STRANGE WORDS IN OLD JAPANESE TEXTS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AINU LANGUAGE IN THE PREHISTORIC JAPAN

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ついに日本列島の原住民として認められたアイヌ民族の方々へ
To the Ainu people who were finally recognized as the indigenous inhabitants of the Japanese islands

It is currently accepted that in the past the Ainu language was spoken in North-Eastern Japan (Tōhoku region), from where its speakers migrated to Hokkaidō and further to Sakhalin and Kuril islands under the Japanese pressure the the south. It is frequently believed that Tōhoku was the homeland of the Ainu language (Janhunen 1996). In this paper I hope to present conclusive evidence that the distribution of the Ainu language in prehistoric Japan was actually much wider than it is usually believed. First, I am going to address the evidence based on the analysis of placenames found in the Kantō region (roughly speaking including modern Tokyo, Chiba, Kanagawa, Gunma, Saitama, and Ibaraki prefectures) and the Central region (Chūbu, roughly speaking including Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Aichi, Gifu, Nagano, Ishikawa, Fukui, Toyama, and Niigata prefectures), although in this paper I will deal exclusively with placenames found in Toyama and Ishikawa prefectures. Then I will proceed to other strange non-Japonic words found in Old Japanese texts.

PLACENAMES

KANTŌ

牟射志 /mu^{n}zasi/ 'Musashi'

The Old Japanese pronunciation was /mu^{n}zasi/**,** not /musasi/ like in modern Japanese. Musasi is the biggest plain found in Japan, but now it is all covered by Tokyo. The place name牟射志 /mu^{n}zasi/ 'Musasi' is found in Eastern Old Japanese texts, for example:

MYS 14.3379 (a poem from the Musasi province)
和我世故乎安杼可母伊波武**牟射志**野乃宇家良我波奈乃登吉奈伎母能乎
wa-^{ŋ}ga se-kô-wo a^{n}-tö kamö ip-am-u **mu^{n}zasi** nô-nö ukêra-^{ŋ}ga pana-nö tökî na-kî mönöwo
I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC what-DV PT say-TENT-ATTR **Mu^{n}zasi** plain-GEN chrysanthemum -COMP time no-ATTR PT
What shall [I] say about my beloved, I wonder? Although there is no time [when I do not miss her] like chrysanthemums on **Musasi** plain.

「牟射志」/mu^{n}zasi/ goes back to PJ *munsasi. Although there is no Japonic etymology for *munsasi, it can be explained as an original Ainu placename. Namely, Ainu *mún* '[unedible] grass'（Hattori 1964: 196）, *sa* 'beach, shore'（Chiri 1956a: 113）, 'plain'（Batchelor 1926: 409）, *-hi* 3rd person possessive form[1] (Cf. EOJ 思太～之太 /si^{n}da/ 'time, when' with Ainu *hi-ta* 'time-LOC' discussed below). Therefore,牟射志 /mu^{n}zasi/ < *mun sa-si < *mun sa-hi could be explained as 'grass plain', which is what it was exactly before the Tokyo sprawl.

阿之賀利/asi^{ŋ}gari/ 'Asigari'

阿之賀利/asi^{ŋ}gari/ or its variant 安思我良 /asi^{ŋ}gara/ indicates a mountainous region in the modern Kanagawa prefecture (histrorically roughly Sagami province) on its border with Yamanashi prefecture. It also appears in Eastern Old Japanese texts.

MYS 14.3431 (a poem from Sagami province）

阿之我里乃安伎奈乃夜麻尓比古布祢乃斯利比可志母與許己波故賀多尓

asi^{ŋ}kari-nö akîna-nö yama-ni pîk-ô pune-nö siri pîk-asi mö yö kökö^{m}ba kwo-^{ŋ}-kata n-i

Asi^{ŋ}kari-GEN Akîna-GEN mountain-LOC drag-ATTR boat-GEN stern drag-ADJ PT PT extremely come(NML?)-GEN-difficult DV-INF

As [it] extremely difficult for [him] to come [here] -- [I] in the mood of pulling [my beloved] by his butt [back] like dragging the stern of a boat to Mount Akina in **Asigari**!

MYS 14.3363 (a poem from Sagami province）

和我世古乎夜麻登敝夜利弖麻都之太須**安思我良**夜麻乃須疑乃木能末可

wa-^{ŋ}ga se-kô-wo yamatö-pê yar-i-te mat-u si^{n}da su **asi^{ŋ}gara**-nö su^{ŋ}gï-nö kö-nö ma ka

I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC Yamatö-DIR send-INF-SUB wait-ATTR time ? **Asi^{ŋ}gara**-GEN cryptomeria-GEN tree-GEN space QP

When [I] wait for my beloved whom I sent to Yamatö, [will he come back] through the cryptomeria trees in **Asigara**?

Altrhough later commentators of the *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) tried to treat 「阿之賀利」/asi^{ŋ}gari/ or 「安思我良」/asi^{ŋ}gara/ as 「足柄」'foot pattern,' this hardly makes any sense for a placename. 「安思我良」/asi^{ŋ}gara/ appears more frequently than 阿之賀利」/asi^{ŋ}gari/、the former is likely to be the result of the progressive assimilation of the final vowel /i/ in the latter. 「阿之賀利」/asi^{ŋ}gari/ certainly reminds of *Isikari* [isigari] river 「石狩川」 in Hokkaidō. Ainu *sikari* [sigari] means 'place in the river where the water flows around,' and Ainu *si-kari* means

[1] Even in modern Standard Japanese /hi/ frequently becomes /śi/, as i e.g. /hito/ 'person' > [śito]. This shift is widespread not only in Japanese dialects, but also in Korean dialects and Tungusic. We also have to keep in mind that in contrast to modern Japanese, Old Japanese did not have /h/.

‘to turn, to flow around, to make a detour’ (Chiri 1956a: 120). Ainu *kari* ’to turn, to wander around’ (Kanno 2002: 202) could potentially be etymologically connected, but the segment *asi-* is difficult to explain. It is possible to speculate that *a-* is Ainu 1st person plural inclusive agreement verb marker, and that *si-* is prefix ‘self’, but the problem with such an explanation is that *a-* attaches only to transitive verbs, which is not the case here. There is another possibility, however. There is a word *áskanne* ‘pure, clean, clear’ in Chitose, Saru, and Asahikawa dialects of Ainu (Nakagawa 1995: 6), (Tamura 1996: 28), (Kanno 2002: 15), (Ōta 2005: 10). Since the Ainu underlying consonant combination *-r+n-* whether it occurs externally or internally always undergoes regressive assimilation to *-nn-* (Chiri 1956b: 169-71), (Nakamoto & Nakagawa 1997: 15), and we may reconstruct PA *-rn- here (Vovin 1993: 38). Thus, *áskanne* < PJ *áskarne. The *-ne* part of *áskarne is the Ainu copula *ne*, therefore the root is just PA *áskar- ‘pure, clean, clear’.Ainu suffix *-i* indicates location or place (Chiri 1956: 174). ‘Pure place’ sounds like appropriate possibility for a placename. Thus, PA *áskar-i was borrowed as *asikari, which probably due to the secondary nazalisalition became EOJ *asiᵑgari*. Since Old Japanese did not have any closed syllables, the first *-i-* in *asiᵑgari* represents an expected echo vowel.

CHŪBU

Noto (能登) /Nötö/ peninsula

I believe that Ainu placenames can be found not only in Kantō, but also in the Central region of Japan (Chūbu). I will deal here with several placenames found in Ishikawa and Toyama prefectures. Let me start with the famous Noto peninsula that also appears in the *Man’yōshū.* This time I will cite a poem in Western Old Japanese, written by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi while he was the governor of Etchū (越中) province in 746-51 AD. At this time Noto peninsula was a part of Etchū province.

MYS 17.4026 (poem by Yakamochi)

登夫佐多氐船木伎流等伊布**能登**乃嶋山今日見者許太知之氣思物伊久代神備曽

tö^{m}busa tate puna-^{ŋ}-kï kîr-u tö ip-u **nötö**-nö SIMA KÊPU MÎ-RE-^{M}BA kö-^{n}-tat-i si^{ŋ}gë-si-mo iku YÖ KAMÏ-^{m}-pï sö

wood.offering make.stand(INF) boat-GEN-wood cut-FIN DV say-ATTR **Nötö**-GEN island today see-EV-CONJ tree-GEN-stand-NML grow.thik-EXCL how.many age deity-GEN-side PT

When [I] look today at **Nötö** island where [they] say that [they] cut wood for boats placing upright wooden offerings, for how many ages trees were growing think by the side of deities!

Nötö island (present-day Notojima) is located across from the Nanao city in Ishikawa prefecture.



Picture 1. Nötö island seen from the place where Yakamochi composed his poem (author's photo)

WOJ *nötö* (能登) is impossible to explain as a Japonic word. Meanwhile, there is Ainu (no dialect specified) *not* 'cape, jaw' (Chiri 1956a: 68), *not-kor-kamuy* 'deity of the cape' (Yamamoto 2004: 186). In any case, Noto peninsula is a giant cape. In Batchelor's dictionary we find *not-o* 'big cape' (1926: 316) besides *not* 'cape', but due to the fact that Btchelor's dictionary contains many errors, and because the not-o is not supported by other sources, it is better to be ignored. In other Ainu dialects *noto* means 'calm', not 'cape.' As was mentioned before, since there are no closed syllables in Old Japanese, WOJ *nötö* is an expected development from Ainu *not* with addition of an echo vowel.

Këta shrine (気多神社) and Kë^{n}da shrine (氣太神社)

Modern Këta shrine (気多神社), located in the southwest of Nötö peninsula was called Kë^{n}da Kamu-mîya (氣太神宮) 'Kë^{n}da deity shrine' during the Nara period (710-784 AD). Its name appears in the preface to MYS 17.4025:

MYS 17.4025 (Yakamochi's poem)
赴参**氣太**神宮行海邊之時作歌一首
A poem that [I] composed when [I] went along the shore towards Kënda deity shrine**.**

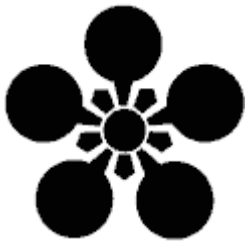
It is quite clear that either *këta* (気多) or *kë^{n}da* (氣太) are quite meaningless as a name for a shrine. It is also worth noting that either WOJ *kō-rui* vowel /ê/ or *otsu-rui* vowel /ë/ very rarely appear in initial syllables, because both are secondary developments: (ê < *ia, ë < *ai ~ *ay). As it will become clear later, it is essential that the voiced prenasalized consonant /^{n}d/ appears in the older name of the shrine.

Unfortunately, I was not able to go to that shrine, but there is another Këta shrine (気多神社) at the very bottom of Noto peninsula on its eastern side. According to its priest, both have some ancient connection, although he was not able to specify the exact nature of this connection. When one passes through the *torii* (鳥居) gate, one can see the following picture:



Picture 2. Horse stature in the Keta shrine (author's photo)

When I asked the priest about the symbol on the horse's side, he replied that it *might be* the *mon* (紋, clan emblem) of the Kaga clan that ruled Isshikawa and parts of Toyama prefecture during the Edo period (1603-1867 AD). The symbol in the middle looked like a star to me, and indeed the mon of the Kaga clan (known as Kaga umebachi (加賀梅鉢) looks very similar, although not quite identical:



Picture 3. Mon of the Kaga clan

A variation of the symbol seen on the horse again can be found on the lamp at the entrance to the shrine:



Picture 4. The lamp in Keta shrine (author's photo)

This symbol again closely resembles the mon of the Kaga clan, but there are minor differences There is also a historical problem. The founder of the Kaga clan, Maeda Toshiie (前田利家, 1538-1599 AD), was a trusted general of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582 AD), under whom he fought since the battle of Okehazama (1560 AD).[2] Thus, originally, Maeda Toshiie was not from Noto, but from Owari province (modern Aichi prefecture). Meanwhile the main shrine

[2] The battle of Okehazama is one of the most brilliant strategical feats in the Japanese military history when Oda Nobunaga 2,000 troops destroyed the 20,000 strong army of Imagawa Yoshimoto.

building (本殿) of the Keta shrine dates back to Kamakura period[3], but its history is apparently much longer. It is of course impossible to enter the main shrine building, but according to the priest, the same symbols are found inside it.

Ainu word *keta* [keda ~ keDa] 'star' immediately comes to mind. The Ainu language has only three phonemic voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, but in the intervocalic position or after a nasal they are realized as either voiced /b/, /d/, /g/, or semi-voiced [B], [D], [G]. Let me point out again that in theNara period the shrine on the west coast was called *kë^{n}da* (氣太) which had voiced prenasalized /^{n}d/. Why would Ainu *keta* [keda ~ keDa] 'star' become *kë^{n}da* in Western Old Japanese? The answer to this question is quite simple: neither Western nor Eastern Old Japanese have plain voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ like the majority of modern Japanese dialects on the Pacific side. The half-voiced stops /B/, /D/, /G/ were also not present. Old Japanese had only plain voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, and prenasalized voiced stops /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{ŋ}g/ that developed from proto-Japonic clusters *np, *nt, and *nk, where /n/ of course could go back to either *m or *n. Then the choice of rendering Ainu voiced or semi-voiced allophones [b ~ B], [d ~ D], and [g ~ G] was inevitably limited either to voiceless /p/. /t/, /k/ or to prenazalised voiced /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{ŋ}g/. As it becomes clear on the basis of Ainu *keta* [keda ~ keDa] 'star' and other examples discussed below, Ainu voiced or semi-voiced [b ~ B], [d ~ D], and [g ~ G] were adopted as Old Japanese prenasalized voiced /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{ŋ}g/.[4]

We might conjecture that in ancient times there were Ainu-speaking people who worshipped stars at the place where the both shrines now are. The name of the shrines is certainly Ainu, and the existing symbol (which also might be a result of contamination with the Kaga clan *mon*) clearly point to this direction. In the future I will undertake the trip to the shrine located on the west coast of Noto, but I am almost sure that I am going to find star symbolism there as well.

Oyabe river (小矢部川)

In the Toyama prefecture there are two hydronims ending in *-be* (written with the character 部 'part'): Oyabe river (小矢部川) in Western Toyama and Kurobe river (黒部川) river in Eastern Toyama. Let us start from Oyabe river.[5]

There is general belief that Oyabe river was called Imî^{n}du river (射水(いみず)川) in the Nara period, but in reality Oyabe river existed, but after it merged with Shō river (庄川) in the southern part of Tu^{n}zapa (津沢) region (nowadays in the Oyabe city), it changed its name to Imî^{n}du river (Sakai 1979: 221).[6] Therefore, the hydronim Oyabe probably existed in the Nara period as well, although for the first time it is mentioned in *Gempei Jōsui ki* (源平盛衰記(げんぺいじょうすいき))[7], a military tale

[3] See the photo on the next page.
[4] Incidentally this presents extra evidence against Hamano-Unger hypothesis that OJ intervocalic voiceless were pronounced as voiced (Hamano 2000), (Unger 2003, 2008). For other arguments against Hamano-Unger hypothesis see Vovin (2005b: 37-38).
[5] See the photo on the next page after next.
[6] Nowadays Shō river runs almost parallel to Oyabe tiver, and both independently flow into Toyama bay.
[7] Alternatively known as *Genpei Seisui ki*.

written in the Kamakura period (1192-1333 AD) or Nanbokuchō period (1333-1392 AD) (Sakai 1979: 327). As a Japanese hydronim, Oyabe (小矢部) makes no sense (小 'small', 矢 'arrow', 部 'part'). It is possible that the first two characters represent the transcription of the word *oya* 'parent', but it would still make no sense with the following *-be* (部) 'part'. This *-be* certainly reminds of *-betsu* found in the river names in modern Hokkaidō. For example, Horobetsu river in Hokkaidō is well known to represent Ainu *poro pet* [poro bet ~ poro Bet] 'big river,' which became *Foro*^{m}*betsu* > *Horobetsu* in Japanese after the /F/ > /h/ shift in the eighteenth century. Similarly to Ainu not 'cape' > WOJ *Nötö*, mentioned above, Ainu poro pet 'big river' also added an echo vowel to the syllable final Ainu /-t/ when it was borrowed into the Edo period Japanese as *Foro*^{m}*betsu* > *Horobetsu*.



Picture 5. The main shrine building (本殿) of the Keta shrine (author's photo)

In the case of *-be* in Oyabe (小矢部) we do not find the expected echo vowel. It is however, very likely that the final /-t/ of Ainu *pét* 'river' was simply dropped again due to the fact that Old Japanese did not have closed syllables. It might be perceived as a contradiction, but in reality the tendency of dropping final syllables in closed syllables in foreign words borrowed into Old Japanese is attested as well. For example, WOJ *katana* 'single bladed sword' is an apparent loanword from Old Korean *hătăn nărh (*hătăn 'one'+ *nărh 'blade' (Vovin 2005a: 76)), where *-n* in *hătăn and *-rh* in *nărh simply elided. To bring the case even closer to home,

-be (written with the character 部 'part') is also found as the transcriptional device for Ainu *pét* 'river' among the Tōhoku placenames, e.g. Uchimanbe (内真部) river in Aomori city in Aomori prefecture (Nishizuru 1995: 9). Since most of the Tōhoku dialects including Aomori preserve Old Japanese prenasalized voiced /ᵐb/ and /ⁿd/ as such, the -nb- [-ᵐb-] in Uchimanbe further supports the point about the reflexes of Ainu voiced allophones [b], [d], [g] as Old Japanese prenasalized voiced stops /ᵐb/, /ⁿd/, /ᵑg/ that was mentioned above.

I also think that the /oya/ part of Oya-be river name also has Ainu origin. In Siwa district of Iwate prefecture in Tōhoku there is Oyashibetsu (於夜志別) river, that is explaned as Ainu *oyaw-kina* 'chickweed (lit. 'snake-grass', MdJ *hakobe* はこべ) + *us* 'to exist in big numbers' + *pet* 'river' (Nishizuru 1995: 111). There are three difficulties with Nishizuru's interpretation of Oyashibetsu. First, *oyaw* does not mean 'chickweed' by itself; second, the disappearance of *kina* 'edible grass' is not explained; and third, *oyaw-kina* 'chickweed' is attested only in Sakhalin Shiraura dialect (Chiri 1976: 153). The Ainu word *oyaw* 'snake' is found in the Sakhalin Raichiska dialect, in the old prayers in Yakumo dialect in the Southern Hokkaido as *oyáw* 'snake' or *oyáw-kamuy* 'snake deity' (Hattori 1964: 190), probably also in other Sakhalin dialects, as it listed in Dobrotvorskii's dictionary as *oyav* (1875: 241). Although the attestation is limited, the word is attested in both Sakhalin and Hokkaidō, which confirms its proto-Ainu status. Then Oyabe river in Western Toyama can simply be from Ainu *oyáw* 'snake' + *pét* 'river,' that makes it 'snake river.' Given its quite winding course it should make sense.



Picture 6. The middle course of Oyabe river in Fukumitsu township of Nanto city (author's photo)

Kurobe river (黒部川)

Like Oyabe river, Kurobe river (黒部川) in the Eastern Toyama prefecture that flows from Kurobe valley into the Toyama bay appears for the first time in *Gempei Jōsui ki* (源平盛衰記) (Sakai 1979: 327).

Like *-be* (部) in Oyabe (小矢部), discussed above, *-be* (部) in Kurobe (黒部) probably reflects the same Ainu word *pét* 'river.' Certainly, the *Kuro* part of *Kuro-be* can be explained as WOJ *kurô* (MdJ *kuro-*) 'black' (黒). In this case Kurobe may be a hybrid Ainu-Japanese compound. However, although hybrid compounds do exist in Japanese, I do not know of any good cases of those in placenames. Therefore, one should think about a different possibility.



Picture 7. Kurobe river in Keyakidaira in Unazuki town (author's photo)

As one can see in the picture above, Kurobe river is not really black. But since it flows through the Kurobe valley, the narrowest valley in Japan, there is not too much sunlight. Thus, 'dark' may be more applicable. In the Ainu language 'black' and 'dark' are expressed by the same word *kúnne,* although in the modern dialects *sírkunne* 'dark' is often used (*sír* 'weather'). As I pointed out above, since in Ainu a consonant cluster *rn results in *-nn-*, Ainu *kúnne*'dark, black' likely goes back to PA *kúr-ne (*ne* is the Ainu copula, also mentioned above). Needless to say, PA *kúr-ne and Japanese *kuro-* 'black' and *kura-* 'dark' are strikingly similar, and it has already been noted before that it is unlikely to be a pure coincidence (Hattori 1964: 27-28). Hattori believed that there might be a possibility that this comparison indicates remote genetic

relationship (Hattori 1964: 28), but the more usual point of view is that the word was borrowed from Japanese into Ainu. However, this point of view is not without its own problems. First, it looks like that Japanese *kuro-* 'black' and *kura-* 'dark' are etymologically different. There is a difference not only in the second syllable vocalism, but also in the accent. Japanese *kuro-* < PJ *kuro LL 'black' belongs to the low register class B, while Japanese *kura-* < PJ *kura HH 'dark' belongs to the high register class A (Martin 1987: 823, 833). Because Shuri *kurusaN* 'black' has no vowel length in the first syllable (Shimabukuro 2007: XX), PJ *kuro LL 'black' < pre-PJ *guro with initial *g-, and PJ *kura 'dark' HH < pre-PJ *kura with initial *k- (Vovin 2008a: 155-56). Therefore, PA *kúr-ne 'black, dark' *cannot be connected to both* PJ *kuro LL 'black' and PJ *kura 'dark' HH. If my reconstruction of the initial Ainu *h-* that appears in all Ainu dialects as PA *g- (Vovin 1993: 25-29) is correct, PA *kúr-ne cannot have any connection to PJ *kuro LL 'black' < pre-PJ *guro, but it may be connected to PJ *kura 'dark' HH < pre-PJ *kura. However, we should not forget that PA *kúr-ne 'black, dark' is a derivation from Ainu *kúr* 'shadow.' Therefore, the connection to PJ *kura 'dark' HH becomes dubious. In many Ainu dialects there is a non-phonological echo vowel [-u] that phonetically is audible in Ainu *kúr* 'shadow' and other words ending in /-r/. Consequently, Kurobe (黒部) could have been Ainu *kur-pet* [kuru-bet] 'shadowy river.' The native Japanese reading /kuro/ of the character 黒 'black' could have been used as a mixed semantographic-phonetic transcriptional sign at the time when the real meaning of this hydronim was not yet forgotten, or as a simple attempt of phonetic approximation of Ainu [kuru].

COMMON NOUNS

Any evidence based solely on placenames is inherently weak, because in most cases we do not have a second independent piece of evidence for the semantics. Therefore, to make the case that the Ainu language was spoken to the south of the North-East Japan in prehistory or early history substantially stronger, I will now address the cases of common nouns and personal names where the semantics is clear either entirely or partially. The words I am going discuss below appear mostly in the *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) songs predominantly composed in Eastern Old Japanese, but I will also cite other Old Japanese texts that are listed at the end of this article.

si^{n}da (思太～之太) 'time,' 'when'

The word *si^{n}da* 'time' is found seven times in Azuma poems (book 14 of the *Man'yōshū*) and two times in Sakimori (Border guards) poems (book 20 of the *Man'yōshū*), but strangely enough it is not attested in Western Old Japanese texts in spite of the fact that Western Old Japanese corpus is at least 40 times larger than the Eastern Old Japanese corpus. Below I provide all the poems from the *Man'yōshū* that contain *si^{n}da* 'time.'

MYS 14.3363 (a poem from Sagami[8] province)

和我世古乎夜麻登敝夜利弖麻都之太須安思我良夜麻乃須疑乃木能末可

wa-ᵑga se-kô-wo yamatö-pê yar-i-te mat-u **siⁿda** su asiᵑkara-nö suᵑgï-nö kö-nö ma ka

I-POSS beloved-DIM-ACC Yamatö-DIR send-INF-SUB wait-ATTR **time** ? Asiᵑkara-GEN cryptomeria-GEN tree-GEN space QP

When [I] wait for my beloved whom [I] sent to Yamatö, [will he come back] through the cryptomeria trees in Asigara?

MYS 14.3461 (province unknown)

安是登伊敝可佐宿尓安波奈久尓真日久礼弖与比奈波許奈尓安家奴思太久流

aⁿze tö ip-ê ka sa-ne-ni ap-an-aku n-i MA PÎ kure-te yöpî-na pa kö-na n-i akê-n-o **siⁿda** k-uru

why DV say-EV QP PREF-sleep(NML)-LOC meet-NEG-NML DV-INF true day grow.dark(INF)-SUB early.night-LOC TOP come-NEG DV-INF dawn(INF)-PERF-ATTR **time** come-ATTR

For what reason do [we] not meet to sleep together? As [you] did not come at night when the day grew dark, will you come **when** the dawn will have come?

MYS 14.3478 (province unknown)

等保斯等布故奈乃思良祢尓阿抱思太毛安波乃敝思太毛奈尓己曽与佐礼

töpo-si tö [i]p-u Kôna-nö sira ne-ni ap-o **siⁿda** mô ap-an-öp-ye **siⁿda** mô na-ni kösö yös-ar-e

distant-FIN DV say-ATTR Kona-GEN white peak-LOC meet-ATTR **time** FP meet-NEG-ITER-ATTR(?)[9] **time** FP thou-DAT PT approach-PROG-EV

When we meet at the white peak of Kona that is said to be far away, and **when** [we] continue not to meet, [the rumor is] that [I] am [always] with you.

MYS 14.3515 (province unknown)

阿我於毛乃和須礼牟之太波久尓波布利祢尓多都久毛乎見都追之努波西

a-ᵑga omô-nö wasure-m-u **siⁿda** pa kuni papur-i ne-ni tat-u kumô-wo MÎ-tutu sinôp-as-e

I-POSS face-GEN forget-TENT-ATTR **time** TOP land fly.up-INF rise-ATTR cloud look(INF)-COOR yearn-HON-IMP

When my face fades from [your] memory, look at the clouds that are flying up [in] the land and rising to the summit, and yearn for [me]!

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[8] Sagami province roughly corresponds to the modern Kanagawa prefecture.

[9] EOJ *-e* (orthographic *-ye*) may be a special dialect form of the attributive. Cf. also *kôy-e* 'cross-ATTR' in MYS XX: 4407 below. The current wisdom among the majority of the Western scholars is that the attributive *-o* had originally *kō-rui* /ô/ (Frellesvig, p.c., Serafim, p.c., Whitman, p.c.). In EOJ poems attributive *-o* is written either with *kō-rui* /ô/, or with otsu-rui /ö/, but this is to be expected, as there is no /ô/ ~ /ö/ contrast in EOJ. I think that it probably was *otsu-rui* /ö/. One piece of evidence that the defective verb *n-* 'to be' has attributive form *n-ö* (Vovin 2008b: 521-526). There is some intimate relationship between EOJ /e/ and WOJ /ö/, cf. WOJ *kökörö* 'heart', and EOJ *kekere* 'id.', the later attested in KKS XX: 1097. These EOJ attributives in *-e* may be another piece of evidence for this.

MYS 14.3520 (province unknown)

於毛可多能和須礼牟**之太**波於抱野呂尓多奈婢久君母乎見都追思努波牟

omô kata-nö wasure-m-u **si^{n}da** pa opo-NWO-rö-ni tanaNpyik-u kumö-wo MÎ-tutu sinôp-am-u

face shape forget-TENT-ATTR **time** TOP big-field-DIM?-LOC trail-ATTR cloud-ACC look(INF)-COOR yearn-TENT-FIN

When your face fades from [my] memory, [I] will look at the clouds that trail over the big field and yearn for [you].

MYS 14.3533 (province unknown)

比登乃兒能可奈思家**之太**波波麻渚杼里安奈由牟古麻能乎之家口母奈思

pîtö-nö KÔ-nö kanasi-kye **si^{n}da** pa pama su-^{n}-döri a nayum-u kwoma-nö wosi-ky-eku mö na-si

person-GEN girl be.sad-ATTR **time** TOP (beach sandbank-GEN-bird: *makura kotoba*) foot suffer-ATTR stallion-GEN regrettable-ATTR-NML PT no-FIN

When [my] beloved girl is sad, [I] have no sorry feelings for [my] stallion that will hurt [his] feet [when I go to meet her].

MYS 20.4367 (a poem from Hitati[10] province)

阿我母弖能和須例母**之太**波都久波尼乎布利佐氣美都々伊母波之奴波尼

a-^{ŋ}ga [o]möte-nö wasure-m-ö **si^{n}da** pa tuku^{m}ba ne-wo purisakey-mî-tutu imö pa sinôp-an-e

I-POSS face-GEN forget-TENT-ATTR **time** TOP TukuNpa peak-ACC look.up(INF)-look(INF)-COOR beloved TOP yearn-DES-IMP

When [my] face fades from [your] memory, [my] beloved, please yearn for me, looking up at the TukuNpa peak.

MYS 20.4407 (a poem from Kamituke[11] province)

比奈久母理 / 宇須比乃佐可乎 / 古延**志太尓** / 伊毛賀古比之久 / 和須良延奴加母

usupî-nö saka-wo kôy-e **si^{n}da-ni** imwo-Nka kwopîsi-ku wasur-aye-n-u kamö

Usupyi-GEN slope-ACC cross-ATTR(?) **time-LOC** beloved-POSS be.longing.for-INF forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR PT[12]

When [I] crossed the slope of Usupi, [I] felt longing for [my] beloved, and [I] cannot forget [her]

As mentioned before, *si^{n}da* (思太～之太) 'time' is not attested in the parts of the *Man'yōshū*

[10] Sagami province roughly corresponds to the most of the modern Ibaraki prefecture.
[11] Kamituke province roughly corresponds to the modern Gunma prefecture.
[12] An alternative analysis is possible for this poem for this poem, treating *kôy-e si^{n}da-ni* 'cross-ATTR time-LOC' as *kôy- si^{n}da-ni* 'cross(INF)-PAST/ATTR PT' (Vovin 2008b: 1281), but now I am inclined towards the one presented here.

written in Western Old Japanese. Besides *si^{n}da* (思太～之太) 'time' Eastern Old Japanese also has another word for 'time': *tökî* (登伎～等伎～登吉), also perfectly attested in Western Old Japanese. However, functionally, EOJ *si^{n}da* and *tökî* are very different. EOJ *tökî* 'time' is a free noun that mostly appears either by itself or after other nouns. There is only one example of EOJ *tökî* being used after an attributive form of verbs to form a relative temporal clause. EOJ *si^{n}da* 'time', on the other hand, appears only after attributive forms of verbs and adjectives forming relative temporal clauses meaning 'when…', as all the examples cited above demonstrate.

Ainu has a bound noun *hi* 'time,' which in most cases is followed by the locative case marker *-ta*. The function of this *hi-ta* is absolutely identical to the function of EOJ *si^{n}da*: it appears exclusively after verbs to form relative temporal clauses. Examples:

sirpopke **hi-ta** ku-sinot-rusuy
be.warm **time-LOC** 1ps-play-DES
I want to play **when** [it] is warm（Nakagawa & Nakamoto 1997: 38）

kani ka ku-pewre **hi-ta** yuk ka ku-koyki kamuy ka ku-koyki
I FP 1ps-be.young **time-LOC** deer FP 1ps-hunt bear FP 1ps-hunt
When I was young I hunted both deer and bears (Nakagawa & Nakamoto 1997: 58）

kuruma k-o-wa Sapporo-or-un k-arpa **hi-ta** ka en-etok-ta isepo ru tomotuye ruwe ne
car 1ps-ride-GER Sapporo-place-DIR 1ps-go **time-LOC** FP 1ps.obl-front-LOC hare road cross NML COP
When I was going by car to Sapporo, a hare crossed the road (Nakagawa & Nakamoto 1997: 112）

Ainu *hi-ta* is phonetically /hiDa/ ~ /hida/. The shift *hi-* > *si-* is widely attested not only in Japanese, but also in other neighboring languages, such as Korean and Tungusic. Similar to Western Old Japanese, Eastern Old Japanese did not have plain voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/, but only plain voiceless /p/, /t/, /k/, and prenasalized voiced /^{m}b/, /^{n}d/, /^{ŋ}g/. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that Ainu [D]~[d] was reflected as prenasalized voiced /^{n}d/ in Eastern Old Japanese exactly in the same way it was reflected in Western Old Japanese as was already mentioned above. Since Ainu *hi-ta* is bimorphemic, and EOJ *si^{n}da* cannot be segmented, the direction of the borrowing is clearly from Ainu to Japanese. In addition, the limited distribution of EOJ *si^{n}da* confirmed by its absence in Western Old Japanese, further supports this conclusion.

Unfortunately, among nine examples of *si^{n}da* 'time' found in Eastern Old Japanese, only three come from the poems with known location: Sagami province (MYS 14.3363), Hitati province (MYS 20.4367), and Kamituke province (MYS 20.4407). But since none of these three

provinces have common borders, we might conjecture that the Ainu language or languages were spoken in prehistory or early history within the triangle that these three provinces make in the Kantō area.

Fukuda argued that EOJ *si^{n}da* 'time' is not a specific Eastern Old Japanese word, because it is also found in a poem from the *Hizen Fudoki* (肥前風土記). (Fukuda 1965: 426). Since Hizen province roughly comprised modern Saga and Nagasaki prefectures in North-Western Kyushu, it is easy to agree with this part of Fukuda's observation, especially that we have just seen that EOJ *si^{n}da* 'time' has the Ainu origin. It is much more difficult to agree with the second part of Fukuda's statement, where he proclaims that the presence of *si^{n}da* 'time' (spelled 志太) in the *Hizen Fudoki* indicates that this word clearly belongs to Western Old Japanese of the Yamato region (Fukuda 1965: 426). But Hizen province is not in Yamato, and if *si^{n}da* 'time' were a genuine Western Old Japanese word, it is incomprehensible that it does not attested even once in the whole corpus written in the Western Old Japanese of the Yamato region. It is even more incomprehensible given the fact that, as I mentioned above, the size of Western Old Japanese corpus is at least forty times bigger than the remaining Eastern Old Japanese corpus. Only two poems survive from the Hizen province, and their ratio in comparison to Western Old Japanese corpus will be probably like one to several thousands. In any case, let us first look at the poem from the Hizen Fudoki where *si^{n}da* 'time' appears. It comes from the northern part of Matura district (松浦群), that was located in the North and North East of the Hizen province.

FK 11[13]

志努波羅能意登比賣能古素佐比登由母爲禰弖牟**志太**夜伊幣爾久太佐牟

sinôpara-nö otöpîmê-nö kô sô sa-pîtö yu mö wi ne-te-m-u **si^{n}da** ya ipê-ni ku^{n}das-am-u

Sinôpara-GEN Otöpîmê-GEN girl FP PREF-one night FP take.with(INF) sleep(INF)-PERF-TENT-ATTR **time** EP home-LOC take.down-TENT-ATTR

Oh, Otopime from Sinopara! **When** [I] want to sleep with [you] one more night, [I] will take you down to my home.

It becomes immediately apparent that this poem is not written in the perfect Western Old Japanese of the Yamato region. Leaving the word *si^{n}da* 'time' for a moment; first, *yu* 'night' in this poem corresponds to WOJ *yô* 'id.' Second, WOJ focus particle *sö ~ Nsö,* which is always spelled with *otsu-rui* /ö/ in Western Old Japanese, is misspelled as /sô/ (素) with *kō-rui* /ô/. Third, nominal prefix *sa-* in Western Old Japanese does not occur before numerals (Vovin 2005b: 82-89). Fourth, although the verb *kudas-* 'to take down' is attested in Middle Japanese, there are no reliable attestations of it in phonographic writing in Western Old Japanese.

[13] I cite the poem from the Hizen Fudoki following Akimoto reading (1958). However, the nubring of the poems inFudoki is based on Tsuchihashi 1957. Moreover, since man'yōgana sign素 /sô/ was never used to write /^{n}zô/ or /^{n}zö/, I replaces Akimoto's kana transcription そ /zo/ with /sô/.

Taking all this into consideration, alongside with the fact that *si^{n}da* is not attested in the real Western Old Japanese texts, the natural conclusion is that this poem is written not in Western Old Japanese, but in the Old Japanese dialect of Hizen province.

My explanation for *si^{n}da* 'time' appearing in the poem from Hizen province is very different from Fukuda's theory. Namely, I believe that both EOJ and Hizen *si^{n}da* 'time' are loanwords from Ainu. Furthermore, Hizen *si^{n}da* 'time' is used functionally in the same way as EOJ *si^{n}da* 'time' and Ainu *hi-ta*: it is also used to form a relative temporal clause. The natural conclusion then is that the Ainu language was spoken in the past not only in Tōhoku, Kantō, and Chūbu regions, but also in the North-Western Kyūshū. However, since HOJ *si^{n}da* 'time' is a *hapax legomenon*, and there are no more other Ainu words in this poem, the second independent evidence is necessary to prove the theory that the Ainu language was once spoken in North-Western Kyūshū. Below I will demonstrate that such evidence does indeed exist.

In the description of the Takaku district (高来郡) located in the South-East of Hizen province there is the following passage:

土歯池俗言岸爲**比遲波**
Pond Pî^{n}dipa. Local people call 'bank, shore' *pî^{n}dipa* (HZF 410.3) [14]

On the basis of this passage, it is clear that Hizen Old Japanese word for 'bank, shore' was *pî^{n}dipa*. Usually the phonograms 比遲波 are read as /pîndipa/ (Akimoto 1958: 410). Omodaka et al. also indicate that the *man'yōgana* sign 遲 can stand only for /^{n}di/, but not for /ti/ (1967: 896). However, it is not quite unproblematic.

In the *Man'yōshū* the sign 遲 is used as a phonogram thirteen times. Among these, eleven times it clearly stands for /^{n}di/ and only two times for /ti/. Thus, the statistics based exclusively on the *Man'yōshū* data clearly favors /^{n}di/, but we should not forget that even the *Man'yōshū* data as a whole do not support Omodaka et al.'s claim that 遲 exclusively stands for /^{n}di/. Among two examples with /ti/, one is found in Yakamochi's poem written in Western Old Japanese, and another one in the poem composed by a Sakimori, although the poem does not contain any distinctive Eastern Old Japanese features, thus both texts can be treated as Western Old Japanese.

MYS 19.4161 (Yakamochi's poem)
言等波奴木尚春開秋都氣婆毛美知**遲良久**波常乎奈美許曽
KÖTÖ töp-an-u KÏ SURA PARU SAK-Î AKÎ tuk-ë-^{m}ba môмîti **tir-aku**[15] TUNE-wo na-mî kösö word ask-NEG-ATTR tree even spring bloom-INF autumn arrive-EV-CONJ red/yellow.leaves

[14] I cite the *Hizen Fudoki* from Akimoto 1958 edition.
[15] Cf. the discussion by Takagi et al. as to why the character遲is used to transcribe /ti/ here (1962: 327).

fall-NML permanence-ABS no-GER FP
Even the trees, which do not speak, bloom in the spring. When the autumn comes [there is] the red leaves **falling**, because there is no permanence [in this world]

MYS **20.4353 (Sakimori's poem)**
伊倍加是波比尓々々布氣等和伎母古賀伊倍其登**母遲弖久流**比等母奈之
ipye ka^{n}ze pî-ni pî-ni puk-ë-^{m}ba wa-^{ŋ}g-îmö-kô-^{ŋ}ga ipye-^{ŋ}-kötö **möt-i-te k-uru** pîtö mö na-si
home wind day-LOC day-LOC blow-EV-CONJ I-POSS-beloved-DIM-POSS home-GEN-word **hold-INF-SUB come-ATTR** person FP no-FIN
Day after day the wind blows from [the direction of my] home. [But] there is no one who [would] **bring** [me] the message from my dear beloved.

Furthermore, according to Ōno, the phonogram 遲 in the *Nihonshoki* always stands for /ti/ (1953: 279). However, as Mori demonstrated, the phonogram 遲 in the *Nihonshoki* appears only once in the *Nihonshoki kayō* in his α section[16] of this text where the man'yōgana is based on Late Middle Chinese character readings, and does not show up as transcriptional sign in other portions of the *Nihonshoki* (1991: 208, 259). I cite below the portion of the *Nihonshoki kayō* poem where the phonogram 遲 appears as /ti/.

NK 94[17]
儺岐曾袁遲喩倶謀柯尋比謎阿婆例
nak-î-söpot-i yuk-umo ka^{ŋ}gë-pîmê apare
weep-INF-become.wet-INF go-EXCL kaŋgë-pîmê INTERJ
Oh, how sad! Kage-pime is going and **weeping intensely.**

In the *Kojiki kayō* the phonogram 遲always renders /^{n}di/, but in the *Kojiki* text itself the deity name written as 大穴牟遲 (KJK I: 25a.9, 25b.6, 26a.2, 26b.5,9, 27a.3,5, 29b.9) should be read as *OPO ANA muti* and not as expected *OPO ANA mu^{n}di, because it is written as大穴六 *OPO ANA muti* (TSFIB 499.9), 大穴持 *OPO ANA möti* (IDF 102.5, 106.10,12, 108.2,12, 110.1, 126.4,7, 166.12, 168.6, 180.8,12, 182.1, 190.14, 202.1,8,10, 204.1,3, 208.4, 216.1,5, 220.1, 224.14, 226.2,6, 236.5,7,9, 238.9, 242.5; IYFIB 495.6) in the *Fudoki*, as 於保奈牟知 *opo na muti* (MYS 18.4106) in the *Man'yōshū*, and as 於褒婀娜武智 *opo ana muti* (NS 1.44)[18] in the *Nihonshoki*. Thus, there is the evidence that the phonogram 遲 could transcribe both /^{n}di/ and /ti/.

Therefore, there is a possibility that 比遲波 in the *Hizen Fudoki* could also be read as

[16] As Miyake has demonstrated, Mori 1991 *α/β* division of the Nihonshoki poems is rather doubtful (2003a: 57-60).
[17] I cite *Nihonshoki kayō* according to Tsuchihashi 1957 edition.
[18] I cite *Nihonshoki* according to Kuroita 1966 edition.

/pîtipa/ and not /pîⁿdipa/. The word *pîtipa* ‘bank, shore’ found in the *Hizen Fudoki* does not appear either in other Old Japanese and Middle Japanese texts, or in modern Japanese dialects. However, Ainu has *pétpa ~ pétca* ‘river bank, shore’: Horobetsu *pétpa*、Obihiro *pétca*、Bihoro *petca* ‘river bank,’ Asahikawa pétca ‘river bank’ (Izutsu 2004: 256),[19] Kushiro *petca* ‘bank, seashore’ (Yamamoto 2004: 199), Sakhalin *pécara* ‘part of the shore washed by waves’ (Dobrotvorskii 1875: 251), Kuril Ainu (Torii Ryūzō materials) *pet chai imaku*[20] ‘bank, shore’ (Hattori 1964: 216), Kuril Ainu (Voznesenskii’s materials) *pecar* ‘river bank’ (Vovin 1993: 202). Ainu *pétpa ~ pétca* ‘river bank, shore’ is a compound consisting of *pét* ‘river’ and *pá ~ cá* ‘brim, rim, edge.’ Ainu *pá ~ cá* ‘brim, rim, edge’ goes back to PA *pyaa[21] HH. Ainu *pétpa ~ pétca* ‘river bank, shore’ is bimorphemic, but HOJ *pîtipa* ‘bank, shore’ is a unit word, which cannot be analyzed further. Besides, Ainu *pétpa ~ pétca* is widely attested in all three regional groups of Ainu dialects: Hokkaidō, Sakhalin, and Kuril islands, while HOJ *pîtipa* ‘river bank, shore’ appears only in the *Hizen Fudoki*. Therefore, it could only be a loanword from Ainu to Hizen Old Japanese.[22] Finally, PJ primary *e and *o are always preserved in Proto-Ryūkyūan, in many cases they are also preserved in Eastern Old Japanese dialects, especially in those that are in most distant locations from the Western Old Japanese linguistic area (EOJ group A, see Hino 2003), and in Western Old Japanese they raised to /i/ and /u/ respectively except in the monosyllabic nouns and second syllables of disyllabic words under certain conditions (Hattori 1976, 1978-79), (Hayata 1998), (Serafim 1999a, 1999b, 2008), (日野 2003), (Miyake 2003b), (Frellesvig & Whitman 2004, 2008). If we compare the word *yu* ‘night’ from FK 11 cited above, with its WOJ counterpart *yô* ‘night,’ we can clearly see that the raising process *o > /u/ is even more advanced in Hizen Old Japanese than it is in Western Old Japanese. Unfortunately, this poem does not offer us any evidence as to whether the parallel process of raising *e > /i/ also took place in Hizen Old Japanese, but it is supported by the following example from FK 19, found in the fragment of Hizen Fudoki (HZFIB 515.13-14):

FK 19

阿羅礼布縷**耆資麼**加多埴塢嵯峨紫彌苫區縒刀理我泥底伊母我堤塢刀縷

arare pur-u **kîsima**-ᵑga takë-wo saᵑgasi-mî tö kusa tôr-i-kane-te imö-ᵑga te-wo tôr-u

hail fall-ATTR **Kîsima**-POSS peak-ABS steep-GER DV grass take-INF-NEG/POT(INF)-SUB beloved-POSS hand-ACC take-FIN

Thinking that because the peak on the **Kîsima** [mountain] is steep, [I] could not pick up grass there, so I take the hand of [my] beloved instead.

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[19] Because Asahikawa *pétcam* ‘river bank’ goes back to *pet-sam (Ōta 2005: 158), it has no connection to *pétca.*

[20] *imaku*is is probably the 3p possessive form *imak-u* of the word *imak* ‘tooth.’ Cf. Kuril Ainu (Torii Ryūzō materials) *imak, imaku* ‘tooth’ (Hattori 1964: 6).

[21] 前には*praa HHとして再構した（Vovin 1993: 34-35, 127）が、今は*pr-よりは*py-の再構は自然だと思う。

[22] Note that Hizen Old Japanese *siⁿda* ‘time’ and *pîtipa* ‘bank, shore’, both borrowed from Ainu are attested in the two opposite ends of Hizen province.

Similar to the poem FK 11, discussed above, this poem also cannot be taken as written in perfect Western Old Japanese. For example, as Bentley has demonstrated, there are two WOJ verbs: *tôr-* 'to hold, to support' and *tör-* 'to take, to pick up, to capture' (Bentley 1999), but this poem obviously misspells *tör-* 'to take, to pick up, to capture' as *tôr-* 'to hold, to support.' This alongside with the fact that FK 11, as was pointed above, misspells WOJ focus particle *sö* ~ *^{n}zö* as *sô*, indicates that in Hizen Old Japanese the distinction between *kō-rui* /ô/ and *otsu-rui* /ö/ has already collapsed. Kîsima that appears in the poem above is not a name for an island; it is a name for an isolated mountain not belonging to a mountain range that is found pretty much inland in Kîsima district of Hizen province. Nevertheless, both in the fragment of the *Hizen Fudoki* where FK 19 is found, and in the main text of the *Hizen Fudoki* HOJ *Kîsima* is transcribed as Kîsima (杵島) 'Pestle island' (HZF 402.6 , HZFIB 515.11) with the apparent usage of the *kun-yomi* (訓読) readings of the Chinese characters. Furthermore, the main text says that Kîsima is the local name (HZF 402.6).[23]

But the main fact that is of interest to us here is that Kîsima appears as *kîsima* (耆資麼) in the *on-yomi* (音読) spelling in FK 19 above, confirming that *kun-yomi*杵島 is to be read as Kîsima and not *kîsema. Meanwhile, the word for 'island' in proto-Japonic was *sema (> Paekche *sema*、MK *:syem*'id.'), but the fact that it appears in Hizen Old Japanese as *sima* like in Western Old Japanese reveals that the raising of *e > /i/ has also occurred in Hizen Old Japanese. Consequently, HOJ *pîtipa* 'bank, shore' < *petepa ~ *petipa < PA *pet-pya. It is, of course, possible to read 比遲波 'bank, shore' in the Hizen Fudoki as *pî^{n}dipa*, due to the ambivalence of the reading for the sign 遲, but then the /^{n}di/ can be explained as a result of secondary nasalization, similar to Ainu *asikari becoming *asi^{n}gari* in Eastern Old Japanese, as was mentioned in the beginning of this article.

CONCLUSION

Thus, there is no doubt that the Ainu language was spoken once from Tōhoku to the North-Western Kyūshū, since Ainu loanwords words are found in modern Tōhoku dialects, in Eastern Old Japanese, and in Hizen Old Japanese. The examples presented above do not include everything that I have in my collection by now, either, but these are to be included in the longer book version of this article that is going to be written in Japanese. To some scholars it might seem strange that there is gap between these areas consisting of Kansai and Western Honshū. The explanation of this oddity is easy: Yamato region and Western Honshū were under the control of Yamato several centuries earlier than the more remote outlying areas. Therefore, the chance of surviving of Ainu elements in these areas was much lower.

I often think that the linguistic history of Japanese islands closely resembles that of the

[23] I think that Kîsima may reflect tentative Ainu *kim-suma 'mountain rock.' Cf. also Nôsima (野島), the name for the cape on the Western shore of Awaji island 4 km south from its northern tip (Nakanishi 1985: 474). It is not an island either, so I suspect that Ainu *suma* 'stone, rock' underlies these placenames. Nô in Nôsima could be easily a compound reduction of Ainu *not* 'cape' discussed above.

British islands. The indigenous Celtic languages survived only on the periphery, while the Old English wiped them out from the central and south-eastern parts of England. The Anglo-Saxon invaders were probably in bigger numbers and more technologically advanced than the indigenous Celts. Then the second (vikings') invasion came, but the invaders were more like marauding pirates and left very few traces in the English language. And then the third Norman invasion came, but since invaders were few in numbers, even though they constituted the ruling elite, eventually they switched over to English -- the language of majority, but at the same time -- especially lexically -- managed to make English the Romanicized Germanic language.

My current model of the linguistic history of the Japanese islands practically mirrors the British one, with the minor difference that there is no solid evidence for an incursion parallel for vikings' excursions into North-East England. The Ainu, or may be better to say, Ainoid/Ainuic languages covered most of the Japanese main islands except Hokkaidō prior to 3rd century BC or so.[24] The speakers of these languages were probably the bearers of the Jōmon culture. Then the rice farmers who spoke some form of proto-Japonic started first to trickle to the Japanese islands from , but then the pressure from the speakers of proto-Korean who started to move into Korean peninsula from Manchuria and who were seasoned mounted warriors opened a flood-gate for the immigration of Japonic speakers from Central and South Korea to Japanese islands. The rice-cultivating speakers of Japonic had two choices: either to stay and work for the Korean-speaking elite, or to immigrate across the Tsushima straight. I believe that most of the Japonic speakers opted for the second choice, although the linguistic presence of some of them in the Korean peninsula could still be traced to as late as sixth century AD (Vovin 2007c). It is well known that agriculture can sustain larger populations than hunting-gathering societies, so Japonic speakers were coming into Japan in huge quantity that must have vastly outnumbered the indigenous Ainu-speaking population. Thus, the sad fortune of the Ainu language(s) survival might have been sealed two thousand years earlier than it is currently thought. The speakers of Ainu then during the first millennium AD and the beginning of the second millennium AD faced the same problem as Japonic speakers did earlier on the Korean peninsular: either stay and submit and eventually get assimilated, or move somewhere else. Many of them have probably stayed: looking at some typical Jōmon physical anthropological characteristics of my own wife and many other Japanese people I know, I cannot help thinking that at least some remote Ainu blood flows in their veins. Those Ainu speakers who remained were vastly outnumbered by Japonic speakers and eventually switched over to Japonic. But no language exists in vacuum, and as multiple examples across the globe demonstrate, speakers of dominant languages are as prone to borrow from the less prominent languages as vice versa. It has been traditionally thought that while Ainu borrowed extensively from Japanese, there are almost no loanwords in Japanese from Ainu, with few exceptions, like WOJ *kanipa* (or *kani*^{m}*ba*) 'sakura bark' < Ainu

[24] This does not exclude the possibility that other non-Japonic languages were spoken in Japan besides Ainu (Janhunen XX), but the hard-core evidence for demonstrating this is very slim at the present point.

karinpa ‘bark of a mountain sakura’ (Saeki 1959: 32). I was guilty myself of the same point of view (Vovin 2005b: 53), so I hope to expiate my sins by this article and other forthcoming publications on the influence of Ainu on Japanese.

To continue the analogy with the linguistic history of the British islands, the role of Normans in England was played by speakers of Old Korean in Japan. I have demonstrated elsewhere that Central Japanese, and especially Western Old Japanese is in fact a Koreanized form of Japonic (Vovin 2007a, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2009). But although Korean polities were probably founded here and there is Japan, with the successive influence coming from the introduction of Buddhism and then the influx of the immigrants from the Korean peninsula after the fall of Paekche and Koguryo, the numbers of these Korean overlords and immigrants were significant enough to koreanize Western Old Japanese vocabulary and even grammar to a certain extent, but they were anyway too small to make the whole population to switch over to Korean from Japonic. Thus, ultimately, Korean invaders and immigrants suffered the fate of Normans in England: they managed to alter the language, but eventually became the speakers of Japanese themselves.

To return to the gap problem of the evidence for the Ainu language in Yamato and Western Honshū, there are some indications that this gap may be also closed soon. There are some Ainu looking placenames like Nôsima mentioned above. In addition, there are some personal names in the census papers from the late Asuka period that do not look Japanese and could potentially be Ainu. Overall, I believe this opens quite a new and so far untouched area of research in both Ainu and Japanese studies.

I have not mentioned Ryūkyū islands in my article. It is not impossible that the Ainu language(s) extended even more to the south than North-Western Kyūshū. I have nothing to say at the moment about this possibility, but it certainly must be included into the search of Ainu linguistic presence in the areas other than mentioned in this paper.

Abbreviations of Old and Middle Japanese texts

FK	Fudoki kayō (風土記歌謡), 733
HZF	Hizen Fudoki (肥前風土記), 733
HZFIB	Fragments of the Hizen Fudoki (肥前風土記逸文), 733
IDF	Izumo Fudoki (出雲風土記), 733
IYFIB	Fragments of the Iyo Fudoki (伊豫風土記逸文), 733
KJK	Kojiki (古事記), 712
KKS	Kokinwakashū (古今和歌集), 921 AD
MYS	Man’yōshū (萬葉集), between 759 and 785 AD
NK	Nihonshoki kayō(日本書紀歌謡), 720
NS	Nihonshoki (日本書紀), 720
TSFIB	Fragments of the Tosa Fudoki 土佐風土記逸文, 733

Abbreviations of Languages

HOJ	Hizen Old Japanese
MJ	Middle Japanese
MdJ	Modern Japanese
OJ	Old Japanese (including WOJ and OJ)
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
WOJ	Western Old Japanese
PA	proto-Ainu
PJ	proto-Japonic

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