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“Guest” in Old Japanese and Its Loanword in Ainu

A History of *marapitə* and *maratto**

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1. *Marebito*—its meaning and form

Shinobu Orikuchi, an ethnologist focused on Ancient Japan, has published a series of works, including Orikuchi (1975[1927]: 3–7), Orikuchi (1975[1920]: 33–35), Orikuchi (1975[1928]: 374–375, 400–404), and Orikuchi (1976[1931]: 125–139), dedicated to the study of the word *marebito* “a visiting god” and its cultural background. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the historical changes occurring in *marapitə* “guest,” the origin of *marebito*, recorded in 8th century documents. This form was also borrowed into Ainu as *maratto*. Another purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the early form of this loanword in Ainu.

The reconstruction of the Old Japanese form *marapitə*, which is composed of *marā* “rareness” and *pitə* “god; person,” is presented and its original meaning is explained in Section 2. Section 3 shows the sound changes occurred with *marapitə* in the Heian period. Various forms including *marauto*, *marauto*, *marooto*, *maroodo* are produced. Section 4 demonstrates the change from *pito* “god; person” to *uto/udo* in various compounds with *pito* as a second morpheme. Section 5 introduces an innovative form, *mareudo*, recorded in documents written in the 10th or 11th century, and Section 6 introduces still another innovative form, *marebito*, recorded in a document in 14th century. Section 7 deals with the Ainu loanword *maratto*, and reconstructs its earliest loan form as **marapito*. Section 8 examines an Ainu word *karawto* “foreign wooden box,” which originates from the Japanese *karapitu* containing *pitu* “wooden box,” a minimal pair of *pitə*. Based on this analysis, Section 9 speculates on the time of Ainu’s borrowing of **marapito* as no later than the 9th century, and Section 10 concludes the paper.

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2. The form and meaning of the Old Japanese *marapitā* “guest”

A dictionary of Old Japanese (Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū Inkai 2000: 692) lists a word for guest as まらひ_甲と_乙, which is cited from a song in *Bussokuseki no uta* (Songs of the Buddha’s Footprints; 752 CE). The original song is written in Chinese characters with *ongana* pronunciation, and the corresponding word in the song is written as 麻良比止, which is transcribed as *marapitā* in this paper. First, the consonant *h* in the letter ひ_甲 is transcribed as *p* in this paper as this consonant dates back to before the Nara period (Kamei et al. 1964c: 64). The phonetic representation of the Chinese characters for the letters ひ and と indicates their vowel types. The former vowel is an *i* of “Kō (甲)” type (also called A-type) and the latter is an *o* of “Otsu (乙)” type (also called B-type). The former is phonemically reconstructed as /i/ and the latter as /ə/ (Miyake 2003: 262).¹

As mentioned earlier, *marapitā* is analyzed as two morphemes, *mara* and *pitā*, meaning that it is a compound. The latter corresponds to *hito* in modern Japanese, which means “person.” However, Orikuchi (1975[1927]: 5) proposes that the word corresponding to *hito* originally meant “god” or “successor” in ancient Japan, with its meaning later reduced to “person.”

Its original meaning survives in an Ainu loanword. Ainu borrowed the Old Japanese *pitā* (or its later form *pito*) as *pito*, and its meaning in Ainu is either “god” or “reverend human-being” in Kayano (1996: 385). It can be said that the Ainu loanword retains the original meaning of *pitā* “god” in Old Japanese.

According to Arisaka (1957 [1944]: 42), the former form *mara* is a bound form of a noun meaning “rareness.” It is known that some Old Japanese content words (nouns and verbs) show final vowel alternations between the front and back vowels, which relates to the freeness and boundedness of a word. According to Arisaka (1957 [1944]: 50), the bound forms end in the back vowels *a*, *o*, or *u*. Being unable to appear independently, it needs to be followed by another morpheme, as in the case of *mara* as the initial morpheme in the compound *marapitā*. The counterpart of a bound form is called a free form, and it ends in the front vowels *e* or *i*. As Arisaka (1957 [1944]: 42) points out, the free form is *mare* in the case of the bound form *mara*, as shown in Table 1 (emphasis is added by the present author in bold font).

Table 1: Bound and free forms meaning “rareness” in Old Japanese

Bound	<i>mara</i>
Free	<i>mare</i>

As for the meaning of *mara/mare*, Orikuchi (1957 [1944]: 42) suggests that in ancient

¹ As for the phonemes in Old Japanese, vowels are reconstructed as /*a, *i, *ī, *u, *e, *o, *ə/, and consonants are reconstructed as /*p, *t, *s, *k, *mb, *nd, *nz, *ŋg, *m, *n, *w, *r, *y/ according to Miyake (2003: 196, 265).

Japan it was used to refer to occurrences of something with the least frequency or a visit of someone with the least frequency. Therefore, the straightforward translation of *marapitə* is “a rare god.” Orikuchi (1957 [1944]: 42) interpreted it as “a visiting god once in a great long while.” Based on this original meaning, *marapitə* is later interpreted as “a guest” as in Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū Iinkai (2000: 692).

3. Sound changes in *marapito*

Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū Iinkai (2000: 692) says that the Chinese characters 賓 or 客人 in *Nihon shoki* (Chronicles of Japan; 720 CE) corresponding to *marapitə* “guest” above are transliterated as *marauto* (written as まらうと) in traditional *Kun* (Chinese letters to Japanese pronunciation)-transcription (古訓). The exact age of the documents which added this traditional *Kun*-transcription is unknown. However, the oldest document with *Kun*-transcription could be dated to the middle of the Heian period according to Liu (2016: 112). The Heian period lasted about four centuries from 794 to 1185 CE. This transcription, *marauto*, was probably recorded not earlier than the 11th century. Therefore, this paper supposes that the change to *marauto* happened during Early Middle Japanese (Early Heian period).

This section describes the sound changes that occurred in *marapitə*. First, the A-type/B-type distinction of the vowels was lost in Early Middle Japanese, according to Miller (1972: 196). In the case of the B-type *o* (*ə), this merged into A-type *o* (*o). The final vowel *ə* of *marapitə* in Old Japanese had therefore merged to *o* by Early Middle Japanese, becoming *marapito*.

A comparison of *marapito* with *marauto* shows that the changes occurred in the second morpheme of the compound, *pito* and *uto*. The terminology used to explain the sound change in *pito* “person” as the second morpheme of a compound is “*u*-onbin” (sound change to *u*) in previous studies such as Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū Iinkai (2000: 692) and Suzuki et al. (2020: 1099). Kamei et al. (1964b: 40) explains that the *pa*-column (syllables consisting of *pV*) changes to *u* in relation with the consonantal changes *p* > *ϕ* > *w*, which is assumed to have occurred during the Middle Heian period. Based on this rule, the line of changes *marapito* > *marap̄ito* > *marawito* > *marauto* is inferred.

However, on investigating the sound changes in *pito* as the second morpheme of a compound, this paper found that the changes behind *u*-onbin are rather more complex than previously described. This section analyses the complexity of the *u*-onbin and details each sound change that occurred in *marapito*.

As Kamei et al. (1964b: 74) notes, the *p* in the intervocalic position also undergoes voicing to *b*. This is evidenced by the data in Table 2–3 in which *pito* as the second morpheme of a compound appears as *bito* in some cases. This paper thus proposes that the medial *p* in *marapito* changed to a voiced counterpart *b* intervocalically as its

intermediate stage.² Then, the medial *b* underwent weakening, probably first to a fricative β and then to a glide *w*, resulting in *marawito*. The stage in which the voiced bilabial fricative β was present is hypothesized in analogy to the series of changes $p > \phi > w$, which includes the voiceless bilabial fricative ϕ in Kamei et al. (1964b: 40). This paper suggests the line of consonantal changes to have been $p > b > \beta > w$. The intermediate stages the voiced consonants *b* (as well as β) makes the transition from voiceless *p* to the voiced *w* more plausible.

Another sound change in *marapito* proposed in this paper is a high vowel deletion. A word-medial high vowel *i* is supposed to be phonetically weak and it undergoes deletion. Similar high vowel loss in Ancient Japanese is reported in Erickson (2003: 499–500), i.e., *ami* “net” + *piki* “pulling” > *ampiki* > *a^mbiki*.³

By high vowel deletion, *marawito* becomes *marawto*. This form seems phonetically equivalent with *marauto* as transcribed in the traditional *Kun*-transcription of *Nihon Shoki* as mentioned earlier. The point to consider here is whether the vowel sequence *aw/au* belongs to a single syllable or two separate syllables. The syllabary of two subsequent vowels is to the best of author’s knowledge still unclear. In terms of mora, this paper supposes *aw/au* are equally two-moraic. From here, this paper transcribes the *w* in *marawto* as *u* for ease of representation. To sum up, *marapito* underwent a *pa*-column conversion and the subsequent high vowel loss to become *marauto*.

Also, a pre-modern Japanese dictionary (Suzuki et al. 2020: 1099) notes that *marauto* (written as まらうと) formed another variant *marauto* (written as まらうど) with the voicing of a medial stop *t*. In addition, Suzuki et al. (2020: 1099–1100) lists the item *marouto* (written as まろうと) as a variant of *marauto*. It seems that the vowel sequence *au* in *marauto* changed to *ou* in *marouto*. However, this change is partly superficial as it is observable only through orthography. According the history of Japanese sound change (Kamei 1964c: 85–86), the vowel sequence [au] changed to a long vowel [ɔ:], which is called *Kai-on* “open sound” (開音), whereas the vowel sequence [ou] changed to a long

² Ono et al. (1974: 1240) assumed the following changes related to this word: *marafitō* [marafitō] > *marawito* > *marauto*. The phonetic transcription for the first form is added in square brackets by the present author. In the changes suggested by Ono et al. (1974: 1240), the original consonant *p* does not undergo a voicing process ($p > b$). This paper thinks it is more natural for unvoiced stop *p* to undergo voicing to *b* to become a voiced semivowel *w* in the end. The *b* of the intermediate stage is a phonetically realized allophone of *p* (It should be noted that this allophonic *b* does not equate with a prenasalized phoneme *mb* [ʱb]). There is another piece of evidence that shows this allophonic *b* in a compound with second morpheme as *pitā*. The Crown Prince of Wa (倭) country is called 和歌弥多弗利 in Book of Sui (隋書) written in 7th century (Tanikawa 2010: 179). The present author analyzes this expression into *waka bitā puri* (young god like) “being like a young god.” Here, the Chinese character 弥 is likely pronounced as *bi* by the writer of Book of Sui (its *Kan-on* borrowed as Sino-Japanese is *bi*). This shows that the consonant *p* of *pitā* appears to be a voiced *b* in a compound.

³ Erickson (2003: 500) suggests that the vowel *a* preceding the deleted vowel *i* is nasalized after the deletion of *i*.

vowel [o:], which is called *Gō-on* “closed sound” (合音). Based on this, *marauto* まらうと changed to [maro:to], which later changed to [maro:to].⁴ The intermediate form [maro:to] is indirectly attested in a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary titled *Nippojisho* (Vocabulario de Lingoa de Iapam; Japanese-Portuguese dictionary), compiled in 1603–1604 (Benseishuppan 2013: 315). The form in question is transcribed as *marōto* “guest.” According to Kamei (1964b: 311), this dictionary distinguishes *Kai-on* [ɔ:] and *Gō-on* [o:] in their orthography by using the letters *ō* and *ô* for each. Thus, *marōto* represents [maro:to]. Later, the two long vowels [ɔ:] and [o:] merged into [o:] (Kamei 1964c: 85–86).

Therefore, in the variant *marouto* まろうと, the vowel sequence *ou* likely represents [maro:to]. From here, for the *Kana* transcriptions with the vowel sequence *ou*, this paper transcribes them as “oo” (e.g., まろうと [maro:to] is transcribed as *marooto*).⁵

A further form, *maroodo* (written as まろうど), with the voicing of a medial stop *t* in *marooto*, is reported in the stories written in the late Heian period, such as *Genji Monogatari* (The tale of Genji) and *Ise Monogatari* (Tales of Ise).⁶ Due to limitations in the available data, it is uncertain if the other three forms, *marauto*, *maraudo* and *marooto* were actually in use. However, the attested form *maroudo* is predicted to have derived from the other forms.

As discussed above, the forms *marooto*/*maroodo* with a long vowel *oo* are derived from *marauto*/*maraudo* with a vowel sequence *au*. The forms *maraudo*/*maroodo* with a medial *d* are derived from *marauto*/*marooto* by voicing the intervocalic *t*. The hypothetical changes from Old Japanese *matapitā* “guest” to the first stage of Early Middle Japanese *marapito*, and later forms in Early Middle Japanese *marauto*/*maraudo*/*marooto*/*maroodo* are summarized in Figure 1.⁷ The theoretically assumed forms without attestation in documents are denoted by # before the form. The EMH *pito* (< OJ *pitā*) as the second morpheme of a compound ends up as *uto* or *udo*.⁸ From here, “person” as the second morpheme in a compound is referred to as the EMJ form, *pito*, for ease of discussion.

Incidentally, Figure 1 illustrates the series of changes relating to a consonant *p*, the onset of a second morpheme, in the compound *pitā*. However, these changes are not

⁴ This line of changes does not assume the following change: [au] > [ou] > [oo] in which the [a] in the vowel sequence is raised to [o] due to the influence of the following high vowel [u], and the [ou] became [o:].

⁵ In modern Japanese dialects, *marooto* and *maroodo* also mean “sty” (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (1968) and Sato (2004: 1275)). The meaning shifts from “guest” to “sty” are discussed in Ochiai (2024b).

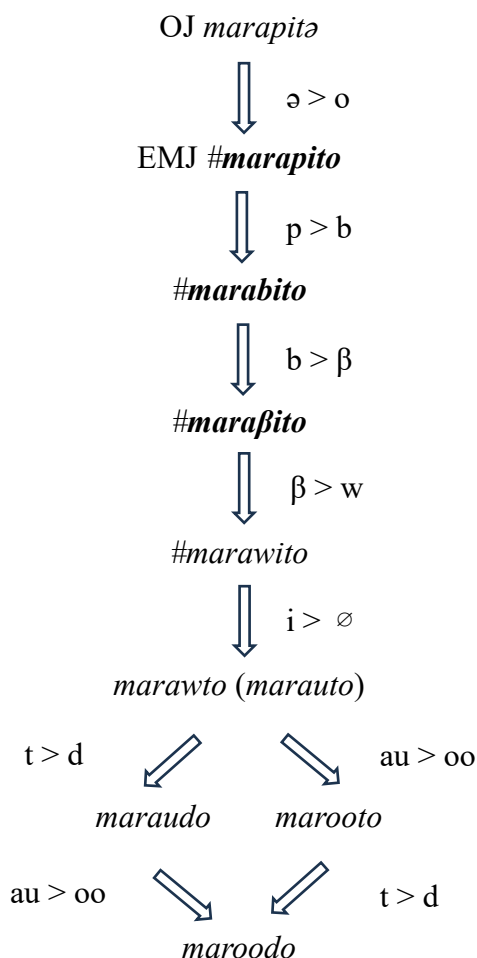
⁶ The present author referred to Shinmura (2008) for the attestations of this form in *Genji Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari*.

⁷ Figure 1 shows two possible processes for the derivation of *maroodo*; one is from *maraudo* (by raising the vowel) and the other is from *marooto* (by voicing of the stop).

⁸ Abbreviations are OJ (Old Japanese) and EMJ (Early Middle Japanese).

confined to *pitə*. Similar changes also occurred to the minimal pair *pitu* “wooden box,” which is discussed in detail in Section 8.

Figure 1: Sound changes from *marapito* to *maroodo* “guest”⁹



4. The change of *pito* as the second morpheme of a compound to *uto/udo*

There are quite a few compounds with EMJ *pito* (< OJ *pitə*) as the second morpheme that have undergone the same sound changes as *marapito*, as shown in Figure 1. The author examined a reverse search Japanese dictionary (Iwanami Shoten Jiten Henshūbu 1992) looking for *Kana*-transcribed words ending in *uto* and *udo*, possible candidates for variants of *pito*. Table 2 shows such compounds with the first morpheme ending in vowel *a* just like *mara* in *marapito*. The left column shows the original compounds which are attested in dictionaries (Iwanami Shoten Jiten Henshūbu 1992, Shinmura 2008) with *pito*

⁹ Figure 1 shows that (i) the merger of *ə* to *o* precedes (ii) the lenition of *p* in Early Middle Japanese. However, the order cannot be determined. The two changes could have happened at the same period or in the reverse order.

or its variant *bito* (the medial *p* became voiced *b*) as the second morpheme. Some forms are preceded by #. For those forms, the original compounds are not found in dictionaries, so the present author reconstructed the forms based on their corresponding forms with *Kana*-transcribed *uto* or *udo* endings.

The glosses of the compounds seen in the dictionaries are provided next to the original compounds with English translations of the first morpheme of the compound. The second morpheme, *pito* and its variants, means “god; person.” The right two columns show the form with sound changes. In the second column from the right, the final consonant of the first morpheme retains *a* and the second morpheme is either *uto* or *udo*, showing *auto* or *audio* compound-finally. This type is referred to as the *a*-retention type in this paper. The right column shows variant forms with the vowel change: the vowel sequence *au* changes to *oo*, having *ooto* or *oodo* compound-finally. This type is referred to as the vowel-change type.

For the right two columns, the attested forms in the dictionaries are provided. A blank cell means that the corresponding form is not attested. For some compounds, only the *a*-retention type is attested. For others, the vowel-change type is attested. Still others have both types. For compounds without an *a*-retention type but with the vowel-change type, it is assumed that they also underwent an *a*-retention type stage before evolving to the vowel-change type.

Table 2: Compounds with *pito* as a second morpheme with *a*-ending first morphemes¹⁰

Compound	Gloss for the first morpheme	<i>a</i> -retention (<i>pito</i> > <i>uto/udo</i>)	Vowel-change
<i>azumabito</i>	東人 (east)	<i>azumaudio</i>	
<i>hamapito</i> ¹¹	浜人 (beach)	<i>hamaudio</i>	
# <i>inakapito</i>	田舎人 (countryside)	<i>inakaudio</i>	
<i>katabito</i>	方人 (counterpart)	<i>kataudio</i>	<i>katoodo</i>
<i>komabito</i>	高麗人 (Koguryeo)	<i>komaudio</i>	
<i>kurapito</i>	蔵人 (warehouse)	<i>kuraudio</i>	<i>kuroodo, kuroodu</i> ¹⁵

¹⁰ The author found two more cases which could be included in Table 2. They are *tukaibito* (仕人; 仕 means “service” and *yamaibito* (病人; 病 means “sickness”). These compounds derive *tukoodo* and *yamoodo*, which are analogous to the vowel-change type in Table 2. It seems that the word final vowel sequence in the first morpheme of the compound, *tukai* and *yamai*, underwent the deletion of *i*, becoming *tuka* and *yama*. Then, the intermediate forms *tukabito* and *yamabito* further underwent changes as with the compounds with an *a*-ending first morpheme in Table 2, becoming *tukoodo* and *yamoodo*.

¹¹ The word initial *h* originates in *p* in Old Japanese.

¹⁵ The final consonant *o* is changed to *u* in this variant. This change might be triggered by the formal resemblance to *kurooto* (玄人). The first morpheme in the compound for 蔵人 and 玄人 are identical *kura*. Their difference is that 蔵人 shows a voiced *d* and 玄人 shows a voiceless *t* in the second morpheme, by which they are distinguished. In order to further disambiguate them, *kuraudio*

#kurapito ¹²	玄人 (black)		kurooto
mapito	真人 (true), 間人 (between)	mauto ¹⁴	
#matapito	全人 (whole)	mataudo	matoodo
mikawayabito	御厠人 (toilet)	mikawayaudio	
nakabito	仲人 (relationship)		nakoodo
#sirapito ¹³	素人 (white)	sirauto	sirooto
somabito	杣人 (woodcutting)	somaudo	
tadabito	徒人 (mediocre)	tadaudo	
#tapito	田人 (field)	taudo	toodo
wakabito	若人 (young)		wakoodo
yamabito	山人 (mountain)	yamaudo	

Incidentally, there are other compounds with EMJ *pito* as the second morpheme which also have a first morpheme ending in vowels other than *a*. In the collected data, the final vowels of the first morpheme appear as *o*, *e*, or *i*.¹⁶ Table 3 shows such data. The second column from the right shows the form with an *uto/udo* ending, and the right column shows other variants.

Table 3: Compounds with *pito* as a second morpheme with *o*, *e*, *i*-ending first morphemes

Compound	Gloss for the first morpheme	<i>pito</i> > <i>uto/udo</i>	Variants
<i>imopito</i>	妹 ¹⁷ (sister)	<i>imooto</i>	
<i>otopito</i>	弟 (young)	<i>otooto</i>	
<i>simopito</i>	下人 (under)	<i>simoodo</i>	
<i>wopito</i>	男人 (man)		<i>otto</i>

(藏人) might raise the final vowel to *u*. In addition, this compound has another variant, *kurando*, which shows the change of *u* to *n* as seen in *akindo* and *uzindo* in Table 3.

¹² 玄人 means “expert” and 素人 means “non-expert.” For 玄人, it is unclear whether the first morpheme is *kuro* (adjective form) or *kura*. Along the same lines, the first morpheme in 素人 could be *siro* (adjective form) or *sira* “white.” For example, Shinmura (2008: 1431) chooses *siro* and says that *sirouto* is derived from *siropito*. However, there is the form *sirapito* with an *a*-ending in Table 2. Also, 玄人 and 素人 show analogous sound changes of compounds with an *a*-ending first morpheme as seen in Table 2. Therefore, this paper considers that 玄 (also written as 黒) and 素 (also written as 白) in these cases are *kura* and *sira*.

¹³ Another form, *sirooto*, is also reported as a variant. In this form, the vowel sequence *oo* is shortened to a single *o*.

¹⁴ The form *mauto* has another interpretation as 客 “guest” in Iwanami Shoten Jiten Henshūbu (1992: 686). However, Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū Linkai (2000: 692) proposes *mauto* meaning “guest” is originally from 真人, one of the meanings of *mauto* shown in Table 2.

¹⁶ In the collected data, there were no first morphemes ending in the vowel *u*.

¹⁷ There is no character “人” in the gloss of *imopito*, *otopito* and *sipito*.

<i>sepito</i>	兄人 (brother)	<i>seuto</i>	<i>syooto</i>
<i>#ukarepito</i>	浮かれ人 (merrymaking)	<i>ukareudo</i>	
<i>usebito</i>	失人 (disappear)	<i>useudo</i>	
<i>akibito</i>	商人 (business)	<i>akiudo</i>	<i>akindo, akyuudo</i>
<i>amibito</i>	網人 (net)	<i>amiudo</i>	
<i>#hitoripito</i> ¹⁸	独人 (alone)	<i>hitoriudo</i>	
<i>hikipito</i> ¹⁹	低人 (low)	<i>hikiudo</i>	
<i>iribito</i>	入人 (enter)	<i>iriudo</i>	
<i>kakaribito</i>	掛り人 (depend)	<i>kakariudo</i>	
<i>#karipito</i>	獵人 (hunt)	<i>kariudo</i>	<i>karyuudo</i>
<i>kunipito</i>	国人 (country)	<i>kuniudo</i>	
<i>mapibito</i>	舞人 (danse)	<i>maiudo</i>	<i>maibito</i>
<i>matibito</i>	待人 (wait)	<i>matiudo</i>	
<i>mesipito/mesibito</i>	召人 (summon) ²⁰	<i>mesiudo</i>	<i>mesyuudo</i>
<i>otibito</i>	落人 (fall)	<i>otiuto, otiudo</i>	<i>ocyuudo</i>
<i>sipito</i>	舅 (?)	<i>siuto</i>	<i>syuuto</i>
<i>siripito</i>	知人 (know)	<i>siriuto</i>	
<i>tabipito</i>	旅人 (travel)	<i>tabiudo</i>	
<i>#tatipito</i>	立人 (stand)	<i>tatiudo</i>	
<i>utibito</i>	内人 (inside)		<i>utindo</i>
<i>uzipito</i>	氏人 (lineage)	<i>uziudo</i>	<i>uzindo</i>
<i>yadoribito</i>	宿人 (dwell)	<i>yadoriudo</i>	
<i>#yoripito</i>	寄人 (approach)	<i>yoriudo</i>	

In Table 3, all compounds show a change from *pito* to *uto/udo* except for *wopito* (男人) and *utibito* (内人). As a derivative of *wopito*, the expected but unattested form is *wouto*. This form seems to have further undergone the deletion of the initial *w*, becoming *outo*.²¹ Then, *outo* underwent gemination of *t* and the monophthongization of *ou* to *o*, becoming *otto*.²² As a derivative of *utibito*, the expected but unattested form is *utiuto/utiudo*. This form seems to further undergo the change of *u* to *n*.²³ Two other forms,

¹⁸ For *hitoripito* and *hikipito*, the initial consonant *h* originates in *p*.

¹⁹ The form for “low” is *hiku-i* in modern Japanese, but its earlier forms are *hiki-si* or *hiki-nari* according to Hachiya (2010: 108–109).

²⁰ There is a homonym glossed as 囚人 (囚 means “arrested”). According to Shinmura (2008: 2762), its original form is *mesipito* and its derived form is *mesiudo*. It is probably semantically related to 召人.

²¹ The loss of *w* in the syllable *wo* is seen in the Kamakura period (late 12th century to 1333 CE) according to Kuginuki (2023: 214).

²² This change is called *Soku-onbin* (a change to geminate).

²³ This change called *Hatsu-onbin* (a change to nasal) also happened to 蔵人 in Table 2 (See footnote

akindo (< *akiudo* < *akibito*) and *uzindo* (< *uziudo* < *uzibito*), show the same change of *u* to *n*.

For *i*-ending first morphemes, the *i* is contracted to *y* [j] and combined with the preceding consonant in some cases. This change is accompanied with a lengthening of the following vowel *u* to *uu*. These forms are *akyuudo*, *karyuudo*, *mesyuudo*, *ocyuudo* (the palatalization of *t* to *c* [tɕ] occurred also), and *syuuto*. Another form, *syooto*, can be included in this category. However, in this case the ending vowel of the first morpheme is *e* (*sepito*), and the vowel sequence *eu* in *seuto* has changed to *oo*.

In short, this section showed various compounds with *pito* as the second morpheme and its change to *uto/udo* in the forms such as *marauto*, *marauudo*, *marouto*, and *marouudo*.

5. Innovative form *mareudo*: functional ambiguation between *mara* and *mare*

Tsurayukishū (Songs of Kino Tsurayuki) supposedly compiled during the 10th to 11th century has *mareudo* as “guest” (Shinmura 2008: 2669)²⁴. This form is likely innovated on the basis of *marauudo* in Figure 1. As Table 1 shows *mara* is a bound form and *mare* is a free form. The bound form *mara* should be used in a compound. However, this rule seems to have fallen out of use in post-Old Japanese. The distinction between *mara* and *mare* later became vague, and they might have been functionally equivalent. The free form *mare* then became available as a first morpheme in a compound. The *mara* in *marauudo* was later replaced with *mare*, becoming *mareudo*.

Therefore, two series of compounds seem to coexisted in the Middle Heian period: the retentive one with the bound form *mara* (including its variants with the vowel change *au* > *oo*) and the innovative one with the free form *mare* as shown in Table 4 (emphasis is added by the present author in bold font).

Table 4: Coexistence of free and bound forms *mara* and *mare* in compounds

<i>mara</i> forms and its variants	<i>mare</i> form (innovative)
<i>marauudo</i> , <i>marauudo</i> , <i>marooto</i> , <i>maroodo</i>	<i>mareudo</i>

6. Another innovative form *marebito*: explicitness of composition

Later, another form *marebito* emerged; the first appearance of this form is said to be in *Tsurezuregusa* (Essays in Idleness) written by Kenkō, a Japanese monk, between 1330–1332 (Nishimura 1988: 17).²⁵ This form has the free form *mare* as the first morpheme of

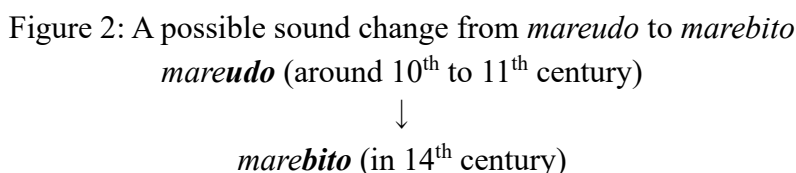
15). A similar change *uto* > *nto* likely happened to a Ryukyuan bound form *ncu* [ntɕu], meaning “person” (e.g., *naafa-ncu* “people of Naha”; the form and meaning is based on Utsima and Nohara (2006: 317)). This form is derived by raising the final vowel *o* in *uto* to *u*, and *t* is palatalizing *t* to *tɕ*.

²⁴ It is written as まれうど in Shinmura (2008: 2669).

²⁵ However, the corresponding form in *Tsurezuregusa* is written as まれ人 with “person” as a Chinese character. The exact pronunciation for this character is unknown, but it is assumed to be *bito*

the compound. Therefore, as discussed in Section 5, this is another innovative form. As discussed in Section 1, *marebito* is the particular form which Orikuchi (1975[1920], 1975[1927], 1975[1928], 1976[1931]) preferably used.

The motivation for creating this form could be the opaqueness of the meaning composition in the compounds *marauto*, *marauto*, *marooto*, *maroodo*, and *mareudo* in Table 4. In these forms, *pito* “person” has deformed and its origin is no longer evident. However, people remember that the word-final *uto/udo* means “person.” Then, they replaced *uto/udo* with *pito*, a form independently used for “person.” In the Heian period, *pito* had already changed to *hito*. However, the *p* is retained in the second morpheme of a compound but voiced as *bito*. This new form *marebito* could be composed on the basis of *mareudo* in Section 5. By changing the untransparent morpheme *udo* to the transparent *bito*, the word for “person,” *marebito* is obtained as seen in Figure 2 (emphasis is added by the present author in bold font). In short, *uto/udo* as a second morpheme in a compound returned to its original form *pito* (> *bito*).



Therefore, various forms for “guest” such as *marauto*, *marauto*, *marouto*, *maroudo*, *mareudo*, and *marebito* have coexisted since the 14th century.²⁶

7. Ainu loanword *maratto* and its reconstruction

An Ainu dictionary by Tamura (1996: 378) has an Ainu word, *maratto*, meaning “the head of a bear; a feast; a banquet.” According to Tamura’s (1996: 378) description, *maratto* is a loanword from the Japanese word *marapito* (まらひと) “guest.”²⁷ In the case of Ainu, a bear is considered to be a “visiting god.” Its meaning also shifted from “guest” to “feast, banquet.” In terms of form, the Ainu *maratto* has *mara* word-initially. This corresponds to the Japanese bound form *mara*, which is an older form used in the compound. The Ainu form differs from the Japanese form in that it has a geminate *tt*.

However, Tamura’s (1996: 378) *maratto* is transcribed as *marapto* in Chiri (1973 [1952]: 210) where the geminate appears as a consonant cluster *pt*. Also, the Ainu

in Nishimura (1988: 17) and Shinmura (2008: 2669).

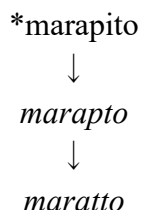
²⁶ According to one of the anonymous reviewers, the coexistence of these diverse forms for “guest” in the 14th century undermines the unlikelihood of Ainu’s borrowing a particular form among the many other forms. This comment is in line with the present author’s claim that Ainu borrowed a Japanese form for “guest” much earlier than the 14th century at the time when the forms were less varied.

²⁷ According to Tamura (1996: Appendix 1), the phonemic inventories in modern Ainu are five vowels [a, e, i, o, u] and 12 consonants [p t k c[tɕ] s r m n w y h ?].

marapto is close in form to EMJ *marapito*. Chiri's (1973 [1952]: 210) form *marapto* likely represents the earlier stage of this word.²⁸ In addition, Chiri (1973 [1952]: 210) says *marapto ne* (*ne* is a copula) means “to be a guest.” The original Japanese meaning of “guest” is retained in this expression. Thus, an earlier form *marapto* became *maratto* by regressive assimilation of *p* to *t* in the consonant cluster *pt*.

The Ainu *marapto* and EMJ *marapito* differ in that the vowel *i* in *pito*, the second morpheme in the compound in EMJ, is missing in the Ainu form. Based on the EMJ form, the Ainu form can be further reconstructed as **marapito* as shown in Figure 3. The Ainu introduced **marapito* in its earliest stage of borrowing, and the word-medial high vowel *i* was deleted later, becoming *marapto*. This word medial *i*-deletion was also observed in the Japanese form, i.e., *marapito* > *marawto* (*marauto*), as discussed in Section 3. It seems the word-medial high vowels tend to be lost in both languages.

Figure 3: A reconstruction of *maratto* “bear’s skull; feast; banquet” in Ainu



A similar vowel loss is observed in some words in Ainu.²⁹ In the following examples, word medial vowels *e* or *o* are deleted. These vowels are not high vowels, but they are non-low vowels. It can be said that non-low vowels sometimes drop word-medially in Ainu. For example, Ochiai (2024a) claims that *tokapci* and *sorapci*, Ainu place names in Hokkaido, go back to the earlier forms **to ka peci* (lake above river) “the river by the pond” and **so o rap peci* (waterfall there fall.down(plural) river) “the river in which many waterfalls fall (there),” respectively.³⁰ The vowel *e* in *peci* “river” is dropped in each place name.

Another example is *okkayopo* “a young man; a youth” seen in Tamura (1996: 464), which is composed of *okkayo* “man” and *po* “diminutive marker.” This form has a variant as *okkaypo*, in which the medial vowel *o* is dropped from *okkayopo*.³¹ These examples

²⁸ The form *marapto* is also recorded in *yukar* (Ainu sagas) by Kannari and Kindaichi (1959: 256) with a meaning of “bear’s skull.”

²⁹ These words with medial vowel deletion in Ainu mentioned in this paper are composed of four syllables (**marapito*, **tokapeti*, **sorapeti* (< **soorappeti*), and *okkayopo*), and the vowel in the third syllable is deleted.

³⁰ The place names in Japanese transcriptions with Chinese characters are 十勝 and 空知 respectively.

³¹ Synchronically speaking, *okkayo* has a variant as *okkay* as both are listed in Chiri (1975[1954]: 466). According to Ochiai (2023), Ainu has historically lost root final non-high vowels (*i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*).

support the *i*-deletion in the Ainu loanword *marapito.

8. Old Japanese *karapitu* “foreign wooden box” and its Ainu loanword

Old Japanese *pitā* “person” has a minimal pair *pitu* (櫃) “wooden box.”³² Incidentally, Ainu borrowed Japanese compounds containing each minimal pair as the second morpheme. One Ainu form is *maratto* (< *marapto* < **marapito*) discussed in Section 7 and the other Ainu form is *karawto* “foreign wooden box.”³³ This section investigates the form differences in the borrowed minimal pair as a clue to speculate the time period in which Ainu borrowed *maratto*.

Section 3 detailed the Japanese sound changes in *pitā* “person” as the second morpheme in a compound. A similar phonological change happened to the minimal pair *pitu* “wooden box” as the second morpheme in the compound OJ *karapitu* (唐櫃).³⁴ Attested forms in one Japanese dictionary (Shinmura 2008) are *karaudu*, *karaudo*, *karooto*, and *karoodo*. The minimal pair *pitu* “wooden box” became *udu* in the first form, *karaudu*, in which *pV* becomes *u*. The medial consonant *t* also becomes *d*. These changes are analogous to those seen in *pitā* “person,” which becomes *uto* or *udo* (as seen in Figure 1). In both cases, *pitV* (i.e., *pitā* and *pitu*) becomes *utV* or its variant *udV*. As for *pitu*, it further became *uto* or *udo* by lowering the final vowel *u* to *o* as in *karaudo*, *karouto*, and *karoudo*. The hypothetical sound changes for OJ *karapitu* are shown in Figure 4. Sound changes and their orders shown in Figure 4 overlap those in Figure 1, excluding the word-final *u > o*.

The Ainu loanword *karawto* is likely borrowed either from the Japanese form *karaudo* or the non-attested but inferable Japanese form *karauto*. As Ainu has no distinction in the voicing of obstruent consonants (Kindaichi and Chiri 1936: 1–2), the word-medial stop *t* and *d* could be borrowed as *t* in Ainu. The two possible source forms are shown in bold font in Figure 4. In any case, the borrowing took place after the five consecutive changes (i) *p > b*, (ii) *b > β*, (iii) *β > w*, (iv) *i > ∅*, and (v) word final *u > o*.

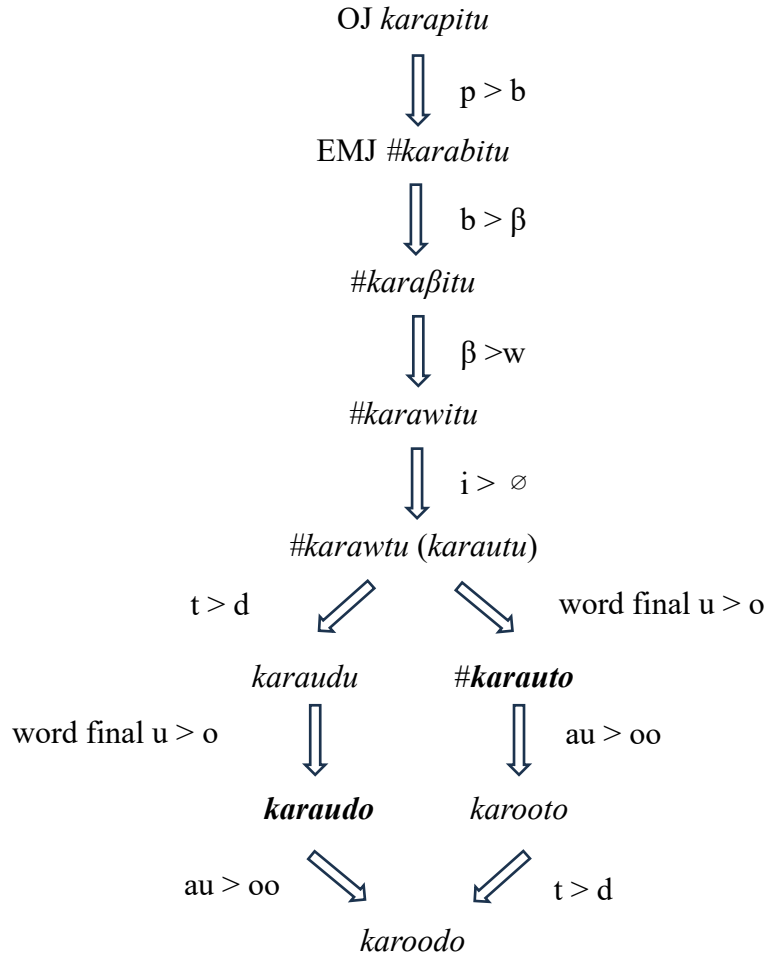
In this case, the root final *o* in *okkayo* disappeared to become *okkay*. This paper proposed that *okkayopo* underwent a deletion of the medial vowel *o* to become *okkaypo*. However, Osami Okuda pointed out another possibility that the synchronic variant *okkay* is directly attached with *po*.

³² The vowel *i* in *pitu* is A-type according to Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū Iinkai (2000: 613).

³³ This Ainu loanword *karawto* is taken from Kayano (1996: 201).

³⁴ The Chinese character 唐 means “foreign.”

Figure 4: Sound changes from *karapitu* to *karoodo* “foreign wooden box”



9. Speculating the time period in which Proto-Ainu *marapito “guest” was borrowed

This section examines when the Proto-Ainu *marapito was borrowed from Japanese. The Proto-Ainu form *marapito retains the consonant *p*, it can be said that this form was borrowed earlier than the change of *p* to *w* in the Japanese form. Therefore, the Proto-Ainu form might have been borrowed at the time when Japanese possessed *marapito*, the earliest form in EMJ, or its consecutive form *marabito* as the voicing of obstruent consonants is not distinctive in Ainu, the Japanese *p* or *b* could be borrowed as *p* in Ainu.³⁵ It may also be possible that Ainu borrowed *marabito*. Ainu lacks the phoneme *β*, so this

³⁵ It also seems possible that Ainu borrowed OJ *marapitə*. If so, the word-final schwa in the Japanese form is borrowed as *o* in the Ainu form. The probability of the Ainu’s borrowing as early as OJ needs further research since the status of schwa (and its historical sound change) in Proto-Ainu remains unclear. In this regard, Vovin (1993: 42) reconstructed 12 short vowels, *i *e *E *a *ū *ō *ī *ē *A *O *o *u. The exact phonetic values for upper case letters and letters with diacritics are unknown. It is possible that one of them corresponds to a schwa, but this vowel inventory seems far too large. On the contrary, Janhunen (2020: 201) suggests four vowels, *a *i *u *o, for Proto-Ainu.

consonant can be borrowed as *p/b* in Ainu. The possible Japanese source forms mentioned above are shown in bold font in Figure 1.

In short, the Ainu borrowing of *marapito took place before the change $\beta > w$. This borrowing occurred much earlier than the borrowing of the minimal pair *karawto*, which took place after the change $\beta > w$ and two other consecutive changes ($i > \emptyset$ and word final $u > o$).

Based on the discussion above, Ainu likely borrowed *marapito in the Old Japanese period (before 8th century) or in the first half of the Early Middle Japanese period (around 9th century) at the latest. This word was likely borrowed around the time when the two parties came into contact somewhere in the Japanese archipelago and treated each other as guests.

10. Conclusion

This paper discussed the sound changes of Old Japanese *marapitā* “visiting god; guest” and reconstructed the Ainu loanword of this form as *marapito. The Old Japanese form is composed of two morphemes *marā* “rareness” and *pitā* “god; person.” The first morpheme is a bound form used when followed by another morpheme. Its free form is *mare*.

The Old Japanese form *marapitā* became Early Middle Japanese *marapito*. It later underwent the change of *p* to *w* and the loss of the following high vowel *i*, becoming *marauto* or *marauto* in the Heian period. The second morpheme *pito* changed to *uto* or *udo*. Also, the vowel sequence *au* became a long vowel *oo* in *marooto* or *maroodo*. Further, a new form *mareudo* is innovated around this time. By this time, the functional distinction of the bound and free forms fell out of use, and the free form *mare* was newly introduced as a first morpheme in a compound.

Yet another new form, *marebito*, was innovated around the 14th century. This form is also based on the innovative use of the free form, *mare*, in a compound. This form additionally changed *uto/udo* to *bito*, reintroducing of *pito* “god; person” with the voicing of *p* to *b*. This innovation was probably motivated by the vagueness of the form and meaning relationship of *uto/udo* “god; person” in forms such as *marauto*, *marauto*, *marooto*, *maroodo*, and *mareudo*, as the original form *pito* is greatly deformed. In short, various forms are produced from the Old Japanese *marapitā*.

Ainu borrowed this form as *maratto* meaning “bear’s skull; feast; banquet”. However, its older form is recorded as *marapto* with the original meaning “guest” in an expression *marapto ne* “to be a guest.” The Ainu form *marapto* is formally closer to Old Japanese *marapitā* but the word-medial vowel *i* is missing. This paper reconstructs the Ainu form at the earliest time of borrowing as *marapito and assumes that the high vowel *i* is lost just like it is lost in Old Japanese *marapitā*.

The Ainu borrowed this word when the Japanese source word still maintained the

consonant *p* or its voiced counterpart *b*. Candidates for the source forms are the Old Japanese forms *marapito*, *marabito* or *marabito*. Based on the time of the recording of Japanese documents, these forms are assumed to have been used no later than the 9th century. The Ainu people likely borrowed this word earlier than the 9th century at around the time when they came into contact with the Japanese people. The time of borrowing dates far back in the history of the Japanese archipelago.

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Summary

上代日本語の「客」とアイヌ語の借用形—*marapitə* と *maratto* の歴史について

上代日本語に客を意味する「まらひ_甲と_乙」という語がある。奈良時代以前はハ行がパ行に遡り、乙類の *o* は[ə]に遡るので祖形は**marapitə* になり、*mara* 「稀」と *pitə* 「神、人」から成る複合語である。上記の *mara* は *mare* と範列関係にありそれぞれ被覆形、露出形と呼ばれる。前者は後続する要素がある場合(例えば複合語前部要素)に現れる形式である。その後、*a* が *o* に合流し *marapito* になりさらに、中古日本語では *p* が *w* に変わり直後の *i* も脱落して *marawto* (*marauto*) が生じ、*t* が有声音化し *maraudo* も生じた。さらに母音連続 *au* が *oo* ([ɔ:]>[o:])に変化した *marooto*、*maroodo* も生じた。これらの形式では *pito* が *uto/udo* に変わった。同時期には *mareudo* という形式も記録されているが、これは本来複合語前部要素として使われない露出形の *mare* が使われている。これは被覆形・露出形の機能的区別が失われたことを示す。14世紀には *marebito* という改新形も現れる。これは複合語前部要素としては新しい形式の *mare* を使い、さらに *uto/udo* を *bito* (*pito* の *p* を語中において有声音化)に復活させた形式である。この形式の出現には、語源の *pito* から大きく変形してしまった *uto/udo* が意味と形式の関連において不透明であるという背景が考えられる。一方、アイヌ語の辞典では *maratto* が「まらひと」の借用形とされるが、*marapto* という形式も記録されており、借用当初は**marapito* という形式であったことが推察される。日本古典文学における年代から推定して、この形式が借用された年代は9世紀を下らないだろう。

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