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## FROM ANALYTIC TO SYNTHETIC – ORIGIN OF SOME EARLY JAPANESE VOLITIVE EXPRESSIONS<sup>\*)</sup>

**Abstract.** At many stages of its development the Japanese language has shown a marked tendency to replace analytic constructions with synthetic forms. In the article this phenomenon is presented and investigated by taking the example of some volitive expressions, among other things the Old Japanese construction *-(a)maku posi-*, which evolved into the Classical Japanese suffix *-(a)mafosi-*, as well as the Classical Japanese suffix *-(a)mau-*, whose origin, however, is to be associated with analogical formation rather than phonetic reduction. All phases of the development of these expressions are here copiously illustrated with textual examples.

**Keywords:** etymology of suffixes, Old Japanese, Classical Japanese, analytic constructions, synthetic forms, volitive expressions, *mahoshi*, *maushi*

*“Economy,” I remarked, putting my hands in my pockets,  
“is going without something you do want in case you should,  
some day, want something which you probably won’t want.”*  
Anthony Hope, “Dolly dialogues” (1894)

The Japanese language, throughout the whole of its history, displays a strong inclination towards synthetic forms, which in the course of time have replaced a good many analytic ones. To quote but a few more obvious examples taken from the outermost periods,

Old and Classical Japanese:

- A. 1. *-i*<sub>1</sub> ‘[do]ing’ + *ar*<sup>1</sup>- ‘to be’ > OJ *-e<sub>1</sub>r*<sup>1</sup>- ‘to be [do]ing, to have been [do]ing’ (JJS, 138–142; Saeki 1976, 162–164; Syromjatnikov 1981, 117–119/§56–58; Vovin 2003, 314–318; Yamada 1990, 208–215), e.g. *sakari ni sak-e<sub>1</sub>r*<sup>1</sup>-*u* |

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*ume<sub>2</sub> no<sub>2</sub> pana* 左加里尔散家留 | 宇梅能波奈 (*Man'yōshū*: 5: 851 #II.80) 'plum blossoms that are blooming in profusion' – cf. also another occurrence of the same phrase in which this form is spelt etymologically: 盛開有 | 梅花 (*Man'yōshū*: 8: 1640 #II.346)

2. **-((u)r)u** 'such that [does], one that [does]'<sup>1</sup> + **mi<sub>i</sub>-∅** 'seeing, looking, sight, view' + **ar<sup>λ</sup>-** 'to be' > CJ **-(r)umer<sup>λ</sup>-** 'it seems that, it would appear that, it looks as if, apparently' (JJS, 180–186; Syromjatnikov 2002, 132–136; Vovin 2003, 295–299; Yamada 1968, 201–203), e.g. *Tatuta-gafa* | *momid/i-∅ midar/e-t/e-∅* | *nagar<sup>λ</sup>/e-umer<sup>λ</sup>-i* 竜田河 | もみぢ乱れて | ながるめり (*Kokin*: 5. Aki II: 283 #81) 'it looks like autumnal leaves are floating in disorder down the Tatsuta river'<sup>2</sup>

Modern Japanese:

3. **-te** 'having [done]' + **ok-** 'to put' > **-te ok-** 'to [do] in advance / beforehand (for some future convenience)' > (colloquial) **-tok-** 'id.', e.g. *tabe-te ok-* ~ (colloquial) *tabe-tok-* 'to eat beforehand'
4. **-te** 'having [done]' + **shimaw-** 'to finish' > **-te shimaw-** 'to have [done], to finish [doing]' > (colloquial, male) **-chimaw-** 'id.' > (colloquial) **-chaw-** 'id.', e.g. *tabe-te shimaw-* ~ (colloquial, male) *tabe-chimaw-* ~ (colloquial) *tabe-chaw-* 'to have eaten, to finish eating'.

In the present paper some volitive expressions will be discussed which originated as analytic constructions in Old Japanese (eighth cent.) and developed into synthetic, agglutinative, suffixes in the classical period (ninth-twelfth cent.).

### Old Japanese

Among the several possibilities of voicing one's wish, desire or will offered by Old Japanese there were two of the analytic kind, whose structure was rather complex – as time showed, too complex for an agglutinative language to bear.

<sup>1</sup> From the purely formal point of view it would appear more plausible to reconstruct the analytic prototype with the suffix **-(r)u** 'he does' at its beginning, i.e. OJ **-(r)u** + **mi<sub>i</sub>-∅** + **ar<sup>λ</sup>-** > CJ **-(r)umer<sup>λ</sup>-**, but this would violate the rules of the Old Japanese grammar, as it would place the finitive form in the attributive function. A possible parallel with the verb **mi<sub>i</sub>y/e-** 'to be visible' is, however, mentioned in JKD-J (s.v. *mi<sub>i</sub>yu*), followed later by N. A. Syromjatnikov (1981, 125/§61: "In sentences with the meaning "one can see that something is taking place", the predicate before *miju* 'one can see' was in the final form [...]"), and an attempt to explain such a sentence structure has been made by K. Mabuchi (1968, 147–154/IV.11).

<sup>2</sup> One may even venture a more "etymological" translation: 'autumnal leaves can be seen floating in disorder down the Tatsuta river'.

They consisted of a verbal noun<sup>3</sup> built upon the tentative form, i.e. *-(a)m-aku*, which served either as the subject for the adjective *posi-* ‘to be desired’ or alternatively as the direct object for the verb *por-* ‘to want, to wish’. A postposition could be inserted between the noun and the predicate. There is a strong reason to assume that the verb *por-* had already lost most of its conjugational potential and adhered quite steadfastly to the suffix *-i*, other functions being expressed – if necessary – by means of the auxiliary *s\ē-* ‘to do’ (JKD-J, s.v. *poru* II), and possibly also by *omop-* ‘to think’ (cf. example C.39 below and the footnote thereto):

- B. 1.** OJ *-(a)m-aku* —  $\emptyset$  / *no*<sub>2</sub> / *so*<sub>2</sub> / *si* (?) — *posi-* ‘to want / to wish to [do something]’  
**2.** OJ *-(a)m-aku* —  $\emptyset$  / *wo* — *por-i* —  $\emptyset$  / *s\ē-* / *omop-* (?) ‘id.’

The latter variant soon disappeared, but the former survived, although it evolved through contraction (economy prevailed) into a word-non-final suffix; moreover, it developed a negative counterpart by its side:

- 3.** CJ *-(a)mafosi-* ‘to want / to wish to [do something]; (*very seldom*) to want somebody/something to [do something]’ (< OJ *-(a)m-aku posi-*)  
**4.** CJ *-(a)mau-* ‘not to want to [do something], to be reluctant / unwilling to [do something]’.<sup>4</sup>

In the eighth century, however, this was still a thing of the future, as is clearly evidenced by the first anthology of Japanese verse, the “**Man’yōshū**” 萬葉集 (‘Collection of ten thousand leaves’, after 771), where all the forms are of the analytic type. A complete list of examples follows (translations, here and below, are contextual; underlining singles out the more interesting titbits or ones deserving closer attention):

- C. 1.** *MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I* | (*w*)*A GA S\ē-URU KI<sub>1</sub>MI<sub>1</sub> mo* 欲見 | 吾為君毛 (*Man’yōshū*: 2: 164 #I.94) ‘you, whom I wish to see’  
**2.** *MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POSI-KE<sub>1</sub> do<sub>2</sub>* 欲見騰 (*Man’yōshū*: 2: 207 #I.114) ‘although I wanted to see [her]’

<sup>3</sup> For the history of the Japanese verbal noun in *-(u)raku*, see Majtczak 2009.

<sup>4</sup> The semantic extension of CJ *-(a)mafosi-*, which expressed not only a wish directed to oneself, but also to another party, reminds one of Middle (and Modern, though with restrictions) Japanese suffix *-(i)ta-*, behaving exactly the same way (cf. Benesse KJ, s.vv. *mafosi*, *tasi*).

For the linguistic description of the two Classical Japanese suffixes at issue, *-(a)mafosi-* and *-(a)mau-*, see: Ikeda 1980, 125–127; JJS, 262–267; Syromjatnikov 2002, 121–122 (*-(a)mafosi-* only); Vovin 2003, 285–287; Yamada 1968, 497.

3. *TAKU-PI<sub>1</sub>RE no<sub>2</sub> | KAK/E<sub>2</sub>-m-aku POSI-ki<sub>1</sub> | IMO NO<sub>2</sub> [vel: GA] NA WO | KO<sub>2</sub> NO<sub>2</sub> Se no<sub>2</sub> YAMA ni | KAK/E<sub>2</sub>-ba IKA NI AR\ -AM-U?* 栲領巾乃 | 懸卷欲寸 | 妹名乎 | 此勢能山尔 | 懸者奈何将有 (*Man'yōshū*: 3: 285 #I.158) 'How would it be if one gave this Mount Se the name of my beloved, who wants to wear her white shawl?'
4. *MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I S\|E)-URU | SO<sub>2</sub> NO<sub>2</sub> TAMA wo* 欲見 | 其玉乎 (*Man'yōshū*: 3: 403 #I.194) 'this jewel that I want to look at'
5. *IK-E<sub>1</sub>R\ -U PI<sub>1</sub> NO<sub>2</sub> | TAME<sub>2</sub> KO<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>2</sub> IMO WO | MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I S\|E)-Ure* 生日之 | 為社妹乎 | 欲見為礼 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 560 #I.264) 'I want to see my beloved for the sake of the days that I shall live out' (≈ *Man'yōshū*: 11: 2592 #III.204; *Shūi*: 11. Koi I: 685 #)
6. *NEMOKO<sub>2</sub>RO<sub>2</sub> MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku | POSI-KI<sub>1</sub> KI<sub>1</sub>MI<sub>1</sub> ka mo* 懃見卷 | 欲君可聞 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 580 #I.272) 'o you, whom I wish to see with all my heart'
7. *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku NO<sub>2</sub> POSI-ki<sub>1</sub> | KI<sub>1</sub>MI<sub>1</sub> NI mo AR\ -U ka mo* 見卷之欲寸 | 君毛有鴨 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 584 #I.272) 'o, it is you whom I wish to see'
8. *MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I [vel: POR-E?] ka mo* 欲見鴨 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 686 #I.296) 'o, how I wish to see [you]'
9. *TAY/E-Z\ -U-TE PI<sub>1</sub>TO<sub>2</sub> WO | MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I [vel: POR-E] KO<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>2</sub>* 不絶而人乎 | 欲見社 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 704 #I.300) 'I want to see my beloved unceasingly'
10. *TUKU-YO<sub>1</sub> ni pa | KADO<sub>1</sub> ni ID/E-Ø-TAT-I | YUPU-KE<sub>2</sub> TO<sub>1</sub>P-I | A(SI)-URA wo SO<sub>2</sub> S\|E-S\ -i, | YUK-AM-AKU wo POR-I.* 月夜尔波 | 門尔出立 | 夕占問 | 足卜乎曾為之 | 行乎欲焉 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 736 #I.308) 'On a moonlit night I went up to the gate and told fortunes by words and steps of the passers-by – wishing to go [to you].'
11. *ma-GAKI<sub>1</sub> no<sub>2</sub> sugata | MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I | YUK-AM-U to<sub>2</sub> IP-E<sub>2</sub> YA* 前垣乃酢堅 | 欲見 | 将行常云哉 (*Man'yōshū*: 4: 778 #I.316) 'how could I possibly say that I am coming because I wish to see but the shape of the wattle fence?'
12. *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku POSI-KE<sub>1</sub> do<sub>2</sub>* 見卷欲跡 (*Man'yōshū*: 6: 946 #II.146) 'although I want to see [you]'
13. *(W)A GA KO<sub>1</sub>P\|I<sub>2</sub>-URU | TUKI<sub>2</sub> WO YA KI<sub>1</sub>MI<sub>1</sub> GA | MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU POR-I S\|E)-Uru* 吾戀 | 月哉君之 | 欲見為流 (*Man'yōshū*: 6: 984 #II.162) 'is it you who want to see the moon [so sorely] missed by me?'
14. *ASU sape<sub>2</sub> MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku | POSI-ki<sub>1</sub> KI<sub>1</sub>MI<sub>1</sub> ka mo* 明日左倍見卷 | 欲寸君香聞 (*Man'yōshū*: 6: 1014 #II.172) 'o you, whom I wish to see tomorrow again'
15. *KI<sub>1</sub>K-U PI<sub>1</sub>TO<sub>2</sub> NO<sub>2</sub> | MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku POR-I S\|E)-URU | MI<sub>1</sub>KE<sub>2</sub> MUKAP-U<sup>5</sup> | ADIFU NO<sub>2</sub> MI<sub>1</sub>YA PA* 聞人之 | 視卷欲為 | 御食向 | 味原宮者 (*Man'yōshū*: 6: 1062 #II.192) 'the palace of Ajifu, which people who have heard of it want to see'

<sup>5</sup> A conventional epithet of no relevance to the matter under discussion, whose construction and relation to the modified noun are so involved that for clarity's sake it is better left untranslated here.

16. *mi*<sub>1</sub>-*YO*<sub>2</sub>*SINO*<sub>1</sub>-*GAPA WO* | *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* 三芳野河乎 | 欲見 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1104 #II.206) 'we wanted to see the Yoshino river'
17. *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* | (*W*)*A GA S*(\E)-*URU SATO*<sub>1</sub> *no*<sub>2</sub> 欲見 | 吾為里乃 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1205 #II.228) 'the village that I want to look at'
18. *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* | (*W*)*A GA S*(\E)-*URU nape*<sub>2</sub> [vel: *nabe*<sub>2</sub>?] *NI* 見欲 | 我為苗 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1282 #II.240) 'as soon as I feel a desire to see [the white clouds]'
19. *KURENAWI NI* | *KO*<sub>2</sub>*RO*<sub>2</sub>*MO SO*<sub>2</sub>*M/E*<sub>2</sub>-*M-AKU* [vel: *SIM/E*<sub>2</sub>-*M-AKU*] | *POSI-KE*<sub>1</sub> *DO*<sub>2</sub> *MO*, | *KI*<sub>1</sub>-*T/E-Ø nipop-ABA KA* | *PI*<sub>1</sub>*TO*<sub>2</sub> *NO*<sub>2</sub> *SIR-UBE*<sub>2</sub>-*KI*<sub>1</sub>? 紅 | 衣染 | 雖欲 | 著 [vel: 着] 丹穗哉 | 人可知 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1297 #II.244) 'Although I want to dye my robe scarlet, if I wear it and it shimmers – will people know [of my love for you]?'
20. *WATATUMI*<sub>1</sub> *NO*<sub>2</sub> | *MOT-ER*(\U-*SIRA-TAMA*) | *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* 海神 | 持在白玉 | 見欲 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1302 #II.244) 'he wanted to see the pearls which the god of the sea holds'
21. *SIDUK-E*<sub>1</sub>*R*(\U-*TAMA WO*) | *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* 沈有玉乎 | 欲見 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1318 #II.248) 'he wanted to see the submerged jewels'
22. *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* | *KO*<sub>1</sub>*P/I*<sub>2</sub>-*tutu MAT-IS*(\i | *AKI*<sub>1</sub>-*PAGI*<sub>2</sub> *PA* 欲見 | 戀管待之 | 秋芽子者 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1364 #II.256) 'the autumn bush clover that I awaited yearning for it and wishing to see it'
23. *K*(\O<sub>2</sub>)-*I*<sub>1</sub>-*YO*<sub>2</sub>*R-U SIRA-NAMI*<sub>1</sub> | *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* | *WARE PA S*(\E)-*URE DO*<sub>2</sub> *MO* 来依白浪 | 欲見 | 吾雖為 (*Man'yōshū*: 7: 1391 #II.262) 'although I want to see white waves approaching'
24. *SARA NI YA AKI*<sub>1</sub> *WO* | *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I S*(\e-*m-u* 更哉秋乎 | 欲見世武 (*Man'yōshū*: 8: 1516 #II.310) 'would I want to look at the autumn again?'
25. *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* | *K*(\O<sub>2</sub>-*s*(\iku mo *siru-ku* 欲見 | 来之久毛知久 (*Man'yōshū*: 9: 1724 #II.378) 'that I have come [here] wishing to see [the Yoshino river] is now rewarded'
26. [...] *WAKA-KUSA no*<sub>2</sub> | *TUMA ka AR*(\U-*Uram-u?*) | *KASI NO*<sub>2</sub> *MI*<sub>2</sub> *NO*<sub>2</sub> | *PI*<sub>1</sub>*TO*<sub>2</sub>*RI KA N*(\E)-*URAM-U?* | *TO*<sub>1</sub>*P-Am-aku no*<sub>2</sub> | *POSI-KI*<sub>1</sub> *WA G*[A] *I*<sub>1</sub>*MO GA* | *IPE*<sub>1</sub> *NO*<sub>2</sub> *SIR-AN-Aku!* [...] 若草乃 | 夫香有良武 | 樞實之 | 獨歟将宿 | 問卷乃 | 欲我妹之 | 家乃不知久 (*Man'yōshū*: 9: 1742 #II.386) '[...] Has she perhaps a husband [who is] like young grass? Or does she perhaps sleep alone like acorn? – O, I do not [even] know the house of my dear girl, whom I want to ask [this]!'
27. *Tukupu no*<sub>2</sub> *YAMA WO* | *MI*<sub>1</sub>-*M-AKU POR-I* 筑波乃山乎 | 欲見 (*Man'yōshū*: 9: 1753 #II.390) 'you wanted to see Mount Tsukuba'
28. *Ututape*<sub>2</sub> *ni* | *TO*<sub>2</sub>*RI PA PAM-AN-E DO*<sub>2</sub> | *NAPA* [vel: *SIM/E*<sub>2</sub>-Ø] *PAP/E*<sub>2</sub>-*T/E-Ø* | *MOR-am-aku POSI-ki*<sub>1</sub> | *UME*<sub>2</sub> *NO*<sub>2</sub> *PANA ka mo!* 打細尔 | 鳥者雖不喫 | 繩延 | 守卷欲寸 | 梅花鴨 (*Man'yōshū*: 10: 1858 #III.62) 'O, plum blossoms that I want to guard, stretching a rope [round the tree]! – although birds will not eat [them] recklessly.'

29.  $MI_1-m-aku$   $NO_2$   $POSI-KI_1$  |  $KI_1MI_1$   $GA$   $SUGATA$   $ka$  見卷之欲 | 君之容儀香 (*Man'yōshū*: 10: 1913 #III.72) 'is that your figure that I want to see [so much]?'  
 30.  $NAK-U$   $POTO_2TO_2GI_1SU$  |  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $POR-I$  鳴霍公鳥 | 欲見 (*Man'yōshū*: 10: 1943 #III.78) 'I want to see a singing cuckoo'  
 31.  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $POR-I$  | ( $W$ ) $A$   $GA$   $MAT-I$   $KO_1P/I_2-s\backslash-i$  |  $AKI_1-PAGI_2$   $PA$  欲見 | 吾待戀之 | 秋芽子者 (*Man'yōshū*: 10: 2124 #III.110) 'the autumn bush clover that I awaited and yearned for, wishing to see it'  
 32.  $KI_1MI_1$   $GA$   $ME_2$   $WO$  |  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $POR-I$   $S\backslash E$ - $IT/E-\emptyset$  [vel:  $KI_1MI_1$   $GA$   $ME_2$   $NO_2$  |  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $POSI-KE_1KU$ ] 公目 | 見欲 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2381 #III.164) 'wishing to see your eyes [vel: my desire to see your eyes]'  
 33.  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $SO_2$   $POSI-KI_1$  見欲 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2464 #III.180) 'I want to see [you]' ( $\approx$  *Shūi*: 13. Koi III: 783 #)  
 34.  $TUG-I_1T/E-\emptyset$   $MI_1-m-aku$   $no_2$  |  $POSI-KI_1$   $KI_1MI_1$   $ka$   $mo$  繼而見卷能 | 欲公毳 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2554 #III.198) 'o you, whom I wish to see continually'  
 35.  $KO_2KO_2DAKU$   $TUG-I_1t/e-\emptyset$  |  $MI_1-m-aku$   $POSI-KI_1$   $mo$  [vel:  $MI_1-m-aku$   $SI$   $POSI-\emptyset$   $mo$ ] 幾許繼手 | 見卷欲毛 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2559 #III.198) 'how much I wish to see [you] continually'  
 36.  $IK-E_1R\backslash-U$   $PI_1$   $NI$   $KO_2SO_2$  |  $MI_1-m-aku$   $POR-I$   $S\backslash E$ - $ure$  生日社 | 見幕欲為礼 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2592 #III.204) 'I want to see [you] on the days when I am still alive' ( $\approx$  *Man'yōshū*: 4: 560 #I.264; *Shūi*: 11. Koi I: 685 #)  
 37.  $IMO$   $GA$   $ME_2$   $NO_2$  |  $MI_1-m-aku$   $POSI-ke_1ku$  妹目之 | 見卷欲家口 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2666 #III.218) 'the wish to see the eyes of my beloved'  
 38.  $kara-KO_2RO_2MO$  |  $KI_1MI_1$   $ni$   $ut-i-KI_1S/E-\emptyset$  |  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $POR-I$  辛衣 | 君尔内著 [vel: 内着] | 欲見 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2682 #III.222) 'I wanted to clothe you with a Chinese robe and look [at you]'  
 39.  $TAMA$   $NO_2$   $WO$   $NO_2$  |  $API_1DA$   $mo$   $OK-AZ\backslash-U$  |  $MI_1-M-AKU$   $POR-I$  | ( $W$ ) $A$   $GA$   $OMOP-U^6$   $IMO$   $PA$  |  $IPE_1$   $TO_2PO-KU$  [vel:  $IPE_1-DO_2PO-KU$ ]  $AR\backslash-IT/E-\emptyset$  [vel:  $S\backslash E$ - $IT/E-\emptyset$ ]. 玉緒之 | 間毛不置 | 欲見 | 吾思妹者 | 家遠在而 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2793 #III.242) 'Far away is the house of my beloved, whom I wish to see [constantly], allowing no break – like on a string of jewels.'  
 40.  $MI_1-m-aku$   $POSI-KI_1$   $WO$  |  $MI_1Y/E-N-U$   $KI_1MI_1$   $ka$   $mo$  見卷欲乎 | 不所見公可聞 (*Man'yōshū*: 11: 2801 #III.244) 'o you, whom I wish to see yet cannot see'  
 41.  $KO_2$   $NO_2$   $KO_2RO_2$   $NO_2$  |  $I$   $NO_2$   $N/E-RAY/E-N-U$   $PA$ , |  $SIK-I_1-TAPE_2$   $NO_2$  |  $TA-MAKURA$   $MAK-I_1T/E-\emptyset$  |  $N/E-M-AKU$   $POR-I$  [vel:  $POR-E$ ]  $KO_2SO_2$ . 比日 | 寐之不寐 | 敷細布 | 手枕纏 | 寐欲 (*Man'yōshū*: 12: 2844 #III.258) 'That I cannot get any sleep these days is because I want to sleep making the hands [of my beloved] into a cloth-covered pillow.'

<sup>6</sup> Interpreting the *omop-u* here as an independent verb ('[my beloved,] of whom I think with affection') seems equally possible, but the parallelism with the verb *s\le-* (cf. many instances of *-(a)m-aku por-i s\le-*) is striking. See also the poems quoted below as C.48 and C.49 (examples K.1-K.2 and M.6 may be relevant too).

42. *IMO to<sub>2</sub> IP-Aba* | *NAME<sub>1</sub>-SI, KASIKO<sub>1</sub>-SI* | *Sikasuga ni* | *KAKE<sub>2</sub>-m-aku POSI-KI<sub>1</sub>* | *KO<sub>2</sub>TO<sub>2</sub> ni AR-U ka mo!* 妹登曰者 | 無礼恐 | 然為蟹 | 懸卷欲 | 言尔有鴨 (Man'yōshū: 12: 2915 #III.270) 'If I called [you] my beloved, it would be impudent, terrible. Still, these are the words that I want to utter!'
43. *TUG-I<sub>1</sub>t/e-Ø MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku NO<sub>2</sub>* | *POSI-ki<sub>1</sub> KI<sub>1</sub>MI<sub>1</sub> ka mo* 續手見卷之 | 欲寸君可毛 (Man'yōshū: 12: 2992 #III.286) 'o you, whom I wish to see continually'
44. *IMO GA ME<sub>2</sub> WO* | *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku POR-I YE NO<sub>2</sub>* 妹目乎 | 見卷欲江之 (Man'yōshū: 12: 3024 #III.292) 'I want to see the eyes of my beloved – the canal's [wavelets ...]'
45. *AP-I<sub>1</sub>-MI<sub>1</sub>-M-AKU* | *POR-I S⟨E⟩-URE ba KO<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>2</sub>* [vel: *POSI-KI<sub>1</sub> GA TAME<sub>2</sub> PA*] 相見 | 欲為者 (Man'yōshū: 12: 3106 #III.306) 'since I want [us both] to see each other'
46. *Mi<sub>1</sub>-YO<sub>2</sub>SINO<sub>1</sub> NO<sub>2</sub>* | *TAKI<sub>1</sub>* [vel: *TAGI<sub>1</sub>*] *MO TO<sub>2</sub>DO<sub>2</sub>RO<sub>2</sub> NI* | *OT⟨I⟩-URU SIRA-NAMI<sub>1</sub>,* | *TO<sub>2</sub>MAR-in-is-i* | *IMO NI MI<sub>1</sub>S/e-m-aku* | *POSI-KI<sub>1</sub> SIRA-NAMI<sub>1</sub>*. 三芳野 | 瀧動々 | 落白浪 | 留西 | 妹見西卷 | 欲白浪 (Man'yōshū: 13: 3233 #III.340) 'White waves that fall, roaring, down the rapids of the Yoshino – [those] white waves that I want to show to my beloved, who stayed behind.'
47. *Ke<sub>1</sub>pu mo ka mo* | *mi<sub>1</sub>yako<sub>1</sub> nar-is-eba,* | *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku por-i* | *nisi no<sub>2</sub> MI<sub>1</sub>-MAYA no<sub>2</sub>* | *to<sub>1</sub> ni tat-er-amas-i*. 家布毛可母 | 美也故奈里世婆 | 見麻久保里 | 尔之能御馬屋乃 | 刀尔多弓良麻之 (Man'yōshū: 15: 3776 #IV.106) 'O, even today – if I were in the capital – wishing to see [you], I would be standing outside the western stables.'
48. *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku por-i* | *OMOP-U API<sub>1</sub>DA ni* 見麻久保里 | 念間尔 (Man'yōshū: 17: 3957 #IV.196) 'when I wished to see [him] (and thought [of him])<sup>7</sup>'
49. *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku por-i* | *omop-i<sub>1</sub>s-i nape<sub>2</sub> ni* 見麻久保里 | 於毛比之奈倍尔 (Man'yōshū: 18: 4120 #IV.296) 'as soon as I felt a desire to see [you] (and thought [of you])<sup>8</sup>'
50. [...] *Nak<sub>1</sub>wo ko<sub>2</sub>we wo* | *ki<sub>1</sub>k-am-aku por-i to<sub>2</sub>,* | *asita ni pa* | *kado<sub>1</sub> ni idle-Ø-tat-i* | *yupupe<sub>1</sub>* [vel: *yupube<sub>1</sub>?*] *ni pa* | *tani wo mi<sub>1</sub>-Ø-watas-i* | *ko<sub>1</sub>p⟨i<sub>2</sub>⟩-ure do<sub>2</sub> mo,* | *pi<sub>1</sub>to<sub>2</sub>-ko<sub>2</sub>we dani mo* | *imada ki<sub>1</sub>ko<sub>2</sub>y/e-z-u*. [...] 奈久許惠乎 | 伎可麻久保理登 | 安志多尔波 | 可度尔伊氏多知 | 由布敝尔波 | 多尔乎美和多之 | 古布礼騰毛 | 比等己惠太尔母 | 伊麻太伎己要受 (Man'yōshū: 19: 4209 #IV.346) '[...] Wishing to hear the singing voice [of a cuckoo] I go up to the gate in the morning and look out over the dale in the evening, and I yearn [for it], but not even a single voice can I hear yet.'
51. *PANA ni naso<sub>1</sub>p/e<sub>2</sub>-t/e-Ø* | *MI<sub>1</sub>-m-aku por-i ka mo* 花仁奈蘇倍弓 | 見麻久保里香聞 (Man'yōshū: 20: 4307 #IV.406) 'o, I want to look [at her], taking [her] for a flower'

<sup>7</sup> Compare the poem quoted above as C.39, and the footnote thereto.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the poem quoted above as C.39, and the footnote thereto.

- 52.** *Nadesiko<sub>1</sub> ga | pana to<sub>2</sub>r-i mot-it/e-∅ | utura-utura | mi<sub>1</sub>-m-aku no<sub>2</sub> posi-ki<sub>1</sub> | ki<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>1</sub> ni mo ar\~u ka mo!* 奈弓之故我 | 波奈等里母知弓 | 宇都良々々々 | 美麻久能富之伎 | 吉美尔母安流加母 (*Man'yōshū*: 20: 4449 #IV.454) ‘O, it is you whom I want to see clearly, [like] – having plucked it and holding it – [I see this] carnation flower!’

As the above examples show, the verb *mi<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to see, to look at’ took possession of the overwhelming majority of the construction’s attestations, and never did it yield ground to other verbs in the centuries to come.

### Early Classical Japanese

Texts subsequent to the “*Man'yōshū*” already attest the contracted variant of the volitive expression, but in the beginning it is still rather infrequent. Thus, in the “**Taketori monogatari**” 竹取物語 (‘The tale of the bamboo cutter’, ninth/tenth cent.) the suffix *-(a)mafosi-* appears merely three times:

- D. 1–2.** *Yo [no] naka ni ofo-kar\~u fito wo dani sukosi mo katati yo-si to kik-it/e-∅ fa, mi-mafosi-u s\~e)-uru fito-domo nar\~ik\~er\~e ba, Kaguya-fime wo mi-mafosi-u-te, mono mo kuf-az\~u omof-itudu, ka no ife ni yuk-it/e-∅ tatazum-i arik-ik\~er\~e do, kafi ar\~ube-ku mo ar\~az\~u.* 世中に多かる人をだに、すこしもかたちよと聞きては、見まほしうする人どもなりければ、かぐや姫を見まほしうて物も食はず思ひつゝ、かの家に行きてたゞずみありきけれど、かひあるべくもあらず。 (*Taketori*: 2. Kikōshi #11–12) ‘As they were people that – having merely heard some woman (of whom there are so many in the world) to be even moderately good-looking – would want to see [her], they [also] wanted to see Kaguya-hime, so they did not eat anything but yearned [for her], and they went to that house only to stand [there] or walk around, yet it was surely of no avail.’
- 3.** *Arui fa wono [pro: ono] ga ife ni komor-i-wi-∅, arui fa wono [pro: ono] ga yuk-amafosi-ki tokoro fe in\~u.* あるいはをのが家に籠りみ、あるいはをのが行かまほしき所へ往ぬ。 (*Taketori*: 6. Tatsu #30) ‘Some burrowed in their own houses, some left for places where they themselves wanted to go.’

Nevertheless, the emergence of the synthetic version did not yet amount to the extinction of the analytic one, as the latter – though exclusively with the adjective *fosi-* – lingered on in poetry for quite a long time. In the “**Ise monogatari**” 伊勢物語 (‘Tales of Ise’, early tenth cent.) one only finds the older construction:



- E. 1. *Itadura ni | yuk-it/e-Ø fa k(o)-in-uru | mono yuwe ni, | mi-m-aku fosi-sa ni | izanaf-ar/e-tutu.* いたづらに | 行きてはきぬる | ものゆゑに | 見まくほしさに | 誘はれつゝ (Ise: 65 #46) ‘Although I return having gone [there] in vain, I am still propelled by the desire to see [her].’ (= *Kokin*: 13. Koi III: 620 #151)
2. *Tifayaburu<sup>9</sup> | kami no igaki mo | koy/e-n\ube-si, | ofo-miya-bito no | mi-m-aku fosi-sa ni.* ちはやぶる | 神の斎垣も | 越えぬべし | 大宮人の | 見まくほしさに (Ise: 71 #50) ‘I shall cross even the god’s sacred fence in my wish to see the courtier.’
3. *O(y)i-n\ure ba | sar-an-u wakar/e-Ø no | ar-i to if-e ba, | iyo-iyo mi-m-aku | fosi-ki kimi ka na!* 老いぬれば | さらぬ別れの | ありといへば | いよ／＼見まく | ほしき君かな (Ise: 84 #58) ‘O you, [my son,] whom I wish to see all the more, for they say that – as I have aged – the inevitable parting is near!’ (≈ *Kokin*: 17. Zō I: 900 #210).

The first imperial anthology of poetry, “**Kokin waka shū**” 古今和歌集 (‘Collection of ancient and modern Japanese poems’, 905–914/920), also cherished this noble tradition and did not stoop to using the newer forms:

- F. 1. *mi-m-aku fosi-sa ni | izanaf-ar/e-tutu* 見まくほしさに | いざなはれつゝ (Kokin: 13. Koi III: 620 #151) ‘I am still propelled by the desire to see [her]’ (= Ise: 65 #46)
2. *Mi-t/e-Ø mo mata | mata mo mi-m-aku no | fosi-kere ba, | nar(e)-uru wo fito fa | itof-ube-ra nar-i.* 見ても又 | 見た目見まくの | ほしければ | なるゝを人は | 厭ふべらなり (Kokin: 15. Koi V: 752 #177) ‘As – having just seen [her] – I wish to see [her] again and again, my beloved must dislike growing intimate [with me].’
3. *iyo-iyo mi-m-aku | fosi-ki kimi ka na* いよいよ見まく | ほしき君かな (Kokin: 17. Zō I: 900 #210) ‘o you, [my son,] whom I wish to see all the more’ (≈ Ise: 84 #58)
4. *mi-m-aku no fosi-ki | Tamatusima ka mo* 見まくのほしき | 玉津島かも (Kokin: 17. Zō I: 912 #212) ‘o [Mount] Tamatsushima that I want to see’
5. *Af-i-mi-m-aku | fosi-Ø fa kazu na-ku | ar-inagara, | fito ni tuki na-mi | madof-i koso s(e)-ure.* あひ見まく | ほしは数なく | ありながら | 人につきなみ | 惑ひこそすれ (Kokin: 19. Zattei: 1029 #244) ‘I want [us both] to see each other – [yet] though stars are countless, the moon is not there, so I lose the way to my beloved.’

<sup>9</sup> A conventional epithet of uncertain meaning (‘violent, impetuous?’).

### Mid-Classical Japanese

Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 in his “**Tosa nikki**” 土佐日記／土左日記 (‘The Tosa diary’, ca 935) did not use any of the forms previously discussed, but this fact is probably to be attributed to the relative shortness of the text.

By contrast, Fujiwara no Michitsuna no Haha 藤原道綱母 employed *-(a)mafosi-* quite often and without inhibitions, shunning at the same time the older analytic construction. In her “**Kagerō nikki**” 蜻蛉日記 (‘The gossamer years’, ca 970–977 [covers the period from 954 to 974]) the suffix appears both in prose and in poetry:

- G. 1. *Mawir-i-k\o-mafosi-kere do tutumasi-u-te nam...* まわり来まほしけれどつゝましようてなん。(Kagerō: I-25. 1 Tentoku VIII #39) ‘I would like to come, but I feel too shy...’
2. [...] “*Inoti ar\-aba*” to | *tanom/e-Ø-k\o-s\i* | *koto bakari koso*, | *sira-nami no* | *tat-i mo yor-i-k\o-ba* | *tof-amafosi-kere*. [...] 命あらばと | たのめこし | ことばかりこそ | 白波の | たちもよりこぼ | 問はまほしけれ (Kagerō: I-30. 2 Tentoku VII #47) ‘[...] «If only I live» were the words of your promise – if you rise and approach, like white waves do, I would like to ask [you about your true feelings].’
3. *ito sir-amafosi-u kanasi-u oboy/e-t/e-Ø* いと知らまほしう悲しうおぼえて (Kagerō: I-41. 1 Kōhō VII #62) ‘I very much wanted to get to know [the island] and felt interested [in it]’
4. *koko ni zo ito ar\-amafosi-ki wo* こゝにぞ、いとあらまほしきを (Kagerō: I-49. 3 Kōhō III #69) ‘very much as I want to be here’
5. *Wosana-ki fito, mawir-amafosi-ge ni omof-it\le-ar\-e ba*, s[y]aūzok-as/e-t/e-Ø *idas-i-tat-u*. をさなき人、まゐらまほしげに思ひたれば、さうぞかせて出だしたつ。(Kagerō: II-93. 1 Tenroku VII #142) ‘As I thought that the little boy might want to go [to the tournament], I dressed [him appropriately] and sent [him] off.’
6. *if-i-yar-amafosi-kere do* 言ひやらまほしけれど (Kagerō: II-107. 2 Tenroku V #156) ‘although I wanted to send [the poem]’
7. *wi mo ito nom-amafosi-kere ba* 井もいと飲まほしければ (Kagerō: II-132. 2 Tenroku VII #193–194) ‘as one felt a great desire to drink from the well too’
8. *ar\-amafosi-ki waza nar\-i* あらまほしきわざなり (Kagerō: II-132. 2 Tenroku VII #196) ‘this was something that one wanted to happen’
9. [...] *koto si mo kokoti yo-ge nar\-am-Ø tokoro no kagiri s\le-mafosi-ge nar\-u waza ni zo miye-k\er\-u*. [...] ことしも心ちよげならんところのかぎりせまほしげなるわざにぞ見えける。(Kagerō: II-138. 2 Tenroku XII #202) ‘[...] this looked just like an action by which they apparently wanted to make [the house] into a place which would be nothing short of pleasant.’

10. *mawir-i-k\o-mafosi-u-te ar-it\</e>-uru wo* まわりこまほしうてありつるを (Kagerō: III-149. 3 Tenroku uruu-II #223) ‘although I have been wanting to come’.

This text is all the more important since it also contains a negative counterpart to *-(a)mafosi-*, namely the suffix *-(a)mau-*, and already not as an isolated example:

- H. 1. *K\o-mau-ge ni | nar-i-masar-itutu | natuk/e-n-u wo, | ko-nafa tay/e-z\>-u zo | tanom-i-k\>-in-ik\>-er\>-u.* こまうげに | なりまさりつゝ | なつけぬを | こなはたえずぞ | 頼みきにける (Kagerō: I-30. 2 Tentoku VII #49) ‘Although [the colt<sup>10</sup>] was growing more and more reluctant to come and one could not tame [him], the cord cherished her hope unceasingly.’
2. *Sirakafa no | sek-i no sek-e ba ya, | k\o-mau-ku-te | amata no fi wo ba | fik-i-watar-it\</e>-uru?* 白河の | 関のせけばや | こまうくて | あまたの日をば | ひきわたりつる (Kagerō: I-30. 2 Tentoku VII #50) ‘Was it because the barrier of Shirakawa held [him] back that [the colt] did not want to come and would withdraw for so many days?’
3. *Ito kafer-i-goto s\>-e-mau-kere do, “Nafō, tosi no fazim/e-∅ ni fara-dat-i na som/e-∅ so” nado if-e ba, sukosi fa kuner-it/e-∅ kak-it\</e>-u.* いと返りごとせまうけれど「なほ、年のはじめに腹だちな初めそ」など言へば、すこしはくねりて書きつ。 (Kagerō: II-99. 2 Tenroku I #148) ‘I was very unwilling to make any reply, but they said: «Still, do not become angry at the beginning of the year», so I did write though a little sulkily.’

There have been proposed two etymologies for this new suffix, both relating to the adjective *u-* ‘to be undesirable / displeasing’:

- *-(a)mau-* developed from a construction <sup>+</sup>*-(a)m-aku u-*, in the way exactly parallel to CJ *-(a)mafosi-* < OJ *-(a)m-aku posi-* (Ikeda 1980, 127/1; Vovin 2003, 287; Yamada 1968, 497);
- it was formed analogically on the basis of *-(a)mafosi-*, by replacing the final *…fosi-* (= *fosi-* ‘to be desired’) with *…u-* (= *u-* ‘to be undesirable/displeasing’), i.e. *-(a)mafosi-* : *fosi-* = X : *u-*, hence X = *-(a)mau-* (Ikeda 1980, 127/1; Negoro Tsukasa 根来司 in: JJS, 265–267).

Taking, however, into account that the analytic form <sup>+</sup>*-(a)m-aku u-* is not attested anywhere in the Old or early Classical Japanese corpus, and that the suffix *-(a)mau-* itself emerges rather late,<sup>11</sup> the latter solution seems much more probable

<sup>10</sup> The subject is hidden in the initial two syllables of the poem, which form *koma* ‘colt, foal’. Other puns, of which there are plenty here and in the next example, are omitted in the translations.

<sup>11</sup> The first occurrence seems to be in the poem from the “Kagerō nikki” quoted above as H.1, followed immediately by the response given in H.2. Both are easily datable

(note also that the most natural way to contract  $^{+}(a)m-aku u-$  would be to produce  $^{+}(a)maku-$ , not  $-(a)mau-$ ). This etymology is, furthermore, corroborated by the fact that  $-(a)mafosi-$  must have strongly been felt as containing *fosi-* ‘to be desired’, for the “adjective” could in poetry be separated from the initial part of the suffix by a line break – it is after all the OJ verbal noun in  $-(u)raku$  that suffered the most from the contraction, the *posi-* ( $\rightarrow fosi-$ ) being left untouched. The following example from the “**Izumi Shikibu nikki**” 和泉式部日記 (‘The diary of Izumi Shikibu’, ca 1003–1007) evidences such a possibility (cf. Syromjatnikov 2002, 121):<sup>12</sup>

- I. 1. *Nagusam(⟨e⟩-u to | kik-e ba katar-ama… | …fosi-kere do, | mi no u-ki koto zo | if-u kafi mo na-ki.* 慰むと | 聞けばかたらま | ほしけれど | 身のうきことぞ | いふかひもなき (*Izumi nikki* #15) ‘When I hear that you will console [me], I want to talk [with you], but in vain it is to speak of how miserable my life is.’

One further such instance, from “Gosen waka shū”, is adduced in K.9 below; worthy of mention is also a poem from the fifteenth imperial anthology “Shoku senzai waka shū” 続千載和歌集 (‘Collection of Japanese poems of a thousand years continued’, 1318–1320) which contains the lines: *fito ni katar-ama… | …fosi-ki koro ka na* 人に語らま | ほしき比哉 (*Shoku senzai*: 14. Koi IV: 1539 #) ‘o, [these] moments when I would like to talk to my beloved’.

Another argument in favour of the relative independence of the segment  $\dots fosi-$  in  $-(a)mafosi-$ , this time a phonetic one, can be found in the evolution of the consonant *f*. As is well known, the intervocalic CJ *f* developed into *w* (and later disappeared in front of any vowel except *a*) whereas the initial one remained *f* only to change into *h* in fairly recent times (except before *u*). Now, in the Middle Japanese sources published by the Portuguese missionaries (see *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam*, s.vv.) one finds the discussed morpheme in the following forms: *Aramafoxij* ‘Coufa que defejamos nos venha’ ( $\langle ar \rangle -amafosi-ki$  ‘such that one would want it were there, wished for, desirable, welcome’), *Qicamafoxij* ‘O querer ouuir, ou defejar de ouuir’ ( $\langle kik \rangle -amafosi-ki$  ‘such that one would like to hear it, pleasing to the ear’) – with which, on the other hand, e.g. *Cauro* ‘Rofto’ ( $\langle kafa \rangle$  ‘face’) is to be compared. This points again to a strongly (even if falsely) perceived morphological boundary between  $-(a)ma\ \dots$  and  $\dots fosi-$ .

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since they refer to the exchange of letters described in the diary as taking place in the second year of the Tentoku 天徳 era, i.e. AD 958. A possibly earlier attestation may be found in the “Ochikubo monogatari” 落窪物語 (cf. JJS, 265), but this text is more difficult to locate in time: various dates are mentioned, ranging from 957 to 1004 (most probably 957–973).

<sup>12</sup> Unlike other texts cited in the present paper, the “Izumi Shikibu nikki” has not been excerpted in full.

Finally, it may be worthwhile investigating the usage of all the three forms in the mid-Classical poetry. In the second imperial anthology, “**Gosen waka shū**” 後撰和歌集 (‘Later collection of Japanese poems’, 951–958), one finds three attestations of *-(a)m-aku fosi-* and ten of *-(a)mafosi-*; the suffix *-(a)mau-* has yet to reach the level of verse:<sup>13</sup>

- J.** 1. *yuk-it/e-∅ safe koso | mi-m-aku fosi-kere* ゆきてさへこそ | みまくほしけれ (Gosen: 10. Koi II: 654 #) ‘even if I were to go, I would like to see [you]’
2. *tat-i-kafer-it/e-∅ mo | mi-m-aku fosi-ki ni* [vel: ka] 立かへりても | みまくほしきに [vel: か] (Gosen: 11. Koi III: 731 #) ‘o, I would like to turn back and see [you again]’
3. *ut-i-kafes-i | mi-m-aku zo fosi-ki* 打返し | みまくそほしき (Gosen: 12. Koi IV: 797 #) ‘I want to see [the carnations] once more’
- K.** 1. *Mi wo wak/e-t/e-∅ | ar\-amafofi-ku zo | omofoy\</e>-uru,*<sup>14</sup> | *fito fa kurusi-∅ to | if-ik\</er>-u mono wo!* 身をわけて | あらまほしくそ | おもほゆる | 人はくるしと | いひける物を (Gosen: 9. Koi I: 576 #) ‘I would like to live having divided my body [in two] – my beloved has told [me] he is so heavy-hearted!’
2. *if-amafofi-ku mo | omofoy\</e>-uru ka na* いはまほしくも | おもほゆるかな (Gosen: 9. Koi I: 591 #) ‘o, how I wish to speak [of my feelings]’
3. *fito ya k/e-n\</e>-uru to | kik-amafofi-sa ni* 人やけぬると | きかまほしさに (Gosen: 10. Koi II: 628 #) ‘wishing to hear whether my beloved has [not] passed away’
4. *ima fa kowe koso | kik-amafofi-kere* いまは声こそ | きかまほしけれ (Gosen: 10. Koi II: 636 #) ‘now I would like to hear [the birds’] calls’
5. *moro-tomo ni koso | ir-amafofi-kere* もろともにこそ | いらまほしけれ (Gosen: 10. Koi II: 695 #) ‘I would like to enter [the mountains] together [with you]’
6. *fus-i-kafer-i koso | sin\</e>-amafofi-kere* ふしかへりこそ | しなまほしけれ (Gosen: 12. Koi IV: 858 #) ‘I want to fall utterly on my face and die’
7. *fiki-mayu no | kaku futa-gomor-i | s\</e>-mafosi-mi* ひきまゆの | かくふたこもり | せまほしみ (Gosen: 12. Koi IV: 875 #) ‘as I would want to conceal the two [of us] in one cocoon like this’
8. *af-ade nomi koso | ar\</e>-amafofi-kere* あはてのみこそ | あらまほしけれ (Gosen: 14. Koi VI: 1010 #) ‘I want to live without taking any (marriage) vows’

<sup>13</sup> The edition used for “Gosen waka shū” and “Shūi waka shū” (i.e. *Nijūichidai shū*) makes it a rule not to mark the voicedness of consonants. The numbering of poems may also differ slightly from the one of other editions.

<sup>14</sup> Compare the poem quoted above as C.39, and the footnote thereto. The form *omofoy\</e>-uru* might perhaps be read here as an attribute to the following *fito* (‘my beloved, of whom I think’), but it appears somewhat less likely. The next example (K.2) is much more straightforward.

9. *taki no ito mi-ma*… | …*fosi-kere do* 滝のいとみま | ほしけれと (Gosen: 15. Zō I: 1087 #) ‘much as I would want to see the (thread of) waterfall’
10. *miya-bito to* | *nar-amafosi-ki wo* 宮人と | ならまほしきを (Gosen: 17. Zō III: 1200 #) ‘although I want to become a courtier’.

The third imperial anthology, “*Shūi waka shū*” 拾遺和歌集 (‘Collection of gleanings of Japanese poems’, 997–1007), already has the entire panoply of forms (of course, except for any descendant of OJ *-(a)m-aku por-*), although their frequency is different:

- L. 1. *yar-ade nomi koso* | *mi-m-aku fosi-kere* やらてのみこそ | みまくほしけれ (Shūi: 6. Wakare: 313 #) ‘I would like to look [at you], without your sending [the letter of parting]’
2. *ik-er-u fi no* | *tame koso fito fa* | *mi-m-aku fosi-kere* いける日の | ためこそ人は | みまくほしけれ (Shūi: 11. Koi I: 685 #) ‘I want to see my beloved for the sake of the days that I shall live out’ (≈ *Man’yōshū*: 4: 560 #I.264; *Man’yōshū*: 11: 2592 #III.204)
3. *mi-m-aku zo fosi-ki* 見まくそほしき (Shūi: 13. Koi III: 783 #) ‘I want to see [you]’ (≈ *Man’yōshū*: 11: 2464 #III.180)
4. *Yuki wo usu-mi* | *kaki-ne ni tum-er-u* | *kara-naduna*, | *nadusaf-am-aku no* | *fosi-ki kimi ka na!* 雪をうすみ | かきねにつめる | からなつな | なつさはまくの | ほしき君哉 (Shūi: 16. Zō-Haru: 1021 #) ‘Mother’s heart [= shepherd’s purse] that I am plucking by the fence for the snow is lying thin – o you, whose heart I wish to win!’
- M. 1. *tir-i tir-az-u* | *kik-amafosi-ki wo* ちりちらす | きかまほしきを (Shūi: 1. Haru: 49 #) ‘as I want to hear whether [the blossoms] have scattered or not’
2. *fatu-kowe no* | *kik-amafosi-sa ni* はつ声の | きかまほしさに (Shūi: 2. Natsu: 96 #) ‘wishing to hear [the cuckoo’s] first call’
3. *ima fito-kowe no* | *kik-amafosi-sa ni* いま一こゑの | きかまほしさに (Shūi: 2. Natsu: 106 #) ‘wishing to hear one more call [of a cuckoo]’
4. *Wakar/e-Ø-di wo* | *fedat/e-uru kumo no* | *tame ni koso* | *afug-i no kaze wo* | *yar-amafosi-kere*. わかれちを | へたつる雲の | ためにこそ | 扇のかせを | やらまほしけれ (Shūi: 6. Wakare: 311 #) ‘I would like to send the wind of this fan for [dispelling] the clouds that bar the path between us.’
5. *taki no ito fa* | *fle-t/e-Ø mi-mafosi-ki* | *mono ni zo ar-ik-er-u* 滝の糸 |<sup>15</sup> はへて見まほしき | 物にそ有ける (Shūi: 8. Zō I: 446 #) ‘it was [this] thread of waterfall that I wanted to weave and look at’

<sup>15</sup> The traditional division into lines, namely *taki no ito* | *fafle-t/e-Ø mi-mafosi-ki* (with *fafle-* ‘to draw, to stretch’), appears improbable for metrical reasons.

6. *k\o-mafosi-ku nomi | omofoy\(/e)-uru ka na* こまほしくのみ | おもほゆるかな (*Shūi*: 14. *Koi* IV: 904 #) ‘o, I can only think that I would like to come [to you]’
7. *photogisu fata | kik-amafosi-の* 郭公はた | きかまほし (*Shūi*: 16. *Zō-Haru*: 1066 #) ‘but I still want to listen to the cuckoo’
8. *yo [no] naka ni | ar\i-ya na-si ya no | kik-amafosi-ki zo* 世中に | ありやなしやの | きかまほしきそ (*Shūi*: 18. *Zō-Ga*: 1193 #) ‘I want to ask [you] whether you [still] live in this world or not [any more]’
- N. 1. *Moro-tomo ni | or-is\i [pro: wor-is\i] faru nomi | kofisi-ku-te, | fitori mi-mau-ki | fana-zakari ka na!* もろともに | おりし春のみ | 恋しくて | ひとり見まうき | 花さかりかな (*Shūi*: 16. *Zō-Haru*: 1039 #) ‘O, the profusion of blossoms that I do not want to look at alone, only yearning for the spring when we plucked [them] together!’

### Conclusions

On the basis of the above material one can tabulate the quantity of all the forms discussed, as they appear in the individual texts, in the following manner (shaded areas denote genres too scantily represented in a given work to be of any importance for the matter under consideration):

	-(a)m-aku posi- -(a)m-aku por- <sup>16</sup>		-(a)mafosi-		-(a)mau-	
	poetry	prose	poetry	prose	poetry	prose
“Man’yōshū” (after 771)	52					
“Taketori monogatari” (ninth/tenth cent.)				3		
“Ise monogatari” (early tenth cent.)	3					
“Kokin waka shū” (905–914)	5					
“Tosa nikki” (ca 935)						
“Gosen waka shū” (951–958)	3		10			
“Kagerō nikki” (ca 974)			1	9	2	1
“Shūi waka shū” (997–1007)	4		8		1	
Total	67	0	19	12	3	1

<sup>16</sup> The variant with *por-* occurs exclusively in the “Man’yōshū”.

As can be seen, the older analytic construction continued its existence in poetry at least until the beginning of the eleventh century, although it must have been regarded as outdated (or perhaps as an element of the elevated style) for it was never used in prose. On the other hand, the synthetic *-(a)mafosi-* was still new enough in the ninth century to be restricted solely to prose, and it needed several decades more to enter tanka. This confirms the general more archaic nature of verse.

The suffix *-(a)mau-*, by contrast, appeared all of a sudden in the second half of the tenth century and was right from the start employed both in prose and in poetry. This fact seems to support further the idea of its analogical origin by showing clearly that it did not tread the usual path of linguistic development.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the form never gained much popularity and fell into disuse earlier than its affirmative counterpart (for some details related to their extinction, see JJS, 263, 265–266). Apparently, the length of the suffixes was not relevant here – economy somehow did not play its role.

To conclude, one can point out two possible sources of new synthetic forms in Japanese: the contraction of older analytic expressions (as in the case of *-(a)mafosi-*) and the analogical formation (as with *-(a)mau-*).

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## B i b l i o g r a p h y

All examples are quoted precisely as they appear in the editions listed below. The exact location is indicated in the following manner: «*Title*: chapter or book (: poem) #(volume and) page in the edition used» (page number is missing if the examples are quoted after a CD-ROM edition).

The morphological analysis employed follows the model laid out in the present author's "Japanese verbal classes ..." (Majtczak 2008, 31–36, 112–113). It must be

<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that any analytic construction expressing unwillingness was absent from the earliest language. Indeed, one easily finds *-(a)maku wosi-* (with *wosi-* 'dear, precious, sorely missed, darling, (be)loved; regrettable, unfortunate, disappointing, pitiable, pitiful') well attested in both Old and Classical Japanese: there are over thirty examples in the "Man'yōshū" alone, and at least one or two per each of the initial three imperial anthologies.



borne in mind that the sounds put in angle brackets < > underwent reduction due to morphophonological processes (they are not to be read!). In the Old Japanese examples SMALL CAPITALS point to the portions written semantically (by means of logograms), and not phonetically.

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