ASPECTS OF SEMANTIC CHANGE IN
HONORIFIC VERBS OF THE OKINAWAN LANGUAGE

A Thesis

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by

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* * * * *

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To My Mother, Kazuko
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express sincere appreciation to Prof. Leon Serafim for his guidance and insight throughout my research. Thanks go to my other advisory committee member, Prof. Charles Quinn for his suggestions and comments. To my mother, Kazuko, I offer sincere thanks for her unshakable faith in me.
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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

"Abbreviations"

Abbreviations for the works and sources, and epitaphs in kinseki hibun are shown below.

HH  Honkakuza hibun
KH  Kinseki hibun
KHH Katano hana no hi omote no bun
KO  Kumi o dori
MNM Madamaminato no hi no mon
O CJ Okinawago jiten
O GB Okinawago binran
OS  Omorosooshi
RK  Ruyuka
SOM Soetsugijoo no minami no hi no mon
TH  Tama o don no hi no mon
UMO Urasoe joo no mae no hi omote no bun
YOB Voodore no hi omote no bun
YOM Yarazamorigusuku no hi omote no bun

"Conventions"

The verbs that are a handy reference forms treated as a reconstruction have " " surrounding them. < > shows vii
orthography used in text. For example, "owaru" is written <owa>, <wowa>, etc., in old texts. Double quotes " " enclose forms. When not serving the function of quotation but rather serving the function of pointing out a reference form, double quotes are treated as the other delimiters (< > for orthography, ‘ ’ for gloss, and [ ] for speech style) and do not allow internal punctuation. For example "owaru", is used, but "owaru," is avoided. For verbs [x] marks exaltation, [h], humility, [f], formality, [i], informality.

For translating the orthography of Omorosooshi, a simplified version of Jorden’s (1963) romanization is used. Kanji among kana are capitalized, as in <oroku O0yakumoi>. In ryouuka, kumiodori and the modern language, a slight modification of Iha’s (1962) system for romanizing pronunciation is used: long vowels are written with double vowels, instead of with a macron.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Preliminaries

In this chapter, I discuss the aims of this thesis, and give general information on exaltation and on the verb "owaru" discussed in this thesis, as well as information on the works used in my research, and other scholars' research related to this thesis.

1.2. Aims

The aims of this thesis are given in what follows. There are two focuses: 1) how the meaning of the Okinawan exalting verb "owaru" has changed through recorded Okinawan history, as seen through the Okinawan works, kinseki hibun (KH), Omorosooshi (OS), ryuuka (RK), kumiodori (KO), and into the modern language; 2) how the words which mean 'to exist[x]' have changed through time, as above. In (1), "owaru" is focused on as the invariant, and in (2), the meaning 'to exist[x]'. There will be points in both focuses that can be considered together in order to elucidate the relationship between both focuses.
1.3. A Brief Look at Okinawan History

The background of Okinawan history is as follows, a synopsis of Hokama (1986:20-38). The age of villages continued until the tenth century or the eleventh century in which the primitive society and a transitional period to the classical society existed. The age of aji came after this. Aji had merely been patriarchs of tribes, but became rulers of some tribes, who had military power to expand their rule, the advantage of the use of iron implements, and the ability to control the magical power of shamanesses. At the end of the aji age, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the sanzan age came. Among the powerful aji, three aji, those of Chuuzaan (the Central Kingdom), Nanzan (the Southern Kingdom), and Hokuzan (the Northern Kingdom), called sanzan (the three kingdoms), became prominent. These three aji kept fighting to rule each other. However, in 1429 they were overcome by another clan, ruled by Shoo Shishoo and Shoo Hashi, a father and son, and so a unified central government was established. Since the Yamato central government was established in the fourth century, there is about one millennium difference of development of history in terms of the unified central government between Okinawa and the mainland of Japan. In 1609, during the age of the Second Shoo Family, the Satsuma Domain in southern Kyushu,
the closest area to Okinawa, came to rule the Ryukyu kingdom and put it into the Edo feudal governmental system. Until this time, 1609, even though Okinawa was considered to exist inside Japan by the mainland Japanese, it was not interfered with politically by them. In 1879, Okinawa became Okinawa Prefecture. After World War II, the age of occupation by the United States of America came, and in 1972 Okinawa reverted to Japanese rule.

1.4. Sources

The primary sources used for this research are kinseki hibun (KH), Omorosoosi (OS), ryuuka (RK) and kumiodori (KO).

1.4.1. Classification of Kayoo

According to Hokama's classification (in Higa 1982: 103-125) of Ryukyuan kayoo (verse ballads) in the Okinawa, Amami, Miyako, and Yaeyama island groups of the Ryukyus, there are jujutsushi (incantatory verse), jojishi (narrative verse) and jojooshi (lyric verse). Here I just refer to Okinawa Island. The miseseru and otakabe of Okinawa Island are considered to be incantatory verse; the kweena, umui, and omoro of Okinawa Island are considered narrative verse; and ryuuka of Okinawa is lyric verse.
1.4.2. Kinseki Hibun

Kinseki hibun (henceforth KH) are epitaphs. The oldest existing epitaph written in kana (syllabic graphs) is Oroku Ooyakumoi, graven on a tombstone in 1494, during the age of the first Shoo kingdom. The eight letters, o-ro-ku-oo-ya-ku-mo-i are graven, together with a picture of two people in Chinese clothes. The words are Oroku, a place name in present-day Naha City, and the title now called peechin, a high functionary in the government (OGJ 1969:442).

In the second oldest epitaph, Tamaodon no hi no mon, graven in 1501, sentences in kana are seen. Running text in the epitaphs graven before this Tamaodon no hi no mon was written in Chinese letters. The latest epitaph is Honkakuzan hibun in 1624.

The following information about early use of kana in Okinawa is taken from Higashionna (1973). The person who apparently brought kana into Okinawa in about 1368 is the Buddhist Shingon-sect monk Raichoc Shoonin, who came from Satsuma and, under the aegis of King Satto, established the temple Naminoue Gokokuji, where he achieved enlightenment. Before this date, there apparently was ship traffic between the mainland of Japen and Okinawa. There is a historical report which shows that ambassadors to China in the eighth
century, Fujiwara Kiyoka, Abe no Nakamaro and Kibi no Makibi, went to Okinawa. In addition there is report in the Chuuzan Sekan, saying that in 1168 the exiled warrior Minamoto no Tametomo came to Okinawa. Through these reports, it is possible to consider that already in the twelfth century, kana had been brought into Okinawa, though there is no certain data to prove it.

There is another theory that it was the monk Zenkan who first began to propagate Buddhism, bringing kana, but Higashionna (1973: 12) says that the data about him, what country he came from and what kind of religious sect he was a member of were not reliably known. Therefore Higashionna considers that the date 1368 when Raichoo apparently brought kana into Okinawa is the beginning, since the data about him are reliable. While Raichoo was teaching Buddhist sutras and chants to the Okinawan people, he must have used kana.

In KH, miseresu and otakabe are seen. Miseseru is an oracle or divine message when a shamaness is possessed by the supernatural. On the other hand, otakabe is norito (a Shinto-type prayer) to a god. Since miseresu and otakabe are seen in KH, many honorifics are necessarily used in KH. To sum up, kana was probably brought into Okinawa in 1368, and we see the oldest existing written kana in the KH Oroku Ooyakumoi, graven in 1494.
1.4.3. Omorosooshi

Omorosooshi (henceforth OS) is the oldest collection of songs, 1248 in all, and consists of twenty-two volumes. The songs in Omorosooshi are called omoro. In the narrative verse in Okinawa Island, there are kweena, umui and omoro. They are different in their contents and form. According to Higa (1982), it is said by scholars that omoro has developed from umui, but this statement cannot simply be accepted at face value because the form of both is so different. The omoro in Omorosooshi are roughly divided into shinjo (shamaness) omoro, chihoo (local) omoro, dance omoro, the ship ceremony omoro, meijin (professional) omoro and kuji (court affairs) omoro. The first volume of shinjo omoro, omoro about the most powerful shamaness kikoe ookimi (the high priestess), who was a sister of King Shoo Shin, shows the power of the king. Through these omoro about kikoe ookimi, we can predict that the first purpose of editing the OS was to show the power of the kingdom and to make that power absolute.

Chihoo omoro were sung from the age of sanzan until the age when the central government of Shoo Shin was established. "Local omoro" should presumably be by a collection of old transmitted songs from everywhere in Okinawa, but it is not sure that the "local omoro" we see in
OS are the original songs from local villages.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the order of the central government at Shuri, the old songs were collected three times; the first volume was done in 1531 in the age of the rule of Second Sho Family, and in 1613 the second volume, and in 1623 the rest of the volumes. In 1709, when Shuri Castle was destroyed by fire, the copy of OS kept by the government was lost. In 1710, the OS kept by the Nakijin family was copied. Two copies were made, of which one was kept by the Shuri central government and one by the editor in chief.

1.4.4. Ryuuka

Ryuuka (henceforth RK) is probably the shortened form of Ryuukyuu kayoo (Ryukyu songs) or Ryuukyuuka (Ryukyu songs). How RK originated or where they came from seems to be controversial among scholars. Higa (1982:179-213) gives the following discussion on the controversy. He says that there are two theories so far: 1) that the OS is the direct source of RK, which is supported by the scholars Iha Fuyuu, Nakahara Zenchuu, Higa Shunchoo, Kinjoo Chooei and Hokama Shuzen; or 2) that RK developed under the influence of the literature of mainland Japan after Satsuma came into the Ryukyus in 1609, which is supported by Tajima Risaburoo,
Serei Kunio and Oono Juuroo.

Iha's suggestion (in Higa 1982:180-182) is that the RK metrical form 8-8-8-6 is seen in OS. For example, the form of volume 14 is 8-8-8-6, if one takes out the last line. Kinjoo also cites OS volume 4, in order to show that the form in RK is seen in OS. Thus according to them, RK did not develop under the influence of Japanese literature, but rather they originated in the OS.

Hokama's suggestion (in Higa 1982:184-185) is that the form of eto omoro (voyage omoro), considered to be the newest omoro, tends to be the same as RK, and has the tendency of lyric verse to use the first person rather than the third person, which is often used in OS in order to express the universal aspect. According to him, eto omoro are the beginning of RK or a transitional stage to RK. The popularity of eto omoro naturally was developed in the literature of the aristocrats. This transitional stage from OS to RK did not begin immediately in the seventeenth century. The development of the aristocracy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created the base for producing lyric verse; aristocrats could start to compose poetry in order to show their subjective feeling. Also the shamisen helped in the development of RK, which are sung to a shamisen accompaniment.
Oono's disagreement (in Higa 1982:185-187) with these scholars' theories is as follows. He says it may be accidental that we see a couple of the same metrical forms 8-8-8-6 of RK in OS, because there are many metrical variations in the omoro form. Oono's theory is that kween, whose form is composed of 5- and 3-syllable sequences, was influenced by the form of the Japanese kouta 7-7-7-5; 5 plus 3 became 8 and developed into the 8-8-8-6 meter, influenced by kouta.

Ikemiya (in Higa 1982:188) contradicts Hokama's theory that when eto omoro ended, lyric RK began. Ikemiya says that it is difficult to find a case where one genre, the epic omoro, produced another genre, the lyric RK, so RK did not originate from the OS. Ikemiya (1982:126-127) says that the origin of RK is to be found in another source or another type of song. The OS influenced these other songs, which seem to be the source of RK. However, according to Higa (1982:189), nothing is clear about what this other song form is.

Higa's theory (1982:191-198) is as follows. There are two kinds of narrative: 1) genshiteki (visual hallucinatory) narrative and 2) eiyuuteki (heroic) narrative. Higa seems to be saying that genshiteki narrative is found in the refrains of omoro. Heroic
narratives are those of appreciation of heroes and they sometimes have actual historic content. In contrast the genshiteki narrative, whose representative is the long kweena are those except for the heroic narratives: songs of life, labor, prayers for crops, peace, and a safe voyage. People hope and pray that their life, crops, and voyage may turn out to be good, using the jujutsu (incantations verse) of the genshiteki narrative. In this sense, genshiteki narratives have emotional expression while heroic narratives do not; a heroic narrative expresses just events or something about a hero, while a genshiteki narrative expresses the people’s subjective desire or feeling toward nature or the gods. In the refrains of omoro, we see the incantatory (and emotional) traditions of genshiteki narrative. The refrain of omoro made it possible for the long genshiteki narrative form to change to the short ryuuka lyrical form.

As to the date of RK, Ikemiya (1976:249-250) gives the following supposition. In Shi Ryuukyuu Roku (A Record of the Mission to the Ryukyus), written or reported by the sappuushi (ambassador from China) Chin Kan in 1534 when Shoo Sei, a son of Shoo Shin, was crowned king, there is a passage that shows or implies that the Shuri central government entertained him with ryuuka songs accompanied by
shamisen. A passage in another Shi Ryukyu Rokub reported in 1606 by Ka Shiyoo, who was also a sappuushi, suggests that ryuuka were probably sung to entertain the mission. Thus apparently sometime between the middle of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century ryuuka already had started to be sung. There are fifty or so plays called kumiodori, excluding kumiodori goban.

1.4.5. Kumiodori

Kumiodori (henceforth KO) is a collection of plays. The historical background of the period when KO was composed is as follows. Satsuma's invasion and conquest of the Ryukyus in 1609 gave an impetus to the Ryukyuan people to collect Shuushi (Historical Compilation), Kyuuki (Chronicle of Old Matters), and Yuraiki (History of Origins) in order to identify just who they were in relation to outsiders. The new experience of touching Yamato, i.e., mainland Japanese government and culture brought from Satsuma, caused them to awake to their own culture and to be aware of or appreciate it. The regret of losing the classical court language of miseseru occurred in them. They came to be aware of the reality that they had begun to be unable to understand the OS language. Indeed, to be proficient in
Japanese study had become an important qualification for becoming a governmental official.

Tamagusuku Chookun under these circumstances tried composing plays ordered by the Shuri central government for entertaining the missions from Satsuma. He became more aware of his own cultural and linguistic heritage, and tried to revive them, also using the mainland Japanese which he studied. He wrote unique plays based on ryuuka and kweena, mixing in Japanese language. His representative works, which are together called kumiodori goban (the five kumiodori), are Shuushin kaneiri (Escape from infatuation), Nidoo tekiuchi (Revenge of the two children), Mekarushi (Sir Mekaru), Kookoo no maki (Story of filial piety) and Onna monogurui (Madwoman). The other plays used in my research are Gosamaru tekiuchi (Gosamaru's revenge) written by Tamagusuku Chookun, and Temizu no en (A Fateful meeting) written by Heshikiya Chooblin.

While much Japanese language is used in Shuushin kaneiri, which was apparently composed first, in the later play Kookoo no maki the classical Okinawan language and the form and style of misesaru, otakabe, omoro and kweena are seen. The language in KO is not purely the colloquial language used at the time of composition of the KO; nevertheless, that "owaru" and "mesiyowaru" were used with
the same internal consistency is proved by my research. Thus, borrowing from the mainland Japanese does not replace what I have dealt with in this thesis. Moreover, though it is true enough that the language of the KO is not the colloquial language used at the time of composition of the KO, the words I am dealing with in this thesis reflect the language after Satsuma came into Okinawa and before the modern period, because my research proves that the function of the language dealt with in this thesis has changed from that of the pre-invasion language and has evolved toward that of the modern period. In other words, the language of KO shows a transition between the classical and the modern language.

1.4.6. Sources for the Modern Language

Okinawan is related to Japanese, but the two languages are mutually unintelligible, having split apart in prehistoric times. The sources used to research modern usage are Okinawago jiten (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo, eds., 1964) and Ryuukyuuugo binran (Iha 1916). Okinawago jiten (henceforth OGJ) is a dictionary of the Shuri dialect of male members of the aristocracy, which is considered to be the descendent of classical Okinawan. It was edited as the fifth in the series Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo shiryoooshuu
in 1964. According to the preface to OGJ, the process for editing this dictionary was as follows.

Shimabukuro Seibin started editing a dictionary when he received a grant from the Ministry of Education. Although Shuri dialect has been considered the standard language of Ryukyuan, a full-scale dictionary of Shuri dialect had not been edited until then.

Ryuukyuuugo binran (henceforth RGB) was written by Iha Fuyuu in 1916. According to the preface to RGB, it was edited as a handbook of the Ryukyuan language for the use of tourists and residents, being a guide to conversation in standard Ryukyuan.

The next figure shows the approximate date of the sources. The information on KH is taken from Higashionna (1973), that on OS from Hokama (1986), that on RK from Ikemiya (1982) and that on KO from Higa (1982). A time scale is on the top, ( ) shows epitaphs, --- shows the uncertain period, and ML means the modern language. The date of the oldest epitaph Tamaodon no hi no mon, in which sentences are written, is considered as approximately the beginning of KH, and 1624, when the latest epitaph Honkakuzan hibun, was written, is considered as the end. According to Hokama (1986), omoro in OS probably were sung
or composed from the twelfth century until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The dates of the OS prosper are in a solid line, enclosed by "I", and the dates of omoro before that are in a hatched line. According to Ikemiya, RK started approximately in the middle of the sixteenth century, and they still continue to be sung up to the present time. The beginning of KO is the early eighteenth century. According to OGJ, KO had been played as a national play since 1719, whenever suppuushi came into Okinawa (OGJ 1964:21). The ending period is considered as the middle of the eighteenth, when Tamagusuku Chookun died. The KO language that I have used for my study, is from the eighteenth century.
1.5. Honorification

The general background of honorification is taken from Martin (1964). In Japanese and Okinawan, there are two axes of distinction: the axis of reference and the axis of address. In the axis of address, there are polite, plain, super polite, and deferential usages. For my purposes the distinction of the first two is sufficient. In this thesis, instead of the term polite, formal (abbreviated as [f] in examples) is used, and for plain, informal (abbreviated as [i] in the examples) is used. The choice of informal or formal style depends on the speaker’s attitude toward the person addressed, who is called the addressee. If the speaker wants to be formal toward the addressee, then the speaker uses formal style.

In the axis of reference there are three styles: humble (abbreviated as [h] in examples), neutral (abbreviated as [n] in examples), and exalting (abbreviated as [x] in examples). The choice of humble, neutral, or exalting styles depends on the speaker’s attitude toward the referent of the expression. Martin gives the factors which operate to influence a speaker’s choice of reference and address forms as age difference, sex difference, social position, and outgroupness.
Martin also translates the principal conclusion from the 1957 Japanese study, Keigo to keigo ishiki (Honorifics and consciousness of them: "situations of address where more politeness is expected are: women to men, the young to the old, lower classes to upper classes"). And since "people who strive to be polite tend to use honorific forms," exaltation is paid, from the young to the old, from women to men, from lower classes to upper classes, and from in-group to out-group. Observe the next figures.

2.

------------- axis of address

| | axis of reference |
| | | |

These axies suggest the following matrix model, filled with Japanese words meaning 'go'.

3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[i]</th>
<th>[f]</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>irassharu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>iku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>mairu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Irasshaimasu means 'to go[x f]', irassharu 'to go[x i]', iku 'to come[n], [f]', ikimasu 'to come[n], [i]', mairu 'to go[h i]', and mairimasu 'to go[h i]'. If [x] and [h] were to be treated as distinctive feature values, then [n] would be equivalent to [-x, -h]. Thus a value of [n] shows the lack of value on the reference axis.

1.6. "Owasu" and "Owaru"

1.6.1. "Owasu"

The Okinawan exalting verb "owaru" is equivalent in form and in function to the classical mainland Japanese "owasu". "Owasu" is an intransitive irregular verb (conjugated like classical su 'does'), meaning 'to exist[x]', 'to come[x]', and 'to go[x]' (Nakamura 1984). Examples are as follows. Examples (4), (5), (7), and (8) are taken from Nakamura (1984), and (6) is from Kindaichi (1972).

4. Onore ga moto ni sibasi [owasi]turunari. (Taketori monogatari)
   'It's that (one) was[x] under my care for a while.'

5. Tyuunagon Wada Maro to kikoyuru hito [owasi]keri. (Jikkinshoo)
   'There was[x] a man called Chuunagon Wada Maro.'
6. Kurumamoti no miko [owasi]tari. (Taketori monogatari)
   'Prince Kurumamoti has come[x].'

7. Sore motomete [owa]seyo. (Tsurezuregusa)
   'Go[x] and look for that.'

"Owasu" also functioned as an auxiliary verb.

Examples are as follows.

8. Kyoosoku ni yori[owasu]. (Genji monogatari, "Hahakigi")
   '(One) lies on[x] the armrest.'

1.6.2. "Owaru" and Its Derivations

In the earliest Okinawan language that has been written down, as seen in the OS, the mainland verb "owasu" has changed into a sort of r-stem quadrigrade (ra-gyoo yodan) verb "owaru" (Nakasone 1976). Since the mainland Japanese verb "owasu" began to be used in the Heian Period, which was from the ninth through the twelfth century in mainland Japan, it was probably brought into Okinawa during or after the Heian Period (Nakasone 1976:64).

1.6.2.1. "Owaru"

In the OS the stem (gokan) of "owaru" is <owa>, its subjunctive (mizen) base <owa>, its attributive (rentai) and predicative (shuuushi) base <owaru>, its definite (izen) and
imperative (meirei) base <oware>. Nakasone (1976) gives much information about how "owaru" was used in OS besides the above. According to him, "owaru", written <owa>, <wowa>, or <uwa> with appropriate suffixes, is used as an independent exalting verb and as an exalting auxiliary verb written as <yowa> or <yuwa> plus suffixes, and <wa> plus suffixes, hereafter simply referred to as "yowaru" and "waru". In OS "owaru" is often used, with a high degree of exaltation.

1.6.2.2. "Mesiyowaru"

"Mesiyowaru" is in origin a double exalting compound of "mesu" and "owaru". Nakasone (1976) implies that since there is a usage of "mesiyowaru" as an exalting auxiliary verb in the KH, which are generally dated earlier than the OS, "mesiyowaru" must have been used as an exalting auxiliary verb in the OS language, too, even though we do not see any examples. This implication is made under the supposition that the language of KH is older than that of OS, since the KH are dated earlier. But this supposition may not be correct. That is to say, even though the earliest examples of KH are dated earlier than the earliest book of OS, that does not necessarily mean that the language
of KH is older. This point will be discussed in greater
detail later.

1.6.2.3. Comparison of "Owaru" and "Mesiyowaru" Through
Time

Nakasone furthermore says that, because "mesiyowaru"
became to be used as an auxiliary verb, we know that the
other auxiliary verbs "yowaru" and "waru" must have
gradually lost their degree of exaltation. So in the later
KO, "yowaru" and "waru" (Nakasone does not discuss how
written or spoken forms of "yowaru" and "waru" had changed
in KO) came to be used to refer to the first person and to
address younger people, and finally in the modern language,
they are no longer used.

Nakasone (1976) does not state in detail how "owaru"
was used in the earlier usage or how the usage of "owaru"
has changed through KH, OS, KO, RK and modern usage.
However, it is logically necessary to observe that in the
earlier stage "owaru" was never used for first person and
never used by older to refer to younger, since it was
originally an exalting independent verb which should not be
used for referring to oneself, but rather for paying the
speaker's exaltation toward the subject of the expression.
Moreover one of the factors which operates to
decide a speaker's usage of honorification is age difference
(Martin 1964). Usually exaltation is paid from younger to
older. Thus, since "owaru" was used to refer to the first
person and to address younger people in later works such as
KO, and is not used any more in the modern language, the
degree of honorification necessarily decreased.

My claim, to fill out Nakasone's implication referred
to above, is that in KO "yowaru" when not imperative is used
as a formal, neutral auxiliary verb, not maintaining its
original exaltation, and "yowaru" as an imperative auxiliary
verb is used from older to younger. In the latter case it
is neutral and informal.

Nakasone further says that in the modern language,
"owaru" has remained only in "mesiyowaru" *(miseen [OGJ 1964: ]*,
which is either an independent exalting verb, meaning
'to say[x]' , 'to do[x]', and 'to eat[x]' (OGJ 1964), or the
exalting auxiliary verb, meaning simply '[x]'. As to what
he says about the modern usage of "owaru," I should add here
that "owaru" remains not only in "mesiyowaru" but also in
"omiowaru" ((i)meen) and "otiyowarimesiyowaru"
(ucheeyimiseen) and others. These claims will be fleshed
out later in the body of this thesis.
CHAPTER II

FOCUS (1): MEANING CHANGE IN "OWARU" AND ITS DERIVATIVES

2.1. Meaning Change in "Owaru"

2.1.1. Introduction

The first focus is how the meaning of the Okinawan exalting verb "owaru" has changed through the Okinawan sources KH, OS, KO, RK, and modern usage.

2.1.2. "Owaru"

2.1.2.1. In Omorosooshi

The research presented here first is examples of "owaru" in OS, where it is used as both an exalting independent verb and an exalting auxiliary verb. "Owaru" as an independent verb means '(for someone) to exist[x]', 'to come[x]', and 'to go[x]' (Nakasone 1976). The volume number and the song number in the OS are cited at the right as in "song #." For example, 6-11 means volume 6 and song number 11. The transcription for all OS items is a transliteration of kana.
1. Kikowe kimiganasi seji hayasiyowaba sejinisu [owa]me.

   'If the high priestess makes spirit abundant, she should exist[x] in the spirit, indeed.'


   'If grandfather is alive[x], there should be a good building (for him).'</n

3. Kume no sima [owa]tie,
   Kane no sima [owa]tie,...

   'Having come[x] to Kume Island, having come[x] to the iron island,...'

4. Wekerigiya Siyori oyakuni [owa]toki
   Wekerigiya anji oyakuni [owa]toki.

   'When brother goes[x] to the country of Shuri, when brother goes[x] to the country of the lord.'

In (1) and (2), [owa] means 'to exist[x]', in (3), 'to come[x]', and in (4), it means 'to go[x]'. The above examples are those in which "owaru" is used as an independent exalting verb.

The following examples show how "owaru" as an exalting auxiliary verb is used in OS. The form of <owaru> is changed to the form <yowaru> when it is attached to verbs, except for lower monograde verbs, which attach to <waru> (Serafim, personal communication).
5. ... Kake[ware].
   'protects-and-rules[x].'  

6. Kikoweookimiya kainade[waru].
   'The high priestess protects[x].'

7. ... Maburi[yowaru].
   '... protects[x].'

   'When the high priestess plays[x].'

Examples (5) and (6) show "waru" as an exalting auxiliary verb, and (7) and (8), "yowaru".

2.1.2.2. In Kinseki Hibun

The next research presented is examples of how "owaru" is used in KH, in which "waru" and "yowaru" are considered as the derived form of "owaru". Again <owaru> is changed to <yowaru> when it is attached to verbs, except for lower monograde verbs, which attach as <waru>. According to my research, it seems that "owaru" was not used as an independent exalting verb but only as an auxiliary verb in KH. In KH, there are several different epitaphs, and the abbreviation of each epitaph is shown in the section
"Abbreviations and Conventions." The abbreviations are shown on the right.

9. Kikowookimi...totome[watihe]...
   'The high priestess...pierces[x] and...'

10. ... Oriwake[watihe]...
    '... builds up[x] and ...'

The exalting auxiliary verb form <watihe> is called setsuzokukei (conjunctive form or gerund) made up of the infinitive form of "waru" plus "te".

The following examples are of "yowaru" as an exalting auxiliary verb.

11. Kikowookimi... watasi[yowatihe].
    'The high priestess... makes[x] the bridge and....'

12. ... Tusasi[yowatihe].
    '... builds up[x] and...'

The form <yowatihe> is an orthographic variant of the same auxiliary verb.

My observation in doing research on "owaru" in KH was to confirm that "owaru" in KH was not used as an independent exalting verb, but that only "waru" and "yowaru" are used,
as exalting auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, it is well known that "owaru" in OS is used both as an independent exalting verb and as an exalting auxiliary verb whose forms are "waru" and "yowaru".

These observations about the usage of "owaru" in KH and OS raise the question of whether indeed the language of KH is older than that of OS, since the KH are dated earlier. If the language of KH is older, then why was "owaru" not used as an independent verb? It is logically necessary that the function of a verb as an auxiliary verb began after its independent form began to be used. While "owaru" in OS is used both as an independent verb and as an auxiliary verb, in KH "owaru" was just used as an auxiliary verb. If we suppose that the language of OS is older than that of KH, it is natural to see that "owaru" was still used as an independent verb in the age of the OS language, but lost that function after the age of the OS language. But the function as an auxiliary verb remained in a later age. Further research about the usage of "owaru" in later works gives more evidence concerning this matter.

To sum up, in works including KH, which is "later" than the OS, "owaru" as an independent verb does not appear any more, and its function as an auxiliary verb remained until KO and RK. In the modern language, "owaru" does not remain
as fully-independent "owaru", but remains as a non-initial verb, such as "omiowaru", and in compound verbs, such as "mesiyowaru", "otiyowarimesiyowariyoru", and "omiowarimesiyowariyoru". The likely reason why the language of OS is older even though it is dated later than the KH language is that the language of OS is the language of ritual, which tends not to change but to keep the traditional language and forms.

2.1.2.3. In Kumiodori

In KO, the verb "owaru" is always seen as a form of the auxiliary "yowaru", the conclusive form of which is <yain>, pronounced een, and the conjunctive form of which is <yauti>, pronounced -(y)oochi. When it is not imperative, it functions as the formal style, but when its form is imperative (<yaure>, pronounced -(y)oori), its meaning is informal.

13. Katsirin nu aji nu koozimi sh[oochi]. (Nidoo tekiuchi)
    'Lord Katsuren made[f] a false charge and...'

14. Kunuyoo fafa nyi shirash[oochi]. (Nidoo tekiuchi)
    'I will tell[f] mother like this and...'
15. Zasi nyi kunuyoo shirash[oochi].  (Syuushin kaneiri)
   'Let's tell[f] boss like this and...'
   
16. Too, too sakiyu dash[oori].  (Nidoo tekiuchi)
   'Well, well serve[i] sake.'
   
17. Nufa shichi misamash[oori].  (Nidoo tekiuchi)
   'Show[i] me the Inoha dance.'

In (13), (14), and (15), -oochi, which contains
"owaru", is used as an auxiliary verb, meaning formal used
for the speaker to be formal to the addressee. Since it is
possible to observe that "owaru" in (13) is an exalting
auxiliary verb and in (14) and (15) is humble form, I have
decided that those instances of "owaru" whose form is
non-imperative function as formal forms. If a verb can be
used for both exalting and humble style, then it is on the
axis of address, where formal and informal are considered,
not on the axis of reference, where exalting and humble are
considered. "Owaru" in examples (16) and (17) shows that
the imperative -oori is used as an informal form, since it
is used by superiors to inferiors. The observation drawn
from these examples is that when the form of "owaru" is not
imperative, it is formal, and when the form is imperative,
it is informal.
In KO, the verb considered to contain "owaru" is "omiowaru", meen or imeen, which is "o-mi" (exalting prefix "o" and "mi") plus a form of "owaru". The etymology is due to Serafin (personal communication). The new appearance of this "omiowaru" shows that "owaru" is semantically eroded. In other words, because "owaru" is eroded, the exalting prefixes "omi-" were attached to make degree of honorification of usage of "owaru" higher. "Omiowaru" in KO is used both as an exalting independent and exalting auxiliary verb as in the next examples.

18. Shuuya makara mankayi imeega. (Ookawa tekiuchi)  
   'From where to where are you going, boss?'

19. Uchi nyi wakaaji kakuriyayi imen. (Chuushin migae)  
   'Young leader is[x] hiding inside.'

Imee in (18) is the apocopated form of "omiowaru", with a question particle -ga added (Serafin, personal communication). "Owaru" in (18) is an exalting independent verb, meaning 'to go[x]', and it in (19) is an exalting auxiliary verb.

2.1.2.4. In Ryuuka

In RY, while "owaru" is, as expected, not used as an
exalting independent verb, "omiowaru" does appear as such. "Owaru" is used as an auxiliary verb, "yowaru" (i.e., as 〈yaure〉, pronounced -y(o)ori, the imperative). When the form is imperative, it denotes informality, as in the next example. I could not find -een or any other non-imperative form in the research for this thesis; no non-imperative form was found out of about one hundred songs checked in RK. The number of the song is cited at the right. The long-short vocalic distinction is usually lost in RK, for metrical reasons, and long vowels being pronounced short.

song #

20. Natsi nariba mi[yori] awaho karaba. 53
   'When summer comes, look at[i] me harvesting grain.'

   The next examples show the usage of "omiowaru" in RK.

21. Satuga hananushima imeru !wedaya. 2070
   'During the period when (my) love is[x] on the flowery island.'

22. Amma shuya yukati !nmairizima imeyi... 2255
   'Father and mother are[x] in the home country.'

Imeru is the attributive (rentai) form of imeen, and imeyi is the infinitive (ren'yoo) form. Both are exalting independent verb forms, meaning 'to exist[x]'.
2.1.2.5. In the Modern Language

In modern Okinawan, "omiowaru", meen or imeen, continued to be used. It is used both as an independent exalting verb. As an exalting independent verb, it means '(for someone) to exist[x]', 'to come[x]', 'to go[x]' (OGJ 1964). The former is used by members of the aristocracy toward older commoners, and the latter by members of the aristocracy toward persons of equal or higher rank.

2.1.2.6. Discussion

Let me summarize my research about the usage of "owaru". "Owaru" when it first appeared in the OS language was used as an independent exalting verb meaning 'to exist[x]’ 'to come[x]’ 'to go[x]’. Instead of "owaru", "omiowaru" (meen and imeen) appeared in the KO language, meaning 'to go[x]'. In RK, it means 'to exist[x]', and in the modern language, 'to exist[x]', 'to come[x]', and 'to go[x]'.

"Owaru" as an auxiliary verb ("(yo)waru") first appeared in the OS and kept being used until the age of RK; it is not used in the modern language. Even though "owaru" was used as an auxiliary verb until the age of RK, its function exalting auxiliary verb was modified to formal or informal auxiliary in the age of KO and RK.
2.2. Meaning Change in Verbs Containing "Owaru"

2.2.1. Introduction

For the first focus of how the meaning of the Okinawan exalted verb "owaru" has changed through the Okinawan works KH, OS, RK, KO, and in the modern language, the words that contain "owaru" should also be discussed. They are "mesiyowaru", "tiyowaru", "tabori", "otiyowarimesiyowaru", "otiyowarimesiyowarlyoru" and "omiowarimesiyowariyoru". In both Japanese and Okinawan the exalting prefix "o" attaches to a noun or verb, as a way of forming the exalting construction. For example, shachoo no okuruma 'boss's car[x]' and o-kaeri ni naru 'returns[x]' in Japanese, and shinshii nu ukuruma 'boss's car[x]' and u-keeji-nseen 'returns[x]' in Okinawan. Here "o...meshiyowaru" (an example of which is seen in the last cited modern Okinawan form) is equivalent to the modern Japanese verb forms of the exalted style o...(-i) ni naru.

2.2.2. "Mesiyowaru"

2.2.2.1. Introduction

The usage of "mesiyowaru" will be explained first. A compound verb "mesiowasu" which is possibly equivalent to "mesiyowaru" was not seen in mainland Japanese, though "mesu" appeared in mainland Japanese as an independent verb
meaning 'to do[x]', 'to wear[x]', 'to drink[x]', and 'to eat[x]', as in examples (23) through (26) (Kindaichi 1972). "Mesu" also functioned as an exalting auxiliary verb in mainland Japanese, as in (27) and (28). The examples are taken from Shin meikai kogo jiten (Kindaichi 1972).

23. Haru no no ni nukeru tubanaso, [mesite] koemase. (Man'yooshuu)
   'Be fat, eating[x] reeds flying in the spring field.'

24. ...Nahosi [mesite]. (Genji monogatari)
   '(One) puts on[x] the clothes.'

25. Kuruma niwa [mesare] soroofo toikoso. (Heike monogatari)
   'Only when (one) rides[x] on the carriage.'

   'The persons whom I asked have fight[x] between wife and husband.'

27. Kaminagara omohosi[mesite]. (Man'yoosyuu)
   'While being a god, he thinks[x].'

28. Tano gakuwo kake[mesaru] wa muhoo na furumai. (Kabuki)
   'It is rude behavior to hang[x] a different picture.'
"Mesu" not compounded with any other verb did not appear in any Okinawan works used for my thesis nor in modern usage, according to my research. The expected mainland Japanese equivalent to "mesiyowaru", namely "mesiowasu" is not seen in the language of the mainland of Japan, while "mesiyowaru" is seen in the Okinawan language. Does that mean that "mesiyowaru" as a compound originated in Okinawan? And if it was so, then why was "mesu" as an independent verb not seen in classical Okinawan? How did "mesiyowaru" as an independent verb originate in the Okinawan language? All these questions are beyond the scope of this thesis and will be researched and discussed in the future.

2.2.2.2. In Omorosooshi

In OS, "mesiyowaru" was used just as an independent exalting verb. As an independent exalting verb, its meanings are 'to do [x]', 'to ride[x]', 'to wear[x]', and 'to drink[x]'. Observe the following examples.

29. Turuko Nikukesiki ... umakanasi [mesiyoware]. 16-12

'Fine Nikukesiki is riding[x] a horse.'

30. Toyomu setakakoka...oune [mesiyowatihe]. 5-68

'A spiritual personage is embarking[x] on the ship, and...’
31. Kikoweookimiya akeno yoroi [mesiyowatihe].
   'The high priestess is wearing[x] beautiful armor, and...'

32. Wakanusi yayano misiyo [mesiyowatihe].
   'Wakanusi is wearing[x] beautiful clothes, and...'

33. Kikoweookimiya...sutemitu wa [mesiyowatihe].
   'The high priestess uses[x] the purifying water, and...'

34. Kikowe tentukino yono sause [mesiyowatihe].
   'The king does[x] the governing of the world, and...'

"Mesiyowaru" as an independent verb in (29) and (30) means 'to ride[x],' in (31) and (32) 'to wear[x],' in (33) 'to use[x]' and in (34) it means 'to do[x].'

"Mesiyowaru" in OS is used just as an exalting independent verb, and not as an auxiliary verb. On the other hand, as we have seen, in KH "mesiyowaru" was used both as an exalting independent verb and as an exalting auxiliary verb. Through a comparison of the usage of "mesiyowaru" in KH and OS, my research shows that the language of OS is older than that of KH. "Mesiyowaru" as an auxiliary verb began to be used in the age after the OS language, appearing in the language of KH and then continually being used until the present. If the language
of KH is older than that of OS, the question of why the use of "mesiyowaru" as an auxiliary stopped during the age of the OS language is raised.

2.2.2.3. In Kinseki Hibun

The examples of "mesiyowaru" in KH will be dealt with here. My research shows the in KH, "mesiyowaru" is used both as an exalting independent verb and an auxiliary verb. I followed the translations of Higashionna (1973).

35. ... ore[mesiyowatihe]...MHM
  '...descends[x], and...'

36. Kurahiwo tuki[mesiyowatihe]...KHH
  '...got crowned[x], and...'

37. Mooharai [mesiyowatiyaru] miseru ni.UMO
    'The god's word saying when the ceremony purifying a building site was done[x].'

Examples (35) and (36) show "mesiyowaru" as an exalting auxiliary verb, and (37), "mesiyowaru" as an independent exalting verb. In KH, "mesiyowaru" as an exalting independent verb means 'to do[x]' in examples (37). We see here that since "owaru" is semantically eroded,
"mesiyowaru", a compound verb of "mesu" and "owaru", took the place of "owaru" in KH as an exalting auxiliary verb.

2.2.2.4. In Kumiodori

In KO, the orthographic form of "mesiyowaru" in the conclusive form is <mesiyain>(mise(e)n) (Iha 1962). My research shows that "mesiyowaru" is used both as an exalting independent verb, meaning 'to do[x]' and 'to say[x]', and as an auxiliary verb. Observe the following examples.

38. Iya afina ajsuyi nu [miseru] kutu chikana. (Gosamaru tekiuchi)
   'Let's listen to what such a fine lord says[x].'

39. Ushuganashi myadeyi yurufiru [mishoochi]. (Temizu no en)
   'The king does[x] the governmental duties day and night, and...'

40. Ujoo nyi !nji[mishoori]. (Temizu no en)
   'Please get[x] outside the gate.'

41. Awari shiri[mishoochi] (Temizu no en)
   'Alas (you) know[x]...'

Example (39) is of the meaning 'to do[x]' and example (38) is 'to say[x]'. (40) and (41) show "mesiyowaru" as an auxiliary verb.
2.2.2.5. In *Ryuuka*

In *RY*, "mesiyowaru" is used both as an exalting independent verb, meaning 'to do[x]', 'to say[x]', and as an auxiliary verb. Observe the following examples.

42. Kugatondi *mishona*, shuyinu shunume.  
'Secondly do not *say[x]* that it is such a far away place, Shuri gentleman.'

43. Ukakibuse *mishori* waushi ganashi.  
'My lord *do[x]* prosperity.'

44. Icharu uyaganashi *sidashimishochi*.  
'What kind of parents would *bring up[x]*?'

Example (42) is of the meaning 'to say[x]', example (43), 'to do[x]', and (44) shows "mesiyowaru" as an auxiliary verb.

2.2.2.6. In the Modern Language

In modern usage, the form of "mesiyowaru" is *miseen* meaning 'to do[x]', 'to say[x]', 'to eat[x]' (*OGJ* 1964), as an exalting independent verb, and *miseen* or *nseen* as an exalting auxiliary verb.
45. Yuu uyoojoo [mishe]biri.  
'Please do[x] taking care of yourself.'

'Is it not the time to go[x] to school?'

2.2.2.7. Discussion

My research on "mesiyowaru" usage in premodern works and modern language shows that "mesiyowaru" as an independent verb has been used from the age of OS to modern times. But the number of meanings of "mesiyowaru" decreased by the age of RK. "Mesiyowaru" meant 'to ride[x]', 'to do[x]', 'to drink[x]', and 'to wear[x]' in OS, but 'to do[x]' in KH, and in KO and RK, 'to do[x]' and 'to say[x]'. "Mesiyowaru" as an auxillary verb began to be used in the age of the KH language and has been used until modern times.

2.2.3. "Tiyowaru"
2.2.3.1. Introduction

"Tiyowaru" is a compound verb of "ki", adverbial or infinitive base of "ku" 'to come', and "owaru".

2.2.3.2. In Omorosooshi

The following examples are of how "tiyowaru" in OS is used.
song #

47. Kikoweookimiya...tenigasita tairakete[tiyoware]. 1-1
   'The high priestess makes[x] the world under the heaven peaceful.'

48. Yosouseji...senman yo sowate[tiyoware]. 1-3
   'The high priestess governs[x] the thousand worlds.'

49. Kikoweookimiya...miyako no mori [tiyoware]. 1-13
   'The high priestess is[x] in Miyako Shrine.'

50. Kikoweookimiya...manman asura man [tiyoware]. 1-14
   'The high priestess exists[x] in unlimited ages.'

"Tiyowaru" in OS is used as an exalting independent verb, meaning 'to exist[x],' as seen in (49) and (50), and as an exalting auxiliary verb, attached to the conjunctive form, in (47) and (48).

2.2.3.3. In Kinseki Hibun

Here the examples of "tiyowaru" in KH will be given.

   'The high priestess is[x] in Urasoe.'
52. Uraosoino ogusuku yonoutini
[otiyowari]mesiyowatihe.

'...being[x] in Urasoe castle, and ...'

"Tiyowaru" in the above examples is the independent exalting
verb, meaning 'to exist[x]'. "Otiyowa(r)imesiyowaru" is a
double exalting construction, since "tiyowa(r)i" as an
independent verb and "mesiyowaru" as an auxiliary verb are
both exalting.

2.2.3.4. In Kumiodori

In KO, "tiyowaru" is used as an independent exalting
verb, meaning 'to exist[x]'.

53. Mumutu wari [chuwari].

(Chuushin migae)

'Exist[x] for one hundred years.'

This appears to be an ossified classical construction, used
as a set formula.

2.2.3.5. In Ryuuka

In RK, "tiyowaru" is used as an independent exalting
verb, meaning 'to exist[x]'.

54. Shuyi tinganashi suraman madi [chowari].

'song #

1634

'King of Shuri, please be[x] alive for long
and for ever.'
55. Shuyi tinganashi mumutu madi [chowari]. 1682
   'King of Shuri, please be[x] alive until a hundred years old.'

   Here, too, the construction appears to be a set formula.

2.2.3.6. In the Modern Language

   In modern usage, "tiyowaru" by itself is not used.
   "Tiyowaru" as an independent verb had been used until the age of RK, but in the modern language it disappeared.
   "Tiyowaru" as an auxiliary verb had appeared only in the age of the language of OS. See section 2.2.5. for more discussion.

2.2.4. "Taboori"

   Another verb containing "owaru" is "tabo(o)ri", a verb compounded from "tabu" 'give[x]' and "owaru" (Serafim, personal communication). "Tabo(o)ri" as an exalting auxiliary verb is used in RK, KH, and the modern language.

56. Zasiganashi...inuchi
    sukuti[tabori].  (Shuushin kaneiri)
   'Abbot, please save[x] my life.'

57. Makayi tsiri ichuga yuruchi[tabori]. (Onna monogurui)
   'Where are you going to take me? Please let me go[x].'
58. Waga yadunyi katati[tabori].
    'Please tell[x] my family.'

59. Inuchigahu chiyusa arachi[tabori].
    'Please make[x] my life strong.'

60. Taboori taboori shasiga kwirantan.
    'I begged, "give[x] me, give[x] me," but (he) did not give (it).'

Examples (56) and (57) are from KO, (58) and (59) from RK, and (60) is from the modern language (OGJ 1964:503).

2.2.5. Other Verbs Containing "Owaru"

"Otiyowarimesiyowaru", the exalting form of "tiyowaru" 'exist[x]', itself an exalting verb, was found only in KH. It was not used in OS, KO, RK, or the modern language.

However, its regular modern derivative, "otiyowarimesiyowariyoru" (ucheeyimiseen or ucheenseen), to which the suffixed auxiliary "-yoru" (from "woru" 'to be') has been added, is the form seen in the modern language.

"Omiyowarimesiyowariyoru", 'exist[x], go[x], come[x]' (!menseen), is the modern, form double-exalting form of old "omiowaru", also seen in the modern language as (i)meen '(id.)'. It, too, is only used in the modern language.

Compounds using "omiyowaru" and "mesiyowaru" are not seen in
premodern sources. We do not see either of these two verbs in OS, KH, KO, or RK.

2.2.6. Discussion of Focus (1)

For focus (1), the evolution of forms containing "owaru" and the evolution of meaning will be discussed.

2.2.6.1. Evolution of Form

The evolution of the form is as follows.

61.
The above chart shows how "owaru" as a single verb becomes a compound verb. Observe the next chart.

(IV, AV) 1 owaru
(AV) 2 tabori------------------tabu + owaru
(IV, AV) 3 tiyowaru------------------ku + owaru
(IV, AV) 4 mesiyowaru------------------mesu + owaru
(IV) 5 o-tiyowarimesiyowaru-----ku + owaru + mesu + owaru
(IV) 6 omi-owarimesiyowarioru------owaru + mesu + owaru

The exalting prefixes and "oru" 'be', which was obligatorily added to almost all modern verbs, and sometimes in the premodern period, are not considered as compound elements in this chart.

"Owaru" first appeared as an independent exalting verb with independent lexical meaning, and then as an auxiliary verb. When "owaru" was added to "tabu", "tabori" as an auxiliary verb began. When "owaru" was added to "ku", "tiyowaru", which was both an independent and an auxiliary verb was formed. When "owaru" was added to "mesu", "mesiyowaru" both an independent and an auxiliary verb, was formed. When "mesiyowaru" was added to "tiyowaru", 
"o-tiyowarimesiyowaru" was formed. When "mesiyowaru" was added to "owaru", "omi-owarimesiyowari-oru" was formed.

Observe the next chart. The number shows each verb in the above chart, and "x," "y," and "z" show the verb stem of the compound verb. "X" is "tabu", "y" is "kuru", and "z" is "mesu".

63.

2------------------------x + 1
3------------------------y + 1
4------------------------z + 1
5------------------------3 + 4 = (y + 1) + (z + 1)
6------------------------1 + 4 = 1 + (z + 1)

In "2," "3," and "46," "owaru" is added to a verb stem to form a compound verb. In "6," 4 is added to the prefixed "1" to form a doubly exalting compound verb. In "5," two compound verbs are combined. Thus, when a verb stem links to one single verb "owaru", a compound verb is made, as in "2," "3," and "4," and when the prefixed stem of "owaru" links to a previously existing compound verb "6" is made. When two compound verbs are put together, "5" is made.
2.2.6.2. Evolution of Meaning

The table on the following page shows how the meaning of "owaru" has changed through OS, KH, KO, RK, and the modern language. IV means an independent verb, AV an auxiliary verb, -IP a non-imperative form, +IP an imperative form, O non-occurrence, +F formal, and -F informal.

"Ovaru" as an exalting independent verb first appeared in OS, meaning 'to be[x]', 'to go[x]', 'to come[x]', but did not keep this function in the age of the KH, RK, or KO languages. However, in the post-classical language, "owaru" as an honorific independent verb appeared. While "owaru" in OS was used to refer to gods, priestesses, lords, and the king—that is to say, "owaru" was quite a high exaltation—in the modern language, the degree of exaltation, even with two exalting prefixes added, has become less. In the modern language, "omiowaru", which is considered equivalent to "owaru", meaning 'to be[x]', 'to come[x]', 'to go[x]', when it is pronounced meen is used from the younger aristocrats and nobles to refer to older commoners. In the modern language, even higher exalting verbs than "owaru" meaning 'to be[x]' are "omiowariesiyowariyoru" (imenseen and imenseen, used to refer to persons of the same or higher rank [OGJ 1964:254,352]) and "otiyowariesiyowariyoru" (ucheeyimiseen and ucheenseen [OGJ 1964:537], used by
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(VERB)</th>
<th>OS</th>
<th>KH</th>
<th>KO</th>
<th>RK</th>
<th>ML</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>owaru</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be, go, come)</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV[-IP,+F]</td>
<td>AV[+IP,-F]</td>
<td>AV[+IP,-F]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omiowaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesiyowaru</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(do, ride, put on, drink)</td>
<td>(do)</td>
<td>(do, say)</td>
<td>(do, say)</td>
<td>(do, say)</td>
<td>AV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiyowaru</td>
<td>IV(be, come)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>IV(be)</td>
<td>IV(be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otiyowari mesiyowaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>IV(be)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otiyowari mesiyowari yoru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omiowari mesiyowari yoru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be, go come)</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aristocrats to refer to nobles).

"Owaru" as an exalting auxiliary verb first appeared in OS. It kept its function as an exalting auxiliary verb through the language of KH; however, in the language of KO and RK "owaru" functioned as a formal auxiliary verb when its form was not imperative, but also as an informal auxiliary verb when its form was imperative. Here we see that the function as an exalting auxiliary verb of "owaru" has transformed to a function as an auxiliary on the axis of address. In the modern language we do not see "owaru" as an auxiliary verb at all.

"Mesiowaru" as an exalting independent verb in OS kept its function of exaltation until the modern language (miseen).

"Tiyowaru" as an honorific independent verb, meaning 'to be[x]' remained in ossified form until the language of RK, but is no longer used in the modern language. "Tiyowaru" as an honorific auxiliary verb attached to the gerund was used only in OS.

"Otiyowarimesiyowaru," a doubly exalting independent verb, first appeared in KH, but did not reappear after the language of KH, until seen again in its modern form, "otiyowarimesiyowariyoru" (ucheeyimiseen or ucheenseen), an exalting independent verb.
"Omiowarimesiyowariyoru" (imenseen or 'menseen), an exalting independent verb that developed as noted above, is used only in the modern language.

"Tabori" as an honorific auxiliary verb first appeared in KO, and has kept its function into the modern period.
Chapter III

FOCUS (2): FORM CHANGE OF THE VERBS WHICH MEAN 'TO EXIST[x].'

3.1. Introduction

The second focus is how the words which mean 'to exist[x]' have changed through OS, KH, KO, RK, and modern usage.

3.2. The Verbs Which Mean 'To Exist[x]'

3.2.1. In Omorosooshi

In OS, the words which mean 'to exist[x]' are "owaru" and "tiyowaru". Observe the following examples of "owaru" in OS.

1. Ukiohoji ga [owa]niya engerahe aramasi. song # 11-2
   'If grandfather is alive[x], there should be a good building (for him).'

2. Syuri [owaru] tetakakoka... 5-6
   'The king, who is[x] in Shuri,...'

The other verb which means 'to exist[x]' in OS is "tiyowaru".

The following examples are of "tiyowaru".

52

'The high priestess is[x] in Shuri Shrine, She is[x] at Madama Shrine.'

4. Atiosoi ya imiyakarato, suemasate, [tiyoware].

'Atiosoi will be[x] superior from now on.'

5. Goeku mori miyagereba aka nasaga [tiyowayoru].

'When (I) look up at Goeku Shrine, my lord is[x] there.'

The form (tiyowayoru) in (5) is a verb to which "oru" 'be' is added.

3.2.2. In Kinseki Hibun

In KH, the word meaning 'to exist[x]' is "otiyowarimesiyowaru". "Owaru" as an independent exalting verb meaning 'to exist[x]' is not used. As already explained, "tiyowaru" in KH appeared as the double exaltation "o+tiyowari+mesiyowaru".

6. Kikowseoomikinasi tama Uraosoini [otiyowaimesiyowaru].

'The high priestess is[x] in Urasoe.'

7. Uraosoino ogusuku yonoutini [otiyowaimesiyowatiwe].

'... is[x] in Urasoe castle, and ...'
3.2.3. In Kumiodori

In KO, the words meaning 'to exist[x]' are "omiowaru" and "tiyowaru".

8. Shuuya makara mankai imeega. (Ookawa tekiuchi)
   'Where to where are you going, boss?'

9. Uchi ni wakaaji kakuriyai imen. (Chuushin migae)
   'A young leader is[x] hiding inside.'

10. Mumutu wari [chuwari]. (Chuushin migae)
    'Exist[x] for one hundred years.'

Imee the apocopating form of "omiowaru" in (8), is an exalting independent verb and imen in (9) is an exalting auxiliary verb. <Chuwari> in (10) is an exalting independent verb.

3.2.4. In Ryuuka

In RK, the words which mean 'to exist[x]', are "omiowaru" as seen (11) and (12), and "tiyowaru" as seen in (13) and (14).
11. Satuga hananushima imeru !wedaya.

'During the time when (my) love is[x] on the flowery island.'

12. Amma shuya yukati !nmarijima imeyi...

'Father and mother are[x] happily in the home country.'

13. Shuyi tinganashi asuraman [chowari].

'King of Shuri, please be[x] alive for long and forever.'

14. Shuyi tinganashi mumutu madi [chowari].

'King of Shuri, please be[x] alive for a hundred years.'

3.2.5. In the Modern Language

The words which mean 'to exist[x]' are meen ("omiowaru"), ucheeyimiseen ("otiyowarimesiyowariyoru") and imenseen or 'menseen ("omiowarimesiyowariyoru").

3.3. Discussion

The independent verbs which mean or have meant 'to exist[x]' are "owaru", "omiowaru", "omiowarimesiyowaru", "tiyowaru", and "otiyowarimesiyowaru". "Owaru" was used in the age of the OS language, but was not used during the age of KH, KO, or RK language. It is considered to be a
representative of the independent verb "owaru," since "o-" and "mi-" are exalting prefixes. That these exalting prefixes have been added to "owaru" indicates that the degree of exaltation of "owaru" was eroding. In other words, because semantic erosion of "owaru" occurred, it needed to be made more exalting. About this verb, we are not sure how it began to be used so many years after the age of the OS language. This question is beyond the scope of this thesis.

"Tiyowaru" was used from the age of the OS language to the age of the RK language, but not in the modern language. We see only chuun which is "ki" 'coming' + "oru" 'be', and that means 'come', not an exalting verb.

"Otiyowarimesiyowariyoru" and "omiowarimesiyowariyoru" have been used only in the modern language, reflecting the automatic addition of "oru". The evolution of the form of the verb which means 'to exist[x]', is as follows.

15. owaru → ti+yowaru → o+ti+yowari+mesi+yowaru → o+ti+yowari+mesi+yowari+yoru

16. owaru → o+mi+owaru → o+mi+owari+yoru
17. o+mi+owari+mesi+yowaru -> o+mi+owari+mesi+yowari+yoru

18. pre-
   OS 1.a. "owaru"
   OS 2.a. "tiyowaru" (<tiyowaru>, etc.)
   KH 2.b. "otiyowarimesiyowaru"
       (<otiyowaimesiyowaru>)
   KO &
   RK 2.a. "otiyowaru" (chowari [imperative])
       1.b. "omiowaru" (ime(e)n [conclusive], imo(o)ri
            [imperative])
   ML 2.b. "otiyowarimesiyowariyoru" (ucheeyimiseen,
       ucheenseen)
       1.b. "omiowariyoru" (imeen, meen)
       1.c. "omiowarimesiyowariyoru" (imenseen,
            menseen)

Thus, the verb "owaru" created ever longer verbs, being added to other verbs. This phenomenon occurs in the change of form of verbs containing "owaru", as we have seen in the first focus.

The reason that they became longer is that when the semantic erosion of exaltation occurred, to take their place people naturally made other, longer, exalting verbs needed in such a society as Okinawa, where the original system of society was a caste system. People have added and added other verbs to "owaru" when the function of the former existential exalting verbs became weaker than it had been. To be polite, a longer utterance is better (Martin, 1964).
However, when more verbs were added, phonologically, they tended to become shorter, since all those verbs were often uttered at the end of sentences. Very long words that naturally come at the ends of sentences tend to be phonologically eroded. Thus both phonological and semantic erosion have resulted in the building of new, ever-longer exalting verbs.
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