Old) Okinawan and Old Japanese KM in functional and diachronic perspective: Part II Leon A. Serafim

We present reconstructed proto-Japonic (PJ) kakari musubi (KM) patterns, sound changes, and relevant arguments below.

Here are the PJ forms for two parallel subtypes in OJ and OOk: Type I with the inferential auxiliary (IA) in RT form (self-inquiry/doubt), and Type II without IA (other-inquiry).

 (1) OJ |ka| :: OOk |ga| PJ Type I: *... ka_i...[Y X-am Y]-wor_i * KP Root-IA -RT

 PJ Type II: * ... ka_i...Y-wor_i KP -RT

Both types have the distal |ka|, and RT as *musubi*. In OOk, only *-a* remains as a trace of the IA RT **-am -wor* (but with IZ *-am-i*), and, since it formally overlaps with MZ (*mizen*), MZ is frequently/typically taken to be the *musubi*. The paucity of the distal ka(-) in *Man* $y\bar{o}sh\bar{u}$ is noted, but it is prevalent in Sakishima, and thus it must have existed in PJ.

(2) OJ |zo| :: OOk |do|

PJ: *... $t(y)\ddot{o}_i$... Y-wor_i KP Y-RT

Initial PJ KP stop **t* in *-*t*(*y*) \ddot{o} — even within the Japanese lineage — may be recovered due to a functional pairing of Eastern-OJ KPs $s\ddot{o}$ and $t\ddot{o}$ in nearly identical songs. The **y* triggers assibilation in the OJ lineage, and the particle voices in OJ: *-*t*(*y*) $\ddot{o} > *s\ddot{o} > OJ s\ddot{o}\sim z\ddot{o}$. The OOk-lineage *-*t* $\ddot{o} > *-d\ddot{o}$ voicing parallels **ka* > *ga* in (1).

Additionally OOk lacks t in its mesial demonstratives because Proto-Ryukyuan replaced its original * $t\ddot{o}$ -based mesial deictics with a *reflexive* deictic system based on * \ddot{o} -, in order to avoid a merger between the mesial deictic system and the question deictic system.

(3) OJ |koso| :: OOk |su| and |i|

PJ:

*...*kö#swo*i...Y-*wor*i

KP Y-IZ

PJ * $k\ddot{o}\#swo$ consists of the proximal * $k\ddot{o}$, with *swo 'thing'. As pre-OOk *swo suggests, OJ - $s\ddot{o}$ should also originate in the noun meaning 'thing', not the previously claimed mesial deictic sö. Pre-OOk lost * $k\ddot{o}$, while pre-OJ lost the internal word boundary, subject then to Arisaka's First Law, harmonizing the second-syllable vowel with the first (* $k\ddot{o}\#swo \rightarrow k\ddot{o}s\ddot{o}$).

OOk |i| suggests PJ **i*#swo 'this#one'; **kö* replaced **i* as a proximal deictic in PJ. The latter remained in lexicalized forms, eg **i*-ma *'this-space' \rightarrow 'now' in OJ (Frellesvig and Whitman 2004). It may also be in OJ *itwoma* 'time off' (pre-OOk *-doma 'time') and pre-OOk **i*-*k*·*y*·op-u 'invite' \leftarrow **i*-'here' + **kop*-u 'ask; beg'.