# Omoro Sōshi Book 1: Annotation, Translation, and Sound Reconstruction (with An Introduction to the Omoro World)

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## Abbreviations and Conventions

| | |
|---|---|
| A → B | (in derivation) A rewrites as B; (in grammar) A precedes B; (elsewhere) " see" |
| A ← B | (in derivation) A is a rewrite from B |
| A ↔ B | A is not the same as B, A and B are emically different |
| A :: B | A corresponds to B |
| Arch. | archaic |
| *chōfuku* | duplicate [omoro] |
| hn. | headnote (to be found in Japanese-language text) |
| IFZ | *Ifa Fuyū Zenshū* |
| KJE | *Kōjien* |
| KK | *Konkō Kenshū* (Hokama version) |
| $KK_2$ | *Konkō Kenshū* (Ikemiya version) |
| KOS | *Kōhon Omoro Sōshi* |
| lit. | literally |
| Lit. | Literary language |
| LitOk | Literary Okinawan (based on MOk) |
| LitJ | Literary Japanese (based on MJ; used in OS interlineations) |
| MC | Middle Chinese |
| MJ | Middle Japanese |
| MO | " meaning obscure" |
| MOk | Middle Okinawan |
| MU | meaning unknown or unclear = *mishōgo* |
| MYS | *Man' yōshū* |
| NJ | Modern Japanese |
| NKT-Oa | *Nantō Kayō Taisei*, *Okinawa-hen jō* |

| | |
|---|---|
| NOk | Modern Okinawan (Shuri, Naha) |
| OGJ | Uemura, *Okinawago Jiten* [Dictionary of Okinawan; Shuri Dialect] |
| OGJ2 | Uchima & Nohara, *Okinawago Jiten* [Dictionary of Okinawan; Naha dialect] |
| Ok | Okinawan |
| OKDJ | Hokama et al., *Okinawa Kogo Daijiten* |
| OKRKS | *Omoro Kanshō: Ryūkyū Koyō no Sekai* |
| OOk | Old Okinawan (the language of the *Omoro Sōshi*), with *later* OOk being the language of the OS volumes compiled in the 17th century, and *latest* OOk referring to the language of the stone inscriptions |
| OS | the *Omoro Sōshi* |
| OSJS | Nakahara & Hokama, *Omoro Sōshi Jiten Sō-Sakuin* |
| RGJ | Handa, *Ryūkyūgo Jiten* [Dictionary of Ryukyuan] |
| ˌX | mark placed before a segment that is irregularly not Progressively Palatalized: *mi-kanaši-ˌkɪ* ‘ (fossilized) RT’ ; *šiˌna-i* ‘ obeying willingly’ , *-ˌnu* ‘ GEN/SUB’ |
| - | at the end of a line: a regular hyphen; at the beginning of a line: a morpheme boundary — the two types of hyphens do not overlap each other in distribution, so they are safely used together in any text |
| " | prefixed to a consonant: “ the following consonant is voiced” — seen mostly as [ⁿ] (“ voicing seen here, but this consonant in this morph is also seen as voiceless elsewhere” ) & (ⁿ) (“ voicing not seen here, but this consonant in this morph is also seen as voiced elsewhere” ) |
| '/" | “ prime” and “ double-prime” are suffixed to line numbers with similar content in order to avoid an implicit claim that “ x” is primary and that “ x' ” is somehow derived from it |
| ‹"› | (in boldface:) a hiragana ditto character in the original text, delineated by small angled brackets |
| ‹〜› | (in boldface, stretched to 200%:) a double-hiragana ditto character in the original text (the horizontal version of 〳〵); a kanji ditto character in the original text |
| [] | shows where a large space in the brushwritten manuscript has been closed in the typeset version in KOS (*Kōhon Omoro Sōshi*) |

| | |
|---|---|
| [] | Shows where a medium-sized space in the brushwritten manuscript has been closed in the typeset version in KOS (*Kōhon Omoro Sōshi*) |
| [x] | " (algebraic) x added here" ; also $^{[x]}$ & $_{[x]}$, especially when comparing duplicate omoro; see " (x)" |
| (x) | " (algebraic) x deleted/missing here" ; also $^{(x)}$ & $_{(x)}$, especially when comparing duplicate omoro; see " [x]" |
| omoro | this word is treated like an assimilated loan, with no italics: ˣOmoro, ˣ*omoro*, ˣ*Omoro*; " this omoro" , " omoro scholars" , " the omoro language" |
| PP/PP | progressive palatalization |
| prs.n. | person' s name = personal noun |
| *(š)* | *š* or *s* |
| s/o | someone [used in glossing] |
| s/ot | someone or something [used in glossing] |
| s/t | something [used in glossing] |
| *word.* | the word/morph is unaccented/atonic |
| *wórd* | the word/morph is accented/tonic |
| ˣ*word* | wrong form/reconstruction; unattested; does not exist |
| *wo᷄rd* | the word/morph has a secondary (falling) accent |
| {} | curly brackets signifying a morphophonemic-level form |
| ⟨note⟩ | an interlinear note added by the 18th-century OS compilers |
| \| | shows the place of an original break in the brushwritten text of KOS, regularized in the typeset version |
| \|\| | shows the place of an original non-break in the brushwritten text of KOS, regularized in the typeset version |
| -APP | applicative (= ditransitive / double-object) |
| -AUX | auxiliary verb |
| -BE | beautifying expression |
| -CONC | concessive |
| -COP | copula: ' (A) is (B)' |

-DAT any dative-like particle, including markers of place; includes zero-marking with " dative" function

-DSD desiderative marker (1st- to 2nd/3rd-person)

-EX exalting, including prefixes, auxiliaries, and verbs and nouns

-GEN genitive marker, with allomorphs *-ga*, *-gya*, *-nu* (*ˣnyu*)

-GER gerund suffix, with allomorphs *-tɪ*, *-dɪ*, *-či*, and *-ǰi*

-GER/PRF gerund/perfective = {-tɪ} in OOk (see -GER)

-IA inferential auxiliary

-INF infinitive

INT- intensifying verbal quasi-prefix

-IO indirect object marker

-IZ *izenkei*, non-subjunctive form, (definite) provisional form, with allomorphs *-ɪ*, *-rɪ* (cf. -MR)

-KM *kakari musubi*, a kind of focusing construction

-KP *kakari particle*, corresponding to a particular ending in *kakari musubi* (q.v.)

-MR *meireikei*, imperative form, with allomorphs *-ɪ*, *-rɪ* (cf. -IZ)

-MV middle voice

-MZ *mizenkei*, irrealis form, subjunctive-like form, with allomorphs *-a*, *-ra*

-NEG negative morph

-OBJ direct object marker, with allomorphs -Ø, *-yu*, *-ba*

-PRF perfective

-PROG/STAT progressive ('be DO-ing') or stative ('have DOne') aspect, with *-ya(a)r-*, ultimately < *(-$i_{RY}$)-*ar*- 'there.to.be' -

-RH *ra-hen* = *ra-gyō henkaku katsuyō* '*r*-stem-irregular verb(s)' = verbs of existence

-RT *rentaikei*, adnominal, with forms *-u*, *-ru*

-RY *ren'yōkei*, adverbial, infinitive, nominalizer, with forms *-i*, *-ri*

-SS *shūshikei*, sentence-ending form, with allomorphs *-u*, *-ru*, *-i*

-SUB subject, with allomorphs *-ga*, *-gya*, *-nu*, (ˣ*-nyu*) including zero-marking (i.e. -$Ø_{SUB}$)

-TMP/CND temporal or conditional *-ba* — also written “ if/when”

-TOP topic, with allomorphs *-wa* & *-ya*, @?including zero-marking

-VI intransitiv $\{^{\text{e verb}}_{\text{izing suffix}}\}$

-VOC vocative

-VT transitiv $\{^{\text{e verb/suffix}}_{\text{izinng suffix}}\}$

-YNQ yes/no-question marker

-Ø a way of marking expected but non-appearing direct object, dative, subject, place, or copula

Song #1 (Vol. 1, no. 1)

**Original text:** あおりやへがふし
**Roman transliteration:** ⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕ga⊕fu⊕si⊕
**Phonologization:** ‘ooyee-ga fuši
**Translation:** [Performed to] the tune of Aoriyae

**Original text and Roman Transliteration:**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) 一 | きこゑ大きみぎや | (1) $^{I}_{TI}$ | ⊕ki⊕ko⊕we⊕OFO⊕ki⊕mi⊕gi⊕ya⊕ |
| (a) | おれて、[1] あすび、よわれは | (a) | ⊕o⊕re⊕te⊕,⊕a⊕su⊕bi⊕,⊕yo⊕wa⊕re⊕fa⊕ |
| (b) | てにが、した、 | (b) | ⊕te⊕ni⊕ka⊕,⊕si⊕ta⊕,⊕ |
| (c) | たいら|けて、ちよわれ | (c) | ⊕ta⊕i⊕ra⊕ke⊕te⊕,⊕ti⊕yo⊕wa⊕re⊕ |
| (2) 又 | とよむせたかこか | (2) $^{MA}_{TA}$ | ⊕to⊕yo⊕mu⊕se⊕ta⊕ka⊕ko⊕ka⊕ |
| (3) 又 | しよりもりくすく | (3) $^{MA}_{TA}$ | ⊕si⊕yo⊕ri⊕mo⊕ri⊕ku⊕su⊕ku⊕ |
| (4) 又 | またまもりくすく | (4) $^{MA}_{TA}$ | ⊕ma⊕ta⊕ma⊕mo⊕ri⊕ku⊕su⊕ku⊕ |

→ #119 [(b) ‹**TENI⊕ka⊕SITA**›; lines 3 and 4 are missing][2]

**Phonologization 1 and Glossing with Morphemic Analysis:**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) kikui | ‘ufu-kimi-gya | (a) ‘urɪ-tɪ | ‘asiƀ(-i)-yuwar-ɪ-ba |
| (1) famed | great-priestess-SUB | (a) descend-GER | perform-RY-EX-IZ-TMP/CND |
| (b) tɪni-g(y)a | šit/ča -Ø | (c) tɛɛra-gɪ-tɪ | čuwar-ɪ |
| (b) Heaven-GEN | below-OBJ | (c) pac-ify-GER | be$_{EX}$-MR |
| (2) tuyum-u | sɪ-daka-ku-ga | | |
| (2) resonate-RT | spiritual.power-high-one-SUB | | |
| (3) šiyuri muri | gusiƙu-Ø | (4) ma-dama | muri gusiƙu-Ø |
| (3) Shuri Grove | Enclosure-upon | (4) True-Jewel | Grove Enclosure-upon |

**Phonologization 2 and Translation:**

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) kikui ‘ufukimi-gya | (1) The Renowned High Priestess |

[1] This punctuation mark was originally thought to indicate a semantic unit, but lately it has come to be recognized as a breath stop.
[2] At the end of any song that displays either partial or full agreement with (an)other song(s), we put an arrow along with the number or number(s) of the other song(s), here “[→ #119],” as well as brief notes concerning the differences. There is a great deal of this duplication or overlap (= 重複 *chōfuku*) in the OS.

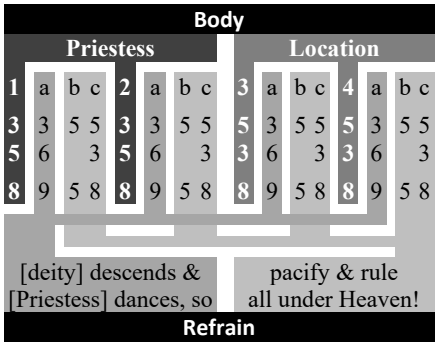
| | |
|---|---|
| (a) ʻurıtı ʻasıbyuwarıba | (a) will descend, and when she performs [the trance dance]; |
| (b) tınig(y)a šit/ča | (b) [all] under heaven! |
| (c) tɛɛragıtı čuwarı | (c) [o! King!,] pacify and rule over [it]! |
| (2) tuyumu sıdakakuga | (2) The Resounding One of Great Spiritual Power (a,b,c) |
| (3) šiyuri muri gusıku | (3) [Upon] the Shuri Grove Enclosure (a,b,c) |
| (4) madama muri gusıku | (4) [Upon] the True-Jewel Grove Enclosure (a,b,c) |

**Commentary:**

**Theme:**

This song depicts a scene in which the High Priestess Kikoe Ōgimi "descends" from Heaven to the Shuri-Castle sacred precinct by order of the Sun Deity to protect King Shō Shin. With Heaven's blessing, King Shō Shin in turn pacifies and rules outer reaches of the Kingdom. While the locution has it that it is Kikoe Ōgimi that descends, in fact it is understood that it is the Sun Deity who descends into the person of the High Priestess, and speaks and acts through her, and thus the religious rituals are characteristic of shamanic belief.

**Song structure:**




The song is divided into two parallel poetic couplets (対句部, *tsuiku-bu*) (12,34) and one free-verse refrain (反復部, *hanpuku-bu*) (abc). This is a technique repeatedly used both in OS and in many other types of poetic literature in the Ryukyus. Each couplet, marked by 一 (ITI 'one') or 又 (MATA 'again'), displays high parallelism between its lines and, typically, the same number of moras, or beats. The refrain, on the other hand, is not necessarily made to conform to any specific metrical structure. It is thought to have been repeated as chant after the sung lines marked with "one" or "again" (Hokama and Saigō: 1972: 611). According to Tamaki (1987: 281), only 15 songs out of 1554 in the entire *Omoro Sōshi* lack 'again.' Hateruma (2014) notes that, in what he sees as epic poetry, parallel couplets were used to advance the story line, with the omoro probably sung by a sin-

gle lead singer, and the refrain chanted in a chorus by a group of singers for the purpose building energy and power.[3]

According to Hokama and Saigō (1972: 583), Shimabukuro Zenpatsu in 1922 suggested that the above *omoro* was recited/sung as (1)-(a)-(b)-(c)-(3)-(2)-(a)-(b)-(c)-(4). The later elaboration of lettered lines seen as refrain after every numbered line was built from this hypothesis.

**Tune name (*fushina*):**

The tune name ‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕› refers to the rank/name of a priestess, formerly the highest-ranked one, but from around 1500, with the establishment of the highest rank of Kikoe Ōgimi,[4] normally the king's sister, it became the second highest rank. Ifa (*Ifa Fuyū Zenshū* (= IFZ) 6:156) gives the pronunciation in the classical language as *wōrē*, but all internal evidence points to *ʻōyē*, with a glottal onset and loss of *r* before *y* instead; we choose that over Ifa's *wōrē*. In OS phonology, the most conservative version of the tune name is *ʻauryai*, from which we get *ʻauyai*, then *ʻɔɔyɛɛ*, and finally *ʻooyee* = *ʻōyē*. The song name we are referring to here should be understood as being pronounced in Literary Okinawan (LitOk), based on Middle Okinawan (MOk), not the Old Okinawan (OOk) of the *Omoro Sōshi* (OS).

**Song-text discussion:**

(1) 一 (ITI 'one'): This character signals the beginning of each song. The Arabic numerals and letters at the margin are added by the editors. The character 又 (MATA 'again') signals the beginning of a new line-plus-refrain unit.

The king's sister was often installed as Kikoe Ōgimi at the most sacred site known as Sēfa Utaki, the destination of her and her procession's journey, called *Agai Umāi* 'Procession to the East', from Shuri castle. En route are 14 holy sites in the Southeastern part of Okinawa. From Sēfa Utaki is seen




[3] While this may be true in a great many cases, it can readily be seen that in many others the entire predicate is chanted in the refrain, in which case the refrain carries the brunt of advancing the purpose or story line of the omoro. Perhaps a reformulation of Hateruma's statement is in order: The parallel couplets tell the theme and through their repetition help to build a trance-like state, while the refrains put a close to the expectation raised by the couplets, and themselves, in their own constant repetition, also help to build that desired trance-like state. While, in terms of the text that we see, the refrains may easily be omitted after their first writing, just as in the writing of Western hymn and song lyrics, the second member of the couplet cannot typically be omitted, because, while it may constitute a semantic repetition, it is not a lexical repetition, and therefore needs to be written out. This would seem to be the simplest explanation for the relation between what is written and what is actually performed, and a neat encapsulation of the nature of the two types of repetition in the OS.

[4] She is so called in modern discussions in Japanese; the NOk pronunciation is *čifi-jiɴ*, and OOk is *kikui ʻuɸu-kimi*.

in the distance the holy Kudaka Island where, according to legend, the first deities descended.

‹⊕gi⊕ya⊕› = *-gya* is the palatalized form of the subject marker *-ga,* caused by the preceding palatal vowel *i*, the last vowel in *'ufugimi̲*. This is called progressive palatalization (PP). Note here that the same morpheme is at least not *written* as palatalized in the second stanza. Mamiya's (2008) statistical study notes that tune names contain more forms *written*, at least, as non-palatalized (ie ‹⊕(")ka⊕›) than the actual song texts, and the older songs contain more palatalized forms (ie ‹⊕(")ki⊕ya⊕›). This is consistent with our view that the older the language that is looked at, the more it has palatal allomorphs in palatal environments, whereas the newer language sees a constant decrease in use of palatal allomorphs in their expected environment. Amami dialects, which are phonologically more conservative than Okinawan, show more palatal allomorphs. As for the tune names, the reason that they have so few palatal allomorphs is because they are late accretions onto the omoros, and are basically to be seen as Middle Okinawan pronunciations.

(a) ‹⊕o⊕re⊕te⊕› lit. 'descending' in OS refers to the trance state of the high priestesses, into whom the Sun Deity descends. Koyama (1995) claims that the High Priestess performs this ritual by the order of the Sun Deity, only on auspicious days.

OOk *'asɨb-* and pre-OJ (pre-Old Japanese) *asôb-* both had similar original meanings, referring to a shaman's modeling of visits from the supernatural world. Their current meanings both have shifted to referring to play and enjoyment (or lack of employment). For OJ, see the commentary section in JDB 24bc, and Yoshida Hiroko (1999: 261). For the development of OJ *ô* vs OOk *ɨ* see Serafim & Shinzato (2005).

(c) The form ちよわれ = ‹⊕ti⊕yo⊕wa⊕re⊕› = *čuwar-ɪ* comes from ***k-i-* 'come -RY'[5] + ***-owa[s-a]r-e* '-AUX$_{EX}$-MR',[6] the latter ← ***owa[s-a]r-* 'exaltedly come / be / go'.

The exalting verb form *čuwar-ɪ* 'we beg you to be' (← *čuwar-* ~ ... 'exaltedly be') is a stereotypical example of irregularity in the formation of exalting verbs, at least in Okinawan and Japanese, and probably elsewhere as well. Two parts will be discussed: *č-* (< ***k-i-* 'come and') and *-uwar-* (< ***owa(s-a)r-* 'be/come/go').

The exalting auxiliary *-uwar-* is one of several allomorphs:

*-((y)u)war-* ~
*-((y)u)wa{s}-* ~
*-((y)u)wa*.

[5] RY = *ren'yō-kei* = pre-verbal / adverbial / infinitive form.
[6] AUX = auxiliary; EX = exalting; MR = *meirei-kei* = imperative form.

The auxiliary allomorphs come from *ʻuwar- ~ ʻuwa{s}-*, a verb with a meaning similar to *č-uwa-*. It must be a borrowing from Heian-period Japanese, since it is widely accepted that the early Mid Heian form *owas(e)-* is from Early Heian *ofas(e)-* [oɸas(e)] 'exaltedly is'. The important point that underlines this assumption is that the MJ word is believed to have come from OJ *öpᶦöᶦ-* 'great' + *imas-* 'exaltedly is'. The likelihood that both Japanese and Okinawan would have independently <u>*irregularly derived*</u> *(*)owas-* is just too slim to countenance a reconstruction of ˣ**opas-* back into Proto-Japonic, and this means that the word is a borrowing into pre-OOk from MJ.

Within Okinawan it developed two stems, (1) an older stem **ʻuwas-* (cf. MJ *ofas-* > *owas-*), and (2) a newer one **ʻuwar-* (presumably from **ʻuwas-ar-* through dropping of **s* and shortening of the resulting long **aa* to **a*):

**aa* >irregular shortening> **a*

The final **s* of the former is indirectly ascertainable, though not actually visible, in the gerund form:

**owas -i -te* >Progressive Palatalization>
**owas -i -tye* >Short Mid Vowel Raising; comcomitant Glottal Phonologization>
**ʻuwaš -i -čɪ* >Post-Palatal *ɪ*-Palatalization; *ši*-Dropping >
*ʻuwa -či*.

The gerund alternant *-či* has as one of its sources the form that follows the *s*-stem verbs, and, just like them the *s* is dropped after leaving its consonantal trace *č* in the non-voiced, progressively palatalized gerund. An *s*-stem example from OS: おろち(へ) = ‹⊕o⊕ru⊕ti(⊕fe)⊕› = *ʻuru-či* 'letting down' ← **oros-i-te* '(id.)'. Other gerund alternants are *-ǰi*, *-tɪ*, and *-dɪ*.[7]

The form *čuwar- ~ ...* then extended its meaning from 'come and exaltedly be (/come/go)' to 'exaltedly be':[8]

'come and exaltedly be (/come/go)' >
'exaltedly be'

(Cf. NJ *irassharu* for a similar semantic extension).

Interestingly, even before the writing of the first *Omoro Sōshi* book in 1531, there were already a handful of stele inscriptions that reflected an already newly developed later form of exalting language, and after that, too, there proceeded apace development in that semantic sphere, with concomitant massive changes in form. Here is a short example: In the OS one finds forms interpretable as *mišuwar- ~ ...* meaning 'exaltedly be/come/go', and which are a combination of earlier **mes-i-* 'exaltedly see (etc.)' + **owar(/s)-*. The former form

[7] Historically: **...g/n-i-te* > *...-ǰi*; **...r/w-i-te* > *...-tɪ*; **...b/m-i-te* > *...-dɪ*.
[8] It is not unusual for the verbs of *coming-being-disappearing* 'i.e., come-be-go' to form a natural class. They are unaccusative verbs not found in transitive-intransitive dyads, and they often trigger a syntactic inversion (eg in English 'there appeared Subject'). For more on this class of verbs, see Shinzato (2010).

**mes-* is widely seen even in NJ, in examples such as *o-ki ni mes-u* 'it appeals to you' (cf. Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, translated as *O-ki ni Mesu Mama*), or in the now-homely word *meši* = *meshi* 'cooked rice; a meal'. In the stele inscriptions these forms, while written in omoro orthography, are attached to verb adverbial forms (連用形 = *ren'yōkei*), and have become exalting auxiliaries, in other words, what omoro language uses just *-((y)u)war(/s)-* for, and their form is now the male gentry-class NOk, eg *...mɪsee-ɴ / ...mɪšoo-či*. One still sees the **owar(/s)-* forms in Ryukyuan languages and dialects that are relatively far from the old Shuri/Naha cultural center, typically as:

*-oor(/s)-*.

The old omoro forms have been superseded by descendants of the newer *-mɪšuwa...* as the new exalting auxiliaries, and in addition the independent *'uwa...* have disappeared, as well. The old morphemes still exist in modern Okinawan in highly modified forms:

*mišoo-či* 'exaltedly be-ing, etc.' < … < *mɪš-uwa-či* < **mes-i+owas-i-te*
*+mišoo-či* ~ *+ɴšoo-či* 'exaltedly V-ing' < … < (same)
Contemporary Shuri *misoo-či*, *+misoo-či* ~ *+ɴsoo-či*
*misee-ɴ* < … < **mes-i+owar-i+wo-mu* '…(sentence-ending form)
Contemporary Shuri *mišee-ɴ* < … < (same)

Let us now return to our starting point, *čuwa...*: Along with the forms given just above, it exists, at least as a form in the *Okinawago Jiten* (『沖縄語辞典』, Dictionary of Okinawan, 537b):

> *'u+čee-i+misee-ɴ* "To very exaltedly be/go/come. …. *Keigo* used in reference to the nobility. The ordinary *keigo* of gentry-class people to each other is *'meɴsee-ɴ*."

This word, if it were actually to have existed long ago with the components represented in the present-day form, is as follows:

**o+k-i+owar-i+wor-i+mes-i+owar-i+wor-u+mu*.

Of course, such a form probably never existed.

(2) ‹⊕to⊕yo⊕mu⊕se⊕ta⊕ka⊕ko⊕ka⊕› consists of two words: *tuyum-u* 'resound-RT' (< pre-OOk **toyo⊕m-*), and the compound *sɪ-* 'spirituality', *-daka-* 'high, strong' (← *taka-*) *-ku* 'person, one' (< pre-OOk **(-)ko(o)*), meaning 'a person whose spirituality is strong and resounding (throughout the kingdom).' The appelation *tuyum-u sɪ-daka-ku* 'Toyomu Sedakako' is an alternative way of referring to *kikui 'ufu-kimi* 'Kikoe Ōgimi', that is, in parallel relationship with it.

(3) According to the *Konkō Kenshū* (= KK), ‹⊕si⊕yo⊕ri⊕mo⊕ri⊕gu⊕su⊕ku⊕› and its parallel line ‹ma⊕da⊕ma⊕mo⊕ri⊕gu⊕su⊕ku›, refer to Shuri Castle (1972: 163).

MOk documents, as well as parallel meter in OOk, show that the word referring to modern Shuri had three moras in premodern times, *šiyuri* in OOk and *šuyui* in MOk.

Of interest, too, is an etymology for this word suggested more than ten years ago in a p.c. to Serafim from Alexander Vovin, and available in print in Vovin 2009: 21-23. We have adapted it for presentation here. He suggests that the word for the capital of Ryukyu is a borrowing from Middle Korean (or earlier) *syěWùl* [šeeβɯlʲ] 'the capital', the Middle Korean pronunciation for the modern Korean capital name *sewul* [s̻ʰɔulʲ] (i.e. Seoul). The syllabic correspondences would be as follows: [šee] :: [ši], [βɯ] :: [wu] (> [ju]), [lʲ] :: [ɾʲi]. (In Ok language prehistory, the change *...iwu...* > *...iyu...* (> *...yu...*) is quite common, and this explains the correspondences in the second syllables.) Since the word would have been borrowed sometime not long after the early 1400s, the sound shift in Old Ryukyuan from mid to high vowels might not have happened yet, and then the first correspondence would have been [šee] :: [še], an even closer fit. The time of the consolidation of the new Korean Yi Dynasty (1392) roughly coincided with the construction of the new Shuri Palace under two consecutive dynasties[9] centered in Shuri.

(4) The translation "[upon]" here is not as fanciful as it may seem, since place/dative markers (so-called applicative markers) are frequently missing in OOk, and, though less so, even in NOk.

~•~•~•~

Thus ends the first song in the first book. This book was written down in 1531, under the fourth monarch of the Second Sho (= *Shō*) Dynasty, Sho Sei (Arashiro (& Asato) 53), roughly eight to nine decades before any of the other books, and it is the record of omoro used specifically in Shuri court ritual. It is particularly valuable because of its antiquity.

[9] The Satto Lineage (察度王統), 1350-1405, and the First Shō Lineage (第一尚王統), 1405-1469 (Arashiro (& Asato) 33-34, 41-42, 44 (specific discussion of Shuri Castle construction), 45-50, 57-58 (specific discussion of trade with Yi Korea)).

Song #17 (Vol. 1, no. 17)

**Original text:** あおりやへももりやあんしかふし
(あおりくものあんじがふし)
**Roman transliteration:** ⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕mo⊕mo⊕ri⊕ya⊕a⊕ɴ⊕si⊕ka⊕fu⊕si⊕
(⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ku⊕mo⊕no⊕a⊕ɴ⊕zi⊕ga⊕fu⊕si⊕)
**Phonologization:** ‘ooyee mumuya ‘aɴži-ga fuši
(‘ooi-kumu-nu ‘aɴži-ga fuši)
**Translation:** [Performed to] The tune of Aoriyae Momoriya Anji
(Aorikumo no Anji)

| **Original text:** | | **Roman transliteration:** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | 一 きこゑ[]大き[]みきや | I TI | ⊕ki⊕ko⊕we⊕OFO⊕ki⊕mi⊕ki⊕ya⊕ |
| (a') | せぢとよみ、せ、い[]く[]さ、 | | ⊕se⊕di⊕to⊕yo⊕mi⊕,⊕se⊕,⊕i⊕ku⊕sa⊕,⊕ |
| (b) | しま、うちの、と[]よ[]み | | ⊕si⊕ma⊕,⊕u⊕ti⊕no⊕,⊕to⊕yo⊕mi⊕ |
| (2$_1$)[1] | 又 とよむせたかこか[、][2] | MA TA | ⊕to⊕yo⊕mu⊕se⊕ta⊕ka⊕ko⊕ka[⊕,]⊕ |
| (a') | せぢとよみ、せいく[]さ | | ⊕se⊕di⊕to⊕yo⊕mi⊕,⊕se⊕i⊕ku⊕sa⊕ |
| (3) | 又 きこゑあんしおそいきや | MA TA | ⊕ki⊕ko⊕we a⊕ɴ⊕si⊕o⊕so⊕i⊕ki⊕ya⊕ |
| (a") | せぢとよみ、いくさ | | ⊕se⊕di⊕to⊕yo⊕mi⊕,⊕i⊕ku⊕sa⊕ |
| (4$_3$) | 又 とよむあんしおそいきや | MA TA | ⊕to⊕yo⊕mu⊕a⊕ɴ⊕si⊕o⊕so⊕i⊕ki⊕ya⊕ |
| (a") | せちとよみ[]い[]く[]さ | | ⊕se⊕ti⊕to⊕yo⊕mi⊕i⊕ku⊕sa⊕ |
| (5) | 又 ゑそこ、かよわ、ぎ[]や[]め、 | MA TA | ⊕we⊕so⊕ko⊕,⊕ka⊕yo⊕wa⊕,⊕gi⊕ya ⊕me⊕,⊕ |
| (c') | せぢやり、やり[]おそう | | ⊕se⊕di⊕ya⊕ri⊕,⊕ya⊕ri⊕o⊕so⊕u⊕ |
| (6$_5$) | 又 みおうね、かよわ、ぎ[]や[]め、 | MA TA | ⊕mi⊕o⊕u⊕ne⊕,⊕ka⊕yo⊕wa⊕,⊕gi⊕ya ⊕me⊕,⊕ |
| (c") | せぢ、やり、やりおそは | | ⊕se⊕di⊕,⊕ya⊕ri⊕,⊕ya⊕ri⊕o⊕so⊕fa⊕ |
| (7) | 又 せ、い[]く[]さ、おし[]た[]ては、 | MA TA | ⊕se,⊕i⊕ku⊕sa⊕,⊕o⊕si⊕ta⊕te⊕fa⊕,⊕ |
| (d') | けおやり、やりまぶら | | ⊕ke⊕o⊕ya⊕ri⊕,⊕ya⊕ri⊕ma⊕bu⊕ra⊕ |
| (8$_7$) | 又 せ、ひやく(勢軍也)、おしたて[]は、 | MA TA | ⊕se⊕,⊕fi⊕ya⊕ku(SEI-IKUSA-NARI)⊕,⊕o⊕si⊕ta⊕te ⊕fa⊕,⊕ |
| (d") | けおやり、やり、まぶら | | ⊕ke⊕o⊕ya⊕ri⊕,⊕ya⊕ri⊕,⊕ma⊕bu⊕ra⊕ |
| (9) | 又 だしきや、うちくぎ[3]、 | MA TA | ⊕da⊕si⊕ki⊕ya⊕,⊕u⊕ti⊕ku⊕gi⊕,⊕ |
| (e) | ‖ちや、|はれ、まわらし | | ⊕ti⊕ya⊕,⊕fa⊕re⊕,⊕ma⊕wa⊕ra⊕si⊕ |

[1] “(2$_1$)” — and similarly in what follows — means “(2), in parallel to (1).”
[2] The brushwritten version has a comma not reflected in the typeset version.
[3] KOS notes: OS #763 (13-18) and the Yaraza Mori Shrine stele both have ‹⊕da⊕si⊕ki⊕ya⊕ku⊕"ki⊕› = *··kugi*. KOS, too, opts for ‹⊕ku⊕"ki⊕›. On the other hand, the Nakayoshi text (仲吉本) and the Ifa text both have ‹⊕"ku⊕ki⊕› = *guki*. Since NOk is *kúži*, with the second obstruent voiced (as is NJ *kugi*), we follow KOS.

→ #135 [‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕to⊕mo⊕no⊕a⊕ti⊕no⊕fu⊕si⊕›; (1) ‹···⊕ki⊕ya⊕,⊕›; (a) ‹···⊕to⊕yo ⊕mo⊕,⊕se_⊕i⊕···›; (b) ‹⊕si⊕ma⊕YO⊕no⊕,⊕›; (2) is the last line — all after (2) is missing]

**Phonologization 1 and Glossing with morphemic analysis:**[4]

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) kikui ʻufu-kimi-gya<br>famed High-Priestess-GEN | (a') sɪǰi-Ø tuyum-i, sɪ,-ʻikusa-Ø,<br>s.p-SUB resound-RY, s.p,-army-COP,<br>(b) šima ʻuči-nu, tuyum-i<br>island conquer-SUB resound-RY |
| (2$_1$) tuyum-u sɪ-daka-ku-ga$_{[,]}$<br>resound-RT s.p-high-one-SUB$_{[,]}$ | (a') sɪǰi-Ø tuyum-i, sɪ-ʻikusa-Ø<br>s.p-SUB resound-RY, s.p-army-COP |
| (3) kikui ʻaNž(i-ʻ)usu-i-gya<br>famed lord-ruler-RY-SUB | (a") sɪǰi-Ø tuyum-i, ʻikusa-Ø<br>s.p-SUB resound-RY army-COP |
| (4$_3$) tuyum-u ʻaNž(i-ʻ)usu-i-gya<br>resound-RT lord-ruler-RY-SUB | (a") sɪǰi-Ø tuyum-i ʻikusa-Ø<br>s.p-SUB resound-RY army-COP |
| (5) ʼi[i]-zuku-Ø, kayuw-a,-gyamɪ,<br>good-bottom-SUB, ply-IA-,as.far.as, | (c') sɪǰi-Ø yar-i, yar-i-ʻusu-u<br>s.p-OBJ send-RY send-RY-rule-SS |
| (6$_5$) mi-ʻu-unɪ-Ø, kayuw-a-gyamɪ,<br>EX-EX-ship-SUB, ply-IA-,as.far.as, | (c") sɪǰi,-Ø yar-i, yar-i-ʻusuw-a<br>s.p,-OBJ send-RY send-RY-rule-IA |
| (7) sɪ,-ʻikusa-Ø, ʻuši-tat-ɪ-ba,<br>s.p,-army-SUB INT-s.f-IZ-T/C | (d') kɪʼu-Ø yar-i, yar-i-mabur-a<br>s.p-OBJ send-RY, send-RY-protect-IA |
| (8$_7$) sɪ,-fya[a]ku-Ø$^{⟨sii-ʻikusa-nar-i⟩}$, ʻuši-tat-ɪ-ba,<br>s.p-100-SUB$^{⟨s.p-army-COP-SS⟩}$, INT-s.f-IZ-T/C, | (d") kɪʼu-Ø yar-i, yar-i-mabur-a<br>s.p-OBJ send-RY send-RY-protect-IA |
| (9) dašikya-Ø, ʻuč-i-kugi-Ø,<br>*shima.misao*-TOP, hammer-RY-spike-COPSS | (e) ǰɔ,ɔrɪ-Ø, ma-waraži-Ø<br>*zo,ori*-TOP, t-t.s-COPSS |

| **Phonologization 2:** | **Translation:** |
|---|---|
| (1) kikui ʻufukimi-gya | Kikoe Ōkimi's |
| (a') sɪǰi tuyumi, sɪ,ʻikusa, | spiritual power [is] resounding, [as is her] spirit-powerful army! |
| (b) šimaʻuči-nu, tuyumi | [Its] land conquests [are] known far and wide! |
| (2$_1$) tuyumu sɪdakaku-ga$_{[,]}$ | Toyomu Sedakako's |
| (a') sɪǰi tuyumi, sɪʻikusa | spiritual power [is] resounding, [as is her] spirit-powerful army! |
| (3) kikui ʻaNžusui-gya | [Our] famed King's |
| (a") sɪǰi tuyumi, ʻikusa | spiritual power [is] resounding, [as is his] army! |
| (4$_3$) tuyumu ʻaNžusui-gya | [Our] resounding Lord-Ruler's |
| (a") sɪǰi tuyumi ʻikusa | spiritual power [is] resounding, [as is his] army! |
| (5) ʼiizuku, kayuwa,-gyamɪ, | As far as the good-bottom [ships] may ply, |
| (c') sɪǰi yari, yariʻusuu | sending off spirit-power, [we] send [it] and rule. |

[4] Alphabetically: s.f = set.forth; s.p = spiritual.power; T/C = TMP/CND; t-t.s = true-traveler's.sandals.

| | |
|---|---|
| ($6_5$) mi‘uunı, kayuwa-gyamı, | As far as His Majesty’s ships may ply, |
| (c") sıǰi, yari, yari‘usuwa | sending off spirit-power, let us send [it] and rule. |
| (7) sı,‘ikusa, ‘ušitatıba, | When the spiritually powered army sets forth, |
| (d') kı’u yari, yarimabura | sending off spirit-power, let us send [it] and protect [our army]. |
| ($8_7$) sı,fyaaku, ‘ušitatıba, | When the spirit-hundreds [of soldiers] set forth, |
| (d") kı’u yari, yarimabura | sending off spiritual power, let us send [it] and protect [them].[5] |
| (9) dašikya, ‘učikugi, | [Spiritually protecting] *dashikya* [wood is made into] hammering-spikes [for the army to drive into the new ground!] |
| (e) ǰɔ,ɔrı, mawaraži | *Zōri* [are transformed into spiritually protecting] true travelers’-footwear [for the army!][6] |
| (9,e) | [Let us thereby ensure the army’s victory!] |

**Commentary:**

**Theme:** This is an oracle to offer reassurance to, and to bless, the King’s army, which is about to depart for war.

**Song structure:**

| Priestess | | | | | | King | | | | | | Warships | | | | Protection | | | | Magic | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | a' | b | $2_1$ | a' | b | 3 | a" | b | $4_3$ | a" | b | 5 | c' | $6_5$ | c" | 7 | d' | $8_7$ | d" | 9 | e |
| 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 |
| | 4 | | | 4 | | | 3 | | | 3 | | | 5 | | 5 | | 5 | | 5 | | |
| 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 7 |

The first part concerns the army’s strength from the priestesses’ point of view, the second, from the King’s point of view, the third and fourth parts concern the armada’s expedition, and the fifth part is a kind of magical spell to ensure the army’s success.

The verse numbers and letters of the omoro are arrayed across the top of the table. Above them are one-word reminders of song content; and under each one is the sequence of moras in each phonological word, followed by the total number of

[5] Vovin (2009: 745) has a slightly different interpretation of (7) through (d"): “**Because** [you] **send forward** the holy army, send [your] spriritual force, and protect [it], **because** [you] **send forward** the holy hundred, send [your] spiritual force, and protect [them]”

[6] (9) and (e) are more literally “*Dashikya* [be(comes)] hammering-spikes, (and) *Zōri* [be(come)] true travelers’-footwear,” where two nouns are linked in a copula-like sentence construction.

moras for each verse given at the bottom. Thus Verse 1 has a three-mora word and a five-mora word, for a total of eight moras in that verse.

The omoro is made up of four semantic structural groups: In the first group (Priestess and King), verse (b) is used as an identical part of the refrain to be repeated after each couplet. Verses 1 and 2, and a' repeated along with b, weave the initial portion of the first group together. Verses 3,4, and a",b function similarly for the second portion of the first group. The third couplet (ie, Verses 5,6) constitutes the second group, performed along with its similar c' and c": 5,c' and 6,c". The third group is the fourth couplet: 7,d' and 8,d". Finally the highly divergent 9,e — a sort of incantation — closes the omoro in just as divergent a tone.

**Tune name (*fushina*):** KOS (1965: 68) points out that the name of this song is taken from the first line of Song #519, a later song than this current one. This creates a puzzle because song #17 is in Book 1, promulgated in the 16th century, while song #519 is in Book 10, promulgated in the following century. Shimamura (1983: 309-311), citing work by Serei Kunio (1940 [1975]) and Nakahara (1951), deems it impossible for the tune names of Books 1 and 2 to have been put in at the time of their compilation. According to him the earliest time that the tune names could have been added to the first two Books is 1623, when the third and following Books were compiled; and the latest is 1650, when one song from a later book, along with its tune name, is cited in the history *Chūzan Seikan* [Mirror of the World of Chūzan], by Shō Shōken.

There is also some discrepancy between the brushwritten text and the typeset text. The brushwritten text of the song has only the line headed #17 presented below. However, the line headed #17' below is in the typeset text only. There is no brushwritten equivalent at all.

#17: ‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ ya⊕fe⊕ mo⊕ mo⊕ ri⊕ya⊕ a⊕ N⊕ si⊕ ka⊕ fu⊕si⊕›

#17': (‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ ku⊕ mo⊕ no⊕ a⊕ N⊕ " si⊕ ga⊕ fu ⊕si⊕›)

Another song that KOS relates to the song name of #17 is #135, the duplicate (*chōfuku*) of #17:

#135: ‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ to⊕ mo⊕ no⊕ a⊕ ti⊕ no⊕ fu ⊕si⊕›

It states that the song's name comes from the first line of #519, regarded as the song-name source of #17.

#519: ‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri, ku⊕ mo⊕ no, a⊕ N⊕ si⊕,⊕›

Shimizu (359) states that it is not clear whether ‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ku⊕mo⊕no⊕a⊕N ⊕si⊕› is a BEAUTIFYING EXPRESSION modifying the word for 'lord', or whether it is a name of a priestess or similar person. OSJS (22a) says that it is probably not a lord's actual name but rather a BE composed of the individual BEs ‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕› (lit. 'fanning') and ‹⊕ku⊕mo⊕› (lit. 'cloud'), thus lit. 'the fanning-cloud lord'.

The reader may note that the line headed #135 has ‹···⊕to⊕mo⊕···›, while #519, its source, has ‹···⊕ku⊕mo⊕···›: KOS #135, in its headnote, notes this discrepancy, and states that ‹⊕to⊕› is probably a miscopying for ‹⊕ku⊕›, but it refrains from changing its own printed text to reflect that. Nevertheless, there remain discrepancies, some even introduced by the KOS editors, as follows:

a) There is no indication of where the brushwritten line of #17 above came from,
b) and why the editors have decided to set up the ghost song name of the line headed by #17'.
c) #315 has ‹⊕a⊕ɴ⊕si⊕›, while #17' has typeset ‹⊕a⊕ɴ⊕"si⊕› where ‹⊕"si⊕› = ‹⊕zi⊕›;
d) #315 has ‹···⊕no⊕fu⊕si⊕›, while #17' has it as ‹···⊕ga⊕fu⊕si⊕›;
e) The line headed by #17 does bear a passing resemblance to #17' and #315, but ‹⊕ya⊕fe⊕› is missing, and ‹⊕ri⊕ya⊕› is used instead of ‹⊕no⊕›.

**Cf.: (1')** → #1(1); **(a)** *sɪǰi*→ #3; **(2$_1$)** → #1; **(3)** *kikui ʻaɴž(i-ʻ)usu-i* → #3; **(5)** *-gyaamɪ* → #6(14)

**Song-text discussion:**

(a') According to Koyama (1992: 314) there is a three-way distinction among (1) *sɪǰi*, (2) *sɪɪ* ~ *sɨi*, and (3) *kɪ(y)u* ~ *kɪ(ɪ)* ~ *kɪi*. OGJ (487a) has *siži*ᴸ (ˣ*šiži*) as ‘deity; the spiritual power of a deity’. On the other hand, it states that *šíi* is ‘a person’s spiritual power’ (468b). Also, under *šii*, RGJ (472) gives the meaning as ‘force, vigor’ (‹勢›), and, as an archaic meaning, ‘armed force’ (‹軍勢›). KOS speculates that ‹se, i⊕ku⊕sa› means a military force possessing spiritual power, and notes that the Ifa text (Ifa-bon 伊波本) has the annotation 勢軍也 ‘it means “power-army” [‹SEI⊕GUN›]’ — which one can provisionally read *sei-ikusa* — for which see below.

As for *kɪ(y)u* ~ *kɪ(ɪ)* ~ *kɪi*, both Hokama (2000: 23) and Koyama (1992: 334) take it to be synonymous with *sɪǰi*.

(b) *šima,-ʻuč-i-nu, tuyum-i*: this phrase is either nominal ‘its land conquests’ echoing’, or verbal ‘its land conquests [are] echoing / [have] echoed’.

The use of *-i* here may be a holdover of an original use of RY/SS *-i* (pJ **-î*) as a stativizer, since *-i* is carried on the stative verbs (e.g. OOk *ʻar-i* :: OJ *ar-i*, both ‘be (inanimate)’, OOk *ʼur-i* :: OJ *wor-i*, both ‘be (animate)’) as their SS. There is an interesting set of materials that sheds light on the function of OOk RY *-i*: An embassy from the Kingdom of Ryukyu went to Korea in the late 1400’s, and there resulted from that a wordlist in a document known as Ŏŭm Pŏnyŏk (語音翻訳, Japanese Go’on Hon’yaku, dated 1501) (Tawata 1997: 14). While the Okinawans were there, their host country’s foreign interpreter office posed a set of questions to some of them written in Chinese, their shared language, for Okinawan equivalents of simple sentences and words. The responses

for nonpast verb forms were with the RY form *-i*, presumably as a functional SS. (See Tawata 1997: 534-535.) The examples are:

| Ch. | E. equiv. | *hangŭl*[7] | presumed OOk form | gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 飮酒 | drink wine | nuʘmi | *num-i* | 'drink' |
| 喫飯 | eat | 'aŋʘkɯiʘri | *'agɪr-i* | 'eat' |
| 燒茶 | boil tea | chjaʘ'oaʘkaʘsi | *ča wakaš-i* | 'boil tea' |

(3) *'anž(i-')usu-i*: The choice of the shortened form *'anžusui* is required for metrical reasons: six vs five moras. Thus verses (1,2,3,4) all have eight moras. LitOk *'a-žisuiˌ* is its modern reflex.

(a") Torigoe (1968: 400) notes that *'ikusa* here and *sɪ-'ikusa* in (a') are distinguished from each other, with the former referring to Kikoe Ōkimi's army, and the latter referring to the King's army, showing a difference in the level of spiritual strength. However, Shimizu (2003: 126) is not convinced, nor are we, though we may say that "his" army is "her" army, as we have translated.

(5) As for ‹wesoko› *'ii-zuku* [ʸi:zuku], Torigoe (397, 399-400) morphologically analyzes it as *'isu-ku* ['isuku], where *'isu* means 'shoreline, strand' (cf. RGJ 208 *'išu* '(id.)', but ˣOGJ, ˣOGJ2). He sees ‹ko› as *-ku* 'male, one', thus having the compound mean lit. 'strand ones'. The only example of the first claimed morph, apparently, is in OS ‹iʘsiʘyoʘfiʘra› *'išu-fira* 'stone(-paved) hillside (road)', where the meaning is 'rock, stone', not 'strand'. OKDJ does have the meaning 'strand' for ‹iʘso›, but only in Ryūka. In any case, Shimizu (2003: 126) is not convinced by Torigoe's reasoning, and for good reason: the interlineations and KKKS refer only to ships (cf. OSJS 328).[8] We believe *'i(i)-* is an adjectival quasi-prefix meaning 'good', also seen as *'ii-* [ʸi:] in NOk. Cf. #6(a) for its etymology.

English *bottoms* refers to, especially, cargo vessels, and the OS use of *suku* here utilizes the same metaphor for the King's ships. They are 'good bottoms'.

As for ‹giʘyaʘme› *-gya(a)mɪ*, OSJS 119a and Shimizu (2003: 104) state, correctly in our view, that this particle comes from a deverbal ***kiwame*** 'reaching a limit' (a grammaticalization), NOk *čiwami-yu-ɴ* 'decide',[9] and structurally related to NJ *kiwamé-ru* 'attain; run to an extreme'. Independently, Nohara (1971) has made both a synchronic and a diachronic study of particles meaning 'as far as' in the Ryukyus, discovering three lineages, which he calls *-madi*,

[7] This is Tawata's romanized transcription for the *hangŭl*-character pronunciation of about 1500. The forms are Korean officials' best approximations in their own script of the Okinawan that they heard.

[8] KKKS includes ‹wezoko›, as does OKDJ, which utilizes all premodern texts (120cd). Both the voicing and the lack of palatalization (cf. RGJ's *'išu*) militate against Torigoe's view. Voicing in compounds with (***yee-*** 'good-' >) *'ii-* is a premodern phenomenon, and has been replaced with the phenomenon of voiceless-obstruent second elements only.

[9] This was one of the meanings in Japanese, too, until at least the 1600's.

*-gami*, and *-gadi*.[10] From his findings we can ascertain that because attestation of *-madi* is strong in the *modern*-Okinawan central culture area yet weaker in its *old records*, clearly *-madi* (< *-madɪ* < *-made*) is a Japanese loan, replacing Nohara's *-gami* and *-gadi* (our *-gyamɪ* and *-gyadɪ*). The oldest record, *Omoro Sōshi*, actually contains the palatal-initial-syllable *gya* of *-gyamɪ* and *-gyadɪ* almost exclusively, showing that the palatal *gy*-forms (including those in Miyako) were remodeled to non-palatal *g*-forms on analogy with e.g. *-ga* ~ *-gya* 'SUBJECT; GENITIVE' → *-ga*, and thus reinforcing our view that *-gyamɪ* is from **-no-kiwame* *'the limit of' (a GENITIVE + a deverbal NOUN) and that *-gyadɪ* is from **-ni-kiwam-i-te* *'attaining to' (a DATIVE + a GERUND), both clearly grammaticalizations from verbal phrases to particles, a very common event in Japonic language history (e.g. NJ *-ni-tsuite* 'about' ← 'attaching to').[11] The sound changes we reconstruct for the former are as follows: *[-nǫ̲ -kʸiβamɛ] > *[-nu̲-kʸiβamɛ] > *[-ŋ-gʸiwamɛ][12] > *[-gʸiyamɪ] > [-gya(ː)mɪ] = *-gya(a)mɪ*.

(c') *yari yari* (also (c",d',d")): both mean 'send'; another expected meaning from the structural point of view is 'send' + 'PROG/STAT', but in this context it does not make semantic sense.

*yar-i-ʻusu-u̲* vs. (c") *yar-i-ʻusuw-a̲*: In the former, SS[13] is used, while in the latter, IA is. Torigoe (1968: 398) speculates this variation is meant for stylistic appeal and emphasis (*bun no aya to tsuyome no kōka*), noting the frequency of this pattern in OS.

($6_5$) *mi-ʻu-unɪ*: Word-initial **f* > **w* > Ø in internal-word–initial but not utterance-initial position in compounds, suggesting an irregular loss of its initial morpheme boundary. Thus **mi-ʻo-fune* > **mi-ʻofune* > **mi-ʻowune* > **mi-ʻoune* > … > *miʻuunɪ*. Cf. NOk *ʻuuni˩* 'ship$_{EX}$'. N.b.: ($6_5$) *miʻuunɪ* and (5) *ʼiisuku* are parallel, and each is 4 moras long.

($8_7$) *sɪ,-fyaaku*: also written ‹⊕se⊕(i)⊕fi⊕ya⊕ko⊕›. Phonologically, we assume a three-mora word with a *Cy* first mora, just as in NOk *hyaaku˩* 'hundred'. Semantically, we assume that the literal meaning of *fyaaku* is 'hundred', but that in this compound it acquires the metonymic meaning '(hundred) soldiers; military force'. In the days when armed struggles were common, the scale of forces pitted against each other has to have been quite small, making an armed force in the hundreds a formidable enemy. OKDJ (366a) also has this etymology. Torigoe (400) believes that ‹⊕fi⊕ya⊕ko⊕› is a shortening of (an unattested) ‹⊕fi

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[10] Regularized to fit NOk pronunciations.

[11] We conjecture that even J *-made* 'as far as' may be a grammaticalization from **-nǫ̈-ma-n-î-të* or **-(ATTRIBUTIVE)-ma-n-î-të* *'being the distance between'.

[12] For verbs plus **kiwame*, the form was frequently **-(a)m-ǫ* 'TENTATIVE ATTRIBUTIVE' + **kiwame*, also resulting in *[-ŋ-gʸiwamɛ]. Other shapes were regularized to ultimate *-gyamɪ*.

[13] SS = *ShūShikei* = Sentence Ending Form. IA = Inferential Auxiliary.

⊕ya⊕u⊕ko⊕› = ‘兵$_{yau}^{fi}$子$^{ko}$’ lit. ‘military-ones’ i.e. ‘soldiers’. The ultimate conclusion is the same, but there is no premodern or modern *fyaaku/fyɔɔku* or *hyaaku/hyooku*, resp., in this meaning to back up his conjecture, nor do the interlineations support it. N.b.: (7) *sɪ‘ikusa* and (8$_7$) *sɪfyaaku* are parallel, and each is 4 moras long.

(d',d") *kɪ’u*: perhaps the *’u* is an accretion of an old spelling of the OBJ enclitic *-(y)u* < **-wo*.[14] Otherwise this shape is anomalous.

*mabura* ‘let us protect’ = *mabur-* ‘protect’ + *-a* ‘IA’ = ‘let 1p. *or* 3p.’



(9,e) We follow Hokama’s (2000 #17) interpretation, derived from OSJS (Nakahara and Hokama 1967).

(9) *dašikya* appears just twice. OGJ 175b: *dašiča꜀* “A low-growing tree [see insert]. It is close-grained and hard, suitable for making walking sticks.” OGJ 175b: *dašiča-guu ʾšan꜀* (n.) “a walking stick made from *dashicha* wood.” *guušan꜀* means ‘walking stick’; OSJS 182b: ‹⊕da⊕si⊕ki⊕ya⊕›: the *shima misao* tree/shrub. It was thought to be able to ward off evil. According to the official site of Okinawa Kyōdo-mura, Omoro Shokubutsuen (おきなわ郷土村・おもろ植物園 “Okinawa Local Village, Omoro Arboretum” (http://oki-park.jp/kyoudo/ba/o_explore/dashikiya.html),[15] the range of the *dashik(y)a / dasuke* tree is from South China, through Taiwan, and as far as the northernmost of the Ryukyu islands. It is a hard and springy wood, from a tree whose trunk grows perfectly straight. According to them, the Japanese priest Taichū, in his *Ryūkyū Shintō-ki* [An account of the Ryukyuan native religion], said that the foundation myth of Okinawa has the deity(/ies?) Amamikyo (and?) Shinerikyo planting the tree to make the mountains. Perhaps not coincidentally to this mythology, it grows at the base of mountain forests.

OSJS says that the terms Amamikyo and Shinerikyo are parallel words; they have been taken both (1) as a male and a female deity, respectively, and (2) as just two ways to refer to the same deity — OSJS prefers the latter. Presumably the hypothesis in favor of the former is related to the fact that the deities Izanagi and Izanami, in the Japanese foundation myth, are brother and sister.

(e) As for the hapax items *ǰɔ,ɔrɪ* and *ma-waraži*, we differ from Torigoe (1968: 399) and Shimizu (2003: 127-8).

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[14] There is only one example of *-’u* cited as an OBJ marker, in ‹⊕ya⊕ti⊕yo⊕wo⊕› *ya-či-yu-’u* [yatšu’u] or [yatšuː] ‘8-,000-generations-OBJ’; otherwise all examples are of *-yu*, spelled ‹yo› or ‹yu› — the latter just once, ‹⊕si⊕ma⊕yu⊕› *šima-yu* ‘land OBJ’, compared to ‹⊕si⊕ma⊕yo⊕› *šima-yu*, with eight examples. There are many examples of the allomorph *-yu* spelled with ‹⊕yo⊕›. That fact shows that OOk was already well on its way to restructuring the allomorphy /-’u/ ~ /-yu/ to non-allomorphic i.e. single-morph /-yu/.

[15] The picture of the *dašiča* plant is from the same site.

Torigoe (1968: 398-399) interprets ‹⊕ti⊕ya⊕,⊕fa⊕re⊕› to mean ‘well, then, rush (over)!’, and ‹⊕ma⊕wa⊕ra⊕si⊕› as ‘(and then) come back! (exalted)’. To his reckoning, ‹⊕ti⊕ya⊕› is an interjection spurring the interlocutor to action, and ‹⊕fa⊕re⊕› is the unattested but unobjectionable imperative of the unattested but unobjectionable *far-u* ‘go/ply’.[16]

As Shimizu (2003: 127-128) points out, there *is* a spurring LitOk interjection *dika-yo* (clearly = non-Lit. *diká* + *yoo*., with a sentence-ending particle) in NOk, and we add similarly LitOk *dikádika* with the same meaning, but we may further note that the form in OOk, were it to exist, would be written ‹⊕de⊕ka⊕›; this means that *both* letters would have to have been misspelled. Shimizu suggests MOk *čaharu* ‘infinitely, boundlessly, eternally’ very tentatively as a word that might be related to the ‹⊕ti⊕ya,fa⊕re⊕› of the text, though he does not explain what has caused him to make this suggestion, nor how it would fit into this context. There *is* one MOk word that might fit in here, and that is *diyoori*. ‘come on out!’, a taunt to an enemy to come out and fight (OGJ 176b-177a); further, it is quite probably a word manufactured during MOk times, since OOk ‘go/come out’ is *ʻiǰï-*, not the *di-* here, borrowed from Japanese, nor regular NOk *ʻnʐi-*. Unfortunately we do not see a way to place a word such as **dɪyɔɔrɪ* into the phonological or semantic context that it would require in order to fit the bill.

Therefore we take the verse ‹⊕ti⊕ya⊕,⊕fa⊕re⊕,⊕ma⊕wa⊕ra⊕si⊕› to *correspond* to NJ *zōri* ‘(Japanese-style) sandals’ and *ma-* ‘true’ (in OOk ?→ ‘spiritually powerful’) + *waraji* ‘straw footwear (associated with making a journey)’ just as OSJS, OKDJ, and Hokama 2000 #17 do.[17]

It may seem odd that such a pair of words sits at the end of the omoro, but (9), equating *dašiča* with spiritual power when driven into the ground, provides the clue for their inclusion. Both (9) and (e) are equational phrases, on the one hand linking a specific wood to spikes with spiritual power, and on the other, linking a mere set of sandals to travel-wear that must likewise have religious significance.[18] They are special sandals worn by the warriors, and we can recall in English our own use of the loaded term *jackbooted* to invoke fear-inducing military-like images. If we were to say, for example, “The spikes are

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[16] The cognate NOk *ha-yu-ɴ.* does not refer to human action, but there appears to be no such restriction in OOk, nor is the morphology quite the same; the verb has regularized to its NOk forms.

[17] The interpretation we accept does have its own problems, among them poor fit between the initial OOk *ǰ* [dž] and J *z* [(d)z] (affrication and palatality; but earlier *ž* [ž] in 1603, with affrication being the only issue) — and poor fit of both with the regular Ch-derived J *s* [s] (though the source, Ch 草 [ˇts$^{h}$a.u],Ch has an affricate)) [ts$^{h}$])) — and of the *ži* [ži] of *ma-waraži* with the historically older form *ǰi* [dži] of J *waraǰi* (> 17$^{th}$-century *waraži* with [ži]). Then, too, neither form in Japanese is regularly derived from its supposed origins of (Ch *ts$^{h}$autsau+lü* >) J *sau+ri* ‘grass+footwear’ > $^{x}$*sɔɔ+ri*, and *wara+no+kutu* ‘straw+’s+shoe’ > $^{x}$*waragutsi*.

[18] N.b.: walking staffs and straw footwear are associated with Buddhist pilgrimage in Japan proper.

crucifixion spikes, and the boots are jackboots," we would instantly invoke — for those with the right background — the sort of religious/military/political terror that special uses of ordinary terms are meant to convey.

Note that the fact of a comma right in the middle of ‹⊕ti⊕ya⊕,⊕fa⊕re⊕› *ǰɔ,ɔrɪ* 'sandals' constitutes a direction not to shorten long [ɔː] to short [ɔ], where Ryūka-like long-vowel shortening rules would normally call for it. Thus both lines have the same mora structure 3⊕4:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| da | ši | kya | ʻu | či | ku | gi |
| ǰɔ | , | ɔ | rɪ | ma | wa | ra | ži |

How could the phonological form *ǰɔɔrɪ* be related to the spelling ‹⊕ti⊕ya⊕, ⊕fa⊕re⊕›? (1) The spelling ‹tiya› is most typically the way of writing *ča(a)* or *ǰa(a)*. (2) The spelling ‹¨⊕a⊕fa⊕› may be the phonological form ¨*afa*, ¨*aba*, or ¨*awa*. The ‹¨⊕a⊕fa⊕› :: ¨*awa* correspondence is due to a weakening of non-initial **f* to *w*, a sound change that is also found in J. So, lastly, (3) the correspondence ‹¨⊕a⊕fa⊕› :: ¨*ɔɔ* is explained as due to a sound change of *¨*awa* to *¨*ɔɔ*.[19]

Within Japanese, we see this change in the case of the word for 'broom': OJ *papakî* > MJ *fawaki* > … > ENJ *fɔɔki* > NJ *hooki*. These changes are found repeatedly, but they are sporadic, not automatic.

The changes described here require a glide surrounded by the low vowel [a]. They originate in rapid-speech forms,[20] but, unlike other sound changes, have never made it to full regularity — they only occur irregularly.

(e) has two *hapax* terms, so ultimately any hypothesis will have to be, to a degree, speculative. The question devolves, then, to this: what fits best? We have argued for the Nakahara and Hokama hypothesis, and therefore reject the competing claims that the first word is an interjection (Torigoe), or 'endlessly' (Shimizu). Likewise, we have argued that the second *hapax* fits well with the first; it is not, therefore, *mawar-aš(š)-i* 'go[ing] around (lightly exalting)' (Torigoe and Shimizu).

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[19] There is one other word probably related to ‹ti⊕ya,fa⊕re›, namely ‹⊕ti⊕ya⊕re⊕›, also 'sandals' and also appearing only once (#1000). It was probably pronounced *ǰɔrɪ*, with two moras, since its parallel terms are ‹⊕mi⊕ne⊕› *minɪ* or *mini* (because of PP) 'peak' and ‹⊕fu⊕ne⊕› *funɪ* 'ship', both with just two moras.

[20] To wit: [awa̤] > [awə̤] > [awi̤] > [au] > [ɔɔ].

Song #20 (Vol. 1, no. 20)

**Original text:** あおりやへかふし
**Roman transliteration:** ⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕ka⊕fu⊕si⊕
**Phonologization:** *'ooyee-ga fuši*
**Translation:** [Performed to] The tune of Aoriyae

| **Original text:** | **Roman transliteration:** |
|---|---|
| (1) 一 きこゑ大[]きみ[]きや | I TI ⊕ki⊕ko⊕we⊕OFO⊕ki⊕mi⊕ki⊕ya⊕ |
| (a) しけうち、あや、あすばちへ、 | ⊕si⊕ke⊕u⊕ti⊕,⊕ a⊕ya⊕,⊕ a⊕su⊕ba⊕ti ⊕fe⊕,⊕ |
| (b) ち[]より種等也の、(1) は[]な[]の、 | ⊕ti⊕yo⊕ra⊕(ZHO·RA·NARI)⊕no⊕,(1) ⊕fa⊕na ⊕no⊕,⊕ |
| (c) う[]ら〳〵と、 | ⊕u⊕ra⊕〜⊕to⊕,⊕ |
| (d) とよで、みもん | ⊕to⊕yo⊕de⊕,⊕mi⊕mo⊕N⊕ |
| (2₁) 又 とよむ[]せた[]か[]こ[]か | MA TA ⊕to⊕yo⊕mu⊕se⊕ta⊕ka⊕ko⊕ka⊕ |

注(1) 原注、黒書きで〔種等也〕とあるが、ちよらの花は、美ら花の意。[Chū (1) Genchū, kuro-gaki de ⟨ZHO⊕RA⊕NARI⟩ to aru ga, chiyora no hana wa, kiyora-bana/kiyora [no] hana no i.][1]

→ #138 (3.51) [‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕_⊕fu⊕si⊕›; (a) ‹⊕si⊕ke⊕u⊕ti⊕_⊕›; (c,d) ‹⊕u⊕ra⊕〜⊕to⊕,⊕ / ⊕to⊕yo⊕de⊕,⊕mi⊕mo⊕N⊕› → (c) ‹⊕sa⊕i⊕wa⊕ta⊕ru⊕mi⊕mo⊕N⊕›]
→ #157 (4.6) [‹⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕__⊕fu⊕si⊕›; (a) ‹⊕ki⊕ko⊕we⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕ya⊕›; (b) ‹⊕ka⊕ke⊕wa⊕ti⊕fe⊕›; (c,d) ‹⊕u⊕ra⊕〜⊕to⊕,⊕ / ⊕to⊕yo⊕de⊕,⊕mi⊕mo⊕N⊕› → (c) ‹⊕sa⊕i⊕,⊕wa⊕ta⊕ru⊕,⊕mi⊕mo⊕N⊕›; (2) ‹⊕to⊕yo⊕mu⊕a⊕o⊕ri⊕ya⊕fe⊕ya⊕›]

**Phonologization 1 and Glossing with morphemic analysis:**[2]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) kikui | ʻufu-kimi-gya | | (a) šikɪ-ʻuči-Ø, | ʻaya-Ø, | ʻasib-a-či, |
| famed | great-priestess-SUB | | h.p-interior-DAT | pr's-OBJ | s.d-CAUS-GER |
| (b) ǰ(i-ʻ)ura-nu, | fana-nu, | | (c) ʻuraʻuraa-tu, | | |
| earth-behind-GEN, | flower-SUB | | serene-ly | | |
| (d) tuyu-dɪ, | mi-muN | | (2₁) tuyum-u | sɪ-daka-ku-ga | |
| resound-GER | see-thing | | resound-RT | s.p-high-one-SUB | |

| **Phonologization 2:** | **Translation:** |
|---|---|
| (1) kikui ʻufukimi-gya | Kikoe Ōkimi |

[1] "N(1): The interlineation has ‹ZHO⊕RA⊕NARI› written in black, but ‹ti⊕yo⊕ra⊕no⊕FANA› [*sic*] means 'kiyora-no hana' (beautiful flower)." (Interlineations are normally written in red.) We believe that this is an unwarranted interpretation of ‹ti⊕yo⊕ra›. We interpret the intent of this note in Commentary, under (b). The character ‹種› may be read SJ *šoo* as well as SJ *šu*; Mandarin *zhòng* or *zhǒng*, [tʂʊ(ː)ŋ], more or less, with a non-aspirated affricate. The readings of ‹等› *ra* are not at issue, as far as we can tell.
[2] Alphabetically: h.p = holy.place; pr's = priestesses; s.d = sacred.dance; s.p = spiritual.power.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) | šikɪʻuči, ʻaya, ʻasɨbači, | has the cloth[-wearing one]s perform a sacred dance within the sanctuary, and |
| (b) | ǰura-nu, fana-nu, | the Flower from behind the Earth |
| (c) | ʻuraʻuraa-tu, | serenely |
| (d) | tuyudɪ, mimuɴ | rises, and is a sight to behold |
| (2) | tuyumu sɪdakaku-ga | Toyomu Sedakako (a,b,c,d) |

**Commentary:**

**Theme:** The creators of this omoro appear to have combined parts of two pre-existing songs. One part, (i), was a description of Kikoe Ōgimi's direction of an *ʻasɨbi* in the Sanctuary, the Shikeuchi; the other, (ii), originally was a song of praise and wonderment directed to the Sun Deity. The verse in (i) can also be interpreted as a covert assertion of Kikoe Ōkimi's paramountcy over all other priestesses, including Aoriyae, who had been the paramount priestess before the advent of the new hierarchy under King Shō Shin, whose reign ended shortly before the first volume of the OS was compiled.

**Song structure:**

Body

The High Priestess

| (i) | | | | | (ii) | | | | | (i) | | | | | (ii) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (a) | (b) | (c) | (d) | | | | | | (2) | (a) | (b) | (c) | (d) | | | | | |
| 3 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | | | | | | 3 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | | | | | |
| 5 | 6 | 3 | | 3 | | | | | | 5 | 6 | 3 | | 3 | | | | | |
| 8 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 6 | | | | | | 8 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 6 | | | | | |

Has them dance, and praises the Sun

Refrain

In regard to (a), let us briefly discuss mora counts, i.e. length of lines. Where a word begins with a glottal stop, that *ʻV* mora is a candidate for elision, and therefore the line may be shorter than expected at first blush. But will it elide? (1) Note the comma in ‹aʘya‗›, suggesting that a merger of *ʻaya* and *ʻasɨbači* is to be avoided; therefore: ˣ*ʻayasɨbači* (ˣ5 moras), °*ʻaya ʻasɨbači* (°6 moras). (2) What about *šikɪ-* plus *ʻučɪ*? An elision would yield *šikɪči*, while with a retention it would be *šikɪʻučɪ*. We suspect that if *šikɪʻučɪ* were a fully lexicalized word it would retain the glottal-initial syllable — thus *šikɪʻučɪ* — while something close to a nonce coinage, or a semantically transparent compound, would allow (though not require) an elision: *šikɪ-ʻučɪ → šikɪ-čɪ*. The word does appear to be semantically transparent. If they *meant šikɪči*, though, why didn't they just *write* ‹siʘkeʘti›? This might be termed the what-you-see-is-what-you-get argument. Indeed, absent any other sort of evidence, this argument seems to carry the day.[3] Thus we leave the line at 10 moras.

[3] There may be such a line of evidence: There is a word ‹siʘ(ʷ)keʘti› 'sacramental wine', which would be pronounced either *šikɪči* or *šigɪči*. The former pronunciation would make it a homophone for the word for

**Cf.: (1, 2)** → #1; **(a)** *ʻasɨb-* → #1; **(d)** *tuyu-dɪ* → #16 (14, 16).

**General:** As already mentioned, this song appears to be similar in content to #157. The difference is that #20 has Kikoe Ōkimi as subject and #157 has Aoriyae as subject. Historically, Aoriyae was the highest-ranking priestess before she was superseded by Kikoe Ōkimi during the reign of King Shō Shin. This will make #157 older than #20. Therefore #20 is a covert assertion of relative hierarchy of the priestess Kikoe Ōkimi over Aoriyae. The diversion of Aoriyae's song and its transformation into Kikoe Ōkimi's — quite apart from the clear change in meaning within the song — constitutes an arrogation of one priestess' "property" by another, a clear sign of the realignment of religio-political power. Overtly this song is just about a beautiful dance, perhaps, as Torigoe (1968 #20) claims, for the purpose of wishing the monarch a long and prosperous reign.

**Song-text discussion:**

(a) The origin of the *šikɪ-* of *šikɪ-ʻuči* is not known, but there is no doubt about its semantics: we adopt Hokama (2000: 25) and Shimizu's (2003: 132) interpretation as a sacred place on the castle grounds, largely in agreement with OSJS (‹si⊕ke›, ‹si⊕ke⊕u⊕ti› 152b).

The compound *šike(-ʻu)či* 'sacred enclosure' bears what we consider to be more than a chance resemblance to two other words observed in OS: ‹ma⊕si⊕ke⊕tu› *ma-šikɪ-cɨ* and ‹ma⊕si⊕ke⊕su› *ma-šikɪ-sɨ* 'the holy place where a deity abides', lit. 'BE-holy(.place)-[?]enclosure' (OSJS 263c) ?< **ma-sike-ʻutu*. A simple chart of sound changes will help explain our view of the relationship of the words:

| pre-PJ | | PJ | | post-PJ | | OOk | irreg. | OOk |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **tu* [tu] | > | **tu* [tu] | > | **tu* [tu] | > | *cɨ* [tsɨ] | → | *sɨ* [sɨ] |
| **tui* [tui] | > | **tï* [twi] | > | **ti* [ti] | > | *či* [tši] | | |

Let us feed pre-PJ **utu* and **utu-i* 'enclosure' (OJ *utu-*[4] and *uti*) through those changes: what we get is *ʻucɨ* [ʔutsɨ] and *ʻuči* [ʔutši]. If we irregularly assibilate *ʻuci*, we get *ʻusɨ* [ʔusɨ]. If, in compounding, we elide the initial syllable of the two allomorphs, we get *-cɨ* ~ *-sɨ*. Apparently, there was a compounding, earlier than the transparent *šikɪ-ʻuči*, of **sike* + **utu* to **sike-tu* to **šikɪ-ci*, followed by the addition of the beautifying prefix **ma-*: *ma-šikɪ-cɨ*. This is where we see the *-cɨ* allomorph. An irregular assibilation now gives *ma-šikɪ-sɨ*, which is where we see the *-sɨ* allomorph.

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'sanctuary'. There is no evidence for a *šikɪʻuči* variant for the word meaning 'sacramental wine'. Perhaps the spelling ‹si⊕ke⊕u⊕ti› for 'sanctuary' is meant as a way for disambiguating two words that share a semantic element 'sacrosanct, holy': ‹si⊕ke⊕u⊕ti› *šikɪ(ʻu)či* 'sanctuary' ↔ ‹si⊕[ʷ]ke⊕ti› *šiˊ[ʷ]kɪči* 'sacramental wine'.

[4] In OJ, JDB has *utu-* 'complete(ly)' (121c, ‹内› 'interior' *utu-*, used as *ateji*; ～*-pagî* (123d, 'completely stripped off', ‹内› used as *ateji*); ～*-pata* (123d, lit. 'complete-loom' → 'clothing ready to wear, right off the loom', ‹内› used as *ateji*), ～*-yupu-nö* (*makura kotoba*, original meaning unknown, but ‹内› used at least as *ateji*, possibly in its meaning of 'inner' (124c)).

*'aya* is by MOk times typically interpreted as a BE (cf. MOk *'aya-haberu* 'beautiful butterfly', Shimizu 2003: 132, by MJ times a set collocation, according to OKDJ ‹a⊕ya›). Etymologically, in OJ, *'aya* comes from an image in which vertical and horizontal threads intertwine in the process of weaving — the *'aya* is the pattern (JDB 50a). In OJ both that meaning and the meaning of textiles with those qualities were already established.[5] In OOk it is a noun originally meaning '(cloth-)pattern, lines'; we interpret it here, however, as metonymically meaning 'priestesses (who wear patterned capes/overgarments)', with the extensions of meaning being 'pattern' → 'patterned cloth' → 'patterned-cloth overgarment' → 'priestess wearing patterned-cloth overgarment'.

*'asɨb-a-či* is the gerund of *'asɨb-as-u* 'cause to dance', with the intermediate *-š-i-* regularly elided after PP (< **'asub-as-i-tye*).[6] Nakahara's (1957: 453) interpretation of Song #37 (1.37) may give an idea as to how *'asɨbi* was performed: Kikoe Ōkimi enters the ceremonial grounds from the Kyō no Uchi leading other priestesses in procession with *nobori* banners and resounding drums. Now, since *'asɨb-a-či* is a form of a transitive verb in the current song (Song #20), naturally an object is needed, but what is it? Torigoe interprets the objects to be little princes and princesses dancing in the sacred arena (somewhat similar to Nakahara's interpretation of *'asɨbi*), though no such object is overtly mentioned in the song. We believe that the object of *'asɨb-a-či* in this omoro is *'aya,* which metonymically extends to mean priestesses as mentioned in the previous paragraph.[7]

A clue for this interpretation comes from Song #843 and the already mentioned Song #157 (4.6).

First, Song #843 (= 13.98)[8,9] offers important information about *'aya*, by equating *'i(i)-kaki mi-fanɪ* on one hand to *'aya*,[10] and on the other hand, to *bingata* textiles,[11] which was the deity-clothing [*kami-ishō*] worn by priestesses at religious rituals.

*kiku'i 'akɪ-šinu-ga,* 'Famed Akeshino,

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[5] In addition, a group of Chinese immigrants to Japan were named *Aya(-be)* due to their weaving skills.

[6] This form appears in #688 (12.37): *tama-nu-turi-Ø*OBJ, *kuganɪ-turi-Ø*OBJ *'asɨbači* 'making the jeweled birds, the golden birds, dance'; Hokama (2000 #688) takes the verb to be transitive: the priestess is, through her own movement, making the birds (and horses) on her *bingata* dance.

[7] Otherwise we would be forced into an unwieldy adverbial interpretation, as if it were *'aya-ni*.

[8] Book 13 is titled '*Funa-eto omoro o-sōshi*' = 'Ship sailing songs', frequently with imagery of priestesses as birds flying above the ships and protecting them.

[9] Throughout, our transliterations and translations.

[10] OSJS (327b) adds that KKKS (Kon [Earth], §Ifuku [Clothing]) defines it as referring to patterned/striped clothing [*'aya-ginu*] and that ‹a⊕ke⊕no⊕fa⊕ne› [*'akɪ-nu fanɪ* lit. 'red wings'] or ‹a⊕ke⊕mu⊕ka⊕ke› [*'akɪ M-kakɪ* lit. 'red exalted overgarment'] refer to patterned (i.e. 'red') clothing. Note the use of *fanɪ* 'wings' to refer to the common wing pattern on *bingata*, and *kakɪ* to refer to a long overgarment 'placed on' the body.

[11] Ifa Fuyū (1974 [1928]: 130-137) wrote about the subject of the beginnings of Okinawan *bingata* dyeing technology, speculating, from the content of its omoro, that ‹we-ka⊕ki-mi-fa⊕ne› lit. 'picture-writing-EX-feather/wing' was *bingata* clothing with flowers and birds painted on it, deity-clothing [*kami-ishō*] worn by noros, i.e. *'i(i)-kak-i mi-fanɪ*.

[1] *'i(i)-kaki mi-fanı,* [2] praying for
[2] *ku-yuwa-či,* [1] [an overgarment with] painted exalted wings,
*kumu kazı, šina'i-tı,* harmonizing the clouds and winds;
*fary-as-ı* see [the ship] off!'

As for song #157, the following parallel is especially informative as to the proper interpretation of *'aya*.[12]

*šikı-'uči, 'aya, kakı-wa-či* In the Sanctuary, she dons the *'aya* (#157)
*šikı-'uči, 'aya, 'asıb-a-či* In the Sanctuary, she has the *'aya* dance (#20)

The OOk exalting verb gerund *kakı-wa-či* refers both to an act in cloth production, spinning, and to placement of cloth on the body (cf. also NJ *uchikake* 'long overgarment').

From #843, we know that *'aya,* the *bingata* textiles, were worn by priestesses at religious rituals in omoro times. In Song #157, a priestess is placing the *'aya*, the overgarment, on herself. In Song #20, the *'aya*, the overgarments, have already been put on by the priestesses, and as a result, they have induced a metonymic transfer from the overgarments to the persons who have donned them. Song #157 has Aoriyae covering herself in a ritual cloth to dance.

[AGENT kikui 'auryai$_i$ ] [PATIENT 'aya ] [VT {kakı} ]
[AGENT kikui 'ufukimi$_j$ ] [PATIENT 'aya$_i$ ] [VT [VI {asıb} ] [VT {as} ] ]

Thus in #20 *Kikoe Ōkimi* has caused the *'aya* — the patterns → the cloths (with the patterns) → the priestesses (covered in the cloths) — to dance; the priestesses of course include Aoriyae.

At the same time the changes in the original metrical and even overall phonological structure are tightly constrained, as can readily be discerned below.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
k i k u ' i ' a ' u r y a ' i - y a š i k ı ' u č i ' a y a k a k ı w a č i
k i k u ' i ' u f u k i m i - g y a š i k ı ' u č i ' a y a ' a s ı b a č i

(b) KOS and all three of our main interpreters agree that ‹⊕ti⊕yo⊕ra⊕› (~ ‹⊕ti⊕u⊕ra⊕›) are affrications with *č* of ‹⊕ki⊕yo⊕ra⊕›. This would mean that OOk had lost the ability to distinguish between **ki* ↔ **ti* > **ki* ↔ **či* > *či* = *či*. There is no disputing that *eventually ki* affricated to *či*. However, very importantly, despite there being many examples of ‹⊕ki⊕yo⊕ra⊕›, there is no example of ‹⊕ki⊕yo⊕ra⊕no⊕(_)⊕fa⊕na⊕›. Nor is there any example of the ‹⊕ti⊕›-initial word anywhere *other* than in this context. The likelihood of this distribution of putative allographs (i.e., with ‹⊕ki⊕› = ‹⊕ti⊕›) of the same morpheme is vanishingly small. This renders the likelihood, based on this evidence at least, of the change *ki* > *či* having occurred by OOk to be nil.

Furthermore, no one has attempted to interpret the interlineation ‹ZHO⊕RA›. We make that attempt here, though we feel that we have already given sufficient evidence for OOk *ki* ↔ *či*. The character ‹種›, as pointed out in the note, has the two SJ pronunciations *šu* and *šoo*, while there are also two versions in

[12] The phonology and meaning of the entire song are treated below, along with others, for other purposes.

Mandarin, *zhòng* and *zhǒng*, with only a tonal difference, which we will henceforth ignore, yielding a syllable with a non-aspirate (and therefore voiced-sounding) retroflex affricate: [tʂʊ(ː)ŋ]. On the assumption that the character was used to characterize the correct pronunciation of ‹⊕ti⊕yo⊕ra⊕›, it would have, as in the case of Chinese characters refitted for use as Man'yōgana, been shorn of its final nasal, giving [tʂʊ(ː)] as the useful portion. Southern/Central Okinawan has no aspirate :: non-aspirate distinction, but it does have a voiceless :: voiced one, and indeed, the word-medial allophone of *zh* (/ʨ/) is [dʑ], phonetically very close to the Okinawan /j/ = [dž], and it would be most natural for the Okinawan-pronunciation equivalent of Chinese [tʂʊ(ː)] ~ [dʑʊ(ː)] to be [džu(ː)]. The second character presumably would have had the common Japanese *ateji* pronunciation *ra* = [ɾɑ]. Thus [džu(ː)] + [ɾɑ] = [džu(ː)ɾɑ] = *ju(u)ra*. The only other two options that make even a modicum of sense are [šuɾɑ] = *šura* and [šoːɾɑ] = *šoora*, though they do not fit well with the OOk spelling. Nor do *?ju(u)do(o)* or *?ju(u)du(u)*, the best guesses for an all-Chinese-based transliteration. While it is less than ideal for a pronunciation guide to have Mandarin and Japanese *ateji* portions, it appears to be the most likely hypothesis, made even more so by the fact that the people who wrote the text and its interlineations were well versed both in Chinese and Japanese, because of the intersection in Shuri of the Chinese and Japanese high cultures from at least the late 1300s.

Therefore, ‹⊕ti⊕yo⊕ra⊕› ~ ‹⊕ti⊕u⊕ra⊕› is a word unrelated to ‹⊕ki⊕yo⊕ra⊕› 'beautiful'. We propose a compound made up of *ǰii* 'the earth' (as in OS *ǰi-teni* 'earth-(and)-heaven') and *'ura* 'behind, in back of' (OSJS 65a ‹⊕u⊕ra⊕ma⊕ki ⊕ti⊕fe⊕› *'ura-maki-či* is the only word given as a possible example of *'ura* in this meaning in OS, though *'ura* 'back of' appears, already with three submeanings, in Ryūka (OKDJ ‹⊕u⊕ra⊕› 114b)). Examples of use of *'ura.* in NOk are plentiful.[13] The spelling with ‹⊕u⊕› is etymological, and the spelling with ‹⊕yo⊕› is phonological, showing that a crasis of two syllables into one has occurred: **ǰi(i)-'ura* > **ǰi(i)-yura* > **ǰu(u)ra*. We are already aware of the prevalence of the imagery of the sun emerging from an orifice in the eastern horizon.

Before we begin, a word about *fana* lit. 'flower' in the songs: OSJS (30b), ‹⊕a⊕ke-mo⊕to⊕ro-no-fa⊕na⊕› *'akı-muduru-nu fana* cites #851 (13.106) and an interlineation to that song as stating that it "refers to a flower that blooms in the early morning;" both in the OSJS entry and in hn.1 to that song in KOS #851, p503, they state that "surely they likened to a flower the beautiful scene at the time that the sun was about to emerge from the horizon." They also cited the KKKS to the same effect: "it refers to an early morning flower: ‹te⊕ni⊕ni to ⊕yo⊕mu OFO⊕nu⊕si a⊕ke⊕mo⊕do⊕ro⊕no fa⊕na⊕no sa⊕i⊕wa⊕ta⊕ri a⊕re yo mi⊕re yo ki⊕yo⊕ra⊕ya yo›; a *misezeru* [a kind of song] from the time of a *mō-*

[13] The word has the correct accent vis-à-vis Japanese (PJ 2.3, Martin 1987: 563 ura 'reverse (side)') to show that it is not a borrowing from Japanese. The form with *'ur–* rather than *'w–* also shows that the PJ form must be either *'ō(ô)ra* or *'uura*, and *not 'ura*.

*farai* at Yaraza Shrine in Kasei 32 [1553] [with this word] is contained in a volume [of songs]."

*tıni-ni, tuyumu, 'ufunuši,* Great Master who rises into the heavens:
*'akı-muduru-nu fana-nu,* the Early-Brightening Flower,
*sa'iwatari* blooms across to us; …. (#851)

Now: we believe that an examination of the songs below will help in interpreting the word *ǰu(u)ra* correctly. Since #20 is actually the odd man out, we will interpret it last.

#138 (1) kiku'i 'ufukimi-gya šikı'uči 'aya 'asıbači
Kikoe Ōgimi, having the Cloths [= Priestesses] dance in the Sanctuary,
(a) ǰura-nu fana-nu sa'iwataru mimuɴ
The Flower [= the Sun] from behind the Earth spreads its bloom [across the ocean],[14] what a sight!
(2) tuyumu sıdakaku-ga Toyomu Sedakako, [making…; (a)]

#157 (1) kiku'i 'a'urya'i-ya šikı'uči 'aya kakıwači
Famed Aoriyae, draping the cloth over herself in the Sanctuary,
(a) ǰura-nu fana-nu sa'iwataru mimuɴ
The Flower [= the Sun] from behind the Earth spreads its bloom [across the ocean], what a sight!
(2) tuyumu 'a'urya'i-ya Resounding Aoriyae, [draping…; (a)]

#834 (1) ǰitıni tuyumu 'ufunuši
O Great Master [= Sun], rising over Earth and Heaven!
(a) ǰura-nu fana-nu sa'iwataru mimuɴ
The Flower [= the Sun] from behind the Earth spreads its bloom [across the ocean], what a sight!
(2) tıniǰi tuyumu 'ufunuši
O Great Master [= Sun], rising over Heaven and Earth!

#977 (1) 'agaru'i-nu 'ufunuši
O Great Master [= Sun], from the ascending direction [= East]!
(a) ǰura-nu fana-nu sakyurıba
When the Flower [= the Sun] from behind the Earth blooms,
(b) 'arı mirı yo(o) kyu(u)rakimi[15] Look at that!, o Beautiful Priestess
(2) tıdagana-nu 'ufunuši
O Great Master [= Sun], from the Solar Orifice [from which You rise]!

#20 (1) kiku'i 'ufukimi-gya Kikoe Ōkimi,
(a) šikı'uči 'aya 'asıbači Has the Cloths dance in the Sanctuary
(b) ǰura-nu fana-nu 'ura'uraa*-tu tuyudı mimuɴ

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[14] OJ also has *sak-î-watar-u*, but its meaning is either 'bloom ceaselessly' or 'bloom over the whole surface'. We see *-watar-u* as referring to the "bloom" of the sun's rays/glare spreading over the sky and, especially, the sea, which is easily viewed from castle heights. In that respect it is closer to the second OJ connotation.

[15] Note the spelling of 'beautiful' here, just as expected according to our hypothesis.

The Flower from behind the Earth serenely rises — what a sight!

(2) tuyumu sıdakaku-ga Toyomu Sedakako (a,b)

Note the great similarity of each of the omoros to each other. In each case there is a "flower of *jura*," and the context always has something to do with the Sun Deity. #834 and #977 make a natural pair, since their main verses refer directly to the Sun Deity. On the other hand, #138, #157, and #120 have priestesses in their main verses, and — assuming our interpretation of *juranu fana* — the Sun Deity appears only in the refrains, although, indeed, the Sun Deity appears in *all* the refrains. Our present omoro, #20, diverges from the others precisely after the *juranu fananu* portion, though its semantic reference, sunrise, is the same. The evidence, then, is overwhelmingly in favor of our interpretation, we believe.

(c) ‹⊕u⊕ra⊕⁓⊕to⊕›: According to Shimizu (2003:133), this word refers to the inner peacefulness of people's minds, rather than the calmness of the surroundings, or situations. On the other hand, our own research shows the following: Neither OGJ nor RGJ has a word related to this OOk word. However, OKDJ (114bc) cites KKKS, which says (1) that it refers to the gentleness of a breeze; (2) that it also seems in places to refer to holding something as dear to oneself; (3) that it is also seen as ‹⊕u⊕ra⊕u⊕ra⊕a⊕to⊕›; and (4) that it is also seen in Japanese. Note especially (3), from which we infer *'ura-'uraa-tu*, explaining the postposed asterisk after #20(b) above.

(d) *tuyu-dı* is the gerund of *tuyum-u*: synchronically {tuyum}{i}{tı}, historically **toyom-i-te* > **toyom-u-te* > OOk *tuyu-dı* > NOk *tuyu-di*. LitOk *tuyum-u-N.* 'resounds, is famed; (moon) rises, (moonlight) whitens the horizon just before moonrise'. Note the *quietness* of some of the meanings of this verb; and, very importantly, note its application to the rising of an astronomical object. We apply it here to the sun. J *(")toyóm-u* 'resound; be noisy; ache throbbingly' does not have the extended meanings of Okinawan.