYS XVII: 4011)

末多母安波無多米

mata mö ap-am-u tamey

again PT meet-TENT-ATTR for

in order to meet [you] **again** (MYS XX: 4469)

There is one example when *mata* ‘again’ acts syntactically as a
noun:

乃知乃与乃多米麻多乃与乃[多米]²

nōti-nō yō-nō tamey **mata-nō** yō-nō [tamey]

after-GEN world-GEN for **again-GEN** world-GEN [for]

² The last two characters 多米 rendering *tamey* ‘for’ are reconstructed tentatively
as they are not preserved in the inscription.

for the sake of the following world, [for the sake] **of the next** world
(BS 10)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are four examples of the adverb *mata* ‘again’ attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

萬多祢天武可聞

mata ne-te-m-u kamo

again sleep(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR PT

[I] would like to sleep [with you] **again!** (MYS XIV: 3395)

毛母久麻能美知波紀尔志乎麻多佐良尔夜蘇志麻須義弓和加例
加由可牟

mwomö kuma-nö myiti pa k-iy-n-i-si-wo **mata** sara n-i yaswo sima
suNkiy-te wakare ka yuk-am-u

hundred bend-GEN road TOP com-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR-
ACC **again** again DV-INF eighty island pass(INF)-SUB part(INF)
PT go-TENT-ATTR

Although [I] came along the road with one hundred bends, should
[I] go farther away [from home] passing **again** and again eighty
islands? (MYS XX: 4349)

阿米都之乃以都例乃可美乎以乃良波加有都久之波々尔麻多己
等刀波牟

amey tusi-nö iNture n-ö kamyi-wo inör-aNpa ka utukusi papa-ni
mata kötö twop-am-u

heaven earth-GEN which DV-ATTR deity-ACC pray-COND PT
dear mother-DAT **again** word ask-TENT-ATTR

If [I] pray to which deities of Heaven and Earth, would [I] talk to
[my] dear mother **again?** (MYS XX: 4392)

伊弊奈流伊母乎麻多美弓毛母也

ipyen-ar-u imö-wo **mata** myi-te-m-ö mö ya

home-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-ACC **again** see(INF)-PERF-
TENT-ATTR PT PT

[I] would like to see [my] beloved, who is at home, **again!** (MYS
XX: 4415)

A2: Ryukyuan

The adverb *mata* ‘again’ and its phonetic variants are attested throughout Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 424; 1967: 478). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

またのあち

mata-no ati

again-GEN official

next official (OS VI: 331)

Shuri

kuri-N **mata** ’agiy-abir-a

this-PT **again** give-POL-TENT

[I] will give it [to you] **again**, too (RKJ 364)

Thus, on the basis of Western Old Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data we can safely reconstruct PJ *mata ‘again.’

7.8 ADVERB IYA ‘MORE [AND MORE], PLENTIFULLY, PERFECTLY’

The adverb *iya* ‘more [and more], plentifully, perfectly’ is well attested in Western Old Japanese. In most cases it is used in the meaning ‘more and more:’

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
yörösi-kyi sima-sima

ApaNti-island **perfectly** two line.up-INF ANtukyi-island **perfectly**
two line.up-INF good-ATTR island-island

AwaNti island **perfectly** lines up [with another island as] two,
ANtuki island **perfectly** lines up [with another island as] two, [they
are] good islands (NK 40)

比等期等尔乎理加射之都々阿蘇倍等母伊夜米豆良之岐烏梅能
波奈加母

pyitö Nkötö n-i wor-i kaNsas-i-tutu aswoNp-ey-Ntömö **iya**
meyNturasi-kyi uMEY-nö pana kamö

person every DV-INF break-INF decorate-INF-COOR play-EV-
 CONC **more.and.more** be.lovely-ATTR plum-GEN blossoms PT
 Although every person enjoys [himself] breaking [plum blossoms]
 and decorating [his hair with them], the plum blossoms are **more
 and more** lovely! (MYS V: 828)

那我岐波流卑乎可謝勢例杼伊野那都可子岐烏梅能波那可毛
 naNka-kyi paru pyi-wo kaNsas-er-e-Ntö **iya** natukasi-kyi uMEY-
 nö pana kamwo
 long-ATTR spring day-ACC decorate-PROG-EV-CONC
more.and.more yearning-ATTR plum-GEN blossom PT
 although [I] was wearing [them in my hair] throughout the long
 spring day, [I] yearn for the plum blossoms **more and more!**
 (MYS V: 846)

多具敝礼登伊夜奈都可之久
 taNkup-yer-e-Ntö **iya** natukasi-ku
 sit.side.by.side-PROG-EV-CONC **more.and.more** yearning-INF
 although [we] sat side by side, [we] yearned [for each other] **more
 and more** (MYS XVII: 3978)

意积都之良奈美安利我欲比伊夜登偲能波尔見都追思努播牟
 okyi-tu sira namyi ari-[N]kaywop-yi **iya** tösi-nö pa n-i MYI-tutu
 sinwop-am-u
 offing-GEN/LOC white wave ITER-go.back.and.forth
more.and.more year-GEN every DV-INF look(INF)-COOR
 yearn-TENT-FIN
 white waves from the offing go back and forth all the time; and [I]
 will look [at them] and yearn **more and more** every year (MYS
 XVII: 3992)

都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔
 tukapey-matur-am-ey **iya** töpo naNka n-i
 serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV **plentifully** long long DV-INF
 [I] will serve [you] **plentifully** and for a long, long time (MYS
 XVIII: 4098)

霍公鳥伊夜奈都可之久
 POTÖTONKYISU **iya** natukasi-ku
 cuckoo **more.and.more** yearning-INF
 [I] yearn for the cuckoo **more and more** (MYS XIX: 4176)

霍公鳥伊也之伎喧奴

POTŌTONKYISU **iya** sik-yi NAK-YI-n-u
cuckoo **more** be.frequent-INF cry-INF-PERF-FIN
the cuckoo cries **more** often (MYS XIX: 4176)

伊夜麻之尔安礼波麻為許牟

iya mas-i n-i are pa mawi-kō-m-u
more increase-NML DV-INF I TOP come(HUM)(INF)-come-
TENT-FIN
[I] would like to come even **more** (MYS XX: 4298)

伊夜益湏益爾朕私父母波良何良爾至麻氏爾可在状任止上賜比

iya MASU-MASU n-i WA-NKA WATAKUSI-NŌ TITI PAPA
para-kara-ni ITAR-U-maNte-ni AR-UNPEY-KYI KURAWI tō
ANKEY-TAMAp-i
more.and.more more.and.more DV-INF I-POSS private-GEN
father mother blood.relatives-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM-LOC exist-
DEB-ATTR rank DV raise(INF)-HON-INF
even more, [she] raised to the appropriate ranks my own father and
mother and even blood relatives (SM 25)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are three examples of *iya* ‘very, more and more’ in the Eastern Old Japanese corpus, but they all occur in poems without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features. The only peculiarity is that *iya* is attested once in the meaning ‘very’ that is not present in Western Old Japanese.

伊夜等保奈我伎夜麻治

iya tōpo naNka-kyi yama-N-ti
very far long-ATTR mountain-GEN-road
a **very** far and long mountain road (MYS XIV: 3556)

和須礼波勢奈那伊夜母比麻須爾

wasure pa se-n-ana **iya** [o]mōp-yi-mas-u-ni
forget(NML) TOP do-NEG-DES **more.and.more** think-INF-
increase-ATTR-LOC
[I] wish [you] would not forget [me], because [my] desire [for you]
increases **more and more** (MYS XIV: 3557)

伊毛我可度伊夜等保曾吉奴

imwo-Nka kaNtwo **iya** töpo sök-yi-n-u

beloved-GEN gate **more.and.more** distant become.distant-INF-PERF-FIN

The gate of [my] beloved[’s house] became **more and more** distant (MYS XIV: 3389)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of WOJ *iya* in Ryukyuan.

7.9 ADVERB IYÖYÖ ‘MORE AND MORE’

The adverb *iyöyö* ‘more and more’ may be possibly related to *iya*, but the vowel alternation and its morphological composition is not completely clear, although it likely represents a partial reduplication (cf. MdJ *iyoiyo*). It also has only the meaning of ‘more and more,’ and none of other meanings of *iya* are attested. For these reasons I prefer to keep *iya* and *iyöyö* separate on a synchronic level. The adverb *iyöyö* is attested in Western Japanese only four times (one in semantographic spelling), all of them in the *Man’yōshū*:

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
可利家理

yö-nö naka pa munasi-kyi mönö tö sir-u tökyi si **iyöyö** masu-masu
kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

world-GEN middle TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR time
PT **more.and.more** more.and.more sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

When [I] realized that the world is empty, [it] turned out to be
more and more sad (MYS V: 793)

許己乎之母安夜爾多數刀美宇礼之家久伊余与於母比弓

kökö-wo si mö aya n-i taputwo-myi uresi-ky-eku **iyöyö** omöp-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)

都流藝多知伊与餘刀具倍之

туруNkyi tati **iyöyö** twoNk-uNpey-si

double-edged.sword long.sword **more.and.more** sharpen-DEB-FIN

[One] must sharpen a double-edged long sword **more and more** (MYS XX: 4467)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

There are no obvious cognates of *iyöyö* in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

7.10 ADVERB MASU-MASU ‘MORE AND MORE’

The adverb *masu-masu* ‘more and more’ is apparently a reduplicated and lexicalized form of the final form *mas-u* of the verb *mas-* ‘to increase.’ It is a very rare adverb that attested only five times in Western Old Japanese; and among these five once in phonetic spelling and twice in partial phonetic spelling:

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
可利家理

yö-nö naka pa munasi-kyi mönō tō sir-u tōkyi si iyöyö **masu-masu**
kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

world-GEN middle TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR time
PT more **more.and.more** sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

When [I] realized that the world is empty, [it] turned out to be
more and more sad (MYS V: 793)

伊夜益湏益爾朕私父母波良何良爾至麻氏爾可在状任止上賜比

iya **MAsu-MASU** n-i WA-NKA WATAKUSI-NÖ TITI PAPA
para-kara-ni ITAR-U-maNte-ni AR-UNPEY-KYI KURAWI tō
ANKEY-TAMAp-i

more.and.more **more.and.more** DV-INF I-POSS private-GEN
father mother blood.relatives-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM-LOC exist-
DEB-ATTR rank DV raise(INF)-HON-INF

even more, [she] raised to the appropriate ranks my own father and
mother and even blood relatives (SM 25)

As can be seen from this example, *masu-masu* can be alternatively followed by the
infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*.

益湏益湏勤結理奉侍

MAsu-MAsu TUTOMEY-SIMAr-i-TUKAPEY-MATUR-E
more.and.more serve(INF)-strive-INF-serve(INF)-HUM-IMP

Strive to serve **more and more** (SM 32)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

There are no obvious cognates of *masu-masu* in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

7.11 ADVERB YUMEY ‘AT ALL’

The adverb *yumey* ‘at all’ is always used with the negative imperative forms of verbs (mostly in *-una* and in one case possibly in *na-...[-sō]*) unless the negative imperative form of a verb underwent ellipsis as in the first two examples from KK 86 and NK 70. In most cases *yumey* appears in postposition to a verbal negative imperative form, but there is one exception (see the example from MYS XIX: 4227 below).

和賀多多弥由米許登袁許會多多美登伊波米和賀都麻波由米
 wa-Nka tatamyi **yumey** kötō-wo kōsō tatamyi tö ip-am-ey wa-Nka
 tuma pa **yumey**

I-POSS rice.straw.mat **at.all** thing-ACC PT rice.straw.mat DV say-
 TENT-EV I POSS spouse TOP **at.all**

[Do not touch] my bed **at all!** [When I] call it a bed, [I mean: ‘Do not touch] my wife **at all!** (KK 86)

和餓哆哆瀾由梅去等烏許會哆多瀾等異畔梅和餓菟摩烏由梅
 wa-Nka tatamyi **yumey** kötō-wo kōsō tatamyi tö ip-am-ey wa-Nka
 tuma-wo **yumey**

I-POSS rice.straw.mat at.all thing-ACC PT rice.straw.mat DV say-
 TENT-EV I POSS spouse-ACC at.all

[Do not touch] my bed **at all!** [When I] call it a bed, [I mean: ‘Do not touch] my wife **at all!** (NK 70)³

河瀨尔浪立勿湯目

KAPA SE-ni NAMYI TAT-UNA **yumey**

river rapids-LOC wave rise-NEG/IMP **at.all**

waves, do not rise **at all** at the river rapids (MYS VII: 1122)

³ A textual variant of KK 86 above.

今夜耳將飲酒可毛散許須奈由米

KŌ YÖPYI NÖMIY NŌM-AM-Ū SAKEY kamwo TIR-I-kös-una
yumey

this night PT drink-TENT-ATTR rice.wine PT fall-INF-BEN-
NEG/IMP **at.all**

I wonder whether [it is] the rice wine that [we] drink only tonight.
Please do not fall [on the ground] **at all** (MYS VIII: 1657)

毛美知和礼由伎彳可敝里久流未佞知里許須奈由米

mwomyit-i ware yuk-i-te kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte tir-i-kös-una
yumey

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML I go-INF-SUB return-INF-come-
ATTR-TERM fall-INF-BEN-NEG/IMP **at.all**

Red leaves! Please do not fall **at all** until I go and come back (MYS
XV: 3702)

和我世兒乎安宿勿令寐由米

wa-Nka se-KWO-wo YASU I NA-NE-SIMEY **yumey**

I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC easy sleep NEG-sleep-CAUS(INF)
at.all

do not let my beloved to sleep an easy sleep **at all** (MYS XIX:
4179)

This is the only example when it is usually considered by the *Man'yōshū*
commentators that the semantographic block 勿令寐 is to be read as NA-NE-
SIMEY. This is certainly a possibility, but given the fact that we have no cases of
phonetic spelling of the negative form in *na-...[-sō]* used with the adverb *yumey*,
we have an equal possibility that the semantographic block 勿令寐 is to be read as
NE-SIM-UNA.

零之雪曾由米緣勿

PUR-I-si YUKYI sō **yumey** YÖR-UNA

fall-INF-PAST/ATTR snow PT **at.all** approach-NEG/IMP

do not approach the fallen snow **at all** (MYS XIX: 4227)

兒良我牟須敝流比毛等久奈由米

KWO-ra-Nka musuNp-*yer-u* pyimwo tök-una **yumey**

girl-DIM-POSS tie-PROG-ATTR cord untie-NEG/IMP **at.all**

do not untie **at all** the cord that [your] girl has tied (MYS XX: 4334)

COMPARATIVE DATA**LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC****A1: Eastern Old Japanese**

There are two examples of the adverb *yumey* ‘at all’ in Eastern Old Japanese. The second example is from a poem that has no typical Eastern Old Japanese features.

伊呂尔豆奈由米

irō-ni [i]Nt-una **yumey**

facial.expression-LOC go.out-NEG/IMP **at.all**

do not show [your love] **at all** in your facial expression (MYS XIV: 3376)

奈美多都奈由米

namyi tat-una **yumey**

wave stand-NEG/IMP **at.all**

Waves! Do not rise **at all!** (MYS XIV: 3449)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of WOJ *yumey* in Ryukyuan.

7.12 ADVERB IMANTA ‘YET, STILL’

The adverb *imaNta* ‘yet, still’ is predominantly used with negative verbal forms, although there are cases when it occurs with affirmative verbal forms as well. The overwhelming majority of the latter cases are attested only in semantographic writing.

(1) Examples of the adverb *imaNta* with a following negative verbal form:

多知賀遠母伊麻陀登迦受弓淤須比遠母伊麻陀登加泥婆

tati-Nka wo mö **imaNta** tök-aNs-u-te osupyī-wo mö **imaNta** tök-an-e-Npa

long.sword-POSS cord PT **yet** untie-NEG-INF-SUB cloak-ACC

PT **yet** untie-NEG-EV-CON

as [I] have not **yet** untied the cords of [my] long sword, and have not **yet** untied [my] cloak (KK 2)

夜麻登能久迺爾加理古牟登伊麻陀岐加受

yamatō-nō kuni-ni kari kwo [u]m-u tö **imaNta** kyik-aNs-u

Yamatō-GEN land-LOC wild.goose egg lay-FIN DV **yet** hear-NEG-FIN

[I] have **never** heard that a wild goose laid an egg in the land of Yamatō (KK 72)

婆糸稽矩謨伊麻娜以播孺底阿開爾啓梨倭蟻慕
pasi-ky-eku mo **imaNta** ip-aNs-u-te akey-n-i-kyer-i wa-Nk-yimo
lovely-ATTR-NML PT **yet** say-NEG-INF-SUB to.dawn(INF)-
PERF-INF-RETR-FIN I-POSS-beloved

[I] have not said **yet** [how] lovely [you] are, as [it] dawned (NK 96)

於彌能古能野陸能比母騰俱比騰陸多爾伊麻施藤柯祢波美古能
比母騰矩

omyi-nō kwo-nō ya-pye n-ō pyimo tōk-u pyitō-pye Ntani **imaNta**
tōk-an-e-Npa myikwo-nō pyimo tōk-u
noble-GEN child-GEN eight-CL DV-ATTR cord untie-ATTR one-
CL PT **yet** untie-NEG-EV-CON prince-GEN cord untie-FIN

As the children of nobles have not **yet** untied even one cord out of eight, the prince untied the cord (NK 127)

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

NAK-U KWO-nasu sitap-yi k-yi-mas-i-te ikyi Ntani mö **imaNta**
yasumey-Ns-u TÖSI TUKIY mö **imaNta** ar-an-e-Npa
cry-ATTR child-COMP long-INF come-INF-HON-INF-SUB
breath PT PT **yet** rest-NEG-FIN year month PT **yet** be-NEG-EV-
CON

[She] came longing like a crying baby who has not **yet** taken a rest even for one breath. But while years and months have not elapsed **yet** ... (MYS V: 794)

和何那久那美多伊摩隨飛那久尔

wa-Nka nak-u namyiNta **imaNta** piy-n-aku n-i
I-POSS cry-ATTR tear **yet** dry-NEG-NML DV-INF

although the tears that I shed have not dried **yet** (MYS V: 798)

等保能久尔伊麻太毛都可受

tōpo n-ō kuni **imaNta** mwo tuk-aNs-u
distant DV-ATTR land **yet** PT arrive-NEG-INF

[he] has not **yet** arrived in the distant land [of Silla], and ... (MYS XV: 3688)

伊末太見奴比等尔母都氣牟

imaNta MYI-n-u pyitō-ni mö tuNkey-m-u

yet see-NEG-ATTR person-DAT PT report-TENT-FIN

[I] will tell the people who have not **yet** seen [this mountain] (MYS XVII: 4000)

(2) Examples of the adverb *imaNta* with a following affirmative verbal form:

梅毛未含有

UMEY mwo **IMANTA** PUPUM-YER-I

plum PT **still** bud-PROG-FIN

the plum [blossoms] are **still** the buds (MYS IV: 792)

佐久良婆奈伊麻太敷布賣利

sakura-N-pana **imaNta** pupum-yer-i

cherry-GEN-blossom **still** bud-PROG-FIN

The cherry blossoms are **still** the buds (MYS XVIII: 4077)

都奇餘米婆伊麻太冬奈里

tukiy yōm-ey-Npa **imaNta** PUYU nar-i

month count-EV-CON **still** winter be-FIN

When [I] count the months, [it] is **still** winter (MYS XX: 4492)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There are two examples of the adverb *imaNta* ‘yet’ in Eastern Old Japanese and both occur with following negative verbal forms. The second example is from a poem that has no typical Eastern Old Japanese features.

伊麻太宿奈布母

imaNta NE-n-ap-umō

yet sleep-NEG-ITER-EXCL

[I] have not **yet** slept with [her]! (MYS XIV: 3525)

伊末太年那久尔

imaNta ne-n-aku n-i

yet sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF

[it] is that [they] have not **yet** slept [together] (MYS XIV: 3543)

A2: Ryukyuan

The Ryukyuan cognates *maada* ~ *mada* ~ *naada* ~ *nada* ~ *ñaada* ~ *ñada* ~ *nmada* etc. ‘yet, still’ are attested throughout Ryukyuan (Hirayama 1966: 424; 1967: 478). Examples:

Shuri

naada kuu-N

yet come-NEG/FIN

[He] has not come **yet** (RKJ 400)

Tarama

mida kanu psītoō ku-N

yet that person/TOP come-NEG/FIN

That person has not come **yet** (Hirayama 1983: 920)

Thus, on the basis of Western Old Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese and Ryukyuan data we can safely reconstruct PJ *imanta ‘yet, still.’

7.13 ADVERB MÖTÖNA ‘IN VAIN, AIMLESSLY, FOR NO REASON’

The adverb *mötöna* ‘in vain, aimlessly, for no reason’ is attested only in the *Man’yōshū*. It is used mostly in preposition to a verb, but three examples below (MYS XV: 3729, 3738, and MYX XVII: 3976) are apparent exceptions, with *mötöna* being used after the verb it refers to. Examples:

麻奈迦比爾母等奈可利提

ma-na kapyi-ni **mötöna** 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)

和可礼奴流君尔也毛登奈安我孤悲由加牟

wakare-n-uru KYIMYI-ni ya **mwotöna** a-Nka kwopiy-yuk-am-u

part(INF)-PERF-ATTR lord-DAT PT **in.vain** I-POSS

long.for(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR

Will [I] continue to long **in vain** for [you], who departed [from me]? (MYS XV: 3690)

伊毛乎於毛比都追由氣婆可母等奈由伎安思可流良武
 imwo-wo omwop-yi-tutu yuk-ey-Npa ka **mötöna** yuk-yi asi-k-ar-
 am-u
 beloved-ACC think-INF-COOR go-EV-CON PT **in.vain** go-NML
 bad-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR
 [Is it] because [I] go thinking of [my] beloved **in vain** that [my]
 going away should be difficult? (MYS XV: 3729)

於毛比都追奴礼婆可毛等奈奴婆多未能比等欲毛意智受伊米尔
 之見由流
 omwop-yi-tutu n-ure-Npa ka **mwotöna** nuNpa tama-nö pyitö ywo
 mwo oti-Ns-u imey-ni si MYI-y-uru
 think-INF-COOR lie.down-EV-CON PT **in.vain** pitch-black jade-
 COMP one night PT lack-NEG-INF see-PASS-ATTR
 [Is it] because [I] lie down thinking [of my beloved] **in vain** that
 [she] appears in [my] dreams without missing a single night [dark]
 like the pitch-black jade? (MYS XV: 3738)

保等登藝須毛等奈那難吉曾
 potötöNkyisu **mwotöna** na-nak-yi-sö
 cuckoo **for.no.reason** NEG-cry-INF-do
 Cuckoo! Do not cry **without a reason** (MYS XV: 3781)

麻都能波奈花可受尔之毛和我勢故我於母敵良奈久尔母登奈佐
 吉都追
 matu-nö pana PANA kaNsu n-i si mwo wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka
 omöp-yer-an-aku n-i **mötöna** sak-yi-tutu
 pine-GEN flower flower number DV-INF PT PT I-POSS beloved-
 DIM-POSS think-PROG-NEG-NML DV-INF **in.vain** bloom-INF-
 COOR
 Because my beloved is not even thinking of pine flowers as flowers,
 [they] continue to bloom **in vain** (MYS XVII: 3942)

己能夜万夫吉乎美勢追都母等奈
 könö yamaNpukyiw-wo myi-se-tutu **mötöna**
 this rose-ACC see-CAUS(INF)-COOR **in.vain**
 [you] keep showing [me] these roses **in vain** (MYS XVII: 3976)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里
 imey-ni pa **mötöna** apyi-MYI-re-Ntö taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa kwopiy
 yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP **aimlessly** REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF
 exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN
 although [we] see each other **aimlessly** in dreams, because [our
 meetings] are not direct, [our] love does not stop (MYS XVII: 3980)

君乎曾母等奈伊吉能乎尔念

KYIMYI-wo sō **mōtōna** ikyi-nō wo n-i OMÖP-U

lord-ACC PT **for.no.reason** breath-GEN cord DV-INF think-ATTR

for no reason [I] think about you as of a cord of [my] life (MYS XIX: 4281)

富等登藝須奈保毛奈賀那牟母等都比等可氣都々母等奈安乎祢之奈久母

potötōNkyisu napo mwo nak-ana-m-u mōtō-tu pyitō kakey-tutu

mōtōna a-wo ne si nak-umō

cuckoo more PT cry-DES-TENT-FIN root-GEN/LOC person think(INF)-COORD **for.no.reason** I-ACC sound PT make.cry-EXCL

Cuckoo! I want [you] to cry even more. [You] will make me cry **for no reason** thinking about the people of old (MYS XX: 4437)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The adverb *mōtōna* ‘for no reason’ is attested only in one Eastern Old Japanese poem that has no distinctive Eastern features and looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text. This, of course, raises significant doubts about the authenticity of EOJ *mōtōna*.

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 mō ar-am-u-wo imey-nōmiy-ni **mōtōna** MYI-ye-tutu

for a while TOP sleep(INF)-COORD PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC dream-PT-LOC **for.no.reason** see-PASS(INF)-COORD

Although [I] intended to sleep for a while, [you] continue to appear only in [my] dreams **for no reason** (MYS XIV: 3471)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of WOJ *mōtōna* in Ryukyuan.

7.14 ADVERB SINPA ~ SINPA-SINPA ‘OFTEN’

The adverb *siNpa* and its reduplicated form *siNpa-siNpa* ‘often’ are attested only in the *Man’yōshū* and in the *Senmyō*.⁴ Although most attestations in the *Man’yōshū* are semantographic, the meter of the poems implies that the majority of them are in the reduplicated form. I provide below all examples attested in phonetic writing.

多妣尔之婆之婆可久能未也伎美乎夜利都追安我孤悲乎良牟
 taNpyi-ni **siNpa-siNpa** ka-ku nōmiy ya kyimiyi-wo yar-i-tutu a-
 Nka kwopiy-wor-am-u
 travel-LOC **often** thus-INF PT PT lord-ACC send-INF-COOR I-
 POSS long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
 would I be longing for [you] just keeping sending you so
frequently to travels? (MYS XVII: 3936)

可保等利能麻奈久之婆奈久春野尔
 kapo-tōri-nō ma na-ku **siNpa** nak-u PARU-NŌ NWO-ni
 kapo-bird-GEN interval no-INF **often** cry-ATTR spring-GEN
 field-LOC
 in the spring fields where a *kapo*⁵ bird cries **often** without stopping
 (MYS XVII: 3973)

可治都久米於等之婆多知奴
 kaNti tukumey otō **siNpa** tat-i-n-u
 rudder grasp(INF) sound **often** rise-INF-PERF-FIN
 sounds are heard **often** [when a helmsman] grasps the rudder (MYS
 XX: 4460)

之婆之婆美等母安加無伎弥加毛
siNpa-siNpa myi tōmō ak-am-u kyimiyi kamwo
often look(FIN) CONJ get.enough-TENT-ATTR lord PT
 even if [I] look [at you] **often**, would [I] get enough of [my] lord, I
 wonder? (MYS XX: 4503)

⁴ All the examples found in the *Senmyō* are semantographic and all of them are believed to represent the reduplicated form (Kitagawa 1982: 166).

⁵ It is possible that *kapo-tōri* ‘kapo-bird’ is another name for *potōtōNkyisu* ‘cuckoo,’ (Takagi et al. 1962: 213), but there is no certain identification (Omodaka et al. 1967: 216).

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The adverb *siNpa* is attested once in Eastern Old Japanese with the following infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*. It is found in a poem without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features.

麻之波尔母衣我多伎可氣乎於吉

ma-siNpa n-i mö e-N-kata-kyi kaNkey-wo ok-yi

INT-often DV-INF PT get(NML)-GEN-be.hard-ATTR shade-ACC
put-INF

leaving the shade that is difficult to get very frequently (MYS XIV: 3573)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of WOJ *siNpa* ‘often’ in Ryukyuan.

7.15 ADVERB POTÖPOTÖ ‘ALMOST’

The adverb *potöpotö*⁶ ‘almost’ is attested five times in Western Old Japanese and all of them in the *Man’yōshū*. Among these five attestations only two are in phonetic writing:

保等穗跡妹尔不相来尔家里

potöpotö IMWO-ni AP-ANS-U-K-YI-n-i-kyer-i

almost beloved-DAT meet-NEG-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-
RETR-FIN

[It] came [to the point] that [I] almost do not meet [my] beloved
[any more] (MYS X: 1979)

可敝里家流比等伎多礼里等伊比之可婆保等保登之尔吉

kapyer-i-kyer-u pyitö k-yi-tar-er-i tö ip-yi-sika-Npa potöpotö sin-i-
kyi

return-INF-RETR-ATTR person come-INF-PERF/PROG-PROG-
FIN DV say-INF-PAST/EV-CON almost die-INF-PAST/FIN

Because [they] said that a person, who returned [from exile], had
come [to the capital], [I] almost died [from joy] (MYS XV: 3772)

⁶ WOJ *potöpotö* ‘almost’ is an apparent predecessor of MdJ *hotondo* ‘id.’

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The adverb *potōpotō* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

7.16 ADVERB NAPO ‘STILL, MORE’

The adverb *napo* ‘still, more’ is attested only in the *Man’yōshū* and in the *Senmyō*.⁷ Contrary to the adverb *imaNta* (see 7.12), the adverb *napo* is mostly used with following affirmative verb forms.⁸ There are only five examples of WOJ *napo* ‘still, more’ attested in phonetic writing:

奈礼尔之伎奴尔奈保之可米夜母

nare-n-i-si kyinu-ni **napo** sik-am-ey ya mö

get.used.to(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR **still** reach-TENT-EV PT
PT

would [it] **still** be equal to the garment [you] are used to?! [No, it would not!] (MYS XVIII: 4109)

奈保之見我保之

napo si MYI-Nka posi

more PT see(NML)-POSS be.desired/FIN

[I] want to see **more** [of them] (MYS XVIII: 4112)

富等登藝須奈保毛奈賀那牟母等都都比等可氣都々母等奈安乎祢之奈久母

potötōNkyisu **napo** mwo nak-ana-m-u mötō-tu pyitō kakey-tutu
mötōna a-wo ne si nak-umō

cuckoo **more** PT cry-DES-TENT-FIN root-GEN/LOC person

think(INF)-COORD for.no.reason I-ACC sound PT make.cry-EXCL

Cuckoo! I want [you] to cry even **more**. [You] will make me cry for no reason thinking about the people of old (MYS XX: 4437)

宇具比須乃許惠波須疑奴等於毛倍杼母之美尔之許己呂奈保古非尔家里

uNkupyisu-nō köwe pa suNkiy-n-u tō omwop-ey-Ntömō sim-yi-n-i-si kökörō **napo** kwopiy-n-i-kyer-i

⁷ All the examples found in the *Senmyō* are semantographic and all of them are believed to represent the reduplicated form (Kitagawa 1982: 166).

⁸ The only possible exception is found in MYS XII: 3009, but since *napo* is written semantographically in this text, other interpretations are also possible.

bush.warbler-GEN voice TOP pass(INF)-PERF-FIN DV think-EV-
CONC sink-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR heart **still** long.for(INF)-
PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

Although [I] thought that the voice of the bush warbler has passed away, it has turned out that [my] heart where it sank into, **still** longs for [it] (MYS XX: 4445)

奈保之祢我比都知等世能伊乃知乎

napo si neNk-ap-yi-t-u ti töse-nö inöti-wo

still PT pray-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN thousand year-GEN life-ACC

[I] have been **still** praying for a thousand year life (MYS XX: 4470)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is only one example of the adverb *napo* ‘still’ in Eastern Old Japanese:

多妣己呂母夜倍伎可佐祢弓伊努礼等母奈保波太佐牟志伊母尔
志阿良祢婆

taNpyi körömö ya-pey kyi-kasane-te i n-ure-Ntömö **napo** paNta
samu-si imö n-i si ar-an-e-Npa

travel garment eight-CL wear(INF)-pile.up(INF)-SUB sleep sleep-
EV-CONC **still** skin cold-FIN beloved DV-INF PT exist-NEG-EV-
CON

Although [I] sleep, putting on eight layers of travel garments, it is **still** cold, because [it] is not [my] beloved (MYS XX: 4351)

A2: Ryukyuan

The adverb *nafo* ‘still, more’ seems to be attested only in the Classical Ryukyuan of the *Ryūka*, but not in the Old Ryukyuan of the *Omoro sōshi* (Hokama 1995: 492). Therefore, given its absence in dialects as well, it is likely to be a loan from Middle Japanese.

CONJUNCTIONS

There are eight conjunctions in Western Old Japanese: *tömö*, *mönö* ~ *mönöwo*, *mönökara*, *napey*, *Nkane*, *Nkani*, *karani*, and *twoni*. I do not include conjunctions in the chapter on particles because their function is to connect parts of complex sentences; therefore, they have a function that particles lack.

8.1 CONJUNCTION TÖMÖ ‘EVEN IF, EVEN THOUGH’

The conjunction *tömö* ‘even if, even though’ follows the final form of verbs and the infinitive form *-ku* of inflected adjectives. The latter usage occurs very seldom as compared to the former, but it does exist (see examples from MYS XV: 3764 and XVI: 3881 below). It is frequently believed that this conjunction is a grammaticalization of the noun *tömö* ‘companion,’ but its syntactic alignment with the final form of verbs and the infinitive form of inflected adjectives strongly speaks against such an equation. If it were true, the attributive forms would be expected for both verbs and inflected adjectives. Examples:

那迦士登波那波伊布登母

nak-aNsi tö pa na pa ip-u **tömö**

weep-NEG/TENT DV TOP you TOP say-FIN CONJ

Even though you say that [you] would not weep (KK 4)

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-nö pyitö-mötö suNkey pa pyitö-ri wor-i **tömö** opö kyimy si
yö-si tö kyikös-aNpa pyitö-ri wor-i **tömö**

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)

耶麻古曳底于瀾倭拖留騰母於母之樓枳伊麻紀能禹知播倭須羅
由麻旨珥

yama kwoye-te umyi watar-u **tōmo** omosirwo-kyi ima kiy-nō uti pa
wasur-ay-umasinSi

mountain cross(INF)-SUB sea cross-FIN **CONJ** beautiful-ATTR
Ima fortress-GEN inside TOP forget-PASS-NEG/POT

Even if [I] pass over the mountains and cross the seas, [I] cannot
forget the inside of the beautiful Ima fortress (NK 119)

萬世爾得之波岐布得母烏梅能波奈多由流己等奈久佐吉和多流
倍子

YÖRÖNTU YÖ n-i tösi pa k-yi p-u **tömö** uMEY-nō pana tay-uru
kötö na-ku sak-yi-watar-uNpey-si

ten.thousand generation DV-INF year TOP come-INF pass-FIN
CONJ plum-GEN blossom be.interrupted-ATTR matter no-INF
bloom-INF-cross-DEB-FIN

Even though years will come and pass for ten thousand
generations, plum blossoms will continue to bloom without
interruption (MYS V: 830)

久須利波武等母麻多遠知米也母

kusuri pam-u **tömö** mata woti-m-ey ya mö

medicine eat-FIN **CONJ** again rejuvenate-TENT-EV PT PT

will [I] be rejuvenated again **even if** [I] take the medicine?! (MYS
V: 847)

遠妻四高尔有世婆不知十方手綱乃濱能尋来名益

TÖPO TUMA si TAKA-ni AR-I-s-eNpa SIR-ANS-U **tōmo**
TANTUNA-nō PAMA-nō TANTUNE-K-YI-n-amasi

distant wife PT Taka-LOC exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND know-
NEG-FIN **CONJ** [TaNtuna-GEN beach-COMP – *makura-kotoba*]
seek-(INF)-come-INF-PERF-SUBJ

If my wife, who is far away [from me], were in Taka, **even if** [I]
did not know, [I] would come looking for [her] (MYS IX: 1746)

等保久登母許己呂乎知可久於毛保世和伎母

tōpo-ku **tömö** kökōrō-wo tika-ku omwop-os-e wa-Nk-yimō

far-INF **CONJ** heart-ACC close-INF think-HON-IMP I-POSS-
beloved

even though [I] am far away, think that [my] heart is close, my
beloved (MYS XV: 3764)

大野路者繁道森徑之氣久登毛君志通者徑者廣計武
 OPONWO MYITI PA SINKEY-N-TI MÖRI MYITI siNkey-ku
tömwo KYIMYI si KAYWOP-ANPA PYIRÖ-ky-em-u
 Oponwo road TOP be.overgrown.with.bush-DV(ATTR)-road
 forest road be.overgrown.with.bush-INF **CONJ** lord PT
 go.back.and.forth-COND broad-ATTR-TENT-FIN
Even though the road to Oponwo is overgrown with bush, [being]
 a forest road through the bush, if [my] lord goes back and forth [on
 it, it] would widen (MYS XVI: 3881)

烏梅乃花美夜万等之美尔安里登母
 uMEY-nö PANA myi-yama tö sim-yi n-i ar-i **tömö**
 plum-GEN blossom HON-mountain DV grow.thick-NML DV-INF
 exist-FIN **CONJ**
Even though plum blossoms are blooming densely as a mountain
 (MYS XVII: 3902)

比祢毛須尔美等母安久倍伎宇良尔安良奈久尔
 pyinemwosu n-i myi **tömö** ak-uNpey-kyi ura n-i ar-an-aku n-i
 all.day DV-INF look(FIN) **CONJ** lose.interest-DEB-ATTR bay
 DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF
even if [I] look all day, it is not a bay that [one] could lose interest
 [in looking at] (MYS XVIII: 4037)

由久敝奈久安里和多流登毛
 yuk-u pye na-ku ari-watar-u **tömwo**
 go-ATTR side no-INF ITER-cross-FIN **CONJ**
Even though [a cuckoo] constantly comes over, without having a
 direction to go (MYS XVIII: 4090)

保登等藝須伊麻奈可受之弓安須古要牟夜麻尔奈久等母之流思
 安良米夜母
 potötöNkyisu ima nak-aNs-u s-i-te asu kwoye-m-u yama-ni nak-u
tömö sirusi ar-am-ey ya mö
 cuckoo now cry-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB tomorrow cross-TENT-
 ATTR mountain-LOC cry-FIN **CONJ** sign exist-TENT-EV PT PT
 Cuckoo! [You] are not crying now: **even if** [you] cry in the
 mountains that [I] will cross tomorrow, would [there] be any sign?!
 (MYS XVIII: 4052)

秋風尔比毛等伎安氣奈多太奈良受等母

AKYI KANSE-ni pyimwo tōk-yi-akey-na taNta nar-aNs-u **tōmō**
autumn wind-LOC cord untie-INF-open-DES direct be-NEG-FIN
CONJ

[I] wish that the autumn wind would untie the cords, **even if** [it] is not directly (MYS XX: 4295)

都婆吉都良々々尔美等母安可米也

tuNpakyi tura-tura n-i myi **tōmō** ak-am-ey ya
camellia intently DV-INF look(FIN) **CONJ** lose.interest-TENT-
EV PT

even if [I] look intently [at] the camellia, would [I] lose interest? [No, I would not] (MYS XX: 4481)

之婆之婆美等母安加無伎弥加毛

siNpa-siNpa myi **tōmō** ak-am-u kyimyī kamwo
often look(FIN) **CONJ** get.enough-TENT-ATTR lord PT

even if [I] look [at you] often, would [I] get enough of [my] lord, I wonder? (MYS XX: 4503)

己礼乃与波宇都利佐留止毛

kōre n-ō yō pa utur-i sar-u **tōmwo**
this DV-ATTR world TOP change-INF go.away-FIN **CONJ**
Even though this world changes and goes away ... (BS 10)

王乎奴止成止毛奴乎王止云止毛

OPO KYIMYI-wo YATU tō N-AS-U **tōmwo** YATU-wo OPO
KYIMYI tō IP-U **tōmwo**
prince-ACC slave DV be-CAUS-FIN **CONJ** slave-ACC prince DV
say-FIN **CONJ**

even if [you] make a prince to be a slave [or] **even if** [you] name a slave as a prince (SM 29)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The conjunction *tōmō* ‘even if, even though’ is attested very well in Eastern Old Japanese, too, although some examples occur in poems without any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features like MYS XIV: 3493a below. Like WOJ *tōmō*, EOJ *tōmō* is attested after both

the final form of verbs and the infinitive form of inflected adjectives. Examples:

夜蘇許登乃斂波思氣久等母安良蘇比可祢弓安乎許登奈須那
 yaswo kötö-nö pye pa siNkey-ku **tömö** araswop-yi-kane-te a-wo
 kötö nas-una
 eighty word-GEN leaf TOP thick-INF **CONJ** resist-INF-
 NEG/POT(INF)-SUB I-ACC word make-NEG/IMP
even though many rumors are growing thick [like a bush], do not
 talk about me, failing to resist (MYS XIV: 3456)

安礼波古非牟奈能知波安比奴登母
 are pa kwopiy-m-u na nöti pa apyi-n-u **tömö**
 I TOP yearn-TENT-FIN PT after TOP COOP-sleep-FIN **CONJ**
 I will yearn for [you] **even if** later [we] sleep together (MYS XIV:
 3477)

安左乎良乎遠家尔布須左尔宇麻受登毛安須伎西佐米也
 asa-wo-ra-wo wo-kye-ni pususa n-i um-as-u **tömwö** asu kyi-se-sas-
 am-ey ya
 hemp-hemp.thread-PLUR-ACC hemp-container-LOC many DV-
 INF spin-HON-FIN **CONJ** tomorrow wear(NML)-do-HON-
 TENT-EV PT
Even if [you] spin many hemp threads into a hemp container,
 would [you] wear [them] tomorrow [as a garment]? [Certainly, you
 would not!] (MYS XIV: 3484)

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
 osö paya mwö kyimyi-wo si mat-am-u muka-tu wo-nö sipyi-nö sa-
 yeNta-nö tökyi pa suNk-u **tömö**
 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: 3493a)

伊刀尔奈流等毛和波等可自等余
 itwo n-i nar-u **tömwö** wa pa tök-aNsi tö yö

thread DV-INF become-FIN **CONJ** I TOP untie-NEG/TENT DV
PT

[I] think that I would not untie [the cords of my garment] **even if** [they] become [thin] threads! (MYS XX: 4405)

A2: Ryukyuan

The conjunction *tomo* is attested only in the Classical Ryukyuan texts: the *Ryūka* and the *Kumi-udui*, but does not occur in the spoken languages or in Old Ryukyuan (Hokama 1995: 462). Therefore, it is likely to be a loan from mainland Japanese.

8.2 CONJUNCTION MÖNÖ ~ MÖNÖWO ‘ALTHOUGH, BUT’

The conjunction *mönö* ~ *mönöwo* ‘although, but’ follows the attributive form of verbs and inflected adjectives as well as those verbal forms that are ambivalent to the final/attributive distinction, but are essentially attributive in nature, such as the subjunctive in *-(a)masi*. The form *mönö* is found only in the earliest texts. Thus, the origin of this conjunction can be undoubtedly traced back to the combination of *mönö* ‘thing’ + *-wo*, accusative case marker. Examples:

多義弓麻之母乃止美能井乃美豆

taNkey-te-masi **mönö** töm-yi-nö wi-nö myiNtu
consume(INF)-PERF-SUBJ **CONJ** be.wealthy-NML-GEN well-
GEN water

[I] would consume the water from the well of wealth, **but** ... (TS 1)

多都碁母母母知弓許麻志母能泥牟登斯理勢婆

tat-u-N-kömö mö möt-i-te kö-masi **mönö** ne-m-u tö sir-i-s-eNpa
stand-ATTR-DV(ATTR)-rush.mat PT hold-INF-SUB come-SUBJ
CONJ sleep-TENT-FIN DV know-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND
if [I] had known that [I] would sleep, [I] would bring a standing
rush mat, **but** ... (KK 75)

和加久爾爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母

waka-ku pey n-i wi ne-te-masi **mönö** oyi-n-i-kyer-u kamö
young-INF ? DV-INF bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ **CONJ**
age-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

[I] would have brought [her with me] and slept [with her] if [she] were young, **but** it turned out that [she] has become old, alas! (KK 93)

袁登賣能伊加久流袁加袁加那須岐母伊本知母賀母須岐婆奴流
母能

wotömye-nö i-kakur-u woka-wo kana-sukyi mö ipwo-ti möNkamö
suk-yi-Npan-uru mönö

maiden-GEN DLF-hide-ATTR hill-ACC metal-hoe PT
five.hundred-CL PT dig.up-INF-flip-ATTR CONJ

[I] want five hundred metal hoes. [I] will dig up the hill where the
maiden hides, **but** ... (KK 99)

吉備那流伊慕塢阿比瀾菟流慕能

kyiNpiy-n-ar-u imo-wo apyi-myi-t-uru monö

KyiNpiy-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-ACC REC-see(INF)-PERF-
ATTR CONJ

[my] beloved who is in KyiNpiy [and I], have seen each other,
but ... (NK 40)

速來而母見手益物乎山背高槻村散去奚留鴨

PAYA K-YI-TE mö MYI-te-masi MÖNÖwo YAMASIRÖ-NÖ
TAKA TUKIY mura TIR-I-n-i-kyer-u kamwo

fast come-INF-SUB PT see(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ Yamasirö-
GEN high zelkova group fall-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Although [I] would come fast and look [at them], most of the
zelkova [flowers] in Yamasirö have fallen, alas! (MYS III: 277)

道乎多遠見思空安莫國嘆虛不安物乎

MYITI-wo taN-TÖPÖ-myi OMÖP-U swora YASUKEY NA-ku n-
i NANKEYK-U SWORA YASU-K-AR-AN-U MÖNÖwo

way-ABS PREF-far-GER think-ATTR PT easy no-INF DV-INF
lament-ATTR PT easy-INF-exist-NEG-ATTR CONJ

although it is not easy even to lament and to love because the way
is far (MYS IV: 534)

可久斯良摩世婆久奴知許等其等美世摩斯母乃乎

ka-ku sir-amas-eNpa kun[i]-uti kötö-Nkötö myi-se-masi mönöwo
thus-INF know-SUBJ-COND land-inside thing-thing see-CAUS-
SUBJ CONJ

if [I] would know that, [I] would show [her] all things in the land,
but... (MYS V: 797)

那我古飛世殊波弥曾能不乃于梅能波奈尔忘奈良麻之母能乎
naNka kwopiy se-Ns-u pa myi-sönö-pu-nö uMEY-nö pana n-i mo
nar-amasi **mönöwo**

long love(NML) do-NEG-INF TOP HON-garden-plant-GEN
plum-GEN blossom DV-INF PT become-SUBJ **CONJ**

[I] would become plum blossoms [among] the plants of your
garden without loving [you for a] long [time], but ... (MYS V: 864)

阿摩等夫夜等利尔母賀母夜美夜故麻提意久利摩遠志弓等比可
弊流母能

ama-töNp-u ya töri n-i möNkamö ya myiyakwo-maNte okur-i-
mawos-i-te töNp-yi kapyer-u **mönö**

sky-fly-ATTR PT bird DV-INF PT PT capital-TERM see.off-INF-
HUM-INF-SUB fly-INF return-ATTR **CONJ**

[I] would like to be a bird that flies in the sky. [I would] see [you]
off to the capital and come back, but ... (MYS V: 876)

人跡不在者桑子尔毛成益物乎

PYITÖ tö AR-ANS-U PA KUWA-KWO n-i mwo NAR-Amasi
MÖNÖwo

person DV exist-NEG-INF TOP mulberry-child DV-INF PT
become-SUBJ **CONJ**

if [I] was not a human being, [I] would [like to] become a silkworm,
but ... (MYS XII: 3086)

大船尔伊母能流母能尔安良麻勢婆羽具久美母知弓由可麻之母
能乎

OPO PUNE-ni imö nör-u mönö n-i ar-amas-eNpa PA-N-kukum-yi
möt-i-te yuk-amasi **mönöwo**

big boat-LOC beloved board-ATTR thing DV-INF exist-SUBJ-
COND wing-LOC-cover-INF hold-INF-SUB go-SUBJ **CONJ**

If [it] were the case that [my] beloved boarded [my] big boat, [I]
would go holding her under [my] wings, but ... (MYS XV: 3579)

故非毛奈久安良末思毛能乎於毛波之米都追

kwopiy mwo na-ku ar-amasi **mwonöwo** omwop-asimey-tutu
long.for(NML) PT no-INF exist-SUBJ **CONJ** love-CAUS(INF)-
COOR

[I] would have no longing for [you], **but** [you] make [me] love [you] constantly (MYS XV: 3737)

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弓許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里爾之母能乎

a-Nka miy kōsō sekyi yama kwoye-te kōkō-ni ar-am-ey kōkōrō pa imwo-ni yōr-i-n-i-si **mōnōwo**

I-POSS body PT barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB here-LOC exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT approach-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR **CONJ**

My body has crossed barriers and mountains, and is probably here. **But** [my] heart stayed near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

孤悲之家口氣奈我枳物能乎見麻久保里

kwopiysi-ky-eku key naNka-kyi **Mōnōwo** MYI-m-aku por-i long.for-ATTR-NML day long-ATTR **CONJ** see-TENT-NML want-FIN

although days are long when [I] long for [you], [I] want to see [you] (MYS XVII: 3957)

麻佐吉久登伊比低之物能乎

ma-sakyi-ku tō ip-yi-te-si **Mōnōwo**

INT-safe-INF DV say-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR **CONJ**

Although [I] have said that [I return] safely (MYS XVII: 3958)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月經礼波古非之家礼夜母

apyi-myi-ru **mwonōwo** sukuna-ku mö TŌSI TUKIY P-Ure-Npa kwopiysi-kyere ya mö

REC-see-ATTR **CONJ** few-INF PT year month pass-EV-CON miss-EV PT PT

although [we] see each other, as the time goes by, do [we still] miss [each other] just a bit?! (MYS XVIII: 4118)

奈泥之故波秋咲物乎君宅之雪巖尔左家理家流可母

naNtesikwo pa AKYI SAK-U **Mōnōwo** KYIMYI-NKA IPYE-NŌ YUKYI IPAPO-ni sak-yer-i-kyer-u kamō

carnation TOP fall bloom-ATTR **CONJ** lord-POSS house-GEN snow rock-LOC bloom-PROG-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Although carnations bloom in the fall, [it] turned out that [they] have bloomed at the snow rocks of your house! (MYS XIX: 4231)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The conjunction *mōnō* ~ *mōnōwo* ‘although’ also appears in Eastern Old Japanese texts, but there are no examples among the *Sakimori uta* found in book XX, and most examples in book XIV seem to be devoid of any Eastern Old Japanese distinctive features as in the first and third examples below from MYS XIV: 3354 and 3568.

伊利奈麻之母乃伊毛我乎杼許爾

ir-i-n-amasi **mōnō** imwo-Nka woN-tōkō-ni

enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ **CONJ** beloved-POSS DIM-bed-LOC

although [I] would [like to] enter the bed of [my] beloved (MYS XIV: 3354)

夜麻都豆良野乎比呂美波比尔思物能乎安是加多延世武

yama tuNtura NWO-wo pyirō-myi pap-yi-si **Mōnōwo** aNse ka taye se-m-u

mountain vine field-ABS wide-GER creep-INF-PAST/ATTR **CONJ** why PT break(NML) do-TENT-ATTR

because the field is wide, **although** [my heart] crept [to you like] a mountain vine, why should [we] break? (MYS XIV: 3434)

伎美我由美尔母奈良麻思物能乎

kyimyi-Nka yumyi n-i mō nar-amasi **Mōnōwo**

lord-POSS bow DV-INF PT become-SUBJ **CONJ**

[I] would become your bow, **but** ... (MYS XIV: 3568)

A2: Ryukyuan

Cognates of WOJ *mōnō* ~ *mōnōwo* are attested throughout the Ryukyus (Nohara 1998: 16). Most of them clearly correspond to the earliest WOJ form *mōnō*, which proves again the secondary nature of WOJ *mōnōwo*. The only candidate for a cognate of WOJ *mōnōwo* taken as a whole is the Psara conjunction *munuu*, although on the basis of the regular correspondences we would rather expect Psara **munuyu* and not *munuu*.

Shuri

’ic-uru **muNnu** ’eezin s-aN sa

go-ATTR CONJ sign do-NEG/FIN PT

Although [he] goes, he makes no sign (Nohara 1998: 16)

8.3 CONJUNCTION MÖNÖKARA ‘ALTHOUGH’

It seems that the conjunction *mönökara* ‘although’ is synonymous with *mönöwo* ‘id.’, although it occurs much less frequently than the latter: there are only five examples of it in Western Old Japanese in phonetic or partially phonetic script, and one is completely semantographic.¹ Like *mönöwo* it follows the attributive form of verbs and probably of inflected adjectives.² The origin of this conjunction can probably be traced back to the combination of *mönö* ‘thing’ + *kara* ‘clan, relation, nature.’ Examples:

見渡者近物可良石隠

MYI-WATAS-E-NPA TIKAKYI MÖNÖkara IPA-N-KAKUR-I
see(INF)-take.across-EV-CON close-ATTR CONJ rock-LOC-
hide-INF

although [pearls seem] to be close when [one] looks around, [they] are hidden in the rocks (MYS VI: 951)

玉葛不絶物可良佐宿者年之度尔直一夜耳

TAMAKANTURA TAYE-N-U MÖNÖkara sa-N-UR-AKU PA
TÖSI-NÖ WATAR-I-ni TANTA PYITÖ YWO NÖMIY
jewel vine break-NEG-ATTR CONJ PREF-sleep-ATTR-NML
TOP year-GEN cross-NML-LOC only one night PT

Although [our] relationship does not break [like] a jewel[-like] vine, [we] sleep [together] only one night in a year (MYS X: 2078)

京師乎母此間毛於夜自等心尔波念毛能可良

MYIYAKWO-wo mö KÖKÖ mwo oyaNsi tö KÖKÖRÖ-ni pa
OMÖP-U mwonökara
capital-ACC PT here PT same DV heart-LOC TOP think-ATTR
CONJ

although [I] think in [my] heart that both the capital and here are the same (MYS XIX: 4154)

¹ MYS XI: 2717.

² One cannot be absolutely sure that the conjunction *mönökara* follows the attributive form of inflected adjectives, since in the only attested example of this usage the adjective is found in semantographic spelling (see MYS VI: 951 below).

Alternatively, *mönökara* is attested in the form *mönökara n-i* followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*. There are two examples of this usage:

路遠不來常波知有物可良尔然曾將待

MYITI TŌPO-MYI KŌ-NSI tö pa SIR-ER-U MÖNÖkara n-i
SIKA sö MAT-URAM-U

way far-GER come-NEG/TENT DV TOP know-PROG-ATTR
CONJ DV-INF thus PT wait-TENT2-ATTR

Although [I] know that [you] probably will not come because the way is far, [I] will wait for [you] so [much] (MYS IV: 766)

對面者面隱流物柄尔繼而見卷能欲公毳

APYI-MYI-TE PA OMŌ KAKUS-AR-Uru MÖNÖkara n-i
TUNK-YI-TE MYI-m-aku-nö POSI-KYI KYIMYI kamö

REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP face hide-PASS-ATTR CONJ DV-INF
follow-INF-SUB see-TENT-NML-GEN desirable-ATTR lord PT

Although [you] suddenly disappeared (lit.: hid [you] face) after [we] met each other, [it is] you whom [I] want to see again! (MYS XI: 2554)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

There is one example of *mönökara* in Eastern Old Japanese

比登祢呂尔伊波流毛能可良

pyitö ne-rö n-i ip-ar-u mwonökara

one peak-DIM DV-INF say-PROG-ATTR CONJ

Although [I] have called [you] ‘a single peak’ ... (MYS XIV: 3512)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates of WOJ *mönökara* are not attested in Ryukyuan.

8.4 CONJUNCTION NAPEY ‘AT THE SAME TIME AS, JUST AS’

The conjunction *napey* ‘at the same time as, just as’ follows the attributive forms of verbs and probably of inflected adjectives.³ It is attested only in the *Man ’yōshū*. Examples:

夕去者川津鳴奈拜紐不解客尔之有者
 YUPU SAR-E-NPA kapaNtu NAK-U **napey** PYIMO TÖK-AN-U
 TANPYI n-i si AR-E-NPA
 evening come-EV-CON frog croak-ATTR **CONJ** cord untie-NEG-
 ATTR travel DV-INF PT exist-EV-CON
 because it is a travel where [I] do not untie the cords [of my
 garment] **at the same time as** frogs are croaking when the evening
 comes (MYS VI: 913)

鴈鳴寒聞之奈倍野邊能淺茅曾色付丹来
 KARI-NKA NE SAMU-KU KIYK-YI-si **napey** NWO PYE-nö
 ASANTI sö IRÖ-N-TUK-YI-n-i-KYER-U
 wild.goose-POSS sound cold-INF hear-INF-PAST/ATTR **CONJ**
 field side-GEN cogon.grass PT color-LOC-attach-INF-PERF-INF-
 RETR-ATTR
At the same time as [I] heard wild geese sounding cold, the cogon
 grass in the fields turned yellow (MYS VIII: 1540)

雲上尔鳴都流鴈乃寒苗芽子乃下葉者黄變可毛
 KUMWO-NÖ UPEY-ni NAK-YI-t-uru KARI-nö SAMU-KYI
napey PANKIY-nö SITA-N-PA PA MWOMYIT-URU kamwo
 cloud-GEN top-LOC cry-INF-PERF-ATTR wild.goose-GEN cold-
 ATTR **CONJ** bush.clover-GEN bottom-GEN-leaf TOP turn.yellow
 -ATTR PT
At the same time as [the cries] of wild geese in the clouds [started
 to sound] cold, the bottom leaves of the bush clover turned yellow!
 (MYS VIII: 1575)

保等登藝須伊夜米豆良之毛名能里奈久奈倍
 potötöNkyisu iya meyNtulasi-mö NA nör-i nak-u **napey**

³ One cannot be absolutely sure that the conjunction *mönökara* follows the attributive form of inflected adjectives, since in the only attested example of this usage the adjective is found in semantographic spelling (see MYS VIII: 1575 below).

cuckoo more.and.more be.lovely-EXCL name announce-INF cry-
ATTR CONJ

Cuckoo, [you] are more and more lovely **at the same time as** [you]
cry announcing [your] name (MYS XVIII: 4091)

櫻花伊麻佐可里奈里難波乃海於之弓流宮尔伎許之賣須奈倍
SAKURA-N-PANA ima sakar-i nar-i nanipa-nō UMYI ositeru
MYIYA-ni kyikōs-i-myes-u **napey**

cherry-GEN-blossom now flourish-NML be-FIN Nanipa-GEN sea
(*makura-kotoba*) palace-LOC govern-INF-HON-ATTR CONJ

At the same time as [the emperor] deigns to govern in the palace
on the Nanipa sea, it is now the peak of cherry blossoms (MYS XX:
4361)

Even more frequently, the conjunction *napey* is attested in the
form *napey n-i* with the following infinitive form *n-i* of the
defective verb *n-*:

于遇比須能於登企久奈倍尔烏梅能波奈和企弊能曾能尔佐伎互
知留美由

uNkupyisu-nō otō kyik-u **napey n-i** uMEY-nō pana wa-NK-yipye-
nō sōnō-ni sak-yi-te tir-u myi-y-u

bush.warbler-GEN sound hear-ATTR CONJ DV-INF plum-GEN
blossom I-POSS-house-GEN garden-LOC bloom-INF-SUB fall-
ATTR see-PASS-FIN

At the same time as [I] hear a bush warbler's singing, [I] see that
the plum blossoms in the garden of my house are falling after [they]
bloomed (MYS V: 841)

見麻久保里於毛比之奈倍尔賀都良賀氣香具波之君乎安比見都
流賀母

MYI-m-aku por-i omwop-yi-si **napey n-i** kaNtura kakey kaNkup-
asi KYIMYI-wo ap-yi MYI-t-uru kamō

see-TENT-NML want-FIN think-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ DV-
INF vines attach(INF) dear-ADJ lord-ACC meet-INF see(INF)-
PERF-ATTR PT

Just as [I] thought that [I] want to see [you], [I] met and saw you,
[my] dear [friend], with vines [in your hair]! (MYS XVIII: 4120)

和我勢故我許登等流奈倍尔都祢比登乃伊布奈宜吉思毛伊夜之
伎麻須毛

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kötö tör-u **napey n-i** tune pyitö-nö ip-u
 naNkeyk-yi si mwo iya sik-yi mas-umwo
 I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS *koto* take-ATTR CONJ DV-INF
 usual person say-ATTR sigh-NML PT PT more and more
 be.frequent-INF increase-EXCL

Just as my beloved took [his] *koto* [and started to play], the sighs
 of the usual people increased in frequency more and more! (MYS
 XVIII: 4135)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The conjunction *napey* [*n-i*] is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese
 or Ryukyuan.

8.5 CONJUNCTION NKANE ‘SO THAT, IN ORDER TO/THAT’

The conjunction *Nkane* ‘so that, in order to/that’ is not very
 frequent in Western Old Japanese and all attestations are confined
 to the *Man’yōshū*. It always follows the attributive form of verbs.
 Historically it probably goes back to the contracted form *-N-* of the
 defective verb’s attributive form *n-ö* plus some noun *kane which
 has obscure semantics. Examples:

余呂豆余尔伊比都具可祢等

yöröNtu yö-ni ip-yi-tuNk-u **Nkane** tö

ten.thousand generation-DAT tell-INF-continue-ATTR CONJ DV
in order to pass [it] down to ten thousand generations (MYS V:
 813)

橘之林乎殖霍公鳥常尔冬及住度金

TATINPANA-NÖ PAYASI-wo ÜWE-M-U POTÖTÖNKYISU
 TUNE n-i PUYU-MANTE SUM-YI-WATAR-U **Nkane**

mandarin.orange-GEN forest-ACC plant-TENT-FIN cuckoo usual
 DV-INF winter-TERM live-INF-cross-ATTR CONJ

[I] am going to plant a forest of mandarin oranges **so that** the
 cuckoo continues to live [there] always until the winter (MYS X:
 1958)

雪寒三咲者不開梅花縱比来者然而毛有金

YUKYI SAMU-myi SAK-YI N-I PA SAK-ANS-U UMEY-NÖ
 PANA YÖ-SI KÖNÖ KÖRÖ PA SA-TE mwo AR-U **Nkane**

snow cold-GER bloom-NML DV-INF TOP bloom-NEG-INF
 plum-GEN blossom good-FIN this time TOP be.thus(INF)-GER
 PT exist-ATTR CONJ

[It] is good that plum blossoms do not even bloom because the snow is cold. **So that** [it] will be so at the appropriate time (MYS X: 2329)

比等尔母都氣牟於登能未毛名能未母伎吉氏登母之夫流我祢
 pyitō-ni mō tuNkey-m-u otō nōmiy mwo NA nōmiy mō kyik-yi-te
 tōmōsiNp-uru **Nkane**

person-DAT PT report-TENT-FIN sound PT PT name PT PT hear-
 INF-SUB envy-ATTR CONJ

[I] will tell people [about this mountain] **so that** [they] will be envious when [they] hear just a name or just a rumor [of it] (MYS XVII: 4000)

大夫者名乎之立倍之後代尔聞繼人毛可多里都具我祢
 MASURA WO PA NA-wo TAT-UNpey-si NŌTI-NŌ YŌ-ni
 KYIK-YI-TUNK-U PYITŌ mwo katar-i-tuNk-u **Nkane**

excellent man TOP name-ACC establish-DEB-FIN after-GEN age-
 LOC hear-INF-continue-ATTR person PT speak-INF-continue-
 ATTR CONJ

A gentleman must establish his name. **So that** the people who continue to hear [about it] in the later ages will continue to speak [about it] (MYS XIX: 4165)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The Eastern Old Japanese cognate of WOJ *Nkane* is *Nkani* attested only once:

於毛思路伎野乎婆奈夜吉曾布流久佐尔仁比久佐麻自利於非波
 於布流我尔

omwosirwo-kyi NWO-woNpa na-yak-yi-sō puru kusa-ni nipyi kusa
 maNsir-i opiy pa op-uru **Nkani**

beautiful-ATTR field-ACC(EMPH) NEG-burn-INF-do old grass-
 LOC new grass get.mixed-INF growth(NML) TOP grow-ATTR
 CONJ

Do not burn the beautiful field **so that** the new grass grows mixed with the old grass (MYS XIV: 3452)

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge there are no cognates of WOJ *Nkane* in Ryukyuan.

8.6 CONJUNCTION NKANI ‘LIKE, AS IF, SO THAT’

The conjunction *Nkani* ‘like, as if, so that’ is not very frequent in Western Old Japanese and all attestations are confined to the *Man’yōshū*. It always follows the final form of verbs.

道相而咲之柄尔零雪乃消者消香二戀云吾妹

MYITI-NI AP-YI-TE WEM-AS-I-si karani PUR-U YUKYI-nō
KEY-N-ANPA KEY-N-U **Nkani** KWOP-U TÖ IP-U WA-NK-
YIMWO

road-LOC meet-INF-SUB laugh-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ
fall-ATTR snow-GEN melt(INF)-PERF-COND melt(INF)-PERF-
FIN **CONJ** love-FIN DV say-ATTR I-POSS-beloved

Just because [I] laughed when [I] met [her] on the road, my beloved said that [she] loves [me] **like** a falling snow that is bound to melt away (MYS IV: 624)

五月乎近美安要奴我尔花咲尔家里

SA-TUKIY-wo TIKa-myi aye-n-u **Nkani** PANA SAK-YI-n-i-
kyer-i

fifth.lunar.month-ABS be.close-GER fall(INF)-PERF-FIN **CONJ**
flower bloom-INF-PERF-RETR-FIN

because the fifth lunar month is close, the flowers [of mandarin oranges] have bloomed **as if** [they] are going to fall (MYS VIII: 1507)

秋田苜借廬毛未壞者鴈鳴寒霜毛置奴我二

AKYI TA KAR-U KARI-[I]PO mwo IMANTA KOPOT-AN-E-
NPA KARI-NKA NE SAMUSI SIMWO mwo OK-YI-n-u **Nkani**
autumn paddy cut-ATTR temporary-hut PT yet break-NEG-EV-
CON wild.goose-POSS sound cold frost PT put-INF-PERF-FIN
CONJ

Because [they] have not yet destroyed the temporary huts [built] to harvest [rice] at the autumn paddies, wild geese’s cries are cold **so that** even frost [may] fall (MYS VIII: 1556)

四去霍公鳥今社者音之干蟹来喧響目

sikō POTOTŌNKYISU IMA KOSŌ PA KŌWE-NŌ KAR-U
Nkani K-YI NAK-YI-TŌYŌMEY-M-EY

stupid cuckoo now PT TOP voice-GEN dry.up-FIN **CONJ** come-
 INF sing-INF-make.sound-TENT-EV

Stupid cuckoo! Now **so that** [your] voice dried up, [I] want to
 make [you] come and cry (MYS X: 1951)

海部處女等纓有領巾文光蟹手二卷流玉毛湯良羅尔白袴乃袖振
 所見津

AMA WOTŌMYE-NTŌMŌ UNANKAS-ER-U PYIRE mo TER-
 U **Nkani** TE-ni MAK-YER-u TAMA mwo yurara n-i SIRWO
 TAPEY-nō SWONTE PUR-U MYI-YE-t-u

fisher maiden-PLUR wear.on.the.neck-PROG-ATTR long.scarf PT
 shine-FIN **CONJ** hand-LOC wrap-PROG-ATTR jewel PT clinging
 DV-INF white mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN sleeve wave-ATTR
 see-PASS(INF)-PERF-FIN

[I] have seen fisher maidens waiving their white sleeves from white
 mulberry tree bark cloth and clinging jewels that are wrapped on
 their hands **so that** the long scarves that [they] wear on [their]
 necks are shining (MYS XIII: 3243)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The conjunction *Nkani* ‘like’ is attested only once in Eastern Old Japanese. It is not to be confused with another EOJ conjunction *Nkani* that is a cognate of WOJ *Nkane* ‘so that, in order to/that’ (see 8.5).

都留能都追美乃那利奴賀尔古吕波伊敏杼母伊未太年那久尔
 turu-nō tutumyi-nō nar-i-n-u **Nkani** kwo-rō pa ip-ye-Ntōmō
 imaNta ne-n-aku n-i

Turu-GEN dam-GEN become-INF-PERF-FIN **CONJ** girl-DIM
 TOP say-EV-CONC yet sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF

although the girl says that [their relationship is established
 completely] **like** the dam on the Turu [river] is established, [they]
 have not yet slept together (MYS XIV: 3543)

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge there are no cognates of the WOJ conjunction *Nkani* in Ryukyuan.

8.7 CONJUNCTION KARANI ‘JUST BECAUSE, AS SOON AS’

The conjunction *karani* ‘just because, as soon as’ is unique because it can follow both the attributive forms of verbs directly and the attributive forms of verbs marked by the possessive case marker *-Nka* as well as nominals marked by the genitive marker *-nö*. This mixed usage is certainly due to its origin, as it is apparently derived from the noun *kara* ‘nature, relationship, clan’ marked by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*. The conjunction *karani* is attested only in the *Man’yōshū*. Examples:

(1) the conjunction *karani* appearing directly after the attributive forms of verbs:

道相而咲之柄尔零雪乃消者消香二戀云吾妹

MYITI-NI AP-YI-TE WEM-AS-I-si **karani** PUR-U YUKYI-nö
KEY-N-ANPA KEY-N-U Nkani KWOP-U TÖ IP-U WA-NK-
YIMWO

road-LOC meet-INF-SUB laugh-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ
fall-ATTR snow-GEN melt(INF)-PERF-COND melt(INF)-PERF-
FIN CONJ long.for-FIN DV say-ATTR I-POSS-beloved

Just because [I] laughed when [I] met [her] on the road, my beloved said that [she] loves [me] like a falling snow that is bound to melt away (MYS IV: 624)

直一夜隔之可良尔荒玉乃月歟経去跡心遮

TANTA PYITÖ YWO PYENTATE-si **karani** ARA TAMA-nö
TUKIY KA PEY-N-URU tö KÖKÖRÖ PA MATWOP-U

only one night be.separated(INF)-PAST/ATTR CONJ (*makura-*
kotoba) month PT pass(INF)-PERF-ATTR DV heart TOP
be.perplexed-FIN

Just because [we] were separated only one night, [my] heart wonders whether a [whole] month has passed (MYS IV: 638)

一夜耳宿有之柄二峯上之櫻花者瀧之瀨從落隨而流

PYITÖ YWO NÖMIY NE-TAR-I-si **karani** WO-NÖ UPEY-NÖ
SAKURA-NÖ PANA PA TAKYI-NÖ SE-YU OTI-TE NANKAR-
U

one night PT sleep(INF)-PERF/PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR **CONJ**
summit-GEN top-GEN cherry-GEN blossom TOP waterfall-GEN
rapids-ABL fall(INF)-SUB float-FIN

as soon as [I] slept only one night, the cherry blossoms on the
summit fell from the rapids of the waterfall and are floating [in the
river] (MYS IX: 1751)

多麻婆波伎手尔等流可良尔由良久多麻能乎

tama-N-papakyi TE-ni tör-u **karani** yurak-u tama-nö wo
jewel-GEN-broom hand-LOC take-ATTR **CONJ** sound-ATTR
jewel-GEN cord

as soon as [I] took a broom [decorated with magic] jewels, the
string of jewels [started to] sound (MYS XX: 4493)

(2) the conjunction *karani* appearing after the possessive marker
-*Nka* that follows the attributive form of verbs:

故郷者遠毛不有一重山越我可良尔念曾吾世思

PURU SATWO PA TÖPO-KU mwo AR-ANS-U PYITÖ-PYE
YAMA KWOY-URU-Nka **karani** OMÖP-YI sö WA-NKA se-si
old village TOP be.far-INF PT exist-NEG-FIN one-CL mountain
cross-ATTR-POSS **CONJ** long.for-NML I-POSS do(INF)-
PAST/ATTR

[My] native place is not even far. [But] **as soon as** [I] crossed one
mountain, I longed for [it] (MYS VI: 1038)

手取之柄二忘跡磯人之曰師戀忘貝言二師有来

TE-NI TÖR-U-NKA **karani** WASUR-U tö AMA PYITÖ IP-YI-si
KWOPIY WASURE-N-KAPYI KÖTÖ n-i si AR-I-KYER-I
hand-LOC take-ATTR-POSS **CONJ** forget-FIN DV fisher person
say-INF-PAST/ATTR love(NML) forget(NML)-GEN-seashell
word DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-FIN

The love-forgetting shell which as fishermen told [me], [one would]
forget [an unrequited] love **as soon as** [one] takes [it] into one's
hands, turned out to be [no more than] a rumor (MYS VII: 1197)

(3) the conjunction *karani* appearing after the genitive marker *-nō* that follows nominals:

保登等藝須比登欲乃可良尔古非和多流加母
 potōtōNkyisu pyitō ywo-**nō karani** kwopyi-watar-u kamō
 cuckoo one night-GEN CONJ long.for(INF)-cross-ATTR PT
 [I] will continue to long for the cuckoo, **just because** [it is] one
 night! (MYS XVIII: 4069)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The conjunction *karani* ‘[just] because’ is attested in Eastern Old Japanese only after the possessive case marker *-Nka* and the genitive case marker *-nō* following nominals as well as attributive and nominalized forms of verbs.

阿波奈敝婆祢奈敝乃可良尔許等多可利都母
 ap-an-ap-ye-Npa ne-n-ap-ye-**nō karani** kōtō [i]ta-k-ar-i-t-umō
 meet-NEG-ITER-EV-CON sleep-NEG-ITER-NML-GEN CONJ
 word be.painful-INF-exist-INF-PERF-EXCL
just because [we] do not sleep [together] when [we] do not meet,
 rumors are painful! (MYS XIV: 3482a)

尔波尔多知惠麻須我可良尔古麻尔安布毛能乎
 nipa-ni tat-i wem-as-u-**Nka karani** kwoma-ni ap-u mwonōwo
 garden-LOC stand-INF laugh-HON-ATTR-POSS CONJ stallion-
 DAT meet-ATTR CONJ
just because [you] stand in the garden and laugh, [you] will meet
 my stallion, but ... (MYS XIV: 3535)
 This poem has no distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features.

和我波々能蘇弓母知奈弓氏和我可良尔奈伎之許己呂乎和須良
 延奴可毛
 wa-Nka papa-nō swoNte mōt-i naNte-te wa-**Nka karani** nak-yi-si
 kōkōrō-wo wasur-aye-n-u kamwo
 I-POSS mother-GEN sleeve hold-INF caress(INF)-SUB I-POSS
 CONJ weep-INF-PAST/ATTR heart-ACC forget-PASS-NEG-
 ATTR PT
 [I] cannot forget my mother’s feelings when [she] cried **because of**
 me holding and stroking [my] sleeve! (MYS XX: 4356)
 This poem has no distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features.

A2: Ryukyuan

To the best of my knowledge there are no cognates of the WOJ conjunction *karani* in Ryukyuan.

8.8 CONJUNCTION TWONI ‘WHILE, BEFORE’

The conjunction *twoni* ‘while, before’ always follows the attributive forms of verbs. It is probably a result of the grammaticalization of the noun *two* ‘place’ plus a locative case marker *-ni*, cf. the following example from the *Kojiki kayō* when this sequence has not yet been completely grammaticalized as a conjunction:

和賀淤富岐美能阿佐斗爾波伊余理陀多志由布斗爾波伊余理陀
多須和岐豆紀

wa-Nka opō kyimiyi-nō **asa-two-ni** pa i-yōr-i-Ntat-as-i **yupu-two-ni** pa i-yōr-i-Ntat-as-u wakiNtukiy

I-POSS great lord-GEN **morning-place-LOC** TOP DLF-lean-INF-stand-HON-INF **evening-place-LOC** TOP lean-INF-stand-HON-ATTR arm-rest

the arm-rest that my sovereign leans on **in the morning** and leans on **in the evening** (KK 104)

There are only six examples of *twoni* in Western Old Japanese, and in four cases out of six it occurs after a negative attributive form *-(a)n-u*. Examples:

于魔伊祢矢度儻儻播都等唎柯稽播難俱難梨

uma i ne-si **twoni** nipa-tu tōri kakye pa nak-u-nar-i
sweet sleep sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR **CONJ** garden-GEN/LOC
bird rooster TOP cry-FIN-RA-FIN

while [we] were sleeping a sweet sleep, [I] heard that the rooster, the bird of the garden, cried (NK 96)

喚子鳥君喚變瀨夜之不深刀尔

YWONP-U-KWO-N-TōRI KYIMYI YWONP-YI-KAPYEs-e
YWO-NŌ PUKEY-N-U **twoni**

call-ATTR-child-GEN-bird lord call-INF-make.return-IMP night-GEN grow.late-NEG-ATTR **CONJ**

Oh, calling bird! Call back [my] beloved **while** the night does not grow late (MYS X: 1822)

安礼麻多無波夜可反里麻世古非之奈奴刀尔

are mat-am-u paya kapyer-i-[i]mas-e kwopiy sin-an-u **twoni**

I wait-TENT-FIN quick return-INF-HON-IMP long.for(INF) die-NEG-ATTR **CONJ**

I will wait for [you]. Come back quickly **before** [I] die longing for [you] (MYS XV: 3747)

比等久尔波須美安之等曾伊布須牟也氣久波也可反里万世古非之奈奴刀尔

pyitō kuni pa sum-yi asi tō sō ip-u sumuyakey-ku paya kapyer-i-[i]mas-e kwopiy sin-an-u **twoni**

person province TOP live-NML bad(FIN) DV PT say-ATTR be.fast-INF quick return-INF-HON-IMP long.for(INF) die-NEG-ATTR **CONJ**

[They] say that living in the [other] people's province is bad. Come back quickly **before** [I] die longing for [you] (MYS XV: 3748)

河湍尔霧多知和多礼左欲布氣奴刀尔

KAPA-NÓ SE-ni KIYRI tat-i-watar-e sa-ywo pukey-n-u **twoni**

river-GEN rapids-LOC fog rise-INF-cross-IMP PREF-night grow.late-NEG-ATTR **CONJ**

Oh, fog, rise over the river rapids **while** the night does not grow late (MYS XIX: 4163)

佐久良波奈知利加須疑奈牟和我加敝流刀尔

sakura pana tir-i ka suNkiy-n-am-u wa-Nka kapyer-u **twoni**

cherry blossom fall-INF PT pass(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR I-POSS return-ATTR **CONJ**

Would the cherry blossoms fall completely **before** I return? (MYS XX: 4395)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

Cognates of WOJ *twoni* are not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

PARTICLES

Traditional grammar distinguishes several classes of particles in Old Japanese: case particles 格助詞 *kaku joshi*, conjunctive particles 接続助詞 *setsuzoku joshi*, emotive particles 係助詞 *kakari joshi*, final particles 終助詞 *shū joshi*, adverbial particles 副助詞 *fuku joshi*, and exclamation particles 間投助詞 *kantō joshi*. Among these, case particles have already been treated above in Chapter 4 as case markers. From a structural point of view, conjunctive particles represent a heterogeneous class, consisting partially of case particles (treated in Chapter 4), conjunctions, and gerund suffixes. Gerund suffixes have been treated in Chapter 6, and conjunctions in Chapter 8. What is understood by particles here is, therefore, roughly limited to emotive, final, adverbial, and exclamation particles in traditional grammar. I distinguish the following classes of particles: focus particles (*pa*, *mō*, *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *namo*, *kōsō*), interrogative particles (*ya*, *ka*), desiderative particle *mōNka* ~ *mōNkamō*, emphatic particles (*kamō*, *si*, *mō*, *ya*, *yō*, *na*, *wo*), and restrictive particles (*nōmiy*, *Ntani*, *sura* ~ *swora*, *sapey*, *Npakari*).

9.1 FOCUS PARTICLES

There are five focus particles in Western Old Japanese: *pa*, *mō*, *sō* ~ *Nsō*, *namo*, and *kōsō*. Their primary function is to indicate different types of focus within a sentence.

9.1.1 TOPIC PARTICLE *PA*

Like its Modern Japanese counterpart *wa*, or its Classical Japanese counterpart *fa*, the Western Old Japanese topic particle *pa* shifts the focus away from the part of the sentence it follows to the rest of the sentence (Martin 1988: 52). The topic particle *pa* can combine with a number of preceding forms, not only nominal, but also verbal. It can also follow certain other focus particles.

Chart 102: Combinations of the topic particle *pa* with preceding morphemes

morphemes	combination forms
nominal	nominal + <i>pa</i>
plural marker <i>-tati</i>	<i>-tati pa</i>
plural marker <i>-Ntömö</i>	<i>-Ntömö pa</i>
plural marker <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra pa</i>
active case marker <i>-i</i>	<i>-i pa</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni pa</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra pa</i>
ablative case marker <i>-ywo</i> , etc.	<i>-ywo pa</i> , etc.
comitative case <i>-tö</i>	<i>-tö pa</i>
diminutive suffix <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra pa</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i pa</i>
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku pa</i>
negative infinitive <i>-(a)Ns-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u pa</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-[ur]u pa</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i pa</i>
nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-aku pa</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te pa</i>
defective verb <i>tö</i> 'to say'	<i>tö pa</i>
focus particle <i>kösö</i>	<i>kösö pa</i>
focus particle <i>sö</i>	<i>sö pa</i>

Although many different word forms can be found after the topic particle *pa*, it is worth noting that it can also be followed by four other particles:

Chart 103: Combinations of the topic particle *pa* with following particles

particles	combination forms
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>pa si</i>
emphatic particle <i>mö</i>	<i>pa mö</i>
emphatic particle <i>ya</i>	<i>pa ya</i>
interrogative particle <i>ya</i>	<i>pa ya</i>

Examples:

那許曾波遠迹伊麻世婆
na kösö pa wo n-i imas-e-Npa

you PT TOP man DV-INF exist(HON)-EV-CON
 since **you** are a man (KK 5)

和賀淤岐斯都流岐能多知曾能多知波夜
 wa-Nka ok-yi-si turukyi n-ö tati sönö **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)

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

宇斯呂傳波袁陀弓呂迦母
usirö-N-te pa woN-tate rö kamö
back-GEN-place TOP DIM-shield DV(ATTR) PT
 [Her] **back** is [like] a small shield! (KK 42)

夜麻登弊迹由玖波多賀都麻
 yamatö-pye-ni **yuk-u pa** ta-Nka tuma
 Yamato-side-LOC **go-ATTR TOP** who-POSS spouse
 Whose spouse goes towards Yamato? (Lit.: **the one who goes**
 toward Yamato, whose spouse) (KK 56)

阿禮許曾波余能那賀比登
are kösö pa yö-nö naNka pyitö
I PT TOP world-GEN long person
 I, [the most] long[-living] man in the world (KK 72)

伊多低於破孺破珥倍迺利能介豆岐齊奈
 ita te op-aNs-u pa nipo-N-töri-nö kaNtuk-yi se-na
painful place carry-NEG-INF TOP grebe-DV(ATTR)-bird-
 COMP dive-NML do-DES
rather than to receive severe wounds, let us dive [together] like
 grebes (NK 29)

耆瀾破介辞古耆呂介茂
kyimyi pa kasikwo-kyi rö kamo
lord TOP awesome-ATTR DV(ATTR) PT
 [my] **lord** is awesome! (NK 47)

蘇餓能古羅破宇摩奈羅麼譬武伽能古摩

swoNka-nō **kwo-ra pa** uma nar-aNpa pyimuka-nō kwo-[u]ma
SwoNka-GEN **son-PLUR TOP** horse be-COND Pyimuka-GEN
DIM-horse

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

枳彌波夜那祇

kyimyi pa ya na-kyi
lord TOP PT no-ATTR

Do not [you] have a **lord**? (NK 104)

不聽跡雖謂話礼話礼常詔許曾志斐伊波奏強話登言

INA TÖ IP-EY-NTÖ KATAr-e KATAr-e tö NÖR-AS-E kösö
Sipiy-i pa MAWOS-E SIPIY-N-KATAR-I tö NÖR-U
no DV say-EV-CONC speak-IMP speak-IMP DV say-HON-EV
PT **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] **Sipiy** says, [you] call a forced speech (MYS III: 237)

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
可利家理

yö-nō naka pa munasi-kyi mönō tö sir-u tökyi si iyöyö masu-masu
kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
world-GEN inside TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR
time PT more.and.more more.and.more sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-
FIN

When [I] realized that the **world** is empty, [it] turned out to be more and more sad (MYS V: 793)

意比久留母能波毛毛久佐爾勢米余利伎多流

op-yi-k-uru **mönö pa** mwomwo kusa n-i semey-yör-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 a hundred
varieties (MYS V: 804)

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 again if [I] saw the capital (MYS V: 848)

阿袁麻多周良武知知波波良波母
 a-wo mat-as-uram-u **titi papa-ra pa mö**
I-ACC wait-HON-TENT2-ATTR father mother-DIM TOP PT
dear mother and father, who will probably wait for me (MYS V:
 890)

老尔弓阿留我身上尔病遠等加弓阿礼婆晝波母歎加比久良志
 OYI-n-i-te ar-u WA-NKA MIY-NÖ UPEY-ni YAMAPYI-wo tö
 KUPAPEY-te ar-e-Npa **PYIRU pa mö** NANKEYK-Ap-yi-kuras-i
 age(INF)-PERF-INF-SUB exist-ATTR I-POSS body-GEN top-
 LOC illness-ACC DV add(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON **daytime**
TOP PT lament-ITER-INF-live-INF
 because illnesses have been added to my body that has aged [I]
 spent the **days** lamenting, and ... (MYS V: 897)

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

咲花毛乎曾呂波獸
 SAK-U PANA mwo **wosö rö pa itöpasi**
bloom-ATTR flower PT hasty DV(ATTR) TOP unpleasant
The fact that blooming flowers **are in haste** [to fall], is unpleasant
 (MYS VIII: 1548)

吾齒曾戀流妹
ARE pa sö KWOP-Uru IMWO
I TOP PT long.for-ATTR beloved
[my] beloved, for whom I long (MYS IX: 1787)

此夜等者沙夜深去良之

KONO 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)

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 tö 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)

比等爾波美要緇

pyitö-ni pa myi-ye-Nsi

person-DAT TOP see-PASS-NEG/TENT

[I] should not be seen **by people** (MYS XV: 3708)

故非和須礼我比等良受波由可自

kwopiy wasure-N-kapyi **tör-aNs-u pa** yuk-aNsi

love forget(NML)-GEN-shell **take-NEG-INF TOP** go-NEG/TENT

if [I] do not take a ‘love-forgetting’ shell, [I] would not go (MYS XV: 3711)

伊敝之麻波奈尔許曾安里家礼

ipye sima pa na n-i kösö ar-i-kyer-e

Home island TOP name DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-EV

“**Home island**” turned out to be just a name (MYS XV: 3718)

君波見礼登安可尔勢牟

KYIMYI pa MYI-re-Ntö ak-an-i se-m-u

lord TOP look-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-NML do-TENT-FIN

although **you** will look, [you] would not be satisfied (MYS XVII: 3902)

和可伎兒等毛波乎知許知爾佐和吉奈久良牟

waka-kyi **KWO-Ntömwo pa** woti köti-ni sawak-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)

路波之騰保久關左閑尔敝奈里氏安礼許曾

MYITI pa si töpo-ku SEKYI sapey n-i pyenar-i-te ar-e kösö
way TOP PT far-INF barrier PT DV-INF be.separated-INF-SUB
 exist-EV PT

The **way** is far, and even the barrier is far away (MYS XVII: 3978)

伊米尔波母等奈安比見礼騰多太尔安良祢婆孤悲夜麻受家里
imey-ni pa mötōna apyi-MYI-re-Ntō taNta n-i ar-an-e-Npa kwopiy
 yam-aNs-u-kyer-i

dream-LOC TOP aimlessly REC-see-EV-CONC direct DV-INF
 exist-NEG-EV-CON love(NML) stop-NEG-INF-RETR-FIN

although [we] see each other aimlessly **in dreams**, because [our
 meetings] are not direct, [our] love does not stop (MYS XVII: 3980)

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾

iku ywo p-u tö yōm-yi-tutu **imwo pa** ware mat-uram-u sö
 how many night pass-FIN DV count-INF-COOR **beloved TOP I**
 wait-TENT2-ATTR PT

[My] **beloved** will probably wait for me, counting: 'How many
 nights have passed?' (MYS XVIII: 4072)

都奇見礼婆於奈自久尔奈里夜麻許曾婆伎美我安多里乎敝太弓
 多里家礼

tukiy MYI-re-Npa onaNsi kuni nar-i **yama kösö pa** kyimiyi-Nka
 atari-wo pyeNtate-tar-i-kyer-e

moon see-EV-CON same province be-FIN **mountain PT TOP**
 lord-POSS vicinity-ACC separate(INF)-PERF/PROG-INF-EV

When [I] look at the moon, it is the same province. [But] the
mountains are separating you [from me] (MYS XVIII: 4073)

夜麻能許奴礼能保与等理天可射之都良久波知等世保久等曾
 yama-nō kö-nure-nō poyō tör-i-te **kaNsas-i-t-ur-aku pa** ti tōse
 pok-u tö sö

mountain-GEN tree-top-GEN *poyō* take-INF-SUB **decorate.head-**
INF-PERF-ATTR-NML TOP thousand year pray-FIN DV PT

[I] say that [I] pray for a thousand years **that** [we] **will have decorated** [our] **heads** with *poyö*¹ that we take from the tops of mountain trees (MYS XVIII: 4136)

伎美乎見麻久波知登世爾母我母

kyimyi-wo MYI-m-aku pa ti töse n-i möNkamö

lord-ACC see-TENT-NML TOP thousand year DV-INF PT

[I] would like to have a thousand years **when** [I] **would see** [my]

lord (MYS XX: 4304)

大王乃美己等可之古美都麻和可礼可奈之久波安礼特

OPO KYIMYI-nö myi-kötö kasikwo-myi tuma wakare **kanasi-ku pa** ar-e-Ntö

Great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER spouse part(INF) **sad-INF TOP** exist-EV-CONC

Because the order of [my] sovereign is awesome, [I] part with [my] spouse, and although [I] am **sad**, [I will go to serve] (MYS XX: 4398)

波都由伎波知敝爾布里之家

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)

佐久波奈波宇都呂布等伎安里

sak-u **pana pa** utur-öp-u tökyi ar-i

bloom-ATTR **flower TOP** wither-ITER-ATTR time exist-FIN

There is time when blooming **flowers** will be withering (MYS XX: 4484)

己礼乃与波宇都利佐留止毛

köre n-ö **yö pa** utur-i sar-u tömwö

this DV-ATTR **world TOP** change-INF go.away-FIN CONJ

Even though this **world** changes and goes away ... (BS 10)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
可理家利米太志加利鷄利

kusurisi pa tune n-ö mö ar-e-Ntö marapyitö n-ö ima-nö kusurisi
tapatö-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i

¹ A kind of parasitic plant growing on trees.

medicine.man TOP usual DV-ATTR PT exist-EV-CONC guest DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man revered-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN

Although there are usual **medicine men**, too, the present Guest Medicine Man is [indeed] revered. [He] is praiseworthy (BS 15)

日繼波加久弓絶奈牟止為

PYI TUNK-YI pa ka-ku-te taye-n-am-u tö S-U

sun follow-NML TOP thus-INF-SUB be.interrupted(INF)-PERF-TENT-FIN DV do-FIN

the inheritance of the Sun is going to be interrupted in this way (SM 27)

国王伊王位仁坐時方菩薩乃淨戒乎受与止勅天在

KOKU-WAU-i WAU-WI-ni IMAS-U **TÖKYI pa** BOSATU-nö ZYAUKAI-wo UKEY-yö tö NÖTAMAP-YI-te AR-I

country-king-ACT king-position-LOC be(HON)-ATTR **time TOP** bodhisattva-GEN commandment-ACC receive-IMP DV say(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)

汝多知方貞仁明伎心乎以天

IMASI-tati pa SANTAKA n-i AKA-kyi KÖKÖRÖ-wo MÖT-I-te **you-PLUR TOP** loyal DV-INF bright-ATTR heart-ACC hold-INF-SUB

you, with loyal and clear hearts ... (SM 37)

王多知止藤原朝臣等止方朕親在

OPO-KYIMYI-tati-tö **PUNTIPARA ASWOMYI-TATI-tö pa** WA-NKA UNKARA N-I AR-U

great-lord-PLUR-COM **PuNtipara retainer-PLUR-COM TOP** I-POSS relative DV-INF exist-ATTR

great lords **and PuNtipara retainers** are my relatives (SM 39)

Unlike Modern Japanese, if *pa* occurs twice in a sentence one instance of it may not necessarily be contrastive. Both may be topical:

那迦士登波那波伊布登母

nak-aNsi tö pa na pa ip-u tömö

weep-NEG/TENT DV TOP you TOP say-FIN CONJ
 Even though **you** say **that** [you] **would not weep** (KK 4)

阿波母與賣迓斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志
a pa mö yö 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)

佐泥牟登波阿禮波意母閑杼
sa ne-m-u tö pa are pa omöp-ey-Ntö
thus sleep-TENT-FIN DV TOP I TOP long-EV-CONC
 Although **I** long **so much to sleep** [with you] (KK 27)

麻由美伊岐良牟登許許呂波母閑杼伊斗良牟登許許呂波母閑杼
 mayumyi i-kyir-am-u tö **kökörö pa [o]möp-ey-Ntö i-twor-am-u tö**
kökörö pa [o]möp-ey-Ntö
 mayumyi DLF-cut-TENT-FIN DV **heart TOP think-EV-CONC**
 DLF-take-TENT-FIN DV **heart TOP think-EV-CONC**
 although [**I**] wish [in my] **heart** to cut here mayumyi trees,
 although [**I**] wish [in my] **heart** to take [them] here (KK 51)

阿軻娜磨迺比訶利播阿利登比登播伊珮耐
 aka-N-tama-nö **pyikari pa ar-i tö pyitö pa ip-ey-Ntö**
 red-DV(ATTR)-jewel-GEN **light TOP exist-FIN DV person TOP**
 say-EV-CONC
 Although **people** say that a red jewel has **light** (NK 6)

母呂比得波家布能阿比太波多努斯久阿流倍斯
mörö pyitö pa kyepu-nö 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)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里
 尔多良受也
tune pyitö-nö kwop-u tö ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te ware pa sin-
uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u ya

ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP
excess DV-INF-SUB I TOP die-DEB-INF become-INF-PERF-
INF-PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN PT

Did not [it] become so that I should die, feeling (lit.: being) much more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

CONTRASTIVE USE OF THE TOPIC PARTICLE PA

Like Modern Japanese *wa* and Classical Japanese *fa*, in addition to being a topical particle used for subduing the focus from the part of the sentence that precedes it, the topic particle *pa* can be contrastive. However, while in the modern language, whenever *wa* occurs twice in the same sentence one is always contrastive, this is not necessarily true in Western Old Japanese, as mentioned above. At the same time, as the examples from NK 82 and MYS XV: 3757 below demonstrate, it is not necessary to have two topic particles *pa* to express a contrast: contrastive *pa* can also be used along with the focus particle *kösö*.

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 töri **kyiNkyisi pa** töyöm-u nipa-tu töri **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 singing. **Rooster**, the bird of the garden, is crying (KK 2)

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迹阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠

ima kösö pa wa-N-töri n-i ar-am-ey **nöti pa** na-N-töri 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)

迦賀那倍互用迹波許許能用比迹波登袁加袁

ka-Nka naNpey-te **ywo n-i pa** kökönö ywo **pyi n-i pa** töwo-ka-wo
 day-day line.up(INF)-SUB **night DV-INF TOP** nine night **day**
DV-INF TOP ten-CL-ACC

counting all the days, **as for** nights [it is] nine nights and **as for** days [it is] ten days (KK 26)

母登弊波岐美袁淤母比傳須惠幣波伊毛袁淤母比傳

mötö-pye pa kyimyi-wo omöp-yi-[i]Nte **suwe-pye pa** imwo-wo omöp-yi-[i]Nte

root-side TOP lord-ACC think-INF-exit(INF) **top-side TOP** beloved-ACC think-INF-exit(INF)

at the root [of the tree, I] remember [my] lord, **at the top** [of the tree, I] remember [my] beloved (KK 51)

母登爾波伊久美陀氣淤斐須惠幣爾波多斯美陀氣淤斐

mötö-ni pa i-kum-yi-N-takey opiy **suwe-pye-ni pa** ta-sim-yi-N-takey opiy

root-LOC TOP DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo grow(INF) **top-side-LOC TOP** PREF-grow.densely-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo grow(INF)

at [their] **roots** grows bamboo entwined there, **at** [their] **tips** grows a dense bamboo (KK 91)

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 lands.in.the.east-ACC cover-

PROG-FIN bottom-GEN/LOC branch TOP rural.region-ACC cover-PROG-FIN

[Its] **top branches** are covering the Heaven, [its] **middle branches** are covering the lands in the East, and [its] **lower branches** are covering the rural regions (KK 100)

In this example we have a three-way contrast all marked by *pa*.

和賀淤富岐美能阿佐斗爾波伊余理陀多志由布斗爾波伊余理陀多須和岐豆紀

wa-Nka opö kyimyi-nö **asa-two-ni pa** i-yör-i-Ntat-as-i **yupu-two-ni pa** i-yör-i-Ntat-as-u wakyiNtukiy

I-POSS great lord-GEN **morning-place-LOC TOP** DLF-lean-INF-stand-HON-INF **evening-place-LOC TOP** lean-INF-stand-HON-ATTR arm-rest

the arm-rest that my sovereign leans on **in the morning** and leans on **in the evening** (KK 104)

阿母儻舉會枳舉曳儒阿羅每矩儻播枳舉曳底那

amo-ni kôsô kyik-öye-Ns-u ar-am-ey **kuni-ni pa** kyik-öye-te-na

mother-DAT PT hear-PASS-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV **land-DAT TOP** hear-PASS(INF)-PERF-DES

[I] probably will not be heard by [my] **mother**, but [I] wish to be heard by [the] **land!** (NK 82)

鳥翔成有我欲比管見良目杼母人社不知松者知良武

TORI pa NAR-I ARI-Nkaywop-yi-tutu MYI-ram-ey-Ntömö
PYITÖ KÖSÖ SIR-AN-E **MATU PA** SIR-Uram-u

bird TOP become-INF ITER-go.back.and.forth-INF-COOR see-TENT2-CONC person PT know-NEG-EV **pine TOP** know-TENT2-FIN

Although people would look, [they would] not recognize [the soul of prince Arima that] travels backs and forth like a **bird**. But [they] would know the **pine** [branches that he has tied] (MYS II: 145)

天地者比呂之等伊倍杼安我多米波狭也奈里奴流

AMEY TUTI PA pyirö-si tö ip-ey-Ntö a-Nka **tamey pa** SA-KU
ya nar-i-n-uru

heaven earth TOP wide-FIN say-EV-CONC **I-POSS for TOP**
narrow-INF PT become-INF-PERF-ATTR

Although [they] say that the **Heaven and Earth** are wide, have [not they] become narrow **for me?** (MYS V: 892)

波都世乃加波乃乎知可多尔伊母良波多多志己乃加多尔和礼波
多知互

patuse-nö kapa-nö woti kata-ni **imö-ra pa** tat-as-i könö 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)

妹等安里之時者安礼杼毛和可礼互波許呂母互佐牟伎母能尔曾
安里家流

IMWO-tö ar-i-si **TÖKYI PA** ar-e-Ntömwo **wakare-te pa**
körömöNte samu-kyi mönö n-i sö ar-i-kyer-u

beloved-COM exist-INF-PAST/ATTR **time TOP** exist-EV-CONC
separate(INF)-SUB TOP sleeve cold-ATTR thing DV-INF PT
exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

Although there was a **time** when [I] was with [my] beloved, **after** [we] **separated**, [my] sleeves are cold (MYS XV: 3591)

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弓許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里爾之母能乎

a-Nka miy kōsō sekyi yama kwoye-te kōkō-ni ar-am-ey kōkōrō pa imwo-ni yōr-i-n-i-si mōnōwo
I-POSS body PT barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB here-LOC exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT approach-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ

My body has crossed barriers and mountains, and is probably here. But [my] **heart** stayed near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

宇梅能花伊都波乎良自等伊登波祢登佐吉乃盛波乎思吉物奈利
 uMEY-nō PANA itu **pa** wor-aNsi tō itōp-an-e-Ntō sak-yi-nō
SAKAR-I pa wosi-kyi MŌNŌ nar-i
 plum-GEN blossom **when TOP break-NEG/TENT DV dislike-NEG-EV-CONC bloom-NML-GEN blossom-NML TOP**
 regrettable-ATTR thing be-FIN

Although [I] do not dislike [breaking] plum blossoms, thinking that [I] should not break them **anytime**, it is regrettable [to do so] at the **peak** of [their] blooming (MYS XVII: 3904)

多比良氣久於夜波伊麻佐祢都々美奈久都麻波麻多世
 tapyirakey-ku **oya pa** imas-an-e tutumyi na-ku **tuma pa** mat-as-e
 safe-INF parents TOP exist(HON)-DES-IMP obstacle no-INF spouse TOP wait-HON-IMP
Parents, please live safely! **Wife**, please wait [for me] without obstacles! (MYS XX: 4408)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The topic particle *pa* is amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾
 ne-nōmiy-wo ka nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u ap-u **tō 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] of [even] **thinking** to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

兒良波安波奈毛比等理能未思弓
KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo pyitō-ri nōmiy 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)

与曾爾見之欲波伊麻許曾麻左礼

yösö-ni MYI-si-ywo pa ima kösö 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)

安比見弓波千等世夜伊奴流

apyi-MYI-te pa TI töse ya in-uru
REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP thousand year PT go.away-ATTR
since [we] have seen each other, did one thousand years pass?
(MYS XIV: 3470)

安礼波古非牟奈能知波安比奴登母

are pa kwopyi-m-u na **nöti pa** apyi-n-u tömö
I TOP yearn-TENT-FIN PT **after TOP** COOP-sleep-FIN CONJ
I will yearn for [you] even if later [we] sleep together! (MYS XIV:
3477)

和可加做流弓能毛美都麻弓宿毛等和波毛布

waka kapyerute-nö mwomyit-u-maNte NE-m-wo tö **wa pa**
[o]mwop-u
young maple-GEN leaves.turn.red/yellow-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)

和呂多比波多比等於米保等

warö **taNpyi pa** taNpyi tö omeyp-o-Ntö
I journey TOP journey DV think-EV-CONC
Although I think that [my] journey is [just] a journey... (MYS XX:
4343)

須流河乃祢良波苦不志久米阿流可

suruNka-nö **ne-ra pa** kupusi-ku mey ar-u ka
SuruNka-GEN **summit-PLUR TOP** lovely-INF PT exist-ATTR
PT

are [not] the **summits** of SuruNka [mountains] lovely? (MYS XX: 4345)

久自我波々佐氣久阿利麻弓

KuNsi-N-kapa pa sakey-ku ari-mat-e

KuNsi-GEN-river TOP safe-INF ITER-wait-IMP

Wait for [me] (all this time) safely [at] **KuNsi River!** (MYS XX: 4368)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are two different topic particles in Ryukyuan: *fa* and *ya*. The former is found in Old Ryukyuan, while the later is attested in both Old Ryukyuan and modern dialects. Therefore, OR *fa* is probably a loan from mainland Japanese, while *ya* represents a genuine cognate of WOJ *pa*.

Old Ryukyuan

主里もりあせはつちぎりにきらせ

SIYORI mori **ase fa** tuti-gir-i n-i kir-as-e

Shuri castle **warrior TOP** ground-(DV)cut-NML DV-INF cut-HON-IMP

Warriors [of] the Shuri castle, cut [the enemy] as cutting the ground (OS I: 33)

なりとよみうちあげてなりきよらはうちあげて

nar-i-toyom-i uti-age-te **nar-i-kiyora fa** uti-age-te

sound-INF-resound-NML PREF-raise(INF)-SUB **sound-INF-beautiful TOP** PREF-raise(INF)-SUB

raising the “Resounding” [drum], raising the “**Beautifully sounding**” [drum] (OS I: 37)

けおわのかしよろしよ

keo wa no ka s-i-yor-asiyo

today TOP what PT do-INF-exist-SUP

What would [they] do **today?** (OS VII: 376)

わかさあしときやよろいゑらてきちや物

waka-sa a-si **toki ya** yoroi wera-te ki-tiya MONO

young-NML exist-PAST/ATTR **time TOP** armor select-SUB wear-PAST/ATTR thing

When [I] was young, [I] selected armor and wore [it] (OS VII: 380)

おぎもうちはなげくな

oN-kimo uti fa nagek-una

HON-liver inside TOP lament-NEG/IMP

Do not lament **inside your soul** (OS X: 518)

たらもいやとくらしや

Tara moi ya tok-urasiya

Tarō lord TOP arrive-SUP

It looks like **lord Tarō** will arrive (OS XVI: 1157)

Shuri

'anu hushi-nu **naa ya** ninuhwabushi ya sa

that star-GEN **name TOP** North Star COP PT

The **name** of that star is North Star (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 10)

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 (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 26)

Tokunoshima

sina ya hama-na 'a

sand TOP beach-LOC exist

The **sand** is on the beach (Nohara 1986: 193)

Sesoko

'agami ya wur-a

we TOP stay-HORT

Let **us** stay (Uchima 1984: 85)

9.1.2 FOCUS PARTICLE MŌ

The focus particle *mō* (frequently misspelled as *mwo* in post-*Kojiki* texts) is the opposite of *pa* like in Modern and Classical Japanese: it is used for highlighting a preceding word or a phrase (Martin 1988: 52). Unlike the modern colloquial usage, *mō* in Western Old Japanese can follow the accusative case marker *-wo*. The focus

particle *mö* can combine with a number of preceding forms, not only nominal, but also verbal. It can also follow certain other particles.

Chart 104: Combinations of the focus particle *mö* with preceding morphemes

morphemes	combination forms
nominal	nominal + <i>mö</i>
plural marker <i>-tati</i>	<i>-tati mö</i>
plural marker <i>-Ntömö</i>	<i>-Ntömö mö</i>
plural marker <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra mö</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni mö</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra mö</i>
accusative case marker <i>-wo</i>	<i>-wo mö</i>
emphatic accusative <i>-woNpa</i>	<i>-woNpa mö</i>
ablative case marker <i>-ywo</i> , etc.	<i>-ywo mö</i> , etc.
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i mö</i>
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku mö</i>
negative infinitive <i>-(a)Ns-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u mö</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-[ur]u mö</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i mö</i>
negative nominalizer <i>-(a)Ns-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u mö</i>
nominalizer <i>-aku</i>	<i>-aku mö</i>
nominalizer <i>-usa</i>	<i>-usa mö</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te mö</i>
defective verb <i>tö</i> 'to be'	<i>tö mö</i>
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>si mö</i>
restrictive particle <i>nömiy</i>	<i>nömiy mö</i>
restrictive particle <i>Ntani</i>	<i>Ntani mö</i>
restrictive particle <i>sura</i>	<i>sura mö</i>
restrictive particle <i>sapey</i>	<i>sapey mö</i>

Although many different word forms can be found after the focus particle *mö*, it is worth noting that it can be also followed by three other particles:

Chart 105: Combinations of the focus particle *mö* with following particles

particles	combination forms
emphatic particle <i>sö</i>	<i>mö sö</i>

emphatic particle <i>kamö</i>	<i>mö kamö</i>
interrogative particle <i>ka</i>	<i>mö ka</i>

Examples:

許能登理母宇知夜米許世泥

könö töri mö uti-yamey-köse-n-e

this bird PT PREF-stop(INF)-BEN-DES-IMP

[I] wish [you] would stop [the singing of] **these birds** (KK 2)

伊那佐能夜麻能許能麻用母伊由岐麻毛良比

inasa-nö yama-nö **kö-nö ma-ywo mö** i-yuk-yi mamwor-ap-yi

Inasa-GEN mountain-GEN **tree-GEN interval-ABL PT DLF-go-
INF watch-ITER-INF**

going there **from between the trees** of the mountain Inasa and
constantly watching [out for enemies] (KK 14)

毛毛知陀流夜迹波母美由

mwomwo-ti-N-tar-u **ya nipa mö** myi-y-u

hundred-thousand-GEN-be.enough-ATTR PT **house garden PT
see-PASS-FIN**

[I] can see flourishing (lit.: plentiful with hundreds and thousands)

houses [and] gardens (lit: houses are seen) (KK 41)

阿袁那母岐備比登登等母迹斯都米婆多怒斯久母阿流迦

awo na mö kyiNpiy pyitö-tö tömö n-i si tum-ey-Npa **tanwosi-ku
mö** ar-u ka

green vegetables PT KyiNpiy person-COM together DV-INF PT
pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

Is [it not] **delightful** when [I] pick **green vegetables** together with
the girl from KyiNpiy? (KK 54)

多遲比怒迹泥牟登斯理勢波多都碁母母母知弓許志母能

taNtipyi nwo-ni ne-m-u tö sir-i-s-eNpa **tat-u-N-kömö mö** möt-i-te
kö-masi mönö

TaNtipyi field-LOC sleep-TENT-FIN DV know-INF-
PAST/ATTR-COND **stand-ATTR-DV(ATTR)-rush.mat PT**
hold-INF-SUBJ come-SUBJ CONJ

If [I] would know that [I] would sleep at the TaNtipyi field, [I]
would **also bring a standing rush mat** (KK 75)

伊久美陀氣伊久美波泥受多斯美陀氣多斯爾波韋泥受能知母久美泥牟

i-kum-yi-N-takey i-kum-yi pa ne-Ns-u ta-sim-yi-N-takey tasi n-i pa wi-ne-Ns-u **nōti mö** kum-yi-ne-m-u

DLF-entwine-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo DLF-entwine-INF TOP sleep-NEG-INF PREF-grow.densely-NML-DV(ATTR)-bamboo thorough DV-INF TOP exist(INF)-sleep-NEG-INF **later** PT entwine-INF-sleep-TENT-FIN

[we] did not sleep entwined there as the bamboo entwined there, and [we] did not sleep closely like densely growing bamboo, [but] **later** [we] will sleep entwined (KK 91)

許斯母阿夜爾加志古志

kō si mö aya n-i kasikwo-si

this PT PT very DV-INF be awesome-FIN

This is very awesome, too (KK 100)

祁布母加母佐加美豆久良斯多加比加流比能美夜比登

kyepu mö kamō saka-myiNtuk-urasi taka pyikar-u pyi-nō myi-ya-pyitō

today PT PT rice.wine-soak-SUP high shine-ATTR sun-GEN palace-person

Today, the courtiers from the palace of the High Shining Sun seem to be inebriated in wine, **too!** (KK 102)

乎武例我禹杯爾俱謨娜尼母旨屢俱之多多婆

wo-mure-Nka upey-ni **kumo Ntani mö** siru-ku si tat-aNpa

DIM-mountain-POSS top-LOC **cloud** PT PT distinct-INF PT rise-COND

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

許智多鷄波乎婆頭勢夜麻能伊波婦爾母為弓許母郎奈牟

kōt[ō] ita-ky-eNpa woN-patuse-yama-nō **ipa kiy-ni mö** wi-te kömör-ana-m-u

rumor painful-ATTR-COND DIM-Patuse-mountain **rock fortress-LOC** PT lead(INF)-SUB hide-DES-TENT-FIN

if rumors are painful, [I] want to take [you] along **to a rocky fortress** on the Small Patuse mountain and hide away (FK 1)

宇良志麻能古我多麻久志義阿氣受阿理世波麻多母阿波麻志遠
 urasima-nō kwo-Nka tama kusiNkey akey-Ns-u ar-i-s-eNpa **mata**
mō ap-amasi-wo
 Urasima-GEN child-POSS jewel box open-NEG-INF exist-INF-
 PAST/ATTR-COND **again** PT meet-SUBJ-ACC
 If the boy Urasima did not open the jewel box, [he] would meet
again [the dragon's daughter], but [it did not happen] (FK 15)

古之七賢人等毛欲為物者酒西有良師
 INISIPYE-NŌ NANA N-Ō SAKASI-KYI PYITŌ-TATI **mwo**
 POR-I se-si MÖNŌ PA SAKEY n-i si ar-urasi
 old.times-GEN seven DV-ATTR wise-ATTR **person-PLUR** PT
 want-NML do(INF)-PAST/ATTR thing TOP rice.wine DV-INF PT
 exist-SUP
 It seems that the thing that the seven wise **men** of old wanted was
 the rice wine, **too** (MYS III: 340)

勤和氣登將譽十方不有
 ISWOSI-KYI wakey tō POMEY-M-U tō **mō** AR-ANS-U
 hard-working-ATTR fellow DV praise-TENT-ATTR DV PT exist-
 NEG-FIN
 [he] **is not even** to be praised as a hard-working fellow (MYS IV:
 780)

許許呂由母於母波奴阿比陀爾宇知那毘枳許夜斯努礼
 kökōrō-yu **mō** omōp-an-u apyiNta-ni uti-naNpyik-yi köy-as-i-n-
 ure
heart-ABL PT think-NEG-ATTR interval-LOC PREF-
 stretched.out-INF lie.down-HON-INF-PERF-EV
 while **even in [my] heart** [I] did not think, stretched out [she] was
 lying (MYS V: 794)

阿礼乎婆母伊可爾世与等可
 are-woNpa **mō** ika n-i se-yō tō ka
I-ACC(EMPH) PT how DV-INF do-IMP DV PT
 What do [you] think I [should] do? (MYS V: 794)

伊波牟須弊世武須弊斯良尔石木乎母刀比佐氣斯良受
 ip-am-u suNpye se-m-u suNpye sir-an-i **IPA KIY-wo** **mō** twop-yi-
 sakey-sir-aNs-u

say-TENT-ATTR way do-TENT-ATTR way know-NEG-INF **rock tree-ACC** PT ask-INF-split(INF)-know-NEG-FIN
 [I] do not know what [I] should do and what [I] should say, and [I] do not know how to ask **even rocks and trees** (MYS V: 794)

波流奈例婆宇倍母佐枳多流烏梅能波奈
 paru nar-e-Npa **uNpey mö** sak-yi-tar-u uMEY-nö pana
 spring becomes-EV-CON **indeed** PT bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR plum-GEN blossom
 plum blossoms that have **indeed** bloomed when the spring came (MYS V: 831)

毛毛可斯母由加奴麻都良遲
mwomwo-ka si mö 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)

池邊乃松之末葉尔零雪者五百重零敷明日左倍母將見
 IKEY-NÖ PYE-NÖ MATU-NÖ URA-N-PA-ni PUR-U YUKYI
 PA IPO-PYE PUR-I-SIK-YE ASU **sapey mö** MYI-M-U
 pond-GEN side-GEN pine-GEN top-GEN-leaf-LOC fall-ATTR snow TOP five.hundred-CL fall-INF-cover-IMP **tomorrow** PT PT see-TENT-FIN
 Snow, falling on the top needles of the pine near the pond! Fall in five hundred layers, so [I] would see you **even tomorrow** (in addition to today) (MYS VIII: 1650)

我情燒毛吾有
 WA-NKA KÖKÖRÖ YAK-U **mwo** WARE NAR-I
 I-POSS heart **burn-ATTR** PT I be-FIN
The one who burns my heart is I [myself] (MYS XIII: 3271)

比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弓於毛倍也
pyitö pyi mö imwo-wo wasure-te omwop-ey ya
one day PT beloved-ACC forget(INF)-SUB think-EV PT
 would [I] imagine forgetting [my] beloved **even** [for] **one day?** (MYS XV: 3604)

可母須良母都麻等多具比弓
kamö sura mö tuma-tö taNkup-yi-te

drake PT PT spouse-COM be.together-INF-SUB
Even drakes are together with [their] spouses ... (MYS XV: 3625)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弓於毛布良米也母

pyikwoposi mö ware-ni masar-i-te omwop-uram-ey ya mö
Altair PT I-DAT surpass-INF-SUB long.for-TENT2-EV PT PT
 Will **Altair** long for [his beloved] more than I [do]? (lit.: surpassing me) [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3657)

多婢尔弓毛母奈久波也許登

taNpyi n-i-te mwo mö na-ku paya kö tö
trip DV-INF-SUB PT misfortune no-INF quick come(IMP) DV
 [my beloved] said: “Come [back] quickly without any misfortune on [your] trip!” (MYS XV: 3717)

大宮人者伊麻毛可母比等奈夫理能未許能美多流良武

OPO MYIYA PYITÖ PA **ima mwo kamö** pyitö naNpur-i nömiy
 könöm-yi-tar-uram-u

great place person TOP **now** PT PT person mock-NML PT like-
 INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR

Do the people from the Great Palace probably continue to like just to mock [other] people **now as well, I wonder?** (MYS XV: 3758)

家布毛可母美也故奈里世婆見麻久保里尔之能御馬屋乃乃尔多
 弓良麻之

kyepu mwo kamö myiyakwo-n-ar-i-s-eNpa MYI-m-aku por-i nisi-
 nö MYI-MAYA-nö two-ni tat-er-amasi

today PT PT capital-LOC-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND see-
 TENT-NML want-INF west-GEN HON-stable-GEN outside-LOC
 stand-PROG-SUBJ

If [I] were in the capital **today**, [I] would be standing outside the Western Imperial Stables, wanting to see [you]! (MYS XV: 3776)

今日良毛加鹿乃伏良武皮服著而角附奈我良

KYEPU-ra mwo ka SIKa-nö pus-uram-u KAPA KÖRÖMÖ
 KYI-TE TUNWO TUK-YI-naNkara

today-LOC PT PT deer-GEN lie.down-TENT2-ATTR skin
 garment wear(INF)-SUB horn be.attached-INF-COOR

will the deer **also** be lying **today** with his skin garment on and wearing [his] horns as usual? (MYS XVI: 3884)

家尔底母多由多數命

IPYE n-i-te mö tayutap-u INÖTI

home DV-INF-SUB PT be.unstable-ATTR life

[my] life which is uncertain **even at home** (MYS XVII: 3896)

夜都代爾母安礼波和須礼自許乃多知婆奈乎

ya-tu YO-ni mö are pa wasure-Nsi könö tatiNpana-wo

eight-CL generation-LOC PT I TOP forget-NEG/TENT this
mandarin.orange-ACC

I would not forget these mandarin orange [flowers] **even in eight (many?) generations** (MYS XVIII: 4058)

惠美々惠末須毛宇知奈氣支可多里家末久

wem-yi myi **wem-aNs-u mwo** uti-naNkeyk-yi katar-i-ky-em-aku

smile-INF ? **smile-NEG-INF PT** PREF-sigh-INF talk-INF-
PAST/FIN-TENT-NML

the fact that [both of you] were probably talking, and sighing,
smiling **and not smiling** (MYS XVIII: 4106)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月経礼波古非之家礼夜母

apyi-myi-ru mwonöwo sukuna-ku mö TÖSI TUKIY P-Ure-Npa
kwopiysi-kyere ya mö

REC-see-ATTR CONJ few-INF PT year month pass-EV-CON
miss-EV PT PT

although [we] see each other, as time goes by, do [we still] miss
[each other] **just a bit?** (MYS XVIII: 4118)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母

myi-m-aku-nö posi-kyi **kyimyi n-i mö ar-u kamö**

see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR **lord DV-INF PT exist-
ATTR PT**

I wonder whether [it] **is also** [my] **lord** whom [I] want to see (MYS
XX: 4449)

麻都呂倍奴比等乎母夜波之

matur-öpey-n-u **pyitö-wo mö** yapas-i

obey-ITER-NEG-ATTR **person-ACC PT** pacify-INF

pacifying **also the people** who are not obeying (MYS XX: 4465)

久須理師波都祢乃母阿礼等麻良比止乃伊麻乃久須理師多布止
可理家利米太志加利鷄利

kusurisi pa **tune n-ō mō** ar-e-Ntō marapyitō n-ō ima-nō kusurisi
 taputō-k-ar-i-kyer-i meyNtasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
 medicine.man TOP **usual DV-ATTR PT** exist-EV-CONC guest
 DV-ATTR now-GEN medicine man revered-INF-exist-INF-
 RETR-FIN praiseworthy-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN
 Although there are **usual** medicine men, **too**, the present Guest
 Medicine Man is [indeed] revered. [He] is praiseworthy (BS 15)

食国天下乎婆撫賜惠賜夫止奈母神奈我良母念坐須
 WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SITA-woNpa NANTE-TAMAP-YI
 UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAp-u tō namō **KAMU-na-N-kara mō**
 OMŌP-OS-YI-[I]MAs-u
 rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-ACC(EMPH)
 cherish(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-FIN DV PT
deity-PLUR-GEN-nature PT think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR
 [I], **as a deity**, deign to think that [I] show benevolence and cherish
 the country under Heaven that I rule (SM 13)

不言岐辭母言奴
 IP-UMASINSI-kyi **KŌTŌ mō** IP-YI-n-u
 say-NEG/POT-ATTR **word PT** say-INF-PERF-FIN
 [he] **also** said **words** that [he] should not have said (SM 27)

There may be more than one *mō* in a sentence highlighting two or more different focuses or juxtaposing two or more things:

挂文由遊志計礼杼母言久母綾尔畏伎
KAKEY-M-AKU mo yuyusi-kyere-Ntōmō **IP-AM-Aku mō** AYA
 n-i KASIKWO-kyi
think-TENT-NML PT be.reserved-EV-CONC **say-TENT-NML**
 PT extreme DV-INF awesome-ATTR
 Although [it] is unthinkable **even to think** [about it], and **to say** [it],
too, is extremely awesome ... (MYS II: 199)

前日毛昨日毛今日毛雖見明日左倍見卷欲寸君香聞
WOTO-TU PYI mwo KYINŌPU mwo KYEPU mwo MYI-T-
 URE-NTŌ ASU sapey MYI-m-aku POSI-kyi KYIMYI kamo
that-GEN/LOC day PT yesterday PT today PT see(INF)-PERF-
 EV-CONC tomorrow PT see-TENT-NML be.wanted-ATTR lord
 PT

Oh, [my] lord whom [I] want to see tomorrow as well, although [I] saw you **the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today!** (MYS VI: 1014)

美知乎多騰保弥間使毛夜流余之母奈之
 MYITI-wo taN-töpo-myi MA-N-TUKAPYI mwo yar-u yösi mö
 na-si
 way-ABS PREF-far-GER interval-GEN-messenger PT send-
 ATTR **chance** PT no-FIN
 because the way is far, there is not **even a chance** to send (**even**) a
messenger between [us] (MYS XVII: 3962)

伊母祢受尔今日毛之賣良尔孤悲都追曾乎流
 i mö ne-Ns-u n-i KYEPU mwo siramye n-i kwop-i-tutu sö wor-u
sleep PT sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF **today** PT ? DV-INF love-
 INF-COOR PT exist-ATTR
 without sleeping (**a sleep**), [I] continue to love [you] **today, too**
 (MYS XVII: 3969)

波之太尔母和多之弓安良波曾乃倍由母伊由伎和多良之
 pasi Ntani mö watas-i-te ar-aNpa sönö [u]pey-yu mö i-yuk-yi-
 watar-as-i
 bridge PT PT put.over-INF-SUB exist-COND that **top-ABL** PT
 DLF-go-INF-cross.over-HON-INF
 if [someone] had put **just a bridge** over [the Milky Way], [they
 would] go **over** it (MYS XVIII: 4125)

As in Modern Japanese, *mö* can follow more than one word or phrase in a sentence producing constructions equivalent to English ‘both X and Y, whether X or Y, either X or Y.’ Not all cases of two or more *mö* in a sentence make this construction, since two or more *mö* may also highlight two independent focuses, as was mentioned above.

多知賀遠母伊麻陀登迦受弓淤須比遠母伊麻陀登加泥婆
 tati-Nka wo mö imaNta tök-aNs-u-te osupyi-wo mö imaNta tök-
 an-e-Npa
long.sword-POSS cord PT yet untie-NEG-INF-SUB **cloak-ACC**
 PT yet untie-NEG-EV-CON
 as [I] have not yet untied **either the cords of [my] long sword, or**
[my] cloak (KK 2)

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 mö KU-N-KANE mö TAMA mö nani se-m-u-ni
 masar-er-u takara kwo-ni sik-am-ey ya mö
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)

海若之何神乎齋祈者歟牲方毛來方毛船之早兼
WATA-TU [U]MYI-NÖ INTURE N-Ö KAMIY-wo INÖR-ANPA
KA YUK-USA mwo K-USA mwo PUNE-NÖ PAYA-ky-em-u
 sea-GEN/LOC sea-GEN which DV-ATTR deity-ACC pray-COND
PT go-NML PT come-NML PT boat-GEN be.fast-ATTR-TENT-
ATTR
 If [I] pray to some deities of the sea, [your] boat should be fast both
when [it] goes away and when [it] comes back (MYS IX: 1784)

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

乎登都日毛昨日毛今日毛由吉能布礼礼婆
wotō t-u PYI mwo KYINÖPU mwo KYEPU mwo yukyi-nö 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)

多知弓毛為弓母己藝米具利美礼登母安可受
tat-i-te mwo wi-te mö köNk-yi-meyNkur-i myi-re-Ntömö ak-aNs-
u
stand-INF-SUB PT sit(INF)-SUB row-INF-go.around-INF look-
 EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-FIN
whether [I] stand or sit, [I] cannot get enough looking at [it],
 while rowing around (MYS XVII: 3994)

於登能未毛名能未母伎吉氏登母之夫流我祢

otō nömiy mwo NA nömiy mö kyik-yi-te tömösiNp-uru Nkane
sound PT PT name PT PT hear-INF-SUB envy-ATTR CONJ
 so that [they] will be envious when [they] hear **just a name or just a rumor** [of it] (MYS XVII: 4000)

手放毛乎知母可夜須伎

TA-N-PANARE mwo woti mö ka-yasu-kyi
hand-LOC-separate(NML) PT there PT INT-easy-ATTR
both leaving the hand and [returning] there were very easy
 (MYS XVII: 4011)

老人毛女童兒毛之我願心太良比爾

OYI-PYITÖ mwo WOMYINA WARAPA mwo si-Nka NENK-
 AP-U KÖKÖRÖ-N-tar-ap-yi n-i

old(INF)-person PT woman child PT they-POSS desire-ITER-ATTR heart-LOC-be.enough-ITER-NML DV-INF

old people, women, and children, all [of them get] enough of what they desire to [their] hearts' [content] (MYS XVIII: 4094)

Note that in this example only the first and the third members of the construction are marked explicitly by *mö*.

咲花乎折毛不折毛見良久之余志母

SAK-U PANA-wo WOR-I mwo WOR-ANS-U mwo MYI-r-aku
 si yö-si mö

bloom-ATTR flower-ACC break-NML PT break-NEG-NML PT look-ATTR-NML PT good-FIN PT

whether breaking off or not breaking off blooming flowers, [it] is good to look [at them] (MYS XIX: 4167)

都麻母古騰母毛乎知己知爾左波爾可久美為

tuma mö kwo-Ntömö mwo woti köti-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

The focus particle *mö* is amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

麻萬能手兒奈我安里之可婆麻末乃於須比尔奈美毛登杼呂尔
 mama-nō tekwo na-Nka ar-i-sika-Npa mama-nō osu-pyi-ni **namyi**
mwo tōNtörō n-i
 Mama-GEN girl name-POSS exist-**INF-PAST/EV-CON** Mama-
 GEN rock-shore-LOC **wave PT** roaring DV-**INF**
 because the girl from Mama was famous, **even the waves roar** at
 the rocky shore of Mama (MYS XIV: 3385)

於曾波夜母奈乎許曾麻多賣
 osō paya mō na-wo kōsō mat-am-ye
slow fast PT you-ACC PT wait-TENT-EV
Whether [you come] **quickly or slowly**, [I] will wait for you
 (MYS XIV: 3493a)

於保夫祢乎倍由毛登母由毛可多米提之
 opo-N-pune-wo **pey-yu mwo tōmō-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)

和乎可麻都那毛伎曾毛己余必母
 wa-wo ka mat-unam-wo **kyisō mwo kō yöpyi mō**
 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)

以都母以都母於母加古比須々奈理麻之都之母
 itu mō itu mō omō-Nka kwopyi-susu nar-i-[i]mas-i-tusi mō
when PT when PT mother-POSS love(INF)-COOR
 do.house.work-**INF-HON-COOR PT**
 [my] mother **always, always** loves [me] and does [her] house work
 (MYS XX: 4386)

There is also a special Eastern Old Japanese cognate *mey* of the
 Western Old Japanese particle *mō*:

須流河乃祢良波苦不志久米阿流可
 suruNka-nō ne-ra pa **kupusi-ku mey** ar-u ka
 SuruNka-GEN summit-PLUR TOP **lovely-**INF PT**** exist-ATTR PT

are [not] the summits of SuruNka [mountains] **lovely**? (MYS XX: 4345)

A2: Ryukyuan

Various cognates of WOJ *mö* are attested throughout the different temporal and geographic varieties of Ryukyuan. I provide below the forms attested in Old and Classical Ryukyuan as well as in the Shuri dialect. The typical form of the Shuri particle corresponding to WOJ *mö* is *-N*.

Old Ryukyuan

まはねじやきもからもさらん

Mafanezi ya **kimo-kara mo** sar-aN

Mafanezi TOP liver-ABL PT go.away-NEG/FIN

Mafanezi does not go away **from [my] heart** (OS XIII: 817)

Classical Ryukyuan

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)

Shuri

?ari-ga yum-aa ?yaa-n yum-ee

he-NOM read-COND **you-PT** read-IMP

If he reads [it], **you** read it, **too** (RKJ 69)

caQsa-N kooy-uN

how.much-PT buy(INF)-FIN

[I] will buy no matter **how (much)** expensive (RKJ 1983: 142)

?uya-nu yaa-nu mee tuu-i-nagiina **nubaga-i-N** s-aN

parent-GEN house-GEN front pass-INF-GER **stop.by-NML-PT**

do-NEG/FIN

Although [I] pass by [my] parents' house, [I] do not **even stop by** (RKJ 405)

9.1.3 FOCUS PARTICLE *sō* ~ *Nsō*

The focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* emphasizes the preceding word or phrase. It triggers a change of the final form of the following verb or the inflected adjective into the attributive (see 6.2.2.1.2.3 for a detailed description). It is possible that *sō* ~ *Nsō* also triggers the same change when a verb in the final form precedes it, but there is only one certain example (see MYS X: 2101 below). In other examples (see KK 4, MYS XVIII: 4072 below), the verbal form preceding this particle may be either final or attributive. Since there are no other certain examples of final forms preceding *sō* ~ *Nsō*, I provisionally treat it as an attributive. The difference between the two phonetic variants *sō* and *Nsō* is not clear, as they can occur in identical contexts within the same text as in BS 17 below. It is usually believed that the variant *Nsō* is a product of a secondary nasalization that started to occur from the Nara period to the Heian period (Omodaka et al. 1967: 399). However, there is one problem with this explanation: while in the *Man'yōshū* the variant *sō* is used much more frequently than the variant *Nsō*, this is not the case in the earliest texts: the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihonshoki kayō* where the following statistics is found:

Chart 106: Statistics for the focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* in the earliest texts

	KK	NK
<i>sō</i>	5	6
<i>Nsō</i>	6	5

This statistics demonstrates that both variants *sō* and *Nsō* are used with the same frequency. The slanted statistics of the *Man'yōshū* may just be due to the overall preference in this text for the syllabic signs with initial plain voiceless consonant.

The focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* can combine with a number of preceding forms, not only nominal, but also verbal. It can also follow certain other particles.

Chart 107: Combinations of the focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* with preceding morphemes (the variant *sō* is used as an example)

morphemes	combination forms
nominal	nominal + <i>sō</i>
plural marker <i>-Ntōmō</i>	<i>-Ntōmō sō</i>
plural marker <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra sō</i>

dative-locative case marker <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni sō</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra sō</i>
accusative case marker <i>-wo</i>	<i>-wo sō</i>
ablative case marker <i>-yu</i>	<i>-yu sō*</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i sō</i>
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku sō</i>
negative infinitive <i>-(a)Ns-u</i>	<i>-(a)Ns-u sō</i>
attributive <i>-[ur]u</i>	<i>-[ur]u sō</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i sō</i>
nominalizer <i>-usa</i>	<i>-usa sō</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te sō</i>
coordinative gerund <i>-tutu</i>	<i>-tutu sō</i>
defective verb <i>tō</i> 'to be'	<i>tō sō</i>
defective verb <i>tō</i> 'to say'	<i>tō sō</i>
topic particle <i>pa</i>	<i>pa sō²</i>
focus particle <i>mō</i>	<i>mō sō</i>
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>si sō</i>
restrictive particle <i>nōmiy</i>	<i>nōmiy sō**</i>
restrictive particle <i>sapey</i>	<i>sapey sō***</i>

* The form *-yu sō* is attested in one example in partial semantographic writing (see MYS XI: 2723 below).

** Attested only in partial semantographic spelling.

*** Attested only once in partial semantographic spelling (see MYS X: 2237 below).

Although many different word forms can be found after the focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō*, it is worth noting that it can also be followed by the emphatic particle *mō*. Thus, while the focus particle *mō* precedes *sō* ~ *Nsō*, the emphatic particle *mō* follows it. It is also quite interesting that the focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* can combine with the focus particle *mō* and the topic particle *pa* (see Chart 106 above). This apparently demonstrates that the focus particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* indicates a kind of focus that is different from both *pa* and *mō*.

Examples:

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-nō kiyri-ni **tat-am-u Nsō**

² Omodaka et al. claim that the topic particle *pa* may also be found in postposition to *sō* ~ *Nsō* (1967: 399), but I was not able to locate such examples.

you-POSS cry-HON-TENT-NML morning rain-COMP fog-LOC
rise-TENT-ATTR PT
 your weeping **will rise** into fog like the morning rain (KK 4)

麻都理許斯美岐叙阿佐受袁勢
 matur-i-kö-si **myi-kyi Nsö** as-aNs-u wos-e
 present(HUM)-INF-come(INF)-PAST/ATTR **rice.wine** **PT**
 shallow-NEG-INF drink(HON)-IMP
 Drink the presented **rice wine** deeply! (KK 39)

伊岐良受曾久流
 i-kyir-aNs-u sö k-uru
DLF-cut-NEG-INF PT come-ATTR
 [I] return **without cutting** [them] **there** (KK 51)

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

古波囊塢等綿阿羅素破儒泥辞区塢之叙于蘆波辞彌茂布
 kwopaNta wotömye araswop-aNs-u ne-si-ku-wo si Nsö urupasi-
 myi [o]mop-u
KwopaNta maiden resist-NEG-INF sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR-
NML-ACC PT PT loving-GER think-ATTR
 [I] think lovingly **about the fact that a KwopaNta maiden slept**
 [with me] **without resisting** (NK 38)

滿致喻區茂能茂多遇譬低序豫枳
 myiti yuk-u monö mo taNkupyite Nsö yö-kyi
 road go-ATTR person PT **companion-hand PT** good-ATTR
 [It] is also good for a person who travels to have a **companion** (NK 50)

柯羅履備鳴以柯備輔居等所梅豆羅古枳馱樓武可左履樓以祇能
 和馱喇鳴梅豆羅古枳馱樓
 kara-kuni-wo ika n-i [i]p-u kötö sö meyNturakwo k-yi-tar-u
 mukasakuru ikyi-nö watar-i-wo meyNturakwo k-yi-tar-u
Kara-land-ACC how DV-INF say-ATTR thing PT
 MeyNturakwo come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR (*makura kotoba*)

Ikyi-GEN cross-NML-ACC MeyNturakwo come-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR³

What to call the land of Kara? MeyNturakwo has come; through the crossing of Ikyi MeyNturakwo has come (NK 99)

梅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 sō mö ya wa-Nka te tör-as-umo ya who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-EXCL PT whose chapped hand, chapped hand will take my hand?! (NK 108)

烏智可梅能阿娑努能枳枳始騰余謀佐儒倭例播祢始柯騰比騰會騰余謀須

woti kata-nō asa-nwo-nō kyikyisi tōyōm-os-aNs-u ware pa ne-sika-Ntō **pyitō sō** tōyōm-os-u that side-GEN Asa-field-GEN pheasant sound-CAUS-NEG-INF I TOP sleep(INF)-PAST/EV-CONC **person PT** sound-CAUS-ATTR

Although I slept without letting pheasants from the Asa field on yonder side cry, [other] **people** let [them] cry (NK 110)

伊久里尔曾深海松生流荒磯尔曾玉藻者生流

ikuri-ni sō puka MYIRU OP-URU AR[A]-ISWO-ni sō TAMA MO OP-URU

reef-LOC PT deep seaweed grow-ATTR **rough-rock-LOC PT** jewel seaweed grow-ATTR the deep kelps grow **on the reefs**, the jewel seaweeds grow **on the rough rocks** (MYS II: 135)

戀尔毛曾人者死為

KWOPIY-ni mwo sō PYITÖ PA SIN-I S-URU love(NML)-LOC PT PT person TOP die-NML do-ATTR People die **from love** (MYS IV: 598)

³ There is a different analysis of the *k-yi-tar-u* form as *k-yi-[i]tar-u* 'come-INF-reach-ATTR' (Tsuchihashi 1957: 192). I follow here the analysis of Aiso (1962: 496) and Kōnosu (1973: 467).

吾耳曾君尔者戀流吾背子之戀云事波言乃名具左曾

WARE NŌMIY sō KYIMYI-ni pa KWOP-Uru WA-NKA SE-KWO-NKA KWOP-URU TŌ IP-U KŌTŌ pa KŌTŌ n-ō **naNk-
usa sō**

I PT PT lord-DAT TOP long.for-ATTR I-POSS beloved-DIM-
POSS long.for-ATTR DV say-ATTR matter TOP word DV-ATTR
be.consoled-NML PT

Only I long for you. The fact that my beloved tells [me] that [he] longs for [me is just] a verbal **consolation** (MYS IV: 656)

嘆曾吾為

NANKEYK-YI sō A-NKA S-URU

sigh-NML PT I-POSS do-ATTR

[I] will sigh (lit.: I will do the **sighing**) (MYS IV: 714)

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

kyikōs-i-wos-u kuni-nō **ma-po-ra** **Nsō** ka n-i ka-ku n-i posi-kyi
manima n-i 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 DV-INF thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT

in the highest place of the country, where [the emperor] rules, [it] would not be thus according to what [you] wish to be this way and that way, [would it]? (MYS V: 800)

波流佐礼婆許奴礼我久利弓宇具比須曾奈岐弓伊奴奈流烏梅我
志豆延尔

paru sar-e-Npa kō-n-ure-N-kakur-i-te **uNkupyisu sō** nak-yi-te in-u-
nar-u uMEY-Nka siN-tu ye-ni

spring come-EV-CON tree-GEN-top-LOC-hide-INF-SUB
bush.warbler PT sing-INF-SUB go-FIN-RA-FIN plum-POSS
branch-LOC

When the spring comes, [they] say that the **bush warbler**, who was hiding in the upper branches of trees, will go to sing in the lower branches of the plum [trees] (MYS V: 827)

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-nō pana wor-i kaNsas-i-tutu mworō pyitō-nō aswoNp-u-wo
myi-re-Npa **myiyakwo si** **Nsō** [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)

吾齒曾戀流妹

ARE pa sō KWOP-Uru IMWO

I TOP PT long.for-ATTR beloved

[my] beloved, for whom **I** long (MYS IX: 1787)

吾衣揩有者不在高松之野邊行之者芽子之揩類曾

WA-NKA KÖRÖMÖ SUR-ER-U N-I PA AR-ANS-U

TAKAMATU-NÖ NWO-PYE YUK-YI-SIKA-NPA PANKIY-NÖ

SUR-Er-u sō

I-POSS garment dye-PROG-ATTR DV-INF TOP exist-NEG-FIN
Takamatu-GEN field-side go-INF-PAST/EV-CON bush.clover-
GEN **dye-PROG-ATTR** PT

[I] did not dye my garment. The bush clover **dyed** [it] when [I] passed the Takamatu field (MYS X: 2101)

四具礼能零苗尔夜副衣寒一之宿者

siNkure-nō PUR-U napey n-i **YWO SAPEY sō** SAMU-KYI

PYITÖ-RI si N-URE-NPA

drizzling.rain-GEN fall-ATTR CONJ DV-INF **night** PT PT cold-
ATTR one-CL PT sleep-EV-CON

at the same time as the drizzling rain falls, the **night** is **even** colder, because [I] sleep alone (MYS X: 2237)

埋木之下從其戀

UMORE-N-KIY-NÖ SITA-YU sō KWOP-URU

bury(NML)-DV(ATTR)-tree-GEN bottom-ABL PT long.for-
ATTR

[I] long for [you] **secretly** (MYS XI: 2723)

可具呂伎可美尔都由曾於伎尔家類

kaN-kurö⁴-kyi kami-ni **tuyu sō** ok-yi-n-i-kyer-u

⁴ The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-ru* /rō/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-ru* /rwo/.

INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC **dew** PT put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR

[it] turned out that **the dew** fell on the pitch-black hair (MYS XV: 3649)

安可等吉能安左宜理其間理可里我祢曾奈久

akatökyi-nö asa-N-kiyri-N-kömor-i kari-Nka **ne sö nak-u**
dawn-GEN morning-GEN-fog-LOC-hide-INF wild goose-POSS
sound PT cry-ATTR

wild geese cry **loudly** being hidden in the morning fog at dawn
(MYS XV: 3665)

比等余里波伊毛曾母安之伎

pyitö-yöri pa **imwo sö mö** asi-kyi
person-ABL TOP **beloved** PT PT bad-ATTR

[my] **beloved** is worse than [other] people (MYS XV: 3737)

伊毛乎婆美受曾安流倍久安里家留

imwo-woNpa **myi-Ns-u sö ar-uNpey-ku ar-i-kyer-u**
beloved-ACC(EMPH) see-NEG-INF PT exist-DEB-INF exist-
INF-RETR-ATTR

[I] **must not have seen** [my] beloved (MYS XV: 3739)

須流須敝能多度伎乎之良尔祢能未之曾奈久

s-uru suNpye-nö taNtwokyi-wo sir-an-i **ne nömiy si sö nak-u**
do-ATTR way-GEN clue-ACC know-NEG-INF **sound** PT PT PT
cry-ATTR

[I] have no (lit. do not know) clue what to do, and [I] **just** sob
loudly (MYS XV: 3777)

日能久礼由氣婆家乎之曾於毛布

PYI-nö kure-yuk-e-Npa **IPYE-wo si sö omwop-u**
sub-GEN set(INF)-go-EV-CON **home-ACC** PT PT think-ATTR
because the sun is setting, [I] think of [my] **home** (MYS XVII:
3895)

伊母祢受尔今日毛之賣良尔孤悲都追曾乎流

i mö ne-Ns-u n-i KYEPU mwo siramyé n-i **kwop-i-tutu sö wor-u**
sleep PT sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF today PT ? DV-INF **love-INF-**
COOR PT exist-ATTR

without sleeping (a sleep), [I] **continue to love** [you] today, too (MYS XVII: 3969)

於呂可尔曾和礼波於母比之乎不乃宇良能

orōka n-i sō ware pa omöp-yi-si opu-nō ura

insufficient DV-INF PT I TOP think-INF-PAST/ATTR Opu-GEN bay

the bay of Opu about which I did not think much (lit. thought **insufficiently**) (MYS XVIII: 4049)

伊久欲布等余美都追伊毛波和礼麻都良牟曾

iku ywo p-u tö yöm-yi-tutu imwo pa ware **mat-uram-u sō**

how many night pass-FIN DV count-INF-COOR beloved TOP I **wait-TENT2-ATTR PT**

[My] beloved **will probably wait** for me, counting: ‘How many nights have passed?’ (MYS XVIII: 4072)

伊尔之敝欲伊麻乃乎追通尔奈我佐敝流於夜乃子等毛曾大伴等佐伯乃氏者

inisipye-ywo ima-nō wotutu-ni naNkas-ap-yer-u oya-nō **KWO-Ntōmwo sō** OPOTÖMÖ-tō SAPYEKYI-nō UNTI PA

old.times-ABL now-GEN reality-LOC make.flow-ITER-PROG-ATTR **child-PLUR PT** Opotömö-COM Sapyekyi-GEN clan TOP

the Opotömö and Sapyekyi clans, the **children** of [their] parents, who made [their names] to be known from the time of old to the present [day’s] reality (MYS XVIII: 4094)

石乎毛珠等曾吾見流

ISI-wo mwo **TAMA tö sō** WA-NKA MYI-ru

stone-ACC PT **jewel DV PT I POSS see-ATTR**

I view stones **as jewels**, too (MYS XIX: 4199)

山人乃和礼尔依志米之夜麻都刀曾許礼

YAMA-N-PYITÖ-nō ware-ni e-simey-si yama **tutwo sō köre**

mountain-GEN-person-GEN I-DAT receive-CAUS(INF)-PAST/ATTR mountain **present PT** this

this [is] a mountain **present** that a mountaineer gave me (lit.: made me receive) (MYS XX: 4293)

麻奈久曾奈良波古非之可利家留

ma na-ku sō nara pa kwopiysi-k-ar-i-kyer-u

interval no-INF PT Nara TOP longing-INF-exist-INF-RETR-ATTR

[I] am longing for [the capital of] Nara **without interruption** (MYS XX: 4461)

伊爾志加多知与乃都美佐閑保呂夫止會伊布乃會久止叙伎久
in-i-si kata ti yö-nö tumyi sapey poröNp-u tö sö ip-u nösök-u tö
Nsö kyik-u

go-INF-PAST/ATTR side thousand life-GEN sin PT disappear-FIN
DV PT say-ATTR take.away-FIN DV PT hear-ATTR

[they] say **that** even the sins of one thousand former lives will disappear. [I] hear **that** [the Buddha] takes [them] away (BS 17)

吾家良會昌由流也

WA-NK[A]-**IPYE-ra sö** SAK-Ay-uru ya
we-POSS-**house-PLUR PT** flourish-PASS-ATTR PT
our **houses** are flourishing, aren't they? (SNK 8)

奈禮乎曾與咩爾保師登多禮

nare-wo sö yömye n-i posi tö 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 focus particle *sö* ~ *Nsö* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese.

奈礼毛安礼毛余知乎曾母弓流

nare mwo are mwo **yöti-wo sö** möt-er-u
you PT I PT **same.age-ACC PT** have-PROG-ATTR
You and I both have [**children of**] **the same age** (MYS XIV: 3440)

阿是曾母許与比与斯呂伎麻左奴

aNse **sö mö** kö yöpyi yö-s-i-rö 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)

哭乎曾奈伎都流手兒尔安良奈久尔

NE-wo sō nak-yi-t-uru teNKWO n-i ar-an-aku n-i

voice-ACC PT cry-INF-PERF-ATTR baby DV-INF exist-NEG-NML DV-INF

[I] sobbed **loudly**, although [I] am not a baby (MYS XIV: 3485)

麻乎其母能布能未知可久弓安波奈傲波於吉都麻可母能奈氣伎
曾安我須流

mawo-N-kōmō-nō pu-nō ma tika-ku-te ap-an-ap-ye-Npa okyi-tu
ma-kamō-nō **naNkeyk-yi sō** a-Nka s-uru

nettle-GEN-mat-GEN mesh-GEN space be.close-INF-SUB meet-
NEG-ITER-EV-CON offing-GEN/LOC INT-duck-COMP lament-
NML PT I-POSS do-ATTR

Because [we] do not meet being as close [to each other] as the
spaces between the meshes of a nettle mat, I lament like a real duck
in the offing (lit.: I do **the lamenting**) (MYS XIV: 3524)

奈爾須礼曾波波登布波奈乃佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure sō papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-ky-em-
u

what do-EV PT mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN bloom-INF-
exit(INF)-come-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

why (lit.: **having done what**) has the flower called 'Mother' not
bloomed? (MYS XX: 4323)

阿母志々尔己等麻乎佐受弓伊麻叙久夜之氣

amō sisi-ni kōtō mawos-aNs-u-te **ima Nsō** kuyasi-key

mother father-DAT word say(HUM)-NEG-INF-SUB **now PT**
regretful-ATTR

now [I] regret that [I] did not tell [my] mother and father (MYS
XX: 4376)

There is also a special Eastern Old Japanese cognate *Nse* of
Western Old Japanese particle *sō* ~ *Nsō*:

知々波々我可之良加伎奈弓佐久安礼天伊比之氣等婆是和須礼
加祢豆流

titi papa-Nka kasira kakyi-naNte sa-ku ar-e te ip-yi-si **keytōNpa**
Nse wasure-kane-t-uru

father mother-POSS head PREF-stroke(INF) safe-INF exist-IMP
 DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR **word PT** forget(INF)-NEG/POT(INF)-
 PERF-ATTR

[I] cannot forget the **words**: “Be safe!” that [my] father and mother
 said, stroking [my] head (MYS XX: 4346)

A2: Ryukyuan

A possible cognate of WOJ *sō* ~ *Nsō* is the Ryukyuan focus particle
du, although the consonant correspondence of WOJ /s/ to
 Ryukyuan /d/ < *nt is irregular. The focus particle *du* is well
 attested in both Old Ryukyuan and various modern Ryukyuan
 dialects.

Old Ryukyuan

In Old Ryukyuan the focus particle *du* is spelled differently as と
 /to/, る /ru/, and ろ /ro/:

いみやとかみしもとよむ

imiya to kami simo toyom-u

now PT top bottom sound-ATTR

Now [both] upper and lower [classes] sing (OS V: 213)

わらてるいちやる

wara-te ru iti-yar-u

laugh-SUB PT go(SUB)-send-ATTR

[he] goes away, **laughing** (OS VIII: 430)

けおのうちろかにある

keo-no uti ro kani ar-u

capital-GEN inside PT bell exist-ATTR

there is a bell **inside the capital** (OS XX: 1385)

Shuri

taruu-ga hwich-uru sanshin-oo **chichigutu du** ya-ru

Tarō-POSS play-ATTR shamisen-TOP **pleasant.to.hear PT** be-
 ATTR

The shamisen that Tarō plays is **pleasant to hear** (Nishioka &
 Nakahara 2000: 26)

'yudi du 'ar-u

read(SUB) PT exist-ATTR
even [though I] have **read** [it] (RKJ 115)

Miyako

In Miyako, in contrast to Old Ryukyuan and Shuri, the focus particle *du* does not trigger the change of the final verbal form into the attributive:

uva-ga du basika-N
thou-NOM PT be.bad-FIN
You are bad (Nohara 1998: 372)

kinu du k-i-ta-ï
yesterday PT come-INF-PERF-FIN
[He] came **yesterday** (Nohara 1998: 378)

9.1.4 FOCUS PARTICLE NAMO

The focus particle *namo*, like the focus particle *sö* ~ *Nsö* emphasizes the preceding word or phrase. The focus particle *namo* seems to be predominantly a property of prose: other than a single attestation from the *Man'yōshū* cited below, the usage of the focus particle *namo* (spelt as 奈母 *namö* or 奈毛 *namwo*) is limited to the *Senmyō* text where it occurs ninety-three times. It triggers a change of the final form of the verb and possibly the inflected adjective into the attributive (see 6.2.2.1.2.3).

Chart 108: Combinations of the focus particle *namo* with preceding morphemes

morphemes	combination forms
accusative case marker <i>-wo</i>	<i>-wo namo</i>
adjectival gerund <i>-myi</i>	<i>-myi namo</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te namo</i>
conjunctive gerund <i>-Npa</i>	<i>-Npa namo</i>
defective verb <i>tō</i> 'to be'	<i>tō namo</i>
defective verb <i>tō</i> 'to say'	<i>tō namo</i>
topic particle <i>pa</i>	<i>pa namo</i>
focus particle <i>mō</i>	<i>mō namo</i>
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>si namo</i>

If we compare Chart 108 above with Chart 107 in 9.1.3 where the combination forms of the focus particle *sö* ~ *Nsö* are presented,

we should come to the conclusion that the focus particles *namo* and *sō* ~ *Nsō* indicate two different kinds of focus. First, these two cannot combine. Second, they show only a partially overlapping set of morphemes they can follow. Thus, their distribution is rather different. It is especially striking that in Western Old Japanese *namo* never follows any nominals directly, while *sō* ~ *Nsō* and other focus particles can follow nominals directly. Thus, it appears the primary function of *namo* in Western Old Japanese is to highlight a limited set of the preceding grammatical forms that are presented in Chart 108.⁵

Examples:

何時奈毛不戀有登者雖不有得田直比來戀之繁母

ITU PA namwo KWOPIY-NS-U AR-I tö PA AR-AN-E-NTÖ
 utate KÖNÖ KÖRÖ KWOPIY si SINKEY-KYI⁶ mö
when TOP PT love-NEG-INF exist-FIN DV TOP exist-NEG-EV-
 CONC unusually this time love(NML) PT thick-ATTR PT
 Although there is no [time] **when** [I] say that [I] do not love [you]
 this time [my] love is unusually strong (MYS XII: 2877)

忌忍事爾似事乎志奈母常勞彌重彌所念坐久

IM-YI-SINÖNP-URU KÖTÖ-ni NI-RU **KÖTÖ-wo si namö**
 TUNE ITAPASI-myi OMÖ-myi OMÖP-OS-I-IMAS-Aku
 abstain-INF-endure-ATTR matter-LOC resemble-ATTR **matter-**
ABS PT PT usual painful-GER heavy-GER think-HON-INF-
 HON-NML
 the fact that [we] deign to think that the **matter** that resembles the
 matter of abstaining [to reward him] is usually painful and hard
 (SM 2)

⁵ It is of course possible that the usage of the particle *namo* was in fact much broader, because our main source is the *Senmyō*, and this text is very formulaic. Thus, there is a possibility that there were usages unrecorded in the *Senmyō*, but unfortunately we simply do not know, as we come to the limits of our knowledge here.

⁶ Most of the *Man'yōshū* commentators read this as *SINKEY-SI* 'thick-FIN' (Takagi et al. 1960: 265), etc., but this reading goes against the *kakari-musubi* rule that requires a final predicate to be in its attributive form after the particle *namo*. Certainly, there are no other cases of the attributive form in *-kyi* attested after *namo*, but on the other hand there are no final forms in *-si* attested after *namo* either. Given that verbal final forms become attributives after *namo*, I believe that it is more consistent to interpret this form as *siNkey-kyi* rather than *siNkey-si*.

此食国天下之政事者平長将在止奈母所念坐

KONŌ WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SITA-NŌ MATURINKŌTŌ
TAPYIRAKEY-KU NANKA-KU AR-AM-U **tō namō** OMŌP-
OS-I-[I]MAS-U

this rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-GEN governance safe-
INF long-INF exist-TENT-FIN **DV PT** think-HON-INF-HON-
ATTR

[I] deign to think **that** the governance would be safe and last long
in this country under the Heaven that [I] rule (SM 3)

治賜比慈賜来業止奈母随神所念行頒

WOSAMEY-TAMAp-yi UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAP-YI-K-URU
WANSA **tō namō** KAMU-NA-N-KARA OMŌP-OS-I-MYEs-u
rule(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-INF-come-
ATTR deed **DV PT** deity-PLUR-GEN-nature think-HON-INF-
HON-ATTR

[I], as a deity, deign to think **that** [they are] the deeds that [I] deign
to administer with benevolence (SM 3)

一二人乎治賜波奈止那毛所思行頒

PYITŌ-RI PUTA-RI-wo WOSAMEY-TAMAp-ana **tō namwo**
OMŌP-OS-I-MYEs-u
one-CL two-CL-ACC reward(INF)-HON-DES **DV PT** think-
HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I] deign to think **that** [I] want to reward one or two [of my
subjects] (SM 10)

食国天下乎婆撫賜惠賜夫止奈母神奈我良母念坐頒

WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NŌ SITA-woNpa NANTE-TAMAP-YI
UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAp-u **tō namō** KAMU-na-N-kara mö
OMŌP-OS-YI-[I]MAS-u

rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-ACC(EMPH)
cherish(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-FIN **DV PT**
deity-PLUR-GEN-nature PT think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I], as a deity, deign to think **that** [I] show benevolence and cherish
the country under Heaven that I rule (SM 13)

内兵止心中古止波奈母遺頒

UTI-NŌ IKUSA **tō KŌKŌRŌ-NŌ** UTI-NŌ **kwo tō pa namō**
tukap-as-u

inside-GEN warrior DV heart-GEN inside-GEN **child DV TOP**
PT serve-HON-ATTR

[you] serve as palace warriors [and] **as children** of [our] heart (SM 13)

成奴礼波歡美貴美奈毛念食流

NAR-I-n-ure-Npa **KÖKÖRÖNPOSI-myi TAPUTWO-myi**
namwo OMÖP-YI-TAMAP-Uru

become-INF-PERF-EV-CON **glad-GER awesome-GER PT**
 think-INF-HUM-ATTR

because [it] became [as the deity said], [the sovereign] thought **that**
 [it] **was joyful and awesome** (SM 15)

所念看波奈母如此宣布

OMÖP-OS-I-MYES-E-Npa namö KA-KU NÖTAMAp-u
think-HON-INF-HON-EV-CON PT thus-INF say(HON)-ATTR
as [I] deigned to think ... [I] proclaim in this way (SM 16)

傍上乎波宣牟止為氏奈母抑開氏在津流

KATA-NÖ UPEY-woNpa **NÖTAMAP-Am-u tö S-I-te namö**
 OSapey-te AR-I-t-uru

side-GEN top-ACC(EMPH) **say(HON)-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-**
SUB PT hold.back(INF)-SUB exist-INF-PERF-ATTR

[we] were delaying [it], **as [we] were going to proclaim** the rest
 (SM 25)

卿等庶母共喜牟止為氏奈母

MAPYETUKYIMYI-TATI **MÖRÖ-MÖRÖ mö TÖMÖ N-I**
YÖRÖKÖNPIY-m-u tö S-I-te namö

minister-PLUR all-all PT together DV-INF **rejoice-TENT-FIN**
DV do-INF-SUB PT

so that the ministers and all were going to rejoice together [with us]
 (SM 25)

親王多知治賜夫日仁治不賜在牟止為豆奈母

MYIKWO-tati WOSAMEY-TAMAp-u PYI-ni **WOSAMEY-**
TAMAP-ANS-U AR-Am-u tö S-I-te namö

prince-PLUR reward(INF)-HON-ATTR day-LOC **reward(INF)-**
HON-NEG-INF exist-TENT-FIN DV do-INF-SUB PT

on the day when [we] reward princes, **are not [we] going to**
reward [PuNtipara]? (SM 25)

菩提心緣爾在良之止母奈母念頃

NPONTI-NŌ KŌKORŌ YŌSI Ar-asi **tō mō namō** OMÖP-Os-u
enlightenment-GEN heart chance exist-SUP DV PT PT think-
HON-ATTR

[I] think **that** [I] have a chance for enlightenment (SM 27)

可多良比能利多夫言乎聞久仁是能太政大臣乃官乎授未都流仁方敢多
比奈牟可等奈毛念

katar-ap-yi-nōritaNp-u KŌTŌ-wo KYIk-u-ni KŌnō OPO
MATURINKŌTŌ OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-nō TUKASA-wo
SANTUKEY-matur-u-ni pa APEY-taNp-yi-n-am-u ka **tō namwo**
OMÖP-OS-U

say-ITER-INF-HON-ATTR word-ACC hear-ATTR-LOC this great
governance minister-GEN office-ACC bestow(INF)-HUM-ATTR-
LOC TOP endure(INF)-HON-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR PT DV PT
think-HON-ATTR

when [I] heard the words that [he] was repeatedly saying, [I]
thought: ‘Would [he] be appropriate for bestowing [on him] the
office of the minister of the great governance?’ (SM 36)

伊豫国与利白祥鹿乎献奉天在礼方有礼志与吕许保志止奈毛見流

iyō-NŌ KUNI-yōri SIRWO-KYI SIRUSI N-Ō SĪKA-wo
TATEMATUR-I-te Ar-e-Npa uresi yōrōkōNp-ōsi **tō namwo** MYI-
ru

Iyō-GEN province-ABL white-ATTR mark DV-ATTR deer-ACC
present(HUM)-INF-SUB exist-EV-CON glad joyful-ADJ DV PT
see-ATTR

when [they] had presented [us] with a deer with white marks from
the province of Iyō, [we] regarded [this] as [a] joyful and
auspicious [event] (SM 46)

臣等止共仁異奇久麗白伎形乎奈毛見喜流

OMYI-TATI-tō TŌMŌ n-i KŌTŌ N-I AYASI-ku URUPASI-KYI
SIRWO-kyi **KATATI-wo namwo** MYI YŌRŌKŌNP-Uru
noble-PLUR-COM together DV-INF different DV-INF strange-
INF beautiful-ATTR white-ATTR **shape-ACC** PT see(INF)
rejoice-ATTR

[we] **rejoice** together with nobles looking at this unusual, strange
and beautiful white **shape** [of the deer skin] (SM 46)

汝乃志乎婆覽久乃間毛忘得末之自美奈毛

MYIMASI-nō KŌKŌRONSASI-woNpa simasi-ku n-ō MA mwo
WASUR-UmasiNsi-myi namwo
 you-GEN memorial.service-ACC(EMPH) be.a.little.while-INF
 DV-ATTR interval PT **forget-NEG/POT-GER PT**
because [I] cannot forget about memorial services for you even
 for a little while (SM 58)

子乃蒙服麻久欲為流事波於夜乃多米爾止奈母聞行演

KWO-nō SAKYIPAPYI-WO KANKAPUR-Am-aku POR-I S-Uru
 KŌTŌ pa oya-nō tamey n-i **tō namō** KYIK-ŌS-I-MYEs-u
 child-GEN happiness-ACC receive-TENT-NML want-NML do-
 ATTR matter TOP parent-GEN for DV-INF **DV PT** hear-HON-
 INF-HON-FIN
 [We] heard **that** when children want to obtain happiness [it] is for
 the sake of their parents (SM 61)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

There are no cognates of the Western Old Japanese focus particle *namo* either in Eastern Old Japanese or in Ryukyuan.

9.1.5 FOCUS PARTICLE KŌSŌ

The focus particle *kōsō* seems to place an especially strong emphasis on a preceding word or phrase, much stronger than the particles *sō* ~ *Nsō* and *namo* described above in 9.1.3 and 9.1.4. While there seems to be no English equivalent of this particle, it is possible to translate *kōsō* as German *doch* or Russian *zhe*. It triggers the change of the final form of the verb to the evidential (see 6.2.2.1.3). After *kōsō* the final form of inflected adjectives changes in Western Old Japanese to the attributive, and not to the evidential as in Classical (Middle) Japanese (see 5.2.3).

Chart 109: Combinations of the focus particle *kōsō* with preceding morphemes

morphemes	combination forms
nominal	nominal + <i>kōsō</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni kōsō</i>
accusative case marker <i>-wo</i>	<i>-wo kōsō</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i kōsō</i>
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku kōsō*</i>

evidential <i>-[ur e y]</i>	<i>-[ur e y] kösö</i>
adjectival final <i>-si</i>	<i>-si kösö</i>
adjectival gerund <i>-myi</i>	<i>-myi kösö</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te kösö</i>
conditional gerund <i>-aŃpa</i>	<i>-aŃpa kösö</i>
defective verb <i>tö</i> 'to say'	<i>tö kösö</i>
topic particle <i>pa</i>	<i>pa kösö**</i>
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>si kösö</i>
restrictive particle <i>nömiy</i>	<i>nömiy kösö***</i>

* Attested only once in partially semantographic writing: see the example from MYS XVI: 3826 below.

** Attested only once in semantographic writing: see the text of MYS IV: 605 below.

*** Attested in three semantographic examples and in one example in partially semantographic spelling: see the text of MYS XIII: 3298 below.

The distribution pattern of *kösö* is closer to *sö* ~ *Nsö* than to *namo*, although there are overlapping distributions between *kösö* and *namo* as well that are not attested for *sö* ~ *Nsö*. This may have an explanation in the origins of *kösö* (see the discussion in **A2: Ryukyuan** below), but nevertheless all three particles represent quite different types of focus, as neither one of them can combine with another.

Although many different word forms can be found after the focus particle *kösö*, it is worth noting that it can be also followed by two other particles:

Chart 110: Combinations of the focus particle *kösö* with following particles

particles	combination forms
topic particle <i>pa</i>	<i>kösö pa</i>
emphatic particle <i>yö</i>	<i>kösö yö</i>

Therefore, both combinations *pa kösö* (see the Chart 109 above) and *kösö pa* are possible, although the latter is much more frequent. In addition, they have different distributions: *pa kösö* is found after the adjectival infinitive *-ku*; meanwhile, *kösö pa* occurs predominantly after nominals (for an exception see the example from MYS XVII: 3977 below).

Examples:

伊我留我乃止美能乎何波乃多叡婆許曾和何於保支美乃弥奈和須良叡米

ikaruNka-nō tömyi n-ō woN-kapa-nō taye-Npa kösō wa-Nka opo kyimiyi-nō myi-na wasur-aye-m-ey

IkaruNka-GEN wealth DV-ATTR DIM-river-GEN end-COND PT I-POSS great lord-GEN HON-name forget-PASS-TENT-EV

If only the small abundant river in IkaruNka would dry up, the name of my great lord would be forgotten (TS 2)

伊麻許曾婆和杼理迹阿良米能知波那杼理爾阿良牟遠

ima kösō pa wa-N-tōri n-i ar-am-ey nōti pa na-N-tōri 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)

那許曾波遠迹伊麻世婆

na kösō pa wo n-i imas-e-Npa

you PT TOP man DV-INF exist(HON)-EV-CON

since you are a man (KK 5)

斯漏多陀牟岐麻迦受祁婆許曾斯良受登母伊波米

sirwo taNtamukyi mak-aNs-u-ky-eNpa kösō sir-aNs-u tö mö ip-am-ey

white arm use.as.a.pillow-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-COND PT know-NEG-FIN DV PT say-TENT-EV

if [I] did not use [your] white arms as a pillow, [you] could even say that [you] do not know [me] (KK 61)

佐和佐和爾那賀伊弊勢許曾宇知和多須夜賀波延那須岐伊理麻韋久禮

sawa-sawa n-i na-Nka ip-yes-e kösō uti-watas-u ya-Nka-paye-nasu k-yi-ir-i-mawi-k-ure

noisily-noisily DV-INF you-POSS speak(INF)-HON-EV PT PREF-carry.across-ATTR ?-POSS-?-COMP come-INF-enter-INF-HUM(INF)-come-EV

you spoke noisily and [you] came inside like ? that crossed from afar (KK 63)

宇倍志許曾斗比多麻閑麻許曾迹斗比多麻閑

uNpey-si kösō twop-yi-tamap-ey ma kösō n-i twop-yi-tamap-ey

be.proper-FIN PT ask-INF-HON-EV truth PT DV-INF ask-INF-HON-EV

[It] **is proper** that [you] asked [me], [it] **is right** that [you] asked [me] (KK 72)

和賀多多弥由米許登袁許會多多美登伊波米和賀都麻波由米
wa-Nka tatamyi yumey **kötö-wo kösö** tatamyi tö ip-am-ey wa-Nka tuma pa yumey

I-POSS rice.straw.mat at.all **thing-ACC PT** rice.straw.mat DV say-TENT-EV I_POSS spouse TOP at.all

[Do not touch] my bed at all! [When I] call **it** a bed, [I mean: 'Do not touch] my wife at all! (KK 86)

阿賀母布都麻阿理登伊波婆許會余伊弊爾母由加米
a-Nka [o]möp-u tuma ar-i tö **ip-aNpa kösö yö** ipye-ni mö yuk-am-ey

I-POSS love-ATTR spouse exist-FIN DV **say-COND PT PT** house-LOC PT go-TENT-EV

if [I] only could say that [my] wife whom I love, [still] lives, [I] would go home (KK 90)

意富多久美袁遲那美許會須美加多夫祁禮
opö takumyi **woNtina-myi kösö** sumyi kataNpuk-yer-e
great carpenter **be.unskillful-GER PT** corner be.slanted-PROG-EV

Since the great carpenter **is unskillful**, the corners are slanted (KK 106)

虛呂望虛會赴多幣茂予耆
körömö kösö puta-pye mo yö-kyi
garment PT two-CL PT good-ATTR

[It] is good [to wear] two layers of **garments** (NK 47)

奈羅陪務苔虛層會能古破阿利鷄梅
naraNphey-m-u **tö kösö** sönö kwo pa ar-i-ky-em-ey
put.side.by.side-TENT-FIN **DV PT** that girl TOP exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV

[you say] **that [I]** will put [you two] side by side, [but how] could it be that girl? (NK 48)

阿母儻舉會枳舉曳儒阿羅每矩儻儻播枳舉曳底那

amo-ni kōsō kyik-ōye-Ns-u ar-am-ey kuni-ni pa kyik-ōye-te-na
mother-DAT PT hear-PASS-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV land-DAT
 TOP hear-PASS(INF)-PERF-DES

[I] probably will not be heard **by** [my] **mother**, but [I] wish to be heard by [the] land! (NK 82)

不聽跡雖謂話礼話礼常詔許曾志斐伊波奏強話登言

INA tö IP-EY-NTÖ KATAr-e KATAr-e tö **NÖR-AS-E kōsō**
 Sipyi-i pa MAWOS-E SIPIY-N-KATAR-I tö NÖR-U
 no DV say-EV-CONC speak-IMP speak-IMP DV **say-HON-EV**
PT Sipyi-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] Sipyi says, [you] call a forced speech (MYS III: 237)

天地之神理無者社吾念君尔不相死為目

AMEY TUTI-NÖ KAMIY-NÖ KÖTÖWARI NA-KU PA KÖSÖ
 A-NKA OMÖP-U KYIMYI-ni AP-ANS-U SIN-I SE-m-ey
 Heaven Earth-GEN deity-GEN principle **no-INF TOP PT** I-POSS
 love-ATTR lord-DAT meet-NEG-INF die-NML do-TENT-EV

If there would be no principle of the deities of the Heaven and the Earth, [I] would die without meeting you, whom I love (MYS IV: 605)

可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志久能麻米

ka-ku si kōsō uMEY-wo kaNsas-i-te tanwosi-ku nöm-am-ey
thus-INF PT PT plum-ACC decorate-INF-SUB be.merry-INF
 drink-TENT-EV

decorating [our hair] with plum [blossoms] **in this way**, [we] **should drink** merrily (MYS V: 833)

伊毛我多毛等乎和礼許曾未加米

imwo-Nka tamwotō **ware kōsō** mak-am-ey
 beloved-POSS sleeve **I PT** use.as.a.pillow-TENT-EV

I will use as a pillow the sleeves of [my] beloved (MYS V: 857)

君者秋山乃始黄葉尔似許曾有家礼

KYIMYI PA AKYI YAMA-nō PATU MWOMYIT-I-N-PANA-ni
NI-TE kōsō AR-I-kyer-e

lord TOP autumn mountain-GEN first leaves.turn.red/yellow-
NML-DV(ATTR)-leaf-LOC **look.like(INF)-SUB PT exist-INF-
RETR-EV**

[my] beloved **is looking like** the first red leaves on an autumn
mountain (MYS VIII: 1584)

二々火四吾妹生友各鑿社吾戀度七目

SIN-AM-U yö WA-NK-YIMWO IK-YER-I tömö **ka-ku nömiy**
KÖSÖ KWOPIY-WATAR-I-n-am-ey
die-TENT-FIN PT I-POSS-beloved live-PROG-FIN CONJ **thus-
INF PT PT** long.for(INF)-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-EV
[I] will die, my beloved! Even if [I] am living, [I] will continue to
long for [you] **just like that** (MYS XIII: 3298)

伊敝之麻波奈尔許曾安里家礼

ipye sima pa na **n-i kösö ar-i-kyer-e**

Home island TOP name **DV-INF PT exist-INF-RETR-EV**

“Home island” **turned out to be just a name** (MYS XV: 3718)

安我未許曾世伎夜麻故要弓許己爾安良米許己呂波伊毛爾与里
爾之母能乎

a-Nka **miy kösö** sekyi yama kwoye-te kökö-ni ar-am-ey kökörö pa
imwo-ni yö-r-i-n-i-si mönöwo

I-POSS **body PT** barrier mountain cross(INF)-SUB here-LOC
exist-TENT-EV heart TOP beloved-DAT approach-INF-PERF-
INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ

My **body** has crossed barriers and mountains, and is probably here.
But [my] heart stayed near [my] beloved! (MYS XV: 3757)

蓮葉者如是許曾有物

PATISU-N-PA PA **KA-KU kösö** AR-U MÖNÖ

lotus-GEN-leaf TOP **thus-INF PT** exist-ATTR thing

The lotus leaf is a thing **like this** (MYS XVI: 3826)

昨日許曾敷奈佻婆勢之可

KYINÖPU kösö puna-[i]Nte se-sika

yesterday PT boat-exit(NML) do(INF)-PAST/EV

Yesterday [we] sailed out (MYS XVII: 3893)

阿里佐利氏能知毛相牟等於母倍許曾

ari-sar-i-te nöti mwo AP-Am-u tö **omöp-ey kösö**

ITER-go.away-INF-SUB after PT meet-TENT-FIN DV **think-EV**
PT

[Time] constantly goes away, and [I] **hope** that [we] will meet later, too (MYS XVII: 3933)

安之可伎能保加尔母伎美我余里多々志孤悲家礼許曾婆伊米尔
見要家礼

asi kakyi-nō poka-ni mō kyimiyi-Nka yōr-i tat-as-i **kwopiy-kyer-e**
kōsō pa imey-ni MYI-ye-kyer-e

reed fence-GEN outside-LOC PT lord-POSS approach-INF stand-
HON-INF **long.for(INF)-RETR-EV PT TOP** dream-LOC see-
PASS(INF)-RETR-EV

As [I] **was longing for** [you], you appeared in [my] dream, coming
[here] and standing outside the reed fence (MYS XVII: 3977)

This is the only example in Western Old Japanese when *kōsō pa* appears after a verbal form.

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-nō kyimiyi-ra-tō **ka-ku si kōsō** 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 **in this way** (MYS XVIII: 4071)

都奇見礼婆於奈自久尔奈里夜麻許曾婆伎美我安多里乎敵太弓
多里家礼

tukiy MYI-re-Npa onaNsi kuni nar-i **yama kōsō pa** kyimiyi-Nka
atari-wo pyeNtate-tar-i-kyer-e

moon see-EV-CON same province be-FIN **mountain PT TOP**
lord-POSS vicinity-ACC separate(INF)-PERF/PROG-INF-EV

When [I] look at the moon, it is the same province. [But] the
mountains are separating you [from me] (MYS XVIII: 4073)

可久之許曾都可倍麻都良米伊夜等保奈我尔

ka-ku si kōsō tukapey-matur-am-ey iya tōpo naNka n-i

thus-INF PT PT serve(INF)-HUM-TENT-EV plentifully long long
DV-INF

Thus, [I] will serve [you] plentifully and for a long, long time
(MYS XVIII: 4098)

王乃幣爾去會死米

OPO KYIMYI-nō **pye-ni kōsō** SIN-Am-ey
great lord-GEN **side-LOC PT** die-TENT-EV
[I] will die **at the side** of [my] great lord (SNK 5)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The focus particle *kōsō* is amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

与曾爾見之欲波伊麻許曾麻左礼

yōsō-ni MYI-si-ywo pa **ima kōsō** 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)

刀奈布倍美許曾奈爾与曾利鷄米

twonap-uNpey-myi kōsō na-ni yōsōr-i-ky-em-ey
recite-DEB-GER PT you-DAT approach-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-
EV
as [I] had to recite [the magic formula], [I] approached you (MYS
XIV: 3468)

奈爾已曾与佐礼

na-ni kōsō yōs-ar-e
you-DAT PT approach-PROG-EV
[I] approached **you** (MYS XIV: 3478)

於曾波夜母奈乎許曾麻多賣

osō paya mō **na-wo kōsō** mat-am-ye
slow fast PT **you-ACC PT** wait-TENT-EV
Whether [you come] quickly or slowly, [I] will wait for **you** (MYS
XIV: 3493a)

之良夜麻可是能宿奈敝杼母古呂賀於曾伎能安路許曾要志母

sira yama kaNse-nō NE-n-ap-ye-Ntōmō kwo-rō-Nka osōkyi-nō **ar-
wo kōsō** ye-si-mō
white mountain wind-GEN sleep-NEG-ITER-CONC girl-DIM-
POSS garment-GEN **exist-ATTR PT** good-FIN-EXCL

although [I] continue not to sleep at the [cold] wind from the White Mountain, [it] is good **to have** my girl's garment (MYS XIV: 3509)
 Note that in Western Old Japanese the focus particle *kösö* is not attested after the attributive form.

A2: Ryukyuan

It appears that in Old Ryukyuan the evidential form consistently replaces the final form after the focus particle *siyo* ~ *su* that is claimed to be related to WOJ *kösö* (Serafim & Shinzato 2005: 12-21). The examples below are borrowed from Serafim and Shinzato 2005 with some changes in transliteration, glossing, and translation:

しよりもりきみゝゝしよまふらめ

siyori mori **kimi-kimi siyo** mabur-am-e

Shuri shrine **priestess-priestess PT** protect-TENT-EV

Priestesses from the Shuri Shrine will protect [it] (OS XIII: 853)

はつにしやすまちよたれおきとばすまちよたれ

fatu **nisi ya su** mat-i-yo-tar-e **okitoba su** mat-i-yo-tar-e

first **north.wind TOP** PT wait-INF-exist(INF)-PERF-EV

north.wind PT wait-INF-exist(INF)-PERF-EV

[We] waited for the first **north wind**. [We] waited for the **north wind** (OS XIII: 899)

Serafim and Shinzato derive WOJ *kösö* from a combination of *kö* 'this' and the nominalizer **swo* 'one, thing' (2005: 12-16). Attractive as it is, given the syntactic functional similarity of WOJ *kösö* and OR *siyo* ~ *su*, this proposal, nevertheless, faces certain difficulties. First, why would a nominalizer be found after a demonstrative pronoun? It should be expected after a verb, but not after a nominal, since there is nothing to nominalize there. Second, and most importantly, the internal evidence for PJN **swo* 'one, thing' is speculative. Nevertheless, the possibility of connection between WOJ *kösö* and OR *siyo* ~ *su* certainly exists; it just seems to me that it cannot be positively proven.

There are no other potential cognates of WOJ *kösö* in Ryukyuan.

9.2 INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

There are two interrogative particles in Western Old Japanese: *ya* and *ka*.

9.2.1 INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE *YA*

The interrogative particle *ya* introduces a general question, and is never used in *wh*- questions. It can be found in both sentence final and sentence non-final positions. In the latter the interrogative particle *ya* always triggers the change of the final verbal form to the attributive.

Chart 111: Combinations of the interrogative particle *ya* with different verbal forms of final predication

	sentence final <i>ya</i>	sentence non-final <i>ya</i>
final form	+	-
attributive	-	+
evidential	+	-
exclamative	+	-

As one can see from this chart, the combinations of sentence final *ya* and sentence non-final *ya* with the verbal forms of final predication are in complimentary distribution.

(1) Sentence-final position. In this position the interrogative particle *ya* can be followed only by the emphatic particle *mō*, but it always follows final, evidential, and exclamative forms as shown in Chart 111 above. In combination with the evidential tentative forms *-(a)m-ey* and *-(u)ram-ey*, the interrogative particle *ya* expresses irony, or in other words it poses a question that implies an opposite answer (see 6.2.2.1.3, SPECIAL USAGE). Examples:

之餓阿摩離虛等珥菟句離訶枳譬句椰
 si-Nka amari kōtō n-i tukur-i kaki-pyik-u **ya**
 it-POSS remainder *koto* DV-INF make-INF PREF-play-FIN **PT**
 [they] made a *koto* out of its remainders, will [they] play? (NK 41)

儼波企箇輸椰
 na pa kyik-as-u **ya**
 you TOP ask-HON-FIN **PT**
 Shall [I] ask you? (NK 62)

於夜那斯爾奈礼奈理鷄迷夜
 oya na-si n-i nare nar-i-ky-em-ey **ya**
 parent no-FIN DV-INF you be.born-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-EV **PT**
 Were you possibly born without parents? [Certainly not!] (NK 104)

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 sō mö ya wa-Nka te tör-as-umo **ya**
 who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-
 DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-EXCL **PT**
 whose chapped hand, chapped hand will take my hand?! (NK 108)

人孀故尔吾戀目八方

PYITÖ-N-TUMA YUWE n-i ARE KWOPIY-m-ey **ya** mo
 person-GEN-spouse reason DV-INF I love-TENT-EV **PT** **PT**
 because [she] is the wife of [another] person, should I love [her]?
 [Certainly not!] (MYS I: 21)

麻佐礼留多可良古爾斯迦米夜母

masar-er-u takara kwo-ni sik-am-ey **ya** mö
 excel-PROG-ATTR treasure child-LOC reach-ATTR-EV **PT** **PT**
 Could the excellent treasures be equal to children? [Certainly not!]
 (MYS V: 803)

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-ö myi-kötö tuti-ni ok-am-ey **ya** mö
 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? [Certainly not!] (MYS V: 812)

烏梅能波奈佐吉多留僧能能阿遠也疑波可豆良爾須倍久奈利爾
 家良受夜

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-tar-u sönö-nö awo yaNkiy pa kaNtura n-i s-
 uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-kyer-aNs-u **ya**
 plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR garden-GEN
 green willow TOP wig DV-INF do-DEB-INF become-INF-PERF-
 INF-RETR-NEG-FIN **PT**
 Did not [it] become so that [we] should make [our] wigs out of the
 green willows in the garden where the plum blossoms have
 bloomed? (MYS V: 817)

烏梅能波奈佐企弓知理奈波佐久良婆那都伎弓佐久倍久奈利爾
 弓阿良受也

uMEY-nö pana sak-yi-te tir-i-n-aNpa sakura-N-pana tuNk-yi-te
 sak-uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-te ar-aNs-u **ya**

plum-GEN blossom bloom-INF-SUB fall-INF-PERF-COND
sakura-GEN-blossom follow-INF-SUB bloom-DEB-INF become-
INF-PERF-INF-SUB exist-NEG-FIN PT

If the plum blossoms have bloomed and fallen, has [it] not become so that sakura blossoms should bloom after? (MYS V: 829)

此花乃一与能裏波百種乃言持不勝而所折家良受也

KÖNÖ PANA-nö PYITÖ yō-nö UTI pa MWOMŪO KUSA-nö
KÖTÖ MÖT-I-KANE-TE WOR-AYE-kyer-aNs-u ya
this flower-GEN one petal-GEN inside TOP hundred type-GEN
word hold-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB break-PASS(INF)-RETR-
NEG-FIN PT

One petal of this flower cannot hold one hundred words, so will not [this flower] be broken [by the weight of words]? (MYS VIII: 1457)

面忘太尔毛得為也

OMO WASURE Ntani mwo E-S-U ya

face forget(NML) PT PT POT-do-FIN PT

Could [I] just forget [his] face? (MYS XI: 2574)

比登比母伊毛乎和須礼弓於毛倍也

pyitō pyi mö imwo-wo wasure-te omwop-ey ya

one day PT beloved-ACC forget(INF)-SUB think-EV PT

would [I] imagine forgetting [my] beloved even [for] one day?
(MYS XV: 3604)

伊毛尔安礼也

imwo n-i ar-e ya

beloved DV-INF exist-EV PT

Is [she] my beloved? (MYS XV: 3633)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弓於毛布良米也母

pyikwoposi mö ware-ni masar-i-te omwop-uram-ey ya mö

Altair PT I-DAT surpass-INF-SUB long.for-TENT2-EV PT PT

Will Altair long for [his beloved] more than I [do]? (lit.: surpassing me) [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3657)

安比於毛波奴君尔安礼也母

apyi-omwop-an-u KYIMYI n-i ar-e ya mö

REC-think-NEG-ATTR lord DV-INF exist-EV PT PT

is [it my] lord, who no [longer] thinks [about lamenting of the people of this world] in return? (MYS XV: 3691)

能知尔毛安波射良米也母

nōti-ni mwo ap-aNs-ar-am-ey ya mö

later-LOC PT meet-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-EV PT PT

will [we] not meet later? [Of course we will!] (MYS XV: 3741)

古非之奈婆古非毛之祢等也

kwopiy-sin-aNpa kwopiy mwo sin-e tö ya

long.for(INF)-die-COND long.for(INF) PT die-IMP DV PT

Do [you] tell [me]: 'If [you] die longing, die from longing!?' (MYS XV: 3780)

何爲牟尔吾乎召良米夜

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? [You should not!] (MYS XVI: 3886)

都祢比等能故布登伊敷欲利波安麻里爾弓和礼波之奴倍久奈里尔多良受也

tune pyitō-nō kwop-u tö ip-u-ywori pa amari n-i-te ware pa sin-uNpey-ku nar-i-n-i-tar-aNs-u ya

ordinary person-GEN love-FIN DV say-ATTR-ABL TOP excess DV-INF-SUB I TOP die-DEB-INF become-INF-PERF-INF-PERF/PROG-NEG-FIN PT

Did not [it] become so that I should die, feeling (lit.: being) much more than what ordinary people call 'love'? (MYS XVIII: 4080)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月經礼波古非之家礼夜母

apyi-myi-ru mwonōwo sukuna-ku mö TŌSI TUKIY P-Ure-Npa kwopiysi-kyere ya mö

REC-see-ATTR CONJ few-INF PT year month pass-EV-CON miss-EV PT PT

although [we] see each other, as time goes by, do [we still] miss [each other] just a bit? (MYS XVIII: 4118)

曾己由惠尔情奈具也

sökō yuwe n-i KŌKŌRŌ naNk-u ya

there reason DV-INF heart calm.down-FIN PT

will [my] heart calm down due to those circumstances? (MYS XIX: 4154)

都婆吉都良々々尔美等母安可米也

tuNpakyi tura-tura n-i myi tömō ak-am-ey ya

camellia intently DV-INF look(FIN) CONJ lose.interest-TENT-EV
PT

even if [I] look intently [at] the camellia, would [I] lose interest?
[No, I would not] (MYS XX: 4481)

(2) Sentence non-final position. The interrogative particle *ya* in this position can be found virtually anywhere in the sentence before the final verb and excluding the initial position in the sentence. The extreme case of the movement of the interrogative particle *ya* towards the beginning of the sentence is represented by MYS XV: 3638 below, where *ya* is found as the second word in the sentence. As mentioned above, the final predicate after the sentence non-final *ya* always appears in the attributive form. Examples:

枳彌波夜那祇

kyimiyi pa ya na-kyi

lord TOP **PT** no-ATTR

Do not [you] have a lord? (NK 104)

古之嫗尔為而也如此許戀乎大尔忍金手武

PUR-I-N-I-si omyina n-i s-i-te ya ka-ku NPAKARI KWOPYIY-wo
Ntani SINÖNP-YI-kane-te-m-u

become.old-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR old.woman DV-INF do-
INF-SUB **PT** thus-INF PT love(NML)-ACC PT endure-INF-
NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR

Am [I not] an old woman? [But it] has become so [that I] would
not be able to endure even love (MYS II: 129)

烏梅能波奈比等利美都都夜波流比久良佐武

uMEY-nō pana pyitō-ri myi-tutu ya paru pyi kuras-am-u

plum-GEN flower one-CL see(INF)-COORD **PT** spring day spend-
TENT-ATTR

will [I] spend the spring day looking alone at the plum blossoms?
(MYS V: 818)

多麻志末乎美受弓夜和礼波故飛都々遠良武

tamasima-wo myi-Ns-u-te **ya** ware pa kwopiy-tutu wor-am-u
Tamasima(p.n.)-ACC see-NEG-INF-SUB **PT** I TOP long.for(INF)-
COOR exist-TENT-ATTR

Would I continue to long for Tamasima without seeing [it]? (MYS V: 862)

佐欲比賣能故何比列布利斯夜麻能名乃尾夜伎々都々遠良武

Saywo-pyimye n-ö kwo-Nka pyire pur-i-si yama-nö NA nömiy **ya**
kyik-yi-tutu wor-am-u

Saywo-pyimye DV-ATTR girl-POSS long.scarf wave-INF-
PAST/ATTR mountain-GEN name **PT PT** hear-INF-COOR exist-
TENT-ATTR

Would [I] continue just to hear the name of the mountain where the
girl Saywo-pyimye waived [her] long scarf? (MYS V: 868)

佐夫志計米夜母吉美伊麻佐受斯弓

saNpusi-ky-em-ey **ya** mö kyimiyi imas-aNs-u s-i-te
be.sad-ATTR-TENT-EV **PT** **PT** lord come(HON)-NEG-NML do-
INF-SUB

[if my] lord does not come, would [I] be sad? [Certainly not!]
(MYS V: 878)

In this example the interrogative particle *ya* is found in the sentence non-final
position due to the inversion.

加久能未夜伊吉豆伎遠良牟

ka-ku nömiy **ya** ikyiNtuk-yi-wor-am-u
thus-INF **PT PT** sigh-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR

Would [I] be sighing just like that? (MYS V: 881)

天地者比呂之等伊倍杼安我多米波狭也奈里奴流

AMEY TUTI PA pyirö-si tö ip-ey-Ntö a-Nka tamey pa SA-KU **ya**
nar-i-n-uru

heaven earth TOP wide-FIN say-EV-CONC I-POSS for TOP
narrow-INF **PT** become-INF-PERF-ATTR

Although [they] say that the Heaven and Earth are wide, have [not
they] become narrow for me? (MYS V: 892)

吾耳也之可流

I **PT PT** thus-exist-ATTR

A NÖMIY **ya** sik[a]-ar-u

is [it] so only [for] me? (MYS V: 892)

麓妙能布衣遠陶尔伎世難尔可久夜歎敢

ARA TAPEY-nō NUNWO KYINŪ-wo Ntani kyī-se-KATE-n-i ka-ku ya NANKEYk-am-u

rough mulberry.bark.cloth-GEN cloth garment-ACC PT wear-CAUS(INF)-POT-NEG-INF thus-INF PT lament-TENT-ATTR

Being unable to make [my children] wear even a cloth garment from the rough mulberry bark cloth, would [I] lament in this way? (MYS V: 901)

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平等女杼毛

kōre ya kōnō NA-ni op-u NaruTWO-nō uNtu-sipo-ni tama mwo kar-u tō [i]p-u ama wotōmye-Ntōmwo

This PT this name-LOC carry-ATTR Narutwo-GEN whirl-current-LOC jewel seaweed cut-ATTR DV say-ATTR fisher maiden-PLUR

Are these the fisher-maidens who are said to cut jewel seaweeds in the whirling current of Narutwo bearing this [famous] name? (MYS XV: 3638)

和礼乎也未尔也伊毛我古非都追安流良牟

ware-wo yamiy-ni ya imwo-Nka kwopiy-tutu ar-am-u

I-ACC darkness-LOC PT beloved-POSS long.for(INF)-COORD exist-TENT-ATTR

Will [my] beloved continue to long for me in the darkness? (MYS XV: 3669)

君尔也毛登奈安我孤悲由加牟

KYIMYI-ni ya mwotōna a-Nka kwopiy-yuk-am-u

lord-DAT PT in.vain I-POSS long.for(INF)-go-TENT-ATTR

Would I continue to long for you in vain? (MYS XV: 3690)

多妣尔之婆之婆可久能未也伎美乎夜利都追安我孤悲乎良牟

taNpyi-ni siNpa-siNpa ka-ku nōmiy ya kyimiyi-wo yar-i-tutu a-Nka kwopiy-wor-am-u

travel-LOC often thus-INF PT PT lord-ACC send-INF-COOR I-POSS long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR

would I be longing for [you] just keeping sending you so frequently to travels? (MYS XVII: 3936)

可牟加良夜曾許婆多數刀伎

kamu-kara ya sökōNpa taputwo-kyi

deity-origin PT very awesome-ATTR

Is [not] the origin of deities very awesome? (MYS XVII: 3985)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The interrogative particle *ya* is amply attested in Eastern Old Japanese. It is also found in both sentence final and sentence non-final positions.

(1) Sentence final position:

波奈都豆麻奈礼也

pana t-u tuma nar-e ya

flower DV-ATTR spouse be-EV PT

Are you a flower-wife? (MYS XIV: 3370)

古奈宜可久古非牟等夜

kwo-naNkiy ka-ku kwopiy-m-u tō 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)

伎美波和須良酒和礼和須流礼夜

kyimiyi 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)

(2) Sentence non-final position:

安比見互波千等世夜伊奴流

apyi-MYI-te pa TI tōse ya in-uru

REC-see(INF)-SUB TOP thousand year PT go.away-ATTR

since [we] have seen each other, did one thousand years pass?

(MYS XIV: 3470)

多麻母乃宇知奈婢伎比登里夜宿良牟

tama mō-nō uti-naNpyik-yi pyitō-ri ya ne-ram-u

jewel seaweed-COMP PREF-stretch-INF one-CL PT sleep-TENT2-ATTR
 will [you] sleep alone, stretched like a jewel seaweed? (MYS XIV: 3562)

可能古呂等宿受夜奈里奈牟
 kanō kwo-rō-tō NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u
 that girl-DIM-COM sleep-NEG-INF PT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
 Will it become [so that I] will not sleep with that girl? (MYS XIV: 3565)

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, would [I] sleep together with reeds? (MYS XX: 4321)

A2: Ryukyuan

The cognates *ya* ~ *yaa* of the Western Old Japanese interrogative particle *ya* are well attested in modern Ryukyuan dialects, although in most dialects *ya* ~ *yaa* have the function of a confirmation seeker, like MdJ *ne*, and not an interrogative particle. As far as I can tell, *ya* ~ *yaa* occurs only in the sentence final position. Examples:

Tokunoshima

In Tokunoshima the interrogative particle *ya* can be used in both general and *wh*- questions:

kuma-na ?aa ya
 here-LOC exist(FIN) PT
 Is [it] here? (Nohara 1998: 192)

nugaši yuwa-s[a]-ar-u ya
 why weak-NML-exist-ATTR PT
 Why is [he] weak? (Nohara 1998: 193)

Miyako

In Miyako I could find only one example with *ya* used in a *wh*-question besides much more frequent function as a confirmation seeker:

vva **ndzaŋ-kai** ga mmya-i **ya**
 you **where-LOC** PT go(HON)-FIN PT
Where are you going? (Nohara 1998: 389)

9.2.2 INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE KA

In contrast to the interrogative particle *ya*, the main function of the interrogative particle *ka* is to introduce *wh*- questions, namely the questions where an interrogative pronoun is used in a given sentence. In addition, it also may be used in three other functions: first, as an interrogative particle in general questions, overlapping in this usage with *ya*, with the difference of usage between these two being not completely clear. Second, it can be an intervening particle between the parts of the uncontracted copula *n-i ar-*: infinitive *n-i* and *ar-* ‘to exist,’ and between the parts of the complex negative form *-(a)Ns-u ar-*: negative infinitive *-(a)Ns-u* and *ar-* ‘to exist.’ The interrogative particle *ya* is not attested in this function. Finally, it appears in alternative questions, namely ‘X or Y.’ The interrogative particle *ya* is not attested in this function either.

The interrogative particle *ka* can be found in any place in the sentence, including sentence final position, although it cannot be, naturally, the first word in the sentence. Like the interrogative particle *ya* it triggers the change of the following verbal final form into the attributive. However, there is also a difference: in contrast to *ya*, the interrogative particle *ka* triggers the change of the final form into attributive whether it is found before or after the verb (see 6.2.2.1.2.3 and examples from KK 54 and MYS XVII: 3923 below).

Examples:

(1) *Wh*- question:

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)

囊伽多佐例
ta **ka** ta-sar-e
who PT PREF-go.away-EV
Who goes away? (NK 40)

In this example the interrogative particle *ka* is followed by the verb in the evidential, and not the attributive form, as would be expected.

梅例柯舉能居登飶褒磨陞爾麻鳴須

tare ka könö kötö 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)

偉儼謎能隨俱弥柯該志須弥儼蟠旨我那稽麼梅例柯柯該武預

winaNpey-nö takumyi kakey-si sumyi-napa si-Nka na-ky-eNpa
tare ka kakey-m-u yö

WinaNpey-GEN carpenter apply(INF)-PAST/ATTR ink-cord he-
POSS no-ATTR-COND who PT apply-TENT-ATTR PT

the ink-cord that the carpenter of WinaNpey applied: if he is no
more, **who** would apply it?! (NK 80)

那爾柯那皚柯武

nani ka naNkeyk-am-u

what PT lament-TENT-ATTR

why would [I] lament? (NK 116)

都久波尼爾阿波牟等伊比志古波多賀己等岐氣波加弥尼阿波巢
氣牟

TukuNpa-ne-ni ap-am-u tö ip-yi-si kwo pa **ta-Nka** kötö kyik-ey-
Npa **ka** myi-ne ap-aNs-u-ky-em-u

TukuNpa-peak-LOC meet-TENT-FIN DV say-INF-PAST/ATTR
girl TOP **who-POSS** word listen-EV-CON PT HON-
peak/sleep(NML)⁷ meet-NEG-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR

The girl, who promised [to me] that [we] will meet at the TukuNpa
peak, did not meet [me] at the peak/for sleeping, [is it] because [she]
listened to **somebody's** words? (FK 2)

京師尔而誰手本乎可吾將枕

MIYAKWO n-i-TE **TA-NKA** TAMÖTÖ-wo **ka** WA-NKA
MAKURAK-AM-U

capital DV-INF-SUB **who-POSS** sleeve-ACC PT I-POSS
use.as.a.pillow-TENT-ATTR

Whose sleeves will I use as a pillow at the capital? (MYS III: 439)

⁷ The word *ne* here represents a play on words: *ne* 'peak' and *ne* 'sleep(INF).'

伊弊爾由伎弓伊可爾可阿我世武
 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)

迦具漏伎可美爾伊都乃麻可斯毛乃布利家武
 kaN-kurwo-kyi kamyi-ni **itu-nō ma ka** simwo-nō pur-i-ky-em-u
 INT-black-ATTR hair-LOC **when-CEN** interval **PT** frost-GEN
 fall-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
 at **what** point in time, would the frost have fallen on [their] pitch-
 black hair? (MYS V: 804)

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)

奈爾可佐夜礼留
 nani ka sayar-er-u
what PT prevent-PROG-ATTR
what will be preventing [me]? (MYS V: 870)

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)

戀友何如妹尔相時毛名寸
 KWOP-URE-Ntömō **NANI si ka** IMWO-ni AP-U TÖKYI mwo
 na-kyi
 love-EV-CONC **what PT PT** beloved-DAT meet-ATTR time **PT**
 no-ATTR
 although [I] love [her], **why** there is no time at all to meet [my]
 beloved? (MYS XII: 2994)

吾哉難二加還而將成
 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)

安杼毛倍香許己呂我奈之久伊米爾美要都流

aN-tō [o]mwop-ey **ka** kökörö-N-kanasi-ku imey-ni myi-ye-t-uru
what-DV think-EV **PT** heart-GEN-sad-INF dream-LOC see-
 PASS(INF)-PERF-ATTR

what was [I] thinking [about]? As [I] was sad in [my] heart, [she] suddenly has appeared in [my] dream (MYS XV: 3639)

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** tö **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)

和伎毛故我可多美能許呂母奈可里世婆奈爾毛能母弓加伊能知
 都我麻之

wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka katamyi n-ö körömö na-k-ar-i-s-eNpa
nani mwonö möt-e **ka** inöti tuNk-amasi
 I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS keepsake DV-ATTR garment no-INF-
 exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND **what** thing hold-EV **PT** life join-
 SUBJ

If [I] did not have a garment of my beloved as a keepsake, would having **anything** keep [me] alive? (MYS XV: 3733)

伊都麻弓可安我故非乎良牟

itu-maNte **ka** a-Nka kwopiy-wor-am-u
when-TERM **PT** I-POSS long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
until when should I long for [you]? (MYS XV: 3749)

伊頭礼乃時加吾孤悲射良牟

iNture n-ö TÖKYI **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)

念意緒多礼賀思良牟母

OMÖP-U KÖKÖRÖ-wo **tare** **ka** sir-am-umö
 love-ATTR heart-ACC **who** **PT** know-TENT-EXCL
who will know [my] loving heart?! (MYS XVII: 3950)

伊都之加登奈氣可須良牟曾

itu si ka tö naNkeyk-as-uram-u sö

when PT PT DV lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR PT

[she] probably laments, saying: 'When [will he return]?' (MYS XVII: 3962)

奈爾乎可於母波牟

nani-wo ka omöp-am-u

what-ACC PT think-TENT-ATTR

what should [I] think? (MYS XVII: 3967)

伊頭敝能山乎鳴可將超

iNtu-pye-nö 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)

多礼乎可伎美等弥都都志努波牟

tare-wo ka kyimyi tö 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)

伊可奈留夜比止爾伊麻世可

ika nar-u ya pyitö n-i imas-e ka

how be-ATTR PT person DV-INF be(HON)-EV PT

Oh, **what** kind of person is [he]? (BS 5)

(2) General question:

阿袁那母岐備比登登等母迹斯都米婆多怒斯久母阿流迦

awo na mö kyinpiy pyitö-tö tömö n-i si tum-ey-Npa tanwosi-ku mö ar-u ka

green vegetables PT Kyinpiy person-COM together DV-INF PT pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

Is [not it] delightful when [I] pick green vegetables together with the girl from Kyinpiy? (KK 54)

許許呂袁陀迹迦阿比淤母波受阿良牟

kökörö-wo Ntani ka apyi-omöp-aNs-u ar-am-u

heart-ACC PT PT REC-think-NEG-INF exist-TENT-ATTR

will [we] not think about each other at least in our hearts? (KK 60)

流經妻吹風之寒夜尔吾勢能君者獨香宿良武
 NANKAR-Ap-uru TUMA PUK-U KANSE-NÖ SAMU-KYI
 YWO-ni WA-NKA se n-ö KYIMYI PA PYITÖ-RI ka N-Uram-u
 flow-ITER-ATTR spouse blow-ATTR wind-GEN cold-ATTR
 night-LOC I-POSS beloved DV-ATTR lord TOP one-CL PT
 sleep-TENT2-ATTR

Does the lord my beloved sleep alone in the cold nights, when wind blows at [your] spouse who is spending time [waiting for you]? (MYS I: 59)

香緣相者彼所毛加人之吾乎事將成
 ka-YÖR-I-AP-ANPA SÖKÖ mwo ka PYITÖ WA-wo kötö NAS-AM-U

INT-approach-INF-meet-COND there PT PT person I-ACC word do(HON)-TENT-ATTR

if [we] indeed get together, would the people spread rumors about me and you as well? (MYS IV: 512)

吾背子尔復者不相香常思墓今朝別之為便無有都流
 WA-NKA se-KWO-ni MATA PA AP-ANSI ka tö OMÖP-EY-Npa
 ka KYESA-NÖ WAKARE-NÖ SUNPYE NA-K-AR-I-t-uru
 I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT again TOP meet-NEG/TENT PT DV
 think-EV-CON PT this.morning-GEN part(NML)-GEN way no-
 INF-exist-INF-PERF-ATTR

Was [it] because I thought that [we] would not meet again that there has been no way to part [with you] this morning? (MYS IV: 540)

今夜可君之我許來益武
 KÖ YÖPYI ka KYIMYI-NKA WA-Nkari K-YI-[i]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)

浮笑緒乃得干蚊將去
 UKEY-NÖ WO-nö uk-are ka YUK-AM-U
 float-GEN string-COMP float-PASS(INF) PT go-TENT-FIN
 Shall [we] go away floating like floating strings [of nets]? (MYS XI: 2646)

伊夜彦神乃布本今日良毛加鹿乃伏良武

IyaPYIKWO KAMIY-nō puMOTŌ-NI KYEPU-ra mwo **ka** SIKAnō PUS-Uram-u

Iyapyikwo 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 Iyapyikwo today, too? (MYS XVI: 3884)

布流雪乃比加里乎見礼婆多敷刀久母安流香

pur-u YUKYI-nō pyikari-wo MYI-re-Npa taputwo-ku mö ar-u **ka**
fall-ATTR snow-GEN light-ACC see-EV-CON awesome-INF PT
exist-ATTR PT

When [one] sees the light of the falling snow, is [not it] awesome?
(MYS XVII: 3923)

伊毛我多可々々尔麻都良牟許己呂之可尔波安良司可

imwo-Nka taka taka n-i mat-uram-u kökōrō sika n-i pa ar-aNsi **ka**
beloved-POSS high high DV-INF wait-TENT2-ATTR heart thus
DV-INF TOP exist-NEG/TENT PT

the heart of [my] beloved who probably waits for [me] eagerly,
would not [it] be this way? (MYS XVIII: 4107)

可多良比能利多夫言乎聞久仁是能太政大臣乃官乎授未都流仁方敢多
比奈牟可等奈毛念

katar-ap-yi-nōritaNp-u KŌTŌ-wo KYIk-u-ni KŌnō OPO
MATURINKŌTŌ OPOMAPYETUKYIMYI-nō TUKASA-wo
SANTUKEY-matur-u-ni pa APEY-taNp-yi-n-am-u **ka** tō namwo
OMŌP-OS-U

say-ITER-INF-HON-ATTR word-ACC hear-ATTR-LOC this great
governance minister-GEN office-ACC bestow(INF)-HUM-ATTR-
LOC TOP endure(INF)-HON-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR PT DV PT
think-HON-ATTR

when [I] heard the words that [he] was repeatedly saying, [I]
thought: ‘Would [he] be appropriate for bestowing [on him] the
office of the minister of the great governance?’ (SM 36)

(3) Intervening particle:

余戀良苦乎不知香安類良武

WA-NKA KWOP-Ur-aku-wo SIR-ANS-U **ka** ar-uram-u

I-POSS love-ATTR-NML-ACC know-NEG-INF **PT** exist-TENT2-ATTR
 are [you] probably not knowing that I love [you]? (MYS IV: 720)

伊弊婢等乃伊波倍尔可安良牟
 ipye-N-pyitö-nö ipapey n-i **ka** ar-am-u
 home-GEN-person-GEN purify(NML) DV-INF **PT** exist-TENT-ATTR
 Is [it] probably because of [my] home folks purification rites?
 (MYS XX: 4409)

(4) Alternative question:

秋夜乎奈我美爾可安良武奈曾許己波伊能祢良要奴毛比等里奴
 礼婆可
 AKYI-NÖ YWO-wo naNka-myi n-i **ka** ar-am-u naNsö kökōNpa i-
 nō ne-raye-n-umwo pyitö-ri n-ure-Npa **ka**
 autumn-GEN night-ABS long-GER DV-INF **PT** exist-TENT-ATTR
 why extremely sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL one-CL sleep-EV-CON **PT**
 Why is [it] that [I] cannot sleep at all: is [it] probably because the
 autumn night is long, or is it because [I] sleep alone?! (MYS XV:
 3684)

新羅奇敞可伊敞爾可加反流
 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)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The interrogative particle *ka* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese both in *wh*- and general questions:

(1) *Wh*- question:

須我麻久良安是加麻可左武許呂勢多麻久良
 suNka-makura aNse **ka** mak-as-am-u kö-rö se ta-makura
 sedge-pillow why **PT** use.as.a.pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR girl-DIM
 do(IMP) arm-pillow

girl, **why** would [you] use the sedge pillow? Use [my] arms as a pillow! (MYS XIV: 3368)

阿杼可多延世武

aN-tō 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-tō 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)

伊可奈流勢奈可和我理許武等伊布

ika nar-u se-na **ka** wa-Nkari kō-m-u tō 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)

安是可加奈思家

aNse ka kanasi-kye

why PT dear-ATTR

Why is [she so] dear [to me]? (MYS XIV: 3576)

(2) General question:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾

ne-nōmiy-wo **ka** nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u ap-u tō 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] of [even] thinking to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

多都登利能目由可汝乎見牟

tat-u tōri-nō MEY-yu **ka** NA-wo MYI-m-u

rise-ATTR bird-COMP eye-ABL **PT** you-ACC see-TENT-ATTR

will [I] just see you as a bird flying up? (MYS XIV: 3396)

和乎可麻都那毛伎曾毛己余必母

wa-wo **ka** mat-unam-wo kyiśō mwo kō yōpyi mō

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)

A2: Ryukyuan

The interrogative particle *ka ~ ga* (< *-N ka) is well attested in both Old Ryukyuan and modern dialects. However, as far as I can tell, Ryukyuan *ka ~ ga* appears exclusively in *wh*- questions. Thus, in all probability, WOJ *ka* in general questions represents a Japanese innovation, and we should reconstruct PJ *ka, interrogative particle in *wh*- questions. Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

けおわのかしよらしよ

keo wa **no ka** s-i-yor-asiyo

today TOP **what PT** do-INF-exist-SUP

What would [they] do today? (OS VII: 376)

Shuri

kuree **nuu** ya-ibii-**ga**⁸

this(TOP) **what** be-POL-(FIN)**PT**

What is this? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 39)

chaa s-u-**ga**

how do-FIN-(FIN)**PT**

What shall [we] do? (Nishioka & Nakahara 2000: 34)

Miyako

vva **ndza-ŋkai** **ga** ik-ï

you **where-LOC PT** go-FIN

Where are you going? (Nohara 1998: 381)

mma munoo **noonu** **ga** a-ï

tasty thing(TOP) **what PT** exist-FIN

⁸ Shuri *-ga* < *-N ka, a combination of the final *-(u)N* plus the interrogative particle *ka.

What tasty things do [you] have? (Nohara 1998: 428)

LEVEL B: EXTERNAL COMPARISONS

The interrogative particle *ka* in Old Japanese has been traditionally compared with the Middle Korean interrogative particle *ká ~ Gá* (Whitman 1985: 220). At the first glance the etymology seems impeccable, but there is one problem. As we have seen above, PJ **ka* is an interrogative particle in *wh*- questions. Meanwhile, MK *ká ~ Gá* is the interrogative particle in general questions:

hanolh-i kolhoy-Gi-si-n-i nwupi cywong an i-ntol haytwong
lyenmin-ul nic-osi-l i-ngi-s **ka**
heaven-NOM choose-CAUS-POL-ATTR/REAL-NML quilt monk
not be-GER Korea people-ACC forget-HON-ATTR/IRR be-POL-
NML **PT**

The Heaven has made the choice. Were it not for a monk in the quilted robe, would [Heaven] forget the Korean people? (YP 21)

thwukwu sey sal-i nyey two stwo is-te-si-n **ka**
helmet three arrow-NOM old.times **PT** still exist-RETR-HON-
ATTR/REAL **PT**
Did it happen even in the past that three arrows [all hit] the helmet?
(YP 89)

This problem is further aggravated by the fact that the interrogative particle for *wh*- questions in Middle Korean is *kwó ~ Gwó* (An & Yi 1990: 204-05). This leaves the comparison with Japanese rather lame: in the best case it is an etymology by one phoneme /k/ common to both Middle Korean particles *ká ~ Gá* and *kwó ~ Gwó*. In addition, it leaves unexplained the vowel /a/ in WOJ *ka*, and, of course, we should not forget the functional difference.

9.3 DESIDERATIVE PARTICLE MÖNKA ~ MÖNKAMÖ

There is only one desiderative particle in Western Old Japanese: *möNka ~ möNkamö*. The longer form *möNkamö* probably represents historically the combination of the desiderative particle *möNka* with the emphatic particle *mö*, but since synchronically *möNkamö* is attested much more frequently and also because there is no apparent difference in meaning, I treat these two as variants of the same particle on the synchronic level.

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 **mōNka** tō wa-Nka myi-si kwo-ra ka-ku **mōNka** tō

meet-HON-INF-PAST/ATTR woman that PT DV I-POSS see(INF)-PAST/ATTR girl-DIM thus-INF PT DV

[I] think [I] **wish** that [much] the woman [I] met; [I] think [I] **wish** this [much] the girl I saw (KK 42)

袁登賣能伊加久流袁加袁加那須岐母伊本知母賀母須岐婆奴流母能

wotōmye-nō i-kakur-u woka-wo kana-sukyi mö ipwo-ti **mōNkamō** suk-yi-Npan-uru mönō

maiden-GEN DLF-hide-ATTR hill-ACC metal-hoe PT five.hundred-CL PT dig.up-INF-flip-ATTR CONJ

[I] **want** five hundred metal hoes. [I] will dig up the hill where the maiden hides, but ... (KK 99)

豫呂豆余珥訶勾志茂餓茂知余珥訶勾志茂餓茂

yörōNtu yö-ni ka-ku si **moNkamo** ti yö-ni mo ka-ku si **moNkamo** ten thousand year-LOC thus-INF PT PT thousand year-LOC PT thus-INF PT PT

[I] **wish** [that my sovereign] will be in this way in ten thousand years, [I] **wish** [he] will be in this way in a thousand years, too (NK 102)

常丹毛冀名常處女羨手

TUNE n-i **mwoNka** na TUNE WOTÖMYE n-i-te

eternal DV-INF PT PT eternal maiden DV-INF-SUB

[I] **want** to be eternal, being an eternal maiden! (MYS I: 22)

玉二毛我真毛妹之手二所纏乎

TAMA n-i **mwoNka** MAKÖTÖ mwo IMWO-NKA TE-ni MAK-ARE-M-U-wo

jewel DV-INF PT truth PT beloved-POSS hand-LOC wrap-PASS-TENT-ATTR-ACC

[I] **want** to be a jewel. [Then I] would be indeed wrapped around [my] beloved's hand, but ... (MYS IV: 734)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母

tök[ō]-yipa-nasu ka-ku si **mōNkamō** tō omöp-ey-Ntömō

eternal-rock-COMP thus-INF PT PT DV think-EV-CONC

Although [I] think that [I] **would like** to be (thus) like an eternal rock... (MYS V: 805)

阿摩等夫夜等利尔母賀母夜美夜故麻提意久利摩遠志弓等比可弊流母能

ama-tōNp-u ya tōri n-i **mōNkamō** ya myiyakwo-maNte okur-i-mawos-i-te tōNp-yi kapyer-u mōnō
sky-fly-ATTR PT bird DV-INF PT PT capital-TERM see.off-INF-HUM-INF-SUB fly-INF return-ATTR CONJ

[I] **would like** to be a bird that flies in the sky. [I would] see [you] off to the capital and come back, but ... (MYS V: 876)

佐丹塗之小船毛賀茂

sa-NI NURE N-Ō WON-PUNE **mwoNkamo**

PREF-cinnabar paint(NML) DV-ATTR DIM-boat PT

[he] **longed for** a small boat painted in cinnabar (MYS VIII: 1520)

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導武仁

nara-nō myiyakwo-ni yuk-u pyitō **mwoNkamō** kusa-makura taNpyi yuk-u pune-nō tōmar-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)

天地等登毛尔母我毛等於毛比都々安里家牟毛能乎

AMEY TUTI-tō tōmō n-i **mōNkamwo** omwop-yi-tutu ar-i-ky-em-u mwonōwo

heaven earth-COM together DV-INF PT think-INF-COOR exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR CONJ

Although [you] probably continued to think: '[I] **would like** [to live long] together with Heaven and Earth' ... (MYS XV: 3691)

之努比管有常将告兒毛欲得

sinwop-yi-tutu AR-I tō TUNKEY-M-U KWO **mwoNKAMŌ**

yearn-INF-COOR exist-FIN DV report-TENT-ATTR girl PT

[I] **want** a girl who would tell [me] that [she] is constantly yearning for [me] (MYS XVI: 3818)

奈泥之故我波奈爾毛我母奈

naNtesikwo-Nka pana n-i **mwoNkamö** na

carnation-POSS flower DV-INF PT PT

[I] **wish** [you] were a carnation flower! (MYS XVII: 4010)

安波妣多麻伊保知毛我母

apaNpyi tama ipo-ti **mwoNkamö**

abalone pearl five.hundred-CL PT

[I] **wish** [to have] five hundred abalone pearls (MYS XVIII: 4101)

伎美乎見麻久波知登世爾母我母

kyimiyi-wo MYI-m-aku pa ti töse n-i **möNkamö**

lord-ACC see-TENT-NML TOP thousand year DV-INF PT

[I] **would like** to have a thousand years when [I] would see [my] lord (MYS XX: 4304)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

Both *möNka* and *möNkamö* are attested in Eastern Old Japanese (each one three times):

安能於登世受由可牟古馬母我

a-nö otö se-Ns-u yuk-am-u kwo-[u]ma **möNka**

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)

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 könö muka-tu wo n-ö wona-nö wo-nö pyiNsi-ni
tuk-u-maNte kyimiyi-Nka yö **möNkamö**

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 would live until the peak of Wona, which is the peak on the opposite side, where flowers are falling, will reach the sandbanks [in the sea] (MYS XIV: 3448)

This poem looks like a normal Western Old Japanese text, with no peculiarities typical for Eastern Old Japanese.

布奈可射里安我世武比呂乎美毛比等母我毛

puna kaNsar-i a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rō-wo myi-m-wo pyitō
mōNkamwo

boat decorate-NML I-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC see-
TENT-ATTR person **PT**

[I] **wish** someone would see the day when I decorate [my] boat
(MYS XX: 4329)

比多知散思由可牟加里母我

pyitati sas-i yuk-am-u kari **mōNka**

Pyitati point-INF go-TENT-ATTR wild.goose **PT**

[I] **want** wild geese that would go to Pyitati (MYS XX: 4366)

多志湍毛等伎尔阿母我米母我母

tas-i-[i]Nde-m-wo tōkyi-ni amō-Nka mey **mōNkamō**

depart-INF-exit-TENT-ATTR time-LOC mother-POSS eye **PT**

[I] **want** [my] mother to see [me] when I am going to depart (MYS
XX: 4383)

和我伊波呂尔由加毛比等母我

wa-Nka ipa-rō-ni yuk-am-wo pyitō **mōNka**

I-POSS house-DIM-LOC go-TENT-ATTR person **PT**

[I] **want** someone who would go to my home (MYS XX: 4406)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of the Western Old Japanese desiderative particle *mōNka* ~ *mōNkamō* in Ryukyuan.

9.4 EMPHATIC PARTICLES

There are seven emphatic particles in Western Old Japanese: *kamō*, *si*, *mō*, *ya*, *yō*, *na*, and *wo*.

9.4.1 EMPHATIC PARTICLE KAMŌ

In the *Kojiki kayō* the emphatic particle *kamō* is consistently spelled as *kamō*, although in the later texts it is often misspelled as *kamwo*, which, of course, can be expected since the contrast between /ō/ and /wo/ after /m/ was lost. On one occasion, it is spelled as *kamu* (see the example from MYS V: 813 below). This might seem puzzling, since pre-WOJ *ō does not raise to /u/. Since in Western Old Japanese *kamu* is a *hapax legomenon*, in all probability we are dealing here with a scribal error.

The emphatic particle *kamö* has two functions: it can be either used as an exclamation particle, or as a particle introducing an inquiry arising from uncertainty ('I wonder'). The emphatic particle *kamö* triggers the change of the final form into attributive irrespective whether it is found before or after the verb (see 6.2.2.1.2.3). This is the peculiarity it shares with the interrogative particle *ka* (see 6.2.2.1.2.3 and 9.2.2). Therefore, it is likely that historically *kamö* represents a combination of the interrogative particle *ka* with the emphatic particle *mö*, although on the synchronic level it clearly represents a single unit, since its usage as an exclamation particle cannot be analyzed as a combination of the interrogative particle *ka* and emphatic particle *mö*.

Examples:

(1) Exclamation:

宇斯呂傳波袁陀弓呂迦母

usirö-N-te pa woN-tate rö **kamö**

back-GEN-place TOP DIM-shield DV(ATTR) **PT**

[Her] back is [like] a small shield! (KK 42)

牟迦比袁流迦母伊蘇比袁流迦母

mukap-yi-wor-u **kamö** i-swop-yi-wor-u **kamö**

face-INF-exist-ATTR **PT** DLF-snuggle-INF-exist-ATTR **PT**

Oh, [she] is facing [me]! Oh, [she] is snuggling with [me]! (KK 42)

芝賀波能比呂理伊麻須波淤富岐美呂迦母

si-Nka pa-nö pyirör-i-imas-u opö kyimyi rö **kamö**

it-POSS leaf-GEN be.broad-INF-HON-FIN great lord DV(ATTR)

PT

its leaves are broad, as the great lord! (KK 57)

夜麻斯呂迺伊斯祁登理夜麻伊斯祁伊斯祁阿賀波斯豆摩迺伊斯岐阿波牟迦母

yamasirö-ni i-sik-ye töriyama i-sik-ye i-sik-ye a-Nka pasi-N-tuma-ni i-sik-yi ap-am-u **kamö**

Yamasirö-LOC DLF-follow-IMP Töriyama DLF-follow-IMP

DLF-follow-IMP I-POSS beloved-DV(ATTR)-spouse-DAT DLF-

follow-INF meet-TENT-ATTR **PT**

To Yamasirō – go there, Tōriyama! Follow [her] there, follow [her] there! Follow my beloved spouse there and meet [her]! (KK 59)

和加久閑爾韋泥弓麻斯母能淤伊爾祁流加母
 waka-ku pey-ni wi ne-te-masi mönō oyi-n-i-kyer-u **kamō**
 young-INF ?-DV-INF bring(INF) sleep(INF)-PERF-SUBJ CONJ
 age(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR **PT**
 [I] would have brought [her with me] and have slept [with her] if
 [she] were young, but it turned out that [she] has become old, **alas!**
 (KK 93)

微能佐加理毘登登母志岐呂加母
 miy-nō sakar-i-N-pyitō tōmösi-kyi rö **kamō**
 body-GEN bloom-NML-DV(ATTR)-person envious-ATTR
 DV(ATTR) **PT**
 How [I] am envious of the people who are in their prime! (KK 95)

祁布母加母佐加美豆久良斯多加比加流比能美夜比登
 kyepu mö **kamō** saka-myiNtuk-urasi taka pyikar-u pyi-nō myiya-
 pyitō
 today **PT PT** rice.wine-soak-SUP high shine-ATTR sun-GEN
 palace-person
 Today, the courtiers from the palace of the High Shining Sun seem
 to be inebriated in wine, too! (KK 102)

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 **kamō** 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)

耆瀾破介辞古耆呂介茂
 kyimyi pa kasikwo-kyi rö **kamo**
 lord TOP awesome-ATTR DV(ATTR) **PT**
 [my] lord is awesome! (NK 47)

處女之友者乏吉呂賀聞
 WOTÖMYE-NKA TÖMÖ TÖMÖSI-kyi rö **kamo**
 maiden-POSS companion envious-ATTR DV(ATTR) **PT**
 [I] am envious of maidens' companions! (MYS I: 53)

梓弓引者随意依目友後心乎知勝奴鴨

ANTUSA YUMYI PYIK-ANPA MANIMA N-I YÖR-Am-ey-
Ntömö NÖTI-NÖ KÖKÖRÖ-wo SIR-I-kate-n-u **kamwo**
catalpa bow pull-COND according DV-INF approach-TENT-EV-
CONC after-GEN heart-ACC know-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR **PT**
Although [I] would go to [you] if [you] pull [the strings of my heart
like] a catalpa bow, [I] cannot know [your] feelings after [that]!
(MYS II: 98)

更經見者悲呂可聞

KAPAR-AP-U MYI-RE-NPA KANASI-KYI rö **kamo**
change-ITER-ATTR see-EV-CON sad-ATTR DV(ATTR) **PT**
when [I] see how [they] change, [it] is sad! (MYS III: 478)

久志美多麻伊麻能遠都豆尔多布刀伎呂可儻

kusi myi-tama ima-nö wotutu-ni taputwo-kyi rö **kamu**
mysterious HON-stone now-GEN reality-LOC awesome-ATTR
DV(ATTR) **PT**
[these] mysterious stones are awesome in the present [day's] reality!
(MYS V: 813)

比等期等尔乎理加射之都々阿蘇倍等母伊夜米豆良之岐烏梅能
波奈加母

pyitö Nkötö n-i wor-i kaNsas-i-tutu aswoNp-ey-Ntömö iya
meyNturasi-kyi uMEY-nö pana **kamö**
person every DV-INF break-INF decorate-INF-COOR play-EV-
CONC more.and.more be.lovely-ATTR plum-GEN blossoms **PT**
Although every person enjoys [himself] breaking [plum blossoms]
and decorating [his hair with them], the plum blossoms are more
and more lovely! (MYS V: 828)

波漏々々尔於忘方由流可母

parwo-parwo n-i omop-oy-uru **kamö**
distant-distant DV-INF think-PASS-ATTR **PT**
[I] suddenly think [of it as] being distant! (MYS V: 866)

比等国爾須疑加弓奴可母

pyitö KUNI-ni suNkiy-kate-n-u **kamö**
person land-LOC pass-POT-NEG-ATTR **PT**
It is unbearable to pass [away] (lit.: cannot pass away) in [another]
person['s] land, **alas!** (MYS V: 885)

伎美爾故非和多流香母

kyimiyi-ni kwopiy-watar-u **kamō**

lord-DAT long.for(INF)-cross-ATTR PT

[I] will continue to long for you! (MYS XV: 3603)

氣奈我久之安礼婆古非尔家流可母

key naNka-ku si ar-e-Npa kwopiy-n-i-kyer-u **kamō**

day long-INF PT exist-EV-CON long.for(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

because it has been a long time (lit.: days) [since we left], [I] have been longing for [the capital]! (MYS XV: 3668)

毛美知葉能知里能麻河比波計布仁聞安流香母

mwomyit-i-N-PA-nō tir-i-nō maNkap-yi pa kyepu-ni mo ar-u **kamō**

leaves.turn.red/yellow-NML-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)

家布毛可母美也故奈里世婆見麻久保里尔之能御馬屋乃刀尔多
弓良麻之

kyepu mwo **kamō** myiyakwo-n-ar-i-s-eNpa MYI-m-aku por-i nisi-nō MYI-MAYA-nō two-ni tat-er-amasi

today PT PT capital-LOC-exist-INF-PAST/ATTR-COND see-TENT-NML desire-INF west-GEN HON-stable-GEN outside-LOC stand-PROG-SUBJ

If [I] were in the capital today, too, [I] would be standing outside the Western Imperial Stables, wanting to see [you]! (MYS XV: 3776)

梅柳乎理加謝思氏婆意毛比奈美可毛

UMEY YANANKIY wor-i kaNsas-i-te-Npa omwop-yi na-myi **kamwo**

plum willow break-INF decorate-INF-PERF-COND think-NML no-GER PT

because, if [we] had broken [branches] of plum trees and willows and decorated [our heads], there would be no [sad] thoughts! (MYS XVII: 3905)

和我勢古我久爾敝麻之奈婆保等登芸須奈可牟佐都奇波佐夫之家牟可母

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka kuni-pye [i]mas-i-n-aNpa potötöNkyisu nak-
am-u sa-tukiy pa saNpusi-ky-em-u **kamö**
I-POSS beloved-DIM-POSS land-DIR come(HON)-INF-PERF-
COND cuckoo cry-TENT-ATTR fifth-month TOP be.lonely-
ATTR-TENT-ATTR PT

If my beloved would have [only] returned to [his] land, [because in]
the fifth lunar month when the cuckoo will cry, [I] would be lonely!
(MYS XVII: 3996)

佐由利能波奈能惠麻波之伎香母

sa-yuri-nö pana-nö wem-ap-asi-kyi **kamö**
PREF-lily-GEN flower-GEN smile-ITER-ADJ-ATTR PT
the lily flowers are smile-provoking! (MYS XVIII: 4086)

見麻久保里於毛比之奈倍尔賀都良賀氣香具波之君乎安比見都
流賀母

MYI-m-aku por-i omwop-yi-si napey n-i kaNtura kakey kaNkup-
asi KYIMYI-wo ap-yi MYI-t-uru **kamö**
see-TENT-NML want-FIN think-INF-PAST/ATTR CONJ DV-INF
vines attach(INF) dear-ADJ lord-ACC meet-INF see(INF)-PERF-
ATTR PT

Just as [I] thought that [I] want to see [you], [I] met and saw you,
[my] dear [friend], with vines [in your hair]! (MYS XVIII: 4120)

奈泥之故波秋咲物乎君宅之雪巖尔左家理家流可母

naNtesikwo pa AKYI SAK-U MÖNÖwo KYIMYI-NKA IPYE-
NÖ YUKYI IPAPO-ni sak-yer-i-kyer-u **kamö**
carnation TOP fall bloom-ATTR CONJ lord-POSS house-GEN
snow rock-LOC bloom-PROG-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

Although carnations bloom in the fall, [it] turned out that [they]
have bloomed at the snow rocks of your house! (MYS XIX: 4231)

(2) Inquiry arising from uncertainty ('I wonder'):

許能美岐袁迦美祁牟比登波會能都豆美宇須迹多弓弓宇多比都
都迦美祁禮加母麻比都都迦美祁禮加母

könö myi-kyi-wo kam-yi-ky-em-u pyitö pa sönö tuNtumyi usu n-i
tate-te utap-yi-tutu kam-yi-kyer-e **kamö** map-yi-tutu kam-yi-kyer-e
kamö

this HON-rice.wine-ACC brew-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
person TOP that drum mortar DV-INF place(INF)-SUB sing-INF-

COOR brew-INF-RETR-EV **PT** dance-INF-COOR brew-INF-RETR-EV **PT**

I wonder [whether] the person who brewed this rice wine, turned his drum [upside down] as a mortar and brewed [it] while singing, brewed [it] while dancing! (KK 40)

Note that in this example *kamō* follows not the attributive, but the evidential form.

賣杼理能和賀意富岐美能淤呂須波多他賀多泥呂迦母
myeNtōri n-ō wa-Nka opō kyimiyi-nō or-ōs-u pata ta-Nka tane rō
kamō

MyeNtōri DV-ATTR I-POSS great lady-GEN weave-HON-ATTR fabric who-POSS material DV **PT**

The fabric my lady MyeNtōri weaves, **I wonder** for whom (lit. whose) the material is? (KK 66)

美母呂能伊都加斯賀母登加斯賀母登由由斯伎加母加志波良袁登賣

myi-mōrō-nō i t-u kasi-Nka mōtō kasi-Nka mōtō yuyusi-kyi **kamō**
kasi-para wotōmye

HON-mountain-GEN sacred DV-ATTR oak-POSS below oak-POSS below awesome-ATTR **PT** oak-field maiden

Under the sacred oaks of the sacred mountain, is [not she] awesome, a maiden from the oak field, **I wonder?** (KK 92)

伊辞務邏塢多誤辞珥固佐糜固辞介低務介茂

isi mura-wo ta-N-kwos-i-ni kwos-aNpa kwos-i-kate-m-u **kamo**
stone group-ACC hand-LOC-pass-NML-LOC pass-COND pass-INF-POT-TENT-ATTR **PT**

if [you] move by hands the heaps of stones, would [it] be possible to move [them], **I wonder?** (NK 19)

那爾騰柯母于都俱之伊母我磨陀左枳涅渠農

nani tō **kamō** utukusi imō-Nka mata sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-n-u
what DV **PT** beautiful beloved-POSS again bloom-INF-exit(INF)-come-NEG-ATTR

for (lit: being) what [reason], **I wonder**, does not [my] beautiful beloved bloom again? (NK 114)

相見者月毛不經尔戀云者乎曾呂登吾乎於毛保寒蠶

APYI-MYI-TE PA TUKIY mwo PEY-N-AKU n-i KWOP-U TŌ
IPA-NPA wosō rō tō WARE-wo omwop-as-am-u **kamo**

COOP-see(INF)-SUB TOP month PT pass-NEG-NML DV-INF
love-FIN DV say-COND hasty DV(FIN) DV I-ACC think-HON-
TENT-ATTR PT

If [I] tell [you] that [I] love [you] without even a month passing since [we] met each other, **I wonder** [whether you] would think that [I] am hasty (MYS IV: 654)

伊可爾安良武日能等伎爾可母

ika n-i ar-am-u PYI-nö tökyi-ni **kamö**

how DV-INF exist-TENT-ATTR day-GEN time-LOC PT

I wonder, in what time of the day ... (MYS V: 810)

烏梅能波奈伊麻佐家留期等知利須義受和我霸能曾能尔阿利己
世奴加毛

uMEY-nö pana ima sak-yer-u Nkötö tir-i-suNkiy-Ns-u wa-Nka

[i]pye-nö sönö-ni ar-i-köse-n-u **kamwo**

plum-GEN blossom now bloom-PROG-ATTR like fall-INF-pass-
NEG-INF I-POSS house-GEN garden-LOC exist-INF-BEN-NEG-
ATTR PT

Plum blossoms! **I wonder** whether [you] would not stay [for me] in the garden of my house without falling and blooming like now (MYS V: 816)

比佐可多能阿米欲里由吉能那何列久流加母

pyisa kata n-ö amey-ywori yukyi-nö naNkare-k-uru **kamö**

eternal hard DV-ATTR heaven-ABL snow-GEN flow(INF)-come-
ATTR PT

I wonder [whether it is] snow that flows down from the eternal and strong heaven (MYS V: 822)

百重山越弓須疑由伎伊都斯可母京師乎美武等意母比都々

MWOMWO-PYE YAMA KWOYE-te suNkiy-yuk-yi itu si **kamö**

MYIYAKWO-wo myi-m-u tö omöp-yi-tutu

hundred-CL mountain cross.over(INF)-SUB pass(INF)-go-INF
when PT PT capital-ACC see-TENT-ATTR DV think-INF-COOR
crossing over and passing through hundreds of mountains [I] was
thinking: "When [I] will see the capital, **I wonder**?" (MYS V: 886)

天漢敵太而礼婆可母安麻多須辨奈吉

AMA-NÖ NKAPA pyeNtat-ure-Npa **kamö** amata suNpye na-kyi

heaven-GEN river separate-EV-CON PT many way no-ATTR

I wonder, is [it not] because the Heavenly River separates [them], there is not much that can be done (MYS VIII: 1522)

奈爾之可母奇里爾多都倍久奈氣伎之麻佐牟
 nani si **kamō** 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

I wonder, why should [you] lament so that [your tears] have to rise as a fog? (MYS XV: 3581)

於吉都奈美多可久多都日尔安敵利伎等美夜古能比等波伎吉弓家牟可母

okyi-tu namyi taka-ku tat-u PYI-ni ap-yer-i-kyi tö myiyakwo-nō
 pyitō pa kyik-yi-te-ky-em-u **kamō**
 offing-GEN/LOC wave high-INF rise-ATTR day-DAT meet-
 PROG-INF-PAST/FIN DV capital-GEN person TOP hear-INF-
 PERF(INF)-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR **PT**

I wonder whether people in the capital might have heard that [we] met with a day when waves in the offing rose high (MYS XV: 3675)

多太未可母安夜麻知之家牟

taNta miy **kamō** ayamat-i s-i-ky-em-u
 direct body **PT** mistake-NML do-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-ATTR
 Did [he] probably make a mistake himself, **I wonder**? (MYS XV: 3688)

大宮人者伊麻毛可母比等奈夫理能未許能美多流良武

OPO MYIYA PYITŌ PA ima mwo **kamō** pyitō naNpur-i nōmiy
 könōm-yi-tar-uram-u
 great place person TOP now PT **PT** person mock-NML PT like-
 INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR

Do the people from the Great Palace probably continue to like just to mock [other] people now as well, **I wonder**? (MYS XV: 3758)

伊麻能其等古非之久伎美我於毛保要婆伊可尔加母世牟

ima-nō Nkōtō kwopiysi-ku kyimiyi-Nka omwop-oye-Npa ika n-i
kamō se-m-u
 now-GEN like longing-INF lord-POSS think-PASS-COND how
 DV-INF **PT** do-TENT-ATTR

If [I] think of you longingly like now, what shall [I] do [later], **I wonder?** (MYS XVII: 3928)

秋風之將吹乎待者伊等遠弥可母

AKYI KANSE-NÖ PUK-AM-U-wo MAT-ANPA itö TÖPO-myi
kamö

autumn wind-GEN blow-TENT-ATTR-ACC wait-COND very distant-GER PT

I wonder [whether it is] because [it would] be very long if [they] would wait for the autumn wind to blow (MYS XIX: 4219)

美麻久能富之伎吉美尔母安流加母

myi-m-aku-nö posi-kyi kyimyi n-i mö ar-u **kamö**

see-TENT-NML-GEN desire-ATTR lord DV-INF PT exist-ATTR
PT

I wonder whether [it] is also [my] lord whom [I] want to see (MYS XX: 4449)

之婆之婆美等母安加無伎弥加毛

siNpa-siNpa myi tömö ak-am-u kyimyi **kamwo**

often look(FIN) CONJ get.enough-TENT-ATTR lord **PT**

even if [I] look [at you] often, would [I] get enough of [my] lord, **I wonder?** (MYS XX: 4503)

山川淨所者孰俱加母見行阿加良閑賜牟

YAMA KAPA-NÖ KYIYWO-KYI TÖKÖRÖ-WONPA TARE-TÖ TÖMÖ n-i **kamö** MYI-SÖNAP-AS-I-aNkar-apey-TAMAP-Am-u

mountain river-GEN clean-ATTR place-ACC(EMPH) who-COM together DV-INF **PT** look(INF)-put.in.order-HON-INF-rise-ITER-HON-TENT-ATTR

With whom will [I] be constantly looking up together at the clean places of mountains and rivers, **I wonder?** (SM 51)

SPECIAL CONSTRUCTION *-TE-SI KA* ~ *-TE-SI KAMÖ*

The perfective past attributive verbal form *-te-si* followed by the emphatic particle *kamö* expresses desire. Only in this construction the particle *kamö* frequently appears in the abbreviated form *ka*. Note that this abbreviated form is not identical to the interrogative particle *ka*, since the construction *-te-si ka* ~ *-te-si kamö* does not introduce any questions.

多都能馬母伊麻勿愛弓之可

tatu n-ō [U]MA mö ima mo **e-te-si ka**

dragon DV-ATTR horse PT now **obtain(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT**

[I] **want to obtain** the dragon horse now, too (MYS V: 808)

餘宿毛寐而師可聞

AMATA YWO mwo **NE-TE-si kamo**

many night PT **sleep(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT**

[I] **want to sleep** many nights (MYS VIII: 1520)

霍公鳥無流國尔毛去而師香

POTÖTÖNKYISU nak-ar-u KUNI-ni mwo **YUK-YI-te-si ka**

cuckoo sing-PASS-ATTR land-LOC **go-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT**

[I] **want to go** to the land where a cuckoo spontaneously sings (MYS VIII: 1467)

安麻等夫也可里乎都可比尔衣弓之可母

ama töNp-u ya kari-wo tukapyi n-i **e-te-si kamö**

heaven fly-ATTR PT wild.goose-ACC messenger DV-INF **obtain(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT**

[I] **want to obtain** wild geese that fly in heaven as messengers! (MYS XV: 3676)

波里夫久路己礼波多婆利奴須理夫久路伊麻波衣天之可於吉奈佐備勢牟

pari-N-pukurwo köre pa taNpar-i-n-u suri-N-pukurwo ima pa **e-te-si ka** okyina sabiy se-m-u

needle-GEN-bag this TOP receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-FIN

bamboo.box-GEN-bag now TOP **get(INF)-PERF-PAST/ATTR PT** old.man like do-TENT-ATTR

Needle bag — this [I] have received. Now [I] **want to get** a bag for a bamboo box. [I] will [then] behave like an old man (MYS XVIII: 4133)

寤尔等念氏之可毛

UTUTU-ni tö **OMÖP-YI-te-si kamwo**

reality-LOC DV **think-INF-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR**

[I] **want to think** that [it is] in reality (MYS XIX: 4237)

阿佐奈佐奈安我流比婆理爾奈里弓之可
 asa-na [a]sa-na aNkar-u pyiNpari **n-i nar-i-te-si ka**
 morning-PLUR morning-PLUR rise-ATTR skylark DV-INF
become-INF-PERF-PAST/ATTR PT
 every morning, [I] want to have become a skylark, flying up
 (MYS XX: 4433)

奉仕之米天志可等念保之米之天
 TUKAPEY-MATUR-Asimey-te-si ka tö OMÖp-os-i-meys-i-te
 serve(INF)-HUM-CAUS(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT
 DV think-HON-INF-HON-INF-SUB
 [Dökyō] thought: “[I] want to make [them] serve” (SM 36)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The emphatic particle *kamō* (also spelled as *kamwo*) is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Like in Western Old Japanese there is also a variant *kamu* attested only once (see the example from MYS XX: 4403 below), but unlike WOJ *kamu*, EOJ *kamu* may not necessarily be a scribal error, because there are other cases when WOJ /ō/ corresponds to EOJ /u/. Similar to Western Old Japanese, EOJ *kamō* also has functions of exclamation and inquiry arising from uncertainty. Examples:

(1) Exclamation:

兒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)

佐刀乃美奈可尔安敝流世奈可母
 satwo-nō myi-naka-ni ap-yer-u se-na **kamō**
 village-GEN HON(?) -middle-LOC meet-PROG-ATTR beloved-
 DIM PT
oh, [my] beloved whom [I] have met in the middle of the village!
 (MYS XIV: 3463)

於保伎美乃美己等可思古美可奈之伊毛我多麻久良波奈礼欲太
 知伎努可母

opo kyimyi-nō myi-kōtō kasikwo-myi kanasi imwo-Nka ta-makura
panare ywo-N-tat-i k-yi-n-wo **kamō**
great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER dear beloved-POSS
hand-pillow separate(INF) night-LOC-depart-INF come-INF-
PERF-ATTR PT

Because the imperial command is awesome, [I] went away from the hands of my dear beloved [that I used as] a pillow, and departing at night, came [here]! (MYS XIV: 3480)

父乎於伎弓道乃長道波由伎加弓努加毛
TITI-wo ok-yi-te MYITI-nō NANKATE pa yuk-yi-kate-n-wo
kamwo
father-ACC leave-INF-SUB way-GEN length TOP go-INF-POT-
NEG-ATTR PT

[I] cannot go [this] long way, leaving my father! (MYS XX: 4341)

意保枳美能美己等可之古美阿乎久牟乃等能妣久夜麻乎古与弓
伎怒加牟

opo kyimyi-nō myi-kōtō kasikwo-myi awo kumu-nō tōnōNpyik-u
yama-wo kwōyō-te k-yi-n-wo **kamu**
great lord-GEN HON-word awesome-GER blue cloud trail-ATTR
mountain-ACC cross(INF)-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR PT

Since the sovereign's (lit.: great lord's) order is awesome, [I] came [here] crossing mountains where dark clouds trail! (MYS XX: 4403)

和藝毛古賀都氣之非毛我乎多延尔氣流可母
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka tukey-si piymwo-Nka wo taye-n-i-keyr-u
kamō

I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS attach(INF)-PAST/ATTR cord-POSS
cord break(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR PT

the cords [of my garment] that my beloved tied, broke off! (MYS XX: 4404)

(2) Inquiry arising from uncertainty ('I wonder'):

和我世故乎安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo aN-tō **kamō** ip-am-u

I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC what-DV PT say-TENT-ATTR
What shall [I] say about my beloved, I wonder? (MYS XIV: 3379)

奴流我倍爾安杼世呂登可母

n-uru-Nka [u]pey-ni aN-tō se-rō tō **kamō**

sleep-ATTR-POSS top-LOC what-DV do-IMP DV PT

besides sleeping [with her], **I wonder** what [else do I] do? (MYS XIV: 3465)

伊豆由可母加奈之伎世呂我和賀利可欲波牟

iNtu-yu **kamō** kanasi-kyi se-rō-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, **I wonder**? (MYS XIV: 3549)

和賀西奈尔阿比与流等可毛欲流等家也須家

wa-Nka se-na-ni ap-yi-yōr-u tō **kamwo** yworu tōkye-yasu-kye

I-POSS beloved-DIM-DAT meet-INF-approach-FIN DV PT night untie(INF)-easy-ATTR

is [the garment cord] easy to untie at night because [I] think that [I] will meet with my beloved, **I wonder**? (MYS XIV: 3483)

都久之閑爾做牟加流布祢乃伊都之加毛都加做麻都里弓久爾爾
閑牟可毛

tukusi-pey-ni pye muk-ar-u pune-nō 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 is [now] turning [its] bow towards Tukusi will turn its bow towards [my home] province, after [I finish my] service (MYS XX: 4359)

A2: Ryukyuan

The emphatic particle *kamo* ~ *kamu* ~ *kam* ~ *kaŋ* in Ryukyuan is attested only in the Setouchi dialect of Amami (Nohara 1998: 117). The scarce attestation in Ryukyuan is suspicious, but since the direct borrowing from Western Old Japanese to Setouchi is unlikely, this particle should be recognized as a cognate. The emphatic particle *kamo* ~ *kamu* ~ *kam* ~ *kaŋ* is always followed by a verb in the negative form. Examples:

Setouchi

taa muŋ **kamo** wakar-aŋ
 who thing **PT** understand-NEG/ATTR
 [I] do not **even** know whose thing [it is] (Nohara 1998: 117)

hansī tur-u-ga ŋidz-ar-u **kamu** širir-aŋ
 potato take-ATTR-ALL go(SUB)-exist-ATTR **PT** know-
 NEG/ATTR
 [I] do not know **whether** [she] went to collect potatoes (Nohara
 1998: 117)

9.4.2 EMPHATIC PARTICLE *SI*

It is difficult to define the exact meaning of the emphatic particle *si*, but it appears to add a special emphasis to the preceding word or phrase. The difficulty in defining the exact function of *si* suggests that it probably was a property of Western Old Japanese discourse. It is found after different parts of speech: nominals, some verbal forms, adverbs, and various particles.

Chart 112: Combinations of the emphatic particle *si* with preceding morphemes

morphemes	combination forms
nominal	nominal + <i>si</i>
adverb	adverb + <i>si</i>
dative-locative case marker <i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni si</i>
abs./accusative case marker <i>-wo</i>	<i>-wo si</i>
infinitive <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i si</i>
infinitive <i>-ku</i>	<i>-ku si</i>
nominalizer <i>-[y]i</i>	<i>-[y]i si</i>
nominalizer <i>-(a)ku</i>	<i>-(a)ku si</i>
subordinative gerund <i>-te</i>	<i>-te si</i>
emphatic particle <i>ya</i>	<i>ya si</i>
restrictive particle <i>nōmiy</i>	<i>nōmiy si</i>

Most particles do not precede, but follow the emphatic particle *si*:

Chart 113: Combinations of the emphatic particle *si* with following particles

particles	combination forms
focus particle <i>mö</i>	<i>si mö</i>
focus particle <i>sö</i>	<i>si sö</i>
focus particle <i>kösö</i>	<i>si kösö</i>
desiderative particle <i>möNkamö</i>	<i>si möNkamö</i>
interrogative particle <i>ka</i>	<i>si ka</i>
emphatic particle <i>kamö</i>	<i>si kamö</i>
emphatic particle <i>mö</i>	<i>si mö</i>

Examples:

阿波母與賣迺斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志

a pa mö yö 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)

伊勢能宇美能意斐志爾波比母登富呂布志多陀美能伊波比母登
富理宇知弓志夜麻牟

ise-nö umyi-nö opiy-[i]si-ni pap-yi-mötöpör-öp-u sitaNtamyi⁹-nö i-
pap-yi-mötöpör-i **ut-i-te si** yam-am-u

Ise-GEN sea-GEN grow(INF)-stone-LOC crawl-INF-go.around-
ITER-ATTR seashell-COMP DLF-crawl-INF-go.around-INF **hit-**
INF-SUB PT stop-TENT-FIN

like the shellfish that are constantly crawling around on the
growing rocks of the Ise sea, [we] will crawl around [them] there,
smite and stop [them] (KK 13)

阿袁那母岐備比登登等母迺斯都米婆多怒斯久母阿流迦
awo na mö kyinpiy pyitö-tö **tömö n-i si** tum-ey-Npa tanwosi-ku
mö ar-u ka

green vegetables PT Kyinpiy person-COM **together DV-INF PT**
pick-EV-CON delightful-INF PT exist-ATTR PT

Is [not it] delightful when [I] pick green vegetables **together** with
the girl from Kyinpiy? (KK 54)

⁹ 志多陀美 /sitaNtamyi/, a kind of an edible seashell (MdJ *kisago*).

古波囊塢等綿阿羅素破儒泥辞区塢之叙于蘆波辞彌茂布
kwopaNta wotōmye araswop-aNs-u ne-si-ku-wo si Nsō urupasi-
 myi [o]mop-u

**KwopaNta maiden resist-NEG-INF sleep(INF)-PAST/ATTR-
 NML-ACC PT PT loving-GER think-ATTR**
 [I] think lovingly about **the fact that a KwopaNta maiden slept**
 [with me] **without resisting** (NK 38)

乎武例我禹杯爾俱謨娜尼母旨屢俱之多多婆
 wo-mure-Nka upey-ni kumo Ntani mö **siru-ku si** tat-aNpa
 DIM-mountain-POSS top-LOC cloud PT PT **distinct-INF PT rise-
 COND**
 if just the clouds **distinctly** rise above the small mountain (NK 116)

随黎耶始比登謀阿避於謀婆儺俱爾
tare ya si pyitō mo apyi-omop-an-aku n-i
who PT PT person PT REC-love-NEG-NML DV-INF
 because [she] is not mutually in love with **anyone** else (NK 93)

豫呂豆余珥訶勾志茂餓茂知余珥玳訶勾志茂餓茂
 yörōNtu yō-ni **ka-ku si moNkamo** ti yō-ni mo **ka-ku si moNkamo**
 ten thousand year-LOC thus-INF PT **PT** thousand year-LOC PT
 thus-INF PT **PT**
 [I] **wish** [that my sovereign] **will be in this way** in ten thousand
 years, [I] **wish** [he] **will be in this way** in a thousand years, too
 (NK 102)

与良志古良爾志与良波
 yör-aNsi **kwo-ra-ni** si yör-aNpa
 approach-NEG/TENT **girl-DIM-DAT** PT approach-COND
 when [I] approach [my] **dear girl**, [I] will not approach [other
 girls] (FK 4)

余能奈可波牟奈之伎母乃等志流等伎子伊与余麻須万須加奈之
 可利家理
 yō-nō naka pa munasi-kyi mōnō tō sir-u **tōkyi si** iyōyō masu-masu
 kanasi-k-ar-i-kyer-i
 world-GEN inside TOP empty-ATTR thing DV know-ATTR **time**
PT more.and.more more.and.more sad-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN
When [I] realized that the world is empty, [it] turned out to be
 more and more sad (MYS V: 793)

夜周伊斯奈佐農

yasu i si n-as-an-u

easy **sleep** PT sleep-CAUS-NEG-ATTR

[you] do not let [me] sleep an easy **sleep** (MYS V: 802)

等伎波奈周迦久斯母何母等意母閑騰母

tök[ö]-yipa-nasu **ka-ku si möNkamö** tö omöp-ey-Ntömö

eternal-rock-COMP **thus-INF** PT PT DV think-EV-CONC

Although [I] think that [I] **would like to be (thus)** like an eternal rock ... (MYS V: 805)

多陀爾阿波須阿良久毛於保久志岐多閑乃麻久良佐良受提伊米爾之美延牟

taNta n-i ap-aNs-u ar-aku mwo opo-ku sik-yi-tapey-nö makura saraNs-u-te **imey-ni si** myi-ye-m-u

direct DV-INF meet-NEG-INF exist-NML PT many-INF spread-INF-mulberry.tree.bark.cloth-GEN pillow go.away-NEG-INF-SUB **dream-LOC** PT see-PASS-TENT-FIN

There are also many occasions when [we] do not meet directly, [and I] want to see [you] **in [my] dream** without going away from [your] mulberry tree bark cloth pillow (MYS V: 809)

可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志久能麻米

ka-ku si kösö uMEY-wo kaNsas-i-te tanwosi-ku nöm-am-ey

thus-INF PT PT plum-ACC decorate-INF-SUB be.merry-INF drink-TENT-EV

decorating [our hair] with plum [blossoms] **in this way**, [we] should drink merrily (MYS V: 833)

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-nö pana wor-i kaNsas-i-tutu mworö pyitö-nö aswoNp-u-wo myi-re-Npa **myiyakwo si Nsö** [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)

百重山越弓須疑由伎伊都斯可母京師乎美武等意母比都々
 MWOMWO-PYE YAMA KWOYE-te suNkiy-yuk-yi **itu si kamö**
 MYIYAKWO-wo myi-m-u tö omöp-yi-tutu
 hundred-CL mountain cross.over(INF)-SUB pass(INF)-go-INF
when PT PT capital-ACC see-TENT-ATTR DV think-INF-COOR
 crossing over and passing through hundreds of mountains [I] was
 thinking: “When [I] will see the capital, **I wonder?**” (MYS V: 886)

飛立可祢都鳥尔之安良祢婆
 TÖNP-YI-TAT-I-kane-t-u TÖRI **n-i si ar-an-e-Npa**
 fly-INF-depart-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-FIN bird **DV-INF PT**
exist-NEG-EV-CON
 [I] could not fly away **because [I] am not** a bird (MYS V: 893)

戀友何如妹尔相時毛名寸
 KWOP-ÜRE-Ntömö **NANI si ka** IMWO-ni AP-U TÖKYI mwo
 na-kyi
 love-EV-CONC **what PT PT** beloved-DAT meet-ATTR time PT
 no-ATTR
 although [I] love [her], **why** is there no time at all to meet [my]
 beloved? (MYS XII: 2994)

許己乎志毛間細美香母挂卷
 kökö-wo **si mwo** ma-KUPASI-myi kamö KAKEY-m-aku
here-ABS PT PT INT-beautiful-GER PT think-TENT-NML
 thinking that it is indeed beautiful **here** (MYS XIII: 3234)

奈爾之可母奇里爾多都倍久奈氣伎之麻佐牟
nani si kamö 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
I wonder, why should [you] lament so that [your tears] have to rise
 as a fog? (MYS XV: 3581)

氣奈我久之安礼婆古非尔家流可母
 key naNka-ku **si ar-e-Npa** kwopiy-n-i-kyer-u kamö
 day **long-INF PT exist-EV-CON** long.for(INF)-PERF-INF-
 RETR-ATTR PT
because it has been a long time (lit.: days) [since we left], [I] have
 been longing for [the capital] (MYS XV: 3668)

須流須敝能多度伎乎之良尔祢能未之曾奈久

s-uru suNpye-nö taNtwokyi-wo sir-an-i **ne nömiy si sö** nak-u
do-ATTR way-GEN clue-ACC know-NEG-INF **sound PT PT PT**
cry-ATTR

[I] have no (lit. do not know) clue what to do, and [I] **just** sob
loudly (MYS XV: 3777)

日能久礼由氣婆家乎之曾於毛布

PYI-nö kure-yuk-e-Npa **IPYE-wo si sö** omwop-u
sub-GEN set(INF)-go-EV-CON **home-ACC PT PT** think-ATTR
because the sun is setting, [I] think of [my] **home** (MYS XVII:
3895)

多奈波多之船乘須良之

TanaNpata si PUNA-NÖR-I s-urasi
Weaver PT boat-board-NML do-SUP

It seems that the **Weaver** boards the boat (MYS XVII: 3900)

伊都之加登奈氣可須良牟曾

itu si ka tö naNkeyk-as-uram-u sö
when PT PT DV lament-HON-TENT2-ATTR PT

[she] probably laments, saying: ‘**When** [will he return]?’ (MYS
XVII: 3962)

多知夜麻乃由吉之久良之毛

Tati yama-nö **yukyi si** k-urasi-mö
Tati mountain-GEN **snow PT** melt-SUP-EXCL

It seems that the **snow** on Mount Tati has melted! (MYS XVII:
4024)

許己乎之母安夜爾多敷刀美宇礼之家久伊余与於母比弓

kökö-wo si mö aya n-i taputwo-myi uresi-ky-eku iyöyö omöp-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)

故之能吉美良等可久之許曾楊奈疑可豆良积多努之久安蘇婆米
kwosi-nö kyimiyi-ra-tö **ka-ku si kösö** 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 **in this way** (MYS XVIII: 4071)

吾等尔可伎无氣念之念婆
 WARE-ni kakyi-mukey OMÖP-YI **si** OMÖP-ANpa
 I-DAT PREF-turn(IMP) love-NML **PT** love-COND
 if [you] **indeed** love [me], turn to me (MYS XIX: 4191)

奈保之祢我比都知等世能伊乃知乎
napo si neNk-ap-yi-t-u ti töse-nö inöti-wo
still PT pray-ITER-**INF-PERF-FIN** thousand year-GEN life-ACC
 [I] have **still** been praying for a thousand year life (MYS XX: 4470)

安米乃美加度乎可氣都礼婆祢能未之奈加由
 amey-nö myikaNtwo-wo kakey-t-ure-Npa **ne nömiy si** nak-ay-u
 heaven-GEN sovereign-ACC think.in.the.heart(INF)-EV-CON
sound PT PT cry-PASS-FIN
 Because [I] think in my heart about [my] heavenly sovereign, [I]
only sob **loudly** (MYS XX: 4480)

和我勢故之可久志伎許散婆
 wa-Nka **se-kwo si ka-ku si** kyikös-aNpa
 I-POSS **beloved-DIM PT thus-INF PT** say(HON)-COND
 If my **beloved** says **so ...** (MYS XX: 4499)

忌忍事爾似事乎志奈母常勞彌重彌所念坐久
 IM-YI-SINÖNP-URU KÖTÖ-ni NI-RU **KÖTÖ-wo si namö**
 TUNE ITAPASI-myi OMÖ-myi OMÖP-OS-I-IMAS-Aku
 abstain-**INF**-endure-ATTR matter-LOC resemble-ATTR **matter-**
ABS PT PT usual painful-GER heavy-GER think-HON-**INF-**
 HON-NML
 the fact that [we] deign to think that the **matter** that resembles the
 matter of abstaining [to reward him] is usually painful and hard
 (SM 2)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The emphatic particle *si* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

和乎布利弥由母阿是古志麻波母

wa-wo pur-i-myi-y-umö aNse **kwo si** map-am-ö

I-ACC swing-INF-look-PASS-EXCL ANse **girl** PT dance-TENT-ATTR

the **girl** from ANse is going to dance, suddenly looking back at me! (FK 7)

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-mö

lord-POSS **HON-wear(HON)-NML** PT strange DV-INF wear(NML) be.desired-EXCL

strangely, [I] want to wear [my] lord's **garment!** (MYS XIV: 3350)

吾乎祢之奈久奈

A-wo **ne si** nak-una

I-ACC **sound** PT make.cry-NEG/IMP

Do not make me cry **loudly** (MYS XIV: 3362)

安布許等可多思家布尔思安良受波

ap-u köto kata-si kyepu **n-i si ar-aNs-u pa**

meet-ATTR thing difficult-FIN today **DV-INF** PT exist-NEG-INF TOP

if [it] is not today, it will be difficult to meet (MYS XIV: 3401)

志留波乃伊宗等尔閑乃宇良等安比弓之阿良婆

sirupa-nö iswo-tö nipey-nö ura-tö **ap-yi-te si ar-aNpa**

Sirupa-GEN rocky.shore-COM Nipey-GEN bay-COM **meet-INF-SUB** PT exist-COND

If Sirupa rocky shore and Nipey bay **would have met** [together] ... (MYS XX: 4324)

多妣己呂母夜倍伎可佐祢弓伊努礼等母奈保波太佐牟志伊母尔志阿良祢婆

taNpyi köromö ya-pey kyi-kasane-te i n-ure-Ntömö napo paNta samu-si imö **n-i si ar-an-e-Npa**

travel garment eight-CL wear(INF)-pile.up(INF)-SUB sleep sleep-
EV-CONC still skin cold-FIN beloved **DV-INF PT exist-NEG-
EV-CON**

Although [I] sleep, putting on eight layers of travel garments, it is still cold, **because** [it] is not [my] beloved (MYS XX: 4351)

都久之閑爾敝牟加流布祢乃伊都之加毛都加敝麻都里弓久爾爾
閑牟可毛

tukusi-pey-ni pye muk-ar-u pune-nō 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 is [now] turning [its] bow towards
Tukusi will turn its bow towards [my home] province, after [I
finish my] service (MYS XX: 4359)

A2: Ryukyuan

It appears that there are no cognates of WOJ *si* in Ryukyuan. There is an emphatic particle *si* in some dialects, but it always occurs as a sentence-final (Nohara 1998: 221, 309), so it is probably unrelated.

9.4.3 EMPHATIC PARTICLE *mō*

Care must be taken to distinguish the emphatic particle *mō* from the focus particle *mō*. In addition to contextual meaning there are several combinatorial hints. Only the emphatic particle *mō* can be found in the sentence final position, where it is always preceded by the interrogative particle *ya*. Also, only the emphatic particle *mō* can combine with the topic particle *pa*, since the topic particle *pa* and the focus particle *mō* indicate two opposite types of focuses that certainly cannot combine. The emphatic particle *sō* ~ *Nsō* is found before the emphatic particle *mō*, but after the focus particle *mō*. The emphatic particle *ya* can combine only with the emphatic particle *mō*, but never with the focus particle *mō*. The combinations of the emphatic particle *mō* with other particles are outlined in the chart 114 below:

Chart 114: Combinations of the emphatic particle *mō* with other particles

particles	combination forms
topic particle <i>pa</i>	<i>pa mō</i>
focus particle <i>sō</i>	<i>sō mō</i>

interrogative particle <i>ya</i>	<i>ya mö</i>
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>si mö</i>
emphatic particle <i>ya</i>	<i>mö ya</i>
emphatic particle <i>yö</i>	<i>mö yö</i>

The emphatic particle *mö* indicates exclamation when it is used in sentence final position after the interrogative particle *ya* or in combination with the emphatic particles *ya* and *yö*. When used as non-final in other cases, it introduces some kind of emphasis that is difficult to define exactly, because the emphatic particle *mö* also belongs to the domain of discourse like the emphatic particle *si*.

Examples:

阿波母與賣迓斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志

a pa mö yö 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)

拖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 sö mö ya wa-Nka te tör-as-umo ya
who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-
DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-EXCL PT
whose chapped hand, chapped hand will take my hand?! (NK 108)

人孀故尔吾戀目八方

PYITÖ-N-TUMA YUWE n-i ARE KWOPIY-m-ey **ya mo**

person-GEN-spouse reason DV-INF I love-TENT-EV **PT PT**

because [she] is the wife of [another] person, should I love [her]?!
 [Certainly not!] (MYS I: 21)

吾者毛也安兒得有皆人乃得難尔為云安兒衣多利

WARE PA mwo ya yasumyiKWO E-TAR-I MIYNA PYITÖ-nö
 E-kate-n-i S-U TÖ IP-U yasumyiKWO e-tar-i

I TOP PT PT Yasumyikwo get(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN all
 person-GEN get(INF)-POT-NEG-NML do-FIN DV say-ATTR
 Yasumyikwo get(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN

I got Yasumyikwo! **I** got Yasumyikwo whom all people cannot get
 (MYS II: 95)

麻佐礼留多可良古爾斯迦米夜母

masar-er-u takara kwo-ni sik-am-ey ya mō

excel-PROG-ATTR treasure child-LOC reach-ATTR-EV PT PT

Could the excellent treasures be equal to children?! [Certainly not!]
(MYS V: 803)

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-ō myi-kōtō tuti-ni ok-am-ey ya mō

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?! [Certainly not!] (MYS V: 812)

久須利波武等母麻多遠知米也母

kusuri pam-u tōmō mata woti-m-ey ya mō

medicine eat-FIN CONJ again rejuvenate-TENT-EV PT PT

will [I] be rejuvenated again even if [I] take the medicine?! (MYS
V: 847)

佐夫志計米夜母吉美伊麻佐受斯弓

saNpusi-ky-em-ey ya mō kyimyi imas-aNs-u s-i-te

sad-ATTR-TENT-EV PT PT lord come(HON)-NEG-NML do-
INF-SUB

[if my] lord does not come, would [I] be sad?! (Certainly not!)
(MYS V: 878)

阿袁麻多周良武知知波波良波母

a-wo mat-as-uram-u titi papa-ra pa mō

I-ACC wait-HON-TENT2-ATTR father mother-DIM TOP PT

dear mother and father, who will probably wait for me (MYS V:
890)

老尔弓阿留我身上尔病遠等加弓阿礼婆晝波母歎加比久良志

OYI-n-i-te ar-u WA-NKA MIY-NŌ UPEY-ni YAMAPYI-wo tō

KUPAPEY-te ar-e-Npa PYIRU pa mō NANKEYK-Ap-yi-kuras-i

age(INF)-PERF-INF-SUB exist-ATTR I-POSS body-GEN top-
LOC illness-ACC DV add(INF)-SUB exist-EV-CON daytime

TOP PT lament-ITER-INF-live-INF

because illnesses have been added to my body that has aged [I]

spent the days lamenting, and ... (MYS V: 897)

久多志須都良牟絹綿良波母

kutas-i sut-uram-u **KYINU-WATA-ra pa mö**

make.rot-INF discard-TENT2-FIN **silk cotton-PLUR TOP PT**

[they] will make [their] **silk [and] cotton clothes** rot and will discard [them] (MYS V: 900)

父母毛表者奈佐我利

TITI-PAPA mwo UPEY PA na-saNkar-i

father-mother PT top TOP NEG-go.down-INF

Father [and] mother! [Do] not leave [me] (MYS V: 904)

山櫻花日並而如是開有者甚戀目夜裳

YAMA SAKURA-N-PANA PYI NARANPEY-TE KA-KU si

SAK-YER-ANPA PANTA KWOPIY-m-ey **ya mo**

mountain cherry-GEN-flower day line.up(INF)-SUB thus-INF PT

bloom-PROG-COND considerably long.for-TENT-EV **PT PT**

If mountain cherry flowers were blooming thus every day, would [I] long for [them] considerably? [Certainly not!] (MYS VIII: 1425)

比故保思母和礼爾麻佐里弓於毛布良米也母

pyikwoposi mö ware-ni masar-i-te omwop-uram-ey **ya mö**

Altair PT I-DAT surpass-INF-SUB long.for-TENT2-EV **PT PT**

Will Altair long for [his beloved] more than I [do]?! (lit.: surpassing me) [Certainly not!] (MYS XV: 3657)

多婢奈礼婆於毛比多要弓毛安里都礼杼伊敝尔安流伊毛之於母
比我奈思母

taNpyi nar-e-Npa **omwop-yi-taye-te mwo ar-i-t-ure-Ntö** ipye-ni

ar-u imwo si omwop-yi-N-kanasi-mö

journey be-EV-CON **think-INF-break(INF)-SUB PT exist-INF-**

PERF-EV-CONC home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved PT think-

NML-DV(INF)-dear-EXCL

[I] think dearly of my beloved who is at home **although** [she] **has stopped thinking** of [me] because [I] am on a journey! (MYS XV: 3686)

安比於毛波奴君尔安礼也母

apyi-omwop-an-u **KYIMYI n-i ar-e ya mö**

REC-think-NEG-ATTR lord DV-INF exist-EV **PT PT**

is [it my] lord, who no [longer] thinks [about lamenting of the people of this world] in return?! (MYS XV: 3691)

比等余里波伊毛曾母安之伎

pyitō-yōri pa **imwo sō mō** asi-kyi

person-ABL TOP **beloved PT PT** bad-ATTR

[my] **beloved** is worse than [other] people (MYS XV: 3737)

能知尔毛安波射良米也母

nōti-ni mwo ap-aNs-ar-am-ey **ya mō**

later-LOC PT meet-NEG(INF)-exist-TENT-EV **PT PT**

will [we] not meet later?! [Of course we will!] (MYS XV: 3741)

保登等藝須伊麻奈可受之弓安須古要牟夜麻尔奈久等母之流思
安良米夜母

potōtōNkyisu ima nak-aNs-u s-i-te asu kwoye-m-u yama-ni nak-u
tōmō sirusi ar-am-ey **ya mō**

cuckoo now cry-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB tomorrow cross-TENT-ATTR
mountain-LOC cry-FIN CONJ sign exist-TENT-EV **PT PT**

Cuckoo! [You] are not crying now: even if [you] cry in the
mountains that [I] will cross tomorrow, would [there] be any sign?
[Certainly not!] (MYS XVIII: 4052)

許己乎之母安夜爾多數刀美宇礼之家久伊余与於母比弓

kōkō-wo si mō aya n-i taputwo-myi uresi-ky-eku iyōyō omōp-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)

奈礼尔之伎奴尔奈保之可米夜母

nare-n-i-si kyinu-ni napo sik-am-ey **ya mō**

get.used.to(INF)-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR still reach-TENT-EV
PT PT

would [it] still be equal to the garment [you] are used to?! [No, it
would not!] (MYS XVIII: 4109)

安比見流毛乃乎須久奈久母年月經礼波古非之家礼夜母

apyi-myi-ru mwonōwo sukuna-ku mō TŌSI TUKIY P-Ure-Npa
kwopiysi-kyere **ya mō**

REC-see-ATTR CONJ few-INF PT year month pass-EV-CON
miss-EV **PT PT**

although [we] see each other, as time goes by, do [we still] miss
[each other] just a bit?! (MYS XVIII: 4118)

食国天下乎婆撫賜惠賜夫止奈母神奈我良母念坐湏

WOS-U KUNI AMEY-NÖ SITA-woNpa NANTE-TAMAP-YI
UTUKUSINP-YI-TAMAp-u tö namö **KAMU-na-N-kara mö**
OMÖP-OS-YI-[I]MAS-u

rule-ATTR country heaven-GEN under-ACC(EMPH)
cherish(INF)-HON-INF show.benevolence-INF-HON-FIN DV PT
deity-PLUR-GEN-nature PT think-HON-INF-HON-ATTR

[I], as a deity, deign to think that [I] show benevolence and cherish
the country under Heaven that I rule (SM 13)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The emphatic particle *mö* is also well attested in Eastern Old Japanese:

會能可奈之伎乎刀爾多弓米也母

sönö kanasi-kyi-wo two-ni tate-m-ey **ya mö**

that beloved-ATTR-ACC door-LOC place-TENT-EV **PT PT**

would [I] let that beloved [of mine] stand at the door?! [Certainly not!] (MYS XIV: 3386)

阿是曾母許与比与斯呂伎麻左奴

aNse sö mö kö yöpyi yös-i-rö 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)

安比見受安良婆安礼古非米夜母

apyi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa are kwopiy-m-ey **ya mö**

COOP-see-NEG-INF exist-COND I long-TENT-EV **PT PT**

if [we] did not meet each other, would I long [for her]?! [Certainly not!] (MYS XIV: 3508)

伊弊奈流伊母乎麻多美弓毛母也

ipyen-ar-u imö-wo mata myi-te-m-ö **mö ya**

home-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-ACC again see(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR **PT PT**

[I] would like to see again [my] beloved who is at home! (MYS XX: 4415)

A2: Ryukyuan

As far as I can tell, there are no cognates of the Western Old Japanese emphatic particle *mō* in Ryukyuan.

9.4.4 EMPHATIC PARTICLE YA

Care must be taken to differentiate the emphatic particle *ya* from the homophonous interrogative particle *ya*. In addition to contextual meaning there are several combinatorial hints. The emphatic particle *ya* in contrast to the interrogative particle *ya* does not trigger the change of the final verbal form to the attributive, as demonstrated by the examples from KK 14, KK 73 and MYS II: 95 below. The emphatic particle *ya* always follows the emphatic particle *mō*, while the interrogative particle *ya* always precedes it. The emphatic particle *ya* rarely occurs in the sentence final position, where the interrogative *ya* appears rather frequently. In the sentence non-final position, where confusion between two different *ya* particles is more likely, the emphatic particle *ya* frequently appears after attributive clauses. Only the interrogative *ya* is used after the restrictive particles *nōmiy*, *Ntani*, and *sapey*. The combinations of the emphatic particle *ya* with other particles are outlined in Chart 115 below:

Chart 115: Combinations of the emphatic particle *ya* with other particles

particles	combination forms
topic particle <i>pa</i>	<i>pa ya</i>
desiderative particle <i>mōNkamō</i>	<i>mōNkamō ya</i>
emphatic particle <i>si</i>	<i>ya si</i>
emphatic particle <i>mō</i>	<i>mō ya</i>

It is difficult to pin down the exact meaning of the emphatic particle *ya* similar to most other emphatic particles, because it is probably a discourse particle. Examples:

和禮波夜惠奴

ware pa ya we-n-u

we TOP PT starve-PERF-FIN

we are starving (KK 14)

許能迦迹夜伊豆久能迦迹

kōnō kani ya iNtuku-nō kani

this crab PT where-GEN crab
This crab, where is it from? (KK 42)

佐佐那美遲衰須久須久登和賀伊麻勢婆夜
 sasanamyi-N-ti-wo suku-suku tö wa-Nka imas-e-Npa ya
 Sasanamyi-GEN-road-ACC rapidly DV I-POSS go(HON)-EV-
 CON PT
 as I went rapidly along the Sasanamyi road, **yeah** (KK 42)

那賀美古夜都毘迹斯良牟登加理波古牟良斯
 na-Nka myikwo ya tuNpyi n-i sir-am-u tö kari pa kwo [u]m-urasi
you-POSS prince PT ? DV-INF rule-TENT-FIN DV wild goose
 TOP egg bear-SUP
 Wild goose probably laid an egg to show that **your prince** will
 rule ?-ly (KK 73)

隨黎耶始比登謀阿避於謀婆儼俱爾
 tare ya si pyitö mo apyi-omop-an-aku n-i
who PT PT person PT REC-love-NEG-NML DV-INF
 because [she] is not mutually in love with **anyone** else (NK 93)

拖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 sö mö ya wa-Nka te tör-as-umo ya
 who-POSS chap(NML)-DV(ATTR)-hand chap(NML)-
DV(ATTR)-hand PT PT PT I-POSS hand take-HON-EXCL PT
 whose chapped hand, **chapped hand** will take my hand?! (NK 108)

吾者毛也安見兒得有皆人乃得難尔為云安見兒衣多利
 WARE PA mwo ya yasumyiKWO E-TAR-I MIYNA PYITÖ-nö
 E-kate-n-i S-U TÖ IP-U yasumyiKWO e-tar-i
I TOP PT PT Yasumyikwo get(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN all
 person-GEN get(INF)-POT-NEG-NML do-FIN DV say-ATTR
 Yasumyikwo get(INF)-PERF/PROG-FIN
I got Yasumyikwo! I got Yasumyikwo whom all people cannot get
 (MYS II: 95)

波流能努尔奈久夜汗隅比須奈都氣牟
 paru-nö nwo-ni nak-u ya uNkupyisu natukey-m-u
spring-GEN field-LOC sing-ATTR PT bush.warbler tame-
 TENT-FIN

[I] want to tame a bush warbler **who sings in the spring fields!**
(MYS V: 837)

阿摩等夫夜等利尔母賀母夜美夜故麻提意久利摩遠志弓等比可
弊流母能

ama-tōNp-u ya tōri n-i **mōNkamō ya** myiyakwo-maNte okur-i-
mawos-i-te tōNp-yi kapyer-u mōnō

heaven-fly-ATTR PT bird DV-INF **PT PT** capital-TERM see.off-
INF-HUM-INF-SUB fly-INF return-ATTR CONJ

[I] **would like** to be a bird **that flies in the heaven!** [I would] see
[you] off to the capital and come back, but ... (MYS V: 876)

吾哉難二加還而將成

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)

安麻等夫也可里乎都可比尔衣弓之可母

ama tōNp-u ya kari-wo tukapyi n-i e-te-si kamō

heaven fly-ATTR PT wild.goose-ACC messenger DV-INF
get(INF)-PERF(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT

[I] want to obtain wild geese **that fly in heaven** as messengers!
(MYS XV: 3676)

於毛夜目都良之美夜古可多比等

omwo **ya** meyNtulasi myiyakwo kata pyitō

face **PT** remarkable capital side person

[your] face is remarkable [like of a] person from the capital! (MYS
XVIII: 4117)

於能等母於能夜

onō tō mō onō **ya**

[your]self DV PT [your]self **PT**

When [I] thought that [it was] yourself [who made it], [it was
indeed] yourself! (MYS XVIII: 4129)

山人夜多礼

YAMA-N-PYITÖ ya tare

mountain-GEN-person PT who

Who is the **hermit?** (MYS XX: 4294)

可之故伎也安米乃美加度乎可氣都礼婆祢能未之奈加由
kasikwo-kyi ya amey-nō myikaNtwo-wo kakey-t-ure-Npa ne
 nömiy si nak-ay-u
awesome-ATTR PT heaven-GEN sovereign-ACC
 think.in.the.heart(INF)-EV-CON sound PT PT cry-PASS-FIN
 Because [I] think in my heart about [my] **awesome** heavenly
 sovereign, [I] only sob loudly (MYS XX: 4480)

伊可奈留夜比止爾伊麻世可
ika nar-u ya pyitō n-i imas-e ka
how be-ATTR PT person DV-INF be(HON)-EV PT
 Oh, what kind of person is [he]? (BS 5)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The emphatic particle *ya* is also attested in Eastern Old Japanese in five examples:

左乎思鹿能布須也久草無良
sa-wo-siKA-nō pus-u ya kusa mura
PREF-male-deer-GEN lie-ATTR PT grass group
 the clump of grass where a male deer is lying (MYS XIV: 3530)

奈勢能古夜等里乃乎加恥志奈可太乎礼安乎祢思奈久与
na se-nō kwo ya töri-nō woka ti si naka-N-tawore a-wo ne si nak-u
 yō
I beloved-GEN child PT Tōri-GEN hill road PT inside-
 DV(ATTR)-saddle I-ACC sound PT make.cry-FIN PT
My beloved, [you] make me cry loudly, [with your mood going
 down] like a saddle on the hilly road to Tōri (MYS XIV: 3458)

左努夜麻尔宇都也乎能登乃等抱可騰母
sanwo yama-ni ut-u ya wonō [o]tō tōpo-ka-Ntōmō
Sanwo mountain-LOC hit-ATTR PT ax sound be.far-EV-CONC
 Although the sound of the ax **that hits** [the trees] on Mount Sanwo,
 is far ... (MYS XIV: 3473)

可之古伎夜美許等加我布理
kasikwo-kyi ya myi-kōtō kaNkapur-i
awesome-ATTR PT HON-order receive-INF

[I] received the **awesome** order [from the sovereign], and ... (MYS XX: 4321)

伊弊奈流伊母乎麻多美弓毛母也

ipyē-n-ar-u imō-wo mata myi-te-m-ō mō **ya**
home-LOC-exist-ATTR beloved-ACC again see(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR PT PT

[I] would like to see again [my] beloved who is at home! (MYS XX: 4415)

A2: Ryukyuan

It might be possible that the Ryukyuan exclamation particle *ya* ~ *yaa* attested in some Northern Ryukyuan dialects is a cognate of the Western Old Japanese emphatic particle *ya*. In contrast to Western Old Japanese, this Ryukyuan particle is always found in the sentence final position. Examples:

Setouchi

kanaa-ša **ya**

be.cute-NML PT

[She] is cute! (Nohara 1998: 133)

kuŋ ūgutu ya narer-aŋ karan dareyur-i **yaa**

this job TOP be.used-NEG CONJ be.tired-FIN PT

Because [I] am not used to this job, [I] am tired! (Nohara 1998: 133)

Tokunoshima

hooraha-sa **yaa**

be.glad-NML PT

[I] am glad! (Nohara 1998: 193)

mitsi-nanti ūšid-uŋ k'waa ya waa kwaa do **yaa**

road-LOC play(SUB)-exist(ATTR) child TOP I child PT PT

The child who plays on the road is my child! (Nohara 1998: 193)

9.4.5 EMPHATIC PARTICLE YŌ

Although many emphatic particles elude an exact definition, we are quite lucky in the case of the emphatic particle *yō*, as it can be

defined in the overwhelming majority of cases as an exclamation particle. Examples:

阿賀母布都麻阿理登伊波婆許曾余伊弊爾母由加米
 a-Nka [o]möp-u tuma ar-i tö **ip-aNpa kösö yö** ipye-ni mö yuk-am-ey
 I-POSS love-ATTR spouse exist-FIN DV **say-COND PT PT**
 house-LOC PT go-TENT-EV
if [I] only could say that [my] wife whom I love, [still] lives, [I] would go home (KK 90)

意布袁余志斯毘都久阿麻余
 op[ö]-uwo yösi siNpyi tuk-u ama **yö**
 big-fish ? tuna harpoon-ATTR fisherman **PT**
Oh, fisherman, who harpoons tuna, the big fish! (KK 110)

阿誤予阿誤予
 aN-kwo **yö** aN-kwo **yö**
 I-child **PT** I-child **PT**
Oh, my children! Oh, my children! (NK 8)

偉難謎能隨俱弥柯該志須弥難幡旨我那稽麼拖例柯柯該武預
 winaNpey-nö takumyi kakey-si sumyi-napa si-Nka na-ky-eNpa tare
 ka kakey-m-u **yö**
 WinaNpey-GEN carpenter apply(INF)-PAST/ATTR ink-cord he-
 POSS no-ATTR-COND who **PT** apply-TENT-ATTR **PT**
 the ink-cord that the carpenter of WinaNpey applied: if he is no
 more, who would apply it?! (NK 80)

阿波母與賣迓斯阿禮婆那遠岐弓遠波那志
 a **pa mö yö** 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)

千代二手尔座多公与
 TI YÖ-MANte-ni IMAS-E OPO KYIMYI **yö**
 thousand generation-TERM-LOC come(HON)-IMP great lord **PT**
 [My] great lord! Come for a thousand generations (MYS I: 79)

母智騰利乃可可良波志母与

mōti-N-tōri-nō kakar-ap-asi-mō yō

mochi-GEN-bird-COMP be.stuck-ITER-ADJ-EXCL PT

[You] are stuck like a bird on a *mochi* [trap-stick]! (MYS V: 800)

今者吾者指南与我兄

IMA PA WA PA sin-am-u yō WA-NKA SE

now TOP I TOP die-TENT-FIN PT I-POSS beloved

My beloved, I will die now! (MYS XII: 2936)

二々火四吾妹生友各鑿社吾戀度七目

SIN-AM-U yō WA-NK-YIMWO IK-YER-I tōmō ka-ku nōmiy

KŌSŌ KWŌPIY-WATAR-I-n-am-ey

die-TENT-FIN PT I-POSS-beloved live-PROG-FIN CONJ thus-

INF PT PT long.for(INF)-cross-INF-PERF-TENT-EV

[I] will die, my beloved! Even if [I] am living, [I] will continue to long for [you] just like that (MYS XIII: 3298)

音之少寸道尔相奴鴨少寸四道尔相佐婆

OTŌ-NŌ SUKUNA-kyi MYITI-ni AP-An-u kamwo SUKUNA-

kyi yō MYITI-ni AP-As-aNpa

sound-GEN few-ATTR road-LOC meet-NEG-ATTR PT few-

ATTR PT road-LOC meet-HON-COND

if [you] would meet [me] on the road where there are few [sounds of people]! [But], alas [we] will not meet on the road where there are few sounds [of people]! (MYS XVI: 3875)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The emphatic particle *yō* is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese as well:

伊豆能多可祢能奈流佐波奈須与

iNtu-nō taka-ne-nō nar-u sapa-nasu yō

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)

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 yöpyi-ywori se-rö-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
 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)

安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与
 aswo-nö KApra-ywo isi pum-aNs-u swora-yu tö k-yi-n-u yö
 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, as from the sky, without
 treading on stones! (MYS XIV: 3425)

奈勢能古夜等里乃乎加恥志奈可太乎礼安乎祢思奈久与
 na se-nö kwo ya töri-nö woka ti si naka-N-tawore a-wo ne si nak-u
 yö
 I beloved-GEN child PT Töri-GEN hill road PT inside-
 DV(ATTR)-saddle I-ACC sound PT make.cry-FIN PT
 My beloved, [you] make me cry loudly, [with your mood going
 down] like a saddle on the hilly road to Töri! (MYS XIV: 3458)

伊刀尔奈流等毛和波等可自等余
 itwo n-i nar-u tömwo wa pa tök-aNsi tö yö
 thread DV-INF become-FIN CONJ I TOP untie-NEG/TENT DV
 PT
 [I] think that I would not untie [the cords of my garment] even if
 [they] become [thin] threads! (MYS XX: 4405)

A2: Ryukyuan

The exclamation particle *yoo* (OR *yo*) is attested throughout Ryukyuan, but its shape invites doubts to its authenticity: we would expect **yuu* rather than *yoo* in Miyako and Yaeyama. Thus, it is quite probable that we have a rather recent loan from mainland Japanese. Examples:

Setouchi

kud-dakya mut-či koo **yoo**
 this-only hold-SUB come(IMP) PT
 Bring only this! (Nohara 1998: 138)

Miyako

sītugatsī soogatsī ya yaa-i kuu yoo
 July January TOP home-LOC come(IMP) PT
 Come home in July and January! (Nohara 1998: 438)

Yaeyama

kunu yaamee pitu čiki-šitu čikut-taa diN yoo
 this house(TOP) one month-ABL make-PAST DV PT
 [They] say that this house was built in one month! (Nohara 1998:
 469)

9.4.6 EMPHATIC PARTICLE NA

The emphatic particle *na* can be clearly defined as an exclamation particle. It is always found in the sentence final position. With the exception of the *Kojiki kayō* and the *Nihonshoki kayō*, where it can be found after the stem of the adjective *uNpey* ‘to be indeed,’ it always follows the final form of verbs and inflected adjectives or the desiderative particle *mōNka* ~ *mōNkamō*. The functional difference between the exclamation particles *yō* and *na* is not quite clear, but their distribution is somewhat different, since *yō* can also occur after nominals, other particles, and attributive forms (see 9.4.5). Examples:

宇倍那宇倍那岐美麻知賀多爾
 uNpey na uNpey na kyimyi mat-i-Nkat-an-i
 indeed PT indeed PT lord wait-INF-POT-NEG-INF
 Indeed, indeed! [I] can hardly wait for [my] lord, and ... (KK 28)

蘇良波由賀受阿斯用由久那
 swora pa yuk-aNs-u asi-ywo yuk-u na
 sky TOP go-NEG-INF foot-ABL go-FIN PT
 As [we] cannot fly through sky, [we] will go on foot! (KK 35)

阿迦良袁登賣袁伊邪佐佐婆余良斯那
 aka-ra wotōmye-wo iNsa sas-aNpa yō-ra-si na
 ruddy-? maiden-ACC INTER stick-COND good-?-FIN PT
 if [you take and] stick the ruddy maiden [as the ornament in your
 hair], [it] will be good! (KK 43)

于陪儼于陪儼和例烏斗波輸儼

uNpey na uNpey na ware-wo twop-as-u na
indeed PT indeed PT I-ACC ask-HON-FIN PT
Indeed, indeed! [You] asked me! (NK 63)

常丹毛冀名常處女奠手

TUNE n-i mwoNka na TUNE WOTÖMYE n-i-te
eternal DV-INF PT PT eternal maiden DV-INF-SUB
[I] want to be eternal, being an eternal maiden! (MYS I: 22)

家尔之亓吾者将戀名

ipye n-i s-i-te WARE PA KWOPiy-M-U na
home DV-INF do-INF-SUB I TOP long-TENT-FIN PT
After [I] come home, I will long for [it]! (MYS VII: 1179)

從明日者吾波孤悲牟奈

ASU-YWORI PA ARE pa kwopiy-m-u na
tomorrow-ABL TOP I TOP long.for-TENT-FIN PT
I will long for [you] from tomorrow! (MYS IX: 1778)

市白兼名間使遣者

itisirwo-ky-em-u na MA-N-TUKAPYI YAR-ANPA
be.obvious-ATTR-TENT-FIN PT interval messenger send-COND
if [I] send a messenger [to your house], [it] would be obvious!
(MYS X: 2344)

保登等藝須安不知能枝尔由吉氏居者花波知良牟奈

potötöNkyisu aputi-nö YENTA-ni yuk-yi-te WI-NPA PANA pa
tir-am-u na
cuckoo chinaberry.tree-GEN branch-LOC go-INF-SUB sit-COND
flower TOP fall-TENT-FIN PT
If the cuckoo will fly and sit on the branch of the chinaberry tree,
the flowers will fall! (MYS XVII: 3913)

和我勢故波多麻尔母我毛奈

wa-Nka se-kwo pa tama n-i möNkamwo na
I-POSS beloved-DIM TOP jewel DV-INF PT PT
[I] want my beloved to be a jewel! (MYS XVII: 3990)

奈泥之故我波奈爾毛我母奈

naNtesikwo-Nka pana n-i mwoNkamö na

carnation-POSS flower DV-INF PT **PT**

[I] wish [you] were a carnation flower! (MYS XVII: 4010)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The emphatic particle *na* is attested in Eastern Old Japanese texts only three times. It occurs twice after the exclamative suffix *-(u)mō*, which represents a usage not attested in Western Old Japanese.

安佐日左指麻伎良波之母奈

asa PYI sas-i makyirapasi-mō **na**

morning sun point-INF be.blinding-EXCL **PT**

The morning sun is shining, and [it] is blinding! (MYS XIV: 3407)

安礼波古非牟奈能知波安比奴登母

are pa kwopiy-m-u **na** nöti pa apyi-n-u tömō

I TOP long.for-TENT-FIN **PT** after TOP COOP-sleep-FIN CONJ

I will long for [you] even if later [we] sleep together! (MYS XIV: 3477)

There are no distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features in this poem.

可良加治乃於登太可思母奈

kara kaNti-nō otō-N-taka-si-mō **na**

Korea rudder-GEN sound-GEN-high-FIN-EXCL **PT**

The sounds of the Korean rudder are loud! (MYS XIV: 3555)

A2: Ryukyuan

There is an exclamation particle *na* ~ *naa* in both Old Ryukyuan and various modern dialects. It probably should be kept distinct from the interrogative particle *na* ~ *naa*, although they are traditionally treated as the same (Nohara 1998: 27ff). Examples:

Old Ryukyuan

かきとなきみれつな

kakitonaki mi-re-t-u **na**

Kakitonaki see-PASS(INF)-PERF-FIN **PT**

[I] want to be able to see Kakitonaki! (OS IV: 179)

Kumejima

yaa-nakai ?u-N **na**
 home-LOC exist-FIN PT
 [I] am at home! (Nohara 1986: 126)

Yaeyama

banu-ŋ ?ita funi-naa nuttahu **naa**
 I-PT board boat-LOC ride(DES/ATTR) PT
 I also want to ride in a wooden boat! (Nohara 1998: 481)

9.4.7 EMPHATIC PARTICLE *WO*

The emphatic particle *wo* appears only in four uncontroversial examples in the *Man'yōshū* after the locative case marker *-ni*. There might have been a reasonable suspicion that it really represents the accusative case marker *-wo* after the locative *-ni*, but this is unlikely, because in the example from MYS XX: 4448 below *wo* clearly appears after an intransitive verb. It is difficult to define its exact function on the basis of these four examples.

用流能伊昧仁越都伎提美延許曾
 yworu-nō **imey-ni wo** tuNk-yi-te myi-ye-kōs-ō
 night-GEN **dream-LOC** PT follow-INF-SUB see-PASS(INF)-
 BEN-IMP
 please appear [for me] continuously **in** [my] night **dreams** (MYS V:
 807)

三枝之中爾乎祢牟登愛久志我可多良倍婆
 SAKYI-KUSA-NŌ **NAKA-ni wo** ne-m-u tō UTUKUSI-ku si-Nka
 katar-ap-ey-Npa
 three-grass-COMP **middle-LOC** PT sleep-TENT-FIN beautiful-
 INF he-POSS talk-ITER-EV-CON
 he used to say beautifully: “[I] would like to sleep **between** [you
 two], like ‘three [stems] grass’” (MYS V: 904)

安我許呂母之多尔乎伎麻勢多太尔安布麻弓尔
 a-Nka kōrōmō **sita-ni wo** kyi-[i]mas-e taNta n-i ap-u-maNte-ni
 I-POSS garment **below-LOC** PT wear(INF)-HON-IMP direct DV-
 INF meet-ATTR-TERM-LOC

wear my garment **beneath** [your clothes] until we meet directly
(MYS XV: 3584)

夜都与尔乎伊麻世和我勢故

ya-tu yō-ni wo imas-e wa-Nka se-kwo

eight-CL generation-LOC PT exist(HON)-IMP I-POSS beloved-DIM

my beloved, live **for eight generations** (MYS XX: 4448)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The emphatic particle *wo* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

9.5 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLES

There are five restrictive particles in Western Old Japanese: *nōmiy*, *Niani*, *sura* ~ *swora*, *sapey*, and *Npakari*.

9.5.1 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLE NŌMIY

The restrictive particle *nōmiy* indicates a plain restriction without any additional connotation. Thus, it corresponds functionally to the modern colloquial Japanese *dake*, and can usually be rendered into English as ‘only’ or ‘just.’ It is attested only once in earlier texts (see the example from NK 66 below). The restrictive particle *nōmiy* is placed between a nominal and the locative case marker *-ni* or the accusative case marker *-wo*, although there is an alternative way of placing the accusative case marker *-wo* before *nōmiy*, which is attested only once in a late and not very reliable example (see the example from NR II: 2 below). Examples:

阿麻哆絆泥受邏多囊比等用能未

amata pa ne-Ns-u n-i taNta pyitō ywo **nōmiy**

many TOP sleep-NEG-NML DV-INF only one night PT

not sleeping [with her] many [times], **only** one night (NK 66)

迦久能尾奈良志

ka-ku **nōmiy** nar-asi

thus-INF PT be-SUP

[It] is likely to be **just** this way (MYS V: 804)

佐欲比賣能故何比列布利斯夜麻能名乃尾夜伎々都々遠良武
 Saywo-pyimye n-ō kwo-Nka pyire pur-i-si yama-nō NA **nōmiy** ya
 kyik-yi-tutu wor-am-u

Saywo-pyimye DV-ATTR girl-POSS long.scarf wave-INF-
 PAST/ATTR mountain-GEN name PT PT hear-INF-COOR exist-
 TENT-ATTR

Would [I] continue **just** to hear the name of the mountain where the
 girl Saywo-pyimye waived [her] long scarf? (MYS V: 868)

加久能未夜伊吉豆伎遠良牟

ka-ku **nōmiy** ya ikyiNtuk-yi-wor-am-u

thus-INF PT PT sigh-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR

Would [I] be sighing **just** like that? (MYS V: 881)

音耳乎聞而哉戀

OTŌ-**NŌMIY**-wo KYIK-YI-TE YA KWŌPIY-M-U

rumor-PT-ACC hear-INF-SUB PT long.for-TENT-ATTR

Would [I] long for [you if I] hear **only** rumors [about you]? (MYS
 XI: 2810)

与曾能未尔見都追須疑由伎

yösö-**nōmiy**-ni MYI-tutu suNkiy-yuk-yi

distance-PT-LOC see(INF)-COOR pass(INF)-go-INF

[we] passed [this island], seeing [it] **only** in the distance (MYS XV:
 3627)

大宮人者伊麻毛可母比等奈夫理能未許能美多流良武

OPO MYIYA PYITŌ PA ima mwo kamō pyitō naNpur-i **nōmiy**
 könöm-yi-tar-uram-u

great place person TOP now PT PT person mock-NML PT like-
 INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR

Do the people from the Great Palace probably continue to like **just**
 to mock [other] people now as well, I wonder? (MYS XV: 3758)

須流須敵能多度伎乎之良尔祢能未之曾奈久

s-uru suNpye-nō taNtwokyi-wo sir-an-i ne **nōmiy** si sō nak-u

do-ATTR way-GEN clue-ACC know-NEG-INF sound PT PT PT
 cry-ATTR

[I] have no (lit. do not know) clue what to do, and [I] **just** sob
 loudly (MYS XV: 3777)

多妣尔之婆之婆可久能未也伎美乎夜利都追安我孤悲乎良牟
 taNpyi-ni siNpa-siNpa ka-ku **nōmiy** ya kyimiyi-wo yar-i-tutu a-Nka
 kwopiy-wor-am-u
 travel-LOC often thus-INF **PT** **PT** lord-ACC send-INF-COOR I-
 POSS long.for(INF)-exist-TENT-ATTR
 would I be longing for [you] **just** keeping sending you so
 frequently to travels? (MYS XVII: 3936)

於登能未毛名能未母伎吉氏登母之夫流我祢
 otō **nōmiy** mwo NA **nōmiy** mö kyik-yi-te tōmösiNp-uru Nkane
 sound **PT** **PT** name **PT** **PT** hear-INF-SUB envy-ATTR CONJ
 so that [they] will be envious when [they] hear **just** a name or **just**
 a rumor [of it] (MYS XVII: 4000)

等我理須等名乃未乎能里弓
 tō-N-kar-i s-u tō NA-**nōmiy**-wo nōr-i-te
 bird-GEN-hunt-NML do-FIN DV name-**PT**-ACC tell-INF-SUB
 [he] told [me] **only** briefly that [he] is going to do hawk-hunting
 (MYS XVII: 4011)

於等能未尔伎吉氏目尔見奴布勢能宇良
 otō-**nōmiy**-ni kyik-yi-te MEY-ni MYI-n-u puse-nō ura
 rumor-**PT**-LOC hear-INF-SUB eye-LOC see-NEG-ATTR Puse-
 GEN bay
 The bay of Puse, which [I] have not seen, [but] **only** heard of (lit.:
 heard only in rumors) ... (MYS XVIII: 4039)

安米乃美加度乎可氣都礼婆祢能未之奈加由
 amey-nō myikaNtwo-wo kakey-t-ure-Npa ne **nōmiy** si nak-ay-u
 heaven-GEN sovereign-ACC think.in.the.heart(INF)-EV-CON
 sound **PT** **PT** cry-PASS-FIN
 Because [I] think in my heart about [my] heavenly sovereign, [I]
only sob loudly (MYS XX: 4480)

加良須止伊布於保乎蘇止利能去止乎能米等母邏止伊比天佐岐
 陀智伊奴留
 karasu tō ip-u opo woswo tōri-nō kōtō-wo **nōmiy**¹⁰ tōmö n-i tō ip-
 yi-te sakyi-N-tat-i in-uru

¹⁰ The original text has 能米 /nōmey/, but this is likely to be a scribal mistake for 能未 /nōmiy/. Note that this is the only example where *nōmiy* and *-wo* are found in the reverse order *-wo nōmiy* rather than the normal order *-nōmiy-wo*.

crow DV say-ATTR big hasty bird-GEN word-ACC **PT** together
 DV-INF DV say-INF-SUB ahead-LOC-depart-INF go.away-ATTR
 Crows, big hasty birds, **only** cry together – [you] departed [from
 this world] ahead [of me] (NR II: 2)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The restrictive particle *nōmiy* is well attested in Eastern Old Japanese. Like in Western Old Japanese, it also precedes the case markers *-ni* and *-wo*. Examples:

祢乃未乎可奈伎和多里南牟安布登波奈思爾
 ne-**nōmiy**-wo ka nak-yi-watar-i-n-am-u ap-u tō 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] of [even]
 thinking to meet [you]? (MYS XIV: 3390)

兒良波安波奈毛比等理能未思弓
 KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo pyitō-ri **nōmiy** 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)

安我古非能未思等伎奈可里家利
 a-Nka kwopiy **nōmiy** si tōkyi na-k-ar-i-kyer-i
 I-POSS love(NML) **PT** PT time no-INF-exist-INF-RETR-FIN
only my love does not have a [special] time (MYS XIV: 3422)
 This poem does not have any typical Eastern Old Japanese features.

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 mö ar-am-u-wo imey-**nōmiy**-ni mōtōna MYI-
 ye-tutu
 for.a.while TOP sleep(INF)-COORD PT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC
 dream-**PT**-LOC for.no.reason see-PASS(INF)-COORD
 Although [I] intended to sleep for a while, [you] continue to appear
only in [my] dreams for no reason (MYS XIV: 3471)

己許呂能未伊母我理夜里弓和波己許爾思天
 kökōrō **nōmiy** imō-Nkari yar-i-te wa pa kökō-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 cognates of WOJ *nömiy* in Ryukyuan.

9.5.2 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLE NTANI

The restrictive particle *Ntani* shows the minimum representation. It can be rendered approximately into English as ‘even’, ‘even as little as’, ‘just’, ‘just as little as’, ‘at least’, ‘only as little as’. In contrast to the restrictive particle *nömiy* that precedes the dative-locative case marker *-ni* and the accusative case marker *-wo*, the restrictive particle *Ntani* always follows both *-ni* and *-wo*. The restrictive particle *Ntani* is frequently followed by the focus particle *mö*. Examples:

許許呂袁陀迹迦阿比淤母波受阿良牟
 kökörö-wo **Ntani** ka apyi-omöp-aNs-u ar-am-u
 heart-ACC **PT** PT REC-think-NEG-INF exist-TENT-ATTR
 will [we] not think about each other **at least** in our hearts? (KK 60)

乎武例我禹杯爾俱謨娜尼母旨屢俱之多多婆
 wo-mure-Nka upey-ni **kumo Ntani mö** siru-ku si tat-aNpa
 DIM-mountain-POSS top-LOC **cloud PT PT** distinct-INF PT rise-COND
 if **just the clouds** distinctly rise above the small mountain (NK 116)

於彌能古能野陸能比母騰俱比騰陸多爾伊麻柁藤柯祢波美古能
 比母騰矩
 omyi-nö kwo-nö ya-pye n-ö pyimo tök-u pyitö-pye **Ntani** imaNta
 tök-an-e-Npa myikwo-nö pyimo tök-u
 noble-GEN child-GEN eight-CL DV-ATTR cord untie-ATTR one-CL **PT** yet untie-NEG-EV-CON prince-GEN cord untie-FIN
 As the children of nobles have not yet untied **even** one cord out of eight, the prince untied the cord (NK 127)

雲谷裳情有南畝可苦佐布倍思哉
 KUMWO **Ntani** mo KÖKÖRÖ AR-Ana-mo kakus-ap-uNpey-si
 YA

cloud **PT PT** heart exist-DES-EXCL **PT** hide-ITER-DEB-FIN **PT**
 [I] wish **at least** the clouds [would] have feelings! Do [they] have
 to hide [Mt. Myiwa] all the time? (MYS I: 18)

古之嫗為而也如此許戀乎大尔忍金手武
 PUR-I-N-I-si omyina n-i s-i-te ya ka-ku NPAKARI KWOPiy-wo
Ntani SINÖNP-YI-kane-te-m-u
 become.old-INF-PERF-INF-PAST/ATTR old.woman DV-INF do-
 INF-SUB **PT** thus-INF **PT** love(NML)-ACC **PT** endure-INF-
 NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR
 Am [I not] an old woman? [But it] has become so [that I] would not
 be able to endure **even** love (MYS II: 129)

奈何鴨自言乎谷裳幾許乏寸
 naNI SI kamwo MEY KÖTÖ-wo **Ntani** mo KÖKÖNTA TÖMÖSI-
 kyi
 what **PT PT** eye word-ABS **PT PT** so.much scarce-ATTR
 why are [our] meetings **even** so scarce, I wonder? (MYS IV: 689)

伊企陀爾母伊摩陀夜周米受
 ikyi **Ntani** mö imaNta yasumey-Ns-u
 breath **PT PT** yet rest-NEG-FIN
 [she] did not take a rest **even** [for one] breath (MYS V: 794)

麓妙能布衣遠陶尔伎世難尔可久夜歎敢
 ARA TAPEY-nō NUNWO KYINU-wo **Ntani** kyi-se-KATE-n-i
 ka-ku ya NANKEYk-am-u
 rough mulberry.bark.cloth-GEN cloth garment-ACC **PT** wear-
 CAUS(INF)-POT-NEG-INF thus-INF **PT** lament-TENT-ATTR
 Being unable to make [my children] wear **even** a cloth garment
 from the rough mulberry bark cloth, would [I] lament in this way?
 (MYS V: 901)

面忘太尔毛得為也
 OMO WASURE **Ntani** mwo E-S-U ya
 face forget(NML) **PT PT** POT-do-FIN **PT**
 Could [I] **just** forget [his] face? (MYS XI: 2574)

夢谷何鴨不所見
 IMEY-NI **Ntani** NANI kamwo MIY-YE-N-U
 dream-LOC **PT** what **PT** see-PASS-NEG-ATTR

Why cannot [I] see [you] **even** in [my dreams], I wonder? (MYS XI: 2595)

山澤個具乎採將去日谷毛相為

YAMA SAPA *weNku*-wo TUM-YI-NI YUK-AM-U PYI **Ntani**
mwo AP-As-e

mountain stream *weNku*-ACC pick-INF-LOC go-TENT-ATTR day
PT **PT** meet-CAUS-IMP

Let [me] meet [you] **just** [on] the day when [I] go to pick *weNku*
[grass at] the mountain stream (MYS XI: 2760)

事計吉為吾兄子相有時谷

KŌTŌ PAKAR-I YŌ-KŪ SE WA-NKA SE-KWO AP-YER-U
TŌKYI **Ntani**

thing plan-NML good-INF do(IMP) I-POSS beloved-DIM meet-
PROG-ATTR time **PT**

just [at] the time when [we] meet, do the planning well, my
beloved (MYS XII: 2949)

使乎谷毛待八金手六

TUKAPYI-wo **Ntani** mwo MAT-I ya kane-te-m-u

messenger-ACC **PT** **PT** wait-INF **PT** NEG/POT(INF)-PERF-
TENT-ATTR

cannot [I] wait **even** for a messenger? (MYS XII: 3103)

伊母乎伊米尔太尔比左之久見牟平安氣尔家流香聞

imō-wo imey-ni **Ntani** pyisasi-ku MYI-m-u-wo akey-n-i-kyer-u
kamo

beloved-ACC dream-LOC **PT** be.long-INF see-TENT-ATTR-ACC
dawn(INF)-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR **PT**

although [I] wanted to see [my] beloved **just** in a dream for a long
time, it turned out that [it] dawned, alas! (MYS XV: 3714)

欲流乃比毛太尔登吉佐氣受之氏

yworu-nō pyimwo **Ntani** tōk-yi-sakey-Ns-u s-i-te

night-GEN cord **PT** untie-INF-split-NEG-NML do-INF-SUB

without untying **even** the cords of [my] night [garment] (MYS
XVII: 3938)

近在者加敝利尔太仁母宇知由吉氏

TIKA-KU AR-ANPA kapyer-i-ni **Ntani** mō uti-yuk-yi-te

close-INF exist-COND return-NML-LOC **PT** **PT** PREF-go-INF-SUB

if [you] were close, [I] [would] go [to you] **just** on [my] way back, and ... (MYS XVII: 3978)

波之太尔母和多之弓安良波曾乃倍由母伊由伎和多良之
pasi **Ntani** mö watas-i-te ar-aNpa sönö [u]pey-yu mö i-yuk-yi-watar-as-i

bridge **PT** **PT** put.over-INF-SUB exist-COND that top-ABL **PT** DLF-go-INF-cross.over-HON-INF

if [someone] had put **just** a bridge over [the Milky Way], [they would] go over it (MYS XVIII: 4125)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The restrictive particle *Ntani* is attested three times in Eastern Old Japanese:

可久太尔毛久尔乃登保可婆奈我目保里勢牟

ka-ku **Ntani** mwo kuni-nö töpo-k-aNpa na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u thus-INF **PT** **PT** province-GEN far-ATTR-COND you-POSS eye want-NML do-TENT-FIN

if the [home] province is **just** so far, [I] want [to see] your eyes (MYS XIV: 3383)

安佐提古夫須麻許余比太爾都麻余之許西祢

asa-te kwo-N-pusuma kö yöpyi **Ntani** tuma yös-i-köse-n-e hemp-cloth DIM-DV(ATTR)-bedding this night **PT** spouse bring.close-INF-BEN-DES-IMP

Oh, [my] dear bedding from the hemp cloth! [I] wish [you would] bring my spouse close [to me] **just** tonight (MYS XIV: 3454)

宇須比乃佐可乎古延志太尔伊毛賀古比之久和須良延奴加母

usupyi-nö saka-wo kwoye-si **Ntani** imwo-Nka kwopyisi-ku wasur-aye-n-u kamö

Usupyi-GEN slope-ACC cross(INF)-PAST/ATTR **PT** beloved-POSS be.longing.for-INF forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR **PT**

just as [I] crossed the slope of Usupyi, [I] felt longing for [my] beloved, and [I] cannot forget [her] (MYS XX: 4407)

A2: Ryukyuan

The restrictive particle *Ntani* is not attested in Ryukyuan, but interestingly enough there is an Old Ryukyuan adverb *dani* ‘truly, really, indeed’ (Hokama 1995: 398-99). It is possible that there is an etymological connection, cf. the English adverb *just* ‘exactly, precisely, not more than’ derived from *just* ‘correct, fair, righteous’ (Onions 1966: 500).

9.5.3 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLE SURA ~ SWORA

The restrictive particle *sura* ~ *swora* shows the maximum representation, being an exact opposite of the restrictive particle *Ntani*. The variant *swora* occurs much more rarely than the variant *sura* and probably represents the relic pre-raised form. This particle can be rendered approximately into English as ‘even’, ‘even as much as’, ‘just’, ‘just as much as.’ Regarding the combinations of *sura* with case markers, both sequences *-sura-wo* PT-ACC and *-wo sura* -ACC PT are attested, but the former is more frequent. Thus, the restrictive particle *sura* in this respect shows a resemblance to the restrictive particle *nōmiy* on one hand and to the restrictive particle *Ntani* on the other. There is only one very suspicious example of **-ni sura*, where *sura* is written semantographically, and **-ni* is not written at all. There are no cases of **-sura-ni* -PT-LOC, either, as only the sequence *sura n-i* PT DV-INF exists in the texts (see the examples from MYS VIII: 1504 and XVII: 3962 below). The fact that the restrictive particle *sura* can be followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-* is an interesting peculiarity of its usage, also shared with the restrictive particle *sapey*. This usage probably indicates that historically both *sura* and *sapey* are grammaticalized nouns.

Examples:

道乎多遠見思空安莫國嘆虛不安物乎

MYITI-wo taN-TŌPŌ-myi OMŌP-U **swora** YASUKEY NA-ku n-i NANKEYK-U **SWORA** YASU-K-AR-AN-U MŌNŌwo way-ABS PREF-far-GER think-ATTR **PT** easy no-INF DV-INF lament-ATTR **PT** easy-INF-exist-NEG-ATTR CONJ although it is not easy **even** to lament and to love because the way is far (MYS IV: 534)

一重耳妹之將結帶乎尚三重可結吾身者成

PYITÖ-PYE NÖMIY IMWO-NKA YUP-URAM-U ONPYI-wo
SURA MYI-PYE YUP-UNPEY-KU WA-NKA MIY PA NAR-I-
N-U

one-CL PT beloved-POSS tie-TENT2-ATTR sash-ACC PT three-
CL tie-DEB-INF I-POSS body TOP become-INF-PERF-FIN

My body became [so emaciated], so [I] have to tie **as much as**
three times the sash that [my] beloved tied only one time (MYS IV:
742)

寒之安礼婆麻被引可賀布利布可多衣安里能許等其等伎曾倍騰
毛寒夜須良乎

SAMU-KU si ar-e-Npa ASA-N-PUSUMA PYIK-YI-kaNkapur-i
NUNWO-kata-KYINU ar-i-nö kötö-Nkötö kyisöp-ey-Ntömwo
SAMU-KYI YWO-sura-wo

cold-INF PT exist-EV-CON hemp-GEN-cover pull-INF-
cover.from.the.head-INF cloth-single-garment exist-NML-GEN
thing-thing wear.in.layers-EV-CONC cold-ATTR night-PT-ACC

because [it] is cold, [I] cover [myself] from the head with hemp
covers, and wear several layers of sleeveless garments all that [I]
have, but [how can I live through] **even as much as** [one] cold
night? (MYS V: 892)

五月乎尚尔吾妹兒我花橘乎不見可將過

SA-TUKIY-wo SURA n-i WA-NK-YIMWO-KWO-NKA PANA
TATINPANA-wo MYI-NS-U ka SUNKUS-AM-U

fifth.lunar.month-ACC PT DV-INF I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS
flower mandarin.orange-ACC see-NEG-INF PT pass-TENT-ATTR
Will my beloved pass **even** the fifth lunar month without seeing the
flowering mandarin orange? (MYS VIII: 1504)

家人春雨須良乎間使尔為

IPYE-N-PYITÖ PARU-SAMEY-sura-wo MA-N-TUKAPYI n-i
S-URU

home-GEN-person spring-rain-PT-ACC interval-GEN-messenger
DV-INF do-ATTR

[my] home folks will send **even** a spring rain as a messenger (MYS
IX: 1698)

可母須良母都麻等多具比弓

kamö sura mö tuma-tö taNkup-yi-te

drake PT PT spouse-COM be.together-INF-SUB
Even drakes are together with [their] spouses ... (MYS XV: 3625)

青雲乃田名引日須良霖曾保零
 awo kumwo-nō tanaNPYIK-U PYI **sura** KWO-SAMEY sōpo pur-
 u
 blue clouds-GEN trail-ATTR day PT DIM-rain drizzling fall-FIN
even [on] the day when the clouds blue [as sky] trail over, it
 drizzles (MYS XVI: 3883)

安良志乎須良尔奈氣枳布勢良武
 ara-si wo **sura** n-i naNkeyk-yi pus-er-am-u
 rough-FIN man PT DV-INF lament-INF lie.prone-PROG-TENT-
 FIN
even a rough man would be lying down and lamenting (MYS XVII:
 3962)

麻須良和礼須良余能奈可乃都祢之奈家礼婆宇知奈妣伎登許尔
 己伊布之
 masura ware **sura** yō-nō naka-nō tune si na-kyere-Npa uti-
 naNpyik-yi tōkō-ni kōyi-pus-i
 excellent I PT world-GEN inside-GEN usual PT no-EV-CON
 PREF-recline-INF bed-LOC lie.down(INF)-lie.prone-INF
even I, the gentle[man], reclined, and lied down prostrated on the
 bed because the things in the world were not usual ... (MYS XVII:
 3969)

於毛布蘇良夜須久母安良受古布流蘇良久流之伎毛乃乎
 omwop-u **swora** yasu-ku mō ar-aNs-u kwop-uru **swora** kurusi-kyi
 mwonōwo
 think-ATTR PT be.easy-INF PT exist-NEG-INF long.for-ATTR
 PT be.hard-ATTR CONJ
 although **even** to think is not easy, and **even** to long is difficult
 (MYS XX: 4408)

美阿止須良乎和礼波衣美須弓伊波爾惠利都久多麻爾惠利都久
 myi-atō-**sura**-wo ware pa e-myi-Ns-u-te ipa-ni wer-i-tuk-u tama-ni
 wer-i-tuk-u
 HON-footprint-PT-ACC I TOP POT-see-NEG-INF-SUB rock-
 LOC carve-INF-attach-FIN jewel-LOC carve-INF-attach-FIN

I was not able to see **even** the footprint of the Buddha, so [I] carve [it] on the rock, carve [it] on the jewel (BS 3)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The restrictive particle *sura* is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

9.5.4 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLE SAPEY

The restrictive particle *sapey* indicates that the word it follows is an addition to something else of the same kind. It can be rendered in English as ‘even ... as well,’ even as much as,’ ‘even ... in addition to.’ The restrictive particle *sapey* can be followed by the infinitive *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*, similar to the restrictive particle *sura* (see 9.5.3). There is only one example in the whole Western Old Japanese corpus when the restrictive particle *sapey* is used after the accusative case marker *-wo* (see the example from SM 57 below). Thus, as far as we can judge on the basis of one example, *sapey* follows case markers like the restrictive particle *Ntani*.

Examples:

阿加陀麻波袁佐閑比迦禮杼斯良多麻能岐美何余曾比斯多布斗
久阿理祁理

aka-N-tama pa wo **sapey** pyikar-e-Ntö sira tama-nö kyimyi-Nka
yösöpyi si taputwo-ku ar-i-kyer-i
red-DV(ATTR)-jewel TOP cord PT shine-EV-CONC white jewel-
COMP lord-POSS adorned.appearance PT revered-INF exist-INF-
RETR-FIN

Although **even** the cord of red jewels shines, [I] realized [that I] feel reverence [for my] lord’s adorned appearance, which is like a white jewel (KK 7)

施摩該儻播謂比佐倍母理施摩慕比儻瀾逗佐倍母理

tama key-ni pa ipyi **sapey** mör-i tama mopyi-ni myiNtu **sapey** mör-
i
jewel container-LOC TOP boiled.rice PT fill-INF jewel bowl-LOC
water PT fill-INF
filling the jewel[-like] container with the boiled rice **as well**, filling
the jewel[-like] bowl with water **as well** (NK 94)

前日毛昨日毛今日毛雖見明日左倍見卷欲寸君香聞

WOTÔ-TU PYI mwo KYINÔPU mwo KYEPU mwo MYI-T-
URE-NTÔ ASU **sapey** MYI-m-aku POSI-kyi KYIMYI kamo
that-GEN/LOC day PT yesterday PT today PT see(INF)-PERF-
EV-CONC tomorrow **PT** see-TENT-NML be.wanted-ATTR lord
PT

Oh, [my] lord whom [I] want to see tomorrow **as well**, although [I] saw you the day before yesterday, yesterday, and today! (MYS VI: 1014)

池邊乃松之末葉尔零雪者五百重零敷明日左倍母將見

IKEY-NÖ PYE-NÖ MATU-NÖ URA-N-PA-ni PUR-U YUKYI
PA IPO-PYE PUR-I-SIK-YE ASU **sapey** mö MYI-M-U
pond-GEN side-GEN pine-GEN top-GEN-leaf-LOC fall-ATTR
snow TOP five.hundred-CL fall-INF-cover-IMP tomorrow **PT** PT
see-TENT-FIN

Snow, falling on the top needles of the pine near the pond! Fall in five hundred layers, so [I] would see you **even** tomorrow (in addition to today) (MYS VIII: 1650)

能登河之水底并尔光及尔三笠乃山者咲来鴨

nötö-N-kapa-nö MYINA SÖKÖ **SAPEY** n-i TER-U-MANTE-ni
MYIKASA-nö YAMA PA SAK-YI-N-I-KYER-U kamwo
Nötö-GEN-river-GEN water bottom **PT** DV-INF shine-ATTR-
TERM-LOC Myikasa-GEN mountain TOP bloom-INF-PERF-INF-
RETR-ATTR PT

[The flowers on] Mount Myikasa bloomed to such an extent that **even** the (water) bottom of the Nötö river is shining (MYS X: 1861)

四具礼能零苗尔夜副衣寒一之宿者

siNkure-nö PUR-U napey n-i YWO **SAPEY** sö SAMU-KYI
PYITÔ-RI si N-URE-NPA
drizzling.rain-GEN fall-ATTR CONJ DV-INF night **PT** PT cold-
ATTR one-CL PT sleep-EV-CON

at the same time as the drizzling rain falls, the night is **even** colder, because [I] sleep alone (MYS X: 2237)

君之下紐吾左倍尔今日結而名

KYIMYI-NKA SITA-N-PYIMO WARE **sapey** n-i KYEPU
MUSUNP-YI-TE-na

lord-POSS under-GEN-cord I **PT** DV-INF today tie-INF-PERF-DES

Even I as well want to tie the cords of your under[garment] today (MYS XII: 3181)

大宮人者伊麻左倍也比等奈夫理能未許能美多流良武
OPO MYIYA PYITÖ PA ima **sapey** ya pyitö naNpur-i nömiy
könöm-yi-tar-uram-u

great place person TOP now **PT** PT person mock-NML PT like-
INF-PERF/PROG-TENT2-ATTR

Do the people from the Great Palace probably continue to like just to mock [other] people **even** now **as well**? (MYS XV: 3758a)

路波之騰保久關左閑尔敝奈里氏安礼許曾

MYITI pa si töpo-ku SEKYE **sapey** n-i pyenar-i-te ar-e kösö
way TOP PT far-INF barrier **PT** DV-INF be.separated-INF-SUB
exist-EV PT

The way is far, and **even** the barrier is far away **as well** (MYS XVII: 3978)

伊氣美豆尔可氣左倍見要氏

ikey myiNtu-ni kaNkey **sapey** MYI-ye-te
pond water-LOC reflection **PT** see-PASS(INF)-SUB

Even [their] reflection is seen in the pond water, and ... (MYS XX: 4512)

美阿止都久留伊志乃比鼻伎波阿米爾伊多利都知佐閑由須礼知
知波波賀多米爾毛呂比止乃多米爾

myi-atö tukur-u isi-nö pyiNpyik-yi pa amey-ni itar-i tuti **sapey**
yusur-e titi papa-Nka tamey n-i mworö pyitö-nö 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 Heaven, and shakes the earth **as well**, for father and mother, for all people (BS 1)

伊爾志加多知与乃都美佐閑保呂夫止曾伊布

in-i-si kata ti yö-nö tumyi **sapey** poröNp-u tö sö 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)

天津日嗣受賜礼流事乎左間歡奉出礼波

AMA-tu PYI TUNK-YI-UKEY-TAMAPAr-er-u KÖTÖ-wo **sapey**
YÖRÖKÖNPIY-TATEMATUR-I-INT-Ure-Npa

Heaven-GEN/LOC sun inherit-INF-receive(INF)-HUM-PROG-
ATTR matter-ACC **PT** rejoice(INF)-HUM-INF-exit-EV-CON
because [you] rejoiced **as well** at the fact that [I] inherited [the
position of] the Heavenly Sun ... (SM 57)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The restrictive particle *sapey* is attested six times in Eastern Old Japanese. Once it occurs before the desiderative particle *mōNkamō*: this usage is not attested in Western Old Japanese. Examples:

宇恵太氣能毛登左倍登与美

uwe-N-takey-nō mwotō **sapey** tōyōm-yi
plant(NML)-GEN-bamboo-GEN root **PT** sound-INF

Even the roots of the bamboo that [I] planted cry, and ... (MYS
XIV: 3474)

等思佐倍己其登和波佐可流我倍

tōsi **sapey** kōNkōtō wa pa sakar-u Nkapey
year **PT** many I TOP be.separated PT

Will I separate [from her] **even** [if] years [are] many? (MYS XIV:
3502)

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-nō tuk-u-nōsu 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

Even I would like to cling to [my] lord like clouds cling to a high
peak (MYS XIV: 3514)

等毛思吉伎美波安須左倍母我毛

tōmwosi-kyi kyimyi pa asu **sapey** mōNkamwo
be.rare-ATTR lord TOP tomorrow **PT** PT

I want you, a rare [guest, to come] tomorrow **as well** (MYS XIV: 3523)

可奈思家世呂尔比等佐敝余須母
 kanasi-kye se-rö-ni pyitö **sapye** yös-umö
 dear-ATTR beloved-DIM-DAT person **PT** make.approach-EXCL
even [other] women make [their thoughts] approach [my] dear
 beloved (MYS XIV: 3548)

加其佐倍美曳弓余尔和須良礼受
 kaNkō **sapey** myi-ye-te yö-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
 reflection **PT** see-PASS(INF)-SUB life-LOC forget-PASS-NEG-
 FIN
 [I] will not be able to forget [her] in [my] life, **even** seeing **as much**
as [her] reflection (MYS XX: 4322)

A2: Ryukyuan

The restrictive particle *sai* (and its phonetic variants) are attested only in the Northern and Central Ryukyus. Nohara believes that Yaeyama *sagi* ~ *saagi* (he provides no examples of *sagi* ~ *saagi* in his book) is related to *sai* (Nohara 1998: 77), but the correspondence of Yaeyama *-g-* to *-Ø-* in Setouchi and Tokunoshima and to WOJ *-p-* is irregular, and therefore this comparison is better to be abandoned. Given the limited geographical distribution, it is possible that Ryukyuan *sai* represents an early loan from mainland Japanese. Examples:

Setouchi

unaga **sai** dikiy-um-muŋ yingga-nu dikir-aŋ kutu-nu an-nya
 woman **PT** can.do-FIN-CONJ man-GEN can.do-NEG/ATTR
 thing-GEN exist-PT
Even a woman can do [it], is there anything man cannot do?
 (Nohara 1998: 117)

Tokunoshima

midzi **sai** num-ar-aŋ
 water **PT** drink-PASS-NEG/FIN
 [I] cannot drink **even** water (Nohara 1998: 175)

9.5.5 RESTRICTIVE PARTICLE *NPAKARI*

The restrictive particle *Npakari* shows the extent, so it can be rendered into English as '[so] much [as].'. After numerals it supposedly indicates approximate number, but there is only one example in Western Old Japanese texts of its usage after a numeral. In most attested examples it occurs after *ka-ku* 'thus-INF' creating a kind of a set expression *ka-ku Npakari* 'so much.'. The restrictive particle *Npakari* is attested only in the *Man'yōshū*, and the overwhelming majority of attestations are semantographic with *Npakari* spelled by the character 許. In all probability the restrictive particle *Npakari* represents a historical grammaticalization of the verb *pakar-* 'to measure, to plan.'

Examples:

吾戀者千引乃石乎七許頸二將繫母

WA-NKA KWOPİY PA TI PYIK-YI n-ō ISI-wo NANA
NPAKARI KUNPYI-ni KAKEY-M-Umō
 I-POSS love(NML) TOP thousand pull-NML DV-ATTR stone-
 ACC seven **PT** neck-LOC hang-TENT-EXCL

My love would hang on my neck **about** seven [times the weight] of the stone that is pulled by one thousand people! (MYS IV: 743)

伊加婆加利故保斯苦阿利家武

ika **Npakari** kwoposi-ku ar-i-ky-em-u
 how **PT** be.longing.for-INF exist-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN
 how **much** would [she] be longing? (MYS V: 875)

可久婆可里須部奈伎物能可世間乃道

ka-ku **Npakari** suNpey na-kyi MÖNō ka YÖ-NÖ NAKA-nō
 MYITI
 thus-INF **PT** way no-ATTR thing PT life-GEN inside-GEN way
 [Is] the way of life **so** [**much**] impossible? (MYS V: 892)

中々二人跡不在者桑子尔毛成益物乎玉之緒許

naka-naka n-i PYITō tō NAR-ANS-U PA KUPA KWO n-i mwo
 NAR-Amasi MÖNōwo TAMA-NÖ WO **NPAKARI**
 at.all DV-INF person DV be-NEG-INF TOP silk worm DV-INF
 PT become-SUBJ CONJ jewel-GEN cord **PT**

If [I] was not a human being, [I] would [like to] become a silkworm,
just [for a short time] **such as** a jewel cord (MYS XII: 3086)

可久婆可里古非牟

ka-ku **Npakari** kwopiy-m-u

thus-INF **PT** long.for-TENT-FIN

[I] would long for [her] so **much** (MYS XV: 3739)

可久婆可里古非之久志安良婆

ka-ku **Npakari** kwopiysi-ku ar-aNpa

thus-INF **PT** be.longing.for-INF exist-COND

If [I] were longing for [you] so **much** ... (MYS XIX: 4221)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The restrictive particle *Npakari* is attested only once in an Eastern Old Japanese text that has no specific Eastern Old Japanese features:

佐奴良久波多麻乃緒婆可里古布良久波布自能多可祢乃奈流佐
波能其登

sa-n-ur-aku pa tama-nö WO **Npakari** kwop-ur-aku pa puNsi-nö
taka ne-nö nar-u sapa-nö Nkötö

PREF-sleep-ATTR-NML TOP jewel-GEN cord **PT** long.for-
ATTR-NML TOP PuNsi-GEN high peak-GEN mountain.stream-
GEN become-ATTR like

Sleeping together [is short] **as much as** the cord of jewels, longing
for [you is long] like the stream that originates [from] the high peak
of PuNsi (MYS XIV: 3358)

A2: Ryukyuan

The restrictive particle *bakai* ~ *bakkar* ~ *bagari* ~ *bagara* (also appearing in many other phonetic variants) is attested virtually across the board in modern Ryukyuan dialects and in Classical Ryukyuan (Nohara 1998: 26, 81). However, it does not appear in Old Ryukyuan. Examples:

Setouchi

?oššo ya sēē **bakkar** mošočuur-u

grandfather TOP rice.wine **PT** drink(HON)-FIN

Grandfather drinks **only** rice wine (Nohara 1998: 117)

Yaeyama

?unu untaa san-byak-[k]in **bagara** kakar-i-buru ar-aŋ gaya
that pig(TOP) three-hundred-pound **about** weight-INF-like exist-
NEG PT

Does not [it] look like that this pig will weight **about** 300 pounds?
(Nohara 1998: 479)

POSTPOSITIONS

In this chapter I do not describe quasi-postpositions like *X-nö* *upey-ni* ‘on [the top of] X,’ *X-nö sita-ni* ‘under X’ etc. that are transparently derived from such nouns as *upey* ‘top,’ *sita* ‘bottom,’ etc. These quasi-postpositions were remarkably stable throughout the history of the Japanese language and they do not present any impediment for understanding of Western Old Japanese texts. Instead, I will concentrate here on four postpositions that are unique to Old Japanese: *Nsimönö* ‘like,’ *saNpiy* ‘like,’ *mökörö* ‘like,’ and *pa* ‘every.’

10.1 POSTPOSITION NSIMÖNÖ ‘LIKE’

The postposition *Nsimönö* ‘like’ frequently indicates a comparison with animals and birds, but this is not its only usage. Examples:

斯斯貳慕能瀾逗矩陞御慕梨

sisi Nsimönö myi-N-tuk-u pye-N-kömor-i

deer like water-LOC-soak-ATTR side-LOC-hide-INF

like a deer that hides at the place soaked with water (NK 95)

鹿自物伊波比伏管

SISI Nsimönö i-pap-yi-PUS-YI-tutu

deer like DLF-crawl-INF-lie.down-INF-COOR

constantly crawling and lying down **like a deer** (MYS II: 199)

烏德自物腋挾持

wotökwo Nsimönö WAKYINPASAM-YI-MÖT-I

man like embrace-INF-hold-INF

[I] embrace [the baby] **like a man** (MYS II: 210)

大殿於久方天傳來白雪仕物往來乍

OPO TŌNŌ-NI PYISA KATA N-Ō AMA-TUTAP-YI-K-URU
SIRA YUKYI Nsimōnō YUK-YI-KAYWOP-YI-TUTU¹
 great palace-LOC long hard DV-ATTR heaven-pass-INF-come-
 ATTR **white snow like** go-INF-go.back.and.forth-INF-COOR
 [he] constantly visits the great palace **like a white snow** that falls
 from the eternally strong Heaven (MYS III: 261)

久佐太衰利志婆刀利志伎提等許自母能宇知許伊布志提

kusa-N-ta-wor-i siNpa twor-i sik-yi-te **tōkō Nsimōnō** uti-kōyi-pus-
 i-te
 grass-?-hand-break-INF road.side.grass hold-INF spread-INF-SUB
bed like PREF-lie.down-INF-lie.prone-INF-SUB
 [I] broke off some herbs, and taking road side grass, [I] spread [it]
 and laid down on a **bed-like** [thing] (MYS V: 886)

伊奴時母能道尔布斯弓夜伊能知周疑南

inu Nsimōnō MYITI-ni pus-i-te ya inōti suNkiy-n-am-u
dog like road-LOC lie.prone-INF-SUB PT life pass(INF)-PERF-
 TENT-ATTR
 Will [I] pass away **like a dog** lying down at the road? (MYS V: 886)

鳥自物海二浮居而

TŌRI Nsimōnō UMYI-ni UK-YI WI-TE
bird like sea-LOC float-INF sit(INF)-SUB
 floating **like a bird** in the sea (MYS VII: 1184)

可母自毛能宇伎衿乎須礼婆可具呂伎可美尔都由曾於伎尔家類
kamō Nsimwonō uk-yi-ne-wo s-ure-Npa kaN-kurō²-kyi kamyi-ni
 tuyu sō ok-yi-n-i-kyer-u

duck like float-INF-sleep(NML)-ACC do-EV-CON INT-black-
 ATTR hair-LOC dew PT put-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR
 Because [I] slept floating **like a duck** [it] turned out that the dew
 fell on the pitch-black hair (MYS XV: 3649)

¹ My reading of this poem is different from the traditional one: I read 大殿於 as OPO TŌNŌ-NI, and not as OPO TŌNŌ-NŌ UPEY-NI, and 白雪 as SIRA YUKYI, and not just as YUKYI.

² The character 呂 transcribing *otsu-ru* /rō/ is apparently a scribal mistake for *kō-ru* /rwo/.

可胡自母乃多太比等里之氏

ka kwo Nsimönö taNta pyitö-ri s-i-te
deer child like only one-CL do-INF-SUB
 being all alone **like a fawn** (MYS XX: 4408)

御命乎畏自物受賜理

OPO MYI-KOTÖ **KASIKWO Nsimönö** UKEY-TAMAPAR-I
 great HON-word **awesome like** receive(INF)-HUM-INF
 receiving the imperial edict **like an awesome** [thing] (SM 14)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The postposition *Nsimönö* ‘like’ is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

10.2 POSTPOSITION SANPIY ‘LIKE’

The postposition *saNpiy* is a grammaticalization of the infinitive *saNpiy* of the verb *saNpiy-* ‘to be like, to behave like.’ There is an example when it is still used as a verb:

宇真人佐備而不欲常将言可聞

umaNpyitö **saNpiy-te** INA tö IP-AM-U kamo
 nobleman **behave.like(INF)-SUB** no DV say-TENT-ATTR PT
behaving like a noblewoman, [you] probably say: ‘No!’ (MYS II: 96)

Nevertheless, there are several examples where *saNpiy* can be analyzed as a grammaticalized postposition:

春山跡之美佐備立有

PARU YAMA tö **simyi saNpiy** TAT-ER-I
 spring mountain DV **flourishing like** stand-PROG-FIN
 [it] is standing **like a flourishing** spring mountain (MYS I: 52)

山佐備伊座

YAMA **sabiy** iMAS-U
 mountain **like** exist-FIN
 [it] is **like a mountain** (MYS I: 52)

遠等咩良何遠等咩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

wotōmye-ra-Nka **wotōmye saNpiy** s-u tō kara tama-wo tamōtō-ni
 mak-as-i yōti kwo-ra-tō TE taNtusapar-i-te aswoNp-yi-ky-em-u
 maiden-PLUR-POSS **maiden like** do-FIN DV China jewel-ACC
 wrist-LOC wrap-HON-INF same.age child-PLUR-COM
 hand.hold-INF-SUB play-INF-PAST/FIN-TENT-FIN
 The maidens, thinking to behave **like maidens**, wrap their wrists
 with [bracelets made of] Chinese jewels, and would play holding
 hands with the girls of the same age (MYS V: 804)

麻周羅遠乃遠刀古佐備周等都流岐多智許志尔刀利波枳
 masura wo-nō **wotwokwo sabiy** s-u tō turukyī tati kōsi-ni twor-i-
 pak-yi
 excellent man-GEN **man like** do-FIN DV double.edge.sword
 long.sword waist-LOC hold-INF-wear-INF
 The gentlemen, thinking to behave **like men**, wear the double edge
 swords and long swords at [their] waist, and ... (MYS V: 804)

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)

伊夜彦於能礼神佐備
 iyaPYIKWO onōre **KAMU-saNpiy**
 Iyapyikwo itself **deity-like**
 [The mountain] Iyapyikwo itself [is] **deity-like** (MYS XVI: 3883)

伊尔之邊遊阿里吉仁家礼婆許其志可毛伊波能可牟佐備
 inisipyē-yu ari-k-yi-n-i-kyer-e-Npa kōNkōsi kamwo ipa-nō **kamu-
 saNpiy**
 old.times-ABL ITER-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-EV-CON
 rugged(FIN) PT rock-GEN **deity-like**
 because [they] date back to old times, **deity-like** rocks are rugged!
 (MYS XVII: 4003)

波里夫久路己礼波多婆利奴須理夫久路伊麻波衣天之可於吉奈
 佐備勢牟
 pari-N-pukurwo kōre pa taNpar-i-n-u suri-N-pukurwo ima pa e-te-
 si ka **okyina sabiy** se-m-u

needle-GEN-bag this TOP receive(HUM)-INF-PERF-FIN
bamboo.box-GEN-bag now TOP get(INF)-PERF-PAST/ATTR PT
old.man like do-TENT-ATTR

Needle bag — this [I] have received. Now [I] want to get a bag for a bamboo box. [I] will [then] behave **like an old man** (MYS XVIII: 4133)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The postposition *saNpiy* ‘like’ is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

10.3 POSTPOSITION MÖKÖRÖ ‘LIKE’

The postposition *mökörö* ‘like’ is attested only once in Western Old Japanese:

吾王能立者玉藻之母許呂臥者川藻之如久

WA-NKA OPO KYIMYI-nö TAT-AS-ER-E-NPA TAMA MO-NÖ **mökörö** KÖY-AS-ER-E-NPA KAPA MO-NÖ NKÖTÖ-ku
I-POSS great lord-GEN stand-HON-PROG-EV-CON **jewel seaweed-GEN like** lie.down-HON- PROG-EV-CON river weed-GEN like-INF

When my sovereign deigns to stand, [he is] **like jewel seaweeds**, when [he] deigns to lie down, [he] is like river weeds (MYS II: 196)

It is probably a grammaticalized form of the adjective *mökörö* ‘similar,’ attested also only once as 如己男 *Mökō[rō] wo* ‘similar man’ in MYS IX: 1809. It is possible that the *rō* in *mökörö* is actually the defective verb *rō* (see 6.1.4.3), but the paucity of examples and the inability to draw a morphemic boundary between *mökō* and *rō* preclude a positive identification.

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

A1: Eastern Old Japanese

The postposition *mökörö* ‘like’ is attested twice in Eastern Old Japanese:

於吉爾須毛乎加母乃毛己呂

okyī-ni sum-wo **wo-kamō-nō mwokörō**
offing-LOC live-ATTR DIM-duck-GEN like

Like a small duck that lives in the offspring (MYS XIV: 3527)

麻都能氣乃奈美多流美礼婆伊波妣等乃和例乎美於久流等多々
理之母己呂

matu-nō key-nō nam-yi-tar-u myi-re-Npa ipa-N-pyitō-nō ware-wo
myi-okur-u tō **tat-ar-i-si mökörō**

pine-GEN tree-GEN stand.in.line-INF-PERF/PROG-ATTR see-
EV-CON home-GEN-person-GEN I-ACC see(INF)-send-FIN DV
stand-PROG-INF-PAST/ATTR like

When [I] see that the pine trees are standing in line, [they were]
like [my] home folks [who] **were standing** [in a row] going to see
me off (MYS XX: 4375)

A2: Ryukyuan

There are no cognates of the postposition *mökörō* in Ryukyuan.

10.4 POSTPOSITION PA ‘EVERY’

The postposition *pa* ‘every’ is found only after *tōsi-nō* ‘year-GEN’ and it never occurs with any other words. In most cases it is followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*; the only exception can be seen in the example from MYS XVIII: 4125 below. Examples:

得志能波尔波流能伎多良婆可久斯己曾烏梅乎加射之弓多努志
久能麻米

tōsi-nō pa n-i paru-nō k-yi-tar-aNpa ka-ku si kōsō uMEY-wo
kaNsas-i-te tanwosi-ku nōm-am-ey

year-GEN every DV-INF spring come-INF-PERF/PROG-COND
thus-INF PT plum-ACC decorate-INF-SUB be.merry-INF drink-
TENT-EV

Every year, when the spring comes, let [us] decorate [our hair]
with plum [blossoms] and drink merrily (MYS V: 833)

伊夜登之能波尔於母布度知可久思安蘇婆牟

iya **tōsi-nō pa n-i** omōp-u Ntwoti ka-ku si aswoNp-am-u
more.and.more year-GEN every DV-INF love-ATTR companion
thus-INF PT enjoy.oneself-TENT-FIN

Let us enjoy ourselves more and more **every year**, [my] beloved
companions (MYS XVII: 3991)

布勢能宇美能意枳都之良奈美安利我欲比伊夜登偲能波尔見都
追思努播牟

puse-nō umyi-nō okyi-tu sira namyi ari-[N]kaywop-yi iya **tōsi-nō pa n-i** MYI-tutu sinwop-am-u

Puse-GEN sea-GEN offing-GEN/LOC white wave ITER-go.back.and.forth-INF more.and.more **year-GEN every DV-INF** see(INF)-ITER admire-TENT-FIN

The white waves in the offing of the sea of Puse continuously go back and forth. **Every year** [I] will look at [them] and admire [them] more and more (MYS XVII: 3992)

年乃波其登尔安麻乃波良布里左氣見都追

Tōsi-nō pa Nkōtō n-i ama-nō para purisakey-MYI-tutu **year-GEN every every DV-INF** heaven-GEN plain look.up(INF)-look(INF)-COOR

Every year [I] continue to look up at the plain of Heaven (MYS XVIII: 4125)

In this example *pa* is not followed by the infinitive form *n-i* of the defective verb *n-*, which appears only after *Nkōtō* 'every' that doubles *pa*, possibly for an extra emphasis.

和我勢故我夜度乃也麻夫伎佐吉弓安良婆也麻受可欲波牟伊夜
登之能波尔

wa-Nka se-kwo-Nka yaNtwo-nō yamaNpukyi sak-yi-te ar-aNpa yam-aNs-u kaywop-am-u iya **tōsi-nō pa n-i**

I-POSS elder.brother-POSS dwelling-GEN rose bloom-INF-SUB exist-COND stop-NEG-INF go.back.and.forth-TENT-FIN more.and.more **year-GEN every DV-INF**

If the roses were blooming at the dwelling of my friend, [I] would come [there] more and more constantly **every year** (MYS XX: 4303)

COMPARATIVE DATA

LEVEL A: OTHER JAPONIC

The postposition *pa* 'every' is not attested in Eastern Old Japanese or Ryukyuan.

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