

SOME HONORIFIC EXPRESSIONS IN WAKAYAMA DIALECT

By

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I. Introductory Remarks: the Aim and Method of the Research

This is a part of the research into Wakayama dialect. The materials, which have not yet been published in any printed form, were supplied by the survey of Wakayama dialect done in 1950 by the author and were entrusted to him by the Social Education Section of the Wakayama Prefectural Education Board.

A. THE AIM OF THIS SURVEY.

The survey was made with the aim to examine the differences of the dialects in Wakayama Prefecture, to know how some important expressions changed according to the social and geographical distribution, to study the reason and cause and to find out the main factors of these changes from the social and geographical standpoints, and finally, to realize the relationship among the language and the geographical and the social situations and to draw conclusions from them, if possible. For this purpose Wakayama Prefecture seemed to be more fitted than any other in Kinki Province. The report on this study was presented to the Wakayama Prefectural Education Board.

The survey supplied the author many materials to enable him to trace the historical changes of some important expressions, a by-product of the survey, for which the author has the freedom of publication. This is a part of the historical research carried out.

B. THE METHOD OF THIS SURVEY.

The author applied two different kinds of processes.

1) The correspondence survey.

The questionnaire form with explanations and notes for filling it out was printed and was sent out to every middle school in the prefecture with a letter of request at the middle of November in 1949. There are four cities, twenty-nine towns and one hundred sixty-eight villages in the prefecture. Nearly all of them have at least one middle school, but when too small to have their own, some villages have a school in common, so the survey covered the whole prefecture.

This first survey was chiefly to find out the important places where the second one, the interview survey, should be done, thus saving time and expenses.

The questionnaire comprised ten items, seven of them were syntactical, three phonetical, and one lexicographical. One of the syntactical items dealt with the expression asking a favour, and was printed as follows:

<i>bayaku ike</i>	<i>bayoo ike</i>	<i>bayo ike</i>
<i>bayo iki naa</i>		
<i>bayo iki yoshi</i>		
<i>bayo ikai</i>	<i>bayo ikai shi</i>	<i>bayo ikai yo</i>
<i>bayo ikanshi</i>	<i>bayo ikanshe</i>	<i>bayo ikanse</i>

(All these forms mean "go quickly").

The head of each school was requested to choose some teacher or teachers who would be interested and qualified in such a work as this. The teacher would select from two to five bright boys and girls from each part of the school district and show each group the questionnaire. He would let them mark the expressions which they themselves and their family and neighbours usually use in daily conversation. When they could not find the expressions used, they were asked to insert the expression in the blank. The necessary explanations were also requested for the examples used by abbreviations shown in the following list:

O ...the old	E ...the elderly	Y ...the young
C ...children		
M ...men only	W...women only	
F ...frequently used	S ...seldom used	

(Examples of using these were shown as follows:

CW ...only children or women use it.
OEM ...only old or elderly men use it.

When each form for each group of children had been filled, the teacher would draw an outline map of the school district, showing the location from which each group of students was selected, with some notes on the geographical and social characteristics of the district, such as the distribution of houses and population, occupations chiefly followed, the differences in facilities

for communication and transportation in each part, the geographical and social relationships with the neighbouring villages or towns, and so on. When all this work had been done, forms were to be sent back to the Education Board.

The number of the answers was quite satisfactory, far better than in any other surveys which have been heard of in this country. For this the survey was chiefly indebted to the kind assistance of Mr. Sakuradani Masao, the director then of the Social Education Section, who eagerly encouraged heads of schools to send replies. The author can never thank him enough.

The number of cities, towns and villages, and of answers are as follows :

Name city or county	cities,	Number of towns and villages		total	Number of schools	reply	no reply
Wakayama	1	—	—	1	6	6	0
Kainan	1	—	—	1	3	3	0
Tanabe	1	—	—	1	4	4	0
Shingu	1	—	—	1	3	3	0
Kaiso	—	3	30	33	25	24	1
Naga	—	3	21	24	11	11	0
Ito	—	6	16	22	21	18	3
Arida	—	2	19	21	19	11	8
Hidaka	—	4	32	36	36	30	6
Nishi-Muro	—	4	30	34	34	28	6
Higashi-Muro	—	7	20	27	28	25	3
Total	4	29	168	201	190	163	27

The rate of the answers was 85.7%.

The answers were carefully examined and twenty-seven dialect maps were made, a number far less than intended at first owing to the inaccuracy of the replies.

2) The interview survey.

The interview survey was done from July 1950 to March 1951 chiefly in Ito, Arida, Hidaka, Nishi-Muro, and Higashi-Muro Counties, and in Shingu City. Seventy-eight places in twenty-six villages, towns and a city were visited. At these places from three to fifteen chiefly old and elderly persons, especially women, were interviewed, mostly in a group, but sometimes individually. The maps were revised carefully.

C. THE NATURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PREFECTURE.

Generally speaking, mountains, rivers, and seas prevent human com-

munication and transportation when men wish to cross them, but support men when they wish to follow along them. Wakayama Prefecture is the western part of a huge mountain range protruding into the Pacific Ocean in Kinki District. It is, therefore, mountainous in the eastern part and is half surrounded by the sea in the west and the south, with comparatively narrow plains along the shore. The rice crop can hardly feed the whole population of the prefecture. The inhabitants seem to work hard to get their living by products from the mountains and the sea. Cultural life seems to have made its way along the shore at first and then along the rivers into the mountain.

Kinokawa, the large river which rises among the mountains in Nara Prefecture runs from east to west along the northern border of the prefecture, which is made of a hill range separating Wakayama from Osaka Prefecture. Along this river are many towns, of which Koya, the temple town on a mountain and one of the most famous summer resorts in Kinki Province, makes the eastern center, and Wakayama City at the mouth of the river makes the western center. Wakayama City is far larger than Koya Town and is the administrative as well as cultural center of the whole prefecture. It may seem strange that the center of the prefecture lies at the north-west end of it, but this simply means that the other parts of the prefecture have been not so easy to reach.

There is a branch river to the Kinokawa which rises in and runs through the Nogami Valley, famous with its hemp-palm products. This branch forms another region to the south of the Kinokawa district, the center of which is Kainan City lying also at the west end on the coast south of Wakayama City.

The Arida and the Hidaka are also long rivers running from the eastern mountain to the western sea, and each of these form a region, the Arida County with Minoshima and Yuasa Towns as its centers, and Hidaka County with Gobo Town as its center. Arida County is most famous for its mandarin oranges.

In the county of Nishi-Muro there are two rivers, the Tonda and the Hiki, which also rise in the eastern mountain nearly at the same place. The former runs westward and near its mouth lies Tanabe City, while the latter runs nearly to the south and runs into the sea at Hiki Town, which is rather as a town at the mouth of a river.

There are three rivers, the Koza, the Ôta and the Kumano, in Higashi-Muro County. The Koza runs to the south-east with three towns at its mouth, Koza, Takaike and Nishi-Mukai, which had been the center of fishing and timber trade. The Ôta is rather a small river, but has importance in the division of dialect. The Kumano is one of the longest rivers in Kinki, which rises far among the mountains of south Nara Prefecture and runs nearly

to the south along the border between Mie Prefecture and Wakayama. Shingu City is at the mouth of the Kumano as the center of the county and is thriving with timber trade and paper manufacturing.

There are three routes of communication. The first one, which comes down south from Osaka City along the coast, skirts the coast from Wakayama to Shingu, connecting four cities in the prefecture and runs into Mie Prefecture and reaches Ujiyamada, thus going round the peninsular part of Kinki. On this line the National Railway opens the Kisei Line, with just a small part which is now under construction, and this is the most important and the main lane of communication. The second route, which comes from the southern part of the Nara Plain, lies along the Kinokawa from the north-east end of the Prefecture to the City of Wakayama, and the Wakayama Line of the National Railway runs along it. At Hashimoto, which is nearly at the eastern end, another route from Osaka City crosses the second route and reaches Koya Town where the Koya Line of the Nankai Electric Railway is running on it. The third route lies along valleys and peaks of mountains from Tanabe City to Hongu Village, on which runs a bus line of the National Railway. From Hongu traffic by ferry-boat driven by propeller is opened to Shingu, along the footpath by the west coast of Kumanogawa.

The first route along the coast has many branches, all of which equally lead to the mountain villages along the winding valleys of the above mentioned rivers, and on which run the bus service lines of private companies.

The communication by water seemed to have been much more important than that by land before the railway traffic was opened, and it is only fifteen years since it was opened to Shingu. As fishing is very active among coast villagers, special communication among these villagers seems to be close, and this is reflected in the state of dialect in these villages.

D. THE CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PREFECTURE.

One of the peculiar features of religions in old Japan is that shrines and temples were built on some high mountain, or in some remote place far from the capital city, because the troubles suffered on the way to those holy places seemed to be thought one of the religious austerities which the believers must undergo, sharing the suffering which the founders of the shrines and temples had experienced far the more at first.

Three shrines of Kumano are among those remote holy places, and these shrines are supposed to have existed from the prehistoric period. In the twelfth century the Imperial family became ardent believers in these shrines and Emperors and their families made pilgrimages to the shrines more than one hundred times, it is said. So the route along the shore which was

called "O-hechi" and the route across the mountain and along the river which was called "Naka-hechi" were the highways of pilgrimage. Pilgrims were supposed to go round from Tanabe to Hongu (main shrine) by Naka-hechi and then to Shingu (new shrine) along the river, and after visiting Nachi, where the third shrine was, they went back to Tanabe by O-hechi or in some cases by the reverse course. In the 14th century and after, pilgrimage was suspended by civil wars, but was restored and is supposed to have continued until the end of the 19th century. Shingu had been a Mecca, and the result of it seemed to be recognized also in its dialect, since its accent is very different in this region.

Another religious center is Koya Town. This is an example of the temple on the summit of a mountain. The temple was founded by Kôbô, one of the greatest teachers of Buddhism in the ninth century. It is supposed that there were more than 2,000 temples on the mountain when the Shingon sect flourished most, but there are now 120 temples there. More than 800,000 persons visit there in a year, though not all of them go for a religious purpose, for this is one of the most famous summer resorts in Kinki. The temple had a large fief of its own around the mountain, and the farmers who worked in it paid rice as a land-tax. So the district around this temple has its own characteristics, old and new.

In the Tokugawa Period (17th-19th century) the feudal system was established, and nearly all the provinces of the country were ruled by feudal lords. The province of Kii, which was just a little larger than Wakayama Prefecture, was governed by the Tokugawas, a near relative of the Shogun. This is one of the reasons that Wakayama was quite free from the influence of Osaka, which was the economic and financial center of Japan since 17th century, though Wakayama was so near to Osaka and had much communication with it. Wakayama was the seat of the Tokugawas until the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but the only wide plain along the Kinokawa and along the coast had been under the power of this lord. So this district has some peculiar characteristics in its language even now.

There were two minor lords; the one was governing the clan of Tanabe, and the other, the clan of Shingu. These two were important centers of administration and communication. These two districts which had been ruled by these minor lords show some peculiarities in their languages, though they are nearly alike.

The feudalism in Japan, with its clan system, had done surprisingly much in making every district isolated from others, and the differences in language became greater and greater. Every district had its special changes in its language while it had been isolated. The result of this still remains at present.

In short, there are four cultural centers in the prefecture: Koya Town

(a religious center), Wakayama City (the administrative center), Tanabe City (an old clan center, now a local center) and Shingu City (an old religious and clan center, now a local center). Each has its cultural sphere around it, and these cultural centers are connected by the lines of communication, cultural lines, we may call them.

E. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF WAKAYAMA DIALECT.

It is easy for readers to suppose the speciality of Wakayama dialect from the natural and cultural peculiarities. The prefecture may be roughly divided into three parts from the conditions of the dialects:

1) The old dialect district.—This is chiefly the mountain region far from the cultural spheres and the cultural lines. The oldest forms of expressions remain here.

2) The middle dialect district.—This is the main part of the prefecture, the part other than the old mountain region and the new city region. The older forms of expression in Kinki can be found here. The Koya, Tanabe and Shingu cultural spheres may be included in this part.

3) The new dialect district.—This is the city part, and the Wakayama cultural sphere may be included in it. Although even in this part some places may differ greatly in detail, they all show that their dialects are newer than in any other parts of the prefecture. But remember that their dialects are newer in the prefecture, and not in Kinki Province.

II. The Honorific Expressions in Wakayama Dialect.

One of the outstanding features of the Japanese language has long been said to be in the honorific expressions. There are three different attitudes of the speaker to the hearer resulting from the consideration of the speaker for the hearer. These are expressed by three different forms at least. In the standard Japanese they are as follows:

1) To the inferior person, the imperative expression—*hayaku ike* go quickly.

2) To one's equal, the persuading expression—*hayaku iki nasai* go quickly, wont' you?

3) To the superior, the beseeching expression—*hayaku itte kudasai* will you go quickly?

There are, of course, many other expressions even in the standard Japanese, differing in the shades of meaning as well as in feeling of words and of expressions, through which the tender and delicate consideration of the speaker to the hearer are usually expressed, such as expressions of friendliness, intimacy, respect, and others which are commonly expressed by intonation

in Western languages.

In Wakayama dialect, the beseeching expressions are employed only in the new dialect district, and the persuading expressions are usually used in the other districts, because in those parts members of the community are far more intimate with each other than in cities. But the feeling expressed by the beseeching forms tends to be less impressive when the forms are used so often, and they are finally degraded to persuasive expressions. These degraded expressions may be found in the middle and the old dialect districts of the prefecture.

The forms of expressions used in the prefecture may be classed as follows (arranged in a supposedly historical order):

hayoo it-te tamawa-re
hayoo ika-shi-mase
hayoo o-iki o-shi (nasa-re)
hayoo it-te itadaka-shi-te (kudasa-ri-mase)
hayoo o-iki nasa-re-mase
hayoo it-te o-kure

All the dialect forms found in the prefecture seem to be one or another changed or derived form of these six original ones. The details of the changes of each form are as follows:

1. “*It-te tamawa-re*” form.

This form seemed to have changed as:

ittetamaware>ittetamawre*>ittetamaure*>ittetamamore*>
 ittetamore*>ittetamore. (* shows the non-plosive sound.)

Only the last form is used in three villages, Hanazono (Ito county), Aze and Yahata (Arida county), chiefly by old people. These villages are at the northern corner of the old dialect district, and are the remotest places in the prefecture.

There are five different kinds of verbs in Japanese, each having different forms when followed by some other kind of word. The forms of “*ittetamore*” kind in these villages are as follows:

<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(to go)	(to see)	(to go out)	(to come)	(to do)

ʼittetamoʼre, ʼmitetamoʼre, ʼdetetamoʼre, ʼkitetamoʼre, ʼʃitetamoʼre.

(ʼ shows the syllables pronounced in comparatively higher pitch than other syllables)

2. “*Ika-shi-mase*” form.

This form seems to have undergone many changes as follows:

ikaʃimase† > ikaçimase* > ikaimase (1) { > ikæ :mase* < ika:mase* >
 < ikaimse* < ikainse* >
 ikamase (2) < ikamse* { > ikanʃi (3a) > ikãʃi* > ikaʃi (4)
 > ikanse (3b) > ikan (5)
 ikaïse* { > ikaiʃi (6a) > ikai (7, 8)
 > ikaise (6b)

Among these supposed changes, forms which are marked † are found in the old literature; those marked * are of intermediate transitory nature which are supposed to have existed theoretically. The shifting between “i” and “e” is very common in Japanese dialect, and when “e” in “se” syllable is changed into “i,” “s” is also changed into “ʃ,” because there is no “si” syllable in Japanese. (Japanese “i” vowel seems to have such a pallatalizing influence to the preceding consonant, so “si,” “ti,” and “ni” syllables seem to have changed into “ʃi,” “tʃi,” and “ni”). The shifting between “se” and “ʃi” therefore means only the simple shifting of vowels.

The forms of each kind of verb are as follows :

	<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(1)	ʃikaʃmaʃse,	ʃmiʃjaʃmaʃse,	ʃdeʃjaʃmaʃse,	ʃkiʃjaʃmaʃse,	ʃʃiʃjaʃmaʃse.
(2)	ʃikamaʃse,	miʃjaʃmaʃse,	deʃjaʃmaʃse,	ʃkijamaʃse,	ʃʃijamaʃse.
(3a)	1. ʃikanʃi,	miʃjaʃnʃi,	deʃjaʃnʃi,	{ ʃkijanʃi,	{ ʃʃijanʃi.
				ʃʃonʃi,	ʃsanʃi.
(3b)	1. ʃikaʃnʃi,	miʃjaʃnʃi,	deʃjaʃnʃi,	{ ʃkijaʃnʃi,	{ ʃʃijaʃnʃi.
				ʃʃonʃi,	ʃsaʃnʃi.
(4)	1. ʃikanʃse,	miʃjaʃnʃse,	deʃjaʃnʃse,	{ ʃkijanʃse,	{ ʃʃinʃjaʃse.
				ʃʃonʃse,	ʃsanʃse.
(5)	1. ʃikaʃʃi,	miʃjaʃʃi,	deʃjaʃʃi,	ʃkijaʃʃi,	ʃʃijaʃʃi.
	ʃikanʃ,	{ miʃjaʃnʃ,	{ deʃjaʃnʃ,	ʃkijanʃ,	ʃʃijanʃ.
		ʃmiʃjanʃ,	ʃdeʃjanʃ,		
(6a)	1. ʃikaʃʃʃiʃi,	ʃmiʃjaʃʃʃiʃi,	ʃdeʃjaʃʃʃiʃi,	{ ʃkijaʃʃʃiʃi,	{ ʃʃijaʃʃʃiʃi.
				ʃʃoʃʃʃiʃi,	ʃsaʃʃʃiʃi.
(6b)	1. ʃikaʃʃseʃ,	ʃmiʃjaʃʃseʃ,	ʃdeʃjaʃʃseʃ,	{ ʃkijaʃʃseʃ,	{ ʃʃijaʃʃseʃ.
	ʃikaiʃse,	miʃjaʃʃse,	deʃjaʃʃse,	ʃʃoʃʃseʃ,	ʃsaʃʃseʃ.
			{ ʃkijaʃʃseʃ,	{ ʃʃijaʃʃseʃ.	
			ʃʃoiʃseʃ,	ʃsaiʃseʃ.	

(7)	{	1. 'ika'i,	'mi'jai,	'de'jai,	{'kija'i,	{'fija'i.
					{'go'i,	{'sa'i.
		2. 'ikai,	mija'i,	deja'i,	{'kijai',	{'fijai'.
					{'goi',	{'sai',
(8)		'ikai,	mira'i,	dera'i,	{'kirai',	{'firai',
					{'goi',	{'sai'.

Of two forms for "kuru" and "suru," the "gonsbi" "sanshi" forms seem to be older, and are much used by the elderly and the old.

Some explanations of each forms and their distributions may be stated here.

The forms (1) and (2) are found only in the east coast of the Shingu cultural sphere, and this seems to show that the oldest forms may be kept in this region.

The forms (3-a) and (3-b) have each two forms differing in accent, and the forms (3-a-1) and (3-b-1) are found in the region east of the Ota River, and the forms (3-a-2) and (3-b-2), to the west. This is because the system of accent is different on both sides of the river, and this line seems to run nearly along the county border, and still upwards along the prefecture border. Though differing in accent, these forms are quite the same in their meaning and usage. The form (3-a) seems to have been driven out of the cultural spheres except that of Shingu. It remains only among hills and in fishing villages, the form (3-b) remains in all spheres except Wakayama's. This shows that the form (3-a) is the older of the two.

The form (4) is a special local change, and it is found only in a very small place on the coast southwest of Shingu.

The form (5) is also a special local change, and is found only at two places wide apart, one in the mountain east of Koya, and the other in the suburb of Tanabe.

The form (6) also has four forms differing in accent and in vowel. The form [-si] seems to be the older form as in the form (3).

The forms (6) and (7) seem to have been driven out of other cultural spheres than that of Koya, and remain at the middle western coast and in the southern corner centering at Koza and Kushimoto. These two regions, though widely apart, are closely connected by fishing trade, and this seems to be another example of old forms retained in fishing villages.

The form (8) seems to be the older form of the form (7-2) which is found not only in the Koya cultural sphere, but also widely in the mountain district of southern Nara Prefecture. The sound [r] seemed to have changed into [j], the examples of which, found between Ito County and Naga County, are as follows:

Ito forms :	Naga forms :	meaning :
<i>mi-rareru</i>	<i>mi-jareru</i>	to be seen
<i>mi-rasu</i>	<i>mi-jasu</i>	to let see
<i>mi-ran</i>	<i>mi-jan</i>	do not see

3. "O-iki o-shi" form.

The prefix "o" is said to have been derived from "oo," the root of "ooi" (many, much) and "ookii" (big, great), and has been used in making nouns, adjectives, adverbs and sometimes verbs into honorific forms. This is an example of using double honorific verbs. The supposed changes are as follows :

oiki ofi nasare* > oikiofi* > okikijofi* > ikijofi(1) > ikjo:fi(3)
> ikijose(2) > ikijo(4) > ikije* > ikie(5)

The five kinds of verbs have such forms as follows :

	<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(1)	ʼikiʼjofi,	ʼmiʼjofi,	ʼdeʼjofi,	ʼkiʼjofi,	ʼsiʼjofi.
(2)	ʼikiʼjose,	ʼmiʼjose,	ʼdeʼjose,	ʼkiʼjose,	ʼsiʼjose.
(3)	ʼikjoʼ:fi,	ʼmjoʼ:fi,	ʼdejoʼ:fi,	ʼkjoʼ:fi,	ʼfjoʼ:fi.
(4)	ʼikiʼjo,	ʼmiʼjo,	ʼdeʼjo,	ʼkiʼjo,	ʼsiʼjo.
(5)	ʼikiʼe,	ʼmiʼe,	ʼdeʼe,	ʼkiʼe,	ʼsiʼe.

The form (1) seems to be the original expression which started in the city, and is found only in Wakayama and Tanabe mostly used by women. The same kind of expressions of honorific forms are still found in Tanabe City used only by women, as :

Tanabe form :	original form :	meaning :
<i>o-bai</i>	<i>bai</i>	yes
<i>o-aru</i>	<i>aru</i>	(there) is
<i>o-nai</i>	<i>nai</i>	(there) is not
<i>o-ee</i>	<i>ee</i>	is good

The form (2) seems to be a locally changed form, and is found only in Yahata village near the northern end of the old dialect district.

The form (3) also seems to be a local change, but this form is used in a wider region. The reason for this is supposed to be that the Tanabe form has been changed so as to match its familiar expression. This is the familiarized form derived by the influence of such expressions used only in this district as :

Tanabe form :	mountain form :	meaning :
<i>iki-jaru</i>	<i>ikjaru</i>	to be going
<i>mi-jaru</i>	<i>mjaru</i>	to be seeing
<i>de-jaru</i>	<i>d(e)jaru</i>	to be going out
<i>ki-jaru</i>	<i>kjaru</i>	to be coming
<i>si-jaru</i>	<i>jaru</i>	to be doing

The form (4) seems to be a local variety found only in the Koya sphere, chiefly along the Kinokawa, and the simplified form of this is the form (5). This is found in a narrower region in the same place.

4. “*It-te itadaka-shi-te*” form.

This is the beseeching form, and is found only in Wakayama, having only one other shortened form.

itte-itadaka-fite (kudasari-mase)>ite-itadakaçite>ite-ita:kaçite^(a)>
iteita.^(b)

Forms for each kind of verbs are as follows :

	<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(a)	ʼiteita:kaçiteʼ,	ʼmite-ʼ,	ʼdete-ʼ,	ʼkite-ʼ,	ʼçite-ʼ,
(b)	ʼiteitaʼ,	ʼmiteita,ʼ	ʼdeteitaʼ,	ʼkiteitaʼ,	ʼçiteitaʼ.

(“-ei-” is sometimes pronounced as “-e-”.)

The forms (a) and (b) seem to be special beseeching forms unique in the Wakayama sphere, and the influence of this expression has gone up along the river to the east, just as the “*iki-yo*” form has come down along the same river. It is very interesting to see that the Wakayama influence seemed to be driving the Koya influence away into the mountainous district at the meeting point of the two, showing cultural superiority of Wakayama City expressions.

5. “*O-iki nasare mase*” form.

This is also a beseeching form expressing humble respect just as the preceding one, and is found only in the Tanabe sphere used chiefly by women. This seems to have undergone many changes as follows :

o-iki nasare mase†>-nasarimase†>-nasaimase†>-nasæ:mase* >
-nasa:mase*>-nasa:mase*>-nasa:nse*>-nasanse*>-nasanse†>
-nahanse†>-na:nse*>oikinanse^(c)>ikinanse^(d).

(“*usa-*” often shifts with “-*fa-*”.)

Forms for each kind of verbs are as follows :

	<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(c)	oikiʼnaʼnse,	omiʼnaʼnse,	odeʼnaʼnse,	oideʼnaʼnse,	oʼjiʼnaʼnse.
(d)	ʼikinaʼnse,	ʼminaʼnse,	ʼdenaʼnse,	ʼkinaʼnse,	ʼjinaʼnse.

The form (c) is found only among the old in Tanabe City, and the form (d) chiefly among the old and the elderly women in the same sphere, which shows the speciality of Tanabe dialect in preserving an older expression in a local city.

6. "It-te o-kure" form.

The politeness of this expression has been degraded and lost in the central part of Kinki District, but in the main part of Wakayama Prefecture it still remains as a polite one. It is supposed to have changed as follows:

it̄te o-kure > it̄tokure > ito:kure(e-1) > itokure(e-2)
> itt̄fokure > itfo:kure(f-1) > itfokure(f-2)

Forms for each verb are as follows:

	<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(e)	{1. ʔi'to:kure, 2. ʔi'tokure,	{1. ʔmi'to:kure, 2. ʔmi'tokure,	{1. ʔde'to:kure, 2. ʔde'tokure,	{1. ʔki'to:kure, 2. ʔki'tokure,	{1. ʔʃi'to:kure, 2. ʔʃi'tokure.
(f)	{1. ʔi'tfo:kure, 2. ʔi'tfokure,	{1. ʔmi'tfo:kure, 2. ʔmi'tfokure,	{1. ʔde'tfo:kure, 2. ʔde'tfokure,	{1. ʔki'tfo:kure, 2. ʔki'tfokure,	{1. ʔʃi'tfo:kure, 2. ʔʃi'tfokure.

The ("o:-" are pronounced, as a rule, as two syllables, but in hasty or inaccutate speech, they are usually shortened into one syllable, and there may be many degrees of length, which seem to be very hard to distinguish. So, "-o:-" and "-o-" are treated here as the same one).

This expression is distributed nearly as widely as the "iki-yoshi" form, only a little less so. The form (f) seems to be a local variation.

7. "Iki nasare" form.

This is widely used in the Kinki District at present in a slightly changed form. Wakayama Prefecture has some changed forms of its own. The changes seem to be as follows:

ikinasare > ikinahare(1) > ikina:re*(2) > ikina:je(3) > ikina:(4)
> ikahanse(5) (<ikanse)
> ikahanʃi(6)

Forms for each verb are as follows:

	<i>iku</i>	<i>miru</i>	<i>deru</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>suru</i>
(1) a	ʔikina'hare	ʔmina'hare	ʔdena'hare	ʔkina'hare	ʔʃina'hare
b	ʔi'kina'ha're	ʔmi'na'ha're	ʔde'na'ha're	ʔki'na'ha're	ʔʃi'na'ha're
(2)	ʔikina:re	ʔmina:re	ʔdena:re	ʔkina:re	ʔʃina:re
(3)	ʔikina:je	ʔmina:je	ʔdena:je	ʔkina:je	ʔʃina:je
(4)	ʔikina:	ʔmina:	ʔdena:	ʔkina:	ʔʃina:
(5)	ʔi'ka'han'se	ʔmi'ja'han'se	ʔde'ja'han'se	ʔki'ja'han'se	ʔʃi'ja'han'se
(6)	ʔi'ka'han'ʃi	„ -ʃi	„ -ʃi	„ -ʃi	„ -ʃi

The form (1-a) is the same as the form (1-b), differing only in accent. The form (1-a) is the universal form of Kinki, and is found only in Wakayama City and around it, while the form (1-b) is found in Shingu City with

its own accent and in Katsuura Town, one of the most famous hot spring resorts of Kinki. In this form both places show their city character.

The forms (3) and (4) are widely used in other spheres than that of Shingu, and are specially changed forms in this prefecture.

The forms (5) and (6) are the corrupted forms of “*ikinabare*” with the local form of “*ikanse,*” found only in Hongu Village. This seems to tell how this village has been so closely related to Shingu City.

III. The historical changes of the expression.

The reader may have noticed that there are two kinds of expressions in these honorific forms.

(1) The expression by the honorific suffixes.

The “*ika-sbi-mase*” form is the only example of this kind in Wakayama dialect, but this is a complicated form, as the suffix has been duplicated as follows :

<i>ika</i>	(a special form of “ <i>iku</i> ” (to go) when followed by the honorific suffix or others.)
<i>-sbi</i>	(a special form of “ <i>su</i> ” (an honorific suffix) when followed by the honorific suffix or others.)
<i>-mase</i>	(the imperative form of “ <i>masu</i> ”, an honorific suffix).

(Literally meaning (“Honorably please go.”))

The “*su*” suffix is found in the oldest literature of about the 5th century, and it is believed to be the oldest honorific suffix we can trace. But by nearly the end of the 8th century it seems to have gone out of use, remaining only in the compounds, in the fossilized form, as it was. The “*ru(raru)*” honorific suffix seemed to have taken its place, and became used most in the 9th century or later.

The “*su*” suffix with another inflexion, which seemed to have come into use also in the 9th century or later, seems to be derived from the first “*su*” suffix, the older one. This also seems to have gone out of use gradually in the 13th century, remaining only in such compounds as “*ika-sbi tamau*” or “*ika-sbi-masu.*” The frequent use seems to diminish the fresh impression of the expression, and the diminished impression seems to be renewed by duplicating the suffix. These were, therefore, renewed expressions. The form found in Wakayama dialect seems to be one of these duplicated ones dating from the 13th century.

There are a few other examples of the same kind dating from nearly the same period which still remain in standard Japanese, as :

ika-se-rareru

ika-se-rare-masu

These are the superhonorific expressions denoting "to go" used chiefly in relation to the Emperor, the Empress, or the members of the Imperial family, and sometimes used for the high and noble.

(2) The expression by the honorific verbs.

The dialect forms of this kind may be classed in two groups.

a) The expression by the honorific "do"

The forms "*o-iki o-shi (nasa-re)*" and "*o-iki nase-re-mase*" come in this class. The former seems to be the local form, while the latter is the older form of the standard expression.

The "*o-iki o-shi nasa-re*" form may be analysed as:

<i>o-iki</i>	(a special form of verb " <i>iku</i> " (go) when followed by another verb or others, with an honorific prefix.)
<i>o-shi</i>	(the same of verb " <i>suru</i> " (do) with also an honorific prefix.)
<i>nasare</i>	(an imperative form of " <i>nasaru</i> ," an honorific verb of " <i>nasu</i> " do).

(Literally meaning "Please do to (honorably) do to (honorable) go.")

The Kyoto dialect has also the same form, but it has been proved that this Kyoto form has been in use there about 30 years, and the author is inclined to believe that this is of different etymology. The Wakayama form may be far older, as this form can be found in an old cradle song sung in Kainan City.

<i>Nenne shi nasare</i>	(do to do the sleep).
<i>Gyoshi o-shi nasare</i>	(do to do the sleep).

The "*o-iki nasare-mase*" form is the older expression of the "*o-iki nasai*" in standard Japanese, and has been chiefly used in Yedo (Tokyo) from about the 17th century, and has been used with some change in Kinki since about the 18th century.

This form may be analysed as:

<i>o-iki</i>	(a special form of verb " <i>iku</i> " when followed by another verb or others, with an honorific prefix.)
<i>nasare</i>	(the same of an honorific form of verb " <i>nasu</i> ").
<i>-mase</i>	(an imperative form of " <i>masu</i> ," an honorific suffix.)

(Literally maning "(Please please) do to (honorable) go.")

b) The expression by the honorific "give."

The "*it-te tamawa-re*" and "*it-te itadaka-shi-te (kudasa-ri-mase)*" forms come in this class.

The "*it-te tamawa-re*" form may be analysed as:

- it* (a special form of verb “*iku*” (go) when followed by a perfect suffix “*ta*” or others.)
-te (a form of “*ta*,” a perfect suffix, when followed by another verb.)
tamawa (a form of “*tamawu*,” a passive verb, when followed by an honorific suffix or others.)
-re (an imperative form of “*ru*”, an honorific suffix.)

(Literally meaning “(Please let me) be given (that you) have gone.”)

This seems to be one of the oldest forms of honorific expressions, for this is found in many of the remotest places throughout this country, as, for example, in Hachijo Islands. It is supposed to date into the 9th or the 10th century. It seems to have been replaced by the “*kudasa-re*” form.

The “*it-te itadaka-shi-te (kudasari-mase)*” form may be analysed as :

- it-te* (the same as stated above.)
itadaka (a special form of “*itadaku*” (humbly receive) when followed by some other word.)
-shi (a special form of “*su*”, a causative suffix, when followed by some other word.)
-te (a special form of “*ta*,” a perfect suffix, when followed by some other word.)
(kudasari (a special form of “*kudasaru*,” a passive form of “*kudasu*,” meaning “to be given,” when followed by some other word.)
-mase) (an imperative form of an honorific suffix.)

(Literally meaning “(Please (let me) be given (that you) have let (me) humbly receive (that you) have gone.”)

The passive and the causative expressions, as can be seen, have been frequently used in the honorific forms, because in these the hearer’s will is made much of, and the speaker’s will is consequently placed at the mercy of the speaker, thus showing the humble respect of the speaker. This Wakayama form seems to have come into use probably in the 17th century or later, when feudalism was at its prime, as such complicated exaggerated forms can never be supposed to flourish except in an age when a strong regard for the social class existed.

The “*it-te o-kure*” form may be composed as :

- it-te* (the same as stated above)
o-kure (an imperative form of “*kureru*,” less honorable verb meaning “to give,” softened by an honorific prefix.)

(Literally meaning “(Thou) give me (that thou) have gone.”)

This form is widely used in colloquial dialect, but in cities this form is thought to be rustic. In the country this is used also as a beseeching form because the countrymen do not know another polite expression and are

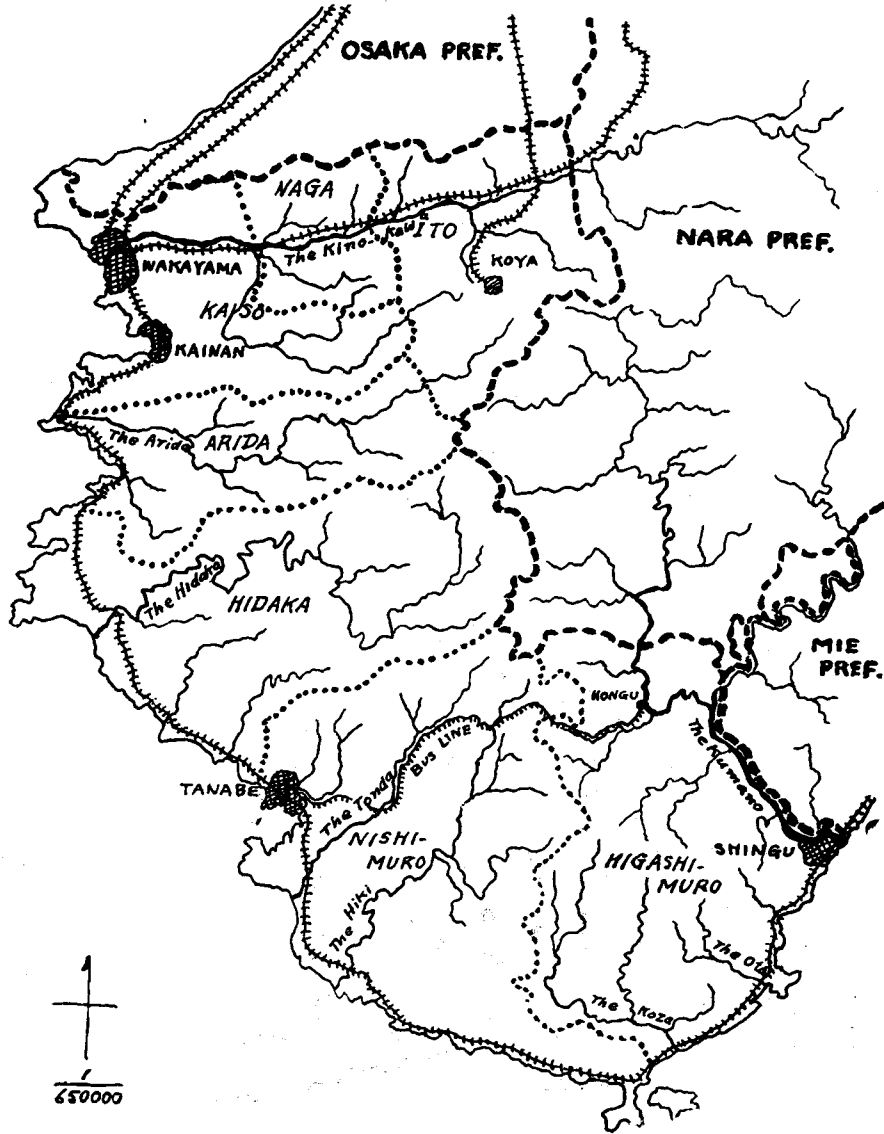
not used to them.

In conclusion, among the six honorific expressions found in Wakayama dialect, one may be traced back nearly to the 9th or 10th centuries, and another nearly to the 13th century, while the other four forms, two older expressions of standard speech and two local expressions are supposed to have come into use in the 17th century or later. From these facts, we can safely conclude that the Wakayama dialect retains comparatively old forms in it, and the cultural distance of Wakayama Prefecture from the central part of Kinki District seems to have been far greater than the geographical distance.

It is much to be regretted that there are not enough materials of the dialects in other parts of Kinki to compare them with that of Wakayama, though the comparative study of the whole Kinki dialect should throw more light upon the historical changes of the Japanese language. (January 31, 1953)

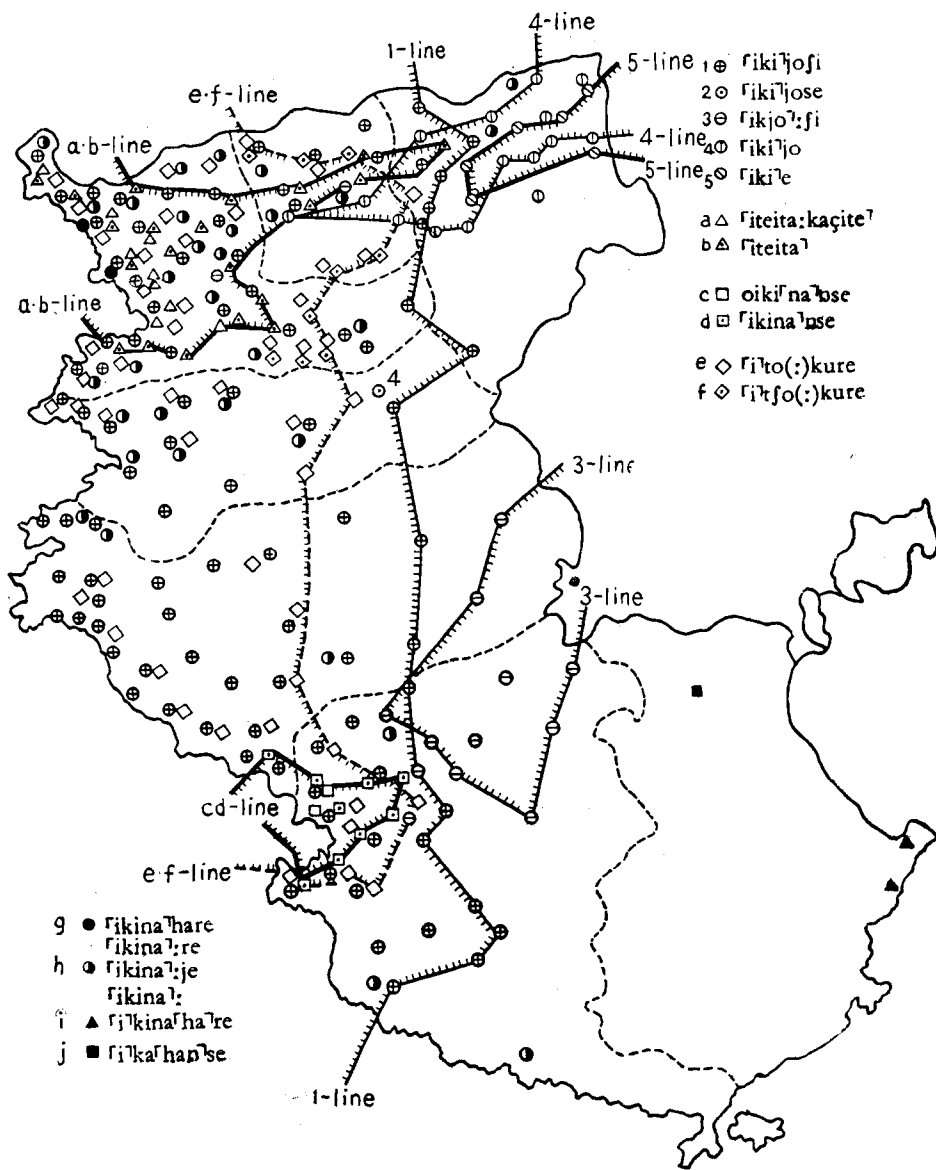
Dialect Map of Wakayama Pref. (1)

(showing distribution of newer expressions)



Dialect Map of Wakayama Pref. (2)

(showing distribution of newer expressions)



Dialect Map of Wakayama Pref. (3)

(showing distribution of newer expressions)

