A GRAMMAR OF THE EASTERN OLD JAPANESE DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is the first complete grammar of the Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ) dialects written in a modern descriptive linguistic framework, and the first ever in the English language. The EOJ dialects were spoken in the modern Kantō area of Japan during the Nara period (8th century CE), and are recorded in books 14 and 20 of the Man’yōshū poetry anthology. These dialects differ in many striking ways from the Nara dialect of Western Old Japanese, which is the main language of the ancient Japanese texts.

The first half of the dissertation is the first comprehensive attempt to reconstruct the phonology of all eleven attested provincial speech varieties, and many new dialect-specific phonological mergers and shifts are presented based on a new hypothesis of innovative orthographic practices by the scribes. The second half is the grammar proper, with all noun, adjective, and verb morphology described in detail and once again examined independently in each of the eleven provinces. The complex system of particles is also described in detail, in a similar fashion. The dissertation concludes with a new dialect taxonomy firmly rooted in the study of shared linguistic innovations across the provinces.

Also included are three appendices. Among these is a new, fully annotated EOJ corpus that was compiled based on the comparative analysis of four primary Man’yōshū manuscripts, using the oldest extant manuscript, the Genryaku Kōhon, as the main source. No previous linguistic study on EOJ has used the Genryaku Kōhon as the primary source, and this dissertation argues that many important features of the dialects are lost when other manuscripts, such as the Nishi Honganji-Bon, are taken as primary.
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GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

- morpheme boundary (inclusive of affixes, auxiliaries, and parts of a compound)
. indicates a morpheme boundary in the glossing of portmanteau morphs
_ indicates a word boundary in the multiword English glosses of a single morpheme
* reconstructed form
// phonemic transcription
[ ] phonetic transcription
C any consonant
V any vowel
Ø zero morph
: corresponds to
> changed to
< derives from
{} an unglossed phonogram or syllable from a previous line that is necessary to include in order to interpret the phonetics of the line or example in question

TRANSLATION CONVENTIONS

[ ] Information not overtly present in the original text
(lit. ) a literal translation

ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical Terms

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
ABL ablative case
ABS absolutive case
ACC accusative case
ADJ adjectivizer
ALL allative case
ATTR attributive
AVATTR adjectival verb attributive
<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AVEV</td>
<td>adjectival verb evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVFIN</td>
<td>adjectival verb final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVGER</td>
<td>adjectival verb gerund</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVINF</td>
<td>adjectival verb infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>conjectural mood</td>
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<td>CONC</td>
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<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional gerund</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunctive gerund</td>
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<td>COOR</td>
<td>coordinative gerund</td>
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<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
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<td>DAT</td>
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<td>DEB</td>
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<tr>
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<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLF</td>
<td>directive-locative focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>desiderative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DV</td>
<td>defective verb (that means ‘say’ or ‘think’)</td>
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<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclamative</td>
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<td>EMP</td>
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<td>humble</td>
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<td>INT</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
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<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
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<td>ironic particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td><em>makura kotoba</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOOD</td>
<td>mood marker</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Literally ‘pillow words,’ it refers to a set epithet in Japanese poetry.
Eastern Old Japanese Provinces

<table>
<thead>
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<th>English Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>KAK</td>
<td>Kamitukeno Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>Kamitupusa Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>Mitinōku Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MU</td>
<td>Muzasasi Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI</td>
<td>Pitati Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Sagamu Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIK</td>
<td>Simotukeno Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIN</td>
<td>Sinano Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIP</td>
<td>Simotupusa Province</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Language varieties

COJ       Central Old Japanese (8th century CE)
EMC       Early Middle Chinese (approx. 600 CE)
EOJ       Eastern Old Japanese (8th century CE, Azuma region)
LH        Late Han Chinese (2nd century CE)
LWOJ      Late Western Old Japanese (end of 8th century CE)
MdJ       Modern Japanese (1867 – present)
MJ        Middle Japanese (9th century CE – 12th century CE)
OC        Old Chinese (approx. 1200 BCE – 200 BCE)
OJ        Old Japanese (8th century CE, cover term for EOJ, COJ, and WOJ)
PJ        Proto-Japonic
PJn       Proto-Japanese
RK        Ryūkyūan
WOJ       Western Old Japanese (8th century CE, Nara region)

Texts

BS        Bussoku-seki, 753CE
FK        Fudoki kayō, 737 CE
KK        Kojiki kayō, 712 CE
MYS       Man'yōshū ("Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves"), 759 CE
NK        Nihonshoki kayō, 720 CE
SM        Senmyō, 7th – 8th century CE

Primary Manuscripts

GK        Genryaku Kōhon
KB        Kishū-Bon (aka Kanda-Bon)
NHB       Nishi Honganji-Bon
RK        Ruijū Koshū

Other

Func      function
PhG       phonogram
Trans     transliteration
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2.5.6.4.4

2.5.6.4.3

2.5.6.4.2

2.5.6.4.1

2.5.6.3

2.5.6.2

2.5.6.1

2.5.6.0

2.5.5.4

2.5.5.3

2.5.5.2

2.5.5.1

2.5.5.0

2.5.4.3

2.5.4.2

2.5.4.1

2.5.4.0

2.5.3.5

2.5.3.4

2.5.3.3

2.5.3.2

2.5.3.1

2.5.3.0

2.5.2.4

2.5.2.3

2.5.2.2

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The appellation Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ) traditionally refers to the group of dialects spoken in Japan during the Nara period in the region called Azuma, that stretched from modern Shizuoka and Nagano, east to Ibaraki, and all areas between them extending southward to the Pacific. Also included is the large northeastern area called Mitinöku that covered modern Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori.

We know of the EOJ dialects from the 168 poems in Book 14 of the Man’yōshū that show Eastern linguistic features and the 93 poems in Book 20 of the Man’yōshū. The former are also known as the Azuma-uta, or “Azuma poems,” while the latter are called the Sakimori-uta, or “Border guard poems.” There are an additional 65 poems in Book 14 attributed to Eastern provinces, however these show no Eastern linguistic features. In addition, we also have the nine Pitati Fudoki poems. These are problematic as only a few poems possibly show EOJ features, and their textual history shows signs of significant corruption, which is not surprising since the earliest extant manuscript dates from the late 17th century (Aoki 1997: 27), nearly 1000 years after the poems are thought to have been composed. Due to this I have decided to exclude them from this study. Consequently, this dissertation will focus solely on the EOJ language attested in the Man’yōshū.

---

2 It should be noted that some poems in Book 20 are WOJ poems, but naturally those poems are not included in this study.
3 I include all poem variants in these totals.
4 An example from FK8 is 用志乎 usiwo ‘sea water,’ which is attested as usipo in WOJ. The intervocalic lenition of *p > /w/ occurred after the Nara period, thus a later scribe seems to have altered the text in FK8 to fit in with the language of his time.
The specific dialects attested in the *Man'yōshū* are situated in twelve provinces:

Sinano 信濃, Töpotuapumi 遠江, Suruga 駿河, Idu 伊豆, Kamitukeno 上毛野, Muzasi 武蔵, Sagamu 相模, Mitinōku 陸奥, Simotukeno 下毛野, Pitati 常陸, Simotupusa 下総, and Kamitupusa 上総. There is only one Idu poem (along with a variant) available to us, though most of the other provinces have a fair amount of data. There were two other provinces in this areal grouping (Kapi 甲斐 and Apa 安房) but unfortunately we have no linguistic material from them.

![Figure 1: Map of the Azuma provinces in the 8th century CE](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Japan.svg)

---

5 I write the province names phonemically in IPA, in the eighth century pronunciations I reconstruct for them, with three modifications: 1) /ə/ is written as ö, 2) the initial consonant is capitalized, and 3) the prenasalized voiced obstruents are written as plain voiced (e.g. ʰzì is written as zì). This differs slightly from the WOJ transliteration system used throughout the dissertation.

6 This map is a modified version of the one presented on http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Japan.svg
1.1 Basic typology

The EOJ dialects have a basic word order of SOV, with a modifier-head phrasal structure\(^7\). While suffixes are plentiful, unlike a typical SOV language there are also a number of prefixes. The morphology is predominantly agglutinative, but there are some portmanteau morphs. The phonotactic structure is a strict (C)V, with no geminate consonants or long vowels. Vowel sequences usually contract (one of the two vowels deletes), rather than fuse. The accent system is unknown.

1.2 Dialect divisions

There have been a number of attempts over the years to separate the EOJ provinces into a small number of dialect groups. The most recent ones cited in the literature are those by Hino (2003), Ikier (2006), and Russell (2006). All of them have problems, which I will discuss below.

Hino (2003: 197) grouped the provinces based on vowel differences, but did not distinguish between retentions and innovations in his study. Based on the results of his study, Hino grouped Sinano, Töpotuapumi, and Suruga provinces into a region he called ‘Region C.’ Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Pitati, and Simotupusa were grouped into ‘Region B.’ Finally, the geographically disparate Simotukeno and Kamitupusa were grouped together into ‘Region A.’ This is shown in Figure 2 below.

\(^7\) A few exceptions can be found. See section 5.9 for a discussion.
Ikier 2006 made dialect divisions based on statistical groups of “interrelations,” which consist of all possible “vowel alternations.” Like Hino 2003, Ikier did not distinguish retentions from innovations\(^8\) in his study. Ikier grouped Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Pitati, and Simotupusa together as a dialect chain, but left most everything else unclassified. Figure 3 below shows Ikier’s dialect divisions:

---

\(^8\) For example, the alternations EOJ \(e\): WOJ \(i\) and EOJ \(o\): WOJ \(u\) that Ikier uses in his ‘interrelations’ indicate retentions in EOJ dialects, which cannot be used as evidence to subgroup the dialects with the comparative method.
Russell (2006: 208) presented a slightly modified version of Hino 2003’s dialect divisions, with Mutsu (Mitinōku) added into Area A. She also renamed Hino’s three dialect areas (A, B, and C) to North Eastern Old Japanese (NEOJ), Central Eastern Old Japanese (CEOJ), and South Eastern Old Japanese (SEOJ), respectively. Figure 4 below shows Russell’s proposed dialect divisions.
These previous dialect divisions will not be used in this study, as they were not created through a comprehensive analysis of the phonology and morphology of EOJ or by using the comparative method. One of the goals of this dissertation is to re-evaluate the validity of the previously formulated dialect divisions through a comprehensive linguistic analysis of the corpus.

1.3 Genetic relationship

Whether a separate language or a separate group of dialects, Eastern Old Japanese is generally considered to be a separate branch of the Japanese subgroup of the Japonic language family, with the following subgrouping:
However, EOJ may be internally diverse enough to warrant its own subgrouping, and furthermore, no one has yet described the EOJ innovations that make it a separate subgroup. This dissertation will deal with both of these issues.

Numerous attempts have been made over the years to connect Japanese with Korean (Aston 1879, Kanazawa 1910, Poppe 1965:137, Martin 1966, Whitman 1985, Unger 2009), the so-called “Altaic” languages (Miller 1971, Starostin et al 2003, Robbeets 2005), Ainu (Street 1962, Patrie 1982), Tamil (Ōno 1980), Austronesian (Murayama 1976), the so-called “Austro-Tai” group (Benedict 1990), and other languages. The most popular is the Korean hypothesis, followed by the Altaic hypothesis. Vovin 2010 gives an exhaustive discussion of the problems connecting Korean and Japanese as genetically related languages, while Vovin 2005b offers a thorough discussion of the problems with the Altaic hypothesis.
Despite all this research and effort on the part of many scholars, the fact remains that the Japonic languages still lack a widely accepted, demonstrable genetic relationship to any other language family. This is due in large part to the inability to find recurrent sound correspondences in a convincing number of lexical items.

1.4 The linguistic situation in 8th century CE Japan

In regard to EOJ we must focus our discussion on the 8th century CE, and in particular the first half of that century. There were at least three major Japonic language varieties9 alive and well at this time, and perhaps even more: Western Old Japanese (WOJ), Central Old Japanese (COJ), and Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ). COJ is held to be unattested10, and the innovations that separate EOJ from WOJ have not been comprehensively researched yet. In addition to these Japonic language varieties, there were widespread Ainu speakers in the Eastern provinces of Japan. Until 791 CE – when the military deputy Sakanouye Tamura Maro set about to push the Ainu to the far reaches of the Northern area of Japan – historical accounts lead us to believe the Ainu and the Japanese settlers in the Eastern provinces lived side by side with few major problems, and indeed, ethnic mixing was in all probability not an uncommon occurrence (Sansom 1958: 105-6). Linguistic evidence supports this notion, as there are Ainu elements in the EOJ poems that do not occur in WOJ, as would be expected of a long-term, close contact situation. Some such elements have recently been elucidated in Vovin (2009c), and some other elements are described in this dissertation. There were also people called the Kumaso and Hayato living in the Western Japanese region in south and central Kyūshū.

---

9 I use the slightly vague term ‘language variety’ as it is still unclear if these were different languages or different dialects.
10 I will demonstrate later in this dissertation that this may not be the case.
Some scholars (Torii 1918, Nishimura 1922) have argued these people were of Southeast Asian origin. While Murayama 1975 and Kakubayashi 1998 claim the Hayato (or Kumaso) people spoke an Austronesian language, there is no convincing linguistic evidence for this claim (Hudson 1999: 197), and there is no evidence these speakers had any significant contact with EOJ speakers. Finally, there were a number of immigrants from Korea and China, mostly in the Western parts of Japan.

1.5 Modern remnants of EOJ

Despite EOJ historically covering an area that includes modern day Tokyo, the only attested descendant of this language variety in modern Japan is the poorly documented language spoken on the Hachijō islands. The EOJ dialects on Honshū, the main island of Japan, were swallowed up by the Kyoto dialect that became the standard language during the Heian period (794-1185 CE) and spread across all of Japan. Some aspects of EOJ still linger in modern Japanese as substratum elements, however, such as the word sugos- ‘exceed’ (compare WOJ sugus- ‘exceed’ showing *o > /u/ raising typical of the language) and the imperative suffix -ro. EOJ and Hachijō share some features in their phonology, morphology, and lexicon, which, in some aspects, are different from anything else in Japonic (see Kaneda 2001 for a discussion of Hachijō’s verbal morphology). Often cited examples (as found in Martin 1987: 810-2) include the attributive suffix -ke on adjectival verbs and the attributive suffix -o on verbs.
1.6 Previous scholarship

The philological and literary research on EOJ, inclusive of traditional grammar studies, has been quite exhaustive, particularly the studies by Mizushima (1972, 1984a, 1984b, 1996, 2003), Fukuda (1965), and Hōjō (1966). These studies are important due to their in-depth treatment of the script and extensive commentaries. Mizushima’s comparative analyses of the major manuscripts and extensive indexes are especially noteworthy.

In contrast, relatively little has been done in terms of any true linguistic analysis of these specific dialects. Hino 2003 presents a new reconstruction of Proto-Japonic vowels using EOJ data, as well as new EOJ dialect divisions based variations seen among the vowels in the EOJ data. He does not distinguish retentions from innovations in his analysis, and consequently his proposed dialect areas are hard to accept.

Vovin 2005a and 2009a includes comparative Eastern data in his Western Old Japanese grammar, which provides the most extensive grammatical data available to date in English, especially in terms of morphological analysis. He rarely mentions exclusive EOJ morphology, however, as his is a grammar of WOJ, and not a comparative grammar of the Old Japanese dialects.

Ikier’s 2006 study of the attributive suffixes of EOJ is another notable work. Unfortunately he does not separate (and discard) the poems attributed to eastern provinces in Book 14 that show no Eastern linguistic features and are written in rather pure Western Old Japanese, and thus his results may be somewhat confounded. Ikier delves into a great deal of discussion on the phonology of the EOJ dialects, but most of his proposed sound changes are highly implausible, and he often blurs the line between
Proto-Japanese and Western Old Japanese. In contrast, his analysis of the morphology resulted in a few important findings, particularly in the verbal morphology.

The study done by Russell (2006: 207-437) on the reconstruction of EOJ verbal morphology is important because she discards the Eastern poems written in WOJ in her analysis, focusing purely on those poems with EOJ features. She presents an extensive overview of the specific problems in the Eastern data from each dialect region, though few solutions are presented.

Kupchik 2007 began the first step toward a comprehensive study of the vowels, in the compilation and analysis of all attested examples of six phonographic syllables (mwo, mö, mye, mey, po, pye, and pey) from each of the attested EOJ provinces. In other words, all of the labial stop-initial syllables with a mid vowel, excluding the small number of prenasalized labial-stop syllables (with an /mb/ onset) with such vowels and the labio-velar onset syllables /wo/ and /we/. After compiling all of the syllables and charting out the data for each province, the syllables were compared with cognate WOJ forms to look for the rate of inconsistency exhibited, which in turn resulted in finding a few different phonemic mergers in different provinces.

1.7 Manuscripts

The EOJ poems are mainly in the Man’yōshū Books 14 and 20. The original 8th century Man’yōshū manuscript has long been lost, and all extant manuscripts are copies of copies. In fact, the earliest extant manuscripts with EOJ poems we have today were written over four hundred years after the first manuscript.

---

11 Some earlier MYS manuscripts do exist, and date from the mid-Heian era, but these do not contain any EOJ poems.
The earliest extant manuscript with EOJ material is the *Genryaku Kōhon* (GK), which was collated in the summer of 1184, during the reign of emperor Go-Toba. While this is a collated manuscript, we will probably never know which earlier manuscripts were used as source material. The text is incomplete, but the vast majority of EOJ poems are included, and more importantly, in a number of instances it appears linguistically truer to the original than any of the subsequent manuscripts, such as the *Nishi Honganji-Bon* (NHB), which is usually considered the standard, primary manuscript for EOJ studies. While all such examples of this will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, and in particular depth in Chapter 2 and Appendix C, I will offer a few examples here for illustrative purposes, comparing the GK and NHB attestations against the cognate WOJ forms below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>GK form</th>
<th>NHB form</th>
<th>WOJ form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20:4403.3</td>
<td>kumu</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>‘cloud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>Ntukur-ir-u</td>
<td>Ntukur-er-u</td>
<td>tukur-er-u</td>
<td>‘make-PROG-ATTR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:4401.3</td>
<td>nak-wo</td>
<td>nak-u</td>
<td>nak-u</td>
<td>‘cry-ATTR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:4330.3</td>
<td>pyi</td>
<td>PYI</td>
<td>pyi</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First we see the GK form *kumu* ‘cloud’ shows a raised vowel in the second syllable that is unattested in WOJ, or any later form of Japanese, thus it is likely to show an innovative

---

12 The apparent prenasalization at the start of the GK and NHB forms is purely orthographic, and not indicative of a prenasalized initial for this verb root. This will be explained in detail in Chapter 2.
form for Sinano province, rather than a scribal error. The same holds true for GK’s form
_Ntukur-ir-u_ ‘make-PROG-ATTR,’ which shows a unique progressive suffix -ir-
exclusive to Suruga province, and totally lost if one follows NHB here. The unraised
vowel in the GK form _nak-wo_ ‘cry-ATTR’ shows a retention in Sinano province, rather
than an innovation, but once again we can see the NHB form matches up perfectly with
the WOJ form. Finally, the attestation of _pyi_ ‘sun,’ in Sagamu province is written with a
phonogram in GK, but a semantogram in NHB. Thus only GK shows us the true
phonetics of the word in question. It should be noted that this is not the only instance
where GK shows a phonogram where NHB shows a semantogram.

Two other Heian era MYS manuscripts with EOJ material exist, but these include
very few poems. One is the _Tenji-bon_ 天治本 manuscript (TB) which contains a small
number of poems from Book 14, and the other is the _Ruijū Koshū_ 類聚古集 (RK) which
includes all of Book 14 and parts of Book 20.

The earliest MYS manuscript with the complete EOJ corpus is the
aforementioned _Nishi Honganji-Bon_ 西本願寺, which dates from the late Kamakura era
(1185-1333). This is widely considered the definitive source on EOJ due to its
completeness, but as described earlier, a number of poems show clear WOJ-isms not
found in the earlier, but incomplete, GK manuscript. Consequently, the exclusive use of
this manuscript will only lead to an obfuscation of many of the important phonological
features of the EOJ dialects.

A number of later _Man’yōshū_ manuscripts exist from the Muromachi (1392-1573)
to the Edo (1600-1867) eras. Among these, the _Kishū-Bon_ 紀州本 (also known as the
*Kanda-Bon* 神田本) (KB) from the Muromachi era deserves mention because it is the second earliest complete *Man'yōshū* text to survive to this day.

Unlike all other previous linguistic EOJ studies thus far, GK is used as the primary manuscript in this dissertation, as it is much older and preserves many EOJ features, while NHB is one of three manuscripts used in instances where GK shows a clear error as well as to supplement the poems GK lacks. NHB does not appear to be copied from GK (or a copy of GK), rather both seem to descend as copies created from different textual lineages. Refer to the introduction of Appendix C for a detailed description of how the corpus was compiled for this dissertation.

### 1.7.1 Eastern linguistic features

As mentioned earlier, only the poems with Eastern linguistic features are used in this dissertation. The poems that lack Eastern features and are written in pure WOJ are excluded as they may have been altered by WOJ scribes or later scribes. An Eastern linguistic feature includes one of the following: a morpheme written with one or more different phonograms in EOJ in a way that is unattested in WOJ as a ‘misspelling’; a morpheme not phonographically attested in WOJ; a morphological or morphosyntactic structure not attested in WOJ. All ‘unclear’ sections of EOJ poems are thus considered to contain Eastern features. An Eastern placename attested in an EOJ poem by itself is not sufficient evidence to claim a poem has an Eastern linguistic feature.
1.7.2 The EOJ poems

The following table lists all poems from books 14 and 20 by province, including all variants, that have at least one EOJ feature, as well as those that lack such features. Roughly half of the poems have no listing of their province of origin, and are thus from an unknown dialect (UD). The poems from book 14 that completely lack EOJ features are not included in this study. The only previous listing of the poems in such a way that I am aware of is Russell (2006: 210). It should be noted that my list differs from Russell’s, as she excludes some poems book 14 that have features not found in WOJ (such as 14:3411, 14:3492, and 14:3392). Russell may very well have used different criteria for determining what constitutes an ‘EOJ feature,’ leading to the differences between our lists.

Some poems have variants, which replace one or more lines of the original. Variants are often a woman’s reply to a man’s poem, or vice versa. I include these as separate entries only if one of the new lines includes a different EOJ feature than in the original. Whenever there is a variant and an original, regardless of the number of lines the variant replaces in the original, the original is given a small ‘a’ next to the number, while the variant is given a small ‘b’ (e.g. 3358a, 3358b). If there is a second variant, it is listed with a small ‘c’ next to the number (e.g. 3358c). All poems included or excluded from this study are listed in Table 1-1 below.

---

13 Russell 2006 only lists the poem numbers of poems she considers to have EOJ features. She does not mention the poem numbers of the poems excluded from her study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>BOOK 14 SUM</th>
<th>BOOK 14</th>
<th>BOOK 20 SUM</th>
<th>COMBINED SUM OF BOOKS 14 AND 20</th>
<th>EXCLUDED POEMS SUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinano</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3401</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topotuapumi</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4401, 4402, 4403</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suruga</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4321, 4322, 4323, 4324, 4325, 4326, 4327</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fansui</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4337, 4338, 4339, 4340, 4341, 4342, 4344, 4345, 4346</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamitukeno</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4404, 4405, 4406, 4407</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzasi</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4413, 4414, 4415, 4416, 4417, 4418, 4419, 4420, 4421</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Street Numbers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagamu</td>
<td>3361, 3362a, 3362b, 3363, 3366, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3431, 3432</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4328, 4329, 4330</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitinóku</td>
<td>3426, 3437</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simotukeno</td>
<td>3424, 3425</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4373, 4374, 4375, 4376, 4377, 4378, 4379, 4380, 4381, 4382, 4383</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitati</td>
<td>3350, 3351, 3388, 3392, 3394, 3395, 3397</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4363, 4364, 4365, 4366, 4367, 4368, 4369, 4370, 4371, 4372</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simotupusa</td>
<td>3384, 3385, 3386</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4384, 4385, 4386, 4387, 4388, 4389, 4390, 4391, 4392, 4393, 4394</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamitupusa</td>
<td>3382, 3383</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4347, 4348, 4349, 4350, 4351, 4352, 4353, 4354, 4355</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3360a, 3360b</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UD</td>
<td>3440a, 3440b, 3442, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3456, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3466, 3468, 3469, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3480, 3481, 3482b, 3483, 3484, 3486, 3487, 3489, 3492, 3493a, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3441, 3443, 3451, 3455, 3457, 3462, 3464, 3467, 3470, 3475, 3479, 3482a, 3485, 3488, 3490, 3491, 3493b, 3497, 3510, 3523, 3534, 3535, 3538a, 3547, 3554, 3558, 3559, 3562, 3568, 3570, 3571, 3574, 3575</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4425, 4426, 4427, 4428, 4429, 4430, 4431, 4432, 4436</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3536, 3537a, 3537b, 3538b, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3560, 3561, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3572</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus we find a total of 261 poems (inclusive of all variant poems) in the present study, and 65 excluded from the present study. Unfortunately Idu province contains only two poems, and neither shows an Eastern linguistic feature, so this province will not be analyzed in this dissertation.

A few of the poems from book 20 (4405, 4425) do not include any exclusive EOJ features, but they also do not include any grammatical or phonological elements not found in other EOJ poems included in this study. Also, the history of transmission of book 20 is different than that of book 14, and it seems to have been less corrupted over time. For these reasons, I have included them.

### 1.7.2.1 Poetic structure

Most of the poems in the corpus consist of 31 syllables, in the structure of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables. This is known as the *tanka* (‘short poem’) form. One poem in the corpus (poem 4372 in book 20, from Pitati province) is markedly different in length, as it is a *chōka* (‘long poem’) composed of 91 syllables over 15 lines, in the structure 5-7-5-7-5-7-5-7-5-7-5-7-5-7-7. In addition, some poems have one or two extra syllables. In these poems, a five syllable line is extended into into a six syllable line or a seven syllable line is extended into an eight syllable line, producing hypermetricality.

### 1.8 Lexicon

The Eastern Old Japanese lexicon is comprised primarily of Japonic stock, but there are also strata consisting of Korean words, Ainu words, and a few Chinese words.
In this section I will give an overview of each stratum of the lexicon, focusing on the most frequently attested words as well as those exclusive to EOJ.

Among the Japonic stock the basic nouns attested quite frequently include kwo ‘girl,’ yama ‘mountain,’ pana ‘flower,’ kötö ‘word,’ tīti ‘father,’ papa ‘mother,’ pyitö ‘person,’ kapa ‘river,’ ta[N]pyi ‘journey,’ kamyi ‘deity,’ ne ‘peak,’ and pyimo ‘string.’ The frequently attested imo, literally ‘younger sister,’ is always used in the poems to mean ‘beloved girl,’ referring to one’s wife or female lover. Likewise the frequently attested se, literally ‘older brother,’ is always used in the poems to mean ‘beloved man,’ referring to one’s husband or male lover.

The words ‘yes’ wo and ‘no’ ina are attested just once each, in the same line, and in the same poem (line 3 of poem 3351 from Book 14).

The body part terms attested are te ~ ta- ‘hand,’ a ‘foot,’ omo(te) ~ kapo ‘face,’ maywo ‘eyebrow,’ and mey ~ ma- ‘eye.’

The EOJ poems contain the earliest, full phonographic attestations of some nouns that appear in later periods of Japanese, such as nwoNsi ‘rainbow’ (this appears in MJ as niji ‘id.’), kapyerute ‘maple tree,’ muNkyi ‘barley,’ kati ‘oar,’ and yanakyi ‘willow tree,’ as well as some nouns that are attested in WOJ but show the earlier phonetic shape in EOJ, such as muma ‘horse’ (compare WOJ uma ‘id.’ and MJ muma ‘id.’), yōkyi ‘snow’ (compare WOJ yukyi ‘id.’ and later Japanese yuki ‘id.’) and the aforementioned maywo ‘eyebrows’ (compare WOJ and later Japanese mayu ‘id.’).

In regard to verbs from the Japonic stock, as expected we find basic verbs such as kō- ‘come,’ yuk/-ik- ‘go,’ ar- ‘exist,’ se- ‘do,’ ne- ‘sleep,’ and ip- ‘say’ attested very frequently. Verbs related to eating and drinking, however, are not very common, with
pam- ‘eat’ attested three times, and nöm- ‘drink’ only attested once. As many of the poems are love poems, we find verbs such as kwopi- ‘long for,’ nak- ‘cry,’ and omop- ‘think’ attested many times. The EOJ poems contain the earliest phonographic attestations of a number of verbs that appear in later periods of Japanese, such as isaywop- ‘hesitate’ (this appears in MJ as izayof- ‘id.’), sek- ‘dam,’ and pasase- ‘make run.’ EOJ also shows us the earliest attested unraised vowel forms of many verbs, such as aywok- ‘shake’ (compare later JP ayuk- ‘id.’), maywop- ‘fray’ (compare WOJ mayup- ‘id.’), popom- ‘be unopened’ (compare WOJ pumup- ‘id.’), and suNkwos- ‘pass’ (compare WOJ suNkus- ‘id.’ and later JP sugos- ‘id.’). That is not to say EOJ contains nothing but verbal retentions. On the contrary, many phonologically innovative verb forms can be found across the provinces, such as yusup- ‘tie’ (compare WOJ musuNp- ‘id.’), myiNtaye- ‘confuse’ (compare WOJ myiNtare- ‘id.’ and later JP midare- ‘id.’), kayup- ‘go back and forth’ (compare WOJ kaywop- ‘id.’ and later JP kayo(f)- ‘id.’), kapyir- ‘return’ (compare WOJ kapyer- ‘id.’), and opuse- ‘give responsibility’ (compare WOJ opose- ‘id.’).

The words of Korean origin can be found in Vovin (2005a: 53-6) and (2010). The Korean loanwords are most obvious in the case of doublets, such as the oft-attested word amo ~ omo ‘mother,’ which is a doublet with the native Japonic word papa ‘id.’ There is no Korean doublet for the Japonic word titi ‘father,’ however. One EOJ word, swoNte ‘sleeve,’ may consist of a Korean morpheme compounded with a Japonic one, as it might be a combination of Old Korean *son ‘hand’ and OJ te ‘hand,’ though Vovin (2010: 178, 2009b: 45) suggests a different etymology, where the entire word is of bimorphemic Korean origin: < *son te (< *toy) ‘hand place.’
An Ainu stratum in EOJ, which cannot be found in WOJ, is far from a surprising thing to discover considering the Ainu and the EOJ people were living side by side, without major conflict, and in some spots perhaps rather harmoniously, during most of the 8th century CE. Placenames are the easiest to spot, for example *áskar- ‘pure-place’ (Vovin 2009c: 3), and the province *mun-sa-hi ‘grass-plain-3.PX’ (Vovin 2009c: 2). Unfortunately, for nominals and other parts of speech, many forms are only attested once, and often in unclear sections of poems, which makes it hard to be confident as to the exact number of Ainu loanwords. For example, Ainu *ota ‘sandy beach’ may appear once in an EOJ poem in the form *ota pap-u ‘sandy Beach crawl-ATTR,’ or it may not, as unfortunately the poem in which it appears (14:3419 from Kamitukeno) is full of unclear elements. The noun *tek-o [tego] ‘embraced-person’ (Vovin 2009c: 24). Interestingly, there appears to be some degree of morphological borrowing, such as the well-attested temporal conjunction *hi-ta ‘time-LOC’ (Vovin 2009c: 13-6), and possibly also the negative particle *sömô, from Ainu *somo ‘not,’ which may appear once (unfortunately it appears in a line that is problematic to analyze).

There are not many clear, early Chinese loanwords in EOJ. One is buried inside the word *yanakyi ‘willow tree’ (also attested once partially semantographically in EOJ as *yanKIY). This probably consists of a loan ya ‘willow’ from EMC *yan ‘willow,’ with the rest of the word of Japonic origin, thus *ya-na n-ö kiy ‘willow-PLUR COP-ATTR tree’ (Vovin 2009b: 45). Another is we ‘picture,’ from LH *yue (Vovin 2005a: 56).
1.9 Content of the dissertation

The main focus of this dissertation will be a complete analysis of the phonology and morphology of the EOJ dialects. The dialect taxonomy, lexicon, and manuscripts will also be analyzed.

Other than the attested phonographic syllables studied in Kupchik 2007, the rest remain to be studied in a similar comprehensive fashion. In order to alleviate this deficiency, Chapter 2 of this dissertation presents a complete comparative analysis of every attested phonographic syllable in every province\textsuperscript{14}: a, i, u, o, ka, kyi, kiy, ku, kye, key, kwo, kō, sa, sī, su, se, swo, sō, ta, tī, tu, te, two, tö, pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nō, ma, myi, miy, mu, mye, mey, mwo, mō, ra, ri, ru, re, rwo, rõ, wa, wi, we, wo, ya, yu, ye, ywo, yö, Npa, Npyi, Npu, Npye, Nta, Nti, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, Ntiō, Nsa, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nsō, Nka, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nku, Nkye, Nkwo, and Nkō\textsuperscript{15}. Chapter 2 also includes a complete phonological reconstruction of each of the eleven EOJ dialects, a discussion of possible innovations and retentions in the UD data, a comparative phonogram reading chart, and an exhaustive analysis of the major phonological processes (contraction and elision) in the data.

In Chapters 3 - 8, I present the first full study of all morphology across all of the attested EOJ provinces. This includes all nominal, adjectival and verbal morphology, adverbs, conjunctions, and particles. Other features examined include morphotactics, reduplication, and auxiliaries.

\textsuperscript{14} In addition, all syllable types presented in Kupchik 2007 are reanalyzed here, as the corpus used in this study is slightly different, and there were some errors in the Kupchik 2007 data.
\textsuperscript{15} The WOJ syllables Npey, Npo, Npiy, and Nkey are unattested in the EOJ corpus.
In Chapter 9, I present the unclear sections of the poems and discuss various possible interpretations.

In Chapter 10, I present a new dialect taxonomy created based upon the grouping of shared phonological, morphological, and lexical innovations among the provinces, using the comparative method.

Lastly, three appendices are included. Appendix A lists all lexical roots phonographically exclusive to EOJ (i.e. not phonographically attested in WOJ), while Appendix B lists all those that show phonological forms that are different from their cognate WOJ forms. Etymologies are presented whenever possible. Finally, there is Appendix C, which is a new, fully annotated EOJ corpus. In this appendix I make the case that the Genryaku Kōhon manuscript, rather than the Nishi Honganji-Bon manuscript, should be used as the primary source when compiling an EOJ corpus.

1.9.1 Methodology

The methodology for chapter 2 is different from the rest of the dissertation, as chapter 2 is primarily a phonological reconstruction of the dialects. Its methodology is presented in detail in section 2.1.

For the rest of the chapters, the methodology is as follows: for every form under discussion, I present one example from each province from each MYS book. For poems from an unknown dialect (UD), I present up to three examples from book 14 and one example from book 20. This is due to the fact that there are far more UD poems in MYS book 14 than there are in MYS book 20. Thus, for example, in a section on the diminutive suffix -rō, for every province in which this suffix is attested there will be one
example from book 14 and one example from book 20, as well three UD examples from book 14 and one UD example from book 20. If each province as well as UD has the maximum allotted attestations in both MYS books, the section will contain a total of 26 (22+4) examples. This will normally be the maximum number of examples given for each morpheme, but in some cases I may present more examples for a particular province, if they are notable ones. In addition, if a morpheme has a small number of attestations, and these are all restricted to a few provinces or UD, I may present more examples than the minimum amount described above.

This methodology has been implemented in order to give a comprehensive analysis of every province and each MYS book, while still maintaining a sense of economy.

At the end of each section on a particular morpheme, a count of the number of attestations of the morpheme\textsuperscript{16} is presented in a small table, separated by province, including a column with the number of UD attestations. In instances where there are some ambiguous or debatable cases where a morpheme can be interpreted as one or another (such as some attestations of the genitive and comparative cases, which are both -\textit{ño}), such tables should be taken more as a very close approximation to the total attestations, rather than an exact calculation. Lastly, if there is only one attestation of a morpheme, not chart will be presented for that morpheme.

\textbf{1.9.2 Transliteration system}

I use the following system to transliterate the WOJ orthography which was used to write the EOJ poems. It is the same system used in Vovin 2009a.

\textsuperscript{16} Only suffixes, particles, conjunctions, or auxiliaries are counted. Lexical items are not counted.
Consonants:

\( p = /p/ \), \( t = /t/ \), \( k = /k/ \), \( n = /n/ \), \( m = /m/ \), \( Np = /m/ \), \( Nt = /d/ \), \( Nk = /g/ \), \( s = /s/ \), \( Ns = /z/ \), \( r = /r/ \), \( w = /w/ \), \( y = /y/ \)

Vowels:

1) After a consonant

\( a = /a/ \), \( yi = /i/ \), \( iy = /i/ \), \( u = /u/ \), \( ye = /e/ \), \( ey = /e/ \), \( wo = /o/ \), \( ò = /ɔ/ \), \( e = \) unknown whether the vowel is \( ey \) or \( ye \), \( i = \) unknown whether the vowel is \( iy \) or \( yi \), \( o = \) unknown whether the vowel is \( ò \) or \( wo \).

2) Syllable initial

\( a = /a/ \), \( i = /i/ \), \( u = /u/ \), \( o = /ɔ/ \), \( wo = /wo/ \), \( ye = /ye/ \)

1.9.3 Example format

Each example is numbered, and presented in a five-line format, as follows (where XX is a placeholder for the example number):

XX. Book:Poem.Line(s) - Province
    original text
    transliteration
    morpheme glossing
    translation

The morphemes are glossed the same way as described in section 2.3.1.2.1.3. All translations are my own. Anything in the translation not overtly represented by a morpheme is written in brackets. Some segments are translated literally and put in parentheses, when needed to more clearly understand the non-parenthetical translation in
relation to the morphemes. The lines of the poem, indicated on the first line of the example, are separated by a hyphen or a semicolon. Thus ‘2-5’ indicates the example contains lines two, three, four, and five from the poem, while ‘2;5’ indicates the example contains lines two and five (but not three or four). These can be combined with an intervening semicolon, thus ‘1-3;5’ means lines one, two, three and five (but not four). If there are no lines specified in the example, this means the entire poem is presented in full. Back slashes separate each line of the poem in the Original text, Transliteration, and Morpheme glossing lines of the example.

1.9.4 Framework

This dissertation is written in a descriptive framework. I draw heavily upon the comparative method when discussing reconstructed forms and the dialect taxonomy. In addition, I discuss phonological changes in terms of general distinctive features (such as [+labial] to indicate the labial feature of a consonant or vowel).
Chapter 2 – Phonology

In this chapter I present a comprehensive phonological analysis of all attested syllables in all provinces.

2.1 Methodology

Unlike previous studies on EOJ, this one differs in two important respects. First, each province’s corpus of poetry is considered by default to be its own dialect, and not just as part of the umbrella term “EOJ.” Thus every province’s phonology is reconstructed independent of the other provinces. Second, every attested phonographic syllable from every poem in a province is compiled and then analyzed separately.

2.1.2 Tables

The primary analysis consists of compiling all attested examples of all syllable types and presenting them in tables.

2.1.2.1 External ordering

The tables are externally organized by place of articulation (labial, coronal, palatal, and then velar) followed by the vowel-initial tables. A series of voiceless onset syllables precedes a series of prenasalized voiced onset syllables in each place of articulation. Within each place of articulation the tables are listed in the order Ca, Cyi, Ciy, Cu, Cye, Cey, Cwo, and Cö, which is based on the modern Japanese ordering of kana.
symbols\textsuperscript{17}. Thus in a section on labial-initial syllable types, we find the order \textit{pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, and po}. If a province lacks any attestations of a particular syllable type, that type is not listed in a table.

\textbf{2.1.2.2 Internal ordering}

The internal ordering of the tables is based on morpheme attestations, so all attestations of a specific morpheme or string of morphemes in a province will be grouped together in the table. The morpheme groups are listed alphabetically based on their English glosses. I do not group the morphemes based on their poem number because the numbering in the \textit{Man'yōshū} is arbitrary and tells us nothing of the chronology of the poems.

\textbf{2.1.2.3 Table structure}

The data tables throughout the phonology section have the following format:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV\textsuperscript{18}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

In the sections that follow, I will explain in detail each aspect of the data table format.

\textsuperscript{17} In some onset types not all of these syllables are possible. For example, after coronal initials we do not find the syllables \textit{Ci}y or \textit{Ce}y.

\textsuperscript{18} “Invariant” – see the explanation in section 2.1.2.3.6.
2.1.2.3.1 Example column

The Example column shows a transliteration of the Phonogram(s) column. Morphemes are listed in their most basic form whenever possible, though to fully gloss each phonogram in an example, extra morphemes are included when the boundaries lie within a single phonogram. For example, in a section on a province’s *pyi* syllables, the following *pyi* syllable occurs at the start of a morpheme, but the boundary between its morpheme and the following morpheme lies within a phonogram, as does the subsequent morpheme boundary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pyiröp-am-u</td>
<td>比呂波牟</td>
<td>pick_up-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3400.5</td>
<td>pyirip-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I refer to these as consonant-boundaries (as opposed to vowel-boundaries, which occur between phonograms). Thus, the example is given in four phonograms, until the segmentation can end with a vowel-boundary or the end of the word-form, whichever comes first.

The same applies when the syllable in question appears at the end of a word-form, but prior boundaries lie within a single phonogram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 möt-am-u</td>
<td>母多伞</td>
<td>hold-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>möt-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a vowel-boundary occurs subsequent to the root (and any additional affixes or auxiliaries), then the root (and any additional affixes or auxiliaries) is omitted if the
syllable in question does not occur within the root, but rather in the affixal morphology of the word-form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-m-wo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, when two of the same syllables occur in the same word-form, and all of the boundaries between them are consonant-boundaries, then they will be listed in the same line:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mak-am-aku</td>
<td>麻可麻久</td>
<td>wrap-TENT-NML</td>
<td>20:4377.5</td>
<td>mak-am-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.1.2.3.2 Phonogram(s) column

The *Phonogram(s)* column presents the original Chinese phonograms used in the text to write the syllable(s) in the morpheme(s) in question.

### 2.1.2.3.3 Morphemic gloss column

I use the following conventions for the *Morphemic Gloss* section: 1) morphology (affixes, roots) and bound auxiliaries are separated by hyphens; 2) portmanteau morphs are separated by periods, as can be seen in this example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>saNtamey-</td>
<td>佐太米</td>
<td>decide.INF-</td>
<td>14:3418.4</td>
<td>saNtamey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiword English glosses are separated by an underscore:
When researching the meanings of particular morphemes, I consult Omodaka 1967, Mizushima 1996, Vovin (2005a, 2009a, 2009b), and my own translations and morphological analyses of the poems. For those poems with unclear words, I research external sources such as Ainu or Middle Korean for a possible etymology.

2.1.2.3.4 Book:Poem.Line column

The Book:Poem.Line column shows the specific attestation, down to the line of the poem. For example, 20:4343.2 means the poem is from Man’yōshū Book 20, poem number 4343, line 2. When a single morpheme is attested two or more times in the same line with an identical phonogram or phonograms, these morphemes are differentiated by an additional number in brackets. For example, 20:4343.2[1] indicates the first of these attestations while 20:4343.2[2] indicates the second.

2.1.2.3.5 WOJ column

The WOJ column shows a grammatical Western Old Japanese cognate form, either phonographically attested or possible within the grammar (as in the case of paradigmatic forms). Morphemes that are only semantographically attested in the WOJ corpus are not included. The WOJ attestations are either from Omodaka et al 1967 or my own searches in the Man’yōshū and other Nara-period texts. My searches in the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>志努波牟</td>
<td>long_for-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4327.5</td>
<td>sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Man’yōshū were greatly facilitated by the computer program Man’yōshū Searcher, which was developed by Sven Osterkamp. When the vowel in question is unreconstructable, the form is noted as such. When no phonographically attested nor possible form is available, a “−” is shown in this column.

2.1.2.3.6 INV column

The INV column stands for “Invariant.” There is a “+”, “−”, or “?” in this column. A “+” means both the consonant (if present) and vowel in the EOJ syllable are invariant compared to the attested WOJ form. A “−” means one or both segments are variant from the WOJ form, indicating the likeliness that a merger has taken place with another syllable, or some other sound change happened from PJn > EOJ. In many cases, such as those involving PJn diphthongs, I provide the PJn form that I reconstruct and explain the differing reflexes in WOJ and EOJ. More than one “+” or “−” may be found in this column for a single word-form if the word-form in the example has more than one of the attested syllables in question. These are listed in sequential order in the INV column. A “?” means the form is unattested in WOJ, so no conclusion can be made in regard to the variancy of the EOJ reflex from PJn.

2.1.2.3.6.1 Types of variances

There are two types of variances: external and internal. External variances are the ones that involve a form variant with the WOJ form. Internal variances are those that

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19 In Kupchik 2007 the term “Etymologically Correct”, abbreviated “E.C.”, was used. I now find this term to be inaccurate and misleading, and have thus abandoned it.
show variance within a specific province (for example, the same morpheme attested as
*ipey* and *ipye*), or across EOJ provinces (for example, one province has the form *taywora*
and another has the form *tayura*, but this root is unattested in WOJ).

### 2.1.2.4 Discussion of tables

Every table that includes at least one variance will be followed by a discussion of
the variance or variances. Those tables that lack variances will not be followed by any
discussion, and are included for two reasons: 1) The variances need to be viewed in terms
of the overall invariance rate, and 2) completeness of data and full transparency.

### 2.2 What is tested

For each syllable in question that differs from a WOJ cognate, I aim to explain
any apparent irregularities present in the data involving the vowels, voiceless consonants,
and prenasalized consonants. While the vowels have been studied in the past, there is not
a single published study of the consonants.

In my analysis, I consider which of the following logical possibilities is the most
plausible to explain a discrepancy between the attested consonant or vowel in each
syllable compared to the WOJ form as well as other data within the specific province: 1) the EOJ phoneme has merged with another phoneme in the language, so the apparent
“misspelling” in the example is due to the loss of a contrast between two phonemes in a
particular environment or morpheme; 2) it is a simple misspelling, and not indicative of
any feature of the language; 3) in the case of vowels, it is a different reflex from a Proto-
Japanese diphthong; 4) a phonemic shift has taken place; 5) some other process is at work,
such as metathesis or vowel centralization. Each province’s phonology section concludes with a full phoneme chart.

In regard to misspellings, it should be noted that these occur in WOJ as well, and while they are generally quite rare, they are more frequent in book 15 of the Man’yōshū (see Vovin 2009b for an exhaustive discussion).

A section on the poems of unknown origin in the EOJ corpus will also be included, though here only evidence for specific mergers and phonological phenomena will be discussed. There will be no detailed syllable-by-syllable analysis of the UD poems, as they do not come from a single dialect, and thus a reconstruction is not possible.

The phonology chapter concludes with a detailed analysis of contraction and elision, followed by a presentation of some hypotheses to explain the data presented in the chapter.

2.3 The phonology of Proto-Japanese, Proto-Japonic, and WOJ

The difference between Proto-Japonic (PJ) and Proto-Japanese (PJn) phoneme inventories is not entirely clear. As EOJ has not been reconstructed yet, we cannot claim to have fully reconstructed PJn yet. Thus, in the sections that follow below, I will present the Proto-Japonic inventory, and then discuss the changes that occurred in WOJ.

Throughout the dissertation I will primarily reference and construct Proto-Japanese (PJn) reconstructions rather than Proto-Japonic (PJ) ones. This is because WOJ and EOJ descend directly from PJn. My primary objective is to describe the changes that occurred from PJn to the 8th century EOJ dialects.
2.3.1 The Proto-Japonic phoneme inventory

There are quite a few PJ reconstructions (cf. Hattori 1978-80, Whitman 1985, Martin 1987, Unger 1993), but in the sections below I will present what I view as the most plausible one.

2.3.1.1 Consonants

There were four approximate places of articulation for the consonants: labial, coronal, palatal, and velar. PJ had the following set of consonant phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>coronal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main problem with this inventory in terms of typology is that it is incredibly small – only nine consonant phonemes. This is just one shy of the attested record of eight held by a few Polynesian languages. Thus, there were probably other consonants that faded away without a trace, though we will likely never know exactly what they were\(^\text{20}\).

Phonotactically, there were also the clusters *np, *nt, *ns, and *nk, which later developed into prenasalized voiced obstruent phonemes in the Japanese daughter languages, and into voiced obstruents in the Ryukyuan languages.

\(^{20}\) Evidence from the reconstruction of PJ pitch accent indicates there may have been a full series of voiced stops as well as voiceless nasals. Whether this was in PJ or some earlier form of the language is open to debate.
2.3.1.2 Vowels

In contrast to the poor inventory of consonants, the vowel system was quite rich. There were six monophthongs and one diphthong for a total of seven vowel phonemes in PJ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td></td>
<td>*u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>*e</td>
<td>*ə</td>
<td>*o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*a   *ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels had phonemic length as well, thus *a and *aa were different sequences. There were also the vowel sequences *ia and *ua\(^{21}\) and three -Vy sequences in which the *-y was a consonantal coda (*uy, *oy, and *əy). I treat these as sequences rather than diphthongal phonemes because, as will be shown in the following sections, the diphthongal phoneme *ay developed differently compared to the vowel sequences.

2.3.2 The phonology of WOJ

As the EOJ corpus is written with the WOJ orthography, we must examine the major phonological aspects of WOJ in order to understand how the EOJ dialects were written. There are a wide range of WOJ reconstructions (Lange 1973, Mori 1991, Hayata 1998, Miyake 2003, Frellesvig and Whitman 2004 & 2008, etc), but I follow Miyake 2003, as I view it as the most plausible one.

---

\(^{21}\) Possibly also *au, but evidence for this is less clear.
2.3.2.1 Consonants

There were four approximate places of articulation for the consonants: labial, coronal, palatal, and velar. The WOJ consonant inventory was rather small, and typologically unusual in that other than place and manner, there was also a contrast of prenasalized voiced versus voiceless seen in the labial, coronal, and velar obstruents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>coronal</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.2 Vowels

The eight vowel phonemes in WOJ are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following shifts and mergers took place from PJ to develop the above vowel system, in what I will term Phase 1:
a) *uy > i

b) *əy > i\(^{22}\)

c) *oy > i

d) *ua > o\(^{23}\)

e) *ia > e

Next, the following shift took place, in what I will term Phase 2:

f) *ay > əy

After that, the following mergers took place, in what I will term Phase 3:

g) *əy > e / C[-labial, -velar]_

h) *i > i / C[-labial, -velar]_

Finally, the following merger took place, in what I will term Phase 4:

j) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

Phase 4 is the WOJ language that is contemporaneous with the EOJ dialects in the 8\(^{th}\) century CE.

\(^{22}\) In regard to the development of *əy, Whitman & Frellesvig (2004: 283) and Russell (2006: 79-81) list an exception from WOJ where it looks like *əy > əy occurred, instead of *əy monophthongizing to the “expected” /i/: *tənə 'palace' + *iri 'enter' > *tənyri > taneri 'attendant.' Whitman & Frellesvig (2004: 290) go so far as to alter the reconstruction of the PJ phoneme inventory based on this. I disagree with this due to there being no change here other than the subsequent merger of *əy > e after a coronal onset (as *ə + *i is phonemically /əy/). It is possible such compounds were simply formed after the change *əy > i had ceased to be productive. That is not surprising, as *əy > i was a very old change, which must have occurred prior to *ay > əy (otherwise all PJ *ay diphthongs would have the reflex /i/ in WOJ).

\(^{23}\) Possibly also *au > o.
2.4 Orthography

While the phonographic syllables used to transcribe the EOJ poems are of Chinese origin, the direct basis for their use in the EOJ dialects is not their phonetic values in EMC or LH, but rather their phonetic values in WOJ. In addition, these phonograms did not come directly from China, but rather from Korea, through which their pronunciations were filtered and modified. Thus, we must compare the phonetic values of the phonograms in WOJ with EOJ, rather than EMC or LH with EOJ.

Following Miyake 2003 and Omodaka et al 1967, the Tables 2-1 – 2.5 below give all of the phonograms attested in the EOJ poems for a particular syllable, the accompanying transliteration of each phonogram, and a reconstruction of the WOJ phonemic value indicated by each phonogram. For information on the EMC and LH values of each character, see Schuessler 2007, Schuessler 2009, and Baxter 2000.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-1: Labial initial phonograms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonogram</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<td>波</td>
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<td>泊</td>
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<td>破</td>
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<td>次</td>
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<td>吹</td>
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<td>思</td>
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<td>之</td>
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<td>師</td>
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<td>四</td>
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<td>酒</td>
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<td>世</td>
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<td>勢</td>
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<td>西</td>
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<td>宗</td>
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<td>祖</td>
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<td>曽</td>
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<td>射</td>
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<td>自</td>
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<td>受</td>
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<td>是</td>
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<td>齊</td>
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<td>叙</td>
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<td>那</td>
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<tr>
<td>尔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奴</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phonogram</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<td>也</td>
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<td>夜</td>
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<tr>
<td>楊</td>
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<tr>
<td>由</td>
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<tr>
<td>遊</td>
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<tr>
<td>延</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Palatal initial phonograms
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonogram</th>
<th>WOJ transliteration</th>
<th>Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>可</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>加</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>迦</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>香</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>*ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伎</td>
<td>kyi</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>枳</td>
<td>kyi</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>吉</td>
<td>kyi</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>岐</td>
<td>kyi</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>纪</td>
<td>kiy</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奇</td>
<td>kiy</td>
<td>*ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>久</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>*ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>苦</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>*ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>九</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>*ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>口</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>*ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>家</td>
<td>kye</td>
<td>*ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>價</td>
<td>kye</td>
<td>*ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>祁</td>
<td>kye</td>
<td>*ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonogram</td>
<td>WOJ transliteration</td>
<td>Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鍋</td>
<td>kye</td>
<td>*ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>氣</td>
<td>key</td>
<td>*kəy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>古</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>*ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>故</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>*ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>己</td>
<td>kō</td>
<td>*kə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>許</td>
<td>kō</td>
<td>*kə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>去</td>
<td>kō</td>
<td>*kə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>賀</td>
<td>Nka</td>
<td>*ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>我</td>
<td>Nka</td>
<td>*ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>河</td>
<td>Nka</td>
<td>*ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>何</td>
<td>Nka</td>
<td>*ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>藝</td>
<td>Nkyi</td>
<td>*ŋi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>疑</td>
<td>Nkiy</td>
<td>*ŋi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>宜</td>
<td>Nkiy</td>
<td>*ŋi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>義</td>
<td>Nkiy</td>
<td>*ŋi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>具</td>
<td>Nku</td>
<td>*ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>牙</td>
<td>Nkye</td>
<td>*ŋe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>胡</td>
<td>Nkwo</td>
<td>*ŋo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>吾</td>
<td>Nkwo</td>
<td>*ŋo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>其</td>
<td>Nkō</td>
<td>*ŋə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.5: Vowel initial phonograms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonogram</th>
<th>WOJ transliteration</th>
<th>Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阿</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>*a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>安</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>*a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伊</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>已</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>以</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>*i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>宇</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>*u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>有</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>*u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>意</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>*ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>於</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>*ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.1 Dissyllabic phonograms

In addition to the numerous monosyllabic phonograms we also find a small number of dissyllabic phonograms, but these are only used in placenames. They appear to reflect LH pronunciations, rather than EMC pronunciations, and they feature an added vowel (usually an echo vowel) after the coda in lieu of a deletion of the coda\textsuperscript{24}, as we find in the monosyllabic phonograms. I include the reconstructions of the EMC and LH from Schuessler 2009.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonomogram</th>
<th>EMC</th>
<th>LH</th>
<th>WOJ (transliteration)</th>
<th>Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>相</td>
<td>*sjan</td>
<td>*sian</td>
<td>saNka</td>
<td>*sâŋga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>駿</td>
<td>*tsjwen</td>
<td>*tsuin\textsuperscript{25}</td>
<td>suru</td>
<td>*suru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>筑</td>
<td>*tjuk</td>
<td>*tuk</td>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>*tuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>信</td>
<td>*sjen \textsuperscript{C}</td>
<td>*sin \textsuperscript{C}</td>
<td>sina</td>
<td>*sina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>對</td>
<td>*twâi \textsuperscript{C}</td>
<td>*tuös</td>
<td>tusi</td>
<td>*tusi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3 Kungana phonograms

*Kungana* phonograms, or ‘Japanese reading characters,’ refer to Chinese characters that are used not for their meaning or phonetic Chinese-derived pronunciation, but rather for the phonetic use of the (usually monosyllabic) Japanese word that corresponds to the meaning of the Chinese character. For example, the character 江 means ‘inlet’ in Chinese, and the Japanese word that means ‘inlet’ is *ye*. When the

\textsuperscript{24} It is also possible that these characters were dissyllabic in LH or Old Chinese, but that is a complex and controversial topic that I will not delve into here.

\textsuperscript{25} Schuessler (2009: 338) lists the Old Chinese (OC) reading as *tsjuns*, but if so, the /r/ in the OJ reading is difficult to explain. It may have been an /r/ rather than /n/ or /ns/, at least in some dialect of OC or LH.
character 江 is written in order to write the Japanese syllable ye with no relation to the meaning ‘inlet,’ it is being used as a kungana phonogram.

In the examples throughout this dissertation, I write the transliteration of all kungana phonograms in italics (including those in examples from WOJ which contain other kungana phonograms that do not exist in the EOJ corpus), to differentiate them from regular phonograms.

2.4.4 Kō-rui and Otsu-rui distinctions

Kō-rui (甲類) and otsu-rui (乙類) distinctions are Japanese terms used to describe the pairs of syllables that merged from WOJ to Middle Japanese. For example, in WOJ the syllables kwo /ko/ and kö /kə/ were phonemically distinct, but in Middle Japanese they both merged to /ko/, indicated by the hiragana syllabic symbol こ. Thus when analyzing the texts of WOJ (and EOJ), later Japanese scholars referred to WOJ kwo syllables as こ₁, which is the kō-rui type, while they referred to WOJ kö syllables as こ₂, which is the otsu-rui type. In addition to the pairs involving /o/ and /ə/ after an onset, there are the WOJ vowel pairs /ɨ/ and /i/, and /e/ and /əy/ (in both instances the first member of the pair is the kō-rui type, while the second member is the otsu-rui type), as these merged to /i/ and /e/, respectively, in Middle Japanese.

I do not use or reference the terms kō-rui and otsu-rui (also termed ‘Type-A’ and ‘Type-B’ in some of the literature) in this dissertation for a few important reasons. First and foremost, they are not applicable to anything outside of the orthographic transition from WOJ to Middle Japanese. This is because they are only reflective of (and referential to) mergers that occurred between the time of WOJ and Middle Japanese. Second, they
were created due to the Japanese *hiragana* syllabic script, which did not exist at the time the EOJ poems were recorded.

The usage of these terms in regard to EOJ data, I believe, has hampered the progress of understanding EOJ phonology, as when viewed through these distinctions previous scholars seem to have not even considered a number of other mergers, for which, as will be shown, there is ample evidence.

### 2.5 A phonological reconstruction of each province

The provinces are listed from West to East, and North to South, in the order Sinano, Töpotuapumi, Suruga, Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Mitinöku, Simotukeno, Pitati, Simotupusa, and Kamitupusa. Idu province is not included as there is only poem (with a variant) attested, and it contains no EOJ features.

#### 2.5.1 Sinano Province

Sinano is one of the largest EOJ provinces. It is represented by seven poems in the *Man’yōshū*, specifically 3352, 3398, 3399, and 3400 in Book 14, and 4401, 4402, and 4403 in Book 20. Sinano province bordered Kamitukeno province to the northeast, Muzasi and Kapi provinces to the east, and Suruga and Töpotuapumi provinces to the southeast. From its southwestern border to its northern border were central provinces that probably contained speakers of Central or Western Old Japanese dialects.
2.5.1.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are *pa, pyi, pu, po, Npa, Npyi, ma, myi, miy, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa, we, and wo*. There are no phonographically attested *piy, pye, pey, Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npey, Npo, mye, or wi* syllables.

2.5.1.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonograms attested are 波 and 泊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>波26</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tipayapuru</td>
<td>知波夜布留</td>
<td>20:4402.1</td>
<td>tipayapuru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pyiröp-am-u</td>
<td>比呂波牟</td>
<td>14:3400.5</td>
<td>pyiröp-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>panisina</td>
<td>波尔思奈</td>
<td>14:3398.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ipap-u</td>
<td>伊波布</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>ipap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>par-i</td>
<td>波里</td>
<td>14:3399.2</td>
<td>par-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nkapa</td>
<td>河泊</td>
<td>14:3400.2</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>14:3399.5</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>pak-ey</td>
<td>波氣</td>
<td>14:3399.5</td>
<td>pak-ye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sole variance in (1) shows a voiceless initial phonogram used to write the conditional gerund, which is written as *Npa* in WOJ.

2.5.1.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

---

26 I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 *Npa*, which is invariant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>14:3398.1</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pyiröp-am-u</td>
<td>比呂波牟</td>
<td>pick_up-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3400.5</td>
<td>pyirip-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.1.3 pu syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tipayapuru</td>
<td>知波夜布留</td>
<td>MK</td>
<td>20:4402.1</td>
<td>tipayaNpuru</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ipap-u</td>
<td>伊波布</td>
<td>pray-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>ipap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pum-asim-una</td>
<td>布麻之牟奈</td>
<td>step-CAUS-NEG.IMP</td>
<td>14:3399.4</td>
<td>pum-asim-una</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pum-yi</td>
<td>布美</td>
<td>step-INF</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>pum-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only variant syllable is found in (1), but this involves the consonant, which is prenasalized in WOJ but plain voiceless in Sinano. The morpheme in question, being part of a *makura kotoba*, is of obscure origin and meaning, which unfortunately does not allow us to make any conclusions.

### 2.5.1.1.4 po syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 potötöNkyisu</td>
<td>保等藝須</td>
<td>cuckoo_bird</td>
<td>14:3352.3</td>
<td>potötöNkyisu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

27 GK has 美 *myi*, but I think this is an orthographic mistake. I follow NHB here.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.1.5 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -COND</td>
<td>14:3352.4</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>N-pane</td>
<td>婆祢 COP.ATTR</td>
<td>14:3399.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.1.6 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 婡.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tönöNpyik-u</td>
<td>等能妣久 stream_out-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4403.4</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.1.7 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

---

28 Japanese commentaries list *pane* as the Sinano word for ‘stump’ or possibly ‘red clay.’ I use the gloss ‘stump.’
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.1.8 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonograms attested are 美 and 弥.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>美-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4403.2</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myikōtō</td>
<td>美-己等 command(^{29})</td>
<td>20:4403.2</td>
<td>myikōtō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nkamyi</td>
<td>賀美 deity</td>
<td>20:4402.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>美HON-</td>
<td>20:4402.2</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>伎弥 lord</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>枧美 lord</td>
<td>20:4403.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>myiti</td>
<td>美知 path</td>
<td>14:3399.2</td>
<td>myiti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pum-yi</td>
<td>布美 step-INF</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>pum-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only variant form in these data is (3), *Nkamyi*, which shows a second syllable that has a high front vowel rather than the high central vowel found in this word with rigid consistency in *WOJ*.

\(^{29}\) Historically analyzable as *myi-kōtō* ‘HON-word,’ but synchronically this form was lexicalized as ‘command.’

\(^{30}\) I follow KB here. NHB has the homophonous variant 作: *myi* that seems to be unattested in any *WOJ* text (Omodaka et al. 1967: 901). GK has 作 ne, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.1.9 *miy* syllables

The *miy* phonogram attested is 未.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>miyna</em></td>
<td>未奈</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>14:3398.1</td>
<td>miyna</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.10 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 卯 and 武.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>kumu</em></td>
<td>久牟</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>20:4403.3</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>kamu</em></td>
<td>加牟</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>kamö/ kamu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>körömu</em></td>
<td>己呂武</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>20:4401.1</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>pyiröp-am-u</em></td>
<td>比呂波牟</td>
<td>pick_up-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3400.5</td>
<td>pyirip-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>pum-asim-una</em></td>
<td>布麻之牟奈</td>
<td>step-CAUS-NEG.IMP</td>
<td>14:3399.4</td>
<td>pum-asim-una</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances seen in examples (1) and (3) involve a *mu* phonogram corresponding to WOJ forms with a *mwo* or *mö* phonogram, which shows a raising of final *o > /u/ after /m/ in some roots.

---

31 I follow GK here, as it shows a vowel raising not found in WOJ. NHB has 毛 *mwo*, which is invariant.
32 The form *kamu* is attested twice in WOJ, in 5:810.5, and 5:813.27.
33 NHB has 茂 *mo* rather than 武 *mu* but I follow GK here, as it shows a vowel raising not found in WOJ.
34 GK has 奈牟 *namu*, but NHB and all other manuscripts have the opposite order 卯奈 *muna* (Mizushima 1996: 108). This is an instance where I believe GK shows a mistake.
2.5.1.11 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tamey</td>
<td>多米</td>
<td>20:4402.5</td>
<td>tamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.12 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>omwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>20:4402.5</td>
<td>omò</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These variances suggest the merger of *ə > o / C[+labial]*. These data conflict with the final vowel-raising seen in section 2.5.1.10, as we would expect *mu* syllables here (unless the vowel raising occurred before this merger). This may simply show the vowel raising was conditioned in some way.

2.5.1.13 *mō* syllables

The *mō* phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>14:3400.3</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>omō</td>
<td>意母</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>omō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in the previous section, these data conflict with the final vowel-raising found in section 2.5.1.10.

**2.5.1.14 wa syllables**

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S 14:3399.5</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

**2.5.1.15 we syllables**

The *we* phonogram attested is 恵.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>köwe</td>
<td>許恵</td>
<td>voice 14:3352.4</td>
<td>köwe</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

**2.5.1.16 wo syllables**

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC 20:4401.3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC 20:4403.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>awo</td>
<td>阿乎</td>
<td>blue 20:4403.3</td>
<td>awo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.1.1.17 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Overall few variances are present in these data. The possible sound changes indicated by the variances are:

a) *ɨ > i
b) *o > u / m_

c) *mb > b
d) *ə > o / C[+labial]

Whether or not b) is a change restricted to a post-labial environment will be tested in subsequent sections. It appears to be conditioned in some way as not all final /o/ vowels raise after /m/. The changes in a) and c) cannot be confidently accepted due to a lack of evidence (only one example supporting each).

I accept d) as there are two variances out of four attested syllables.

2.5.1.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, tö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsa, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö. There are no phonographically attested two, Nta, Nti, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, Ntö, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nswö, Nsö, or rwo syllables.

2.5.1.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonogram attested is 多.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tamey</td>
<td>多米</td>
<td>20:4402.5</td>
<td>tamey+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>taye+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tay-u</td>
<td>多由</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>tay-u+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>14:3400.5</td>
<td>tama+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.2  

2.5.1.2.2 \( \text{ti} \) syllables

The \( \text{ti} \) phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>titi</td>
<td>知々</td>
<td>20:4402.5</td>
<td>titi+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>inōti</td>
<td>伊能知</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>inōti+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tipayapuru</td>
<td>知波夜布留</td>
<td>MK</td>
<td>tipayaNpuru+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>myiti</td>
<td>美知</td>
<td>14:3399.2</td>
<td>myiti+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tiNkuma</td>
<td>知具麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.3  

2.5.1.2.3 \( \text{tu} \) syllables

The \( \text{tu} \) phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
<td>麻都理</td>
<td>20:4402.3</td>
<td>matur-i+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kutu</td>
<td>久都</td>
<td>14:3399.5</td>
<td>kutu+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>都伎</td>
<td>20:4401.2</td>
<td>tuk-yi+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.1.2.4 te syllables

The te phonogram attested is 頃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>頃</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>頃</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>頃</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>頃</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.2.5 tö syllables

The tö phonograms attested are 等 and 登.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美己等</td>
<td>20:4403.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>potötöNkyisu</td>
<td>保登等藝須</td>
<td>14:3352.3</td>
<td>potötöNkyisu</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>14:3398.1</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>等里</td>
<td>20:4401.2</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>14:3400.5</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>等技</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tönöNpyik-u</td>
<td>等能妣久</td>
<td>20:4403.4</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>許等</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>許登</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (8), we find a correspondence of Sinano ö: WOJ a not only in the first syllable, but also in the second. This would make a misspelling hypothesis difficult to

---

35 All manuscripts other than GK show tanaNpyik-u. NHB shows both forms: tönöNpyik-u is written to the left of tanaNpyik-u, indicating tanaNpyik-u is a mistake.
accept. While I do not find this indicative of original *a merging with /a/ in Sinano, it may be an example of a phonologically reduced (and centralized) vowel.

2.5.1.2.6 sa syllables

The sa phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 saNsare</td>
<td>左射礼</td>
<td>little</td>
<td>14:3400.3</td>
<td>saNsare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nusa</td>
<td>奴佐</td>
<td>paper_offering</td>
<td>20:4402.3</td>
<td>nusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 saNka</td>
<td>佐賀</td>
<td>slope</td>
<td>20:4402.2</td>
<td>saka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.2.7 si syllables

The si phonograms attested are 之, 志, and 思. I also include the dissyllabic phonogram 信 sina.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -si</td>
<td>志</td>
<td>-AVFIN</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kasikwo</td>
<td>可之占</td>
<td>be.awesome</td>
<td>20:4403.2</td>
<td>kasikwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s-i</td>
<td>志</td>
<td>do-INF</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 asi</td>
<td>安思</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>14:3399.4</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 panisina</td>
<td>波尔思奈</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3398.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 isiWI</td>
<td>伊思井</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3398.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3399.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3400.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3352.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pum-asim-</td>
<td>布麻之卒奈</td>
<td>step-CAUS-</td>
<td>14:3399.4</td>
<td>pum-asim-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

36 I follow NHB here. GK has 奈牟 namu, but NHB and all other manuscripts have the opposite order 卒奈 muna (Mizushima 1996: 108). This is an instance where I believe GK shows a mistake.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.8 su syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>potötönkyisu</td>
<td>cuckoo_bird</td>
<td>14:3352.3</td>
<td>potötönkyisu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>suswo</td>
<td>hem</td>
<td>20:4401.2</td>
<td>suswo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>pass.INF</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>suNka</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3352.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.9 se syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 世.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>14:3399.5</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.2.10 swo syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 宗.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.2.11 **sö** syllables

The **sö** phonogram attested is 麻.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-sö</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>-sö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.12 **Nsa** syllables

The **Nsa** phonogram attested is 射.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>saNsare</td>
<td>左射礼</td>
<td>14:3400.3</td>
<td>saNsare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.2.13 **na** syllables

The **na** phonogram attested is 奈.

---

37 I follow GK here. NHB has 須曾 susö, and if we take that reading then there is a variance here.

38 This is a special, bound form of the verb se ‘do’ that is used in a negative-imperative construction. It follows the infinitive form of the verb.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 miyna</td>
<td>未奈</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>14:3398.1</td>
<td>miyna</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nak-u</td>
<td>奈久</td>
<td>cry-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3352.4</td>
<td>nak-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nak-wo</td>
<td>奈古</td>
<td>cry-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4401.3</td>
<td>nak-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>未</td>
<td>-LOC-exist-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3400.1</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>-LOC-exist-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3352.1</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 na-</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>NEG_IMP</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>not.exist</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 panisina</td>
<td>波尓思奈</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3398.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3352.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3399.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3400.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pum-asim-una</td>
<td>布麻之牟</td>
<td>step-CAUS-NEG.IMP</td>
<td>14:3399.4</td>
<td>pum-asim-una</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.14 Ni syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尻.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 n-i</td>
<td>尻</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -ni</td>
<td>尻</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3352.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -ni</td>
<td>尻</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3399.3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -ni</td>
<td>尻</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4401.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -ni</td>
<td>尻</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4402.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -n-i</td>
<td>尻</td>
<td>-PERF-INF</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>-n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 panisina</td>
<td>波尓思奈</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3398.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

39 I follow NHB here. GK has 奈牟 *namu*, but NHB and all other manuscripts have the opposite order 尻牟 *muna* (Mizushima 1996: 108). This is an instance where I believe GK shows a mistake.
2.5.1.2.15 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nusa</td>
<td>奴佐</td>
<td>paper_offering</td>
<td>20:4402.3</td>
<td>nusa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.2.16 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-n-e</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>-n-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>N-pane</td>
<td>婆祢</td>
<td>COP.ATTR-stump</td>
<td>14:3399.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.2.17 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonograms attested are 怒 and 濃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-n-wo</td>
<td>怒</td>
<td>-PERF-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-wo</td>
<td>怒&lt;sup&gt;40&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-PERF-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3352.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3399.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
<td>信濃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3400.1</td>
<td>sinanwo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>40</sup> I follow GK (and RK) here. In NHB and KB we find 奴 *nu*, which would be invariant.
The two variances in these data show a retention of the attributive suffix -ö in Sinano, compared to the innovative WOJ attributive -u which is the product of vowel raising.

2.5.1.2.18 nö syllables

The nö phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3352.2</td>
<td>nwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3352.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3398.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3398.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3398.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3399.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3400.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3400.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃美</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4402.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4403.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4403.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>inöti</td>
<td>伊能知</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>inöti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tönöNpyik-u</td>
<td>等能妣久</td>
<td>stream_out-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4403.4</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two variances in these data, namely the forms in (1) and (13). For (1), while it is only one example, it is the only form in these data that corresponds to a WOJ nwo syllable. However, the data in section 2.5.1.2.17 show five nwo syllables and none of them are misspelled as nö.

As for (12), it is a stronger example because it shows a Sinano ö: WOJ a syllable correspondence not only in the second syllable, but also in the first (as described in

---

41 All manuscripts other than GK show tanaNpyik-u. NHB shows both forms: tönöNpyik-u is written to the left of tanaNpyik-u, indicating tanaNpyik-u is a mistake.
section 2.5.1.2.5). This would make a misspelling hypothesis much harder to accept. As I mentioned before, I think the best explanation for this form is that it shows a phonologically reduced vowel.

2.5.1.2.19 ra syllables

The ra phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -ra</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>20:4401.3</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kara</td>
<td>可良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4401.1</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ara</td>
<td>安良</td>
<td>uncultivated</td>
<td>14:3352.2</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.2.20 ri syllables

The ri phonograms attested are 里 and 理.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kar-i</td>
<td>可里</td>
<td>cut_down-INF</td>
<td>14:3399.3</td>
<td>kar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 matur-i</td>
<td>麻都理</td>
<td>offer-INF</td>
<td>20:4402.3</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 par-i</td>
<td>波里</td>
<td>reclaim_land-INF</td>
<td>14:3399.2</td>
<td>par-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -kyer-i</td>
<td>家里</td>
<td>-RETR-INF</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tör-i</td>
<td>等里</td>
<td>take-INF</td>
<td>20:4401.2</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.2.21 ru syllables

The ru phonograms attested are 流 and 留.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.22 re syllables

The *re* phonogram attested is 礼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流 -LOC-exist-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3352.1</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>奈留 -LOC-exist-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3400.1</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tipayapuru</td>
<td>知波夜布留 MK</td>
<td>20:4402.1</td>
<td>tipayaNpuru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.2.23 rō syllables

The *rō* phonogram attested is 呂.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>saNsare</td>
<td>左射礼 little</td>
<td>14:3400.3</td>
<td>saNsare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) most likely involves a progressive vowel assimilation in the WOJ form. Consequently, the Sinano form shows a retention.
2.5.1.2.24 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Very few variances are found in these data. Those that occur may be indicative of the following possible sound changes in Sinano:

a) *ⁿz > z
b) *ə > o
c) *a > ə (sporadic or phonologically conditioned somehow)

There is only one example of both (a) and (b). Thus, evidence for both changes is weak, and the variances should be dismissed as misspellings. There are two examples of (c) (both in the same root), and two misspellings of this sort in the same root are not very likely. I think the most plausible explanation in this instance is that Sinano could phonologically reduce /a/ > /ə/ in certain environments (perhaps unaccented syllables?).

2.5.1.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographically attested syllables are ya, yu, ye, and yö. There are no phonographically attested ywo syllables.

2.5.1.3.1 ya syllables

The ya phonograms attested are 也 and 夜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>也</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>20:4403.4</td>
<td>yama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tipayapuru</td>
<td>知波夜布留</td>
<td>MK</td>
<td>20:4402.1</td>
<td>tipayaNpuru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.1.3.2 yu syllables

The yu phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tay-u</td>
<td>多由</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>tay-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.3.3 ye syllables

The ye phonogram attested is 延.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.3.4 yö syllables

The yö phonogram attested is 与.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwoyö</td>
<td>古与</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This example involves the variance between a Sinano yö syllable and a WOJ ye syllable. A merger explanation would be hard to accept based on this single example, and it would be an unusual misspelling. The verb is in the infinitive form, so a possible explanation is
that these forms are reflexes from two different morphophonological developments (where \(-i\) and \(-y\) are the infinitive suffix):

\[
\text{WOJ} /koye/ \quad \text{PJn} \quad *koya-y \quad *koyə-y > *koyə-y \quad \text{Sinano} /koyə/ \]

In this analysis WOJ exhibits the expected fusional reduction of the PJn diphthong, while Sinano contracts the PJn diphthong, eliminating the infinitive suffix entirely, but centralizing the vowel.

2.5.1.3.5 Summary of palatal initial syllables

The only possible sound change shown in these data is \(*əy > ə\), but since this only occurs in a form in which there is a morphological boundary between \(*ə\) and \(*y\), it is difficult to rule that this a purely phonological change rather than a morphological or morphophonological one.

2.5.1.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are \(ka, kyi, ku, kye, key, kwo, kō, Nka, Nkiy, Nkiy\) and \(Nku\). There are no phonographically attested \(kiy, Nkye, Nkey, Nkwo\) or \(Nkō\) syllables.
2.5.1.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 可 and 加.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4403.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kar-i</td>
<td>可里</td>
<td>cut_down-INF</td>
<td>14:3399.3</td>
<td>kar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kamu</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>kamō / kamu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kara</td>
<td>可良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4401.1</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -ka</td>
<td>可</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4402.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sole variance in (5) shows a voiceless initial phonogram used to write the possessive suffix in Sinano, which is written Nka in WOJ.

2.5.1.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎 and 枳.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tuk-yi</td>
<td>都伎</td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>20:4401.2</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 k-yi</td>
<td>伎</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>k-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 k-yi</td>
<td>伎</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>k-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kyik-ey</td>
<td>伎氣</td>
<td>hear-EV</td>
<td>14:3352.4</td>
<td>kyik-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ok-yi</td>
<td>意伎</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kyimyi</td>
<td>伎弥</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>14:3400.4</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kyimyi</td>
<td>枳美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4403.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tökyi</td>
<td>運伎</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

42 I follow GK here. NHB has 我 Nka, which would be invariant.
43 I follow NHB here. GK has an obscure variant 枳 that is probably a mistake.
2.5.1.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kumu</td>
<td>久牟</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>20:4403.3</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nak-u</td>
<td>奈久</td>
<td>cry-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3352.4</td>
<td>nak-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kutu</td>
<td>久都</td>
<td>shoes</td>
<td>14:3399.5</td>
<td>kutu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tönöNpyik-u</td>
<td>等能妣久</td>
<td>stream_out-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4403.4</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 家.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -kyer-i</td>
<td>家里</td>
<td>-RETR-INF</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kyik-ey</td>
<td>伎氣</td>
<td>hear-EV</td>
<td>14:3352.4</td>
<td>kyik-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pak-ey</td>
<td>波氣</td>
<td>wear-IMP</td>
<td>14:3399.5</td>
<td>pak-ye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) may indicate *key* and *kye* syllables merged.
### 2.5.1.4.6 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonogram attested is 古.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kasikwo</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>be.awesome</td>
<td>20:4403.3</td>
<td>kasikwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kwoyö</td>
<td>古與</td>
<td>cross.INF</td>
<td>20:4403.5</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kwo</td>
<td>古^4^</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>20:4401.3</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 nak-wo</td>
<td>奈古^4^</td>
<td>cry-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4401.3</td>
<td>nak-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (4) involving an unraised vowel shows a retention Sinano province.

### 2.5.1.4.7 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 己 and 許.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 myikötö</td>
<td>美己等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4403.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 körömu</td>
<td>己呂武</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>20:4401.1</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 köwe</td>
<td>許惠</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>14:3352.4</td>
<td>köwe</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kötö</td>
<td>許等</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>14:3398.2</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kötö</td>
<td>許登</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>14:3398.5</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.4.8 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 賀 and 我.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Nkamyi</td>
<td>賀美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4402.2</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^44^ GK has 等 *tô*, but I follow NHB here. *tô* may be another EOJ word for 'girl,' but this is unclear. See Chapter 9 for a discussion.

^45^ I follow GK here. NHB has 苦 *ku*, which would be invariant.
Examples (1) and (5) immediately stand out due to their use of a Sinano Nka phonogram instead of the ka phonogram used in WOJ. This may be evidence that prenasalized consonants denasalized in Sinano. While there are no examples of a Sinano ka phonogram corresponding to a WOJ Nka phonogram, only four ka phonograms are attested and all of them are word-initial, so it is not possible for them to correspond to a WOJ Nka syllable since WOJ phonotactics disallowed such word-initial onsets.  

2.5.1.4.9 Nkyi syllables

The Nkyi phonogram attested is 藝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>potōtōNkyisu</td>
<td>保登等藝須</td>
<td>cuckoo_bird</td>
<td>14:3352.3</td>
<td>potōtōNkyisu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.4.10 Nkiy syllables

The Nkiy phonogram attested is 疑.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>須疑</td>
<td>pass.INF</td>
<td>14:3352.5</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 There is one exception, the word Nkötō ‘be.like,’ but this is a clear loan from Korean, and cannot occur utterance initial, as far as I am aware.
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.4.11 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiNkuma</td>
<td>知具麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3400.2</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.1.4.12 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound change was found:

a) *ŋg > g

b) *ɔy > e

While only two examples support (a) in the corpus, both involve the use of a Nka phonogram in Sinano to write a syllable that is written with a ka phonogram in WOJ.

Change (b) is supported by only one example, so it is better to consider that sole variance to be the result of a misspelling.

2.5.1.5 Vowel initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested are a, i, and o. There are no attested u syllables.

2.5.1.5.1 a syllables

The a phonograms attested are 阿 and 安.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.5.2 i syllables

The i phonogram attested is 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>inöti</td>
<td>伊能知</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>inöti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>伊麻</td>
<td>14:3399.2</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>isiWI</td>
<td>伊思井</td>
<td>14:3398.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ipap-u</td>
<td>伊波布</td>
<td>20:4402.4</td>
<td>ipap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.1.5.3 o syllables

The o phonogram attested is 意.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>意保</td>
<td>20:4403.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>意伎</td>
<td>20:4401.4</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>omö</td>
<td>意母</td>
<td>20:4401.5</td>
<td>omö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>omwo</td>
<td>意毛</td>
<td>20:4402.5</td>
<td>omö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.1.5.4 Summary of vowel syllables

There is no evidence for any sound changes in the vowel-initial syllables.

2.5.1.6 A reconstruction of Sinano’s phoneme inventory

In the sections below I present a reconstruction of Sinano’s phoneme inventory.

2.5.1.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless or prenasalized voiced obstruent along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This high rate of invariance among the labial-initial consonants (only two variances out of 18 syllables, excluding unknowns) suggests that the prenasalized consonant phoneme /mʊb/ was still in the Sinano consonant phoneme inventory. While there are no variances in any of the coronal-initials, there is one variance out of 28 attested k- syllables, and when we combine the velar series together we see three variances out of 35 syllables (excluding
unknowns). However, due to the overall high rate of invariance, I conclude the voiced velar stop phoneme was still prenasalized. Excluding the unknown syllables, there are five invariances out of a total of 102 attested syllables.

Unfortunately /n/d/ is unattested, so we cannot make any judgement as to its prenasalization.

2.5.1.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Sinano.

Phonemes in brackets can be reconstructed less reliably.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-8: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Sinano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Surely there were either /n/d/ and /n/z/ or /d/ and /z/ (or possibly one from the former pair and one from the latter), but due to the lack of any attestations we cannot make any conclusion.

2.5.1.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Sinano. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.
Table 2.9: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Sinano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>[əy]</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately /e/ is unattested.

### 2.5.1.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ occurs only after [-labial] consonant onsets, while /əy/ occurs only after [-coronal, -palatal] consonant onsets.

### 2.5.1.6.4 Summary of innovations

I accept the following innovations for Sinano:

a) *a > ə (sporadic, or phonologically conditioned in some way)

b) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

c) *o > u / m_ (seems to be conditioned in some way, perhaps restricted to polysyllabic lexical roots or due to accentual factors?)

### 2.5.1.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

The the schwa in the final syllable of the verbal root *pyiröp- ‘pick up’ (contrast the innovative WOJ form *pyirip- ‘id.’) is clearly a retention. We also find the verbal attributive -o attested multiple times (compared the innovative WOJ form -u).
2.5.1.6.6 Phonological processes

The general phonological processes seen in the data are:

a) Vowel centralization (sporadic *a > ə)

b) Vowels gaining labiality due to preceding bilabial consonants (*ə > o / C[+labial]_)

c) Vowel raising (*o > u / m_, unclear conditioning)

We find all of these in WOJ, albeit not in the same words. This fact viewed in light of Sinano’s geographic location in the westernmost area of Azuma, bordering a variety of COJ dialects, may indicate that Sinano was more of a COJ dialect than an EOJ dialect.

2.5.2 Töpotuapumi\textsuperscript{47}

Töpotuapumi is represented by nine poems in the \textit{Man’yōshū}: two from Book 14 (3354 and 3429) and seven from Book 20 (4321-4327). Töpotuapumi province bordered Sinano province to the north, and Suruga province to the east. To its west were provinces that contained speakers of Central Old Japanese dialects, while directly south of its border lay the sea. It is the southwesternmost province in the Azuma region.

2.5.2.1 Labial initial syllables


\textsuperscript{47} I reconstruct this province’s name as Töpotuapumi due to the evidence presented in section 2.5.2.1.6.
2.5.2.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonogram attested is 波.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>20:4323.2</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>20:4323.4</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>20:4325.2</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  kayup-am-u</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4324.5</td>
<td>kaywop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>long_for-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4327.5</td>
<td>sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  sapaNta</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>14:3354.3</td>
<td>sapa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4323.4</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4325.1</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9  sirupa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4321.1</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4323.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4325.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4327.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  ap-yi</td>
<td>安比</td>
<td>meet-INF</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>ap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>14:3354.1</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

48 I follow GK here. NHB has 婢 *Npa*, which is variant.
2.5.2.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 非.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwo<em>piy-</em></td>
<td>古<em>非</em>&lt;sup&gt;49&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>long_for</td>
<td>20:4322.2</td>
<td>kwopi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.1.4 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tòpotuapumyi</td>
<td>等保都安<em>布 美</em></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3429.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>加我<em>布 理</em></td>
<td>put_on-INF</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i]<em>p-u</em></td>
<td>布</td>
<td>say-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4323.4</td>
<td>ip-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.1.5 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 弊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pye</em></td>
<td>弊</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>49</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*, which is variant.
2.5.2.1.6 pey syllables

The pey phonograms attested are 倍 and 畈.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 töpeyta</td>
<td>等倍多保美</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nipey</td>
<td>等閑</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kyipey</td>
<td>伎倍</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3354.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 saper</td>
<td>佐倍</td>
<td>RPT</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>sapey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (1) is internally variant in this province, as the form töpotuapumyi is also attested. I think this pey phonogram was used to write the syllable /po/, as I hypothesize there was a merger of *pəy > *pə > po, which meant pey and po phonograms could be used interchangeably to write Töpotuapumi /po/ syllables in book 20 of the Man’yōshū (such a practice is unattested in book 14). While this is the only piece of evidence for such a merger in this province, evidence for an identical merger abounds in neighboring Suruga province. In addition, there is stronger evidence for the merger of *əy > ə after other initials in Töpotuapumi that will be shown in subsequent sections, and it must have occurred prior to the merger of *pə > po.

2.5.2.1.7 po syllables

The po phonogram attested is 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 töpeyta</td>
<td>等倍多保美</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 töpotuapumyi</td>
<td>等保都安布</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3429.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 posö</td>
<td>保曽</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td>14:3429.2</td>
<td>poso</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While there are no known variances in these data in regard to WOJ, both po syllables in forms (1) töpeytapomyi /təpotapomi/ and (2) töpotuapumyi /təpotuapumi/ are internally variant, as the po in (1) corresponds to the pu in (2), while the po in (2) corresponds to the pey in (1). The puzzling aspect of these two forms is that each shows a different retention and innovation, if we follow Ōno et al (1974: 947-8)’s analysis that this placename is from *təpə-tu apa omi [far-GEN.LOC fresh sea] ‘the fresh sea in the distance.’ We must also keep in mind each attestation is from a different book in the Man’yōshū.

In (1), the innovation we see is a contraction of the medial sequence *ua to /a/, while the retention is the *o in the penultimate syllable. As for (2), we find the innovation of the *o raising to /u/ in the penultimate syllable, but the retention of the medial sequence *ua.

I reconstruct this placename synchronically (i.e. during the 8th century) as Töpotuapumi /təpotuapumi/, with a raised vowel in the penultimate syllable. Thus I conclude the alternation of medial /ua/ and /a/ was historically one in free variation, with the /a/ form likely used to fit into the five syllable allotment in the line of the poem in which it appears. The retention of original *o in (1) may indicate the poem in which it appears is older than the one in (2).

2.5.2.1.8 Npa syllables

The Npa phonogram attested is 婆.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.1.8 Npyi syllables

The Npyi phonogram attested is 姐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4325.4</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4327.4</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.9 Npu syllables

The Npu phonogram attested is 夫.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N-pusuma</td>
<td>赤須麻</td>
<td>14:3354.2</td>
<td>N-pusuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.1.10 ma syllables

The ma phonograms attested are 麻 and 萬.

---

50 I follow GK here. NHB has 濃 pa, which is variant.
51 I follow GK here. NHB has 比 pyi, which is variant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>安佐麻之</td>
<td>be.shallow-SUBJ</td>
<td>14:3429.5</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mas-e</td>
<td>勢</td>
<td>-HON-IMP</td>
<td>20:4326.4</td>
<td>-mas-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iNtuma</td>
<td>伊豆麻</td>
<td>leisure</td>
<td>20:4327.3</td>
<td>itwoma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4325.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>maNtara</td>
<td>萬太良</td>
<td>speckled</td>
<td>14:3354.2</td>
<td>maNtara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>都麻</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>20:4322.1</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>都麻</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>20:4327.1</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>麻弖</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4326.5</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.1.11 mu syllables

The mu phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美許等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nömyi</td>
<td>等倍多保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nömyi</td>
<td>等保都安布</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3429.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see.INF</td>
<td>20:4327.5</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see-</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>20:4322.3</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.1.12 mu syllables

The mu phonograms attested are 无 and 卿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imu</td>
<td>卿</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4321.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nöm-u</td>
<td>卿</td>
<td>drink-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4322.3</td>
<td>nöm-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In form (1), *imu, we see either vowel raising, or a contracted vowel reflex from PJn *imua. In ambiguous cases such as this, I follow the vowel raising hypothesis.

2.5.2.1.13 mey syllables

The mey phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tanömey</td>
<td>多能米</td>
<td>trust.INF</td>
<td>14:3429.4</td>
<td>tanömey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.1.14 mwo syllables

The mwo phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>伊毛</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>14:3354.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52 I follow GK here. NHB and many other manuscripts have 乎 wo (Mizushima 1996: 190).
53 I follow GK here. NHB and many other manuscripts have 伊 i above this character (Mizushima 1996: 190).
Only form (2) is variant here.

### 2.5.2.1.15 mō syllables

The *mō* phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-tōmō</td>
<td>登母 -CONC</td>
<td>20:4323.2</td>
<td>-Ntōmō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>möNkamwo</td>
<td>母我毛 DPT</td>
<td>20:4325.2</td>
<td>möNkamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母 FPT</td>
<td>20:4324.5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母 FPT</td>
<td>20:4325.1</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母 FPT</td>
<td>20:4327.1</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母 FPT</td>
<td>20:4327.3</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mömō</td>
<td>母々 hundred</td>
<td>20:4326.3</td>
<td>mwomwo</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mömō</td>
<td>母々 hundred</td>
<td>20:4326.4</td>
<td>mwomwo</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mönō</td>
<td>母乃 thing</td>
<td>14:3354.4</td>
<td>mönō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four out of eleven of the syllables are variant, which is convincing evidence for the merger of *ə > o / C[+labial]_.

### 2.5.2.1.16 wa syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和 1.S</td>
<td>20:4322.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和 1.S</td>
<td>20:4326.5</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和 1.S</td>
<td>20:4327.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wata</td>
<td>和多 cotton</td>
<td>14:3354.3</td>
<td>wata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>和須良礼 forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4322.5</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.17 wo syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎 -ACC</td>
<td>14:3429.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎 -ACC</td>
<td>14:3429.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>乎 cord</td>
<td>14:3429.3</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>woN-tökö</td>
<td>乎 字許 DIM-bed</td>
<td>14:3354.5</td>
<td>woN-tökö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.18 Summary of labial initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *ʔ > u / m_

b) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

c) *əʔ > ə

Evidence for a) is too scarce for any conclusions to be made. Evidence for merger b), on the other hand, is rather strong, as five out of the eleven attested syllables are variant. Evidence for c) consists of only one example in this province, but corroborating evidence to be shown from Suruga province, as well as additional evidence from other syllable types in this province, makes it more convincing. Also, it must have occurred prior to change b).
2.5.2.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, tö, Nta, Ntu, Nte, Ntö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sō, Nsu, na, ni, ne, nwo, nō, ra, ri, ru, and re. There are no phonographically attested two, Nti, Ntwo, Nsa, Nsi, Nse, Nsö, Nswō, nu, rwo, or rõ syllables.

2.5.2.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ita</td>
<td>多</td>
<td>be.extreme</td>
<td>20:4322.2</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wata</td>
<td>和多</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>14:3354.3</td>
<td>wata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4325.4</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tapyi</td>
<td>多比</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4327.4</td>
<td>tapyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 töpeytapomyi</td>
<td>等倍多保美</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -tar-u</td>
<td>多流</td>
<td>-PP-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4326.5</td>
<td>-tar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 muta</td>
<td>多</td>
<td>together</td>
<td>20:4321.4</td>
<td>muta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tanömey</td>
<td>多能米</td>
<td>trust.INF</td>
<td>14:3429.4</td>
<td>tanömey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ta syllable in form (5), töpeytapomyi, while not attested in WOJ, is internally variant, as in 14:3429.1 we see the medial vowel sequence was originally -tua-, thus contraction took place giving us the output -ta- in this form.

2.5.2.2.2 ti syllables

The ti phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 titi</td>
<td>知々</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>20:4325.1</td>
<td>titi</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.2.3 tu syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>都都</td>
<td>20:4327.5</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>都</td>
<td>14:3429.3</td>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tōpotuapumyi</td>
<td>等保</td>
<td>14:3429.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>都麻</td>
<td>20:4322.1</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>都麻</td>
<td>20:4327.1</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.2.4 te syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 弖.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>弖</td>
<td>14:3429.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>弖</td>
<td>20:4321.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>弖</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>弖</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>弖</td>
<td>20:4325.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.2.5 tö syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 等 and 登.

---

54 I follow NHB here. GK has 手 *te*, which is probably a mistake.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>-COM</td>
<td>20:4324.2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>-COM</td>
<td>20:4324.3</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 myikötö</td>
<td>美計等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -tömō</td>
<td>登母</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
<td>20:4323.2</td>
<td>-Ntömō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tömō</td>
<td>等母</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>20:4325.4</td>
<td>tömō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tō</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>20:4323.4</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tönō</td>
<td>等能</td>
<td>hall</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>tönō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pyitō</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>14:3354.1</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 tōpotuapumyi</td>
<td>等保都安布美</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3429.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 tōpeytapomyi</td>
<td>等倍多保美</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4324.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 tör-am-u</td>
<td>等良无</td>
<td>take-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4327.2</td>
<td>tör-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 tōkyi</td>
<td>等伎</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>20:4323.1</td>
<td>tōkyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 kötō</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>20:4324.5</td>
<td>kötō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only (4) is variant, displaying a plain voiceless initial stop whereas the WOJ form has a prenasalized initial.

2.5.2.2.6 Nta syllables

The Nta phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 maNtara</td>
<td>萬太良</td>
<td>speckled</td>
<td>14:3354.2</td>
<td>maNtara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sapaNta</td>
<td>佐波太</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>14:3354.3</td>
<td>-Nta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

55 Historically this -Nta is a collective suffix. Some adverbs in WOJ have this fossilized, such as kōkōNta ‘extremely’ (Vovin 2009a: 1107), which is why I mark the form as invariant, rather than unknown. The form sapaNta is unattested in WOJ, however.
2.5.2.2.7 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>iNtuma</td>
<td>伊豆麻</td>
<td>leisure</td>
<td>20:4327.3</td>
<td>itwoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆⁵⁶</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>20:4322.3</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) is twofold, as the Töpotuapumi onset is prenasalized while the WOJ form is voiceless, and the vowel is u rather than o. This looks to be a case of *o > u vowel raising in Töpotuapumi.

2.5.2.2.8 Nte syllables

The Nte phonogram attested is 泥.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[i]Nte-</td>
<td>泥</td>
<td>go_out.INF-</td>
<td>20:4323.5</td>
<td>iNte-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.2.9 Ntö syllables

The Ntö phonograms attested are 騰 and 析.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>woN-tökø</td>
<td>平析許</td>
<td>DIM-bed</td>
<td>14:3354.5</td>
<td>woN-tökø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Ntökyi</td>
<td>騰吉</td>
<td>-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4323.1</td>
<td>-Ntökyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁶ I follow NHB here. GK has 川 tu, which looks like it is used quasi-semantographically in this example, as the character means ‘river’ in Chinese. 川 is not used as a phonogram in any other poem in the EOJ corpus.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.10 sa syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>安佐麻之</td>
<td>14:3429.5</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sak-ye</td>
<td>左家</td>
<td>20:4323.2</td>
<td>sak-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sak-yi</td>
<td>佐吉</td>
<td>20:4323.5</td>
<td>sak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-N-kusa</td>
<td>具佐</td>
<td>20:4326.3</td>
<td>-N-kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>久佐</td>
<td>20:4325.3</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sapaNta</td>
<td>佐波太</td>
<td>14:3354.3</td>
<td>sapa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>inasa</td>
<td>伊奈佐</td>
<td>14:3429.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sasakö-</td>
<td>佐々己</td>
<td>20:4325.5</td>
<td>sasaNkey-</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sapey</td>
<td>佐倍</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>sapey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.11 si syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 志，之，和 思.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>志利</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>20:4321.1</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>安佐麻之</td>
<td>14:3429.5</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>siru</td>
<td>志留</td>
<td>20:4324.2</td>
<td>sirwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>志</td>
<td>20:4321.5</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4321.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>志努波牟</td>
<td>20:4327.5</td>
<td>sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-n-amasi</td>
<td>奈麻之</td>
<td>14:3354.4</td>
<td>-n-amasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.5.2.2.12 su syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>s-ure</td>
<td>須礼</td>
<td>20:4323.3</td>
<td>s-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>和須良礼</td>
<td>20:4322.5</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-N-pusuma</td>
<td>夫須麻</td>
<td>14:3354.2</td>
<td>-N-pusuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>阿須</td>
<td>20:4321.3</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.13 se syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 勢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-mas-e</td>
<td>麻勢</td>
<td>20:4326.4</td>
<td>-mas-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.2.14 swo syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 宗.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.2.15 sō syllables

The sō phonogram attested is 亀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>posō</td>
<td>保 亀 be.thin</td>
<td>14:3429.2</td>
<td>posō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>亀 FPT</td>
<td>20:4323.3</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.16 Nsu syllables

The Nsu phonogram attested is 受.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>受 NEG-FIN</td>
<td>20:4322.5</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>受 NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4323.5</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.17 na syllables

The na phonogram attested is 奈.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>波奈 flower</td>
<td>20:4323.2</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.18 ni syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemetic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>20:4321.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>20:4325.2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>14:3354.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>14:3354.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>20:4322.3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>20:4322.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>20:4327.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nipey</td>
<td>尔間</td>
<td>20:4324.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>尔尔</td>
<td>20:4323.3</td>
<td>nani</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.19 ne syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemetic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>20:4321.4</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.2.2.20 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>努波牟</td>
<td>long_for-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4327.5</td>
<td>sinwop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.2.21 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mönö</td>
<td>母乃</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>14:3354.4</td>
<td>mönö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nöm-u</td>
<td>乃牟</td>
<td>drink-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4322.3</td>
<td>nöm-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4323.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4323.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4324.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3354.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 {nö}-nö</td>
<td>(能)乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 tönö</td>
<td>等能</td>
<td>hall</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>tönö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.2.22 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>字良 bay</td>
<td>20:4324.3</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ar-aNpa</td>
<td>阿良婆 exist-COND</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>ar-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>和須良礼 forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4322.5</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>麻久良 pillow</td>
<td>20:4325.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>maNtara</td>
<td>萬太良 speckled</td>
<td>14:3354.2</td>
<td>maNtara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-rasi</td>
<td>良之 -SUP</td>
<td>20:4322.2</td>
<td>-rasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tör-am-u</td>
<td>等良无 take-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4327.2</td>
<td>tör-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

**2.5.2.2.23 \textit{ri} syllables**

The \textit{ri} phonograms attested are 理 and 利.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-yuri</td>
<td>由利 -ABL</td>
<td>20:4321.3</td>
<td>-yuri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>志利 back</td>
<td>20:4326.2</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ir-i</td>
<td>伊利 enter-INF</td>
<td>14:3354.4</td>
<td>ir-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>加我布理 put_on-INF</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

**2.5.2.2.24 \textit{ru} syllables**

The \textit{ru} phonograms attested are 留 and 流.
The variance found in form (2) can be explained in one of two ways: 1) it is a different reflex from a PJn diphthong (< *sirau), namely the first part of the diphthong was deleted, or 2) it is a case of vowel raising (*sirau > siro > siru). While corroborating evidence was presented for the first hypothesis in section 2.5.2.1.6 involving the example of a diphthong deleting its first segment (*təpətuapomi > təpotapomi), the sequence *au is less likely to contract to [u] due to [a] being the more sonorous vowel among the two. We also saw corroborating evidence for the raising of *o > u in earlier sections. For these reasons, I follow the vowel raising hypothesis.

2.5.2.2.25 re syllables

The re phonogram attested is 礼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼</td>
<td>1.S 14:3429.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>阿礼</td>
<td>1.S 20:4327.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>s-ure</td>
<td>須礼</td>
<td>do-EV 20:4323.3</td>
<td>s-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>和須良礼</td>
<td>forget-PASS 20:4322.5</td>
<td>wasur-are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.2.26 Summary of Coronal initial syllables

The possible sound changes found in these syllables include:

a) *o > u

b) *au > u

c) *n, z > z
Only one of a) and b) can be true for these data, but it is difficult to decide which one to choose. I will accept change a) and reject b) as the deletion of the first part of a morpheme-internal PJn diphthong is only clear in the case of *ia, and the deletion of the second member of a diphthong is widespread throughout EOJ.

Evidence for c) is lacking.

2.5.2.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ̄ya, ye, ̄yu, and ̄yö. There are no phonographically attested ̄ywo syllables.

2.5.2.3.1 ̄ya syllables

The ̄ya phonograms attested are 夜 and 也.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ̄ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4321.1</td>
<td>̄ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ̄ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4325.2</td>
<td>̄ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ̄ya</td>
<td>也</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>20:4321.3</td>
<td>̄ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.3.2 ̄yu syllables

The ̄yu phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -yuri</td>
<td>由利</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>20:4321.3</td>
<td>-yuri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kayu-pam-u</td>
<td>加由波牟</td>
<td>go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4324.5</td>
<td>kaywop-am-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sole variance is found in (2). There are two possible explanations for the correspondence of Töpotuapumi *yu to WOJ *ywo. First, it could be a different development from a PJn diphthong *ua. Thus if the PJn form were *kayuap- (< *kayu-ap-), which includes the iterative suffix -ap-), in Töpotuapumi we would find contraction of the medial vowel sequence leading to the attested form *kayup-, while in WOJ we would find the expected fusional reduction leading to the attested form *kaywop-. An alternate explanation is the form developed into *kaywop- (from PJn *kayop-) in both WOJ and Töpotuapumi, but Töpotuapumi later raised the vowel [o] to [u]. Indeed, there are no attested *ywo syllables in Töpotuapumi, and while this seems to support the latter hypothesis, due to the size of the corpus it is not unusual to have a particular syllable be unattested. Once again, in ambiguous cases like this I follow the vowel raising hypothesis.

### 2.5.2.3.3 ye syllables

The ye phonogram attested is 哳.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaye</td>
<td>加曳</td>
<td>20:4321.4</td>
<td>kaya</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myi-ye</td>
<td>美曳</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>myi-ye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance found in (1) is unusual, as it shows a Töpotuapumi ye syllable corresponding to a WOJ ya syllable. The normal assumption is that WOJ fusionally
reduced all PJn diphthongs in unbound morphs, so if the form were PJn *kayay, we would expect WOJ kaye (< *kayay). It is possible that the WOJ form is a result of progressive vowel assimilation, in which case Töpotuapumi would show a retention.

However, it is also possible that Töpotuapumi contains the form that underwent a change. In this scenario, the PJn form was *kaya and the vowel [a] in the final syllable raised and fronted to [e] due to the palatality of the [y]. If so, this would be a unique development in Töpotuapumi as there are three ya syllables attested in section 2.5.3.1. Ultimately, since we only have one example, it is difficult to make any solid conclusion.

2.5.2.3.4 yö syllables

The yö phonograms attested are 余 and 与.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>generation</td>
<td>20:4326.3</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>generation</td>
<td>20:4326.4</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>world</td>
<td>20:4322.5</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.3.5 Summary of palatal initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *o > u / yö

b) *ua > u / yö

c) *a > e / yö [sporadic]
Only one of a) or b) can be correct, and as explained earlier I think (a) is more likely.

Change (c) consists of only one supporting example, and as there is more than one plausible explanation for said form, I reject it.

2.5.2.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ka*, *kyi*, *ku*, *kye*, *kwo*, *kö*, *Nka*, *Nku*, and *Nkö*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy*, *key*, *Nkyi*, *Nkiy*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, or *Nkwo* syllables.

2.5.2.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 可 and 加.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kasikwo</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>be.awesome</td>
<td>20:4321.1</td>
<td>kasikwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>möka</td>
<td>母加</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4327.3</td>
<td>möNka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kak-yi</td>
<td>可伎</td>
<td>draw-INF</td>
<td>20:4327.2</td>
<td>kak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kayup-am-u</td>
<td>加由波牟</td>
<td>go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4324.5</td>
<td>kaywop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由加牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4325.5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>加我布理</td>
<td>put_on-INF</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kaye</td>
<td>加曳</td>
<td>reed</td>
<td>20:4321.4</td>
<td>kaya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kaNkö</td>
<td>加其</td>
<td>shadow</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>kaNkey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sole variance is found in (2), where a WOJ prenasalized initial corresponds to a Töpotuapumi plain voiceless initial.
### 2.5.2.4.2 kyi syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 吉 and 伎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kyi 伎</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4321.1</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sak-yi 伎吉</td>
<td>bloom-INF</td>
<td>20:4323.5</td>
<td>sak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>k-yi 伎</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4326.5</td>
<td>k-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-N-tökyi 項</td>
<td>-COP.INF-time</td>
<td>20:4323.1</td>
<td>-N-tökyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kak-yi 可伎</td>
<td>draw-INF</td>
<td>20:4327.2</td>
<td>kak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kyipey 伎倍</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3354.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tökyi 等伎</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>20:4323.1</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.4.3 ku syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kusi 久思</td>
<td>skewer</td>
<td>14:3429.3</td>
<td>kusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ku 久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4322.2</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kusa 久佐</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>20:4325.3</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>makura 麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4325.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk-u 由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4325.4</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yuk-u 由久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4327.4</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.4.4 kye syllables

The *kye* phonograms attested are 家 and 祁.
Example (1) shows a variance between a Töpotuapumi *kye* syllable and a WOJ *key* syllable. This could be indicative of a merger of *əy* to /e/, but once again we only have one example. In this case a misspelling is just as likely. In example (2), -*kyem-*-, we see the fusion of *kiam>*kem, as is seen in WOJ.

### 2.5.2.4.5 kwo syllables

The *kwo* phonogram attested is 古.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kasikwo</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>20:4321.1</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td>古比</td>
<td>20:4322.2</td>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.4.6 kö syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美許等</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kö-</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>20:4323.5</td>
<td>kö-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>woN-tökö</td>
<td>乎杼許</td>
<td>14:3354.1</td>
<td>woN-tökö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The correspondence of Töpotuapumi kö : WOJ key seen in (4) is indicative of Töpotuapumi contracting the PJn diphthong *øy into /a/ via deletion of the second segment.

2.5.2.4.7 Nka syllables

The Nka phonogram attested is 我.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mōNkamwo</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4325.2</td>
<td>mōNkamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4321.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4321.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4326.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4326.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4327.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3354.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>put_on_head-INF</td>
<td>20:4321.2</td>
<td>kaNkapur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.4.8 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-kusa</td>
<td>-GEN-grass</td>
<td>20:4326.3</td>
<td>-N-kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57 I follow NHB here. GK has 良, which is marked as a mistake in the manuscript. The scribe seems to have written sasara ‘little,’ and realized his mistake after the fact.
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.4.9 Nkö syllables

The Nkö phonogram attested is 其.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaNkö</td>
<td>加其</td>
<td>20:4322.4</td>
<td>kaNkey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variance is further evidence for the change of *əy > ə.

2.5.2.4.10 Summary of velar initial syllables

There is evidence for the following possible sound changes:

a)  *ŋg > g 

b)  *əy > e 

c)  *əy > ə 

Evidence for a) is extremely weak, with only one attested example to support it, and numerous attested invariant Nk- syllables to refute it. Among b) and c) only one can be correct, as either change removes the possibility of the other change occurring, and there is no discernable conditioning environment that could support the idea that *əy merged with two different phonemes. I think the most likely one among the two is c), as there are two examples of it in these data, and it patterns with the evidence found in the section on labial-initial syllables. Consequently, I consider the attestation supporting b) to be the result of a misspelling.
2.5.2.5 Vowel initial syllables

The vowel initial phonographically attested syllables are \(a\), \(i\), and \(u\). There are no phonographically attested \(o\) syllables.

2.5.2.5.1 \(a\) syllables

The \(a\) phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼</td>
<td>14:3429.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>阿礼</td>
<td>20:4327.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>安佐麻之</td>
<td>14:3429.5</td>
<td>as-amasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ar-aNpa</td>
<td>阿良婆</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>ar-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ap-yi</td>
<td>安比</td>
<td>20:4324.4</td>
<td>ap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>töpotuapumyi</td>
<td>等保都安布美</td>
<td>14:3429.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>阿須</td>
<td>20:4321.3</td>
<td>asu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.5.2 \(i\) syllables

The \(i\) phonogram attested is 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>伊多</td>
<td>20:4322.2</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imu</td>
<td>伊牟</td>
<td>20:4321.5</td>
<td>imu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>伊毛</td>
<td>14:3354.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ir-i</td>
<td>伊利</td>
<td>14:3354.4</td>
<td>ir-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ite</td>
<td>伊弖</td>
<td>20:4326.4</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>iNtuma</td>
<td>伊豆麻</td>
<td>20:4327.3</td>
<td>itwoma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>inasa</td>
<td>伊奈佐</td>
<td>14:3429.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>伊宗</td>
<td>20:4324.2</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>ura</em></td>
<td>宇良 bay</td>
<td>20:4324.3</td>
<td><em>ura</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.2.5.4 Summary of vowel initial syllables

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.2.6 A reconstruction of Töpotuapumi’s phoneme inventory

In the sections that follow below I present a reconstruction of the vowels and consonants of the province.

2.5.2.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless or prenasalized voiced obstruent along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.
Table 2-10: Comparison of consonant variances and invariances in Töpotuapumi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of 132 attested syllables (excluding unknowns), only four are variant. This is a very low rate of variance. No onset type except /k/ shows more than one variance. Due to these extremely low variance rates, the likelihood that a shift from prenasalized obstruent phonemes to plain voiced obstruents occurred in this province is very low, and thus I reconstruct prenasalized consonants for Töpotuapumi.

2.5.2.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Töpotuapumi.

Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

Table 2-11: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Töpotuapumi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p m b</td>
<td>t n d</td>
<td>k b g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s [⁶z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.2.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Töpotuapumi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ does not occur after [+labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.2.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following innovations for Töpotuapumi:

a) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

b) *o > u (sporadic)

c) *əy > ø

Change c) occurred prior to change a), leading to a three-way merger in labial initial onsets that is reflected in the orthography.

2.5.2.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

There are no phonological retentions that are not in WOJ.

2.5.2.6.6 Phonological processes

The phonological processes found in Töpotuapumi are as follows:

a) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial]_)
b) Monophthongization via deletion of the second segment of a PJn diphthong (*oy > o)
c) Vowel raising (*o > u)

2.5.3 Suruga province

Suruga is represented by eleven poems in the Man’yōshū, specifically 3359a in Book 14, and 4337-4346 in Book 20. On its western border were the provinces of Sinano and Tōpotuapumi, while its northern border was Kapi province, its eastern border was Sagamu province, its southeastern border was Idu province, and directly to its south lay the sea.

2.5.3.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are pa, pyi, pu, pye, po, Npa, ma, myi, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa, and wo. There are no phonographically attested piy, pey, Npyi, Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npey, Npo, miy, mye, wi, or we syllables.

2.5.3.1.1 pa syllables

The pa phonograms used in Suruga are 波 and 播.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pama</td>
<td>波麻</td>
<td>beach</td>
<td>14:3359a.3</td>
<td>pama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kapar-i</td>
<td>加波利</td>
<td>change-INF</td>
<td>20:4342.5</td>
<td>kapar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 papa</td>
<td>波播</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>14:3359a.5</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 papa</td>
<td>波々58</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4337.3</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4338.4</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58 This is the RK form. GK and NHB have the semantogram 母 ‘mother.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNkap-yi</td>
<td>多我比</td>
<td>differ-INF</td>
<td>14:3359a.5</td>
<td>taNkap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ip-yi</td>
<td>已波比</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4343.3</td>
<td>ipy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tapyi</td>
<td>多比</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4343.1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tapyi</td>
<td>多比</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>已波比</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.5</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>已波比</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4340.2</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kapyir-i</td>
<td>加比例</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.4</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ip-yi</td>
<td>伊比</td>
<td>say-INF</td>
<td>20:4346.4</td>
<td>ip-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (3) and (4) show a voiceless initial corresponding to a prenasalized voiced initial in WOJ.
In regard to the vowels, the forms of interest are found in (2) and (7), as here we find Suruga [i] vowels that correspond to WOJ [e] vowels. There are two possible hypotheses to explain the Suruga forms above. First is the hypothesis that the Suruga forms exhibit vowel raising of *e > i. According to this view, the PJn form for ‘home’ was either *ipia or *ipe, while the PJn form for ‘return-INF’ was *kapi-ar-i (with the *-ar being a progressive marker). Some time later the PJn sequence *ia fusionally reduced, monophthongizing as /e/, which created the forms ipye and kapyer-i. These are the forms we find in WOJ. To explain the attested Suruga forms, we would need to posit a subsequent change of *e > i.

The second hypothesis is that the PJn sequence *ia became /i/ directly in Suruga, with no intermediary stage of fusional reduction. In this case, the PJn forms were *ipia and *kapi-ar-i, and after the second segment of the sequence *ia was deleted, the output was the Suruga forms ipi and kapir-i.

I think the second hypothesis is the better one, for a few important reasons. First, we find the form ipa ‘home’ attested in other EOJ provinces such as Simotukeno and Muzasi. This form could have easily developed from PJn *ipia, but it is not likely to have developed from the PJn form *ipe. Second, a direct development of *ia > i is less influenced by WOJ historical phonology. By positing an intermediary stage of *ia > e before *e > i, we are essentially saying the Suruga form developed from WOJ, rather than from PJ. Finally, as will be shown in subsequent sections, Suruga shows ample evidence for deleting the final segment of other *VV (or *vowel-glide) sequences (*əy > ə, *uy > u, *au > a), thus it is logical to assume they did the same thing to the PJn sequence *ia.
2.5.3.1.3 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonograms attested are 布 and 不.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kupusi-</td>
<td>興不志</td>
<td>20:4345.5</td>
<td>kwopiysi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>op-uru</td>
<td>於布流</td>
<td>14:3359a.2</td>
<td>op-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>puta</td>
<td>不多</td>
<td>20:4345.2</td>
<td>puta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the three attestations, there is only one variance, which is the Suruga *pu* syllable in (1) that corresponds to a WOJ *piy* syllable. Unlike the examples in the previous section, a vowel raising hypothesis will not work here. Instead, we must conclude there was a different development from a PJn diphthong *uy in both Suruga and WOJ. I reconstruct this root as PJn *kopoy- ‘love’ (-si is historically an adjectival suffix added to the verbal stem). In Suruga the final syllable was reduced to /u/ via deletion of the second part of the diphthong and *o > /u/ raising, whereas in WOJ this diphthong monophthongized to /ɨ/.

The development of the first syllable in this root will be explained later in the section on velar initial syllables.

2.5.3.1.4 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>敝</td>
<td>14:3359a.2</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.3.1.5 *po* syllables

The *po* phonograms attested are 寳 and 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pomey</td>
<td>寳米</td>
<td>bless.INF</td>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>pomey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>omeyp-o</td>
<td>於米保</td>
<td>think-EV</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>omöp-ey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (2) we see the evidential suffix after a -p stem verb root written as -o- in Suruga instead of the expected reflex -ey-. There is indeed only one attested example, and by itself it would not be very convincing, but when taken into account and compared holistically with the Suruga data to be presented in section 2.5.3.1.10, it gives evidence that the same thing happened with *p*- initial syllables and the vowels *ə, *əy, and *o as with *m*- initial syllables and those respective vowels. The following hypothsis was presented in Kupchik (2007: 10), and I will repeat it here:

1. PJn *pəy syllables lose their final vowel segment in Suruga, along with all other *-əy segments in the dialect, merging *pəy to *pə.
2. *pə merges to /po/.
3. *Po and pey phonograms are used interchangeably to write synchronic Suruga /po/ syllables that are etymologically from PJn *po, *pə, or *pəy.

2.5.3.1.6 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.7 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imasi</td>
<td>伊麻思</td>
<td>2.S</td>
<td>14:3359a.4</td>
<td>imasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pama</td>
<td>波麻</td>
<td>beach</td>
<td>14:3359a.3</td>
<td>pama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kama</td>
<td>加麻</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>20:4339.2</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>imas-e</td>
<td>麻勢</td>
<td>exist.HON-IMP</td>
<td>20:4342.4</td>
<td>imas-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>20:4337.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>麻弓</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4339.4</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>麻弓</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4340.5</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>20:4342.1</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
<td>麻多祢</td>
<td>wait-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4339.5</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
<td>麻多祢</td>
<td>wait-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4340.2</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is only one irregularity here, namely Suruga *kama* ‘duck’ corresponding to WOJ *kamwo* ‘id’ in (3). Once again, this seems to be an example of a different historical diphthong development in Suruga and WOJ. If we reconstruct this root as PJn *kamau*, then in WOJ we see the expected monophthongization of the final syllable to /kamo/.

---

59 I follow GK here. NHB has 浪 pa, which is variant.

60 I follow GK here. NHB has 浪 pa, which is variant.
whereas in Suruga we find the second member of the diphthong deleted for the reflex /kama/. Another possibility is Suruga shows a progressive vowel assimilation in this root, in which case the PJn form should be reconstructed as *kamo. Such assimilations are attested in other OJ language varieties.

I think the hypothesis of vowel contraction is better because it patterns with other vowel contractions in the language, and there are no clear examples of progressive vowel assimilation in Suruga.

### 2.5.3.1.8 myi syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tatam-yi</td>
<td>多々美</td>
<td>mat-NML</td>
<td>20:4338.1</td>
<td>tatam-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myi-wori</td>
<td>美袁利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4341.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>宇美</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>14:3359a.1</td>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myiNtuk-u</td>
<td>美豆久</td>
<td>submerge_in_water-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4340.4</td>
<td>myiNtuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanom-yi</td>
<td>多能美</td>
<td>trust-NML</td>
<td>14:3359a.4</td>
<td>tanom-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>20:4337.1</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>20:4343.5</td>
<td>mye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (7) looks like the result of a raising of *e > /i/ in the Suruga form.

### 2.5.3.1.9 mu syllables

The *mu* phonogram attested is 命.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yas-uram-u</td>
<td>夜須良命</td>
<td>become_</td>
<td>20:4343.4</td>
<td>yas-uram-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61 This is probably a contraction of *myi-ni tuk-u ‘water-LOC attach-ATTR.’
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.10 mey syllables

The mey phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 meyNkur-u</td>
<td>米具留</td>
<td>encircle-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4339.1</td>
<td>meyNkur-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 meykur-i</td>
<td>米久利</td>
<td>encircle-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.3</td>
<td>meyNkur-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 omey</td>
<td>於米</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>20:4342.5</td>
<td>omö-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 meyt-i</td>
<td>米知</td>
<td>hold-INF</td>
<td>20:4343.4</td>
<td>möt-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pomey</td>
<td>寶米</td>
<td>bless.INF</td>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>pomey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -Nk[a]-yimey</td>
<td>和伎米</td>
<td>-POSSESS-belonged_girl</td>
<td>20:4345.1</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 keymey</td>
<td>氣米</td>
<td>straw</td>
<td>20:4338.1</td>
<td>kömö-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 omeyp-o</td>
<td>於米保</td>
<td>think-EV</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>omöp-ey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the nine examples, only three are invariant to their corresponding WOJ forms.

The most significant thing these data show is that the phonographic mey syllable used in these poems, 米, is used to transcribe etymological *mo, *mə, and *məy (< *may) syllables. The explanation that follows is a modified and truncated version of the one that was presented in Kupchik (2007: 8-10).

I propose the explanation here lies in two key factors: one is the merger of the mid-central and rounded, mid-back vowel phonemes after a labial onset in Suruga, and
the second is the Suruga innovation of deleting the second segment of historical vowel sequences instead of fusionally reducing them. With these two features in mind, as well as keeping in mind the vowel -ey is a diphthong, I believe the following is the most likely scenario to explain the Suruga data:

1. Old Suruga *məy has its final segment deleted in Suruga, with the output being a merger with *mə syllables.
2. *mə merges to /mo/.
3. Due to mwo, mö and mey all merging to [mo] in Suruga, characters for all three of those syllables in WOJ were used freely to transcribe /mo/ syllables in Suruga.

The hypothesis of historical diphthong reduction via deletion of the second segment is further supported by the contracted reflexes of other historical vowel sequences shown in the Suruga data, which will be shown in subsequent sections.

2.5.3.1.11 mwo syllables

The mwo phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>加毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4341.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>加毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4344.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mwonō</td>
<td>毛能</td>
<td>thing</td>
<td>20:4337.4</td>
<td>mōnō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the examples are invariant, which further strengthens the argument presented in the previous section that *mə syllables merged with *mo syllables.
### 2.5.3.1.12 mö syllables

The *mö* phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4343.5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.1.13 wa syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 warö</td>
<td>和呂</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4343.1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4344.3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4343.5</td>
<td>wa-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4344.4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4345.2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4345.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 wasure</td>
<td>須例</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4344.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 wasure</td>
<td>須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4346.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 wasur-am-u</td>
<td>和須良卒</td>
<td>forget-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4344.1</td>
<td>wasur-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.14 wo syllables

The *wo* phonograms attested are 乎 and 袁.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.15 Summary of labial initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

- a) *m b > b
- b) *ə > o / C[+labial]_
- c) *əy > ə
- d) *au > a
- e) *o > a / [m]_
- f) *uy > u
- g) *e > i

Change a) is supported by three examples, and will be examined in section 2.5.3.6.1.

Among d) and e) only one can be correct. I choose d) as it patterns with changes c) and f). All changes involving vowels, except e), are strong enough to be accepted. It should be noted that c) must have occurred before b). Changes d) and f) are also most likely more archaic than b) because the changes c), d), and f) are different examples of the same underlying process: contraction of diphthongs via deletion of the second segment.

Change (g) is clear in at least one example, so I accept it.
2.5.3.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables used in the Suruga poems are *ta, ti, tu, te, two, tö, Ntu, sa, si, su, se, swo, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nsö, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re,* and *rö.* There are no phonographically attested *Nta, Nti, Nte, Ntwo, Ntö, Nsö, Nsa,* *Nswo,* or *rwo* syllables.

2.5.3.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNkap- yi</td>
<td>多我比</td>
<td>14:3359a.5</td>
<td>taNkap- yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tapyi</td>
<td>多比</td>
<td>20:4343.1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tapyi</td>
<td>多比</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tatam- yi</td>
<td>多々美</td>
<td>20:4338.1</td>
<td>tatam- yi</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tatipana</td>
<td>多知波奈</td>
<td>20:4341.1</td>
<td>tatiNpana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>20:4337.2</td>
<td>tati- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tanöm- yi</td>
<td>多能美</td>
<td>14:3359a.4</td>
<td>tanöm- yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>puta</td>
<td>不多</td>
<td>20:4345.2</td>
<td>puta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mat-an- e</td>
<td>麻多祢</td>
<td>20:4339.5</td>
<td>mat-an- e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mat-an- e</td>
<td>麻多祢</td>
<td>20:4340.1</td>
<td>mat-an- e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>都豆良</td>
<td>14:3359a.3</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonograms attested are 父, 弖, and 天.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nate</td>
<td>奈豆</td>
<td>20:4346.2</td>
<td>naNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>豆</td>
<td>20:4346.3</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>父</td>
<td>20:4344.1</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-kate</td>
<td>加豆</td>
<td>20:4341.5</td>
<td>-kate</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>豆</td>
<td>20:4343.3</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

62 This is the RK form. GK and NHB have the semantogram 父 *TTTI* ‘father.’

63 I follow NHB here. GK has 豆 Ntu, which looks like a mistake.
There are two types of variances in these data. First, examples (2) and (3) show a correspondence of Suruga te to WOJ tö. My hypothesis is that *ə merged with /e/ after /t/, so there was no contrast between them in this environment. Thus, due to this merger, tö phonograms could be used to write /te/ syllables in Suruga. I find this hypothesis to be the best one, as there is much corroborating evidence which will be shown in detail in subsequent sections. The vowels also could have merged to /ə/, but I prefer /e/ because coronal onsets tend to front vowels.

The second type of variance involves examples (1), (13), and (14). Here we find a phonogram with a voiceless initial used multiple times to transcribe a syllable that corresponds to a WOJ prenasalized voiced initial. It should also be noted there are no phonographically attested Nte syllables in Suruga. One possibility is that prenasalized /nde/ had shifted to plain voiced /de/ in this province. Since /de/ and /te/ would be difficult to distinguish properly using Man’yōgana, scribes used both te and Nte phonograms interchangeably to transcribe /te/ and /de/ syllables in Suruga.

---

64 This character is missing from the GK manuscript where the whole line only has six phonograms rather than the expected seven (Mizushima 1996: 196).
The two phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>satwo</td>
<td>佐刀</td>
<td>20:4341.2</td>
<td>satwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
<td>刀自</td>
<td>20:4342.4</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

The tö phonogram attested is 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>töri</td>
<td>等利</td>
<td>20:4337.1</td>
<td>töri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>atöri</td>
<td>阿等利</td>
<td>20:4339.2</td>
<td>atöri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>20:4345.1</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
<td>20:4344.3</td>
<td>-Ntö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>-Ntö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>töti</td>
<td>等知(^{65})</td>
<td>20:4340.1</td>
<td>titi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nkötö</td>
<td>其等</td>
<td>20:4342.3</td>
<td>Nkötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>töńö</td>
<td>等乃</td>
<td>20:4342.3</td>
<td>töńö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>等里</td>
<td>20:4340.5</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>keytöNpa</td>
<td>氣等婆</td>
<td>20:4346.4</td>
<td>kötöNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, there are two types of variances to deal with here. First, as before, we see a phonogram with a voiceless initial used to transcribe a syllable that corresponds to a WOJ syllable with a prenasalized voiced initial in examples (4) and (5). It only occurs in two out of eleven attestations in this section, but we must keep in mind these are also the only

\(^{65}\) 等知 töti ‘father’ is found in GK and RK. The later NHB manuscript has 知々 titi ‘id.’
two examples in the data of Ntö in WOJ. This is the same situation we saw in the section on te syllables, and may be evidence of a shift of *n_d > d in Suruga, or a more general change of *C [+prenasalized, +voi] > C [-prenasalized,+voi]. A final relevant point is that there are no phonographically attested Ntwo or Ntö syllables in Suruga.

The second issue to deal with is example (7), which shows a Suruga tö syllable corresponding to a WOJ ti syllable. In the previous section I proposed a merger of *tə > te, and thus tö phonograms only represent the syllable /te/ in Suruga. Therefore this word form is phonemically /teti/ in Suruga. This could be the more archaic form of the word, with WOJ and other EOJ provinces later raising the initial vowel to /i/, or it may just be a dialect variant exclusive to Suruga. We also, of course, find a few attestations of itti in Suruga as well, which may either be later alterations from WOJ scribes, or indicative that the forms were in free variation in the dialect.

2.5.3.2.7 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>都豆良</td>
<td>kudzu</td>
<td>14:3359a.3</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ntukur-ir-u</td>
<td>豆久利留</td>
<td>make-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>tukur-er-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Nt-uru</td>
<td>豆流</td>
<td>-PERF-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4346.5</td>
<td>-t-uru</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ntukusi</td>
<td>豆久志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4340.3</td>
<td>tukusi67</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>20:4337.1</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>20:4340.4</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66 I follow GK here. NHB has the kungana phonogram 津 tu.
67 Always attested in WOJ as 筑紫, from EMC *trjukw tsjeX.
Here we see out of a total of six attestations of 豆 in the Suruga corpus, three are used to transcribe syllables that correspond to WOJ /tu/ syllables (forms (2), (3), and (4)). Two are used in the initial position of a word-form (forms (2) and (4)), in an apparent violation of the language’s phonotactic structure that disallows roots to begin with such consonants. As it is highly unlikely that Suruga sporadically prenasalized the onsets here for no apparent reason, I think this is further orthographic evidence for the previously presented hypothesis that *n shifted to /d/, and since /t/ and /d/ would have been difficult to distinguish using Man’yōgana, both Ntu and tu phonograms were used more or less interchangeably for both /tu/ and /du/ syllables.

To further support this hypothesis, consider the following: out of a total of 169 attestations of 豆 in the WOJ poems of the Man’yōshū, this phonogram is nearly 100% consistent in representing WOJ Ntu syllables. Only three out of the 169 are clearly used to transcribe WOJ /tu/, and all are intervocalic. These are: MYS 5:807.1 豆都 uNTu ‘reality,’ MYS 17:3985.26 都豆 (u)tuNtu ‘reality,’ and MYS 11:2353.6b 見豆良牟 MYI-Nt-uram-u ‘see-PERF-TENT2-ATTR.’ The first two are used to write the same root (WOJ ututu ‘reality’), and may have been dialect variants involving secondary prenasalization, or simple misspellings. The third example is also likely a misspelling, and it occurs after a semantogram. There is a fourth possible WOJ example, MYS 10:1816.3 佐豆人 saNtu-PYITŌ ‘hunting man,’ but as far as I can tell the morpheme sa[N]tu ‘hunting’ is only phonographically attested as satu once in WOJ (in MYS 3.267.4), thus it is unclear if the medial consonant was prenasalized or not.

It is clear that 豆 is used to transcribe Ntu in WOJ in the MYS, and the few exceptions that exist are either simple misspellings or variations of the word ututu.
‘reality’ with a possible secondary prenasalization of one of the intervocalic phonemes.

In contrast, Suruga has three instances of $Ntu$ used to write a /tu/ syllable, but this is out of just six attestations of this phonogram in the Suruga corpus. Thus, this is strong evidence for denasalization in Suruga.

### 2.5.3.2.8 $sa$ syllables

The $sa$ phonogram attested is 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>佐</td>
<td>-AVNML</td>
<td>20:4338.5</td>
<td>-sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>佐</td>
<td>be.safe-</td>
<td>20:4346.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>satwo</td>
<td>佐刀</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>20:4341.2</td>
<td>satwo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.9 $si$ syllables

The $si$ phonograms attested are 志, 思, and 之.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kupusii</td>
<td>苦不志</td>
<td>be.longing-</td>
<td>20:4345</td>
<td>kwopiysi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuyasi</td>
<td>久夜志</td>
<td>be.regretful-</td>
<td>20:4337</td>
<td>kuyasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>加奈之</td>
<td>be.sad-</td>
<td>20:4338</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>可奈志</td>
<td>be.sad-</td>
<td>20:4343</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>志</td>
<td>do-INF</td>
<td>20:4343</td>
<td>s-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>N-pasira</td>
<td>婆之良</td>
<td>COP.ATTR-pillar</td>
<td>20:4342</td>
<td>N-pasira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kasira</td>
<td>可之良</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>20:4346</td>
<td>kasira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>豆久志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4340</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4346</td>
<td>-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4345</td>
<td>-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>osi</td>
<td>於思</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>14:3359</td>
<td>iswo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (11) is probably the result of a metathesis. The PJ form for ‘rock’ was likely *eso (‘stone’ was *esuy) (Vovin 2010: 127), so the Suruga form would show metathesis and raising of *e > i.

2.5.3.2.10 su syllables

The su phonogram attested is 須. I also included the attested disyllabic phonogram suru, which is written as 駿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yes-uru</td>
<td>江須流</td>
<td>approach-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4345.3</td>
<td>yōs-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yas-uram-u</td>
<td>夜須良牟</td>
<td>become_emaciated-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4343.4</td>
<td>yas-uram-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 wasure</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4344.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4346.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 wasur-am-u</td>
<td>和須良牟</td>
<td>forget-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4344.1</td>
<td>was-uram-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 suruNka</td>
<td>駿河</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3369.1</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 suruNka</td>
<td>須流河</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4345.4</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 [i]p-as-u</td>
<td>波須</td>
<td>say-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4337.4</td>
<td>ip-aNs-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Form (8) is variant in that the Suruga form has a voiceless initial, while the WOJ form has a prenasalized voiced initial. This may be be further evidence of a shift from prenasalized voiced consonants to plain voiced consonants in Suruga.

2.5.3.2.11 se syllables

The se phonogram attested is 勢.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>勢</td>
<td>do-</td>
<td>20:4342.5</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>勢</td>
<td>do-</td>
<td>20:4344.5</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imas-e</td>
<td>已麻勢</td>
<td>exist.HON-IMP</td>
<td>20:4342.4</td>
<td>imas-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.12 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>iswok-yi</td>
<td>已蘇岐</td>
<td>hurry-INF</td>
<td>20:4337.2</td>
<td>iswoNk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>已蘇</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>20:4338.2</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[i]swo</td>
<td>蘇</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>20:4338.3</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.13 *Nsi* syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>muraNsi</td>
<td>牟良自</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4338.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
<td>刀自</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>20:4342.4</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.14 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>受</td>
<td>-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>20:4342.5</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.2.15 Nse syllables

The Nse phonogram attested is 是.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nse</td>
<td>是</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4346.4</td>
<td>Nsö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance here involves a Suruga Nse phonogram corresponding to a WOJ Nsö phonogram. Once again, as we saw in the section on Suruga te syllables, this can be explained as orthographic evidence for a merger of *ə > e in Suruga. The evidence here indicates it occurred after all coronal consonants.

### 2.5.3.2.16 Nsö syllables

The Nsö phonogram attested is 叙.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nsö</td>
<td>叙</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4337.5</td>
<td>Nsö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.3.2.17 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>加奈之</td>
<td>be.sad</td>
<td>20:4338.5</td>
<td>kanasi +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>可奈志</td>
<td>be.sad</td>
<td>20:4343.5</td>
<td>kanasi +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nate</td>
<td>奈弓</td>
<td>caress.INF</td>
<td>20:4346.2</td>
<td>naNte +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>-LOC-exist-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4340.3</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>panare</td>
<td>波奈例</td>
<td>part_from.INF</td>
<td>20:4338.4</td>
<td>panare +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>panar[e]-iswo</td>
<td>波奈利藉</td>
<td>part_from.INF-stone</td>
<td>20:4338.3</td>
<td>panare-[i]swo +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tatipana</td>
<td>多知波奈</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4341.1</td>
<td>tatiNpana +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.2.18 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4337.2</td>
<td>n-i +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>14:3359a.5</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>20:4337.3</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3359a.2</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4339.4</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4340.5</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4341.2</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4343.3</td>
<td>-ni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-PERF-INF</td>
<td>20:4337.4</td>
<td>-n-i +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>20:4339.1</td>
<td>kuni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.3.2.19 nu syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴</td>
<td>-PERF-FIN</td>
<td>14:3359a.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.3.2.20 ne syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kane-</td>
<td>加祢</td>
<td>-NEG.POT-</td>
<td>20:4346.5</td>
<td>-kane-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>peak</td>
<td>20:4345.4</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
<td>麻多祢</td>
<td>wait-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4339.5</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
<td>麻多祢</td>
<td>wait-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4340.2</td>
<td>mat-an-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.2.21 nwo syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nwo</td>
<td>努</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>nwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-wo</td>
<td>努</td>
<td>-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4341.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-wo</td>
<td>努</td>
<td>-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4344.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (2) and (3) show a retention of the original medial vowel /o/ in Suruga, and not an innovation.
2.5.3.2.22 nö syllables

The nö phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -COMP</td>
<td>20:4337.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -COMP</td>
<td>20:4338.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>14:3359a.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4337.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4338.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4341.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4341.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4341.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4342.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4345.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tönö</td>
<td>等乃 pavilion</td>
<td>20:4342.3</td>
<td>tönö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mwonö</td>
<td>毛能 thing</td>
<td>20:4337.4</td>
<td>mönö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tanöm-yi</td>
<td>多能美 trust-INF</td>
<td>14:3359a.4</td>
<td>tanöm-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.2.23 ra syllables

The ra phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yas-uram-u</td>
<td>夜須良卒 become_emaciated- TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4343.4</td>
<td>yas-uram-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wasur-am-u</td>
<td>和須良卒 forget-TENT-INF</td>
<td>20:4344.1</td>
<td>wasur-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N-pasira</td>
<td>婆之良 COP.ATTRpillar</td>
<td>20:4342.1</td>
<td>N-pasira</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kasira</td>
<td>可之良 head</td>
<td>20:4346.2</td>
<td>kasira</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>都豆良 kudzu</td>
<td>14:3359a.3</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>良 -PLUR</td>
<td>20:4345.4</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.2.24 ri syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 利 and 里.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>töri</td>
<td>等利 bird</td>
<td>20:4337.1</td>
<td>töri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>atöri</td>
<td>阿等利 brambling</td>
<td>20:4339.2</td>
<td>atöri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kapar-i</td>
<td>加波利 change-INF</td>
<td>20:4342.5</td>
<td>kapar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>利 -CL</td>
<td>20:4345.2</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>keyri</td>
<td>氣利 lapwing</td>
<td>20:4339.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ntkur-ir-u</td>
<td>豆久利 make-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>tukur-er-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>panar[e]-iswo</td>
<td>波奈利 part_from. INF-stone</td>
<td>20:4338.3</td>
<td>panare-[i]swo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>myiworri</td>
<td>美袁利 PN</td>
<td>20:4341.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kpyir-i</td>
<td>加比利 return-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.4</td>
<td>kpyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>等里 take-INF</td>
<td>20:4340.5</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>meykur-i</td>
<td>米久利 turn-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.3</td>
<td>meyNkur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (7) looks to be the result of a contraction of the sequence /e/ + /i/ > /ï/ in Suruga, while the WOJ form contracts this sequence of /e/ + /i/ > /e/. See section 2.8.1.2.1 for further discussion of this particular case. The WOJ form *panare-swo* is attested in MYS 15:3600.1.

The variance in (6) looks to be either a case of vowel raising or a contraction of the sequence *i + *a > i (the progressive marker was originally *-ar-, which attached to the infinitive *-i).  

---

68 NHB has 礼 *re*, but I follow GK here because it shows a raised vowel unattested in WOJ.
2.5.3.2.25 ru syllables

The ru phonograms attested are 流 and 留. I also include the attested disyllable phonogram suru here, which is 駿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes-uru</td>
<td>江須流</td>
<td>20:4345.3</td>
<td>yös-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>meyNkur-u</td>
<td>米具留</td>
<td>20:4339.1</td>
<td>meyNkur-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ar-u</td>
<td>阿流</td>
<td>20:4345.5</td>
<td>ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>op-uru</td>
<td>於布流</td>
<td>14:3359a.2</td>
<td>op-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-n-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>20:4340.3</td>
<td>-n-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ntukur-ir-u</td>
<td>豆久利流</td>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>tukur-er-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-Nt-uru</td>
<td>豆流</td>
<td>20:4346.5</td>
<td>-t-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>駿河</td>
<td>14:3359a.1</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>須河</td>
<td>20:4345.4</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.2.26 re syllables

The re phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>久礼</td>
<td>20:4344.3</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
<td>阿例</td>
<td>20:4346.3</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須禮</td>
<td>20:4346.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>20:4344.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>20:4344.3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>panare</td>
<td>波奈例</td>
<td>20:4338.4</td>
<td>panare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.27 rö syllables

The rö phonogram attested is 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warö</td>
<td>和呂</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4343.1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In section 2.5.3.2.26 we see the form ware ‘1.S,’ but here we find warö ‘id.’ This is similar to the other correspondences of Suruga e to WOJ ö that we saw previously with other coronal-initial syllables. I do not think this is a scribal mistake as it is an extremely common word in WOJ, and there is not a single example of such a mistake in WOJ.

Instead, I think this is more orthographic evidence that *ə merged with /e/ after coronals. This is also the most plausible explanation for the usage of both rö and re syllables to write Suruga /re/ syllables.

### 2.5.3.2.28 Summary of coronal-initial consonants

Based on these data, there is evidence for the following possible sound changes:

- a) *ə > e/ C[+coronal, (-nasal?)]
- b) *n_d > d
- c) *nž > z

Evidence for a) is quite strong, with multiple supporting attestations. Evidence for b) is also strong, but evidence for c) is comparatively weak, with only one supporting attestation.

---

69 There is no evidence that it occurred after /n/, though a nasal onset is not likely to block such a merger.
2.5.3.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are \textit{ya} and \textit{yu}. There are no phonographically attested \textit{ye}, \textit{ywo} or \textit{yō} syllables.

2.5.3.3.1 \textit{ya} syllables

The \textit{ya} phonogram attested is 夜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kuyasi-</td>
<td>夜志</td>
<td>be.regretful-</td>
<td>20:4337.5</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yas-uron-u</td>
<td>夜須良牟</td>
<td>become_emaciated-</td>
<td>20:4343.4</td>
<td>yas-uron-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.3.2 \textit{yu} syllables

The \textit{yu} phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4338.5</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yuk-yi</td>
<td>由伎</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.3</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yuk-yi</td>
<td>由伎</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4341.5</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yuk-yi</td>
<td>由伎</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yuk-yi</td>
<td>由伎</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.3.3 Summary of palatal initial syllables

There are no variances in these data. However, there is some quasi-phonographic evidence in the form of two kungana ye 江 syllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes-uru</td>
<td>江須流</td>
<td>approach-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4345.3</td>
<td>yös-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>江</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4340.1</td>
<td>yö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Normally I do not include kungana readings in my phonological analysis because they are not as reliable as true phonograms, but in this instance I think they may be of value. Both of the attested ye syllables are variant, as they correspond to WOJ yö syllables. This use of writing ye for yö, coupled with the total lack of any attested yö phonograms in Suruga may be evidence that the merger of *ə > e occurred not only after coronal-initials, as was shown in previous sections, but also after palatal-initials.

2.5.3.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ka, kyi, ku, kye, key, kwo, Nka, Nku, and Nkö. There are no phonographically attested kiy, kö, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nkye, Nkey, or Nkwo syllables.

2.5.3.4.1 ka syllables

The ka phonograms attested are 加 and 可.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈之</td>
<td>be.sad-</td>
<td>20:4338.5</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances in (8) and (9) involve a Suruga voiceless initial corresponding to a WOJ prenasalized voiced initial.

2.5.3.4.2 kyi syllables

The kyi phonograms attested are 加 and 岐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4337.5</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.3</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4341.5</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4344.2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>iswok-yi</td>
<td>已蘇岐</td>
<td>hurry-INF</td>
<td>20:4337.2</td>
<td>iswoNk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>於</td>
<td>leave-behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4341.3</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-k[a]-yimey</td>
<td>伎米</td>
<td>-POSS-beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4343.1</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kakyi-</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>TNG-</td>
<td>20:4346.2</td>
<td>kakyi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70 This is the NHB form. This character is missing from the GK manuscript (Mizushima 1996: 198).
All syllables are etymologically invariant with the vowel, but two are variant with the consonant, namely examples (6) and (8). In these examples the Suruga form has a voiceless /k/, whereas the WOJ forms have the prenasalized voiced /Nk/. This may be evidence of denasalization in Suruga. However, we will have to look at the rest of the data before any conclusions can be drawn.

2.5.3.4.3 ku syllables

The ku phonograms attested are 久 and 苦.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4345.5</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4346.3</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kupusi-</td>
<td>苦不志</td>
<td>be.longing-</td>
<td>20:4345.5</td>
<td>kwopiysi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
<td>久夜志</td>
<td>be.regretful-</td>
<td>20:4337.5</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>久礼</td>
<td>come-EV</td>
<td>20:4344.3</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>meykur-i</td>
<td>米久71利</td>
<td>encircle-INF</td>
<td>20:4339.3</td>
<td>meyNkur-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4338.5</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>[i]k-u</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4339.4</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-N-tuk-u</td>
<td>豆久</td>
<td>-LOC-immerge-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4340.4</td>
<td>-N-tuk-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ntukur-ir-u</td>
<td>豆久利留</td>
<td>make-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4342.2</td>
<td>tukur-er-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ntukusi</td>
<td>豆久志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4340.3</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>20:4339.1</td>
<td>kuni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) can be explained as a result of *o > u raising in Suruga, from the PJn form *kopoy-si-. It may be an example of a regressive vowel assimilation.

The variance in (12) shows a voiceless initial phonogram used to write a syllable that corresponds to a prenasalized voiced initial in WOJ.

71 This is character used in GK and RK. The later NHB manuscript has 具 Nku, which is invariant.
### 2.5.3.4.4 kye syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 價.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k-ye</td>
<td>價</td>
<td>come-INF-</td>
<td>20:4337.4</td>
<td>k-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variance may involve a retention in Suruga, in the form of an unraised reflex from a PJn infinitive *-e*. However, this infinitive is attested only once in Suruga, and is unattested elsewhere in EOJ or WOJ, which casts doubt on such a conclusion.

### 2.5.3.4.5 key syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>keyri</td>
<td>氣利</td>
<td>lapwing</td>
<td>20:4339.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>keymey</td>
<td>氣米</td>
<td>straw</td>
<td>20:4338.1</td>
<td>kömō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>20:4342.1</td>
<td>kiy/kō 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>keytöNpa</td>
<td>氣等婆</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>20:4346.4</td>
<td>kötöNpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again we find something very peculiar here. Three of the four attested *key* syllables are variant, as they correspond to a WOJ *kō* syllable (the other attestation is not phonographically attested in WOJ). The fact there are no phonographically attested *kō* syllables in Suruga is another relevant piece of evidence. It is clear that the most plausible explanation is that there was a merger of *kəy > /kə/ in this dialect, which patterns perfectly with what we saw with the diphthong *əy with other initials. Thus, all of the

72 The free form is *kiy*, while *kō* occurs before the genitive -nō. Both are WOJ reflexes from PJ *kəy 'tree.'
syllables shown above are phonemically /ka/, despite the fact they are written with a key phonogram. Due to the evidence in these data I conclude that *ə did not merge to *e after velars, it only merged after coronals (and possibly palatals).

2.5.3.4.6 kwo syllables

The kwo phonograms attested are 古 and 故.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kwo</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>20:4343.4</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kwo</td>
<td>故</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>20:4345.1</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.4.7 Nka syllables

The Nka phonograms attested are 我 and 河.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 taNkap-yi</td>
<td>多我比</td>
<td>differ-INF</td>
<td>14:3359a.5</td>
<td>taNkap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 suruNka</td>
<td>駿河</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3359a.1</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 suruNka</td>
<td>須流河</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4345.4</td>
<td>suruNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -Nka</td>
<td>我-POSS</td>
<td>20:4338.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -Nka</td>
<td>我-POSS</td>
<td>20:4344.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -Nka</td>
<td>我-POSS</td>
<td>20:4345.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -Nka</td>
<td>我-POSS</td>
<td>20:4346.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.3.4.8 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>meyNkur-u</td>
<td>米具留</td>
<td>encircle-ATTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.3.4.9 Nkö syllables

The Nkö phonogram attested is 其.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nkötö</td>
<td>其等</td>
<td>like</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.3.4.10 Summary of velar initial syllables

There is evidence for the following possible sound changes:

a) *ŋ > g

b) *əy > ə / [+velar]_

There are 4 examples supporting a), but none involving a prenasalized voiced initial phonogram to write a voiceless initial syllable. For this reason, I find it difficult to accept.

Evidence for change b) is very strong, so I accept it.

2.5.3.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested in Suruga are a, i, u and o.
2.5.3.5.1 *a* syllables

The *a* phonogram attested is 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>atöri</td>
<td>阿等利</td>
<td>20:4339.2</td>
<td>atöri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ar-u</td>
<td>阿流</td>
<td>20:4345.5</td>
<td>ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
<td>阿例</td>
<td>20:4346.3</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonograms attested are 已 and 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imasi</td>
<td>伊麻思</td>
<td>14:3359a.4</td>
<td>imasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imas-e</td>
<td>已麻勢</td>
<td>20:4342.4</td>
<td>imas-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ipyi</td>
<td>己比</td>
<td>20:4343.3</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>iswok-yi</td>
<td>已蘇岐</td>
<td>20:4337.2</td>
<td>iswoK-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>已麻</td>
<td>20:4337.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>已波比</td>
<td>20:4339.5</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>已波比</td>
<td>20:4340.2</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ip-yi</td>
<td>伊比</td>
<td>20:4346.4</td>
<td>ip-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>已蘇</td>
<td>20:4338.2</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.3.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.5.4 o syllables

The o phonogram attested is 於.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>omey</td>
<td>於米</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>20:4342.5</td>
<td>omō +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>op-uru</td>
<td>於布流</td>
<td>grow-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3359a.2</td>
<td>op-uru +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>於伎</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4341.3</td>
<td>ok-yi +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>osi</td>
<td>於思</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>14:3359a.2</td>
<td>iswo -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>omeyp-o</td>
<td>於米保</td>
<td>think-EV</td>
<td>20:4343.2</td>
<td>omöp-ey +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the variance in (4), the PJ form for ‘rock’ was likely *eso (‘stone’ was *esuy) (Vovin 2010: 127), so the Suruga form would show metathesis and raising of *e > i.

### 2.5.3.5.5 Summary of vowel syllables

Other than the controversial variance discussed in section 2.5.3.5.4, there are no other variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.6 A reconstruction of Suruga’s phoneme inventory

In the sections that follow below I present a reconstruction of the vowels and consonants of the province.
2.5.3.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless or prenasalized voiced obstruent along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excluding the unknown syllables, there are 17 variances out of 177 attested syllables.

While both the labial series lack sufficient evidence to conclude denasalization occurred, the t-/Nt-series shows good evidence for denazalization. In this pair we find eight variances out of 56 attested syllables (excluding unknowns). The s-/Ns-series does not pattern as we find only one variance out of 32 attested syllables (excluding unknowns).

The velar series shows five variances out of 50 attested syllables (excluding unknowns), not none in the Nk-initials. This makes me hesitant to accept denasalization for the velars.

Ultimately, while I do think the evidence is strong enough to argue for a shift of \(^{nd}d > d\), I cannot conclude the same for the other onset types.
2.5.3.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes attested in Suruga. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

Table 2-14: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Suruga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p /p/</td>
<td>t /t/</td>
<td>d /d/</td>
<td>k /k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s /s/</td>
<td>z /z/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m /m/</td>
<td>n /n/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td>r /ɾ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w /w/</td>
<td>y /j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.3.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes attested in Suruga.

Table 2-15: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Suruga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i /i/</td>
<td>u /u/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e /e/</td>
<td>ə /ə/</td>
<td>o /o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a /a/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ə/ only occurs after velars: after labials this merged with /o/ while after coronals and palatals this merged with /ɛ/. Notably absent is /ɔy/, as this merged with /ə/ prior to the other mergers. There is no evidence to reconstruct /i/ in this dialect, it may have merged with /i/, patterned with the fronting of /a/ after coronals and palatals, or it may have never existed in the first place. WOJ /i/ is a secondary development from a fusional reduction of the PJn diphthongs *əy, *uy, and *oy. If Suruga contracted all of these PJn diphthongs, then there would have been no development of an /i/ phoneme.
2.5.3.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

Suruga shows a great number of phonological innovations. I accept the following innovations for this province:

a) *əy > ø

b) *ə > e / [-labial, -velar]_

c) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

d) *ia > i

e) *au > a

f) *ua > u

g) *o > u (sporadic)

h) *uy > u

i) *d > d

j) *e > i (sporadic)

Change a) occurred before changes b) and c). Change (j) only occurs in one root (*osi ‘rock’), after this root underwent a vowel metathesis.

2.5.3.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

We find an unraised reflex of PJn *o in the verbal attributive -o attested once.

2.5.3.6.6 Phonological processes

The following phonological processes can be seen in Suruga:

a) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial]_

b) Palatalization (*ə > e / C[-labial, -velar]_
c) Monophthongization via deletion of the second segment of a PJn
diphthong or vowel sequence (*əy > ə, *ia > i, *au > a, *ua > u, *uy > u)
d) Denasalization (*n > d)
e) Vowel raising (*o > u, *e > i)

It is clear there were three stages in the development from PJn to Suruga. First, a stage of contraction of PJn diphthongs and vowel sequences in which the second vowel was deleted. Later, there were the vowel mergers that involved palatalization or labialization, as well as the consonantal shift due to denasalization of [-labial, -velar] obstruents. Finally, there was a raising of *o > u and *e > i in some roots. This last change may have been an areal feature Suruga picked up from neighboring COJ dialects due to contact.

2.5.4 Kamitukeno

There are a total of twenty-six Kamitukeno poems, making it the best attested of all the provinces. The poems are 3402, 3404, 3405a, 3405b, 3406, 3408-3420, 3423, and 3434-3436 from Book 14, and 4404-4407 from Book 20. Kamitukeno was sandwiched between Sinano province to the west and Simotukeno province to the east, with Mitinöku to the northeast and Muzasi province to the south.

2.5.4.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, Npa, Npyi, ma, myi, miy, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa, wi, we, and wo. There are no phonographically attested Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npo, or mye syllables.
### 2.5.4.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonograms attested are 波 and 泊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pari</td>
<td>波里</td>
<td>alder</td>
<td>14:3410.2</td>
<td>pari+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pari</td>
<td>波里</td>
<td>alder</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>pari+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ar apar-wo</td>
<td>安良波路</td>
<td>appear-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3414.4</td>
<td>ar apar-uru+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pasi</td>
<td>波之</td>
<td>be.adorable</td>
<td>14:3408.4</td>
<td>pasi+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pasi</td>
<td>波之</td>
<td>bridge</td>
<td>14:3420.2</td>
<td>pasi+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pap-yi</td>
<td>波比</td>
<td>crawl-INF</td>
<td>14:3434.4</td>
<td>pap-yi+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>para+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3410.2</td>
<td>para+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -N-kapa</td>
<td>波河</td>
<td>-GEN-river</td>
<td>14:3413.1</td>
<td>-N-kapa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4406.1</td>
<td>ipye-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>14:3436.5</td>
<td>pa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 ap-ana-m-wo</td>
<td>安波奈毛</td>
<td>meet-DES- TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3405a.4</td>
<td>ap-ana-m-u+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ap-ana-m-ö</td>
<td>安波奈母</td>
<td>meet-DES- TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3405b.4</td>
<td>ap-ana-m-u+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 apa</td>
<td>安波</td>
<td>millet</td>
<td>14:3405b.3</td>
<td>apa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4404.1</td>
<td>nanipa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 payas-i</td>
<td>波夜志</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>14:3406.3</td>
<td>payas-i+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 pyik-apa</td>
<td>比可波</td>
<td>pull-COND</td>
<td>14:3416.4</td>
<td>pyik-aNpa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 kapa</td>
<td>可波治</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>14:3405a.3</td>
<td>kapa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 kapa</td>
<td>可波</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>14:3413.2</td>
<td>kapa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 panas-i</td>
<td>波奈之</td>
<td>separate-NML</td>
<td>14:3420.3</td>
<td>panat-i+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 papey</td>
<td>波倍</td>
<td>stretch.INF</td>
<td>14:3411.2</td>
<td>papey+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3402.3</td>
<td>pa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3405a.4</td>
<td>pa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3408.2</td>
<td>pa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3418.4</td>
<td>pa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3418.5</td>
<td>pa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73 I use the NHB form here. GK has an obscure homophonous variant 伯 *pa* that appears to be unattested in WOJ (Omodaka et al 1967: 899). It is likely a mistake for 泊.
The first variance, found in (10), involves the correspondence of a *pa* syllable to a WOJ *pye* syllable in the word for ‘home.’ This root has a range of orthographic variations across EOJ provinces, including *ipye, ipa,* and *ipi.* I previously hypothesized that these descend from PJn *ipia ‘home.’ The Kamitukanen form could thus be explained as the result of a contraction of the first segment of the diphthong (likely through a stage of palatalization of the consonant /p/, thus *ipia > *ipia > ipa), leading to the output *ipa* that we find in these data.

The second variance is the conditional suffix -*apa* we find in (17), which corresponds to WOJ -*aNpa*.

### 2.5.4.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.
The variance in (1) involves a Kamitukeno *pyi* syllable corresponding to a WOJ *piy* syllable.

### 2.5.4.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 非.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kwopi-</td>
<td>古非</td>
<td>long_for-</td>
<td>14:3415.4</td>
<td>kwopi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 piymwo</td>
<td>非毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>20:4404.4</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 piymwo</td>
<td>非毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>20:4405.3</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances found in (2) and (3) are consistent in that they involve the same correspondence (Kamitukeno *pyi*: WOJ *piy*) and occur in the same root attested in two different poems. Furthermore, example (5) in the previous section involved the use of a

---

74 I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*, which is invariant.
The *piy phonogram to write a WOJ *piy syllable. This evidence may be indicative of a merger of *i > i in this province.

### 2.5.4.1.4 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonograms attested are 布 and 不.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>14:3420.2</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pur-wo</td>
<td>布路</td>
<td>fall-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3423.3</td>
<td>pur-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ap-u</td>
<td>安布</td>
<td>meet-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3413.4</td>
<td>ap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 siratöpopu</td>
<td>志良登保布</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>14:3436.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -n-ap-umö</td>
<td>奈布母</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-EXCL</td>
<td>14:3419.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 otapapu</td>
<td>於多波布</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3409.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pur-as-i</td>
<td>布良思</td>
<td>wave-HON-INF</td>
<td>14:3402.5</td>
<td>pur-as-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.5 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敞.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 <em>-pye</em></td>
<td>敞</td>
<td>–CL</td>
<td>14:3435.5</td>
<td>*-pye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 <em>ipye</em></td>
<td>伊敞</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ap-yer-u</td>
<td>安敞流</td>
<td>meet-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3413.5</td>
<td>ap-yer-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 omwop-ye</td>
<td>於毛敞婆</td>
<td>think-EV</td>
<td>14:3435.5</td>
<td>omöp-ey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75 While the iterative cannot follow the negative in WOJ, both the iterative -ap- and the exclamative -umo are attested in WOJ, so I mark them as invariant in this example.
The variance found in (4) may indicate the merger of *əy with /e/.

### 2.5.4.1.6 pey syllables

The *pey* phonogram attested is 倍.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nkapey</td>
<td>賀倍</td>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>14:3420.5</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>napey</td>
<td>奈倍</td>
<td>seedling</td>
<td>14:3418.2</td>
<td>napey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>napey</td>
<td>奈倍</td>
<td>seedling</td>
<td>14:3418.3</td>
<td>napey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>papey</td>
<td>波倍</td>
<td>stretch.INF</td>
<td>14:3411.2</td>
<td>papey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While (1) is suspect due to its prenasalized voiced onset, we must keep in mind we can find particles in WOJ that also begin with a prenasalized onset (i.e. *Ntani ‘RPT’*). The lack of an attestation of this morpheme in WOJ prevents us from delving any further into the etymology.

### 2.5.4.1.7 po syllables

The *po* phonograms attested are 把 and 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kapo</td>
<td>可把</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>14:3411.5</td>
<td>kapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>於保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>14:3417.3</td>
<td>opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>siratöpopu</td>
<td>志良登保布</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>14:3436.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3409.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3410.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3419.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

76 I follow NHB here. GK has an error of 於 o.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ikapo</th>
<th>伊可抱</th>
<th>PN</th>
<th>14:3423.2</th>
<th>–</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3435.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kuruwo</td>
<td>久路保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3412.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kapoya</td>
<td>可保夜</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.8 Npa syllables

The Npa phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆</td>
<td>-COND</td>
<td>14:3414.5</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆</td>
<td>-CONJ</td>
<td>14:3435.5</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-k-aNpa</td>
<td>加婆</td>
<td>-AVATTR-COND</td>
<td>14:3410.5</td>
<td>-kyeNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.9 Npyi syllables

The Npyi phonogram attested is 姥.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多姥</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4406.4</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

---

77 I follow NHB here. GK has an error of 右 o.
2.5.4.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonograms attested are 麻 and 萬.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mas-ar-e</td>
<td>麻左礼</td>
<td>be.superior-PROG-EV</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>mas-ar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kuma</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>hidden_area</td>
<td>14:3419.4</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ma-</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>INT-</td>
<td>14:3404.2</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yama</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3402.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yama</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3408.1</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yama</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3434.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 yama</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3436.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 yama</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3436.3</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ima</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>14:3418.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ima</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 makura</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4406.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 masaka</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>14:3410.5</td>
<td>masaka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ama</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>14:3409.2</td>
<td>ama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 yar-am-aku</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>send-TENT-NML</td>
<td>20:4406.5</td>
<td>yar-am-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 numa</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>swamp</td>
<td>14:3415.2</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 numa</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>swamp</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 numa</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>swamp</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 -maNte</td>
<td>萬代</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>14:3414.4</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 -mate</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4404.2</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 kanwoma Ntuku</td>
<td>可努麻豆久</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3409.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 mat-am-u</td>
<td>麻多牟</td>
<td>wait-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3406.4</td>
<td>mat-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.1.11 *mi* syllables

The *mi* phonogram attested is 美.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.12 miy syllables

The *miy* phonogram attested is 末.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nömiy</td>
<td>末</td>
<td>RPT</td>
<td>14:3405a.5</td>
<td>nömiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.4.13 mu syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 武 and 卞.

---

78 I follow RK here. NHB has 許 kò, with a character 許 miy linked to it above the line, indicating 許 kò is a mistake.
Form (2) is of particular interest, as it shows an initial m- corresponding to zero in the WOJ form. Vovin (2005: 57) shows this correspondence with WOJ uma ‘horse’: EOJ muma ‘id,’ and this looks to be another corroborating example.

2.5.4.1.14 mey syllables

The mey phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-simey</td>
<td>志米</td>
<td>-CAUS.INF</td>
<td>14:3409.5</td>
<td>-simey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saNtamey</td>
<td>佐太米</td>
<td>decide.INF-</td>
<td>14:3418.4</td>
<td>saNtamey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motömey</td>
<td>物得米</td>
<td>search_for.INF-</td>
<td>14:3415.5</td>
<td>motömey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.1.15 mwo syllables

The mwo phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The overwhelming number of variances between Kamitukeno mwo and WOJ mö make it rather clear that a merger of *ə > o / C[+labial]_ occurred.

### 2.5.4.1.16 mö syllables

The mö phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imö</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4405.1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kumö</td>
<td>久母</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>14:3409.2</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>se-n-ap-umö</td>
<td>西奈布母</td>
<td>do-NEG-ITER-EXCL</td>
<td>14:3419.5</td>
<td>-umö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

79 I follow GK here. NHB has 母, which is invariant.
80 I follow GK here. NHB has 母, which is invariant.
While there is a higher rate of invariance seen here than in section 2.5.4.1.15, the two variances above further support the hypothesis that a merger of *ə > o occurred after [+labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.4.1.17 *wa* syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.18 *wi* syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 請.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 wiNte</td>
<td>為提 (for)</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>wiNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ipawi</td>
<td>伊波為 (as)</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3416.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 wiNkusa</td>
<td>為具 (as)</td>
<td>rush_plant</td>
<td>14:3417.3</td>
<td>wiNkusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.19 *we* syllables

The *we* phonogram attested is 恵.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 we</td>
<td>恵 (as)</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3406.4</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 uwe</td>
<td>宇恵 (as)</td>
<td>sow.NML</td>
<td>14:3415.3</td>
<td>uwe</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.20 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -wo</td>
<td>乎 (as)</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3402.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -wo</td>
<td>乎 (as)</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.1.21 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

a) *ɨ > i

b) *ia > a

c) *mb > b

d) *əy > e

e) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

Change a) refers to the proto-form in some older variety of Kamitukeno dialect (or possibly proto-EOJ), rather than PJn. Evidence supporting change a) can only be seen after /p/ in these data, but such a change is not likely to be conditioned after a labial initial. It is supported by multiple examples. However, there is something very important we should not overlook: in these data there are no examples of any morphemes that correspond to WOJ morphemes with a /i/ vowel. As WOJ /i/ is a secondary development
that did not exist in PJn, we cannot conclude it ever existed in Kamitukeno until other syllable types are examined.

I find change b) to be the best explanation for the form of the root /ipa/ ‘home.’ The development was likely a gradual one of *ipia > *ipįa > ipa. In addition, ipa is attested in other EOJ provinces.

Evidence supporting c) is found in only one attestation, in the /pa/ phonograms. Due to this, along with the fact it does not occur in any /Np/ initial phonograms, I reject it.

There is only one example supporting change d), and it may be a misspelling, but evidence from other syllable types needs to be examined before we can make a conclusion.

There is more than enough evidence to conclude change e) is plausible.

Lastly, Kamitukeno also shows an important retention, seen in the form mura-napey ‘fortunetelling seedling.’ The initial /m/ in mura was lost in WOJ, as the cognate WOJ form is ura-napey ‘id.’

2.5.4.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, two, tō, Nta, Ntį, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, Ntō, sa, si, su, se, swo, sō, Nsa, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nsō, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nō, ra, ri, ru, re, rwo, and rō. There are no phonographically attested Nswo or Nsō syllables.
2.5.4.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 taye-</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>break-</td>
<td>14:3434.5</td>
<td>taye-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>break.INF</td>
<td>20:4404.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 taye</td>
<td>多要</td>
<td>break.INF</td>
<td>14:3416.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 watar-i</td>
<td>和 多里</td>
<td>cross-INF</td>
<td>14:3413.3</td>
<td>watar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 taNta</td>
<td>多太</td>
<td>direct</td>
<td>14:3413.3</td>
<td>taNta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -N-kata</td>
<td>我 多</td>
<td>-GEN-vine</td>
<td>14:3412.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4406.4</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pyita</td>
<td>比 多</td>
<td>one (?)</td>
<td>14:3435.5</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 taNtöri</td>
<td>多祢里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405a.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 nipyita</td>
<td>多比多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3408.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 nipyita</td>
<td>多比 多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3436.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 taNtöri</td>
<td>多祢里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405b.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 taNkwo</td>
<td>多胡</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3411.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 tat-u</td>
<td>多都</td>
<td>rise-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3414.3</td>
<td>tat-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>rise-NML</td>
<td>14:3406.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 tane</td>
<td>多祢</td>
<td>seed</td>
<td>14:3415.5</td>
<td>tane</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 otapapu</td>
<td>於 多波布</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3409.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 mat-am-u</td>
<td>麻 多牟</td>
<td>wait-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3406.4</td>
<td>mat-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 atari</td>
<td>安 多里</td>
<td>vicinity</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>atari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (8) involves a Kamitukeno ta syllable and a WOJ tō syllable. A merger hypothesis will not work here, so it is either a misspelling, or one of the two languages sporadically changed the vowel here. I think the sporadic change hypothesis is the most plausible here, but ultimately there is little we can do but speculate in this case.

2.5.4.2.2 ti syllables

The ti phonogram attested is 知.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.4.2.3 tu syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>都伎</td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>14:3435.4</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tukey</td>
<td>都氣</td>
<td>be. attached. INF</td>
<td>20:4404.4</td>
<td>tukey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tukey</td>
<td>都氣</td>
<td>be. attached. INF</td>
<td>20:4405.3</td>
<td>tukey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tuNk-yi</td>
<td>都藝</td>
<td>continue-INF</td>
<td>14:3409.2</td>
<td>tuNk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>都追</td>
<td>-COOR</td>
<td>14:3416.4</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>都豆良</td>
<td>kudzu</td>
<td>14:3434.2</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-t-u</td>
<td>都</td>
<td>-PERF-FIN</td>
<td>14:3402.5</td>
<td>-t-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-t-u</td>
<td>都</td>
<td>-PERF-FIN</td>
<td>14:3418.4</td>
<td>-t-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-t-u</td>
<td>都</td>
<td>-PERF-FIN</td>
<td>14:3419.4</td>
<td>-t-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3404.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405a.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nkamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>賀美都家野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3412.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3418.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3420.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3423.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都家野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3434.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>kamyitukeyno</td>
<td>可美都氣乃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405b.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>kamyitukeyno</td>
<td>可美都氣野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3406.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 刃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -te</td>
<td>刃</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3405a.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -te</td>
<td>刃</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3414.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -te</td>
<td>刃</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4404.2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -te</td>
<td>刃</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3411.2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -mate</td>
<td>麻刃</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4404.2</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (5) involves the use of phonogram with a voiceless onset to write a morpheme that has a prenasalized voiced onset in WOJ.

2.5.4.2.5 *two* syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 twone</td>
<td>刀祢</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3413.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 itwo</td>
<td>伊刀</td>
<td>thread</td>
<td>20:4405.4</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 two</td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>UNC (girl?)</td>
<td>14:3409.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.6 tö syllables

The tö phonograms attested are 等, 得, and 登.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tömō</td>
<td>等母</td>
<td>CNJ 20:4405.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tömō</td>
<td>登母</td>
<td>CNJ 14:3406.5</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tökö</td>
<td>登許</td>
<td>constant</td>
<td>14:3436.5</td>
<td>tökö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>COP 20:4404.2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV 14:3415.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV 14:3419.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV 14:3435.5</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV 20:4405.2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV 20:4405.5</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV 20:4406.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>DV81 14:3409.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kötō</td>
<td>許登</td>
<td>matter 14:3418.4</td>
<td>kötō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>siratōpopu</td>
<td>志良登保布</td>
<td>MK [UNC] 14:3436.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>one 14:3405a.5</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person 14:3409.4</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person 20:4406.2</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>比登</td>
<td>person 14:3405b.5</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>motōmey</td>
<td>物得米</td>
<td>search_for. INF 14:3415.5</td>
<td>motōmey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>登里</td>
<td>take-INF 14:3420.3</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>tōk-aNsi</td>
<td>等可自</td>
<td>undo-NEG.TENT 20:4405.5</td>
<td>tōk-aNsi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tösi</td>
<td>登之</td>
<td>year 14:3406.5</td>
<td>tösi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

81 It is is not totally clear if this is the DV or not as the following verb is of unknown meaning. It could also be a focus particle, copula, or a comitative case marker. See Chapter 9 for more discussion.
### 2.5.4.2.7 Nta syllables

The *Nta* phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siNta</td>
<td>志太</td>
<td>CNJ 20:4407.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>saNtamey</td>
<td>佐大米</td>
<td>determine.INF 14:3418.4</td>
<td>saNtamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>taNta</td>
<td>多太</td>
<td>direct 14:3413.3</td>
<td>taNta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>muNtak-yi</td>
<td>武太伎</td>
<td>embrace-NML 14:3404.3</td>
<td>muNtak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.8 Nti syllables

The *Nti* phonogram attested is 治.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-ti</td>
<td>治</td>
<td>-GEN-road 14:3405a.3</td>
<td>-N-ti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-N-ti</td>
<td>治</td>
<td>-GEN-road 14:3405b.3</td>
<td>-N-ti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-N-ti</td>
<td>治</td>
<td>-GEN-road 20:4404.1</td>
<td>-N-ti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.9 Ntu syllables

The *Ntu* phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>都豆良</td>
<td>kudzu 14:3434.2</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanwomaNtuku</td>
<td>可努麻豆久</td>
<td>UNC 14:3409.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>anikuyasiNtuku</td>
<td>阿尔久夜斯豆久</td>
<td>UNC 14:3411.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.4.2.10 *Nte* syllables

The *Nte* phonograms attested are 提, 代, and 恒.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wiNte</td>
<td>為提&lt;sup&gt;82&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>wiNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kaNte-</td>
<td>可提</td>
<td>-POT-</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>-kate-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>素恆</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>14:3402.4</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>萬代</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>14:3414.4</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The single variance seen in (2) involves a prenasalized voiced obstruent corresponding to a WOJ voiceless onset. This may indicated prenasalized voiced obstruents shifted to voiced obstruents.

2.5.4.2.11 *Ntwo* syllables

The *Ntwo* phonogram attested is 度.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Nt-worwo</td>
<td>度路</td>
<td>-go_out-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3419.3</td>
<td>-Nt-uru</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woNtwo</td>
<td>乎度</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405a.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance as glossed in (1) is controversial, though since this form comes after the verb *omop*-yi ‘think-INF,’ contextually the above analysis makes sense. The problem here is positing the attributive suffix /-oro/, which is unattested anywhere else in Japonic, and is only found in this one poem. See 5.5.2.2.2 for further discussion.

---

<sup>82</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has an obscure variant 堤.
2.5.4.2.12 *Ntö* syllables

The *Ntö* phonograms attested are 柺 and 騰.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -Ntömwo</td>
<td>柺毛</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
<td>14:3411.3</td>
<td>-Ntömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -Ntö</td>
<td>柺⁸³</td>
<td>-CONJ</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>-Ntö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -Ntö</td>
<td>騰</td>
<td>-CONJ</td>
<td>14:3420.4</td>
<td>-Ntö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 taNtöri</td>
<td>多栂里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405a.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 taNtöri</td>
<td>多栂里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405b.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 aNtö</td>
<td>安栂⁸⁶</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>14:3404.5</td>
<td>naNtö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.13 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sakar-u</td>
<td>左可流</td>
<td>be.far_from-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3420.5</td>
<td>sakar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mas-ar-e</td>
<td>麻左礼</td>
<td>be.superior-PROG-EV</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>mas-ar-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 saya</td>
<td>佐夜</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>14:3402.5</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 saNtamey</td>
<td>佐太米</td>
<td>decide.INF</td>
<td>14:3418.4</td>
<td>saNtamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kusa</td>
<td>久佐</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>20:4406.3</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sak-ure</td>
<td>佐久礼</td>
<td>keep_apart-EV</td>
<td>14:3420.4</td>
<td>sak-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sa-</td>
<td>佐</td>
<td>LOC-</td>
<td>14:3414.5</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sa-</td>
<td>佐</td>
<td>LOC-</td>
<td>14:3414.5</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 yasaka</td>
<td>夜左可</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 saNWOTA</td>
<td>佐野田</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3418.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 saNWO</td>
<td>佐野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3420.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³³ I follow NHB here. GK has 柺, which looks like a mistake.
³⁴ I follow NHB here. GK has 柺, which looks like a mistake.
³⁵ I follow NHB here. GK has 柺, which looks like a mistake.
³⁶ I follow NHB here. GK has 柺, which looks like a mistake.
The variance in (2) is due to a different development in the morphophonology of Kamitukeno and WOJ: Kamitukeno shows contraction of the sequence \(-i\) ar- ‘-INF exist-’ > -ar-, while WOJ shows fusion of \(-i\) ar- > -er-.

### 2.5.4.2.14 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 師, 志, 之, 斯, 吹, and 思.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yör-asi</td>
<td>与良志</td>
<td>approach-ADJ</td>
<td>14:3435.4</td>
<td>yör-asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -si</td>
<td>思</td>
<td>-AVFIN</td>
<td>14:3405b.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈師</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3412.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pasi</td>
<td>波之</td>
<td>be.adorable. AVFIN</td>
<td>14:3408.4</td>
<td>pasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kanasi</td>
<td>可奈思</td>
<td>be.adorable. AVFIN</td>
<td>14:3408.5</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kwopyisi-</td>
<td>古比之</td>
<td>be.longing_for-</td>
<td>20:4407.4</td>
<td>kwopyisi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kurusi</td>
<td>久流之</td>
<td>be.painful. AVFIN</td>
<td>20:4406.4</td>
<td>kurusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pasi</td>
<td>波之</td>
<td>bridge</td>
<td>14:3420.2</td>
<td>pasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -simey</td>
<td>志米</td>
<td>-CAUS.INF</td>
<td>14:3409.5</td>
<td>-simey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 siNta</td>
<td>志太</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>20:4407.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 s-i</td>
<td>之都</td>
<td>do-INF</td>
<td>14:3419.4</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 s-i</td>
<td>思</td>
<td>do-INF</td>
<td>14:3405a.5</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 si</td>
<td>師</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3408.4</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 si</td>
<td>思</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3410.5</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>思良受</td>
<td>know-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>14:3413.2</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 sinwop-yi</td>
<td>志濃比</td>
<td>long_for-INF</td>
<td>20:4405.2</td>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 siratöpopu</td>
<td>志良登保布</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>14:3436.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 payas-i</td>
<td>波夜</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>14:3406.3</td>
<td>payas-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 -si</td>
<td>思</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>14:3434.4</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 -si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4404.4</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.15 su syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yōs-ure</td>
<td>与須礼</td>
<td>approach-EV</td>
<td>14:3411.3</td>
<td>yos-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nōsu</td>
<td>能須</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>14:3413.4</td>
<td>-nasu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>14:3419.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wasur-aye</td>
<td>和須良延</td>
<td>forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4407.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 suNkiy</td>
<td>須宜</td>
<td>pass.INF</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 usupyi</td>
<td>宇須比</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3402.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 usupyi</td>
<td>宇須比</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4407.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.16 se syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 勢, 西, and 世.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

87 See Chapter 9 for a discussion of this unclear form.
88 I follow GK and RK here. NHB has 次 *si*. 

176
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.17 _swo_ syllables

The _swo_ phonograms attested are 蘇 and 素.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 swo</td>
<td>素</td>
<td>hemp</td>
<td>14:3404.2</td>
<td>swo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 aswo</td>
<td>安蘇</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3404.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 aswo</td>
<td>安蘇</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3434.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 swoyi</td>
<td>蘇比</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>14:3410.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 swoyi</td>
<td>蘇比</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 swoNte</td>
<td>素佃</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>14:3402.4</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>+</td>
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</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.18 _sō_ syllables

The _sō_ phonogram attested is 獸.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem.</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

89 I follow NHB here. GK has 獸.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.19 Nsa syllables

The Nsa phonogram attested is 射.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N-sakar-i</td>
<td>射可里</td>
<td>COP.INF-be.far_from-INF</td>
<td>14:3412.5</td>
<td>N-sakar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iNsa</td>
<td>伊射</td>
<td>INTER ('well')</td>
<td>14:3409.5</td>
<td>iNsa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.20 Nsi syllables

The Nsi phonogram attested is 自.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nwoNsi</td>
<td>努自</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td>14:3414.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tök-aNsi</td>
<td>等可自</td>
<td>undo-NEG.TENT</td>
<td>20:4405.5</td>
<td>tök-aNsi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

90 I follow NHB here. GK has 目 MEY ‘eye,’ which is clearly a mistake, as it is only used a semantogram in the MYS, the word ‘eye’ makes no sense in this part of the poem, and it would not be grammatical.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.21 Nsu syllables

The Nsu phonogram attested is 受.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>know-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>14:3413.2</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuNsu</td>
<td>kudzu</td>
<td>14:3412.3</td>
<td>kuNsu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>14:3406.5</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.22 Nse syllables

The Nse phonogram attested is 是.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aNse</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>14:3434.5</td>
<td>naNse</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.4.2.23 na syllables

The na phonograms attested are 奈 and 那.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuk-ana</td>
<td>attach-DES</td>
<td>14:3408.2</td>
<td>tuk-ana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3412.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>be.adorable. AVFIN</td>
<td>14:3408.5</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nar-u</td>
<td>become-FIN</td>
<td>20:4405.4</td>
<td>nar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.24 ni syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem.</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>布那</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>14:3420.2</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>COP-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3408.4</td>
<td>nar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3402.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3405b.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>se-n-ana</td>
<td>奈奈那</td>
<td>do-NEG-DES</td>
<td>14:3436.4</td>
<td>se-n-ana</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4407.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>那</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3408.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ap-ana-</td>
<td>安波奈</td>
<td>meet-DES</td>
<td>14:3405b.4</td>
<td>ap-ana-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ap-an-am-wo</td>
<td>安波奈毛</td>
<td>meet-NEG-</td>
<td>14:3405a.4</td>
<td>ap-an-am-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>NEG.IMP-</td>
<td>14:3410.4</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>NEG.IMP-</td>
<td>14:3416.5</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-n-ap-umö</td>
<td>奈布母</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-EXCL</td>
<td>14:3419.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>not.exist-</td>
<td>14:3405b.5</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4404.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>inara</td>
<td>伊奈良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>tuna</td>
<td>都奈</td>
<td>rope</td>
<td>14:3411.2</td>
<td>tuna</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>napey</td>
<td>奈倍</td>
<td>seedling</td>
<td>14:3418.2</td>
<td>napey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>napey</td>
<td>奈倍</td>
<td>seedling</td>
<td>14:3418.3</td>
<td>napey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>panas-i</td>
<td>波奈之</td>
<td>separate-NML</td>
<td>14:3420.3</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
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<td>奈可</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3419.2</td>
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<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>na-94</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>14:3415.3</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>namiyi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>14:3413.4</td>
<td>namiyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

91 This is may be related to WOJ/naka/ ‘inside,’ ‘in,’ in which case it would be invariant.
92 Even though an identical WOJ form, in the sense of linear morphology, is not attested or possible, it is clear that the consonant and vowel are phonemically invariant with the WOJ morphs, which appear in the opposite order of -ap-an-.
93 Mizushima (1996: 116) speculates this is na-[N]ka ‘2.S.POSS.’ See Chapter 9 for a discussion on this unclear section of the poem.
94 This appears in the form kwo-na-N-kiy ‘DIM-water-GEN-lee.’ This form also appears once in WOJ (MYS 3:407.3).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF 14:3402.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF 14:3408.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF 14:3418.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF 14:3436.5</td>
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<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
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<td>-DAT</td>
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<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3405a.3</td>
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<td>-ni</td>
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<td>尔</td>
<td>PERF-INF 14:3434.4</td>
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<td>PERF-INF 20:4404.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>nipyita</td>
<td>尔比多</td>
<td>PN 14:3408.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>nipyita</td>
<td>尔比多</td>
<td>PN 14:3436.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波</td>
<td>PN 20:4404.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>anikuyasi Ntuku</td>
<td>阿尔久夜斯豆久</td>
<td>UNC 14:3411.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.4.2.25 nu syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ak-an-u</td>
<td>安加奴 be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>ak-an-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kyinu</td>
<td>吉奴 garment</td>
<td>14:3435.3</td>
<td>kyinu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴 -NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4407.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴 -NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>奴礼 sleep-EV</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>奴麻 swamp</td>
<td>14:3415.2</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>奴奴麻 swamp</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>奴麻 swamp</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>numa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>奴礼 untangle-</td>
<td>14:3416.4</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.26 ne syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kane</td>
<td>加祢 consider.INF</td>
<td>14:3410.4</td>
<td>kane</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-e</td>
<td>祢 -DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3416.5</td>
<td>-n-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nemwokörö</td>
<td>祢毛己呂 intimacy</td>
<td>14:3410.3</td>
<td>nemwokörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢 peak</td>
<td>14:3408.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢 peak</td>
<td>14:3412.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢 peak</td>
<td>14:3423.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢 peak</td>
<td>14:3411.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>twone</td>
<td>刀祢 PN</td>
<td>14:3413.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 I follow NHB here. GK has 努 nwo, but I think this is a mistake, because in GK the same word *numa* 'swamp' is written with 奴 *nu* in the first syllable in both the preceding poem (3415) and the following (3417) poem.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
<td>志濃比</td>
<td>long_for-INF</td>
<td>20:4405.2</td>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3418.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3420.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3423.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.27 nwo syllables

The *nwo* phonograms attested are 濃 and 努.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
<td>志濃比</td>
<td>long_for-INF</td>
<td>20:4405.2</td>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3418.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3420.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都気 努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3423.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwoNsi³⁹⁷</td>
<td>努自</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td>14:3414.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.28 nö syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

---

³⁹⁷ NHB has 奴 nu, which would be variant.
³⁹⁷ Example (8) does indeed have a markedly different vowel in the first syllable, as compared to the modern Japanese form *niji* ‘rainbow,’ however this root is not phonographically attested in WOJ, so no synchronic comparison can be made. It is clear that the MJ reflex *niji* ‘id.’ must have undergone an irregular development from PJn *no*’zi, involving a regressive vowel assimilation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 monöwo</td>
<td>物能乎</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>14:3434.4</td>
<td>mönöwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -nösu</td>
<td>能須</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>14:3413.4</td>
<td>-nasu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>14:3423.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3402.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3402.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3404.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3405a.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3410.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3410.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3412.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3412.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3413.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3414.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3414.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3415.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3418.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3418.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3420.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3423.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3435.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3436.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3436.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4407.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3405b.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3406.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3411.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 -nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 -nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN(?)</td>
<td>14:3402.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 kamyitukey nö</td>
<td>可美都氣乃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405b.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 nömiy</td>
<td>能未</td>
<td>RPT</td>
<td>14:3405a.5</td>
<td>nömiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 sönö</td>
<td>曽能</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>14:3411.5</td>
<td>sönö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance we find in (2) is a correspondence of Kamitukeno nō and WOJ na. The comparative form -nōsu is well attested throughout EOJ, and looks to be the result of a phonologically reduced vowel (*a > ə). See section 3.3.1.12.2 for further discussion and examples.

Form in (34) is internally variant, as other attested forms include kamyitukyenwo and kamyitukeynwo.

2.5.4.2.29 ra syllables

The ra phonograms attested are 良 and 羅.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 arapar-wo</td>
<td>安良波路</td>
<td>appear-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3414.4</td>
<td>arapar-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yōr-asi</td>
<td>与良之</td>
<td>approach-ADJ</td>
<td>14:3435.4</td>
<td>yōr-asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -ra</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3405a.4</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -ra</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3408.4</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -ra</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3412.4</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3410.2</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 wasur-aye-</td>
<td>和須良延</td>
<td>forget-PASS-</td>
<td>20:4407.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 mura</td>
<td>武良</td>
<td>fortune_telling</td>
<td>14:3418.3</td>
<td>mura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 mura</td>
<td>武良</td>
<td>group</td>
<td>14:3404.2</td>
<td>mura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>思良受</td>
<td>know-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>14:3413.2</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 tuNtura</td>
<td>都豆良</td>
<td>kudzu</td>
<td>14:3434.2</td>
<td>tuNtura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 siratöpopu</td>
<td>志良登保布</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>14:3436.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4406.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 -ra</td>
<td>羅</td>
<td>-PLUR(?)</td>
<td>14:3409.5</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 inara</td>
<td>伊奈良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 yar-am-aku</td>
<td>夜良麻久</td>
<td>send-TENT-NML</td>
<td>20:4406.5</td>
<td>yar-am-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 ura</td>
<td>宇良</td>
<td>tip</td>
<td>14:3436.4</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98 I follow NHB here. GK has 己 kō, which looks like a mistake.

185
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.30 ri syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 理, 利, and 里.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>波里</td>
<td>14:3410.2</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>波里</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yōsōr-i</td>
<td>余曾利</td>
<td>14:3408.3</td>
<td>yōsōr-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kumwor-i</td>
<td>久毛理</td>
<td>20:4407.1</td>
<td>kumōr-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wor-i</td>
<td>平里</td>
<td>14:3406.3</td>
<td>wor-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>理</td>
<td>14:3405a.5</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>N-sakar-i</td>
<td>射可里</td>
<td>14:3412.5</td>
<td>N-sakar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>watar-i</td>
<td>和多里</td>
<td>14:3413.3</td>
<td>watar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>taNtōri</td>
<td>多杼里</td>
<td>14:3405a.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>taNtōri</td>
<td>多杼里99</td>
<td>14:3405b.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tōr-i</td>
<td>登里</td>
<td>14:3420.3</td>
<td>tōr-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>atari</td>
<td>安多里</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>atari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.31 ru syllables

The *ru* phonogram attested is 流.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>流-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3405b.5</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99 I follow NHB here. GK has 由yu, which looks like a mistake.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3406.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nkure</td>
<td>具礼</td>
<td>darken.NML</td>
<td>14:3402.1</td>
<td>kure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>14:3419.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-N-kare</td>
<td>賀礼</td>
<td>-GEN-wither.INF</td>
<td>14:3436.4</td>
<td>-N-kare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sak-ure</td>
<td>左久礼</td>
<td>keep_apart-EV</td>
<td>14:3420.4</td>
<td>-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>奴礼</td>
<td>sleep-EV</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yōs-ure</td>
<td>与須礼</td>
<td>approach-EV</td>
<td>14:3411.3</td>
<td>yos-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>奴礼</td>
<td>untangle-</td>
<td>14:3416.4</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mas-ar-e</td>
<td>麻左礼</td>
<td>be.superior-PROG-EV</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>mas-er-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.32 re syllables

The *re* phonogram attested is 礼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3406.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nkure</td>
<td>具礼</td>
<td>darken.NML</td>
<td>14:3402.1</td>
<td>kure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>14:3419.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-N-kare</td>
<td>賀礼</td>
<td>-GEN-wither.INF</td>
<td>14:3436.4</td>
<td>-N-kare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sak-ure</td>
<td>左久礼</td>
<td>keep_apart-EV</td>
<td>14:3420.4</td>
<td>-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>奴礼</td>
<td>sleep-EV</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yōs-ure</td>
<td>与須礼</td>
<td>approach-EV</td>
<td>14:3411.3</td>
<td>yos-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>奴礼</td>
<td>untangle-</td>
<td>14:3416.4</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mas-ar-e</td>
<td>麻左礼</td>
<td>be.superior-PROG-EV</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>mas-er-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.33 rwo syllables

The *rwo* phonogram attested is 路.
Example (1), while retaining an unraised reflex from PJn *o also shows a morphological difference, as the Kamitukeno form may have been analogically leveled and reanalyzed as a consonant-final verb stem, rather than the vowel-final verb stem we find in WOJ (i.e. vowel stems take an attributive -uru/-oro, while consonant stems take a shortened attributive -u/-o)\(^{100}\). See section 5.5.2.2.2 for further discussion.

Example (3) is somewhat controversial, but I include it for reasons already discussed in section 2.5.4.2.11.

### 2.5.4.2.34 .addComponent name syllables

The .addComponent name phonogram attested is 吕.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pyirö-</td>
<td>比吕</td>
<td>be.wide-</td>
<td>14:3434.3</td>
<td>pyirö-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -rö</td>
<td>吕</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3409.1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -rö</td>
<td>吕</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3410.1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -rö</td>
<td>吕</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3412.2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -rö</td>
<td>吕</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3414.1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -rö</td>
<td>吕</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3423.2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -rö</td>
<td>吕</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3435.1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 nemwokörö</td>
<td>祢毛己吕</td>
<td>intimacy</td>
<td>14:3410.3</td>
<td>nemwokörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{100}\) The opposite hypothesis, that the Kamitukeno form is a retention and the vowel-final stem found in WOJ is an innovation, is also possible.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.2.35 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Overall there is a very high level of invariance shown in this province, despite the fact it also has the largest corpus. Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

a) *ə > a (phonologically conditioned?)

b) *n d > d

c) *a > ə (sporadic)

There is only one attestation suggesting a) and one suggesting c), and the changes are opposite, so they would have to be conditioned in some way in order for us to accept both. I think the attestation suggesting a) is likely a misspelling or due to some corruption of the text (supporting this is that the line of the poem in which this is found is open to various interpretations). Change c), however, is more acceptable, even though there is only one example in this province. This is because the morpheme in question, the comparative suffix -nösu, is attested multiple times in various EOJ provinces. Thus, I tentatively accept the change, but note it is sporadic. It may also be due to a different development of historical morphology.

Change (b) is difficult. While there is an example of both the correspondences t:Nt and Nt:t, the lack of multiple attestations makes it hard to accept.

Notable retentions are the unraised Kamitukeno /o/ in the attributives -o and (possibly also) -orwo.
2.5.4.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ya, yu, ye, ywo* and *yor*.

2.5.4.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonograms attested are 夜 and 也.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 saya</td>
<td>佐夜</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>14:3402.5</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 aya</td>
<td>安夜</td>
<td>extreme</td>
<td>14:3408.5</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>14:3412.5</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3402.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3408.1</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3434.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3436.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3436.3</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 oya</td>
<td>於也</td>
<td>parents</td>
<td>14:3420.4</td>
<td>oya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 yasaka</td>
<td>夜左可</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 kapoya</td>
<td>可保夜</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 payas-i</td>
<td>波夜志</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>14:3406.3</td>
<td>payas-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3415.4</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 yar-am-aku</td>
<td>夜良麻久</td>
<td>send-TENT-NML</td>
<td>20:4406.5</td>
<td>yar-am-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 anikuyasi Ntuku</td>
<td>阿尔久夜斯豆久</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3411.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonograms attested are 由 and 遊.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwoy-uru</td>
<td>古由流 cross-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3402.3</td>
<td>kwoy-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>遊吉 go-INF</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>由伎 go-INF</td>
<td>20:4404.2</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yuk-am-wo</td>
<td>由加毛 go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4406.2</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.3.3 ye syllables

The ye phonograms attested are 延 and 要.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taye-</td>
<td>多延 break-</td>
<td>14:3434.5</td>
<td>taye-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>多延 break.INF</td>
<td>20:4404.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>多要 break.INF</td>
<td>14:3416.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>古延 cross.INF</td>
<td>20:4407.3</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>和須良延 forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4407.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.3.4 ywo syllables

The ywo phonogram attested is 欲.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ywo</td>
<td>欲 -ABL</td>
<td>14:3417.4</td>
<td>-ywo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ywo</td>
<td>欲 UNC (EPT?)</td>
<td>14:3419.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (2) may be a cognate of the WOJ emphatic particle yō, and if so, it would show a variancy. There are several problems with this, however\(^{101}\). Unfortunately the line it appears in is unclear, so I cannot make a confident judgment as to this syllable’s invariancy.

### 2.5.4.3.5 yō syllables

The yō phonograms attested are 余, 与, and 餘.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yō-se</td>
<td>与西</td>
<td>14:3411.2</td>
<td>yō-se</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yōr-asi</td>
<td>与良之</td>
<td>14:3435.4</td>
<td>yōr-asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yōs-ure</td>
<td>与須礼</td>
<td>14:3411.3</td>
<td>yos-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yōsör-i</td>
<td>余豊利</td>
<td>14:3408.3</td>
<td>yōsör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yō-</td>
<td>余</td>
<td>14:3410.5</td>
<td>yō-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yō-</td>
<td>与</td>
<td>14:3411.5</td>
<td>yō-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>与</td>
<td>14:3435.4</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>余</td>
<td>20:4405.5</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-yō</td>
<td>餘(^{102})</td>
<td>20:4405.2</td>
<td>-yō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yōsō</td>
<td>与曾</td>
<td>14:3417.4</td>
<td>yōsō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>yōkyi</td>
<td>与伎</td>
<td>14:3423.3</td>
<td>yōkyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in example (11) is quite telling, in that there is a yō syllable in Kamitukeno corresponding to a yu syllable in WOJ. If this is a case of vowel raising, then the vowel in Kamitukeno should be /o/, and not /ə/, as only the former raised to /u/ in WOJ. However, we have seen no evidence of a merger of *ə > o in this province other than after labial initials and the possible controversial example in section 2.5.4.3.4. Thus the spelling in Kamitukeno could be either a mistake for a ywo syllable, or evidence that WOJ

---

\(^{101}\) See Chapter 9 for a discussion.

\(^{102}\) I follow NHB here. The character is missing from the GK manuscript.
sporadically raised some *ə vowels to /u/. The former hypothesis is clearly more realistic than the latter, so that is what I accept here.

2.5.4.3.6 Summary of palatal initial syllables

There is a very high rate of invariance with these syllables, the only variance being the instance of yōkyi ‘snow’ discussed in the previous section, which is a retention (slightly obscured by a scribal mistake). There are no innovations to be found in this set of data.

2.5.4.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ka, kyi, ku, kye, key, kwo, kō, Nka, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nku, and Nkwo. There are no phonographically attested kiy, Nkye, Nkey, or Nkō syllables.

2.5.4.4.1 ka syllables

The ka phonograms attested are 可, 加, and 香.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-k-aNpa</td>
<td>加婆</td>
<td>14:3410.5</td>
<td>-kyeNpa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈師</td>
<td>14:3412.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>可奈思</td>
<td>14:3408.5</td>
<td>kanasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sakar-u</td>
<td>左可流</td>
<td>14:3420.5</td>
<td>sakar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ak-an-u</td>
<td>安加奴</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>ak-an-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>N-sakar-i</td>
<td>射可里</td>
<td>14:3412.5</td>
<td>N-sakari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3413.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4404.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4407.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kapo</td>
<td>可把</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>14:3411.5</td>
<td>kapo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>yuk-am-wo</td>
<td>由加</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4406.2</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ika</td>
<td>伊可</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>14:3418.5</td>
<td>ika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3419.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3423.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
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<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3435.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
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<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3409.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3410.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
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<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3404.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405a.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3418.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3420.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3423.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3406.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>kamyitukeynwo</td>
<td>可美都氣努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>kamyitukeyno</td>
<td>可美都氣乃</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3405b.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>kamyitukyeNWO</td>
<td>可美都家野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3434.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>kapoya</td>
<td>可保夜</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>yasaka</td>
<td>夜左可</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>-kaNte</td>
<td>可提</td>
<td>-POT</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>-kate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>masaka</td>
<td>麻左可</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>14:3410.5</td>
<td>masaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>pyik-apa</td>
<td>比可波</td>
<td>pull-COND</td>
<td>14:3416.4</td>
<td>pyik-aNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3404.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3434.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>可波</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>14:3405a.3</td>
<td>kapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>可波</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>14:3413.2</td>
<td>kapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>saka</td>
<td>佐可</td>
<td>slope</td>
<td>20:4407.2</td>
<td>saka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>kakyi-</td>
<td>可伎</td>
<td>TAN-</td>
<td>14:3404.3</td>
<td>kakyi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>kane</td>
<td>奈加祢</td>
<td>think_ahead</td>
<td>14:3410.4</td>
<td>kane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>tuk-ana</td>
<td>都可奈</td>
<td>touch-DES</td>
<td>14:3408.2</td>
<td>tuk-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>kanwomaNtuku</td>
<td>可努麻豆久</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3409.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (1) is due to different morphophonology in Kamitukeno and WOJ. Kamitukeno contracted the PJn sequence *-kyi-aNpa ‘-AVATTR-COND’ to -kaNpa, while WOJ fusionally reduced the vowel sequence *ia to /e/, producing -kyeNpa.

### 2.5.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎 and 吉.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuk- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>14:3435.4</td>
<td>tuk- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>- <em>kyi</em></td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>14:3411.5</td>
<td>- <em>kyi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>muNta- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>embrace-NML</td>
<td>14:3404.3</td>
<td>muNta- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yuk- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>yuk- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4404.2</td>
<td>yuk- <em>yi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kyimy <em>yi</em></td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>14:3413.5</td>
<td>kyimy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kyinu</td>
<td>robes</td>
<td>14:3435.3</td>
<td>kyinu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yök <em>yi</em></td>
<td>snow</td>
<td>14:3423.3</td>
<td>yök</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kakyi</td>
<td>TAN-</td>
<td>14:3404.3</td>
<td>kakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonograms attested are 久 and 九.

---

103 Mizushima (1996: 116) speculates this is na-{N}/ka ‘2.S-POSS.’ See Chapter 9 for a discussion on this unclear section of the poem.
The variance found in the second syllable in (16) involves a Kamitukeno *ku syllable corresponding to a WOJ *kiy syllable. This is simply a case of a deletion of the second part of the PJn diphthong *uy (i.e. PJn *kukuy > Kamitukeno *kuku) in Kamitukeno, whereas WOJ fusionally reduced this PJn diphthong to create the monophthong /ɨ/.

**2.5.4.4 kye syllables**

The kye phonogram attested is 家.
The variance found in (1) shows a retention of the vowel /e/ in Kamitukeno, whereas the WOJ form shows the innovation of raising this vowel to /i/.

2.5.4.4.5 key syllables

The key phonogram attested is 氣.

The variance in (13), involving the correspondence of Kamitukeno key to WOJ kye may indicate *əy merged with /e/ in Kamitukeno. This is the only example of such a variance.
in the province, in relation to WOJ. However, we also must take into account the internal variance of the placename *kamitukyenwo ~ kamitukeynwo*. Here we find eight examples where it it spelled with a *key* phonogram, but in section 2.5.4.4.4 we found two instances where it was spelled with a *kye* phonogram. Thus, this acts as additional orthographic evidence for a merger of */əy* > *e*.

### 2.5.4.4.6 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonogram attested is 古.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwopyisi-</td>
<td>古比之</td>
<td>be.longing_for-</td>
<td>20:4407.4</td>
<td>kwopiysi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>古延</td>
<td>cross.INF</td>
<td>20:4407.3</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwoy-uru</td>
<td>古由流</td>
<td>cross-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3402.3</td>
<td>kwoy-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>20:4404.3</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>20:4405.1</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kwo-</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>14:3415.3</td>
<td>kwo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kwopiy-</td>
<td>古非</td>
<td>long_for-</td>
<td>14:3415.4</td>
<td>kwopiy-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.4.7 *kō* syllables

The *kō* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tōkō</td>
<td>登許</td>
<td>constant</td>
<td>14:3436.5</td>
<td>tōkō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kösō</td>
<td>許曾</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3419.4</td>
<td>kösō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kösō</td>
<td>許曾</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>kösō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nemwokörō</td>
<td>祢毛己呂</td>
<td>intimacy</td>
<td>14:3410.3</td>
<td>nemwokörö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kötō</td>
<td>許登</td>
<td>matter</td>
<td>14:3418.4</td>
<td>kötō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kö</td>
<td>許</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>14:3406.5</td>
<td>kö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.4.8 Nka syllables

The Nka phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nka-賀¹⁰⁴</td>
<td>be.thus-ka-</td>
<td>14:3415.4</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mwoNkamô</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>14:3436.5</td>
<td>mõNkamô</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-N-kata</td>
<td>-GEN-vine-N-kata</td>
<td>14:3412.3</td>
<td>-kata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-N-kare</td>
<td>-GEN-wither.INF</td>
<td>14:3436.4</td>
<td>-kare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nkapey</td>
<td>IPT</td>
<td>14:3420.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>NkamyitukyeNWO</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3412.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3402.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3404.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3405a.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3405b.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3435.3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4404.3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4404.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4405.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4405.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4406.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4406.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4407.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3416.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (1) shows a prenasalized voiced initial used to write a syllable that begins with a voiceless initial in WOJ. In addition, example (6) shows an internal variance, as the

¹⁰⁴ I follow GK here. NHB has 可 ka.
placename *kamyitukyenwo ~ kamyitukeynwo* is written with an initial *Nka* phonogram, while the other nine attestations begin with a *ka* phonogram.

### 2.5.4.4.9 *Nkyi* syllables

The *Nkyi* phonogram attested is 藝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tu<em>Nk</em>-yi</td>
<td>都藝</td>
<td>continue-INF</td>
<td>14:3409.2</td>
<td>tuNk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>藝毛</td>
<td>-POSS-beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4404.3</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.4.10 *Nkiy* syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 宜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -N-<em>kiy</em></td>
<td>宜</td>
<td>-GEN-lee</td>
<td>14:3415.3</td>
<td>-N-kiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 su<em>Nkiy</em></td>
<td>須宜</td>
<td>pass-INF</td>
<td>14:3423.4</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.4.11 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Nkure</td>
<td>具札</td>
<td>darken.NML</td>
<td>14:3402.1</td>
<td>kure</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wi<em>Nkusa</em></td>
<td>為具左</td>
<td>rush_plant</td>
<td>14:3417.3</td>
<td>wiNkusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

105 I follow GK here. NHB has 伎 kyi.
In the variance in (1) we see a Kamitukeno \textit{Nku} syllable corresponding to a WOJ \textit{ku} syllable.

### 2.5.4.4.12 \textit{Nkwo} syllables

The \textit{Nkwo} phonogram attested is 胡.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta\textit{Nkwo}</td>
<td>多胡</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3411.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.4.4.12 Summary of velar initial syllables

Overall there are few variances in these data. Evidence for the following possible sound changes can be seen:

a) \(^*\text{ng} > \text{g}\)

b) \(^*\text{uy} > \text{u}\)

c) \(^*\text{əy} > \text{e}\)

Change (a) is supported by only one attestation, and due to the large number of attested, invariant \textit{k}- and \textit{Nk}- syllables, it seems more than reasonable to reject it.

Change (b) is an example of a broader phenomenon, namely the contraction of PJn diphthongs to monophthongs. Thus, I accept this change, even though there is only one supporting attestation in this particular set of syllables.

Change (c) is also supported by only one attestation in comparison with WOJ, but we also see internal evidence showing variations in the placename \textit{kamyitukyendo}, as
eight attestations use the phonogram *key but two use the phonogram *kye. Thus with this evidence in mind, a merger of *ṣy > e becomes more apparent, at least after velar initials.

In summary, I accept the following changes:

a) *ṣy > u

b) *ṣy > e

2.5.4.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested in Kamitukeno are a, i, u, and o.

2.5.4.5.1 a syllables

The a phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>安</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3404.5</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>安</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3416.5</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3406.4</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>arapar-wo</td>
<td>安良波路</td>
<td>appear-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3414.4</td>
<td>arapar-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ak-an-u</td>
<td>安加奴</td>
<td>be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3404.4</td>
<td>ak-an-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>安夜</td>
<td>extreme</td>
<td>14:3408.5</td>
<td>aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>安麻</td>
<td>heaven</td>
<td>14:3409.2</td>
<td>ama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ap-u</td>
<td>安布</td>
<td>meet-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3413.4</td>
<td>ap-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ap-ana</td>
<td>安波奈</td>
<td>meet-DES</td>
<td>14:3405a.4</td>
<td>ap-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ap-ana</td>
<td>安波奈</td>
<td>meet-DES</td>
<td>14:3405b.4</td>
<td>ap-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>安波</td>
<td>millet</td>
<td>14:3405b.3</td>
<td>apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>aswo</td>
<td>安蘇</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3404.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>aswo</td>
<td>安蘇</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>anikuyasi Ntuku</td>
<td>阿尔久夜斯豆久</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3411.4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>atari</td>
<td>安多里</td>
<td>vicinity</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>atari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>aNtö</td>
<td>安枆</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>14:3404.5</td>
<td>aNtö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>aNse</td>
<td>安是</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>14:3434.5</td>
<td>aNse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances seen in (16) and (17) are due to a different morphological development\textsuperscript{106}, and not a phonological change in Kamitukeno.

\textbf{2.5.4.5.2} \textit{i} syllables

The \textit{i} phonogram attested is 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>伊毛</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imó</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4405.1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>伊毛</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4407.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>伊</td>
<td>DLF-</td>
<td>14:3412.5</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>伊</td>
<td>DLF-</td>
<td>14:3409.2</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>伊敞</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>14:3423.5</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4406.1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ika</td>
<td>伊可</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>14:3418.5</td>
<td>ika</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>iNsa</td>
<td>伊射</td>
<td>ITER (‘well’)</td>
<td>14:3409.5</td>
<td>iNsa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>伊麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>14:3418.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>伊麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>14:3417.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3409.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3410.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3415.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3419.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可抱</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3423.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊香保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3414.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ikapo</td>
<td>伊可保</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3435.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>inara</td>
<td>伊奈良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3417.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>伊刀</td>
<td>thread</td>
<td>20:4405.4</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{106}I reconstruct the PJn word for ‘what’ as *n-anu or *n-ani. Vovin posits a suffix *-Ci to account for WOJ \textit{nani} ‘what,’ and while PJn *n-anu-Ci would develop into WOJ \textit{nani}, there is no convincing evidence for a PJn suffix *-Ci, a suffix which, I should add, does not have any discernable meaning. As for the possibility it was PJn *n-ani, I do not think there was a vowel *i in PJn, as it is secondary in WOJ and it does not appear to exist in most (if not all) EOJ dialects, so I cannot accept *n-ani either. As WOJ /i/ is a reflex of PJn *uy, and EOJ dialects tend to contract PJn *uy to /u/ (which could then delete), I think *n-anuy ‘what’ is the most realistic reconstruction for PJn.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.5.3 $u$ syllables

The $u$ phonogram attested is 宇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>usupyi</td>
<td>須比</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3402.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>usupyi</td>
<td>須比</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4407.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uwe</td>
<td>恵</td>
<td>sow.NML</td>
<td>14:3415.3</td>
<td>uwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>tip</td>
<td>14:3436.4</td>
<td>ura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.5.4 $o$ syllables

The $o$ phonogram attested is 於.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>oku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>14:3410.4</td>
<td>oku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>107保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>14:3417.3</td>
<td>opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>oya</td>
<td>也</td>
<td>parents</td>
<td>14:3420.4</td>
<td>oya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>omwop-ye-</td>
<td>毛敵</td>
<td>think-EV-</td>
<td>14:3435.5</td>
<td>omöp-ey-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>omwop-yi</td>
<td>毛比</td>
<td>think-INF</td>
<td>14:3419.3</td>
<td>omöp-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>otapapu</td>
<td>多波布</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3409.4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

107 I follow NHB here. GK has 抟 ne, which is clearly a mistake.
2.5.4.5.5 Summary of vowel syllables

None of the attested syllables are variant.

2.5.4.6 A reconstruction of Kamitukeno’s phoneme inventory

2.5.4.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa. Internal variances are in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2 [+1]</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>5 [+1]</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kamitukeno exhibits a very high rate of invariance. Excluding the unknown syllables, there are only six (five external and one internal) variances out of 296 attested syllables, and only the prenasalized velar onset type has more than one attested variance (one external and one internal). The only syllables of identical place and manner of articulation with a variance found in both the voiceless and prenasalized voiced types are
the r- and Nt- syllables, but there is only one variance in each, which is weak evidence for denasalization.

Overall the evidence for a shift from prenasalized voiced to voiced is lacking in all onset types, so I conclude that prenasalized voiced obstruents were still a part of Kamitukeno’s phoneme inventory.

2.5.4.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Kamitukeno.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p ʷb</td>
<td>t ʷd</td>
<td></td>
<td>k ʷg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s ʷs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.4.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Kamitukeno.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.4.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/a/ only occurs after [-labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.4.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following innovations for Kamitukeno:
2.5.4.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

Kamitukeno has some notable retentions, most of which are preserved in a few suffixes. These include the unraised reflex of *e in the adjectival verb attributive suffix -kye, and the unraised reflex of *o in the verbal attributives -o and -orwo (but note their raised counterparts -u and -uru are also attested, though the latter is only attested once) and the noun yōkyi ‘snow’ (cf. WOJ yukyi ‘id.’). We also find the retention of original initial *m, in the compound mura-napey ‘fortunetelling seedling’ (compare WOJ ura-napey ‘id’).

2.5.4.6.6 Phonological processes

The following phonological processes can be seen:

a) Monophthongization via deletion of the first or second segment of a PJn diphthong (*ia > a, *uy > u)

b) Monophthongization via the fusional reduction of a PJn diphthong (*i > i, *ɔy > e)
c) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial]_)

d) Palatalization (*əy > e)

e) Centralization (*a > ə)

f) Vowel raising (*o > u)

The earliest processes to occur were those in (a), followed by (b) - (e). The fact /i/ seems to have existed in pre-Kamitukeno may indicate the roots that synchronically have its shifted vowel /i/ were from *əy or *oy diphthongs rather than *uy, as *uy developed into /u/. If we examine the four roots in the Kamitukeno corpus that correspond to WOJ *Ciyy syllables (kwopy-‘long for,’ kwopisi-‘be longing for,’ nömiy ‘RPT,’ and suNkiy ‘pass.INF’) we see evidence supporting this hypothesis: the PJn root for the first two can be reconstructed as *kopoy-108, nömiy likely comes from PJn *nəməy, and suNkiy is a reflex from PJn *suNkoy-. Due to the form *nəməy developing into nömiy, the change *əy > e may have been *ay > e.

Change (f) was likely an areal feature due to influence from neighboring provinces.

2.5.5 Muzasi

There are seventeen Muzasi poems, specifically 3374, 3375, 3376a, 3378, and 3379 from Book 14, and 4413-4424 from Book 20. Muzasi province bordered the sea to the south, but was otherwise surrounded by six other EOJ provinces. These provinces

---

108 This is due to the forms kupusi- and kwopu- found in EOJ dialects, where the syllable pu in these forms can be explained as a contraction of the diphthong in *poy and raising of the resulting *o to /u/. It is better to reconstruct *oy instead of *uy in this case because the sequence *CoCu(y) is very rare, while *CoCo(y) is not.
were Kamitukeno to the north, Sinano to the northwest, Kapi to the west, Sagamu to the southwest, and Simotupusa to the east.

### 2.5.5.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are *pa, piy, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, Npa, Npyi, ma, myi, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa*, and *wo*. There are no phonographically attested *Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npey, Npo, miy, mye, wi, or we* syllables.

### 2.5.5.1.1 pa syllables

The *pa* phonogram attested is 波.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>-COND</td>
<td>14:3376a.1</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>-COND</td>
<td>20:4416.3</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pap-o</td>
<td>波保</td>
<td>crawl-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4421.4</td>
<td>pap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3378.2</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>20:4416.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4419.1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>伊波吕</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4423.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4423.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>paNkas-i</td>
<td>波賀志</td>
<td>let_go-IMP</td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>波志</td>
<td>long_for-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4421.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-u</td>
<td>安波奈布</td>
<td>meet-NEG-ITER-FIN</td>
<td>14:3375.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>paru</td>
<td>波流</td>
<td>needle</td>
<td>20:4420.5</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ip-am-u</td>
<td>伊波武</td>
<td>say-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3379.2</td>
<td>ip-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>panar-i</td>
<td>波奈利</td>
<td>separate_from-INF</td>
<td>20:4414.4</td>
<td>panare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>[o]mwop-</td>
<td>毛波母</td>
<td>think-TENT-</td>
<td>20:4419.5</td>
<td>omöp-am-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109 I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 -Npa, which is invariant.
The variance in (1) involves the lack of prenasalization in the Muzasi form. The variances in (7) - (9) are all identical, involving the syllable pa corresponding to WOJ pye. This correspondence has been seen in previous EOJ provinces with the same root, and as in those other cases, I view this as a contraction of *ia > a in Muzasi.

2.5.5.1.2 pyi syllables

The pyi phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yöpyi</td>
<td>与比</td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>yöpyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tapyi</td>
<td>多比</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4416.2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-N-tutap-yi</td>
<td>豆多比</td>
<td>-LOC-transmit-INF</td>
<td>20:4414.5</td>
<td>-N-tutap-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pyik-aNpa</td>
<td>比可婆</td>
<td>pull-COND</td>
<td>14:3378.4</td>
<td>pyik-aNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pyimwo</td>
<td>比毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>20:4416.5</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pyimwo</td>
<td>比毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>20:4420.3</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) is another example of a lack of prenasalization in a Muzasi form, in comparison to WOJ.
2.5.5.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 非.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwopiyisi-</td>
<td>古非思</td>
<td>14:3376a.1</td>
<td>kwopiyisi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.5.1.4 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwopusi-</td>
<td>古布志</td>
<td>20:4419.5</td>
<td>kwopiyisi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-pu</td>
<td>布</td>
<td>20:4419.2</td>
<td>piy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-u</td>
<td>安波奈布</td>
<td>14:3375.5</td>
<td>-ap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pure-</td>
<td>布礼</td>
<td>20:4418.4</td>
<td>pure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pur-aNpa</td>
<td>布良婆</td>
<td>20:4423.3</td>
<td>pur-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pur-am-u</td>
<td>布良武</td>
<td>14:3376a.2</td>
<td>pur-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both variances seen above in (1) and (2) involve the same correspondence of Muzasi *pu* to WOJ *piy*, but in different roots. The first one can be explained as a different reflex from PJn *kopoy-si ‘long_for-ADJ,’ where *-si is an adjectival suffix. The final *-y was deleted in the Muzasi form\(^{110}\) and then sometime later the vowel raised, while the diphthong *oy monophthongized in the WOJ form. Example (2) is more difficult, as the PJn form of the root ‘fire’ is not entirely clear. The Muzasi form *pu ‘fire’* is attested in

\(^{110}\) The existence of the Muzasi form kwopiyisi- ‘be.longing_for’ in 14:3376a.1, seen in the previous section, is likely due to contamination by a later scribe.
the compound *asi-pu ‘reed-fire.’ As we find the compounding form po- and the free form pìy in WOJ, the PJn form was most likely *pɔy. If this is accepted, rather than try and argue the Muzasi form is an irregular reflex from PJn, I think the better explanation is that this is a loanword from Ainu, whose word for ‘fire’ is *apuy. Thus, the development of the compound *asi-pu ‘reed-fire’ in Muzasi is as follows:

**Original form > initial vowel contraction > final glide contraction**

*asi-apuy > *asi-puy > asi-pu

In this analysis *asi-pu is a hybrid loan, with asi ‘reed’ being Japonic, but pu ‘fire’ being Ainu. This analysis patterns well with the development of PJn *kopoy- ‘long for’ into Muzasi *kwopu- ‘id.’

2.5.5.1.5 *pye syllables*

The *pye phonograms attested are 齋 and 勢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 urapye</td>
<td>字良齋</td>
<td>divination</td>
<td>14:3374.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ipye</td>
<td>伊勢</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4415.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.6 *pey syllables*

The *pey phonogram attested is 倍.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -pey</td>
<td>倍</td>
<td>-ALL</td>
<td>20:4422.2</td>
<td>-pey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance here may be evidence that *əy merged with /e/.

2.5.5.1.7 *po syllables

The *po phonogram attested is 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pap-o</td>
<td>蠨保</td>
<td>crawl-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4421.4</td>
<td>pap-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>於保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4414.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>opoYA</td>
<td>於保屋</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3378.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.8 *Npa syllables

The *Npa phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuNpakyi</td>
<td>都婆伎</td>
<td>camellia</td>
<td>20:4418.2</td>
<td>tuNpakyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆</td>
<td>-COND</td>
<td>20:4420.3</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-k-aNpa</td>
<td>可婆</td>
<td>-PST-COND</td>
<td>20:4421.2</td>
<td>-kyaNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pyik-aNpa</td>
<td>比可婆</td>
<td>pull-COND</td>
<td>14:3378.4</td>
<td>pyik-aNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>taNpar-aNpa</td>
<td>多婆良婆</td>
<td>receive.HUM-COND</td>
<td>20:4424.4</td>
<td>taNpar-aNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pur-aNpa</td>
<td>布良婆 111</td>
<td>wave-COND</td>
<td>20:4423.3</td>
<td>pur-aNpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.9 *Npyi syllables

The *Npyi phonogram attested is 斐.

111 I follow GK here. NHB has 菖 pa.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.10 Npu syllables

The Npu phonogram attested is 夫.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>20:4420.2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>oNpyi</td>
<td>於妣</td>
<td>20:4422.4</td>
<td>oNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.11 ma syllables

The ma phonogram attested is 麻.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>麻多</td>
<td>20:4415.5</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>masate</td>
<td>麻左弓</td>
<td>14:3374.3</td>
<td>masa&quot;</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>麻流</td>
<td>20:4416.3</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>麻流</td>
<td>20:4420.2</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[u]ma</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>20:4417.1</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>20:4418.3</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>之末</td>
<td>20:4414.5</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>20:4415.1</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mak-yi</td>
<td>馬伎</td>
<td>20:4413.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

112 The form masate (or masaNte) is not attested in WOJ, but it is clear the root masa ‘certain, right’ is historically part of the Muzasi form, and this root is attested in WOJ. For that reason, I use this root in my comparison.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.12 myi syllables

The myi phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-myi 美</td>
<td>-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4422.3</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-myi 美</td>
<td>-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>myikötō 美己等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>myikötō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>myi- 美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4423.2</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>myi- 美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4424.4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>myi- 美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4421.4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kyimyi 伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>14:3374.4</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kyimyi 伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4414.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sum-yi 須美</td>
<td>reside-NML</td>
<td>20:4419.3</td>
<td>sum-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>myi- 美</td>
<td>see-</td>
<td>20:4423.5</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>myi- 美</td>
<td>see-</td>
<td>20:4424.5</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>myi- 美</td>
<td>see-</td>
<td>20:4415.3</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>myi 美</td>
<td>see.INF</td>
<td>20:4421.5</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>myi 美</td>
<td>see.INF</td>
<td>20:4415.5</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.5.1.13 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 卐, 无, and 武.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>muNSASI</td>
<td>武蔵</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3374.1</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>muNSASI</td>
<td>武蔵</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3375.1</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>muNsasi</td>
<td>卍射志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3376a.3</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>muNsasi</td>
<td>卍射志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3379.3</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ip-am-u</td>
<td>伊波武</td>
<td>say-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3379.2</td>
<td>ip-am-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yar-am-u</td>
<td>也良牟</td>
<td>send-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4417.5</td>
<td>yar-am-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pur-am-u</td>
<td>布良武</td>
<td>-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3376a.2</td>
<td>pur-am-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>无</td>
<td>-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4413.4</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>卍</td>
<td>-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4416.5</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>无</td>
<td>-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4424.5</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.14 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yumey</td>
<td>由米</td>
<td>at_all</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>yumey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>söme-y-</td>
<td>曽米</td>
<td>dye-</td>
<td>20:4424.3</td>
<td>söme-y-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.15 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.
The variances seen in (1) - (3) and (11) are good evidence for the change of *ə > o /C[+labial]_. The variances in (8) - (10) show a retention of the unraised attributive *-o in Muzasi.

### 2.5.5.16 mö syllables

The mö phonogram attested is 母.
The variance seen in (1) is further evidence for the change of \(*ə > o / C[^{+labial}]*\). In addition the variances in (12) and (13), while retentions of the verbal attributive \(*\-o, are internally variant (we find \(mō\) syllables here, but we saw \(mwo\) syllables to write the same morphemes in examples (8) - (10) in section 2.5.5.1.15), and thus additional evidence for \(*ə > o / C[^{+labial}]*\).

**2.5.5.1.17 wa syllables**

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和可礼</td>
<td>14:3375.3</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>14:3379.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和礼</td>
<td>20:4416.4</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>20:4418.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>20:4418.4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>20:4421.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>20:4422.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>14:3378.5</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

**2.5.5.1.18 wi syllables**

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ipawi</td>
<td>伊波為</td>
<td>14:3378.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.5.1.19 wo syllables

The wo phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3376a.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3379.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4415.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4415.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4417.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4419.3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4421.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4422.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4424.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mönöwo</td>
<td>母能乎</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>14:3379.5</td>
<td>mónöwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>woN-kukiy</td>
<td>乎具奇</td>
<td>DIM-cave</td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>woN-kukiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.1.20 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *mb > b
b) *ia > a
c) *uy > u
d) *øy > e
e) *ə > o / C[+labial]_
I do not find there to be sufficient evidence for change (a), as \textit{Np-} syllables are amply attested and completely invariant. We also only find three examples of a lack of prenasalization in the \textit{p-} syllables.

Change (b) is supported by multiple examples, so I accept it.

Change (c) is acceptable as it is a common one in EOJ provinces, and is an example of a more general EOJ phenomenon: the contraction of historical vowel sequences via deletion of a part of the diphthong.

Change (d) is supported by only one example, and thus should be rejected unless we find more evidence in other syllable types.

Change (e) is also backed by multiple examples, and is thus acceptable.

2.5.5.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are \textit{ta, ti, tu, te, two, tö, Nti, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, Ntö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsa, Nsu, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö}. There are no phonographically attested \textit{Nta, Nsi, Nse, Nswo, Nsö, or rwo} syllables.

2.5.5.2.1 \textit{ta} syllables

The \textit{ta} phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem.</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mata</td>
<td>麻多</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4415.5</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 itar-i</td>
<td>伊多里</td>
<td>arrive-INF</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>itar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 taye-</td>
<td>多要</td>
<td>break-</td>
<td>20:4420.3</td>
<td>taye-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 taye</td>
<td>多要</td>
<td>break.INF</td>
<td>14:3378.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tak-ey</td>
<td>多気</td>
<td>burn-EV</td>
<td>20:4419.2</td>
<td>tak-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Phonogram(s)</td>
<td>Morphemic Gloss</td>
<td>Book:Poem. Line</td>
<td>WOJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>depart-INF</td>
<td>14:3375.3</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>oti-</td>
<td>於知</td>
<td>fall-</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>oti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tuti</td>
<td>都知</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>tati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>depart-INF</td>
<td>14:3375.3</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>oti-</td>
<td>於知</td>
<td>fall-</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>oti-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tuti</td>
<td>都知</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>tati</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based upon the evidence presented in section 2.5.5.2.13 which convincingly shows *ti* syllables merged with *si* syllables in this province, I view all of the forms in this section as phonemically being /si/, despite being written with a *ti* phonogram.

2.5.5.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tukey-</td>
<td>都気 be.attached-</td>
<td>20:4420.4</td>
<td>tukey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>宇都久之 be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4414.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>宇都久之 be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4422.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tuNpakyi</td>
<td>都婆伎 camellia</td>
<td>20:4418.2</td>
<td>tuNpakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tukus-i</td>
<td>都久之 exhaust-INF</td>
<td>20:4421.2</td>
<td>tukus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>都知 land</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>都久 moon</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>tukiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之 PN</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之 PN</td>
<td>20:4422.2</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tura</td>
<td>都良 vine</td>
<td>14:3378.3</td>
<td>tura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 牝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>masate</td>
<td>麻左 牝 certain</td>
<td>14:3374.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>牝 hand</td>
<td>20:4414.4</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>牝 hand</td>
<td>20:4415.2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>牝 hand</td>
<td>20:4418.4</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>牝 hand</td>
<td>20:4420.4</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>素 牝 sleeve</td>
<td>14:3376a.2</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>牝 -SUB</td>
<td>20:4415.2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>牝 -SUB</td>
<td>20:4415.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>牝 -SUB</td>
<td>20:4417.3</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>牝 -SUB</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>牝 -SUB</td>
<td>20:4422.2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>牝 -SUB</td>
<td>20:4423.2</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (6) involves a lack of prenasalization in the Muzasi form.

---

113 I follow NHB here. GK has 郡, which is clearly a mistake.
2.5.5.2.5 two syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>twor-i</td>
<td>刀里</td>
<td>20:4415.2</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>twor-i</td>
<td>刀里</td>
<td>20:4417.3</td>
<td>twor-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance seen in example (1) may either be evidence that *ə* merged with /o/ or a misspelling.

2.5.5.2.6 tö syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>20:4420.4</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美己等</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-tötö</td>
<td>等登</td>
<td>20:4421.5</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>等里</td>
<td>20:4413.2</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tôkyi</td>
<td>登吉</td>
<td>14:3379.5</td>
<td>tôkyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tôk-an-ana</td>
<td>等可奈奈</td>
<td>20:4422.4</td>
<td>tôk-an-ana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tôk-aNs-u</td>
<td>等加受</td>
<td>20:4416.5</td>
<td>tôk-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>20:4418.3</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.7 Nti syllables

The *Nti* phonogram attested is 治.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.8 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-ṭi</td>
<td>治 -GEN-road</td>
<td>14:3378.1</td>
<td>-N-ṭi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.9 Nte syllables

The Nte phonograms attested are 亱 and 墼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[i]Nt-una</td>
<td>豆奈 go_out-NEG.IMP</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>iNt-una</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-N-tutap-yi</td>
<td>豆多比 -LOC-transmit-INF</td>
<td>20:4414.5</td>
<td>-N-tutap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.10 Ntwo syllables

The Ntwo phonogram attested is 度.
The variance in (2) is may either be indicative of either a merger of *ə > o or simply a misspelling.

2.5.5.2.11 *Ntö* syllables

The *Ntö* phonograms attested are 安 and 勝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aNtö</td>
<td>安</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>14:3379.2</td>
<td>naNtö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.5.2.12 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>masate</td>
<td>麻左弓</td>
<td>certain</td>
<td>14:3374.3</td>
<td>masa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>佐夜</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>20:4423.5</td>
<td>saya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sayaka</td>
<td>佐夜可</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>20:4424.5</td>
<td>saka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>久佐</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>20:4416.1</td>
<td>kusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>久左</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>20:4420.1</td>
<td>kusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>maka</td>
<td>佐可</td>
<td>slope</td>
<td>20:4423.2</td>
<td>maka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>maka</td>
<td>佐可</td>
<td>slope</td>
<td>20:4424.4</td>
<td>maka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

114 I follow GK here. NHB has 勝 *Ntö*, which is invariant.
2.5.5.2.13 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 志, 之, and 思.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4413.3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>宇都久之</td>
<td>be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4414.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>宇都久之</td>
<td>be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4422.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kwopisi-</td>
<td>古非思</td>
<td>be.longing_for-</td>
<td>14:3376a.1</td>
<td>kwopisi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kwopusi-</td>
<td>古布志</td>
<td>be.longing_for-</td>
<td>20:4419.5</td>
<td>kwopisi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tukus-i</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>exhaust-INF</td>
<td>20:4421.2</td>
<td>tukus-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mös-i</td>
<td>母之</td>
<td>hold-INF</td>
<td>20:4415.2</td>
<td>möt-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mös-i</td>
<td>母志</td>
<td>hold-INF</td>
<td>20:4420.5</td>
<td>möt-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>之末</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4414.5</td>
<td>sima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sir-an-aku</td>
<td>良奈久</td>
<td>know-NEG.ATTR-NML</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>sir-an-aku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>paNkas-i</td>
<td>波賀志</td>
<td>let_go-INF</td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>努波祢</td>
<td>long_for-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4421.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>kyiNkyisi</td>
<td>吉藝志</td>
<td>pheasant</td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>kyiNkyisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>muNsasi</td>
<td>牟射志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3376a.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>muNsasi</td>
<td>牟射志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3379.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4421.3</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4422.2</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4423.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>安之</td>
<td>reed</td>
<td>20:4419.2</td>
<td>asi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>tas-i</td>
<td>多志</td>
<td>stand-INF</td>
<td>20:4423.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>-masi</td>
<td>麻之</td>
<td>-SUBJ</td>
<td>20:4424.3</td>
<td>-masi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>tasi</td>
<td>多之115</td>
<td>sword</td>
<td>20:4413.1</td>
<td>tati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>kösi</td>
<td>己志</td>
<td>waist</td>
<td>20:4413.2</td>
<td>kösi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

115 RK and some later manuscripts have 知 *ti*, which looks like a scribal alternation to conform to the WOJ form *tati*. 

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All five variances above involve the correspondence of Muzasi *si to WOJ *ti. This is very convincing evidence for the merger of *t > *s / _i.117

2.5.5.2.14 su syllables

The su phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -nösu</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>20:4415.3</td>
<td>-nasu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sum-yi</td>
<td>須美</td>
<td>live-INF</td>
<td>20:4419.3</td>
<td>sum-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.15 se syllables

The se phonograms attested are 世 and 西.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 se</td>
<td>世</td>
<td>beloved_man</td>
<td>14:3375.5</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

116 While this is not phonographically attested in WOJ, in Middle Japanese we find the form kati, which is clearly related to the Muzasi form kasi. As the change *s > *t / _i would be a sporadic fortition in Middle Japanese limited to this one root, and keeping in mind there are numerous examples of *t > *s / _i seen in Muzasi, it is safe to say kati is the earlier form, and Muzasi kasi is thus the innovative variant. We can conclude this even without a WOJ attestation.

117 Ikier (2006: 42) hypothesizes that similar to the situation found in Modern Japanese, this may have been an affricate [ts] or [tʃ], rather than [s]. While that is in following with later Japanese languages including modern Japanese, *t > *s / _i is certainly well attested in the world’s languages (in unrelated and geographically disparate languages such as Finnish and Tongan). In addition, modern Japanese and EOJ are quite different languages (both synchronically and diachronically), and applying what occurs in one to account for a phenomenon in the other is a dangerous game. With that said, general phonological typology and the fact that there would be no phonographic way for a scribe to write a [ts] or [tʃ] initial syllable with the WOJ orthography makes either of those also possible. Ultimately, since it is impossible for us to decipher which of these three phonetic shapes the consonant was when preceding the vowel /i/, I will stick to the phonographic form, and label the change as *t > *s / _i.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.16 swo syllables

The *swo* phonograms attested are 素 and 蘇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>素弖</td>
<td>14:3376a.2</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>蘇埿</td>
<td>20:4423.3</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.17 sö syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曽.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-sö</td>
<td>曽</td>
<td>14:3378.5</td>
<td>-sö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sömey-</td>
<td>曽米</td>
<td>20:4424.3</td>
<td>sömey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.18 Nsa syllables

The *Nsa* phonogram attested is 射.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.19 *Ns* syllables

The *Ns* phonogram attested is 受.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>muNsasi</td>
<td>受射志</td>
<td>14:3376a.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>muNsasi</td>
<td>受射志</td>
<td>14:3379.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.20 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>奈礼</td>
<td>20:4418.3</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>奈之</td>
<td>20:4413.3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4418.4</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4416.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4422.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4424.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>{na} na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4418.4</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>[i]Nt-una</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>iNt-una</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sir-an-aku</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>sir-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>20:4415.4</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Phonogram(s)</td>
<td>Morphemic Gloss</td>
<td>Book:Poem. Line</td>
<td>WOJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3374.3</td>
<td>n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4422.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4423.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4424.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>14:3374.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>14:3375.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>14:3378.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>in-i</td>
<td>伊尔</td>
<td>depart-INF</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>in-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3374.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4413.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4415.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4419.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4423.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-kani</td>
<td>加尔</td>
<td>-POT</td>
<td>20:4417.3</td>
<td>-kane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.21 ni syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.
The variance in (18) appears to be an example of the raising of *e > i in Muzasi.

2.5.5.22 nu syllables

The *nu phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 nör-an-u</td>
<td>乃良奴</td>
<td>tell-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3374.4</td>
<td>nör-an-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nur-u nur-u</td>
<td>奴流々</td>
<td>untangle-FIN</td>
<td>14:3378.4</td>
<td>nur-u nur-u</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.23 ne syllables

The *ne phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -n-e</td>
<td>弥</td>
<td>-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3378.5</td>
<td>-n-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>志努波弥</td>
<td>long_for-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4421.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ne</td>
<td>弥</td>
<td>peak</td>
<td>20:4421.4</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ne-</td>
<td>弥</td>
<td>sleep-</td>
<td>20:4416.5</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ne-</td>
<td>弥</td>
<td>sleep-</td>
<td>20:4422.5</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ne</td>
<td>弥</td>
<td>sleep,INF</td>
<td>20:4416.3</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ne</td>
<td>弥</td>
<td>sleep,NML</td>
<td>20:4420.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.24 nwo syllables

The *nwo phonogram attested is 努.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nwo</td>
<td>努</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>nwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>志努波祢</td>
<td>long_for-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4421.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.25 nö syllables

The nö phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mönöwo</td>
<td>母能乎</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>14:3379.5</td>
<td>mönöwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nösu</td>
<td>乃须</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>20:4415.3</td>
<td>-nasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-ö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>COP-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4420.5</td>
<td>n-ö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3375.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3376a.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3379.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4414.1</td>
<td>nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4417.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4418.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4420.2[1]</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4420.2[2]</td>
<td>nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4421.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4421.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4423.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3378.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3378.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>nör-an-u</td>
<td>乃良奴</td>
<td>tell-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3374.4</td>
<td>nör-an-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) involves the comparative suffix, and the correspondence of Muzasi -nösu with WOJ -nasu. Here I adopt the same explanation as used to explain the data.
from Kamitukeno province, which is this is an instance of a phonologically reduced vowel (*a > ə).

2.5.5.2.26 ra syllables

The ra phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ukyera</td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td>Atractylodes Japonica</td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ukyera</td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td>Atractylodes Japonica</td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 urapye</td>
<td>宇良敷</td>
<td>divination</td>
<td>14:3374.2</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ura</td>
<td>宇良</td>
<td>divination</td>
<td>14:3374.5</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>14:3378.2</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sir-an-aku</td>
<td>之良奈久</td>
<td>know-NEG-NML</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>sir-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4413.1</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4416.1</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4420.1</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4421.3</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4423.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 taNpar-aNpa</td>
<td>多婆良婆</td>
<td>receive.HUM-COND</td>
<td>20:4424.4</td>
<td>taNpar-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 yar-am-u</td>
<td>也良牟</td>
<td>send-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4417.5</td>
<td>yar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 nör-an-u</td>
<td>乃良奴</td>
<td>tell-NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3374.4</td>
<td>nör-an-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 tura</td>
<td>都良</td>
<td>vine</td>
<td>14:3378.3</td>
<td>tura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 pur-aNpa</td>
<td>布良婆</td>
<td>wave-COND</td>
<td>20:4423.3</td>
<td>pur-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 pur-am-u</td>
<td>布良武</td>
<td>wave-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3376a.2</td>
<td>pur-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 sira</td>
<td>志良</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>20:4415.1</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms in (10) and (11) are internally variant within EOJ, as we also find the Sagamu form asiNkari. I view asiNkara as the innovative form, and thus these forms show a
change of *i > a due to progressive vowel assimilation. See section 2.5.6.2.25 for further
discussion.

2.5.5.2.27 ri syllables

The ri phonograms attested are 里 and 利.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ywori</td>
<td>欲 利</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>-ywori</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>itar-i</td>
<td>伊多里</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>itar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>twor-i</td>
<td>刀里</td>
<td>20:4417.3</td>
<td>twor-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>irima</td>
<td>伊利麻</td>
<td>14:3378.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
<td>家里</td>
<td>14:3374.5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yar-i</td>
<td>夜里</td>
<td>20:4422.2</td>
<td>yar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>panar-i</td>
<td>波奈利</td>
<td>20:4414.4</td>
<td>panare</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>等里</td>
<td>20:4413.2</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>twor-i</td>
<td>刀里</td>
<td>20:4415.2</td>
<td>tör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (7) is due to the fact panar- ‘part from’ is a consonant-final stem verb in
Muzasi, but a vowel final verb panare- in WOJ. Thus, their infinitive forms are
expectedly different. It should be noted Suruga province also has the form panare-.

2.5.5.2.28 ru syllables

The ru phonogram attested is 流.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>20:4415.3</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>麻流</td>
<td>20:4416.3</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>麻流</td>
<td>20:4420.2</td>
<td>maru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>20:4415.4</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (7) is another example of the contraction of *uy > u, which we saw earlier in the labial-initial syllables. The PJn form for ‘needle’ can be reconstructed as *paruy.

2.5.5.2.29 re syllables

The re phonogram attested is 礼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和礼</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>奈礼</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和可礼</td>
<td>separate.INF</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>köre</td>
<td>許礼</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>köre</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pure-</td>
<td>布礼</td>
<td>touch</td>
<td>pure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.2.30 rö syllables

The rö phonogram attested is 呂.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>irö</td>
<td>伊呂</td>
<td>color</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>irö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>irö</td>
<td>伊呂</td>
<td>color</td>
<td>20:4424.1</td>
<td>irö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3375.5</td>
<td>-rö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>20:4413.4</td>
<td>-rö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.31 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *t > s / _i

b) *uy > u

c) *a > ø [sporadic]

d) *e > i [conditioned to the potential suffix]

e) *ø > o

f) *ød > d

g) *i > a (progressive vowel assimilation in one place name)

Change (a) is well attested and thus easy to accept.

Change (b) is another example of a change seen in the labial initial syllables, so this acts as further evidence for it.

Change (c) should be accepted as well, even though there is only one example. This is because the comparative form -nösu is well attested throughout EOJ, and a misspelling of this kind is not likely.

While change (d) is supported by only one example, it is hard to explain the example in any other way and a misspelling of this kind is not likely. Thus I cautiously accept it, noting it appears somehow conditioned to the potential suffix.
Evidence for change (e) consists of only one example, and since a misspelling is very likely in this instance, I reject the change.

Change (f) is supported by only one example in the $t$- syllables. Due to this and the fact there are numerous attested $Nt$- syllables that are completely invariant, I reject this change and view it as a misspelling.

I accept change (g) as it is the best explanation for the form in which it appears.

### 2.5.5.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are $ya$, $yu$, and $ye$.

There are no phonographically attested $ywo$ or $yō$ syllables.

#### 2.5.5.3.1 $ya$ syllables

The $ya$ phonograms attested are 也 and 夜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yak-yi 也伎</td>
<td>burn-NML</td>
<td>14:3374.2</td>
<td>yak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>saya 佐夜</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>20:4423.5</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sayaka 佐夜可</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>20:4424.5</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ya 也</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4415.5</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yama 夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yama 夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>20:4417.4</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yama 夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>20:4418.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yar-i 夜里</td>
<td>send-INF</td>
<td>20:4422.2</td>
<td>yar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yar-am-u 也良牟</td>
<td>send-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4417.5</td>
<td>yar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>aya 阿也</td>
<td>strange</td>
<td>20:4422.5</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.5.3.2 \textit{yu} syllables

The \textit{yu} phonogram attested is \textit{由}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-\textit{yu}</td>
<td>\textit{由}</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>20:4417.5</td>
<td>-\textit{yu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>\textit{yumey}</td>
<td>\textit{由} \textit{米}</td>
<td>\textit{at} \textit{all}</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>\textit{yumey}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>\textit{yuk-u}</td>
<td>\textit{由} \textit{苦}</td>
<td>go-\textit{ATTR}</td>
<td>20:4416.2</td>
<td>\textit{yuk-u}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>\textit{yuk-u}</td>
<td>\textit{由} \textit{久}</td>
<td>go-\textit{FIN}</td>
<td>20:4414.5</td>
<td>\textit{yuk-u}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>\textit{yuk-\textit{yi}}</td>
<td>\textit{由} \textit{伎}</td>
<td>walk-\textit{NML}</td>
<td>20:4421.1</td>
<td>\textit{yuk-\textit{yi}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.3.3 \textit{ye} syllables

The \textit{ye} phonogram attested is \textit{要}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>\textit{taye-}</td>
<td>\textit{多} \textit{要}</td>
<td>break-</td>
<td>20:4420.3</td>
<td>\textit{taye-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>\textit{taye}</td>
<td>\textit{多} \textit{要}</td>
<td>break.\textit{INF}</td>
<td>14:3378.5</td>
<td>\textit{taye}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.3.4 \textit{ywo} syllables

The \textit{ywo} phonogram attested is \textit{欲}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-\textit{ywori}</td>
<td>\textit{欲} \textit{利}</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>-\textit{ywori}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
### 2.5.5.3.5 よ syllables

The よ phonogram attested is 与.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>よpyi</td>
<td>与比</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>よpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.3.6 Summary of palatal initial syllables

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ka, kyi, kiy, ku, kye, key, kwo, kō, Nka, Nkyi, Nku, and Nkwo. There are no phonographically attested Nkiy, Nkye, Nkey, or Nkō syllables.

#### 2.5.5.4.1 ka syllables

The ka phonograms attested are 可 and 加.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>20:4413.3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sayaka</td>
<td>佐夜可</td>
<td>20:4424.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>14:3379.2</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>加母</td>
<td>20:4422.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>20:4423.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

118 While the form sayaka is unattested in WOJ, it is clear the -ka is an adjectival suffix seen on many adjectival verbs in WOJ, thus we can find the syllable invariant.
The variance in (12) is due to a contraction of the first vowel in the PJn sequence *-kyi-aNpa ‘-PST-COND’ in Muzasi.

2.5.5.4.2 kyi syllables

The kyi phonograms attested are 伎 and 吉.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>伎 -AVATTR</td>
<td>14:3379.5</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>伎 -AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4413.3</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ikyi</td>
<td>伎 breath</td>
<td>20:4421.2</td>
<td>ikyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yak-yi</td>
<td>伎 burn-NML</td>
<td>14:3374.2</td>
<td>yak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tuNpakyi</td>
<td>都婆伎 camellia</td>
<td>20:4418.2</td>
<td>tuNpakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>伎 go-NML</td>
<td>20:4421.1</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mak- yi</td>
<td>馬伎 leave-INF</td>
<td>20:4413.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>伎美 lord</td>
<td>14:3374.4</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>伎美 lord</td>
<td>20:4414.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kyiNkyisi</td>
<td>吉藝志 pheasant</td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>kyiNkyisi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.4.3 kiy syllables

The kiy phonogram attested is 奇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 woN-kuki</td>
<td>乎具奇</td>
<td>DIM-cave</td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>woN-kuki</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we find a variance involving Muzasi kiy corresponding to WOJ kyi.

2.5.5.4.4 ku syllables

The ku phonograms attested are 久 and 苦.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4424.1</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 utukusi-</td>
<td>宇都久之</td>
<td>be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4414.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 utukusi-</td>
<td>宇都久之</td>
<td>be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4422.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kumwo</td>
<td>久毛</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>20:4421.4</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tukus-i</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>exhaust-INF</td>
<td>20:4421.2</td>
<td>tukus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yuk-u</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4416.2</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 yuk-u</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4414.5</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kusa</td>
<td>久佐</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>20:4416.1</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 kusa</td>
<td>久左</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>20:4420.1</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 sir-an-aku</td>
<td>之良奈久</td>
<td>know-NEG-NML</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>sir-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 tuku</td>
<td>都久</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>20:4413.5</td>
<td>tukiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4413.1</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4416.1</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>20:4420.1</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (11) is the third example we have seen of the contraction of *uy > u in Muzasi, as the PJn form can be reconstructed as *tuky (< PJ *tukoy\textsuperscript{119}). The previous two examples were found in the labial and coronal initial syllable data.

### 2.5.5.4.5 kye syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 家.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ukyera</td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td><em>Atractylodes Japonica</em></td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ukyera</td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td><em>Atractylodes Japonica</em></td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-kye</td>
<td>家</td>
<td>-AVEV</td>
<td>14:3376a.1</td>
<td>-kye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
<td>家里</td>
<td>-RETR-FIN</td>
<td>14:3374.5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.4.6 key syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4414.3</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4419.3</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4419.5</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tukey-</td>
<td>都氣</td>
<td>be.attached-</td>
<td>20:4420.4</td>
<td>tukey-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tak-ey</td>
<td>多氣</td>
<td>burn-EV</td>
<td>20:4419.2</td>
<td>tak-ey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{119} This is based on the Proto-Ryukyuan form *tukoya ‘moon’ (Vovin 2010: 119).
The variances seen in (3), (4), and (5) all involve the adjectival verb attributive suffix, which is PJn *-ke. Due to the fact we see not a -kye syllable but a -key syllable in all three instances, this is orthographic evidence that *əy merged with /e/.

2.5.5.4.7 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonograms attested are 古 and 故.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kwopysi-</td>
<td>古非思</td>
<td>14:3376a.1</td>
<td>kwopysi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwopusi-</td>
<td>古布志</td>
<td>20:4419.5</td>
<td>kwopysi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
<td>故</td>
<td>14:3379.1</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>古</td>
<td>20:4414.4</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.4.8 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 己 and 許.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kö-</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>20:4413.4</td>
<td>kö-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美己等</td>
<td>20:4414.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>許呂母</td>
<td>20:4424.2</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yökö</td>
<td>余許</td>
<td>20:4417.4</td>
<td>yökö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>køre</td>
<td>許120礼</td>
<td>20:4420.5</td>
<td>køre</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kösi</td>
<td>己志</td>
<td>20:4413.2</td>
<td>kösi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>20:4418.3</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120 I follow NHB here. GK has 許 ne, which looks like a mistake.

243
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.4.9 Nka syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>paNkas-i</td>
<td>let_go-INF</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4417.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4421.3</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4423.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-Nka 賀</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3379.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4413.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4414.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4416.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4418.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-Nka 我 121</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4418.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4420.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4421.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4422.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4424.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-Nka 我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3378.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.4.10 Nkyi syllables

The *Nkyi* phonogram attested is 藝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kyiNkyisi</td>
<td>吉藝志</td>
<td>pheasant</td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>kyiNkyisi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

121 I follow NHB here. GK has 氣 *key*, which looks like a mistake.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.4.11 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>woN-kukiy</td>
<td>具奇</td>
<td>14:3375.2</td>
<td>woN-kukyi</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.4.12 Nkwo syllables

The Nkwo phonogram attested is 胡.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N-kwo-</td>
<td>胡</td>
<td>20:4417.1</td>
<td>N-kwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.4.13 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

a)  *uy > u

b)  *øy > e

c)  *i > i
As we have already seen examples of change (a) in this province, the data in this section serves as further evidence.

I also accept change (b), as there are three examples supporting it in addition to the one example supporting it that we saw in the labial initial syllables.

Change (c) is supported by just one example, and in this case it is more likely a misspelling.

2.5.5.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested are a, i, u, and o.

2.5.5.5.1 a syllables

The a phonograms attested are 阿 and 安.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>安</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-u</td>
<td>安波奈布</td>
<td>meet-NEG-ITER-FIN</td>
<td>ap-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安之我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>阿加</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>安之</td>
<td>reed</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>阿也</td>
<td>strange</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>aNtö</td>
<td>安枃</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>aNtö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (8) is not due to a phonological change but rather a different historical morphology in Muzasi and WOJ.
# 2.5.5.2 \( i \) syllables

The \( i \) phonogram attested is 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>itar-i 伊多里</td>
<td>arrive-INF</td>
<td>20:4419.4</td>
<td>itar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imö 伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4415.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imwo 伊毛</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4423.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ikyi 伊伎</td>
<td>breath</td>
<td>20:4421.2</td>
<td>ikyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>irö 伊呂</td>
<td>color</td>
<td>14:3376a.5</td>
<td>irö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>irö 伊呂</td>
<td>color</td>
<td>20:4424.1</td>
<td>irö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>in-i 伊尔</td>
<td>depart-INF</td>
<td>14:3375.4</td>
<td>in-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ipye 伊弊</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4415.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ipa 伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4416.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ipa 伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4419.1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ipa 伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4423.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>irima 伊利麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3378.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ip-am-u 伊波武</td>
<td>say-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3379.2</td>
<td>ip-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ipawi 伊波為</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3378.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

# 2.5.5.3 \( u \) syllables

The \( u \) phonogram attested is 宇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ukyera 宇家良</td>
<td>Atractylodes Japonica</td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ukyera 宇家良</td>
<td>Atractylodes Japonica</td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>utukusi- 宇都久之</td>
<td>be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4414.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>utukusi- 宇都久之</td>
<td>be.beloved-</td>
<td>20:4422.3</td>
<td>utukusi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>urapye 宇良敝</td>
<td>divination</td>
<td>14:3374.2</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ura 宇良</td>
<td>divination</td>
<td>14:3374.5</td>
<td>ura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.5.4 o syllables

The o phonogram attested is 於.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem.</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>於保</td>
<td>be.great</td>
<td>20:4414.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>oti-</td>
<td>於知</td>
<td>fall-</td>
<td>20:4418.5</td>
<td>oti-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>opoYA</td>
<td>於保屋</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3378.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>oNpyi</td>
<td>於妣</td>
<td>sash</td>
<td>20:4422.4</td>
<td>oNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.5.5 Summary of vowel initial syllables

There is only one variant syllable in these data (EOJ /a/ corresponding to WOJ /na/) and it is not the result of a phonological change.

2.5.5.6 A reconstruction of Muzasi’s phoneme inventory

2.5.5.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data\(^{122}\) (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

---

\(^{122}\) In Table 2-19, I do not mark as variant the examples in the Muzasi data that were shown to support the change of *t > s /i. These examples are included in the invariant column.
Table 2-19: Comparison of variances and invariances of consonants in Muzasi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With only three variances out of 239 syllables (excluding the 15 unknowns), the evidence suggests prenasalized voiced obstruents were still a part of Muzasi’s phoneme inventory. This is further strengthened by the fact that none of the prenasalized voiced initial syllables are variant.

2.5.5.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Muzasi. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

Table 2-20: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Muzasi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive p</td>
<td>m b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>n d</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative s</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.5.6.2.1 Phonotactic restrictions

*t likely did not occur before /i/ due to its merger with /s/ before this vowel, though there are three attested ti syllables in the data.
2.5.5.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Muzasi. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

Table 2-21: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Muzasi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We do not find the vowel /əy/ (< PJn *ay) as it merged with /e/ in all environments. It is also quite possible it never existed in the first place, and the Muzasi reflex /e/ is directly from one of two sources: PJn *ay or *e. I prefer this latter analysis as it does not require positing an intermediary step of *ay > *əy, and it is more in line with the fact Muzasi descends from PJn, and not WOJ.

2.5.5.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ does not occur after [+labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.5.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following phonological innovations for Muzasi:

a) *uy > u
b) *əy (or *ay) > e
c) *t > s /_i
2.5.5.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

The only notable retentions are found in the unraised vowels in verbal attributive suffix /o/ (< PJn *o) and the adjectival verb attributive suffix /ke/ (< PJn *ke).

2.5.5.6.6 Phonological processes

We find a range of processes at work in the historical development of Muzasi’s phonological system:

1) Monophthongization via deletion of part of a diphthong (*uy > u, *ia > a)
2) Palatalization (*əy (or *ay) > e)
3) Spirantization (*t > s / _i)
4) Monophthongization via fusional reduction of a diphthong (*əy > e)
5) Vowel raising (*e > i)
6) Vowel centralization (*a > ə)
7) Progressive vowel assimilation (*i > a in one place name)

2.5.6 Sagamu

There are thirteen Sagamu poems, specifically 3361, 3362a, 3362b, 3363, 3366, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3431, and 3432 from Book 14, and 4328, 4329, and 4330 from Book
20. Sagamu province bordered Idu province to the southwest, Suruga province to the west, Kapi province to the northwest, and Muzasi province from the north to the east. It bordered the sea to the south.

2.5.6.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested in the Sagamu poems are pa, pyi, pu, pye, po, Npyi, ma, myi, mu, mwo, mö, wa, and wo. There are no phonographically attested piy, pey, Npyi, Npu, Npye, Npo, miy, mye, we, or wo syllables.

2.5.6.1.1 pa syllables

The pa phonograms attested are 波 and 泊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kökōpa</td>
<td>許己波</td>
<td>extremely</td>
<td>14:3431.5</td>
<td>kökōNpa, kökōpa(^{123})</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pana</td>
<td>波奈都</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>14:3370.4</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4328.5</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4330.5</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>20:4328.4</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pakwone</td>
<td>波故祢</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3370.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 nanipa</td>
<td>奈爾波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4329.2</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 nanipa</td>
<td>奈爾波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4330.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Nkapa</td>
<td>河泊(^{124})</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>14:3366.4</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ip-an-aku</td>
<td>伊波奈久</td>
<td>say-NEG-NML</td>
<td>14:3368.5</td>
<td>ip-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4329.1</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

\(^{123}\) This is attested in WOJ once as kökōNpa and once as kökōpa, so it is difficult to discern which form is original and which is secondary.

\(^{124}\) I follow NHB here. GK and RK have 伯 pa, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.6.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pyi</td>
<td>比</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>20:4329.4</td>
<td>pyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tuNtwop-</td>
<td>都度比</td>
<td>gather-INF</td>
<td>20:4329.2</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pyitö</td>
<td>比[25]等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>20:4329.5</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 twopyi</td>
<td>刀比</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3368.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yösöp-yi</td>
<td>余曽比</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4330.2[1]</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pyik-asi</td>
<td>比可志</td>
<td>pull-SUP</td>
<td>14:3431.4</td>
<td>pyik-asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pyik-wo</td>
<td>比古</td>
<td>pull-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3431.3</td>
<td>pyik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 pyimwo</td>
<td>比毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 pyimö</td>
<td>比母</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pyi</td>
<td>比[136]</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>20:4330.3</td>
<td>pyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.1.3 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pune</td>
<td>布祢</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>14:3431.3</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>20:4329.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kap[a]-uti</td>
<td>可布知</td>
<td>river-inner_part</td>
<td>14:3368.2</td>
<td>kap[a]-uti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 keypu</td>
<td>氣布</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>20:4330.3</td>
<td>kyepu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pur-i</td>
<td>布理</td>
<td>touch-INF</td>
<td>20:4328.3</td>
<td>pur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

125 I follow NHB here. GK has 以 yi, which is clearly a mistake.
126 I follow GK here. NHB has the semantogram 日 PYI 'sun, day.'
2.5.6.1.4 pye syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敵.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-pye</td>
<td>敵</td>
<td>-ALL</td>
<td>14:3363.2</td>
<td>-pye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.6.1.5 po syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>於保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4328.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sipo</td>
<td>思保</td>
<td>tide</td>
<td>14:3366.5</td>
<td>sipo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.1.6 Npyi syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ywoNp- yi</td>
<td>欲妣</td>
<td>call-INF</td>
<td>14:3362a.4</td>
<td>ywoNp-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.6.1.7 ma syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.8 myi syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.9 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 富, 武, and 模.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myit-unamu</td>
<td>富 填-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3366.5</td>
<td>myit-uramu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>makar-amu</td>
<td>麻可良 填-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4330.4</td>
<td>makar-amu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mak-as-amu</td>
<td>麻可左 填-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3369.4</td>
<td>mak-as-amu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>saNkamu</td>
<td>相模 PN</td>
<td>14:3362a.1</td>
<td>saNkamu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>muNSASI</td>
<td>武蔵 PN</td>
<td>14:3362b.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>富 -TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>富 -TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4329.4</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.10 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwo</td>
<td>毛 direction</td>
<td>14:3361.2</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>möNkamwo</td>
<td>母我 DPT</td>
<td>20:4329.5</td>
<td>möNkamö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pyimwo</td>
<td>比毛 string</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

127 While this placename is not attested in WOJ, we can see the *myi* syllable is invariant as the etymology is quite transparent: *myi-naö se* water-GEN rapids ‘water rapids.’
There variances seen in (2) and (4) may be evidence that *ə merged with /o/ after /m/.

2.5.6.1.11 mö syllables

The mö phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>direction</td>
<td>14:3361.2</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>möNkamwo</td>
<td>母我毛</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4329.5</td>
<td>möNkamö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3368.4</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3431.4</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3432.5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pyimö</td>
<td>比母</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While there are no variances with WOJ, form (7) pyimö is internally variant, as we found the form pyimwo in section 2.5.6.1.10. Thus, this stands as more evidence for the merger of *ə > o after [+labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.6.1.12 wa syllables

The wa phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3363.1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3432.2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>watar-u</td>
<td>和多流</td>
<td>cross-FIN</td>
<td>20:4328.4</td>
<td>watar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>14:3362a.3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.1.13 wo syllables

The wo phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3362a.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3362b.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3363.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3432.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4328.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4329.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>wo-</td>
<td>乎 Dim-</td>
<td>14:3362a.2</td>
<td>wo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>wo-</td>
<td>乎 Dim-</td>
<td>14:3362b.2</td>
<td>wo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>wote</td>
<td>乎 弔</td>
<td>14:3361.2</td>
<td>wote</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.1.14 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *ə > ə / C[+labial]_

Change (a) is supported by strong evidence, and is thus acceptable.
2.5.6.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables used in the Sagamu poems are *ta, ti, tu, te, two, tô, Nta, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, sa, si, su, se, swo, sô, Nsa, Nsu, Nse, na, ni, ne, nô, ra, ri, ru, re*, and *rô*. There are no phonographically attested *Nti, Ntô, Nsi, Nswo, Nsô, nu, nwo,* or *rwo* syllables.

2.5.6.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is *多*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-kata</td>
<td>賀多</td>
<td>14:3431.5</td>
<td>-N-kata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>watar-u</em></td>
<td>和多流</td>
<td>20:4328.4</td>
<td>watar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>ta-</em></td>
<td>多</td>
<td>14:3369.5</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>taywora</em></td>
<td>多欲良</td>
<td>14:3368.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is *知*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>titi</em></td>
<td>知々</td>
<td>20:4328.5</td>
<td>titi</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>kap[a]-uti</em></td>
<td>可布知</td>
<td>14:3368.2</td>
<td>kap[a]-uti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

128 This part of the poem is troublesome, and there are a few different interpretations, but I have settled on this one as I find it to be the most plausible. In another interpretation, this *ta* is a shortened form of *tamey* ‘benefit,’ while the preceding -*Nka* is a possessive suffix.
2.5.6.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>t-u</em></td>
<td>都</td>
<td>COP-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3370.4</td>
<td><em>t-u</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myit-unam-u</td>
<td>美都奈武</td>
<td>fill-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3366.5</td>
<td>myit-uram-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>都度比</td>
<td>gather-INF</td>
<td>20:4329.2</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>都</td>
<td>port</td>
<td>20:4330.1</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mat-u</td>
<td>麻都</td>
<td>wait-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3363.3</td>
<td>mat-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3362a.4</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3362b.4</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3363.2</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4328.5</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4330.2</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4330.4</td>
<td><em>-te</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>wote</td>
<td>平刀</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>14:3361.2</td>
<td>wote</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.5 *two* syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.2.6 tö syllables

The tö phonograms attested are 等 and 登.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美許等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4328.2</td>
<td>myikötö +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>COP</td>
<td>14:3432.5</td>
<td>tö +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>20:4329.5</td>
<td>pyitö  +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yamatö</td>
<td>夜麻登</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3363.2</td>
<td>yamatö +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tōk-u</td>
<td>等久</td>
<td>untie-FIN</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>tōk-u +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tōk-aNs-u</td>
<td>登可受</td>
<td>untie-NEG-INF</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>tōk-aNs-u +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.7 Nta syllables

The Nta phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siNta</td>
<td>之太</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>14:3363.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.2.8 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonograms attested are 豆 and 頭.
The variance in (6) shows a prenasalized onset phonogram to write a syllable that corresponds to a voiceless onset in WOJ. As the Pjn form is *tuma ‘spouse’ and we have seen no other similar examples, the Sagamu form most likely shows a misspelling.

2.5.6.2.9 Nte syllables

The Nte phonogram attested is 田.

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.6.2.10 Ntwo syllables

The Ntwo phonogram attested is 度.

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.6.2.11 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 佐 and 左. I also include the attested dissyllabic *saNka* phonogram 相.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N-kusa</td>
<td>具佐</td>
<td>14:3370.3</td>
<td>N-kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kaNtus-an-e</td>
<td>可豆佐祢</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sak-aNs-u</td>
<td>佐可受</td>
<td>14:3432.5</td>
<td>sak-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>佐LOC</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mak-as-am-u</td>
<td>麻可左武</td>
<td>14:3369.4</td>
<td>mak-as-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>saNkamu</td>
<td>相模</td>
<td>14:3362a.1</td>
<td>saNkamu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
<td>佐須</td>
<td>14:3361.3</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.12 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 斯, 志, 思, and 之.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之AVFIN</td>
<td>20:4330.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可杂思</td>
<td>14:3366.1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>20:4328.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>siNtum-yi</td>
<td>之豆美</td>
<td>14:3361.4</td>
<td>siNtum-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>斯利</td>
<td>14:3431.4</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>siNta</td>
<td>之太</td>
<td>14:3363.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>之EPT</td>
<td>14:3362a.5</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>思EPT</td>
<td>14:3362b.5</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kakus-i</td>
<td>所久思</td>
<td>14:3362a.2</td>
<td>kakus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.13 su syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>14:3363.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>須疑</td>
<td>14:3363.5</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>14:3362a.3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>14:3362b.3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sukey</td>
<td>須氣</td>
<td>14:3369.2</td>
<td>suNkey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>suNka-sas-u</td>
<td>須我</td>
<td>14:3369.3</td>
<td>suNka-sas-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
<td>佐須</td>
<td>14:3361.3</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.14 se syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 世 and 勢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>世</td>
<td>14:3363.1</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>世</td>
<td>20:4329.4</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.15 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>伊蘇</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>20:4328.3</td>
<td>iswo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-swo</td>
<td>蘇</td>
<td>-ten</td>
<td>20:4329.1</td>
<td>-swo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.16 *sō* syllables

The *sō* phonogram attested is 曽.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yōsōp-ya</td>
<td>余曽比</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4330.2[1]</td>
<td>yōsōp-ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.17 *Nsα* syllables

The *Nsα* phonogram attested is 射.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaNsar-i</td>
<td>可射里</td>
<td>decorate-NML</td>
<td>20:4329.3</td>
<td>kaNsar-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.18 Nsu syllables

The Nsu phonogram attested is 受.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sak-aNs-u</td>
<td>佐可受</td>
<td>keep_apart-NEG-INF</td>
<td>14:3432.5</td>
<td>sak-aNs-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tōk-aNs-u</td>
<td>登可受</td>
<td>untie-NEG-INF</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>tōk-aNs-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.19 Nse syllables

The Nse phonogram attested is 是.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aNse</td>
<td>安是</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>14:3369.4</td>
<td>naNse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.2.20 na syllables

The na phonogram attested is 奈.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈思</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3366.1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nar-e</td>
<td>奈礼</td>
<td>become-EV</td>
<td>14:3370.4</td>
<td>nar-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>20:4329.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>myit-unam-u</td>
<td>美都奈武</td>
<td>fill-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3366.5</td>
<td>myit-unam-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>14:3370.4</td>
<td>pana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (6) is probably the result of a regressive nasal assimilation (*r > n) in this tentative suffix.

2.5.6.2.21 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔  COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3368.4[2]</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔  COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3368.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔  COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3431.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>14:3361.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>14:3366.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>14:3368.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>14:3368.4[1]</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>14:3431.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>20:4328.3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>20:4329.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>20:4330.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔  -LOC</td>
<td>20:4330.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波  PN</td>
<td>20:4329.2</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波  PN</td>
<td>20:4330.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.22 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>祢boat</td>
<td>14:3431.3</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kaNtus-an-e</td>
<td>可豆佐祢entice-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢peak</td>
<td>14:3362a.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢peak</td>
<td>14:3362a.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢peak</td>
<td>14:3362b.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢peak</td>
<td>14:3362b.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢peak</td>
<td>14:3370.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pakwone</td>
<td>波故祢PN</td>
<td>14:3370.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢sleep-</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢sleep.NML</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢sound</td>
<td>14:3362a.5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢sound</td>
<td>14:3362b.5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.23 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-COMP</td>
<td>14:3361.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-COMP</td>
<td>14:3368.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-COMP</td>
<td>14:3370.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-COMP</td>
<td>14:3432.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (30) is one we have seen a few times in previous EOJ provinces, it involves the correspondence of Sagamu 伉 to WOJ a. In those prior instances I analyzed this as a phonologically reduced vowel, and more specifically, vowel centralization (*a > ə).

An alternate hypothesis for this particular example is that the PJn form was *unay ‘sea.’ As only the compounding form is attested in WOJ, it is natural that we only see the

---

129 It can be interpreted as either one.
bound form una- and never the hypothetical free form une (cf. other bound/free pairs in WOJ such as ama- and amey ‘heaven’). To explain the Sagamu form, we would then need to posit the following development:

\[
\text{PJn} \; \text{*unay} > \text{Pre-Sagamu} \; \text{*unə} > \text{Sagamu} /\text{unə}/
\]

Thus we would need to argue Sagamu did not contract the diphthong until after it centralized, whereas WOJ contracted it prior to the centralization\(^{130}\).

While I would like to accept the second hypothesis in this instance, the evidence is severely lacking and it requires a few assumptions. As we have seen multiple examples in other provinces that are better explained via the vowel centralization hypothesis, that is the explanation I will adopt here as well.

2.5.6.2.24 ra syllables

The ra phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 makar-am-u</td>
<td>麻可 良武</td>
<td>depart-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4330.4</td>
<td>makar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 makura</td>
<td>麻久 良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>14:3369.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 makura</td>
<td>麻久 良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>14:3369.5</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 para</td>
<td>波良</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>20:4328.4</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 asiNkara</td>
<td>安思我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3361.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 asiNkara</td>
<td>安思我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3363.4</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{130}\) We should also note the origin of una- is obscure. It is a doublet with OJ umyi ‘sea’ which is clearly of Japonic origin. Una- thus may be of foreign origin, though Vovin (2009b: 36) mentions a possible Ryukyuan cognate in Hateruma inaa ‘sea,’ which may be indicative of a PJ origin, or at least a borrowing from some currently unknown language into PJ.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.25 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 利, 里, and 理.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 siri</td>
<td>斯利</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>14:3431.4</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kaNsar-i</td>
<td>可射里</td>
<td>decorate-NML</td>
<td>20:4329.3</td>
<td>kaNsar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之我利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3368.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之我利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3369.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 asiNkari</td>
<td>安恩我里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3370.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之我里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3431.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之賀利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3432.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 yar-i</td>
<td>夜利</td>
<td>send-INF</td>
<td>14:3363.2</td>
<td>yar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 pur-i</td>
<td>布理</td>
<td>touch-INF</td>
<td>20:4328.3</td>
<td>pur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correspondence we see in (3)-(7) is an unusual one of Sagamu *ri* to WOJ *ra*. Further complicating matters is the fact this placename is also attested twice as *asiNkara* in Sagamu. Other than Sagamu, we find this placename attested in the EOJ provinces of Pitati (20:4372.1) and Muzasi (20:4421.3, 20:4423.1), but in all of these attestations we only see the form *asiNkara*. While *asiNkara* is the WOJ form it is only phonographically attested once (in 20:4440.1) and it is obviously a borrowing from the main EOJ form, as it is an Eastern Japanese placename.

Owing to the fact the form *asiNkara* is attested in three EOJ provinces and WOJ, and is thus more widely distributed, we might think the exclusive Sagamu form *asiNkari* is innovative, but Vovin (2009b: 2) makes a convincing argument that this placename is
of Ainu origin (from Old Ainu *áskar-i ‘pure-place’). As such, he treats *asInkari as the original form, and *asInKara as a result of progressive vowel assimilation. One problem with reconstructing PJn *asinkari is that the EOJ dialects that have this form show no other signs of progressive vowel assimilation. However, I still find it a better hypothesis than proposing a PJn form such as *asInkaray, with a final diphthong that developed differently in different EOJ dialects.

2.5.6.2.26 ru syllables

The ru phonogram attested is 流.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>流 -ATTR</td>
<td>20:4330.5</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>久流 come-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3362a.3</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>watar-u</td>
<td>和多流 cross-FIN</td>
<td>20:4328.4</td>
<td>watar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nak-uru</td>
<td>奈久流 make.cry- ATTR</td>
<td>14:3362b.5</td>
<td>nak-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>iNt-uru</td>
<td>伊豆流 go_out-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3368.3</td>
<td>iNt-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nar-u</td>
<td>奈流 sound-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3361.4</td>
<td>nar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.27 re syllables

The re phonogram attested is 礼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼 1.S</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nar-e</td>
<td>奈礼 become-EV</td>
<td>14:3370.4</td>
<td>nar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼 forget.INF</td>
<td>14:3362a.3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼 forget.INF</td>
<td>14:3362b.3</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.28 ṛö syllables

The ṛö phonogram attested is ṛö.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>14:3368.5</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>14:3369.5</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>14:3370.2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>20:4329.4</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.2.29 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *i > a [progressive vowel assimilation in one place name]

b) *ə > a [phonologically conditioned?]

c) *r > n [regressive nasal assimilation, morphologically conditioned to the tentative 2 suffix]

I tentatively accept all three as I find there to be no better explanation for the forms in which they appear.

2.5.6.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ya, ye, and yu.

There are no phonographically attested ywo or yö syllables.
2.5.6.3.1 ya syllables

The ya phonograms attested are 夜 and 也.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>20:4329.1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>14:3363.4</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>14:3431.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>14:3432.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yamatō</td>
<td>夜麻登</td>
<td>14:3363.2</td>
<td>yamatō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>20:4330.3</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>也</td>
<td>14:3370.4</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yar-i</td>
<td>夜利</td>
<td>14:3363.2</td>
<td>yar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.3.2 yu syllables

The yu phonograms attested are 遊 and 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>遊久</td>
<td>14:3362b.3</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.6.3.3 ywo syllables

The ywo phonogram attested is 欲.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ywoNp-yi</td>
<td>欲妣</td>
<td>14:3362a.4</td>
<td>ywoNp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taywora</td>
<td>多欲良</td>
<td>14:3368.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While (2) is not attested in WOJ, it is variant within EOJ, as the attested Simotupusa form is *tayura (see section 2.5.9.2.1). Thus we can see Simotupusa raised this syllable’s vowel while Sagamu retained the original *o.

### 2.5.6.3.4 yō syllables

The yō phonograms attested are 余 and 与.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>与</td>
<td>EPT 14:3431.4</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yōsōp-yi</td>
<td>余曽比</td>
<td>prepare-INF 20:4330.2</td>
<td>yōsōp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yōsōp-yi</td>
<td>余曽比</td>
<td>prepare-INF 20:4330.2</td>
<td>yōsōp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>余</td>
<td>world 14:3368.4</td>
<td>yō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.3.5 Summary of palatal initial syllables

There is no evidence for any sound changes in this set of data.

### 2.5.6.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ka, kyi, ku, kye, key, kwo, kö, Nka, Nkiy, Nku, and Nkwo. There are no phonographically attested *kiy, Nkiy, Nkye, Nkey, or Nkö syllables.

#### 2.5.6.4.1 ka syllables

The ka phonograms attested are 与 and 加.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈思</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3366.1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kasikwo-</td>
<td>可之古</td>
<td>be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4328.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kakey</td>
<td>可氣</td>
<td>call.INF</td>
<td>14:3362b.4</td>
<td>kakey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kaNsar-i</td>
<td>可射里</td>
<td>decorate-NML</td>
<td>20:4329.3</td>
<td>kaNsar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 makar-am-u</td>
<td>麻可(良)武</td>
<td>depart-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4330.4</td>
<td>makar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kaNtus-an-e</td>
<td>可豆佐祢</td>
<td>entice-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kakus-i</td>
<td>可久思</td>
<td>hide-INF</td>
<td>14:3362b.2</td>
<td>kakus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kakus-i</td>
<td>所久思</td>
<td>hide-INF</td>
<td>14:3362a.2</td>
<td>kakus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sak-aNs-u</td>
<td>佐可受</td>
<td>keep_apart-NEG-INF</td>
<td>14:3432.5</td>
<td>sak-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kaNtu</td>
<td>可頭</td>
<td>mulberry</td>
<td>14:3432.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 kaNtu</td>
<td>可豆</td>
<td>mulberry</td>
<td>14:3432.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 mak-as-am-u</td>
<td>麻可(左)武</td>
<td>pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3369.4</td>
<td>mak-as-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 kamakura</td>
<td>可麻久良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3366.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 wawokakye</td>
<td>和乎可鶴</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3432.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 ka-</td>
<td>可</td>
<td>PREF-</td>
<td>14:3361.4</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 pyik-asi</td>
<td>比可志</td>
<td>pull-SUP</td>
<td>14:3431.4</td>
<td>pyik-asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 ka</td>
<td>可</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3363.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3369.4</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 kap[a]-uti</td>
<td>可布知</td>
<td>river-inner_part</td>
<td>14:3368.2</td>
<td>kap[a]-uti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 tök-aNs-u</td>
<td>登可受</td>
<td>untie-NEG-INF</td>
<td>14:3370.5</td>
<td>tök-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

131 This is the only appearance of the character 所 swo in the corpus, and it is common to all extant early manuscripts that have this poem. It is held to be a mistake for 可 ka (Mizushima 1996: 92), and indeed, in the NHB manuscript it is transliterated as 可 ka, so that is how I transliterate the character here. I thus consider it to be another attestation of the phonogram 可 ka.
### 2.5.6.4.2 kyi syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎 and 吉.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ok-yi</td>
<td>於伎</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4328.5</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kyimyi</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>14:3362b.4</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kyimyi</td>
<td>吉美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4328.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 akyina</td>
<td>安伎奈</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3431.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.4.3 ku syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 k-uru</td>
<td>久流</td>
<td>come-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3362a.3</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yuk-u</td>
<td>遊久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3362b.3</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3366.2</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kakus-i</td>
<td>所久思</td>
<td>hide-INF</td>
<td>14:3362a.2</td>
<td>kakus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kakus-i</td>
<td>可久思</td>
<td>hide-INF</td>
<td>14:3362b.2</td>
<td>kakus-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 nak-uru</td>
<td>奈久流</td>
<td>make_cry-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3362b.5</td>
<td>nak-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 nak-una</td>
<td>奈久奈</td>
<td>make_cry-NEG.IMP</td>
<td>14:3362a.5</td>
<td>nak-una</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>14:3369.3</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 makura</td>
<td>麻久良</td>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>14:3369.5</td>
<td>makura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kamakura</td>
<td>可麻久良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3366.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>20:4329.1</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 ip-an-aku</td>
<td>伊波奈久</td>
<td>say-NEG-NML</td>
<td>14:3368.5</td>
<td>ip-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 tök-u</td>
<td>等久</td>
<td>untie-FIN</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>tök-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.6.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 鷄.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wawokakye</td>
<td>和乎可鷄 PN</td>
<td>14:3432.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.6.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kakey</td>
<td>可氣 call.INF</td>
<td>14:3362b.4</td>
<td>kakey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sukey</td>
<td>須氣 sedge</td>
<td>14:3369.2</td>
<td>suNkey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>keypu</td>
<td>氣布 today</td>
<td>20:4330.3</td>
<td>kyepu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the variance in example (2) we find a lack of prenasalization on the consonant, while the variance in (3) shows a *key* phonogram corresponding to a WOJ *kye* phonogram. Both of these variances may indicate innovations have occurred (*ŋg > g* and *əy > e* respectively), or they may just be misspellings.

2.5.6.4.6 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonograms attested are 古 and 故.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kasi kwo-</td>
<td>可之古 be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4328.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
<td>古 -DIM</td>
<td>14:3363.1</td>
<td>-kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwo-</td>
<td>古 DIM-</td>
<td>14:3369.2</td>
<td>kwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>故 girl</td>
<td>14:3368.5</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (8) is the result of a retention of the medial vowel /o/ in Sagamu, and not an innovation.

2.5.6.4.7 kö syllables

The kö phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myiköto</td>
<td>美許等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4328.2</td>
<td>myiköto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kököpa</td>
<td>許已波</td>
<td>extremely</td>
<td>14:3431.5</td>
<td>kököNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kö</td>
<td>許</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>kwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kö</td>
<td>許</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>14:3369.5</td>
<td>kwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kö-</td>
<td>許</td>
<td>this-</td>
<td>14:3361.2</td>
<td>kö-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (3) and (4) may suggest a merger of *ə > o in Sagamu, or they may simply be misspellings.

2.5.6.4.8 Nka syllables

The Nka phonograms attested are 賀, 河, and 我. I also include the attested dissyllabic phonogram 相 saNka.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mōNkamwo</td>
<td>母我毛</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4329.5</td>
<td>mōNkamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-N-kata</td>
<td>賀多</td>
<td>-GEN-hard</td>
<td>14:3431.5</td>
<td>-N-kata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安思我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3361.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>saNkamu</td>
<td>相模</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3362a.1</td>
<td>saNkamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安思我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3363.4</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances in (16) and (17) involve the use of a prenasalized voiced phonogram corresponding to a WOJ syllable with a voiceless onset. This orthographic evidence may indicate a shift of $^ng > g$ occurred.

### 2.5.6.4.9 Nkiy syllables

The Nkiy phonogram attested is 疑.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 suNkiy</td>
<td>須疑</td>
<td>cedar</td>
<td>14:3363.5</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.4.10 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -N-kusa</td>
<td>具佐</td>
<td>-COP.ATTR-</td>
<td>14:3370.3</td>
<td>-N-kusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.6.4.10 Nkwo syllables

The Nkwo phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nkwo-¹³²</td>
<td>胡¹³⁸</td>
<td>14:3431.5</td>
<td>kō-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prenasalized initial in the Sagamu form is variant with the voiceless initial of the WOJ form. Once again, this may either be a misspelling, or evidence for a shift of *ŋg > g. As this occurs in an attestation that is not totally clear, and is open to more than one interpretation, it would be unwise to use this example as evidence for a shift of *ŋg > g, and thus the misspelling hypothesis should be adopted here.

2.5.6.4.11 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *ŋg > g
b) *ə > o
c) *əy > e

¹³² There is another possible interpretation of this part of the poem in which this is the root kwo ‘girl.’ In this case, the vowel of the syllable would be invariant. However, I think the interpretation that this is ‘come’ makes more sense in the context of the poem, so that is the one I follow, even though it is orthographically problematic.

¹³³ I follow GK here. NHB has 故 kwo.

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I find change (a) hard to accept due to the lack of evidence (only two clear supporting examples). Changes (b) and (c) are similarly difficult to accept, with few supporting examples. Thus, I reject them.

2.5.6.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial phonograms attested are $a$, $i$, $u$, and $o$.

2.5.6.5.1 $a$ syllables

The $a$ phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>安礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3361.5</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>安</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3362b.5</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>安</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4329.4</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安思我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3361.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>安思我良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3363.4</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之我利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3368.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之我利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3369.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>asiNkari</td>
<td>安思我里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3370.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之我里</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3431.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>asiNkari</td>
<td>阿之賀利</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3432.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>aNse</td>
<td>安是</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>14:3369.4</td>
<td>naNse</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (12) is due to a different morphological development. See section 2.5.4.5.1 for further discussion.

2.5.6.5.2 $i$ syllables

The $i$ phonogram attested is 伊.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>14:3362a.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>go_out.INF</td>
<td>20:4330.4</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iNt-uru</td>
<td>go_out-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3368.3</td>
<td>iNt-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>20:4328.3</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ip-an-aku</td>
<td>say-NEG-NML</td>
<td>14:3368.5</td>
<td>ip-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.5.3 u syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>una-</td>
<td>sea-</td>
<td>20:4328.4</td>
<td>una-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.5.4 o syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4328.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4328.5</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.5.5 Summary of vowel initial syllables

There are no variances in this set of data.
2.5.6.6 A reconstruction of Sagamu’s phoneme inventory

2.5.6.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sagamu shows a very high rate of invariance in regard to onset consonants and their prenasalization. We see only five variances out of 170 attested syllables (excluding unknowns). Thus, I conclude prenasalized voiced obstruents were still a part of the phoneme inventory.

2.5.6.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Sagamu. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.
Table 2-23: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Sagamu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| plosive | p [m]
| fricative | s [n]z |
| nasal | m |
| liquid | r |
| glide | w |

### 2.5.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Sagamu. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

Table 2-24: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Sagamu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø øyal</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ only occurs only after [-labial] consonant onsets.

### 2.5.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

Sagamu underwent very few phonological changes from PJn. I accept the following innovations for this province:

a) *i > a (progressive vowel assimilation in one place name)

b) *ə > a (phonologically conditioned?)

c) *ə > o / C[+labial]_
d) *r > n (regressive nasal assimilation, morphologically conditioned to the tentative 2 suffix)

2.5.6.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

The placename asiNkari is only attested in Sagamu, and is likely the original form (though this is an Ainu substratum word). We also find the verbal attributive -o attested with an unraised midvowel (compare the WOJ attributive -u).

2.5.6.6.6 Phonological rules and processes

We find the following phonological rules and processes in this province:

a) Progressive vowel assimilation (*i > a)

b) Centralization (*ə > a)

c) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial]_)

d) Regressive nasal assimilation (*r > n)

2.5.7 Mitinöku

There are only two poems from Mitinöku in the corpus with EOJ features, and both are from Book 14 (3426 and 3437). Mitinöku was the largest provincial area, and at the time of the EOJ poems it is known to have contained large populations of Ainu speakers. It bordered Kamitukeno province to the southwest, Simotukeno province to the south, and Pitati province to the southeast. To its east and north lay the sea, while to its west were provinces that probably consisted of Central Old Japanese dialects.
2.5.7.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are pa, pyi, po, Npa, ma, myi, mu, mye, mwo, and wo. There are no phonographically attested piy, pu, pye, pey, Npyi, Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npey, Npo, miy, mey, mö, wa, wi, or we syllables.

2.5.7.1.1 pa syllables

The pa phonogram attested is 波.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-aNpa</td>
<td>安波奈婆</td>
<td>meet-NEG-ITER-COND</td>
<td>14:3426.3</td>
<td>ap-ap-an-aNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>paNsik-yi</td>
<td>波自伎</td>
<td>remove_a_string-INF</td>
<td>14:3437.3</td>
<td>paNsik-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pak-am-ye</td>
<td>波可馬</td>
<td>string-TENT-EV</td>
<td>14:3437.5</td>
<td>pak-am-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>musu-Np-as-an-e</td>
<td>牟須波orthy</td>
<td>tie-HON-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3426.5</td>
<td>musuNp-as-an-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in example (4) involves a Mitinöku pa syllable corresponding to a WOJ Npa syllable. Once again, based on this and any other similar examples in this province, we will have to decide if it is indicative of a shift of *m > /b/, or a simple misspelling.

2.5.7.1.2 pyi syllables

The pyi phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
<td>斯努比</td>
<td>long_for-</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>sinwop-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

134 I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 Npa, which is invariant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>NML</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>apyiNtune</td>
<td>安比豆祢</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3426.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pyimwo</td>
<td>比毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>14:3426.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.1.3 po syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 抱.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N-töpo-</td>
<td>柬抱</td>
<td>COP.INF-be.far-</td>
<td>14:3426.2</td>
<td>N-töpo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.1.4 Npa syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-anpa</td>
<td>安波奈波婆</td>
<td>meet-NEG-ITER-COND</td>
<td>14:3426.3</td>
<td>ap-an-anpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>伎那婆</td>
<td>-PERF-COND</td>
<td>14:3437.4</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.1.5 ma syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 末.
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.1.6 myi syllables

The myi phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>美 -AVGER</td>
<td>14:3426.2</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>由 美 bow</td>
<td>14:3437.2</td>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>myitinōku</td>
<td>美知能久 PN</td>
<td>14:3437.1</td>
<td>myitinōku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.1.7 mu syllables

The mu phonogram attested is 卍.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>musup-as-an-e</td>
<td>卍須波佐祢 tie-HON-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3426.5</td>
<td>musuNp-as-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.1.8 mye syllables

The mye phonogram attested is 馬.
We see here that both attested *mye syllables were used to write WOJ *mey syllables. This may indicate that these syllables merged with /me/ syllables in Mitinöku.

### 2.5.7.1.9 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3437.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pyimwo</td>
<td>比毛</td>
<td>string</td>
<td>14:3426.5</td>
<td>pyimo</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -m-wo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two variances here. The first, found in example (1), may be evidence for a merger of *ə > /o/ after a labial initial.

Example (3) is also variant, as it shows the retention of the medial vowel -o in the verbal attributive suffix in this province.

### 2.5.7.1.10 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ABS</td>
<td>14:3426.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

135 The root *ser-* ‘deviate’ is unattested in WOJ, but the causative suffix -asimεy is attested. The form *sor-* ‘deviate’ occurs in MJ.
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.1.11 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for two possible sound changes can be found in this province:

a) *əy > e

b) *ə > o / C[+labial]

I accept change (a), as there are a few supporting examples. In light of the size of the corpus, this seems reasonable. As for change (b), due to the fact that it only occurs in one attestation, there is admittedly weak evidence for it. However, we must keep in mind that it is the only reflex of a PJn (and WOJ) mö syllable in the data and the merger involved (mö merging with /mo/) can be found in every other attested EOJ province. Thus, I tentatively accept it.

We also see the retention of the medial vowel *o in the attributive suffix -o.

2.5.7.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, tö, Nta, Ntu, Ntö, sa, si, su, se, Nsi, na, ni, ne, nwo, nö, and ra. There are no phonographically attested two, Nti, Nte, Ntwo, swo, sö, Nsa, Nsu, Nse, Nswo, Nsö, nu, ri, ru, re, rwo, or rö syllables.

2.5.7.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>安太多良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3437.2</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myitinōku</td>
<td>美知能久</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3437.1</td>
<td>myitinōku +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tura</td>
<td>都良</td>
<td>bow_string</td>
<td>14:3437.5</td>
<td>tura +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 弖.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>弖</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3437.3</td>
<td>-te +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.7.2.5 tö syllables

The tö phonogram attested is 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.6 Nta syllables

The Nta phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>安太多良</td>
<td>14:3437.2</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.7 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>apyiNtune</td>
<td>安比豆祢</td>
<td>14:3426.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.8 Ntö syllables

The Ntö phonogram attested is 析.
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.9 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonogram attested is 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>sa</em></td>
<td>佐</td>
<td>thus</td>
<td>14:3426.2</td>
<td><em>sa</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.2.10 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 斯 and 思.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>sinwop-yi</em></td>
<td>斯努比</td>
<td>long_for-NML</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td><em>sinwop-yi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ser-asimye</em></td>
<td>西良思馬</td>
<td>deviate-CAUS.INF</td>
<td>14:3437.4</td>
<td>-asimye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

\[136\] I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 扱, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.7.2.11 su syllables

The su phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>musuNp-as-an-e</td>
<td>卐須波佐祢</td>
<td>14:3426.5</td>
<td>musuNp-as-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.12 se syllables

The se phonograms attested are 勢 and 西.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ser-asimye</td>
<td>西良思馬</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>-asimey</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>勢</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.2.13 Nsi syllables

The Nsi phonogram attested is 自.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>paNsik-yi</td>
<td>波自伎</td>
<td>14:3437.3</td>
<td>paNsik-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

\[137\] While ser- ‘deviate’ is unattested in WOJ, the form sor- ‘id.’ appears in MJ.
2.5.7.2.14 *na* syllables

The *na* phonograms attested are 奈 and 那.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-aNpa</td>
<td>安波奈波婆</td>
<td>meet-NEG-ITER-COND</td>
<td>14:3426.3</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>那婆</td>
<td>-PERF-COND</td>
<td>14:3437.4</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.2.15 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>14:3426.2</td>
<td>kuni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.2.16 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 弁.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>apyiNtune</td>
<td>安比豆弔</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3426.1</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>musup-as-an-e</td>
<td>牟須波佐弔</td>
<td>tie-HON-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3426.5</td>
<td>musuNp-as-an-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.7.2.17 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sinwop-ši</td>
<td>长_for-NML</td>
<td>14:3426.4</td>
<td>sinwop-ši</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.2.18 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonogram attested is 能.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3426.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3437.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>myitinöku</td>
<td>美知能久</td>
<td>14:3437.1</td>
<td>myitinöku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.2.19 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tura</td>
<td>都良</td>
<td>14:3437.5</td>
<td>tura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ser-asimye</td>
<td>西良思馬</td>
<td>14:3437.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>安太多良</td>
<td>14:3437.2</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.7.2.20 Summary of coronal initial syllables

None of the syllables are variant.

2.5.7.3 Palatal initial syllables

The only palatal initial phonographic syllable attested in the texts is yu. There are no phonographically attested ya, ye, ywo, or yö syllables.

2.5.7.3.1 yu syllables

The yu phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>由美</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td>14:3437.2</td>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.7.3.2 Summary of palatal initial syllables

The sole attested syllable is invariant.

2.5.7.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ka, kyi, and ku.

There are no phonographically attested kiy, kye, key, kwo, kō, Nka, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nku, Nkye, Nkey, Nkwo, or Nkō syllables.

2.5.7.4.1 ka syllables

The ka phonogram attested is 可.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.4.2 kyi syllables

The *kyi* phonogram attested is 伎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3437.5</td>
<td>kamö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pak-am-ye</td>
<td>波可馬</td>
<td>string-TENT-EV</td>
<td>14:3437.5</td>
<td>pak-am-ey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.4.3 ku syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myitinöku</td>
<td>美知能久</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3437.1</td>
<td>myitinöku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>14:3426.2</td>
<td>kuni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

138 This is the NHB character. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
2.5.7.4.4 Summary of velar initial syllables

None of the syllables are variant.

2.5.7.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested are a and o. There are no phonographically attested i or u syllables.

2.5.7.5.1 a syllables

The a phonogram attested is 安.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ap-an-ap-anPa</td>
<td>安波奈波婆</td>
<td>meet-NEG-ITER-COND</td>
<td>14:3426.3</td>
<td>ap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>apyiNtune</td>
<td>安比豆祢</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3426.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
<td>安太多良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3437.2</td>
<td>aNtatara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.7.5.2 o syllables

The o phonogram attested is 於.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>於伎 leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>14:3437.3</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.7.5.3 Summary of vowel initial syllables

None of the syllables are variant.

2.5.7.6 A reconstruction of Mitinöku’s phoneme inventory

2.5.7.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is only one variance out of 30 attested syllables (excluding unknowns), so I conclude labial and coronal prenasalized voiced obstruents were still a part of Mitinöku’s phoneme inventory. There is no data for the velar prenasalized voiced consonant.
2.5.7.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Mitinöku. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

Table 2-26: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Mitinöku

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p ʰm b ʰm</td>
<td>t ʰd</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s ʰz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no attested Nk- syllables in this province, so we are unable to make any conclusion in regard to the phonetic quality of the voiced velar stop.

2.5.7.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Mitinöku.

Table 2-27: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Mitinöku

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no attested /ɨ/ vowels, and the evidence suggests *əy merged with /e/.

2.5.7.6.3.1 Phonotatic restrictions

/ə/ does not occur after [+labial] consonant onsets.
2.5.7.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following phonological innovations for this province:

a) *əy > e
b) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

2.5.7.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

The only notable retention in this province is the attributive suffix -o, which retains an unraised medial vowel *o (cf. the WOJ form -u). Other attributive forms are not attested.

2.5.7.6.6 Phonological processes

We find the following phonological processes in Mitinōku:

a) Monophthongization via fusional reduction of a diphthong (*əy > e)
b) Palatalization (*əy > e)
c) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial]_

2.5.8 Simotukeno

There are thirteen Simotukeno poems in the Man'yōshū: two from Book 14 (3424, 3425) and eleven from Book 20 (4373-4383). Simotukeno province is the only EOJ province in the corpus that was completely surrounded by other EOJ provinces. To its north was Mitinōku province, from its east to southeast was Pitati province, to its south was Simotupusa province, and from its southwest to west was Kamitukeno province.
2.5.8.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are *pa, pyi, pu, pye, pey, po, Npa, Npyi, Npu, ma, myi, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa, and wo. There are no phonographically attested *piy, Npiy, Npye, Npey, Npo, miy, mye, wi, or we syllables.

2.5.8.1.1 *pa syllables

The *pa phonograms attested are 波 and 泊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N-kupasi</td>
<td>具波思</td>
<td>COP.INF-be.beautiful.AVFIN</td>
<td>14:3424.4</td>
<td>N-kupasi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4375.3</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nkapara</td>
<td>河泊</td>
<td>riverbank</td>
<td>14:3425.2</td>
<td>kapara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*pama</td>
<td>波麻</td>
<td>shore</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>pama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>14:3424.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4373.1</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4373.5</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4374.5</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4378.1</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4378.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>*pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance found in (2) is one we have already seen in other provinces. I analyze this as a different development from PJn *apia, where Simotukeno deletes the first part of the diphthong while WOJ fusionally reduces it to /e/.

---

I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 伯, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.8.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yum-ap-yi</td>
<td>由麻比</td>
<td>be.sick-ITER-NML</td>
<td>20:4382.3</td>
<td>-ap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>都度比</td>
<td>gather-INF</td>
<td>20:4381.2</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>20:4375.3</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>20:4382.2</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yösö-p-yi</td>
<td>餘曽比</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4383.3</td>
<td>yösö-p-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pyi</td>
<td>比</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>20:4378.1</td>
<td>pyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.1.3 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>20:4381.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>20:4383.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -n-ap-umö</td>
<td>奈布母</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-EXCL</td>
<td>20:4378.5</td>
<td>-ap-aNs-umö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pum-aNs-u</td>
<td>布麻受</td>
<td>step-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>14:3425.3</td>
<td>pum-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kyepu</td>
<td>祇布</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>20:4373.1</td>
<td>kyepu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 putapoNkamyi</td>
<td>布多富我美</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>20:4382.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pur-u</td>
<td>布流</td>
<td>wave-FIN</td>
<td>20:4379.5</td>
<td>pur-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

140 I follow GK here. NHB has 布 Npyi.

141 While the ordering of morphemes is different in WOJ, based on paradigmatic forms we can conclude the Simotukeno and WOJ forms are invariant.

142 Omodaka, et al. (1967: 636) suggest this could be a contracted form of *puta o* -o *kami* PN great COP-ATTR deity (glosses and morpheme boundaries are my own) “Great deity of Puta,” as *puta* can be found as a placename in the *Wamyōshō* (however, this attestation is post-OJ).
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.4 pye syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敞.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>apye-</td>
<td>𠭵</td>
<td>20:4377.5</td>
<td>apez-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>可敞理</td>
<td>20:4373.2</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>supye</td>
<td>須敞</td>
<td>20:4381.5</td>
<td>suNpye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we find two variances. The first, seen in example (1), involves a Simotukeno *pye* phonogram corresponding to a WOJ *pez* syllable, which may be evidence these two syllables merged to /pe/ in this province. The second variance occurs in example (3), where the onset is prenasalized in WOJ but voiceless in Simotukeno.

### 2.5.8.1.5 pey syllables

The sole *pey* phonogram attested is 倍.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pey</td>
<td>倍</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>pey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>supey</td>
<td>須倍</td>
<td>20:4379.4</td>
<td>suNpye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, we see a similar situation as found in the *pye* syllables. Example (1) shows a variance with the vowel, while example (2) has a variance with the onset consonant. The former example is further evidence for the merger of *əy > /e/ in Simotukeno, though we
will need more evidence to conclude the status of prenasalized consonants in this province.

2.5.8.1.6 *po* syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 富.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>意富</td>
<td>20:4373.3</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>putapoNkamyi</td>
<td>布多富我美</td>
<td>20:4382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.1.7 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -CONJ</td>
<td>20:4375.2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -CONJ</td>
<td>20:4380.2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -CONJ</td>
<td>20:4381.4</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>奈婆 PERF-COND</td>
<td>20:4379.3</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>naniNpa</td>
<td>奈尔婆 PN</td>
<td>20:4380.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (5) shows an onset in Simotukeno that is prenasalized, while in WOJ it is voiceless.

2.5.8.1.8 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 嫝.

143 I follow GK here. NHB has 波 pa.
144 I follow GK here. NHB has 波 pa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>-CL</td>
<td>20:4379.5</td>
<td>-taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多u</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4376.1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>多奈妣久</td>
<td>stream_out-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.19 Npu syllables

The Npu phonogram attested is 夫.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>saNp-uru</td>
<td>佐夫流</td>
<td>behave_like-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4380.3</td>
<td>saNp-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.8.10 ma syllables

The ma phonogram attested is 麻.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yum-ap-yi</td>
<td>由麻比</td>
<td>be.sick-ITER-INF</td>
<td>20:4382.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>之麻</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>20:4377.2</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>14:3424.2</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>伊麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>20:4376.5</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>matu</td>
<td>麻都</td>
<td>pine_tree</td>
<td>20:4375.1</td>
<td>matu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ikwoma</td>
<td>伊古麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4380.4</td>
<td>ikwoma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
<td>麻乎佐受</td>
<td>say.HUM-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.4</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pama</td>
<td>波麻</td>
<td>shore</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>pama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4379.4</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nam-yi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>be.lined_up-INF</td>
<td>20:4375.2</td>
<td>nam-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4374.2</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4380.3</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4373.4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4373.3</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>myitura</td>
<td>美都良</td>
<td>male_hair_style</td>
<td>20:4377.4</td>
<td>myinTura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>myikamō</td>
<td>美可母</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3424.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>宇美</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>20:4383.2</td>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>20:4375.2</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>20:4380.2</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>20:4381.4</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see.INF</td>
<td>20:4375.4</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>putapoNkamyi</td>
<td>布多富我美</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>20:4382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>namyi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>20:4379.1</td>
<td>namyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (3) and (4) show a Simotukeno *myi* phonogram corresponding to a WOJ *miy* syllable. As this root, *kamyi* ‘deity,’ is the only one in this set of data that contains a syllable that corresponds to a WOJ *iy* syllable, this may indicate PJn *i* merged with /i/ in this province.
2.5.8.1.12 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonogram attested is 牟.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>möt-am-u</td>
<td>母多牟</td>
<td>hold-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>möt-am-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.8.1.13 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>amey</td>
<td>阿米</td>
<td>heaven</td>
<td>20:4374.1</td>
<td>amey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mey</td>
<td>米</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>20:4383.5</td>
<td>mey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.1.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sakyimwori</td>
<td>佐伎毛里</td>
<td>border. guard</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>sakyimöri</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kumwo</td>
<td>久毛</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -tömwo</td>
<td>等毛</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
<td>20:4378.2</td>
<td>-Ntömö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mwoNkamwo</td>
<td>毛賀毛</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4377.2</td>
<td>mönKamö</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

145 I follow NHB here. GK has the *hiragana* symbol しめ here, which is obviously a later alteration or mistake as the *hiragana* syllabary was created long after the MYS was compiled.

146 I follow GR here. NHB has 母mö, which is invariant.

147 I follow GR here. NHB has 母mö, which is invariant.

148 I follow GR here. NHB has 母mö, which is invariant.
The seven variances in these data suggest *mwo* and *mö* syllables merged to /mo/ in this province.

2.5.8.1.15 *mö* syllables

The *mö* phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mόNkamō</td>
<td>母[^149]我母</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4383.5</td>
<td>mόNkamō</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mό</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4377.1</td>
<td>mό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mό</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4377.5</td>
<td>mό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mόt-am-u</td>
<td>母多牟</td>
<td>hold-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>mόt-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 amό</td>
<td>阿母</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4376.3</td>
<td>amό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 amό</td>
<td>阿母</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4377.1</td>
<td>amό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 amό</td>
<td>阿母</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4383.5</td>
<td>amό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -n-ap-umό</td>
<td>奈布母</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-EXCL</td>
<td>20:4378.5</td>
<td>-umό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 simόtukyeNWO</td>
<td>母都家野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3424.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 simόtukyenwo</td>
<td>母都家努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3425.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 myikamό</td>
<td>美可母</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3424.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 mό</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4381.5</td>
<td>mό</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^149]: I follow GR here. NHB has 母 mό, which is invariant.
[^150]: I follow GR here. NHB has 母 mό, which is invariant.
[^151]: I follow GR here. NHB has 母 mό, which is invariant.
[^152]: I follow NHB here. GK has the *hiragana* symbol ゚ here, which is obviously a later alteration or mistake as the *hiragana* syllabary was created long after the MYS was first compiled.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.1.16 wa syllables

The wa phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和可例</td>
<td>separate.INF</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>wakar-u</td>
<td>和可流</td>
<td>separate-ATTR</td>
<td>wakar-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.1.17 wo syllables

The wo phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4374.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4375.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4380.1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4381.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
<td>麻乎佐受</td>
<td>say.HUM-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.4</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

153 I follow NHB here. GK has 乎 u, which looks like a mistake. Unless it is an attempt to show a raised vowel (w)u syllable?
2.5.8.1.18 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *əy > e

b) *i > i

c) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

The evidence for all three is strong, so I accept all of the changes. Whether changes (a) and (b) are conditioned after a labial onset remains to be seen, but such a conditioning environment would be phonologically unusual, so I will leave them as unconditioned changes.

2.5.8.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, two, tö, Nta, Nte, Ntwo, sa, si, su, se, swo, sō, Nsi, Nsu, Nsō, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nō, ra, ri, ru, re, and rō. There are no phonographically attested Nti, Niu, Ntō, Nsa, Nse, Nswo, or rwo syllables.

2.5.8.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 suNkata</td>
<td>須我多</td>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>suNkata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>-CL</td>
<td>20:4379.5</td>
<td>-taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 taka</td>
<td>多可</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>20:4380.4</td>
<td>taka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 möt-am-u</td>
<td>母多牟</td>
<td>hold-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>möt-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>20:4377.2</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4376.1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>多多太伎</td>
<td>place_on_head-</td>
<td>20:4377.3</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-tar-u</td>
<td>多流</td>
<td>-PP-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4375.2</td>
<td>-tar-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tate</td>
<td>多弓</td>
<td>shield</td>
<td>20:4373.4</td>
<td>tate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tat-u</td>
<td>多都</td>
<td>stand-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4373.5</td>
<td>tat-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>tas-i</td>
<td>多志</td>
<td>stand-INF</td>
<td>20:4383.4</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tat-ar-i</td>
<td>多々里</td>
<td>stand-PROG-INF</td>
<td>20:4375.5</td>
<td>tat-ar-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>多奈妣久</td>
<td>stream_out-FIN</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ata-</td>
<td>阿多</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>20:4382.3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>putapoNkamyi</td>
<td>多富我美</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>20:4382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>多</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance seen in the second syllable in example (13) is due to a different morphological development in each language. In Simotukeno (and other EOJ provinces), the progressive -ar- is a suffix that attaches directly to the verb stem. In WOJ, the progressive was originally an auxiliary that attached to the infinitive, and fusionally reduced (*-i-ar- → -er-).

### 2.5.8.2.2 ti syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuti</td>
<td>都知</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>20:4374.1</td>
<td>tuti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While there is one *ti* syllable attested, it is in the set compound *amey tuti* ‘heaven (and) earth,’ which is quite common in WOJ poems of the MYS, and thus the occurrence of this phonographic form in Simotukeno may be due to an alteration by a WOJ scribe (though it
must be noted the orthographic form *amey tusi* does occur a few times in other EOJ provinces).

Ultimately, while the example here shows a *ti* phonogram, since I argue in section 2.5.8.2.11 that *ti* syllables merged with *si* syllables, I view the Simotukeno phonemic form to be */tusi/*, despite being written as *tuti*.

### 2.5.8.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>tuti</em></td>
<td>阿米都知</td>
<td>20:4374.1</td>
<td><em>tuti</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>tuNtwop-yi</em></td>
<td>都度比</td>
<td>20:4381.2</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>都</td>
<td>20:4383.1</td>
<td><em>tu</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>satu-</em></td>
<td>佐都</td>
<td>20:4374.3</td>
<td><em>satu-</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>myiNtura</em></td>
<td>美都良</td>
<td>20:4377.4</td>
<td>myiNtura</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>tuku</em></td>
<td>都久</td>
<td>20:4378.1</td>
<td><em>tukiy</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>matu</em></td>
<td>麻都</td>
<td>20:4375.1</td>
<td><em>matu</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>simötukyeNWO</em></td>
<td>之母家野</td>
<td>14:3424.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>simötukyenwo</em></td>
<td>志母家努</td>
<td>14:3425.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>tukusi</em></td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td><em>tukusi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>tat-u</em></td>
<td>多都</td>
<td>20:4373.5</td>
<td><em>tat-u</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one variance, found in example (5), involving a lack of prenasalization in the Simotukeno form.

### 2.5.8.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 之.
Once again we see a single variance in (2) involving a lack of prenasalization in the
Simotukeno form.

2.5.8.2.5 two syllables

The two phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>door</td>
<td>20:4380.1</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>伊刀</td>
<td>utterly</td>
<td>20:4379.4</td>
<td>ito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>伊刀</td>
<td>utterly</td>
<td>20:4381.5</td>
<td>ito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
<td>刀自</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>20:4377.1</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two syllable in (2) and (3) is said to be of unknown origin in WOJ (Omodaka et al 1967: 85), as it attested both as two and tö. This is very peculiar as two and tö are in nearly all other instances quite clearly distinct in WOJ.

154 I follow NHB here. GK has 刀, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.8.2.6 tö syllables

The tö phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-tömwo</td>
<td>等毛</td>
<td>20:4378.2</td>
<td>-Ntömwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>20:4373.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等¹⁵⁵</td>
<td>20:4376.2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等¹⁵⁶</td>
<td>20:4375.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>登</td>
<td>14:3425.4</td>
<td>[N]sö¹⁵⁷</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>20:4375.3</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>20:4382.2</td>
<td>pyitö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>等伎</td>
<td>20:4382.4</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>等伎</td>
<td>20:4383.4</td>
<td>tökyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>20:4376.4</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two variances here. The first, seen in (1) is yet another example of a lack of prenasalization in the Simotukeno form. The variance in (5) is more difficult, as it is an apparent correspondence of Simotukeno t and WOJ s.

However, evidence suggests the FPT was originally *sə and the alternate form /sə/ is a later fortition (i.e. only the form zo (< *nəsə) survives in Middle Japanese and beyond). This same focus particle is also attested once in this province as Nsö (and once as sō). Thus, the change we are looking at is most likely an additional fortition of /sə/ to /ta/, which I will mark as *nz > /t/, noting that it is sporadic, solely occurring in this focus particle.

¹⁵⁵ I follow NHB here. GK has 尔 ní, which is probably a mistake (copied over from the previous line).
¹⁵⁶ This part of the poem is orthographically troublesome. GK has 當 yò, which could be an emphatic particle, but as NHB and all other extant manuscripts have 等 tö here, which is grammatical, I cautiously follow NHB here.
¹⁵⁷ The prenasalization is a variant, as both forms are well-attested in WOJ.
2.5.8.2.7 *Nta* syllables

The *Nta* phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>伊多伎</td>
<td>20:4377.3</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.8.2.8 *Nte* syllables

The *Nte* phonogram attested is 堅.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[i]Nte-</td>
<td>堅</td>
<td>20:4383.4</td>
<td>[i]Nte-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>伊堅</td>
<td>20:4373.5</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[i]Nte</td>
<td>堅</td>
<td>20:4380.2</td>
<td>[i]Nte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.9 *Ntwo* syllables

The *Ntwo* phonogram attested is 度.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>都度比</td>
<td>20:4381.2</td>
<td>tuNtwop-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.8.2.10 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonogram attested is 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
<td>佐酒</td>
<td>appoint-FIN</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>saNp-uru</td>
<td>佐夫流</td>
<td>behave_like-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4380.3</td>
<td>saNp-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sakyimwori</td>
<td>佐岐毛利</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4381.2</td>
<td>sakyimöri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sakyimwori</td>
<td>佐伎毛里</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>sakyimöri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>satu-</td>
<td>佐都</td>
<td>hunting-</td>
<td>20:4374.3</td>
<td>satu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sas-i</td>
<td>佐之</td>
<td>point_toward-INF</td>
<td>20:4374.5</td>
<td>sas-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
<td>麻乎佐受</td>
<td>say.HUM-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.4</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nakyisa</td>
<td>奈岐佐</td>
<td>waterfront</td>
<td>20:4383.2</td>
<td>naNkyisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.11 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 志, 思, and 之.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>奈之</td>
<td>-AVFIN</td>
<td>20:4381.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>阿志</td>
<td>be.bad</td>
<td>20:4382.2</td>
<td>Asi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
<td>久夜之</td>
<td>be.regretful-</td>
<td>20:4376.5</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>N-kupasi</td>
<td>具波思</td>
<td>COP.ATTR-be.beautiful</td>
<td>14:3424.4</td>
<td>N-kupasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sikö</td>
<td>之許</td>
<td>despicable</td>
<td>20:4373.4</td>
<td>sikö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sisi</td>
<td>志志</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>20:4376.3</td>
<td>Titi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sisi</td>
<td>志志</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>20:4378.3</td>
<td>Titi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>之麻</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td>sima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>之良受</td>
<td>know-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.2</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>simötukyeNWO</td>
<td>之母都家野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3424.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>simötukyenwo</td>
<td>志母都家努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3425.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The five variances seen above are all evidence for the change of *t > s /_i.

2.5.8.2.12 su syllables

The su phonograms attested are 酒 and 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 suNkata</td>
<td>須我多</td>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>suNkata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sas-u</td>
<td>佐酒</td>
<td>appoint-FIN</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>sas-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -nōsu</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>14:3424.3</td>
<td>-nasu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 s-uru</td>
<td>須流</td>
<td>do-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4382.4</td>
<td>s-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 wasure</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4378.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 suNk-u</td>
<td>須具</td>
<td>pass-FIN</td>
<td>20:4378.2</td>
<td>suNk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 supey</td>
<td>須倍</td>
<td>way_of_doing</td>
<td>20:4379.4</td>
<td>suNpey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 supye</td>
<td>須敝</td>
<td>way_of_doing</td>
<td>20:4381.5</td>
<td>suNpey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.13 se syllables

The se phonogram attested is 西.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 se-</td>
<td>西</td>
<td>do-</td>
<td>20:4378.5</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.8.2.14 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonograms attested are 素 and 蘇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aswo</td>
<td>安素</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3425.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>swora</td>
<td>蘇良</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>14:3425.4</td>
<td>swora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>swote</td>
<td>蘇弓</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>20:4379.5</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.15 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曽.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yöösör-u</td>
<td>与 曽流</td>
<td>be.drawn_to-INF</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>yöösör-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>曽</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>sö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yöösöp-yi</td>
<td>餘 曽 比</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4383.3</td>
<td>yöösöp-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.16 *Nsi* syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
<td>刀自</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td>20:4377.1</td>
<td>twoNsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

321
2.5.8.2.17 Nsu syllables

The Nsu phonogram attested is 受.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>之良受</td>
<td>know-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.2</td>
<td>sir-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
<td>麻乎佐受</td>
<td>say.HUM-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.4</td>
<td>mawos-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pum-aNs-u</td>
<td>布麻受</td>
<td>step-NEG-INF</td>
<td>14:3425.3</td>
<td>pum-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.18 Nsö syllables

The Nsö phonogram attested is 叙.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nsö</td>
<td>叙</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4376.5</td>
<td>Nsö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.8.2.19 na syllables

The na phonogram attested is 奈.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>2.S</td>
<td>14:3425.5</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nam-yi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>be.lined_up-INF</td>
<td>20:4375.2</td>
<td>nam-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>20:4381.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>boat-</td>
<td>20:4383.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈里</td>
<td>COP-FIN</td>
<td>20:4382.2</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

158 I follow NHB here. GK has 所, which looks like a mistake.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>naka</th>
<th>な可</th>
<th>inside</th>
<th>20:4377.4</th>
<th>naka</th>
<th>+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-n-ap-umō</td>
<td>な-ap-umō</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-EXCL</td>
<td>20:4378.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>な</td>
<td>not.exist-</td>
<td>20:4373.2</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>な</td>
<td>not.exist-</td>
<td>20:4379.4</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>な</td>
<td>not.exist-</td>
<td>20:4381.5</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>nara</td>
<td>奈良</td>
<td>oak_tree</td>
<td>14:3424.3</td>
<td>nara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>-PERF-COND</td>
<td>20:4379.3</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>naniNpa</td>
<td>奈爾婆</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4380.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>多奈妣久</td>
<td>stream_out-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>nakyisa</td>
<td>奈岐佐</td>
<td>waterfront</td>
<td>20:4383.2</td>
<td>naNkyisa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>namyi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>20:4379.1</td>
<td>namyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.20 ni syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4377.2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>20:4376.3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4376.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4377.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4380.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4382.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4383.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4383.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>naniNpa</td>
<td>奈爾婆</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4380.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>20:4383.1</td>
<td>kuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>久爾具爾159</td>
<td>province-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4381.1</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

159 I follow GK here. In NHB this is written as 具爾々々 NkuniNkuni.

323
There are no variances in these data.

**2.5.8.2.21 nu syllables**

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 nuk-yi</td>
<td>奴伎</td>
<td>pull_out-INF</td>
<td>20:4374.3</td>
<td>nuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

**2.5.8.2.22 ne syllables**

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>peak</td>
<td>20:4380.4</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

**2.5.8.2.23 nwo syllables**

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -n-wo</td>
<td>努</td>
<td>-PERF-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3425.4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 simötukyenwo</td>
<td>志母都家</td>
<td>努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3425.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) shows a retention of the verbal attributive -o in Simotukeno.

---

160 I follow GK here. NHB has 奴 *nu*, which is invariant.
2.5.8.2.24 no syllables

The no phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nōsu  良61须</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>14:3424.3</td>
<td>nasu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-ō  乃</td>
<td>COP-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4373.4</td>
<td>n-ō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3424.2</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nō  能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3424.2</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3425.2</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4373.3</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4374.1</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-nō  能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4375.1</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4375.1</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4375.3</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4377.4</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4379.1</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4381.1</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-nō  乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4383.1[1]</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-nō  能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>20:4383.2</td>
<td>-nō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>inör-i 伊乃里</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4374.2</td>
<td>inör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>nör-i  能里</td>
<td>ride-INF</td>
<td>20:4381.3</td>
<td>nör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>nör-e  能礼</td>
<td>tell-IMP</td>
<td>14:3425.5</td>
<td>nör-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.25 ra syllables

The ra phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myitura 美都良</td>
<td>male_hair_</td>
<td>20:4377.4</td>
<td>myinTura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

61 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.26 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 利, 理, and 里.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -yōri</td>
<td>与利</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>20:4373.1</td>
<td>-yōri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sakyimwori</td>
<td>佐岐毛利</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4381.2</td>
<td>sakyimōri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sakyimwori</td>
<td>佐伎毛里</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>sakyimōri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 nar-i</td>
<td>奈里</td>
<td>COP-FIN</td>
<td>20:4382.2</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 inōr-i</td>
<td>伊乃里</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4374.2</td>
<td>inōr-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kapyer-i</td>
<td>可敞理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4373.2</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 nōr-i</td>
<td>能里</td>
<td>ride-INF</td>
<td>20:4381.3</td>
<td>nōr-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tat-ar-i</td>
<td>多々里</td>
<td>stand-PROG-INF</td>
<td>20:4375.5</td>
<td>tat-ar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.27 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonogram attested is 流.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yōsōr-u</td>
<td>与曾流</td>
<td>be.drawn_to-INF</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>yōsōr-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 saNp-uru</td>
<td>佐夫流</td>
<td>behave_like-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4380.3</td>
<td>saNp-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

326
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.28 re syllables

The *re* phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例⁶²</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>-EV</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>例</td>
<td>-EV</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>-EV</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和可例</td>
<td>separate.INF</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nör-e</td>
<td>能 礼</td>
<td>tell-IMP</td>
<td>nör-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.29 rö syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>己許呂</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶² I follow NHB here. GK has 社, which looks like a mistake.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.2.30 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

a) *ⁿd > d
b) *ⁿz > t
c) *t > s / _i

As only three examples of a) exist, and none involving the use of a Ntœ or Ntö phonogram to write a tœ or two syllable, I will reject it.

Change (b) is a sporadic fortition only attested once in this province (but, as will be shown, it is also attested in Simotupusa province). Despite this, I accept it as I see no better explanation for the data, and it is unlikely to be a misspelling.

Change (c) is supported by multiple attestations, and is thus easy to accept.

2.5.8.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ya, yu, ywo and yö. There are no phonographically attested ye syllables.

2.5.8.3.1 ya syllables

The ya phonogram attested is 夜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>20:4374.3</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.3.2 **yu** syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>14:3425.4</td>
<td>-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yuk-ap-yi</td>
<td>由麻比</td>
<td>be.sick-ITER-NML</td>
<td>20:4382.3</td>
<td>yam-ap-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yuk-ey</td>
<td>由気</td>
<td>go-EV</td>
<td>20:4378.2</td>
<td>yuk-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4376.2</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>由岐</td>
<td>go-INF</td>
<td>20:4376.1</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (2) seems to involve a Simotukeno *yu* syllable corresponding to a WOJ *ya* syllable. One major problem here is it is not clear we are even dealing with identical roots in these examples. Mizushima (1996: 219) views the full Simotukeno form to be *ata-yum-ap-yi*, PREF-be.sick-ITER-NML (I have added glosses and morpheme boundaries, as Mizushima 1996 does not provide them), with the prefix *ata-* meaning ‘quickly,’ but if even if we follow this interpretation the prefix *ata-* would be attested only once in all of EOJ, and to the best of my knowledge it is not phonographically attested in WOJ. Thus, it is entirely possible the root may be *atayum-*, and if so, then it certainly has nothing to do with WOJ *yam-* ‘be sick.’ However, there are two other examples of the correspondence EOJ *u* : WOJ *a* which we should consider. The first one
also involves a form of the shape *yam* corresponding to WOJ *yum*, which can be found in the UD\textsuperscript{163} poem 14:3533.4 *nayum-u* worry-ATTR (the WOJ form is *nayam-u* ‘id.’). The second example is also of unknown provenance, and is *nuNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Niö* ‘flow-ITER.ITER-INF-go-EV-CONC’ from 14:3476b.1. This form has a root *nuNkan-* ‘flow’ corresponding to WOJ *naNkar-\textsuperscript{164}* ‘id.’ The one thing these three words have in common other than the correspondence of *u*: *a* is the fact that there is a nasal immediately following the vowel in question. This nasal is *m* in both *yum-* (> *yam-*) and *nayum-* (< *nayam-*), and historically there certainly could have been an *m* in *nuNkan-* as well (< *namkar-*?). Thus the conditioning environment looks to be *am*, though some other currently unknown factor must be at work as it does not apply to all *am* sequences. Perhaps the PJn vowel was long in all of these words, thus reflexes from *yaam-* , *nayaam-* , and *naamkar-*?

2.5.8.3.3 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 欲.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ywo\textsuperscript{165}</td>
<td>欲\textsuperscript{165}</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>14:3425.2</td>
<td>-ywo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

\textsuperscript{163} One cannot help but wonder if this is a Simotukeno poem.

\textsuperscript{164} The final *-n* in the UD form is likely the result of progressive nasal assimilation from the previous two nasals in the root.

\textsuperscript{165} I follow NHB here. GK has the *kungana* phonogram 夜 *ywo*, but it looks like a later amendment (Mizushima 1996: 118).
2.5.8.3.4 yö syllables

The yö phonograms attested are 与 and 餘.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>- yöri</td>
<td>与利</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>20:4373.1</td>
<td>-ywori</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yösör-u</td>
<td>与曽流</td>
<td>be.drawn_to-INF</td>
<td>20:4379.2</td>
<td>yösör-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>与</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3425.4</td>
<td>yö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>餘曽比</td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4383.3</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) is an example of a Simotukeno yö phonogram corresponding to a WOJ ywo syllable, which may be indicative of a merger of *ə > o, or it may be a misspelling.

2.5.8.3.5 Summary of palatal initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

a) *ə > o
b) *a > u / _m

Change (a) is supported by only one example, and a misspelling is likely, so I reject it.

Change (b) is also supported by only one example, but there are two other corroborating examples in UD poems, and a misspelling is unlikely, so I tentatively accept it, noting it is sporadic and may be conditioned in some as of yet unknown way.

2.5.8.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ka, kyi, ku, kye, key, kwo, kō, Nka, and Nku. There are no phonographically attested kiy, Nkiy, Nkiy, Nkye, Nkey, Nkwo, or Nkō syllables.
2.5.8.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonogram attested is 可.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 naka</td>
<td>奈可</td>
<td>center</td>
<td>20:4377.4</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kamiy</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4374.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kamiy</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4380.3</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 taka</td>
<td>多可</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>20:4380.4</td>
<td>taka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 myikamō</td>
<td>美可母</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3424.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -ka</td>
<td>可</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4378.3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ka</td>
<td>可</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 kapyer-i</td>
<td>可敏理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4373.2</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 wakare</td>
<td>和可例</td>
<td>separate.INF</td>
<td>20:4379.3</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 wakar-u</td>
<td>和可流</td>
<td>separate-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4381.4</td>
<td>wakar-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 mak-am-aku</td>
<td>麻可麻久</td>
<td>wrap-TENT-NML</td>
<td>20:4377.5</td>
<td>mak-am-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (12) is another example of a plain voiceless initial phonogram in Simotukeno corresponding to a prenasalized voiced initial phonogram in WOJ.

2.5.8.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎 and 岐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sakyimwori</td>
<td>伎岐毛利</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4381.2</td>
<td>sakyimōri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sakyimwori</td>
<td>伎岐毛里</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4382.5</td>
<td>sakyimōri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 k-yi</td>
<td>伎</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>14:3425.4</td>
<td>k-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yuk-yi</td>
<td>由岐</td>
<td>go-NML</td>
<td>20:4376.1</td>
<td>yuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kyimy</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4373.3</td>
<td>kyimy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 nuk-yi</td>
<td>伎奴</td>
<td>pull_out-INF</td>
<td>20:4374.3</td>
<td>nuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>伊多太伎</td>
<td>put_on_head-INF</td>
<td>20:4377.3</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances in (8) and (11) are further examples of a plain voiceless initial phonogram in Simotukeno corresponding to a prenasalized voiced initial phonogram in WOJ.

### 2.5.8.4.3 ku syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4373.2</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
<td>夜之</td>
<td>be.regretful</td>
<td>20:4376.5</td>
<td>kuyasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>久毛</td>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ik-u</td>
<td>伊久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4374.5</td>
<td>ik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4376.2</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>都久</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>20:4378.1</td>
<td>tukiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4374.4</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔</td>
<td>province</td>
<td>20:4383.1</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>久尔具尔</td>
<td>province-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4381.1</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>okur-u</td>
<td>於久流</td>
<td>send-FIN</td>
<td>20:4375.4</td>
<td>okur-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>多奈妣久</td>
<td>stream_out-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4380.5</td>
<td>tanaNpyik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mak-am-aku</td>
<td>麻可麻久</td>
<td>wrap-TENT-NML</td>
<td>20:4377.5</td>
<td>mak-am-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (6) is due to a different development from the PJn diphthong *uy. In Simotukeno we find a deletion of the second segment for the output /u/ (as we have seen in other provinces), while in WOJ we see this diphthong fusionally reduced to /ɨ/.
2.5.8.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonograms attested are 家 and 祁.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>kye</em></td>
<td>家</td>
<td>container</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>simötukyeNWO</td>
<td>之母都家野</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3424.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>simötukyenwo</td>
<td>志母都家努</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3425.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kyepu</td>
<td>祁布</td>
<td>today</td>
<td>20:4373.1</td>
<td>kyepu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) may indicate that *əy* merged with /e/ in this province, but further examples are needed.

2.5.8.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4376.5</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4382.2</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yuk-ey</td>
<td>由氣</td>
<td>go-EV</td>
<td>20:4378.2</td>
<td>yuk-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>20:4375.1</td>
<td>kiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the variances found in examples (1) and (2) we find further orthographic evidence for the merger of *əy* with /e/, as the PJn form was *ke*, and not *kəy*, thus we would expect *kye* phonograms in the Simotukeno forms if there were still distinct /ke/ and /kəy/ syllables. The WOJ form is a product of vowel raising (*e > i*).

Based on this hypothesis, despite the orthographic form of example (4) which initially looks to indicate a retention, phonologically we must conclude it is actually an innovation (a different innovation than the one that produced the vowel reflex in the WOJ

---

166 I follow NHB here. GK has 都 tu, which looks like a mistake.
Thus (4) would be pronounced /ke/ (rather than /kəy/) in Simotukeno after the merger of *əy with /e/ proposed here had occurred.

### 2.5.8.4.6 kwo syllables

The kwo phonogram attested is 古.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ikwoma</td>
<td>伊古麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4380.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.4.7 kō syllables

The kō phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sikō</td>
<td>之許</td>
<td>despicable</td>
<td>20:4373.4</td>
<td>sikō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kō-</td>
<td>許奈良</td>
<td>DIM-</td>
<td>14:3424.3</td>
<td>kwo-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kōkōrō</td>
<td>己許呂</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>14:3425.5</td>
<td>kōkōrō</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kō-</td>
<td>己岐</td>
<td>row-INF</td>
<td>20:4380.2</td>
<td>kōNk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>mwokōrō</td>
<td>毛己呂</td>
<td>similarity</td>
<td>20:4375.5</td>
<td>mōkōrō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kōtō</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>20:4376.4</td>
<td>kōtō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) involves a Simotukeno kō phonogram corresponding to a WOJ kwo phonogram, which may indicate a merger of *ə with /o/. However, since this is the only example we find in the Simotukeno corpus, and with no similar examples found in the section on kwo syllables, it is likely just a misspelling.

---

167 This is because the WOJ form is derived from PJn *kəy, which also happens to be the literal pronunciation of a key phonogram.

168 I follow NHB here. GK has 良 ra, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.8.4.8 Nka syllables

The Nka phonograms attested are 賀, 河, and 我.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 suNkata</td>
<td>Must</td>
<td>appearance</td>
<td>20:4378.4</td>
<td>suNkata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mwoNkamwo</td>
<td>毛賀毛</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4377.2</td>
<td>mőNkamö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 möNkamö</td>
<td>母我母</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4383.5</td>
<td>möNkamö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -Nka</td>
<td>賀</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3424.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3425.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4382.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4383.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Nkapara</td>
<td>河泊良</td>
<td>riverbank</td>
<td>14:3425.2</td>
<td>kapara</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 putapoNkamyi</td>
<td>布多富我美</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>20:4382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (8) is not very strong orthographic evidence for a sound change in Simotukeno due to the fact the character 河, while a WOJ phonogram for the syllable Nka, also means ‘river’ in EMC. Thus, although its primary function is to be a phonogram here, it was also chosen for its meaning. It is hardly surprising to find that a scribe has taken advantage of the coincidental, almost perfect overlap between the first syllable of the EOJ word for ‘river(bank)’ and an WOJ Nka phonogram that also means ‘river’ in EMC.

2.5.8.4.9 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>suNk-u</th>
<th>须具</th>
<th>pass-FIN</th>
<th>20:4378.2</th>
<th>suNk-u</th>
<th>+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>久尔具尔</td>
<td>province-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4381.1</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.4.10 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *əy > e
b) *ə > o
c) *0g > g

Change (a) is backed by multiple examples, so I accept it.

There is only one example to support change (b), and numerous examples to go against it, so I reject it.

I also reject change (c), as there are few examples to support it and the Nk-phonograms are amply attested and rigidly invariant.

2.5.8.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested in Simotukeno are a, i, u, and o.

2.5.8.5.1 a syllables

The a phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

---

169 The final form is morphosyntactically problematic for this example, though phonologically it works well. See section 5.5.2.2.1 for more discussion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>asi-</td>
<td>阿志</td>
<td>be.bad-</td>
<td>asi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>amey</td>
<td>阿米</td>
<td>heaven</td>
<td>amey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>apye</td>
<td>阿敝</td>
<td>join.INF</td>
<td>apey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>阿母</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>阿母</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>amwo</td>
<td>阿毛</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>阿母</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>aswo</td>
<td>安素</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ata-</td>
<td>阿多</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.5.2 i syllables

The i phonogram attested is 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>伊戻</td>
<td>go_out.INF</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ik-u</td>
<td>伊久</td>
<td>go-ATTR</td>
<td>ik-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>伊麻</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ikwoma</td>
<td>伊古麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>inör-i</td>
<td>伊乃里</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>inör-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>伊多太伎</td>
<td>put_on_head</td>
<td>itaNtak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>伊之</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>isi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>伊刀</td>
<td>utterly</td>
<td>ito</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>itwo</td>
<td>伊刀</td>
<td>utterly</td>
<td>ito</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

170 I follow NHB here. GK has 河 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
171 I follow NHB here. GK has 河 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
172 I follow NHB and later manuscripts here. GK is the only manuscript that has 由 yu here (Mizushima 1996: 214), which I think is a mistake (yuk-u ‘go-ATTR’ instead of ik-u ‘go-ATTR,’ though admittedly both are attested in EOJ).
2.5.8.5.3 $u$ syllables

The $u$ phonogram attested is 宇.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>宇美</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>20:4383.2</td>
<td>umyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.8.5.4 $o$ syllables

The $o$ phonograms attested are 意 and 於.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>意富</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4373.3</td>
<td>opo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>okur-u</td>
<td>於久流</td>
<td>send-FIN</td>
<td>20:4375.4</td>
<td>okur-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.8.5.5 Summary of vowel initial syllables

There are no possible sound changes in this set of data.

2.5.8.6 A reconstruction of Simotukeno’s phoneme inventory

2.5.8.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data$^{173}$ (these refer strictly to the consonant

$^{173}$ In Table 2-28, I do not mark as variant the examples in the Simotukeno data that were shown to support the change of *t > s /_i. These examples are included in the invariant column.
quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

### Table 2-28: Consonant variances and invariances in Simotukeno

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simotukeno exhibits a moderate rate of variance. No prenasalized onset type shows more than one variance, and no voiceless onset type shows more than three. The s-/Ns- series are completely invariant. Thus, I conclude prenasalized voiced obstruents were still a part of Simotukeno’s phoneme inventory.

### 2.5.8.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Simotukeno. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

### Table 2-29: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Simotukeno

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabal</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p\textsuperscript{mb}</td>
<td>t\textsuperscript{n}d</td>
<td>k\textsuperscript{n}g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s\textsuperscript{n}z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.8.6.2.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/t/ does not occur before /i/.

2.5.8.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Simotukeno.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.8.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ only occurs after [-labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.8.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following innovations for Simotukeno:

a)  *əy > e

b)  *a_s > t (sporadic, only occurring in one focus particle)

c)  *t > s / _i

d)  *ə > o / C[+labial]_

e)  *i > i

f)  *a > u (sporadic, may be conditioned due to following /m/)
2.5.8.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

The only possible retention is the adjectival verb attributive suffix -key, if we read its phonographic form as /ke/, as proposed in section 2.5.8.4.5.

2.5.8.6.6 Phonological rules and processes

The following phonological rules and processes can be seen in Simotukeno:

   a) Fortification (*n > t)
   b) Labialization (*a > o / C[+labial]_, *a > u (/_m?)
   c) Spirantization (*t > s /_i)
   d) Palatalization (*oy > e, *i > i)

2.5.9 Pitati

The Pitati corpus consists of seventeen poems. From Book 14 the poems are 3350, 3351, 3388, 3392, 3394, 3395, and 3397, while from Book 20 the poems are 4363-4372. Pitati province bordered the sea to its east, Mitinöku province to its north, Simotukeno province to its west, and Simotupusa province to its south.

2.5.9.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested in the Pitati poems are pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, Npa, Npu, ma, myi, mu, mye, mey, mwo, mö, wa, wi, we, and wo. There are no phonographically attested Npyi, Npiy, Npye, Npey, Npo, or miy syllables.
2.5.9.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonograms attested are 波 and 破.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>-COND</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 N-kupa</td>
<td>具 波</td>
<td>COP.ATTR</td>
<td>14:3350a.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 woN-tukupa</td>
<td>波豆久</td>
<td>DIM-PN</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 woN-tukupa</td>
<td>波豆久</td>
<td>DIM-PN</td>
<td>14:3395.1</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>20:4369.2</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -N-kupasi-</td>
<td>具 波志</td>
<td>-GEN-be.lovely-</td>
<td>20:4371.3</td>
<td>-N-kupasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -N-kapa</td>
<td>我 波</td>
<td>-GEN-river</td>
<td>20:4368.1</td>
<td>-N-kapa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 paNpakaru-</td>
<td>婆可流</td>
<td>hesitate-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.6</td>
<td>paNpakaru-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sinup-an-e</td>
<td>波尼</td>
<td>long_for-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4367.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 tatipana</td>
<td>多知 波奈</td>
<td>mandarin_orange</td>
<td>20:4371.1</td>
<td>tatiNpana</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 sapaNta</td>
<td>佐 波太</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>14:3395.4</td>
<td>sapa¹⁷⁴</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 -n-ap-am-ye</td>
<td>波卖</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV</td>
<td>14:3394.5</td>
<td>-ap-am-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 takupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3351.1</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 takupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3388.1</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔 波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4363.1</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔 波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4365.2</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 takupa</td>
<td>都久 波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4367.3</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 takupa</td>
<td>都久 波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4369.1</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 takupa</td>
<td>都久 波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4371.4</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 pupa</td>
<td>不破</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.7</td>
<td>pupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 takupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3350a.1</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 takupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3392.1</td>
<td>takupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 ipap-am-u</td>
<td>伊波 叁</td>
<td>pray-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4372.12</td>
<td>ipap-am-u</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 tamapar-i</td>
<td>多麻 波理</td>
<td>receive.HUM-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.2</td>
<td>tamapar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 ipa</td>
<td>伊 波</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>14:3392.2</td>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁷⁴ This is only attested as *sapa* in WOJ. The form *sapaNta* is only attested in Pitati, but it is clear they share the root *sapa* ‘many,’ so I will compare the first two syllables in Pitati and WOJ.
The variance in (10) involves a lack of prenasalization in the Pitati form.

2.5.9.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pyiru</td>
<td></td>
<td>daytime</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>pyiru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apyiNta</td>
<td></td>
<td>interval</td>
<td>14:3395.3</td>
<td>apyiNta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td></td>
<td>long_for.INF</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwopyi</td>
<td></td>
<td>long_for.NML</td>
<td>20:4366.3</td>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipyi</td>
<td></td>
<td>new</td>
<td>14:3350a.2</td>
<td>nipyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyitati</td>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3397.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyitati</td>
<td></td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4366.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td></td>
<td>prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4365.3</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (3) and (4) may be indicative of a merger of *ɨ > i* in this province.
2.5.9.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 飛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>piyk-ey</td>
<td>飛75気</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>pyik-ey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variance stands as additional evidence for a merger of *i > i* in this province.

2.5.9.1.4 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonograms attested are 布 and 不.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>puk-u</td>
<td>布久</td>
<td>20:4371.2</td>
<td>puk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>布祢</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>20:4365.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pur-i</td>
<td>布理</td>
<td>20:4370.1</td>
<td>pur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pur-ar-u</td>
<td>布良留</td>
<td>14:3351.2</td>
<td>pur-er-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pupa</td>
<td>不破</td>
<td>20:4372.7</td>
<td>pupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pur-i</td>
<td>布利</td>
<td>20:4367.4</td>
<td>pur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.1.5 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonograms attested are 敝 and 弊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>伊敝</td>
<td>20:4364.3</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nar-upye</td>
<td>奈流弊176</td>
<td>20:4364.4</td>
<td>nar-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

175 I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *piy*, which is invariant.
176 This example was erroneously omitted from Kupchik 2007.
There are two variances here, but both occur in example (2). This example lacks the prenasalization of the WOJ form, and the vowel is ye instead of ey. This may indicate *əy merged with /e/ in Pitati.

### 2.5.9.1.6 pey syllables

The pey phonogram attested is 閑.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kapeyr-i</td>
<td>可閑理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.3</td>
<td>kapeyr-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kapeyr-i</td>
<td>可閑理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.15</td>
<td>kapeyr-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both examples are variant, and once again we find additional orthographic evidence that *əy merged with /e/ in this province.

### 2.5.9.1.7 po syllables

The po phonograms attested are 富 and 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>posi-</td>
<td>保思</td>
<td>be.desired-tide</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>posi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sipo</td>
<td>志富</td>
<td></td>
<td>20:4368.3</td>
<td>sipo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.8 Npa syllables

The Npa phonogram attested is 婆.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.9 *Npu* syllables

The *Npu* phonogram attested is 夫.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-pune</td>
<td>夫祢</td>
<td>20:4368.3</td>
<td>-N-pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonograms attested are 麻 and 萬.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>萬多</td>
<td>14:3395.5</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mumum</td>
<td>午麻</td>
<td>20:4372.9</td>
<td>uma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>20:4368.4</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>14:3397.3</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>14:3394.3</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>20:4371.4</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>伊麻</td>
<td>20:4363.4</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kasima</td>
<td>可志麻</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tamapar-i</td>
<td>多麻波理</td>
<td>20:4372.2</td>
<td>tamapar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mawos-u</td>
<td>麻乎須</td>
<td>20:4372.14</td>
<td>mawos-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>maywo</td>
<td>麻欲</td>
<td>14:3350a.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>timar-i</td>
<td>知麻利</td>
<td>20:4372.11</td>
<td>tömar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

347
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kamyi</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 myi-</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4370.4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>20:4372.2</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 myi-</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>HON-</td>
<td>14:3350a.4</td>
<td>myi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kyimy</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>14:3388.4</td>
<td>kyimy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kyimy</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>14:3350a.4</td>
<td>kyimy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kasumy</td>
<td>可須美</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td>kasumy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 umy</td>
<td>宇美</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>14:3397.2</td>
<td>umy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see.INF</td>
<td>20:4367.4</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>see.INF</td>
<td>20:4372.3</td>
<td>myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>14:3392.3</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) is seen in the vast majority of attestations of this root in EOJ, and may be regarded as further orthographic evidence for the merger of *ɨ > i* in this province.

2.5.9.12 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 卒 and 武.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 imu</td>
<td>伊卒</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4364.3</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sakyimuri</td>
<td>佐岐卒理</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4364.1</td>
<td>sakyimori</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可卒</td>
<td>go-TENT-</td>
<td>20:4366.2</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (1) may be a case of a raising of *o > u in Pitati, or it could be a reflex from a form such as PJn *imua in which the second part of the diphthong is deleted.

Supporting the vowel raising hypothesis of *o > u is the form sakyimuri in example (2), which is internally variant within EOJ, as other EOJ provinces show the orthographic form sakyimwori or sakyimöri. The attested WOJ form is sakyimöri.

Furthermore, the contractive diphthong hypothesis is problematic as the root imo ‘beloved girl’ is well-attested in this province, as will be shown below. Such a form should not exist in this province if the root originally had a diphthong that was contracted. We would be forced to conclude the form imo is a doublet due to borrowing from WOJ (or perhaps another EOJ province with this form), or due to scribal alterations to the text. Due to this, I accept the vowel raising hypothesis in this case.

### 2.5.9.1.13 mye syllables

The mye phonogram attested is 営.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -n-ap-am-ye</td>
<td>奈波 営</td>
<td>-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV</td>
<td>14:3394.5</td>
<td>-am-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here we find a mye syllable in Pitati corresponding to a mey syllable in WOJ, which may indicate a merger occurred between these two syllables.

### 2.5.9.1.14 mey syllables

The mey phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sumeyra</td>
<td>須米良</td>
<td>emperor</td>
<td>20:4370.4</td>
<td>sumyera</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ar-am-ey</td>
<td>安良米</td>
<td>exist-TENT-EV</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>ar-am-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tumey</td>
<td>都米</td>
<td>hoof</td>
<td>20:4372.9</td>
<td>tumey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) is another example suggesting *sy merged with /e/ in Pitati, though the root in question is somewhat problematic\(^\text{177}\).

### 2.5.9.1.15 mwo syllables

The mwo phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3351.2</td>
<td>kamö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kamwo</td>
<td>可聞</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3395.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3392.4</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3392.2</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -N-körömwo</td>
<td>其呂毛</td>
<td>-GEN-garment</td>
<td>14:3394.1</td>
<td>-N-körömö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 mworö-</td>
<td>毛呂々</td>
<td>many-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4372.13</td>
<td>mörö-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^\text{177}\) This word refers to past (ancestor) emperors, rather than the present emperor. In addition, it has a rather unclear etymological origin. Vovin (2009b: 103-4) offers a detailed discussion, suggesting that it is historically *sume-ra 'ancestor-DIM,' with the root *sume likely being of Korean origin, cognate with MK sum- 'to be hidden, to retire from the world.'
Excluding the unknown syllable in (8), all other syllables are variant, which strongly suggests the merger of *ə > o / C [+labial] - in Pitati.

2.5.9.16 mō syllables

The mō phonogram attested is 母.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imō</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4363.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imō</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4365.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imō</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4366.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>imō</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4367.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>imō</td>
<td>伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mōNka</td>
<td>母我</td>
<td>DPT</td>
<td>20:4366.2</td>
<td>mōNka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>[o]mōte</td>
<td>母弓</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>20:4367.1</td>
<td>omote</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4369.3</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4372.5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>mö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3351.3</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3351.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4364.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-m-ō</td>
<td>母</td>
<td>-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4367.3</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances here further strengthen the hypothesis of the merger *ə > o / C [+labial] - in this province.

2.5.9.17 wa syllables

The wa phonogram attested is 和.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4368.5</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4370.5</td>
<td>ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4372.8</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3392.5</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>wasura-</td>
<td>和須良</td>
<td>forget-</td>
<td>14:3394.4</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>forget-</td>
<td>20:4367.2</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sawak-yi</td>
<td>佐和伎</td>
<td>make_noise-NML</td>
<td>20:4364.2</td>
<td>sawak-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.18 wi syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>為</td>
<td>sit.INF</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>為</td>
<td>bring.INF</td>
<td>14:3388.5</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>為</td>
<td>reside.INF</td>
<td>20:4372.11</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.19 we syllables

The *we* phonogram attested is 惠.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>suwe</em></td>
<td>須惠</td>
<td>place.INF</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td><em>suwe</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.9.1.20 wo syllables

The wo phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3388.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3394.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3395.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4364.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4366.3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4367.3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4370.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4371.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>乎豆久波</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>乎豆久波</td>
<td>14:3395.1</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>20:4372.5</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>mawos-u</td>
<td>麻乎須</td>
<td>20:4372.14</td>
<td>mawos-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>14:3351.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.1.21 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a)  *əy > e

b)  *ə > o / C[+labial]_

c)  *o > u (sporadic)

d)  *ua > u

e)  *i > i

I accept both (a) and (b), as both have at least one example in two syllable types.
As for changes (c) and (d), only one can be correct. Each has problems associated with it, but overall (c) is the more plausible choice.

Change (e) is supported by three examples, which are all attested examples that correspond to a WOJ Ci_y syllable. Thus, I accept it.

2.5.9.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, tō, Nta, Ntu, Nte, Ntō, sa, si, su, se, swo, sō, Nsi, Nse, na, ni, ne, nwo, nō, ra, ri, ru, re, and rō.

There are no phonographically attested two, Nti, Ntwo, Nsa, Nsu, Nswo, Nsö, or rwo syllables.

2.5.9.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mata</td>
<td>萬多</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>14:3395.5</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sita</td>
<td>之多</td>
<td>below</td>
<td>20:4371.2</td>
<td>sita</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>break.INF</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>break.INF</td>
<td>14:3397.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tama</td>
<td>多麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>14:3397.3</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tata</td>
<td>知波奈</td>
<td>mandarin_orange</td>
<td>20:4371.1</td>
<td>tataNpana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pyitai</td>
<td>比多知</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3397.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pyitai</td>
<td>比多知</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4366.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 tamapar-i</td>
<td>多麻波理</td>
<td>receive.HUM.-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.2</td>
<td>tamapar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 tas-i</td>
<td>多思</td>
<td>rise-INF</td>
<td>14:3395.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 tayura</td>
<td>多由良</td>
<td>shaking</td>
<td>14:3392.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 tas-i</td>
<td>多志</td>
<td>stand-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.6</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 tat-am-u</td>
<td>多々暮</td>
<td>stand-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4364.2</td>
<td>tat-am-u</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.2 ti syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ Line</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tatipana</td>
<td>多知波奈</td>
<td>mandarin_orange</td>
<td>20:4371.1</td>
<td>tatiNpana +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pyitati</td>
<td>比多知</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3397.1</td>
<td>– ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pyitati</td>
<td>比多知</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4366.1</td>
<td>–?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kati</td>
<td>可知</td>
<td>rudder</td>
<td>20:4368.1</td>
<td>kaNti -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>timar-i</td>
<td>知麻利</td>
<td>stay-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.1</td>
<td>tömar-i -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (4) shows a voiceless initial phonogram in Pitati corresponding to a prenasalized voiced initial in WOJ. The variance in (5) is more peculiar, as the vowel *i* in Pitati is corresponding to the vowel *ö* in WOJ. This is probably the result of a vowel /ö/ sporadically fronting and raising after initial /t/ in Pitati. Something similar happened in the MJ word *tigaf* - ‘differ’ – compare EOJ and WOJ taNkap - ‘id.’

### 2.5.9.2.3 tu syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都. There is also a dissylabic phonogram 筑 *tuku* attested which is included here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ Line</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tukye</td>
<td>都祁</td>
<td>be.attached. INF</td>
<td>20:4366.4</td>
<td>tukey +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>都々</td>
<td>-COOR</td>
<td>20:4367.4</td>
<td>-tutu ++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>都々</td>
<td>-COOR</td>
<td>20:4370.3</td>
<td>-tutu ++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ot-uru</td>
<td>於都留</td>
<td>fall-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3392.3</td>
<td>ot-uru +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonograms attested are 面 and 天.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[o]möte</td>
<td>母面</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>20:4367.1</td>
<td>omöte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
<td>於之流</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>20:4365.1</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-te-</td>
<td>天</td>
<td>-PERF</td>
<td>14:3395.5</td>
<td>-te-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>天</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3388.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4366.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4366.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4372.8</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>20:4372.11</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-mate</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4372.15</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mat-e</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>wait-EV</td>
<td>20:4368.2</td>
<td>mat-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

178 NHB has the semantogram 津 *TU* here, but thankfully we have a phonogram in the GK manuscript.

179 I follow NHB here. GK has 立, but this is clearly a mistake as this character is not attested as a phonogram in any OJ text (Omodaka et al 1967: 902-3), and it makes no sense as a semantogram in this line.
The variance in (9) shows a lack of prenasalization in the Pitati form.

2.5.9.2.5 tö syllables

The tö phonogram attested is 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tökö</td>
<td>等許</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>20:4369.3</td>
<td>tökö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>DV</td>
<td>20:4363.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>DV</td>
<td>20:4365.4</td>
<td>tö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>DV</td>
<td>20:4372.14</td>
<td>tö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>töNtörö</td>
<td>等幼呂</td>
<td>thunderous</td>
<td>14:3392.2</td>
<td>töNtörö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>20:4364.4</td>
<td>kötö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.2.6 Nta syllables

The Nta phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sìNta</td>
<td>之太</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>20:4367.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>apyiNta</td>
<td>安比太</td>
<td>interval</td>
<td>14:3395.3</td>
<td>apyiNta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sapaNta</td>
<td>佐波太</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>14:3395.4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.2.7 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>woN-</td>
<td>乎豆久波</td>
<td>DIM-PN</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>woN-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

357
<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>woN-</td>
<td>DIM-PN</td>
<td>14:3395.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-N-tuk-u</td>
<td>豆久</td>
<td>-GEN- breathe- ATTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>myiNtu</td>
<td>美豆</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.2.8 Nte syllables

The Nte phonogram attested is 提.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kaNte</td>
<td>可提</td>
<td>-POT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we see a prenasalized voiced initial phonogram in Pitati corresponding to a WOJ voiceless initial phonogram.

2.5.9.2.9 Ntö syllables

The Ntö phonogram attested is 等.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Ntö</td>
<td>等</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>töNtöro</td>
<td>等180 吕</td>
<td>thunderous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aNtö</td>
<td>阿等</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

180 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 等.
2.5.9.2.10 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 佐, 左, and 散.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[i]kusaj</td>
<td>久佐</td>
<td>20:4370.4 ikusa</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sakey-佐</td>
<td>be.safe-佐</td>
<td>20:4368.2 sakey</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sakye-佐</td>
<td>be.safe-佐</td>
<td>20:4372.14 sakey</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sakyimuri佐岐</td>
<td>border.guard佐</td>
<td>20:4364.1 sakyimori</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pos-ar-u保佐</td>
<td>dry-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3351.5 pos-er-u</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sa-左</td>
<td>fifth_month-左</td>
<td>14:3394.1 sa-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sa-佐</td>
<td>LOC-佐</td>
<td>20:4369.2 sa-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sawak-yi佐</td>
<td>make_noise-INF</td>
<td>20:4364.2 sawak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sapaNta佐</td>
<td>many佐</td>
<td>14:3395.4 sapa</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>nasaka奈佐</td>
<td>PN左</td>
<td>14:3397.2 –</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>sasi散思佐</td>
<td>point_toward-INF佐</td>
<td>20:4366.1 sas-i</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>sakyi佐</td>
<td>promontory佐</td>
<td>20:4372.10 sakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>sakyi佐</td>
<td>promontory佐</td>
<td>14:3394.3 sakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>yar-as-an-e夜良佐</td>
<td>send-HON-DES-IMP佐</td>
<td>14:3388.5 yar-as-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>sakey佐</td>
<td>shun.INF佐</td>
<td>20:4367.4 sakey</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>saka佐</td>
<td>slope佐</td>
<td>20:4372.2 saka</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (5) is due to a different morphophonological development in Pitati and WOJ. In Pitati the progressive -ar- is a true suffix that attaches to the verbal root, whereas in WOJ it was originally an auxiliary that fusionally reduced with the previous infinitive *-i (*V-i-ar → V-er-).

2.5.9.2.11 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 思, 志, and 之.

---

181 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from GK.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ Line</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>志</td>
<td>-AVFIN</td>
<td>20:4372.5</td>
<td>-si +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈思</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3351.4</td>
<td>kanasi- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>kanasi- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>kanasi- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>posi-</td>
<td>保思</td>
<td>be.desired-</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>posi- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sita</td>
<td>之多</td>
<td>below</td>
<td>20:4371.2</td>
<td>sita +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>siNta</td>
<td>之太</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>20:4367.2</td>
<td>– ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>siNsi</td>
<td>之自</td>
<td>constantly</td>
<td>20:4368.4</td>
<td>siNsi +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>志</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3350a.4</td>
<td>si +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kyesi</td>
<td>家思</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>14:3350a.4</td>
<td>kyesi +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-N-kupasi-</td>
<td>具波志</td>
<td>-GEN-be.lovely-</td>
<td>20:4371.3</td>
<td>-N-kupasi- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>sir-ase-m-u</td>
<td>志良世卒</td>
<td>know-CAUS-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4366.5</td>
<td>sir-ase-m-u +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>sinup-an-e</td>
<td>之奴波尼</td>
<td>long_for-DES-IMP</td>
<td>20:4367.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
<td>於之 弓流</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>20:4365.1</td>
<td>ositeru +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kasima</td>
<td>可志麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>– ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>asikara</td>
<td>阿之加良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.1</td>
<td>asikara +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.10</td>
<td>tukusi +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>sas-i</td>
<td>散思</td>
<td>point_toward-INF</td>
<td>20:4366.1</td>
<td>sas-i +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4370.5</td>
<td>-si +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>sirus-i</td>
<td>志留志</td>
<td>record-INF</td>
<td>20:4366.4</td>
<td>sirus-i ++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tas-i</td>
<td>多思</td>
<td>rise-INF</td>
<td>14:3395.2</td>
<td>tas-i -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>tas-i</td>
<td>多志</td>
<td>rise-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.6</td>
<td>tas-i -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>sipo</td>
<td>志富</td>
<td>tide</td>
<td>20:4368.3</td>
<td>sipo +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in forms (21) and (22) offer evidence for the merger of *t > s /_i, which we saw earlier in other provinces.

When we compare the section 2.5.9.2.2 on ti syllables, it is somewhat surprising there actually are ti syllables attested in Pitati. In fact, we might expect this province to be called Pitasi. However, since I hypothesize that syllables ti merged with si in Pitati, based upon how other mergers are treated in WOJ orthography we can fully expect to see ti and
si phonograms used interchangeably to write PJn *ti syllables, which are phonemically /si/ in this province. In so doing, all of the phonographic ti syllables in section 2.5.9.2.2 can be considered to be phonemically /si/. Following this hypothesis, we can conclude Pitati province was pronounced [pitasi] at the time of these poems, at least within the province itself.

2.5.9.2.12 su syllables

The su phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-s-ure</td>
<td>須礼</td>
<td>-CAUS-EV</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>-s-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sumeyra</td>
<td>須米良</td>
<td>emperor</td>
<td>20:4370.4</td>
<td>sumyera</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasura-</td>
<td>和須良</td>
<td>forget-</td>
<td>14:3394.4</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
<td>和須例</td>
<td>forget-</td>
<td>20:4367.2</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kasumyi</td>
<td>可須美</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td>kasumyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-s-u</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-s-u</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.3</td>
<td>-Ns-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>須宜</td>
<td>pass.INF</td>
<td>14:3388.3</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>suwe</td>
<td>須恵</td>
<td>place. INF</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td>suwe</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mawos-u</td>
<td>麻乎須</td>
<td>say.HUM-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.14</td>
<td>mawos-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ip-as-u</td>
<td>伊波須</td>
<td>say-NEG-INF</td>
<td>20:4364.5</td>
<td>ip-aNs-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three variances, seen in (6), (7), and (11), involve a voiceless onset phonogram in Pitati corresponding to a prenasalized voiced onset phonogram in WOJ. This may indicate the shift *ⁿz > z occurred in this province.

2.5.9.2.13 se syllables

The se phonogram attested is 世.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.2.14 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-swo</td>
<td>蘇   -ten</td>
<td>20:4363.3</td>
<td>-swo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.9.2.15 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曽.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kös-ö</td>
<td>許曽 -BEN-IMP</td>
<td>20:4365.5</td>
<td>-kös-ö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-kös-ö</td>
<td>許曽 -BEN-IMP</td>
<td>20:4363.5</td>
<td>-kös-ö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwasö</td>
<td>古曽  FPT</td>
<td>14:3394.4</td>
<td>kösö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kösö</td>
<td>許曽  FPT</td>
<td>14:3397.3</td>
<td>kösö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>曽      FPT</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>与曽比 prepare-INF</td>
<td>20:4365.3</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
### 2.5.9.2.16 Nsi syllables

The Nsi phonogram attested is 自.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siNsi</td>
<td>之自</td>
<td>20:4368.4</td>
<td>siNsi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kuNsi</td>
<td>久自&lt;sup&gt;182&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>20:4368.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.17 Nse syllables

The Nse phonogram attested is 是.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaNse</td>
<td>可是</td>
<td>20:4371.2</td>
<td>kaNse</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.2.18 na syllables

The na phonograms attested are 奈 and 那.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>那</td>
<td>14:3394.5</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈思</td>
<td>14:3351.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈利</td>
<td>14:3395.4</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>布奈</td>
<td>20:4365.3</td>
<td>puna-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>波奈</td>
<td>20:4369.2</td>
<td>pana</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-n-ar-u</td>
<td>奈流</td>
<td>14:3397.1</td>
<td>-n-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>182</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the semantogram 目 MEY, which looks like a mistake.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.19 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonograms attested are 尔 and 仁.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ninwo</td>
<td>尔努</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>14:3351.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>？</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3392.2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 n-i</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3392.4[2]</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 n-i</td>
<td>仁</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>14:3392.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>20:4363.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>20:4365.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>20:4366.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3351.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>14:3395.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4363.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4364.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4364.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4368.3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 -ni</td>
<td>尔</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4369.3</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.20 nu syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kyinu</td>
<td>伎奴</td>
<td>14:3350a.3</td>
<td>kyinu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sinup-an-e</td>
<td>之奴波尼</td>
<td>20:4367.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>-183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴</td>
<td>20:4363.4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴</td>
<td>20:4364.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴</td>
<td>20:4365.4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nuk-yi</td>
<td>奴伎</td>
<td>20:4363.3</td>
<td>nuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>nuk-yi</td>
<td>奴伎</td>
<td>20:4368.4</td>
<td>nuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) either shows a raised vowel (*o > u), or a different reflex from a PJn form *sinuap- in which the medial diphthong contracts to *sinup- in Pitati, but fusionally reduces to *sinwop- in WOJ (the form *sinup- in WOJ is due to a later vowel raising). Both are possible, but the problem lies in whether or not the root *sinup/-sinwop- has an original medial *o, or a diphthong *ua. While trisyllabic roots in Japanese should be

---

183 This is also phonographically attested twice in WOJ as *sinup- (in MYS 2:233.5 and 15:3765.2), but there are numerous attestations of it as *sinwop-, so I use that form in my comparison.

184 I follow NHB here. GK has 如，which looks like a mistake.
morphologically complex at least diachronically, and the /p/ element in this root may be a contracted form of the iterative *-ap-, the PJn form could have been either *sinu-ap- or *sino-ap-. If the former, then the contraction hypothesis would work. If the latter, then the vowel raising hypothesis would be preferred (*sino-ap- > *sino-p- > sinup-). As Pitati shows evidence for both raising and contraction (though more for the latter than the former), it is difficult to accept the contraction hypothesis in this case due to the speculative nature of a PJn form *sinuap-/sinoap-. Thus, I follow the vowel raising hypothesis.

2.5.9.2.21 ne syllables

The ne phonograms attested are 祢 and 尼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>布祢</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-N-pune</td>
<td>夫祢</td>
<td>20:4368.3</td>
<td>-N-pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sinup-an-e</td>
<td>之奴波尼</td>
<td>20:4367.5</td>
<td>sinwop-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3351.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3388.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3395.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>尼</td>
<td>20:4367.3</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>20:4369.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3350a.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3392.1</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>yar-as-an-e</td>
<td>夜良佐祢</td>
<td>14:3388.5</td>
<td>yar-as-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3395.5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢</td>
<td>14:3388.5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.9.2.22 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonograms attested are 努 and 怒.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ninwo</td>
<td>尔努</td>
<td>14:3351.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-wo</td>
<td>劄-PERF-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3395.4</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) shows a retention of an original PJn medial vowel /o/ in Pitati, and not an innovation.

2.5.9.2.23 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-COMP</td>
<td>20:4369.2[2]</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>14:3388.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>14:3394.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>14:3394.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>14:3395.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>14:3397.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>14:3397.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>20:4364.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>20:4365.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>20:4367.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>20:4369.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>20:4369.2[1]</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>20:4371.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>20:4371.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>20:4371.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能-GEN</td>
<td>20:4372.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃-GEN</td>
<td>20:4372.7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.9.2.24 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ara-</td>
<td>阿良</td>
<td>be.rough</td>
<td>20:4372.5</td>
<td>ara-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sumeyra</td>
<td>須米良</td>
<td>emperor</td>
<td>20:4370.4</td>
<td>sumyera</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ar-am-ey</td>
<td>安良来</td>
<td>exist-TENT-EV</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>ar-am-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pur-ar-u</td>
<td>布良留</td>
<td>fall-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3351.2</td>
<td>pur-er-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 wasura-</td>
<td>和須良</td>
<td>forget</td>
<td>14:3394.4</td>
<td>wasure-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 arare</td>
<td>阿良例</td>
<td>hail</td>
<td>20:4370.1</td>
<td>arare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sir-ase-m-u</td>
<td>志良世牟</td>
<td>know-CAUS-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4366.5</td>
<td>sir-ase-m-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 asikara</td>
<td>阿之加良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 yar-as-an-e</td>
<td>夜良佐祢</td>
<td>send-HON-DES-IMP</td>
<td>14:3388.5</td>
<td>yar-as-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 tayura</td>
<td>多由良</td>
<td>shaking</td>
<td>14:3392.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (4) is due to a different morphophonological development in each language. In Pitati we see the progressive *-ar-*, while in WOJ we find the progressive *-er-*. This is because the WOJ form is a product of fusion with a preceding infinitive suffix (*-i-ar- > -er-), while the Pitati form suffixes directly to the root.
The variance in (5) is a different development from a historical diphthong *ay, in the PJn root *wasuray 'forget.’ In Pitati we see a deletion of the glide in the diphthong to give the form wasura, while in WOJ we see a fusional reduction of *wasuray > *wasurəy > wasure.

The form in (8) is internally variant, as we also find the Sagamu form asiNkari. I view asiNkara as the innovative form, and thus this form shows a change of *i > a due to progressive vowel assimilation. See section 2.5.6.2.25 for further discussion.

2.5.9.2.25 ri syllables

The ri phonograms attested are 利, 里, and 理.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-yuri</td>
<td>由利</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>20:4365.2</td>
<td>-yuri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈利</td>
<td>become-INF</td>
<td>14:3395.4</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakyimuri</td>
<td>佐岐牟理</td>
<td>border.guard</td>
<td>20:4364.1</td>
<td>sakyimöri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ari-</td>
<td>阿利</td>
<td>DUR-</td>
<td>20:4368.2</td>
<td>ari-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur- i</td>
<td>布理</td>
<td>fall-INF</td>
<td>20:4370.1</td>
<td>pur- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inör- i</td>
<td>伊能利</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4370.3</td>
<td>inör- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamapar-i</td>
<td>多麻波理</td>
<td>receive.HUM-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.2</td>
<td>tamapar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapyer- i</td>
<td>可敝里</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4368.5</td>
<td>kapyer- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapeyr- i</td>
<td>可問理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.3</td>
<td>kapeyr- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapeyr- i</td>
<td>可問理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.15</td>
<td>kapeyr- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timar-i</td>
<td>知麻利</td>
<td>stay-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.11</td>
<td>tömar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pur- i</td>
<td>布利</td>
<td>swing-INF</td>
<td>20:4367.4</td>
<td>pur- i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari</td>
<td>加里</td>
<td>wild_goose</td>
<td>20:4366.2</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.9.2.26 ru syllables

The ru phonograms attested are 留 and 流.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pyiru</td>
<td>留</td>
<td>daytime</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>pyiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pos-ar-u</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>dry-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3351.5</td>
<td>pos-er-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ot-uru</td>
<td>留</td>
<td>fall-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3392.3</td>
<td>ot-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pur-ar-u</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>fall-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3351.2</td>
<td>pur-er-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>paNpakaru</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>hesitate-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.6</td>
<td>paNpakaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yuru</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>lily</td>
<td>20:4369.2</td>
<td>yuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>-LOC-exist-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3397.1</td>
<td>-n[i]-ar-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nar-upye</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>make_a_living-DEB</td>
<td>20:4364.4</td>
<td>nar-uNpey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>20:4365.1</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>siru-i</td>
<td>流</td>
<td>record-INF</td>
<td>20:4366.4</td>
<td>siru-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (5) is yet another example of the deletion of the second segment of a historical diphthong in Pitati (in this case *-uy contracting to /u/), as the PJn form can be reconstructed as *yuruy.

2.5.9.2.27 re syllables

The re phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4365.4</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4370.5</td>
<td>ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4372.4</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4372.12</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-s-ure</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>-CAUS-EV</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>-s-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
<td>礼</td>
<td>exist-EV</td>
<td>14:3350a.3</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.28 rö syllables

The rö phonogram attested is 呂.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂 -DIM</td>
<td>14:3351.4</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂 -DIM</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂 -DIM</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>呂 -DIM</td>
<td>14:3395.2</td>
<td>-rö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-N-körömwo</td>
<td>其呂毛 -GEN-garment</td>
<td>14:3394.1</td>
<td>-N-körömo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>orö-</td>
<td>於呂 lower-</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td>ori-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mworö-mworö</td>
<td>毛呂々々 many-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4372.13</td>
<td>mörö-mörö</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>töNtörö</td>
<td>等杼呂 thunderous</td>
<td>14:3392.2</td>
<td>töNtörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I view the variance in (6) as the result of a different morphophonological development in Pitati, from the PJn form *ərəy-. The final *.-y was deleted in the Pitati form, while the WOJ form shows the following development: *ərəy- > *ər- > ori-.

### 2.5.9.2.29 Summary of coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial syllable data show a wide range of phonological innovations.

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *uy > u

b) *ay > a
c) \(^*\mathit{z} > \mathit{z}\)
d) \(^*\mathit{d} > \mathit{d}\)
e) \(^*\mathit{u}a > \mathit{u}\)
f) \(^*\mathit{u} > \mathit{u}\) (sporadic)
g) \(^*\mathit{t} > \mathit{s} / _i\)
h) \(^*\mathit{e}y > \mathit{e}\)
i) \(^*\mathit{e} > \mathit{i} / t\_\mathit{Ca}\) (sporadic)

j) \(^*\mathit{i} > \mathit{a}\) (progressive vowel assimilation in one place name)

Changes (a), (b), and (h) are the best explanation for the forms in which they appear, and they are all different examples of the same process (PJn diphthong reduction via deletion of the second vowel), so I accept them. Changes (b) and (h) appear to be restricted to compounding forms, and are thus morphophonologically conditioned.

Changes (c) and (d) are both supported by few examples, and will be further examined in section 2.5.9.6.1.

There is one example possibly supporting (e), but as it is unclear, I cannot accept it.

Change (f) is supported by two clear examples, and one ambiguous example, so I accept it.

Change (g) is backed by numerous examples, and thus quite acceptable.

Change (i) is only supported by one attestation, but I think it is the best explanation for this form, and corroborating evidence from MJ was presented to support this view.

I accept change (j) as it is the best explanation for the form in which it appears.
2.5.9.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ya, ye, yu, ywo,* and *yō*.

### 2.5.9.3.1 ya syllables

The *ya* phonogram attested is 夜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>20:4363.3</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>20:4365.1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>20:4372.6</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>14:3394.3</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>夜麻</td>
<td>20:4371.4</td>
<td>yama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yar-as-an-</td>
<td>良佐祢</td>
<td>14:3388.5</td>
<td>yar-as-an-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>安夜</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.3.2 ye syllables

The *ye* phonogram attested is 延.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>多延</td>
<td>14:3397.5</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.9.3.3 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -yuri</td>
<td>由利</td>
<td>-ABL</td>
<td>20:4365.2</td>
<td>-yuri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.4</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.8</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4366.2</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yuru</td>
<td>由流</td>
<td>lily</td>
<td>20:4369.2</td>
<td>yuri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yu</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>20:4369.3</td>
<td>ywo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tayura</td>
<td>多由良</td>
<td>shaking</td>
<td>14:3392.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 yukyi</td>
<td>由伎</td>
<td>snow</td>
<td>14:3351.2</td>
<td>yuki</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (6) may be due to the raising of *o > u* in Pitati (if the Pjn form was *yo), or a contraction of a historical diphthong (if the Pjn form was *yua). As discussed in section 2.5.9.2.20, it is difficult to make a decision in a case like this as Pitati shows evidence for both contraction and raising. However, due to the fact the form *ywo ‘night’* is also attested in Pitati (see section 2.5.9.3.4 below), I will follow the vowel raising hypothesis for this root.

The form in (7) is unknown in regard to WOJ, but variant within EOJ, as the form *taywora ‘shaking’* is attested in Sagamu province (in 14:3368.4). Due to the Sagamu form with an unraised /o/ this seems to be a clear case of vowel raising in Pitati.

2.5.9.3.4 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 欲.

---

185 I follow GK here. NHB has 与 yō.
Form (2) shows a retention of the original medial vowel /o/ in Pitati. While the WOJ form is unattested phonographically, the Middle Japanese form is *mayu*, with a raised vowel in the final syllable. This indicates the Pitati form is historically invariant.

2.5.9.3.5 **yö** syllables

The **yö** phonogram attested is 与.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>与曽比</td>
<td>20:4365.3</td>
<td>yösöp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yöwö(yö)</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>14:3395.3</td>
<td>yöwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.9.3.6 **Summary of palatal initial syllables**

Evidence for the following sound change was found:

a)  *o > u* (sporadic)

I think vowel raising is the best explanation for the forms **yu** ‘night’ and **tayura** ‘shaking’ in Pitati, so I accept this sound change.
2.5.9.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ka, kyi, ku, kye, key, kwo, kō, Nka, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nku, and Nkö*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy, Nkye, Nkey*, or *Nkwo* syllables.

### 2.5.9.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 加 and 可.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi- 加奈思</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3351.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi- 可奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi- 可奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kakyе- 可家</td>
<td>call_out-</td>
<td>14:3394.5</td>
<td>kakey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kamyи 可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kamwo 可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3351.2</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kamō 可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3351.3</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kamō 可母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3351.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kamo 可聞</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>14:3395.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kamо 可聞</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4364.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kamwo 可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>yuk-am-u 由可牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4366.2</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>paNpakar-u 波婆可流</td>
<td>hesitate-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.6</td>
<td>paNpakar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>kasumyi 可須美</td>
<td>mist</td>
<td>14:3388.2</td>
<td>kasumyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ka 加</td>
<td>oar</td>
<td>20:4363.3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>nasaka 奈左可</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3397.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>kasima 可志麻</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4370.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>asikara 阿之加良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.1</td>
<td>asiNkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-kaNte 可提</td>
<td>-POT</td>
<td>14:3388.3</td>
<td>-kate</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ka 可</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>14:3397.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>kapyer-i 可敝里</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4368.5</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>kapeyr-i 可閉理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.3</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>kapeyr-i 可閉利</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4372.15</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>kati 可知</td>
<td>rudder</td>
<td>20:4368.4</td>
<td>kaNti</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances in (17) and (19) show a lack of prenasalization in the Pitati form. Example (19) also shows a correspondence of Simotukeno /i/ to WOJ /əy/. The Simotukeno form
is a consonant-final stem *tuk-* rather than the vowel-final stem *tuNkey-* we find in WOJ.

Thus suffixing the infinitive *-i to tuk-* gives the output *tuk-yi*.

### 2.5.9.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久. There is also a dissylabic phonogram 筑 *tuku* attested which is included here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 [i]kuasa</td>
<td>久佐</td>
<td>army</td>
<td>20:4370.4</td>
<td>ikusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4368.2</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4372.14</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 puk-u</td>
<td>布久</td>
<td>blow-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4371.2</td>
<td>puk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 -N-tuk-u</td>
<td>豆久</td>
<td>breathe-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3388.4</td>
<td>tuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 k-u</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>come-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4372.15</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kuye</td>
<td>久江</td>
<td>cross.INF</td>
<td>20:4372.4</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kuye</td>
<td>久江</td>
<td>cross.INF</td>
<td>20:4372.8</td>
<td>kwoye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 woN-tukupa</td>
<td>乎豆久波</td>
<td>DIM-PN</td>
<td>14:3394.2</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 woN-tukupa</td>
<td>乎豆久波</td>
<td>DIM-PN</td>
<td>14:3395.1</td>
<td>woN-tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.4</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 yuk-u</td>
<td>由久</td>
<td>go-FIN</td>
<td>20:4372.8</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 tuku</td>
<td>都久</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>14:3395.2</td>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 tukupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3350a.1</td>
<td>tukiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 tukupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3392.1</td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 tukupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3388.1</td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 tukupa</td>
<td>筑波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3351.1</td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 tukupa</td>
<td>都久波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4367.3</td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 kuNsi</td>
<td>久自</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4368.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 tukupa</td>
<td>都久波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4369.1</td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 tukupa</td>
<td>都久波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4371.4</td>
<td>tukupa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 tukusi</td>
<td>都久志</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.10</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 omwop-an-aku</td>
<td>於毛波奈久</td>
<td>think-NEG-NML</td>
<td>14:3392.5</td>
<td>omöp-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances seen in (4) and (5) both involve the same root, *kuye- ‘cross.’ Once again we must decide between a vowel raising and vowel contraction hypothesis, and in this instance it is unclear whether the first syllable was *ko or *kua. Thus, we can make no definitive conclusion, but in instances where it is ambiguous, I prefer to go with the vowel raising hypothesis, as it is less controversial and does not require a new PJn reconstruction for the root.

The variance in (11) shows a different reflex from a historical diphthong, as the PJn form was *tukuy, and Pitati contracts the final diphthong while WOJ fusionally reduces it.

2.5.9.4.4 kye syllables

The kye phonograms attested are 家 and 祂.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-kye</td>
<td>家</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-kye</td>
<td>祂</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>20:4369.5</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tukye</td>
<td>都祁</td>
<td>be.attached. INF</td>
<td>20:4366.4</td>
<td>tukey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sakye-</td>
<td>佐祁</td>
<td>be.safe-</td>
<td>20:4372.14</td>
<td>sakyi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kakey-</td>
<td>可家</td>
<td>call_out-</td>
<td>14:3394.5</td>
<td>kakey-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kyesi</td>
<td>家思</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>14:3350a.4</td>
<td>kyesi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the Pitati syllables, save example (6), are variant, but they are variant in different ways. We see two patterns here. First, examples (3) and (5) may indicate *oy merged with /e/ in this dialect. Second, examples (1), (2), and (4) show the retention of the PJn midvowel /e/, whereas WOJ raised this to /i/ in these morphemes.
2.5.9.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sakey-</td>
<td>佐氣</td>
<td>20:4368.2</td>
<td>sakyi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>piyk-ey</td>
<td>飛氣</td>
<td>14:3397.4</td>
<td>pyik-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sakey</td>
<td>佐氣</td>
<td>20:4367.4</td>
<td>sakey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) supports both underlying causes of variation described in the section 2.5.9.4.4. This is because it retains an unraised midvowel, and uses a *key* phonogram in place of the expected *kye*, adding further orthographic evidence for a merger of *əy* with /e/.

2.5.9.4.6 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonogram attested is 古.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwosö</td>
<td>古[186]</td>
<td>14:3394.4</td>
<td>kösö-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kwopyi-</td>
<td>古比</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>kwopyi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td>古比</td>
<td>20:4366.3</td>
<td>kwopyi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) may indicate *ə* merged with /o/ in this dialect, but it is only one example, and a misspelling is likely in this case.

2.5.9.4.7 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

---

[186] I follow NHB here. GK is missing this character.
The total invariance seen here goes strongly against the hypothesis of a merger of *ə with /o/ mentioned in section 2.5.9.4.6.

2.5.9.4.8 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 何.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-kapa</td>
<td>我波</td>
<td>20:4368.1</td>
<td>-N-kapa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>14:3351.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>何</td>
<td>20:4364.3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>20:4366.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>20:4366.3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>20:4367.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>14:3350a.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>我</td>
<td>14:3392.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

---

187 I follow NHB here. GK has 祢 ne, which looks like a mistake.
### 2.5.9.4.9 Nkyi syllables

The *Nkyi* phonogram attested is 藝.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kōNk-yi</td>
<td>藝</td>
<td>row-INF</td>
<td>20:4365.4</td>
<td>kōNk-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.4.10 Nkiy syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 宜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>須宜</td>
<td>pass.INF</td>
<td>14:3388.3</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.4.11 Nku syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>N-kupa</td>
<td>具波</td>
<td>COP.ATTR-mulberry</td>
<td>14:3350a.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-N-kupasi</td>
<td>具波志</td>
<td>-GEN-be.lovely</td>
<td>20:4371.3</td>
<td>-N-kupasi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.4.12 Nkö syllables

The *Nkö* phonogram attested is 其.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-körömwo</td>
<td>-GEN-garment</td>
<td>14:3394.1</td>
<td>-N-körömo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.9.4.13 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *uy > u
b) *əy > e
c) *o > u (sporadic)
d) *ə > o

Change a) is easy to accept, as it is well-attested in other syllable types in this province.

Change b) is backed by numerous examples, and is also acceptable. However, we must note the change of *əy > ə accepted in section 2.5.9.2.29 must have occurred earlier in compounding forms.

I tentatively accept change c), as it is attested in other syllable types, but note the root in which it appears (*kuye- ‘cross’) has a PJn reconstruction that is open to debate.

Change d) should be dismissed as there is only one supporting example, and a misspelling is likely.

2.5.9.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested are a, i, u, and o.
2.5.9.5.1 a syllables

The a phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a 阿</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4366.3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a 阿</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4367.1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>are 阿例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4365.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>are 阿例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4372.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>are 阿例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4372.12</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ara-阿良</td>
<td>be.rough-</td>
<td>20:4372.5</td>
<td>ara-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ari-阿利</td>
<td>DUR-</td>
<td>20:4368.2</td>
<td>ari-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ar-e安礼</td>
<td>exist-EV</td>
<td>14:3350a.3</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ar-am-ey安良米</td>
<td>exist-TENT-EV</td>
<td>20:4371.5</td>
<td>ar-am-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>arare阿良例</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4370.1</td>
<td>arare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>apyiNta安比太</td>
<td>interval</td>
<td>14:3395.3</td>
<td>apyiNta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>asikara阿之加良</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4372.1</td>
<td>asINkara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>aya安夜</td>
<td>strange</td>
<td>14:3350a.5</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>aNtö阿杼</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>14:3397.5</td>
<td>naNtö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (14) is due to a different morphological development in each language.

See Vovin (2005a: 334-5) for further details.

2.5.9.5.2 i syllables

The i phonogram attested is 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imö伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4363.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imu伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4364.3</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>imö伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4365.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>imö伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4366.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>imö伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4367.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>imö伊母</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4369.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ikyi伊伎</td>
<td>breath</td>
<td>14:3388.4</td>
<td>ikyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.5.3 \textit{u} syllables

The \textit{u} phonogram attested is 宇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>14:3397.2</td>
<td>umyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.5.4 \textit{o} syllables

The \textit{o} phonogram attested is 於.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ot-uru</td>
<td>都留</td>
<td>14:3392.3</td>
<td>ot-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>orö-</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>20:4363.2</td>
<td>ori-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
<td>之流</td>
<td>20:4365.1</td>
<td>ositeru</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>omvop-an-aku</td>
<td>毛波奈久</td>
<td>14:3392.5</td>
<td>omöp-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

\footnote{188 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.}
2.5.9.5.5 Summary of vowel initial syllables

There are no phonological variances in these data.

2.5.9.6 A reconstruction of Pitati’s phoneme inventory

2.5.9.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data\textsuperscript{189} (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

\textbf{Table 2-31: Consonant variances and invariances in Pitati}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excluding the unknown syllables there are 10 variances out of 283 attested syllables. No onset type shows more than three variances, and the only prenasalized voiced/voiceless pair to show variances are the \textit{t-} and \textit{Nt-} syllables. However, there are only three variances out of 59 syllables among those two onset types. The evidence is not very convincing for denasalization, so I conclude prenasalized voiced obstruents were still a part of Pitati’s phoneme inventory.

\textsuperscript{189} In Table 2-31, I do not mark as variant the examples in the Pitati data that were shown to support the change of \textit{*t > s /\_i}. These examples are included in the invariant column.
2.5.9.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Pitati.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p m b</td>
<td>t n d</td>
<td></td>
<td>k n g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s n z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.9.6.2.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/t/ does not occur before /i/.

2.5.9.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Pitati. Phonemes in brackets are attested very few times, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*øy merged with /e/. There is only one attestation of /i/, so it is unclear if it still existed in this province.

2.5.9.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ø/ occurs only after [-labial] consonant onsets.
2.5.9.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following innovations for Pitati:

a) *əy (or *ay?) > e
b) *ə > o / C[+labial]_
c) *o > u (sporadic)
d) *uy > u
e) *ay > a (only attested in one verb root)
f) *t > s / _i
g) *i > a (progressive vowel assimilation in one place name)
h) *i > i
i) *əy > ə

Changes (a) and (e) occurred at different times and in different environments. As for change (a), it is quite possible PJn *ay shifted directly to /e/, without going through the intermediary stage of *əy. Change (e) occurred in compounding forms. Change (i) occurred before change (a), and seems to be restricted to compounding forms.

2.5.9.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

There are unchanged reflexes from PJn *e and *o. An example of the former can be found in the adjectival verb attributive suffix -ke (attested twice), while an example of the latter can be seen in the root maywo ‘cocoon’ (cf. WOJ mayu ‘id.’) and the verbal attributive suffix -o (attested once).
2.5.9.6.6 Phonological processes

a) Monophthongization via deletion of part of a PJn diphthong (*uy > u, *əy > ə, *ay > a)

b) Monophthongization via fusional reduction of a PJn diphthong

(*ay (> *əy ?) > e)

c) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial]_)

d) Vowel raising (*o > u)

e) Palatalization (*i > i)

f) Spirantization (*t > s / _i)

2.5.10 Simotupusa

There are fourteen Simotupusa poems, specifically 3384, 3385, and 3386 from Book 14, and 4384-4394 from Book 20. Simotupusa province bordered Pitati province to its north, Simotukeno province to its northwest, Muzasi province to its west, and Kamitupusa province to its south. To its southwest as well as the tip of its eastern border lay the sea.

2.5.10.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, Npa, Npyi, ma, myi, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa, we, wi, and wo. There are no phonographically attested Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npey, Npo, miy, or mye syllables.
### 2.5.10.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonogram attested is 波.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 twop-am-u</td>
<td>刀波聿</td>
<td>ask-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4392.5</td>
<td>twop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nipasi-</td>
<td>尔波志</td>
<td>be.sudden-</td>
<td>20:4389.3</td>
<td>nipaka-</td>
<td>+(^{190})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>-CONJ</td>
<td>20:4393.2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4392.4</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4393.3</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kasipa</td>
<td>加之波</td>
<td>oak</td>
<td>20:4387.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tipa</td>
<td>知波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4387.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 inör-apa</td>
<td>以乃良波</td>
<td>pray-COND</td>
<td>20:4392.3</td>
<td>inör-aNpa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ipap-yi</td>
<td>以波比</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4393.4</td>
<td>ipap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 omwop-apye-</td>
<td>於毛波弊</td>
<td>think-ITER-</td>
<td>20:4389.5</td>
<td>omöp-apey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4384.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4385.3</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4390.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances seen in (3) and (8) both involve a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa form.

### 2.5.10.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kwopyi</td>
<td>古比</td>
<td>long_for. INF</td>
<td>20:4386.4</td>
<td>kwopyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kwop-yi</td>
<td>古比</td>
<td>pray_for. NML</td>
<td>20:4391.4</td>
<td>kōp-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{190}\) Omodaka et al (1967: 547) suggests Simotupusa nipasi ‘be sudden’ is related to WOJ nipaka ‘i.d.,’ which is phonographically attested once (MYS 16:3811.18). Indeed, the root nipa looks to be shared, as the semantics are basically identical. Thus, I compare this root here, and find it invariant.

\(^{191}\) I follow NHB here. GK has the kungana phonogram 者 *pa*.
The variance in (1) may indicate the merger of *i > /i/ occurred in this province.

### 2.5.10.1.3 piy syllables

The piy phonogram attested is 飛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tapiy</td>
<td>多飛</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4388.1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Simotupusa example is variant both in the vowel and the lack of prenasalized voicing on the onset consonant. The vowel variance may be further evidence of the merger of *i > /i/ in this province.

### 2.5.10.1.4 pu syllables

The pu phonograms attested are 布 and 不.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opuse</td>
<td>於不世</td>
<td>assign.INF</td>
<td>20:4389.4</td>
<td>opose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>punu</td>
<td>布祢</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>20:4384.4</td>
<td>punu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>punu</td>
<td>不尼</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>20:4389.1</td>
<td>punu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[i]p-u</td>
<td>布</td>
<td>say-FIN</td>
<td>14:3384.4</td>
<td>ip-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) can be explained in two ways: 1) this is the result of vowel raising (*o > /u/), or 2) this is the result of a contraction from a historical diphthong *ua. Without
further examples supporting the contraction hypothesis, I will follow the vowel raising hypothesis.

2.5.10.1.5 pye syllables

The pye phonograms attested are 敝 and 鳖.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pye</td>
<td>敝</td>
<td>area</td>
<td>20:4385.3</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ipye</td>
<td>以 鳖</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4388.3</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pye</td>
<td>鳖</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>20:4393.4</td>
<td>pey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pye</td>
<td>鳖</td>
<td>prow</td>
<td>20:4389.2</td>
<td>pey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [i]p-ye</td>
<td>鳖</td>
<td>say-EV</td>
<td>20:4388.1</td>
<td>ip-ey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 omwop-apeye-</td>
<td>鳖</td>
<td>think-ITER</td>
<td>20:4389.5</td>
<td>omöp-apey-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (3) - (6) all suggest a merger of *əy > /e/ occurred in this province.

2.5.10.1.6 pey syllables

The pey phonogram attested is 倍.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 nipey</td>
<td>尔 倍</td>
<td>food_offering</td>
<td>14:3386.3</td>
<td>nipey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.10.1.7 po syllables

The po phonogram attested is 保.
The two variances in (1) both show a retention of the unraised vowel *o in Simotupusa, whereas WOJ raised these vowels to /u/ (the form pupum- is also attested once in 14:3572.4 from UD). The variance in (5) is another retention of a PJn *o in Simotupusa.

2.5.10.1.8 Npa syllables

The Npa phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -CONJ</td>
<td>14:3385.3</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.10.1.9 Npyi syllables

The Npyi syllable attested is 嬢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多嬢 journey</td>
<td>20:4388.2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.
2.5.10.1.10 ma syllables

The ma phonograms attested are 麻, 万, and 末.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mata</td>
<td>麻多</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4392.5</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 popom-ar-e</td>
<td>保々麻例</td>
<td>be.unopened-PROG-EV</td>
<td>20:4387.3</td>
<td>pupum-er-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mama</td>
<td>麻末</td>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>14:3384.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mama</td>
<td>麻末</td>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mama</td>
<td>麻萬</td>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>14:3385.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mama</td>
<td>麻末</td>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>14:3385.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 mawi</td>
<td>麻為</td>
<td>come.HUM.INF</td>
<td>20:4393.5</td>
<td>mawi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -tamap-o</td>
<td>他麻保</td>
<td>-HON-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4389.4</td>
<td>-tamap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -mas-i</td>
<td>麻之</td>
<td>-HON-INF</td>
<td>20:4386.5</td>
<td>-mas-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ma-</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>INT-</td>
<td>14:3384.3</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 ma-</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>INT-</td>
<td>20:4388.2</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 sima</td>
<td>之麻</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4384.3</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 tama</td>
<td>他麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>20:4390.1</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 matur-i</td>
<td>麻都理</td>
<td>offer-INF</td>
<td>20:4391.3</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 tuma</td>
<td>都麻</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>20:4385.4</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) is due to a different morphological development in Simotupusa and WOJ. In Simotupusa the progressive -ar- is a true suffix that attaches to the verbal root, whereas in WOJ the progressive -er- was historically an auxiliary that fusionally reduced with the preceding infinitive -i (*V-i-ar- → V-er-).

2.5.10.1.11 myi syllables

The myi phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4387.4</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4394.2</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variances in (6) and (7) further support the merger of *ɨ > /i/ in this province. The variance in (10) looks to be a sporadic case of a fronting of *u > /i/ in Simotupusa either due to the preceding /m/ or the following /t/.

### 2.5.10.1.12 mu syllables

The *mu* phonogram attested is 卐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mura</td>
<td>卐浪</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>20:4390.1</td>
<td>mura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>和多良 卐</td>
<td>cross-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4394.4</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>s-unam-u</td>
<td>須奈 卐</td>
<td>do-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4391.4</td>
<td>s-uram-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>twop-am-u</td>
<td>刀波 卐</td>
<td>ask-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4392.5</td>
<td>twop-am-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.1.13 mey syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kata-mey</td>
<td>加多米</td>
<td>harden.INF</td>
<td>20:4390.3</td>
<td>katamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>amey</td>
<td>阿米</td>
<td>heaven</td>
<td>20:4392.1</td>
<td>amey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ayr-wok-unam-ey</td>
<td>阿用欠奈米</td>
<td>shake-TENT2-EV</td>
<td>20:4390.5</td>
<td>-uram-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-m-ey</td>
<td>米</td>
<td>-TENT-EV</td>
<td>14:3386.5</td>
<td>-m-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>以毛¹⁹²</td>
<td>beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4390.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mwotö</td>
<td>毛等</td>
<td>-CL</td>
<td>20:4386.2</td>
<td>-mötö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tömwo</td>
<td>登毛</td>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>14:3386.3</td>
<td>tömö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>14:3385.5</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sir-as-umwo</td>
<td>之良酒毛¹⁹³</td>
<td>know-NEG.ATTR-EXCL</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>sir-aNs-umō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>omwo</td>
<td>於毛¹⁹⁴</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4386.4</td>
<td>amō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>omwop-apye-</td>
<td>於毛¹⁹⁵波弊</td>
<td>think-ITER-</td>
<td>20:4389.5</td>
<td>omöp-apey-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These six variances seen here are indicative of the merger *ə > o / C[+labial]*.

2.5.10.15 *mō* syllables

The *mō* phonogram attested is 母.

---

¹⁹² NHB has 母 mō.
¹⁹³ NHB has 母 mō
¹⁹⁴ NHB has 母 mō.
¹⁹⁵ NHB has 母 mō.
These variances are further evidence of the merger *ə > o / [+labial].

2.5.10.1.16 wa syllables

The wa phonogram attested is 和.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和礼</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>和多良牟</td>
<td>cross-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wase</td>
<td>和世</td>
<td>early_rice</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.1.17 we syllables

The we phonogram attested is 恵.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>töwerap-yi</td>
<td>恵良比</td>
<td>shake-NML</td>
<td>töworap-yi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here we see the correspondence of Simotupusa *we* and WOJ *wo*. Based on the other data we have seen in this province, clearly there was no merger of *o > /e/ or *e > /o/ after a labial onset. I think the *we* phonogram in this example was used to write a Simotupusa /wa/ syllable. As such a syllable did not exist in contemporaneous WOJ, *we* was the closest approximation. This would indicate the Simotupusa form was phonetically [tɔwərap], while the WOJ form is [təworap]. Thus the Simotupusa form shows a retention, while the WOJ form shows an innovation (we can reconstruct the PJn form as *təwərap-*).

Based on this data, we need to revise the change *ə > o / C[+labial]_ to *ə > o / C[+labial, -velar]_, which eliminates *w- as a conditioning environment (as [w] is a labio-velar approximant).

### 2.5.10.1.18 wi syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mawi</td>
<td>麻為</td>
<td>20:4393.5</td>
<td>mawi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.10.1.19 wo syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3384.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4384.3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4385.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4385.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4392.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4393.3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4393.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4394.5</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>14:3386.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.1.20 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *ə > o / [+labial, -velar]_

b) *u > i / m_t (sporadic)

c) *əy > e

Evidence for (a) is quite abundant, so I accept it. Change (b) is difficult as it only occurs in one example, and it looks to be a sporadic fronting of the vowel. I tentatively accept it due to the lack of a better explanation for the Simotupusa form.

I accept change (c) because there are four supporting examples in this section.

We also find the retention of *ə after /w/, and unraised *o in popom- ‘be unopened.’
2.5.10.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are ta, ti, tu, te, two, tö, Ntư, Ntọ, sa, si, su, se, swo, sọ, Nsा, Nsǐ, Nsǔ, Nsę, Nső, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nọ, ra, ri, ru, re, and rọ. There are no phonographically attested Nta, Nti, Nte, Ntwo, or rwo syllables.

2.5.10.2.1 ta syllables

The ta phonograms attested are 多 and 他.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>麻多</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4392.5</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tatuky</td>
<td>他都栄</td>
<td>clue</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>tatuky</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>和多良曳</td>
<td>cross-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4394.4</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>katamey</td>
<td>加多米</td>
<td>harden.INF</td>
<td>20:4390.3</td>
<td>katamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-tamap-o</td>
<td>他麻保</td>
<td>-HON-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4389.4</td>
<td>-tamap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>他麻</td>
<td>jewel</td>
<td>20:4390.1</td>
<td>tama</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tapiy</td>
<td>多飛</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4388.1</td>
<td>tapiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4388.2</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tate-</td>
<td>多弖</td>
<td>make.stand-</td>
<td>14:3386.5</td>
<td>tate-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>myìta</td>
<td>美他¹⁹⁶</td>
<td>together_with</td>
<td>20:4394.3</td>
<td>muta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>他</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>20:4387.5</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>tare</td>
<td>多例</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>20:4384.2</td>
<td>tare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.2 ti syllables

The ti phonogram attested is 知.

¹⁹⁶ This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 仁 nì, which looks like a mistake.
The paucity of *t i syllables is likely due a merger of *t > s /_i in this province. See section 2.5.10.2.10 for further discussion.

2.5.10.2.3 *tu syllables

The *tu phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>都 果</td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>20:4388.5</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
<td>有 都 久之</td>
<td>beloved</td>
<td>20:4392.4</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tatukyi</td>
<td>他 都 果</td>
<td>clue</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>tatukyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-tusi</td>
<td>都 之-</td>
<td>-COOR</td>
<td>20:4386.5</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tusi</td>
<td>都 之</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>20:4392.1</td>
<td>tuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>以 都</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>20:4386.2</td>
<td>itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>katu</td>
<td>可 都</td>
<td>gate</td>
<td>20:4386.1</td>
<td>kaNtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
<td>麻 都 理</td>
<td>offer-INF</td>
<td>20:4391.3</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>katusika</td>
<td>可 都 思加</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3384.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tuma</td>
<td>都 麻</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>20:4385.4</td>
<td>tuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>以 都</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>20:4386.3</td>
<td>itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>以 都</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>20:4386.3</td>
<td>itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>iture</td>
<td>以 都 例</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>20:4392.2</td>
<td>iNtute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (6) and (12) both involve a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa forms.

---

197 I follow GK here. NHB has 豆 Ntu.
2.5.10.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>[i]te</td>
<td>刀 go_out.INF</td>
<td>20:4393.5</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>刀 hand</td>
<td>20:4387.2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>teNkwo</td>
<td>刀胡 maiden</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tate-</td>
<td>多刀 make.stand-</td>
<td>14:3386.5</td>
<td>tate-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>刀-SUB</td>
<td>20:4385.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>刀-SUB</td>
<td>20:4387.5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>刀-SUB</td>
<td>20:4393.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again the variance in (1) shows a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa form.

2.5.10.2.5 *two* syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>twop-am-u</td>
<td>刀波牟 ask-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4392.5</td>
<td>twop-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>刀 outside</td>
<td>14:3386.5</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.6 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-mwotö</td>
<td>毛等-CL</td>
<td>20:4386.2</td>
<td>-mötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tömwo</td>
<td>登毛 CNJ</td>
<td>14:3386.3</td>
<td>tömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>等 -COM</td>
<td>20:4385.4[1]</td>
<td>-tö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are numerous variances here that suggest a few different sound changes. First are
the variances in (8) and (9), which show a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa
forms.

Next we see the correspondence of Simotupusa /t/ to WOJ /n/ in a focus particle
in (12). This is a sporadic fortition, also found in Simotukeno province.

Finally there is the Simotupusa perfective auxiliary -tö- seen in (13),
corresponding to WOJ -te-. There are a few possible explanations for this. First, it could
be a case of progressive vowel assimilation, as the preceding verb is katamey
‗harden.INF‘, which is phonemically /kataməy/ in this province. Thus, the final
diphthong /əy/ may have caused the perfective /te/ to change to /ta/. Another possibility is
this is a retention in Simotupusa, if the PJn form was *təy. As there is no contrast
between [te] and [təy] in WOJ orthography (both merged to [te] before the WOJ

I follow NHB here. GK has 良 ra, which looks like a mistake.

198 I follow NHB here.
Man’yōgana orthography arose), the Simotupusa form could be [təy], and a tō phonogram would be the closest phonetic approximation to that. It is worth noting that the orthographic form -te- for the perfective auxiliary is not attested in Simotupusa. Ultimately, however, there is no way for us to know which hypothesis is correct.

2.5.10.2.7 Ntu syllables

The Ntu phonogram attested is 豆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaNtusīka</td>
<td>可豆思加</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.10.2.8 Ntō syllables

The Ntō phonogram attested is 枪.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N-tōri</td>
<td>枪199里</td>
<td>COP.ATTR-bird</td>
<td>14:3386.1</td>
<td>N-tōri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōNtōro</td>
<td>登枪200呂</td>
<td>thunderous</td>
<td>14:3385.5</td>
<td>tōNtōro</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.9 sa syllables

The sa phonograms attested are 作 and 佐.

---

199 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 支.
200 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 支.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sakyi</td>
<td>作栁</td>
<td>ahead</td>
<td>20:4385.1</td>
<td>sakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -sa</td>
<td>作</td>
<td>-AVNML</td>
<td>20:4391.5</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s[i]-ar-e</td>
<td>作例</td>
<td>EPT-exist-EV</td>
<td>20:4393.2</td>
<td>s[i]-ar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sa-</td>
<td>佐</td>
<td>LOC-</td>
<td>20:4394.4</td>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 nusa</td>
<td>奴作</td>
<td>paper_offering</td>
<td>20:4391.3</td>
<td>nusa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sas-i</td>
<td>作之</td>
<td>thrust-INF</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>sas-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.10 si syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 思, 志, and 之.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4387.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈志</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4391.5</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3386.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kasikwo-</td>
<td>加之古</td>
<td>be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4394.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 nipasi-</td>
<td>尔波志</td>
<td>be.sudden-</td>
<td>20:4389.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 siru</td>
<td>志流</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>20:4385.3</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 utukusi</td>
<td>有都久</td>
<td>beloved</td>
<td>20:4392.4</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -tusi</td>
<td>都之</td>
<td>-COOR</td>
<td>20:4386.5</td>
<td>-tuti</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 tusi</td>
<td>都之</td>
<td>earth</td>
<td>20:4392.1</td>
<td>tuti</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 -mas-i</td>
<td>麻之</td>
<td>-HON-INF</td>
<td>20:4386.5</td>
<td>-mas-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 sima</td>
<td>之麻</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4384.3</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 sir-as-umwo</td>
<td>之良酒毛</td>
<td>know-NEG-EXCL</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>sir-aNs-umö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 kasipa</td>
<td>加之波</td>
<td>oak</td>
<td>20:4387.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 katusika</td>
<td>可都思加</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3384.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 katusika</td>
<td>可都思加</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3385.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 kaNtusika</td>
<td>可豆思加</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 -si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4384.4</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 -si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4388.4</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 -si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4390.3</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 -si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>-PST.ATTR</td>
<td>20:4393.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (9) is clearly an example of *t > s /i. The variance in (8) may also be an example of this, but we would need to postulate the development of *tutu > *tuti for the coordinative gerund prior to this change in order for it to be acceptable.

2.5.10.2.11 su syllables

The su phonograms attested are 酒 and 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 su</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4386.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 {su} su</td>
<td>{須} &amp;</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4386.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yōs-u</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>approach-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3384.4</td>
<td>yōs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 s-u</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>do-FIN</td>
<td>14:3386.3</td>
<td>s-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 s-unam-u</td>
<td>須奈牟</td>
<td>do-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4391.4</td>
<td>s-uram-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sir-as-umwo</td>
<td>之良酒</td>
<td>know-NEG-EXCL</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>sir-aNs-umō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 osu</td>
<td>於須</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>14:3385.4</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (6) shows a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa form. The variance in (7) is more complicated. The PJ form for ‘rock’ was likely *eso (‘stone’ was *esuy) (Vovin 2010: 127). Thus in this hypothesis the Simotupusa form shows a vowel raising in the final syllable, while the WOJ form shows a raising in the first syllable.
2.5.10.2.12 *se* syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 世.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opuse</td>
<td>於不世</td>
<td>20:4389.4</td>
<td>opose</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>世</td>
<td>20:4388.4</td>
<td>-se</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wase</td>
<td>和世</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.13 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 祖.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kwos-wo</td>
<td>古祖</td>
<td>20:4389.2</td>
<td>kwos-u</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance here shows a retention of the medial vowel *o* in Simotupusa.

2.5.10.2.14 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曽.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>曽</td>
<td>14:3386.4</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.10.2.15 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4387.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈志</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>20:4391.5</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>be.adorable-</td>
<td>14:3386.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 naNka-</td>
<td>奈賀</td>
<td>be.long-</td>
<td>20:4394.5</td>
<td>naNka-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 nar-i</td>
<td>奈理</td>
<td>become-INF</td>
<td>20:4388.2</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 -na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3384.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 -na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 -na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>-DIM</td>
<td>14:3385.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 s-unam-u</td>
<td>須奈牟</td>
<td>do-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4391.4</td>
<td>s-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 nar-i</td>
<td>奈理</td>
<td>make_a_living-INF</td>
<td>20:4386.5</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 -n-aku</td>
<td>奈久</td>
<td>-NEG.ATTR-NML</td>
<td>20:4389.5</td>
<td>-n-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 na-</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>NEG.IMP-</td>
<td>20:4385.2</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 awok-unam-ey</td>
<td>阿用久奈米</td>
<td>shake-TENT2-EV</td>
<td>20:4390.5</td>
<td>uram-ey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 nanyi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>14:3385.5</td>
<td>nanyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 nanyi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>20:4385.2</td>
<td>nanyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 nanyi</td>
<td>奈美</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>20:4389.2</td>
<td>nanyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 yanakyi</td>
<td>夜奈枳</td>
<td>willow</td>
<td>20:4386.2</td>
<td>yanaNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (9) and (13) both involve the tentative 2 suffix, which is -unam- in Simotupusa but -uram- in WOJ. This is probably an example of regressive nasal assimilation in Simotupusa, seen sporadically in various languages around the world (cf. Tongan *nima ‘five’ and Hawaiian *lima ‘id.,’ both reflexes from Proto-Polynesian *lima). In fact, we even find it in WOJ, in the doublet oyaNsi ‘same’ and onaNsi ‘id.,’ the latter of which survived past the Nara Period.

2.5.10.2.16 ni syllables

The ni phonogram attested is 尔.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.17 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td>奴</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>20:4387.1</td>
<td>nwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>nusa</em></td>
<td>奴作</td>
<td>paper_offering</td>
<td>20:4391.3</td>
<td>nusa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴</td>
<td>-PERF-FIN</td>
<td>20:4385.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in (1) can be explained either as vowel raising (*o > /u/), or a contractive reflex from a historical diphthong *ua. In ambiguous cases like this, I follow the vowel raising hypothesis.

2.5.10.2.18 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonograms attested are 祢 and 尼.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>布祢</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>20:4384.4</td>
<td>pune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>不尼</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>20:4389.1</td>
<td>pune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>尼</td>
<td>sleep.NML</td>
<td>20:4394.4</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.19 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>20:4387.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-COMP</td>
<td>20:4390.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3384.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3384.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3385.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3385.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃</td>
<td>-GEN</td>
<td>14:3385.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.20 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonograms attested are 良 and 浪.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>和多良牟</td>
<td>20:4394.4</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sir-as-umwo</td>
<td>之酒毛</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>sir-aNs-umö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mura</td>
<td>牟浪</td>
<td>20:4390.1</td>
<td>mura</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>inör-apá</td>
<td>以乃良波</td>
<td>20:4392.3</td>
<td>inör-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>töworap-yi</td>
<td>等惠良比</td>
<td>20:4385.2</td>
<td>töworap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>志良</td>
<td>20:4389.2</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.21 ri syllables

The ri phonograms attested are 里 and 理.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈理</td>
<td>become-INF</td>
<td>20:4388.2</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>N-töri</td>
<td>秩里</td>
<td>COP.ATTR-bird</td>
<td>14:3386.1</td>
<td>N-töri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ar-i</td>
<td>安里</td>
<td>exist-INF</td>
<td>14:3385.3</td>
<td>ar-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>去々里</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>20:4390.4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈理</td>
<td>make_a_living-INF</td>
<td>20:4386.5</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
<td>麻都理</td>
<td>offer-INF</td>
<td>20:4391.3</td>
<td>matur-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-kar-i</td>
<td>迦理</td>
<td>-RETR-FIN</td>
<td>20:4388.5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>yasiri</td>
<td>夜之里²⁰¹</td>
<td>shrine</td>
<td>20:4391.2</td>
<td>yasirö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correspondence of Simotupusa ri to WOJ rö in (4) and (8) is a difficult one. First of all, the idea that the character 里 can represent either /ri/ or /rə/ syllables in the MYS (as claimed by Omodaka 1967: 902-3) is a myth, as there is not a single example of it used phonographically for a /rə/ syllable in all of the WOJ poems MYS, as well as in all EOJ poems in the MYS outside of those attested to Simotupusa province. The only instances where commentators read it as /rə/ are in the variances seen in (4) and (8) above. Thus, there is no evidence the phonogram 里 could represent /rə/ in WOJ or the rest of EOJ, and claiming it can represent this syllable type for just Simotupusa is adjusting the phonology of this dialect to better fit WOJ phonology, which is something we should not do. In regard to the vowel correspondence, one possibility is the Simotupusa form in (8) shows

²⁰¹ NHB has 番 rö here, but I will follow GK in this instance as it patterns with example (4).
a progressive vowel assimilation, while the WOJ form in (4) also shows a progressive vowel assimilation. This is not a great explanation, as it relies on two sporadic changes in each language to explain two hapax legomena in Simotupusa. Due to this, I will not make any conclusions on this correspondence and consequently I will leave it as being unclear.

2.5.10.2.22 ru syllables

The ru phonograms attested are 流 and 留.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 siru</td>
<td>志流</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>20:4385.3</td>
<td>siri</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kuru</td>
<td>久留</td>
<td>pivot</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) is quite simple to explain. The Simotupusa form shows a contraction of the original diphthong *uy, while the WOJ form shows a fusional reduction (*uy > *i > /i/).

2.5.10.2.23 re syllables

The re phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ware</td>
<td>和礼</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>14:3384.4</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 popom-are-e</td>
<td>保々麻例</td>
<td>be.unopened- PROG-EV</td>
<td>20:4387.3</td>
<td>pupum-er-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s[i]-ar-e</td>
<td>作例</td>
<td>EPT-exist-EV</td>
<td>20:4393.2</td>
<td>s[i]-ar-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 iture</td>
<td>以都例</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>20:4392.2</td>
<td>iNture</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tare</td>
<td>多例</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>20:4384.2</td>
<td>tare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.10.2.24 rö syllables

The rö phonogram attested is 郭.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>己吕母</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>20:4388.4</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>töNtörö</td>
<td>登杼郭</td>
<td>thunderous</td>
<td>14:3385.5</td>
<td>töNtörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.2.25 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound changes was found:

a) *uy > u
b) *r > n /_Vm (sporadic)
c) *o > u (sporadic)
d) *ua > u
e) *t > s /_i

Change (a) is well attested in EOJ and is the result of the more general phenomenon of contracting historical diphthongs via the deletion of a vowel segment. Thus, I accept the change.

Change (b), (c), and (e) are also acceptable as there is no more plausible explanation for the Simotupusa forms in which they appear.

Change (d) is a possible explanation for just one form in the data, which is better explained by change (c). Due to this I reject change (d).
2.5.10.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ya*, *yu*, *ywo*, and *yō*. There are no phonographically attested *ye* syllables.

2.5.10.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonograms attested are 夜 and 也.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>也</td>
<td>QPT 14:3386.5</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yasiri</td>
<td>夜之里</td>
<td>shrine 20:4391.2</td>
<td>yasirō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>阿夜</td>
<td>strange 20:4387.4</td>
<td>aya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yanakyi</td>
<td>夜奈枳</td>
<td>willow 20:4386.2</td>
<td>yanaNkiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>由美</td>
<td>bow 20:4394.3</td>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yuk-wo</td>
<td>由古</td>
<td>go-ATTR 20:4385.1</td>
<td>yuk-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.3.3 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 用.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.3.4 yō syllables

The yō phonogram attested is 余.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yōs-u</td>
<td>余須</td>
<td>14:3384.4</td>
<td>yōs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.10.3.5 Summary of palatal initial syllables

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are *ka, kyi, ku, key, kwo, kö, Nka, Nku, and Nkwo*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy, kye, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nkye, Nkey, or Nkö* syllables.

### 2.5.10.4.1 ka syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 可, 嘉, and 加.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈之</td>
<td>20:4387.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>加奈志</td>
<td>20:4391.5</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>可奈之</td>
<td>14:3386.4</td>
<td>kanasi-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>加之古</td>
<td>20:4394.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>阿加</td>
<td>20:4384.1</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>加美</td>
<td>20:4391.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>20:4392.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>阿可</td>
<td>20:4388.5</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>加母</td>
<td>20:4390.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>katu</td>
<td>可都</td>
<td>20:4386.1</td>
<td>katu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>katamey</td>
<td>加多米</td>
<td>20:4390.3</td>
<td>katamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kasipa</td>
<td>加之波</td>
<td>20:4387.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>katusika</td>
<td>可都思加</td>
<td>14:3384.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>katusika</td>
<td>可都思加202</td>
<td>14:3385.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kaNtusika</td>
<td>可豆思加</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>他加</td>
<td>20:4387.5</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4386.1</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4386.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4388.3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4390.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4391.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>-sika</td>
<td>之可</td>
<td>14:3385.3</td>
<td>-sika</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4389.4</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4392.3</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4394.4</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>-kar-i</td>
<td>迦理</td>
<td>20:4388.5</td>
<td>-kyer-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>kakyi</td>
<td>加积</td>
<td>20:4384.3</td>
<td>kaNkey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>20:4384.2</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variances in (17) - (21) all involve a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa form. This may indicate a shift of *ŋ → g occurred.

The variance in (27), on the other hand, is due to a different historical development of morphophonology in each language, as both forms are from PJn *-ki-ar-

---

202 I follow GK here. NHB has 賀 Nka.
'PST-exist-, where Simotupusa deletes the *i for the output /kar/ while WOJ fusionally reduces the vowel sequence to /e/ for the output /ker/.

### 2.5.10.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎 and 枡.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa−kiy</td>
<td>作 枡</td>
<td>ahead</td>
<td>20:4385.1</td>
<td>sakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu−kiy</td>
<td>都 枡</td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>20:4388.5</td>
<td>tuk−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kiy</td>
<td>伎</td>
<td>-AVATTR</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>-kiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta−tu−kiy</td>
<td>他都 枡</td>
<td>clue</td>
<td>20:4384.5</td>
<td>tatukyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k−yi</td>
<td>枡</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4385.5</td>
<td>k−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k−yi</td>
<td>枡</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4387.5</td>
<td>k−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k−yi</td>
<td>枡</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4393.5</td>
<td>k−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok−yi</td>
<td>於 枡</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4385.5</td>
<td>ok−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok−yi</td>
<td>於 枡</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4387.5</td>
<td>ok−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok−yi</td>
<td>於 枡</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4393.4</td>
<td>ok−yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>伎 美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4393.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>伎 美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4394.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuki</td>
<td>久 枡</td>
<td>nail</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōk−yi</td>
<td>己 枡</td>
<td>row-INF</td>
<td>20:4384.4</td>
<td>kōNK−yi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakiyi</td>
<td>加 枡</td>
<td>shadow</td>
<td>20:4384.3</td>
<td>kakkey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōki</td>
<td>等 伎</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>20:4384.1</td>
<td>tōki</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōki</td>
<td>等 枡</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>20:4384.2</td>
<td>tōki</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki−</td>
<td>枡</td>
<td>wear-</td>
<td>20:4388.4</td>
<td>ki−</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanya−kiy</td>
<td>夜奈 枡</td>
<td>willow</td>
<td>20:4386.2</td>
<td>yanaNkiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again we see variances in (14), (15), and (19) where the Simotupusa form lacks prenasalization. This is further evidence for a shift of *ŋg > g.*
2.5.10.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>20:4389.3</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
<td>有都久之</td>
<td>20:4392.4</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kukyi</td>
<td>久枳</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n-aku</td>
<td>納久</td>
<td>20:4389.5</td>
<td>-n-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>久留</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>久尔具尔</td>
<td>20:4391.1</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>aywok-unam-ey</td>
<td>阿用久奈米</td>
<td>20:4390.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.10.4.4 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-key</td>
<td>氣</td>
<td>20:4394.5</td>
<td>-kyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variance (Simotupusa *key* : WOJ *ki*) may be the result of a misspelling for *kye* in the Simotupusa form, rather than evidence for a merger between *key* and *kye* syllables, as it is the only such variance in the Simotupusa corpus.

2.5.10.4.5 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonogram attested is 古.
The variance in (4) shows a retention of the medial vowel *o in Simotupusa.

The variance in (6) may be suggestive of a merger of *ə > o, but the line it occurs in is somewhat ambiguous, as it can also be interpreted as kwopyi ‘love.INF,’ in which case the kwo syllable is invariant.

2.5.10.4.6 kö syllables

The kö phonograms attested are 許, 去, and 己.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>makötö</td>
<td>麻許登</td>
<td>14:3384.3</td>
<td>makötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美許等</td>
<td>20:4393.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美己等</td>
<td>20:4394.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>己呂母</td>
<td>20:4388.4</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kökörı</td>
<td>去203々里</td>
<td>20:4390.4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kök-yi</td>
<td>己択</td>
<td>20:4384.4</td>
<td>kök-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kö</td>
<td>己</td>
<td>20:4394.5</td>
<td>kö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>己等</td>
<td>20:4392.5</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

203 I follow NHB here. GK and RK have 志 sì, which looks like a mistake.
2.5.10.4.7 Nka syllables

The Nka phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>naNka-</td>
<td>be.long-</td>
<td>20:4394.5</td>
<td>naNka-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nkamo</td>
<td>賀 204 204 204</td>
<td>14:3384.3</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>14:3385.2</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4391.5</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in example (2) involves the correspondence of a Simotupusa prenasalized voiced initial syllable and a WOJ voiceless initial syllable.

2.5.10.4.8 Nku syllables

The Nku phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kuni-</td>
<td>久尔具尔 province-REDUP</td>
<td>20:4391.1</td>
<td>kuni-Nkuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.10.4.9 Nkwo syllables

The Nkwo phonogram attested is 胡.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>teNkwo</td>
<td>弓胡 maiden</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

---

204 I follow GK here. NHB has 可 ka, which is invariant.
2.5.10.4.10 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) $^0\text{g} > \text{g}$
b) $\text{ə} > \text{o}$
c) $\text{əy} > \text{e}$

Change (a) is backed by many examples, but unfortunately none that show a prenasalized voiced initial phonogram to write a voiceless syllable. Still, the overwhelming number of examples supporting it makes it hard to reject.

I reject both change (b) as it is supported by only one example and it is more likely just the result of misspellings.

Change (c) is acceptable as we found four supporting examples in the labial-initial syllables.

2.5.10.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested are $a$, $i$, $u$, and $o$.

2.5.10.5.1 $a$ syllables

The $a$ phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>阿</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4391.4</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>阿加</td>
<td>bright</td>
<td>20:4384.1</td>
<td>aka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>阿可</td>
<td>dirt</td>
<td>20:4388.5</td>
<td>aka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ar-i</td>
<td>安里</td>
<td>exist-INF</td>
<td>14:3385.3</td>
<td>ar-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>amey</td>
<td>阿米</td>
<td>heaven</td>
<td>20:4392.1</td>
<td>amey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

\textbf{2.5.10.5.2} \textit{i} syllables

The \textit{i} phonograms attested are 以 and 伊.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>以毛 beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4390.4</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imó</td>
<td>伊母 beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4391.5</td>
<td>imwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>以都 five</td>
<td>20:4386.2</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>以弊 home</td>
<td>20:4388.3</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>inör-apâ</td>
<td>以乃良波 pray-COND</td>
<td>20:4392.3</td>
<td>inor-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ipap-yî</td>
<td>以波比 pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4393.4</td>
<td>ipap-yî</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>以都 when</td>
<td>20:4386.3[1]</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>以都 when</td>
<td>20:4386.3[2]</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>iNture</td>
<td>以都例 which</td>
<td>20:4392.2</td>
<td>iNture</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

\textbf{2.5.10.5.3} \textit{u} syllables

The \textit{u} phonogram attested is 有.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
<td>有都久之 beloved</td>
<td>20:4392.4</td>
<td>utukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

\footnote{205 I follow NHB here. GK has 河 \textit{Nka}, which looks like a mistake.}
2.5.10.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 目.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opuse 目不世</td>
<td>assign.INF</td>
<td>20:4389.4</td>
<td>opose</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>opo 目保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4393.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>opo 目保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4394.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ok-yi 目積</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4385.5</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ok-yi 目積</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4387.5</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ok-yi 目積</td>
<td>leave_behind-INF</td>
<td>20:4393.4</td>
<td>ok-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>omwo 目毛</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4386.4</td>
<td>amö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>osu 目須</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>14:3385.4</td>
<td>iswo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>omwop-apye- 目毛波弊</td>
<td>think-ITER</td>
<td>20:4389.5</td>
<td>omöp-apey-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (7) likely shows a phonologically reduced (and centralized) vowel, in the change *a > ə*.

The variance in (8) looks to be the result a change of *e > ə* in initial position in the Simotupusa form, as the PJ form was likely *eso* (Vovin 2010: 127).

2.5.10.5.5 Summary of vowel initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a)  *a > ə* (sporadic, phonologically or lexically conditioned)

b)  *e > ə /#_C* (sporadic)

I accept both changes, and they can be viewed as a general process of vowel reduction via centralization, but I note they are sporadic.
2.5.10.6 A reconstruction of Simotupusa’s phoneme inventory

2.5.10.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data\textsuperscript{206} (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa. Internal variances are noted in brackets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8[+1]</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>18[+1]</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excluding the unknown syllables, there are 16[+1] variances out of 196[+1] syllables, which is a relatively high rate of variance.

The labial initials only show three variances (and none in the \textit{Np}- series), which is not good evidence for denasalization. Similarly, the \textit{s}- series show only one variance out of 37 syllables (excluding unknowns). There are no attested \textit{Ns}- phonograms. Thus, there is no convincing evidence for denasalization.

\textsuperscript{206} In Table 2-34, I do not mark as variant the examples in the Simotupusa data that were shown to support the change of *t > s /_i. These examples are included in the invariant column.
The velar initial series show nine external variances and one internal variance out of 69 syllables (excluding unknowns). Overall, I find this to be sufficient evidence for denasalization in the velar series.

The t/NI- series is a borderline case, as they show five variances out of 53 syllables (excluding unknowns), but none in the NI- series (granted, only two NI- phonograms are attested). I will tentatively accept denasalization here, due in part to the strong evidence from the k-/Nk- series and the fact that coronal denasalization appears to occur before velar denasalization in other provinces.

2.5.10.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Simotupusa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p m b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately /n/z/ is unattested, so we cannot make any conclusions in regard to that possible phoneme.

2.5.10.6.2.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/t/ does not occur before /i/.

2.5.10.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Simotupusa.
Table 2-36: Vowel phonemes reconstructed for Simotupusa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.10.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ does not occur after [+labial, -velar] consonant onsets.

2.5.10.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following innovations for Simotupusa:

c) *a > ə (sporadic, phonologically conditioned?)
d) *e > ə /#_C (sporadic)
e) *ə > o / C[+labial, -velar]_
f) *uy > u
g) *ɔy > e
h) *u > i / m_t
i) *r > n / _Vm (sporadic, only found in the tentative 2 suffix)
j) *o > u (sporadic)
g) *^z (or *s) > t (sporadic, only found in a FPT)
h) *^g > g
i) *^d > d
j) *t > s / _i

Some of these only being evidenced in one attestation, and consequently listed as ‘sporadic,’ is obviously not ideal, but I think this is mainly due to the size of the corpus.
2.5.10.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

There are three retentions in this province: PJn *ə occurs as /ə/ after /w/, we see an unchanged reflex of PJn *o in the verbal attributive suffix -o and the root popom- ‘be unopened,’ and we see an unchanged reflex of PJn *e in the adjectival verb attributive suffix -ke.

2.5.10.6.6 Phonological rules and processes

The following phonological rules and processes occur in Simotupusa:

a) Regressive nasal assimilation (*r > n /_Vm)
b) Monophthongization via deletion of the second segment of a PJn diphthong (*uy > u)
c) Denasalization (*ŋg > g, *nd > d)
d) Fortification (*ns > t)
e) Centralization (*a > ə, *e > ə/#_C)
f) Palatalization (*ay > e)
g) Vowel raising (*o > u)
h) Spirantization (*t > s /_i)
k) Labialization (*ə > o /C[+labial, -velar]_)

2.5.11 Kamitupusa

There are fifteen Kamitupusa poems, specifically 3382 and 3382 from Book 14 and 4347-4359 from Book 20. Kamitupusa province was flanked by the sea to the east
and west, while it shared its northern border with Simotupusa province and its southern border with Apa province.

2.5.11.1 Labial initial syllables

The labial initial phonographic syllables attested are pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, Npa, Npyi, ma, myi, mu, mey, mwo, mö, wa, wi, and wo. There are no phonographically attested Npiy, Npu, Npye, Npey, Npo, miy, mye, or we syllables.

2.5.11.1 pa syllables

The pa phonogram attested is 波.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pakare</td>
<td>波可礼</td>
<td>be.separated. NML</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sipa</td>
<td>志波</td>
<td>bush</td>
<td>20:4350.3</td>
<td>siNpa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pap-o</td>
<td>波保</td>
<td>crawl-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.3</td>
<td>pap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 nipa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td>20:4350.1</td>
<td>nipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4348.2</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 papa</td>
<td>波々</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>20:4356.1</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 asupa</td>
<td>阿須波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4350.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4355.3</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ipap-iy</td>
<td>伊波非</td>
<td>pray-INF</td>
<td>20:4347.5</td>
<td>ipap-iy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ipap-am-u</td>
<td>伊波々卒</td>
<td>pray-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4350.4</td>
<td>ipap-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 paNta</td>
<td>波太</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>20:4351.4</td>
<td>paNta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 [o]möp-ay-u</td>
<td>母波由</td>
<td>think-PASS-FIN</td>
<td>20:4357.5</td>
<td>omöp-ay-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4347.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4349.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4350.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4353.1</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 pa</td>
<td>波</td>
<td>TPT</td>
<td>20:4354.4</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 pak-eyr-u</td>
<td>波気流</td>
<td>wear-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4347.3</td>
<td>pak-yer-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variance in example (1) shows one of the most intriguing correspondences among all of the provinces: Kamitupusa *pa : WOJ *wa. However, there is only one example of this in this province, and *wa syllables are amply attested as well, as will be shown below. A possible explanation is the PJn form of this particular root was *banare, whereas the rest of the attested *wa syllables in Kamitupusa are reflexes of original *wa syllables. If so the Kamitupusa form would show the innovation of devoicing in initial position (*b > p). However, it is probably best to abandon this idea, as there are two problems with it: 1) this correspondence occurs just once in the EOJ corpus, and 2) there is little evidence for reconstructing *b at the PJn level.

2.5.11.1.2 pyi syllables

The *pyi phonogram attested is 比.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pyi</td>
<td>比</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>20:4353.2</td>
<td>pyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 {pyi-ni}</td>
<td>{比尔}沓沓</td>
<td>day-LOC</td>
<td>20:4353.2</td>
<td>pyi-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ap-yi</td>
<td>阿比</td>
<td>meet-INF</td>
<td>20:4354.3</td>
<td>ap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pyitō</td>
<td>比等</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>20:4353.5</td>
<td>pyitō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ip-yi</td>
<td>伊比</td>
<td>say-INF</td>
<td>20:4358.5</td>
<td>ip-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.1.3 piy syllables

The *piy phonogram attested is 非.
The variances involving the vowel in both (1) and (3) may suggest a merger of *ɨ > /i/ occurred in this province. The syllable in (1) is also variant in regard to the consonant, as we find a lack of prenasalization in the Kamitupusa form.

### 2.5.11.1.4 pu syllables

The *pu* phonograms attested are 布 and 不.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>puk-ey</td>
<td>布氣</td>
<td>20:4353.2</td>
<td>puk-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>船</td>
<td>20:4359.2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwopu-</td>
<td>故布</td>
<td>14:3382.5</td>
<td>kwopiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (3) can be explained as the result of a different development from the diphthong *uy (< PJn *oy). In Kamitupusa this diphthong was contracted by a deletion of the second segment, whereas in WOJ we find a typical fusional reduction (PJn *kopoy > /kopi/).

### 2.5.11.1.5 pye syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敵.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-pye</td>
<td>敵</td>
<td>-ALL</td>
<td>20:4359.4</td>
<td>pye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.6 pey syllables

The pey phonograms attested are 倍 and 閏.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pey</td>
<td>倍</td>
<td>area</td>
<td>20:4352.1</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pey</td>
<td>閏</td>
<td>area</td>
<td>20:4359.1</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -pey</td>
<td>倍</td>
<td>-CL</td>
<td>20:4351.2</td>
<td>-pey</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ipey</td>
<td>伊閏</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4347.1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ipey</td>
<td>伊倍</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4353.1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ipey</td>
<td>伊倍</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4353.4</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kapey-</td>
<td>加倍理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pey</td>
<td>閏</td>
<td>prow</td>
<td>20:4359.5</td>
<td>pye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pey syllables are quite striking, as there are eight attestations but all of them are variant. This is rather overwhelming orthographic evidence that *əy merged with /e/ in this province.

2.5.11.7 po syllables

The po phonogram attested is 保.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 töpo-</td>
<td>登保</td>
<td>be.far-</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>töpo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pap-o</td>
<td>波保</td>
<td>crawl-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.3</td>
<td>pap-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 por-i</td>
<td>保里</td>
<td>desire-INF</td>
<td>14:3383.5</td>
<td>por-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 opo</td>
<td>於保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4358.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

207 I follow NHB here. GK has 部 Npu, which looks like a mistake.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.8 Npa syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -COND</td>
<td>14:3382.5</td>
<td>-Npa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -COND</td>
<td>20:4351.5</td>
<td>-Npa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-Npa</td>
<td>婆 -COND</td>
<td>20:4358.3</td>
<td>-Npa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>奈婆 -PERF-COND</td>
<td>14:3382.4</td>
<td>-n-aNpa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-k-aNpa</td>
<td>可婆 -AVATTR-COND</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>-kyeNpa+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.9 Npyi syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妲.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>多妣 208</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4351.1</td>
<td>taNpyi+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

---

208 I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*. 

---

433
2.5.11.10 ma syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>麻多</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4349.3</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mamey</td>
<td>麻米</td>
<td>bean</td>
<td>20:4352.3</td>
<td>mamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>久麻</td>
<td>bend_in_a_ road</td>
<td>20:4349.1</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>umara</td>
<td>宇万良</td>
<td>brier</td>
<td>20:4352.2</td>
<td>UNpara⁴⁰⁷ -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>久麻</td>
<td>corner</td>
<td>20:4357.2</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-matur-i</td>
<td>麻都里</td>
<td>-HUM-INF</td>
<td>20:4359.4</td>
<td>-matur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>麻</td>
<td>INT-</td>
<td>20:4348.3</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>志麻</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4349.4</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>志麻</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>20:4355.5</td>
<td>sima</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>umaNkuta</td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>umaNkuta</td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3383.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>麻泥</td>
<td>-TERM</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>karam-ar-u</td>
<td>可良麻流</td>
<td>wrap_around-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.4</td>
<td>karam-er-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (13) is due to a different morphophonological development. In Kamitupusa the progressive *-ar-* affixes directly to the root, whereas the WOJ progressive *-er-* is a fusional reduction of the infinitive *-i* and the auxiliary *-ar-* ‘exist.’

2.5.11.11 myi syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>美</td>
<td>-AVGER</td>
<td>20:4358.2</td>
<td>-myi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁰⁷ This is only attested in the MYS once (16:3832.2), as 棘原 UNpara. While this is not a true phonographic example, the second character is used as a kungana, and the only attested WOJ word for ‘plain’ is /para/, thus this example shows us the nasal /m/ cannot be present in the WOJ form. The form umara is not attested in WOJ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>samu-</td>
<td>佐牟</td>
<td>be.cold</td>
<td>20:4351.4</td>
<td>samu-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>muk-ar-u</td>
<td>奄加流</td>
<td>face-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4359.2</td>
<td>muk-yer-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>muk-am-wo</td>
<td>奄可毛</td>
<td>face-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4359.5</td>
<td>muk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ipap-am-u</td>
<td>伊波々牟</td>
<td>pray-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>20:4350.4</td>
<td>ipap-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>奄</td>
<td>-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4348.5</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>奄</td>
<td>-TENT-FIN</td>
<td>14:3383.5</td>
<td>-m-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.11.13 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mamey</td>
<td>麻米</td>
<td>20:4352.3</td>
<td>mamey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>久毛</td>
<td>20:4355.4</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>watar-am-wo</td>
<td>和多良毛</td>
<td>20:4355.2</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kömwo</td>
<td>許毛</td>
<td>20:4354.1</td>
<td>kamö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>20:4358.5</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>kamö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>加毛</td>
<td>20:4359.3</td>
<td>kamö</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>muk-am-wo</td>
<td>牽可毛</td>
<td>20:4359.5</td>
<td>muk-am-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mwo</td>
<td>毛</td>
<td>14:3383.3</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mwomó</td>
<td>毛母</td>
<td>20:4349.1</td>
<td>mwomó</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>-POSS-beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4357.3</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (7) shows a retention of PJn *o* in the Kamitupusa form. The many other variances here are indicative of the merger of *ə > o / C[+labial]*.

2.5.11.15 *mō* syllables

The *mō* phonogram attested is 母.
The four variances above further support the merger of \*ə > o / C[+labial].

2.5.11.16 \textit{wa} syllables

The \textit{wa} phonogram attested is 和.

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Example & Phonogram(s) & Morphemic Gloss & Book:Poem. Line & WOJ & INV \\
\hline
1 & wa & 和 & 1.S & 14:3382.4 & wa & + \\
2 & wa & 和 & 1.S & 20:4356.1 & wa & + \\
3 & wa & 和 & 1.S & 20:4356.3 & wa & + \\
4 & wa & 和 & 1.S & 20:4357.3 & wa & + \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

210 I follow GK here. NHB has 毛 \textit{mwo}, which is variant.
211 The original WOJ form was probably \textit{simwo}, as it is attested as such in Book V of the MYS, which generally retains the distinction between \*ə and *o after [+labial] onsets. However, there is no conclusive evidence, so I must mark the medial vowel as being of ambiguous quality.
212 This is the character in GK, RK, and KB. Only NHB has 毛 \textit{mwo} (Mizushima 1996: 100).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>和</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4353.3</td>
<td><em>wa</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>wanwo</td>
<td>和努</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4358.4</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>1.S</td>
<td>20:4348.3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和加例</td>
<td>be.separated. INF</td>
<td>20:4348.2</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和加例</td>
<td>be.separated. INF</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>watar-am-wo</td>
<td>和多良毛</td>
<td>cross-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4355.2</td>
<td>watar-am-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4354.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>和須良延</td>
<td>forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>sawak-yi</td>
<td>佐和伎</td>
<td>make_noise-NML</td>
<td>20:4354.2</td>
<td>sawak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.17 *wi* syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>為</td>
<td>sit.NML</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>為</td>
<td>sit.NML</td>
<td>20:4355.4</td>
<td><em>wi</em></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.18 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4348.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4349.2</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4352.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>乎</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>20:4356.4</td>
<td>-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.19 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) *ə > o / C[+labial]_

b) *i > i

c) *ɔy > e

d) *b > p

e) *w > p (sporadic)

f) *uy > u

Evidence for (a) - (c) is strong, so I accept all of the changes.

Among changes (d) and (e), only one can be correct. Change (d) is very difficult to accept as it requires the reconstruction *bakare ‘be separated.’ This is also the only example of this possible change in all of EOJ. If this province retains a reflex /p/ from a hypothetical initial PJn *b (for which there is no convincing evidence, I might add) we would expect more than one example of it in the corpus. Due to these problems, I think the sporadic fortition of *w > p is the better choice.

Change (f) only occurs in one form, but it is the best explanation for the form, and it is an example of a process that is well attested across EOJ (the contraction of diphthongs via deletion of the second segment), so I will accept it.
2.5.11.2 Coronal initial syllables


There are no phonographically attested \textit{Ntu}, \textit{Ntwo}, \textit{Ntö}, \textit{Nsa}, \textit{Nsi}, \textit{Nswo}, \textit{Nsö} or \textit{rwo} syllables.

2.5.11.2.1 \textit{ta} syllables

The \textit{ta} phonogram attested is 多.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mata</td>
<td>麻多</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>20:4349.3</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 watar-am-wo</td>
<td>和多良毛</td>
<td>cross-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4355.2</td>
<td>watar-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>depart-NML</td>
<td>20:4354.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 -N-kata</td>
<td>我多</td>
<td>-GEN-lagoon</td>
<td>20:4355.3</td>
<td>-N-kata</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tapiy</td>
<td>多非</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4348.4</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 taNpyi</td>
<td>多批</td>
<td>journey</td>
<td>20:4351.1</td>
<td>taNpyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tati</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>long.sword</td>
<td>20:4347.4</td>
<td>tati</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 taratine</td>
<td>多良知祢 MK [UNC]</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>20:4348.1</td>
<td>taratine</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 umaNkuta</td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3382.1</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 umaNkuta</td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3383.1</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 tat-i</td>
<td>多知許毛</td>
<td>rise-INF</td>
<td>20:4354.1</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>stand-INF</td>
<td>20:4357.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.2 \textit{ti} syllables

The \textit{ti} phonogram attested is 知.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>depart-NML</td>
<td>20:4354.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Phonogram(s)</td>
<td>Morphemic Gloss</td>
<td>Book:Poem. Line</td>
<td>WOJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>möt-i</td>
<td>母知</td>
<td>hold-INF</td>
<td>20:4356.2</td>
<td>möt-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tati</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>long.sword</td>
<td>20:4347.4</td>
<td>tati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>taratine</td>
<td>多良知祢</td>
<td>MK [UNC]</td>
<td>20:4348.1</td>
<td>taratine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>myiti</td>
<td>美知</td>
<td>path</td>
<td>20:4349.2</td>
<td>myiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>myiti</td>
<td>美知</td>
<td>path</td>
<td>20:4352.1</td>
<td>myiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>rise-INF</td>
<td>20:4354.1</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
<td>多知</td>
<td>stand-INF</td>
<td>20:4357.2</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.3 tu syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>都伎</td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>20:4356.4</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>都々</td>
<td>-COOR</td>
<td>20:4347.2</td>
<td>-tutu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tuyu</td>
<td>都由</td>
<td>dew</td>
<td>14:3382.3</td>
<td>tuyu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-matur-i</td>
<td>麻都里</td>
<td>-HUM-INF</td>
<td>20:4359.4</td>
<td>-matur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4359.1</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tukapey</td>
<td>都加敞</td>
<td>serve.INF</td>
<td>20:4359.4</td>
<td>tukapey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>伊都</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>20:4359.3</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.4 te syllables

The *te* phonograms attested are 弖, 天, and 氐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nate</td>
<td>奈.printf</td>
<td>caress.INF</td>
<td>20:4356.2</td>
<td>naNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>伊.printf</td>
<td>go_out.INF</td>
<td>20:4358.3</td>
<td>iNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>swo-te</td>
<td>蘇天</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>20:4356.2</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>swo-te</td>
<td>蘇.printf</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>20:4357.4</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>.printf</td>
<td>-SUB</td>
<td>14:3382.4</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The four variances found in (1) - (4), which all show a voiceless initial whereas the WOJ forms show a prenasalized voiced initial, may be indicative of the shift *n*d > d.

2.5.11.2.5 two syllables

The two phonogram attested is 刀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>刀</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>20:4357.2</td>
<td>two +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.2.6 tö syllables

The tö phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>töpo-</td>
<td>登保</td>
<td>be.far-</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>töpo- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>美計等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4358.2</td>
<td>myikötö +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-tömö</td>
<td>等母</td>
<td>-CONC</td>
<td>20:4351.3</td>
<td>-Ntömö -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both variances seen above in (3) and (4) may be supporting evidence for the shift \(*^n_d > d*\).

2.5.11.2.7 Nta syllables

The Nta phonogram attested is 太.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ntani</td>
<td>太尔</td>
<td>14:3383.3</td>
<td>Ntani</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>paNta</td>
<td>波太</td>
<td>20:4351.4</td>
<td>paNta</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.8 Nti syllables

The Nti phonogram attested is 遲.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mōNt-i</td>
<td>母遲</td>
<td>20:4353.4</td>
<td>mōt-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance here involves a prenasalized voiced initial phonogram in Kamitukeno corresponding to a voiceless initial syllable in WOJ.

2.5.11.2.9 Nte syllables

The Nte phonogram attested is 泥.
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.2.10 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>麻泥213</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>-maNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.11 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 思, 志, and 之.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4351.4</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4353.5</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>加志古</td>
<td>20:4358.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sipa</td>
<td>志波</td>
<td>20:4350.3</td>
<td>siNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4347.1</td>
<td>s-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4347.5</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>之</td>
<td>20:4351.5</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

213 I follow NHB here. GK has 汪.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.12 su syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yasu-</td>
<td>夜須</td>
<td>be.easy-</td>
<td>20:4348.5</td>
<td>yasu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wasure</td>
<td>和須礼</td>
<td>forget.INF</td>
<td>20:4354.5</td>
<td>wasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>和須良延</td>
<td>forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
<td>須義</td>
<td>pass.INF</td>
<td>20:4349.4</td>
<td>suNkiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>asupa</td>
<td>阿須波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4350.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.13 se syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 勢 and 世.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>勢</td>
<td>do-</td>
<td>14:3383.5</td>
<td>se-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.14 swo syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 swo</td>
<td>蘇天</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>20:4356.2</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 swo</td>
<td>蘇弓</td>
<td>sleeve</td>
<td>20:4357.4</td>
<td>swoNte</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 swo</td>
<td>-swo</td>
<td>-ten</td>
<td>20:4349.4</td>
<td>-swo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.15 sö syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曽.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sö</td>
<td>曽</td>
<td>FPT</td>
<td>20:4357.5</td>
<td>sö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sömö</td>
<td>曽母</td>
<td>NPT [UNC]</td>
<td>14:3382.5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yöösö214</td>
<td>佘豎</td>
<td>other_place</td>
<td>20:4355.1</td>
<td>yöösö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.16 Nsu syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

---

214 Ikier (2006: 168) suggests this is yö-sö ‘other-place,’ but there is little evidence for segmenting either of those proposed morphemes.
There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.2.17 *Nse* syllables

The *Nse* phonogram attested is _SMALLCHARS{是}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaNse</td>
<td>加是</td>
<td>20:4353.1</td>
<td>kaNse</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.2.18 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is _SMALLCHARS{奈}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4350.1</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>14:3383.5</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈里</td>
<td>20:4356.4</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nak-yi</td>
<td>奈伎</td>
<td>20:4357.5</td>
<td>nak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4358.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>nar-an-aku</td>
<td>奈良安久</td>
<td>20:4355.5</td>
<td>nar-an-aku</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>奈加</td>
<td>20:4382.4</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>奈</td>
<td>20:4353.5</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>奈婆</td>
<td>14:3382.4</td>
<td>-n-aNpa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>奈尔波</td>
<td>20:4355.3</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>nate</td>
<td>奈弖</td>
<td>20:4356.2</td>
<td>nate</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>napo</td>
<td>奈保</td>
<td>20:4351.4</td>
<td>napo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.19 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>karani</td>
<td>可良尓</td>
<td>20:4356.3</td>
<td>karani</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>射</td>
<td>20:4347.4</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4349.3</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4355.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4357.4</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>COP-INF</td>
<td>20:4351.5</td>
<td>n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
<td>20:4350.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>nipa</td>
<td>小波</td>
<td>20:4350.1</td>
<td>nipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>小</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4347.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4348.4</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4352.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
<td>20:4353.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>20:4355.1</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
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<td>-LOC</td>
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<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>{ni pyi}-ni</td>
<td>(尔々)尓</td>
<td>20:4353.2</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-n-i</td>
<td>-PERF-INF</td>
<td>20:4349.2</td>
<td>-n-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>奈尓波</td>
<td>20:4355.3</td>
<td>nanipa</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>kuní</td>
<td>久尓</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>kuní</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>kuní</td>
<td>久尓</td>
<td>20:4359.5</td>
<td>kuní</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Ntani</td>
<td>太尓</td>
<td>14:3383.3</td>
<td>Ntani</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.11.2.20 nu syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nure</td>
<td>奴礼 be.wet.INF</td>
<td>14:3382.4</td>
<td>nure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴 -NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4354.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>奴 -NEG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>-n-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.21 ne syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>不祢 boat</td>
<td>20:4359.2</td>
<td>pune</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ar-an-e</td>
<td>阿良祢 exist-NEG-EV</td>
<td>20:4351.5</td>
<td>ar-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>taratine</td>
<td>多良知祢 MK [UNC]</td>
<td>20:4348.1</td>
<td>taratine</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢 peak</td>
<td>14:3382.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>祢 peak</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kasane</td>
<td>可佐祢 pile_up.INF</td>
<td>20:4351.2</td>
<td>kasane</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>祢 sleep-</td>
<td>20:4348.5</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.22 nwo syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>n-wore</td>
<td>努礼 sleep-EV</td>
<td>20:4351.3</td>
<td>n-ure</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

215 I follow GK here. NHB has 努 nwo, which is variant.
The form in (1), if not a scribal error, is a retention, and not an innovation.

2.5.11.2.23 nö syllables

The nö phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -COMP</td>
<td>20:4352.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -COMP</td>
<td>20:4354.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -COMP/GEN (^{216})</td>
<td>20:4359.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>14:3382.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>14:3382.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>14:3382.3</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>14:3383.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4348.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4348.4</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4349.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4350.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4351.2[1]</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4352.2[1]</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4352.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4354.2</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4356.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4357.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>乃 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4358.1</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>-nö</td>
<td>能 -GEN</td>
<td>20:4355.1</td>
<td>nömiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

\(^{216}\) This can be interpreted as either morpheme.
2.5.11.24 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>karani</td>
<td>可良尔</td>
<td>20:4356.3</td>
<td>karani</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>umara</td>
<td>宇万良</td>
<td>20:4352.2</td>
<td>UNpara217</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nar-an-aku</td>
<td>奈良奈久</td>
<td>20:4355.5</td>
<td>nar-an-aku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>watar-am-wo</td>
<td>和多良毛</td>
<td>20:4355.2</td>
<td>watar-am-wo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ar-an-e</td>
<td>阿良祢</td>
<td>20:4351.5</td>
<td>ar-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ar-aNs-u</td>
<td>安良受</td>
<td>20:4347.2</td>
<td>ar-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>和須良延</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>taratine</td>
<td>多良知祢</td>
<td>20:4348.1</td>
<td>taratine</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sara</td>
<td>佐良</td>
<td>20:4349.3</td>
<td>sara</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>karam-ar-u</td>
<td>可良麻流</td>
<td>20:4352.4</td>
<td>karam-ar-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.25 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 里 and 理.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>奈里</td>
<td>20:4347.4</td>
<td>nar-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kar-i-[i]po</td>
<td>加里保</td>
<td>20:4348.4</td>
<td>kar-i-[i]po</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>por-i</td>
<td>保里</td>
<td>14:3383.5</td>
<td>por-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kakur-i</td>
<td>可久里</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td>kakur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-matur-i</td>
<td>麻都里</td>
<td>20:4359.4</td>
<td>-matur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kapeyr-i</td>
<td>加倍理</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>kapeyr-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

217 This is only attested in the MYS once (16:3832.2), as 棘原 UNpara. While this is not a true phonographic example, the second character is used as a kungana phonogram, and the only attested WOJ word for 'plain' is /para/, thus the final syllable in the WOJ form is undeniably /ra/ and we can conclude the Kamitupusa form is invariant.
There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.26 ru syllables

The *ru* phonogram attested is 流.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>久流</td>
<td>20:4353.5</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>myi-y-uru</td>
<td>美由流</td>
<td>20:4355.4</td>
<td>myi-y-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>muk-ar-u</td>
<td>千加流</td>
<td>20:4359.2</td>
<td>muk-er-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>pak-eyr-u</td>
<td>波氣流</td>
<td>20:4347.3</td>
<td>pak-er-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>karam-ar-u</td>
<td>可良麻流</td>
<td>20:4352.4</td>
<td>karam-er-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.27 re syllables

The *re* phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>和例</td>
<td>20:4348.3</td>
<td>ware</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>阿例</td>
<td>20:4350.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和加例</td>
<td>20:4348.2</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和加例</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pakare</td>
<td>波可礼</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>奴礼</td>
<td>14:3382.4</td>
<td>nure-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>久礼</td>
<td>20:4358.3</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.28 \(rō\) syllables

The \(rō\) phonogram attested is 呂.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-rō</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>14:3382.2</td>
<td>-rō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-rō</td>
<td>呂</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td>-rō</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>己呂母</td>
<td>20:4351.1</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>己己呂</td>
<td>20:4354.4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>許己呂</td>
<td>20:4356.4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.2.29 Summary of coronal initial syllables

Evidence for the following sound change was found:

a) \( ^*\)d > d

As the evidence is substantial and occurs in both \(r\)- and \(Nr\)- syllables, this change appears plausible. This will be examined in more detail later on when the prenasalized consonants are analyzed.

2.5.11.3 Palatal initial syllables

The palatal initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are \(ya\), \(yu\), \(ye\) and \(yō\). There are no phonographically attested \(ywo\) syllables.
### 2.5.11.3.1 ya syllables

The *ya* phonogram attested is 夜.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yasu-</td>
<td>夜须</td>
<td>be.easy-</td>
<td>20:4348.5</td>
<td>yasu-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>20:4351.2</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ya</td>
<td>夜</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>20:4355.2</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.3.2 yu syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tuyu</td>
<td>都由</td>
<td>dew</td>
<td>14:3382.3</td>
<td>tuyu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可伞</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可伞</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 myi-y-uru</td>
<td>美由流</td>
<td>see-PASS-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4355.4</td>
<td>myi-y-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 [o]mōp-ay-u</td>
<td>母波由</td>
<td>think-PASS-FIN</td>
<td>20:4357.5</td>
<td>[o]mōp-ay-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.3.3 ye syllables

The *ye* phonogram attested is 延.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 wasur-aye</td>
<td>和须良延</td>
<td>forget-PASS</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>wasur-aye</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.3.4 yö syllables

The yö phonogram attested is 余.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yöśö</td>
<td>余曾</td>
<td>other_place</td>
<td>20:4355.1</td>
<td>yöśö</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.3.5 Summary of palatal initial syllables

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.4 Velar initial syllables

The velar initial phonographic syllables attested in the texts are ka, kyi, kiy, ku, key, kwo, kō, Nka, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nku, and Nkö. There are no phonographically attested kye, Nkye, Nkey, or Nkwo syllables.

2.5.11.4.1 ka syllables

The ka phonograms attested are 可 and 加.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-k-aNpa</td>
<td>可婆</td>
<td>-AVATTR-COND</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>-kyeNpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>加志古</td>
<td>be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4358.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和加例</td>
<td>be.separated.</td>
<td>20:4348.2</td>
<td>wakare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>INF</td>
<td></td>
<td>INF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>wakare</td>
<td>和加例</td>
<td>be.separated. INF</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>wakare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pakare</td>
<td>波可礼</td>
<td>be.separated. INF</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>wakare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>可</td>
<td>be.thus-</td>
<td>14:3383.3</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>karani</td>
<td>可良尔</td>
<td>because_of</td>
<td>20:4356.3</td>
<td>karani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kar-i-[i]po</td>
<td>加里保</td>
<td>borrow-NML-hut</td>
<td>20:4348.4</td>
<td>kar-i-[i]po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kamyi</td>
<td>可美</td>
<td>deity</td>
<td>20:4350.2</td>
<td>kamiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>加母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4347.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>加母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4348.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kamō</td>
<td>加母</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4354.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4356.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>加毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4359.3</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kamwo</td>
<td>可毛</td>
<td>EPT</td>
<td>20:4359.5</td>
<td>kamō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>muk-ar-u</td>
<td>牟加流</td>
<td>face-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4359.2</td>
<td>muk-yer-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>kakyi</td>
<td>可伎</td>
<td>fence</td>
<td>20:4357.1</td>
<td>kakyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由可牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>yukamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
<td>由加牟</td>
<td>go-TENT-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>yuk-am-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kakur-i</td>
<td>可久里</td>
<td>hide-INF</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td>kakur-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>奈加</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>20:4350.1</td>
<td>naka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>kasane</td>
<td>可佐祢</td>
<td>pile_up.INF</td>
<td>20:4351.2</td>
<td>kasane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>-POSS</td>
<td>20:4354.4</td>
<td>-Nka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>20:4349.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>QPT</td>
<td>20:4352.5</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>kapeyr-i</td>
<td>加倍理</td>
<td>return-INF</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>kapyer-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>tukapey</td>
<td>都加敞</td>
<td>serve.INF</td>
<td>20:4359.4</td>
<td>tukapey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>kaNse</td>
<td>加是</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td>20:4353.1</td>
<td>kaNse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>karam-ar-u</td>
<td>可良麻流</td>
<td>wrap_around-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4352.4</td>
<td>karam-yer-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (23) involves a voiceless initial corresponding to a WOJ prenasalized voiced initial. The variance in (1) is due to a different morphophonological development, as the Kamitupusa form contracted the vowel sequence from PJn *-ki-aNpa ‘-PST-
COND’ for the output [kaᵐba], while WOJ fusionally reduced the sequence for the output [keᵐba].

2.5.11.4.2 kyi syllables

The kyi phonogram attested is 伎.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tuk-yi</td>
<td>都伎</td>
<td>attach-INF</td>
<td>20:4358.4</td>
<td>tuk-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ky-</td>
<td>伎</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>14:3382.4</td>
<td>ky-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nak-yi</td>
<td>奈伎</td>
<td>cry-INF</td>
<td>20:4356.4</td>
<td>nak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 nak-yi</td>
<td>奈伎</td>
<td>cry-INF</td>
<td>20:4357.5</td>
<td>nak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kakyi</td>
<td>可伎</td>
<td>fence</td>
<td>20:4357.1</td>
<td>kakyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kyimyi</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4352.4</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kyimyi</td>
<td>伎美</td>
<td>lord</td>
<td>20:4358.1</td>
<td>kyimyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sawak-yi</td>
<td>佐和伎</td>
<td>make_noise-NML</td>
<td>20:4354.2</td>
<td>sawak-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 -k[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>伎母</td>
<td>-POSS-beloved_girl</td>
<td>20:4353.3</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 kyi</td>
<td>伎</td>
<td>wear.INF</td>
<td>20:4351.2</td>
<td>kyi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (9) shows a lack of prenasalization in the Kamitupusa form.

2.5.11.4.3 kiy syllables

The kiy phonogram attested is 紀.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 k-iy</td>
<td>紀</td>
<td>come-INF</td>
<td>20:4349.2</td>
<td>k-iy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variance involves the use of a kiy phonogram for reflex of a PJn *ki syllable Kamitupusa.
2.5.11.4.4 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久-AVINF</td>
<td>14:3383.3</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4348.5</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>久-AVINF</td>
<td>20:4355.5</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>久麻-bend_in_a_road</td>
<td>20:4349.1</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>久毛-cloud</td>
<td>20:4355.4</td>
<td>kumwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>k-u²¹⁸</td>
<td>久-come-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4350.5</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>久流-come-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4353.5</td>
<td>k-uru</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>久礼-come-EV</td>
<td>20:4358.3</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kakur-i</td>
<td>可里-hide-INF</td>
<td>14:3383.2</td>
<td>kakur-i</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kumatwo</td>
<td>久麻刀-PN</td>
<td>20:4357.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>都久之-PN</td>
<td>20:4359.1</td>
<td>tukusi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔-province</td>
<td>14:3383.4</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>久尔-province</td>
<td>20:4359.5</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pak-eyr-u</td>
<td>波気流-wear-PROG-ATTR</td>
<td>20:4347.3</td>
<td>pak-eyr-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>puk-ey</td>
<td>布気-blow-EV</td>
<td>20:4353.2</td>
<td>puk-ey</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (1) may suggest a merger of *əy > e* in this province.

²¹⁸ See section 5.4.3.2 for a discussion of this attributive form.
2.5.11.4.6 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonograms attested are 故 and 古.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kasikwo- 加志古</td>
<td>be.awesome-</td>
<td>20:4358.2</td>
<td>kasikwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kwo- 古</td>
<td>DIM-</td>
<td>20:4350.3</td>
<td>kwo-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kwo 古</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>20:4353.3</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kwo 古</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>20:4357.3</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kwo 古</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>20:4358.5</td>
<td>kwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kwopu- 故布</td>
<td>long_for-</td>
<td>14:3382.5</td>
<td>kwopiy-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kwopiy 古非</td>
<td>long_for.INF</td>
<td>20:4347.2</td>
<td>kwopiy</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.4.7 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myikötö 美許等</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>20:4358.2</td>
<td>myikötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kómwo 許毛</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>20:4354.1</td>
<td>kamwo-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kökörö 己己呂</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>20:4354.4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kökörö 許己呂</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>20:4356.4</td>
<td>kökörö</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>körömö 己呂母</td>
<td>garment</td>
<td>20:4351.1</td>
<td>körömö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kötö 許等</td>
<td>word</td>
<td>20:4348.3</td>
<td>kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variance in (2) suggests a phonologically reduced vowel via centralization (*a > ə*).

2.5.11.4.8 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-N-[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>藝毛</td>
<td>20:4357.3</td>
<td>-Nk[a]-yimwo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.4.9 Nkyi syllables

The Nkyi phonogram attested is 藝.

2.5.11.4.10 Nkiy syllables

The Nkiy phonogram attested is 義.

There are no variances in these data.
2.5.11.4.11 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 uma<em>Nkuta</em></td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 uma<em>Nkuta</em></td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3383.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.4.12 *Nkō* syllables

The *Nkō* phonogram attested is 其.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 -N-kötö</td>
<td>其登</td>
<td>-GEN-word</td>
<td>20:4353.4</td>
<td>-N-kötö</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.4.13 Summary of velar initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

a) \( ^*\mathrm{ŋ} \gg \mathrm{g} \)

b) \( ^*\mathrm{ay} \gg \mathrm{e} \)

c) \( ^*\mathrm{a} \gg \mathrm{e} \) (sporadic, phonologically conditioned?)

d) \( ^*\mathrm{i} \gg \mathrm{i} \)

Change (a) both supported by very few examples, so it is hard to accept. Change (b) was already shown to be acceptable in the data presented in the section on labial-initial syllables.
Despite the fact change (c) only occurs in one form, I accept it as it is a widely attested process in EOJ provinces, it is not likely a misspelling, and it is the best explanation for the form in which it occurs.

Change (d) is supported by just one example here, but there were multiple supporting examples in sections 2.5.11.3 and 2.5.11.11 (both labial initial syllables), so I accept it.

2.5.11.5 Vowel-initial syllables

The vowel initial syllables attested are a, i, u, and o.

2.5.11.5.1 a syllables

The a phonograms attested are 安 and 阿.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 are</td>
<td>阿例</td>
<td>I.S</td>
<td>20:4350.4</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ar-an-e</td>
<td>阿良祢</td>
<td>exist-NEG-EV</td>
<td>20:4351.5</td>
<td>ar-an-e</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ar-aNs-u</td>
<td>安良受</td>
<td>exist-NEG-FIN</td>
<td>20:4347.2</td>
<td>ar-aNs-u</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ap-yi</td>
<td>阿比</td>
<td>meet-INF</td>
<td>20:4354.3</td>
<td>ap-yi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 asupa</td>
<td>阿須波</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>20:4350.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 asi</td>
<td>阿之</td>
<td>reed</td>
<td>20:4357.1</td>
<td>asi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.5.2 i syllables

The i phonogram attested is 伊.
There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>umara</td>
<td>宇万良</td>
<td>briar</td>
<td>20:4352.2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>umaNkuta</td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3382.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>umaNkuta</td>
<td>宇麻具多</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>14:3383.1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ure</td>
<td>宇礼</td>
<td>tip</td>
<td>20:4352.2</td>
<td>ure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

---

219 Refer to section 2.5.11.1.10 for a discussion of the WOJ form.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>於保</td>
<td>great</td>
<td>20:4358.1</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no variances in this example.

2.5.11.5.5 Summary of vowel initial syllables

There are no variances in these data.

2.5.11.6 A reconstruction of Kamitupusa’s phoneme inventory

2.5.11.6.1 Variances and invariances among consonants

The following table lists all attested instances of a syllable in the data beginning with a voiceless obstruent that has a prenasalized voiced counterpart, along with the number of variances and invariances in the data (these refer strictly to the consonant quality, not the vowel). A consonant is considered variant if it is written with a prenasalized initial in EOJ when it is written with a voiceless initial in WOJ, or vice versa.

Table 2-37: Consonant variances and invariances in Kamitupusa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Invariances</th>
<th>Variances</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p-</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Np-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nt-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ns-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nk-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only onset pair to show strong evidence for denasalization is the t-/Nt- pair. Here we find seven variances out of 56 attested syllables (excluding unknowns). We do not find
any variances out of the 39 attested s-/N- syllables (excluding unknowns), so it seems this pair of syllables did not pattern with the t-/Nt- pair, even though both are coronal. The evidence for the labial and velar onset types is lacking, so I conclude prenasalized obstruents still occurred in these positions.

2.5.11.6.2 Consonants

The following table lists the consonant phonemes I reconstruct for Kamitupusa. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p m b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k ŋ g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s [h z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.11.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes I reconstruct for Kamitupusa. Phonemes with very few attestations are in brackets, and can be reconstructed less reliably than the others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.11.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

/ə/ occurs only after [-labial] consonant onsets.

2.5.11.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following sound changes for Kamitupusa:

a)  *a > ə (sporadic, phonologically conditioned?)

b)  *ⁿd > d

c)  *ə > o / C[+labial]_

d)  *i > i

e)  *əy > e

f)  *w > p

g)  *uy > u

Change (f) is somewhat controversial, but I do not think the form in which it appears can be disregarded as a scribal error.

2.5.11.6.5 Phonological retentions not in WOJ

We find an unchanged reflex of PJn *o in a few forms, such as the evidential -ore and verbal attributive -o.

2.5.11.6.6 Phonological rules and processes

We find the following phonological rules and processes in Kamitupusa:

a)  Centralization (*a > ə)

b)  Denasalization (*ⁿd > d)
c) Palatalization (*əy > e, *i > i)

d) Monophthongization via fusional reduction (*əy > e)

e) Labialization (*ə > o / C[+labial])

f) Monophthongization via deletion of the second segment of a PJn
diphthong (*uy > u)

2.5.12 An analysis of the phonological innovations in the poems from unknown
dialects (UD)

There are 117 Eastern poems which are not attributed to any specific province,
making their precise origin and dialect unknown. From Book 14 the UD poems include
3440a, 3340b, 3442, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3456,
3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3466, 3468, 3469, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3476,
3477, 3478, 3480, 3481, 3482b, 3483, 3484, 3486, 3487, 3489, 3492, 3493a, 3494, 3495,
3496, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3511,
3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3524, 3525, 3526,
3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3536, 3537a, 3537b, 3538b, 3539, 3540,
3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3555, 3556,
3557, 3560, 3561, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3572, 3573, and 3576. From Book 20
the poems include 4425, 4426, 4427, 4428, 4429, 4430, 4431, 4432 and 4436.

These data as a whole are of little help in terms of specific provincial and dialectal
innovations, as we are not yet able to identify what province(s) these poems are from. For
this reason there will be no detailed syllable-by-syllable study of these poems presented
here. Instead, I will discuss the phonological innovations found in these poems.
2.5.12.1 Evidence for phonological innovations

What follows sections consisting of forms in the data that are variant, and may be evidence for a phonological innovation. There are no invariant syllables presented in these data, for to do that would entail a complete study of all attested UD phonograms. In nearly all cases there are invariant attested syllables in the same forms shown below.

I will not deal with any evidence for denasalization (i.e shifts of *ⁿg > g, *ⁿd > d, *ⁿz > z, or *ⁿmb > b) here as while orthographically variant examples exist in the UD poems, the lack of a province to connect with the variances makes the data unconvincing in regard to denasalization.

2.5.12.1.1 *e > i

The raising of *e > i mainly occurs in the morphology. We find it in UD in instances where it occurs in WOJ, such as the adjectival verb attributive suffix -kyi, a reflex from PJn *ke. There are also examples of a raised vowel in the imperative suffix and a raised vowel in the root se- ‘do,’ shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-n-i</td>
<td>尔 -PERF-IMP</td>
<td>14:3440.a.5</td>
<td>-n-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>思 do-</td>
<td>14:3556.5</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.12.1.2 *uy > u

The change of *uy > u is found in a few different roots, shown below. The corresponding WOJ forms all have reflex Ciy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ku</td>
<td>久君</td>
<td>stem</td>
<td>14:3444.2</td>
<td>kukiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tuku</td>
<td>都久</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>14:3476.3</td>
<td>tukiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tuku</td>
<td>都久</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>14:3565.5</td>
<td>tukiy</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.12.1.3 *t > s / _i*

The change *t > s / _i occurs just once in UD, shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pyeNta-i</td>
<td>袋太思</td>
<td>partition-INF</td>
<td>14:3445.5</td>
<td>pyeNtat-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the fact this change is only seen in the provinces Muzasi, Simotukeno, Pitati, and Simotupusa, poem 3445 is most likely from one of those four provinces.

### 2.5.12.1.4 *əy > e*

There are numerous attestations of an *Cye phonogram in UD corresponding to a Cey phonogram in WOJ, as well as a Cey phonogram in UD corresponding to a Cye phonogram in WOJ, possibly indicative of a merger of *əy > /e/. Fifteen examples were presented in Kupchik (2007: 28-31), which I will not repeat here.

### 2.5.12.1.5 *ə > o / C[+labial] _*

This change is unsurprisingly well attested throughout the UD poems, just as it is throughout the poems attributed to a specific province. 61 supporting examples were presented in Kupchik (2007: 24-8), which I will not repeat here.
2.5.12.1.6 *r > n (progressive nasal assimilation)

This change occurs in the two examples below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 nuNkan-apye</td>
<td>奴我拝敬</td>
<td>flow-ITER.INF</td>
<td>14:3476b.4</td>
<td>naNkar-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nwoNkan-apye</td>
<td>努賀拝敬</td>
<td>flow-ITER.INF</td>
<td>14:3476a.4</td>
<td>naNkar-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.12.1.7 *r > n (regressive nasal assimilation)

This change only occurs in the tentative 2 suffix -unam-, which is attested six times in the UD poems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kwop-unam-wo</td>
<td>故拝奈毛</td>
<td>long_for-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3476a.2</td>
<td>kwop-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kwopusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö</td>
<td>故布思可追拝奈母</td>
<td>be.longing_for-AVINF-exist-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3476a.5</td>
<td>kwopiyisi-k[u]-ar-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 omwop-unam-u</td>
<td>於毛拝奈母</td>
<td>think-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3496.3</td>
<td>omöp-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yuk-unam-ö</td>
<td>由久奈母</td>
<td>go-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3526.4</td>
<td>yuk-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 omwop-os-unam-ö</td>
<td>於毛抱須奈母</td>
<td>think-HON-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3552.4</td>
<td>omöp-os-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mat-unam-wo</td>
<td>麻都那毛</td>
<td>wait-TENT2-ATTR</td>
<td>14:3563.4</td>
<td>mat-uram-u</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.12.8 *a > /e/

The PJn form for ‘leaf’ was clearly *pa and not *pye, so we must conclude the UD attestation of *pye ‘leaf’ is due to a raising and fronting of *a > e in this one root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pye</td>
<td>敷</td>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>14:3456.2</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.12.9 *ia > /a/

I reconstruct the PJn word for ‘home’ as *ipia, thus the UD attestation shows a contraction of the first vowel in the sequence *ia, while the WOJ form shows a fusional reduction of this sequence to /e/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ipa</td>
<td>伊波</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>20:4427.1</td>
<td>ipye</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form *ipa ‘home’ is also attested in Muzasi and Simotukeno and Kamitukeno provinces, thus poem 4427 is likely from one of those three provinces.

2.5.12.10 *i > /u/

The correspondence of UD /u/ to WOJ /i/ is found in two UD roots, shown in the examples below. As the the final vowel in each word can be reconstructed as *i in PJ, the UD forms show an innovation here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iku</td>
<td>伊久</td>
<td>breath</td>
<td>14:3458.5</td>
<td>ikyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipu</td>
<td>尔布</td>
<td>new</td>
<td>14:3460.3</td>
<td>nipyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.12.2.11 *e > /o/

This sound change is unusual for EOJ, but the UD form twor- ‘shine’ is clearly the innovative one, as we can reconstruct *ter- ‘shine’ in PJ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>twor-e</td>
<td>刀礼</td>
<td>shine-EV</td>
<td>14:3561.3</td>
<td>ter-e</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.12.1.12 Metathesis

Metathesis is attested just once, in the example below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaNte</td>
<td>夜提</td>
<td>branch</td>
<td>14:3493a.5</td>
<td>yeNda</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.12.2 Reflexes from an unclear origin

In this section I will list all correspondences that occur in the UD data in which it is difficult to determine whether UD or WOJ shows the innovation. Thus, in the examples below either the phonological shape of the PJn root is unclear or the UD and WOJ forms are reflexes from different proto-forms.

2.5.12.2.1 UD /na/ : WOJ /mi/

It is quite possible that the UD and WOJ forms below are not related at all. The vowels are very difficult to explain, though /m/ and /n/ have flip-flopped in a number of Japonic words over time.
### 2.5.12.2 UD /y/ : WOJ /m/

The correspondence of UD /y/ to WOJ /m/ only occurs once, in the example below. The WOJ form may be the result of the contraction of the sequence /ay/ in the form *ma-yusup- ‘INT-tie,’ as the UD form is attested with a preceding *ma-. Another possibility is the UD form changed *m > /y/. Either way, this is a sporadic change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>noit-an-ap-u</td>
<td>乃多奈布</td>
<td>fill_up-NEG-ITER-FIN</td>
<td>14:3444.4</td>
<td>myit-an-ap-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.12.2.3 UD /y/ : WOJ /r/

This change may be due to a difference in morphology, rather than phonology. It is possible that UD *myiNtay- ‘confuse’ and WOJ *myiNtare- ‘id.’ (shown below) were formed from a root *myiNt- with different passive suffixes (passive -aye- or passive -are-) attached. The other possibility is UD shows a sporadic lenition of *r > /y/ in this one form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yusup-yi</td>
<td>由湏比</td>
<td>tie-NML</td>
<td>20:4427.3</td>
<td>musuNp-yi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>myiNtaye-</td>
<td>美太要</td>
<td>confuse-</td>
<td>14:3563.3</td>
<td>myiNtare-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.5.12.4 UD /mi/ : WOJ /pa/, /pay/

This correspondence is attested only once. Both the vowel and consonant in UD namiy ‘seedling’ are difficult to connect with the WOJ forms, as both napa and napey look like they are reflexes from a PJn form *napay ‘seedling.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>namiy</td>
<td>奈未</td>
<td>seedling</td>
<td>14:3460.3</td>
<td>napa, napey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one other possibility worth considering: there are clear cases in the MYS where the phonogram 未 miy is attested as a misspelling for the phonogram 末 ma, and an UD form nama ‘seedling’ would be easier to explain as a reflex from PJn *napay. While this is an attractive solution, I hesitate to accept this due to the fact that all extant manuscripts show 未 miy in this form.

2.5.12.5 UD /Ns/ : WOJ /s/

As the UD form pyiNsi ‘sandbank’ is attested just once and the WOJ form pyisi ‘id.’ is also attested just once, it is not possible to tell if this is a case of secondary prenasalization in the UD form, denasalization in the WOJ form, or simply a misspelling in one of the forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book: Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pyiNsi</td>
<td>比自</td>
<td>sandbank</td>
<td>14:3448.4</td>
<td>pyisi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.12.6 UD /ye/ : WOJ /o/

This correspondence occurs just once, shown below.
The UD form may be the result of a fronting of the vowel due to the following syllable’s vowel /i/.

### 2.5.12.3 Contracted UD roots not attested in WOJ

The word yumyi ‘bow’ appears contracted twice in the UD poems, as yu[ŋ]-. I was unable to find this contraction attested in WOJ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonogram(s)</th>
<th>Morphemic Gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>WOJ</th>
<th>INV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yuN-tuka</td>
<td>由豆加</td>
<td>14:3486.2</td>
<td>yumyi-tuka</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yu-</td>
<td>由</td>
<td>14:3567.5</td>
<td>yumyi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.6 Hypotheses

In this section I present a few hypotheses related to orthography, in order to explain the numerous phonological variances between cognate EOJ and WOJ forms.

#### 2.6.1 Previously distinct phonograms are used interchangeably to write a single syllable after a merger between two or more syllables has taken place

This hypothesis applies to either the consonant onset or vowel nucleus of a syllable. In WOJ, after the merger of *ə > o / C[+labial]_, occurred, two phonograms that

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220 This hypothesis was first presented in Kupchik 2007.
were previously used to write distinct pre-merger syllable types were used in free variation to write a single post-merger syllable in the texts. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Kojiki (circa 712)} \\
\text{毛 /mo/} \\
\text{母 /ma/}
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad *ə > o / C[+labial]_+ \quad \rightarrow \quad /mo/ \quad \text{毛、毛}
\]

Thus, it is natural to expect the same process to occur in EOJ texts, though it is also logical to assume the mergers may be different in EOJ and accordingly different syllable types may be used in free variation. Another facet to this hypothesis is that mergers in EOJ dialects may involve more than two syllable types. However, while I find the linguistic evidence supports this hypothesis, I can understand why some may be skeptical, and I will address the possible counterarguments to it here. First, we do not know if EOJ scribes or WOJ scribes recorded the EOJ poems. If EOJ scribes recorded them, it is natural that they would emulate WOJ orthographic practices and extend them to the unique features of their own language.

On the other hand, if WOJ scribes recorded the poems, one may question whether it is reasonable to think that they orthographically indicated mergers in a language variety (EOJ) with a different phonology. After all, after *mo and *mə syllables merged to /mo/ in WOJ, it is possible the scribes recording the EOJ poems no longer knew the difference in pronunciation between the characters 毛 mwo and 母 mō in the WOJ orthography. However, I strongly suspect they did still know the difference, they were just aware that the difference no longer applied to their language. These scribes most likely knew some variety of EMC, and thus knew how they were pronounced in EMC. Some of them may
have even been Chinese. Chinese was permeating the Japanese culture at the time, and was not an alien tongue to the scribes. Furthermore, I doubt they were not well-versed in earlier WOJ texts where \textit{mwo} and \textit{mō} syllables were strictly segregated.

Further supporting this hypothesis is the fact that WOJ scribes were incredibly creative with their own writing system, purposely choosing semantograms that overlapped as phonograms for certain words, even if the phonetic match was less than completely accurate. They also went further, into the creation of \textit{gikun}, a fantastically clever way of writing where the collocation of characters must be looked at as a whole in order to decipher the intended meaning. \textit{Gikun} writing is unattested in the EOJ corpus.

A final piece of evidence possibly supporting this is found in Osterkamp (forthcoming), which, in studying placenames, suggests Azuma provinces did not automatically lengthen monosyllabic words into bimoraic long vowels, as Western provinces did. This may speak to a phonological preference to keep monosyllables monomoraic in EOJ dialects, and to contract any possible bimoraic sequences into monomoraic ones. This phenomenon patterns perfectly with the vowel contractions presented in this chapter.

\textbf{2.6.2 Consonant denasalization leading to a shift}

I propose that provinces with high rates of variance in regard to the use of voiceless initial phonograms to write syllables that have prenasalized voiced initials in WOJ, as well as using prenasalized voiced initial phonograms to write syllables in WOJ that have voiceless initials, have denasalized prenasalized voiced obstruents.
While the interchangeability in regard to phonograms described in section 2.6.1 applies most clearly to vowel and consonant mergers, it may also apply to consonant shifts. This is because such a consonant shift would be perceived as a merger by a WOJ speaker (if they were indeed the ones who recorded the EOJ poems), as the loss of prenasalization on a voiced obstruent would make the consonant sound more or less identical to the voiceless obstruents. Much as English speakers primarily rely on aspiration and not voicing to distinguish pairs such as /p/ and /b/, similarly WOJ speakers likely relied more on the presence or absence of prenasalization to distinguish intervocalic pairs such as /p/ and /m/ /b/. Thus it is natural to assume WOJ scribes would use two or more phonograms interchangeably to write a single EOJ syllable after a consonant shift occurred in which the marked feature of prenasalization was lost in a particular EOJ dialect.

On the other hand, if EOJ speakers recorded these poems, the hypothesis is even stronger, as the lack of any /b/, /d/, /z/ or /g/ initial phonograms in the WOJ orthography would give them cause to use either voiceless or prenasalized voiced initial phonograms to record syllables with plain voiced initials. When an option is not available in an orthography, a scribe will become creative.

However, while statistical trends exist in certain provinces, due to the scarcity of data and the lack of an original 8th century CE manuscript we cannot be sure that the orthographic variances in regard to added or removed prenasalization on a consonant are not all the result of misspellings (either synchronic, or alterations by later scribes). Furthermore, no comprehensive study on WOJ orthography has yet been done, and until we get a clear, statistical picture of how all voiceless and prenasalized voiced initial
syllables were recorded in WOJ with the orthography, we cannot be very confident of the hypothesis presented here for EOJ. Consequently, until such a WOJ study is undertaken and the results presented, the hypothesis presented here must be considered a provisional one.

2.7 Reconstructed phonographic readings by province

What follows below are the WOJ transliterations of all phonographically attested syllables in the corpus, with their reconstructed pronunciation in each EOJ province. By using the charts below, one will be able to read the EOJ poems as I hypothesize they were pronounced in the 8th century.

Syllables that are pronounced differently than when read in WOJ are shaded in gray. This includes all mergers and shifts described in section 2.5.

As the WOJ transliteration is used in the glosses and examples throughout subsequent sections of this dissertation, refer back to the charts that follow below in sections 2.7.1-2.7.5 to see how a phonogram or syllable-type is pronounced in a particular province.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-40: Labial initial phonograms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WOJ trans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
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<td>po</td>
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<tr>
<td>Npa</td>
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<td>Npyi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2-41: Coronal initial phonograms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOJ trans</th>
<th>SIK</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>SIK</th>
<th>Pl</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- The table lists phonograms for coronal initials in various orthographies.
- Each row represents a phonogram with its corresponding forms in different orthographies (WOJ trans, SIK, PL, SIP, KAP).
- The table includes examples of phonograms such as "ta", "ti", "tu", etc., with their orthographic representations.
- The table aims to provide a comprehensive view of how these phonograms are represented across various writing systems.

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### Table 2-42: Palatal initial phonograms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOJ trans</th>
<th>SIN</th>
<th>TO</th>
<th>SU</th>
<th>KAK</th>
<th>MU</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>MI</th>
<th>SIK</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>SIP</th>
<th>KAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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### Table 2-43: Velar initial phonograms

<table>
<thead>
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<th>SU</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

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2.8 Synchronic vowel reductions

There are two processes attested: vowel contraction and elision. These processes are optional, and usually occur at word boundaries. Thus, they can be considered to occur primarily at the phrasal, rather than the lexical level. Such reductions are always used to conform a line into the five or seven syllable requirement\(^{221}\), so this is clearly a feature of poetry, but it is important in a broader sense because it is also likely indicative of the allowable connected-speech reductions in the colloquial language of the time. After all, it is hard to imagine they would delete vowels if it would impair intelligibility. As some poets chose to make a line hypermetrical by expanding a five syllable line into six or a seven syllable line into eight rather than contract a vowel, this suggests that such reductions were not favored by everyone, and may not have occurred in more formal or honorific speech. In addition, some provinces totally lack contraction, so it may have been a feature specific to certain dialects.

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\(^{221}\) The standard meter in the EOJ poetry consisted of 31 syllables (called *waka* style) is a sequence of 5-7-5-7-7 syllables.
2.8.1 Vowel contraction

In vowel contraction one of two adjacent vowels is deleted. These vowels usually belong to different word-forms. What follows below are all examples of this in the corpus, divided by type (V1 + V2 → V1, and V1 + V2 → V2).

2.8.1.1 V1 + V2 → V1 (V2 contraction)

In V2 contraction the second vowel in the sequence is deleted, leaving the first vowel untouched. V2 contraction is by far the most common process among the dialects, with 37 attested examples.

2.8.1.1 /ə/ + /i/ → /ə/

(1) tö + ip-u → tö p-u 等布 [20:4323.4, Töpotuapumi] ‘DV’ + ‘say-ATTR’

(2) tö + ip-u → tö p-u 等布 [14:3384.4, Simotupusa] ‘DV’ + ‘say-ATTR’

(3) tö + ip-u → tö p-u 等布 [14:3478.1, UD] ‘DV’ + ‘say-ATTR’

(4) tö + ip-u → tö p-u 等布 [14:3521.1, UD] ‘DV’ + ‘say-ATTR’

(5) tö + ip-ye → tö p-ye 等弊 [20:4388.1, Simotupusa] ‘DV’ + ‘say-EV’

(6) tö + ip-ye → tö p-ye 等弊 [14:3499.5, UD] ‘DV’ + ‘say-EV’

(7) tö + ip-aNs-u → tö p-aNs-u 登波受 [14:3540.5, UD] ‘DV’ + ‘say-NEG-INF’
The example of tö ip- ‘DV say-‘ seen in (1)-(7) appears uncontracted in UD in 14:3461.1 (with six syllables in the line instead of the expected five) and 14:3536.5 (with eight syllables in the line instead of the expected seven).


This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(9) -nō + ūmō → nō mō 乃母 [20:4388.3, Simotupasa] ‘-GEN’ + ‘beloved girl’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(10) yuNk-an-ō + īpye → yuNk-an-ō pye 賀由222乃敞 [14:3476b.5, UD] ‘go-NEG-ATTR’ + ‘house’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(11) kötō + ĭta- → kötō ta- 許等多 [14:3482b.5, UD] ‘word’ + ‘be.painful-’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.1.2 /ə/ + /u/ → /ə/

(12) -nō + upey → -nō pey 能倍 [14:3518.1, UD] ‘-GEN’ + ‘above’

This also appears uncontracted in UD in 14:3522.3 and 14:3539.1 (as -nō upye). Both examples have six syllables in the line instead of the expected five.

222 The characters 賀由 Nkayu are most likely mistakenly reversed in the manuscripts, so I transliterate them in the opposite order of yuNka.
2.8.1.3 /o/ + /u/ ⇒ /o/

This type of contraction is only attested at the boundary between the diminutive prefix kwo- and the noun uma ‘horse.’ The two combine to mean ‘stallion.’

(13) N-kwo- + uma⇒ N-kwo ma 胡麻 [20:4417.1, Muzasi]
‘COP.ATTR-DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(14) N-kwo- + uma⇒ N-kwo ma 胡麻 [14:3536.1, UD]
‘COP.ATTR-DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(15) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [14:3532.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(16) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [14:3533.4, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(17) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [14:3537b.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(18) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [14:3538b.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(19) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo MA223 古馬 [14:3539.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(20) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo MA 古馬 [14:3542.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(21) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [14:3540.3, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(22) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [14:3541.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

(23) kwo- + uma⇒ kwo ma 古麻 [20:4429.2, UD]
‘DIM-’ + ‘horse’

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223 This is not a totally clear case, as the character 馬 is used as a semantogram. The same can be said of example (20).
By looking at this data we might think the form *kwoma* ‘stallion’ was lexicalized. Furthermore, this example occurs within a word-form, rather than across word boundaries. However, the example of 古宇馬 *kwo-uMA* ‘DIM-horse’ in UD 14:3537a.2 with an uncontracted medial /u/ (with eight syllables in the line instead of the expected seven) shows this is not entirely the case, though it is still possible *kwoma* was already lexicalized in some dialects.

2.8.1.4 /e/ + /a/ → /e/

(24) -key + omwop-am-ö → -key mwop-am-ö 氣毛波母 [20:4419.5, Muzasi]
‘-AVNML’ + ‘think-TENT-ATTR’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.5 /a/ + /a/ → /a/

(25) -Nka + omote → -Nka mote 我母弖 [20:4367.1, Pitati]
‘-POSS’ + ‘face’

This example occurs in UD in 14:3515.1 (as -Nka omwo ‘-POSS face’: *omo* and *omote* both mean ‘face’).

(26) -Nka + omöp-an-aku → -Nka möp-an-aku 我母波奈久 [14:3507.5, UD]
‘-POSS’ + ‘think-NEG-NML’

(27) -Nka + omwop-u → -Nka mwop-u 我毛布 [14:3542.4, UD]
‘-POSS’ + ‘think-ATTR’

(28) -Nka + omöp-o → -Nka möp-o 賀母抱 [14:3552.5, UD]
‘-POSS’ + ‘think-ATTR’
The example of -Nka omop- ‘-POSS think-’ seen in examples (26) - (28) occurs uncontracted in Pitati in 14:3392.5, with eight syllables in the line instead of the expected seven.

(29) pa + omwop-u -pa mwop-u 浪毛布 [14:3494.4, UD]
‘TPT’ + ‘think-FIN’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(30) ka + omwop-u ka mwop-u 可毛布 [14:3494.5, UD]
‘QPT’ + ‘think-ATTR’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(31) iya + omöp-yi iya möp-yi 伊夜母比 [14:3557.5, UD]
‘plentifully’ + ‘think-INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.1.6 /a/ + /u/ → /a/

(32) -Nka + upey -Nka pey 我倍 [14:3465.3, UD]
‘-POSS’ + ‘above’

This example appears uncontracted in UD in 14:3525.3, with six syllables in the line instead of the expected five.

2.8.1.1.7 /i/ + /a/ → /i/

(33) si + omwop-ey si mwop-ey 之毛倍 [14:3504.5, UD]
‘EPT’ + ‘think-EV’

(34) si + omwop-aNpa si mwop-aNpa 之毛波婆 [20:4426.5, UD]
‘EPT’ + ‘think-COND’

The example of si omop- ‘EPT think-’ seen in both (33) and (34) does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.
2.8.1.8 /o/ + /a/ $\rightarrow$ /o/

(35) -wo + aNtö $\rightarrow$ -wo Ntö 乎杼 [14:3556.5, UD]
‘-ACC’ + ‘what’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.9 /o/ + /i/ $\rightarrow$ /o/

(36) two + iNte $\rightarrow$ two Nte 刀仏 [14:3569.3, UD]
‘door’ + ‘go_out.NML’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.10 /u/ + /ə/ $\rightarrow$ /u/

(37) tök-ur-aku + omwop-ey $\rightarrow$ tök-ur-aku mwop-ey 登久良久毛倍 [20:4427.5, UD]
‘undo-ATTR-NML’ + ‘think-EV’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.11 Summary of V2 contractions

The following table summarizes all of the V2 contractions by type and by province. The total number of examples is indicated for each type in each province.
Most of the examples are exclusive to UD, and in fact Sinano, Kamitukeno, Mitinöku, Simotukeno, and Kamitupusa provinces totally lack any examples of V2 contraction.

Setting aside UD, only Muzasi province has more than one type of contraction attested, and only Simotupusa province has multiple examples of a single type of contraction.

The next table is more detailed, as it compares V2 contracted outputs with uncontracted metrical and hypermetrical examples. Only vowel sequences in identical morphemic sequences are listed here (all sequences have been presented in the previous sections).
Only Pitati province has a V2 contraction and a hypermetrical uncontracted form in the same vowel sequence [a + ø], but the second vowel belongs to different morphemes (omote ‘face’ in the V2 contracted example and omop- ‘think-’ in the uncontracted hypermetrical example), so they are not morphophonologically comparable. All other uncontracted hypermetrical forms are in UD. In most vowel sequences the V2
contractions are more numerous, but in the [ə + u] sequence uncontracted hypermetrical examples outnumber V2 contracted forms two to one.

2.8.1.2 V1 + V2 → V2 (V1 contraction)

In V1 contraction the first vowel in the sequence is deleted, leaving the second vowel in its wake. There are 20 examples of this type of contraction in the corpus.

2.8.1.2.1 /e/ + /i/ → /i/

(38) saNsarg + ɨsie → saNsarişi 左射礼思 [14:3400.3, Sinano]
‘little’ + ‘stone’

This example appears uncontracted in UD, in 14:3542.1.

(39) panare + ɨswo → panarɨswo 波奈利藕 [20:4338.3, Suruga]
‘part_from.INF’ + ‘rock’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.2.2 /a/ + /u/ → /u/

(40) kapa + ɨti → kapu224 可布知 [14:3368.2, Sagamu]
‘river’ + ‘inner part’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

2.8.1.2.3 /u/ + /a/ → /a/

(41) -ku + ar-unam-ö → -k ar-unam-ö 可流奈母 [14:3476a.5, UD]
‘-AVINF’ + ‘exist-TENT2-ATTR’

224 This form also appears in WOJ, so it may have been lexicalized at the PJ level, or it may have been borrowed from WOJ to EOJ (or vice versa).
The sequence -ku ar- ‘-AVINF exist-’ seen in (41) and (42) appears uncontracted in Suruga in 20:4346.3.

2.8.1.2.4 /i/ + /a/ → /a/

The example of si ar- ‘EPT exist-’ appears uncontracted in Töpotuapumi [20:4324.4] and Kamitupusa [20:4351.5].

(44) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [14:3352.1, Sinano]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(45) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4340.3, Suruga]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(46) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4415.4, Muzasi]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(47) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4423.4, Muzasi]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(48) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [14:3397.1, Pitati]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(49) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 那流 [14:3445.2, UD]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(50) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [14:3508.2, UD]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

(51) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4429.1, UD]
‘-LOC’ + ‘exist-ATTR’

The sequence -ni ar- ‘-LOC exist’ seen in (44) - (51) appears uncontracted in UD in 20:4432.2.

2.8.1.2.5 /ə/ + /i/ → /i/

(52) wa-ka + imö → wa-ky_imö 和伎母 [20:4353.3, Kamitupusa]
     ‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(53) wa-Nka + imwo → wa-Nky_imwo 和芸毛 [20:4357.3, Kamitupusa]
     ‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(54) wa-ka + imö → wa-ky_imö 和伎母 [14:3453.2, UD]
     ‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(55) wa-ka + imö → wa-ky_imö 和伎母 [14:3419.4, UD]
     ‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(56) wa-ka + imwo → wa-ky_imwo 和伎毛 [14:3566.1, UD]
     ‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

As this contraction only occurs in the underlying phrase wa-[N]ka imö ‘my beloved girl’ we might think it was simply lexicalized as such. However, the uncontracted form 和我伊母 wa-Nka imö ‘my beloved girl’ in Kamitukeno [20:4405.1], with six syllables in the line instead of the expected five, shows this is not the case. It is quite possible this was lexicalized in certain dialects and not others, however, as the uncontracted form is not found in dialects with the contracted form, and vice versa.

2.8.1.2.6 Summary of V1 contractions

The following table summarizes all of the V1 contractions by type and by province. The total number of examples is indicated for each type in each province.
Table 2-47: Distribution of V1 contractions across the provinces

<table>
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<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
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<th>SU</th>
<th>KAK</th>
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<th>MI</th>
<th>SIK</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>SIP</th>
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</table>

The next table is more detailed, as it compares V1 contracted outputs with uncontracted metrical and hypermetrical examples. Only vowel sequences in identical morphemic sequences are listed here (all sequences have been presented in the previous sections):

Table 2-48: Comparison of V1 contracted outputs with uncontracted metrical and hypermetrical attestations

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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ai/ H</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: VS = vowel sequence, OP=output, H=hypermetrical
No province shows both contacted and uncontracted outputs for the same vowel sequences. There is only one uncontracted vowel sequence in a hypermetrical line, so V1 contraction seems preferred to hypermetricality.

2.8.2 Vowel elision

When two identical vowels meet across word-boundaries, they may reduce to one. I refer to this as vowel elision. As these vowels always belong to different word-forms, the elision can be viewed as a operating on the phrasal level. Only the vowel sequences /ii/, /əə/, and /aa/ elide. The /ii/ elision is the most common in the corpus (14 examples), followed by /əə/ elision (8 examples). The elision of /aa/ is quite rare, with only 2 examples in the corpus. What follows below are all examples of this in the corpus, divided by type.

2.8.2.1 /i/ + /i/ → /i/

(57) sak-}' + ɬNte → sak-}' Nte 佐吉泥 [20:4323.5, Töpotuapumi]  
‘bloom-INF’ + ‘go_out.INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(58) N-sakar-ɬ + i'k-u → N-sakar-ɬ k-u 射可里久 [14:3412.5, Kamitukeno]  
‘COP.INF-be.far_from-INF’ + ‘go-FIN’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(59) -nɬ + iNte → -nɬ Nte 尔佰 [14:3374.5, Muzasi]  
‘-LOC’ + ‘go_out.INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(60) -nɬ + iNte → -nɬ Nte- 尔佰 [14:3560.3, UD]  
‘-LOC’ + ‘go_out.’
This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(61) -nî + iNt-una → -nî Nt-una 尔豆 [14:3376a.5, Muzasi]
‘-LOC’ + ‘go_out-NEG.IMP’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(62) kôk-yî + iNte → kôk-yî Nte 己岐 [20:4380.2, Simotukeno]
‘row-INF’ + ‘go_out-INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(63) tas-î + iNte → tas-î Nte 多志 [20:4380.2, Simotukeno]
‘rise-INF’ + ‘go_out’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(64) myî- + ikusa → myî kusa 美久 [20:4370.4, Pitati]
‘HON-INF’ + ‘army’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(65) mawî + ite → mawî te 麻為 [20:4393.5, Simotupusa]
‘come.HUM.INF’ + ‘go_out.INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(66) kari + ipo → kari po 加里 [20:4348.4, Kamitupusa]
‘borrow.NML’ + ‘hut’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(67) -nî + iNt-u → -nî Nt-u 尔豆 [14:3466.2, UD]
‘-LOC’ + ‘go_out -FIN’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(68) -nî + ite → -nî te 尔 [14:3503.5, UD]
‘-LOC’ + ‘go_out’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(69) -nî + ite → -nî te 尔 [14:3506.4, UD]
‘-LOC’ + ‘go_out.INF’
This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(70) kök-yi + īk-u → kök-yi k-u 許伎久 [14:3449.4, UD]
    ‘row-INF’ + ‘go-ATTR’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

It should be mentioned that there are examples from Muzasi [20:4419.4] and UD [14:3506.2], in which the line is hypermetrical (eight syllables instead of seven) and the sequence /ii/ does not elide. In both examples the morphemes in question are -ni itar- ‘-LOC arrive-.’

2.8.2.2 /aI/ + /aI/ → /aI/

(71) -nō + otō → nō tō 能等 [14:3453.1, UD]
    ‘-GEN’ + ‘sound’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(72) wōtō + otō → wōtō tō 乎能登 [14:3473.2, UD]
    ‘axe’ + ‘sound’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(73) sō + omōp-ay-u → sō mop-ay-u 曾母波由 [20:4357.5, Kamitupusa]
    ‘FPT’ + ‘think-PASS-ATTR’

This example appears unelided in UD [14:3511.4].

(74) tō + omwop-yi → tō mwop-yi 等毛比 [14:3514.5, UD]
    ‘DV’ + ‘think-INF’

This example appears unelided in Kamitukeno [14:3435.5], in a line with eight syllables instead of the expected seven.

(75) aNtō + omwop-ye → aNtō mwop-ye 安杼毛敝 [14:3572.1, UD]
    ‘what’ + ‘think-EV’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.
This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

2.8.2.3 /a/ + /a/ → /a/

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided. This may be a lexicalized form.

It should be noted that there are many examples in the corpus where the sequence /aa/ does not elide, such as in Kamitukeno [14:3404.5, 14:3405a.4, 14:3405b.4], Pitati [14:3350a.3], and UD [14:3477.5 – with eight syllables in the line instead of the expected seven].

2.8.2.4 Summary

The following table summarizes the elisions by type and by province. The total number of examples is included in parentheses for each type in each province.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>SIN</th>
<th>TO</th>
<th>SU</th>
<th>KAK</th>
<th>MU</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>MI</th>
<th>SIK</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>SIP</th>
<th>KAP</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/ + /i/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /a/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /a/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.8.3 Comparison of all types

The following table compares the two forms of contraction with elision. The total number of examples is indicated in parentheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>SIN</th>
<th>TO</th>
<th>SU</th>
<th>KAK</th>
<th>MU</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>MI</th>
<th>SIK</th>
<th>PI</th>
<th>SIP</th>
<th>KAP</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elision</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V2 contraction is far and away the most prominent among the three, with 37 total attested examples compared to 20 attested examples of V1 contraction and 22 attested examples of elision. Nearly one third of the provinces (Suruga, Muzasi, Pitati, and Simotupusa) have both V2 contractions and V1 contractions. Disregarding Mitinōku, as its corpus consists of only two poems, the three provinces that lack elision (Sinano, Suruga, and Sagamu) show one or both of the contraction types. On the other hand, Kamitukeno and Simotukeno provinces show elision, but totally lack any contraction (despite the fact Kamitukeno has the largest provincial corpus).

While UD constitutes nearly half of the poems in the corpus, it shows most of the examples of V2 contractions and elision: 29/37 (78%) for V2 contraction, 8/20 (40%) for V1 contraction, and 12/22 (55%) for elision.

Ikier (2006: 78) believes that the uncontracted examples with adjacent vowel pairs that result in hypermetricality were actually contracted or elided when recited, and their existence in the corpus reflects a scribal preference for writing out the underlying vowel pairs. In fact, he concludes there are only two lines in the whole corpus that really have hypermetricality (also keep in mind he includes the poems from MYS book 14
without EOJ features), as they occur in lines without adjacent vowels. Supporting his view is the fact that contracted and elided types outnumber identical hypermetrical examples. However, it is hard to fathom why some lines would be written with extra syllables, by all indications totally at random, while others would be written with contracted syllables. Due to this, I do not think the vowels in hypermetrical examples were contracted when the poems were recited. On the contrary, I think all written vowels were pronounced in recitation and the contracted vowels were just avoided by some scribes when recording the poems. Some scribes may have had a preference to make the line extrametrical rather than to contract adjacent vowels, especially across word boundaries. And indeed, as I have shown above, there are some dialectal differences in this regard, which may have also played a role.
Chapter 3 – Nominals

The nominals include nouns, pronouns, and numbers. The nominal morphology of the EOJ dialects consists of prefixes and suffixes that encode case, classification, diminutivity, number, honorification, and intensification. Reduplication is also attested with the functions of iteration and plurality. In the sections that follow, all of the nominal morphology will be presented.

3.1 The basic syntax of nouns

EOJ nouns may be preceded by modifiers such as adjectives and attributivized verbs, but they are never followed by such modifiers. Particles always follow nouns.

3.2 Morphotactics

The maximal noun form can consist of one prefix and up to five suffixes, in the following fixed order:

\[ \text{PREF-root-DIM[1]-DIM[2]-PLUR-CASE[1]-CASE[2]} \]

The prefix slot can contain a diminutive (\(\text{woN}\)- or \(\text{kwo}\)-), a locative (\(\text{saN}\)-), an intensifier (\(\text{ma}\)-) or an honorific (\(\text{myi}\)-). Examples:

1. 14:3464.3-4 – UD
   麻乎其母能 / 於夜自麻久良波
   \(\text{ma}\ \text{woN-kömö-nö} / \text{oyaNsi makura pa} \)
   really \text{DIM-reed-GEN} / \text{same pillow TPT}
   ‘[Your] same pillow, [made] of really \text{small reeds}.’
While there are no attested examples of the maximal EOJ noun word-form (i.e. one prefix and five suffixes), there is an example in the corpus that may show three different suffixes in one word-form, and they combine in the order root-DIM-PLUR-CASE:

2. 14:3528.3-4 – UD
伊母能良尒 / 毛乃伊波单佳尒弓
imö-nö-ra-ni / mwonö ip-aNs-u k-yi-n-i-te
beloved_girl-DIM-PLUR-DAT / things say-NEG-INF2 come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‗[I] came without saying anything to [my] darling girls.’

In addition, in more than one poem we find two diminutive suffixes are attested in the same word-form. Clearly this usage is for emphatic purposes:

3. 14:3544.4-5 – UD
勢奈那登布多理 / 左宿而久也思母
se-na-na-tö puta-ri / sa-NE-TE kuyasi-mö
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-COM two-CL / LOC-sleep.INF-SUB
be.regretful.AVFIN-EXCL
‗[I] slept together with [my] darling beloved, [and I] regret [it]!’

As for case marker combinations, the accusative case suffix -wo can be followed by the comitative case suffix -tö:

4. 20:4385.3-5 – Simotupusa
志流敞尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳弓等母枳奴
siru pye-ni pa / kwo-wo-tö tuma-wo-tö / ok-yi-te tö mö k-yi-n-u
behind area-LOC TPT / child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave_behind-INF-SUB FPT EPT come-INF-PERF-FIN
‗In the area behind, the wife and child [I] left, having come [here].’

Finally, the terminative case marker -ma[\text{N}]tö can be followed by the locative case marker -nì:

\footnote{An alternative analysis for this form would be imö-nö-ra-ni ‘beloved girl-DIM-DIM-LOC.’}
5. 20:4339.4-5 – Suruga
加比利久麻弓尔 / 已波比 弓麻多祢
kapyir-i-k-u-_mate-ni / ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC / pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP
‘Please pray and wait for [me] until [I] return.’

3.3 Suffixes

The suffixes encode case, number, and diminutivity.

3.3.1 Case suffixes

There are twelve case suffixes attested in the EOJ dialects. I analyze these as suffixes because nothing can come between them and the word-form except another case marker, a number suffix, or a diminutive suffix. Vovin (2005a: 110), on the other hand, views them as ‘agglutinative case markers.’ The case suffixes consist of the possessive -[N]ka, genitive -nö, accusative-absolutive -wo, terminative -ma[N]te, dative-lative-locative -ni, locative -na, genitive-locative -tu, comparative -nösu ~ -nasu ~ -nö, comitative -tö, allative -pye ~ -pa, directive -Nkari, and ablative -yöri ~ -yuri ~ -yu ~ -ywo. The nominative is unmarked (except in embedded clauses, where it can be marked by the possessive -Nka or the genitive -nö).

What follows below is a chart showing the maximal nominal declension for the root imo ‘beloved girl’ in EOJ. This is a composite of all attested forms in the EOJ dialects, and it is not intended to represent any particular dialect.
Perhaps the most striking feature in the chart above is that the genitive, dative/locative, locative/lative, and comparative cases all syncretize in their contracted, fusional forms where they are reduced to the prenasalization of the following consonant onset. The genitive and comparative -nö are also syncretic in their underlying, uncontracted forms.

3.3.1.1 Nominative case -Ø

The nominative functions as a marker of the subject of a verb. It is morphologically unmarked in main clauses. Due to this, I do not gloss it as a morpheme in the examples.

6. 20:4343.5 - Suruga

和加美 可奈志母

wa-ka myi kanasi-mö

1.S-POSS wife be.sad.AVFIN-EXCL
'Oh, my wife is sad!'

7. 14:3361.5 – Sagamu
聖や周安礼比毛等久
kö-rō are pyimwo tōk-u
girl-DIM 1.S cord undo-FIN
‘[My] darling girl and I untie [each other’s] cords.’

8. 20:4389.1-3 – Simotupusa
志保不尼乃 / 留古祖志良奈美 / 尔波志久母
sipo pune-nō / pye kwos-wo sira nami / nipasi-ku mö
tide boat-GEN / prow surpass-ATTR white wave / be.sudden-INF FPT
‘The white waves that surpass the prow of the tide boat are sudden.’

3.3.1.2 Possessive case marker -[N]ka

The possessive case marker -[N]ka is used with nominals to express a relation between a possessor and a possessee. It is similar to the genitive in this regard, though the genitive is used mainly with inanimate nouns and describes general connections rather than possessions. Due to the presence of a genitive case suffix in the dialects, we might expect the possessive case suffix to be used exclusively with animate nouns, but in fact it is used with both animate and inanimate nouns as well as attributivized verbs, so any underlying animacy feature associated with it appears to have eroded by the time these poems were recorded.

The possessive can loose its final vowel, creating the allomorph -[N]k-. However, this only occurs in the set phrase wa-Nk-yimo 1.S-POSS-beloved_girl ‘my beloved girl.’

3.3.1.2.1 Possessive function

The possessive function may occur with animate or inanimate nouns.
3.3.1.2.1 Attached to an animate noun

The animate nouns to which this suffix attaches are all human.

9. 14:3398.4-5 – Sinano
伊思井乃手兒我 / 許登奈多延曾祢
isiWI-nö TENKWO-Nka / kötö na-taye-sö-n-e
PN-GEN maiden-POSS / word NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Do not break off the words of the maiden of Isiwi!’

10. 20:4402.5 – Sinano
意毛知々可多米
omwo titi-ka tamey
mother father-POSS benefit
‘For the sake of my mother and father.’

11. 14:3354.5 – Töpotuapumi
伊毛我乎籽許専
imwo-Nka won-tökö-ni
beloved_girl-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
‘In the dear bed of my beloved girl.’

12. 14:3362a.3-4 – Sagamu
和須礼久流 / 伊毛我名欲妣弖
wasure-uru / imwo-Nka NA ywoNp-yi-te /
forget.INF-come-ATTR / beloved_girl-POSS name call-INF-SUB /
‘[I] call the name of my beloved girl who forgot to come.’

13. 20:4383.5 – Simotukeno
阿母我米母我母
aMÖ-Nka mey möNkamö
mother-POSS eye DPT
‘[I] long for my mother’s eyes.’

14. 14:3350a.4-5 – Pitati
伎美我美家思志 / 安夜尔伎保思母
kyimyi-Nka myi-kyesi si / aya n-i kyi posi-mö
lord-POSS HON-garment EPT / extreme COP-INF wear.NML be.desired-EXCL
‘[I] so desperately want to put on my lord’s garment!’

15. 20:4386.1-2 – Simotupusa
和加可都乃 / 以都毛等夜奈枳
wa-ka katu-nö / itu-mwotö yanakyi
1.S-POSS gate-GEN / five-CL willow
‘The five willows around my gate.’
16. 14:3383.5 – Kamitupusa
奈我目保里勢牟
na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘[I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

17. 14:3509.3-5– UD
宿奈敏籽母 / 古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母
NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömō / kwo-rō-Nka osökyi-nō / ar-wo kösö ye-si-mō
sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-CONC / girl-DIM-POSS upper_garment-GEN / exist-ATTR PFT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘Although [we] are not sleeping together, it’s so good to have [my] dear girl’s upper garment!’

3.3.1.2.1.2 Attached to an inanimate noun

The inanimate nouns also include placenames and attributivized verbs. I also include plants here (such as kaye ‘reed’ and asi ‘reed’), though some may consider those to be animate.

18. 20:4321.4-5 – Töpotuapumi
加曳我伊牟多祢牟 / 伊牟奈之尓志弖
kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u / imu na-si n-i s-i-te
reed-POSS together_with sleep-TENT-ATTR / beloved_girl NEG-FIN COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘Shall [I] sleep together with the reeds, being without [my] beloved?’

19. 20:4404.3-5 – Kamitukeno
和藝毛古賀 / 都氣之非毛我乎 / 多延尔氣流可毛
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka / tukey-si piymwo-Nka wo / taye-n-i-keyr-u kamwo
‘[I] wonder, will the string’s cord that my darling girl tied [over my robes] break?’

20. 14:3375.1-3 – Muzasi
武蔵野乃 / 非具寄我吉藝志 / 多知和可礼
muNSASI NWO-nō / woN-kukiy-Nka kyiNkyisi / tat-i-wakare
PN field-GEN / DIM-cave-POSS pheasant / depart-INF-separate.INF
‘[Like] the small cave pheasants of Muzasi Plain, [we] separate and depart.’
21. 14:3445.2-4 – UD

安之我奈可那流 / 多麻古須氣 / 可利己和我西古
asi-Nka naka-n[i] ar-u / tama-kwo-sukey / kar-i kō wa-Nka se-kwo
reed-POSS inside-LOC exist-ATTR / jewel-DIM-sedge / chop_down-INF
come.IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM
‘Chop down the jewel[-like] sedges that are among the reeds (lit. inside of the reeds) and come [back here], my dearly beloved.’

Example (22) below shows the possessive attached to a placename:

22. 14:3405a.2-3 – Kamitukeno

乎度能多杼里我 / 可波治尓毛
woNtwo-nō taNtōri-Nka / Kapa-N-ti-ni mwo
PN-GEN PN-POSS / river-GEN-road-LOC FPT
‘Even on the river road of Tadori of Wodo.’

Examples (23) and (24) show the possessive attached to the attributive form of a verb:

23. 20:4338.4-5 – Suruga

波々平波奈例天 / 由久我加奈之佐
papa-wo panare-te / yuk-u-Nka kanasi-sa
mother-ACC part_from.INF-SUB / go-ATTR-POSS be.sad-AVNML
‘The sadness of parting from [my] mother and going [away]’

24. 20:4425.3-4 – UD

刀布比登乎 / 美流我登毛之佐
twop-ų pytō-wo / miy-ru-Nka tömwosi-sa
ask-ATTR person-ACC / see-ATTR-POSS be.favored-AVNML
‘[Oh,] the enviousness of looking at those who ask…’

Examples (25) and (26) show the possessive attached to a wh-word:

25. 20:4425.1-2 – UD

佐伎毛利尔 / 由久波多我世登
sakyimwori n-i / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tō
border.guard COP-INF / go-ATTR TPT who-POSS beloved_man DV
‘Whose husband is that, going to be a border guard?’

26. 14:3424.5 – Simotukeno

多賀家可母多牟
ta-Nka kye ka mōt-am-u
who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘Whose container shall [she] hold?’
3.3.1.2.2 Nominative function in embedded clauses

As mentioned above, the possessive -Nka may be used as a nominative marker in embedded clauses. In such examples the verb is always in an attributive form, and never in the final form.

27. 20:4413.3-4 – Muzasi
麻可奈之伎 / 西呂我馬伎己无
ma kanasi-kyi / se-rö-Nka mak-yi-kō-m-u
really be.adorable-AVATTR / beloved_man-DIM-POSS leave-INF-come- TENT-ATTR
‘[My] truly adorable, darling beloved shall leave and come [back].’

28. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu
布奈可射里 / 安我世牟比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我毛
puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rō-wo / myi-m-wo pyitō mōNkamwo
boat-decorate-NML / 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC / see-TENT- ATTR person DPT
‘[I] want someone [there] who will see the special day when I do the boat-decorating’

29. 20:4364.3-5 – Pitati
伊敝能伊牟何 / 奈流敞伎己等乎 / 伊波須伎奴可母
ipye-nō imu-Nka / nar-upye-kyi kötō-wo / ip-as-u k-yi-n-u kamō
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / make_a_living-DEB-AVATTR word-ACC / say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, did I come without saying [what my] darling at home must do to make a living?’

30. 14:3385.1-3 – Simotupusa
可都思加能 / 麻萬能手兒奈我 / 安里之可婆
katusika-nō / mama-nō TENKWO-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa
PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-POSS / exist-INF-PST.EV-CONJ
‘Since there was a sweet maiden from the cliff of Kadusika…’

31. 20:4347.3-5 – Kamitupusa
奈我波氣流 / 多知爾奈里弓母 / 伊波非弓之加母
na-Nka pak-eyr-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mö / ipap-iy-te-si kamō
2.S-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR / sword COP-INF become-INF-SUB FPT / pray-INF-PERF-PST EPT
‘[I] want to become the sword you are wearing and pray for [you].’
The second possessive in example (32) is used to mark a nominative, while the first is used in a purely possessive function.

In example (34) below, the possessive precedes a verb in the subordinative gerund form as well as a verb in the attributive form.

The results show that the possessive function is more common in every province except Simotupusa (where the nominative function is equally common), as well as in UD. This,
along with the fact the nominative function does not yet occur with final predicates, supports the idea that the nominative function is secondary.

3.3.1.3 Accusative-absolutive case marker -wo

The suffix -wo is predominantly an accusative suffix. There are a small number of examples of its usage as an absolutive suffix, but this is only when the intransitive subject is the subject of an adjectival verb gerund. It also has a secondary function of attaching to an attributive form of a verb to indicate the meaning ‘even though’ described in section 3.3.1.3.3.

3.3.1.3.1 Accusative function

The accusative function is well-attested across the provinces.

35. 20:4403.3-5 – Sinano
阿乎久牟乃 / 等能妣久夜麻乎 / 古与弖伎怒加牟
awo kumu-nö / tönöNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyō-te k-yi-n-wo kamu
blue cloud-GEN / stream_out-ATTR mountain-ACC / cross.INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘[I] have come crossing the mountains where the blue cloud stream out.’

36. 14:3429.1-4 – Töpotuapumi
等保都安布美 / 伊奈佐保曾江乃 / 水乎都久思 / 安礼乎多能米弖
 tôpotuapumyi / inasa posō-YE-nö / MYI-wo-tu kusi / are-wo tanōmey-te
PN / PN narrow-estuary-GEN / water-string-GEN.LOC stalk / 1.S-ACC
trust.INF-SUB
‘Trusting me like [trusting] the water buoys on the narrow estuary of Inasa in Töpotuapumi.’

37. 14:3359a.4-5 – Suruga
伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尔多我比奴
imasi-wo tanōm-yi/ papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
2.S-ACC trust-INF / mother-DAT differ-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Trusting you, I have differed from [my] mother.’
38. 20:4341.1-3 – Suruga
多知波奈能 / 美袁利乃佐刀尔 / 父乎於伎弖
tatipana-nō / myiwi-nō satwo-ni / TITI-wō ok-yi-te
PN-GEN / PN-GEN village-LOC / father-ACC leave_behind-INF-SUB
‘Leaving [my] father behind in the village of Miwori in Tachibana.’

39. 14:3402.1-3 – Kamitukeno
比能具礼尓 / 宇须比乃夜麻乎 / 古由流日波
pyi-nō Nkure-ni / usupyinō yama-wo / kwoy-uru PYI pa
sun-GEN darken.NML-LOC / PN-GEN mountain-ACC / cross-ATTR sun TPT
‘The sun that crossed Usupi mountain at sunset.’

40. 14:3379.1-2 – Muzasi
和我世故 / 安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nk aNtō kāmō ip-am-u
‘What should [I] call my beloved?’

41. 14:3362a.5 – Sagamu
吾乎祢之奈久奈
A-wo ne si nak-una
1.S-ACC voice EPT make.cry-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t make me cry out!’

42. 20:4328.5 – Sagamu
知々波々乎於伎弖
titi papa-wo ok-yi-te
father mother-ACC leave_behind-INF-SUB
‘Leaving [my] father and mother behind.’

43. 20:4374.1-2 – Simotukeno
阿米都知乃 / 可美乎伊乃里弖
ameyuti-nō / kamī-wo inōr-ite
heaven earth-GEN / deity-ACC pray-INF-SUB
‘Praying to the gods of heaven and earth.’

44. 14:3394.4-5 – Pitati
和須良延許婆古曽 / 那乎可家奈波貞
wasura-kō-Npa kwosō / na-wo kakye-n-ap-am-ye
forget-come-COND FPT / 2.S-ACC call_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV
‘If [you] forget to come, [I] shall not be calling out [for] you again and again!’

45. 14:3384 – Simotupusa
可都思加能 / 麻末能手兒奈乎 / 麻許登賀聞 / 和礼尓须等布 / 麻末乃兜胡奈乎
‘[People] say to me [I] approach a darling maiden of the cliff in Katusika. A darling maiden of the cliff…’

46. 14:3440a.3-4 – UD
奈礼毛阿礼毛 / 余知乎曾母豆流
nare mwo are mwo / yöti-wō sō mōt-er-u
2.S FPT 1.S FPT / same_age-ACC FPT hold-PROG-ATTR
‘You and I both have [children] of the same age.’

47. 14:3456.5 – UD
安乎許登奈須那
a-wo kōtō nas-una
1.S-ACC word produce-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t produce words [about] me.’

48. 14:3539.1-2 – UD
安受乃宇敏尔 / 古馬乎都奈伎弖
aNsu-nō upye-ni / kwo-[u]MA-wo tunaNk-yi-te
crumbling_cliffs-GEN above-LOC / DIM-horse-ACC tie_up-INF-SUB
‘Having tied [my] stallion above the crumbling cliffs.’

3.3.1.3.2 Absolutive function

This usage is attested only three times in the corpus. In all but one example, it marks the subject of an adjectival verb gerund.

49. 14:3434.3 – Kamitsukeno
野乎比呂美
NWO-wo pyirō-myi
field-ABS be.wide-AVER
‘Because the field is wide…’

50. 14:3426.1-2 – Mitinoku
安比豆祢能 / 久尓乎佐祢抱美
apyiNtu ne-nō / kuni-wo sa N-tōpo-myī
PN peak-GEN land-ABS thus COP.INF-be.far-AVER
‘Because the land of the ApiNtu peaks is so far…’

51. 20:4348.2 – Kamitupusa
波々乎和加例弖
papa-wo wakare-te
mother-ACC be.separated.INF-SUB
‗[My] mother is separated [from me].‘

Example (51) is the only example where -wo marks the intransitive subject of a verb, rather than an adjectival verb.

52. 14:3540.4-5 – UD
安可故麻我 / 安我伎乎波夜美 / 許等登波受伎奴
aka kwo-[u]ma-Nka / a-N-kak-yi-wo paya-myi / kötö tô [i]p-aNs-u k-yi-n-u
red DIM-horse-POSS / foot-GEN-scrape-NML-ABS be.fast-AVGER / word DV
say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-FIN
‗Because [my] red stallion’s feet [lit. feet scraping] are fast, [I] came [back] without saying a word.‘

3.3.1.3.3 Use of accusative -wo as a conjunction

The accusative -wo has a special function where it attaches to the attributive form of verbs to indicate the meaning ‘even though,’ ‘but,’ or ‘because,’ much like a conjunction.

53. 14:3376a.1-2;5 - Muzasi
古非思家波 / 素呉布良武乎 / 伊呂尓豆奈由米
kwopiysi-kye-Npa / swote mwo pur-am-u-wo / irö-ni [i]nt-una yumey
be.longing_for-AVEV-CONJ / sleeves FPT wave-TENT-ATTR-ACC / color-LOC go_out-NEG.IMP at_all
‗Because [I] love [you], even though [I] will wave [my] sleeves [when we part], do not reveal [your true] colors at all!’

54. 14:3395.3-5 – Pitati
安比太欲波 / 佐波太奈利怒乎 / 萬多祢天武可聞
apyiNta ywo pa / sapaNta nar-i-n-wo-wo / mata ne-te-m-u kamo
interval night TPT / many become-INF-PERF-ATTR-ACC / again sleep.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR EPT
‗Since the nights in between have become many, [I] wonder if [I] shall sleep [with her] again.’

55. 14:3544.1-3 – UD
阿須可河泊 / 之多密其礼留乎 / 之良受思天
asuka-N-kapa / sita niNkör-er-u-wo / sir-aNs-u s-i-te

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The bottom of the Asuka river is dirty, but I did not know that.’

3.3.1.3.4 Emphatic form -woNpa

The emphatic accusative -woNpa is attested just once.

56. 14:3452.1-2 – UEOJ
於毛思路伎 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曽
omwosirwo-kyi / NWO-woNpa na-yak-yi-sö
be.pleasant-AVATTR / field-ACC.EMPH NEG.IMP-burn-INF-do
‘Do not burn the pleasant field!’

Table 3-3: Distribution of the accusative/absolutive -wo across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Func</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The accusative function is widely attested in every province except Mitinöku. On the other hand, absolutive function is extremely rare, but is attested in Mitinöku.

3.3.1.4 Genitive case marker -nö

The genitive suffix -nö is the most common of all of the case suffixes, and it is amply attested in all EOJ provinces as well as UD. It has two functions: 1) genitive marker, and 2) marker of the subject of an embedded clause. It has two orthographic forms: -nö, and a contracted, fusional form -N-, which prenasalizes the following obstruent. Incredibly, it is not misspelled as -nwo even once in the corpus.

3.3.1.4.1 Genitive function

The genitive function is the most commonly attested.
57. 14:3399.1-2 – Sinano
信濃道者 / 伊麻波里美知
sinanwo-N-TI PA / ima-nō par-i myiti
PN-GEN-road TPT / now-GEN construct-INF road
‘The road of Sinano [is] a recently constructed road.’

58. 20:4402.1-2 – Sinano
知波夜布留 / 賀美乃美佐賀尔
tipayapuru / Nkamyi-nō myi-saNka-ni
MK / deity-GEN HON-slope-LOC
‘On the sacred slope of the ‘tipayapuru’ deity.’

59. 14:3354.1-3 – Töpotuapumi
伎倍比等乃 / 萬太良夫須麻尔 / 和多佐波太
kyipey pyitō-nō / maNtara N-pusuma-ni / wata sapaNtta
PN person-GEN / speckled COP.bed_covers-LOC / cotton many
‘[There is] much cotton in the speckled bed covers of the people of Kipey.’

60. 20:4323.1-3 – Töpotuapumi
等伎騰吉乃 / 波奈波左家登母 / 奈尔須礼曽
tök yi-Ntök yi-nö / pana pa sak-ye-Ntömö / nani s-ure sō
time-REDUP-GEN / flower TPT bloom-EV-CONC / what do-EV FPT
‘Although flowers of time and time again are blooming, what shall [I] do?’

61. 14:3359a.1-3 – Suruga
駿河能宇美 / 於思敟尔於布流 / 波麻都豆良
suruNka-nō umyi / osi-pye-ni op-uru / pama-tuNtura
PN GEN sea / rock-shore-LOC grow-ATTR / beach-kudzu
‘Like the beach-kudzu that grows on the rocky shore of the sea of Suruga.’

62. 20:4341.1-3 – Suruga
多知波奈能 / 美袁利乃佐刀尔 / 父乎於伎弖
tatipana-nō / myiwori-nō satwo-ni / TITI-wo ok-yi-te
PN-GEN / PN-GEN village-LOC / father-ACC leave_behind-INF-SUB
‘Leaving my father behind in the village of Miwori in Tatibana.’

63. 14:3404.1-3 – Kamitukeno
可美都氣努 / 安藤能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎
kamyitukeynwo / aswo-nō ma-swo mura / kakyi-nuNtak-yi
PN / PN-GEN INT-hemp group / PREF-embrace-NML
‘[Like] embracing in both arms a bundle of hemp of Aso in Kamitukeno.’

64. 20:4404.1-2 – Kamitukeno
奈尔波治乎 / 由伎弓久麻弓等
nanipa-N-ti-wo / yuk-yi-te k-u-mate tö
By the time [I] go and come [back] on the road to Nanipa.’

‘The ipawi vines on the field of Opoya, of the road of Irima.’

‘Like the traps that thrust [about] on this and that side of Asigara.’

‘Preparing [and] preparing [the boats] in Nanipa harbor, [will it be] today that [we] go out and depart?’

‘Loosening [the string from my] true bow of Adatara from Mitinöku.’

‘From the riverbank of Aso in Simotukeno, without stepping [on] the stones, [I] came from the sky!’

‘A mist sits on the little peak of Mt. Tukupa.’
katusika-nō / mama-nō TENKWO-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa
PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-POSS / exist-INF-PST.EV-CONJ
‘Since there was a sweet maiden from the cliff of Kadusika…’

72. 20:4388.3-5 – Simotupusa
以弊乃母加 / 枝世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都栁尔迦理
ipye-nō [i]mō-ka / kyi-se-si körömō-ni / aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST.ATTR garment-LOC / dirt attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved of [my] home had [me] wear.’

73. 20:4353.3-5 – Kamitupusa
和伎母古賀 / 伊倍其登母遲弖 / 久流比等母奈之
wa-[k]a-yimō-kwo-Nka / ipey-N-kōtō mötni-te / k-uru pyītō mö na-si
1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / home-GEN-word hold-INF-SUB / come-ATTR person FPT not.exist-FIN
‘There is no one who comes with news (lit. words of home) of my beloved girl.’

74. 14:3444.1-4 – UD
伎波都久能 / 乎加能久君美良 / 和礼都賣杵 / 故尔毛乃多奈布 /
kypatuku-nō / woka-nō kuku-myira / ware tum-ye-Ntō / kwo-ni mwo nöst-an-ap-u /
PN-GEN / hill-GEN stem-leek / 1.S pluck-EV-CONC / basket-LOC FPT fill_up-NEG-ITER-FIN /
‘Although [I] do pluck the stem-leeks of the hills of Kipatuku, the basket is not filling up.’

75. 14:3458.2-4 – UD
等里能乎加恥志 / 奈可太乎礼 / 安乎祢思奈久与
tōri-nō woka-N-ti si / naka-N-tawore / a-wo ne si nak-u yō
PN-GEN hill-GEN-road EPT / inside-GEN-sag.INF / 1.S-ACC voice EPT
make.cry-FIN EPT
‘[Your] attitude [towards me] sags down the hilly road of Tori, [and it] makes me cry out loud!’

Example (75) shows two attestations of the contracted allomorph -N-.

76. 14:3576.1-3 – UD
奈波之呂乃 / 古奈宜我波奈乎 / 伎奴尔須里
napa-sirō-nō / kwo-na-N-kiy-Nka pana-wo / kyinu-ni sur-i
seedling-enclosure-GEN / DIM-water-GEN-leeks-POSS flower-ACC / robes-LOC rub-NML
‘Rubbing the flowers of the little water-leeks of the seedling nursery on robes [to dye them].’
3.3.1.4.2 Function of marking the subject of an embedded clause

This function is only attested four times, which most likely indicates it is a secondary function.
This poem has four genitive suffixes, and the genitive in the third line marks the subject of a subordinative clause.

Table 3-4: Distribution of the genitive -nö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.4.1 Analytical genitive construction

Rarely, the genitive -nö may be dropped, with the genitive relation expressed solely by noun juxtaposition. This is shown in the following examples:

82. 14:3473.1-2 – UD
左努夜麻尓 / 宇都也乎能登乃
sanwo yama-ni / ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö
PN mountain-LOC / strike-ATTR EPT axe sound-COMP
‘Like the sound [of] an axe that strikes on Sano mountain.’

83. 14:3454.1-2 – UD
尔波尓多都 / 安佐提古夫須麻
nipa-ni tat-u / asaNte kwo-Npusuma
garden-LOC rise-ATTR / hemp DIM-covers
‘[Bed-]covers [of] garden raised hemp.’

84. 20:4380.4-5 – Simotukeno
伊古麻多可祢尓 / 久毛曾多奈妣久
ikwoma taka ne-ni / kumwo sö tanaNpyik-u
PN high peak-LOC / cloud FPT stream_out-ATTR
‘Clouds stream out over the high peak [of] Mt. Ikoma.’

3.3.1.5 Dative/Locative case marker -ni

The suffix -ni is a very well attested case marker, in fact it is attested in every province except Mitinöku. It has two primary functions and a secondary function. The primary functions are a marker of the dative case and a marker of the locative case (‘in,’
The secondary function involves attaching to the attributive form of verbs to create a concessive clause which can either indicate reason (‘because…’), or temporality (‘when’). It has the allomorphs forms -ni, -n, and -N-. The allomorph -n- is the result of vowel contraction before the verb ar- ‘exist,’ while the allomorph -N- is a fusional form that prenasalizes the onset of the following consonant and is quite common when the locative is situated between two nouns.

3.3.1.5.1 Dative function

The dative function is attested a small number of times.

85. 14:3359.4-5 – Suruga
伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尔多我比奴
imasi-wo tanöm-yi papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
2.S-ACC trust-NML / mother-LOC differ-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Trusting you, [I] have differed from [my] mother.’

86. 14:3375.3-5 – Muzasi
多知和可礼 / 伊尔之与比欲利 / 世呂尔安波奈布与
tat-i-wakare / in-i-si yöpyi-ywori / se-rö-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-separate.INF / depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘[We] separate and depart, and since that evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met my beloved!’

87. 20:4376.1-4 – Simotukeno
多妣由伎 / 由久等之良受弖 / 阿母志志尔 / 己等麻乎佐受弖
taNpyi yuk-yi-ni / yuk-u tö sir-aNs-u-te / aMÖ sisi-ni / kötö mawos-aNs-u-te
journey go-NML-LOC / go-FIN COP know-NEG-INF-SUB / mother father-DAT / word say.HUM-NEG-INF-SUB
‘Without knowing that [I] would be going on a journey [lit. toward journey-going], [I] said no words to [my] mother and father.’

88. 20:4366.5 – Pitati
伊母尔志良世牟
imö-ni sir-ase-m-u

\(^{226}\) ‘to’ is more accurately a lative function, but I will subsume it under the category of a locative as it only occurs a few times.
beloved_girl-DAT know-CAUS-TENT-FIN
‘[I] would let [my] darling girl know [my feelings].’

3.3.1.5.2 Locative function

The locative function is widely attested.

89. 14:3352.1-3 - Sinano
信濃奈流 / 須我能安良能尔 / 保登等藝
sinanwo-n[i] ar-u / suNka-nō ara nō-ni / potōtōNkyisu
PN-LOC exist-ATTR / PN-GEN rough field-LOC / cuckoo
‘The cuckoo in the wild fields of Suga in Sinano.’

In example (89) we see the allomorph -n of the locative in the first line.

90. 20:4401.1-4 – Sinano
可良己呂武 / 須宗尔等里都伎 / 奈古古良乎 / 意伎弖曽伎
kara körōmu / suswo-ni tōr-i-tuk-yi / nak-wo ra-wo / ok-yi-te sō k-yi-n-wo
PN garment / hem-LOC take-INF-attach-INF / cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC
leave-behind-INF-SUB FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Oh, [I] have come [here], [after] leaving behind my children, who cried and
clung to the hem of [my] Kara garment!’

91. 14:3354.1-3 – Töpotuapumi
伎倍比等乃 / 萬太良夫須麻尔 / 和多佐波太
kiyipey pyitō-nō / maNtara N-pusuma-ni / wasa sapaNta
PN person-GEN / speckled COP-ATTR-bed_covers-LOC / cotton many
‘[There is] much cotton in the speckled bed covers of the people of Kipey.’

92. 20:4322.3-5 – Töpotuapumi
乃牟美豆尔 / 加其佐倍美曳弖 / 余尔和須良礼受
nōm-u myiNtu-ni / kaNkō apey myi-ye-te / yō-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
drink-ATTR water-LOC / shadow RPT see-PASS-SUB / world-LOC forget-
PASS-NEG-FIN
‘Just seeing [her] shadow in the water that [I] drink, [I] realize [I] cannot forget
her in this life.’

93. 14:3405a.1-4 – Kamitukeno
可美都氣努 / 乎度能多杼里我 / 可波治尔毛 / 兒良波安波奈毛
kamytukeywo / woNtwo-nō taNtōri-Nka / kapa-N-ti-ni mwo / KWO-ra pa ap-
a-ana-m-wo
PN / PN-GEN PN-POSS / river-GEN-road-LOC FPT / girl-DIM TPT meet-
DES-TENT-ATTR

522
‘[In] Kamitukeno, even on the river road of Tadori of Wodo, [my] darling girl is the one who [I] want to meet.’

Example (93) shows the -N- allomorph of the locative suffix.

94. 20:4406.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊波呂尔 / 由加毛比等母我
wa-Nka ipa-rō-ni / yuk-am-wo pyitö möNka
1.S-POSS home-DIM-LOC / go-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘[I] wish for someone who would go to my dear home.’

95. 20:4414.5 – Muzasi
之末豆多比由久
sima-N-tutap-yi-yuk-u
island-LOC-go_along-INF-go-INF
‘[I] go along the islands.’

96. 20:4329.1-2 – Sagamu
夜蘓久尓波 / 奈尓波爾都度比
ya-swo kuni pa / nanipa-ni tuNtwop-yi
eight-ten province TPT / PN-LOC gather-INF
‘[Those from] many provinces gather in Nanipa.’

97. 14:3351.1-2 – Pitati
筑波祢尓 / 由伎可母布良留
tukupa ne-ni / yukyi kamō pur-ar-u
PN peak-LOC / snow EPT fall-PROG-ATTR
‘[I] wonder if snow is falling on Mt. Tukupa?’

98. 14:3385.4-5 – Simotupusa
麻末乃於須比尔 / 奈美毛登杼呂爾
mama-nō osu pyi-ni / namyi mwo töNtörö n-i
cliff-GEN rock shore-LOC / wave FPT thunderous COP-INF
‘The waves are thunderous on the cliff’s rocky shore.’

99. 20:4385 – Simotupusa
由古作枳尔 / 奈美奈等恵良比 / 志流敘尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳弓等母枳奴
yuk-wo sakyi-ni / namyi na-tōwerap-yi / siru pye-ni pa / kwo-wo-tō tuma-wo-tō /
ok-yi-te tö mö k-yi-n-u
‘In the [area] ahead that [I] am going, waves, don’t shake [me], in the area behind, [I] left behind [my] wife and child and [I] came [here].’
100. 14:3383.1-2 – Kamitupusa
字麻具多能 / 檜呂可久里為
umaNkuta-nö / ne-rö-ni kakur-i-wi
PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC hide-INF-sit.NML
‘Hiding up in the hills of Umaguta.’

101. 20:4355 – Kamitupusa
余曽能美 / 々弓夜和多良毛 / 奈尔波我多 / 久毛為尔美由流 / 志麻奈良奈久尔
yösö-ni nömyi / myi-te ya watar-am-wo / nanipa-N-kata / kumwo wi-ni myi-y-uru / sima nar-an-aku n-i
other_place-LOC RPT / see.INF-SUB QPT cross-TENT-ATTR / PN-GEN-lagoon / cloud sit.NML-LOC see-PASS-ATTR / island COP-NEG-NML COP-INF
‘Shall [I] pass [the day] gazing toward an other place? Being that it is not the island that one can see in the clouds sitting [over] Nanipa lagoon.’

102. 14:3366.1-2 – Sagamu
麻可奈思美 / 佐祢和波由久
ma-kanasi-myi / sa-ne-ni wa pa yuk-u
INT-be.adorable-AVGER / LOC-sleep.NML-LOC 1.S TPT go-ATTR
‘Because you are truly adorable, I go in [order to] sleep there [with you].’

103. 14:3461.2 – UD
佐宿安波奈久尔
sa-NE-ni ap-an-aku n-i
LOC-sleep.NML-LOC meet-NEG-NML COP-INF
‘Being [that] [we] did not meet to sleep together there.’

104. 14:3463.1-2 – UD
麻等保久能 / 野尔毛安波奈牟
ma-töpo-kunö / NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u
INT-distant-NML-GEN / field-LOC FPT meet-DES-TENT-FIN
‘[I] would have liked to meet [you] in the quite distant fields.’

105. 20:4431 – UD
佐左賀波乃 / 佐也久志毛用尔 / 奈々弁加流 / 去呂毛尔麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛
sasa-Nka pa-nö / sayak-u simwo ywo-ni / nana-pye k-ar-u / körömwo-ni mas-er-u / kwo-rö-Nka paNta pa mwo
bamboo_grass-POSS leaf-GEN / rustle-ATTR frost night-LOC / seven-CL wear-PROG-ATTR / garment-LOC be.superior-PROG-ATTR / girl-DIM-POSS skin TPT EPT
‘Oh, [my] darling girl’s skin that is superior to my garment that [I] am wearing in seven layers on [this] frosty night [in] which bamboo grass leaves are rustling.’
3.3.1.5.4 Special temporal construction

The following example shows the locative -ni used in a temporal construction, attached to the terminative case for a meaning of ‘until [the point] when.’

106. 20:4339.3–5 – Suruga

由伎米久利 / 加比利久麻弖 / 已波比弖多祢
yuk-yi-meykur-i / kapyir-i-k-u-mate-ni / ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
go-INF-encircle-INF / return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC / pray-INF-SUB
wait-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [you] to pray and wait for [me], until [the point] when [I] have gone around and [finally] come back [home].’

3.3.1.5.5 Indicating reason

There is a special usage of the locative -ni that is only possible when this suffix attaches to the attributive form of a verb or adjectival verb. It indicates a reason for the action, something akin to ‘since’ or ‘because.’

107. 14:3411.5 – Kamitukeno

曽能可抱與吉尒
sonö kapo yō-kyi-ni
that face be.good-ATTR-LOC
‘Since that face is beautiful...’

108. 20:4330.3–5 – Sagamu

氣布能比夜 / 伊田弖麻可良武 / 美流波々奈之尒
keypu-nö pyi ya / ite-te makar-am-u / myi-ru papa na-si-ni
today-GEN day QPT / go_out-INF-SUB depart-TENT-ATTR / see-ATTR mother
not.exist-ATTR-LOC
‘[Will it be] today that we emerge and depart? [I ask] because [my] mother is not here to watch.’

109. 14:3442.4–5 – UD

夜麻尒可祢牟毛 / 夜籽里波奈之尒
yama-ni ka ne-m-u mwo / yaNtör-i pa na-si-ni
mountain-LOC QPT sleep-TENT-ATTR FPT / lodge-NML not.exist-ATTR-LOC
‘Shall [I] sleep in the mountains, since there is no lodging [here]?’
In examples (108) and (109) the second -ni is suffixed to the final adjectival verb suffix -si, rather than the adjectival verb attributive suffix -kyi-/kye. This is a special feature unique to the adjectival verb na- ‘not exist.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3-5: Distribution of the locative -ni across the provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.6 Locative/lative case marker -na

The locative/lative -na is only attested three times in the corpus, however it is not attested in WOJ (Vovin 2005a: 151). Unlike the locative -ni, the locative -na only functions as a general locative marker and a lative marker.

3.3.1.6.1 Locative function

The locative function is attested twice.

110. 20:4407.1-3 – Kamitukeno
拝奈久毛理 / 宇須比乃佐可乎 / 古延志太尓
pyi-na kumwor-i / usupyi-nô saka-wo / kwoye siNta-ni
sun-LOC become_cloudy-INF / PN-GEN slope-ACC / cross.INF CNJ-LOC
‘When [I] cross the slope of Usupi [with it] becoming cloudy over the sun.’

111. 14:3461.4 – UD
与比奈波許奈尔
yöpyi-na pa kö-n-a\(^{227}\) n-i
evening-LOC TPT come-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Being that [you] didn’t come in the evening.’

\(^{227}\) This form is unusual. See section 5.4.3.2 for a discussion.
3.3.1.6.2 Lative function

The lative function is attested just once.

112. 14:3447.1-2 – UD
久佐可氣乃 / 安努奈由可武等
kusa kakey-nö / anwo-na yuk-am-u tö
grass shade-GEN / PN-LOC go-TENT-FIN DV
‘[I] thought that [I] would go to ‘grass shade’ Ano.’

Table 3-6: Distribution of the locative/lative -na across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
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</table>

3.3.1.7 Genitive-locative case marker -tu

The genitive-locative -tu is attested just four times in EOJ, all of which are UD poems. Due to the scarcity of this suffix in the texts, Vovin considers EOJ -tu a loan from WOJ (Vovin 2005: 157). An alternate explanation is that it was simply no longer productive, and due to the fact it was clearly not widely generalized in PJn, it was fossilized in just a few phrases by the time the EOJ poems were recorded.

113. 14:3448.1-2 – UD
波奈治良布 / 己能牟可乎乃
pana-N-tir-ap-u / könö muka-tu wo n-ö
flower-GEN-scatter-ITER-ATTR / this opposite_side-GEN.LOC
mountain_ridge COP-ATTR
‘It is the mountain ridge on the opposite side, where the flowers are scattering.’

114. 14:3493a.3-5 – UD
牟可都乎能 / 四比乃故夜提能 / 安比波多我波自
muka-tu wo-nö / sipyi-nö kwo-yaNte-nö / ap-yi pa taNkap-aNsi
opposite_side-GEN.LOC mountain_ridge-GEN / beech-GEN DIM-branch-COMP / meet-NML TPT differ-NEG.TENT
‘It shall not be different from the meeting of small branches of beeches at the mountain ridge on the opposite side.’
Like the ducks in the offing, [I] lament (lit. do laments).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
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3.3.1.8 Ablative case markers -yōri ~ -yuri ~ -ywo ~ -yu

The ablative case indicates the origin of an action. In addition, the form -yu can be used in an instrumental function. There are four orthographic forms of this case marker: -yōri, -yuri, -ywo, and -yu. Other than the additional instrumental function of -yu, there is no apparent functional difference between the forms. Thus I view the forms -ywo and -yu as contracted variants of -yōri and -yuri, respectively, though Vovin (2005a: 179) convincingly argues that -ywo and -yu are the original forms, so my use of the term ‘contracted variant’ is in a purely synchronic sense. It is possible the contracted forms -ywo and -yu were used to avoid hypermetrical lines, as none of the four attested forms occur in a hypermetrical line. Further supporting this is the fact that while -yuri is restricted to just two attestations in provinces where no other ablatives are attested, the other three forms appear to coexist in free variation in some dialects.

I do not view these as allomorphs of a single morpheme, as allomorphy is confined within the domain of a single language variety. The fact that some forms are attested only in certain dialect/province groups paired with the free variation exhibited between the forms prevents us from labelling these variants ‘allomorphs’ across all of EOJ. The original form was likely *yo, which acquired a formant *ri (cf. Itabashi 1991)
and raised to /yuri/ in some dialects, or optionally raised to /yu/, without the additional *ri, in some dialects.

### 3.3.1.8.1 Examples of -**yöri**

The form -yöri is attested twice.

116. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi

伊爾之 与比欲利 / 世界尔安波奈布与
in-i-si yöpyi-ywori / se-rō-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT

‘From [that] evening [when] he left, [I] have continuously not met [my] beloved.’

117. 20:4373.1-2 – Simotukeno

祁布与利波 / 可敞理見命久冗
kyepu-yöri pa / kapyer-i-MYI na-ku-te
today-ABL TPT / return-INF-see.NML not.exist-INF-SUB

‘From today, without looking back.’

### 3.3.1.8.2 Examples of -**yuri**

The form -yuri is attested twice.

118. 20:4321.3-4 – Töpotuapumi

阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢
asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u
tomorrow-ABL QPT / reed-POSS together_with sleep-TENT-ATTR

‘From tomorrow shall [I] sleep together with the reeds?’

119. 20:4365.2-3 – Pitati

奈尔波能都由利228 / 布奈与曾比
nanipa-nö tu-yuri / puna yööp-yi
PN-GEN harbor-ABL / boat prepare-INF

‘We prepare the boat from the harbor of Nanipa.’

228 NHB has 与利 -yöri.
3.3.1.8.3 Examples of -ywo

The form -ywo is attested three times.

120. 14:3417.4–5 – Kamitukeno
与曽尒見之欲波 / 伊麻許曽麻左礼
yōsō-ni MYI-si-ywo pa / ima kösō mas-ar-e
distance-LOC see.INF-PST.ATTR-ABL TPT / now FPT be.superior-PROG-EV
‘Now is even better [than] from seeing [you] in the distance.’

121. 14:3425.1–3 – Simotukeno
志母都家努 / 安素乃河泊良欲 / 伊之布麻努受
simōtukyennwö / aswo-nö Nkapara-ywo / isi pum-aNs-u
PN / PN-GEN riverbank-ABL / stone step-NEG-INF
‘From the riverbank of Aso in Simotukeno, without stepping on the stones.’

122. 14:3449.3–4 – UD
麻久良我欲 / 安麻許伎久見由
makuraNka-ywo / ama kök-yi-[i]k-u MYI-y-u
PN-ABL / fisherman row-NEG-go-ATTR see-PASS-FIN
‘[I] see the fishermen rowing out from Makuraga.’

3.3.1.8.4 Examples of -yu

The form -yu is attested twice.

123. 14:3425.3–4 – Simotukeno
伊之布麻努受 / 藻良由登伎努与
isi pum-aNs-u / swora-yu tō k-yi-n-wo yō
stone step-NEG-INF / sky-ABL FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Without touching the stones [I] came from the sky!’

The ablative -yu may also be used in an instrumental function, as example (124) shows:

124. 20:4417.4–5 – Muzasi
多麻能余許夜麻 / 加志由加也良牟
tama-nō yōkō yama / kasi-yu ka yar-am-u
PN-GEN horizontal mountain / walking-ABL QPT send-TENT-ATTR

229 This is the only poem in the corpus to show two different ablative forms (-ywo in line 2 and -yu in line 4).
‘Shall [I] send [you] on foot over the hills by Tama [river]?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form -yuri is only attested twice. In contrast, the raised, contracted form -yu outnumbers its unraised contracted form -ywo six to four. Simotukeno province shows three forms (-ywori, -ywo, and -yu), and even shows more than one form in a single poem (14:3425). The uncontracted forms are completely unattested in the large UD corpus.

3.3.1.9 Allative -pe ~ -pa

The allative is attested twice as -pe and once as -pa. The connection between the latter form and the former form is unclear, and -pa is unattested in WOJ. The complete absence of the allative -pe ~ -pa from the majority of the provinces may indicate it is a recently grammaticalized element in EOJ, since this suffix survives even in modern Japanese (as -e).

125. 20:4422.1-2 – Muzasi
和我世奈乎 / 都久之倍夜里弖
wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukushi-pey yar-i-te
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL send-INF-SUB
‘Sending my darling beloved to Tukusi.’

126. 14:3363.1-2 – Sagamu
和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敞夜利弖
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatō-pye yar-i-te
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL send-INF-SUB
‘Sending my darling beloved to Yamato.’
3.3.1.10 Terminative case marker -ma[N]te

The terminative case marker -ma[N]te indicates the end point of an action.

Whether it was originally -mate or -maNte in PJn is unclear, as even WOJ texts show a curious variation between these two forms. While a full study of all attestations of -mate and -maNte in WOJ is beyond the scope of the present work, Table 3-10 below shows statistics that may be of relevance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>MYS 5</th>
<th>MYS 15</th>
<th>Mys 17</th>
<th>NK</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that -maNte is attested more in the earlier texts (NK, BS, and SM), with only one attestation of -mate in those same texts (in BS). In addition, overall there are more attestations of -maNte. This evidence may give weight to the idea that -maNte was the earlier form. The attestations of -mate in the WOJ poems of MYS probably indicate the medial consonant in this morpheme was becoming denasalized rather than devoiced, similar to what we see in some EOJ provinces. Synchronically, in EOJ, some provinces have the form /made/ while others still have /maandez/. See sections 2.5 and 2.6 for the
phonological data underlying these conclusions, as well as which provinces have /d/ or /ˈd/ a phoneme.

This case marker is rather uncommon in the corpus, with only ten attestations. It is difficult to conclude whether or not it was really part of the nominal declension, as in all attestations it only attaches to the attributive form of a verb, as noted by Vovin (2005a: 196). This is somewhat peculiar, as every other case suffix in the corpus is attested attached to a pure noun root at least once, and it is attested in WOJ attached to pure noun roots. Perhaps this indicates the grammaticalization of -ma[N]te was not complete in the EOJ dialects, and -ma[N]te still functioned as a bound, postposed noun. Or perhaps it is simply the byproduct of the size of the corpus.

This suffix may be followed by the locative -ni, and it is indeed the only case marker that may do so, which is again more evidence for its original nominal nature.

128. 20:4326.5 – Töpotuapumi
和我伎多流麻弓
wa-Nka k-yi-tar-u-mate
1.S-POSS come-INF-PP-ATTR-TERM
‗[Bloom] until I have come back.’

129. 20:4339.4-5 – Suruga
加比利久麻弓尔 / 已波比弓麻多祢
kapyir-i-k-u-mate-ni / ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC / pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP
‗Please pray and wait for [me] until [I] return.’

130. 14:3414 – Kamitukeno
伊香保呂能 / 夜左可能為提尔 / 多都努自能 / 安良波路萬代母 / 佐祢乎佐祢弖婆
ikapo-rō-nō / yasaka-nō wiNte-ni / tat-u nwoNsi-nō / arapar-wo-maNte mö / sa-ne-wo sa-ne-te-Npa
‗If [I] had slept [with you] there until the rainbow that rises at the dam of Yasaka of Ikapo appears…’
131. 20:4404.1-2 – Kamitukeno
奈尓波治乎 / 由伎弖久麻弖等
nanipa-N-ti-wo / yuk-yi-te k-u-mate tö
PN-GEN-road-ACC / go-INF-SUB come-ATTR-TERM COP
‘By the time [I] go and come [back] on the road to Nanipa.’

132. 20:4372.15 – Pitati
可閇利久麻弖尒
kap-eyr-i-k-u-mate-ni
return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC
‘Until [I] return.’

133. 20:4350.5 – Kamitupusa
加倍理久麻泥尒
kap-eyr-i-k-u-maNte-ni
return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC
‘Until [I] return.’

134. 14:3448.3-5 – UD
乎那能乎能 / 比自尔都久麻提 / 伎美我与母賀母
wona-nō wo-nō / pyiNsi-ni tuk-u-maNte / kyimyi-Nka yō mōNkamō
PN-GEN mountain_ridge-GEN / sandbar-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM / lord-POSS life DPT
‘[I] want [my] lord’s life [to last] until the peak of Wona reaches a sandbar.’

135. 14:3458.4-5 – UD
安乎祢思奈久与 / 伊久豆君麻弓
a-wo ne si nak-u yö / iku-N-tuk-u-mate-ni
1.S-ACC voice EPT make.cry-FIN EPT / breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR-TERM-LOC
‘[It] makes me cry out loud, until [I] sigh!’

136. 14:3494.1-3 – UD
兒毛知夜麻 / 和可加敞流弖能 / 毛美都麻弓
KWOmwoti yama / waka kapyerute-nō / mwomyit-u-mate
PN mountain / young maple-GEN / leaves_turn_color-ATTR-TERM
‘Until the young maples [on] Komoti mountain turn red.’

Table 3-11: Distribution of the terminative -ma[N]te across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.1.11 Comitative case marker -tö

The comitative case suffix -tö marker has a meaning of doing something ‘with someone or something.’ It may also function as an instrumental marker in certain contexts, as shown in example (139) below.

137. 20:4324 – Töpotuapumi
等倍多保美 / 志留波乃伊宗等 / 尔閣乃字良等 / 安比弓之阿良婆 / 己等母加由波牟
 tôpeytapomyi / sirupa-nö iswo-tö / nipey-nö ura-tö / ap-yi-te si ar-aNpa / kötö mö kayup-am-u
 PN / PN-GEN rock-COM / PN-GEN bay-COM / meet-INF-SUB EPT exist-COND / word FPT go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN
‘If the rocky [shores] of Sirupa in Töpotuapumi were to meet together with the bay of Nipey, then word should go back and forth [between them].’

138. 20:4345.1–4 – Suruga
和伎米故等 / 不多利和我見之 / 宇知江須流 / 々々河乃祢良波
wa-k-yimey-kwo-tö / puta-ri wa-Nka MYI-si / uti-yes-uru / suruNka-nö ne-ra pa
‘The peaks of Suruga that I, with my darling girl, saw and approached.’

139. 20:4420.4–5 – Muzasi
安我弖等都氣呂 / 許礼乃波流母志
a-Nka te-tö tukey-rö / köre n-ö paru mös-i
own-POSS hand-COM be.attached-IMP / this COP-ATTR needle hold-INF
‘With [your] own hands put it together again, holding this needle.’

140. 20:4385.3–5 – Simotupusa
志流弖尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳弖等母枳奴
siru pye-ni pa / kwo-wo-tö tuma-wo-tö / ok-yi-te tö mök-yi-n-u
behind area-LOC TPT / child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave_behind-INF-SUB FPT EPT come-INF-PERF-FIN
‘In the area behind, the wife and child [I] left together, having come [here].’

Example (140) shows double case marking in the order -ACC-COM.

141. 14:3444.5 – UD
西奈等都麻佐祢
se-na-tö tum-as-an-e
beloved_man-DIM-COM pluck-CAUS-DES-IMP
‘[I’d] like to be allowed to pluck with my darling man!’

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142. 14:3544.4-5 – UD
勢奈那登布多理 / 左宿而久也思母
se-na-na-tö puta-ri / sa-NE-TE kuyasi-mö
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-COM two-CL / LOC-sleep.INF-SUB
be.regretful.AVFIN-EXCL
‘[I] slept there with [my] lover, [and now I] regret it!’

143. 14:3450.1-4 – UD
乎久左乎等 / 乎具佐受家乎等 / 斯抱布祢乃 / 那良敞弓美礼婆
wokusa wo-tö / woNkusa-N-sukye-wo-tö / sipo pune-nö / narapye-te myi-re-Npa
PN man-COM / PN-GEN-help-man-COM / tide boat-GEN / line_up.INF-SUB
see-EV-CONJ
‘When [I] see the man Wokusa and the youth Wogusa lining up their boats
together near the shore [to race]…’

144. 14:3492 – UEOJ
奈里毛奈良受毛 / 奈等布多里波毛
nar-i mwo nar-aNs-u mwo / na-tö puta-ri pa mwo
become-INF FPT become-NEG-INF FPT / 2.S-COM two-CL FPT
‘[Whatever] comes to be or does not come to be, [I shall be] together with you!’

This example is important as it shows the comitative -tö attached to the second person
pronoun na, which is a combination that is unattested in WOJ.

Table 3-12: Distribution of the comitative -tö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.12 Comparative case markers -nösu, -nasu, -nö

There are three comparative suffixes in the corpus: -nösu, -nasu, and -nö. While
there are distributional differences between them, there does not appear to be any
difference in meaning, as they all mean ‘X-like Y.’
3.3.1.12.1 Examples of -nasu

The form -nasu is only attested twice, and only in UD.

145. 14:3531.3-5 – UD
麻欲婢吉能 / 与許夜麻敞呂能 / 思之奈須於母敞流
maywo-N-pyik-yi-nö / yökō yama pye-rö-nö / sisi-nasu omöp-yer-u
eyebrows-GEN-pull-NML-COMP / horizontal mountain area-DIM-GEN /
wild_animal-COMP think-PROG-ATTR
‘[She] was thinking [me] like a wild beast that lives in the low mountainous area
that stretches like eyebrows.’

146. 14:3548.1-2 – UD
奈流世呂尔 / 木都能余須奈須
nar-u se-rö-ni / KEY-tu-nö yösu-nasu
make_sound-ATTR rapids-DIM-LOC / tree-debris-GEN approach-ATTR-COMP
‘Like the tree debris approaching the noisy rapids.’

As this is the widely attested WOJ form of the suffix, these two examples are likely due
to WOJ-influenced alterations in the text.

3.3.1.12.2 Examples of -nōsu

The comparative suffix -nōsu is exclusive to EOJ. However, only three
provinces have this form attested, with most of the attestations being from UD. In all
examples except example (149) below it occurs after the attributive form of a verb, so its
usage as a comparative of attributivized verbs appears to be the primary function, as
noted by Hendricks (1994: 246).

147. 14:3413.4-5 – Kamitukeno
奈美尔安布能須 / 安敞流伎美可母
namyi-ni ap-u-nōsu / ap-yer-u kyimyi kamō
wave-DAT meet-ATTR-COMP / meet-PROG-ATTR lord EPT
‘Oh, [my] lord, whom [I] am meeting like meeting with the waves!’

230 Hendricks (1994: 244) and Vovin (2005a: 203-4) mention a WOJ attestation in KK, but I do not find
this to be a convincing example.
Like gazing at the pearls [I] have taken up in [my] hands.’

‘Like [how] clouds reach the high mountain peaks, even I have wanted to be with [you, my] lord.’

‘Like waiting for [you, my] lord, like waiting for the rain when the sun is shining!’

Even though [I] think it is as dangerous as riding [my] stallion from the edge of crumbling cliffs.’

The root twor- ‘shine’ is an EOJ form related to WOJ ter- ‘id.’
3.3.1.12.3 Examples of -nö

The comparative -nö is the most common of all the comparative forms, and it is attested in most provinces. It appears after nominalized verbs and nouns, but unlike the comparative -nösu, it is unattested after the attributive form of verbs. This seems to be the primary distributional difference between the two forms in the EOJ dialects.

153. 20:4337.1-2 – Suruga

美豆等利乃 / 多知能已蕉岐尔
myi\(\text{Tu}\) tōri-nō / tat-i-nō iswok-yi n-i
water bird-GEN / rise-NML-COMP rush-NML COP-INF
‘Being [in] a rush, like the rise of a water bird.’

154. 14:3423.1-4 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努 / 伊可抱乃祢呂尔 / 布路与伎能
kamyitukeynwo / ikapo-nō ne-rō-ni / pur-wo yōkyi-nō / yuk-yi-suNkiy-kaNte-n-u
PN / PN-GEN peak-DIM-LOC / fall-ATTR snow-COMP / go-INF-pass.INF-POT-NEG-ATTR
‘Like the falling snow on the peak of Ikapo in Kamitukeno, [I] cannot get past.’

155. 14:3376a.4-5 – Muzasi

宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尔豆奈由米
ukyera-Nka pana-nō / irō-ni [i]Nt-una yume
Atractylodes_Japonica-POSS flower-COMP / color-LOC go_out-NEG.IMP
at_all
‘Like the Atractylodes Japonica flowers, do not reveal [your true] colors at all!’

156. 14:3370.1-4 – Sagamu

安思我里乃 / 波故搗能祢呂乃 / 尔古具佐能 / 波奈都麻奈奈礼也
asi\(\text{Nk}\)ari-nō / pakwone-nō ne-rō-ni / nikwo N-kusa-nō / pana t-u Ntuma nar-e ya
PN-GEN / PN-GEN peak-DIM-GEN / soft COP.ATTR-grass-COMP / flower
COP-ATTR spouse become-EV QPT
‘Will [she] become a flower wife like the soft grass on the small peak of Mt. Pakone in Asigari? [no, she will not]’

157. 20:4369 – Pitati

都久波祢乃 / 佐由流能波奈能 / 由等許尔母 / 可奈之家伊母曽 / 比留毛可奈之祁
tukupa ne-nō / sa-yuru-nō pana-nō / yu tōkō-ni mö / kanasi-kye imō sö / pyīru
mwo kanasi-kye
PN peak-GEN / LOC-lily-GEN flower-COMP / night bed-LOC FPT / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_girl FPT / daytime FPT be.adorable-AVATTR
‘My beloved girl who, in bed at night, is as adorable as a lily on the peaks of Mt. Tukupa, is also adorable during the day.’

158. 20:4387.1-3 – Simotupusa

知波乃奴乃 / 古乃弖加之波能 / 保々麻例等
tipa-nō nu-nō / kwonōte kasipa-nō / popom-ar-e-tō
PN-GEN field-GEN / PN oak-COMP / be.unopenned-PROG-EV-CONC
‘Although [she] is unopened, like the [buds of flowers on the] konôte oaks of the fields of Tipa.’

159. 20:4352 – Kamitupusa

美知乃倍乃 / 宇万良能宇礼尓 / 波保麻米乃 / 可良麻流伎美乎 / 波可礼加由加牟
myiti-nō pey-nō / umara-nō ure-ni / pap-o mamey-nō / karam-ar-u kyimi-wo / pakare ka yuk-am-u
road-GEN side-GEN / briar-GEN tip-LOC / crawl-ATTR bean-COMP /
wrap_around-PROG-ATTR lord-ACC / separate_from.INF QPT go-TENT-ATTR
‘Should [I] go, separating from [you, my] lord whom [I] wrap around like the beans that crawl on the tips of the briar on the side of the road?’

160. 14:3453.1-2 – UD

可是能筝乃 / 登抱吉和伎母賀
kaNse-nō [o]tō-nō / tōpo-kyi wa-[a]-yimō-Nka
wind-GEN sound-COMP / be.far-AVATTR 1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-POSS
‘My darling girl, who is as far away as the sound of wind.’

161. 14:3473.1-2 – UD

左努夜麻尓 / 宇都也乎能登乃
sanwo yama-ni / ut-u ya wonō [o]tō-nō
PN mountain-LOC / strike-ATTR EPT axe sound-COMP
‘Like the sound of a striking axe on Sano mountain.’

162. 14:3493a.1-4 – UD

於曾波夜母 / 奈乎許曾麻多賣 / 牟可都乎能 / 四比乃故夜提能
osō paya mō / na-wo kōsō mat-am-ye / muka-tu wo-nō / sipiy-nō kwo-yaNte-nō
slow fast FPT / 2.S-ACC FPT wait-TENT-EV / across-GEN.LOC
mountain_ridge-GEN / beech-GEN DIM-branch-COMP
‘Whether [you] be early (lit. slow) or late (lit. fast), [I] shall wait for you, like the little branches of the beeches on the ridge across the way [that meet].’
Table 3.13: Distribution of comparatives -nasu/-nösu/-nö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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<th>Sik</th>
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<th>Kap</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>-nö</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.12.4 Analytic comparative constructions

There are also purely analytic means of expressing a comparative relation, in lieu of any morphology, though they are uncommon in the corpus.

163. 14:3509.1-2 – UD

多久夫須麻 / 之良夜麻可是
taku-N-pusuma / sira yama kaNse

paper_mulberry-GEN-bed_covers / white mountain wind

‗Wind from the white mountain, [that is like] bed covers of paper mulberry.‘

Here we see the line *taku-N-pusuma* ‘bed covers of paper mulberry’ is being compared to the following line *sira yama kaNse* ‘white mountain wind,’ but there is no comparative suffix on *pusuma* ‘bed covers.’ Example (164) below is similar.

164. 14:3392 – Pitati

筑波祢能 / 伊波毛等杼呂尓 / 於都留美豆 / 代尔毛多由良尔 / 和我於毛波奈久尔
tukupa ne-nö / ipa mwo töNtörö n-i / ot-uru myiNTu / YÖ-ni mwo tayura n-i / wa-Nka omwop-an-aku n-i

PN peak-GEN / rock FPT thunderous COP-INF / fall-ATTR water / world-LOC FPT shaking COP-INF / 1.S-POSS think-NEG-NML COP-INF

‗[Like] the water that falls thunderously amid the rocks of the peaks of Mt. Tukupa, I do not think that [I’ll] ever waver [in my love] in this world.‘
3.3.1.13 Directive case suffix -Nkari

The directive case marker -Nkari is only attested three times. It is not phonographically attested in WOJ (Vovin 2005a: 188). It indicates a motion toward someone.

165. 14:3536.4-5 – UD
伊可奈流勢奈可 / 和我許武等伊布
ika_nar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kō-m-u tō ip-u
how COP-ATTR beloved_man-DIM QPT / 1.S-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
‘What kind of lover is [he]? [Who] says [he] shall come toward me?’

166. 14:3549.3-5 – UD
伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟
iNtu-yu kamō / kanasi-kyi se-rō-Nka / wa-Nkari kaywop-am-u
where-ABL EPT / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_man-DIM-POSS / 1.S-DIR
go_back_and_forth-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] wonder, from where shall my darling beloved come toward me?’

167. 14:3538b.3-5 – UD
己許呂能未 / 伊母我理夜里豆 / 和波已許爾思天
kōkō-nōmiy / imō-Nkari yar-i-te / wa pa kōkō n-i s-i-te
heart RPT / beloved_girl-DIR send-INF-SUB / 1.S TPT here COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘[I] can only send [my] heart to [my] beloved, [as] I am here.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

3.3.1.14 Possible ablative -kara

An ablative -kara is possibly attested just once, though this example is debatable (for example, Vovin (2005a: 208, footnote 66) does not accept it, though (Yamada 1954: 470) does). I do find the interpretation of -kara as an ablative in the example agreeable, as it fits the poem well. Morphosyntactically, there are no problems with it.
168. 14:3541.1-3 – UD

安受倍可良 / 古麻能由胡能須 / 安也波刀文
aNSu pey-kara / kwo-[u]ma-nō yuNk-wo-nōsu / ayapa two mo

crumbling_cliffs area-ABL / DIM-horse-GEN go-ATTR-COMP / dangerous DV

FPT

‘Even though [I] think it is as dangerous as riding my horse from the area of crumbling cliffs...’

An alternative reading of the first line is aNSu [u]pey-kara crumbling_cliffs above-ABL

‘from above the crumbling cliffs,’ but I do not think that fits as well in terms of semantics.

3.3.2 Number suffixes

The EOJ dialects technically do have a morphological category of number, but it is not consistent. In many contexts where languages with a true morphological number would require a plural we do not find one in EOJ. Additionally, the plural never attaches to body part terms (such as te ‘hand’ or mey ‘eye’). The plural marker is -ra, there is no dual, and the singular is unmarked.

3.3.2.1 Plural suffix -ra

The plural -ra is attested mainly in UD. Within the known provincial poems, it is found exclusively in the western EOJ provinces of Sinano and Suruga. This, along with the fact it is quite uncommon and only attaches to a small set of roots, may indicate it is a COJ feature. I provide all attested examples below. There are single attestations of its usage with the roots kwo ‘child,’ ne ‘summit,’ wo ‘cord,’ and possibly two (which is of unknown meaning).
3.3.2.1.1 Clear examples

The following examples are clearly the plural -ra, rather than the diminutive -ra.

169. 20:4401.1-4 – Sinano
可良己呂武 / 須宗父里都伎 / 奈古古良乎 / 意伎川曽伎怒也
kara körömu / suswo-ni tör-i-tuk-yi / nak-wo kwo-ra-wo / ok-yi-te sô k-yi-n-wo
ya
PN garment / hem-LOC take-INF-attach-INF / cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC /
leave.behind-INF-SUB FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Oh, [I] have come [here], leaving behind my children, who cried and clung to
the hem of [my] Kara garment!’

170. 20:4345.4-5 – Suruga
{須流} / 々々河乃稱良波 / 苦不志久米阿流可
{suru} / suruNka-nô ne-ra pa / kupusi-ku mey ar-u ka
{suru} / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT / be.longing-INF FPT exist-ATTR QPT
‘The peaks of Suruga, will [I not] be longing for [them]?’

171. 14:3484.1-2 – UD
安左乎良乎 / 遠家爾布須左爾
asa wo-ra-wo / wo kye-ni pususa n-i
hemp cord-PLUR-ACC / ramie container-LOC much COP-INF
‘There are many small hemp threads in the ramie container.’

3.3.2.1.2 Ambiguous examples

The following examples are ambiguous, and could just as likely be the diminutive
-ra or some other unknown element.

172. 14:3409.5 – Kamitukeno
伊射祢志米刀羅
iNsa ne-simey two-ra
‘well’ sleep-CAUS.INF UNC-PLUR (DIM?)
‘Well let [me] sleep UNC.’

173. 14:3518.5 – UD
伊射祢之賣刀良
iNsa ne-simye two-ra
‘well’ sleep-CAUS.INF UNC-PLUR (DIM?)

232 These last two characters from line 3 are included as they have been reduplicated to write the syllables
that begin line 4.
‘Well, let [me] sleep UNC.’

Unfortunately the poems in examples (172) and (173) above contain a number of unclear forms and hapax legomena (such as two ‘UNC’), and it is not possible to fully translate the line in which the plural -ra seems to appear.

Table 3-15: Distribution of plural -ra across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
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3.3.3 Diminutive suffixes

The EOJ dialects have an abundance of diminutive suffixes. In total there are five diminutive suffixes attested: -kwo, -na, -ra, -rö, and -nö. These are found along with a few diminutive prefixes (described in section 3.4).

3.3.3.1 Diminutive -kwo

This diminutive is a grammaticalization of the root kwo ‘child,’ as evidenced by the fact it is sometimes written semantically with the character 儿, which means ‘child’ in Chinese (see 14:3519 in example 179 below). It has a function of endearment, and it only attaches to two roots: imo ‘beloved girl’ and se ‘beloved man.’

174.  20:4345.1-4 – Suruga
和伎米故 / 不多利和我見之 / 宇知江須流 / 々々河乃祢良波
‘The peaks of Suruga that I, with my darling girl, saw and approached.’

175.  20:4405.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊母古我 / 志濃比尔西餘等
‘My dearly beloved said ‘be longing for [me]!’.’

176. 14:3379.1-2 – Muzasi
和我世故乎 / 安杵可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / aNtō kamō ip-am-u
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / what EPT say-TENT-ATTR
‘What should [I] call my darling man?’

177. 14:3363.1-2 – Sagamu
和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敞夜利ㄎ
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatō-pye yar-i-te
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL send-INF-SUB
‘[I] sent my darling beloved to Yamatō.’

178. 20:4357.3-5 – Kamitupusa
和藝毛古我 / 蘆豆母志保々尔 / 奈伐志曾母波由
wa-Nk[a]-yinwo-kwo-Nka / swote mö sipopo n-i / nak-yi-si sō [o]mōp-ay-u
1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / sleeves FPT soaked COP-INF / cry-INF-PST.ATTR FPT think-PASS-FIN
‘[I] remember how my darling girl wept [for me] until her sleeves were sopping wet.’

179. 14:3445.1-4 – UD
美奈刀能也 / 安之我奈可那流 / 多麻古須 / 可利己和我西古
myinatwo-nō ya / asi-Nka naka-n[i] ar-u / tama-kwo-sukey / kar-i kö wa-Nka se-kwo /
harbor-GEN EPT / reed-POSS inside-LOC exist-ATTR / jewel-DIM-sedge
chop_down-INF come.IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM
‘Chop down the jewel[-like] sedge grasses that are among the reeds of harbor and come [back here], my darling beloved.’

Example (179) is the only poem in the corpus to include both the diminutive prefix kwo-
(in line 3) and the diminutive suffix -kwo (in line 4).

180. 14:3519.3-5 – UD
安乎久毛能 / 伊弓来和伐母兒 / 安必見而由可武
awo kumwo-nō / ite-K-YI wa-Nk[a]-yimō-KWO / ap-yi-MYI-TE yuk-am-u
blue clouds-COMP / go_out.INF-come-INF 1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM /
meet-INF-see.INF-cop.SUB go-TENT-FIN
‘Coming out like blue clouds, [I] shall go and meet with my darling girl.’

Example (180) is a semantographic attestation of the diminutive -kwo.

181. 14:3566.1-2 – UD
和伎毛古尔 / 安我古非思奈婆
If I die from longing for my Darling girl…'

3.3.3.2 Diminutive -\textit{na}

The diminutive -\textit{na} attaches to the following roots: \textit{se} ‘beloved man,’ \textit{teNkwo} ‘maidens,’ \textit{kwo} ‘girl,’ and \textit{imo} ‘beloved girl.’ It is most commonly found attached to \textit{se} ‘beloved man’ (14 out of 18 total attestations), so it appears to be a more typical diminutive for women addressing men. Like the diminutive -\textit{kwo}, it only has a meaning of endearment. The diminutive -\textit{na} is notable because all examples of double diminutive marking in the corpus contain the diminutive -\textit{na} as the first diminutive in the sequence.

Why this is so is a mystery for which I have no answer.

Example (182) shows a double diminutive suffixation on the root \textit{se} ‘beloved man.’

182. 14:3402.4-5 – Kamitukeno

\textit{se-na-nö-Nka swnTe mō / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u}

\textit{beloved_man-DIM-DIM-POSS} sleeve \textit{FPT / clear COP-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN}

‘[My] dearly beloved was clearly waving [his] sleeve.’

183. 20:4424.1-3 – Muzasi

\textit{irō-N-puka-ku / se-na-Nka kūrōmō pa / sōme-masi-wo}

\textit{color-LOC-be.deep-INF / beloved_man-DIM-POSS} garment \textit{TPT / dye-SUBJ.ATTR-ACC}

‘[I] should like to dye my darling man’s garment deep with colors.’

184. 14:3384.1-4 – Simotupusa

\textit{katusika-nö / mama-nö TENKWO-na-wo / ma-kōtō Nkamo / ware-ni yōs-u tō [i]p-u}

\textit{PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-ACC / INT-word EPT / 1.S-DAT approach-ATTR DV say-FIN}

‘[People] say to me [I] approach a darling maiden of the cliff in Katusika.’
Example (186) once again shows two different diminutive suffixes attached to the same root, for an apparent emphatic meaning.

Example (188) is another example that shows two diminutives attached in succession, for an apparent emphatic meaning.
### 3.3.3.3 Diminutive -ra

The diminutive -ra is attested only in Kamitukeno province and UD. It only has a meaning of endearment.

190. 14:3408.3-5 – Kamitukeno

和尔余曽利 / 波之奈流兄良師 / 安夜尔可奈思母

wa-ni yōsō-i / pasi nar-u KWO-ra si / aya n-i kanasi-mō

1.S-DAT be.drawn_to-INF / beautiful COP-ATTR girl-DIM EPT / extreme COP-INF be.adorable.AVFIN-EXCL

‘The beautiful, dear girl, who is drawn to me, is extremely adorable!’

191. 14:3412.4-5 – Kamitukeno

可奈師家兄良尔 / 伊夜射可里久母

kanasi-kye KWO-ra-ni / iya N-sakar-i-k-u-mō

be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-DAT / more_and_more COP-INF-be.far_from-INF-come-FIN-EXCL

‘Oh, [I] have come [here], being further and further away from [my] adorable, dear girl!’

192. 14:3573.4-5 – UD

安比見之兄良之 / 安夜尔可奈思母

ap-yi-MYI-si KWO-ra si / aya n-i kanasi-mō

meet-INF-see.INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM EPT / extreme COP-INF be.adorable.AVFIN-EXCL

‘The dear girl that [I] met was quite attractive.’

193. 14:3569.4-5 – UD

手婆奈礼乎思美 / 奈吉思兄良婆母

TA-N-panare wosi-miyi / nak-yi-si KWO-ra pa mō

hand-LOC-part_from.NML be.regretful-AVGER / cry-INF-PST.ATTR child-DIM TPT EPT

‘Oh, [my] dear girl who wept because [she] regretted parting from [me].’

194. 20:4436.4-5 – UD

伊都伎麻佐母等 / 登比之兄良波母

itu k-yi-mas-am-u tö / tōp-yi-si kwo-ra pa mō

when come-INF-HON-TENT-FIN COP / ask-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT

‘[My] dear girl who asked me ‘when will you come back?’

195. 14:3528.3-4 – UD

伊母能良尔 / 毛乃伊波受伎尖

imō-nō-ra-ni / mwonō ip-aNs-u k-yi-n-i-te
beloved_girl-DIM-PLUR-DAT / things say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‘[I] came without saying a word to my darling girls.’

196. 14:3405a.4-5 – Kamitukeno
見良波安波奈毛 / 比等理能未思弖
KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo / pyitō-ri nōmiy s-i-te
girl-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR / one-CL RPT do-INF-SUB
‘[My] darling girl is [the one] who [I] want to meet, [when she’s] all by herself.’

Vovin (2005a: 149) analyzes example (196) as *kwo-ra* ‘girl-DAT/LOC.’ However, the accompanying poem 14:3405b has the parallel line *se-na pa ap-ana-m-ō* ‘beloved_man-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR,’ which also shows a diminutive. In addition, a dative-locative -*ra* is unattested in EOJ. For these reasons, I find the diminutive analysis to be the better one, even though the verb *ap*- ‘meet’ requires a dative object in WOJ. After all, while the grammar of EOJ is similar to the grammar of WOJ, it is not exactly the same.

### 3.3.3.4 Diminutive -rö

The diminutive -rö is the most frequently attested diminutive in the corpus. It occurs only twice in WOJ, and there is not single WOJ attestation of it in the entire *Man’yōshū* (Vovin 2005: 210). Based on these data, it is possible that while it must have been in PJn, it soon became non-productive in WOJ while it remained productive in EOJ. However, it is difficult to make any real conclusion on this due to the limits of the textual materials we have paired with the less than exact dating of these materials. Regardless, in terms of the *Man’yōshū*, the diminutive -rö is certainly a characteristic of the EOJ poems contained therein.
The diminutive -rö occurs with both diminutive and endearment functions (as noted by Vovin 2005: 210-12).

### 3.3.3.4.1 Diminutive function

The diminutive function occurs four times.

197. 14:3412.1-3 – Kamitukeno
賀美都家野 / 久路保乃祢呂乃 / 久受葉我多
kamitukyeNWO / kurwopo-nö ne-rö-nö / kuNsu-PA-N-kata
PN / PN-GEN peak-DIM-GEN / kudzu-leaves-GEN-vine
‘[Like] the vines of kudzu leaves on the small peak of Kuropo in Kamitsukeno.’

198. 14:3395.1-2 – Pitati
乎豆久波乃 / 祢呂尔都久多思
woN-tukupa-nö / ne-rö-ni tuku tas-i
DIM-PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC moon rise-INF
‘The moon rises on the small peak of Mt. Tukupa.’

199. 14:3383.1-2 – Kamitupusa
宇麻具多能 / 祢呂尔可久里為
umaNkuta-nö / ne-rö-ni kakur-i-wi
PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC hide-INF-sit.NML
‘[You] are hiding in the small peak of Umaguta.’

200. 14:3495.1-2 – UD
伊波保呂乃 / 藁比能和可麻都
ipapo-rö-nö / swopyi-nö waka matu
boulder-DIM-GEN / beside-GEN young pine
‘[Like] the young pines growing beside little rocks.’

### 3.3.3.4.2 Endearment function

The endearment function is this suffixes most well-attested function.

201. 20:4406.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊波呂尔 / 由加毛比等母我
wa-Nka ipa-rö-ni / yuk-am-wo pyitö möNka
1.S-POSS home-DIM-LOC / go-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘[I] wish for someone who would go to my dear home.’
202. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi
伊尒之与比欲利 / 世呂尔安波奈布与
in-i-si yöyi-yworı / se-rö-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘Since that evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my] darling beloved!’

203. 20:4419 – Muzasi
伊波呂尒波 / 安之布多氣度母 / 須美与氣乎 / 都久之尔伊多里弖 / 古布志氣毛波母
ipa-rö-ni pa / asi-pu tak-ey-ntwomö / sum-yi yö-key-wo / tukusi-ni itar-i-te / kwopusi-key [o]mwop-äm-o
home-DIM-LOC TPT / reed-fire burn-EV-CONC / reside-NML be.good-AVATTR-ACC / PN-LOC arrive-INF-GER / be.longing_for-AVNML think-TENT-ATTR
‘Although [I] burn a reed fire in [my] dear home, because the residence is good, [after] arriving in Tukusi, I shall think of it [with] a feeling of longing.’

204. 14:3368.5 – Sagamu
敬呂河伊波奈久尔
kwo-rö-Nka ip-an-aku n-i
girl-DIM-POSS say-NEG-NML COP-INF
‘[My] darling girl isn’t saying [anything].’

205. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu
布奈可射里 / 安我世牟比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我毛
puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rö-wo / myi-m-wo pyitö mönkanwo
boat-decorate-NML / 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC / see-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘[I] want someone [there] who will see the special day when I do the boat-decorating.’

206. 14:3424.4-5 – Simotukeno
麻具波思児呂波 / 多賀家可母多牟
ma N-kupasi KWO-rö pa / ta-Nka kye ka möt-am-u
true COP.INF-be.beautiful girl-DIM TPT / who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘As for this truly beautiful, darling girl, whose container shall [she] hold?’

207. 14:3446.1-3 – UD
伊毛奈呂我 / 都可布河泊豆乃 / 佐左良乎疑
imwo-na-rö-Nka / tukap-u Nkapa-N-tu-nö / sasara woNkiy
beloved_girl-DIM-DIM-POSS / use-ATTR river-GEN-harbor-GEN / little Amur_silver_grass
‘The little Amur silver grass of the river’s harbor that [my] darling uses.’
Example (207) shows two diminutives attached to the same root, with the diminutive -rö following the diminutive -na.

208. 14:3564.1-2 – UD
古須気呂乃 / 宇良布久可是能
kwosokey-rö-nö / ura puk-u kaNse-nö
PN-DIM-GEN / bay blow-ATTR wind-COMP
‘Like the winds that blow over the bay of Kosuge.’

209. 20:4427.1-2 – UD
伊波乃伊毛呂 / 和乎之乃布良之
ipa-nö imwo-rö / wa-wo sinöp-urasi
home-GEN beloved_girl-DIM / 1.S-ACC long_for-SUP
‘It seems that my darling girl at home is longing for me.’

3.3.3.5 Diminutive -nö

I consider the diminutive -nö to be a phonetic variant of the diminutive -na, due to vowel centralization. This diminutive occurs only twice, shown in examples (210) and (211) below.

210. 14:3402.4-5 – Kamitukeno
勢奈我能母 / 佐夜尔布良思
se-na-nö-Nka swoNte mö / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-POSS sleeve FPT / clear COP-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
‘[My] dearly beloved was clearly waving [his] sleeve.’

Example (210) shows the diminutive -nö follows the diminutive -na in the linear ordering of morphemes in a nominal word-form.

211. 14:3528.3-4 – UD
伊母能良尔 / 毛乃伊波受伎尔
imö-nö-ra-ni /mwoNö ip-aNs-u k-yi-n-i-te
beloved_girl-DIM-PLUR-DAT / things say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‘[I] came without saying a thing to [my] darling girls.’
3.3.3.6 A comparison of the diminutive suffixes by province

In Table 3-16 below, all attested diminutive suffixes are compared across the provinces.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
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<td>0</td>
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*One attestation (14:3519.4) is semantographic.

These data show the most commonly and widely attested diminutive is -rō, with 55 attestations. The diminutive -nō, on the other hand, is quite rare, with only two attestations. The other three diminutives, -ra, -kwo, and -na, are all well attested, though -na is the most common of the bunch. Apparently diminutives were quite popular in Kamitukeno province, as all five diminutive suffixes are attested at least once.

3.4 Prefixes

There are a number of nominal prefixes, something quite peculiar for an SOV language. Most likely this is residue from an earlier SVO word order, as suggested by Vovin (2009a: 589). Further evidence for an earlier SVO word order is presented in section 5.9.

The prefixes can be divided into four categories: diminutives, locatives, honorifics, and intensifiers. There is also one unclear prefix that may mark an object.

3.4.1 Diminutive prefixes

The diminutive prefixes are kwo- and woN-.
3.4.1.1 Prefix *kwo-*

The diminutive prefix *kwo-* most likely shares the same origin as the diminutive suffix *-kwo*, and was also likely the earlier form, before prefixes shifted to suffixes in the language. It is usually found before the noun *uma* ‘horse.’ It is also attested prefixed to the following roots: *pusuma* ‘bed covers,’ *su[N]key* ‘sedge,’ *yaNte* ‘branch,’ and *naNkiy* ‘water leeks.’ All attestations except the single attestation in Muzasi province are found in UD. I give all attestations that are not attached to *uma* ‘horse’ below. In addition, a few attestations of this prefix attached to *uma* ‘id.’ are included. Most examples have a diminutive meaning, but one has an endearment meaning.

3.4.1.1.1 Endearment function

The endearment function is attested just once.

212. 14:3454.1-2 – UD

nipa-ni tat-u / asaNte *kwo-Npusuma*
garden-LOC rise-ATTR / hemp DIM-bed_covers

‘Bed covers of garden raised hemp.’

It must be noted that this may be an example of an adjective *kwo* ‘small’ followed by a fusional form of the attributive copula *n-ö* (thus *kwo n-ö pusuma > kwo Npusuma*). However, misspellings of prenasalized and voiceless consonants are quite common throughout the corpus, and the adjective *kwo* ‘small’ is unattested in EOJ. Furthermore, the interpretation of the phrase as ‘small bed covers’ does not make much sense. For these reasons, I mark this as a diminutive prefix with a meaning of endearment.
3.4.1.2 Diminutive function

The diminutive function is well-attested.

213. 20:4417.1-2 – Muzasi
阿加 胡麻乎 / 夜麻努尔波贺志
aka-N-kwo-[u]ma-wo / yama nwo-ni paNkas-i
red-COP.ATTR-DIM-horse-ACC / mountain field-LOC release-INF
‗[I] released [my] red stallion into the fields and mountains.’

214. 14:3424.1-3 – Simotukeno
之母家家野 / 美可母乃夜麻能 / 許奈良能须
simötukyeyNWO / myikamō-nō yama-nō / kō-nara-nōsu
PN / PN-GEN mountain-GEN / DIM-oak-COMP
‗Like the little oaks on the mountain of Mikamo in Simotukeno.’

215. 14:3445.1-3 – UD
美奈刀能也 / 安之我奈可那流 / 多麻古須氣
myinatwō-nō ya / asi-Nka naka-n[i] ar-u / tama-kwo-sukey
harbor-GEN EPT / reed-POSS inside-LOC exist-ATTR / jewel-DIM-sedge
‗The jewel[-like] small sedges that are among the reeds (lit. inside of the reeds) of the harbor.’

216. 14:3493a.3-4 – UD
牟可都乎能 / 四比乃故夜提能
muka-tu wo-nō / sipyi-nō kwo-yaNte-nō
across-GEN.LOC mountain_ridge-GEN / beech-GEN DIM-branch-COMP
‗The little branches of the beech trees on the mountain ridge across the way.’

217. 14:3498.1-2 – UD
字奈波良乃 / 根夜波良古須氣
una-para-nō / NE yapara kwo-sukey
sea-plain-GEN / root be.soft DIM-sedge
‗The small sedge [with] soft roots [along] the sea plain.’

218. 14:3576.1-4 – UD
奈波之呂乃 / 古奈宜我波奈乎 / 伎奴尔须里 / 奈流留麻尔末仁
napa-sirō-nō / kwo-N-kiy-Nka pana-wo / kynu-ni sur-i / nar-uru mani-mani
seedling-enclosure-GEN / DIM-water-GEN-leeks-POSS flower-ACC / robes-LOC rub-NML / get_used_to-ATTR as-REDUP
‗As [I] get used to rubbing the flowers of the little water-leeks of the seedling nursery on [my] robes [to dye them].’

219. 20:4429.1-3 – UD
宇麻夜奈流 / 奈波多都古麻乃 / 於久流我弁
uma-ya-n[i] ar-u / napa tat-u kwo-[u]ma-nō / okur-u Nkapye
horse-shed-LOC exist-ATTR / rope cut-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / remain-FIN

IPT

‘Would a **stallion** that has broken the ropes in [his] stable remain [there]?’

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<th>Sin</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3-17: Distribution of diminutive *kwo-* across the provinces**

3.4.1.2 Prefix *wo[N]*-

The diminutive prefix *wo[N]*- is poorly attested compared to the diminutive prefix *kwo*-. It is also only attested in UD. It is difficult to discern the underlying form, as two examples show a prenasalization at the end of the prefix, but three do not. For WOJ, Vovin (2005a: 78) considers *wo-* to be the synchronic form but *woN-* (or *bon-*) to be the earlier form, and he presents a possible etymology: a borrowing from Ainu *pon* ‘little.’ On a synchronic level, it is possible either some EOJ dialects lost the final prenasalization, or prenasalized consonants shifted to plain voiced in some dialects, thus obscuring the prenasalization in the orthography. This prefix has functions of both diminutivity and endearment. All attested examples are given below.

3.4.1.2.1 Endearment function

The endearment function is attested just once.

220. 14:3484.5 – UD

伊射西乎騰許爾

*iNsa se woN-tökö-ni*

‘well’ do.IMP DIM-bed-LOC

‘Well, do [it], in [my] **dear bed**.’

557
3.4.1.2.2 Diminutive function

The diminutive function is the most common function of this prefix.

221. 14:3524 – UD
麻乎其母能 / 布能末知可久弓 / 安波奈敝麻
ma woN-kömö-nö / pu-nö ma tika-ku-te / ap-an-ye-pa
really DIM-reed-GEN / joint-GEN space be.near-INF-SUB / meet-NEG-ITER-EV-CONJ
‘The joints of the really little reeds are near [one another], yet [the reeds] do not meet.’

Examples (222) - (224) below do not show prenasalization at the end of the prefix, even though wo[N]- precedes an onset that can be prenasalized in each example.

222. 14:3527.1-3 – UD
於吉尓須毛 / 乎加母能毛己呂 / 也左可杼利
okyi-ni sum-wo / wo-kamö-nö mwokörö / yasaka-N-töri
offing-LOC live-ATTR / DIM-duck-GEN similarity / PN-GEN-bird
‘The birds of Yasaka [are] similar to little ducks that live in the offing.’

223. 14:3538b.1-2 – UD
乎波夜之尔 / 古麻乎波左佐氣
wo-payasi-ni / kwo-[u]ma-wo pasasakey
DIM-forest-LOC / DIM-horse-ACC let_run_free.INF
‘In the small forest, [I] let [my] stallion run free.’

224. 20:4430 – UD
阿良之乎乃 / 伊乎佐太波佐美 / 牟可非多知
ara-si wo-nö / i-wo-sa-N-ta-pasam-yi / mukap-iy-tat-i
rough-FIN man-GEN / PREF-DIM-arrow-LOC-hand-pinch-INF / face-INF-stand-NML
‘A rough man stands and turns with [his] hand pinching on a small arrow.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
3.4.2 Locative prefix *sa-*

The locative prefix *sa-* indicates a general location, something akin to ‘there,’ as in the common example *sa-ne* LOC-sleep.NML ‘sleeping there.’ As Vovin (2005a: 83) notes, it marks the entire NP, rather than a single noun. The locative prefix *sa-* most often attaches to nominalized forms of verbs, including gerundives, but it also attaches to pure nominal roots.

225. 14:3366.1-2 – Sagamu
麻可奈思美 / 佐祢小和波由久
ma kanasi-myi / *sa-ne-ni* wa pa yuk-u
so be.adorable-AVGER / LOC-sleep.NML-LOC 1.S TPT go-ATTR
‘Because [you] are so adorable, I go to sleep there [with you].’

226. 14:3414.5 – Kamitukeno
佐祢乎 佐祢弓婆
*sa-ne-wo* *sa-ne-te-Npa*
LOC-sleep.NML-ACC LOC-sleep.INF-PERF-COND
‘If [I] had slept\(^{233}\) there [with you].’

In example (226), both the object and the gerundive verb take the prefix *sa-*. This may be an example of agreement.

227. 20:4369.1-2 – Pitati
都久波祢乃 / 佐祢流能波奈能
*tukupa ne-nô / *sa-yuru-nô* pana-nô*
PN peak-GEN / LOC-lily-GEN flower-COMP
‘Like the blossoms of a lily on Tukupa peak.’

This example shows the locative *sa-* prefixed to a noun root, but marking the entire NP.

228. 20:4394.3-5 – Simotupusa
由美乃美他 / 佐尼加和多良牟 / 奈賀氣己乃用乎
*yumyi-nô myita / *sa-ne* ka watar-am-u / naNka-key könô ywo-wo*
bow-GEN together.with / LOC-sleep.NML QPT cross-TENT-ATTR / be.long-AVATTR this night-ACC
‘Shall [I] sleep there through this long night together with [my] bow?’

\(^{233}\) Literally ‘slept a sleep.’
3.4.3 Honorific prefix myi-

The honorific prefix *myi*- has the functions of honorification and beautification. It is widely attested across the provinces, and can be found prefixed to the following noun roots: *sa[N]ka* ‘hill,’ *kötö* ‘word,’ *tate* ‘shield,’ *kyesi* ‘garment,’ *pune* ‘boat,’ *ikusa* ‘war,’ *naka* ‘center,’ *ura* ‘bay,’ and *yama* ‘mountain.’ A few forms were already lexicalized, for example *myi-kötö* ‘HON-word’ was lexicalized as ‘[sovereign] command,’ while *myi-tate* ‘HON-shield’ was lexicalized as ‘soldier.’

### Table 3.19: Distribution of locative *sa-* across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
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<th>Kap</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

232. 20:4403.1-2 – Sinano

意保枳美能 / 美己等可之古美

opo kyiymi-nō / myi-kötö kasikwo-myı
great lord-GEN / HON-word be.awesome-AVG

‘Because [my] sovereign command is awesome…’
233. 20:4321.1-2 – Töpotuapumi
可之古伎夜 / 美許等加我布理
kasikwo-kyi ya / myi-kötö kaNkapur-i
be.awesome-AVATTR-EPT / HON-word put_on_head-INF
‘[It] is indeed awesome! [I] obey [my sovereign’s] command.’

234. 20:4423.1-3 – Muzasi
安之我良乃 / 美可儿多志弓 / 蘑侏布良婆
asiNkara-nō / myi-saka-ni tas-i-te / swoNte pur-aNpa
PN-GEN / HON-slope-LOC stand-INF-GER / sleeves wave-COND
‘If [I] wave [my] sleeves, standing on the slope of Asigara.’

235. 20:4328.1-2 – Sagamu
於保吉美能 / 美許等可之古美
opo kyimyi-nō / myi-kötö kasikwo-myi
great lord-GEN / HON-word be.awesome-AVGER
‘Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome…’

236. 20:4373.3-5 – Simotukeno
意富伎美乃 / 之許乃美多弓等 / 伊堡多都和例波
opo kyimyi-nō / sikō n-o myi-tate tö / iNte-tat-u ware pa
great lord-GEN / despicable COP-ATTR HON-shield COP / go_out.INF-rise-ATTR 1.S TPT
‘I who have come to be but a despicable soldier (lit. honorable shield) for my sovereign.’

237. 14:3350a.4-5 – Pitati
伎美我美家思志 / 安夜尔伎保思母
kyimyi-Nka myi-kyesi si / aya n-i kyi posi-mō
lord-POSS HON-garment EPT / extreme COP-INF wear.NML be.desired-EXCL
‘[I] so desperately want to put on [my] lord’s garment!’

In example (237), the noun kyesi ‘garment’ takes the honorific prefix myi- due to the preceding possessive form kyimyi-Nka lord-POSS ‘lord’s.’

238. 20:4363.1-2 – Pitati
奈尔波都尔 / 美布祢於呂須惠
nanipa tu-ni / myi-pune orō-suwe
PN harbor-LOC / HON-boat lower-place.INF
‘Lowering the boat in Nanipa harbor, and fixing it in place.’

239. 20:4394.1-2 – Simotupusa
於保伎美乃 / 美己等加之古美
opo kyimyi-nō / myi-kötö kasikwo-myi
great lord-GEN / HON-word be.awesome-AVGER
‘Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome…’

240. 14:3463.3-5 – UD
己許呂奈久 / 佐刀乃美可尔 / 安敞流世奈可毛
kōkōrō na-ku / satwo-nō myi-naka-ni / ap-yer-u se-na kamwo
heart not.exist-INF / village-GEN HON-inside-LOC / meet-PROG-ATTR
beloved_man-DIM EPT
‘My darling man, [with] whom [I] am unintentionally meeting in the great center of the village.’

241. 14:3508.1-3 – UD
芝付乃 / 御宇良佐伎奈流 / 根都古具佐
SINPATUKYI-nō / MYI-ura sakyi-n[i] ar-u / NETUKWO-N-kusa
PN-GEN / HON-bay cape-LOC exist-ATTR / UNC-GEN-grass
‘The netuko grass that is on the cape of the great bay of Sibatuki.’

In example (241) we see a semantographic attestation of the honorific prefix myi-.

242. 14:3513.1-3 – UD
由布佐礼婆 / 美夜麻乎左良奴 / 尔努具母能
yupu s-are-Npa / myi-yama-wo sar-an-u / ninwo-N-kumō-nō
evening do-PASS-CONJ / HON-mountain-ACC leave-NEG-ATTR / cloth-COP.ATTR-clouds-COMP
‘[She is] like the cloth[-like] clouds that do not leave the great mountain even when night has set in.’

243. 20:4432.2 – UD
美許登尔阿礼婆
myi-kōtō-ni ar-e-Npa
HON-word-LOC exist-EV-CONJ
‘Since [these] are the commands [of my sovereign]…’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-20: Distribution of honorific myi- across the provinces

3.4.4 Intensifying prefix ma-

The prefix ma- has a function of intensifying the meaning of the noun to which it attaches. It can also mark an object that undergoes an intense action (see example 249 below). Clearly a grammaticalization of the adjective ma ‘true’ (which is still in the
language), both on semantic and orthographic grounds\textsuperscript{234}, the prefix \textit{ma-} should not be confused with the adverb \textit{ma} ‘so, really.’ While the intensifying prefix \textit{ma-} attaches directly to a noun, the adverb \textit{ma} may appear before other prefixes. See section 6.15 for a discussion of the adverb \textit{ma}.

247. 20:4342.1-3 – Suruga

\textbf{ma-key N-pasira / pomey-te Ntukur-ir-u / tönê-nô Nkötô}

\textbf{INT-tree COP.ATTR-pillar / bless.INF-SUB make-PROG-ATTR / pavilion-GEN}

‘Like the \textit{wooden} pillars we blessed as [we] were building the pavilion.’

248. 14:3404.1-3 – Kamitsukeno

\textbf{kamyitukeywno / asswo-nô ma-swo mura / kak-yi-muNtak-yi}

\textbf{PN / PN-GEN INT-hemp group / touch.with.hands-INF-embrace-NML}

‘Holding in both arms a bundle of \textit{hemp} from the fields of Aso [in] Kamitsukeno.’

249. 20:4368.3-4 – Pitati

\textbf{sipo-N-pune-ni / ma-kati siNsi nuk-yi}

\textbf{tide-GEN-boat-LOC / INT-rudder constantly pierce-INF}

‘Constantly thrusting the \textit{rudder} on the tide boat.’

The \textit{ma-} in example (249) indicates the rudders undergo an intensive action (in this case, ‘thrusting’).

250. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa

\textbf{tapiy tô [i]p-ye-tô / ma-taNpyi n-i nar-i-n-u}

\textbf{journey DV say-EV-CONC / INT-journey COP-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN}

‘Although [it] was said to be ‘a journey,’ this has become \textit{such a journey}.’

251. 14:3463.1-2 – UD

\textbf{ma-tópo-ku n-ô / NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u}

\textbf{INT-be.distant-NML COP-ATTR / field-LOC FPT meet-DES-TENT-FIN}

‘[I] should like meeting you in the fields that are \textit{quite a distance [away]}.’

\textsuperscript{234} This is because attestation in the corpus, 14:3461.3, uses the Chinese character 真 ‘true.’
252. 20:4427.3-5 – UD
麻由須比尔 / 由須比之比毛乃 / 登久良久毛倍婆
ma-yusup-yi-ni / yusup-yi-si pyimwo-nö / tök-ur-aku [o]mwop-ey-Npa
INT-TIE-NML-LOC / tie-INF-PST.ATTR cords-GEN / come_undone-ATTR-NML think-EV-CONJ
‘[I] think that the cord [she] tied, in a tight knot, has come undone.’

253. 14:3461.3-4 – UD
真日久礼弖 / 与比奈波许奈尔
ma-PYI kure-te / yöp-yi-na pa kö-n-a n-i
INT-sun set.INF-SUB / evening-LOC TPT come-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Being [that] the sun set, and [you] didn’t come in the evening.’

This is a kungana attestation of the prefix ma-.

| Table 3-21: Distribution of intensifying prefix ma- across the provinces |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sin | To | Su | Kak | Mu | Sa | Mi | Sik | Pi | Sip | Kap | UD |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 13* |

*One attestation (14:3461.3) is semantographic.

3.4.5 Prefix uti-

This prefix is attested in Suruga province and UD. It attaches to nominalized verbs (including attributive verbal forms) in one attestation, and in the other, somewhat unclear example it attaches to a noun root. The meaning of prefix uti- is difficult to discern. In most cases it seems to intensify the verbal action or the noun to which it attaches. However, since ultimately it is semantically opaque, I gloss it as ‘PREF.’

244. 20:4345.1-4 – Suruga
和伎米故等 / 不多利和我見之 / 宇知江須流 / 々々河乃祢良波
wa:k-yimey-kwo-tö / puta-ri wa-Nka MYI-si / uti-yes-uru / suruNka-nö ne-ra pa
PREF-approach-ATTR / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT
‘The peaks of Suruga that I, with my darling girl, saw and approached.’

245. 14:3505.1-3 – UD
宇知比佐都 / 美夜能濑河泊能 / 可保婆奈能
uti-pyi sat-u / miyanöSE KAp-nö / kapo-N-pana-nö
PREF-sun shine_upon-ATTR / PN river-GEN / face-GEN-flower-COMP
‘Like the morning-glories on the Miyanose river that sun shines upon.’
Example (245) is the only one that might possibly show uti- attach to a noun root. The line in which it appears is problematic (for example, sat-u instead of the expected sas-u), and some (such as Mizushima 1996: 154) just consider it to be an obscure, unanalyzable makura kotoba. Thus, it should be approached with skepticism.

Table 3-22: Distribution of the prefix uti- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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<td>1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This example (14:3505.1) is debatable.

3.4.6 Prefix i-

This prefix may mark the indirect object in a sentence. If so, it could be a borrowing of the Ainu indirect object prefix e- (with subsequent raising) or the Ainu direct object prefix i-. Unfortunately it is only attested once, so we can do little but speculate here.

246. 20:4430.1-3 – UD
阿良之乎乃 / 伊乎佐波佐美 / 卑可非多知
ara-si wo-nö / i-wo-sa-N-ta-pasam-yi / mukap-iy-tat-i
rough-FIN man-GEN / PREF-DIM-arrow-LOC-hand-pinch-INF / face-INF-stand-NML
‘A rough man stands and turns with [his] hand pinching on a small arrow.’

3.5 Reduplication

Full reduplication occurs in the EOJ dialects, but it is infrequently attested. There are no attested examples of partial reduplication. The functions of reduplication are iteration and plurality. The onset of the reduplicated segment is prenasalized when used in the plurality meaning, but not when used in the iteration meaning. This prenasalization may have been the result of an analogical extension from the ‘modifier COP.ATTR-head’
phrases that are common, but it is difficult to connect that with the meaning of plurality found in the reduplicated examples.

3.5.1 Iteration function

The iteration function is attested three times.

247. 14:3481.1-2 – UD
安利佐努乃 / 佐佐恵之豆美
arikyinwo-nō / sawe-sawe siNtum-yi
MK-GEN? / rustle-REDUP become_quiet-NML
‘The rustling of arikyinwo\(^\text{235}\) becomes quiet.’

There is a similar form sawawe ‘noisy’ attested in 14:3552.2 – UD, so the form sawe-sawe in example (247) may show some type of reduplication of that. However, as there is no form sawe ‘rustle’ attested, sawe-sawe could just be a pure onomatopoeia, rather than a true reduplication.

248. 14:3529.3-5 – UD
乎佐乎毛 / 佈奈啟古由惠尔 / 波伴尔許呂波要
wosa-wosa mwo / ne-n-apye kwo yuwe n-i / papa-ni kör-öp-aye
a_little-REDUP FPT / sleep-NEG-ITER.INF girl reason COP-INF / mother-DAT scold-ITER-PASS.INF
‘[I] was scolded by my mother because of a girl whom [I] did not sleep with even a little.’

249. 14:3576.1-4 – UD
奈波之呂乃 / 古奈宜我波奈乎 / 伎奴尔須里 / 奈流留麻尔末仁
napa-sirö-nō / kwo-na-N-kiy-Nka pana-wo / kyinu-ni sur-i / nar-uru mani-mani
seedling-enclosure-GEN / DIM-water-GEN-leek-POSS flower-ACC / robes-LOC rub-NML / get_used_to-ATTR as-REDUP
‘As [I] get used to rubbing the the flowers of the water-leeks of the seedling nursery on robes [to dye them].’

\(^{235}\) This form is a makura kotoba and is difficult to interpret, so I just place it in situ in the translation.
3.6.2 Plurality function

The plurality function is attested four times.

250. 20:4323.1-3 – Töpotuapumi
等伎騰吉乃 / 波奈波左家登母 / 奈尔须礼曾
tökyi-Ntökyi-nō / pana pa sak-ye-Ntömö / nani s-ure sø
time-REDUP-GEN / flower TPT bloom-EV-CONC / what do-EV FPT
‘Although the flowers of [many] times bloom, what should [I] do?’

251. 20:4381.1-3 – Simotukeno
久尓具尓乃 / 佐岐毛利度度比 / 布奈能里弖
kuni-Nkuni-nō / sakyimwori tuNtwop-yi/ puna-nör-i-te
province-REDUP-GEN / border_guard gather-INF / boat-ride-INF-SUB
‘Border guards from [many] provinces gather here, and ride [off] on a boat.’

252. 20:4391.1-3 – Simotupusa
久尓具尓乃 / 夜之里乃加美尔 / 奴作麻都理
kuni-Nkuni-nō / yasiri-nō kamyi-ni / nusa matur-i
province-REDUP-GEN / shrine-GEN deity-DAT / paper_offering offer-INF
‘[I] make paper offerings to the deities in the shrines of [many] provinces.’

253. 20:4372.12-14 – Pitati
阿例波伊波々牟 / 毛呂々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎须
are pa ipap-am-u / mworō-mworō pa / sakyé-ku tö mawos-u
1.S TPT pray-TENT-ATTR / many-REDUP TPT / be.safe-INF COP say.HUM-
FIN
‘As for the many [things] for which I shall pray, [I] will say [the prayers] safely.’

3.6 Pronouns

The pronoun system includes personal, demonstrative, interrogative, and collective pronouns.

3.6.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronoun system of EOJ is somewhat peculiar. On the one hand it is extremely minimal in terms of distinctions (such as those of person, inclusivity, or number), containing only the most basic one found in the languages of the world, which
is that of first versus second person. On the other hand, there are multiple first and second person pronouns, some of which have no clear synchronic difference in meaning or function from one another. The full pronoun system is listed below in Table 3.25:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.23: Attested pronouns of the EOJ dialects</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa ~ ware,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ~ are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reflexive</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.1 First person pronouns

The first person pronouns include *wa ~ ware, wanwo ~ wanu*, and *a ~ are*. The short forms *wa* and *a* can be used in nearly free variation with one another, and similarly the usage of the forms *ware* and *are* overlaps in most cases. In fact, two or more different first person pronouns can be found in the same poem, sometimes even in adjacent lines. However, some important morphosyntactic and functional distinctions between these various pronouns do exist, which will be discussed in the sections that follow.

3.6.1.1.1 *wa ~ ware ~ warö*

The first person pronoun *wa*, and its extended version *ware ~ warö*, are always singular in EOJ, thus I gloss them as ‘1.S.’ I will describe *wa* and *ware ~ warö* in separate sections below, as they have some morphosyntactic differences.
3.6.1.1.1 wa

The form *wa* is attested with a suffixed possessive case -Nka, dative case -ni, accusative case -wo, and directive case -Nkari. It is also attested before the topic particle *pa* and directly before a verb.

254. 14:3399.5 – Sinano
久都波氣和我世
kutu pak-ey *wa-Nka se*
shoes put_on-IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man
‘Put on [some] shoes, my beloved.’

255. 20:4326.5 – Töpotuapumi
和我伎多流麻弓
*wa-Nka k-yi-tar-u-mate*
1.S-POSS come-INF-PP-ATTR-TERM
‘Until I have come [back].’

256. 20:4343.5 – Suruga
和加美可奈志母
*wa-ka myi kanasi-mō*
1.S-POSS wife be.sad.AVFIN-EXCL
‘Oh, my wife is sad!’

257. 14:3420.4-5 – Kamitukeno
於也波佐久礼騰 / 和波左可流賀倍
oya pa sak-ure-Ntö / *wa pa sakar-u Nkpey*
parents TPT keep_apart-EV-CONC / 1.S TPT be.far.from-ATTR IPT
‘Although [our] parents keep [us] apart, will I be far from [you]? (no, I will not.)’

258. 20:4405.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊母古我 / 志濃比尔西餘等
*wa-Nka imō-kwo-Nka / sinwop-yi n-i se-yō tö*
1.S-POSS beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / long_for-NML COP-INF do-IMP DV
‘My darling told [me] to be longing for [her].’

259. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi
和尔奈多要曾祢
*wa-ni na-taye-sō-n-e*
1.S-DAT NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t break up with me.’
260. 20:4418.1-2 – Muzasi
和我可度乃 / 可多夜麻都婆伎
wa-Nka kaNtwo-nö / kata yama tuNpakyi
1.S-POSS gate-GEN / one mountain camellia
‘The one mountain-camellia by the gate of my home.’

261. 14:3432.4 – Sagamu
和乎可豆佐祢母
wa-wo kaNtus-an-e mö
1.S-ACC entice-DES-IMP EPT
‘Please entice me!’

262. 20:4382.3-5 – Simotukeno
阿多由麻比 / 和我須流等伎尔 / 佐伎毛里佐酒
ata-yum-ap-yi / wa-Nka s-uru tökyi-ni / sakyimwori n-i sas-u
PREF-be.ill-ITER-NML / 1.S-POSS do-ATTR time-LOC / border.guard COP-INF appoint-FIN
‘When I am suffering from (lit. doing) this sudden illness, [he] appoints [me] to be a border guard.’

263. 14:3392.4-5 – Pitati
代尓毛多由良尔 / 和我於毛波奈久尔
YÖ-ni mwo tayura n-i / wa-Nka omwop-an-aku n-i
world-LOC FPT shaking COP-INF / 1.S-POSS think-NEG-NML COP-INF
‘I do not think that [I’ll] ever waver [in my love] in this world.’

264. 20:4368 – Pitati
和波可敞里許卒
wa pa kapyer-i-kö-m-u
1.S TPT return-INF-come-TENT-FIN
‘I shall come back and return to you.’

265. 14:3382.1-4 – Kamitupusa
字麻具多能 / 称呂乃佐左葉能 / 都由思母能 / 奴礼弓和伎奈婆
umaNkuta-nö / ne-rö-nö sasa-PA-nö / tuyu simö-nö / nure-te wa k-yi-n-aNpa
PN-GEN / peak-DIM-GEN bamboo_grass-leaves-GEN / dew frost-GEN / be.wet.INF-SUB 1.S come-INF-PERF-COND
‘If I come, wet [with] dew and frost from the bamboo grass leaves of the peaks of Umaguta…’

266. 20:4356.3-5 – Kamitupusa
和我可良尔 / 奈伎之許己呂乎 / 和須良延奴可毛
wa-Nka karani / nak-yi-si kökörö-wo / wasur-aye-n-u kamwo
1.S-POSS because_of / cry-INF-PST.ATTR heart-ACC / forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[I] cannot forget how [my mother] wept from [her] heart because of me!’
267. 14:3539 – UD
安夜抱可等 / 比等豆麻古呂乎 / 伊吉尔和我須流
ayapo-ka-tō / pyitō-N-tuma kwo-rō-wo / ikyi-ni wa-Nka s-uru
be.dangerous-AVEV-CONC / person-GEN-spouse girl-DIM-ACC / breath-LOC
1.S-POSS do-ATTR
‘Although it is dangerous, I sigh for a dear girl [who is] another man’s wife.’

268. 14:3549.3-5 – UD
伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟
iNtu-yu kamō / kanasi-kyi se-rō-Nka / wa-Nkari kaywop-am-u
where-ABL EPT / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_man-DIM-POSS / 1.S-DIR
go_back_and_forth-TENT-ATTR
‘From where shall [my] adorable darling beloved go toward me?’

269. 14:3563.4-5 – UD
和乎可麻都那毛 / 伎曾毛己余必母
wa-wo ka mat-unam-wo / kysō mwo kō yöpyi mō
1.S-ACC QPT wait-TENT2-ATTR / last.night FPT this evening FPT
‘[You] almost certainly waited for me last night, and tonight [you will] as well?’

270. 20:4427.1-2 – UD
伊波乃伊毛呂 / 和乎之乃布良之
ipa-nō imwo-rō / wa-wo sinöp-urasi
home-GEN beloved_girl-DIM / 1.S-ACC long_for-SUP
‘It seems that [my] darling girl at home is longing for me.’

3.6.1.1.2 ware ~ warō

The extended form ware is only attested in isolation, or before the topic particle pa. In two instances it functions as a first person possessive pronoun. While there is an orthographic form warō attested once in Suruga province, I do not view this as being phonemically (or phonetically) distinct from the form ware. Refer to section 2.5.3.2.27 for a discussion as to why this is so.
3.6.1.1.2.1 Nominative function

In the examples below this pronoun functions as a first person singular nominative form.

271. 20:4416.4-5 – Muzasi
伊波奈流和礼波 / 比毛等加受祢牟
ipa-n[i] ar-u ware pa / pyimwo tōk-aNs-u ne-m-u
home-LOC exist-ATTR 1.S TPT / cord undo-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-FIN
‘I, who am at home, shall sleep without untying my cords.’

272. 20:4374.4-5 – Simotukeno
都久之乃之麻乎 / 佐之弖伊久和例波
tukusi-nö sima-wo / sas-i-te ik-u ware pa
PN-GEN island-ACC / point_toward-INF-SUB go-ATTR 1.S TPT
‘I, who went pointing toward the island of Tukusi.’

273. 20:4370.4-5 – Pitati
須米良美久佐尓 / 和礼波伎尓之乎
sumeyra myi-[i]kusa-ni / ware pa k-yi-n-i-si-wo
emperor HON-army-LOC / 1.S TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC
‘Since I came into the Emperor’s great army.’

274. 14:3444.1-4 – UD
伎波都久能 / 平加能久君美良 / 和礼都賣杼 / 故尔毛乃多奈布
PN-GEN / hill-GEN stem-leek / 1.S pluck-EV-CONC / basket-LOC FPT fill_up-NEG-ITER-FIN
‘Although I pluck the stem-leeks on the hills of Kipatuku, [they] are not filling up in the basket.’

275. 14:3498.4-5 – UD
伎美波和須良酒 / 和礼和須流礼夜
kiyimi pa wasur-as-u / ware wasur-ure ya
lord TPT forget-HON-FIN / 1.S forget-EV QPT
‘[You, my] lord will forget [me]. Will I forget you? [no, I will not]’

276. 14:3514.3-4 – UD
和礼左倍尓 / 伎美尔都吉奈那
ware sapey n-i / kiyimi-ni tuk-yi-n-ana
1.S RPT COP-INF / lord-LOC attach-INF-PERF-DES
‘Even I have wanted to be with [you, my] lord.’
3.6.1.1.2.2 Possessive function

In the examples that follow the first person pronoun ware acts as a possessive, with no possessive morphology attached.

277. 20:4343.1-2 – Suruga
和呂多比波 / 多比等於米保等
warö tapyi pa / tapyi tö omeyp-o-tö
1.S journey TPT / journey COP think-EV-CONC
‘Although [I] know my journey is a journey.’

This example shows ware written as warö.

278. 20:4348.3-5 – Kamitupusa
麻許等和例 / 多非乃加里保尓 / 夜須久祢牟加母
ma-kötö ware / tapyi-nô kari-[i]po-ni / yasu-ku ne-m-u kamö
INT-word 1.S/journey-GEN borrow.NML-hut-LOC / be.easy-AVINF sleep-TENT-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, is it true, shall [I] sleep easily in a makeshift house on my journey?’

Table 3-24: Distribution of the first person pronoun wa ~ ware ~ warö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warö</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.1.2 wanwo ~ wanu

The pronoun wanwo ~ wanu is attested just three times. It is unattested in WOJ, but is likely related to the Northern Ryukyuan first person pronoun waN-. In two of these attestations it is in isolation, while in example (280) below it is suffixed by the dative case marker -ni.

The attestation of the form wanwo is written with the character 努 nwo as the second syllable. While Vovin (2005a: 31) states this character could be used write both
nwo and nu syllables\textsuperscript{236} in WOJ, Ikier (2006: 86-7) convincingly argues that it is only used to write the syllable nwo in EOJ\textsuperscript{237}. After examining the EOJ manuscripts in detail, I agree with Ikier, and consequently view the solitary attestation of wanwo as possibly being a variant with an unraised vowel, but more probably being an scribal mistake.

279. 20:4358.4-5 – Kamitupusa
和努等里都伎弓 / 伊比之古奈波毛
wanwo tör-i-tuk-yi-te / ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mwo
1.S take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‘[What of] the dear girl who said [she] clings to me?’

Example (279) shows the pronoun wanwo used in a dative function, with no dative morphology attached.

280. 14:3476a.1-2 – UD
宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尒故布奈毛
upey KWO-na pa / wanu-ni kwop-unam-wo
surely girl-DIM TPT / 1.S-DAT long_for-TENT2-ATTR
‘As for [that] dear girl, [she] is surely longing for me!’

281. 14:3476b.5 – UD
和奴賀由乃敞波
wanu yuNk-an-ö\textsuperscript{238} [i]pye pa
1.S go-NEG-ATTR house TPT
‘The house I will not go [to].’

This example shows the pronoun wanu used as a syntactic nominative.

\textbf{Table 3-25: Distribution of the first person pronoun wanwo ~wanu across the provinces}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{236} Which are phonemically distinct in both WOJ and EOJ.
\textsuperscript{237} Further supporting this is the fact that the phonogram 奴 (segmentally, but not tonally, homophonous with 努 in EMC) is used to write the syllable mu, and is never used to write the syllable nwo in EOJ.
\textsuperscript{238} As written it is Nkayunö, but I view this as a scribal error, with the first two phonograms erroneously switched.
3.6.1.3.1 a ~ are

The first person pronoun a and its extended variant are are also always attested as singular, so I gloss them as ‘1.S.’ These two forms have some morphosyntactic differences, so I describe them separately below.

3.6.1.3.1.1 a

The first person pronoun a is almost always attested suffixed with either the possessive -Nka or the accusative -wo. There is only one attested exception, in which a is followed by the topic particle pa (shown in example 303 below). This pronoun also has a special function as a second person reflexive, described in section 3.7.1.4.1.1 below.

Example (283) is a semantographic attestation of the pronoun a, as the character吾 means ‘I’ in EMC.

Example (283)

282. 14:3404.5 – Kamitukeno

安杼加安我世牟
aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u
what QPT 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
‘What should I do?’

283. 14:3362a.3-5 – Sagamu

和須礼久流 / 伊毛我名欲妣弖 / 吾乎饰之奈久奈
wasure-k-uru / imwo-Nka NA ywoNp-yi-te / A-wo ne si nak-una
forget.INF-come-ATTR / beloved_girl-POSS name call-INF-SUB / 1.S-ACC
voice EPT make.cry-NEG.IMP
‘[I] call the name of [my] beloved girl who forgot to come, don’t make me cry!’

Example (283) is a semantographic attestation of the pronoun a, as the character吾 means ‘I’ in EMC.

Example (284)

284. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu

布奈可射里 / 安我世牟比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我毛
puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rö-wo / myi-m-wo pyitö mënNkamwo
boat-decorate-NML / 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC / see-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘[I] want someone [there] who will see the special day when I do the boat-decorating.’
Writing [a note with] my love and sending it [with them] would let [my] darling girl know [my feelings].'

The adorableness of [my] beloved for whom I shall pray.

Don’t stop speaking to me!

Oh, [my] dear girl at home who must be longing for me…'

Example (289) shows the first person pronouns wa and a attested in the same poem (wa in line 1, a in line 2), both with the same suffix (possessive /N/ka) attached.
‘Scolded by your mother, I went [away].’

3.6.1.3.1.1 Usage as a second person reflexive pronoun

There is one example of the pronoun a used as a second person reflexive.

292. 20:4420.4-5 – Muzasi
安我弖等都気呂 / 許礼乃波流母志
a-Nka te-tō tukey-rō / kōre n-ō paru mōs-i
REFL-POSS hand-COM be.attached-IMP / this COP-ATTR needle hold-INF
‘With your own hands put it together again, holding this needle.’

This usage seems to be the beginnings of what we find widespread in Middle Japanese.

While the first person pronoun a is unattested in MJ, many of the MJ personal pronouns can also act as reflexive pronouns. For example, the MJ first person pronoun wa ~ ware can act as a first or third person reflexive, and the first person pronoun ono- ~ onore can act as a second person reflexive (Vovin 2003: 97-102).

3.6.1.3.2 are

The extended form are is usually attested in isolation or before the topic particle pa, just like the first person pronoun ware. One notable difference between ware and are is that among the two pronouns only are is attested with the accusative suffix -wo (shown in examples (293) and (302) below).

293. 14:3429.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
安礼乎多能米弖 / 安佐麻之物能乎
are-wo tanöme-te / as-amasi MOnōwo
1.S-ACC trust.INF-SUB / be.shallow-SUBJ CNJ
‘[You] trust me, even though [my feelings] would be shallow.’

294. 20:4327.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
多比由久阿礼波 / 美都都志努波牟
tapi yu-k-u are pa / myi-tutu sinwop-am-u
journey go-ATTR 1.S TPT / see-INF-COOR long_for-TENT-FIN
‘I who am going on a journey would long for [her] while looking [at it].’

295. 14:3406.4 – Kamitukeno
安礼波麻多牟恵
are pa mat-am-u we
1.S TPT wait-TENT-FIN EPT
‘I shall wait [for you]!’

296. 14:3361.5 – Sagamu
許呂安礼比毛等久
kö-rö are pyimwo tök-u
girl-DIM 1.S cord undo-FIN
‘[My] dear girl and I untie [each other’s] cords.’

297. 20:4365.4-5 – Pitati
阿例波許藝奴等 / 伊母専都岐許曽
are pa köNk-yi-n-u tó / imö-ni tuk-yi-kös-o
1.S TPT row-INF-PERF-FIN DV / beloved_girl-LOC tell.INF-BEN-IMP
‘Please tell [my] darling [on behalf of me] that I am rowing!’

298. 20:4350.4 – Kamitupusa
阿例波伊波々牟
are pa ipap-am-u
1.S TPT pray-TENT-FIN
‘I shall pray.

299. 14:3440a.3-4 – UD
奈礼毛阿礼毛 / 余知乎曾母弖流
nare mwo are mwo / yōti-wo só mōt-er-u
2.S FPT 1.S FPT / same_age-ACC FPT hold-PROG-ATTR
‘You and I both have [children] of the same age.’

Example (299) shows are used as a syntactic nominative.

300. 14:3496.5 – UD
伊弖安礼波伊可奈
ite are pa ik-ana
‘well’ 1.S TPT go-DES
‘Well, I want to go [to her]!’

301. 14:3508.4-5 – UD
安比見受安良婆 / 安礼古非米夜母
ap-yi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa / are kwopiy-m-ey ya mö
meet-INF-see-NEG-INF exist-COND / 1.S long_for-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‘If [I] should not meet and see [you], will [you] love me? [no, you will not!] ’
Example (301) shows *are* used in an accusative function with no accusative morphology attached.

302. 20:4426.5 – UD
阿礼乎之毛波婆
*are-wo* si [o]mwop-aNpa
1.S-ACC EPT think-COND
‘If [you] love (lit. think of) me…’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3*</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One example (in 14:3411.4) is unclear.

3.6.1.1.4 Summary of first person pronouns

The following morphological distinctions can be seen among the various first person pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>Possessive -Nka</th>
<th>Accusative -wo</th>
<th>Dative -ni</th>
<th>Directive -Nkari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wa-Nka</td>
<td>wa-wo</td>
<td>wa-ni</td>
<td>wa-Nkari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a-Nka</td>
<td>a-wo</td>
<td>[a-ni?]</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ware</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>are-wo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanwo ~</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wanu-ni</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanu</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*There is only one possible example attested (in 14:3411.4), and it is an unclear one.

In regard to topicalization, we find the following pronouns attested as topicalized.
We find the following pronouns attested with the function of a syntactic nominative.

Table 3-29: First person pronouns attested as a syntactic nominative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>Syntactic nominative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ware</td>
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<tr>
<td>are</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanwo ~</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanu</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6.1.2 Second person pronouns

The second person pronouns include *na ~ nare*, and *imas i ~ masi*.

#### 3.6.1.2.1 *na ~ nare*

The second person pronoun *na* and its extended variant *nare* are always attested as singular, so I gloss them as ‘2.S.’ These two forms have some morphosyntactic differences, so I describe them separately below.
The second person pronoun *na* is attested suffixed with the possessive case *-Nka*, the dative case *-ni* and the accusative case *-wo*. It is also attested followed by the topic particle *pa*. It is always attested with either a suffix attached or a following topic particle.

3.03. 14:3425.5 – Simotukeno

奈我已许吕能礼

na-Nka kökörö nör-e

2.S-POSS heart tell-IMP

‘Tell [me] your feelings.’

3.04. 14:3394.4-5 – Pitati

和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣

wasura-kö-Npa kwosö / na-wo kakyen-ap-ame

forget-come-COND FPT / 2.S-ACC call_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV

‘If [you] forget to come, [I] shall not call out for you again and again!’

3.05. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa

久尓乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟

kuni-nö töpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY pori se-m-u

province-GEN be.far-AVEV-CONJ / 2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN

‘Because the province is far, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

3.06. 20:4347.3-5 – Kamitupusa

奈我波氣流 / 多知尔奈里彌母 / 伊波非彌之加母

na-Nka pak-eyru / tati n-i nar-ite mö / ipapiy-te-si kamö

2.S-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR / long.sword COP-INF become-INF-SUB FPT / pray-INF-PERP-PST EPT

‘[I] want to become the long sword that you are wearing and pray for [you].’

3.07. 14:3478.5 – UD

奈尔己曾与佐礼

na-ni kösö yös-ar-e

2.S-DAT FPT approach-PROG-EV

‘[I] am approaching you.’

3.08. 14:3556.5 – UD

那乎杼可母思武

na-wo [a]Ntö kamö si-m-u

2.S-ACC what EPT do-TENT-ATTR

‘What shall [I] do about you?’
This is a semantographic attestation of the pronoun *na*, as the character 汝 means ‘you’ in EMC.

### 3.6.1.2.1.2 *nare*

The second person pronoun *nare* is only attested in isolation. This appears to be the main difference between it and its unextended stem *na*, which is never attested in isolation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nare</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.1.2.2 imasi ~ masi

The second person pronoun *imasi* is attested twice: once as *imasi*, and once as *masi*, with a deleted initial vowel (probably to avoid a hypermetrical line). It is unclear if this pronoun has any different meaning or pragmatic function in comparison with the second person pronoun *na ~ nare*.

312.  14:3359a.4-5 – Suruga

伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尔多我比奴
*imasi-wo* tanöm-yi/ papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
2.S-ACC trust-INF / mother-DAT differ-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Trusting you, [I] have differed from [my] mother.’

313.  14:3440b.3-4 – UD

麻之毛阿礼母 / 余知乎曾母丂流
*masi* mwo are mö / yöti-wo só möt-er-u
2.S FPT 1.S FPT / same_age-ACC FPT hold-PROG-ATTR
‘You and I both have [children] of the same age.’

This example shows *masi* attested as a syntactic nominative.

<p>| Table 3-31: Distribution of the second person pronoun <em>imasi ~ masi</em> across the provinces |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.2.3 Summary of second person pronouns

Table 3-32 below shows the morphological distinctions that can be seen among the various second pronouns.
Table 3-32: Attested morphological forms of the second person pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>Possessive -Nka</th>
<th>Accusative -wo</th>
<th>Dative -ni</th>
<th>Directive -Nkari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na-Nka</td>
<td>na-wo</td>
<td>na-ni</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nare</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imasi ~ masi</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>imasi-wo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In regard to topicalization, only the pronoun *na* is attested topicalized, as shown in Table 3-33 below.

Table 3-33: Second person pronouns attested topicalized

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>Topic particle pa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nare</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imasi ~ masi</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3-34 below shows which pronouns are attested with the function of a syntactic nominative.

Table 3-34: Second person pronouns attested as a syntactic nominative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>Syntactic nominative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nare</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imasi ~ masi</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronoun system involves a three-way distinction between proximal, mesial, and distal. There is no distinction of plurality. This is illustrated in Table 3-35 below.
Table 3-35: Attested demonstrative pronouns of the EOJ dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Pronominal</th>
<th>Modifying</th>
<th>Locational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>köre ‘this’</td>
<td>kō ~ kōnō ‘this’</td>
<td>kökō ‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesial</td>
<td>sō ‘that’</td>
<td>sōnō ‘that’</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ka ‘that (over there)’</td>
<td>kanō ‘that (over there)’</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wote ‘that (over there)’</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.2.1 Proximal pronouns

The proximal pronouns include kō ~ kōnō ~ köre ‘this’ and kökō ‘here.’

3.6.2.1.1 kō ~ kōnō ~ köre ‘this’

Unlike in later forms of Japanese, there does not appear to be any speaker/addressee relation to the proximal pronoun kō ‘this,’ instead it simply refers to something near (Vovin 2005: 272). The proximal kō ‘this’ is always attested before the word yōpyi ‘night.’ While there are many attestations of kō yōpyi ‘this night’ in the corpus, I only provide one in the examples below. The modifying form kōnō appears before all other nouns. An extended form köre ‘this’ is attested once, in isolation before the attributive copula n-ō as shown in example (315). The formant -re in this form is probably related to the formant -re we find in the personal pronouns ware ‘1.S,’ are ‘1.S,’ and nare ‘2.S,’ but synchronically there is no clear meaning for this formant.

314. 14:3361.1-3 – Sagamu

asiNkara-nō / wote mwo kōnō mō-ni / sas-u wana-nō
PN-GEN / there side this side-LOC / thrust-ATTR trap-COMP
‘Like the traps that thrust [about] on this and that side of Asigara.’
315.  20:4420.4-5 – Muzasi
安我弖等都気呂 / 許礼乃波流母志
a-Nka te-tō tukey-rō / köre n-ō paru mös-i
REFL-POSS hand-COM affix-IMP / this COP-ATTR needle hold-INF
‘Holding this needle, put [it together] with [your] own hands.’

316.  20:4394.3-5 – Simotupusa
由美乃美他 / 佐尼加多良曳 / 奈賀氣己乃用乎
yumyi-nō myita / sa-ne ka watar-am-u / naNka-key könö ywo-wo
bow-GEN together_with / LOC-sleep.NML QPT cross-TENT-ATTR / be.long-
AVATTTR this night-ACC
‘Shall [I] cross through this night that is long, sleeping together with [my] bow?’

317.  14:3459.3 – UD
許余比毛可
kö yöyi mwo ka
this evening FPT QPT
‘This evening, too?’

318.  14:3460.1-2 – UD
多礼曽許能 / 屋能戸於曽夫流
tare sö könö / YA-nō TWO osō-Npur-u
who FPT this / house-GEN door push-shake-ATTR
‘Who is pushing and shaking on this house’s door?’

319.  14:3506.5 – UD
見延奴己能許呂
MYI-ye-n-u könö körö
see-PASS-NEG-ATTR this time
‘This time [is] when [I] cannot see [you].’

Table 3-36: Distribution of the proximal pronoun kö ~ könö ~ köre across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kö</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>könö</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köre</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.2.1.2 kokö ‘here’

The proximal kokö ‘here’ is attested only once. It is not a reduplicated form of the pronoun kö ‘this,’ rather it is historically from *kö kö 239 ‘this place’ (Vovin 2005: 279).

320. 14:3538b.3-5 – UD
己許呂能未 / 伊母我理夜里弓 / 和波己許尔思天
kökörö nōmiy / imō-Nkari yar-i-te / wa pa kökō n-i s-i-te
heart RPT / beloved_girl-LAT send-INF-SUB / 1.S TPT here COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘[I can] only send [my] heart to [my] darling, [as] I am here.’

3.6.2.2 Mesial pronoun sö ~ sönö

There does not appear to be any speaker/addressee relation to the mesial pronoun sö ‘that,’ rather it indicates something that is somewhat remote (Vovin 2005: 285). It can also have an anaphoric usage (see example (323) below). The mesial sö ‘that’ is attested just once, before the accusative -wo, while the modifying form sönö is attested twice.

Unlike the proximal kö- which has an extended stem köre, there is no attested extended stem söre attested in EOJ.

321. 14:3411.5 – Kamitukeno
曾能可把与吉尔
sönö kapo yō-kyi-ni
that face be.good-AVATTR-LOC
‘Since that face is good [looking]…’

322. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa
曾能可奈乏伎乎 / 刀刃多弓来也母
sönö kanasi-kyi-wo / two-ni tate-m-ey ya mö
that be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‘Will [I] make that adorable [girl] stand outside? [no, I will not]’

239 Or *kö kwo, with progressive vowel assimilation.
323. 14:3472.1-2 – UD
比登豆麻等 / 安是可曽乎伊波牟
pyitö-N-tuma tô / aNse ka sô-wo ip-am-u
person-GEN-spouse COP / why QPT that-ACC say-TENT-ATTR
‗[That girl] is another person’s spouse – why should [I] say that?‘

Example (323) above shows an anaphoric usage.

Table 3-37: Distribution of the mesial pronoun sō ~ sōnō across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.2.3 Distal pronouns

The distal pronouns include ka ‘that (over there)’ and wote ‘that (over there).’

3.6.2.3.1 Distal pronoun ka ~ kanō

The distal ka ‘that (over there)’ is attested once, and its modifying form kanō is also attested once. It refers to something or someone a considerable distance away.

324. 20:4384.1-2 – Simotupusa
阿加等伎乃 / 加波多例等枳尓
aka tökyi-nō / ka pa tare tökyi-ni
red time-GEN / that TPT who time-LOC
‗During the bright dawn, in the time when [one asks] who [is] that over there?‘

325. 14:3565.1-2 – UD
可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈牟
kanō kwo-rō-tō / NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u
that girl-DIM-COM / sleep-NEG-INF QPT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
‗Shall [things] become [such] that [I] will not sleep with that dear girl?‘

Table 3-38: Distribution of the distal pronoun ka ~ kanō across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.2.3.2 Distal pronoun *wote*

The distal pronoun *wote* ‘that (over there)’ is attested just once. It modifies the following noun with no intervening morphology.

326. 14:3361.1-3 – Sagamu

安思我良能 / 乎呉毛許乃母尔 / 佐須和奈乃
asiNkara-nö / wote mwo könö mö-ni / sas-u wana-nö
PN-GEN / that side this side-LOC / thrust-ATTR trap-COMP
‘Like traps that thrust [about] on this side and *that* side of Asigara.’

3.6.3 Interrogative pronouns

There are a wide range of interrogative pronouns, some of which are only attested in a few EOJ provinces. The full list of interrogative pronouns is given in Table 3-39 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td><em>ta- ~ tare</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td><em>aNtö, nani, aNse</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td><em>aNse</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td><em>itu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td><em>itu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td><em>iture, iNtusi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td><em>ika</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*this form is only attested once with the indicated meaning

3.6.3.1 *ta- ~ tare* ‘who’

The pronoun meaning ‘who’ has a bound stem *ta-* and an extended, free form *tare*.

The bound stem *ta-* is only attested with a following possessive suffix *-[N]/ka*.

327. 14:3424.5 – Simotukeno

多賀家可母多牟
*ta-Nka* kye ka möt-am-u
*who-POSS* container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘Whose container will [she] hold?’
328. 20:4387.5 – Simotupusa
於枳弖他加枳奴
ok-yi-te ta-ka k-yi-n-u
leave_behind-INF-SUB who-POSS come-INF-PERF-ATTR
‘Who has left [her] behind and come?’

329. 20:4425.1-3 – UD
佐伎毛利尔 / 由久波多我世登 / 刀布比登乎
sakyimwori n-i / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tö / twop-u pyitö-wo
border.guard COP-INF / go-ATTR TPT who-POSS beloved_man DV / ask-ATTR person-ACC
‘Those who ask ‘whose husband is that, going to be a border guard?’’

330. 20:4384.1-2 – Simotupusa
阿加等伎乃 / 加波多例等枳尓
aka tökyi-nō / ka pa tare tökyi-ni
red time-GEN / that TPT who time-LOC
‘In the bright dawn, in the time when [one asks] who [is] that?’

331. 14:3460.1-2 – UD
多礼曽許能 / 屋能戸於曽夫流
tare sö könō / YA-nō TWO osō-Npur-u
who FPT this / house-GEN door push-shake-ATTR
‘Who is pushing and shaking on this house’s door?’

Table 3-40: Distribution of the interrogative pronoun ta- ~ tare across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tare</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.3.2 nani ‘what’

The pronoun *nani* ‘what’ is attested just once in the corpus. This attestation is from Töpotuapumi province, which bordered COJ dialects, rather than the EOJ core.

Since this is a common WOJ (and probably COJ) form that is otherwise unattested in EOJ, this sole attestation may be due to influence from those dialects.
332. 20:4323.3-5 – Töpotuapumi

奈尓 須礼曽 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟

nani s-ure só / papa tó [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-s-u-kyem-u
what do-EV FPT / mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-
come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR

‘What should [I] do? The flower which [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in
bloom.’

3.6.3.3 aNse ‘why’ ~ ‘what’

The interrogative pronoun aNse usually means ‘why,’ but in one poem (example
348 below) it has a meaning of ‘what.’ The WOJ cognate is naNsö (Vovin 2005: 333-4).

All attested examples are given below.

333. 14:3434.5 – Kamitukeno

安是 加多延世武
aNse ka taye se-m-u

why QPT break.NML do-TENT-FIN

‘Why would [you] break it?’

334. 14:3369.3-5 – Sagamu

須我麻久良 / 安是 加麻可左武 / 許呂勢多麻久良
suNka-makura / aNse ka mak-as-am-u / kō-rō se ta-makura

sedge-pillow / why QPT use_as_a_pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR / girl-DIM do.IMP
hand-pillow

‘Why would [you] use a sedge-pillow for a pillow? Dear girl, use [my] arms for a
pillow!’

335. 14:3469.3-5 – UD

和加西奈波 / 阿是 曾母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴
wa-ka se-na pa / aNse sō mō kō-yōpyi / yōs-i-rō-k-yi-mas-an-u
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM TPT / why FPT EPT this-evening / approach-INF-
UNC-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR

‘Why is it that my beloved does not come near [me] tonight?’

336. 14:3472.1-2 – UD

比登豆麻等 / 安是 可曾乎伊波牟
pyiitō-N-tuma tó / aNse ka sō-wo ip-am-u

person-GEN-spouse DV / why QPT that-ACC say-TENT-ATTR

‘[That girl] is another person’s spouse – why should [I] say that?’
337. 14:3513.4–5 – UD

**aNse** ka taye-m-u tö / ip-yi-si KWO-rö pa mö

why QPT break-TENT-ATTR DV / say-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT

‘Oh this girl, who asked me why [I] will break up with [her]…’

338. 14:3517.2–3 – UD

多要尓之伊毛乎 / 阿是西呂等
taye-n-i-si imwo-wo / **aNse** se-rö tö

break.INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR beloved_girl-ACC / what do-IMP DV

‘Thinking what to do about [my] darling, who broke up with [me].’

339. 14:3576.5 – UD

**aNse** 可加奈思家

aNse ka kanasi-kye

why QPT be.sad-AVATTR

‘Why am [I] sad?’

### Table 3-41: Distribution of the interrogative pronoun *aNse* across the provinces

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3.6.3.4 **aNtö** ‘what’

The bound interrogative pronoun *aNtö* means ‘what.’ Its initial vowel is attested once deleted as shown in example (345) below. The WOJ cognate is *naNtö* (Vovin 2005: 333).

340. 14:3404.5 – Kamitukeno

**aNtö** 加安我世牟

aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u

what QPT 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR

‘What should I do?’

341. 14:3379.1–2 – Muzasi

和我世故乎 / **aNtö** 可母伊波武

wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / aNtö kamö ip-am-u

1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / what-say EPT say-TENT-ATTR

‘What should [I] call my dear beloved?’
342. 14:3397.5 – Pitati
阿杼可多延世武
aNtö ka taye-se-m-u
what QPT break-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
‘What would make [us] break [up]?’

343. 14:3465.4 – UD
安杼世吕登可母
aNtö se-rō tō kamō
what do-IMP DV EPT
‘[I] wonder, what would [you] say [I] do?’

344. 14:3494.5 – UD
汝波安杼可毛布
NA pa aNtö ka [o]mwop-u
2.S TPT what QPT think-ATTR
‘What do you think?’

345. 14:3556.5 – UD
那乎安杼可母思武
na-wo [a]Ntō kamō si-m-u
2.S-ACC what EPT do-TENT-ATTR
‘What should [I] do about you?’

Table 3-42: Distribution of the interrogative pronoun aNtö across the provinces

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3.6.3.5 ika ‘how’

The pronoun ika ‘how’ is only attested twice.

346. 14:3418.4-5 – Kamitukeno
許登波佐太米都 / 伊麻波伊可 尔世母
kötō pa saNtamey-t-u / ima pa ika n-i se-m-ö
matter TPT determine.INF-PERF-FIN / now TPT how COP-INF do-TENT-ATTR
‘The matter [of marriage] has been decided. Now, how will [I] do it?’

347. 14:3536.4-5 – UD
伊可 奈流勢奈可 / 和我理许武等伊布
ika nar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kö-m-u tō ip-u
**how** COP-ATTR beloved_man-DIM QPT / 1.S-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR

‘**How** is [that] lover? [Who] says [he] will come toward me?’

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Table 3-43: Distribution of the interrogative pronoun *ika* across the provinces

### 3.6.3.6 *iNtu* ‘where’

The pronoun *iNtu* ‘where’ is only attested once.

348. 14:3549.3-5 – UD

伊豆由可母 / 加奈之伎世呂我 / 和賀利可欲波牟

*iNtu*-yu kamö / kanasi-kyi se-rö-Nka / wa-Nkari kaywop-am-u

where-ABL EPT / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_man-DIM-POSS / 1.S-DIR
go_back_and_forth-TENT-ATTR

‘[I] wonder, from *where* shall [my] adorable, dearly beloved come toward me?’

### 3.6.3.7 *iNtusi* ‘which’

The pronoun *iNtusi* ‘which’ is only attested once. Its WOJ cognate is *iNtuti*

‘which.’

349. 14:3474.3-5 – UD

伊豆思伊奈波 / 伊豆思信伎呂可 / 伊毛我奈氣可牟

*iNte*-te in-apa / *iNtusi* muk-yi-te ka / imwo-Nka nakeyk-am-u
go_out.INF-SUB depart-COND / *which* face-INF-SUB QPT / beloved_girl-POSS
lament-TENT-ATTR

‘If [I] go out and depart, facing in *which* [way] will [my] beloved lament?’

### 3.6.3.8 *iture* ‘which’

Like the pronoun *iNtusi*, the pronoun *iture* also means ‘which’ Vovin (2005a: 324). This form is *iNture* in WOJ, but the sole EOJ attestation of this pronoun lacks the
prenasalization on the consonant /t/ found in most of the WOJ attestations. As described in section 2.5.10.6.1, Simotupusa shows evidence for *n > /d/ denasalization, so the spelling iture could have been used to write /idure/.

3.5.20:4392– Simotupusa
阿米都之乃 / 以都例 可美乎 / 以乃良波加 / 有都久之波々尔 / 麻多己等刀波牟
amey tusi-nô / iture n-ô kamyi-wo / inôr-apâ ka / utukusi papa-ni / mata kö tô twop-am-u
heaven earth-GEN / which COP-ATTR deity-ACC / pray-COND FPT /
be.beloved.AVFIN mother-DAT / again word ask-TENT-ATTR
‘If [I] pray, to which gods of heaven and earth [should I pray]? [So that I] again will have a chance to] ask [things] to [my] beautiful mother.’

3.6.3.6 itu ‘when’

The pronoun itu means ‘when.’ A meaning of ‘when’ can also be expressed by certain verbal suffixes and conjunctions (see Chapters 5 and 7 for a discussion).

3.51. 20:4386.3-5 – Simotupusa
以都母以都母 / 於毛加古比須々 / 奈理麻之都之母
itu mö itu mö / omwo-ka kwopyi su su / nar-i-mas-i-tusi mö
when FPT when FPT / mother-POSS love.INF again again / make_a_living-INF-HON-INF-COOR FPT
‘Always and always, [my] mother loves [me], even while working again and again.’

Example (351) shows a syntactic inversion.

3.52. 20:4359.3-5 – Kamitupusa
伊都之加毛 / 都加敝麻都里刃 / 久尔尔閉牟可毛
itu si kamwo / tukapye-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pey muk-am-wo
when EPT EPT / serve.INF-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC prow face-TENT-ATTR
‘When, [I] wonder, [after] having served, will [the boat] face its prow towards [my] province?’

3.53. 20:4436.4-5 – UD
伊都伎麻佐牟等 / 登比之古良波母
itu k-yi-mas-am-u tô / tô-p-yi-si kwo-ra pa mö
when come-INF-HON-TENT-FIN COP / ask-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT
EPT
‘Oh, [my] dear girl, who asked [me] ‘when will you come back?’’

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3.6.4 Collective pronouns

The collective pronouns are *miyna* ‘all’ and *mörö-mörö* ‘many.’

3.6.4.1 *miyna* ‘all’

The collective pronoun *miyna* ‘all,’ is only attested once, in Sinano province.

3.6.4.2 *mörö-mörö* ‘many’

I give this pronoun in its reduplicated form due to the fact that it is the only form attested. It is attested just as *mörö* ‘many’ in all WOJ texts except BS, where it is attested three times in the reduplicated form (see Vovin 2005: 342-3). It is only attested once in EOJ, in Pitati province.
3.7 Numerals

3.7.1 Cardinal numbers

There are five cardinal numbers attested in EOJ: pyitö ~ pyita ‘one,’ puta ‘two,’ itu ‘five,’ nana ‘seven,’ and ya ‘eight.’ Most of these are only attested with a classifier attached (pyitö ~ pyita ‘one,’ itu ‘five,’ nana ‘seven,’ and ya ‘eight’). Only puta ‘two’ is attested in isolation. An attestation of each numeral is given below.

355. 20:4372.12-15 – Pitati
阿例波伊波々卒 / 毛呂々々呂 / 佐祁久等麻乎须 / 可関利久麻弓
are pa ipap-am-u / mworó-mworó pa / sakye-ku to mawos-u / kapeyr-i-k-u-matem-ini
‘As for the many, many [people] that I will pray [for], I will happily say [the prayers], until [I] return [home].’

356. 14:3405a.4-5 – Kamitukeno
兒良波安波奈毛 / 比等理能未思弓
KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo / pyitö-ri nömiy s-i-te
girl-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR / one-CL RPT do-INF-SUB
‘[My] darling girl is the one who [I] want to meet, [when she’s] all alone.’

357. 14:3435.5 – Kamitukeno
比多敏登於毛敏姿
pyita-pye tõ omwop-ye-Npa
one-CL DV think-EV-CONJ
‘Since [I] thought it was one layer…’

358. 14:3526.3-5 – UD
安我己許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曾祢
a-Nka kôkôrô / puta yuk-unam-ô tõ / na-yô-[o]môp-ar-i-sö-n-e
1.S-POSS heart / two go-TENT2-ATTR COP / NEG.IMP-PT?-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t be thinking that my heart will go in two [i.e., go after two women]!’

359. 20:4386.1-2 – Simotupusa
和加可都乃 / 以都毛等夜奈栉
wa-ka katu-nô / itu-mwotö yanakyi
1.S-POSS gate-GEN / five-CL willow
‘The five willows around my gate.’

360. 20:4431.3-5
奈々弁加流 / 去呂毛尔麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛
nana-pye k-ar-u / körümwoni mas-er-u / kwo-ro-Nka paNta pa mwo
seven-CL wear-PROG-ATTR / robes-LOC be.superior-PROG-ATTR / girl-DIM-POSS skin TPT EPT
‘Oh, [my] darling girl’s skin that is superior to my robes that [I] am wearing in seven layers.’

361. 20:4379.5 – Simotukeno
夜多妣蘓弖布流
ya-taNpyi swote pur-u
eight-CL sleeve wave-FIN
‘[I will] wave [my] sleeve eight times.’

3.7.1.1 Bound root -swo ‘ten’

The bound root -swo is used to count tens, and the number that precedes it is multiplied by ten. While an unbound swo ‘ten’ is unattested, an unbound number ‘ten’ in WOJ is attested as töwo (Vovin 2005: 364). However, this is most likely not related to -swo, due to the irregular correspondences involved. The bound -swo ‘ten’ is only attested in EOJ attached to the number ya ‘eight,’ in a word-form that idiomatically means ‘many.’

362. 20:4329.1-2 – Sagamu
夜蘓久尔波 / 奈尔波尔都度比
ya-swo kuni pa / nanipa-ni tuNtwop-yi
eight-ten province TPT / PN-LOC gather-INF
‘[Those] from many (lit. eighty) provinces gather in Nanipa.’

363. 20:4363.3 – Pitati
夜蘓加奴伎
ya-swo ka nuk-yi
eight-ten oar pierce-INF
‘Many (lit. eighty) oars pierce [into the waves].’
364. 20:4349.4 – Kamitupusa
夜蘓志麻須義弖
ya-swo sima suNkiy-te
eight-ten islands pass.INF-SUB
‘Passing many (lit. eighty) islands.’

365. 14:3456.1-4 – UD
宇都世美能 / 夜蘓許登能敟波 / 思気久等母 / 安良穗比可祢弖
utusemyi-nö / ya-swo kötö-nö pye pa / siNkey-ku tümö / araswop-yi-kane-te
the_world-GEN / eight-ten word-GEN leaves TPT / be.lush-AINF CNJ / resist-INF-NEG.POT.INF-SUB / 1.S-ACC word produce-NEG.IMP
‘Even though rumors (lit. leaves of many words of the world) are lush, [I] am unable to resist [them].’

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3.7.2 Ordinal numbers

The only ordinal number attested is patu ‘first,’ which is attested just once.

366. 14:3468.1-2 – UD
夜麻杼里乃 / 乎呂能波都乎尔
yama-N-töri-nö / wo-rö-nö patu wo-ni
mountain-GEN-bird-GEN / tail-DIM-COMP first hemp-LOC
‘In the first hemp [of the season], which is like the small tail of a mountain bird.’

3.7.3 Numeral classifiers

There is a small set of numeral classifiers attested. These include -taNpyi, -ri,
-mötö, -tu, and -pye.
3.7.3.1 Classifier -taNpyi

The numeral classifier -taNpyi indicates something done an X amount of times
(where X is specified by the numeral to which the classifier attaches). The sole attestation
has it following ya ‘eight.’

367.  20:4379.5 – Simotukeno
夜多妣蘓弖布流
ya-taNpyi swote pur-u
eight-CL sleeve wave-FIN
‘[I will] wave [my] sleeve eight times.’

3.7.3.2 Classifier -ri

The numeral classifier -ri is used to count a person or persons. It is only attested
suffixed to the numbers pyitö ‘one’ and puta ‘two.’

368.  20:4345.1-4 – Suruga
和伎米故等 / 不多利和我見之 / 宇知江須流 / 々々河乃祢良波
wa-k-yimey-kwo-tö / puta-ri wa-Nka MYI-si / uti-yes-uru / suruNka-nö ne-ra pa
PREF-approach-ATTR / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT
‘The peaks of Suruga, which my darling girl and I see and approach together.’

369.  14:3405a.4-5 – Kamitukeno
兒良波安波奈毛 / 比等理能未思弖
KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo / pyitö-ri nömiy s-i-te
girl-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR / one-CL RPT do-INF-SUB
‘[My] darling girl [is the one who I] want to meet, [when she’s] all alone.’

370.  14:3544.4-5 – UD
勢奈那登布多理 / 左宿而久也思母
se-na-na-tö puta-ri / sa-NE-TE kuyasi-mö
beloved_male-DIM-DIM-COM two-CL / LOC-sleep.INF-SUB
be.regretful.AVFIN-EXCL
‘[I] slept together with my lover [and now I] regret it!’

371.  14:3550.4-5 – UD
伊多夫良思毛与 / 伎曽比登里宿而
itaNpur-asi-mwo yö / kyisö pyitö-ri NE-TE
tremble-SUP-EXCL EPT / last_night one-CL sleep.INF-SUB
‘Last night [I] slept alone, and oh, it seems [I] am trembling!’

Example (371) shows a syntactic inversion.

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3.7.3.3 Classifier -mōtō

The numeral classifier -mōtō is used to count grassy plants. It is attested just once, after the numeral itu ‘five.’

372.  20:4386.1-2 – Simotupusa
和加可都乃 / 以都毛等夜奈枝
wa-ka katu-nō / itu-mwotō yanakyi
1.S-POSS gate-GEN / five-CL willow
‘The five willows of my gate.’

3.7.3.4 Classifier -tu

This numeral classifier -tu is used to count inanimate objects. It is only attested once.

373.  14:3526.1-2 – UD
奴麻布多都 / 可欲波等里我栖
numa puta-tu / kay-wo240 pa tōri-Nka SU
marsh two-CL / be,distant-ATTR TPT bird-POSS nest
‘As for [what] are distant [between] two marshes, [they are] a bird’s nests.’

240 See section 5.5.2.2.5 for a description of this form.
3.7.3.5 Classifier -pye

This numeral classifier -pye is used to count layers.

374. 14:3435.5 – Kamitukeno
比多敏 登於毛敏婆
pyita-pye tō omwop-ye-Npa
one-CL COP think-EV-CONJ
‘Since [I] thought it was one layer…’

375. 20:4431.3-5 – UD
奈々弁 加流 / 去呂毛世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛
nana-pye k-ar-u / kōro-mwo-ni mas-er-u / kwo-rō-Nka paNta pa mwo
seven-CL wear-PROG-ATTR / robes-LOC be.superior-PROG-ATTR / girl-DIM-POSS skin TPT EPT
‘Oh, [my] darling girl’s skin that is superior to my robes that [I] am wearing in seven layers.’

Table 3-47: Distribution of the classifier -pye across the provinces

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Chapter 4  – Adjectives and adjectival verb morphology

In EOJ, as in WOJ, there are both adjectives and adjectival verbs. The former do not inflect, while the latter have a paradigm involving a range of verbal suffixes, most exclusive to adjectival verbs, but also a few shared with regular verbs.

4.1 The basic syntax of adjectives and adjectival verbs.

In typical SOV fashion, the EOJ adjectives precede nominal heads. EOJ adjectival verbs can also precede nominal heads, but they must take an attributive suffix when functioning as a modifier. In addition, due to their verbal nature, adjectival verbs can also serve as the predicate of the sentence.

4.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in EOJ are true adjectives, because they are uninflected. Historically, these appear to be nouns (Vovin 2009a: 430). However, they cannot be followed by any of the nominal affixes, so from a synchronic, morphological standpoint they are certainly a distinct class from nouns.

4.2.1 Bare roots used as a modifier

Bare adjective roots can modify a noun on their own, and they are distinct from adjectival verbs in this regard because there is no attributive morphology attached. This looks to be a more archaic usage, indicating the morphology of adjectival verbs, and adjectival verbs as a distinct class, is a later development (as hypothesized by Vovin (2009a: 429)). The adjectives attested as modifiers include aka ‘red,’ ara ‘uncultivated;
rough,' *awo* ‘blue,’ *kanasi* ‘adorable,’ *kupasi* ‘beautiful,’ *ma* ‘true,’ *naNka* ‘long,’ *nipyi* ‘new,’ *opo* ‘great,’ *osö* ‘slow,’ *paya* ‘fast,’ *posö* ‘narrow,’ *puru* ‘old,’ *sira ~ sirwo* ‘white,’ *taka* ‘high,’ *tökö* ‘eternal,’ *utukusi* ‘beloved,’ and *waka* ‘young.’ Among these, *ara* ‘uncultivated,’ *kanasi* ‘adorable,’ *naNka* ‘long,’ *paya* ‘fast,’ *taka* ‘high,’ and *utukusi* ‘beloved’ are also attested as adjectival verbs.

1. **14:3352.1-2 – Sinano**
   
   *信濃奈流 / 須我能安良能尔*
   
   *sinanwo-n[i] ar-u / suNka-nö ara nö-ni*
   
   PN-LOC exist-ATTR / PN-GEN uncultivated field-LOC
   
   ‘In the **uncultivated fields** of Suga in Sinano.’

2. **14:3429.1-3 – Töpotuapumi**
   
   *等保都安布美 / 伊奈佐保曾江乃 / 水乎都久思*
   
   *töpotuapumyi / inasa posö YE-nö / MYI-wo-tu kusi*
   
   PN / PN narrow estuary-GEN / water-string-GEN.LOC stalk
   
   ‘The channel marker in the **narrow estuary** of Töpotuapumyi.’

3. **14:3436.5 – Kamitukeno**
   
   *登許波尓毛我母*
   
   *tökö pa n-i mwoNkamö*
   
   *eternal leaf COP-INF DPT*
   
   ‘[I] want [there] to be **eternal leaves.**’

4. **14:3495.1-2 – UD**
   
   *伊波保呂乃 / 蕎比能和可麻都*
   
   *ipapo-rö-nö / swopyi-nö waka matu*
   
   boulder-DIM-GEN / beside-GEN young pine_tree
   
   ‘[Like] the **young pines** [growing] beside little rocks.’

5. **14:3514.5 – UD**
   
   *多可祢等毛比冗*
   
   *taka ne tô [o]mwop-yi-te*
   
   high peak DV think-INF-SUB
   
   ‘[I] think of [you] as a **high peak.**’

6. **14:3519.3-5 – UD**
   
   *安乎久毛能 / 伊弮来和伎母兒 / 安必見而由可武*
   
   *awo kumwo-nö / ite-K-Y1 wa-Nk[a]-yimö-KWO / ap-yi-MYI-TE yuk-am-u*
   
   blue cloud-COMP / go_out.INF-come-INF 1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM / meet-INF-see.INF-SUB go-TENT-FIN
   
   ‘Coming out like a **blue cloud,** [upon] meeting with my darling girl, [I] shall go.’
7. 14:3540.3-5 – UD

安可故麻我 / 安我伎乎波夜美 / 許等登波受伎奴
aka kwo-[u]ma-Nka / a-N-kak-ki-yo paya-myi / kötö tö [i]p-aNs-u k-yi-n-u
red DIM-horse-POSS / foot-GEN-scrape-NML-ABS be.fast-AVGER / word DV
say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Because [my] red stallion’s feet [lit. feet scraping] are fast, [I] came [back]
without saying a word.’

8. 14:3452.3-4 – UD

布流久佐尔 / 仁比久佐麻自利
puru kusa-ni / nipyi kusa maNsir-i
old grass-LOC / new grass mix-INF
‘New grass mixes with the old grass.’

9. 20:4341.4-5 – Suruga

道乃長道波 / 由伎加弖奴加毛
MYITI-nö NANKA TI pa / yuk-yi-kate-n-u kamwo
road-GEN long road TPT / go-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, will [I] not make it on this long road?’

Example (9) is semantographic.

10. 20:4379.1-2 – Simotukeno

之良奈美乃 / 与曽流波麻倍尔
sira namyi-nö / yösör-u pama-pey-ni
white wave-GEN / draw_near-ATTR shore-side-LOC
‘On the side of the shore where the white waves draw near.’

11. 14:3493a.1 – UD

於曽波夜母
osö paya mö
slow fast FPT
‘[Whether you are] early or late.’

12. 14:3417.1-3 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努 / 伊奈良能奴麻乃 / 於保為具左
kamyitukeynwo / inara-nö numa-nö / opo wiNkusa
PN / PN-GEN swamp-GEN / great rush

13. 14:3424.4-5 – Simotukeno

麻具波思兒吕波 / 多賀家可母多牟
ma N-kupasi KWO-rö pa / ta-Nka kye ka möt-am-u
true COP.INF-beautiful girl-DIM TPT / who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘As for this truly beautiful girl, whose container shall [she] hold?’

14. 20:4392 – Simotupusa
阿米都之乃 / 以都例乃可美乎 / 以乃良波加 / 有都久之波々尔 / 麻多己等刀波牟
amey tusi-nö / iture-nö kamyi-wo / inör-apa ka / utukusi papa-ni / mata kötö twop-am-u
heaven earth-GEN / which-GEN deity-ACC / pray-COND FPT / beloved mother-DAT / again word ask-TENT-ATTR
‘If [I] pray, to which gods of heaven and earth [should I pray]? [So that I] again will [have a chance to] ask [things] to [my] beautiful mother.’

15. 14:3480.3–5 – UD
可奈之伊毛我 / 多麻久良波奈礼 / 欲太知努可母
kanasi imwo-Nka / ta-makura panare / ywo-N-tat-i k-yi-n-wo kamö
adorable beloved girl-POSS / hand-pillow part_from.INF / night-LOC-stand-INF come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Parting from [my] adorable beloved’s hands [used as my] pillow and departing in the night, [I] wonder, will [I] come [back]?’

Examples (13) – (15) are questionable, as the final form of adjectival verbs can be used in an attributive function, and the final form of each of these is homophonous with their root. For example, the final form of kanasi ‘be adorable’ is kanasi ‘be.adorable.AVFIN.’ See section 4.3.1 for further discussion. The fact that all three of these apparent adjectives are also attested as adjectival verbs further raises doubts as to whether these were used as true adjectives.

16. 14:3437.1–3 – Mitinöku
美知能久能 / 安太多良末由美 / 波自伎於伎弓
myitinöku-nö / aNtata r ma yumyi / paNsik-yi-ok-yi-te
PN-GEN / PN true bow / loosen_a_string-INF-leave_behind-INF-SUB
‘Loosening [the string from my] true bow [made of wood from] Adatara in Mitinöku.’
4.2.2 Usage followed by attributive copula

An attributive copula n-ō (or its contracted portmanteau form N-) or nar-u\(^{241}\) may intervene between an adjective and the head it modifies. Syntactically, this forms a relative clause. For example, nikwo N-kusa ‘soft COP.ATTR-grass’ in example (18) below literally means ‘grass that is soft.’ The adjectives attested with an attributive copula before their head include pasi ‘beautiful,’ maNtara ‘speckled,’ nikwo ‘soft,’ taka ‘high,’ sikö ‘despicable,’ waku ‘young,’ and aka ‘red.’ Examples:

17. 14:3408.3 – Kamitukeno
波之奈流児良 師
pasi nar-u KWO-ra si
deadly attractive COP-ATTR girl-PLUR EPT
‘Oh, the beautiful girls.’

18. 14:3370.1-4 – Sagamu
安思我里乃 / 波故祢能祢呂乃 / 尔古具佐能 / 波奈都豆麻奈礼也
asiNkari-nö / pakwone-nö ne-rö-nö / nikwo N-kusa-nö / pana t-u Ntuma nar-e ya
PN-GEN / PN-GEN peak-DIM-GEN / soft COP.ATTR-grass-COMP / flower
COP-ATTR spouse become-EV QPT
‘Will she become a flower wife like the soft grass on the peak of Mt. Hakone in Ashigari? (no, she will not)’

19. 20:4373.4 – Simotukeno
之許乃美多弖 等
sikö n-ō myi-tate tō
despicable COP-ATTR HON-shield COP
‘Being a despicable soldier.’

20. 14:3459.2-5 – UD
可加流安我手乎 / 許余比毛可 / 等能乃和久胡我 / 等里亘奈氣可武
kakar-u a-Nka TE-wo / kō-yōpyi mwo ka / tōnō-nö waku N-kwo-Nka / tör-i-te
nakeyk-am-u
get_chapped-ATTR 1.S-POSS hand-ACC / this-evening FPT QPT / hall-GEN
young COP.ATTR-child-POSS / take-INF-SUB lament-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall the young child of [the lord’s] home take my hands that are chapped
and lament this evening as well?’

\(^{241}\) This is historically a contraction of n-i ar-u ‘COP-INF exist-ATTR.’
4.2.3 Multiple adjectives before a head

Multiple adjectives before a head are simply presented in order, with no morphology in between them. Example:

24. 14:3497.1-2 – UD
可波加美能 / 祢自路 多可我夜
kapa kamyi-nô / ne-N-sirwo taka N-kaya
river upper_part-GEN / root-GEN-white high COP.ATTR-thatching_reed
‘The tall, white thatching reeds of the roots at the river’s upper part.’

4.2.4 -ka final adjectives

In WOJ, there are adjectives that end in a suffix -ka (Vovin 2009a: 440-3). In EOJ, we only find a single attestation of such an adjective, but it is one that is unattested in WOJ. This adjective is sayaka ‘clear,’ which is only attested in WOJ as saya ‘id.’ It
should be noted the adjective *saya* ‘clear’ is also attested in EOJ (once in Kamitukeno
province and once in Muzasi province). It is unclear what meaning this formant *-ka* adds.

25. 20:4424.5 – Muzasi
麻佐夜可尔美无
ma sayaka n-i myi-m-u
so clear COP-INF see-TENT-FIN
‘[You] would see [me] so clearly.’

4.2.5 *-Nte* final adjectives

There is one adjective that ends in a suffix *-Nte* attested in EOJ. This adjective is
*masaNte* ‘certain’ (14:3521.3 UD). Its counterpart in WOJ is *masa* ‘id,’ which is
unattested in EOJ. It is unclear what meaning this formant *-Nte* adds.

26. 14:3521.3-5 – UD
麻左凰尓毛 / 伎麻左奴伎美乎 / 許呂久等曾奈久
masaNte n-i mwo / k-yi-mas-an-u kyimyi-wo / körü k-u tö sö nak-u
certain COP-INF FPT / come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR lord-ACC / oneself come-
FIN COP FPT cry-ATTR
‘Certainly, [I] will cry ‘I came [to meet]’ to [my] lord who does not come.’

4.2.6 *-Nta* final adjectives

There is one attestation of an EOJ adjective that ends in a suffix *-Nta*. This
adjective is *sapaNta* ‘many.’ Its counterpart in WOJ is *sapa* ‘id,’ which is unattested in
EOJ. It is unclear what meaning this formant *-Nta* adds.

27. 14:3354.1-3 - Töpotuapumi
伎倍比等乃 / 萬太良夫須麻尔 / 和多佐波太
kyipey pyitö-nö / maNtara N-pusuma-ni / wata sapaNta
PN person-GEN / speckled COP.ATTR-bed_covers-LOC / cotton many
[There] is much cotton in the speckled bed covers of the people of Kipey.’
4.2.7 Adjectival reduplication

There is only one instance of an adjective root reduplicated. It is used before the copula infinitive _n-i_ to create an adverbial.

28. 14:3537a.3-5 – UD

波都々々尔 / 安比見之兒良之 / 安夜尔可奈思母

patu-patu n-i / ap-ya-Myi-si KWO-ra si / aya n-i kanasi-mö

brief-REDUP COP-INF / meet-INF-see.INF-PST.ATTR girl-PLUR EPT / extreme COP-INF be.adorable.AVFIN-EXCL

‘The girls that [I] met briefly were extremely adorable!’

This is probably a reduplication of the _patu-_ found in LWOJ _patuka_ ‘slight, faint,’ as suggested by Omodaka et al (1967: 584).

4.3 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs are adjectives that are verbal, and as such they take verbal morphology such as predication, evidentiality, tense, or aspect. In EOJ, the adjectival verbs inflect for predication and evidentiality, but not tense or aspect. In order to add tense or aspect to an adjectival verb phrase, the auxiliary verb _ar-_ ‘exist’ must follow the adjectival verb in the infinitive form. The addition of the auxiliary _ar-_ ‘exist’ allows the affixation of whatever tense, aspect, or mood marker is needed for the adjectival verb.

This can be seen in examples (28) and (29) in section 4.3.2.1.1 below. In addition, there are a number of gerundive forms for adjectival verbs. All of the morphology will be discussed in the sections that follow.

4.3.1 Adjectival verb classes

There are two classes of adjectival verbs: those whose roots end with the syllable 
/si/, and those whose roots do not. Following Vovin (2009a: 444) I will refer to the
former as Class 2 and the latter as Class 1. The only difference between the two is that Class 2 adjectival verbs have portmanteau final forms that are homophonous with their adjectival verb root. This is due to a haplological contraction of the sequence *si-si (Vovin 2009a: 444). Table 4-1 below shows the basic paradigm for the Class 1 adjectival verb töpo- ‘be.far’ and the Class 2 adjectival verb kuyasi- ‘be.regretful.’ This is a composite of all attested forms across the EOJ provinces, and not intended to represent any particular dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>töpo- ‘be.far’ (CLASS 1)</th>
<th>kuyasi- ‘be.regretful’ (CLASS 2)</th>
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<tr>
<td>AVINF -ku</td>
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<td>kuyasi-ku</td>
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<td>kuyasi</td>
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<td>kuyasi-kyi ~ kuyasi-ke</td>
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<td>AVEV -ka-</td>
<td>töpo-ka-(^{242})</td>
<td>kuyasi-ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVGER -myi</td>
<td>töpo-myi</td>
<td>kuyasi-myi</td>
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### 4.3.2 Suffixes

The suffixes that attach to adjectival verb bases include the infinitive -\(ku\), nominalizer -\(ku\), final -\(si\), attributive -\(kyi ~ -ke\), evidential -\(ka ~ -ke\), gerund -\(myi\), nominalizer -\(sa\), exclamative -\(mo\), conditional gerund -\(aNpa\), conjunctive gerund -\(Npa\), concessive gerund -\(Ntö\), nominalizer -\(aku\), and nominalizer -\(ge\). The exclamative -\(mo\), conditional gerund -\(aNpa\), conjunctive gerund -\(Npa\), concessive gerund -\(Ntö\), nominalizer -\(aku\) also attach to verbal word-forms.

\(^{242}\) An evidential form -\(kye\) is attested once. See section 4.3.1.5 for more discussion.
4.3.2.1 Infinitive -ku

The infinitive -ku is the adjectival verb counterpart to the verbal infinitive -i. It can be used as a non-final predicate or as an adverbial modifier (Vovin 2009a: 457). In addition, it can be followed by the subordinative gerund auxiliary -te, just like verbs.

4.3.2.1.1 Usage as a non-final predicate

29. 20:4407.4-5 – Kamitukeno
伊毛賀古比之久 / 和須良延奴加母
imwo-Nka kwopyisi-ku / wasur-aye-n-u kamô
beloved_girl-POSS belonging_for-AVINF / forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR EPT
‗[My] beloved is longing for [me], [I] wonder, can [I] not forget [her]?’

30. 20:4424.1-3 – Muzasi
伊呂夫可久 / 世奈我許呂母波 / 曽米麻之乎
irô-N-puka-ku / se-na-Nka körömô pa / sômey-masi-wo
color-GEN-be.deep-AVINF / beloved_man-DIM-POSS garment TPT / dye-SUBJ-ACC
‗Even though [I] should like to dye my darling man’s garment with deep colors (lit. colors are deep).’

31. 20:4373.1-2 – Simotukeno
祁布与利波 / 可敞理見疎久弓
kyepu-yöri pa / kapyer-i-MY1 na-ku-te
today-ABL TPT / return-INF-see.NML not.exist-AVINF-SUB
‗From today, without looking back.’

32. 14:3383.3 – Kamitupusa
可久太尔毛
ka-ku Ntani mwo
be.thus-AVINF RPT FPT
‗Even being just so.’

33. 14:3476a.5 – UD
故布思可流奈母
kwopusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
be.longing_for-AVINF-exist-TENT2-ATTR
‗[She] will be longing for [me].’

34. 14:3482b.5 – UD
許等多可利都母
kötö [i]ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-umö
word be.painful-AINF-exist-INF-PERF-EXCL
‘The rumors have been painful!’

4.3.2.1.2 Usage as an adverbial modifier

35. 20:4322.1-2 - Töpotuapumi
和我都麻波 / 伊多久古非良之
wa-Nka tuma pa / ita-ku kwopiy-rasi
1.S-POSS spouse TPT / be.extreme-AINF long_for-SUP
‘It seems my spouse very much longs for [me].’

36. 20:4346.1-3 - Suruga
知々波々我 / 可之良加伎奈弖 / 佐久阿例弖
titi papa-Nka / kasira kakyi-nate / sa-ku ar-e te
father mother-POSS / head TNG-caress.INF / be.safe-AINF exist-IMP DV
‘[My] mother and father caressed [my] head and said ‘be safe!’.’

37. 14:3415.4-5 – Kamitukeno
賀久古非牟等夜 / 多祢物得米家武
Nka-ku kwopiy-m-u tō ya / tane motōmey-kyem-u
be.thus-AINF long_for-TENT-FIN COP QPT / seed search_for.INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘Were [we] searching for seeds [when] [we] were so longing for [each other]?’

38. 20:4368.1-2 – Pitati
久自我波々 / 佐氣久阿利麻弖
kuNsi-N-kapa pa / sakey-ku arī-mat-e
PN-GEN-river TPT / be.safe-AINF DUR-wait-IMP
‘Be waiting [for me] safely, [at] Kuzi river!’

39. 20:4389.3-4 – Simotupusa
尓波志久母 / 於不世他麻保加
nipasi-ku mö / opuse-tamap-o ka
be.sudden-AINF FPT / give_responsibility.INF-HON-ATTR QPT
‘Has [the emperor] suddenly given [me] the order?’

40. 20:4348.5 – Kamitupusa
夜須久祢牟加母
yasu-ku ne-m-u kamō
be.easy-AINF sleep-TENT-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, shall [I] sleep easily?’

41. 14:3463.3-5 – UD
己許呂奈久 / 佐刀乃美奈可ル / 安敞流世奈可毛
kökörö na-ku / satwo-nō myi-naka-ni / ap-ayer-u se-na kamwo
heart not.exist-AVINF / village-GEN HON-inside-LOC / meet-PROG-ATTR
beloved_man-DIM EPT
‘My beloved man, [with] whom [I] am unintentionally meeting in the middle of the village.’

42. 14:3487.3-5 – UD
可久 須酒曾 / 宿莫奈那里尔思 / 於久乎可奴加奴
ka-ku su su sō / NE-N-Ana nar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u
be.thus-AVINF again again FPT / sleep-NEG-DES COP-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR / future-ACC consider-FIN consider-FIN
‘Being thus, since [you] did not want to sleep [with me] again and again, [I] consider and consider [our] future.’

43. 14:3522.5 – UD
麻登保久於毛保由
ma töpo-ku omwop-oy-u
so be.far-AVINF think-PASS-FIN
‘[I] suddenly think it is so far.’

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4.3.1.2 Nominalizer -ku

There is a nominalizer -ku attested once in the corpus. This is probably just an extended function of the infinitive -ku, but since I list the nominalizer -i separate from the verbal infinitive -i, I shall do the same here in order to be consistent.

44. 14:3463.1-2 – UD
麻登保久能 / 野尔毛安波奈牟
ma-töpo-ku n-ō / NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u
INT-be.far-AVNML COP-ATTR / field-LOC FPT meet-DES-TENT-FIN
‘[I] should like to meet [you] in the fields that are quite a distance [away].’
4.3.1.3 Final predication marker -si

The final suffix -si is not a final predication marker in the same strict sense that the verbal -u is a final predication marker, as we find many examples of -si used in a purely attributive function. Due to this latter function one might be tempted to think the adjectival verb final -si and the past-attributive auxiliary -si in the verbal morphology (described in section 5.7.1.1.4) are related. This comparison fails quickly due to the following facts: final -si is a suffix and past-attributive -si is an auxiliary; they have quite different semantics; they cannot be followed by the same morphology; and while final -si can be used as an attributive, past-attributive -si is never used as a final. The better explanation is one put forth by Vovin (2009a: 462), namely final -si and attributive -kyi were relatively new elements to the adjectival verb paradigm and were not yet fully grammaticalized, leading to occasional confusion between the two. The final -si can be followed by the exclamatory suffix -mo (shown in examples (48) and (49) below).

4.3.1.3.1 Final function

The suffix -si is predominantly used as an adjectival verb final predication marker.

45. 20:4381.5 – Simotukeno
伊刀母須敞曳之
itwo mō supye na-si
utterly FPT way_of_doing not.exist-AVFIN
‘There is really no way [to do something about it].’

46. 20:4351.4 – Kamitupusa
奈保波太佐牟之
napo paNta samu-si
still skin be.cold-AVFIN
‘Still [my] skin is cold.’
47. 14:3478.1-2 – UD
等保斯等布 / 故乃思良祢尒
tópo-si tö [i]p-u / kwona-nö sira ne-ni
be.far-AVFIN DV say-ATTR / PN-GEN white peak-LOC
‘On the white peaks of Kona which are said to be far.’

48. 14:3530.4-5 – UD
児呂我可奈門欲 / 由可久之要思母
KWO-rö-Nka kana-TWO-ywo / yuk-aku si ye-si-mö
girl-DIM-POSS metal-door-ABL / go-NML FPT be.good-AVFIN-EXCL
‘Going past the gate of [my] darling girl’s home is so nice!’

49. 14:3555.4 - UD
於等太可思母
otö-N-taka-si-mö na
sound-GEN-be.high-AVFIN-EXCL EPT
‘The sound is loud!’

4.3.1.3.2 Attributive function

The attributive function of -si is less commonly attested, and only occurs with
two adjectival verbs: na- ‘not.exist’ and ara- ‘be.rough.’ A wider variety of adjectival
verbs are attested with the final -si in an attributive function in WOJ (Vovin 2009a: 463-4).

50. 20:4401.5 - Sinano
意母奈志尔志弖
omö na-si n-i s-i-te
mother not.exist-AVFIN COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘Being without [my] mother.’

51. 20:4321.5 - Töpotuapumi
伊牟奈之尔志弖
imu na-si n-i s-i-te
beloved_girl not.exist-AVFIN COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘Being without [my] beloved.’

52. 14:3405b.5 – Kamitukeno
美流比登奈思尔
myi-ru pyitö na-si-ni
see-ATTR person not.exist-AVFIN-LOC
‘Since there is no person to see [us].’

53. 20:4330.5 – Sagamu
美流波々奈之尔
myi-ru papa na-si-ni
see-ATTR mother not.exist-AVFIN-LOC
‘Since [my] mother is not here to watch.’

54. 14:3442.4-5 – UD
夜麻尔可祢牟毛 / 夜杼里波奈之尔
yama-ni ka ne-m-u mwo / yaNtör-i pa na-si-ni
mountain-LOC QPT sleep-TENT-ATTR FPT / lodge-NML TPT not.exist-AVFIN-LOC
‘Shall [I] sleep in the mountains being that there is no lodging [here]?’

The form na-si-ni ‘not.exist-AVFIN-LOC’ found in examples (52) - (54) is attested in both WOJ and EOJ, but the expected form na-kyi-ni ‘not.exist-AVATTR-LOC’ is unattested in both languages.

55. 20:4372.5-6 – Pitati
阿良志乎母 / 多志夜波婆可流
ara-si wo mö / tas-i ya paNpakar-u
be.rough-AVFIN man FPT / stand-INF EPT hesitate-FIN
‘Even a rough man would stand and hesitate.’

56. 20:4430.1-2 - UD
阿良之乎乃 / 伊乎佐太波佐美
ara-si wo-nö / i-wo-sa-N-ta-pasam-yi
be.rough-AVFIN man-GEN / PREF-DIM-arrow-LOC-hand-pinch-INF
‘A rough man [with his] hand pinching on a small arrow.’

Table 4-3: Distribution of the final -si and its functions across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Func</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the final function outnumbers the attributive function, it only does so by a small margin (nine to seven). Also notable is the fact that other than UD no province shows
both the final and attributive functions of -si. This could, of course, simply be due to the size of the corpus.

4.3.1.3.3 Final form of Class 2 adjectival verbs

As mentioned in section 4.3.1.2, the final form of Class 2 adjectival verbs is homophonous with the adjectival verb root. Thus, it is morphologically null, and the root becomes portmanteau.

57. 20:4406.3-5 – Kamitukeno
久佐麻久良 / 多妣波久流之等 / 都氣夜良麻久母
kusa makura / taNpyi pa kurusi tö / tukey-yar-am-aku mö
grass pillow / journey TPT be.painful.AVFIN DV / tell.INF-send-TENT-NML FPT
‘[I] would send [him] to tell [them] that [my] journey, [when I sleep on] a grass pillow, is painful!’

58. 14:3556.1-2 – UD
思保夫祢能 / 於可礼婆可奈之
sipo-N-pune-nö / ok-ar-e-Npa kanasi
tide-GEN-boat-COMP / leave_behind-PROG-EV-CONJ be.sad.AVFIN
‘When [I] am leaving [you], [I] am sad, like [leaving] a boat in the tide.’

59. 14:3567.1-2 – UD
於伎弖伊可婆 / 伊毛婆麻可奈之
ok-yi-te ik-aNpa / imwo pa ma kanasi
leave_behind-INF-SUB go-COND / beloved_girl TPT so be.sad.AVFIN
‘If [I] go leaving [her] behind, [my] darling will be so sad.’

4.3.1.4 Attributive -kyi ~ -ke

The adjectival verb attributive suffix has two main functions: adnominalization, and final predication. Its usage as a final predication marker is triggered by certain attributive-triggering particles, described in section 8.1.1. In addition, it can nominalize an adjectival verb, just as the verbal attributive suffix can nominalize a verb.
The adjectival verb attributive -*kyi* and its variant -*ke* have been described quite extensively (particularly in Ikier 2006). The variant -*ke* is exclusive to EOJ, and simply shows an unraised vowel, whereas the variant -*kyi* is found in both WOJ and EOJ, and is the product of the vowel raising of *e > i*. The adjectival attributive -*kyi* ~ -*ke* can be followed by either the conditional gerund -aNpa or the nominalizer -aku.

4.3.1.4.1 -*kyi* form

The form -*kyi* is the only one attested in WOJ, but it is well-attested in EOJ as well. I separate the attestations by function in the sections that follow below.

4.3.1.4.1.1 Adnominalization function

Examples of the adnominalization function follow below.

60. 14:3379.2:4-5 – Muzasi
安杼可母伊波武 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 登吉奈伎母能乎
aNtö kamö ip-am-u / ukyera-Nka pana-nō / tōkyi na-kyi mōnō-wo
what EPT say-TENT-ATTR / okera-POSS blossoms-COMP /time not.exist-AVATTR thing-ACC
‘[I] wonder, what should I say [about my beloved]? [Perhaps] call [him] something **that is timeless**, like the okera blossoms.’

61. 20:4413.3-4 – Muzasi
麻可奈之伎 / 西呂我馬伎己无
ma kanasi-kyi / se-rō-Nka mak-yi-kō-m-u
really be.adorable-AVATTR / beloved_man-DIM-POSS leave-INF-come-TENT-ATTR
‘[My] **really adorable**, darling beloved shall leave and come [back].’

62. 14:3351.4-5 - Pitati
加奈思吉兒吕我 / 尔努保佐流可母
kanasi-kyi KWO-rō-Nka / ninwo pos-ar-u kamō
be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-POSS / cloth dry-PROG-ATTR EPT
‘[My] **adorable**, darling girl is drying a cloth!’

63. 20:4371.1-4 – Pitati
多知波奈乃 / 之多布久可是乃 / 可具波志伎 / 都久波能夜麻乎
tatipana-nō / sita puk-u kaNse-nō / ka-N-kupasi-kyi / tukupa-nō yama-wo
mandarin-orange-GEN / below blow-ATTR wind-GEN / scent-GEN-be.lovely-
AVATTR / PN-GEN mountain-ACC
‘Tukupa mountain, where the scent of the wind that blows below the mandarin
orange trees is lovely.’

64. 14:3452.1-2 – UD
於毛思路伎 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曽
omwosirwo-kyi / NWO-woNpa na-yak-yi-sō
be.attractive-AVATTR / field-ACC.EMPH NEG.IMP-burn-INF-do
‘Do not burn the attractive fields!’

65. 14:3453 – UD
可是能等乃 / 登抱吉和伎母賀
kaNse-nō [o]tō-nō / tôpo-kyi wa-k[a]-yimō-Nka
wind-GEN sound-COMP / be.far-AVATTR 1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-POSS
‘My darling who is far away like the sound of the wind.’

4.3.1.4.1.2 Final predication due to an attributive-triggering particle
In the following examples, the attributive -kyi is triggered solely because of a
particle that induces this change. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of particles in EOJ.

66. 20:4321.1 - Tōpotuapumi
可之古伎夜
kasikwo-kyi ya
be.awesome-AVATTR EPT
‘Ah, [the Imperial command] is awesome!’

67. 20:4337.5 - Suruga
已麻叙久夜志伎
ima Nsō kuyasi-kyi
now FPT be.regretful-AVATTR
‘[I] am so regretful now!’

68. 14:3504.3-4 – UD
宇良夜须尔 / 左奴流夜曽奈伎
ura yasu n-i / sa-n-uru YWO sō na-kyi
heart easy COP-INF / LOC-sleep-ATTR night FPT not.exist-AVATTR
‘There are no nights when [I] sleep there with [my] heart at ease.’
4.3.1.4.1.3 Nominalization function

The nominalization function of the attributive -kyi occurs just two times. In each instance a case marker is attached to -kyi.

69. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa
曾能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尓多弓来也母
sônö kanasi-kyi-wo / two-ni tate-m-ey ya mö
that be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‘Will [I] make that adorable [girl] stand outside? [no, I will not]’

In example (69) the accusative -wo attaches to the attributive -kyi, showing the attributive has nominalized the adjectival verb.

70. 14:3411.5 – Kamitupusa
曾能可把与吉尔
sônö kapo yō-kyi-ni
that face be.good-AVATTR-LOC
‘Since that face is good.’

4.3.1.4.2 -ke form

The attributive -ke is exclusive to EOJ. In the sections that follow below, I separate the examples based on their primary function.

4.3.1.4.2.1 Adnominalization function

The adnominalization function of -ke is attested four times.

71. 14:3412.4-5 – Kamitukeno
可奈師家児良尔 / 伊夜射可里久母
kanasi-kye KWO-ra-ni / iya N-sakar-i-[i]k-umö
be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-DAT / more_and_more COP-INF-be.far_from-INF-go-EXCL
‘[I] am going further and further away from [my] adorable, dear girl!’

72. 20:4382.1-2 – Simotukeno
布多富我美 / 阿志気比等奈里

621
4.3.1.4.2.2 Final predication due to an attributive-triggering particle

In the following examples, the attributive -ke is triggered solely because of a particle that induces this change. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of particles in EOJ.

75. 20:4369.4-5 – Pitati
可奈之家伊母曽 / 比留毛可奈之祁
kanasi-kye imō sō / pyiru mwo kanasi-kye
be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_girl FPT / daytime FPT be.adorable-AVATTR
‘[My] adorable darling is also adorable in the daytime.’

76. 14:3483.5 – UD
阿飛与流等可毛 / 欲流等家也須家
ap-iy-yor-u to kamwo / yworu tōkye-yasu-kye
meet-INF-approach-FIN DV EPT / night come_undone.INF-be.easy-AVATTR
‘[I] wonder, thinking [about if I] will meet [my beloved]. [Our garment cords] easily come undone at night!’

4.3.1.4.2.3 Nominalization function

The nominalization function of the attributive -ke occurs just two times. In each instance the accusative case marker -wo is attached to -ke.
77. 20:4419.3-5 – Muzasi

Because the residence is good, [after] arriving in Tukusi [I] shall think of it [with] a feeling of longing.

78. 14:3500.3-4 – UD

Although [that] person’s girl’s feelings are sad…

4.3.1.4.3 Unclear examples

Before the conditional gerund -aNpa the vowel in the attributive will either fuse or contract. When it has contracted, in the form -k-aNpa ‘-AVATTR-COND,’ we are unable to determine if the underlying form of the attributive is -kyi or -ke. Thus, I mark such examples as being unclear. Examples:

79. 14:3410.4-5 – Kamitukeno

Don’t consider the future, if the present is good.

In addition, the vowel of the attributive suffix can contract before the nominalizer -aku, once again preventing us from determining the underlying vowel of the attributive in these forms, so I consider them unclear as well. Example:

80. 14:3489.3-4 – UD

[My] beloved girl has been made to stand among the [overgrown] vegetation.
The results in Table 4-4 show the attributive -kyi is slightly more common than the attributive -ke, and no province shows only the attributive -ke.

### 4.3.1.5 Evidential -ka ~ -kye

The EOJ adjectival verb evidential -ka corresponds to the WOJ adjectival verb evidential -kye. The latter is also attested once in EOJ, but I view this attestation, shown below in example (84), as the result of a scribal alteration. Vovin (2009a: 476) makes a convincing argument that the WOJ form -kye is from a fusional reduction of PJn *-kiy ar-e ‘-AVATTR exist-EV,’ with subsequent *r loss. It is clear the EOJ form -ka is the result of a contraction of the medial PJn vowel sequence in *-kiy ar-e ‘id.’ with subsequent *r loss, rather than a fusional reduction. This suffix can be followed by the concessive gerund -Ntö[mo] or the conjunctive gerund -Npa.

81. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa
久尓乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟
kuni-ńö tōpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
province-GEN be.far-AEV-CONJ / 2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘Because the province is far, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

82. 14:3473.3-5 – UD
等抱可騰母 / 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於由尔美要都留
tōpo-ka-Ntömö / ne-m-wo tō ka KWO-rō-Nka / oy-u-ni myi-ye-t-uru
be.far-AEV-CONC / sleep-TENT-ATTR DV QPT girl-DIM-POSS /
grow_old-ATTR-LOC see-PASS-PERF-ATTR
‘Although [she] is far away, just when [I] think to go to sleep, [I] can see [my] dear girl grow old.’
Although it is dangerous, still I sigh for a dear girl [who is another] man’s wife.

There is also a form -kye-Npa ‘AVEV-CONJ’ attested once in Muzasi province, shown in example 78 below. This form is common in WOJ, and its existence in the one Muzasi poem in MYS book 14 is most likely due to a scribal alternation.

Because [I] love [you], even though [I] will wave [my] sleeve [when we part], do not reveal [your true] colors at all!

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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4.3.1.6 Gerund -myi

The adjectival verb gerund -myi indicates a reason. It is the only gerund suffix that attaches directly to an adjectival verb root.

Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome.'
Because the field is wide…

Because [he] is beloved, [I] do not want to untie [my] sash.

Because [you] are so adorable, [I] go to sleep there [with you].

Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome.

Because there is nothing to do about it, [I] shall wave [my] sleeve many times.

Because [she] is extremely adorable, who has come, leaving [her] behind?

Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome.
In example (94) the adjectival verb gerund -myi attaches to the verbal debitive suffix -upey because this suffix only allows adjectival verb morphology.

95. 14:3507.1-3 – UD
多尓世婆美 / 弥年尔波比多流 / 多麻可豆良
tani seNpa-myi / myi-ne-ni pap-yi-tar-u / tama kaNtura
valley be.narrow-AVGER / HON-peak-LOC stretch-INF-PP-ATTR / jade vine
‘The jade[-like] vines that have been crawling over the peak because the valley is narrow.’

96. 14:3569.4-5 – UD
手婆奈礼乎思美 / 奈吉思兒良婆母
TA-N-panare wosi-myi / nak-yi-si KWO-ra pa mö
hand-LOC-part_from.NML be.regretful-AVGER / cry-INF-PST.ATTR child-DIM TPT FPT
‘Oh, [My] dear girl who cried because [she] regretted parting from [me].’

97. 20:4428.3-4 – UD
宇都久之美 / 叡比波登加奈々
utukusi-myi / yepyi pa tök-an-ana
be.beloved-AVGER / sash TPT undo-NEG-DES
‘Because [he] is beloved, [I] do not want to untie [my] sash.’

| Table 4-6: Distribution of the gerund -myi across the provinces |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sin | To | Su | Kak | Mu | Sa | Mi | Sik | Pi | Sip | Kap | UD |
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 8 |

4.3.1.7 Conditional gerund -aNpa

The conditional gerund -aNpa creates a conditional clause. It is one of the few suffixes that attaches to both verb and adjectival verb stems, though it is only attested
once attached to an adjectival verb. While it can attach directly to a verbal root, it attaches to the adjectival verb attributive suffix, rather than the root.

98. 14:3410.4-5 – Kamitukeno

於久乎奈加祢曾 / 麻左可思余加婆

oku-wo na-kane-sō / masaka sī yō-k-aNpa

future-ACC NEG.IMP-consider.INF-do / present FPT be.good-AVATTR-COND

‘Don’t consider the future, if the present is good.’

4.3.1.8 Conjunctive gerund -Npa

The conjunctive gerund -Npa indicates a reason, something akin to ‘because’ or ‘since.’ It is another suffix that attaches to both verb and adjectival verb stems. This gerund cannot attach directly to an adjectival verb root, instead it must attach to the adjectival verb evidential suffix -ka ~ -ke.

99. 14:3376a.1-2;5 - Muzasi

古非思家波 / 素弓毛布良武乎 / 伊呂尓豆奈由米

kwopiysi-kye-pa / swote mwo pur-am-u-wo / irō-ni [i]Nt-una yumey be.longing_for-AVEV-CONJ / sleeves FPT wave-TENT-ATTR-ACC / color-LOC go_out-NEG.IMP at_all

‘Because [I] love [you], even though [I] will wave [my] sleeves [when we part], do not reveal [your true] colors at all!’

100. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa

久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟

kuni-nō tōpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u province-GEN be.far-AVEV-CONJ / 2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN

‘Because the province is far, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

Table 4-7: Distribution of the conjunctive gerund -Npa across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
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<th>Kak</th>
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</table>
4.3.1.9 Concessive gerund -\textit{Ntö[mo]}

The concessive gerund -\textit{Ntö[mo]} creates a concessive clause (i.e. ‘although…’).

Like the conditional -\textit{aNpa} and the conjunctive gerund -\textit{Npa}, it attaches to both verb and adjectival verb stems. When attaching to an adjectival verb stem, it follows the adjectival verb evidential suffix -\textit{ka}.

101. 14:3473.3-5 – UD

\begin{verbatim}
等抱可騰母 / 你毛等可基呂賀 / 於由尔美要都留
töpo-ka-Ntömö / ne-m-wo tö ka KWO-rö-Nka / oy-u-ni myi-ye-t-uru
be.far-AVEV-CONC / sleep-TENT-ATTR DV QPT girl-DIM-POSS /
grow_old-ATTR-LOC see-PASS-PERF-ATTR
‘Although [she] is far away, just when [I] think to go to sleep, [I] can see [my] dear girl grow old.’
\end{verbatim}

102. 14:3539.3 – UD

\begin{verbatim}
安夜抱可等 / 伊夜抱可等 / 比等豆麻古呂乎 / 伊吉尔和我須流
ayapo-ka-tö / pyitö-N-tuma kwo-rö-wo / ikyi-ni wa-Nka s-uru
be.dangerous-AVEV-CONC / person-GEN-spouse girl-DIM-ACC /
1.S-POSS do-ATTR
‘Although it is dangerous, still I sigh for a dear girl [who is another] man’s wife.’
\end{verbatim}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
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4.3.1.10 Nominalizer -\textit{aku}

The nominalizer -\textit{aku} nominalizes the adjectival verb phrase, rather than just the adjectival verb. This is another suffix that attaches to both verbal and adjectival verbal stems. With adjectival verbs, it must attach to the adjectival attributive suffix, and it can be followed by the case suffix -\textit{ni}. It is only attested twice with an adjectival verb.

103. 14:3489.3-4 – UD

\begin{verbatim}
之牙可久尔 / 伊毛呂乎多弖天
sìNkye-k-aku-ni / imwo-rö-wo tate-te
\end{verbatim}
be.lush-AVATTR-NML-LOC / beloved_girl-DIM-ACC make.stand.INF-SUB
‘[My] beloved girl has been made to stand among the [overgrown] vegetation.’

This form (siNkye-k-aku ‘be.lush-AVATTR-NML’) is notable because it shows a vowel contraction common in EOJ verbal morphology (e.g. *-kye-aku > -k-aku), but uncommon in WOJ verbal morphology. More specifically, WOJ always fuses the adjectival verb attributive -kyi and the nominalizer -aku into the portmanteau form -kyeku (Vovin 2009a: 763). Thus we would find siNkye-kyeku ‘be.lush-AVATTR.NML’ in WOJ.

The other EOJ attestation, given in example (104) below, looks like the WOJ form -kyeku ‘-AVATTR.NML,’ but since the AVATTR -kye is attested in line 2 of the same poem, this is more likely a contraction of -kye-aku to -kye-ku, rather than a fusional reduction of -kyi-aku to -kyeku, in this dialect of EOJ.

104.  14:3533.4-5 – UD
安奈由牟古麻能 / 乎之家口母奈思
a nayum-u kwo-[u]ma-nô / wosi-kye-ku mô na-si
foot be.troubled_by-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / be.sad-AVATTR-NML FPT
not_exist-FIN
‘[I] am not sad for [my] horse troubled by [her] foot.’

If I am correct here, this is quite an interesting case as the nominalizer -aku is otherwise unattested in both WOJ and other EOJ poems with its initial vowel deleted.

<p>| Table 4-9: Distribution of the nominalizer -aku across the provinces |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
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4.3.11 Nominalizer -sa

The nominalizer -sa is attested three times. It nominalizes the adjectival verb, rather than the adjectival verb phrase. Unlike the nominalizer -aku, -sa suffixes directly to the adjectival verb root, and is exclusive to the adjectival verb morphology. The adjectival verb that takes -sa is always immediately preceded by a noun or adnominalized verb in the possessive case.

105. 20:4338.4-5 – Suruga
波々乎波奈例天 / 由久我加奈之佐
papa-wo panare-te / yuk-u-Nka kanasi-sa
mother-ACC part_from.INF-SUB / go-ATTR-POSS be.sad-AVNML
‗The sadness of parting from [my] mother and going [away].’

106. 20:4391.4-5 – Simotupusa
阿加古比須奈牟 / 伊母賀加奈志作
a-ka kwop-yi s-unam-u / imō-Nka kanasi-sa
1.S-POSS pray_for.NML do-TENT2-ATTR / beloved_girl-POSS be.adorable-AVNML
‗The adorableness of [my] beloved for whom I shall pray.’

107. 20:4425.1-4 – UD
佐伎毛利尓 / 由久波多我世登 / 刀布比登乎 / 美流我登毛之佐
sakyimwori n-i / yuk-pa ta-Nka se tō / twop-u pyitō-wo / myi-ru-Nka tömwosi-sa
border.guard COP-INF / go-ATTR TPT who-POSS beloved_man COP / ask-ATTR person-ACC / see-ATTR-POSS be.favored-AVNML
‗The enviousness of looking at those who ask ‘whose husband is that, going to be a border guard?’

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
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</table>
4.3.1.12 Nominalizer -key

The nominalizer -key nominalizes the adjectival verb and indicates a quality or feeling (Vovin 2003: 269). This suffix is unattested in WOJ, and appears to be the predecessor of the Middle Japanese nominalizer -ge\(^{243}\), which is described in Vovin (2003: 269-70). The voicing in the Middle Japanese form -ge may be secondary, but it is difficult to tell with just a single attestation of this suffix in EOJ, due to the fact that voicing, be it prenasalized or not, is far from a clear-cut matter in the EOJ orthography. This suffix is attested just once, immediately followed by a verb in the attributive form.

108. 20:4419.3-5 – Muzasi
须美与気乎 / 都久之尔伊多里弓 / 古布志気毛波母
sum-yi yö-key-wo / tukusi-ni itar-i-te / kwopusi-key [o]mwop-am-ö
reside-NML be.good-AVATTR-ACC / PN-LOC arrive-INF-SUB /
belonging_for-AVNML think-TENT-ATTR
‘Because the residence is good, [after] arriving in Tukusi, [I] shall think of it [with] a feeling of longing.’

4.3.1.13 Exclamative -mo

I view the adjectival verb exclamative -mo as being a backformation from the verbal exclamative suffix -umo, a suffix that was first presented by Vovin (2009a: 695). It indicates an exclamation. This suffix attaches to the final suffix -si of Class 1 adjectival verbs and the portmanteau root final form of Class 2 adjectival verbs.

109. 20:4343.5 – Suruga
和加美可奈志母
wa-ka myi kanasi-mö
1.S-POSS wife be.sad.AVFIN EXCL
‘Oh, my wife is sad!’

\(^{243}\) I am thankful to Alexander Vovin (p.c.) for this suggestion.
110. 14:3408.4-5 – Kamitukeno
波之奈流兒良師 / 安夜専可奈思母
pasi nar-u KWO-ra si / aya n-i kanasi-mō
beautiful COP-ATTR girl-PLUR EPT / extreme COP-INF be.adorable.AVFIN-EXCL
‘Oh, the beautiful girls are extremely adorable!’

111. 14:3481.5 – UD
於毛比具流之母
omwop-yi-N-kurusi-mō
think-NML-GEN-be.painful.AVFIN-EXCL
‘Oh, it is painful to think [about]!’

112. 14:3509.3-5– UD
宿奈敞杼母 / 古呂賀於曽伎能 / 安路許要志母
NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö / kwo-rō-Nka osökyi-nō / ar-wo kösö ye-si-mō
sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-CONC / girl-DIM-POSS upper_garment-GEN / exist-
ATTR FPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘Although [we] are not sleeping together, it’s so good to have [my] dear girl’s upper garment!’

113. 14:3544.4-5 – UD
勢奈那登布多理 / 左宿而久也思母
se-na-na-tō puta-ri / sa-NE-TE kuyasi-mō
beloved_male-DIM-DIM-COM two-CL / PREF-sleep.INF-SUB
be.regretful.AVFIN-EXCL
‘[I] slept together with [my] beloved and oh, [I] regret it!’

114. 14:3555.3-4 – UD
可良加治乃 / 於等太可思母奈
kara kaNti-nō / otō-N-taka-si-mō na
PN oar-COMP / sound-GEN-be.high-FIN-EXCL EPT
‘The sound is loud, like [that of] Kara oars!’

115. 20:4429.5 – UD
於伎之可奈之毛
ok-yi-te kanasi-mwo
leave_behind-INF-SUB be.sad.AVFIN-EXCL
‘Leaving [her] behind, oh, [I] am sad!’

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<th>Sin</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.2 Bound Auxiliaries

The only bound auxiliary in the adjectival verb morphology is the subordinative gerund -te, which also attaches to verbs.

4.3.2.1 Subordinative gerund -te

The gerund auxiliary -te only occurs twice on an adjectival verb. It follows the infinitive form of the adjectival verb. Its function is simply that of subordination.

116.  20:4373 – Simotukeno
祁布与利波 / 可敞理見奈久兵 / 意富伎美乃 / 之許乃美多兵等 / 伊涅多都和例波
kyepu-yōri pa / kayer-i-MYI na-ku-te / opo kyimiyi-nō / sikō n-ō myi-tate tö / iNte-tat-u ware pa
today-ABL TPT / return-INF-see.NML not.exist-INF-SUB / great lord-GEN / despicable COP-ATTR HON-shield COP / go_out.INF-rise-ATTR 1.S TPT
‘I, who will set out from today without looking back, have come to be but a despicable soldier for [my] sovereign.’

117.  14:3524.1-3 – UD
麻乎其母能 / 布能末知可久兵 / 安波奈敵波
ma woN-kōmō-nō / pu-nō ma tika-ku-te / ap-an-ap-yе-pa
really DIM-reed-GEN / joint-GEN space be.near-INF-SUB / meet-NEG-ITER-EV-CONJ
‘The joints of the really little reeds are near [one another], yet [the reeds] do not meet.’

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<th>Sin</th>
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<th>Kak</th>
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</table>
Chapter 5 – Verbs

Verbs are the most morphologically complex of all parts of speech in EOJ. Perhaps the most notable characteristic of EOJ verbs is the rich system of mood markers. This chapter describes the verbal morphology from their forms to their functions, rather than from their functions to their forms.

5.1 The basic syntax of verbs

As the language is predominantly SOV, predicate verbs normally appear phrase-final and sentence-final. Verbs in the attributive form may modify nouns, and in such cases the verb precedes the noun. Thus relative clauses in the language are right-headed and left-branching, and there is no relative pronoun.

Verbal auxiliaries normally follow the infinitive form of the verbal root, but there are a few curious examples of the opposite order described in section 5.9. In addition, there are a few examples of serial verb constructions without the expected linking infinitive, which are also described in section 5.9.

Syntactic inversions, where a verbal phrase is moved before another phrase, are also attested, and are not especially rare. These are noted in the examples in which they appear.

5.2 Verbal grammatical categories

Before commencing detailed discussions of particular verbal classes and affixes, I will first give an overview of the categories marked in the morphology of the dialects,
and list the morphemes found in each. This can be viewed as a simplistic summary of the functions and their corresponding forms.

### 5.2.1 Polarity

Polarity is distinguished by the affirmative marked by zero and the negative marked by a range of suffixes. In the indicative mood we find the negative suffix `-an- ~ -n- ~ -a[N]/s- ~ -[N]s- ~ -na`. In the imperative mood we find the negative suffix `-una` and the negative prefix `na-`. The negative-tentative mood is indicated by the portmanteau suffix `-aNsi`.

### 5.2.2 Aspect

There is one aspectual suffix in the dialects: the progressive `-ar- ~ -er-`. There are also a few bound aspectual auxiliaries. These include the perfectives `-n-` and `-te-`, and the perfective-progressive `-tar-`.

The imperfective aspect is unmarked.

### 5.2.3 Tense

The only tense marked is the past, which is indicated by the bound auxiliaries `-ki`, past-attributive `-si`, and past-evidential `-sika`.

### 5.2.4 Mood

The EOJ dialects are rife with mood markers. Most are suffixes, but a few are bound auxiliaries. The mood suffixes include: imperative `-ye ~ -ö ~ -i ~ -Ø ~ -yö`,
imperative -rö, tentative -am- ~ -m-, tentative 2 -uram- and -unam-, negative-tentative -aNSi, debitive -upe-, subjunctive -amasi ~ -masi, suppositional -urasi ~ -rasi ~ -asi, and desiderative -ana ~ -an- ~ -n-.

The bound auxiliaries include: benefactive -köse- ~ -kös-, potential -kate-, and negative-potential -kane-.

The indicative mood is unmarked.

5.2.5 Voice

There are three voices, two of which are morphologically marked. These include the passive voice marked by the suffixes -aye and -are, and the causative voice marked by the suffixes -ase- and -asime. The active voice is unmarked.

5.2.6 Retrospection

Retrospection is indicated by the bound auxiliaries -ker- and -kar-.

5.2.7 Iteration and Duration

The iterative is marked by the suffix -ap-. Duration is indicated by the prefix ari- or the iterative -ap- (only with certain verbs).

5.2.8 Predication

Both final and non-final predication are morphologically marked in EOJ.

Final predication is completely suffixal, marked by the final suffix -u, the attributive suffixes -uru ~ -oro and -u ~ -o, and the evidential suffixes -ure ~ -ey ~ -o.
Non-final predication is marked by both suffixes and bound auxiliaries. The suffixes include the infinitives -i and -e, the conditional gerund -aNpa, the conjunctive gerund -Npa, and the concessive gerund -Ntò. The bound auxiliaries include the subordinative gerund -te and the coordinative gerund -tutu ~ -tusi ~ -tötö.

5.2.9 Honorification

Honorification is marked by the suffix -as-, the auxiliaries -tamap- and -mas-, and the suppletive verb imas-.

5.2.10 Humbleness

Humbleness is marked by the auxiliary -matur-, and the suppletive verbs tamapar- ~ taNpar-, mawos-, and mawi-.

5.3 Morphotactics

The maximal morphotactic structure is as follows:

[PREF]-root-[PROG]-[PASS/CAUS]\(^{244}\)-[HON]-[NEG]-[DES]-[ITER]-

[MOOD]-[EV]-[PRED]

This maximal word-form is not attested, but we can piece together the maximal form based on the range of word-forms attested in the corpus. The largest verbal word-forms I could find in the corpus consist of root with four suffixes. One combination is in the order root-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV, shown below in example 1:

\(^{244}\) It is unclear which precedes which, as there is no attested verb form that has both CAUS and PASS morphs. It is possible the combination of these morphs was not permitted, and thus they may have shared the same morphotactic slot in the word-form.
1. 14:3394 – Pitati
和須良延許婆古曽 / 那乎可家奈波賣
wasura-kō-Npa kwōsō / na-wo kakyō-n-ap-am-ye
forget-come-COND245 FPT / 2.S-ACC call_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV
‘If [you] forget to come, [I] shall not call out for you again and again!’

Another attestation is in the order root-CAUS-PROG-ITER-EXCL, shown below in example 2:

2. 14:3541.4-5 – UD
比登豆麻古呂乎 / 麻由可西良布母
pyi-tō-N-tuma kwo-rō-wo / ma yuk-as-er-ap-umō
person-GEN-spouse girl-DIM-ACC / eye go-CAUS-PROG-ITER-EXCL
‘[I] let [my] eyes wander again and again at [that] dear girl who is another man’s wife!’

There is also a secondary morphotactic structure in the form shown below.

[PREF]-root-[CAUS/PASS/NEG]-INF

In this structure, the infinitive of a verb is used in order to add one of many auxiliaries, creating long verbal complexes. An example of this is given below:

3. 20:4323.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟
papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-kyem-u
mother DV say-PST.blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out-INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘The flower which [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in bloom.’

5.4 Verbal classes

There are three main verbal classes: consonant-final stems, vowel-final stems, and irregular stems.

245 This word-form is unusual as it lacks a linking infinitive and the order of the constituents is the opposite of what we normally find. A discussion of this form is presented in section 5.9.
5.4.1 Consonant-final stem verbs

Consonant-final stems are by far the most numerous in the EOJ dialects, and in fact there is evidence that they may have been more numerous than in WOJ. This is because some verbs that are vowel-final stems in WOJ, such as arapare-‘appear,’ are consonant-final stems in EOJ (cf. arapar-‘id.’). This may simply indicate the consonant-final stems are more archaic. Alternatively, it could show some EOJ dialects reanalyzed and analogically leveled some original vowel-final stem verbs to fit into the more ‘regular’ consonant-final stem verbal conjugation.

In some dialects the attributive -u is syncretic with the final -u in consonant-final stems, which is the same situation we find in WOJ. Similarly, the evidential and imperative syncretize to -e after coronal-final stems (such as tat-‘rise’). Table 5.1 below presents both a coronal-final stem and a labial-final stem in order to show their differences in the imperative and evidential forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ap- ‘meet’</th>
<th>tat- ‘rise’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>ap-yi</td>
<td>tat-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>ap-yé</td>
<td>tat-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>ap-u</td>
<td>tat-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>ap-u ~ ap-o</td>
<td>tat-u ~ tat-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ap-an-</td>
<td>tat-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>ap-ey</td>
<td>tat-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>ap-am-</td>
<td>tat-am-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While not every word-form of the two verbs shown in table 5-1 is attested, every suffix shown in table 5-1 is attested on at least one consonant-final stem verb in the corpus. Thus, we can use these data to piece together the full paradigm of a single consonant-final stem verb.
5.4.2 Vowel-final stem verbs

Vowel-final stem verbs are the second most common verb type in EOJ. These verbs terminate their root in a vowel (which can be e, ö, ey, or iy, depending on the root and the dialect). There are three main features of vowel-final stem verbs that distinguish them from consonant-final stem verbs:

1) Vowel final verb have portmanteau infinitive forms that are homophonous with their root (e.g. the root kane- ‘consider’ and its infinitive form kane ‘consider.INF’).

2) The final vowel of the vowel-final verb is deleted when certain suffixes with ‘strong’ initial vowels overtake them, such as the evidential -ure and the attributive -uru.

3) Due to historical *r loss in the consonant-final stem verb paradigm, a small set of suffixes have different allomorphs in the vowel-final stem verb paradigm (such as the vowel-final stem verb attributive allomorph -uru).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5-2: The basic inflectional paradigm for the verb wasure- ‘forget’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
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<tr>
<td>EV</td>
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<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
While not every word-form in table 5-2 is attested, every suffix shown in table 5-2 is attested on at least one vowel-final stem verb in the corpus. Thus, we can use these data to piece together the full paradigm of a single vowel-final stem verb.

5.4.3 Irregular verbs

There are five classes of irregular verbs. These include strong vowel-final roots (such as myi- ‘see’), kō- ‘come,’ se- ~ si- ~ -sō ‘do,’ r-root final irregulars (e.g. ar- ‘exist’ and wor- ‘exist, stay’), and a small number of defective verbs (e.g. copula n-).

5.4.3.1 Strong vowel-final verbs

There are only two strong vowel-final roots attested in EOJ 246: myi- ‘see’ and kyi- ‘wear.’ They are termed ‘strong’ because they do not delete their stem-final vowel in most instances where regular vowel-final stem verbs do. Due to this characteristic, these verbs display a striking three-way syncretism in their infinitive, final, and imperative forms. In addition, they have special allomorphs of the evidential and attributive suffixes not found on any other verb. The verb kyi- ‘wear’ is attested in a causative form kyi-se-, (rather than k-ase-), just as it is in WOJ (Vovin 2009a: 864-6 – also note the form myi-se-see-CAUS- in Vovin (2009a: 865 and 868)). A final important feature to mention is the attested progressive form of kyi- ‘wear’ is k-ar- (compare WOJ kyer- ‘wear.PROG-‘ with a fusion of the sequence *ia > /e/ (Vovin 2009a: 883-4)), with a deleted stem vowel, so in EOJ this verb was not ‘strong’ in all paradigmatic forms. The progressive form of myi- ‘see’ is unattested.

246 Others are attested in WOJ, such as miy- ‘go around’ and isati- ‘sob.’ See Vovin (2009a: 505-6) for an overview.
Table 5-3: The basic inflectional paradigm for the strong vowel stem verb *myi- ‘see’*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Paradigm</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>myi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>[myi; myi-yö]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>[myi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>myi-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>[myi-n-] ~ myi-Ns-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>myi-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>myi-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.4.3.2 *kö- ‘come’*

The verb *kö- ‘come’* is irregular in a few ways. First, it has two alternating stems, *k-* and *kö-*, thus its paradigm is a mixture of consonant-final and vowel-final stem verb morphology. Second, there is a peculiar syncretism between the final form *k-u* and one of the attested attributive forms *k-u*. This instance of syncretism is not found in WOJ, and only occurs when the terminative case is suffixed to the attributive. This is some form of *r*-loss (different from the *r*-loss described in Whitman 1985: 190-201) exclusive to EOJ when the attributive form of ‘come’ (*k-uru*) is followed by the terminative case suffix -*ma[N]*te. This is because while the form *k-uru* ‘come-ATTR’ is attested in EOJ, it is never attested before the terminative suffix -*ma[N]*te. Note the following example from Kamitupusa province (the same form *k-u-ma[N]*te ‘come-ATTR-TERM’ can be found in Suruga 20:4339.4 and 20:4340.5, Kamitukeno 20:4404.2, and Pitati 20:4372.15 – interestingly all examples are from MYS book 20):

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247 The forms in brackets are not attested in EOJ, but are attested in WOJ.
4. 20:4350.5 – Kamitupusa
加倍理久々泥
kapeyr-i-k-u-maNte-ni
return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC
‗Until [I] come back [home].‘

Now compare this with the identical form ‘come-ATTR-TERM’ attested in WOJ, found in the following poem from MYS book 15:

5. 15:3702.3-4 – WOJ
和礼由伎弖 / 可敞里久流末凰
ware yuk-yi-te / kapyer-i-k-uru-maNte
1.S go-INF-SUB / return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM
‗Until I go and come back.‘

Finally, the negative form of this verb deserves some discussion. A negative suffix is only attested attached to the root kō- two times: once as kō-Ns- ‘come-NEG-‘ (in 20:4323.5), but also once as kō-n- ‘come-NEG-‘ (shown in example 6 below) with a following suffix -a.

6. 14:3461.4 – UD
与比奈波許奈尔
yöpyi-na pa kō-n-a n-i
evening-LOC TPT come-NEG- COP-INF
‗Being that [you] did not come in the evening.‘

As the copula n- always follows nominals and nominalized verbs, Ikier (2006: 103-4) analyzes this form as ko-n-a ‘come-NEG-ATTR,’ with the -a being a unique attributive form. If I am forced to choose a nominalizer in this form, I would rather choose an analysis where the -a is not a unique attributive, but rather is a contracted form of the nominalizer -aku, as this nominalizer is frequently attested followed by the copula n- in EOJ. Thus I propose the development of PJn *ko-n-u-aku n-i ‘come-NEG-ATTR-NML > early EOJ *ko-n-aku n-i ‘come-NEG.ATTR-NML (after the attributive was
phonologically lost) > EOJ ko-n-a n-i ‘come-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF.’ Of course this would be an irregular contraction\(^{248}\), so it is not an analysis free from problems, but I think it is the best solution to this problem, and thus I will gloss examples that contain this form as ko-n-a ‘come-NEG.ATTR-NML.’

\[\]

Table 5-4: The basic inflectional paradigm for the irregular stem verb kö- ‘come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kö- ‘come’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>k-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>kö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>k-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>k-uru ~ k-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>kö-Ns- ~ kö-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>k-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>kö-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3.3 se- ~ -sö ~ ‘do’

The verb ‘do’ in EOJ is the most complex in terms of root allomorphy, as it has four attested forms. While the allomorphs s-, se-, and -sö are found across the dialects (and in WOJ), the form si- is only attested once, and is by all indications a variant specific to one particular dialect. I consider se- the underlying root, so I will refer to this morpheme by that root in the discussion that follows.

The verb se- ‘do’ loses its root vowel before the infinitive -i, the final -u, the attributive -uru, and evidential -ure. This is identical to vowel-final stem verbs, except for the infinitive form, which patterns with consonant-final stem verbs. Before the negative

\[^{248}\text{It is helpful to note that /k/ deletes in Middle Japanese verbal morphology in the sequence /akul/, giving the output /a/. A good example is the OJ form ka-ku ‘be.thus-AVFIN’ which is attested as ka-u ‘id.’ in MJ (Vovin 2003: 190). Perhaps this example shows the process of intervocalic /k/ deletion began in the Eastern provinces and spread to the West? It is hard to do much but speculate with only one possible example in the EOJ corpus.}\]
-an- and mood markers such as the tentative -am-, it retains its vowel, again patterning with vowel-final stems. The form -sō is a bound auxiliary form only used in negative-imperative constructions, thus it can be seen as peripheral to the inflectional paradigm.

Table 5-5: The basic inflectional paradigm for the irregular stem verb se- ‘do’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>se- ‘do’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>s-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>se ~ -sō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>s-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>s-uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>se-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>s-ure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>se-m- ~ si-m-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned earlier in this section, in one UD poem we find the form si- ‘do.’

This is most likely due to a raising of *se > /si/ in the dialect.

7. 14:3556.5 – UD

na-wo [a]Ntō kamō si-m-u
2.S-ACC what EPT do-TENT-ATTR
‘What should [I] do about you?’

5.4.3.4 r-final irregular verbs

The r-final irregular verbs attested are ar- ‘exist,’ nar- ‘become,’ por- ‘desire,’ and nar- ‘COP.’ Their irregularity lies in the syncretism between their infinitive and final forms. They also exhibit syncretism between their imperative and evidential forms, like other coronal-final stem verbs.
Table 5-6: The basic inflectional paradigm for the r-final stem irregular verb ar- ‘become’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ar- ‘exist’</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>ar-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ar-an-</td>
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<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>ar-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENT</td>
<td>ar-am-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3.5 Defective verbs

The defective verbs include multiple copulas and a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘think.’

5.4.3.5.1 Copula n-

The copula n- is attested in every province, and it always follows a nominal form (noun, adjective, or nominalized verb). It has two forms in its defective paradigm: infinitive n-i and attributive n-ö. In addition, there is a portmanteau contracted form N- ‘COP.ATTR.’ In WOJ, there is also a subordinative gerund infinitive form n-i-te attested (Vovin 2009a: 510), but this is not attested in EOJ.

5.4.3.5.1.1 Infinitive form n-i

The following examples show the infinitive form of this defective verb n-.

8. 20:4401.5 - Sinano
意母奈志尔志弖
omö na-si n-i s-i-te
mother not.exist-FIN COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘Being without [my] mother.’
In example (8) the adjectival verb final suffix -si is used in an attributive function (this is an irregular feature of the adjectival verb na-), which allows the copula n- to follow.

9. 14:3402.4-5 – Kamitukeno
勢奈能我素仫母 / 佐夜尓布良思都
se-na-nō-Nka swoNte mō / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-POSS sleeve FPT / clear COP-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
‘[My] dearly beloved was clearly waving [his] sleeve.’

In example (9) the infinitive copula n-i is used after an adjective to adverbialize it. The same function is shown in example (10) below, where it adverbializes a nominalized verb.

10. 20:4405.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊母古我 / 志濃比尔西餘等
wa-Nka imō-kwo-Nka / sinwop-yi n-i se-yō tō
1.S-POSS beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / long_for-NML COP-INF do-IMP DV
‘My darling said: ‘Be longing for [me]’.’

11. 14:3374.3-4 – Muzasi
麻左弖尓毛 / 乃良奴伎美我名
masate n-i mwo / nör-an-u kyimyi-Nka NA
certain COP-INF FPT / tell-NEG-ATTR lord-POSS name
‘[The answer] is certain. [my] lord’s name was not told [to me].’

12. 14:3426.3-4 – Mitinöku
安波奈波婆 / 斯努比尓勢毛等
ap-an-ap-aNpa / sinwop-yi n-i se-m-wo tō
meet-NEG-ITER-COND / long_for-NML COP-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV
‘If [we] do not meet again and again, [I] think [you] should be longing for [me].’

13. 14:3350a.4-5 – Pitati
伎美我美家思志 / 安夜尓伎保思母
kyimyi-Nka myi-kyesi si / aya n-i kyi posi-mō
lord-POSS HON-garment EPT / extreme COP-INF wear.NML be.desired-EXCL
‘[I] really want to wear [my] lord’s garment.’

14. 14:3385.4-5 – Simotupusa
麻末乃於須比尔 / 奈美毛登抒呂尔
mama-nō osu pyi-ni / namyi mwo tōNtōrō n-i
cliff-GEN rock shore-LOC / wave FPT thunderous COP-INF
‘The waves are thunderous on the cliff’s rocky shore.’
15. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa
多飛等弊等 / 麻多妣奈理奴
tapiy tō [i]p-ye-tō / ma-taNpiyi n-i nar-i-n-u
journey DV say-EV-CONC / INT-journey COP-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Although [it] was said to be ‘a journey,’ this has come to be a true journey.’

16. 20:4349.1-3 – Kamitupusa
毛母久麻能 / 美知波紀爾志乎 / 麻多佐良
mwomō kuma-nō / myiti pa k-iy-n-i-si-wo / mata sara n-i
hundred bend_in_a_road-GEN / road TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC / again more COP-INF
‘Though [I] have come [this far] on roads of a hundred bends, still there is more to travel.’

17. 20:4428.4-5 – UD
叡比波登加奈々 / 阿夜尓可毛祢牟
yeNpiyi pa tōk-an-ana / aya n-i kamwo ne-m-u
sash TPT undo-NEG-DES / strange COP-INF EPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] do not want to untie my sash. [I] wonder, is it strange that [I] sleep [like this]?'

5.4.3.5.1.2 Attributive form n-ö
The following examples show the attributive form of this defective verb n-.

18. 20:4420.5 – Muzasi
許礼乃波流母志
köre n-ö paru mös-i
this COP-ATTR needle hold-INF
‘Holding this needle.’

19. 14:3363.4-5 – Sagamu
安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑乃木能末可
asiNkara yama-nō / suNkiy n-ö KŌ-nō ma ka
PN mountain-GEN / cedar COP-ATTR tree-GEN space QPT
‘[Will his return be] through the cedar trees of Mt. Asigara?’

20. 20:4373.3-4 – Simotukeno
意富伎美乃 / 之許乃美多弖等
opo kyimyi-nō / sikō n-ö myi-tate tö
great lord-GEN / despicable COP-ATTR HON-shield COP
‘Being a despicable soldier for [my] sovereign.’
21. 14:3501.1-3 – UD

安波乎呂能 / 乎呂田尓於波流 / 多波美豆良
apa wo-rō n-ō / wo-rō TA-ni op-ar-u / tapamyi-N-tura
PN mountain.ridge-DIM COP-ATTR / mountain.ridge-DIM field-LOC grow-
PROG-ATTR / UNC-GEN-vine
‘[Like] the tapami249 vines that are growing in the fields [along] the little
mountain ridge that is the little mountain ridge of Apa…’

5.4.3.5.1.3 Portmanteau form N-

The following examples show the contracted portmanteau form N- which may be
‘COP.ATTR’ or ‘COP.INF.’

22. 14:3354.1-3 - Töpotuapumi
伎倍比等乃 / 萬太良夫須麻尔 / 和多佐波太
kyiipey pyitō-nō / maNtara N-pusuma-ni / wata sapaNta
PN person-GEN / speckled COP.ATTR-bed_covers-LOC / cotton many
‘[There is] much cotton in the speckled bed covers of the people of Kipey.’

23. 14:3426.1-3 – Mitinōku
安比豆祢能 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美 / 安波奈波婆
apyiNtu ne-nō / kuni-wo sa N-tōpo-myì / ap-an-ap-aNpa
PN peak-GEN / land-ABS thus COP.INF-be.far-AVGER / meet-NEG-ITER-
COND
‘If [we] continue not meet because the land of the Apidu peaks is so far…’

24. 14:3561.1-2 – UD
可奈刀田乎 / 安良我伎麻由美
kanatwo TA-wo / ara N-kakyì ma-yu myì
PN paddy-ACC / rough COP.ATTR-fence interval-ABL see.INF
‘Through a space in the rough fence, [I] see the fields of Kanato.’

5.4.3.5.2 Copula tö

There are fewer attestations of the copula tö than the copula n-. It usually
functions as a gerundive copula, but it can also occur sentence final (before a particle). Its
attributive form is t-u, shown below in section 5.4.3.5.2.1.

249 This appears to be a term for a specific type of vine.
5.4.3.5.2.1 Attributive form t-u

There is an attributive form t-u attested just once, in Sagamu province.

28. 14:3370.4 – Sagamu

波奈都豆麻奈礼也

pana t-u Ntuma nar-e ya

flower COP-ATTR spouse become-EV QPT

‘Will [she] become a flower wife? [no, she will not]’

5.4.3.5.3 Copula rö

A copula rö is only attested in UD, and there is only one clear attestation. We might think this is due to WOJ influence (as it is attested in WOJ more than once), but it is attested in a poem, and a line, with some distinct Eastern linguistic features (such as the tentative 2 suffix -unam- and the attributive suffix -o).

29. 14:3552.1-4 – UD

麻都我宇良尓 / 佐和恵宇良太知 / 麻比黎其等 / 於毛抱須奈母

matu-Nka ura-ni / sawawe ura-N-tat-i / ma-pyitö-N-kötö / omwop-os-unam-ö rö

pine-POSS bay-LOC / noisy tip-LOC-rise-NML / INT-people-word / think-HON-TENT-ATTR COP
'It is [that] [you] surely think that people’s rumors [are like] noisy [waves] raising to the tips [of the tree branches] in the bay of pines.'

There is one other possible attestation, shown below.

30. 14:3469.4-5 – UD
阿是曾母许与比 / 与斯役麻左奴
aNse só mö kö yöyi / yö-sì-rō-k-yi-mas-an-u
why FPT EPT this evening / approach-INF-UNC(COP?)-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
‘Why is it [he] does not come near me tonight?’

However, a copula in this position is somewhat strange, and this could just be some other unknown verbal form.

5.4.3.5.4 Defective verb tō

The defective verb tō, glossed as ‘DV,’ does not have any morphological forms other than its root. When it directly precedes a verb, the verb is always one with a meaning related to speech or thought, such as ip- ‘say,’ twop- ‘ask,’ omop- ‘think,’ or nōr- ‘tell.’ In these instances tō functions as a quotative marker. Additionally, tō can also be used on its own with no following verb, in which case it has a meaning of either ‘say’ or ‘think.’

This verb is attested orthographically once as te, in Suruga province (shown in example 32 below). This is due to a change of *ə > /e/ that occurred after coronal onsets in Suruga dialect. See section 2.5.3.2.28 for a discussion.

31. 20:4323.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥已受祁牟
papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-s-u-kyem-u
mother DV say-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘The flower which [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in bloom.’
32. 20:4344.1 - Suruga
wasur-am-ute
try_to_forget-TENT-FIN DV
‗[I] said [I] would try to forget [them].‘

33. 20:4406.3-5 – Kamitukeno
kusa makura / taNpyi pa kurusi tô / tukey-yar-aku mö
grass pillow / journey TPT be.painful.AVFIN DV / tell.INF-send-TENT.ATTR-NML FPT
‗[I] would send [him] to tell [them] that [my] journey, [when I sleep on] a grass pillow, is painful.‘

34. 20:4363.4-5 – Pitati
ima pa kök-yi-n-u tô / imö-ni tukey-kös-ö
now TPT row-INF-PERF-FIN DV / beloved_girl-DAT tell.INF-BEN-IMP
‘Please tell [my] darling [on behalf of me] that [I’m] rowing now!‘

35. 20:4375.4-5 – Simotukeno
ware-wo myi-okur-u tô / tat-ar-i-si mwokörö
1.S-ACC see.INF-send_off-FIN DV / stand-PROG-INF-PST.ATTR similarity
‗It resembles how [my] family stood, thinking to see me off.‘

36. 14:3384.1-4 – Simotupusa
katusika-nö / mama-nö TENKWO-na-wo / ma-kötö Nkamo / ware-ni yös-u tô [i]p-u
PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-ACC / INT-word EPT / 1.S-DAT approach-ATTR DV say-FIN
‗People say a darling maiden of the cliff in Katusika definitely approaches me!‘

37. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa
tapiy tô [i]p-ye-tö / ma-taNpyi n-i nar-i-n-u
journey DV say-EV-CONC / INT-journey COP-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN
‗Although [it] was said to be a journey, this has become a true journey.‘

38. 14:3446.3-5 – UD
sasara woNkiy / asi tô pyitö-N-kötö / katar-i-yör-así-mwo
little Amur silver_grass / reed DV people-GEN-word / tell-INF-approach-SUP-EXCL
‗It seems that people say the little Amur silver grass is a reed!‘
39. 14:3465.4-5 – UD
安杼世呂登可母 / 安夜可奈之伎
aNtö se-rō tō kamō / aya nį kanasi-kyi
what do-IMP DV EPT / extreme COP-INF be.adorable-AVATTR

40. 14:3469.1-2 – UD
由布氣尓毛 / 許余比登乃良路
yupu kö yōyū tō nör-ar-wo
evening fortunetelling-LOC FPT / this evening DV tell-PROG-ATTR
‘Even at the evening fortunetelling [they] are telling [me] ‘[it will be] tonight!’.’

41. 20:4425.1-4 – UD
佐伎毛利爾 / 由久波多我世登 / 刀布比登乎 / 美流我登毛之佐 / 毛乃母比毛世受
sakyīmworī n-i / yuk-yū pā ta-Nka se tō / twop-u pyittō-wo / myi-ru-Nka tömwosi-sa
border.guard COP-INF / go-ATTR TPT who-POSS beloved_man DV / ask-ATTR person-ACC / see-ATTR-POSS be.favored-AVNML
‘[Oh,] the enviousness of looking at those who ask ‘whose husband is that, going to be a border guard?’.’

42. 20:4343.1-2 - Suruga
和呂多比波 / 多比箇於米保等
warō tapyi pa / tapyi tō omeyp-o-tō
1.S journey TPT / journey DV think-EV-CONC
‘[I] think my journey [is] a journey, but…’

43. 14:3435.5 – Kamitukeno
比多敾登於毛敾婆
pyi-tayē tō omwop-ye-Npa
one-CL DV think-EV-CONJ
‘Since [I] thought it [was] one layer…’

44. 14:3447.1-2 – UD
久佐可氣乃 / 安努奈由可武
kusa kakey-nō / anwo-na yuk-am-u tō
grass shade-GEN / PN-LOC go-TENT-FIN DV
‘[I] thought [I] would go to ‘grass-shade’ Ano.’

45. 14:3473.4-5 – UD
祿毛箇可兒呂賀 / 於由爾美要都留
ne-m-wō tō ka KWO-rō-Nka / oy-u-ni myi-ye-turu
sleep-TENT-ATTR DV QPT girl-DIM-POSS / grow_old-ATTR-LOC see-PASS-PERF-ATTR

‘Just when [I] think to go to sleep, [I] suddenly can see [my] dear girl grow old.’

46. 14:3545.1-2 – UD
安須可河泊 / 世久登之里世波
asuka Nkapa / sek-u tö sir-i-sepa
PN river / dam-FIN DV know-INF-PST.COND
‘If [I] knew to think they would dam the river Asuka…’

5.5 Verbal affixes

Verbal affixes attach directly to the root, or to another affix. Both prefixes and suffixes are attested.

5.5.1 Prefixes

There are four clear prefixes: the durative *ari-*-, the tangible *kakyi-*-, the negative-imperative *na-*-, the directive-locative *i-*-, and the intensifying prefix *ka-*.

5.5.1.1 Durative *ari-*

The durative *ari-* is attested just once, in Pitati province. I view it as a durative prefix because in its sole attestation it only has a meaning of a prolonged duration.

47. 20:4368.1-2 – Pitati
久自我波々 / 佐気久阿利麻弓
kuNsi-N-kapa pa / sakey-ku ari-mat-e
PN-GEN-river TPT / be.safe-AVINF DUR-wait-IMP
‘Be waiting for [me] safely, [at] KuNsi river!’
5.5.1.2 Tangible kakyi-

I refer to kakyi- as a tangible prefix because its meaning involves touching something with the hands. It is a grammaticalization from the infinitive or nominalized form of the verb kak- ‘scratch.’ It is only attested twice.

48. 20:4346.1-3 - Suruga

知々波々我 / 可之良加伎奈刃 / 佐久阿例刃

titi papa-Nka / kasira kakyi-nate / sa-ku ar-e te

father mother-POSS / head TNG-caress.INF / be.safe-AVINF exist-IMP DV

‘[My] mother and father caressed [my] head and said ‘be safe’.’

49. 14:3404.1-3 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努 / 安蘓能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎

kamyitukeywo / aswo-nō ma-swo mura / kakyi-muNtak-yi

PN / PN-GEN INT-hemp group / TNG-embrace-NML

‘Embracing a great bundle of hemp from Aso in Kamitukeno with the hands.’

Table 5-7: Distribution of the tangible prefix kakyi- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.1.3 Negative imperative na-

While referred to as a prefix by Vovin (2009: 569) and Russell (2006: 158), Ikier (2006) views the negative-imperative na- as less bound than a prefix. There is one attestation that contains evidence to suggest a particle can occur between it and the verbal stem. This evidence is presented in example 56 below. If this evidence were more convincing, I would agree with Ikier. However, due to the fact we do not know what this particle is (or even if it really is a particle) in the one attestation, I will stick to calling na- a prefix.

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250 More specifically, he does not draw a morpheme boundary between it and the verb root, and instead writes it as a free morpheme with a space between it and the verb.
The negative-imperative *na-* can occur attached to a verb in the infinitive, and nothing more, as the two examples below demonstrate. However, it usually occurs in the construction *na-V-INF-sō*, described in the next section.

50. 20:4385.1-2 – Simotupusa
由古作枳尓 / 奈美奈等恵良比
yuk-wo sakyi-ni / namyi na-töwerap-yi
go-ATTR ahead-LOC / wave NEG.IMP-shake-INF
‘In the [area] ahead that [I] am going, waves, don’t shake [me].’

51. 14:3501.5 – UD
安乎許等奈多延
a-wo kötö na-taye
1.S-ACC word NEG.IMP-break.INF
‘Don’t stop speaking to me!’

5.5.1.3.1 Special construction *na-V-INF-sō*

Vovin (2009a: 572) and Russell (2006: 158, 290) refer to this construction as a circumfix in both EOJ and WOJ. While I view *na-* as a prefix, I do not view the element -sō ‘do’ as a suffix because it attaches to the infinitive form of the verb, and not the verbal root. Furthermore, if a segment (prefix or suffix) of a circumfix is attested on its own in a language, it normally has a meaning or function that is quite different from the circumfix (Spencer 2001: 129, Bauer 2004: 29), but *na-* is well-attested as a negative-imperative with no accompanying -sō. For these reasons, I do not consider this construction to be a circumfix in EOJ.

The semantics of the construction appear to be the same as that of the negative-imperative *na-*-, though it may have been more emphatic. The advantage of adding the auxiliary -sō ‘do’ is that it allows the addition of further affixation in the form of an

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251 It should be noted that in WOJ with the verb *se-* ‘do,’ the negative-imperative construction *na-* -sō attaches directly to the root *se-*-, rather than the infinitive form *s-i* (Vovin 2009a: 571). *se-* ‘do’ is an irregular verb, so it is not surprising to find an irregularity such as this. This form is unattested in EOJ.
optional desiderative and subsequent imperative suffix. In this sense, the auxiliary -sō ‘do’
is a dummy auxiliary like the auxiliary -ar- described in section 5.7.2.3.1.

52. 14:3398.4-5 - Sinano
伊思井乃手児我 / 許登奈多延曾祢
isiWI-nō TENKWO-Nka / kötō na-taye-sō-n-e
PN-GEN maiden-POSS / word NEGIMP break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Do not break off the words of the maiden of Isiwi in Panisina!’

53. 14:3410.4-5 – Kamitukeno
於久乎奈加祢曽 / 麻左可思余加婆
oku-wo na-kane-sō / masaka si yō-k-aNpa
future-ACC NEG.IMP-consider.INF-do / present EPT be.good-AVATTR-COND
‘Don’t consider the future if the present is good.’

54. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi
和尒奈多要曾祢
wa-ni na-taye-sō-n-e
1.S-DAT NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t break up with me.’

55. 14:3352.1-2 – UD
於毛思路伎 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曾
omwosirwo-kyi / NWO-woNpa na-yak-yi-sō
be.attractive-AVATTR / moor-ACC.EMPH NEG.IMP-burn-INF-do
‘Do not burn the attractive fields!’

56. 14:3526 – UD
安我己許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曾祢
a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ō tö / na-yō-[o]mōp-ar-i-sō-n-e
1.S-POSS heart / two go-TENT2-ATTR COP / NEG.IMP-UNC-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t be thinking that my heart will go in two (i.e., go after two women)!’

Example (56) shows what appears to be a particle yö intervening between the prefix na-
and the verb [o]mōp- ‘think.’ The meaning of this particle is unclear, and indeed, it is
unclear if this really is a particle. Alexander Vovin (p.c.) has suggested it may simply be
an epethetical -y-, rather than a morpheme. While he may be right, I hesitate to accept
this due to no other examples of an epenthetical -y- in the entire EOJ corpus. Due to the
problems involved, I simply gloss the yō in this form as ‘UNC.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
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5.5.1.4 Directive-Locative Focus prefix i-

Vovin (2009a: 561) analyzes this prefix as a directive-locative focus marker that
focalizes the direction or location of the verbal action. An alternate hypothesis was
presented by Yanagida & Whitman, in which i- is an “active prefix” that “only occurs
with nominalized predicates...and infinitives with agentive pro subjects” (2009: 119).
Yanagida & Whitman’s argument is certainly compelling, but there are multiple
exceptions in the data that cannot be explained with this hypothesis. Furthermore, they do
not distinguish between WOJ and EOJ in their analysis. For these reasons, I follow
Vovin’s analysis.

Comparatively speaking, in WOJ, this morpheme is attested preceding a verbal
prefix, and never following it (Vovin 2009a: 561). It is not attested before or after any
other prefix in EOJ.

This prefix is attested in Kamitukeno province and UD. I give all attested
examples below.

57. 14:3409.1-2 – Kamitukeno
伊香保呂専 / 安麻久母伊都藝
ikapo-rō-ni / ama-kumō i-tuNk-yi
PN-DIM-LOC / rain-cloud DLF-stretch_out-INF
‘Rain clouds stretch out across [the sky] at [Mt.] Ikapo.’
58. 14:3518.1-2 – UD
伊波能倍尔 / 伊可賀流久毛能
ipa-nō [u]pey-ni / i-kaNkar-u kumwo-nō
rock-GEN above-LOC / DLF-hang-ATTR cloud-COMP
‘Like the clouds that hang over, above the rocks.’

59. 14:3540.1-2 – UD
左和多里能 / 手兒尓伊由伎安比
sawatari-nō / TENKWO-ni i-yuk-yi-ap-yi
PN-GEN / maiden-LOC DLF-go-INF-meet-INF
‘[I] went over to meet the maiden of Sawatari.’

Table 5-9: Distribution of directive-locative focus i- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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</tbody>
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5.5.1.5 Intensifying prefix ka-

The prefix ka- is well attested in WOJ adjectival verbs with the function of intensifying an action, but Vovin (2009a: 573-4) only lists one example where it attaches to a verb. There are two examples of this prefix in EOJ, one from Sagamu province and one from UD, but both lines in which it appears are identical.

60. 14:3361.3-5 – Sagamu
佐須和奈乃 / 可奈流麻之豆美 / 許呂安礼比毛等久
sas-u wana-nō / ka-nar-u ma siNtum-yi / kō-rō are pyimwo tōk-u
thrust-ATTR trap-COMP / INT-make_sound-ATTR duration grow_quiet-INF/girl-DIM 1.S string undo-FIN
‘Like the traps that thrust [about], the noisiness subsides, and [my] dear girl and I untie [each other’s] cords.’

61. 20:4430.4-5 – UD
可奈流麻之都美 / 伊壺弓登阿我久流
ka-nar-u ma situm-yi / iNte-te tō a-Nka k-uru
INT-make_sound-ATTR duration grow_quiet-INF / go_out-INF-SUB FPT 1.S-POSS come-ATTR
‘I have come, and [I will] leave when the noisiness subsides.’
Table 5-10: Distribution of the intensifying prefix *ka* across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2 Suffixes

There are numerous verbal suffixes. I separate them into the categories of sentence non-final, sentence final, and word non-final.

5.5.2.1 Sentence non-final suffixes

The sentence non-final suffixes are those that can end a verbal word-form, but not a sentence. They include the infinitives *-i ~ -u* and *-e*, the gerunds *-[aN]pa*, *-[N]pa*, and *-[N]töl[mo]*, the nominalizers *-i* and *-aku*, and the adjectivizer *-asi*.

5.5.2.1.1 Infinitives

The infinitives include *-i* and *-e*.

5.5.2.1.1.1 Infinitive *-i ~ -u*

The infinitive *-i* has three functions. First, it can act as a gerund. Second, it can act as glue to link verbs and auxiliaries together in a string. Finally, it can act as a prenominal modifier. It has three allomorphs: the underlying form *-i* that occurs after consonant-final verb stems, the phonologically conditioned zero form that occurs after vowel-final verb stems, and the morphologically conditioned allomorph *-u* described in section 5.5.2.1.1.4. The zero form is the product of the language’s phonotactics: vowel clusters
are not permitted. Thus the infinitive is lost upon affixation to a vowel-final stem verb, which in turn creates a portmanteau verb form consisting of ‘root.INF.’

The infinitive -i is one of the most common morphemes in the corpus, attested multiple times in every province. Due to this fact, I will not present a chart at the end of the section with a number of attestations separated by province.

5.5.2.1.1.1 Linking function

It is not possible to translate the infinitive into English in these examples. The infinitive acts as a linking element that allows the addition of various bound auxiliaries.

62. 14:3352.5 - Sinano
登伎須疑尔家里
tōkyi suNkiy-n-i-kyer-i
time pass.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Time has past by.’

63. 14:3354.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
伊利奈麻之母乃 / 伊毛我乎許尔
ir-i-n-amasi mönö / imwo-Nka woN-tökö-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CONJ / beloved_girl-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
‘Although [I] would like to enter into the dear bed of [my] beloved.’

64. 14:3359a.4-5 - Suruga
伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尔多我比奴
imasi-wo tanöm-yi/ papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
2.S-ACC trust-INF / mother-DAT differ-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Trusting you, [I] have differed from [my] mother.’

65. 20:4341.4-5 - Suruga
道乃長道波 / 由伎加弖奴加毛
MYITI-nō NANKA-TI pā / yuk-yi-kate-n-u kamwo
road-GEN long-road TPT / go-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, can [I] make it on this long road…’

66. 14:3410.4-5 – Kamitukeno
於久乎奈加祢曽 / 麻左可思余加婆
oku-wo na-kane-sō / masaka si yö-k-aNpa
future-ACC NEG.IMP-consider.INF-do / present EPT be.good-AVATTR-COND
‘Don’t consider the future if the present is good.’

67. 20:4415.4-5 – Muzasi
伊弥奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弓毛母也
ipyen[i] ar-u imō-wo / mata myi-te-m-wo mö ya
home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved_girl-ACC / again see.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
EPT EPT
‘How [I] would like to see [my] darling, who is at home, again!’

68. 20:4330.3-4 – Sagamu
氣布能比夜 / 伊田弓麻可良武
keyu-nō pyi ya / imō-te makar-am-u
today-GEN day QPT / go_out.INF-SUB depart-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall [we] go out and depart today?’

69. 14:3437.1-3 – Mitinōku
美知能久能 / 安太多良末由美 / 波自伎於伎弓
mytinōkū-nō / aNtatora ma yumyi / pānsik-yi-ok-yi-te
PN-GEN / PN true bow / loosen-INF-put-INF-SUB
‘Loosening [the string from my] true bow [made of wood from] Adatara in
Mitinōku.’

70. 14:3425.4-5 – Simotukeno
檟良由登伎弓 / 奈我己許呂能礼
swora-yu tô k-yi-n-wo yö / na-Nka kökörō nōr-e
sky-ABL FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT / 2.S-POSS heart tell-IMP
‘[I] came from the sky! Tell me your feelings.’

71. 14:3385.1-3 – Simotupusa
可都思加能 / 麻萬能手兒奈我 / 安里之可婆
katusika-nō / mana-nō TENKWO-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa
PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-POSS / exist-INF-PST.EV-CONJ
‘Since there was a sweet maiden from the cliff of Kadusika…’

72. 14:3460.3-5 – UD
尔布奈未尔 / 和我世乎夜里弓 / 伊波特許能戸乎
nipu-namiy-ni / wa-Nka se-wo yar-i-te / ipap-u könō TWO-wo
new-seedling-LOC / 1.S-POSS beloved_man-ACC send-INF-SUB / pray-ATTR
this door-ACC
‘My beloved [husband] was sent away during the rice seedling thanksgiving
rituals, and [we] pray to this door.’
5.5.2.1.1.2 Gerund function

In the following examples the infinitive suffix on a verb functions as a gerund.

73. 20:4401.2-4 - Sinano

須宗尔 等里都伎 / 奈古古良乎 / 意伎弖曾伎怒也
suswo-ni töri-tuk-yi / nak-wo kwo-ra-wo / ok-yi-te sö k-yi-n-wo ya
hem-LOC take-INF-attach-INF / cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC / leave_behind-INF-SUB FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Oh, [I] have come [here], [after] leaving behind my children, who cried and clung to the hem [of my Korean robes]!’

74. 20:4312.2-4 - Töpotuapumi

美許等 加我布理 / 阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢乎
myi-kötö kaNkapur-i / asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u
HON-word put_on_head-INF / tomorrow-ABL QPT / reed-POSS together_with sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] obey [my sovereign’s] command, from tomorrow shall [I] sleep together with the reeds?’

75. 14:3375.3-5 – Muzasi

多知 和可礼 / 伊爾之与比欲利 / 世呂尔安波奈布与
tat-i-wakare / in-i-yöp-yworī / se-rō-ni ap-an-ap-u yō
depart-INF-separate-INF / depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘[We] separate and depart, and since that evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my] beloved!’

76. 14:3362b.3-5 – Sagamu

和須礼 竽久 / 伎美我名可気弖 / 安乎祢思奈久流
wasure-yuk-u / kyimyi-Nka NA kakey-te / a-wo ne si nak-uru
forget-INF-go-ATTR / lord-POSS name call-INF-SUB / 1.S-ACC voice EPT
make.cry-ATTR
‘[I] call out [my] lord’s name, which [I] gradually forget – [he] makes me cry!’

77. 20:4374.1-3 – Simotukeno

阿米都知乃 / 可美乎伊乃里弖 / 佐都夜奴伎
amey tuti-nō / kamiyi-wo inör-i-te / satu-ya nuk-yi
heaven earth-GEN / deity-ACC pray-INF-SUB / hunting-arrow pull_out-INF
‘Praying to the gods of heaven and earth, and pulling out a hunting arrow’

78. 14:3395.1-2 – Pitati

乎豆久波乃 / 祢呂尔都久多思
woN-tukupa-nō / ne-rō-ni tuku tas-i

252 The character 乎 is believed to be a mistake for 牟.
DIM-PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC moon rise-INF
‘The moon rises on the smaller peak of Mt. Tukupa.’

79. 20:4363.1-3 – Pitati
奈尓波都尔 / 美布祢於呂尓 / 夜蘓加奴伎
nanipa tu-ni / myi-pune orō-suwe / ya-swo ka nuk- yi
PN harbor-LOC / HON-boat lower-place.INF / eight-ten oar pierce-INF
‘Lowering the boat in Nanipa harbor, and fixing it in place, many oars pierce [into the waves].’

80. 14:3383.1-2 – Kamitupusa
字麻具多能 / 稱呂爾可久里為
umaNkuta-nö / ne-rō-ni kakur-i-wi
PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC hide-INF-sit-INF
‘[You] are hiding in the small peak of Umaguta.’

81. 20:4350.1-4 – Kamitupusa
尔波奈加能 / 阿須波乃可美尓 / 古志波佐之 / 阿例波伊波々牟
nipa naka-nö / asupa-nö kamyi-ni / kwo-sipa sas-i / are pa ipap-am-u
garden middle-GEN / PN-GEN deity-DAT / DIM-bush thrust-INF / 1.S TPT pray-TENT-FIN
‘Thrusting out [a sprig of] little bushes, I shall pray to the Asupa deity in the middle of the garden.’

82. 14:3445.1-4 – UD
美奈刀能也 / 安之我奈可那流 / 多麻古須氣 / 可利己和我西古
myinatwo-nö ya / asi-Nka naka-n[i] ar-u / tama-kwo-sukey / kar-i kō wa-Nka sekwo
harbor-GEN EPT / reed-POSS middle-LOC exist-ATTR / jewel-DIM-sedge / chop_down-INF come.IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM
‘Chop down the jewel[-like] sedge grasses that are among the reeds of harbor and come [back here], [my] beloved.’

83. 20:4426.1-3 – UD
阿米都之乃 / 可未尔奴佐於伎 / 伊波比都々
amey tusi-nö / kamiy-ni nusa ok-yi / ipap-yi-tutu
heaven earth-GEN / deity-LOC paper_offering put-INF / pray-INF-COOR
‘Leaving paper offerings to the deities of heaven and earth while praying.’

5.5.2.1.1.3 Adnominal function

In these examples the infinitive is used in an attributive function, modifying the following noun.
84. 14:3411.1-3 – Kamitukeno
多胡能祢尓 / 与西都奈波倍弓 / 与须礼腾毛
taNkwo-nô ne-ni / yöse tuna papey-te / yōs-ure-Ntömwo
PN-GEN peak-LOC / approach.INF rope stretch_out.INF-SUB / approach-EV-CONC
‘[I] stretched out a rope (lit. *approaching rope*) to draw you in on the peak of
Tago, although [we] had relations.’

85. 20:4407.1-3 – Kamitukeno
比奈久毛理 / 宇須比乃佐可乎 / 古延志太尔
pyi-na kumwor-i / usupiy-nô saka-wo / kwoye siNta-ni
sun-LOC become_cloudy-INF / PN-GEN slope-ACC / cross.INF CNJ-LOC
‘When [I] cross the slope of Usupi [with] clouds over the sun.’

Example (85) is of note because we normally find an attributive form of a verb before the
conjunction siNta ‘when.’ See section 7.5 for examples illustrating this.

86. 20:4393.3-5 – Simotupusa
知々波々乎 / 以波比等於椏弓 / 麻為椏尓之乎
titi papa-wo / ipap-byi pye-tô ok-yi-te / mawi-[i]te-k-yi-n-i-si-wo
father mother-ACC / pray-INF pot-COM leave_behind-INF-SUB /
come.HUM-INF-go_out.INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC
‘[I] left my father and mother with a praying pot, and came out [here].’

87. 20:4370.1-3 – Pitati
阿良例布理 / 可志麻乃可美乎 / 伊能利都々
arare pur-i / kasima-nô kamyi-wo / inör-i-tutu
hail fall-INF / PN-GEN deity-ACC / pray-INF-COOR
‘While praying to the god of Kasima where the hail falls…’

88. 14:3442.1-3 – UD
安豆麻治乃 / 手高乃 / 古要我祢弖
aNuma-N-tnô / TENKWO-nô ywoNp-yi saNka / kwoye-Nkane-te
PN-GEN-road-GEN / maiden-GEN call-INF slope / get_past.INF
NEG.POT.INF-SUB
‘Being unable to cross the maiden-calling slope on the road to Aduma.’

89. 14:3512.3-5 – UD
安乎祢呂尓 / 伊佐欲布久母能 / 余曽里都麻
awo ne-rô-ni / isaywop-u kumô-nô / yōsô-i tuma pa mö
green peak-DIM-LOC / hesitate-ATTR cloud-COMP / draw_near-INF spouse
TPT EPT
‘Like the clouds that hesitate over the little green peak, [what of this other
person’s] spouse [that] draws near?’
5.5.2.1.1.4 Infinitive allomorph -u

The infinitive allomorph -u only follows the allomorph -[aN]/s- of the negative suffix, an environment where the infinitive -i is blocked (this may be related to the fact that a form -aNsi exists but is ‘NEG.TENT’). We would expect the negative-infinitive form to be -an-i, however this is unattested in EOJ (it does occur in WOJ with a few verbs). Thus this infinitive -u is a morphologically conditioned allomorph of the infinitive -i. This allomorph of the infinitive is syncretic with the final suffix -u in this part of the verbal paradigm.

90. 20:4323.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟
papa tô [i]p-una-nö / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō:Ns-u-kyem-u
mother DV say-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-go_out.NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘The flower which [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in bloom.’

91. 20:4337.3-4 - Suruga
知々波々尔 / 毛能波须 licens
titi papa-ni / mwonö [i]p-as-u k-ye-n-i-te
father mother-DAT / things say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‘[I] came without saying anything to my father or mother!’

92. 20:4416.4-5 – Muzasi
伊波奈流和礼波 / 比毛等加受祢牟
ipa-n[i] ar-u ware pa / pyimwo tök-aNs-u ne-m-u
home-LOC exist-ATTR 1.S TPT / string undo-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-FIN
‘I, who am at home, shall sleep without untying my cords.’

93. 14:3370.5 – Sagamu
比母登可受祢牟
pyimö tök-aNs-u ne-m-u
string undo-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘[She] will sleep without untying [her] cords.’

94. 14:3425.1-3 Simotukeno
志母都家努 / 安素乃河泊良欲 / 伊之布麻努受
simötukyeno / aswo-nö Nkapara-ywo / isi pum-aNs-u
PN / PN-GEN river_bank-ABL / stone step-NEG-INF
‘From the riverbank of Aso in Simotukeno, without stepping on a stone.’
95. 20:4371.4-5 – Pitati
都久波能夜麻乎 / 古比须安良米可毛
tukupa-nō yama-wo / kwopyi-s-u ar-am-ey kamwo
PN-GEN mountain-ACC / love-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV EPT
‘[I wonder, shall [I] live longing for Mt. Tukupa?’

96. 14:3481.3-5 – UD
伊敝能伊母尔 / 毛乃伊波受伎尔弓 / 於毛比具流之母
ipye-nō imō-ni / mwnō ip-aNs-u k-yi-n-i-te / omwop-yi-N-kurusi-mō
home-GEN beloved_girl-DAT / thing say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
/ think-NML-GEN-be.painful.AVFIN-EXCL
‘Having come here, without saying anything to [my] darling [I left] at home –
it’s painful to think [about that]!’

97. 14:3508.4-5 – UD
安比見受安良婆 / 安礼古非米夜母
ap-yi-MYI-Ns-u ar-aNpa / are kwopiyi-m-ey ya mō
meet-INF-see-NEG-INF exist-COND / 1.S long_for-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‘If [I] do not meet with you, will you [still] love me? [no, you won’t]’

98. 20:4436.1-3 – UD
夜未乃欲能 / 由久左伎良受 / 由久和礼乎
yamiy n-o ywo-nō / yuk-u sakyi sir-aNs-u / yuk-u ware-wo
darkness COP-ATTR night-GEN / go-ATTR ahead know-NEG-INF / go-ATTR
1.S-ACC
‘[I who] was going without knowing what lies ahead on this dark night.’

The infinitive allomorph -u may be followed by the subordinative gerund auxiliary -te,
just like the infinitive allomorph -i. This is shown in the following two examples:

99. 20:4376.1-2 – Simotukeno
多妣由伎尒 / 由久左伎良受
taNpyi yuk-yi-ni / yuk-u tö sir-aNs-u-te
journey go-NML-LOC / go-FIN COP know-NEG-INF-SUB
‘Without knowing that [I] would be going on a journey [lit. toward journey-going]…’

100. 14:3447.4-5 – UD
阿努波由加受弓 / 阿良久佐太知奴
anwo pa yuk-aNs-u-te / ara kusa-N-tat-i-n-u
PN TPT go-NEG-INF-SUB / uncultivated grass-GEN-rise-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Without reaching Ano, wild grasses have risen up.’
5.5.2.1.1.2 Infinitive -e

The infinitive -e is only attested once, in Suruga province. It seems to be a dialect variation of the infinitive -i. It is not attested in WOJ.

101. 20:4337.3-4 - Suruga
      知々波々尔 / 毛能波須償尔弖
      titi papa-ni / mwonō [i]p-as-u k-ye-n-i-te
      father mother-DAT / thing say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
      ‘[I] came without saying anything to [my] father or mother!’

5.5.2.1.2 Gerunds

The gerunds include the conditional gerund -[aN]pa, the conjunctive gerund -[N]pa, and the concessive gerund -[N]tō[mo].

5.5.2.1.2.1 Conditional gerund -[aN]pa ～-[N]pa

The conditional gerund -[aN]pa introduces a conditional clause, with the meaning of ‘if X.’ It has two allomorphs: -[aN]pa after consonant-final stems and -[N]pa after vowel-final stem verbs and most vowel-final suffixes and auxiliaries. The initial vowel of the morpheme fuses with the final vowel of the past tense auxiliary -si, creating a portmanteau form -se[N]pa ‘PST.COND’ (see example (111) below). There is also a special temporal construction involving the conditional -[aN]pa described in section 5.5.2.1.2.1.1.

102. 20:4324.1-4 - Töpotuapumi
      等倍多保美 / 志留波乃伊宗等 / 尔閇乃字良等 / 安比弓之阿良婆
      töpetyapomyi / sirupa-nō iixo-tō / nipey-nō ura-tō / ap-yi-te si ar-aNpa
      PN / PN-GEN rock-COM / PN-GEN bay-COM / meet-INF-SUB EPT exist-COND
‘If it **would be** that the rocks of Sirupa in Töpotuapumi meet with the bay of Nipe…’

103. 14:3414.5 – Kamitukeno

佐祢乎 佐祢弖婆
sa-ne-wo sa-ne-te-Npa
PREF-sleep.NML-ACC LOC-sleep.INF-PERF-COND
‘If [I] **had slept** [with you]…’

104. 14:3378.3-4 – Muzasi

伊波為都良 / 比可婆奴流々々
ipawi tura / pyik-aNpa nur-u nur-u
UNC vine / pull-COND untangle-FIN untangle-FIN
‘The *ipawi* vines are untangled if [they are] **pulled** [up].’

105. 20:4423.1-3 – Muzasi

安之我良乃 / 美佐可尓多志弖 / 蘭埿
asiNkara-nō / myi-saka-ni tas-i-te / swoNte pur-aNpa
PN-GEN / HON-slope-LOC stand-INF-GER / sleeves wave-COND
‘If [I] **wave** [my] sleeves, standing on the slope of Asigara.’

106. 14:3426.1-3 – Mitinöku

安比豆祢能 / 久尓乎佐桼抱美 / 安波奈婆
apyiNtu ne-nō / kuni-wo sa N-tōpo-myi / ap-an-ap-aNpa
PN peak-GEN / land-ABS thus COP.INF-be.far-AVGER / meet-NEG-ITER-COND
‘If [we] **do not meet again and again** because the land of the Apidu peaks is so far.’

107. 20:4379.1-3 – Simotukeno

之良奈美乃 / 与曽流波麻倍尔 / 和可例奈婆
sira namyī-nō / yōsōr-u pama-pey-ni / wakare-n-aNpa
white wave-GEN / draw_near-ATTR shore-area-LOC / separate.INF-PERF-COND
‘If [we] **part** at the shore where the white waves draw near…’

108. 14:3394.4 – Pitati

和須良許婆古曽
wasura-kō-Npa253 kwosō
forget-come-COND FPT
‘If [you] **forget to come**…’

109. 20:4392.1-3 – Simotupusa

阿米都之乃 / 以都例乃可美乎 / 以乃良波 加

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253 This reverse compounding is discussed in section 5.9.
amey tusi-nō / iture-nō kamyī-wo / inör-apa ka
heaven earth-GEN / which-GEN deity-ACC / pray-COND QPT
‘If [I] pray, to which gods of heaven and earth [should I pray]?’

This example shows the conditional -a[N]pa used with a preceding wh- word and a following question particle, to indicate uncertainty.

110. 14:3382.1-4 – Kamitupusa
宇麻具多能 / 祐呂乃佐左葉能 / 都由思母能 / 奴礼弖和伎奈婆
umaNkuta-nō / ne-rō-nō sasa-PA-nō / tuyu simō-nō / nure-te wa k-yi-n-aNpa
PN-GEN / peak-DIM-GEN bamboo_grass-leaf-GEN / dew frost-GEN /
be.wet.INF-SUB 1.S come-INF-PERF-COND
‘If I come, wet [with] dew and frost from the bamboo grass leaves of the peaks of Umaguta…’

111. 14:3545.1-2 – UD
安須可河泊 / 世久登之里世波
asuka Nkapa / sek-u tö sir-i-sepa
PN river / dam-FIN COP know-INF-PST-COND
‘If I knew [they] would dam the river Asuka…’

Example (111) shows the the conditional -a[N]pa fusing with the past tense auxiliary -si, creating a portmanteau form -sepa ‘-PST.COND.’

112. 14:3567.1-2 – UD
於伎弖伊可婆 / 伊毛婆麻可奈之
ok-yi-te ik-aNpa / imwo pa ma-kanasi
leave_behind-INF-SUB go-COND / beloved_girl TPT INT-be.sad.AVFIN
‘If I go leaving [her] behind, [my] darling will be so sad.’

113. 20:4426.3-5 – UD
伊波比都々 / 伊麻世和我世奈 / 阿礼乎之毛波婆
ipap-yi-tutu / imas-e wa-Nka se-na / are-wo si [o]mwop-aNpa
‘My dearly beloved, if [you] long for me, then keep praying.’
5.5.2.1.2.1 Temporal construction with a following verb in the tentative mood

When the conditional -a[N]pa is followed by a predicate verb in the tentative mood, it can mean ‘when,’ rather than ‘if’ (Vovin 2009a: 733). I could only find two clear examples of this in the EOJ corpus.

114. 14:3400.3-5 - Sinano
左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美弖波 / 多麻等比呂波牟
saNsare [i]si mò / kyimyi si pum-yi-te-pa / tama tô pyiröp-am-u
little stone FPT / lord EPT step-INF-PERF-COND / jade COP pick_up-TENT-FIN
‗When [you, my] lord have stepped on a little stone, [I] shall pick [it] up as a jewel.‘

115. 14:3477.2-4 – UD
手兒乃欲婢佐可 / 古要弖伊奈波 / 安礼波古非牟奈
TENKWO-nö ywoNp-yi saka / kwoye-te in-apa / are pa kwopi-y-m-u na
maiden-GEN call-INF slope / cross.INF-SUB depart-COND / 1.S TPT long_for-TENT-FIN EPT
‗When [I] cross the maiden-calling slope and depart, I will long for [you]‘

Table 5-11: Distribution of the conditional gerund -a[N]pa across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
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5.5.2.1.2.2 Conjunctive gerund -[N]pa

The conjunctive gerund -[N]pa has two functions: an expression of reason, and a temporal function. It is homophonous with the allomorph -[N]pa of the conditional gerund. They are differentiated based on semantics as well as the stems to which they attach: the conjunctive gerund -[N]pa only attaches to stems that end in the evidential suffix.
5.5.2.1.2.2.1 Expression of reason

The following examples show the conjunctive gerund used to express reason, something akin to ‘because’ or ‘since.’

116. 14:3352.3-4 - Sinano
保登等藝術 / 奈久許惠
potōtōNkyisu / nak-u köwe kyik-ey-pa
cuckoo / cry-ATTR voice hear-EV-CONJ
‘Because [I] hear the crying voice [of] the cuckoo…’

117. 14:3385.1-3 – Simotupusa
可都思加能 / 麻萬能手奈我 / 安里之可婆
katusika-nō / mama-nō TENKWO-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa
PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-POSS / exist-INF-PST.EV-CONJ
‘Since there was a sweet maiden from the cliff of Kadusika…’

118. 20:4351.5 – Kamitupusa
伊母尓志阿良祢婆
imō n-i si ar-an-e-Npa
beloved_girl COP-INF EPT exist-NEG-EV-CONJ
‘Because it is not [my] beloved [who will warm me up]!’

119. 14:3498.1-3 – UD
宇奈波良乃 / 根夜波良古須氣 / 安麻多安礼波
una-para-nō / NE yapara kwo-sukey / amata ar-e-pa
sea-plain-GEN / root soft DIM-sedge / many exist-EV-CONJ
‘Since there are many [girls like] the small sedge [with] soft roots [along] the sea plain…’

120. 20:4427.4-5 - UD
由須比之比毛乃 / 登久良久毛倍婆
yusup-yi-si pyimwo-nō / tōk-ur-aku [o]mwop-ey-Npa
tie-INF-PST.ATTR string-GEN / come_undone-ATTR-NML think-EV-CONJ
‘Because [I] think that the tied cords [of my robes] have just come undone…’

5.5.2.1.2.2.2 Temporal function

The following examples show the conjunctive gerund used to indicate a meaning of ‘when.’
121.  20:4375.1-2 – Simotukeno
麻都能気乃 / 奈美多流 美礼波
matu-nō key-nō / nam-yi-tar-u myi-re-pa
pine-GEN tree-GEN / be.lined_up-INF-PP-ATTR see-EV-CONJ
‘When [I] see pine trees standing in a row…’

122.  14:3397.1-4 – Pitati
比多知奈流 / 奈左可能宇美乃 / 多毛許曽 水波
tpíy-ey-pa taye-s-ure PN-LOC exist-ATTR / PN-GEN sea-GEN / jade seaweed FPT / pull-EV-CONJ
break-CAUS-EV
‘When [I] pull [up] the jade seaweed of the sea of Nasaka in Pitati, it falls apart.’

123.  14:3450.1-4 – UD
乎久左乎等 / 乎具佐受家乎等 / 斯抱布祢乃 / 那良敝.
wokusa wo-tō / woNkusa-N-sukye-wo-tō / sipo pune-nō / narapye-te myi-re-Npa
PN man-COM / PN-GEN-help-man-COM / tide boat-GEN / line_up.INF-SUB
see-EV-CONJ
‘When [I] see the man ‘Wokusa’ and the youth ‘Wogusa’ line up [their] tide-boats…’

124.  14:3476a.3-4 - UD
多刀都久能 / 努賀奈由家婆
tat-wo tuku-nō / NwoNkan-ayye-yuk-ye-Npa
rise-ATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONJ
‘When the moon that rises continues to flow away…’

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Table 5.12: Distribution of the conjunctive gerund -[N]pa across the provinces

5.5.2.1.2.3 Concessive gerund -[N]tō[mo]

The concessive gerund has a meaning of ‘however,’ ‘although,’ or ‘but.’ It always attaches to the evidential suffix. Due to this we might be tempted to conclude there is no synchronic morpheme boundary between the two forms, but the fact that the evidential occurs on its own paired with the fact that other suffixes can attach to the evidential makes such a conclusion implausible.
There are two allomorphs: 

- 

\[-[N]tö\] , and 

- 

\[-[N]tömo\] . The latter historically consists of a focus particle attached to the concessive, but as Vovin (2009a: 746) notes there is no difference in meaning or function on the synchronic level, so the allomorphs can be considered free variants.

The concessive gerund can also attach to the evidential forms of adjectival verbs.

See section 4.3.1.9 for those examples.

125. 20:4343.1-2 - Suruga
和呂多比波 / 多比等於米保等
warö tapyi pa / tapyi tö omeyp-o-tö
1.S journey TPT / journey COP think-EV-CONC
‘Although [I] know my journey is a journey…’

126. 14:3420.4 – Kamitukeno
於也波佐久礼滕
oya pa sak-ure-Ntö
parents TPT keep_apart-EV-CONC
‘Although [our] parents split [us] apart…’

127. 20:4419.1-2 – Muzasi
伊波呂尓波 / 安之布多氣度母
ipa-rö-ni pa / asi-pu tak-ey-Ntwomö
home-DIM-LOC TPT / reed-fire burn-EV-CONC
‘Although [I] burn a reed fire in [my] dear home…’

128. 20:4378.1-2 – Simotukeno
都久比夜波 / 須具波由氣等毛
tuku pyi ya pa / suNk-u pa yuk-ey-tömwo
moon sun EPT TPT / pass-FIN TPT go-EV-CONC
‘Oh, the moon and sun pass, and although [they] go [away]…’

129. 14:3350a.1-3 – Pitati
筑波祢乃 / 尔比具波麻欲能 / 伎奴波安礼杼
tukupa ne-nö / nipyi N-kupa maywo-nö / kyinu pa ar-e-Ntö
PN peak-GEN / new COP.ATTR-mulberry silkworm_cocoon-GEN / robes TPT exist-EV-CONC
‘Although [I] have robes [spun] from the silkworm cocoons [on] new mulberry [leaves] from the peak of Tukupa…’
130. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa
多飛等弊等 / 麻多比利奈理奴
**tapiy tô [i]**p-ye-tô / ma-taNyi n-i nar-i-n-u
journey DV say-EV-CONC / INT-journey COP-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN
‘*Although* [they] said it would be a journey, it has become a true journey.’

131. 20:4353.1-2 – Kamitupusa
伊倍加是波 / 比尔々々布氣等
**ipey kaNse pa / pyi-ni pyi-ni puk-ey-tô**
home wind TPT / day-LOC day-LOC blow-EV-CONC
‘*Although* a wind from [my] home blows [here] everyday…’

132. 14:3444.1-3 – UD
伎波都久能 / 乎加能久君美良 / 和礼都賣杼
**kyipatuku-nô / woka-nô kuku-myira / ware** tum-ye-Ntô
PN-GEN / hill-GEN stem-leek / 1.S pluck-EV-CONC
‘*Although* I pluck the stem-leeks on the hills of Kipatuku…’

133. 14:3509.3-5– UD
宿奈敞杼母 / 古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母
**NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö / kwo-rô-Nka osökyi-nô / ar-wo kösö ye-si-mö**
sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-CONC / girl-DIM-POSS upper_garment-GEN / exist-ATTR FPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘*Although* [we] are not sleeping together, it’s so good to have [my] dear girl’s upper garment!’

134. 14:3550.2 – UD
伊祢波都可祢杼
**ine pa tuk-an-e-Ntô**
rice_plant TPT pound-NEG-EV-CONC
‘*Though* [I] did not pound the rice plants…’

Table 5.13: Distribution of the concessive gerund -[N]tô-[mo] across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
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5.5.2.1.3 Nominalizers

The nominalizers include -i and -aku.
5.5.2.1.3.1 Nominalizer -i ~ -u

The nominalizer -i is usually differentiated from the infinitive -i, as the former is derivational and the latter is inflectional. There are also some accentual differences between the two, but we can only see that in later forms of Japanese (cf. Martin 1987: 211, Martin 1988: 884). There is no evidence such accentual differences were present in the EOJ dialects, since accent was not marked in the orthography. While typologically speaking it is certainly not uncommon for an infinitive form of a verb to also act as a nominal form, I will not stray from the usual analysis of considering the nominalizer -i a distinct morpheme from the infinitive -i in Old Japanese (Vovin 2009a: 753), as I see no benefit from doing so.

The nominalizer -i has the same allomorphy as the infinitive -i, including the morphologically conditioned allomorph -u.

135. 14:3399.3-4 - Sinano
可里婆祢尒 / 安思布麻之牟奈
kar-i N-pane-mi / asi pum-asim-una
chop_down-NML COP.ATTR-stump-LOC / foot step-CAUS-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t let [your] feet step on the chopped-down [tree] stump.’

136. 20:4337.1-2 - Suruga
美豆等利乃 / 多知能已藤岐
myiNtu tōri-nō / tat-i-nō iswok-yi n-i
water bird-GEN / rise-NML-COMP rush-NML COP-INF
‘Being [in] a rush, like the rise of a water bird.’

137. 14:3404.1-3 – Kamitukeno
可美都気努 / 安藤能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎
kamyitukeynwo / aswo-nō ma-swo mura / kak-yi-muNtak-yi
PN / PN-GEN INT-hemp group / touch_with_hands-INF-embrace-NML
‘[Like] holding in both arms a big bundle of hemp from the fields of Aso [in] Kamitukeno.’

138. 20:4405.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊母古我 / 志濃比尔西餘等
wa-Nka imō-kwo-Nka / sinwop-yi n-i se-yō tö
1 S-POSS beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / *long_for-NML COP-INF do-IMP DV
‘My darling girl said: ‘Be longing for [me]’.’

139. 14:3374.1-2 – Muzasi
武蔵野尔 / 宇良敏可多也伎
muNSASI NWO-ni / urapye kata yak-yi
PN moor-LOC / divination shoulder burn-NML
‘Burning a divination [deer] shoulder on Muzasi Plain.’

140. 20:4421.1-2 – Muzasi
和我由伎乃 / 伊伎都久之可婆
wa-Nka yuk-yi-nō / ikyi tukus-i-k-aNpa
1 S-POSS go-NML-GEN / breath exhaust-INF-PST-COND
‘If my going exhausted [all your] breath…’

141. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu
布奈可射里 / 安我世牟比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我
puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rō-wo / myi-m-wo pyitō mōNkamwo
boat-decorate-NML / 1 S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC / see-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘I want someone [there] who will see the special day when I do the boat-decorating.’

142. 14:3426.4 – Mitinōku
斯努必尔勢毛等
sinwop-yi n-i se-m-wo tō
long_for-NML COP-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV
‘[I] think [you] should be longing for [me].’

143. 20:4376.1-2 – Simotukono
多妣由伎 / 由久等之良受弖
taNpyi yuk-yi-ni / yuk-u tō sir-aNs-u-te
journey go-NML-LOC / go-FIN COP know-NEG-INF-SUB
‘Without knowing that [I] would be going on a journey [lit. toward journey-going].’

144. 20:4364.1-2 – Pitati
佐岐牟理尔 / 多々牟佐和伎
sakyimuri-ni / tat-am-u sawak-yi-ni
border.guard-LOC / depart-TENT-ATTR make_noise-NML-LOC
‘In the noisiness of the departure of the border guards.’

145. 20:4391.4-5 – Simotupusa
阿加古比须奈牟 / 伊母賀加奈志作
a-ka kwop-yi s-unam-u / imō-Nka kanasi-sa
1.S-POSS pray_for.NML do-TENT2-ATTR / darling-POSS be.adorable-ADJNML
‘The adorableness of [my] beloved for whom I shall pray.’

146. 14:3383.5 – Kamitupusa
奈我目保里勢牟
na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘[I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

147. 20:4354.2–3 – Kamitupusa
多知乃佐和伎 / 阿比美弖之
tat-i-nö sawak-yi-ni / ap-yi-myi-te si
depart-NML GEN make_noise-NML-LOC / meet-INF-see.INF-SUB EPT
‘[We] met and saw [eachother] in the noisiness of [my] departure.’

148. 14:3442.4–5 – UD
夜麻尓可祢牟毛 / 夜杼里波奈之
yama-ni ka ne-m-u mwo / yaNtör-i pa na-si-ni
mountain-LOC QPT sleep-TENT-ATTR FPT / lodge-NML TPT not.exist-FIN-LOC
‘Shall [I] sleep in the mountains being that there is no lodging [here]?'

149. 14:3493a.5 - UD
安比波多我波自
ap-yi pa taNkap-aNsi
meet-NML TPT differ-NEG.TENT
‘[Our] meeting shall not be in question!’

150. 14:3495.3 – UD
可藝里登也
kaNkyir-i tō ya
limit-NML COP QPT
‘Is [this] the end?’

151. 14:3461.2 – UD
佐宿尔安波奈久尔
sa-NE-ni ap-an-aku n-i
PREF-sleep.NML-LOC meet-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Being [that we] did not meet to sleep together.’

Example (151) is a semantographic attestation.

152. 20:4425 – UD
毛乃母比毛世受
mwonö [o]möp-yi mwo se-Ns-u
thing think-NML FPT do-NEG-FIN
‘[I] don’t worry about things.’

5.5.2.1.3.1 Allomorph -u

The nominalizer allomorph -u is attested three times in the entire corpus. Just as we find in WOJ, it only occurs after the negative suffix -{a}/Ns-.

153. 20:4347.1-2 – Kamitupusa
伊閇尓之弖 / 古非都々安良受波
ipey n-i s-i-te / kwopi-y-tutu ar-aNs-u pa
home COP-INF do-INF-SUB / long_for.INF-COOR exist-NEG-NML TPT
‘[I] am at home, and while [I] am longing for [you], [I] am not with [you].’

154. 14:3544.1-3 – UD
阿須可河泊 / 之多尔其礼留乎 / 之良受思天
asuka-N-kapa / sita niNkör-er-u-wo / sir-aNs-u s-i-te
be.regretful.AVFIN-EXCL
‘The bottom of the Asuka river is dirty, but [I] did not know [that].’

155. 14:3565.1-2 – UD
可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈牟
kanö kwo-rö-tō / NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u
that girl-DIM-COM / sleep-NEG-NML QPT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall [things] become [such] that [I] will not sleep with that sweet girl?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
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<th>Kak</th>
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<th>Sa</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.1.3.2 Nominalizer -aku

Vovin (2005a, 2009a) and Russell (2006) view -aku as a suffix in both WOJ and EOJ, though Vovin (2009a: 763) eludes that it is not a “true suffix.” This is due to the fact that it behaves more like a postposed noun, at least diachronically, as it attaches to the attributive form of a verb. Another notable feature of -aku is that it nominalizes the
entire verb phrase, rather than the verb root. This feature is more characteristic of an enclitic, but unlike an enclitic -aku is clearly integrated into the verbal paradigm, cannot be dislocated and moved to any other part of the sentence, and cannot have any particle intervene between it and the verb to which it attaches.

As mentioned above, the nominalizer -aku attaches to the attributive form of verbs. The initial vowel of this suffix is strong, and as such it never deletes in a verbal word-form. In verbs that take the contracted attributive -o/-u, the attributive is rendered phonologically null upon the addition of -aku, and thus the preceding verbal suffix or root becomes portmanteau. Note the following examples:

156. 20:4406 – Kamitukeno
和我伊波呂尓 / 由加毛比等母我 / 久佐麻久良 / 多妣波久流之等 / 都氣夜良麻久母
wa-Nka ipa-rō-ni / yuk-am-wo pyitö mōNka / kusa makura / taNpyi pa kurusi tō / tukey-yar-am-aku mö
1.S-POSS home-DIM-LOC / go-TENT-ATTR person DPT / grass pillow / journey TPT be.painful.AVFIN COP / tell.INF-send-TENT.ATTR-NML FPT
‘[I] wish someone would go to my dear home! [I] would have [him] tell [my family] that, [when I sleep on] a grass pillow, [my] journey is painful!’

In example (156) the tentative suffix -am- becomes the portmanteau form ‘TENT.ATTR’ due to the following, phonologically null attributive suffix created upon suffixing the nominalizer -aku. We see a similar example below, with the negative suffix -an-

becoming the portmanteau suffix ‘NEG.ATTR’ after the nominalizer -aku is added:

157. 20:4413.4-5 – Muzasi
西呂我馬伎己无 / 都久乃之良奈久
se-rō-Nka mak-yi-kō-m-u / tuku-nō sir-an-aku
beloved_man-DIM-POSS leave-INF-come-TENT-ATTR / moon-GEN know-NEG.ATTR-NML
‘Not knowing the month when [my] beloved shall leave and come [back].’
In a different analysis, the attributive in these examples could also be considered a zero morph.

When attaching to the attributive -uru, the attributive reduces to -ur-, as can be seen in the following example:

158. 20:4427.3-5 - UD
麻由須比尔 / 由须比之毛乃 / 登久良毛倍婆
ma-yusup-yi-ni / yusup-yi-si pyimwo-nô / tôk-ur-aku [o]mwo-ey-Npa
INT-tie-NML-LOC / tie-INF-PST.ATTR string-GEN / come_undone-ATTR-NML
think-EV-CONJ
‗[I] think that the cord [of my robes], that [she] tied [on me], has just come undone.‘

Further examples of the nominalizer -aku follow below:

159. 14:3368.4-5 – Sagamu
余尓母多欲良尓 / 故呂河伊波奈久尔
yö-ni mö taywora n-i / kwo-rô-Nka ip-an-aku n-i
world-LOC FPT shaking COP-INF / girl-DIM-POSS say-NEG.ATTR-NML
COP-INF
‗[I] am shaking [with uneasiness] in [this] world, and [my] dear girl isn’t saying [anything].‘

160. 20:4377.3-5 – Simotukeno
伊多太伎弖 / 美都良乃奈可尔 / 阿敞麻可麻久毛
itaNtak-yi-te / myituru-nô naka-ni / apye-mak-am-aku mwo
place_on_head-INF-SUB / hairstyle-GEN center-LOC / join-INF-wrap-TENT.ATTR-NML FPT
‗[I] could place [them] upon my head, and have them wrapped up within [my] hair.‘

161. 14:3392.4-5 – Pitati
代尔毛多由良尔 / 和我於毛波奈久尔
YÖ-ni mwo tayura n-i / wa-Nka omwop-an-aku n-i
world-LOC FPT shaking COP-INF / 1.S-POSS think-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‗I do not think that [I’ll] ever waver [in my love] in [this] world.‘

162. 20:4389.5 – Simotupusa
於毛波弊奈久尔
omwop-apye-n-aku n-i
think-ITER-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘[I] was not thinking that [such a thing would happen].’

163. 20:4355.3-5 – Kamitupusa
奈尓波我多 / 久毛為尔美由流 / 忧麻奈良奈久尓
nanipa-N-kata / kumwo wi-ni myi-y-uru / sima nar-an-aku n-i
PN-GEN-lagoon / cloud sit.NML-LOC see-PASS-ATTR / island COP-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Being that it is not the island that [one] can see in the clouds sitting [over] Nanipa lagoon.’

164. 14:3500.3-5 – UD
比等能児能 / 宇良我奈之家乎 / 祢乎遠敵奈久尓
pyitö-nö KWO-nö / ura-N-kanasi-kye-wo / ne-wo wopye-n-aku n-i
person-GEN girl-GEN / feelings-GEN-be.sad-AVATTR-ACC / sleep.NML-ACC finish-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘I feel sad about the girl who [is another] person’s, although [I ]did not finish sleeping [with her].’

165. 14:3530.4-5 – UD
児呂我可奈門欲 / 由可久之要思母
KWO-rö-Nka kana-TWO-ywo / yuk-aku si ye-si-mö
girl-DIM-POSS metal-door-ABL / go.ATTR-NML EPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘Going past the gate of [my] darling girl’s home is so nice!’

166. 14:3543.4-5 – UD
古呂波伊敞枠母 / 伊末太年那久尓
kwo-rö pa ip-ye-Ntömö / imaNta ne-n-aku n-i
girl-DIM TPT say-EV-CONC / not_yet sleep-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Although [that] dear girl speaks [as if we have], [the fact] is that [we] still have not slept together.’

The nominalizer -aku is attested in the following EOJ provinces, with the total number of attestations in parentheses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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<th>Sik</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>10254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is also attested once in UD attached to the attributive suffix of an adjectival verb. See section 4.3.1.10 for a discussion.
5.5.2.2 Sentence final suffixes

The sentence final suffixes end both a sentence and a verbal word-form.

5.5.2.2.1 Final predication -u

The final suffix -u is syncretic with the attributive suffix -u in consonant-final stem verbs. This suffix is semantically null, as it only functions to mark the final predicate of the sentence. The final -u is one of the most common verb suffixes, attested in every province except Mitinōku.

167. 14:3398.1-2 - Sinano
比等未奈乃 / 許等波 多由登毛
pyitö miyna-nö / kötö pa tay-u tömwo
people all-GEN / word TPT break-FIN CNJ
‘Even if the words of all people break off.’

168. 20:4325 - Töpotuapumi
久佐麻久良 / 多毗波 多由 / 佐々己由加曳
kusa makura / taNpyi pa yuk-u tömö / sasakö-te yuk-am-u
glass pillow / journey TPT go-FIN CNJ / raise.INF-SUB go-TENT-ATTR
‘Even if [I] go on [my] journey [and sleep on] a grass pillow, [I] shall lift [them] up and go.’

169. 14:3359a.4-5 - Suruga
伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尒 多我比奴
imasi-wo tanöm-yi/ papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
2.S-ACC trust-NML / mother-DAT differ-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Trusting you, [I] have differed from [my] mother.’

170. 20:4342.5 - Suruga
於米加波利 勢受
omey kapar-i se-Ns-u
face change-NML do-NEG-FIN
‘[The look of your] face does not change.’

171. 14:3402.4-5 – Kamitukeno
勢奈能我素侣母 / 佐夜尔 布良思都
se-na-nö-Nka swoNte mō / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-POSS sleeve FPT / clear COP-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
‘[My] dearly beloved was clearly waving [his] sleeve.’

172. 20:4405.3-5 – Kamitukeno
都氣志非毛 / 伊刀傑流等母 / 和波等可自等余
tukey-si piyimwo / itwo n-i nar-u tömō / wa pa tōk-aNsi tō yö affix.INF-PST.ATTR string / thread COP-INF become-FIN CNJ / 1.S TPT undo-NEG.TENT DV EPT
‘Even if the cord that she tied [on me] becomes a thread, still I think [I] probably won’t untie it.’

173. 14:3378.3-4 – Muzasi
伊波為都良 / 比可婆奴流々々
ipawi tura / p yi k A
‘The ipawi vines untangle if [they’re] pulled [up].’

174. 20:4424.4-5 – Muzasi
美佐可多婆良婆 / 麻佐夜可尓美楓
mi yisaka taNpar-aNpa / ma-sayaka n-i myi-m-u
HON-slope receive.HUM-COND / INT-clear COP-INF see-TENT-FIN
‘If [you] receive [permission to cross] the honored slope, [you] would see [me] so clearly.’

175. 14:3361.4-5 – Sagamu
可奈流麻之豆美 / 許呂安礼比毛等久
ka-nar-u ma siNtum-yi / kō-rō are pyimwo tōk-u
PREF-make_sound-ATTR duration grow_quiet-INF / girl-DIM 1.S cord untie-FIN
‘The noisiness subsides, and [my] dear girl and I untie [each other’s] cords.’

176. 20:4328.3-4 – Sagamu
伊蘓尓布理 / 宇能波良和多流
iswo-ni pur-i / unō-para watar-u
rock-LOC touch-INF / sea-field cross-FIN
‘[I] cross [over] the sea-field, touching the rocks [as I go].’

177. 20:4375.3-5 – Simotukeno
伊波比等乃 / 和例乎美於久流等 / 多々里之毛己呂
ipa-pyitō-nō / ware-wo myi-okur-u tō / tat-ar-i-si mwokörö home-person-GEN / 1.S-ACC see.INF-send_off-FIN DV / stand-PROG-INF-PST.ATTR similarity
‘It is similar to how how [my] family members were standing [when they came] thinking to see [me] off.’
178. 14:3386.2-3 – Pitati
可望理美 / 阿例波久江由久
kapeyr-i-myi-s-u / are pa kuye-yuk-u
return-INF-see-NEG-INF / 1.S TPT get_past.INF-go-FIN
‘I go on over without looking back.’

179. 14:3383.5 – Kamitupusa
奈我目保里勢牟
na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘[I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

180. 20:4372.3-4 – Pitati
可望理美 / 阿例波久江由久
kapeyr-i-myi-s-u / are pa kuye-yuk-u
return-INF-see-NEG-INF / 1.S TPT get_past.INF-go-FIN
‘I go on over without looking back.’

181. 14:3388.1-2 – Simotupusa
将豆思加和世乎 / 尔倍
kaNtusika wase-wo / nipey s-u tömwo
PN early_rice-ACC / food_offering do-FIN CNJ
‘Even though [she] made an offering of some new rice from Kadusika…’

182. 14:3383.5 – Kamitupusa
奈我目保里勢牟
na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘[I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

183. 14:3536.4-5 – UD
伊可奈流勢奈可 / 和我理許武等伊布
ika nar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kō-m-u tô ip-u
how COP-ATTR beloved_man-DIM QPT / 1.S-DIR come-TENT-FIN DV say-ATTR
‘What kind of lover is he, [who] says [he] shall come to me?’

184. 14:3549.1-2 – UD
多由比加多 / 志保美知和多流
taiyupi kata / sipo myit-i-watar-u
PN lagoon / tide fill-INF-cross-FIN
‘The tide fills up Tayupi lagoon.’
There is one peculiar example that looks like it is a final form of a verb, shown below, that deserves some discussion.

Example (187) is peculiar because a final form of a verb before a topic particle is unexpected, and indeed, in WOJ such a combination is unattested (Vovin 2009a: 1157). Similarly, there are no other examples of this in the other EOJ poems. Mizushima (1996: 217) suggests this is an irregular form of suNkiy ‘pass.NML,’ with a change of /i/ > /u/ in the second syllable. He may be correct. There is is one other possible explanation: perhaps the verb suNkiy- ‘pass’ was a consonant-final stem verb suNk- in Simotukeno, in which case suNk-u would be not only the final form, but also the attributive form (which can nominalize a verb and appear before the topic particle pa). Unfortunately, this verb is attested only once in Simotukeno, so it is difficult to make any conclusion. However, this most likely is not the final form of the verb.

255 Also called a ‘false daphne.’
5.5.2.2.1 Final predication allomorph -i

The final predication allomorph -i occurs rather infrequently in the corpus. It only occurs only after the restrospective auxiliary -kyer- ~ -kar- and some r-irregular verbs (such as nar- ‘become’). Due to this the use of the final suffix allomorph -u is blocked in these environments.

188. 14:3352.3-5 - Sinano
保登等藝須 / 奈久許恵伎波 / 登伎須疑尔家里
potötöNkyisu / nak-u köwe kyik-ey-pa / tökyi suNkiy-n-i-kyer-i
cuckoo / cry-ATTR voice hear-EV-CONJ / time pass.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Because [I] hear the crying voice [of] the cuckoo, [I know that] time has past by.’

189. 14:3374.4-5 – Muzasi
乃良奴伎美我名 / 宇良尔但尔家里
nör-an-u kyimyi-Nka NA / ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-kyer-i
tell-NEG-ATTR lord-POSS name / divination-LOC go_out.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘[My] lord’s name that [they] did not tell [me] emerged from the divination.’

190. 20:4382.1-2 – Simotukeno
布多富我美 / 阿志氣比等奈里
putapoNkami / asi-key pyitö nar-i
PN / be.bad-AV-ATTR person COP-FIN
‘Putapogami is a bad person.’

191. 20:4388.3-5 – Simotupusa
以弊乃母加 / 枳世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都栁尔迦理
ipye-nö [i]mö-ka / kyi-se-si körömö-ni / aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST.ATTR garment-LOC / dirt attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved at [my] home made [me] wear.’

192. 14:3453.4-5 – UD
多母登乃久太利 / 麻欲比伎尔家利
tamötö-nö kuNtar-i / maywop-yi-k-yi-n-i-kyer-i
sleeve-GEN descend-NML / fray-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘The fold of the sleeve has become frayed.’

Table 5-16: Distribution of the final predication suffix -u across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.5.2.2 Attributive -uru ~ -oro ~ -u ~ -o ~ -ö

The attributive suffix is one of the most common verbal affixes, attested multiple times in every province. There is a large range of allomorphy for this morpheme, with five clearly attested forms, and one possible additional (but controversial) form, in total. The forms -uru and -oro attach to vowel-final stem verbs, while the form -ru attaches to strong vowel-final stems (like myi- ‘see’). The forms -u and -o attach to consonant-final stems. The form -ö only attaches to the copula n-. The forms -oro and -o are exclusive to EOJ, and are retentions involving original *o. An example of each allomorph is shown below:

Example of -uru

The allomorph -uru attaches to vowel-final stems and the irregular verbs kö- ‘come’ and se- ‘do.’

Example of -oro

This is the only possible example of -oro in the corpus, and it is far from clear, as the adjacent lines in the poem (not shown here) are very difficult to interpret. Thus, it should be approached with skepticism. It is unattested in WOJ.
**Example of -ru**

In the EOJ corpus, the allomorph -ru is only attested attached to the strong vowel verb *myi-* ‘see.’

195. 20:4415.1-3 – Muzasi
志良多麻乎 / 弥尔刀里母之弓 / 美流乃須母
sira tama-wo / te-ni twor-i-mōs-i-te / *myi-ru-*nōsu mö
white pearl-ACC / hand-LOC take-INF-hold-INF-SUB / *see-ATTR-COMP* FPT
‘Like taking and holding pearls in [my] hands and **gazing at** [them].’

**Example of -o**

The attributive -o is one of the most widely known features of EOJ verbal morphology. It is unattested in WOJ.

196. 14:3426.4-5 – Mitinöku
斯努比尓勢毛等 / 比毛牟須波佐祢
sinwop-ï ni *se-m-wo* tö / pyimwo musup-as-an-e
long_for-NML COP-INF *do-TENT-ATTR* DV / string tie-HON-DES-IMP
‘[I] think you **should be** (lit. *do*) longing for me, and [I] want [you] to [keep your] cords tied!

**Example of -u**

The allomorph -u is a raised form of the allomorph -o. These appear to be in free variation in the dialects.

197. 14:3352.1-2 - Sinano
信濃奈流 / 須我能安良能尔
sinanwo-ï n-i ar-u / suNka-nō ara nō-ni
PN-LOC *exist-ATTR* / PN-GEN uncultivated field-LOC
‘In Suga’s uncultivated fields **that are** in Sinano...’

**Example of -ö**

This allomorph only attaches to the copula *n-. Additional examples were given in section 5.4.3.5.1.2.
Below are further examples of the the allomorphy of the attributive suffix, illustrating each function of this morpheme.

### 5.5.2.2.1 Adnominal function

One of the most common functions of the attributive is to allow a verb to modify a following noun phrase. This is commonly referred to as adnominalization.

Morphosyntactically, it creates a relative clause.

199. 20:4345.1-4 - Suruga

和伎米故等 / 不多利和我見之 / 宇知江須流 / 々々河乃祢良波
‘The peaks of Suruga, which my darling girl and I see and approach together.’

200. 14:3402.1-3 – Kamitukeno

比能具礼尓 / 宇須比乃夜麻乎 / 古由渡日波
pyi-nō Nkure-ni / usupyi-nō yama-wo / kwoy-uru PYI pa sun-GEN darken.NML-LOC / PN-GEN mountain-ACC / cross-ATTR sun TPT
‘The sun that crosses over Usupi mountain at sunset.’

201. 20:4406.1-2 – Kamitukeno

和我伊波呂尓 / 由加毛比等母我
‘[I] wish for someone who would go to my dear home.’

202. 14:3362a.3-5 – Sagamu

和須礼久流 / 伊毛我名欲妣弖 / 吾乎祢之奈久奈
wasure-ku-uru / imwo-Nka NA ywoNp-yi-te / A-wo ne si nak-una forget.INF-come-ATTR / beloved_girl-POSS name call-INF-SUB / 1.S-ACC voice EPT make.cry-NEG.IMP
‗[I] call the name of [my] beloved girl who forgot to come - don‘t make me cry out!‘

203. 20:4380.3-5 – Simotukeno
可美佐夫流 / 伊古麻多可祢尓 / 久毛曾多奈妣久
kamyi sanp-uru / ikwoma taka ne-ni / kumwo sö tanaNpyik-u
deity behave_like-ATTR / PN high peak-LOC / cloud FPT stream_out-ATTR
‗The clouds stream out over the high peak of Mt. Ikoma that behaves like a deity.‘

204. 14:3392.1-3 – Pitati
筑波祢能 / 伊波毛等杼呂尓 / 於都留美豆
tukupa ne-nô / ipa mwo toNtöro n-i / ot-uru myiNtu
PN peak-GEN / rock FPT thunderous COP-INF / fall-ATTR water
‗The water that falls thunderously [amid] the rocks of the peaks of [Mt.] Tukupa.‘

205. 20:4366.1-2 – Pitati
比多知散思 / 由可牟加里母我
pyitati sas-i / yuk-am-u kari möNka
PN point_toward-INF / go-TENT-ATTR wild goose DPT
‗[I] wish there were wild geese that would go toward Pitati!‘

206. 20:4385.1-2 – Simotupusa
由古作枳尓 / 奈美奈等惠及
yuk-wo sakyi-ni / namyi na-töwerap-yi
go-ATTR ahead-LOC / wave NEG.IMP-shake-INF
‗In the [area] ahead that [I am] going, waves, don‘t shake [me].‘

207. 20:4355.3-5 – Kamitupusa
奈尓波我多 / 久毛為尓美由流 / 志麻奈良奈尓
nanipa-N-kata / kumwo wi-ni myi-y-uru / sima nar-an-aku n-i
PN-GEN-lagoon / cloud sit.NML-LOC see-PASS-ATTR / island COP-NEG-NML COP-INF
‗Being that it is not the island that [one] can see in the clouds sitting [over] Nanipa lagoon.‘

208. 14:3504.3-4 – UD
字良夜須尓 / 左奴流夜曾奈伎
ura yasu n-i / sa-n-uru YWO sö na-kyi
heart easy COP-INF / LOC-sleep-ATTR night FPT not.exist-AVATTR
‗There are no nights when [I] sleep there with [my] heart at ease.‘

209. 14:3405b.5 – Kamitukeno
美流比登奈思尔
myi-ru pyitö na-si-ni
see-ATTR person not.exist-FIN-LOC
Since there’s no one [there] who will see [us].”

5.5.2.2.2 Nominalizer function

The attributive can also function as a pure nominalizer. In doing so, it allows the deverbalized noun to take case suffixes.

210. 14:3395.3-5 – Pitati
安比太欲波 / 佐波太奈利怒乎 / 萬多祢天武可聞
apiyiNta ywo pa / sapaNta nar-i-n-wo-wo / mata ne-te-m-u kamo
interval night TPT / many become-INF-PERF-ATTR-ACC / again sleep.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR EPT
‘Since the nights in between have become many, [I] wonder if [I] shall sleep [with her] again.’

211. 14:3449.3-4 – UD
麻久良我欲 / 安麻許伎久見由
makuraNka-ywo / ama kök-y-[i]k-u MYI-y-u
PN-ABL / fisherman row-INF-go-ATTR see-PASS-FIN
‘[I] see the fishermen rowing out from Makuraga.’

212. 14:3465.3-4 – UD
奴流我倍尓 / 安杼世呂登可母
n-u-ru-Nka[u]pey-ni / aNtö se-rö tö kamö
sleep-ATTR-POSS above-LOC / what do-IMP DV EPT
‘Besides sleeping [with you], [I] wonder, what would [you] say [I] do?’

213. 14:3509.4-5 – UD
古呂賀於曽伎能 / 安路許要志母
kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö / ar-wo kösö ye-si-mö
girl-DIM-POSS upper_garment-GEN / exist-ATTR FPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘It’s so good to have [my] dear girl’s upper garment!’

214. 20:4425.1-3 – UD
佐伎毛利尔 / 由久波多我世登 / 刀布比登乎
sakyimwori n-i / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tō / twop-u pytö-wo
border.guard COP-INF / go-ATTR TPT who-POSS beloved_man DV / ask-ATTR person-ACC
‘Those who ask ‘whose husband is that, going to be a border guard?’’
5.5.2.2.3 Usage as a final predicate due to an attributive-triggering particle

The attributive suffix is mandatory on a final predicate verb when certain particles appear before or after the verb. These are called *kakari* particles in the Japanese tradition, but they are essentially a set of focus, emphatic, and interrogative particles. I refer to them as ‘attributive-triggering’ particles. A full description of all particles, and their attributive-triggering nature, is found in Chapter 8.

215. 20:4403.5 - Sinano
阿乎久牟乃 / 等能妣久夜麻乎 / 古与牟母 / 贫母
awo kum-nō / tōnōNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyō-te k-yi-n-wo kamu
blue cloud-GEN / stream_out-ATTR mountain-ACC / cross.INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘[I] have come, crossing over the mountains where the blue clouds stream out!’

216. 20:4321.3-4 - Töpotuapumi
阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多
asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u
tomorrow-ABL QPT / reed-POSS together_with sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘From tomorrow, shall [I] sleep together with the reeds?’

217. 14:3379.1-2 – Muzasi
和我世故乎 / 安杼可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / aNtō kamō ip-am-u
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / what EPT say-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] wonder, what should [I] say [about] my beloved?’

218. 20:4330 – Sagamu
氣布能比夜 / 伊田弖麻可良武
keypu-nō piy ya / iNte-te makar-am-u
today-GEN day QPT / go_out.INF-SUB depart-TENT-ATTR
‘Will [we] go out and depart today?’

219. 14:3424 – Simotukeno
麻具波思兒吕波 / 多賀家可母多牟
ma N-kupasi KWO-rō pa / ta-Nka kye ka mōt-am-u
true COP.INF-beautiful girl-DIM TPT / who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘Whose container shall the truly beautiful girl hold?’
5.5.2.2.4 Usage as a final predicate without an attributive-triggering particle

Examples of the attributive used as a pure final predicate marker, with no attributive-triggering particle anywhere in the poem, are attested, but are quite rare.

222. 14:3426.4-5 – Mitinöku
斯努比尓勢毛等 / 比毛牟須波佐祢
sinwop-yi n-i se-m-wo tö / pyimwo musup-as-an-e
long_for-NML COP-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV / string tie-HON-DES-IMP
‘[I] think [you] should be longing for [me], and [I] want [you] to [keep] your cords tied!’

223. 20:4419.5 – Muzasi
古布志氣毛波母
kwopusi-key [o] mwop-am-ö
be.longing_for-AVNML think-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] shall think of it [with] a feeling of longing.’

Examples like this probably show the early stage of the attributive suffix overtaking the final suffix as the final predicate marker, a change which was finalized centuries later in the history of the Japanese language.
5.5.2.2.5 Hypothetical attributive allomorph -a

Ikier (2006: 101-6) proposes an attributive allomorph -a in a number of word-forms. Most of these can be easily explained away as either involving the negative-desiderative form -n-ana, or verbal forms that end in a desiderative suffix -ana and are followed by the emphatic particle na. For the three other possible attestations of this hypothetical allomorph that cannot be explained away so easily, one was offered a different explanation in section 5.4.3.2, and the other in section 8.3.8. However, one remains, which I will cover here. The analysis Ikier (2006: 101) adopts for this is given below, with his translation.

224. 14:3526.1-2 – UD
奴麻布多都 / 可欲波等里我栖
numa puta-tu / kaywop-a töri-Nka SU
marsh two-CL / come_and_go-ATTR bird-POSS nest
‘Like the nests of a bird that comes and goes between (his nests at) two marshes…’

Ikier’s translation is semantically sound, and while his analysis is grammatically plausible, it is morphologically problematic. In looking for an alternative explanation, we should consider the verb kaye-257 ‘be distant; be separated’ attested in WOJ (Omodaka, et al. 1967: 227). This example could very well show the attributive form of this verb root in EOJ, occurring before the topic particle pa, which is a perfectly grammatical construction. I offer the following alternative analysis:

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256 Mizushima (1972: 150) analyzed kaywopa as the attributive form of ‘come and go’ long before.
257 The WOJ verb is a vowel-final stem according to Omodaka et al (1967: 227), which takes the attributive allomorph -uru in WOJ (though no attestation of an attributive form kay-uru appears to exist, and Omodaka et al only present the final form kay-u in the examples given). However, we must keep in mind the important fact that more than one WOJ vowel-final stem verb is a consonant-final stem verb in EOJ.
In conclusion, I see no convincing evidence to posit an attributive allomorph -a, as all hypothetical instances of it can be explained away using different analyses that are equally plausible or more plausible.

Table 5-17: Distribution of the attributive suffix allomorphs across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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<th>Sik</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Special attributive allomorph exclusive to the copula n-.

It is helpful to examine the phonological environments in which the attributives -o and -u occur in each province, as the attributive -o is unattested in WOJ.

The attributive -o occurs in Sinano once after /n/ and once after /k/.

Töpotuapumi is the only province to lack an attestation of the attributive -o.

In Suruga we find the attributive -o just once, after /n/.

In Kamitukeno, we find the attributive -o after /m/ and /r/, but the attributive -u is also found after /m/.

All six attestations of the attributive -o in Muzasi occur after a labial initial (/p/ or /m/). Unlike Kamitukeno province, there are no examples of the attributive -u in this environment. This may indicate the labial consonants disallowed the raising of the attributive /o/ to /u/ in this province.
The attestations of the attributive -o in Sagamu occur once after /k/ and once after /m/. There are multiple attestations of the attributive -u after /m/ in the province.

In Mitinōku the only verbal attributive attested is -o, and it occurs after /m/.

In Simotukeno the attributive -o is attested once after /m/ and once after /n/. The attributive -u is also attested after /m/ in the province.

In Pitati the attributive -o is attested once after /m/ and once after /n/. The attributive -u is also attested after /m/ in the province.

In Simotupusa the attributive -o is attested once after /k/, once after /s/, and once after /p/. Interestingly, there are three attestations of the attributive -u after /m/, and no attestations of the attributive -o after /m/, which is in stark contrast the rest of the provinces.

In Kamitupusa the attributive -o is attested once after /p/ and three times after /m/. The attributive -u is also attested after /m/.

In summation, across the provinces the most common environment in which we find the attributive -o is after /m/. It appears the labiality of /m/ (and possibly also /p/) blocked, or at least slowed, the raising of *o > /u/ in many provinces. There are no attestations of the attributive -o after a prenasalized voiced consonant. In the UD poems we find the attributive /o/ attested after a range of consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /l/), but we also find the attributive /u/ in the same environments. Interestingly, none of the UD poems from book 20 have an attributive /o/.
5.5.2.2.3 Evidential *-ure ~ -ey*

The evidential morpheme indicates something evident to the speaker. Like the attributive, it is a rather morphophonologically complex affix. In most of the provinces, there are four allomorphs: *-ure, -re, -ey* and *-e*. The first of these occurs after vowel-final stems, while the form *-re* is restricted to strong vowel-final stem verbs, and *-ey* occurs after consonant-final stem verbs. The form *-e* occurs after consonant-final stem verbs that end in a coronal, due to there being no contrast between *ye* and *ey* after coronals. There is an additional allomorph *-o* that only occurs in Suruga and Töpotuapumi provinces after labial-final consonant stem verbs.

The possible variant form *-ore* is only attested in Kamitupusa province and UD (shown in examples (238) and (239) below), but both attestations may simply be misspellings for *-ure*. It is attested nowhere in WOJ, nor in Ryukyuan, so it should be approached with skepticism.

226. 14:3352.3-4 - Sinano
保登等藝須 / 奈久許恵 *伎氣波*
potötöNkyisu / nak-u köwe *kyik-ey-pa*
cuckoo / cry-ATTR voice *hear-EV-CONJ*
‘Because [I] hear the crying voice [of] the cuckoo.’

227. 20:4323.1-3 - Töpotuapumi
等伎騰吉乃 / 波奈波*左家登母 / 奈尓须礼曾*
tökyi-Ntökyi-nö / pana pa *sak-ye-tömö / nani s-ure sö*
time-time-GEN / flower TPT *bloom-EV-CONC / what do-EV FPT*
‘Although the flowers *bloom* time and time again, what should [I] do?’

228. 20:4343.1-2 - Suruga
和呂多比波 / 多比等*於米保等*
warö tapyi pa / tapyi tö *omeyp-o-tö*
1.S journey TPT / journey COP *think-EV-CONC*
‘Although [I] know my journey is a journey…’

229. 14:3417.5 – Kamitukeno
伊麻許曽*麻左礼*
ima kōsō mas-ar-e  
now FPT be.superior-PROG-EV  
‘Now is indeed better.’

230. 20:4419.1-2 – Muzasi  
伊波呂尓波 / 安之布多氣度母  
ipa-rō-ni pa / asi-pu tak-ey-Ntwomö  
home-DIM-LOC TPT / reed-fire burn-EV-CONC  
‘Although [I] burn a reed fire in [my] dear home…’

231. 14:3370.4 – Sagamu  
波奈都豆麻奈礼也  
pana t-u Ntuma nar-e ya  
flower COP-ATTR spouse become-EV QPT  
‘Will [she] become a flower wife? [no, she will not]’

This example shows a special usage of the evidential suffix with the question particle ya. The two used in combination create an ironic question, where the answer is implied to be negative.

232. 14:3437.4-5 – Mitinöku  
西良思馬伎那婆 / 都良波可馬可毛  
ser-asimye-k-yi-n-aNpa / tura pak-am-ye kamwo  
deviate-CAUS-INF-come-INF-PERF-COND / string string-TENT-EV EPT  
‘When it becomes warped, should [I] restring the string?’

This example shows a special usage of the evidential suffix with the focus particle kamo. The two used in combination create a tentative question.

233. 20:4381.4-5 – Simotukeno  
和可流乎美礼婆 / 伊刀母須敞奈之  
wakar-u-wo miy-re-Npa / itwo mō supye na-si  
deviate-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CONJ / utterly FPT way_of_doing not.exist-FIN  
‘When [I] see [them] parting[from their families], there is really no way [to do something about it].’

This example shows the allomorph -re, which attaches to strong-vowel final stem verbs.

234. 14:3394.4-5 – Pitati  
和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波寶  
wasura-kō-Npa kwosō / na-wo kakyə-n-ap-am-ye
forget-come-COND FPT / you-ACC call_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV
‘If [you] forget to come, [I] will not be calling out [for] you again and again!’

The word-final evidential here seems to be used for an exclamatory effect.

235. 20:4371.4-5 – Pitati
duŋpuŋyama-wo / kwopyi-s-u ar-am-ey kamwo
PN-GEN mountain-ACC / love-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV EPT
‘[I] wonder, [I] shall live without loving Mt. Tukupa?’

236. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa
sonö kanasi-kyi-wo / two-ni tate-m-ey ya mö
that.be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV QPT
EPT
‘Will [I] make that adorable [girl] stand outside? [no, I will not]’

237. 20:4393.1-2 – Simotupusa
uŋπi körömö / myikötö n-i s[i]-ar-e-pa
great lord-GEN / command COP-INF EPT-exist-EV-CONJ
‘As it is [my] great lord’s command.’

238. 20:4351.1-3 – Kamitupusa
taNpyi körömö / ya-pey kyi-kasane-te / i-n-wore-tömö
journey garment / eight-CL wear.INF-pile_up.INF-SUB / sleep-sleep-EV-CONC
‘Although [I] sleep wearing the many layers [of my] travel garment.’

239. 14:3466 – UD
ma-kanasi-myi / n-wore-Npa kötö-ni [i]Nt-u / sa-ne-n-ap-ye-pa / kökörö-nö
WO-rö-ni / nör-i-te kansi-mö
INT-adorable-GER / sleep-EV-CONJ word-LOC go_out-FIN / LOC-sleep-
NEG-ITER-EV-CONJ / heart-GEN string-DIM-LOC / ride-INF-SUB
be.sad.AVFIN-EXCL
‘When [I] sleep [with you], because [you] are so adorable, [people] start talking.
When [I] am not sleeping [with you], [I] ride on the small strings of [my] heart
and [I] am sad!’

240. 14:3476a.3-5 – UD
tat-wotuku-nö / nwoNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Npa / kwopusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
rise-ATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONJ / be.longing_for-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR
‘When the rising moon continues to flow away, [she] will be longing for [me].’

241. 14:35:00.1-2 – UD
於志弖伊奈等 / 伊祢波都可祢桙
os-i-te ina tö / ine pa tuk-an-e-Ntö
push-INF-SUB no DV / rice_plant TPT pound-NEG-EV-CONC
‘[I] was pushed, and [I] said ‘no,’ but [I] did not pound the rice.’

242. 14:35:21.1 – UD
安杼毛敝可
aNtö [o] mwop-ye ka
what think-EV QPT
‘What should [I] think?’

This is the only example in the corpus where the evidential is directly followed by the question particle ka.

243. 20:44:27.3-5 - UD
麻由須比尔 / 由须比之比毛乃 / 登久良久毛倍婆
ma-yusup-yi-ni / yusup-yi-si pyimwo-nö / tōk-ur-[u]-aku [o] mwop-ey-Npa
INT-tie-NML-LOC / tie-INF-PST.ATTR cords-GEN / come_undone-ATTR-NML think-EV-CONJ
‘[I] think that the cord [she] tied, in a tight knot, has come undone.’

Table 5-18: Distribution of the evidential suffix across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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<th>Pi</th>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.4 Imperative -ye ~ -ö ~ -i ~ -yö

The imperative -ye is syncretic with the evidential -e after coronal-final verbs and auxiliaries, as it becomes -e. The distinction between the two after other consonant-final verbs is also often obfuscated by the orthography (and the scribal errors therein), and can only be discerned by the context. There is also a special allomorph -ö that only occurs following the benefactive auxiliary -köse-, which is shown in example (254) below. This
allomorph looks to be the product of a progressive vowel assimilation. In addition, there is a raised variant -i attested just once, shown in example (255) below. Finally, two verbs can indicate an imperative meaning with either their root alone or a suffix -yō. This is discussed in section 5.5.2.2.4.1 below.

244. 14:3399.5 - Sinano
久都 波気 和我世
kutu pak-ey wa-Nka se
shoes put_on-IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man
‘Put on [some] shoes, my beloved.’

While orthographically the vowel indicates this should be the evidential -ey, contextually only the imperative -ye makes sense, so we can attribute this discrepancy to a scribal error, since there is no compelling evidence a merger between -ye and -ey occurred in Sinano.

245. 20:4326.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
母々与 伊弓麻勢 / 和我伎多流麻弖
mömō-yō ite-mas-e / wa-Nka k-yi-tar-u-mate
hundred-generation go_out.INF-HON-IMP / 1.S-POSS come-INF-PP-ATTR-TERM
‘Bloom [lit. go out] for a hundred generations, until I have come back!’

246. 20:4340.1-2 - Suruga
等知波々江 / 已波比 弓麻多栂
tōti papa ye / ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
father mother EPT / pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP
‘Father, mother! Please pray and wait for [me]!’

247. 14:3416.5 – Kamitukeno
安乎 奈多要埀
a-wo na-taye-sō-n-e
1.S-ACC NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t break [up] with me.’

248. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi
和尔 奈多要埀
wa-ni na-taye-sō-n-e
1.S-DAT NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t break [up] with me.’
It is peculiar that examples (247) and (248) both have the same meaning, and the verb form is identical, yet in (247) the object is marked by the accusative -wo, while in (248) the object is marked by the dative -ni. Perhaps this was a dialectal difference between the two provinces.

249. 20:4421.3–5 – Muzasi
安之我良乃 / 美祢波保久毛乎 / 美等登志努波祢
asiNkara-nō / myi-ne pap-o kumwo-wo / myi-tötō sinwop-an-e
PN-GEN / HON-peak crawl-ATTR cloud-ACC / see.INF-COOR long_for-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [you] to long for [me] while watching the clouds that crawl over the peaks of [Mt.] Asigara.’

When the imperative follows the desiderative, it forms a command-request, as shown in example (249) above and examples (250) and (251) below.

250. 14:3432.4 – Sagamu
和乎可豆佐祢母
wa-wo kaNtus-an-e mō
1.S-ACC entice-DES-IMP EPT
‘Please entice me!’

251. 14:3426.5 – Mitinōku
比毛牟須波佐祢
pyimwo musup-as-an-e
string tie-HON-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [you to keep your] cords tied!’

252. 14:3425.5 – Simotukeno
奈我己許呂能礼
na-Nka kōkōrō nör-e
2.S-POSS heart tell-IMP
‘Tell [me] your feelings.’

253. 14:3388.4–5 – Pitati
伊伎豆久伎美乎 / 為祢弓夜良佐祢
ikyi-N-tuk-u kyimyi-wo / wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e
breath-GEN-breathe-ATTR lord-ACC / bring.INF-sleep.INF-SUB send-HON-DES-IMP
‘Please bring [my] lord who sighs to sleep [with me], and then send [him away].’
254. 20:4363.4-5 – Pitati
伊麻波許伎奴等 / 伊母尔 都気許曽
ima pa kök-yi-n-u tō / imō-ni tukey-kös-ō
now TPT row-INF-PERF-FIN COP / beloved_girl-DAT tell.INF-BEN-IMP
‘Please tell [my] darling [on behalf of me] that [I’m] rowing now!’

255. 14:3440a.5 – UD
伊佨兒 多婆里尔
iNte KWO taNpar-i-n-i
‘well’ girl receive.HUM-INF-PERF-IMP
‘Well, let [me] receive [your] girl.’

This example shows a raised vowel form -i of the imperative -e. It is the only example in
the corpus.

256. 14:3444.5 – UD
西奈等 都麻佐祢
se-na-tō tum-as-an-e
beloved_man-DIM-COM pluck-CAUS-DES-IMP
‘Let [me] pluck with [my] beloved!’

257. 14:3454.3-5 – UD
許余比太尔 / 都麻余之許西祢
kō yöyi Ntani / tuma yōs-i-köse-n-e
this evening RPT / spouse approach-INF-BEN-DES-IMP
‘Tonight, at least, [I] wish [you] would bring [my] spouse close [to me].’

258. 14:3526.5 – UD
奈与母波里曽祢
na-yō-[o]mōp-ar-i-sō-n-e
NEG_IMP-UNC-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Please don’t be thinking [that]!’

259. 20:4426.4-5 – UD
伊麻世和我世奈 / 阿礼乎之毛波婆
imas-e wa-Nka se-na / are-wô si [o]mwop-aNpa
exist.HON-IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM / 1.S-ACC EPT think-COND
‘If [you] love258 me, [then] exist, my dearly beloved!’

258 The verb omop- can mean ‘love,’ in addition to ‘think.’
Table 5-19: Distribution of the imperative suffix allomorphs -ye ~ -i ~ -ö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-[y]e</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.4.1 Zero imperative and its extended form -yö

A zero imperative, which involves the use of the root verb and no further morphology, is attested with the verbs kö- ‘come’ and se- ‘do.’ This appears to be functionally identical to the imperative -yö that is attested once after the stem se- ‘do.’ This is a common suffix in WOJ, but considering it is attested just once in EOJ and the imperative exclusive to EOJ is -rö, which also occurs after se- ‘do’ and is attested multiple times, this single attestation can likely be attributed to WOJ influence (either through borrowing, or through later scribal alterations of the text).

260. 20:4405.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊母古我 / 志濃比尔西餘等
wa-Nka imö-kwo-Nka / sinwop-yi n-i se-yö tö
1.S-POSS beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / long_for-NML COP-INF do-IMP DV
‘My darling girl said: ‘Be longing for [me].’”

261. 14:3369.5 – Sagamu
許呂勢多麻久良
kö-rö se ta-makura
girl-DIM do.IMP hand-pillow
‘Pillow [yourself with my] arms, dear girl!’

262. 14:3445.3-4 – UD
多麻古須気 / 可利己和我西古
tama-kwo-sukey / kar-i kö wa-Nka se-kwo
jewel-DIM-sedge / chop_down-INF come.IMP 1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM
‘Cut down the jewel[-like] sedge grasses come [back here], my love.’
Table 5-20: Distribution of the imperative suffix -Ø – -yö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.5 Imperative -rö

The imperative -rö may be historically related to the imperative -yö, but this is not very clear. It is an exclusive EOJ form (that survives in Modern Japanese), though it is not very common, with only three attestations in the corpus.

263. 20:4420.4-5 – Muzasi
あなた等都気呂 / 許礼乃波流母志
a-Nka te-tö *tukey-rö* / köre n-ö paru mös-i
own-POSS hand-COM attach-IMP / this COP-ATTR needle hold-INF
‘Attach [it] with [your] own hands, holding this needle.’

264. 14:3465.4 – UD
安杼世呂登可母
aNtö *se-rö* tö kamö
what do-IMP DV EPT
‘[I] wonder, what would [you] say [I] do?’

265. 14:3517.1-3 – UD
思良久毛能 / 多要尔之伊毛乎 / 阿是西呂等
sira kumwo-nö / taye-n-i-si imwo-wo / aNse *se-rö* tö
white cloud-COMP/ break.INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR beloved_girl-ACC / why do-IMP DV
‘[I’m] thinking what should [I] do about [my] darling, who broke up [with me] like a white cloud [breaks up]?’

Table 5-21: Distribution of the imperative suffix -rö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.5.2.2.6 Negative imperative -una

The negative-imperative -una is a portmanteau morpheme attested five times in the corpus. The initial vowel of this suffix is strong, and as such it is not attested deleted. In the one instance in which it follows a vowel-final stem, it deletes that vowel. It usually suffixes directly to the root, but it can also follow the causative -asime-. All examples in the corpus are given below.

266. 14:3399.3-4 - Sinano
可里婆祢尓 / 安思布麻之牟奈
kar-i N-pane-ni / asi pum-asim-una
chop_down-NML COP.ATTR-stump-LOC / foot step-CAUS-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t let [your] feet step on the chopped-down [tree] stumps.’

267. 14:3376a.3-5 – Muzasi
牟射志野乃 / 宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尓豆奈由米
muNsasi NWO-nō / ukyera-Nka pana-nō / irō-ni [i]Nt-una yumey
PN moor-GEN / Atractylodes_Japonica -POSS flower-COMP / color-LOC
go_out-NEG.IMP at_all
‘Like the Atractylodes Japonica flowers on Muzasi plain, do not reveal [your true] colors at all!’

268. 14:3362a.5 – Sagamu
吾乎祢之奈久奈
A-wo ne si nak-una
1.S-ACC voice EPT make.cry-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t make [me] cry out!’

269. 14:3449.5 – UD
奈多奈由米
nanyi tat-una yumey
wave rise-NEG.IMP at_all
‘Waves, don’t rise [up] at all!

270. 14:3456.5 – UD
安乎許登奈須那
a-wo kötö nas-una
1.S-ACC word produce-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t produce words [i.e. rumors] about me.’
Table 5-22: Distribution of the negative-imperative suffix -una across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Sin</th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2 Desiderative -ana

The desiderative suffix -ana indicates a desire or want for something. It has three allomorphs: -ana, -an-, and -n-. The allomorph -ana occurs word-finally and before the tentative suffix allomorph -m-, while the allomorph -an- occurs before the imperative -e. The allomorph -n- only occurs after the auxiliaries -sö ‘do’ and the benefactive -köse-.

The desiderative -ana can end a verb form, but it can also be followed by the aforementioned tentative -[a]m- and imperative -e suffixes.

271. 14:3398.3-5 - Sinano
波尓思奈能 / 伊思井乃手兒我 / 許登奈多延曾祢
panisina-nö / isiWI-nö TENKWO-Nka / kötö na-taye-sö-n-e
PN-GEN / PN-GEN maiden-POSS / word NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Do not break off the words of the maiden of Isiwi in Panisina!’

272. 20:4340.1-2 - Suruga
等知波々江 / 已波比弓麻多祢
töti papya ye / ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
father mother EPT / pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP
‘Father, mother! [I] want [you] to pray and wait [for me]!’

273. 14:3405a.4-5 – Kamitukeno
兒良波安波奈毛 / 比等理能未思弓
KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo / pyitö-ri nömijy s-i-te
girl-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR / one-CL RPT do-INF-SUB
‘[My] darling girl is the one who [I] would want to meet, [when she’s] all by [her]self.’

274. 14:3436.3-5 – Kamitukeno
毛流夜麻乃 / 宇良買勢奈那 / 登許波尓毛我母
mwor-u yama-nö / ura-N-kare se-n-ana / tökö pa n-i mwoNkamö
guard-ATTR mountain-GEN / tip-GEN-wither.NML do-NEG-DES / eternal leaf COP-INF DPT
‘[I] don’t want the tips [of the leaves] on the guarded mountain to wither. [I] want [them] to be eternal leaves.’
275. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi
和尒奈多要曾祢
wa-ni na-taye-sō-n-e
1.S-DAT NEG-IMP break-INF do DES IMP
‘Please don’t break [up] with me.’

276. 20:4421.3-5 – Muzasi
安之我良乃 / 美祢波保久毛乎 / 美等登志努波祢
asiNkara-nō / myi-ne pap-o kumwo-wo / myi-tōtō sinwop-an-e
PN-GEN / HON-peak crawl-ATTR cloud-ACC / see.INF-COOR long_for-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [you] to long for [me] while looking at the clouds that crawl over the peaks of [Mt.] Asigara.’

277. 14:3432.4 – Sagamu
和乎可豆佐祢母
wa-wo kaNtus-an-e mö
1.S-ACC entice-DES-IMP EPT
‘Please entice me!’

278. 14:3426.5 – Mitinōku
比毛牟須波佐祢
pyimwo musup-as-an-e
cord tie-HON-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [you] to tie [your] cord.’

279. 14:3388.4-5 – Pitati
伊伎豆久伎美乎 / 為祢弖夜良佐祢
ikyi-N-tuk-u kymiyo-wo / wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e
breath-GEN-breathe-ATTR lord -ACC / bring.INF-sleep.INF-SUB send-HON-DES-IMP
‘Please bring [my] lord who sighs to sleep with [me], and then send [him away].’

280. 20:4367. 5 – Pitati
伊母波之奴波尼
imō pa sinup-an-e
beloved_girl TPT long_for-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [my] beloved to long for [me].’

281. 14:3454.3-4 – UD
許余比太尓 / 都麻余之許西祢
kö yöpyi Ntani / tuma yōs-i-köse-n-e
this evening RPT / spouse approach-INF-BEN-DES-IMP
‘Tonight, at least, [I] wish [you] would bring [my] spouse close [to me].’
282. 14:3496.5 – UD
伊豆安礼波 伊可奈
ite are pa ik-ana
well 1.S TPT go-DES
‘Well, I want to go [to her].’

283. 14:3514.3–4 – UD
和礼左倍尔 / 伎美尔 都吉奈那
ware sapey n-i / kyimyi-ni tuk-yi-n-ana
1.S RPT COP-INF / lord-LOC attach-INF-PERF-DES
‘I, at least, would like to be with [you, my] lord.’

284. 20:4428.4–5 – UD
叡比波 登加奈々 / 阿夜尔可毛祢牟
yeNpyi pa tōk-an-ana / aya n-i kamwo ne-m-u
sash TPT untie-NEG-DES / strange COP-INF EPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] do not want to untie [my] sash. [I] wonder, shall [I] sleep so strangely?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.8 Negative tentative -aNsi

The negative-tentative -aNsi indicates an action that probably will not occur. It occurs in only two poems. Furthermore, there are ample examples of the negative -an-preceding the tentative -am-, to create an identical negative-tentative meaning. Thus, -aNsi may have been a loan from a COJ or WOJ dialect.

285. 20:4405.5 – Kamitukeno
和波 登可自等余
wa pa tōk-aNsi tö yö
1.S TPT untie-NEG.TENT DV EPT
‘[I] think I probably won’t untie [it].’

286. 14:3493a.5 – UD
安比波 多我波自
ap-yi pa taNkap-aNsi
meet-NML TPT differ-NEG.TENT
‘[Our] meeting shall not be in question!’

Table 5.24: Distribution of the negative-tentative suffix -aNsI across the provinces:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.9 Exclamative -umo

The exclamative -umo adds a heavy exclamatory emphasis to a verb phrase. Its initial vowel is weak, and is always deleted when affixed to a vowel-final stem or affix, creating the allomorph -mo. This suffix has a complex and rather debatable origin that deserves some discussion. Vovin (2009a: 695-700) analyzes the exclamatory -umo as a suffix in both WOJ and EOJ. The only evidence that -umo is undeniably a suffix in WOJ is found in MYS 15: 3684, shown below (from Vovin 2009b: 100). There is no such evidence in the EOJ corpus.

287. 15.3684.3-4
奈曽許己波 / 伊能扴良要奴毛
naNsö kököNpa / i-nö ne-raye-n-umwo
why extremely / sleep-GEN sleep-PASS-NEG-EXCL
‘Why can [I] not sleep at all?’

Vovin (2009a: 696-7)’s argument hinges on the fact that the final suffix is not -u after the negative -n, but rather it is -i. Thus, synchronically, he concludes the vowel -u in -umo in 15:3684.4 must be a part of an exclamative suffix -umo, rather than the sequence -u-mo ‘-FIN-EXCL.’

Vovin’s second argument to support this idea is that the emphatic particle mo cannot directly follow the final form of a verb. This is not as strong evidence as his previous point, as if one simply takes every instance of -umo in the corpus in which the -u
is clearly a final and reanalyses it as -u mo ‘-FIN EPT,’ then this particle does indeed follow the final form.

Ultimately, I do follow Vovin’s analysis, due to the incontrovertible evidence from WOJ he presents when viewed in light of the fact that this suffix must have existed at the PJn level, rather than be a WOJ innovation.

This is one of the few suffixes that attaches to both verbs and adjectival verbs. For the examples where it attaches to adjectival verbs, see section 4.3.1.13.

288. 14:3412.4-5 – Kamitukeno
可奈師家兒良爾 / 伊夜射可里久母
kanasi-kye KWO-ra-ni / iya N-sakar-i-[i]k-umö
be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-DAT / more_and_more COP.INF-be.far_from-INF-go-EXCL
‘[I] am going further and further away from [my] adorable, dear girl!’

289. 14:3431.1-4 – Sagamu
阿之我里乃 / 安伎奈乃夜麻尓 / 比古布祢乃 / 斯利比可志母與
asiNkari-nö / akyina-nö yama-ni / pyik-wo pune-nö / siri pyik-asi-mö yö
PN-GEN / PN-GEN mountain-LOC / pull-ATTR boat-COMP / behind pull-SUP-EXCL EPT
‘It seems [they] are pulling the back of [the boat], like a boat that is pulled on Mt. Akina of Ashigara!’

290. 14:3350a.4-5 – Pitati
俊美我美家思志 / 安夜専思可母
kyimyi-Nka myi-kesi si / aya n-i kyi posi-mö
lord-POSSE HON-garment EPT / extreme COP-INF wear.NML be.desired-EXCL
‘[I] really want to wear [my] lord’s garment.’

291. 20:4378.3-5 – Simotukeno
阿毛志志可 / 多々須多波 / 和須例西奈布母
amwo sisi-ka / tama-nö suNkata pa / wasure se-n-ap-umö
mother father-POSSE / jade-GEN appearance TPT / forget.NML do-NEG-ITER-EXCL
‘[I] will not be forgetting the jewel-like appearance of mother and father!’

292. 20:4384.4-5 – Simotupusa
己枳尒之布祢乃 / 他都枳之良酒毛
kök-yi-n-i-si pune-nö / tatukyi sir-as-umwo
row-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR boat-GEN / clue know-NEG-EXCL
‘[I] do not have a clue about the boat that has rowed.’

293. 14:3489.4-5 – UD
伊毛呂乎多弓天 / 左祢度波良布母
imwo-rō-wo tate-te / sa-ne N-two parap-umo
beloved_girl-DIM-ACC make.stand.INF-SUB / LOC-sleep.NML COP.ATTR-place clear_away-EXCL
‘[My] darling has been left standing, [so] [I’ll] clear away a place for [us] to sleep!’

294. 14:3546.4-5 – UD
西美度波久末受 / 多知度奈良須母
se myiNtwo pa kum-aNs-u / tat-i-N-two naras-umo
rapids water TPT scoop-NEG-INF / stand-NML-GEN-place flatten-EXCL
‘Without scooping up the river water, [I] stamp flat the place where [I] stand!’

295. 14:3565.4-5 – UD
字良野能麻尓 / 都久可多与留母
uraNWO yama-ni / tuku kata-yör-umo
PN mountain-LOC / moon side-approach-EXCL
‘The moon will approach Mt. Urano!’

Table 5-25: Distribution of the exclamative suffix -umo across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.10 Subjunctive -amasi ~ -masi

The suffix -amasi marks the subjunctive mood. It also has an attributive quality, as it can take case markers and act as a prenominal modifier. It is only attested five times.

It has the allomorphs -amasi and -masi. The former occurs after consonant-final stems, while the latter occurs after vowel-final stems.

296. 14:3354.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
伊利奈麻之母乃 / 伊毛我乎杼許尔
ir-i-n-amasi mönö / imwo-Nka woN-tökō-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CNJ / beloved_girl-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
‘Even though [I] would like to enter into the dear bed of [my] beloved…’

This example shows a syntactic inversion.
297. 14:3429.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
安礼乎多能米弓 / 安佐麻之物能乎
are-wo tanömy-te / as-amasi MOnöwo
1.S-ACC trust.INF-SUB / be.shallow-SUBJ CNJ
‗[You] trust me, even though [my feelings] may be shallow.’

298. 20:4424.1-3 – Muzasi
伊呂夫可久 / 世奈我許呂母波 / 曽米麻之乎
irö-N-puka-ku / se-na-Nka körömö pa / söme-masi-wo
color-GEN-be.deep-AVINF / beloved_man-DIM-POSS garment TPT / dye-SUBJ-ACC
‗[I] should like to dye [my] darling man’s garment with deep colors.’

299. 14:3486.5 – UD
伊夜可多麻斯尔
iya kat-amasi-ni
extremely win-SUBJ-LOC
‗There is no doubt [I] will win.’

300. 14:3545.4-5 – UD
為祢弖己麻思乎 / 世久得四里世婆
wi-ne-te kö-masi-wo / sek-u tō sir-i-seNpa
bring.INF-sleep.INF-SUB come-SUBJ-ACC / dam-FIN COP know-INF-PAST.COND
‗If [I] had known they would dam [the river Asuka], then [I] would have brought
[you here] and slept [with you].’

Table 5.26: Distribution of the subjunctive suffix -amasi across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.11 Suppositional -urasi ~ -asi

The suppositional -urasi indicates conjecture (Vovin 2009a: 679). It has three
allomorphs: -urasi, -rasi, and -asi, the most common being -asi. Unlike WOJ where -asi
is only attested after ar- ‘exist,’ nar- ‘become,’ and nar- ‘be’ (Vovin 2009a: 682), in EOJ
this allomorph is attested attached to yör- ‘approach’ and itaNpur- ‘tremble.’ The pair
-urus/-rasi is similar to other suffixes in that they follow consonant-final and vowel-final bases, respectively.

301. 20:4322.1-2 - Töpotuapumi
和我都麻波 / 伊多久古非良之
wa-Nka tuma pa / ita-ku kwopiy-rasi
1.S-POSS spouse TPT / be.extreme-AVINF long_for-SUP
'It seems my spouse very much longs for [me].'

302. 14:3435.1-4 – Kamitukeno
伊可保呂乃 / 蘼比乃波里波良 / 和我吉奴尔 / 都伎与良志母与
ikapo-rö-nö / swopyi-nö pari para / wa-Nka kyinu-ni / tuk-yi-yör-asi-mö yö
PN-DIM-GEN / adjacent-GEN alder field / 1.S-POSS robes-LOC / attach-INF-approach-SUP-EXCL EPT
'It seems the [colors of the] field [of] alders beside Mt. Ikapo are in my robes!

303. 14:3431.2-4 – Sagamu
安伎奈乃夜麻爾 / 比古布祢乃 / 斯利比可志母與
akyina-nö yama-ni / pyik-wo pune-nö / siri pyik-asi-mö yö
PN-GEN mountain-LOC / pull-ATTR boat-COMP / behind pull-SUP-EXCL EPT
'It seems [they are] pulling the back of [the boat], like a boat that is pulled on Mt. Akina!

304. 14:3550.3-4 – UD
奈美能保能 / 伊多夫良思毛与
namyi-nö po-nö / itaNpur-asi-mwo yö
wave-COMP head_of_grain-COMP / tremble-SUP-EXCL EPT
'Like the wave-like heads of grain, [I] seem to be trembling!'

305. 14:3446.4-5 – UD
安志等比登其等 / 加多理与良斯毛
asi tö pyitö-N-kötö / katar-i-yör-asi-mwo
be.bad.AVFIN DV people-GEN-word / tell-INF-approach-SUP-EXCL EPT
'It seems that people are saying [she] is bad!'

306. 20:4427.1-2 - UD
伊波乃伊毛呂 / 和乎之乃布良之
ipa-nö imwo-rö / wa-wo sinöp-urasi
home-GEN beloved_girl-DIM / 1.S-ACC long_for-SUP
'It seems that [my] darling girl at home is longing for me.'
Table 5-27: Distribution of the suppositional -urasi ~ -asi across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.2.12 Verbal adjectivizer -asi

This suffix changes a verb into an adjectival verb, and should not be confused with the homophonous suppositional allomorph -asi. There is only one clear example of this suffix in the corpus.

307. 14:3557.1–UD

奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与

nayam-asi-kye / pytö-tuma kamö yö

distress-ADJ-AVATTR / person-spouse EPT EPT

‘[Another] man’s wife who is so distressing [me]!’

5.5.2.3 Word non-final suffixes

The word non-final suffixes can end neither a verbal word-form nor a sentence. They include the negative -an-, tentative -am-, tentative 2 -uram- ~ -unam-, iterative -ap-, passive -aye-, passive -are-, honorific -as-, causative -asime-, causative -ase-, debitive -upe-, and progressive -ar- ~ -er- ~ -ir-.

5.5.2.3.1 Negative suffix -an- ~ -a[N]s-

The negative suffix -an- has five allomorphs: -an-, -n-, -aNs-, -Ns-, and -na. Only -a[N]s- and -[N]s- can occur before the final suffix -u. They are also the only allomorphs that occur before the infinitive allomorph -u and the nominalizer allomorph -u. The vowel-less variants -n- and -[N]s- attach to vowel-final bases while the problematic allomorph -na is attested just once, suffixed to the verb ko- ‘come.’
Table 5.28: Sample paradigmatic forms of the negative suffix -an- ~ -a[N]s- showing its allomorphy with the consonant-final stem verb ip- ‘say’ and the vowel-final stem verb wasure- ‘forget’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>SUFFIX</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Evidential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ip-an- ‘say-NEG-‘</td>
<td>ip-an-u</td>
<td>ip-aNs-u</td>
<td>ip-aNs-u</td>
<td>ip-an-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasure-n- ‘forget-NEG-‘</td>
<td>wasure-n-u</td>
<td>wasure-Ns-u</td>
<td>wasure-Ns-u</td>
<td>wasure-n-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a form -n-i ‘NEG-INF’ (rather than -Ns-u ‘id.’) that is attested just once, after the potential auxiliary -kate- (see example (318) below). Historically the form -a[N]s- is a contraction of the construction V-an-i se- ‘V-NEG-NML do-’ (Vovin 2009c: 779). It is unclear why the infinitive is -u after -aNs-, since the infinitive form of se- ‘do’ is s-i ‘do-INF,’ and a form -aNsi is not only phonologically possible in the language, it is also attested, as the negative-tentative suffix.

The negative suffix’s allomorph -an- may be followed by the following suffixes: attributive -u, iterative -ap-, infinitive -i, and evidential -e. The fact that it precedes the iterative -ap- is very important to note\(^{259}\), as the negative -an- is attested following, but never preceding, the iterative -ap- in WOJ. The negative suffix’s allomorph -a[N]s- can be followed by the final -u, the infinitive -u, and the nominalizer -u.

308. 20:4322.3-5 - Töpotuapumi
   乃牟美豆尔 / 加其佐倍美曳弓 / 余尔和須良礼受
   nöm-u myiNtu-ni / kaNkô sapey myi-ye-te / yö-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
drink-ATTR water-LOC / shadow RPT see-PASS-SUB / world-LOC forget-PASS-NEG-FIN
   ‘Just seeing her shadow in the water that [I] drink, [I] realize [I] cannot forget
   [her] in this life.’

309. 20:4342.5 - Suruga
    於米加波利勢受

\(^{259}\) This was first suggested by Ikier (2006: 100), though he did not accept this analysis, rather he settled on the form -anap- for the negative suffix, with no iterative involved.
omey kapar-i se-Ns-u
face change-NML do-NEG-FIN
‘[Your] face does not change.’

310. 14:3404.4-5 – Kamitukeno
奴礼枙安加奴乎 / 安枙加安我世牟
n-ure-Ntö ak-an-u-wo / aNtö ka a-Nka se-m-u
sleep-EV-CONC be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR-ACC / what QPT 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
‘Since [you] are unsatisfied, although [we] slept together, what shall I do?’

311. 20:4407.4-5 – Kamitukeno
伊毛賀古比之久 / 和須良延奴加母
imwo-Nka kwopyisi-ku / wasur-aye-n-u kamō
beloved_girl-POSS be.longing_for-AVINF / forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[My] beloved is longing for [me], [I] wonder, can [I] not forget [her]?’

312. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi
伊尓之与比欲利 / 世呂尓安波奈布
in-i-si yöyī-yworī / se-rō-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / believed_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘From the evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my] dear beloved!’

313. 20:4413.4-5 – Muzasi
西呂我馬伎己 / 都久乃之良奈久
se-rō-Nka mak-yi-kō-m-u / tuku-nō sir-an-aku
beloved_man-DIM-POSS leave-INF-come-TENT-ATTR / moon-GEN know-NEG.ATTR-NML
‘Not knowing the month when [my] beloved shall leave and come [back].’

314. 14:3368.5 – Sagamu
故呂河伊波奈久尔
kwo-rō-Nka ip-an-aku n-i
girl-DIM-POSS say-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Being that [my] dear girl isn’t saying [anything].’

315. 14:3426.1-3 – Mitinöku
安比豆祢能 / 久尔乎佐枙抱美 / 安波奈波婆
apyiNtu ne-nō / kuni-wo sa N-tōpo-myīi / ap-an-ap-aNpa
PN peak-GEN / land-ABS thus COP.INF-be.far-AVGFR / meet-NEG-ITER-COND
‘If [we] do not meet again and again because the land of the Apidu peaks is so far.’
316. 14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno
伊之布麻受 / 藤良由登伎与
isi pum-aNs-u / swora-yu tō k-yi-n-wo yō
stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Without stepping on the stones, [I] came from the sky!’

317. 20:4378.3-5 – Simotukeno
阿毛志志可 / 多麻乃须我多波 / 和须例西奈布母
amwo sisi-ka / tama-nō suNkata pa / wasure se-n-ap-umō
mother father-POSS / jade-GEN appearance TPT / forget. NML do-NEG-ITER-EXCL
‘[I] will not be forgetting the jewel-like appearance of my mother and father!’

318. 14:3388.1-3 – Pitati
筑波祢乃 / 祢呂尓可須我多波 / 和須例西奈布母
amwosi ka / tamonō suNkata pa / wasure se-n-ap-umō
mother father-POSS / jade-GEN appearance TPT / forget. NML do-NEG-ITER-EXCL
‘Unable to pass through the mist sitting on the smaller peak of Tukupa…’

Example (318) is the only example of the combination -n-i ‘-NEG-INF’ in the corpus.

319. 20:4371.4-5 – Pitati
都久波能夜麻乎 / 古比須安良米可毛
paru-nō NWO-nō / kwopyi-s-u ar-am-ey kamwo
PN-GEN mountain-ACC / love-NEG-INF exist-TENT-EV EPT
‘Shall [I] not long for Tukupa mountain? [no, I shall].’

320. 20:4351.4-5 – Kamitupusa
奈保波太佐牟之 / 伊母尓可祢阿良祢婆
napo paNta samu-si / imō n-i si ar-an-e-Npa
still skin be.cold-FIN / beloved_girl COP-INF EPT exist-NEG-EV-CONG
‘Still [my] skin is cold, because it is not [my] beloved [who will warm me up].’

321. 14:3532.1-3 – UD
波流能野 / 久佐波古麻能 / 久知夜麻受
paru-nō NWO-nō / kusa pam-u kwo-[u]ma-nō / kuti yam-aNs-u
spring-GEN moor-LOC / grass eat-ATTR DIM-horse-COMP / mouth stop-NEG-INF
‘Like a stallion eating grass on the spring fields [whose] mouth doesn’t stop.’

322. 14:3546.4-5 – UD
西美度波 / 多知度奈良須母
se myiNtwo pa kum-aNs-u / tat-i-N-two naras-umō
rapids water TPT scoop-NEG-INF / stand-NML-GEN-place flatten-EXCL
‘Without scooping up the river water, [I] stamp flat the place where [I] stand!’

720
323.  14:3565.1-2 – UD
可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈牟
kanō kwo-rō-tō / NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u
that girl-DIM-COM / sleep-NEG-NML QPT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
‗Shall [things] become [such] that [I] will not sleep with that dear girl?‘

324.  20:4436.1-2 - UD
夜未乃欲能 / 由久左伎之良受
yami yō ywo-nō / yuk-sa kyi sir-aNs-u
darkness COP-ATTR night-GEN / go-ATTR ahead know-NEG-INF
‗Without knowing what lies ahead on [this] dark night…‘

Table 5-29: Distribution of the negative suffix -an- ~ -a[N]s- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.3.2 Tentative -am-

The tentative mood suffix -am- ~ -m- is one of the most common mood markers
in the EOJ dialects. It indicates something ‘shall’ or ‘will’ be done. The allomorphy is
quite basic, with the shortened form -m- occurring after vowel-final stem verbs, irregular
verbs, and vowel-final suffixes. When it follows the past tense -k-, the two fuse into the
portmanteau form -kyem-, shown in example (326) below.

325.  14:3400.3-5 - Sinano
左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美弖波 / 多麻等比呂波
saNsare [i]si mō / kyimiyi si pum-yi-te-pa / tama tö pyiröp-am-u
little stone FPT / lord EPT step-INF-PERF-COND / jade COP pick_up-TENT-FIN
‗When [you, my] lord step on a little stone, [I] shall pick [it] up as a jewel.‘

326.  20:4323.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受坿
papa tö [i]p-u pana-nō / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kō-Ns-u-kyem-u
mother DV say-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‗The flower that [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in bloom.‘
327. 20:4344.1 - Suruga

和須良亀 in

wasur-am-u te

try_to_forget-TENT-FIN DV

‘[I] said [I] would try to forget [them].’

328. 14:3405b.4-5 – Kamitukeno

世奈波安波奈母 / 美流比登奈思尓

se-na pa ap-ana-m-ö / myi-ru pyitö na-si-ni

beloved_man-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR / see-ATTR person not.exist-FIN-LOC

‘[I] should like to meet [my] beloved since there’s no one to see [us].’

329. 20:4406.4-5 – Kamitukeno

多妣波久流之等 / 都氣夜良麻母

taNpyi pa kurusi tö / tukey-yar-am-aku mö

journey TPT be.painful.AVFIN COP / tell.INF-send-TENT.ATTR-NML FPT

‗[I] would send [him] to tell [them] that [my] journey is painful!‘

330. 14:3379.1-2 – Muzasi

和我世故乎 / 安杼可母伊波武

wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / aNtö kamö ip-am-u


‗What should [I] call my beloved?‘

331. 20:4416.4-5 – Muzasi

伊波奈流和礼波 / 比毛等加受揷牟

ipa-n[i] ar-u ware pa / pyimwo tök-ans-u ne-m-u

home-LOC exist-ATTR 1.S TPT / cords undo-NEG-INF sleep-TENT-FIN

‗I, who am at home, shall sleep without untying [my] cord.‘

332. 14:3369.3-4 – Sagamu

須我麻久良 / 安是加麻可左武

suNka-makura / aNse ka mak-as-am-u

sedge-pillow / why QPT use_as_a_pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR

‗Why should [you] use a sedge-pillow as a pillow?‘

333. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu

布奈可射里 / 安我世牟比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我毛

puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rö-wo / myi-m-wo pyitö möNkamwo

boat-decorate-NML / 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC / see-TENT-ATTR person DPT

‗[I] want someone [there] who will see the special day when I do the boat-decorating.’
334. 14:3426.4 – Mitinöku
斯努比尦勢毛等
sinwop-yi n-i se-m-wo tö
long_for-NML COP-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV
‘[I] think [you] should long for [me].’

335. 14:3424.4–5 – Simotukeno
麻具波思児呂波 / 多賀家母多牟
ma N-kupasi KWO-rö pa / ta-Nka kye ka möt-am-u
true COP-INF-beautiful girl-DIM TPT / who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘As for this truly beautiful girl, whose container shall [she] hold?

336. 20:4383.4–5 – Simotukeno
多志埿等伎尦 / 阿母我米母我
tas-i-[i]Nte-m-wo tökyi-ni / aMÖ-Nka mey möNkamö
rise-INF-go_out-TENT-ATTR time-LOC / mother-POSS eye DPT
‘When [we] rise and set out, [I] long for [my] mother’s eyes.’

337. 14:3394.4–5 – Pitati
阿例波伊波々 / 帽呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎
are pa ipap-am-u / mworö-mworö pa / sakyे-ku tö mawos-u
1.S TPT pray-TENT-ATTR / many-REDUP TPT / be.safe-AVINF DV
say.HUM-FIN
‘As for the many [people] I shall pray [for], I will say [the prayers] safely.’

339. 14:3386.4–5 – Simotupusa
曾能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尦多亘也母
söño kanasi-kyi-wo / two-ni tate-m-ey ya mö
that be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV QPT
EPT
‘Will [I] make that adorable [girl] stand outside? [no, I will not]’

340. 20:4392 – Simotupusa
有都久之波々 / 麻多己等刀波牟
utukusi papa-ni / mata kötö twop-am-u
beloved mother-DAT / again word ask-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] may once again ask [things] to my beloved mother.’

260 This unusual morpheme order is discussed in section 5.9.
341. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa
久尓乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢
kuni-nö töpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
province-GEN be.far-AVEV-CONJ / 2.S-POSS eye desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘Since the province is far, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

342. 20:4349.4-5 – Kamitupusa
夜蘓志麻須義弖 / 和加例加由可牟
ya-swo sima sunkiy-te / wakare ka yuk-am-u
eight-ten island pass.INF-SUB / be.separated.INF QPT go-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall [I] go, passing many islands, separated [from you]?’

343. 14:3463.1-2 – UD
麻等保久能 / 野尓毛安波奈
ma-töpo-ku-nö / NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u
INT-be.far-NML-GEN / moor-LOC FPT meet-DES-TENT-FIN
‘[I] wanted to meet [you] in the fields that are quite far.’

344. 14:3472.4-5 – UD
刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里弖伎奈波毛
twonari-nö kyinu-wo / kar-i-te kyi-n-ap-am-wo
neighbor-GEN robes-ACC / borrow-INF-SUB wear.INF-PERF-ITER-TENT-ATTR
‘Borrowing [my] neighbor’s robes, [I] shall wear [them] again and again.’

345. 14:3474.3-5 – UD
伊仏乃伊奈波 / 伊豆思曳伎可 / 伊毛我奈気可牟
iNte-te in-apa / iNtusi muk-yi-te ka / imwo-Nka nakeyk-am-u
go_out.INF-SUB leave-COND / which face-INF-SUB QPT / beloved_girl-POSS lament-TENT-ATTR
‘If [I] go away, facing in which [way], will [my] darling lament?’

346. 20:4436.4 - UD
伊都伎麻佐牟等
itu k-yi-mas-am-u tö
when come-INF-HON-TENT-FIN COP
‘When will [you] come [back]?’

Table 5-30: Distribution of the tentative suffix -am- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
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</table>
5.5.2.3.3 Tentative 2 -uram- ~ -unam-

I refer to the suffix -uram- ~ -unam- as a ‘tentative 2’ due to the fact there is a tentative suffix -am- attested. The meaning of this suffix is difficult to distinguish from the tentative -am-, but Vovin (2009a: 814) presents ample evidence that it is a non-past tentative in WOJ, since it cannot combine with the past tense -kyi like the tentative -am-can. Thus, the tentative 2 suffix may only be used in regard to present or future actions. In EOJ we find the same picture, so I adopt Vovin’s analysis here. I hesitate to mark this as a ‘non-past’ tentative morpheme in the glossing, however, as the language otherwise does not overtly mark the non-past in the morphology.261

This suffix has two attested forms: -uram- and -unam-. Rather than being allomorphs, these forms are specific to different dialects. There is no functional difference between them. The form -unam- is more common, and it is unattested outside of EOJ. The medial -n- in the form is probably the result of a regressive nasal assimilation. I have segregated the two forms in the examples given below.

5.5.2.3.3.1 Examples of -uram-

The form -uram- is attested just three times.

347. 20:4343.3-5 - Suruga
已比尔志弖 / 古米知 夜须良伞 / 和加美可奈杂志
ipyi n-i s-i-te / kwo meyt-i yas-uram-u / wa-ka mi kanasi-mö
home COP-INF do-INF-SUB / girl hold-INF become_emaciated-TENT2-ATTR
/ 1.S-POSS wife be.sad.AVFIN-EXCL
‘[I] am sad [for] my wife, who is at home, holding the children and probably becoming emaciated!’

348. 14:3505.2-5 – UD
美夜能濑河泊能 / 可保婆奈能 / 孤悲天香眠良武 / 伎曾母許余比毛
miyianöSE Nkapa-nö / kapo-N-pana-nö / kwopiy-te ka N-Uram-u / kyisö mö kö yöpi mwo

261 Historically this appears to contain a non-past suffix *-ur-.
‘Longing for [you] is like morning glories on Miyanöse river. **Will** [we] **sleep** [together] this evening, [as we did] last night?’

5.5.2.3.3.2 Examples of -unam-

The form -unam- is more amply attested than -uram-.

350.  14:3366.4-5 – Sagamu
美奈能瀬河泊尔 / 思保美都奈武贺
myinanöSE KAp-a-nil / sipo myit-unam-u ka
PN river-LOC / tide fill-TENT2-ATTR QPT
‘Will the tide be **full** in Minanose river?’

351.  20:4390.4-5 – Simotupusa
以毛加去々里波 / 阿用久奈米加母
imwo-ka kököri pa / aywok-unam-ey kamö
beloved_girl-POSS heart TPT / shake-TENT2-EV EPT
‘Will [my] darling girl’s heart **waver**?’

352.  20:4391.4-5 – Simotupusa
阿加古比须奈牟 / 伊母贺加奈志作
a-ka kwop-yi s-unam-u / imö-Nka kanasi-sa
1.S-POSS pray_for-NML do-TENT2-ATTR / beloved_girl-POSS be.adorable-AVNML
‘The adorableness of [my] beloved for whom [I] **shall pray**.’

353.  14:3476a.5 – UD
故布思可流奈母
kwopusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
belonging_for-INF-exist-TENT2-ATTR
‘[She] will be longing for [me].’

354.  14:3496.1-3 – UD
多智婆奈乃 / 古婆乃波奈里我 / 於毛布奈牟
tatiNpana-nö / kwopNpa-nö panari-Nka / omwop-unam-u
PN-GEN / PN-GEN flowing.hair-POSS / think-TENT2-ATTR
‘[The girl] from Koba of Tatibana with flowing hair will love [me].’

355. 14:3526.3-5 – UD
安我己許呂 / 布多由久奈母 / 奈与母里曾祢
a-Nka kōkōrō / puta yuk-unam-ö tö / na-yō-[o]mōp-ar-i-sō-n-e
1.S-POSS heart / two go-TENT2-ATTR COP / NEG.IMP-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t be thinking that my heart will go in two [i.e. for two women]!’

356. 14:3552.1-4 – UD
麻都我宇良尓 / 佐和恵宇良太知 / 麻比登等 / 於毛抱須呂
‘[You] probably think that people’s rumors are like noisy [waves] rising to the tips [of the branches] in the bay of pines.’

357. 14:3563.4-5 – UD
和乎可麻都那毛 / 伎曽毛己余必母
wa-wo ka mat-unam-wo / kysisō mwo kō yöpyi mö
1.S-ACC QPT wait-TENT2-ATTR / last_night FPT this evening FPT
‘Will [you] wait for me tonight, [as you did] last night?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
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<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
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</thead>
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<td>0</td>
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5.5.2.3.4 Iterative -ap- ~ -öp-

The iterative -ap- indicates an action is done multiple times. With verbs that have semantics involving a continuous state, such as mat- ‘wait’ and wasure- ‘forget,’ the iterative is used in a durative function. Due to this later function, Russell (2006: 167-8) views this suffix as a pure durative, though Vovin (2005a, 2009a: 820) and Bentley (2001: 200-203) prefer to classify it as an iterative. I follow Vovin and Bentley in regard to the

262 omop- ‘think,’ can also mean ‘love,’ as it does in this context.
classification of this suffix’s underlying (or primary) function, noting the durative function pointed out by Russell is intrinsically linked with the semantics of some verbs.

The iterative has two allomorphs: -ap- and -öp-. The former is used everywhere except when directly following a verb root that contains a vowel other than ö (see example (366) below). If a suffix comes between the iterative and a root, the iterative suffix remains -ap- even if the root has the vowel ö. Example (364) below illustrates this.

In regard to morphotactics, the iterative follows the negative suffix in EOJ.263 This is very important to note because only the opposite morpheme order (-ITER-NEG-) is found in WOJ (Vovin 2009a: 780-9). I view these opposite morpheme orders as a result of the iterative having been grammaticalized as a suffix independently in WOJ and EOJ.

358. 14:3419.5 – Kamitukeno
和須礼奈布母亲
wasure se-n-ap-umö
forget.NML do-NEG-ITER-FIN-EXCL
‘[I] will not forget!’

359. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi
伊尒之与比欲利 / 世呂尒安波奈布与
in-i-si yöpyi-ywori / se-rö-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘Since the evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my] darling beloved!’

360. 14:3426.1-3 – Mitinöku
安比豆祢能 / 久尔乎佐柞抱美 / 安波奈波婆
apyiNtu ne-nö / kuni-wo sa N-töpo-myi / ap-an-ap-aNpa
PN peak-GEN / land-ABS thus COP.INF-be.far-AVGER / meet-NEG-ITER-COND
‘If [we] do not meet again [and again] because the land of the Apidu peaks is so far…’

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263 This was first suggested by Ikier (2006: 100), though he did not accept this analysis, rather he settled on the form -anap- for the negative suffix, with no iterative involved.
361.  20:4378.3-5 – Simotukeno
阿毛志志可 / 多麻乃須我多波 / 和須例西奈布母
amwo sisi-ka / tama-nō suNkata pa / wasure se-n-ap-umö
mother father-POSS / jade-GEN appearance TPT / forget.NML do-NEG-ITER-
EXCL
‘[I] will not be forgetting the jewel-like appearance of [my] mother and father.’

362.  14:3394.4-5 – Pitati
和須良延許婆古曽 / 那乎可家奈波賣
wasura-kō-Npa kwosō / na-wo kaky-e-n-ap-am-ye
forget-come-COND FPT / 2.S-ACC call_out-NÉG-ITER-TENT-EV
‘If [you] forget to come, [I] shall not call out for you again and again!’

363.  14:3444.1-4 – UD
伎波都久能 / 乎加能久君美良 / 和礼都賣杼 / 故尔毛乃多奈布
kiyipatuku-nō / woka-nō kuku-myira / ware tum-ye-ntö / kwo-ni mwo nōt-an-ap-
PN-GEN / hill-GEN stem-lee / 1.S pluck-EV CONC / basket-LOC FPT fill_up-
NEG-ITER-FIN
‘Although I pluck the stem-leeks on the hills of Kipatuku, [they] are not filling up in the basket.’

364.  14:3448.1-2 – UD
波奈治良布 / 己能牟可都乎乃
pana-N-tir-ap-u / könō muka-tu wo n-ō
flower-GEN-scatter-ITER-ATTR / this across-GEN.LOC mountain_ridge COP-
ATTR
‘It is the peak across from here, where the flower petals are scattering.’

365.  14:3525.4-5 – UD
許等乎呂波敝而 / 伊麻太宿奈布母
kötö wo-rō papye-TE / imaNta NE-n-ap-umö
word string-DIM stretch.INF SUB / not_yet sleep-NEG-ITER-EXCL
‘[Our] string of words stretched out [for awhile], [but] [we] still are not sleeping [together]!’

366.  14:3529.5 – UD
波伴尒許呂波要
papa-ni kör-öp-aye
mother-DAT scold-ITER-PASS.INF
‘[I] was scolded again and again by [my] mother.’

Example (366) shows the allomorph -öp-, which is clearly a result of an assimilation to the vowel in the verb root.
Table 5-32: Distribution of the iterative -ap- ~ -öp- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.2.3.4.1 Iterative-infinitive -apye ~ -öpye

There is a special iterative-infinitive morph -apye attested in EOJ. Ikier (2006: 106) views this as a combination of a negative -anap- and an attributive -ye or an infinitive -ye\(^{264}\). I view this as a single portmanteau morph -apye rather than two segmentable morphs (i.e. -ap-ye) due to the fact an infinitive -ye is unattested anywhere else in EOJ (except one example from Suruga described in section 5.5.2.1.1.2) or any other Japonic language variety. Vovin (2009a: 820) similarly views the form -apey (-apye is unattested in WOJ) as a portmanteau form (‘iterative-infinitive’ in his analysis) in WOJ.

There is one example that makes us question this analysis of -apye as ‘iterative-infinitive,’ as it involves a form -ap-yi ‘-ITER-INF,’ shown below:

367. 20:4382.3 – Simotukeno

阿多由麻比
ata-yum-ap-yi
PREF?-be.ill-ITER-INF
‘[I] am ill.’

This example may be dismissed outright because the root yum- ‘be.ill’ is a *hapax legomenon*, and the -ap- segment could in fact be part of the root (i.e. yumap- or even atayumap- rather than yum-). Regardless, the behavior of the iterative -ap- and the iterative-infinitive -apye likely shows that the iterative had two stems: a consonant-final

\(^{264}\) He does not draw a boundary between -an- ‘NEG’ and -ap-‘ITER.’
stem -ap- and a vowel-final stem -apye-. The stems may have been dialect specific, or they may have been variants competing for dominance across the dialects.

The form -apye, like the infinitive -i, can also modify a following nominal. In addition, it can act as a nominalized form, like vowel-final verb stems with a phonologically null nominalizer -i. Lastly, there is a form -öpye attested once (see example (375)), which looks to exhibit vowel centralization in the first syllable. It does not follow a root with the vowel ő.

5.5.2.3.4.1.1 Linking function

The linking function is attested four times.

368. 20:4389.4-5 – Simotupusa
於不世他麻保加 / 於毛波弊奈久尔
opuse-tamap-o ka / omwop-apye-n-aku n-i
give_responsibility.HON.INF-HON-ATTR QPT / think-ITER-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Has [the emperor] given [me] the order? [I] was not thinking [this] would happen.’

This is the only example where the iterative-infinitive -apye- precedes the negative -n-, rather than following it. In this instance, there is no infinitive involved, and it is a pure iterative, as the negative does not attach to infinitives. This was likely due to WOJ influence because it is the only poem in the EOJ corpus with the honorific auxiliary -tamap-, which is a well-attested auxiliary in WOJ.

369. 14:3476a.3-5 – UD
多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敟由家婆 / 故布思可流奈母
tat-wo tuku-nō / nwoNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Npa / kwopusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
rise-ATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONJ / be.longing_for-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR
‘When the rising moon continues to flow away, [she] will be longing for [me]!’
Although [the moon] continues to flow away, the house I will not go to [is hers].

‘Since there are commands [from the emperor] [I will not be interfering with [them].’

There is a syntactic inversion in this example.

5.5.2.3.4.1.2 Modifying function

The modifying function is attested four times. This suffix may modify a noun or a conjunction.

‘For my darling beloved, [his] cords do not come undone if [I] try to undo them in the daytime.’

‘[I] was scolded by [my] mother because of a girl with whom [I] was not sleeping.’

‘[I] was scolded by [my] mother because of a girl with whom [I] was not sleeping.’
‘Because of a girl with whom [I] am not sleeping.’

375. 14:3478.3-5 – UD
阿抱思太毛 / 安波能敏思太毛 / 奈尔己曾与佐礼
ap-o siiNta mwo / ap-an-öpye siiNta mwo / na-ni kösö yōs-ar-e
meet-ATTR CNJ FPT / meet-NEG-ITER.INF CNJ FPT / 2.S-DAT FPT
approach-PROG-EV
‘When [we] meet, and even when [we] are not meeting, [I] am approaching you.’

5.5.2.3.4.1.3 Nominalizing function

The nominalizing function is attested just once.

376. 14:3482b.4-5 – UD
祢奈敏乃可良尔 / 許等多可利都母
ne-n-öpye-nō karani / kötō [i]ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-umō
sleep-NEG-ITER.NML-GEN because_of / word be.painful-AVINF-exist-INF-
PERF-EXCL
‘Because of [our] not sleeping [together], the rumors have been painful!’

Table 5.33: Distribution of the iterative-infinitive suffix -öpye across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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5.5.2.3.5 Passive -aye- ~ -ye- ~ -y-

The passive -aye- has three functions: passive, potential, and spontaneous action.

Among the examples in the corpus, the potential function only occurs when the negative suffix -n- follows the passive.

The passive -aye- has three allomorphs: -aye-, -ye-, and -y-. Like many other EOJ suffixes that begin and end with a vowel, it can lose either vowel depending on the type of verb root it follows and the suffix it precedes. Strong vowel verb roots, like myi- ‘see,’ always contract the first vowel of the passive -aye, while the attributive suffix -uru and the final suffix -u contract the final vowel of this suffix. The passive can be followed by
the infinitive -i, but in this case the infinitive becomes phonologically null and the passive becomes the portmanteau morph -aye ‘PASS.INF.’ This is shown in example (381) below.

5.5.2.3.5.1 Potential function

The potential function is only attested when the negative -n- follows the passive -aye-.

377. 20:4407.4-5 – Kamitukeno
伊毛賀古比之久 / 和須良延奴加母
imwo-Nka kwopyisi-ku / wasur-aye-n-u kamö
beloved_girl-POSS be.longing_for-AVINF / forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR EPT
‗[My] beloved is longing for [me], [I] wonder, can [I] not forget [her]?’

378. 20:4356.3-5 – Kamitupusa
和我可良尓 / 奈伎之許己呂乎 / 和須良延奴可毛
wa-Nka karani / nak-yi-si kökörö-wo / wasur-aye-n-u kamwo
1.S-POSS because_of / cry-INF-PST.ATTR heart-ACC / forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR EPT
‗[I] cannot forget how [my mother] wept from [her] heart because of me!’

379. 14:3506.3-5 – UD
波太須酒伎 / 穂爾弓之伎美我 / 見延奴己能許呂
paNta susukyi / PO-ni [i]te-si kyimyi-Nka / MYI-ye-n-u könö körö
skin pampass / head_of_grain-LOC go_out.INF-PST.ATTR lord-POSS / see-PASS-NEG-ATTR this time
‗This is a time when [I] am unable to see [you, my] lord, who went out in the heads of grain in the pampass [grass].’

380. 14:3530.3-5 – UD
見要受等母 / 兒呂我可奈門欲 / 由可久之要思母
MYI-ye-Ns-u tömó / KWO-rō-Nka kana-TWO-ywo / yuk-aku si ye-si-mö
see-PASS-NEG-FIN CNJ / girl-DIM-POSS metal-door-ABL / go-NML EPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‗Even though [I] cannot see [her], going past the gate of [my] darling girl’s home is so nice!’
5.5.2.3.5.2 Passive function

The passive function is attested just once. This function is well-attested in WOJ, and its scarcity in EOJ is probably due to the size of the corpus. As we can reconstruct this suffix in PJn, I view the passive function as the primary one diachronically, though it should be noted that synchronically, the spontaneous action function is the most well-attested in EOJ.

5.5.2.3.5.3 Spontaneous action function

The function of -aye- indicating a spontaneous action is well-attested.

381. 14:3529.5 – UD
波伴尓許呂波要
papa-ni kör-op-aye
mother-DAT scold-ITER-PASS.INF
‘[I] was scolded again and again by [my] mother.’

382. 20:4322.3-5 - Töpotuapumi
乃牟美豆尓 / 加其佐倍美曳弖 / 余尓和須良礼受
nöm-u myiNtu-ni / kaNkö sapey myi-ye-te / yō-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
drink-ATTR water-LOC / shadow RPT see-PASS-SUB / world-LOC forget-PASS-NEG-FIN
‘Just seeing [her] shadow in the water that [I] drink, [I] realize I cannot forget her in this life.’

383. 20:4357.3-5 – Kamitupusa
和藝毛古我 / 蕭豆母志保々尓 / 奈伎志曽母渡由
wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-Nka / swote mö sipopo n-i / nak-yi-si só [o]mōp-ay-u
1.S-POSS-beloved_gorl-DIM-POSS / sleeves FPT soaked COP-INF / cry-INF-PST.ATTR FPT think-PASS-FIN
‘[I] suddenly remember how my darling wept [for me] until [her] sleeves were soaked.’

384. 14:3522.5 – UD
麻登保久於毛渡由
ma-tōpo-ku omwop-oy-u
INT-be.far-AVINF think-PASS-FIN
‘[I] suddenly think it is very far [away].’
385. 14:3471.3-5 – UD
伊米未尓 / 母登奈見要都追 / 安乎祢思奈久流
imey nōmiy n-i / mōtopa MYI-ye-tutu / a-wo ne sī nak-uru
dream RPT COP-INF / for_no_reason see-PASS-COOR / 1.S-ACC voice EPT
make.cry-ATTTR
‘[Though] being just a dream, while seeing [you in it] for no reason, do not make
me cry!’

386. 14:3449.4 – UD
安麻許伎久見由
ama kōk-yi-[i]k-u MYI-y-u
fisherman row-INF-go-ATTR see-PASS-FIN
‘[I] see the fishermen rowing out.’

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5.5.2.3.6 Passive -are-

The passive -are- has two functions: potential and passive. It is not as common as
the passive -aye-, with only two attestations in the corpus.

5.5.2.3.6.1 Potential function

The potential function is attested just once. Like the passive -aye-, the potential
function of -are- is only attested with a following negative suffix.

387. 20:4322.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
加其佐倍美曳弖 / 余尔和須良礼受
kaNkō sapey myi-ye-te / yō-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
shadow RPT see-PASS-SUB / world-LOC forget-PASS-NEG-FIN
‘Just seeing [her] shadow, [I realize I] cannot forget [her] in this life.’

5.5.2.3.6.2 Passive function

The passive function is also attested once.
388. 14:3519.1-2 – UD
奈我波伴尓 / 己良例 安波由久
na-Nka papa-ni / kör-aro a pa yuk-u
you-POSS mother-DAT / scold-PASS.INF 1.S TPT go-FIN
‘Being scolded by your mother, I went [away].’

In this example the infinitive -i follows the passive, but is phonologically null, as it is contracted due to the preceding final vowel of the passive suffix.

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**Table 5-35: Distribution of the passive suffix -are- across the provinces**

5.5.2.3.7 Honorific -as-

The honorific -as- has three allomorphs: -as-, -s-, and -os-. The form -as- occurs after consonant-final bases, while the form -s- occurs after vowel-final bases. The form -os- only occurs after the verb root omop- . This is due to a progressive vowel assimilation. The honorific is attached to verbs that are connected to agents that the speaker honors or reveres, such as a parent or a spouse.

389. 14:3402.4-5 – Kamitukeno
勢奈能我素侶 / 佐夜尓 布良思都
se-na-nō-Nka swoNte mō / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-POSS sleeves FPT / clear COP-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
‘My dear, beloved darling was clearly waving [his] sleeves.’

390. 14:3426.5 – Mitinōku
比毛 卑須波佐祢
pyimwo musup-as-an-e
cords tie-HON-DES-IMP
‘[I] want you to tie [your] cords!’
391. 14:3369.3-5 – Sagamu
須我麻久良 / 安是加麻可左武 / 許呂勢多麻久良
suNka-makura / aNse ka mak-as-am-u / kö-rō se ta-makura
sedge-pillow / why QPT use_as_a_pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR / girl-DIM
do.IMP hand-pillow
‘Why would [you] use a sedge-pillow for a pillow? Dear girl, use [my] arms for a pillow!’

392. 14:3388.4-5 – Pitati
伊伎豆久伎美乎 / 為祢弖夜良佐
iki-N-tuk-u kyiymi-wo / wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e
breath-GEN-breathe-ATTR lord-ACC / bring.INF-sleep.INF-SUB send-HON-DES-IMP
‘Please bring [my] lord who sighs to sleep [with me], and then send [him away].’

393. 14:3484.4 – UD
阿須伎西佐米也
asu kyi-se-s-am-ey ya
tomorrow wear-CAUS-HON-TENT-EV QPT

394. 14:3498.4-5 – UD
伎美波和須良酒 / 和礼和須流礼夜
kyiymi pa wasur-as-u / ware wasur-ure ya
lord TPT forget-HON-FIN / 1.S forget-EV QPT
‘You’ll forget [me]. Will I forget [you]? [no, I won’t]’

395. 14:3515.4-5 – UD
祢尓多都久毛乎 / 見都追之努波西
ne-ni tat-u kumwo-wo / MYI-tutu sinwop-as-e
peak-LOC rise-ATTR cloud-ACC / see.INF-COOR long_for-HON-IMP
‘Long for [me] while gazing at the clouds that rise over the peaks!’

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### Table 5-36: Distribution of the honorific suffix -as- across the provinces

5.5.2.3.8 Causative -asime-

The causative -asime- is attested four times. It has three allomorphs: -asime- and -asim- and -sime-. The underlying form -asime- occurs after consonant-final verb roots.
The form -asim- only occurs once in Sinano province, before the negative-imperative -una, while the form -sime- occurs after vowel-final verb roots.

The causative -asime- can be followed by the following suffixes: the negative-imperative -una and the infinitive -i (which becomes a zero morph due to the morphophonological rules of the language).

396. 14:3399.3-4 - Sinano
可里婆祢尐 / 安思/布麻之牟奈
kar-i N-pane-ni / asi pum-asim-una
chop_down-NML COP.ATTR-stump-LOC / foot step-CAUS-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t let [your] feet step on the chopped-down [tree] stumps.’

397. 14:3437.4-5 – Mitinöku
西良思馬伎那婆 / 都良波可馬可毛
ser-asimye-k-yi-n-aNpa / tura pak-am-ye kamwo
deviate-CAUS.INF-come-INF-PERF-COND / string string-TENT-EV EPT
‘When it becomes warped, should [I] restring the string?’

398. 14:3409.5 – Kamitukeno
伊射祢志米刀羅
iNsa ne-simey two-ra
‘well’ sleep-CAUS.INF UNC-PLUR?
‘Well, let [me] sleep…’

399. 14:3518.5 – UD
伊射祢之賣刀良
iNsa ne-simye two-ra
‘well’ sleep-CAUS.INF UNC-PLUR?
‘Well, let [me] sleep…’

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5.5.2.3.9 Causative -ase-

The causative -ase- is more common than the causative -asime-, but there are still relatively few examples of it in the corpus. This suffix has three allomorphs: -ase- and
-as- after consonant-final stems, and -se- after vowel-final stems. Whether the form will be -ase- or -as- depends on the following suffix, and whether or not it contracts the final vowel of the causative suffix. The desiderative -ana and tentative -am- are attested as contracting the causative’s final vowel. Interestingly, there appears to be some variation in this regard. Example (402) below from Pitati province shows the tentative -am- losing its vowel after the causative in the combination -ase-m- ‘CAUS-TENT,’ which is the same combination we find attested in WOJ. On the other hand, example (407) below shows the causative losing its final vowel and the tentative retaining the form -am-, in the combination -as-am-\(^{265}\) ‘CAUS-TENT.’ Perhaps this was a dialect difference, or perhaps, (possibly) like the interactive -ap-, there were competing consonant-final and vowel-final stems of the same causative morpheme.

The causative -ase- can be followed by the following suffixes: tentative -(a)m-, honorific -s-, desiderative -ana, and past-attributive -si.

400. 14:3434.5 – Kamitukeno
安是加 多延世武
aNse ka taye-se-m-u
why QPT break-CAUS-TENT-FIN
‘Why would [it] be made to break?’

401. 14:3397.5 – Pitati
阿杼可 多延世武
aNtö ka taye-se-m-u
what QPT break-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
‘What would make [us] break [up]?’

402. 20:4366.3-5 – Pitati
阿我古比乎 / 志留志彘都祁彘 / 伊母尔志良世伞
a-Nka kwopyi-wo / sirus-i-te tukye-te / imö-ni sir-ase-m-u
1.S-POSS love.NML-ACC / record-INF-SUB affix.INF-SUB / beloved_girl-DAT
know-CAUS-TENT-FIN

\(^{265}\) The form -as-am- ‘-CAUS-TENT-‘ is unattested in WOJ (Vovin 2009a: 794).
‘Writing [a note with] my love and sending it [with them], [I] would let [my] darling girl know [my feelings].’

403. 20:4388.3–5 – Simotupusa
以弊乃母加 / 枺世之已呂母尔 / 阿可都秩尔迦理
ipye-nö [i]mō-ka / kyi-se-si körömö-ni / aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST-ATTR garment-LOC / dirt attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved at [my] home made [me] wear.’

404. 14:3444.5 – UD
西奈等都麻佐祄
se-na-tō tum-as-an-e
beloved_man-DIM-COM pluck-CAUS-DES-IMP
‘Please let [me] pluck with [my] beloved man!’

405. 14:3453.3–5 – UD
吉西斯伎奴 / 多母登乃久太利 / 麻欲比伎尔家利
kyi-se-si kyinu / tamöstö-nö kuNitár-i / maywop-yi-k-yi-n-i-kyer-i
wear-CAUS-PST-ATTR robes / sleeve-GEN descend-NML / fray-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘The fold of the sleeve of the robe [that my beloved] made [me] wear has become frayed.’

406. 14:3484.4 – UD
阿须伎西佐米也
asu kyi-se-s-am-ey ya
tomorrow wear-CAUS-HON-TENT-EV QPT

407. 14:3573.5 – UD
於吉夜可良佐武
ok-yi ya kar-as-am-u
leave_behind-INF QPT wither-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
‘Leaving [them] behind, will it make [them] wither?’

Table 5-38: Distribution of the causative suffix -ase- across the provinces

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5.5.2.3.10 Debitive -upe-

The debitive suffix -upe- indicates obligation or necessity. It is attested only twice in the entire corpus: once in Pitati and once in UD. This may be due to the fact it was still in the process of being grammaticalized, as shown by its use as a free adverb in example (408) below:

408. 14:3476a.1-2 – UD
宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尔故布奈毛
upey KWO-na pa / wanu-ni kwop-unam-wo
surely girl-DIM TPT / 1.S-DAT long_for-TENT2-ATTR
‘As for [that] dear girl, [she] is surely longing for me.’

The debitive -upe- differs morphologically from most other verbal suffixes, in that it has the paradigm of an adjectival verb and can be followed by the following suffixes:

adjectival verb attributive -kyi and adjectival verb gerund -myi.

409. 20:4364.3-5 – Pitati
伊敝能伊牟何 / 奈流敃倖己等乎 / 伊波須伎奴可母
ipye-nö imu-Nka / nar-upye-kyi kötö-wo / ip-as-u k-yi-n-u kamö
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / make_a_living-DEB-AVATTR word-ACC / say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘[I] may have come without telling my darling at home that she must make a living.’

410. 14:3468.4-5 – UD
刀奈布倍美許曾 / 奈尔与曾利鷄米
twonap-upey-myi kōsō / na-ni yōsōr-i-kyem-ey
chant-DEB-AVGER FPT / 2.S-DAT be.drawn_to-INF-PST.TENT-EV
‘Precisely because [I] must chant [now], [I] was indeed drawn to you.’

Table 5-39: Distribution of the debitive suffix -upe- across the provinces

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742
5.5.2.3.11 Progressive -ar- ~ -er- ~ -ir-

The progressive aspect indicates an action is in the process of occurring. There are three progressive markers in the EOJ corpus: -ar-, -er-, and -ir-. Progressive -ar- is only found in EOJ, while progressive -er- is also attested in WOJ. Progressive -ir- is only attested in Suruga province. These forms are the result of different morphophonological processes after the split from PJn. In EOJ -ar- was formed via a contraction of the PJn sequence *-i ar- ‘-INF exist-,’ while WOJ and EOJ -er- is the result of a fusion of the historical sequence *-i ar- ‘-INF exist-’ into -er-. The formation of Suruga’s progressive -ir- is more difficult to discern. It is either the result of a contraction of *-i ar- to -ir-, or a raising of *-er- to -ir-. I prefer the contraction hypothesis as it patterns with another *ia > /i/ contraction found in Suruga in the root ipyi ‘home,’ a reflex from PJn *ipia (compare Muzasi ipa ‘id.’ and WOJ ipye ‘id.’) and possibly also in the Suruga verb root kapyir- ‘return’ (compare WOJ kapyer- ‘id.’).

As -ar- and -er- can be found in the same province with the same function, they were probably just phonetic, rather than functional, variants.

The progressives -ar-, -er-, and -ir- are attested followed by the following suffixes: evidential -e, infinitive -i, attributive -u/-o, and the conditional gerund -aNpa.

5.5.2.3.11.1 -ar- form

Examples of the form -ar- follow below.

411. 14:3417.5 – Kamitukeno
伊麻許曽 麻左礼
ima kōsō mas-ar-e
now FPT be.superior-PROG-EV
‘Now is even better.’
20:4375.3-5 – Simotukeno
伊波比等乃 / 和例乎美於久流等 / 多々里之毛己呂
ipa-pitō-nō / ware-wo myi-okur-u tō / tat-ar-i-si mwokörö
home-person-GEN / 1.S-ACC see.INF-send_off-FIN DV / stand-PROG-INF-PST.ATTR
similarity
‘[It is] similar to how [my] family members were standing, thinking to see [me] off.’

14:3351.1-2 – Pitati
筑波祢尓 / 由伎可母布良留
tukupa ne-ni / yukyi kamō pur-ar-u
PN peak-LOC / snow EPT fall-PROG-ATTR
‘I wonder, is snow be falling on Mt. Tukupa?’

20:4387.1-3 – Simotupusa
知波乃奴乃 / 古乃弖加之波能 / 保々麻例
tipa-nō nu-nō / kwnōte kasipa-nō / popom-ar-e-tō
PN-GEN field-GEN / PN oak-COMP / be.unopened-PROG-EV-CONC
‘Although [she] is still unopened, like [the buds] of the the konote oaks on the fields of Tipa…’

20:4352.4-5 – Kamitupusa
可良麻流伎美乎 / 波可礼加由加牟
karam-ar-u kyimy-wi / pakare ka yk-um-u
wrap_around-PROG-ATTR lord-ACC / be.separated.NML QPT go-TENT-ATTR
‘Should [I] go away from [my] lord, whom [I] am wrapped around?’

14:3469.1-2 – UD
由布氣尓毛 / 許余比登乃良路
yupu key-ni mwo / kō yöpyi tō nör-ar-wo
evening fortunetelling-LOC FPT / this evening DV tell-PROG-ATTR
‘Even at the evening fortunetelling [they] are telling [me] it will be tonight.’

14:3546.1-3 – UD
安乎楊木能 / 波良路可波刀尓 / 奈乎麻都等
awo yaNKIY-nō / par-ar-wo kapa two-ni / na-wo mat-u tō
green willow-GEN / stretch-PROG-ATTR river door-LOC / you-ACC wait-FIN DV
‘At the estuary where the green willow is stretching [over], [I] say [to myself] [I’ll] wait for you.’

14:3572.3-5 – UD
由豆流波乃 / 布敷麻留等伎尔 / 可是布可受可母
yuNturupa-nō / pupum-ar-u tōky-ni / kaNse puk-aNs-u kamō
‘[I] wonder, won’t the winds blow when the *daphniphyllum macropodum* [buds] are still unopened?’

This poem contains both an *-ar-* and an *-er-* progressive.

**5.5.2.3.11.2 -er- form**

Examples of the progressive *-er-* follow below.

420. 14:3413.4–5 – Kamitukeno
奈美山安布能须 / 安敏流俊美可母
namyï-ni ap-u-nôsu / ap-ye-ru kiimyï kamô
wave-DAT meet-ATTR-COMP / meet-PROG-ATTR lord EPT
‘Oh [my] lord, whom [I] am meeting like meeting with the waves!’

421. 20:4347.3–4 – Kamitupusa
奈我波氣流 / 多知尓奈里弖母
na-Nka pak-ye-r-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mö
2.S-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR / long.sword COP-INF become-INF-SUB FPT
‘Becoming the long sword that you are wearing....’

422. 14:3463.4–5 – UD
佐刀乃美奈可尔 / 安敏流世奈可毛
satwo-nô myï-na-naka-ri / ap-ye-r-u se-na kamwo
village-GEN HON-inside-LOC / meet-PROG-ATTR beloved_man-DIM EPT
‘[My] beloved, who [I] am meeting in the middle of the village.’

423. 14:3503.1–3 – UD
安齊可我多 / 志保悲乃由多尔 / 於毛敏良婆
aNseka-N-kata / sipo piy-nô yuta n-i / omwop-ye-r-anpa
PN-GEN-lagoon / tide ebb.NML-COMP leisure COP-INF / think-PROG-COND
‘When [I] am thinking\textsuperscript{266} leisurely, like the ebb of the tide in the lagoon of Azeka.’

424. 14:3544.1-3 – UD
阿須可河泊 / 之多 尔其礼留 / 之良受思天
asuka-N-kapa / sita niNkör-er-u-wo / sir-aNs-u s-i-te
PN-GEN-river / below make\textsubscript{dirty}-PROG-ATTR-ACC / know-NEG-INF do-INF-SUB
‘Not knowing the bottom of the Asuka river is dirty.’

425. 20:4431.3-5 - UD
奈々弁加流 / 去呂毛尒麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛
nana-pye k-ar-u / körömwo-ni mas-er-u / kwo-rō-Nka paNta pa mwo
seven-CL wear-PROG-ATTR / robes-LOC be.superior-PROG-ATTR / girl-DIM-POSS skin TPT EPT
‘Oh, [my] darling girl’s skin that is superior to my robes that [I] am wearing in seven layers.’

This poem is notable because it contains both an -\textit{ar}- progressive and an -\textit{er}- progressive.

5.5.2.3.11.3 -\textit{ir}- form

The progressive -\textit{ir}- is only attested in Suruga province.

426. 20:4342.1-3 - Suruga
麻氣婆之良 / 寶米弖豆久利留 / 等乃能其等
ma-key N-pasira / pomey-te Ntukur-ir-u / tönö-nō Nkötö
INT-tree COP.ATTR-pillar / bless-INF-SUB make-PROG-ATTR / hall-GEN
like
‘Like the great wooden pillars we blessed as [we] were building the pavilion.’

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
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<th>Su</th>
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<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{266} Or ‘loving.’
From these data we see that attestations of -ar- are nearly double that of -er-. While it may be tempting to attribute all of the -er- attestations to later scribal alterations, it is possible that the forms were in free variation, or the -er- form was considered more formal or prescriptively ideal due to its WOJ provenance.

5.6 Auxiliaries

There are many verbal auxiliaries. They can be segregated into two groups: bound and lexical.

5.6.1 Bound auxiliaries

The bound auxiliaries consist of two groups: word-final, and word non-final.

5.7.1.1 Word-final bound auxiliaries

The word-final bound auxiliaries are those that can end a word-form, but cannot occur on their own in a sentence. They include the subordinative gerund -te, coordinative gerund -tutu ~ -tusi ~ -töötö, past tense -kV, past-attributive -si, and past-evidential -sika. Not surprisingly most of these do not allow the affixation of any further verbal morphology. The exceptions are the past-tense -kV the past-attributive attributive -si.

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267 The form is -kyi in WOJ but we lack an example in EOJ with a clear, overt vowel, and as EOJ and WOJ differ in the vowel quality of many words, affixes, and auxiliaries, we cannot presume to know what the EOJ vowel really was.
5.7.1.1 Subordinative gerund -te

The subordinative gerund -te subordinates a verbal phrase. It follows the infinitive form of a verb. It does not allow any further suffixes (not even nominal ones) to follow it. Due to this, it can be considered a purely verbal gerund.

427. 20:4403.3-5 - Sinano
阿乎久牟乃 / 等能姤久夜麻乎 / 古与吕布怯怒加牟
awo kumu-nō / tōnōNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyō-te k-yi-n-wo kamu
blue cloud-GEN / stream_out-ATTR mountain-ACC / cross.INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Crossing the mountain where the blue clouds stream out, [I have come [here]]’

428. 14:3429.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
安礼乎多能米吕 / 安佐麻之物能乎
are-wo tanōmey-te / as-amasi MONōwo
1.S-ACC trust.INF-SUB / be.shallow-SUBJ CNJ
‘[You] trust me, even though [my feelings] would be shallow.’

429. 20:4321.3-5 - Töpotuapumi
阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢乎 / 伊牟奈之尔志豆
asu-yuri ya / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u / imu na-si n-i s-i-te
tomorrow-ABL QPT / reed-POSS together_with sleep-TENT-ATTR / beloved_girl not.exist-FIN COP-INF do-INF-SUB
‘From tomorrow shall [I] sleep together with the reeds, being [lit. doing] without [my] beloved?’

430. 20:4339.5 - Suruga
巴波比豆麻多祢
ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP
‘Please pray and wait for [me]!’

431. 14:3411.1-3 – Kamitukeno
多胡能祢尔 / 与西都奈波倍豆 / 与须礼腾毛
taNkwo-nō ne-ni / yöse tuna papey-te / yōs-ure-Ntömwo
PN-GEN peak-LOC / approach.INF rope stretch_out.INF-SUB / approach-EV-CONC
‘[I] stretched out a rope to draw you in on the peak of Tago, although [we] had relations.’

432. 20:4404.1-2 – Kamitukeno
奈尔波治乎 / 由使豆久麻豆等
nanipa-N-ti-wo / yuk-yi-te k-u-mate tö
PN-GEN-road-ACC / go-INF-SUB come-ATTR-TERM COP
‘Being by the time [I] go and come [back] on the road to Nanipa.’

433. 20:4417.3–5 – Muzasi
刀里加尓 / 多麻能余許夜麻 / 加志由加也良牟
twor-i-kan-i-te / tama-nö yökö yama / kasi-yu ka yar-am-u
hold-INF-NEG.POT.INF-SUB / PN-GEN horizontal mountain / walking-ABL
QPT send-TENT-ATTR
‘Being unable to catch [the stallion], shall [I] send [you] on foot over the hills by the Tama [river]?’

434. 14:3363.1–2 – Sagamu
和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敝夜利戻
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatö-pye yar-i-te
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL send-INF-SUB
‘[I] sent my darling beloved to Yamatö.’

435. 20:4330.1–2 – Sagamu
奈尓波都尓 / 余曽比余曽比
nanipa tu-ni / yööp-yia yööp-yia-te
PN harbor-LOC / prepare-INF-prepare-INF-SUB
‘Preparing and preparing [the boats] in Nanipa harbor.’

This example shows that when a verb form has been reduplicated for an iterative
meaning, the subordinative gerund attaches at the end, but not in between.

436. 14:3437.1–3 – Mitinöku
美知能久能 / 安太多良末由美 / 波自伎於伎
myitinöku-nö / aNtatara ma yumyi / paNsik-yi-ok-yi-te
PN-GEN / PN true bow / loosen-INF-put-INF-SUB
‘Loosening [the string from] [my] true bow [from] Adatara in Mitinöku.’

437. 20:4376.3–5 – Simotukeno
阿母志志尔 / 巳等麻乎佐受戻 / 伊麻叙久夜之氣
aMÖ sisi-ni / kötö mawos-aNs-u-te / ima Nsö kuyasi-key
mother father-DAT / word say.HUM-NEG-INF-SUB / now FPT be.regretful-
AVATTR
‘[I] said no words to [my] mother and father, and oh, now, [I] am regretful!’

438. 14:3388.4–5 – Pitati
伊伎豆久伎美乎 / 為祢夜良佐祢
ikyi-N-tuk-u kyimyi-wo / wi-ne-te yar-as-an-e
breath-GEN-breathe-ATTR lord-ACC / bring.INF-sleep.INF-SUB send-HON-
DES-IMP
‘Please bring [my] lord who sighs to sleep with [me] and then send [him away].’
439. 20:4366.3-5 – Pitati
阿我古比乎 / 志留志彂都祁彂 / 伊母尔志良世伞
a-Nka kwopyi-wo / sirus-i-te tukye-te / imö-ni sir-ase-m-u
1.S-POSS love.NML-ACC / record-INF SUB affix.INF-SUB / beloved_girl-DAT know-CAUS-TENT-FIN
‘Writing [a note with] my love and sending it [with them] would let [my] darling girl know [my feelings].’

440. 20:4393.3-4 – Simotupusa
知々波々乎 / 以波比等於枳弖
titi papa-wo / ipap-yi pye-tö ok-ye-te
father mother-ACC / pray-INF pot-COM put-INF-SUB
‘Leaving [my] father and mother behind with a praying pot.’

441. 14:3382.3-4 – Kamitupusa
都由思母能 / 奴礼弖和伎奈婆
tuyu simö-nö / nure-te wa k-yi-n-aNpa
dew frost-GEN / be.wet.INF-SUB 1.S come-INF-PERF-COND
‘If I come, wet [with] dew and frost…’

442. 20:4356.1-2 – Kamitupusa
和我波々能 / 藙天母知奈弖氐
wa-Nka papa-nö / swote möt-i-nate-te
dew frost-GEN / be.wet.INF-SUB 1.S come-INF-PERF-COND
‘[I] held and caressed my mother’s sleeve.’

443. 14:3489.4-5 – UD
伊毛呂乎多弖天 / 左祢度波良布母
imwo-rö-wo tate-te / sa-ne N-two parap-umö
beloved_girl-DIM-ACC make.stand.INF-SUB / LOC-sleep.NML-GEN-place
clear_away-EXCL
‘[I have] made [my] darling beloved stand, [I’ll] clear away a place to sleep here!’

444. 14:3551.3-5 – UD
比良湍尓母 / 比毛登久毛能可 / 加奈思家乎於吉弖
pyira se n-i mö / p ylimwo tök-u mwonö ka / kanasi-kye-wo ok-ye-te
average lover268 COP-INF FPT / string undo-ATTR thing QPT / be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC leave_behind-INF-SUB
‘Being an average lover, am [I] one to untie [his] cords [for someone else]? [I] left behind [a girl] who is adorable.’

445. 14:3567.1-2 – UD
於伎弖伊可婆 / 伊毛婆麻可奈之
ok-ye-te ik-aNpa / imwo pa ma kanasi

268 This is a play on words, as pyira SE may also mean ‘flat rapids.’
If I go, leaving [her] behind, [my] beloved will be so sad.

The coordinative gerund -tutu has a meaning of ‘while X-ing, Y.’ There is an interesting variation in phonological form for this morpheme, with two additional variants -tusi and -tötö attested, both of which appear to be dialect variants, rather than allomorphs.

‘If [one] pulls up the ipawi vines while untangled…’

‘If [one] pulls up the ipawi vines while untangled…’

‘If [one] pulls up the ipawi vines while untangled…’
I want [my] beloved to long for [me], while gazing out (lit. seeing to swing and shun) over the peaks of Tukupa.'

While praying to the god of hail-falling Kasima…'

‘[I] am at home, and while [I] am longing for [you], [I] am not with [you].’

Although [I] will sleep for awhile…'

‘Long for [me] while watching the clouds that rise over the peaks!’

‘[I] shall long for [you] while watching clouds that stream out over the great plains.’

‘Make a paper offering to the gods of heaven and earth while praying.’
5.7.1.1.2.1 Variant -tusi

The variant -tusi is attested in Simotopusa province.

456. 20:4386.3-5 – Simotopusa

以都母以都母 / 於毛加古比須々 / 奈理麻之都之母
itu mó itu mó / omwo-ka kwopyi su su / nar-i-mas-i-tusi mö
when FPT when FPT / mother-POSS love.INF again again / make_a_living-INF-HON-INF-COOR FPT

‘Always and always, [my] mother loves [me], even while working again and again.’

5.7.1.1.2.2 Variant -tötö

The variant -tötö is attested in Muzasi province.

457. 20:4421.3-5 – Muzasi

安之我良乃 / 美祢波保久毛乎 / 美等登志努波祢
asiNkara-nö / myi-ne pap-o kumwo-wo / myi-tötö sinwop-ane
PN-GEN / HON-peak crawl-ATTR cloud-ACC / see.INF-COOR long_for-DES

‘[I] want [you] to long for [me] while watching the clouds that crawl over the
peak of Mt. Ashigara.’

Table 5-42: Distribution of the coordinative gerund -tutu and its variant forms across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
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<th>Sa</th>
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5.7.1.1.3 Past tense -kV

The past tense -kV is not used in many cases when a past tense would be required, so the category of tense in the language was either not fully developed, or eroding away.

The cognate form in WOJ is -ki, but there is not a single example in the EOJ corpus that shows us the vowel in this morpheme. Thus, considering it to be -ki in EOJ, as it is in WOJ, is nothing more than an assumption. We must keep in mind there are multiple
examples of vowels differing among EOJ and WOJ forms (cf. the adjectival verb attributive suffix *-ke* and its cognate WOJ form *-kyi*).

While it is never actually attested word-final in EOJ, I include it among the other word-final bound auxiliaries because it can be considered a suppletive allomorph of the past-attributive *-si* – which is attested word-final – and allomorphs should not be variant in regard to whether or not they may occur word-final. Furthermore, it is attested word-final in WOJ and the lack of such an attestation in EOJ is probably due to the size of the EOJ corpus. In regard to allomorphy, it may fuse its (unclear, underlying) vowel with the vowel of a following suffix creating portmanteau forms such as *-kyem-* ‘PST.TENT’ as shown in example (461), or contract it before a following suffix as shown in example (460).

458. 20:4323.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
波々 登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟
papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō / sak-yi-[i]nte-kō-s-u-kyem-u
mother DV say-ATTR flower-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘The flower that [I] call “mother” did not come out in bloom.’

459. 14:3415.4-5 – Kamitukeno
賀久古非牟等夜 / 多祢物得米家
Nka-yu kwpipi-m-u tō ya / tane motōme-kyem-u
be,thus-AVINF long_for-TENT-FIN COP QPT / seed search_for.INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘Were [we] searching for for seeds [when] [we] were in love like that?’

460. 20:4421.1-2 – Muzasi
和我由伎乃 / 伊伎都久之可婆
wa-Nka yuk-yi-nō / ikyi tukus-i-k-aNpa
1.S-POSS go-NML-GEN / breath exhaust-INF-PST-COND
‘If [you] have exhausted [all your] breath due to my going [away]…’

Example (460) shows a contracted vowel in the past tense *-kV*, rather than a fused vowel.

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269 If the PJn form was *ke* and EOJ retained it as *-ke*, then this would be a contraction (*-kye-m-*) rather than a fusional reduction.
‘[I] was indeed drawn to you.’

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<th>Sin</th>
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Table 5.43: Distribution of the past-attributive -si across the provinces

5.7.1.1.4 Past-attributive -si

Vovin (2009a: 919) analyzes the past-attributive -si as suppletive with the past tense -kyi because among the two only -si may function as a past-attributive. While this is true, the problem with this is -si can also function as a pure past tense, with no attributive meaning. In fact both past tense suffixes -si and -kyi may be followed by the conditional gerund -aNpa in EOJ. Regardless, the overall distinction described by Vovin holds true in the vast majority of cases, and the exceptions that occur likely indicate the distinction between -si and -kyi in WOJ was unstable at the time. There is one other important distinction between the two: while -kyi allows the addition of purely verbal morphology (such as the tentative -am-), -si allows the addition of only one suffix, the conditional gerund -aNpa, which is a suffix that is not strictly verbal as it also attaches to adjectival verbs.

As -si can also function as an attributive, it can nominalize the verb, and thus allow the addition of nominal case suffixes (as shown in example (463) below).
‘[I] cannot forget the words that [they] said.’

463. 14:3417.4-5 – Kamitukeno
与曾尔見之欲波 / 伊麻許曾麻左礼
yōsō-ni MYI-si-ywo pa / ima kōsō mas-ar-e
other_place-LOC see-INF-PST.ATTR-ABL TPT / now FPT be.superior-PROG-EV
‘Now is even better than when [I] looked [at you] from another place.’

464. 20:4404.3-5 – Kamitukeno
和藝毛古賀 / 都氣之欲波
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka / tukey-si piyymwo-Nka wo / taye-n-i-keyr-u kamwo
1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / suffix-INF-PST.ATTR cords-POSS string /
break-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR EPT
[I] wonder, will the cord that my darling girl tied [over my robes] break?

465. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi
伊尓之与比欲利 / 世呂安波奈布与
in-i-si yöpyi-yworì / se-rō-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘Since that evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my] beloved!’

466. 20:4375.3-5 – Simotukeno
伊波比等乃 / 和例乎美於久流等 / 多々里之毛己呂
ipa-pytō-nō / ware-wo myi-okur-u tō / tat-ar-i-si mwokörö
home-person-GEN / 1.S-ACC see-INF-send_off-FIN DV / stand-PROG-INF-PST.ATTR similarity
‘Similar to how my family were standing, thinking to see me off.’

467. 20:4370.4-5 – Pitati
須米良美久佐尔 / 和礼波伎尔之乎
sumeýra myi-[i]kusa-ni / ware pa k-yi-n-i-si-wo
emperor HON-army-LOC / 1.S TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC
‘Since I came into the Emperor’s army.’

468. 20:4388.3-5 – Simotupusa
以弊乃母加 / 猶世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都枳尔迦理
iaye-nō [i]mō-ka / ky-i-se-si kōrōmō-ni / aka tuk-yi-n-i-ko-ri
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST.ATTR garment-LOC / dirt
attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved at [my] home made [me] wear.’

469. 20:4358.3-5 – Kamitupusa
伊弖久礼婆 / 和努等里都伎弓 / 伊比之古奈波毛
ite-k-ure-Npa / wanwo tör-i-tuk-yi-te / ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mwo
go_out.INF-come-EV-CONJ / 1.S take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-
PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‘Since [I] left [home] and came [here], oh, [what about] that girl clung to me and
said [all those things]?’

470. 14:3487.4–5 – UD
宿莫奈那里尔思 / 於久乎可奴加奴
NE-N-Ana nar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u
sleep-NEG-DES COP-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR / future-ACC consider-FIN
consider-FIN
‘[You] did not want to sleep [with me], so [I] consider and consider [our] future.’

471. 14:3506.4–5 – UD
穂尓豆之伎美我 / 見延奴己能許呂
PO-ni [i]te-si kyimyi-Nka / MYI-ye-n-u könö körö
head_of_grain-LOC go_out.INF-PST.ATTR lord-POSS / see-PASS-NEG-
ATTR this time
‘This is a time when [I] am unable to see [my] lord, who went out like the heads
of grain.’

472. 14:3545.1–2 – UD
安須可河泊 / 世久登之里世波
asuka Nkapa / sek-u tö sir-i-sepa
PN river / dam-FIN COP know-INF-PST.COND
‘If [I] knew [they] would dam the river Asuka.’

This example shows the past-attributive -si fusing its vowel with the following
conditional suffix -a[N]pa, creating the portmanteau form -se[N]pa ‘PST.COND.’

473. 20:4436.3–5 - UD
由久和礼乎 / 伊都伎麻佐等 / 登比之古良波母
yuk-u ware-wo / itu k-yi-mas-am-u tö / töp-yi-si kwo-ra pa mō
go-ATTR 1.S-ACC / when come-INF-HON-TENT-FIN COP / ask-INF-
PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‘Oh, [my] dear girl, who asked me [lit. I who was going] ’when will [you] come
[back]?’

Table 5-44: Distribution of the past-attributive -si across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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5.7.1.5 Past-evidential -sika

The past-evidential form -sika certainly seems to contain the past(-attributive) -si. Thus, upon first glance, one might think there should be a morpheme boundary between -si and -ka, especially considering -ka is an adjectival verb evidential suffix in EOJ (but not in WOJ). However, upon careful consideration of both internal evidence and comparative evidence from WOJ, it soon becomes apparent that no such conclusion will suffice. First, this suffix also exists in WOJ, as -sika, and furthermore it is far more common in WOJ than in EOJ. However, there is no adjectival verb evidential suffix -ka attested in WOJ (rather, in that language the adjectival verb evidential is -kye or -kyere).

Second, the past tense auxiliary -si cannot be followed by any morphological marker exclusive to the adjectival verb paradigm. With these two points in mind, it is best not to draw a boundary inside this morpheme\(^{270}\). Instead, it is preferable to conclude that at the very least, it is synchronically portmanteau, and thus a suppletive form of -si ‘PST(.ATTR).’

All examples in the corpus are given below.

474. 14:3385.1-3 – Simotupusa
可都思加能 / 麻萬能手兒奈我 / 安里之可婆
katusika-nö / mama-nö TENKWO-na-Nka / ar-i-sika-Npa
PN-GEN / cliff-GEN maiden-DIM-POSS / exist-INF-PST.EV-CONJ
‘Since there was a sweet Maiden from the cliff of Kadusika…’

475. 14:3522.1-2 – UD
伎曽許曽波 / 兒呂等左宿之香
kysö kösö pa / KWO-rö-tö sa-NE-sika
last_night FPT TPT / girl-DIM-COM LOC-sleep.INF-PST.EV
‘Last night [I] slept together with [my] darling girl.’

\(^{270}\) Some morphologists may still prefer to consider -sika ‘PST.EV’ two segments due to a clearly analyzable past tense morpheme -si. Thus -si-ka, with the -ka being a morphologically conditioned allomorph of the verbal evidential unrelated to the adjectival verb evidential -ka. I hesitate to accept this due to the inelegance and conflict it creates in the overall morphological description of the language.
476. 14:3531.1-2 – UD
伊母乎許曽 / 安比美尒 許思可
imô-wo kõsõ / ap-yi-myi-ni kö-sika
beloved_girl-ACC FPT / meet-INF-see.NML-LOC come-PST.EV
‘[I] came to meet and see [my] beloved.’

477. 14:3497.5 – UD
己登尒 並將思可
kötö-ni [i] te-n-i-sika
word-LOC go_out.INF-PREF-INF-PST.EV
‘It has gone out in words [i.e. people have been talking about us].’

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5.7.1.2 Word non-final auxiliaries

The word non-final auxiliaries include the perfective -n- ~ -te-, perfective-
progressive -tar-, retrospective -kyer- ~ -kar-, potential -kate-, negative potential -kane-,
and benefactive -köse-.

5.7.1.2.1 Perfectives -n- and -te-

The perfective auxiliaries -n- and -te- indicate the perfective aspect. More
specifically, an action that is complete, or will be complete in the future. The form -te- is
in lexical complementary distribution with the allomorph -n-. In other words, only -te-
occurs with a set of verbs, while only -n- occurs with another set of verbs.

There is good evidence to believe that the distinction between these two
perfective markers was originally a matter of animacy in PJn, where -n- occurred with
inanimate subjects, and -te- with animate subjects (see Vovin 2003: 305 for a thorough
overview of the subject), however in EOJ we do not find such a distinction still firmly in
place – both are attested with animate and inanimate subjects. This is an important
difference in comparison to WOJ, where -te- is never found with an inanimate subject, as
noted by Vovin (2009a: 960). In addition, while both perfectives can attach to transitive
and intransitive verbs, the perfective -n- mainly occurs with intransitive verbs.

A final point worth mentioning is these two perfective markers have different
combinatorial characteristics in WOJ, notably only the perfective -te- can combine with
imperatives and causatives (Vovin 2009a: 950). However in EOJ, the perfective -te- is
not attested combining with an imperative or causative.

5.7.1.2.1.1 Perfective -n-

The perfective -n- is attested occurring after an infinitive form of the following
verb roots: suNkiy- ‘pass by,’ k- ‘come,’ ir- ‘enter,’ taNkap- ‘differ,’ taye- ‘break,’
wakare- ‘separate,’ nar- ‘become,’ ok- ‘leave behind,’ kö[N]k- ‘row,’ tuk- ‘attach,’ tuk-
‘tell,’ taNpar- ‘receive.HUM,’ tat- ‘rise,’ akye- ‘brighten,’ ap- ‘meet,’ nar- ‘COP,’ kwos-
‘cross,’ sapye- ‘obstruct,’ and iNte- ‘go out.’

In EOJ, the attributive allomorph that follows the perfective -n- is always -u/-o,
rather than -uru. This is a major difference compared to WOJ, where the attributive is
always -uru after the perfective -n-. Other than the attributive, the perfective -n- is
attested followed by the subjunctive -amasi, the conditional gerund -a[N]pa, the final -u,
and the infinitive -i.

478. 14:3352.5 – Sinano
denki suNkiy-n-i-kyer-i
toki time pass.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Time has past by.’
479. 20:4403.3-5 – Sinano
阿乎久牟乃 / 等能姪久夜麻乎 / 古与弓伎美我名
awo kumu-nō / tōnōNyik-u yama-wo / kwoyō-te k-yi-n-wo kamu
blue cloud-GEN / stream_out-ATTR mountain-ACC / cross.INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘[I] have come, crossing the mountains where the blue clouds stream out.’

480. 14:3354.4-5 – Töpotuapumi
伊利奈麻之母乃 / 伊毛我乎経許尔
ir-i-n-amasi mōnō / imwo-Nka woN-tōkō-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CNJ / beloved_girl-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
‘Even though [I] would like to enter into the dear bed of [my] beloved…’

Example (480) shows a syntactic inversion.

481. 14:3359a.4-5 – Suruga
伊麻思乎多能美 / 波播尔多我比奴
imasi-wo tanōm-yi/ papa-ni taNkap-yi-n-u
2.S-ACC trust-INF / mother-DAT differ-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Trusting you, [I] have differed from [my] mother.’

482. 20:4337.3-4 – Suruga
知々波々尔 / 毛能波须僕尔旦
titi papa-ni / mwnō [il]p-as-u k-ye-n-i-te
father mother-DAT / things say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB
‘[I] have come without saying anything to [my] father or mother.’

483. 14:3434.4-5 – Kamitukeno
波比尔思物能乎 / 安是加多延世武
pap-yi-n-i-si Mōnōwō / aNse ka taye-se-m-u
crawl-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR CNJ / why QPT break-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
‘[It] has crawled [out], but why would it be made to break?’

484. 20:4404.3-5 – Kamitukeno
和藝毛古賀 / 都氣之非毛我乎 / 多延氣流可毛
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka / tukey-si piymwo-Nka wo / taye-n-i-keyr-u kamwo
1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / affix.INF-PST.ATTR string-POSS cord /
break-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, will the cord that my darling girl had tied [over my robes] break?’

485. 14:3374.4-5 – Muzasi
乃良奴伎美我名 / 宇良尔恵尔家里
nör-an-u kyimiy-Nka NA / ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-kyer-i
tell-NEG-ATTR lord-POSS name / divination-LOC go_out.INF-PERF-INF-
RETR-FIN
‘[My] lord’s name that [they] did not tell [me] emerged from the divination.’
486. 14:3437.4-5 – Mitinöku

西良思馬伎那婆 / 都良波可馬可毛
ser-asiy-me-k-yi-n-anpa / tura pak-am-ye kamwo
deviate-CAUS.INF-come-INF-PERF-COND / string string-TENT-EV EPT
‘When it becomes warped, should [I] restring the string?’

487. 14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno

伊之布麻努受 / 飛良由登伎
isi pum-anS-u / swora-yu tö k-yi-n-wo yö
stone step-NEG-INF / sky-ABL FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Without stepping on the stones, [I] came from the sky!’

488. 20:4379.1-3 – Simotukeno

之良奈美乃 / 与曽流波麻倍尔 / 和可例奈婆
sira namy-nō / yōsōr-u pama-psy-ni / wakare-n-anpa
white wave-GEN / draw_near-ATTR shore-side-LOC / separate.INF-PERF-COND
‘If [we] part at the seaside where the white waves draw near…’

489. 14:3395.1-4 – Pitati

乎豆久波乃 / 祢呂尓都久多思
woN-tukupa-nō / ne-rö-ni tuk-yi-kōs-ō
DIM-PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC moon rise-NEG / interval night TPT / many
become-INF-PERF-ATTR-ACC
‘The moon rises on Mt. Tukupa’s little peak and the nights in between have become many.’

490. 20:4365.4-5 – Pitati

阿例波呼藝奴 / 伊母尓都岐許曽
are pa köNk-yi-n-u tö / imō-ni tuk-yi-kōs-ō
1.S TPT row-INF-PERF-FIN DV / beloved_girl-LOC tell.INF-BEN-IMP
‘Please tell [my] darling [on behalf of me] that I am rowing!’

491. 20:4384.4-5 – Simotupusa

己桝尔之布祢乃 / 他都栂之良酒毛
kōk-yi-n-i si pune-nō / tatuki sir-as-umwo
row-INF-PERF-PST.ATTR boat-GEN / clue know-NEG-EXCL
‘[I] do not have a clue about boat that has rowed [out]!’

492. 20:4388 – Simotupusa

多飛等弊等 / 麻多毗尔奈理奴 / 以弊乃母加 / 栂世之己吕母尔 / 阿可都栂尒迦理
 tapiy tö [i]p-ye-tō / ma-taNpy i n-i nar-i-n-u / ipye-nō [i]mō-ka / kyi-se si
kōrōmō-ni / aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i
journey DV say-EV-CONC / INT-journey COP-INF become-INF-PERF-FIN / home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST.ATTR garment-LOC / dirt attach-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN

Although [it] was said to be a journey, this has become a true journey. Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved at [my] home made [me] wear.

‘Although [it] was said to be a journey, this has become a true journey. Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved at [my] home made [me] wear.’

493. 14:3382.3-4 – Kamitupusa
dew frost-GEN / be. wet.INF SUB 1.S come-INF-PERF-COND
‘If I come, wet [with] dew and frost…’

494. 20:4349.1-3 – Kamitupusa
hundred bend_in_a_road-GEN / road TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC / still more COP-INF
‘Although [I] have come across roads of a hundred bends, still there is more [to go].’

495. 14:3447.4-5 – UD
wild grass-GEN rise-INF-PERF-FIN
‘Without reaching Ano, wild grasses have risen up.’

496. 14:3461.5 – UD
When it dawns, [he] will come.

497. 14:3472.4-5 – UD
[my] neighbor’s garment and wear it again and again.

498. 20:4432.1-2 - UD
Since there are commands [from the emperor] [I] will not be interfering with [them].’
5.7.1.2.1.2 Perfective -te-

The perfective -te- is attested after an infinitive form of the following verb roots:
pum- ‘step,’ saNtamey- ‘decide,’ myi- ‘see,’ ne- ‘sleep,’ katamey- ‘harden,’ and ar- ‘exist.’ It may also follow the negative-potential -kane-, as shown in example (500) below. Like many other vowel-final verbal morphemes, the perfective -te- can lose its vowel when it precedes strong vowel-initial suffixes, creating the shortened allomorph -t-.

Unlike the perfective -n-, the attributive allomorph that attaches to the perfective -te- is -uru. An orthographic form -tö- is attested once in Simotupusa province. Other than the attributive, the perfective -te- is attested followed by the conditional gerund -Npa, the final -u, the evidential -ure, the exclamative -umö, the tentative -[a]m-, and the past-attributive -si.

499. 14:3400.1-4 - Sinano
信濃奈留 / 知具麻能河泊能 / 左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美豆波
sinanwo-n[i] ar-u / tiNkuma-nō KApā-nō / saNsare [i]si mö / kyimi si pum-yi-te-pa
PN-LOC exist-ATTR / PN-GEN river-GEN / little stone FPT / lord EPT step-INF-PERF-COND
‘When [you, my] lord have stepped on a little stone of the Tiguma river in Sinano…’

500. 20:4346.4-5 - Suruga
伊比之氣等婆是 / 和須礼加祢豆流
ip-yi-si keytöpa Nse / wasure-kane-Nt-uru
say-INF-PST.ATTR words FPT / forget-NEG.POT.INF-PERF-ATTR
‘[I] cannot forget the words that [they] said.’

501. 14:3418.4 – Kamitukeno
武良奈倍尓 / 許登波佐太米都
mura-napēy-ni / kötö pa saNtamey-t-u
fortunetelling-seedling-LOC / matter TPT decide-INF-PERF-FIN
‘In regard to the matter [of the marriage], the fortune-telling seedlings have decided it.’
How [I] would like to see [my] darling, who is at home, again!

‗[I] wonder if [I] shall sleep [with her] again.‘

Thrusting a nail into the jewel-like pivot, it hardened.

Just when [I] think to go to sleep, [I] suddenly can see [my] dear girl grow old.

Because of [our] not sleeping [together], the rumors have been painful!

This is a very difficult and controversial form. The WOJ form is oy-uru (the root is oyi- ‘grow old’), and no /y/ coda verb roots are known to exist in WOJ, though in section 5.5.2.2.2.5 I presented the possibility kay- ‘be.distant’ is such a root in EOJ.
Example (505) is the only example in the corpus where the perfective -te- is used with an inanimate subject.

507. 14:3556.3-4 – UD

左宿都礼婆 / 比登其等思気志

sa-NE-ture-Npa / pyitō-N-kōtō sikey-si

LOC-sleep-PERF-EV-CONJ / people-GEN-word be.lush-FIN

‘Because [I] had slept there with [you], people really talked about it [lit. people’s words were lush].’

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*One attestation (in 14:3419.4) is unclear

### 5.7.1.2.2 Perfective/Progressive -tar-

The perfective/progressive -tar- is only attested three times. Rather than having a meaning of both perfective and progressive simultaneously, it indicates either perfective or progressive, depending on the context (Vovin 2009a: 964). Historically, this form is the result of a concatenation of the subordinative gerund *-te and the auxiliary *-ar- ‘exist’ (Vovin 2009a: 963). Examples (508) and (510) show the perfective function, while example (509) shows the progressive function.

508. 20:4326 - Töpotuapumi

和我伎多流麻弓

wa-Nka k-yi-tar-u-mate

1.S-POSS come-INF-PP-ATTR-TERM

‗Until I have come [back].’

509. 20:4375.1-2 – Simotukeno

麻都能氣乃 / 奈美多流美礼波

matu-nō key-nō / nam-yi-tar-u myi-re-Npa

pine-GEN tree-GEN / be.lined_up-INF-PP-ATTR see-EV-CONJ

‗When [I] see pine trees that are lined up…‘
Because the valley is narrow, the jade-like vines have crawled over the peak.

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5.7.1.2.3 Retrospective -ker- ~ -kar-

The retrospective -ker- indicates neither tense nor aspect, rather it refers to an event experienced either directly or indirectly (Vovin 2009a: 978). In EOJ, it usually references the past, but in one example (example (512) below), it references the future. In WOJ it may reference the past, present, or future. The variant form -kar- is attested just once, and is unattested outside of EOJ. Overall, this is quite an uncommon morpheme in the corpus.

Example (512) is the only one in the corpus where the retrospective references the future, rather than the past.
513. 14:3374.4-5 – Muzasi
乃良奴伎美我名 / 宇良尔候尔家里
nör-an-u kyimyi-Nka NA / ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-kyer-i
tell-NEG-ATTR lord-POSS name / divination-LOC go_out.INF-PERF-INF-
RETR-FIN
‘[My] lord’s name that [they] did not tell [me] emerged from the divination.’

514. 14:3453 – UD
可是能等乃 / 登抱吉和伎母賀 / 吉西斯伎奴 / 多母登乃久太利 / 麻欲
比伎尔家利
kaNse-nö [o]tö-nö / töpo-kyi wa-k[a]-yimö-Nka / kyi-se-si kyinu / tamötö-nö
kuNtar-i / maywop-yi-k-yi-n-i-kyer-i
wind-GEN sound-COMP / be.far-AVATTR 1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST.ATTR robes / sleeve-GEN descend-NML / fray-INF-come-
INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘The fold of the sleeve of the robe that my darling, who is as far away as the
sound of wind, made [me] wear has become frayed.’

5.7.1.2.3.1 Variant -kar-

There is a variant -kar- attested once, in Simotupusa province.

515. 20:4388.3-5 – Simotupusa
以弊乃母加 / 枳世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都枳尔加理
ipye-nö [i]mö-ka / kyi-se-si körömö-ni / aka tuk-yi-n-i-kar-i
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / wear-CAUS-PST.ATTR garment-LOC / dirt
attach-INFINF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘Dirt is stuck to the garment that [my] beloved at [my] home made [me] wear.’

Table 5-48: Distribution of the retrospective auxiliary across the provinces

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5.7.1.2.4 Potential -kate-

The potential auxiliary -kate- indicates something that can be done. There are only three examples of this morpheme in the corpus, and all of them precede the negative -n-.

516. 20:4341.4-5 - Suruga
道乃長道波 / 由伎加弓奴加毛
MYITI-nō NANKA-TI pa / yuk-yi-kate-n-u kamwo
road-GEN long-road TPT / go-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[I wonder, will [I] not make it on this long road?’

517. 14:3423.1-4 – Kamitukeno
可美都氣努 / 伊可抱乃祢呂 / 布路与伎能 / 遊吉須宜可提奴
kamyitukeynwo / ikapo-nō ne-rō-ni / pur-wo yökyi-nō / yuk-yi-suNkiy-kaNte-n-u
PN / PN-GEN peak-DIM-LOC / fall-ATTR snow-COMP / go-INF-pass.INF-POT-NEG-ATTR
‘Like the falling snow on the little peak of Ikapo in Kamitukeno, [I] cannot get past.’

518. 14:3388.3 – Pitati
須宜可提尔
suNkiy-kaNte-n-i
pass.INF-POT-NEG-INF
‘Being unable to pass through [it].’

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5.7.1.2.5 Negative-potential-infinitive -kane-

The negative-potential-infinitive auxiliary -kane- indicates an action one cannot do. In all attestations it functions as an infinitive form, with no overt infinitive morpheme present, as the infinitive always becomes a zero morph when it attaches to a vowel-final verbal morpheme.
The existence of a portmanteau negative-potential-infinitive suffix is a bit peculiar in light of the fact we also find multiple attestations of the combination of potential -kate- and negative -n-. In fact, we find that combination as well as the portmanteau negative-potential-infinitive -kane- attested in the same province (see example (516) from Suruga in the section 5.7.1.2.4, compared with example (519) from Suruga below). This morpheme is peculiar in another way: as Vovin (2009a: 951) pointed out it often precedes the perfective auxiliary -te-, which is not expected. One possibility for the origin of the morpheme -kane- is that it is the result of the nasal from the negative suffix in the sequence -kate-n- ‘-POT-NEG-’ spreading regressively and fusing inside the previous morpheme, thus -kate-n- > -kane-. After all, the potential auxiliary -kate- is always attested with a following negative suffix in EOJ.

In addition to the form -kane-, Muzasi province shows a variant -kani- that has undergone vowel raising (*e > i).

519. 20:4346.4-5 - Suruga
伊比之氣等婆 / 和須礼加祢豆流
ip-yi-si keytòNpa Nse / wasure-kane-Nt-uru
say-INF-PST.ATTR word FPT / forget-NEG.POT.INF-PERF-ATTR
‘[I] cannot forget the words that [they] said.’

520. 20:4417.1-3 – Muzasi
阿加胡麻乎 / 夜麻努尔波賀志 / 刀里加尔陀
aka-N-kwo-[u]ma-wo / yama nwo-ni paNkas-i / twor-i-kani-te
red-COP.ATTR-DIM-horse-ACC / mountain field-LOC let_go-INF / hold-INF-NEG.POT.INF-SUB
‘[I] released [my] red stallion into the fields and mountains, being unable to catch [him] [again].’

521. 14:3442.1-3 – UD
安豆麻治乃 / 手兒乃欲妣左賀 / 古要我祢
aNtuma-N-ti-nö / TENKWO-nö ywoNp-yi saNka / kwoye-Nkane-te
PN-GEN-road-GEN / maiden-GEN call-INF slope / cross.INF-NEG.POT.INF-SUB
‘Being unable to cross the maiden-calling slope on the road to Aduma.’
Even though rumors abound [lit. *the leaves of many words are lush*] in the world, [I] cannot resist [them].'

‘[I] cannot think [of them]!’

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5.7.1.2.6 Benefactive -köse-

The benefactive auxiliary -köse- only occurs three times in the corpus. It indicates an action is done for someone’s benefit.

Please tell [my] darling [on behalf of me] that [I’m] rowing now!’

‘Please tell [my] darling [on behalf of me] that I’m rowing!’

[kö yöpyi Ntani / tuma yös-i-köse-n-e

\(^{272}\) *Utusemyi* literally means ‘cicada,’ and its use here to mean ‘world’ is metaphoric.
this evening RPT / spouse approach-INF-BEN-DES-IMP
‘Tonight, at least, [I] wish [you] would bring [my] spouse close [to me]’

Table 5.51: Distribution of the benefactive auxiliary -köse- across the provinces

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5.7.1.2.7 Conjectural -myer-

The conjectural -myer- can be translated to ‘it seems that.’ This morpheme is only attested once in EOJ, in the example shown below. In addition, it is completely absent from WOJ. This is clearly the predecessor to the Middle Japanese conjectural suffix -umer-, which is described in Vovin (2003: 295-8).

527. 14:3450.5 – UD
乎具佐可利馬利
woNkusa kat-i-myer-i
PN win-INF-CNJC-FIN
‘It seems that Wongusa will win.’

5.7.2 Lexical auxiliaries

There are numerous lexical auxiliaries attested. These include honorific, humble, directional, and resultative auxiliaries. Some of these are bound, but many can appear independently. However, when used as an auxiliary, they do not have the same independent lexical meaning, so they require a dedicated discussion.

5.7.2.1 Honorific auxiliaries

There are two honorific auxiliaries in EOJ: -tamap- and -mas-. 
5.7.2.1.1 Honorific auxiliary -tamap-

The honorific auxiliary -tamap- is attested just once in the corpus, in Simotupusa province. As it is only attested in reference to the emperor, it likely indicated a very strong honorification.

528. 20:4389.4-5 – Simotupusa

(opuse-tamap-o ka / omwop-apye-n-aku n-i
give_responsibility.HON.INF-HON-ATTR QPT / think-ITER-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
‘Has [the emperor] given [me] the order? [I] was not thinking that [this would happen].’

5.7.2.1.2 Honorific auxiliary -mas-

The honorific auxiliary -mas- probably had a lower level of honorification compared to the honorific auxiliary -tamap-, as it is used more frequently, never references the emperor, and developed from the honorific verb imas- ‘exist.HON,’ which is also attested independently (see section 5.8.1 for examples).

529. 20:4326.1-4 - Töpotuapumi

TITI PAPA-Nka / tönö-nö siri pye-nö / mömö-yō-N-kusa / mömö-yō ite-mas-e
father mother-POSS / hall-GEN back side-GEN / hundred-generation-GEN-grass / hundred-generation go_out.INF-HON-IMP
‘Bloom for a hundred generations, [like the] hundred-generations-grass behind mother and father’s home!’

530. 20:4386.3-5 – Simotupusa

(itu mó itu mó / omwo-ka kwopiy su su / nar-i-mas-i-tusi mó
when FPT when FPT / mother-POSS love.INF again again / make_a_living-INF-HON-INF-COOR FPT
‘Always and always, [my] mother loves [me], even while working again and again.’

531. 14:3469.4-5 – UD

阿是曾母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴
aNse só mő kō yöpi / yōs-i-rō-**k-yi-mas-an-u**
why FPT EPT this evening / approach-INF-UNC (COP?)-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
‘Why [is it he] **does not come** near [me] tonight?’

532. 14:3495.4-5 – UD
**伎美我伎麻左奴 な** / **宇良毛等奈久文**
kimyō-Nka **k-yi-mas-an-wo** / ura mwotō na-ku mo
lord-POSS come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR / feelings base not.exist-AVINF FPT
‘[My] lord is **not coming**, and [so I] feel empty.’

533. 14:3521.4-5 – UD
**伎麻左奴伎美乎** / **許呂久等曽奈久**
**k-yi-mas-an-u** kimi-yō-wo / kō̄ ū-tō sō nak-u
come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR lord-ACC / oneself come-FIN COP FPT cry-ATTR
‘[I] cry for [you, my] lord, when [you] yourself **do not come**.’

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**Table 5-52: Distribution of the honorific auxiliary -**fi̲j̲mas-** across the provinces**

5.7.2.2 Humble auxiliaries

Humble auxiliaries lower the speaker in relation to some other person or entity.

There is only one humble auxiliary attested, the auxiliary -**matur**-.

5.7.2.2.1 Humble auxiliary -**matur**-

The humble auxiliary **matur**- is attested just once, in Kamitupusa province.

534. 20:4359.4-5 – Kamitupusa
**都加敏都里弓** / **久弥役関可毛**
tukapye-matur-i-te / kuni-ni pey muk-an-wo
serve.INF-HUM-INF-SUB / province-LOC prow face-TENT-ATTR
‘[After] **doing** [my] **service**, will it turn its prow towards [my home] province?’
5.7.2.3 Other auxiliaries

In addition to the honorific and humble auxiliaries described in previous sections, there are numerous other auxiliaries which will be described in the sections that follow. Theses include the dummy auxiliary -ar-, the resultative auxiliary -ok-, the auxiliary of difficulty -N-kata-, and the directive auxiliaries -kō-, -yuk- ~ -ik-, -[N]te-, -yör-, and -tuk-.

5.7.2.3.1 Auxiliary -ar-

The auxiliary -ar-, grammaticalized from the verb ar- ‘exist,’ is semantically null, and as such it is little more than a dummy auxiliary. It simply functions as a linking element that allows further suffixes to be concatenated to a verbal form. It is particularly useful with adjectival verbs, which cannot take mood markers on their own. The vowel of this auxiliary is strong, and never deletes, but it may delete a preceding /u/ vowel, as seen in examples (537) and (538) below.

535. 20:4371.4-5 – Pitati
都久波能夜麻乎 / 古比須安良米可毛
tukupa-nō yama-wo / kwopyi-Ns-u-ar-am-ey kamwo
PN-GEN mountain-ACC / love-NEG-INF-exist-TENT-EV EPT
‘[I] wonder, shall [I] not long for Tukupa mountain?’

536. 14:3508.4-5 – UD
安比見受安良婆 / 安礼古非米夜母
ap-yi-MYI-Ns-u-ar-aNpa / are kwopiy-m-ey ya mö
meet-INF-see-NEG-INF-exist-COND / 1.S long_for-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‘If [we] do not meet, would [you still] long for me? [no, you would not]’

537. 14:3476a.3-5 – UD
多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敵由家婆 / 故布思可流奈母
tat-wo tuku-nō / nwoNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Npa / kwopusi-ŋ[u]-ar-unam-ö
rise-ATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONJ / be.longing_for-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR
‘When the moon that rises continues to flow away, [she] will be longing for [me].’
Example (539) shows a syntactic inversion.

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5.7.2.3.2 Resultative auxiliary -ok-

The resultative auxiliary -ok-, a grammaticalization from the verb ok- ‘put,’ is used to indicate an action’s effects will continue afterwards (Vovin 2009a: 1096). This auxiliary is attested just once, in the easternmost area of the attested EOJ dialects, Mitinöku.

5.7.2.3.3 Auxiliary -N-kata ‘difficult to’

The auxiliary -N-kata is added to a verb to indicate that verb’s action is difficult to do. It is composed of the reduced form of the genitive -nō followed by the adjective
"kata ‘hard; difficult’ (Vovin 2009a: 1099). Unlike most other auxiliaries, it attaches to
the nominalized form of a verb root, rather than to the infinitive (though in example (541)
below, it looks like it is attaching directly to the verb root, like a suffix). It is attested just
twice, and only example (542) is clear.

541. 14:3431.5 – Sagamu
許己波胡賀尓
kōkōpa Nkwo-N-kata n-i
extremely come(.NML?)-GEN-difficult COP-INF
‘Being extremely difficult to come.’

Example (541) is problematic, as it can also be interpreted as Nkwo-Nka ta-ni girl-
POSS sake-LOC ‘for the sake of [my] girl.’ Thus, it should be approached with
skepticism.

542. 14:3573.4-5 – UD
衣我多伎可氣乎 / 於吉夜可良佐武
ye-N-kata-kyi kakey-wo / ok-yi ya kar-as-am-u
obtain.NML-GEN-be.difficult-AVATTR vine-ACC / put-INF QPT wither-
CAUS-TENT-ATTR
‘Leaving behind the vines that are difficult to obtain, will it make [them] wither?’

<p>| Table 5.54: Distribution of the auxiliary -N-kata- across the provinces |
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Unlike in WOJ, there are also two additional contructions attested in EOJ which
may or may not involve auxiliaries similar to -N-kata. It is hard to claim they are
auxiliaries due to a lack of attestations. As far as I can tell they are not attested in Middle
Japanese. As such, they may simply have been collocations involving a particular verb.
The first is the adjectival verb kurusi- ‘be.painful’ which is added to the genitive form of
a nominalized verb to indicate that verb’s action is painful to do. It is shown in example
(543) below.
The second is the adjectival verb yasu- ‘easy,’ which is attested added to a verb to indicate that verb’s action is easy to do. It is also only attested once, shown in example (544) below.

544. 14:3483.3-5 – UD
和賀西奈尒 / 阿飛与流等可毛 / 欲流等家也須家
wa-Nka se-na-ni / ap-iy-yör-u tō kamwo / yworu tōkye-yasu-kye
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-DAT / meet-INF-approach-FIN DV EPT / night come undone.INF-be.easy-AVATTR
‘[I] wonder, will [I] meet with my dearly beloved? [Our garment cords] easily come undone at night.’

The form V-yasu- is commonly attested in Modern Japanese with the same meaning.

5.7.2.3.4 Directive auxiliaries

Directive auxiliaries are used to indicate that a verb’s action is directed upwards or downwards, forwards or backwards, inwards or outwards, either in space or in time.

5.7.2.3.4.1 Directive auxiliary -kō-

The directive auxiliary -kō-, which is a grammaticalization from the verb kō-‘come,’ mainly indicates an action occurs toward the speaker’s location. However, in example (547) below it indicates an action toward the listener’s location, a usage which is unattested in WOJ. This auxiliary may also indicate an action developed toward the present moment (Vovin 2009a: 1068), as found in example (545) below.
545.  20:4323.4-5 - Tōpotuapumi  
波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟  
papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō / sak-ya-i[Nte-kō-Ns-u-kyem-u  
mother DV say-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR  
‘The flower which I call ‘mother’ did not emerge in bloom.’

546.  14:3437.3-4 – Mitinōku  
波自侍於伎弓 / 西良思馬伎那婆  
paNsik-yi-ok-yi-te / ser-asimye-k-ya-n-aNpa  
loosen-INF-put-INF-SUB / deviate-CAUS.INF-come-INF-PERF-COND  
‘Loosening the [string], and when it becomes warped…’

547.  20:4368.4-5 – Pitati  
麻可知之自奴伎 / 和波可敵里許牟  
ma-kati siNi si nuk-ya / wa pa kapyer-i-kō-m-u  
INT-rudder constantly pierce-INF / 1.S TPT return-INF-come-TENT-FIN  
‘Constantly thrusting the rudder on the tide boat, I shall return [to you].’

548.  20:4393.3-5 – Simotupusa  
知々波々平 / 以波比弊等於枳弓 / 麻為弓枳尔之乎  
titi papa-wo / ipap-ya pye-tō ok-yi-te / mawi-i[te-k-ya-n-i-si-wo  
father mother-ACC / pray-INF pot-COM put-INF-SUB / come.HUM.INF-go_out.INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC  
‘[I] left [my] father and mother with a praying pot, and came out here.’

549.  20:4358.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
伊弖久礼婆 / 和努等里都伎弓 / 伊比之古奈波毛  
ite-k-ure-Npa / wanwo tōr-i-tuk-yi-te / ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mwo  
going-INF-come-EV-CONJ / 1.S take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT  
‘Since [I] left [home] and came [here], oh, [what about] that girl clung to me and said [all those things]?’

550.  14:3453.4-5 – UD  
多母登乃久太利 / 麻欲比伎尔家利  
tamōtō-nō kuNtar-i / maywop-ya-k-yi-n-i-kyer-i  
sleeve-GEN descend-NML / fray-INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN  
‘The fold of the sleeve [of my robe] has become frayed.’

551.  14:3469.3-5 – UD  
和加西奈波 / 阿是曾母詠与比 / 与斯呂佐麻左奴  
wa-ka se-na pa / aNše só mō kō yöpyi / yōs-i-rō-k-ya-mas-an-u  
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM TPT / why FPT EPT this evening / approach-INF-UNC (COP?)-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR  
‘Why [is it] my beloved does not approach [me] tonight?’

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Table 5.55: Distribution of the directive auxiliary -kö- across the provinces

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5.7.2.3.4.2 Directive auxiliary -yuk- ~ -ik-

The directive auxiliary -yuk- ~ -ik-, a grammaticalization from the verb yuk- ~ ik- ‘go,’ indicates an action is directed away from the speaker (though we must note the auxiliary -kö-, described in section 5.7.2.3.4.1, is once attested with this function in EOJ).

It may also indicate an action will occur into the future (Vovin 2009a: 1073).

552. 14:3412 – Kamitukeno
可奈師家児良尔 / 伊夜射可里久母
kanasi-kye KWO-ra-ni / iya N-sakar-i-[i]k-umö
be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-DAT / more_and_more COP-INF-be.far_from-INF-go-EXCL
‘[I] am going away further and further away from [my] adorable, dear girl!’

553. 20:4372.3-4 – Pitati
可閇理美 / 阿例波久江由久
kap ey-ri-mi-s-u / are pa kuye-yuk-u
return-INF-see-NEG-INF / 1.S TPT get_past.INF-go-FIN
‘Without looking back, [I] will get past [it].’

554. 14:3449.3-4 – UD
麻久良我欲 / 安麻許伎久見由
makuraNka-ywo / ama kök-yi-[i]k-u MYI-y-u
PN-ABL / fisherman row-INF-go-ATTR see-PASS-FIN
‘[I] see the fishermen rowing out from Makuraga.’

555. 14:3476a.3-5 – UD
多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敏由家婆 / 故布思可流奈母
tat-wo tuku-nö / nwoNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Npa / kwopusi-k[u]-ar-unam-ö
rise-ATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONJ / be.longing_for-INF-exist-TENT-ATTR
‘When the moon that rises continues to flow away, [she] will be longing for [me].’
556. 14:3476b.3-5 – UD
多刀都久能 / 奴我奈敞由家杼 / 和奴賀由乃敞波
rise-ATTR moon-GEN / flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONC / 1.S go-NEG-ATTR
house TPT
‘Although the rising moon continues to flow away, [her house is] the house that I will not go to.’

Table 5-56: Distribution of the directive auxiliary -ik- ~ -yuk- across the provinces

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5.7.2.3.4.3 Directive auxiliary -Nte-

The directive auxiliary -Nte-, grammaticalized from the verb i[N]te- ‘go out,’ indicates an action occurs outward.

557. 20:4323.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟
papa tō [i]p-u pana-nō / sak-yi-Nte-kō-Ns-u-kyem-u
mother DV say-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘The flower which [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in bloom.’

558. 14:3419.3 – Kamitukeno
於毛比度路
omwop-yi-Nt-worwo
think-INF-go_out-ATTR
‘[I] think [about it].’

559. 20:4380.1-2 – Simotukeno
奈尔婆刀乎 / 已嵐婆豆美例婆
naniNpa two-wo / kök-yi-Nte-te myi-re-Npa
PN door-ACC / row-INF-go_out.INF-SUB see-EV-CONJ
‘When [you] row out of Nanipa harbor, and see [what is there]…’

Table 5-57: Distribution of the directive auxiliary -Nte- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
5.7.2.3.4.4 Directive auxiliary -yör-

The directive auxiliary -yör-, grammaticalized from the verb yör- ‘approach,’ indicates an action occurs near someone or something.

560. 14:3435.3-5 – Kamitukeno
和我吉奴尔 / 都伎与良志母与 / 比多敞登於毛敞婆
wa-Nka kyunu-ni / tuk-yör-asi-mö yö / pyita-pye tö omwop-ye-Npa
1.S-POSS robes-LOC / attach-INF-approach-SUP-EXCL EPT / one-CL DV think-EV-CONJ
‘Since [I] thought it was one layer, [I] put it on my robes!’

561. 14:3446.4-5 – UD
安志等比登其等 / 加多理与良斯毛
asi tö pytö-N-kötö / katar-i-yör-asi-mwo
be.bad.AVFIN DV people-GEN-word / tell-INF-approach-SUP-EXCL
‘It seems the rumors people are telling claim [she] is bad!’

562. 14:3483.3-5 – UD
和賀西奈尔 / 阿飛与流等可毛 / 欲流等家也須家
wa-Nka se-na-ni / ap-iy-yör-u tö kamwo / yworu tøkye-yasu-kye
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-DAT / meet-INF-approach-FIN DV EPT / night come_undone-INF be.easy-AVATTR
‘[I] wonder, will [I] meet with my dearly beloved? [Our garment cords] easily come undone at night.’

Table 5-58: Distribution of the directive auxiliary -yör- across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
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</table>

5.7.2.3.4.5 Directive auxiliary tuk-

The directive auxiliary tuk-, grammaticalized from the verb tuk- ‘attach,’ indicates an action comes toward, and makes contact with, someone or something.

563. 20:4401.1-4 - Sinano
可良己呂武 / 須宗尔等里都伎 / 奈古古良乎 / 意伎弓曾伎怒也
kara körömu / suswo-ni tör-i-tuk-yi / nak-wo kwo-ra-wo / ok-yi-te sò k-yi-n-wo ya
‘Leaving behind [my] crying children, who clung to the hem of [my] Kara garment, [I] have come here!’

564. 20:4358.3-5 – Kamitupusa
伊弖久礼婆 / 和努等里都伎弖 / 伊比之古奈波毛
ite-k-ure-Npa / wanwo tör-i-tuk-yi-te / ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mwo
go_out.INF-come-EV-CONJ / 1.S take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‘Since [I] left [home] and came [here], oh, [what about] that girl clung to me and said [all those things]?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
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5.8 Suppletive honorific and humble verbs

There are a small number of suppletive verbs that indicate honorification or humbleness.

5.8.1 Honorific imas-

While the honorific imas- also occurs as an honorific auxiliary, when it is in its free form it is an honorific verb that can mean ‘exist’ or ‘go.’ It is only attested in the imperative form. Both attested examples are given below.

565. 20:4342.1-4 - Suruga
麻気婆之良 / 寶米弖豆利留 / 等乃能其等 / 己麻勢波々刀自
ma-key N-pasira / pomey-te Ntukur-ir-u / tönö-nō Nkötö / imas-e papa twoNsi
INT-tree COP.ATTR-pillar / bless.INF-SUB make-PROG-ATTR / pavilion-GEN like / exist.HON-IMP mother wife
‘Mother and wife, be like the great wooden pillars we blessed as [we] were building the pavilion.’
‘Leave paper offerings to the gods of heaven and earth and go while praying, my dearly beloved.’

5.8.2 Humble tamapar- ~ taNpar- ‘say’

The verb tamapar- (and its contracted form taNpar-) is a humble verb meaning ‘receive.’ All three attested examples are given below.

567. 20:4372.1-4 – Pitati

阿之加良能 / 美佐加多麻波理 / 可閇理美須 / 阿例波久江由久
asikara-nō / myi-saka tamapar-i / kapeyr-i-myi-s-u / are pa kuye-yuk-u
PN-GEN / HON-slope receive.HUM-INF / return-INF-see-NEG-INF / 1.S TPT
get_past.INF
‘Receiving [permission to cross] the great slope of Asikara, I cross over without looking back.’

568. 20:4424.4-5 – Muzasi

美佐可多婆良婆 / 麻佐夜可尓美
myi-saka taNpar-aNpa / ma-sayaka n-i myi-m-u
HON-slope receive.HUM-COND / INT-clear COP-INF see-TENT-FIN
‘If [you] receive [permission to cross] the honored slope, [you] would see [me] so clearly.’

569. 14:3440a.4-5 – UD

余知乎曽母弖流 / 伊凰兒多婆里尔
yōti-wo sō möt-er-u / iNte KWO taNpar-i-n-i
same_age-ACC FPT hold-PROG-ATTR / ‘well’ girl receive.HUM-INF-PERF-IMP
‘[We] have [children] of the same age. Well, let [me] receive [your] child.’
5.8.3 Humble mawos-

The verb *mawos*- is a humble form of the verb *ip*- ‘say.’ Both attested examples are given below.

570. 20:4376.3–5 – Simotukeno
阿母志志尔 / 己等麻乎佐受豆 / 伊麻叙久夜之氣
aMÖ sisi-ni / kötü *mawos-aNs-u-te* / ima Nsö kuyasi-key
mother father-DAT / word *say*.HUM-NEG-INF-SUB / now FPT be.regretful-
AVATTR
‘[I] did not say a word to [my] mother and father, and oh, now [I] am regretful!’

571. 20:4372.12–15 – Pitati
阿例波伊波々牟 / 毛呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎須 / 可閇利久麻豆尔
are pa *ipap-am-u* / mworö-mworö pa / sakyé-ku tö *mawos-u* / kapeyr-i-k-u-mate-
ni
1.S TPT pray-TENT-ATTR / many-REDUP TPT / be.safe-AVINF DV
say.HUM-FIN / return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC
‘In the many [things] I will pray [for], [I will] say [the prayers] safely, until [I]
return [home].’

5.8.4 Humble mawi-

The verb *mawi*- is a humble form of the verb *kō*- ‘come.’ It is attested just once.

572. 20:4393.3–5 – Simotupusa
知々波々乎 / 以波比弊等於枳豆 / 麻為豆枳尔之乎
titi *papa-wo* / *ipap-yi* pye-tö ok-yi-te / *mawi-[i]te-k-yi-n-i-si-wo*
father mother-ACC / pray-INF pot-COM put-INF-SUB / *come*.HUM.INF-
go_out.INF-come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC
‘Leaving [my] father and mother with a praying pot, [I] came out here.’

5.9 Serial verbs (with no linking infinitive)

A few serial verb constructions without a linking infinitive occur in the corpus, but only in Pitati province and UD. In these constructions, two verbs link together, but the first verb does not have an infinitive suffix to link it to the next, as is normally found
in EOJ verbal compounds and combinations of a verbal root and auxiliaries. These constructions are likely archaic, which probably shows the infinitive was a later innovation that did not originally link verbs together in an earlier proto-language.

573. 20:4363.1-2 – Pitati
奈尔波都尔 / 美布祢於呂須惠
nanipa tu-ni / myi-pune orō-suwe
PN harbor-LOC / HON-boat lower-place.INF
‘Lowering the boat in Nanipa harbor, and fixing it in place.’

574. 14:3394.4-5 – Pitati
和須良延許婆於呂 / 那乎可家奈波寶
wasura-kō-Npa kwasō / na-wo kakyē-n-ap-am-ye
forget-come-COND FPT / 2.S-ACC call_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV
‘If [you] forget to come, [I] will not call out for you over and over!’

575. 14:3460.1-2 – UD
多礼曽許能 / 屋能戸於曽夫流
tare sö könō / YA-nō TWO osō-Npur-u
who FPT this / house-GEN door push-shake-ATTR
‘Who is pushing and shaking on this house’s door?’

In example (574), not only does the first verb, wasura- ‘forget,’ lack an infinitive suffix, it modifies the following verb (i.e., it is ‘forget to come,’ not ‘come to forget’). This complement-head order is the opposite of what we normally see in EOJ verbal constructions, and is in line with SVO languages rather than SOV languages. Thus, the archaic ordering we find in this example gives more weight to the idea that the infinitive-less serial verb construction is also archaic.

273 osō-Npur-u is also attested in WOJ in KK and in MYS book 5.
5.10 Verbal reduplication

Only full verbal reduplication is attested. Suffixes are reduplicated with the root, but auxiliaries are not: they only attach to the end of the entire reduplicated form, as shown in example (576). Verbal reduplication in EOJ indicates an iterative action.

576. 20:4330.1-2 – Sagamu
奈尓波都尔 / 余曽比余曽比弓
nanipa tu-ni / yōsōp-yi-yōsōp-yi-te
PN harbor-LOC / prepare-INF-prepare-INF-SUB
‘Preparing and preparing [the boats] in Nanipa harbor.’

577. 14:3378.3-4 – Muzasi
伊波為都良 / 比可婆奴流々々
ipawi tura / pyik-aNpa nur-u nur-u
UNC vine / pull-COND untangle-FIN untangle-FIN
‘The ipawi vines untangle if [they are] pulled [up].’

578. 14:3487.3-5 – UD
可久須酒曽 / 宿莫奈那里尔思 / 於久乎可奴加奴
ka-ku su su sō / NE-N-Ana nar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u
be.thus-AVINF again again FPT / sleep-NEG-DES COP-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR / future-ACC consider-FIN consider-FIN
‘Being thus, since [you] did not want to sleep [with me] again and again, [I] consider and consider [our] future.’

579. 14:3501.4-5 – UD
比可婆奴流奴留 / 安乎許等奈多延
pyik-aNpa nur-u nur-u / a-wo kōtō na taye
pull-COND untangle-FIN untangle-FIN / 1.S-ACC word NEG.IMP break.INF
‘If [I] pull [them] up [they] untangle, [so] don’t stop speaking to me!’
Chapter 6 – Adverbs

There are both adverbial constructions and non-derived adverbs. The adverbial constructions are formed either through an adjective followed by the infinitive copula n-i, or through an adjectival verb in the infinitive form (‘root-ku’). Both of these are covered in other chapters (see sections 5.2.2.4.1.1 and 4.3.2.1.2), so I will not describe them again here. Instead, I will focus only on non-derived adverbs in this chapter.

Non-derived adverbs in EOJ include itwo ~ itö ‘very,’ kōkō[N]pa ‘extremely,’ sapaNta ‘many,’ mata ‘again,’ iya ‘plentifully,’ napo ‘still,’ imaNta ‘yet,’ motōna ‘for no reason,’ sipa ‘often,’ taNta ‘directly,’ siNsi ‘constantly,’ yumey ‘(not) at all,’ and su ‘again.’ Most adverbs precede the verb or adjectival verb they modify except yumey ‘(not) at all,’ which follows the verb. Every attested example of each adverb follows below.

6.1 ito ‘utterly; very’

This adverb is only attested in Simotukeno province and UD. In Simotukeno it is written itwo and consistently followed by the focus particle mo, while in the UD example it is used in isolation and written as itö rather than itwo. When followed by the focus particle mo this adverb means ‘utterly,’ but when in isolation it means ‘very.’

1. 20:4379.4-5 – Simotukeno
伊刀毛須倍奈美 / 夜多毗稿虫布流
itwo mwo supey na-myi / ya-taNpyi swote pur-u
utterly FPT way not.exist-AVGER / eight-CL sleeves wave-FIN
‘As there is just nothing [I] can do [about it], [I] shall wave my sleeves many times.’

2. 20:4381.4-5 – Simotukeno
和可流乎美礼婆 / 伊刀母須敷奈之
wakar-u-wo myi-re-Npa / itwo mò supye na-si
‘When [I] see [them] parting [from their families], there is really no way [to do something about it].’

3. 14:3548.3-5 – UD

伊等能伎提 / 可奈思家世呂尔 / 比等佐敵余須母
itō nokyīnte / kanasi-kye se-rō-ni / pyitō sapye yōs-umō
very extremely / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_man-DIM-DAT / person RPT
approach-EXCL
‘Even [other] people approach [my] dearly beloved man who is so very, extremely adorable!’

6.2 kökō[N]pa ‘extremely’

The adverb kökō[N]pa ‘extremely’ is a cognate of WOJ kökōNpa ‘id.’ (attested just once, also attested once as kökōNpaku) and it seems that it shares a root kökō- with the WOJ adverbs kökōNiTA ‘id.’ and kökōNiiku ‘id.’ (Vovin 2009a: 1107).

4. 14:3431.5 – Sagamu

許己波胡賀多尔
kōkōpa Nkwo-N-kata n-i
extremely come.NML-GEN-difficult COP-INF
‘It’s extremely difficult to come.’

5. 14:3517.4-5 – UD

許己呂尓能里弖 / 許己婆可那之家
kōkōrō-ni nōr-i-te / kökōNpa kanasi-kye
heart-LOC ride-INF-SUB / extremely be.adorable-AVATTR
‘[She] is extremely adorable, riding on [my] heart.’

6.3 sapaNiTA ‘many’

While EOJ sapaNiTA ‘many’ is not attested in WOJ, the WOJ adverb sapa ‘id.’ clearly shares the same root as the EOJ adverb.

6. 14:3354.3-4 - Tōpotuapumi

和多佐彼太 / 伊利奈麻之母乃
wata sapaNta / ir-i-n-amasi mōnō
cotton many / enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CNJ
‘Though [there] is much cotton.’
As the nights in between have become many, I wonder, shall I sleep [with her] again?’

6.4 *mata* ‘again’

The adverb *mata* ‘again’ is attested five times.

8. 20:4415.4–5 – Muzasi
伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弖毛母也
ipye-n[i] ar-u imô-wo / mata myi-te-m-wo mö ya
home LOC exist-ATTR beloved_girl-ACC / again see.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR EPT
‘How [I] would [like] to see [my] darling, who is at home, again!’

9. 14:3395 – Pitati
安比太欲波 / 佐波太奈利怒乎 / 萬多祢天武可聞
apyiNta ywo pa / sapaNta nar-i-n-wo-wo / mata ne-te-m-u kamo
interval night TPT / many become-INF-PERF-ATTR-ACC / again sleep.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR EPT
‘As the nights in between have become many, [I] wonder, shall [I] sleep [with her] again?’

10. 20:4392.4–5 – Simotupusa
有都久之波々尓 / 麻多己等刀波牟
utukusi papa-ni / mata kötö twop-am-u
beloved mother-DAT / again word ask-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] will ask [things] to [my] beloved mother again.’

11. 20:4349.1–3 – Kamitupusa
毛母久麻能 / 美知波紀尔志乎 / 麻多佐良尔
mwomô kuma-nö / myiti pa k-iy-n-i-si-wo / mata sara n-i
hundred bend-GEN / road TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC / again more COP-INF
‘Having come [this far] on a roads of a hundred bends, [once] again there is more [to travel].’
6.5 iya ‘plentifully’

The adverb iya ‘plentifully,’ is attested twice.

12. 14:3486.5 – UD
iya kat-amasi-ni
plentifully win-SUBJ-LOC
‘There is **no doubt** [I] will win.’

13. 14:3557.5 – UD
iya [o]möp-yi-mas-u-ni
plentifully think-INF-increase-ATTR-LOC
‘[I] increasingly think [of her] **more and more**.’

6.6 napo ‘still’

The adverb napo ‘still,’ is attested just once.

14. 20:4351.4 – Kamitupusa
napo paNta samu-si
still skin be.cold-AVFIN
‘[My bare] skin is **still** cold.’

6.7 imaNta ‘yet; still’

This adverb is only attested modifying a negative verb. In WOJ, it is attested a few times modifying a verb in the affirmative (Vovin 2009a: 1125).

15. 14:3525.5 – UD
imaNta NE-n-ap-umö
still sleep-NEG-ITER-EXCL
‘[We] **still** haven’t slept [together]!’

16. 14:3543.4-5 – UD
imaNta ne-n-aku n-i
imaNta girl-DIM TPT say-EV-CONC / still sleep-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF
Although [that] dear girl says [we have], [the fact] is that [we] still have not slept together.'

6.8 mötöna ‘for no reason’

The adverb mötöna ‘for no reason’ is attested just once.

17. 14:3471.3-5 – UD
伊米能未尔 / 母登奈见要都追 / 安乎祢思奈久流
imey nömiiy n-i / mötöna MYI-ye-tutu / a-wo ne si nak-uru
dream RPT COP-INF / for_no_reason see-PASS-COOR / 1.S-ACC voice EPT
make.cry-ATTR
‘[Though] being just a dream, while seeing [you in it] for no reason, [you] make me cry!’

6.9 sipa ‘often’

The adverb sipa ‘often,’ is only attested once in EOJ. In WOJ, it is always attested
in the form siNpa with a prenasalized medial consonant, and may also be found in the
reduplicated form siNpa-siNpa (Vovin 2009a: 1129).

18. 14:3573.3-4 – UD
麻之波尔母 / 衣我多伎可气乎
ma sipa n-i mō / ye-N-kata-kyi kakey-wo
really often COP-INF FPT / get.NML-GEN-be.difficult-AVATTR vine-ACC
‘The vines that are difficult to gather really often.’

6.10 taNta ‘directly’

The adverb taNta ‘directly,’ is only attested once.

19. 14:3413.1-3 – Kamitukeno
刀祢河泊乃 / 可波世毛思良受 / 多太和多里
twone-N-kapa-nō / kapa-se mwo sir-aNs-u / taNta watar-i
PN-GEN-river-GEN / river-rapids FPT know-NEG-INF / directly cross-INF
‘Without knowing the rapids of the Tone river, [I] go directly across.’
6.11 nōkyiNte ‘extremely’

The adverb nōkyiNte ‘extremely,’ always follows the adverb ito in WOJ, and in its sole EOJ attestation we find the same picture. The combination of these two adverbs is due to the influence of a Chinese proverb presented in the preface to poem 897 in book 5 of the MYS, in which superfluous suffering is involved. In WOJ poems it is used in phrases such as ‘to cut the end of a short thing even shorter’ or ‘sprinkling salt on a wound.’ See Vovin (2011: 137 & 150) for a discussion.

20. 14:3548.3-5 – UD
伊等能伎提 / 可奈思家世呂尔 / 比等佐敵余須母
itō nōkyiNte / kanasi-kye se-rō-ni / pyitō sapye yōs-umō
very extremely / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_man-DIM-DAT / person RPT approach-EXCL
‘Even [other] people approach [my] dearly beloved man who is painfully adorable!’

6.12 siNsí ‘constantly’

The adverb siNsí ‘constantly,’ is only attested once.

21. 20:4368.4-5 – Pitati
麻可知之自奴伎 / 和波可敞里許牟
ma-kati siNsí nuk-yi / wa pa kayer-i-kō-m-u
INT-rudder constantly pierce-INF / 1.S TPT return-INF-come-TENT-FIN
‘Constantly thrusting the rudder [on the tide boat], I shall return [to you].’

6.13 simaraku ‘for awhile’

The adverb simaraku ‘for awhile’ is attested just once. It is phonographically unattested in WOJ, though WOJ simasi(-ku) ‘for awhile’ clearly shares the same root sim(a)-.
22.  14:3471.1-2 – UD
思麻良久波 / 波都追母安良牟乎
simaraku pa / ne-tutu mö ar-am-u-wo
for awhile TPT / sleep.INF-COOR FPT exist-TENT-ATTR-ACC
‘Although [I] will sleep for awhile…’

6.14 köNkötö ‘greatly’

The adverb köNkötö ‘greatly’ is attested just once. It is unattested in WOJ. It may
be related to WOJ kököNta ‘extremely,’ though the sound correspondences are not
regular, so the idea that these are cognates is hard for me to accept.

23.  14:3502.4-5 – UD
等思佐倍己其登 / 和波佐可流我倍
tösi sapey köNkötö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapey
year RPT greatly / 1.S TPT be.far_from-ATTR IPT
‘Will I be away from [her] for many years? [no, I will not]’

6.15 ma ‘really; so’

The adverb ma has a meaning of ‘really’ or ‘so.’

24.  20:4424.5 – Muzasi
麻佐夜可尔美无
ma sayaka n-i myi-m-u
so clear COP-INF see-TENT-FIN
‘[You] would see [me] so clearly.’

25.  14:3366 – Sagamu
麻可奈思美 / 佐祢尓和波由久
ma kanasi-myi / sa-ne-ni wa pa yuk-u
so be.adorable-AVGER / LOC-sleep.NML-LOC 1.S TPT go-ATTR
‘Because [you] are so adorable, I’ll go to sleep there [with you].’

26.  14:3524.1-3 – UD
麻乎其母能 / 布能未知可久弓 / 安波奈敞波
ma woN-kömö-nö / pu-nö ma tika-ku-te / ap-an-ap-ye-pa
really DIM-reed-GEN / joint-GEN space near-INF-SUB / meet-NEG-ITER-EV-CONJ
'The joints of the really small reeds are near [one another], yet [the reeds] do not meet.'

27. 14:3567.1-2 – UD
於伎弖伊可婆 / 伊毛婆麻可奈之
ok-yi-te ik-aNpa / imwo pa ma kanasi
leave_behind-INF-SUB go-COND / beloved_girl TPT so be.sad.AVFIN
‘If [I] leave [her] behind and go, [my] darling will be so sad.’

6.16 upey ‘surely’

The adverb upey ‘surely’ is attested just once. It is unattested in WOJ. It also grammaticalized into the debitive suffix -upe- described in section 5.5.2.3.10.

28. 14:3476.a.1-2 – UD
宇倍兒奈波 / 和奴尔故布奈毛
upey KWO-na pa / wanu-ni kwop-unam-wo
surely girl-DIM TPT / 1.S-DAT long_for-TENT-ATTR
‘As for [that] dear girl, [she] will surely long for me!’

6.17 yumey ‘[not] at all’

The adverb yumey is attested just twice in the EOJ corpus. It indicates a strong refutation, something akin to ‘[not] at all.’ In both attestations it follows the negative imperative suffix -una. This construction appears to be used for a stronger negative meaning. In WOJ it functions the same way, but in one example (19:4227.8), it comes before the verb, rather than after it (Vovin 2009a: 1122).

29. 14:3376a.4-5 – Muzasi
宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尔豆奈由米
ukyera-Nka pana-nö / irö-ni [i]Nt-una yumey
Atractylodes_Japonica-POSS flower-COMP / color-LOC go_out-NEG.IMP at_all
‘Like the Atractylodes Japonica flowers, do not reveal [your true] colors at all!’
6.18 su ‘again’

This adverb is unattested in WOJ. I adopt Vovin (forthcoming)’s proposal that it is a borrowing from Ainu suy ‘again,’ with the expected EOJ contraction of /suy/ into /su/. In two attestations (examples (32) and (33) below) it is found doubled, as su su ‘again and again.’

31. 14:3363 – Sagamu

wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatō-pye yar-i-te / mat-u siNta su / asiNkara yama-nō / suNkiy n-ō KŌ-nō ma ka
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL send-INF-SUB / wait-ATTR CNJ again / PN mountain-GEN / cedar COP-ATTR tree-GEN space QPT
‘[I] sent my darling beloved to Yamatö, and when [I] wait [for him to come back], [will his return] again [be] through the cedar trees of Mt. Asigara?’

32. 20:4386.3-5 – Simotupusa

itu mō itu mō / omwo-ka kwopyi su su / nar-i-mas-i-tusi mō
when FPT when FPT / mother-POSS love.INF again again / make_a_living-INF-HON-INF-COOR FPT
‘Always and always, [my] mother loves [me], even while working again and again.’

33. 14:3487.3-5 – UD

ka-ku su su sō / NE-N-Ana nar-i-n-i-si / oku-wo kan-u kan-u
be.thus-AVINF again again FPT / sleep-NEG-DES COP-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR / future-ACC consider-FIN consider-FIN
‘Being thus, since [you] did not want to sleep [with me] again and again, [I] consider and consider [our] future.’
‘Like the winds that blow [over] the bay of Kosukey, what will [I] do again? [I] will pass [the time] thinking about [my] adorable girl.’
Chapter 7 – Conjunctions

There are a small set of conjunctions in EOJ, which connect verbal phrases in complex sentences. This is their major difference from particles (Vovin 2009a: 1133).

7.1 tömo ‘even if; even though’

This conjunction always follows the final form of verbs and the infinitive form of adjectival verbs.

1. 14:3398.1-2 - Sinano
   比等未奈乃 / 許等波多由登毛
   pütyö miyna-nö / kötö pa tay-u tömwo
   people all-GEN / word TPT break-FIN CNJ
   ‘Even if the words of all people break off…”

2. 20:4325.3-5 - Töpotuapumi
   久佐麻久良 / 多妣波由久等母 / 佐々己栂由加牟
   kusa makura / taNpyi pa yuk-u tömö / sasakö-te yuk-am-u
   grass pillow / journey TPT go-FIN CNJ / raise.INF-SUB go-TENT-ATTR
   ‘Even if [I] go on [my] journey and [sleep on] a grass pillow, [I] shall lift [my parents] up [as flowers] and go.’

3. 20:4405.3-5 – Kamitukeno
   都氣志非毛 / 伊刀尒奈流等母 / 和波等可自等余
   tukey-si piyymwo / itwo n-i nar-u tömö / wa pa tök-aNsi tō yö
   attach.INF-PST.ATTR string / thread COP-INF become-FIN CNJ / 1.S TPT undo-NEG.TENT DV EPT
   ‘Even though the cord which [she] tied [on me] has become a thread, [still] I think I probably won’t untie it.’

4. 14:3386.2-3 – Simotupusa
   可豆思加和世乎 / 尔倍須登毛
   kaNtusika wase-wo / nipey s-u tömwo
   PN early_rice-ACC / food_offering do-FIN CNJ
   ‘Even though [she] does an offering of early rice from Kadusika…”

5. 14:3477.4-5 – UD
   安礼波古非牟奈 / 能知波安比奴登母
   are pa kwopiy-m-u na / nóti pa ap-yi-n-u tömö
   1.S TPT long_for-TENT-FIN EPT / later TPT meet-INF-PERF-FIN CNJ
‘Oh, I shall long for [you]! Even if [we] meet later.’

6. 14:3484.1-3 – UD
安左乎良乎 / 遠家尔布須左尔 / 宇麻受登毛
asa wo-ra-wo / wo kye-ni pususa n-i / um-aNs-u tömwo
hemp cord-PLUR-ACC / ramie container-LOC much COP-INF / spin_thread-NEG-FIN CNJ
‘There are many small hemp threads in the ramie container, even though they are not all spun together.’

7. 14:3456.1-4 – UD
宇都世美能 / 夜蘓許登能 / 思気久等母 / 安良蘓比可祢弖
utu-se m yi-nö / ya-ös wokötö np ye pa / si- Keynes-ku tömô / araswop-yi-kane-te
the_world-GEN / eight-ten word-GEN leaves TPT / be.lush-INF CNJ / resist-INF-NEG.POT.INF-SUB
‘Even though rumors abound in the world, [I] cannot resist [them].’

8. 14:3530.3-5 – UD
見要受等母 / 兒呂我可奈門欲 / 由可久之要思母
MY1-ye-Ns-u tömô / KWO-rō-Nka kana-TWO-ywo / yuk-aku si ye-si-mö
see-PASS-NEG-FIN CNJ / girl-DIM-POSS metal-door-ABL / go.ATTR-NML
EPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘Even though [I] cannot see [her], going past the gate of [my] darling girl’s home is so nice!’

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7.2 monô ~ monôwo ‘although, but’

The conjunction monô ~ monôwo (the latter form contains a fossilized accusative suffix -wo (Vovin 2009a: 1138)) is attested after the attributive and subjunctive forms of verbs.

9. 14:3354.4-5 - Töpotuapumi
伊利奈麻之母乃 / 伊毛我乎杼許尔
ir-i-n-amasî mônô / imwo-Nka woN-tôkô-ni
enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CNJ / beloved_girl-POSS DIM-bed-LOC
‘Although [I] would like to enter into the dear bed of [my] beloved…’
10. 14:3434.4-5 – Kamitukeno
波比専思物能乎 / 安是加多延世武
pap-yi-n-i-si MOnōwo / aNse ka taye-se-m-u
crawl-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR CNJ / why QPT break-CAUS-TENT-FIN
‗[It] has crawled [out], but why would it be made to break?‘

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7.3 monōkara ‘although’

This conjunction follows the attributive form of verbs. It is only attested once.

11. 14:3512.1-2 – UD
比登祢呂尓 / 伊波流毛能可良
pyitō ne-rō-ni / ip-ar-u mwonōkara
dim-LOC person say-PROG-ATTR CNJ
‗Although people are saying [things] on the peak…‘

7.4 Nkani ‘like; so that’

EOJ Nkani seems to be the result of a merger of two WOJ particles: Nkani ‘like’ and Nkane ‘so that,’ after the latter form in EOJ underwent vowel raising in the final syllable. This is due to the fact that while WOJ Nkani ‘like’ follows the final form of verbs (2009a: 1147-50), EOJ Nkani ‘like; so that’ and WOJ Nkane ‘so that’ follow the attributive form. Thus, the meaning of both particles combined into one EOJ form which took the syntactic function of PJn Nkane and the phonological form of PJn Nkani. With example (13) below, we must keep in mind that in EOJ, the attributive form that follows the perfective auxiliary -n- is -u ~ -o, and not -uru.
12. 14:3452.3-5 – UD
布流久佐尔 / 仁比久佐麻自利 / 於非波於布流我尔
puru kusa-ni / nipi y kusa maNsir-i / opiy pa op-uru Nkani
old grass-LOC / new grass mix-INF / grow.NML TPT grow-ATTR CNJ
‘Mix new grass with old grass, so that [they] will grow (lit. growth will grow).’

13. 14:3543.1-3 – UD
武路我夜能 / 都留能都追美能 / 那利奴賀尔
murwoNkaya-nö / turu-nö tutumyi-nö / nar-i-n-u Nkani
PN-GEN / PN-GEN embankment-GEN / become-INF-PERF-ATTR CNJ
‘Like [how] the embankment of Turu in Murogaya had been established.’

7.5 siNta ‘when’

The conjunction siNta introduces a temporal clause ‘when V…’ and it always
follows either a verb or an adjectival verb. In most cases the verb or adjectival verb is in
the attributive form, but in two cases (examples (15) and (19) below) it is in the infinitive
form (which can function as an adnominal modifier. See section 5.5.2.1.1.1.3 for a
discussion). This conjunction may be followed by the locative suffix -ni, as shown in
example (15) below.

This conjunction is not attested in WOJ, and Vovin (2009c: 13-6) convincingly
argues that it is a borrowing from Ainu hi-ta [hida] ‘time-LOC,’ based not only on sound
correspondences, but also on syntactic parallels, as can be seen in the following Ainu
example:

14. sirpopke hi-ta ku-sinot-rusuy
be.warm time-LOC 1.S-play-DES
‘When it is warm, I want to play.’
(Nakagawa & Nakamoto 1997: 38)

All examples in the EOJ corpus follow below in (15) – (22).
15. 20:4407.1-3 – Kamitukeno
比奈久毛理 / 宇須比乃佐可乎 / 古延志太
pyi-na kumwor-i / usupyi-nō saka-wo / kwoye siNta-ni
sun-LOC become_cloudy-INF / PN-GEN slope-ACC / cross.INF CNJ-LOC
‘When [I] cross the slope of Usupi with clouds over the sun…’

16. 20:4367.1-2 – Pitati
阿我母弖能 / 和須例母之太
a-Nka [o]môte-nō / wasure-m-ō siNta pa
1.S-POSS face-GEN / forget-TENT-ATTR CNJ TPT
‘When my face shall be forgotten…’

17. 14:3478.3-5 – UD
阿抱思太毛 / 安波能思太毛 / 奈尔己曾与佐礼
ap-o siNta mwo / ap-an-öpye siNta mwo / na-ni kösö yōs-ar-e
meet-ATTR CNJ FPT / meet-NEG-ITER.INF CNJ FPT / 2.S-DAT FPT
approach-PROG-EV
‘When [we] meet, and when [we] are not meeting, [I] am approaching you.’

18. 14:3515.1-2 – UD
阿我於毛能 / 和須礼牟之太
a-Nka omwo-nō / wasure-m-u siNta pa
1.S-POSS face-GEN / forget-TENT-ATTR CNJ TPT
‘When my face shall be forgotten…’

19. 14:3520.1-2 – UD
於毛可多能 / 和須礼牟之太
omwo kata-nō / wasure-m-u siNta pa
face shape-GEN / forget-TENT-ATTR CNJ TPT
‘When the shape of [your] face shall be forgotten…’

20. 14:3533.1-2 – UD
比登乃兒能 / 可奈思家之太
pyitō-nō KWO-nō / kanasi-kye siNta pa
person-GEN girl-GEN / be.adorable-AVATTR CNJ TPT
‘When [I think of] how attractive [that] man’s girl is…’

21. 14:3363 – Sagamu
和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敞夜利彥 / 麻都之太
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatō-pye yar-i-te / mat-u siNta su / asiNkara yama-nō / suNkıy n-ō KŌ-nō ma ka
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL send-INF-SUB / wait-ATTR CNJ
again / PN mountain-GEN / cedar COP-ATTR tree-GEN space QPT
‘[I] sent my darling beloved to Yamatō, and when [I] wait [for my beloved to come back], [will his return] again [be] through the cedar trees of Mt. Asigara?’

22. 14:3461.5 – UD

安家努思太久流
aky-e-n-wo siNta k-uru
brightness.INF-PERF-ATTR CNJ come-ATTR
‘When it dawns, [he will] come.’

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Chapter 8 – Particles

Particles are an extremely common and important part of the grammar of the EOJ dialects. The particles can be separated into seven classes: focus particles, emphatic particles, question particles, restrictive particles, desiderative particles, negative particles, and ironic particles.

8.1 The basic syntax of particles

Particles always follow the phrase to which they attach. When two particles attach to the same phrase, their order is fixed (such orders are described in the relevant sections below). Some particles are restricted in their movement, for example some only occur after the predicate verb. Other particles are much freer, and may follow nearly anything.

8.1.1 Attributive-triggering particles (Kakari Musubi)

The Japanese term Kakari Musubi refers to the phenomenon of a particle triggering a preceding or following verb to take an attributive, rather than a final, suffix ending. Much has been written about this phenomenon in the Old Japanese languages (see Ōno 1993, Serafim & Shinzato 2000, 2005, Vovin 2009a: 1156-1292). In keeping with their behavior, I call these particles ‘attributive-triggering.’ The particles that cause this phenomenon are the focus particle sō~Nsō~Nsē~tō, the question particles ka and ya, and the emphatic particle kamo. More detailed discussion is found in each particle’s section below.
8.1.2 Evidential-triggering particles

The focus particle kōsō triggers the evidential form of a following verb. The emphatic particle kamo may also trigger the evidential.

8.2 Focus particles

The focus particles include pa, mo, sō~Nsō~Nse~tō, and kōsō.

8.2.1 Topic particle pa

The topic particle pa is one of the most commonly attested particles in the corpus. Its function is to shift the focus away from that which precedes it toward that which follows it (Martin 1988: 52; Vovin 2009a: 1156). In the translations that follow below, I have bolded the part of the sentence where the focus has shifted.

1. 14:3398.1-2 - Sinano
   比等未奈乃 / 許等波多由登毛
   pyitō minya-nō / kötō pa tay-u tōmwo
   people all-GEN / word TPT break-FIN CNJ
   ‘Even if the words of all people break off.’

2. 20:4402.4-5 - Sinano
   伊波布伊能知波 / 意毛知々可多米
   ipap-u inōti pa / omwo titi-ka tamey
   pray-ATTR life TPT / mother father-POSS benefit
   ‘For the sake of my mother and father, [their] life is that for which [I] pray.’

3. 20:4322.1-2 - Tōpotuapumi
   和我都麻波 / 伊多久古非良之
   wa-Nka tuma pa / ita-ku kwopyiy-rasi
   1.S-POSS spouse TPT / be.extreme-INF long_for-SUP
   ‘It seems my spouse very much longs for [me].’

4. 20:4343.1-2 - Suruga
   和呂多比波 / 多比等於米保等
   warō tapyi pa / tapyi tō omeyp-o-tō
   1.S journey TPT / journey DV think-EV-CONC
‘Although [I] know my journey is a journey.’

5. 14:3418.3-4 – Kamitukeno
武良奈倍尔 / 許登波佐太米都
mura-napey-ni / kötö pa saNtamey-t-u
fortunetelling-seedling-LOC / matter TPT determine.INF-PERF-FIN
‘In regard to the matter [of the marriage], the fortunetelling seedlings have decided it.’

6. 20:4406.3-5 – Kamitukeno
久佐麻久良 / 多妣波久流之等 / 都氣夜良麻久母
kusa makura / taNpyi pa kurusi tö / tukey-yar-am-aku mö
grass pillow / journey TPT be.awful.AVFIN / tell.INF-send TENT-NML
‘[I] would send [him] to tell [them] that [my] journey, [when I sleep on] a grass pillow, is painful!’

7. 20:4422.4 – Muzasi
於妣婆等可奈々
oNp yi N pa tök-an-ana
sash TPT undo-NEG-DES
‘As for [my] sash, [I] do not want to untie [it].’

8. 14:3366.1-2 – Sagamu
麻可奈思美 / 佐祢尓和波由久
ma-kanasi-myi / sa-ne-ni wa pa yuk-u
INT-be.adorable-AVGER / PREF-sleep.NML-LOC 1.S TPT go-ATTR
‘Because you are truly adorable, I go to sleep with you.’

9. 20:4329.1-2 – Sagamu
夜蘓久尓波 / 奈波波尔都度比
ya-swo kuni pa / nanipa-ni tuNtwp-yi
eight-ten province TPT / PN-LOC gather-INF
‘[Those from] many provinces gather in Nanipa.’

10. 14:3424.4-5 – Simotukeno
麻具波思兒呂波 / 多賀家可母多牟
ma N-kupasi KWO-rö pa / ta-Nka kye ka möt-am-u
true COP-INF-be.beautiful girl-DIM TPT / who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‘As for [this] truly beautiful girl, whose container shall [she] hold?’

11. 20:4378.3-5 – Simotukeno
阿毛志志可 / 多麻乃須我多波 / 和須例西奈布母
amwo sisi-ka / tama-nö suNkata pa / wasure se-n-ap-umö
mother father-POSS / jewel-GEN appearance TPT / forget.NML do-NEG-ITER-EXCL
‘[I] will not be forgetting the jewel-like appearance of [my] mother and father!’

12. 14:3395.3-5 – Pitati
安比太欲波 / 佐波太奈利怒乎 / 萬多祢天武可聞
apyiNta ywo pa / sapaNta nar-i-n-wo-wo / mata ne-te-m-u kamo
interval night TPT / many become-INF-PERF-ATTR-ACC / again sleep.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR EPT
‘As the nights in between have become many, [I] wonder if [I] shall sleep [with her] again.’

13. 20:4370.4-5 – Pitati
須来良美久佐尔 / 和礼波伎尓之乎
sumeyra myi-[i]kusa-ni / ware pa k-yi-n-i-si-wo
emperor HON-army-LOC / 1.S TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC
‘Since I came into the Emperor’s army…’

14. 20:4385.3-5 – Simotupusa
志流敞尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳弖等母枳奴
siru pye-ni pa / kwo-wo-tō tuma-wo-tō / ok-yi-te tō mō k-yi-n-u
behind area-LOC TPT / child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave_behind-INF-SUB FPT EPT come-INF-PERF-FIN
‘In the area behind, [I] left behind [my] wife and child and [I] came [here].’

15. 14:3382.5 – Kamitupusa
汝者故布婆曽 / 母
NA PA kwopu-Npa sömö
2.S TPT love-UNC NPT
‘Will you love [me], or not?’

Example (15) is a semantographic attestation of the topic particle pa.

16. 20:4349.1-3 – Kamitupusa
毛母久麻能 / 美知波紀尓志乎 / 麻多佐良尔
mwomō kuma-nō / myiti pa k-iy-n-i-si-wo / mata sara n-i
hundred bend_in_a_road-GEN / road TPT come-INF-PERF-INF-PST.ATTR-ACC / again more COP-INF
‘Though [I] have come this far [on] roads of a hundred bends, still there is more [to go]…’

274 The verbal form in this example is unclear, and thus so is the translation of the line, but it is the only example from Kamitupusa in Book 14 that has the topic particle pa.
17. 14:3476a.1-2 – UD
宇倍儿奈波 / 和奴尔故布奈毛
up ey KWO-na pa / wanu-ni kwop-unam-wo
surely girl-DIM TPT / 1.S-DAT long_for-TENT2-ATTR
‘As for [that] dear girl, [she is] surely longing for me!’

18. 14:3494.1-4 – UD
兒毛知夜麻 / 和可加敞流弖能 / 毛美都麻弖 / 宿毛等和波毛布
KWOomwoti yama / waka kapyerute-nö / mwomyit-u-mate / NE-m-wo tö wa pa [o]mwop-u
PN mountain / young maple-GEN / leaves_turn_color-ATTR-TERM / sleep-TENT-ATTR COP 1.S TPT think-FIN
‘I think [we] should sleep [together] until the leaves of the young maples on Mt. Komoti turn red.’

19. 14:3519.1-2 – UD
奈我波伴尓 / 己良例安波由久
na-Nka papa-ni / kör-are a pa yuk-u
you-POSS mother-DAT / scold-PASS.INF 1.S TPT go-FIN
‘Being scolded by your mother, I went [away].’

20. 20:4425 – UD
佐伎毛利尓 / 由久波多我世登
sakyimwori ni / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tö
border.guard COP-INF / go-ATTR TPT who-POSS beloved_man DV
‘Whose husband [is that], going to be a border guard?’

Table 8-1: Total attestations of the topic particle pa across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.2 Focus particle mo

The focus particle mo places a focus on that which comes before it, and thus
indicates the the opposite focus of the topic particle pa (Martin 1988: 52, Vovin 2009a: 1172).
21. 14:3400.3-5 - Sinano

左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美弓波 / 多麻等比吕波曳
saNsare [i]si mō / kyimy si pum-yi-te-pa / tama tō pyirōp-am-u
little stone FPT / lord EPT step-INF-PERF-COND / jewel COP pick_up-TENT-FIN
‘When [you, my] lord have stepped on a little stone, [I] shall pick up [it] up as a jewel.’

22. 20:4325.1-2 - Töpotuapumi

知々波々母 / 波奈尔母我毛夜
titi papa mō / pana n-i mōNkamwo ya
father mother FPT / blossom COP-INF D / EPT
‘[I] want [my] father and mother to be flowers!’

While written mey I analyze this Suruga focus particle as phonemically being /mo/. See section 2.5.3.1.10 for discussion.

24. 14:3402 – Kamitukeno

勢奈能我素侣 / 佐夜尔布良思都
se-na-nō-Nka swoNte mō / saya n-i pur-as-i-t-u
beloved_man-DIM-DIM-POSS sleeves FPT / clear COP-INF wave-HON-INF-PERF-FIN
‘[My] dearly beloved was clearly waving [his] sleeves.’

25. 20:4406.3-5 – Kamitukeno

久佐麻久良 / 多毗波久流之等 / 都氣夜良麻久母
kusa makura / taNpyi pa kurusi tö / tukey-yar-am-aku mō
grass pillow / journey TPT be.awful.AVFIN COP / tell.INF-send-TENT-NML FPT
‘[I] would send [him] to tell [them] that [my] journey, [when I sleep on] a grass pillow, is painful!’

26. 14:3374.3-5 – Muzasi

麻左弖尓毛 / 乃良奴伎美我名 / 宇良尔侣尔家里
masate n-i mwo / nör-an-u kyimy-Nka NA / ura-ni [i]Nte-n-i-kyer-i
certain COP-INF FPT / tell-NEG-ATTR lord-POSS name / divination-LOC go_out.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN
‘[The answer] is certain: [my] lord’s name that [they] did not tell [me] emerged from the divination.’
27. 20:4415.1-3 – Muzasi
志良多麻乎 / 弭尔刀里母之弖 / 美流乃須母
sira tama-wo / te-ni twor-i-mōs-i-te / myi-ru-nōsu mö
white pearl-ACC / hand-LOC take-INF-hold-INF-GER / see-ATTR-COMP FPT
‘Like taking and holding pearls in [my] hands and gazing at them.’

28. 14:3368.4-5 – Sagamu
余尓母多欲良尓 / 故呂河伊波奈久尓
yō-ni mö taywora n-i / kwo-rō-Nka ip-an-aku n-i
world-LOC FPT shaking COP-INF / girl-DIM-POSS say-NEG-NML COP-INF
‘[I] am shaking [with uneasiness] in [this] world, and [my] dear girl isn’t saying [anything].’

29. 20:4377.1-2 – Simotukeno
阿母刀自母 / 多麻尓賀毛
‘Oh, [I] wish [my] mother and wife were jewels!’

30. 14:3392.4-5 – Pitati
代尓毛多由良尓 / 和我於毛波奈久尓
Yō-ni mwo tayura n-i / wa-Nka omwop-an-aku n-i
world-LOC FPT shaking COP-INF / 1.S-POSS think-NEG-NML COP-INF
‘I do not think that I’ll ever waver [in my love] in this world.’

31. 20:4369.1-4 – Pitati
都久波祢乃 / 佐由流能波奈能 / 由等許尓母 / 可奈之家伊母曽
tukupa ne-nō / sa-yuru-nō pana-nō / yu tōkō-ni mö / kanasi-kye imō sö
PN peak-GEN / PREF-lily-GEN blossom-COMP / night bed-LOC FPT / be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_girl FPT
‘[My] beloved, who is as adorable as the blossoms of a lily on the peaks of Mt. Tukupa, even in bed at night.’

32. 14:3385.4-5 – Simotupusa
麻末乃於毛 / 奈美毛登杼呂尓
mama-nō osu pyi-ni / namyī mwo töNtörö n-i
cliff-GEN rock shore-LOC / wave FPT thunderous COP-INF
‘Waves are thunderous on the cliff’s rocky shore.’

33. 20:4386.3-5 – Simotupusa
以都母以都母 / 奈美毛登杼呂尔
itu mö itu mö / omwo-ka kwopyi su su / nar-i-mas-i-tusi mö
when FPT when FPT / mother-POSS love-INF again again / make_a_living-INF-HON-INF-COOR FPT
‘Always and always, [my] mother loves [me], even while working again and again.’
34. 14:3383.3-5 – Kamitupusa

可久太尓毛 / 久尓乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟
ka-ku Ntani mwo / kuni-nō töpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-mu
be.thus-AVINF RPT FPT / province-GEN be.far-AEV-CONJ / 2.S-POSS eye
desire-NML do-TENT-FIN

‘Even just being so, because the province is far, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

35. 20:4347.3-5 – Kamitupusa

奈我波気流 / 多知尓奈里弖母 / 伊波非弖之加母
na-Nka pak-eyr-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mō / ipap-i-te-si kamō
2.S-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR / long.sword COP-INF become-INF-SUB FPT /
pray-INF-PERF-PST.ATTR EPT

‘[I] want to become the long sword that you are wearing and pray for [you].’

36. 14:3440a.3-4 – UD

奈礼毛阿礼毛 / 余知乎曽母弖流
nare mwo are mwo / yö-ti-wo sō mōt-er-u
you FPT 1.S FPT / same_age-ACC FPT hold-PROG-ATTR

‘You and I both have [children] of the same age.’

37. 14:3459.3 – UD

許余比毛可
kō-yōpyi mwo ka
this-evening FPT QPT

‘Tonight as well?’

38. 14:3478.3-5 – UD

阿抱思太毛 / 安波能敏思太毛 / 奈尔己曾与佐礼
ap-o siNta mwo / ap-an-ōp-ye siNta mwo / na-ni kōsō yōs-ar-e
meet-ATTR CNJ FPT / meet-NEG-ITER-ATTR CNJ FPT / 2.S-DAT FPT
approach-PROG-EV

‘When we meet, and when we are not meeting, [I] am approaching you.’

39. 14:3561.3.5 – UD

比賀刀礼婆 / 阿米乎万刀能須 / 伎美乎等麻刀母
pyi-Nka twor-e-Npa / amey-wo mat-wo-nōsu / kyimy-wō tō mat-wo mō
sun-POSS shine-EV-CONJ / rain-ACC wait-ATTR-COMP / lord-ACC FPT
wait-ATTR FPT

‘[I] will wait for [you, my] lord, like waiting for the rain when the sun is shining.’

40. 20:4425.5 – UD

毛乃母比毛世受
mwonō [o]mō-iyi mwo se-Ns-u
thing think-NML FPT do-NEG-FIN

‘[I] don’t worry about things.’
Table 8-2: Total attestations of the focus particle *mo* across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
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<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.3 Focus particle *sō* (and its variants *Nsō* ~ *Nse* ~ *tō*)

The exact type of focus that this particle indicates is unclear. It appears to place a focus on that which comes before it, like the focus particle *mo*. In EOJ this particle is never preceded by any particle, and there is only one instance where it is followed the emphatic particle *mo* (shown in example (53) below). In comparison, Vovin (2009a: 1187) notes that in WOJ the focus particle *sō* combines with both the topic particle *pa* and the focus particle *mo*, and thus he concludes the focus particle *sō* must have indicated some other type of focus different from those two particles.

The focus particle *sō* always triggers the attributive suffix on the verb or adjectival verb that follows.

41. 20:4401.1-4 - Sinano

可良己呂武 / 須宗尔等里都伎 / 奈古古良乎 / 意倉応曽倐怒也
kara körōmu / suswo-ni tör-i-tuk-yi / nak-wo kwo-ra-wo / ok-yi-te sō k-yi-n-wo ya
PN garment / hem-LOC take-INF-attach-INF / cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC / leave_behind-INF-SUB FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Oh, [I] have come [here], leaving behind [my] crying children, who clung to the hem of [my] Kara garment!’

42. 20:4323.3-5 - Töpotuapumi

奈尔须礼意 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟
what do-EV FPT / mother DV say-ATTR blossom-GEN / bloom-INF-go_out.INF-come-NEG-INF-PST.TENT-ATTR
‘What should [I] have done? The flower that [I] call ‘mother’ did not come out in bloom.’
43. 20:4380.3-5 – Simotukeno
可美佐夫流 / 伊古麻多可祢尓 / 久毛曽多奈妣久
kamyi saNp-uru / ikwoma taka ne-ni / kumwo sō tanaNpyik-u
deity behave_like-ATTR / PN high peak-LOC / cloud FPT stream_out-ATTR
‘Clouds stream out over the high peak of Mt. Ikoma that behaves like a deity.’

44. 20:4369.4-5 – Pitati
可奈之家伊母曽 / 比留毛可奈之家
kanasi-kye imō sō / pyiru mwo kanasi-kye
be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_girl FPT / daytime FPT be.adorable-AVATTR
‗[My] adorable beloved is adorable even [in] the daytime.’

45. 20:4357.3-5 – Kamitupusa
和藝毛古我 / 蘑弖母志保々尒 / 奈伎志曽
wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-Nka / swote mō sipopo n-i / nak-ji-si sō [o]möp-ay-u
1.S-POSS-beloved_girl-DIM-POSS / sleeves FPT soaked COP-INF / cry-INF-
PST.ATTR FPT think-PASS-FIN
‗[I] suddenly remember how my darling girl wept [for me] until [her] sleeves were soaked.’

46. 14:3460.1-2 – UD
多礼曽許能 / 屋能戸於曽夫流
tare sō könö / YA-nö TWO osō-Npur-u
who FPT this / house-GEN door push-shake-ATTR
‗Who is pushing and shaking the door of this house?’

47. 14:3504.3-4 – UD
宇良夜尒 / 左奴流夜曽奈伎
ura yasu n-i / sa-n-uru YWO sō na-kyi
heart easy COP-INF / LOC-sleep-ATTR night FPT not.exist-AVATTR
‗There are no nights when [I] sleep with [my] heart at ease.’

48. 14:3511.4-5 – UD
物能乎曽於毛布 / 等思乃許能己呂
monō-wo sō omwop-u / tōsi-nō könö körö
thing-ACC FPT think-ATTR / year-GEN this time
‗[I] ponder [many] things this time of year.’

8.2.3.1 Variant Nsō
I view the variant form Nsō as the result of a fortition from sō > Nsō.
8.2.3.2 Variant Nse

The variant form Nse is attested only in Suruga province. It is unattested in WOJ.

50.  20:4337.4-5 - Suruga
知々波々尔 / 毛能波须爾弓 / 己麻叙 久夜志伎

While written Nsö, I view this Suruga form as being phonemically /nsœ/. See section 8.2.3.2 below for another example, and section 2.5.3.2.15 for the phonological data behind this analysis.

51.  20:4346.4-5 - Suruga
伊比之氣等婆 / 和須礼加祢豆流

8.2.3.3 Variant tö

A variant tö is attested four times in the corpus. I view this as a fortition from either the variant Nsö or the variant sö. It is unattested in WOJ.

52.  14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno
伊之布麻努受 / 蕎良由登伎努与

‘Without stepping on the stones, [I] came from the sky!’
53. 20:4385.3-5 – Simotupusa
志流敞尔波 / 古乎乎都麻乎乎 / 於枳弖等母枳奴
siru pye-ni pa / kwo-wo-tō tuma-wo-tō / ok-yi-te tō mö k-yi-n-u
behind area-LOC TPT / child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave_behind-
INF-SUB FPT EPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR
‘In the area behind, [I] left behind [my] wife and child and [I] came [here].’

54. 20:4430.5 UD
伊埿弖登阿我久流
iNte-te tō a-Nka k-uru
go_out.INF-SUB FPT 1.S-POSS come-ATTR
‘Going out, I will come.’

55. 14:3561.3-5 – UD
比賀刀礼婆 / 阿米乎万刀能 / 仮美乎等麻刀母
pyi-Nka twor-e-Npa / amey-wo mat-wo-nōsu / kyimyi-wo tō mat-wo mö
sun-POSS shine-EV-CONJ / rain-ACC wait-ATTR-COMP / lord-ACC FPT
wait-ATTR FPT
‘[I] will wait for [you, my] lord, like waiting for the rain when the sun is shining.’

Table 8-3: Total attestations of the focus particle sō ~ Nsō ~ Nse ~ tō across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
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<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data show sō is by far the most common, while the fortified variants Nsō ~ Nse ~ tō are comparatively rare, and restricted to a few provinces.

8.2.2 Focus particle kōsō

The focus particle kōsō, like the focus particles mo and sō, emphasizes that which precedes it. It indicates the strongest emphasis of any focus particle attested in EOJ (Vovin 2009a: 1202). This particle triggers the evidential on the following predicate verb. There is only one example where it precedes an adjectival verb predicate (example (59)
below), and in this case the adjectival verb is in the final form, rather than the attributive as found in WOJ (Vovin 2009a: 1202).

56. 14:3417.4-5 – Kamitukeno
与曽専見之欲波 / 伊麻許曽麻左礼
yōsō-ni MY1-si-ywo pa / ima kōsō mas-ar-e
distance-LOC see.INF-PST.ATTR-ABL TPT / now FPT be.superior-PROG-EV
‘Now is better than when [I] saw [you] in the distance.’

57. 14:3394.4-5 – Pitati
和須良延許婆古曽 / 那乎可家奈波賣
wasura-kō-Npa kwosō / na-wo kakyе-n-ap-am-ye
forget-come-COND FPT / 2.S-ACC call_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV
‘If [you] forget to come, [I] shall not call out for you again and again!’

58. 14:3493a.1-2 – UD
於曽波夜母 / 奈乎許曽麻多賣
osō paya mō / na-wo kōsō mat-am-ye
slow fast FPT / 2.S-ACC FPT wait-TENT-EV
‘Whether [you come] early or late, [I] shall wait for you.’

59. 14:3509.3-5– UD
宿奈敞杼母 / 古呂於曽伎能 / 安路許曽要志母
NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömō / kwo-ро-Nka osokyи-nō / ar- wo kōsō ye-si-mō
sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-CONC / girl-DIM-POSS upper_garment-GEN / exist-ATTR FPT be.good-FIN-EXCL
‘Although [we] are not sleeping together, it’s so good to have [my] dear girl’s upper garment!’

60. 14:3531.1-2 – UD
伊母乎許曽 / 安比美尒許思可
imō-wo kōsō / ap-yi-myи-ni kō-sika
beloved_girl-ACC FPT / meet-INF-see.NML-LOC come-PST.EV
‘[I] came to meet and see [my] beloved.’

Table 8-4: Total attestations of the focus particle kōsō across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One attestation (14:3419.4) is unclear.

8.3 Emphatic particles

The emphatic particles include kamo, si, mo, ya, yō, ye, we, and na.
8.3.1 Emphatic particle *kamo*

The emphatic particle *kamo* has two functions: exclamation, and uncertainty (Vovin 2009a: 1235). Due to the fact it historically contains the question particle *ka* (see section 8.4.2 for discussion of this particle), the particle *kamo* triggers an attributive suffix on the predicate verb regardless of whether it appears before or after *kamo*. However, there is also an example of it triggering the evidential suffix on a preceding verb (example (75) below), which is a phenomenon unattested in WOJ. In addition, there is a variant form *kamu* with a raised final vowel attested once.

8.3.1.1 Exclamation function

The exclamation function is well-attested.

61. 20:4403.3-5 - Sinano
阿乎久牟乃 / 等能毗久夜麻乎 / 古与歹伎怒加牟
awo kumu-nō / tōnōNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyō-te k-yī-n-wo kamu
blue cloud-GEN / stream_out-ATTR mountain-ACC / cross.INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‗Oh, [I] have come crossing the mountains where the blue clouds stream out!‘

Example (61) shows the variant form *kamu* which is only attested in Sinano province.

62. 14:3413.4-5 – Kamitukeno
奈美尔安布能须 / 安敞流伎美可母
namyi-ni ap-u-nōsu / ap-yer-u kyimyī kamō
wave-DAT meet-ATTR-COMP / meet-PROG-ATTR lord EPT
‗Oh [my] lord, who [I] am meeting like meeting with the waves!‘

63. 14:3351 – Pitati
筑波祢尓 / 由伎可母布良留 / 伊奈乎可母 / 加奈思吉兒呂我 / 尔努保佐流可母
tukupa ne-ni / yukyi kamō pur-ar-u / ina wo kamō / kanasi-kyi KWO-rō-Nka / ninwo pos-ar-u kamō
PN peak-LOC / snow EPT fall-PROG-ATTR / no yes EPT / be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-POSS / cloth dry-PROG-ATTR EPT
‗[I] wonder, is snow is falling on Mt. Tukupa? Yes or no? Oh, [my] adorable, darling girl is drying a cloth!‘
This poem is notable for the fact that it contains three *kamo* particles, more than any other poem in the EOJ corpus. The first two *kamo* particles indicate uncertainty, while the final one indicates exclamation.

64. 20:4354.4-5 – Kamitupusa

伊母加己己呂波 / 和須礼世奴可母
imō-ka kökōru pa / wasure se-n-u kamō
beloved_girl-POSS heart TPT / forget.NML do-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[I] will not forget about [my] beloved’s feelings!’

65. 14:3463.3-5 – UD

己許呂奈久 / 佐刀乃美奈可爾 / 安敞流世奈可毛
kōkōru na-ku / satwo-nō myi-naka-ni / ap-ye-r u se-na kamwo
heart not.exist-INF / village-GEN HON-inside-LOC / meet-PROG-ATTR
beloved_man-DIM EPT
‘[My] beloved man, [with] whom [I] am unintentionally meeting in the center of the village!’

66. 14:3527.4-5 – UD

伊伎豆久伊毛乎 / 於伎弖努可母
ikiy-N-tuk-u imwo-wo / ok-yi-te k-yi-n-wo kamō
breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR beloved_girl-ACC / leave_behind-INF-SUB come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘[I] left behind my sighing darling and came [here]!’

67. 14:3542.4-5 – UD

安我毛布伊毛我 / 伊敝乃安多里可開
a-Nka [o]mwo-u imwo-Nka / ipye-nō atari kamo
1.S-POSS think-ATTR beloved_girl-POSS / home-GEN environs EPT
‘Oh, the environs of the home of [my] beloved whom I love (lit. think of)!’

8.3.1.2 Uncertainty function

The uncertainty function is also well-attested. Its meaning is close to ‘[I] wonder.’

68. 20:4341.4-5 - Suruga

道乃長道波 / 由伎加弓奴加毛
MYITI-nō NANKA-T1 pa / yuk-yi-kate-n-u kamwo
road-GEN long-road TPT / go-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR EPT
‘[I] wonder, will [I] not make it on this long road?’
69. 20:4404.3-5 – Kamitukeno
和藝毛古賀 / 都氣之非毛我乎 / 多延尓氣流可毛
wa-Nk-yimwo-kwo-Nka / tukey-si piymwo-Nka wo / taye-ni-keyr-u kamwo
‗[I] wonder, will the cord that my darling girl tied [over my robes] break?’

70. 14:3379.1-2 – Muzasi
和我世故乎 / 安杼 可母伊波武
wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / aNtö kamö ip-am-u
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM-ACC / what EPT say-TENT-ATTR
‗What should [I] say about my beloved, [I] wonder?’

71. 20:4423.4-5 – Muzasi
伊波奈流伊毛波 / 佐夜尓美毛 可母
ipa-n[i] ar-u imwo pa / saya n-i myi-m-wo kamö
home-LOC exist-ATTR beloved_girl TPT / clear COP-INF see-TENT-ATTR EPT
‗[I] wonder if [my] darling at home will see [me] clearly.’

72. 14:3437.5 – Mitinōku
都良波可馬可毛
tura pak-am-ye kamwo
string string-TENT-EV EPT
‗[I] wonder, should [I] restring the string?’

73. 20:4364.3-5 – Pitati
伊敵能伊牟何 / 奈流敵伎己等乎 / 伊波須伎奴 可母
iype-nö imu-Nka / nar-upye-kyi kötö-wo / ip-as-u k-yi-n-u kamö
home-GEN beloved_girl-POSS / make_a_living-DEB-ATTR word-ACC / say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‗[I] wonder, did [I] come without telling [my] darling at home what [she] must do to make a living?’

74. 14:3384.3-4 – Simotupusa
麻許登賀聞 / 和礼尓余须等布
ma-kötö Nkamo / ware-ni yōs-u tö [i]p-u
INT-word EPT / 1.S-DAT approach-ATTR DV say-FIN
‗[I] wonder, [is it] true, [that some] say [she] is intimate with me?’

75. 20:4390.4-5 – Simotupusa
以毛加去々里波 / 阿用久奈米 加母
imwo-ka kökö r pa / aywok-unam-ey kamö
beloved_girl-POSS heart TPT / shake-TENT2-EV EPT
‗[I] wonder, shall the feelings of my beloved waver?’
Example (75) shows kamo triggering the evidential, rather than the attributive, form of the preceding verb. This is unattested in WOJ grammar.

76. 20:4428.4-5 – UD
叡比波登加奈々 / 阿夜尔可毛祢牟
yepyi pa tōk-an-ana / aya n-i kamwo ne-m-u
sash TPT undo-NEG-DES / strange COP-INF EPT sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘[I] do not want to undo my sash, is it strange, [I] wonder, that I shall sleep [like this]?’

8.3.1.3 Special construction -te-si kamo

There is a special construction -te-si kamo ‘-PERF-PST EPT’ that indicates something the speaker wants to do. It is only attested once in the corpus, but it is widely attested in WOJ (Vovin 2009a: 1243-5).

77. 20:4347.3-5 – Kamitupusa
奈我波氣流 / 多知尔奈里弖母 / 伊波非弖之加母
na-Nka pak-eyr-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mò / ipap-iy-te-si kamö
2.S-POSS wear-PROG-ATTR / long.sword COP-INF become-INF-SUB FPT / pray-INF-PERF-PST EPT
‘[I] want to become the long sword that you are wearing and pray for [you].’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3.2 Emphatic particle si

Vovin (2009a: 1248) considers the emphatic particle si to be some kind of discourse particle, and I am unable to expand on that definition. It is difficult to pinpoint
an exact meaning other than a general indication of emphasis of the preceding word or phrase. It precedes the emphatic particle *kamo* when both occur in the same line.

78.  
14:3400.3-5 - Sinano

左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美弓波 / 多麻等比吕波伞

saNsare [i]sì mò / kyimyì sì pum-yi-te-pa / tama tò pyirö-p-am-u

little stone FPT / lord EPT step-INF-PERF-COND / jewel COP pick_up-TENT-FIN

‘When [you, my] lord have stepped on the little stones, [I] shall pick up them up as jewels.’

79.  
20:4324 - Töpotuapumi

等倍多保美 / 志留波乃伊宗等 / 尔閇乃字良等 / 安比弓之阿良婆 / 己等母加由波伞

töpeytapomyì / sirupa-nö iswo-tö / nipey-nö ura-tö / ap-yi-te sì ar-aNpa / kötö mò kayup-am-u

PN / PN-GEN rock-COM / PN-GEN bay-COM / meet-INF-SUB EPT exist-COND / word FPT go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN

‘If it is [such that] the rocks of Töpotuapumi’s Sirupa and the bay of Nipe join, words shall also go back and forth [between them].’

80.  
14:3410.4-5 – Kamitukeno

於久乎奈加祢曾 / 麻左可思余加婆

oku-wo na-kane-sö / masaka sì yö-k-aNpa

future-ACC NEG.IMP-consider.INF-do / present EPT be.good-AVATTR-COND

‘Don’t consider the future, if the present is good.’

81.  
14:3362a.5 – Sagamu

吾乎祢之奈久奈

A-wo ne sì nak-una

1.S-ACC voice EPT make.cry-NEGIMP

‘Don’t make me cry out!’

82.  
14:3350a.4-5 – Pitati

伎美我美家思 / 安夜尔伎保思母

kyimyì-Nka myi-kyesi sì / aya n-i kyi posi-mö

lord-POSS HON-garment EPT / extreme COP-INF wear.NML be.desired-EXCL

‘[I] really want to wear [my] lord’s garment!’

83.  
14:3537b.3-5 – UD

波都波都尔 / 仁必波太布礼思 / 古吕之可奈思母

patu-patu n-i / nipi paNTa pure-si / kwo-rö sì kanasi-mö

slight-REDUP COP-INF / new skin touch.INF-PST.ATTR / girl-DIM EPT be.adorable.AVFIN-EXCL

‘The dear girl whose virgin skin [I] touched [only] briefly is adorable!’
84. 14:3504.5 – UD
児呂乎之毛倍婆
KWO-rō-wo si [o]mwop-ey-Npa
girl-DIM-ACC EPT think-EV-CONJ
‘Because [I] am thinking of a dear girl…’

85. 14:3530.4-5 – UD
児呂我可奈門欲 / 由可久之要思母
KWO-rō-Nka kana-TWO-ywo / yuk-aku si ye-si-mö
girl-DIM-POSS metal-door-ABL / go-NML EPT be,good-FIN-EXCL
‘Going past the gate of [my] darling girl’s home is so nice!’

86. 20:4426.5 – UD
阿礼乎之毛波婆
are-wo si [o]mwop-aNpa
1.S-ACC EPT think-COND
‘If [you] long for me…’

Table 8-6: Total attestations of the emphatic particle si across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*one example (14:3419.2) is questionable

8.3.3 Emphatic particle *mo*

As Vovin (2009a: 1256) demonstrates, we must be careful to differentiate the emphatic particle *mo* from the homophonous focus particle *mo*. While the particles have different semantics, combinatorial information is especially helpful in discerning the two. Other than the fact that among the two particles only the emphatic particle *mo* can occur sentence final, the emphatic particle *mo* is almost always attested after another particle. Table 8-7 below shows differences when the focus particle *mo* and the emphatic particle *mo* combine with other particles.
Table 8-7: Combinatorial differences between the focus particle mo and the emphatic particle mo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ya ‘EPT’</th>
<th>ya ‘QPT’</th>
<th>pa ‘TPT’</th>
<th>[N]sö ‘FPT’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo ‘FPT’</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo ‘EPT’</td>
<td>mo ya</td>
<td>ya mo</td>
<td>pa mo</td>
<td>[N]sö mo ~ tō mo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

87. 20:4415.4-5 – Muzasi
伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弖毛母也
ipyen[i] ar-u imō-wo / mata myi-te-m-wo mō ya
home LOC exist-ATTR beloved_girl-ACC / again see.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
EPT EPT
‘How [I] would like to see [my] darling, who is at home, again!’

88. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa
曽能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尓多弖米也
sōnō kanasi-kyi-wo / two-ni tate-m-ey ya mō
that be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.TENT-EV QPT EPT
‘Will [I] make that adorable [girl] stand outside? [no, I will not!]’

89. 20:4353.3-5 – Simotupusa
志流敝尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於积ㄅ母
siru pye-ni pa / kwo-wo-tō tuma-wo-tō / ok-yi-te tō mō k-yi-n-u
behind area-LOC TPT / child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave_behind-INF-SUB FPT EPT
come-INF-PERF-ATTR
‘In the area behind, [I] left behind [my] wife and child and [I] came [here]!’

90. 20:4358.4-5 – Kamitupusa
和努等里都伐ㄅ / 伊比之古奈波
wanwo tō-i-tuk-yi-te / ip-yi-si kwo-na pa mwo
1.S take-INF-attach-INF-SUB / say-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‘Oh, [what about] that girl clung to me and said [all those things]?’

91. 14:3469.3-5 – UD
和加西奈波 / 阿是母ㄅ許与比 / 与斯吕伐麻ㄅ奴
wa-ka se-na pa / aNse sō mō kō yöpyi / yōs-i-rō-k-yi-mas-an-u
1.S-POSS beloved_man-DIM TPT / why FPT EPT this evening / approach-INF-UNC-come-INF-HON-NEG-ATTR
‘My dear beloved, why do [you] not come near [me] tonight?’

275 The combination of these particles is not attested in EOJ, but it is attested in WOJ as mo Nsō (Vovin 2009a: 1173).
92. 14:3532.4-5 – UD
安乎思努布良武 / 伊敞乃兒呂波母
a-wo sinwop-uram-u / ipye-nö KWO-rö pa mö
1.S-ACC long_for-TENT2-ATTR / home-GEN girl-DIM TPT EPT
‗Oh, the dear girl from [my] home who must be longing for me!‘

93. 14:3569.4-5 – UD
手婆奈礼乎思美 / 奈吉思兒良婆母
TA-N-panare wosi-myi / nak-yi-si KWO-ra pa mö
hand-LOC-part_from.NML be.regretful-AVGER / cry-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‗Oh, [my] dear girl who cried because [she] regretted parting from [me]!‘

94. 20:4436.4-5 – UD
伊都伎麻佐牟等 / 登比之古良波母
itu k-yi-mas-am-u tö / töp-yi-si kwo-ra pa mö
when come-INF-HON-TENT-FIN COP / ask-INF-PST.ATTR girl-DIM TPT EPT
‗Oh, [my] dear girl, who asked [me] ‗when will you come [back]?‘

<p>| Table 8.8: Total attestations of the emphatic particle mo across the provinces |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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<th>Kap</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.3.4 Emphatic particle ya

The emphatic particle ya should not be confused with the homophonous question particle ya (described in section 8.4.1). One clear distinguishing feature is the emphatic particle ya does not trigger the attributive form of predicate verbs, but it can follow attributive verb clauses. Desiderative particles and the emphatic particle mo precede it, but it can be found directly after the final form of verbs. The complete set of attested morpho-positional differences between the emphatic particle ya and the question particle ya can be seen in table 8.8 below:
Table 8-9: Morpho-positional differences between the emphatic particle *ya* and the question particle *ya*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Preceding morphs when sentence final</th>
<th>Preceding morphs when sentence non-final</th>
<th>Predicate verb morphology when particle is moved to a preverbal position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ya ‘EPT’</em></td>
<td>-FIN, DPT</td>
<td>Noun root, -ATTR, -AVATTR</td>
<td>-FIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ya ‘QPT’</em></td>
<td>-FIN, -EV, DV</td>
<td>-NML, -SUB</td>
<td>-ATTR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

95. 20:4401.1-4 - Sinano
可良己呂武 / 須宗爾等里都伎 / 奈古古良乎 / 意伎豆曾伎怒也
kara körömu / suswo-n i-tör-i-tuk-yi / nak-wo kwor-wo / ok-yi-te sō k-yi-n-wo
ya
PN garment / hem-LOC take-INF-attach-INF / cry-ATTR child-PLUR-ACC
leave,behind-INF-SUB FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Leaving behind crying [my] children who clung to the hem of [my] Kara garment, **oh**, [I] have come [here]!’

96. 20:4325.1-2 - Töpotuapumi
知々波々母 / 波奈爾母我毛

6iti papa mö / pana n-i möNkamwo ya
father mother FPT / flower COP-INF DPT EPT
‘Oh, [I] want [my] father and mother to be flowers!’

97. 20:4372.5-6 – Pitati
阿良志乎母 / 多志夜波婆可流
ara-si wo mō / tas-i ya paNpakar-u
be.rough-FIN man FPT / stand-INF EPT hesitate-FIN
‘Even a rough man would stand and hesitate.’

98. 20:4377.1-2 – Simotukeno
阿母刀自母 / 多麻尔毛賀毛
aMÖ twoNsi mö / tama n-i mwoNkamwo ya
mother wife FPT / jewel COP-INF DPT EPT
‘Oh, [I] wish [my] mother and wife were jewels!’

99. 14:3458.1 – UD
奈勢能古
na se n-ö kwore ya
2.S beloved_man COP-ATTR child EPT
‘Hey you, [my] lover!’
Examples (100) and (101) below demonstrate that the emphatic particle *ya* can come between a verb in the attributive form and the noun that that attributivized verb is modifying.

100. 14:3530.1-2 – UD

左乎思鹿能 / 布須也久草無良
sa-wo-siKA-nō / pus-u ya kusa mura
LOC-male-deer-GEN / lie.down-ATTR EPT grass group
‘The patch of grass where a stag lies down.’

101. 14:3473.1-2 – UD

左努夜麻専 / 字都也乎能登乃
sanwo yama-ni / ut-u ya wonō [o]lō-nō
PN mountain-LOC / strike-ATTR EPT axe sound-COMP
‘Like the sound of an axe that strikes on Sano mountain.’

In addition, there is a unique combination of the emphatic particle *ya* and the topic particle *pa* found once in Simotukeno, and shown in example (102) below. Unlike WOJ, where we only find the combination *pa ya* ‘TPT EPT’ (Vovin 2009a: 1262), in Simotukeno we see the opposite order *ya pa* ‘EPT TPT.’

102. 20:4378.1 – Simotukeno

都久比夜波
 tuku pyi ya pa
moon sun EPT TPT
‘Oh moon and sun!’

<p>| Table 8-10: Total attestations of the emphatic particle <em>ya</em> across the provinces |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.3.5 Emphatic particle yō

The emphatic particle yō expresses exclamation (Vovin 2009a: 1267). This particle follows the emphatic particle kamō and the focus particle mö and is always attested sentence-final.

103. 14:3435.1-4 – Kamitukeno
伊可保呂乃 / 蓼比乃波里波良 / 和我吉奴尔 / 都伎与良志母与
ikapo-rō-nō / swopyi-nō pari para / wa-Nka kyinu-ni / tuk-yi-yōr-asi-mō yö
PN-DIM-GEN / adjacent-GEN alder field / 1.S-POSS robes-LOC / attach-INF-approach-SUP-EXCL EPT
‘It seems the [colors of the] field of alders beside Mt. Ikapo are in my robes!’

104. 20:4405.5 – Kamitukeno
和波等可自等
wa pa tōk-aNsi tō yö
1.S TPT undo-NEG.TENT DV EPT
‘[I] think I probably won’t untie it!’

105. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi
伊尔之与比欲利 / 世呂尔安波奈布
in-i-si yöyi-ywori / se-rō-ni ap-an-ap-u yö
depart-INF-PST.ATTR evening-ABL / beloved_man-DIM-DAT meet-NEG-ITER-FIN EPT
‘Since that evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my] beloved!’

106. 14:3431.1-4 – Sagamu
阿之我里乃 / 安伎奈乃夜麻尔 / 比古布祢乃 / 斯利比可志母
asiNkari-nō / akyina-nō yama-ni / pyik-wo pune-nō / siri pyikasis-mō yö
PN-GEN / PN-GEN mountain-LOC / pull-ATTR boat-COMP / behind pull-SUP-EXCL EPT
‘It seems [they are] pulling the back of [the boat], like a boat that is pulled on Mt. Akina of Asigara!’

107. 14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno
伊之布麻努受 / 蓼良由登伎
isi pum-aNs-u / swora-yu tō k-yy-n-wo yö
stone step-NEG-FIN / sky-ABL FPT come-INF-PERF-ATTR EPT
‘Without stepping on the stones, [I] came from the sky!’

108. 14:3458.4 – UD
安乎祢思奈久
a-wo ne si nak-u yö
1.S-ACC voice EPT make.cry-FIN EPT
‘[It] makes me cry out loud!’

109. 14:3550.4 – UD
伊多夫良思毛 الفترة
itaNpur-asimwo yö
tremble-SUP-EXCL EPT
‘Oh, it seems [I] am trembling!’

110. 14:3557.1-2 – UD
奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母 forfeiture
nayam-asi-kye / pyitö tuma kamō yö
distress-ADJ-AVATTR / person spouse EPT EPT
‘Another man’s wife who is so distressing [me]!’

111. 14:3526.3-5 – UD
安我己許吕 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈 forfeiture
a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tō / na-yō-[o]mōp-ar-śō-n-e
1.S-POSS heart / two go-TENT2-ATTR COP / NEG.IMP-UNC-think-PROG-INF-do-DES-IMP
‘Don’t be thinking that my heart will go in two [directions]!’

Example (111) may be showing emphatic particle yö in a preverbal position before the negative-imperative proclitic na-. However, in all other attestations yö always occurs after the final verb, so this preverbal position is strange. Thus, it may be a different particle.

Table 8-11: Total attestations of the emphatic particle yö across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
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<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*one example (from 14:3526.5) is unclear

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276 Then again, compare the negative-imperative prefix na- with the negative imperative suffix -una. Both are clearly from the same origin, but the former is preposed before the verb, while the latter attaches to the end of a verb.

277 Alexander Vovin (p.c.) has suggested it may simply be an epethentional -y-. I hesitate to accept this due to no other examples of an epethentional -y- in the entire EOJ corpus.
8.3.6 Emphatic particle ye

An emphatic particle ye is only attested once, in Suruga province. It is unattested in WOJ.

112. 20:4340.1-2 - Suruga
等知波々 / 已波比弖麻多祢
tōti papa ye / ipap-yi-te mat-an-e
father mother EPT / pray-INF-SUB wait-DES-IMP
‘Father, mother! [I] want you to pray and wait [for me].’

8.3.7 Emphatic particle we

The emphatic particle we is attested just once, in Kamitukeno province. It is unattested in WOJ. WOJ has a phonetically similar emphatic particle wo, but it is only attested after the locative case -ni (Vovin 2009a: 1273-4), while Kamitukeno’s particle we is attested as sentence-final. Thus, due to their different syntactic behavior, these two particles are probably not related. The particle we seems to just express exclamation.

113. 14:3406.4 – Kamitukeno
安礼波麻多牟恵
are pa mat-am-u we
1.S TPT wait-TENT-FIN EPT
‘I shall wait [for you]!’

8.3.8 Emphatic particle na

The emphatic particle na expresses exclamation (Vovin 2009a: 1270). Like WOJ, it can follow the final form of verbs, but unlike WOJ, it can also follow the exclamatory suffix -umo (Vovin 2009a: 1272). In addition, it is attested following the desiderative -ana, a usage which is also unattested in WOJ. All attestations are given in the examples below.
114. 14:3408.1-2 – Kamitukeno

尔比多夜麻 / 祢尔波都可奈
nipiyita yama / ne- ni pa tuk-ana na
PN mountain / peak-LOC TPT attach-DES EPT
‘Oh, [I] want to arrive at the peak of Nipita mountain!’

115. 20:4418.3-4 – Muzasi

麻己等奈礼 / 和我弖布礼奈
ma-kötö nare / wa-Nka te pure- na na
INT-word 2.S / 1.S-POSS hand touch-DES EPT
‘Oh [I] truly want you to touch my hand!’

116. 14:3477.4-5 – UD

安礼波古非牟 / 能知波安比奴登
are pa kwopiy-m-u na / nöti pa ap-yi-n-u tömö
1.S TPT long_for-TENT-FIN EPT / later TPT meet-INF-PERF-FIN CON
‘Oh, I shall love [you]! Even if [we] meet later.’

117. 14:3555.3-5 – UD

可良加治乃 / 於等太可思
kara kaNti-nö / otö-N-taka-si-mö na
PN oars-COMP / sound-GEN-be. high-FIN-EXCL EPT
‘Oh, the sound is loud, like [that of] Kara oars!’

118. 14:3557.3-5 – UD

和须礼波勢那 / 伊夜母比麻须尔
wasure pa se-na na / iya [o]möp- yi-mas-u n-i
forget.NML TPT do-DES EPT / plentifully think-INF-increase-FIN COP-INF
‘Oh, [I] wish [I] could forget [her]! [But since I cannot, I] increasingly think [of her] more and more.’

There is one other possible attestation, shown in example (119) below.

119. 14:3499.5 – UD

祢呂等敝 / 香母
ne-rö töt [i]p-ye na kamö
sleep-IMP DV say-EV EPT EPT
‘Oh, [I] wonder whether [you] will tell [me] to sleep [with you].’

This is the only example in the corpus where the particle na would follow the evidential form of a verb or precede the emphatic particle kamo, which is admittedly problematic.

On the other hand, the emphatic particle kamo can certainly follow the evidential form of the verb, and it is attested following the emphatic particle si in both WOJ (Vovin 2009a:
1242) and EOJ (20:4347.5 – Kamitupusa), so it following a different emphatic particle does not seem too peculiar. In WOJ, Vovin (2009a:1270) states the emphatic particle *na* never occurs before another particle, and always occurs sentence final. However, particles in WOJ and EOJ do not behave exactly the same, so we cannot take the WOJ evidence as absolute proof. Ikier (2006: 102) offers a different analysis, where he segments the form as *ip-yen-a ‘say-NEG-ATTR,’* which not only suggests an allomorph *-en-* of the negative *-an-* otherwise unattested in all of EOJ and WOJ, but also an allomorph *-a* of the attributive *-uru ~ -u ~ -o* which is possibly attested in only two other poems: 14:3461.4 – UD and 14:3526.2 – UD. For these other possible attestations, I offer different explanations in sections 5.4.3.2 and 5.5.2.2.2.5, respectively. Thus, I do not think there is any convincing evidence to conclude there was an attributive *-a* in EOJ, and example (119) above either shows a particle *na* or some other unknown verbal element.

<p>| Table 8-12: Total attestations of the emphatic particle <em>na</em> across the provinces |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
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<th>Kak</th>
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*One example (14:3499.5) is unclear.*

### 8.4 Question particles

There are two question particles: the yes/no question particle *ya* and the question particle *ka*.

#### 8.4.1 Yes/no question particle *ya*

The yes/no question particle *ya* can be found in the sentence final position (following either the evidential form of a verb or another particle), but it can also be moved to non-final sections of the sentence. The latter usage is more common than the
former. When in the sentence final position, it follows the copula *tö*, the defective verb *tö* ‘think,’ or the evidential form of the verb. The examples with the evidential are used to make ironic questions, and are described in section 8.4.1.1. When this particle is fronted to a pre-verbal position, the verb form must take the attributive suffix (see example (120) below). Unlike WOJ, where *ya* is amply attested directly after the final form of a verb or the final exclamative -*umo* (Vovin 2009a: 1211), such usages are unattested in EOJ.

There is one example of *ya* after the copula *tö*, and one example of *ya* after the verb *tö* ‘think.’

120. 20:4321.3-4 – Töpotuapumi
阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢
**asu-yuri ya** / kaye-Nka muta ne-m-u
tomorrow-ABL QPT / reed-POSS together_with sleep-TENT-ATTR
‘From tomorrow shall [I] sleep together with the reeds?’

121. 14:3415 – Kamitukeno
宇恵古奈宜 / 賀久古非牟等夜
**uwe kwo-na-N-kyi** / Nka-ku kwopiy-m-u *tö ya*
sow.INF DIM-water-LOC-leeks / be.thus-INF long_for-TENT-FIN DV QPT
‘Do [you] think [I] love the sowed water leeks so much?’

122. 20:4330.3-4 – Sagamu
気布能比夜 / 伊田弖麻可良武
**keypu-nö pyi ya** / iNte-te makar-am-u
today-GEN day QPT / go_out.INF-SUB depart-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall [we] go out and depart today?’

123. 20:4355.1-2 – Kamitupusa
余曽尒能美 / 々弓夜和多良毛
**yösö-ni nömyi** / myi-te ya watar-wo
other_place-LOC RPT / see.INF-SUB QPT cross-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall [I] pass [the day] gazing toward an other place?’

124. 14:3495 - UD
伊波保呂乃 / 蔗比能和可麻都 / 可藝里登也
**ipapo-rö-nö** / swopiy-nö waka matu / kaNkyir-i *tö ya*
boulder-DIM-GEN / side-GEN young pine / limit-NML COP QPT
‘[Like] the young pines growing beside small rocks, is [this] the end [of the pines]?’
8.4.1.1 Usage in ironic questions

When following the evidential form of a verb, the question particle ya is used to create an ironic question. Essentially, it implies the opposite answer to the question posed. The emphatic particle mo can follow ya to emphasize the irony in these constructions.

125. 14:3565.1-2 – UD
可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈垒
kanö kwo-rō-tō / NE-Ns-u ya nar-i-n-am-u
that girl-DIM-COM / sleep-NEG-NML QPT become-INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR
‗Shall [things] become [such] that [I] will not sleep with that girl?’

126. 14:3370.1-4 – Sagamu
安思我里乃 / 波故祢能祢呂乃 / 尔古具佐能 / 波奈都麻奈礼也
asiNkari-nō / pakwone-nō ne-rō-nō / nikwo N-kusa-nō / pana t-u Ntuma nar-e ya
PN-GEN / PN-GEN peak-DIM-GEN / be.soft COP.ATTR-grass-COMP / flower COP-ATTR spouse become-EV QPT
‗Will she become a ‘flower wife’ as soft as the grass on the peak of Mt. Hakone in Ashigari? [no, she will not]’

127. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa
曽能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尔多弖也母
sönö kanasi-kyi-wo / two-ni tate-m-ey ya mö
that be.adorable-AVATTR-ACC / outside-LOC make.stand-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‗Will [I] make that adorable [girl] stand outside? [no, I will not]’

128. 14:3484.4 – UD
阿須伎西佐米也
asu kyi-se-s-am-ey ya
tomorrow wear-CAUS-HON-TENT-EV QPT
‗Will [you] make [me] wear [it] tomorrow? [no, you will not]’

129. 14:3503 – UD
宇家良我波奈乃 / 伊呂尔弖米也毛
ukyera-Nka pana-nō / irō-ni [i]te-m-ey ya mwo
Atractylodes_Japonica -POSS flower-GEN / color-LOC go_out-TENT-EV QPT EPT
‗Shall the flowers of Atractylodes Japonica reveal their colors? [no, they shall not]’

833
Table 8.13: Total attestations of the yes/no question particle ya across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
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8.4.2 Question particle ka

The question particle ka is mainly used to form wh- questions, but it is also attested in yes/no questions, overlapping with the usage of the interrogative particle ya. Due to this, I classify the particle ka as a general question marker. In WOJ this particle can also be used to form alternative questions (i.e. ‘X or Y?’) (Vovin 2009a: 1227), but this usage is unattested in EOJ. The question particle ka always forces the main verb to take an attributive suffix, regardless of whether it follows or precedes the verb.

131. 14:3404 – Kamitukeno
安杼加安我世牟
aNtökaaNka se-m-u
what QPT 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR
‗What should I do?‘

132. 20:4417.4-5 – Muzasi
多麻能余許夜麻 / 加志由加也良牟
tama-nō yōkō yama / kasi-yu ka yar-am-u
PN-GEN horizontal mountain / walking-ABL QPT send-TENT-ATTR
‗Shall [I] send [you] on foot over hills by Tama [river]?‘

133. 14:3363.3-5 – Sagamu
麻都之太须 / 安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑乃木能末可
mat-u siNta su / asINkara yama-nō / suNkiy n-ō KÖ-nō ma ka
wait-ATTR CNJ again / PN mountain-GEN / cedar COP-ATTR tree-GEN space QPT
‘When [I] wait for my beloved to come back, will his return again be through the cedar trees of Mt. Asigara?’

134. 14:3424 – Simotukeno
多賀家可母多牟
ta-Nka kye ka möt-am-u
who-POSS container QPT hold-TENT-ATTR
‗Whose container shall [she] hold?‘

135. 14:3397.5 – Pitati
阿杼可多延世武
aNtö ka taye-se-m-u
what QPT break-CAUS-TENT-ATTR
‗What would make [us] break [up]?’

136. 20:4389.4 – Simotupusa
於不世他麻保加
opuse-tamap-o ka
assign.INF-HON-ATTR QPT
‗Has [the emperor] given [me] the order?’

137. 20:4349.4-5 – Kamitupusa
夜蘓志麻須義弖 / 和加例加由可牟
ya-swo sima suNkiy-te / wakare ka yuk-am-u
eight-ten islands pass.INF-SUB / be.separated.INF QPT go-TENT-ATTR
‗Going past many islands, shall [I] go, being separated [from you]?‘

138. 14:3442.4-5 – UD
夜麻尒可祢牟毛 / 夜杼里波奈之尒
yama-ni ka ne-m-u mwo / yaNtör-i pa na-si-ni
mountain-LOC QPT sleep-TENT-ATTR FPT / lodge-NML TPT not.exist-FIN-LOC
‗Shall [I] sleep in the mountains since there is no lodging [here]?‘

139. 14:3494.5 – UD
汝波安杼可毛布
NA pa aNtö ka [o]mwop-u
2.S TPT what QPT think-ATTR
‗What do you think?’

140. 14:3551.3-4 – UD
比良潀尔母 / 比毛登久毛能可
pyira se n-i mō / pyimwo tōk-u mwonō ka
normal lover COP-INF FPT / cord undo-ATTR thing QPT
‗Being an average lover, am [I] one to untie [his] cords [for someone else]?’
141. 14:3563.4 – UD
麻都毛 / 伎曽毛
wa-wo ka mat-unam-wo / kyisō mwo kō yōpyi mö
1.S-ACC QPT wait-TENT2-ATTR / last_night FPT this evening FPT
‘[You] almost certainly waited for me last night, and tonight [you will] as well?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
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<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
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<th>Sa</th>
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**Table 8.14: Total attestations of the question particle *ka* across the provinces**

8.5 **Restrictive particles**

The restrictive particles include *nōmi, Ntani, and sape.*

**8.5.1 Restrictive particle *nōmi***

The restrictive particle *nōmi* has a meaning of ‘only’ or ‘just.’ It has a meaning of plain restriction (Vovin 2009a: 1274). The restrictive particle *nōmi* is a true particle in EOJ, unlike in WOJ. In WOJ it precedes the accusative suffix -wo and the locative suffix -ni (Vovin 2009a: 1274), and particles cannot precede suffixes in a word-form. In EOJ, on the other hand, *nōmi* follows the case marker -ni (see example (143) below), as expected of a true particle. The restrictive particle *nōmi* precedes the focus particle *sō* when the two occur in the same line. All attested examples follow below.

142. 14:3405a.4-5 – Kamitukeno
児良波安波奈毛 / 比等理
KWO-ra pa ap-ana-m-wo / pyitö-ri nōmiy s-i-te
girl-DIM TPT meet-DES-TENT-ATTR / one-CL RPT do-INF-SUB
‗[My] darling girl is the one who [I] want to meet, [when she’s] just by herself.’

143. 20:4355.1-2 – Kamitupusa
余曽尓能美 / 々 昼夜和多良毛
yösō-ni nōmyi / myi-te ya watar-am-wo
other_place-LOC RPT / see-INF-SUB QPT cross-TENT-ATTR
‘Shall [I] pass [the day] gazing toward an other place?’

144. 14:3471.3-5 – UD
伊米能未尔 / 母登奈要都追 / 安乎祢思奈久流
imey nömiy n-i / mötöna MYI-ye-tutu / a-wo ne si nak-uru
dream RPT COP-INF / for_no_reason see-PASS-COOR / 1.S-ACC sound EPT
make.cry-ATTR
‘[Though] being just a dream, while seeing [you in it] for no reason, it makes me cry!’

145. 14:3538b.3-4 – UD
己許呂能未 / 伊母我理夜里弓
kökörö nömiy / imö-Nkari yar-i-te
dream heart RPT / beloved_girl-DIR send-INF-SUB
‘Sending just [my] heart to [my] beloved.’

146. 14:3560.4-5 – UD
伊波奈久能未曾 / 安我古布良久波
ip-an-aku nömiy só / a-Nka kwop-ur[u]-aku pa
say-NEG.ATTR-NML RPT FPT / 1.S-POSS long_for-ATTR-NML TPT
‘I am longing for [you], only [I] do not say it.’

<table>
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<th>Sin</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-15: Total attestations of the restrictive particle nömi across the provinces

8.5.2 Restrictive particle Ntani

The restrictive particle Ntani indicates a minimum representation, something akin to ‘at least,’ ‘even,’ ‘just,’ or ‘as little as’ (Vovin 2009a: 1275). It can be followed by the focus particle mo (see example 144 below). This particle is only attested twice.

147. 14:3383.3-5 – Kamitupusa
可久太尔毛 / 久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟
ka-ku Ntani mwo / kuni-nö tōpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u
be.thus-AVINF RPT FPT / province-GEN be.far-AVEV-COONJ / 2.S-POSS eye
desire-NML do-TENT-FIN
‘Because the province is just so far, [I] want [to see] your eyes.’
8.5.3 Restrictive particle *sape*

The restrictive particle *sape* indicates a maximum representation, and is thus the opposite of the restrictive particle *Ntani*. It can be translated as ‘even (as much as),’ ‘even…in addition to’ (Vovin 2009a: 1285) or ‘so much as.’ All attested examples are given below.

148. 14:3454.3-4 – UD

許余比太尓 / 都麻余之許西祢
kō yöpi *Ntani* / tuma yö-s-i-köse-n-e
this evening *RPT* / spouse approach-INF-DES-IMP
‘[I] want [you] to bring [my] spouse close [to me], just for tonight.’

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-16: Total attestations of the restrictive particle *Ntani* across the provinces

149. 20:4322.3-5 - Töpotuapumi

乃牟美豆尓 / 加其佐倍美曳弖 / 余尓和須良礼受
nöm-u myiNtu-ni / kaNkö *sapey* myi-ye-te / yö-ni wasur-are-Ns-u
drink-ATTR water-LOC / shadow *RPT* see-PASS-SUB / world-LOC forget-PASS-NEG-FIN
‘Seeing so much as [her] shadow in the water that [I] drink, [I] realize [I] cannot forget her in this life.’

150. 14:3474.1-2 – UD

字恵太氣能 / 毛登左倍登与美
uwe-N-takey-nö / mwotö *sapey* töyöm-yi
sow.NML-GEN-bamboo-GEN / root *RPT* resound-INF
‘Even the roots of the planted bamboo resound.’

151. 14:3502.4-5 – UD

等思佐倍己其登 / 和波佐可流我倍
tösi *sapey* kōNkōtō / wa pa sakar-u Nkapey
year *RPT* many / 1.S TPT be.away_from-ATTR IPT
‘Will I be away from her even [if] the years [are] many? [no, I will not.]’

152. 14:3514.3-4 – UD

和礼左倍尔 / 伎美尔都吉奈那
ware *sapey* n-i / kyimy-ni tuk-yi-n-ana
1. S RPT COP-INF / lord-LOC attach-INF-PERF-DES
‘Even I have wanted to be near [you, my] lord.’

153. 14:3548.4-5 – UD
可奈思家世呂尔 / 比等\(\text{佐瞰}\)余須母
kanasi-kye se-rō-ni / pyitö sapye yōs-umō
be.adorable-AVATTR beloved_man-DIM-DAT / person RPT approach-EXCL
‘Even [other] people approach [my] adorable, darling beloved!’

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
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<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8-17: Total attestations of the restrictive particle \(\text{sape}\) across the provinces

8.6 Desiderative particle \(\text{moNka}[mo]\)

The desiderative particle \(\text{moNkamo}\) and its shortened variant \(\text{moNka}\)^{278} simply indicate desire. It appears to only indicate the speaker’s desire. It precedes the emphatic particle ya when the two occur in the same line.

154. 20:4325.1-2 - Töpotuapumi
知々波々母 / 波奈尔\(\text{母我毛}\)
titi papa mö / pana n-i \(\text{mōNkanmō}\) ya
father mother FPT / blossom COP-INF DPT EPT
‘[I] want [my] father and mother to be flowers!’

155. 14:3436.5 – Kamitukeno
登許波尔\(\text{毛我母}\)
tōkö-pa n-i \(\text{mwoNkanmō}\)
constant-leaf COP-INF DPT
‘[I] want [there] to be eternal leaves.’

156. 20:4406.1-2 – Kamitukeno
和我伊波吕尔 / 由加毛比等\(\text{母我}\)
wa-Nka ipa-rō-ni / yuk-am-wo pyitö \(\text{mōNka}\)
1.S-POSS home-DIM-LOC / go-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘[I] want someone who would go to my dear home.’

^{278} The term ‘shortened variant’ is strictly in a synchronic sense. Historically, \(\text{moNkamo}\) is the variant, and it is an extended one.
157. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu
布奈可射里 / 安我世莽比呂乎 / 美毛比等母我毛
puna-kaNsar-i / a-Nka se-m-u pyi-rō-wo / myi-m-wo pyitō möNkamwo
boat-decorate-NML / 1.S-POSS do-TENT-ATTR day-DIM-ACC / see-TENT-ATTR person DPT
‘[I] want someone [there] who will see the special day when I do the boat-decorating.’

158. 20:4383.5 – Simotukeno
阿母我米母我母
aMÖ-Nka mey möNkamō
mother-POSS eye DPT
‘[I] long for [my] mother’s eyes.’

159. 20:4366.1-2 – Pitati
比多知散思 / 由可牟加里母我
pyitati sas-i / yuk-am-u kari mōNka
PN point_toward-INF / go-TENT-ATTR wild_geese DPT
‘[I] wish there were wild geese that would go toward Pitati!’

160. 14:3448.3-5 – UD
乎那能乎能 / 比自尔都麻提 / 伎美我与母賀母
wona-nō wo-nō / pyiNsi-ni tuk-u-maNte / kyimy-Nka yō möNkamō
PN-GEN mountain_ridge-GEN / sandbar-LOC reach-ATTR-TERM / lord-POSS life DPT
‘[I] want [my] lord’s life [to be] until the Wona mountain ridge reaches a sandbar.’

161. 14:3567.4-5 – UD
安都佐能由美乃 / 由都可尔母我毛
aNtusa-nō yumy-nō / yu-tuka n-i möNkamwo
catalpa-GEN bow-GEN / bow-grip COP-INF DPT
‘[I] want [her] to be the grip of [my] catalpa bow.’

Table 8-18: Total attestations of the desiderative particle moNka[mo] across the provinces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

840
8.7 Possible negative particle sömo

The possible negative particle sömo is attested only once, and it is somewhat controversial. The possibility of sömo being a negative particle was first suggested by Alexander Vovin (p.c.). He views it as possibly being a loan from the Ainu negation particle somo. I view this as a realistic possibility, which is why I refer to this particle as a ‘possible’ negative particle. However, this analysis is not without problems.

Alternatively this particle could be interpreted as sö-m-o ‘do-TENT-ATTR’ with a dialectal use of the verb stem sö- ‘do,’ or it could be interpreted as the combination of the particles sö ‘FPT’ and mo ‘EPT.’ The verbal ending -Npa on the preceding verb stem kwopu- ‘long for’ in the example is unclear (it looks like the conditional suffix -[a]Npa, but such an analysis makes little sense in the context), thus obscuring any definitive analysis. The example follows below, with a possible, though admittedly speculative, translation provided.

162. 14:3382.5 – Kamitupusa
汝者故布婆曽母
NA PA kwopu-Npa sömō
2.S TPT long_for-UNC NPT
‘Will you long for me, or not?’

8.8 Ironic particle Nkape

The ironic particle Nkape seems to indicate irony the same way that the evidential verb plus question particle ya combination does in WOJ and EOJ. It is unattested in WOJ. All attested examples follow below.

163. 14:3420.4-5 – Kamitukeno
於也波佐久礼騰 / 和波左可流賀倍
oya pa sak-ure-Ntō / wa pa sakar-u Nkapey
parents TPT keep_apart-EV-CONC / 1.S TPT be.far_from-ATTR IPT
‘Although [our] parents keep [us] apart, will I stay away [from you]? [no, I will not.]’

164.  14:3502.4-5 – UD
tösi sapey köNkötö / wa pa sakar-u Nkapey
year RPT greatly / 1.S TPT be_far_from-ATTR IPT
‘Will I be away from [her] for many years? [no, I will not.]’

165.  20:4429.1-3 - UD
uma-ya-n[i] ar-u / napa tat-u kwo-[u]ma-nö / okur-u Nkapeye
horse-house-LOC exist-ATTR / rope cut-ATTR DIM-horse-GEN / remain-ATTR IPT
‘Would a stallion that has broken the ropes in [his] stable remain [there]? [no, it would not.]’

Table 8.19: Total attestations of the ironic particle Nkape across the province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sin</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Su</th>
<th>Kak</th>
<th>Mu</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Mi</th>
<th>Sik</th>
<th>Pi</th>
<th>Sip</th>
<th>Kap</th>
<th>UD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 9 – Unclear elements in the corpus

There are many troublesome sections of the poems that have remained unclear, due to being attested only once or twice in the corpus, and having no parallel in WOJ, Ryukyuan languages, or later forms of Japanese. Most of these elements have been completely excluded from the previous chapters on morphology, which is why I present a dedicated discussion of them in this chapter. I present all such cases below, and discuss the possibilities of their origins and meanings. This chapter does not aim to solve any problems, and indeed, if I were very confident of any of the analyses proposed below they would not be ‘unclear.’ However, presenting all possible analyses that are reasonably plausible may be helpful for further research, which is why I present them here.

All attestations are phonographic, not semantographic. Segments in parentheses are external elements to be ignored in terms of the root being compared, and are included solely due to their presence in a phonogram in an attested form.

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanumaNtuku</td>
<td>可奴麻豆久  — 14:3409.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This example may consist of a noun *kanuma*, followed by the genitive -N-, comparative -N-, or locative -N-, and the verb *tuk-* ‘reach,’ or *tuk-* ‘breathe.’ Compare *ikyi-N-tuk-u* [breath-LOC-breathe-ATTR] ‘sigh’ in 14:3388.4 – Pitati.
The form *twora* is attested twice, and may include the plural or diminutive *-ra*, but the element *tvo* is obscure – it is possibly a word for ‘girl’\(^{279}\) (Mizushima 1996: 113).

Further complicating matters is that in both attestations it occurs after the causative form (*-sime*) of the verb *ne- ‘sleep,’* which may indicate it is actually a verbal auxiliary. I could find no plausible source of borrowing in any surrounding languages.

This almost certainly contains a verb root, as it precedes *pyítő tô* [person COP/DV/FPT/-COM] in the line and appears to end in the attributive *-u*. One possibility is that it is *ota* *pap-u*, where *pap-u* is the attributive form of ‘crawl,’ and *ota* is the Ainu word ‘sandy beach.’ Thus, the line would translate to ‘a person crawls on the sandy beach,’ or ‘crawling with a person on a sandy beach.’

\(^{279}\) Also cf. 20:4401.3 from Sinano, where the word *kwo-ra* ‘girl-DIM’ in NHB is written *tôra* in GK.
One possibility is that this is *a-ni* [1.S-DAT] *kuyasi* ‘regret,’ and some unknown element
*Ntuku*. There are several problems with this, however: the form *a-ni*  ‘1.S-DAT’ is
unattested in EOJ; *kuyasi* ‘regret’ preceding a prenasalized voiced onset of another root is
quite odd; it does not make much sense in the context of the poem.

Another possibility is that this is an EOJ interrogative pronoun *ani* ‘what; why,’
corresponding to WOJ *nani* ‘id.’ The line would then basically translate to ‘why do [I]
regret it?’ This would work on a phonological basis, since other interrogative pronouns in
EOJ lack a nasal initial in comparison to their WOJ cognates (cf. EOJ *aNse* ‘why’ and
WOJ *naNsö* ‘id.’). However, we are faced with a form *ani* unattested in all of Old
Japanese, as well as the dangling *Ntuku* for which there is no explanation.

---

(4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
<th>Phonograms</th>
<th>Morphemic gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>anikuyasiNtuku</em></td>
<td>阿尓久夜斯</td>
<td>－</td>
<td>14:3411.4</td>
<td>Kak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>豆久&lt;sup&gt;280&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
<th>Phonograms</th>
<th>Morphemic gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ipawi</em></td>
<td>伊波為</td>
<td>－</td>
<td>14:3414.4</td>
<td>Kak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>伊波為</td>
<td>14:3378.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>280</sup> This is the GK character. NHB has *し*. 

845
The term *ipawi* is attested twice. In both occurrences it precedes the word *tura* ‘vine.’

While it could be a name for a particular type of vine, it may simply be *ipa-wi* ‘rock-be.located.INF.’ In other words, *ipawi tura* would mean ‘a vine that is located on a rock.’

(6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonograms</strong></td>
<td><strong>Morphemic gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ikapo seywo</em></td>
<td>伊可保世欲</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This line is the first of three obscure lines from the Kamitukeno poem 14:3419, which is probably the most difficult poem in the entire corpus to analyze and translate. The other two lines are presented in succession in examples (7) and (8) below.

This line clearly contains the place name *ikapo* but *seywo* is difficult to discern. One possibility is it is *se* ‘beloved man’ and *ywo*, a misspelling of the emphatic particle *yö*. However, all other attestations of the emphatic particle *yö* occur sentence final after the predicate verb, and never after a noun (see section 8.3.5), so this explanation should probably be abandoned. The emphatic particles *ya* or *ye* would fit well here on a functional basis, but explaining the vowel /o/ in this one attestation is quite difficult. Perhaps it is simply an emphatic particle *ywo* attested in this one example? The emphatic particle *ye* is similarly only attested once.

Another possibility is that the -ywo is the ablative marker, thus *ikapo se-ywo* ‘PN beloved_man-ABL’ would translate to ‘from [my] Ikapo lover.’ As the rest of the poem is unclear, it is difficult to tell if this interpretation of the line fits.
This line is very hard to interpret, and it is also the only line in the corpus that possibly uses a dissyllabic *kungana* phonogram (and not one, but two!). Mizushima (1996: 116) suggests the *naka* is *na-ka* ‘2S-POSS,’ but it is difficult to find a plausible analysis for the rest of the line.

Mizushima (1996: 116) proposes this is *kuma kōsō situto* ‘crossing the hidden place [in the mountains].’ Below, I offer a possible morphemic analysis of Mizushima’s proposal:

\[
\textit{kuma kōs-ō s-i-tutō} \\
\text{hidden.place cross-ATTR do-INF-COOR}
\]

In this case the attributive -o on *kōs-* ‘cross’ would act as a nominalizer, thus ‘while doing the crossing of the hidden place.’ This patterns well with the next line in the poem, which translates to ‘I will not be forgetting [you]!’ However, this is grammatically strange, as there are no other attested instances of an attributive verb functioning as the object of another verb without an accusative suffix (cf. 20:4381.4 – Simotukeno), and all
other examples of verbs directly preceding se- ‘do’ are nominalized with the nominalizer -i. There is also no attested form -tutö for the coordinative gerund, though it does have a range of attested forms (-tutu, -tusi, and -tötö), so another dialect variant is not out of the question. Another phonetic problem is the fact that ‘cross’ is kwos-, not kös-, and these vowels usually are not misspelled after velar-initials in EOJ. All of these problems add up to an unclear picture for this line.

(9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tapamyi-N-tura</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonograms</td>
<td>Morphemic gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>多波美豆良</td>
<td>UNC-GEN/COP. ATTR-vine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Tapamyi* may just be the name of a type of vine, but it is unclear.

(10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kōN-tökyi-ni</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonograms</td>
<td>Morphemic gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>許騰伎尔</td>
<td>UNC-time-LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is helpful to see the first two lines of this poem to understand this example, so I present them below:

14:3506.1-2 – UD

尔比牟路能 / 許騰伎尔伊多礼婆
nipyi murwo-nö / kōN-tökyi-ni itar-e-Npa
new outer_building-GEN / UNC-GEN-time-LOC reach-EV-CONJ
‘Since [we] have reached the time of [completing] the new outer building…’
This may be a contracted form of the modifying demonstrative pronoun Könö ‘this.’

(11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>netukwo-N-kusa</td>
<td>UNCGEN?/COP. ATTR?-grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14:3508.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form netukwo may be the name of a type of grass, but it is unclear.

(12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kōtetaNsukumwoka</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14:3553.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I am unable to offer any plausible analysis for the line kōtetaNsukumwoka. All I can offer is the mwoka could be a combination of two particles (focus particle mwo and question particle ka) or a misspelling of the desiderative particle moNka. Mizushima (1996: 173) gives a number of implausible analyses from Japanese commentators, but similarly offers no analysis of this line.
The form *söwapye* appears to be an evidential form of the verb with a misspelling of *pye* instead of *pey*, as the following particle *kamwo* can trigger the evidential on the preceding verb\(^{281}\). If so, the root would be *söwap-* . Taking this analysis, and looking at the entire poem, we see the following picture:

b. 14:3566 – UD  
和伎毛古尓 / 安我古非思奈婆 / 曽和敝可毛 / 加未尔於保世牟 / 己許呂思良受弖  
wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-ni / a-Nka kwopi-sin-aNpa / *söwap-ye* kamwo / kamiy-ni opose-m-u / kökörö sir-aNs-u-te  
‘If I die from longing for my darling girl, [I] wonder if [I] will ???? and blame the gods, without knowing [her] feelings.’  

However, without a meaning for *söwap-* , line 4 still remains unclear.

\(^{281}\) This is a feature of EOJ grammar unattested in WOJ. See section 8.3.1 for more discussion.

---

**Example** | **Phonograms** | **Phonemic gloss** | **Book:Poem. Line** | **Provinces**
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
**söwapye** | 曽和敝 | – | 14:3566.3 | UD

**Example** | **Phonograms** | **Phonemic gloss** | **Book:Poem. Line** | **Provinces**
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
**kwopuNpa** | 故布婆 | – | 14:3382.5 | Kap
14:3382.5 – Kamitupusa
汝者故布婆曾母
NA PA kwopu-Npa sömö
2.S TPT love-UNC NPT?
‘Will you love [me], or not?’

The -Npa looks like the conditional gerund Npa, but a conditional gerund makes no sense in this line of the poem.
Chapter 10 – Dialect taxonomy

In this chapter, I will use innovations in phonology, morphology, and the lexicon to group the provinces into three dialect groups: COJ, Töpo-Suruga, and true EOJ.

10.1 Central Old Japanese dialect

I classify Sinano as a Central Old Japanese (COJ) dialect due to the fact it does not share the core set of innovations of the Töpo-Suruga dialect or the true EOJ dialects, and geographically it is presumed to have been a neighbor to COJ dialects.

In regard to phonological innovations, Sinano shows the raising of *o > u after /m/ in words that do not show vowel raising in WOJ or any other EOJ province, specifically körōmu ‘garment’ (compare WOJ körōmō ‘id.’) and kumu ‘cloud’ (compare WOJ kumwo ‘id.’).

Sinano also shows the sporadic or phonologically-conditioned centralization of *a > /ə/. This is also found in some true EOJ dialects, so this may have been a feature Sinano acquired from neighboring Kamitukeno province. On the other hand, it occurs in different words in Sinano and Kamitukeno, so they may have been independent developments. Its other innovations (vowel raising and labialization of *ɔ > /ɔ/ after [+labial] consonant onsets) were likely shared with neighboring COJ dialects to the West.

The word for ‘mother’ in Sinano is omo. Japonic papa ‘mother’ is unattested.

There are no attested Ainu loanwords in this dialect.
10.2 Töpo-Suruga dialect

The Töpo-Suruga (TS) dialect, as the name suggests, consists of the language attested in the poems of Töpotuapumi and Suruga provinces. This dialect has an important innovation not found in WOJ, COJ, or t-EOJ: the contraction of *əy > /ə/.\(^{282}\)

This led to a three-way merger in labial-initial syllables, as original *mə and *məy merged with /mo/ and original *pə and *pəy merged with /po/ subsequent to this contraction. As this contraction must have happened directly after a split from PJn, I view TS as a separate branch from Proto-Japanese. Suruga also shows the contractions of *ia > /i/, *au > /a/, *ua > /u/, and *uy > u.

The verbal progressive suffix attested in Suruga is -ir-. This is attested in no other EOJ province, nor in WOJ.

A verbal infinitive -e is attested once in Suruga. As the reconstruction of a PJn infinitive *e is not plausible, this may be an innovative vowel lowering in Suruga.

The attributive allomorphs attested in TS are -uru and -u.\(^{283}\) The latter of the two is the product of an innovative raising of PJn *o > /u/. Similarly innovative is the attested adjectival verb attributive -ki, a raising of PJn *ke > /ki/. Both of these innovations are found in WOJ, pointing to this raising being an areal feature that spread east through the Töpo-Suruga group.

The word for ‘what’ is attested as nani in Töpotuapumi. This is the same as the WOJ form, and it is attested in no other EOJ province.

\(^{282}\) There is one possible example of this contraction in Sinano (COJ) described in section 2.5.1.3.4, but I do not feel comfortable grouping Sinano with the TS dialect based solely on this, as it does not share the other features of the TS group and the one possible example of contraction could be the result of something different.

\(^{283}\) There is one possible attestation of an attributive -o in Suruga.
The word for ‘mother’ in TS is attested many times as *papa*, but not once as *amo* or *omo*.

There are no attested Ainu loanwords in this dialect.

Lastly, it appears Suruga was already a distinct subdialect in this group, as it shows a denasalization of *ŋd > /d/* and a merger of *ə > /e/* after [-labial, -velar] consonants, which cannot be found in Töpotuapumi.

### 10.3 True EOJ dialects

I classify the “true” EOJ dialects (t-EOJ) as the language varieties attested in Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Mitinöku, Simotukeno, Pitati, Simotupusa, and Kamitupusa provinces. T-EOJ dialects are those that have innovations not found in WOJ, COJ (Sinano), or the Töpo-Suruga dialect. I will list these innovations below.

In regard to phonological innovations, we find a merger of *i > /i/* in Kamitukeno, Simotukeno, and Kamitupusa. The merger of *ɔy (or *ay) > /e/* is found in Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Mitinöku, Simotukeno, Pitati, Simotupusa, and Kamitupusa, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ. We see a sporadic or phonologically conditioned vowel centralization of *a > /ə/* in Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Simotupusa, and Kamitupusa (it should be noted this is also attested in Sinano (COJ dialect)). Lastly, the contraction of *uy > /u/* is attested in Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Pitati, Simotupusa, and Kamitupusa (it should be noted this is also attested in Suruga (TS dialect)).

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284 I am forced to use a different abbreviation to differentiate this dialect group from the term ‘EOJ,’ in order to avoid confusion. As stated at the beginning of this dissertation, ‘EOJ’ refers to all of the provinces attested in the Azuma uta and Sakimori uta in the MYS. In other words, all fourteen provinces in the Azuma region, eleven of which are analyzed in this dissertation. ‘t-EOJ’ refers to the eight provinces that I consider to be “linguistically EOJ.”
In regard to morphological innovations, the comparative -nōsu is attested in t-EOJ dialects (Kamitukeno, Muzasi, and Simotukeno), but nowhere else. The diminutive -rō is also only attested in t-EOJ dialects (Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Simotukeno, Pitati, and Kamitupusa). However, this form may be a retention, rather than an innovation, as while it is unattested in the WOJ MYS poems, it does occur once in NK 3 (Vovin 2005a: 210).

The ordering of the negative and iterative verbal suffixes as -NEG-ITER- only occurs in t-EOJ dialects (Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Mitinōku, Simotukeno, and Pitati) – compare the WOJ order of -ITER-NEG-. This points to an independent grammaticalization of the iterative suffix in Proto-t-EOJ.

The tentative 2 suffix -unam-, which shows a regressive nasal assimilation, is attested in Sagamu and Simotupusa. In comparison, the WOJ tentative 2 form -uram- is not attested in t-EOJ, though it is attested in the TS dialect.

The verbal progressive suffix -ar- is attested only in Kamitukeno, Simotukeno, Pitati, Simotupusa, and Kamitupusa, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ.

The interrogative pronouns aNse ‘why’ and aNtó ‘what’ are only attested in t-EOJ dialects (Kamitukeno, Sagamu, Muzasi, and Pitati).

The conjunction siNta ‘when’ (an Ainu loan) is attested in Kamitukeno, Sagamu, and Pitati, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ.

The adverb su ‘again’ (also an Ainu loan) is attested in Sagamu and Simotupusa, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ.

The word taywora ~ tayura ‘shaking’ is attested only in Sagamu and Pitati, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ.
The form *ipa ‘home’ (cf. WOJ *ipye ‘id.’) is attested in Kamitukeno, Muzasi, and Simotukeno, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ. This is a result of a contraction of Proto-t-EOJ *ia > a.

The emphatic particle na occurring after the desiderative -ana is attested in Kamitukeno and Muzasi, but nowhere outside of t-EOJ.

I split the t-EOJ dialects into four dialect groups, and the unique innovations of each are described below.

10.3.1 Northwestern EOJ (NW-EOJ)

I classify the language variety attested in the corpus of Kamitukeno province as NW-EOJ. In regard to possible phonological innovations, the number ‘one’ is attested in Kamitukeno once as *pyita. This form is attested nowhere else in EOJ or WOJ, where we only find *pyitö ‘one.’

In terms of morphological innovations, Kamitukeno is the only EOJ province to have a diminutive -nö. Similarly, a locative -na is attested in Kamitukeno, but is attested neither in WOJ nor in any other EOJ province. Some Ryukyuan languages have a locative -na(a) (Vovin 2005a: 151-2), however, so this may be a retention rather than an innovation.

Kamitukeno is the only province to have a verbal attributive allomorph -oro. This is probably the result of an innovative lowering of the vowels in the attributive allomorph -uru, as it would be difficult to reconstruct an attributive *oro for PJn.

Kamitukeno has an emphatic particle we that is attested neither in WOJ nor in any other EOJ province.
Lastly, Kamitukeno is the only EOJ province to have the ironic particle *Nkapey. This particle is not attested in WOJ.

10.3.2 Southwestern EOJ (SW-EOJ)

I classify Sagamu as SW-EOJ. While showing a number of innovations that firmly place it in the t-EOJ group, Sagamu shows few distinct innovations unattested in other provinces. It is the only EOJ province with the word ‘sea’ attested as *una- (compare WOJ *una- ‘id.’), the noun *kaNtu ‘mulberry,’ and the verb *kaNtus- ‘entice.’

The word for ‘mother’ in Sagamu is *papa.

10.3.3 Central EOJ (C-EOJ)

I classify Simotukeno, Muzasi, Pitati, Simotupusa as C-EOJ. The most characteristic phonological innovation of this dialect group is the conditioned merger of *t > s / _i, which occurs in all four C-EOJ provinces and does not occur any other OJ language variety.

Simotukeno and Simotupusa share the fortition of *nź (or *s) > /t/ in a focus particle. Simotupusa also shows the denasalizations of *nď > /d/ and *ṅg > /g/, which may indicate it was already a distinct subdialect of this group. Supporting evidence for this proposition is the fact that the retrospective -kar- is attested in Simotupusa, but in no other EOJ province.

Muzasi is the only EOJ province with the adjectival verb nominalizer -key (a nominalizer that survived into MJ and beyond, as -ge) and the verbal imperative -rō (which survives in MdJ as -ro).
The word for ‘mother’ is amo in Simotukeno, but both papa and omo are attested for ‘mother’ in Simotupusa. The word for ‘father’ is sisi (compare Japonic titi ‘id.’) in this dialect group.

10.3.4 Northeastern EOJ (NE-EOJ)

While Mitinöku is clearly part of the t-EOJ group, it is hard to further classify due to its small corpus consisting of just two poems with Eastern linguistic features. It does not show any innovations exclusive to the other t-EOJ dialect groups (SW-EOJ, C-EOJ, SE-EOJ, or NW-EOJ). It is the only province with the verb ser- ‘deviate.’

Mitinöku is also the only EOJ province with an attestation of the verb ok- ‘put’ grammaticalized as an auxiliary, but this appears to be a retention as it is found in WOJ and Ryukyuan languages (Vovin 2009a: 1098-99).

10.3.5 Southeastern EOJ (SE-EOJ)

I classify the language of Kamitupusa province as SE-EOJ. Its characteristic phonological innovations include a sporadic fortition of *w > /p/ along with a denasalization of *n > /l/. The latter feature is shared with Simotupusa province, which may show SE-EOJ stretched to the North into southern Simotupusa. At the very least, this is an areal feature shared by both dialect groups.

We find a first person pronoun wanwo attested only in this province. This may be a retention, however, as Ryukyuan languages show a first person pronoun waN-.

An adjectival verb evidential -ka is attested in no EOJ province other than Kamitupusa.
The word for ‘mother’ in Kamitupusa is *papa*.

### 10.4 Conclusion

The linguistic evidence clearly points to the t-EOJ dialects beginning in the Western boundary of Kamitukeno, Muzasi, and Sagamu provinces, and extending eastward to the sea. A COJ dialect was spoken in Sinano province, while the TS dialect was spoken in the far Southwest area of the Azuma region. My proposed dialect areas are detailed in Figure 5 below:
While the t-EOJ boundary line in Figure 5 is of course far from exact (it is impossible to be exact), it has been implemented to give a general geographic sense of where the “true” EOJ dialects began.

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285 This map is a modified version of the one presented on http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Japan.svg
APPENDIX A: Phonographically exclusive EOJ roots, affixes, and particles

All roots phonographically attested in EOJ, but not WOJ, are listed alphabetically by their EOJ form, separated by part of speech. Whenever possible an internal or external etymology is given. Segments in parentheses are external elements to be ignored in terms of the root being compared, and are included solely due to their presence in a phonogram in an attested form.

While I include all EOJ roots that are not phonographically attested in WOJ, I also note those that are attested written in *kungana* in WOJ, as these are more revealing than semantographic attestations (a semantographic attestation can tell us nothing more than the number of syllables in the root, and even this is not necessarily accurate).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonograms</th>
<th>Morphemic gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem.Line</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(N) kupa</td>
<td>具波</td>
<td>mulberry</td>
<td>14:3350a.2</td>
<td>Pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aNsu</td>
<td>安受</td>
<td>crumbling_</td>
<td>14:3539.1</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>安受</td>
<td>cliffs</td>
<td>14:3541.1</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>asaNte$^{286}$</td>
<td>安佐提</td>
<td>hemp</td>
<td>14:3454.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>加</td>
<td>oar</td>
<td>20:4363.3</td>
<td>Pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kakey$^{287}$</td>
<td>加氣</td>
<td>vine</td>
<td>14:3573.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>可氣</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3573.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kaNtu</td>
<td>可頭</td>
<td>mulberry</td>
<td>14:3432.3</td>
<td>Sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>可豆</td>
<td></td>
<td>14.3432.5</td>
<td>Sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kapyerute</td>
<td>加敞流弖</td>
<td>maple_tree</td>
<td>14:3494.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>karasu</td>
<td>可良漊</td>
<td>crow</td>
<td>14:3521.1</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kasi$^{288}$</td>
<td>加志</td>
<td>walking</td>
<td>20:4417.5</td>
<td>Mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kukyi</td>
<td>久椳</td>
<td>nail</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>Sip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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$^{286}$ There is one purely *kungana* attestation of this in WOJ in MYS 16:3791.43.

$^{287}$ Only attested written in *kungana* in WOJ, but both attestations in EOJ are written with phonograms that indicate a voiceless medial /k/, while the WOJ form points to a prenasalized voiced medial.

$^{288}$ MJ form is *kati* ′id.'
<p>| | | | | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td>久留</td>
<td>pivot</td>
<td>20:4390.2</td>
<td>Sip</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>muNkyi</td>
<td>武藝</td>
<td>grain</td>
<td>14:3537.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ninwo</td>
<td>肥努</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>14:3351.5</td>
<td>Pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ninwo</td>
<td>肥努</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>14:3513.3</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>nwoNs</td>
<td>努自</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
<td>14:3414.2</td>
<td>Kak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pane</td>
<td>婆祢</td>
<td>stump (?)</td>
<td>14:3399.3</td>
<td>Sin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>swopyi</td>
<td>藁比</td>
<td>adjacent (side)</td>
<td>14:3435.2</td>
<td>Kak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>sōpo</td>
<td>曽保</td>
<td>red.soil</td>
<td>14:3560.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>tapamyi</td>
<td>多波美</td>
<td>UNC</td>
<td>14:3501.3</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>teNkwo</td>
<td>刃胡</td>
<td>maiden</td>
<td>14:3384.5</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ukyera</td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td>Atractylodes japonica</td>
<td>14:3376a.4</td>
<td>Mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3379.4</td>
<td>Mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>宇家良</td>
<td></td>
<td>14:3503.4</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>wase</td>
<td>和世</td>
<td>early_rice</td>
<td>14:3386.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>woNkiy</td>
<td>平疑</td>
<td>Amur_silver grass</td>
<td>14:3446.3</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ verb roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Phonograms</th>
<th>Morphemic gloss</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 atayum-(a)</td>
<td>be.ill-</td>
<td>20:4382.3</td>
<td>Sik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 itaNpur-(a)</td>
<td>tremble-get_chapped-</td>
<td>14:3550.4</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kakar-(u)</td>
<td>可加流</td>
<td>14:3459.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kaNtus-(a)</td>
<td>可豆佐</td>
<td>14:3432.4</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 maywop-(yi)</td>
<td>麻欲比</td>
<td>14:3453.5</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 niNkōr-(e)</td>
<td>be.dirty-</td>
<td>14:3544.2</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 nōt-(a)</td>
<td>乃多</td>
<td>14:3444.4</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 otapap-(u)</td>
<td>於多波布</td>
<td>UNC-</td>
<td>14:3518.4</td>
<td>UD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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289 MJ form is *nuno* 'cloth.'
290 The meaning is somewhat unclear, and it is a *hapax legomenon*. It may include the root *ne* 'root.'
291 May be the name of a type of vine, or the name of a place from which such a vine originates.
292 May be a borrowing of Ainu *tek-o* 'embraced-person.' Alternatively, it could be a contraction of Japonic *te-nō kwo* 'hand-GEN girl.'
293 Contraction of *wo-na-N-kiy* 'DIM-water-GEN-leek.' Also cf. EOJ *kwonaNkiy* 'water plants.'
294 May be *ata-yum- with a prefix ata- and a root *yum-* that corresponds to WOJ *yam-* 'be.ill.'
295 There is one *kungana* attestation of *mayup-* 'fray' in WOJ (in 11:2609.2), which shows a raised vowel.
296 Might be related to WOJ *mit-* 'id.'
297 May contain Ainu *ota* 'sandy beach.'
### Phonographically exclusive EOJ adjective and adjectival verb roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
<th>Phonograms</th>
<th>Morphemic gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ayapa</td>
<td>dangerous, 14:3541.3</td>
<td>安也波</td>
<td>dangerous</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ayapo-</td>
<td>be., Dangerous- 14:3539.3</td>
<td>安夜抱</td>
<td>be.</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masaNte₂⁹⁸</td>
<td>certain, 14:3521.3</td>
<td>麻左侩</td>
<td>certain</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pususa</td>
<td>many, 14:3484.2</td>
<td>布湏左</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 seNpa-²⁹⁹</td>
<td>be.narrow-, 14:3507.1</td>
<td>世婆</td>
<td>be.narrow-</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sipopo</td>
<td>soaked, 20:4357.4</td>
<td>志保々</td>
<td>soaked</td>
<td>Kap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tayura</td>
<td>shaking, 14:3392.4</td>
<td>多由良</td>
<td>shaking</td>
<td>Pi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 taywora</td>
<td>shaking, 14:3368.4</td>
<td>多欲良</td>
<td>shaking</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 yapara</td>
<td>soft, 14:3498.2</td>
<td>夜波良</td>
<td>soft</td>
<td>UD</td>
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### Phonographically exclusive EOJ adverbs

<table>
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<th>Morphemic gloss</th>
<th>Book:Poem. Line</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 köNkötö</td>
<td>greatly, 14:3502.4</td>
<td>己其登</td>
<td>greatly</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sapaNta³⁰⁰</td>
<td>many, 14:3354.3</td>
<td>佐波太</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>To</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 simaraku³⁰¹</td>
<td>for_await, 14:3471.1</td>
<td>思麻良久</td>
<td>for_awhile</td>
<td>UD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 su³⁰²</td>
<td>again, 14:3363.3</td>
<td>須</td>
<td>again</td>
<td>Sa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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²⁹⁸ cf. WOJ masa ‘id.’
²⁹⁹ MJ form is sema- ‘id.’
³⁰⁰ cf. WOJ sapa ‘id.’
³⁰¹ cf. WOJ simasi ‘id.’
³⁰² From Ainu suy ‘again.’
## Phonographically exclusive EOJ particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phonograms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nkapey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sömö³⁰³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>we</td>
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## Phonographically exclusive EOJ conjunctions

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>siNta³⁰³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>之太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>思太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>思太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>之太</td>
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<td></td>
<td>之太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>之太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>之太</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>思太</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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³⁰³ From Ainu *somo* ‘not’?
³⁰³⁴ This form is unclear, and indeed, it may not be a NPT.
³⁰³⁵ From Ainu *hi-ta* ‘time-LOC.’
APPENDIX B: EOJ roots attested in WOJ with a different phonological form

In this section all roots phonographically attested in EOJ and WOJ, but with a different phonological form than that of WOJ, are listed alphabetically by their EOJ form, separated by part of speech. All attestations are phonographic, not semantographic. Segments in parentheses are external elements to be ignored in terms of the root being compared, and are included solely due to their presence in a phonogram in an attested form.

For many of the forms, explanations for why they are different are described in detail in chapter 2. Additional comments have been added here when deemed necessary or useful.

Some things are not included, these include: pronouns, affixes, and auxiliaries. All of those are described in detail in the previous chapters. I also exclude all of the many forms that include, from the perspective of WOJ, a ‘misspelled’ vowel or a ‘misspelled’ prenasalized voiced or voiceless consonant. All such apparent ‘misspellings’ are analyzed and described in Chapter 2, where I conclude that in some provinces they are indicative of vowel mergers or denasalized consonants, but in other provinces they are indicative of true misspellings.
### Phonologically different EOJ noun roots

<table>
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</tr>
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<td>Morphemic gloss</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>iku</td>
<td>伊久</td>
<td>breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>imu</td>
<td>伊牟</td>
<td>beloved_ girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>maywo</td>
<td>麻欲</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{306}\) The form *ikiy* ‘breath’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{307}\) The form *imo* ‘beloved girl’ is also attested multiple times in EOJ.

\(^{308}\) The form *ipye* ‘home’ is also attested multiple times in EOJ.

\(^{309}\) The form *kama* ‘duck’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{310}\) The form *kaNtwo* ‘gate’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{311}\) The form *kaya* ‘reed’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{312}\) The form *kökörí* ‘heart’ is also attested many times in EOJ.

\(^{313}\) The form *kumo* ‘cloud’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{314}\) The form *ywo* ‘night’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{315}\) The form *yukyì* ‘snow’ is also attested in EOJ.

\(^{316}\) The form *oNpyi* ‘sash’ is also attested in EOJ.
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</table>

<sup>317</sup> The form myiNtu ‘water’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>318</sup> The form uma ‘horse’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>319</sup> The form ura ‘fortunetelling’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>320</sup> The form muta ‘together_with’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>321</sup> Both forms napa and napey are also attested in EOJ.
<sup>322</sup> The form nwo ‘field’ is also attested many times in EOJ.
<sup>323</sup> This form is attested once in WOJ, but not in the WOJ poems of the MYS. It is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>324</sup> The form iswo ‘rock’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>325</sup> The form pa ‘leaf’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>326</sup> Attested just once, in Harima FK.
<sup>327</sup> The form pyito ‘one; person’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>328</sup> The form sakyimori ‘border guard’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>329</sup> The form siri ‘behind’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>330</sup> This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of */t > s/ _i.
<sup>331</sup> I view this word’s phonemic form to be /teti/.
<sup>332</sup> The form titi ‘father’ is also attested numerous times in EOJ.
Phonologically different EOJ verb roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Attestation</th>
<th>WOJ form</th>
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<td>加比利</td>
<td>return-</td>
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<td>go_back_and_forth-</td>
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<sup>334</sup> This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of *t > s / _i.
<sup>335</sup> The form *tuti ‘earth’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>336</sup> There is only one attestation in WOJ (in 16.3832.2), and it is partially in kungana.
<sup>337</sup> The form *una ‘sea’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>338</sup> Contracted form only attested in EOJ.
<sup>339</sup> While this form orthographically lacks a morpheme-final prenasalization, this is probably due to a misspelling in the text.
<sup>340</sup> The form *yumyi ‘bow’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>341</sup> This appears to be an adverb (aywo or aywo-aywo), only attested in Izumo FK. No form aywok- is attested in WOJ. The MJ form is ayuk-.
<sup>342</sup> The form kapyer- ‘return’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>343</sup> The form kaywop- ‘go back and forth’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>344</sup> The form kwoye- ‘cross’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>345</sup> The form kwopi- ‘long for’ is also attested in EOJ.
<sup>346</sup> This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of *t > s / _i.
<sup>347</sup> This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of *t > s / _i.
<sup>348</sup> The form mōt- ‘hold’ is also attested in EOJ.
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<th>Japanese Form</th>
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<td>myiNtare-</td>
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</table>

The form *wakare-* ‘be.separated’ is also attested in EOJ.

The form *pupum-* ‘be unopened’ is also attested in EOJ.

This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of *t > s / _i.*

This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of *t > s / _i.*

The form *tat-* ‘rise’ is also attested in EOJ.

The form *tönöNpyik-* ‘stream out’ is also attested in EOJ.

The form *tukey-* ‘tell’ is attested in EOJ.

The form *wasure-* ‘forget’ is also attested in EOJ.

This is a difficult correspondence. The original form of the verb may have been EOJ *yusup-*. The EOJ form is attested once, and it is preceded by the intensifying prefix *ma-*. The WOJ form *musuNp-* may just be an irregular contraction of *ma-yusu[N]/p-*. It is difficult to tell whether the WOJ prenasalization in the root is original or secondary.
### Phonologically different EOJ adjective and adjectival verb roots

<table>
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<td>Phonograms</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1  | kupusi- | 苦不志 | be.longing_for- | 20:4345.5 | Su | kwopysi-
| 2  | kwopusi- | 古布志 | be.longing_for- | 20:4419.5 | Mu | kwopysi-
| 3  | nipu | 尔布 | new | 14:3460.3 | UD | nipyi-
| 4  | sa- | 佐 | be.safe- | 20:4346.3 | Su | sakyi-
| 5  | sakey- | 佐氣 | be.safe- | 20:4368.2 Pi | 20:4372.14 Pi | sakyi-

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358 The form *kwopysi* ‘be longing for’ is also attested in EOJ (once).
359 The form *nipyi* ‘new’ is also attested in EOJ.
Appendix C – A new annotated EOJ corpus of the *Man’yōshū* compiled with the *Genryaku Kōhon* manuscript as the primary source

What follows below is the entire corpus that I compiled and annotated for this dissertation. It is the first modern annotated EOJ corpus that uses the *Genryaku Kōhon* (GK) manuscript as the primary source. This corpus is significantly different from the one Mizushima 1996 presents, which uses the *Nishi Honganji-Bon* (NHB) manuscript as the primary source. I felt a new corpus based on GK was necessary after examining GK and finding a variety of EOJ features that are not in NHB or later manuscripts, nor mentioned in Mizushima’s 1996 corpus as being such (he does, however, list all orthographic differences between extant manuscripts in copius footnotes). As modern linguists have based their research on EOJ on NHB or Mizushima’s corpus, I believe a new corpus based on GK will aid in advancing EOJ studies.

I used three other, secondary manuscripts, in the following decreasing order of priority: the NHB, the *Ruijū Koshū* (RK), and the *Kanda-Bon* (KB). GK is incomplete, as it is missing poems 14:3350a, 14:3507, 14:3508, 14:3509, 14:3511, 14:3512, 14:3555, 14:3556, 14:3557, 14:3563, 14:3566, 14:3572, and 14:3573. In addition, lines 4 and 5 of poem 14:3527 are missing from GK. For these poems I use NHB as the primary source, with the other two manuscripts as secondary sources. In rare instances, I use a form from a different, later manuscript, but there is always strong evidence accompanying these decisions.

I used the following methodology when compiling this corpus: first, when the characters are different yet homophonous in NHB and GK, I choose the GK character unless it is a rare variant or not a *Man’yōgana* phonogram listed in Omodaka et al 1967,
in which case the NHB form is used. Additionally, if both NHB and GK share an orthographic error but RK or KB appear to have the ‘correct’ form, I choose the form from one of those latter two manuscripts. Second, when a character differs between GK and NHB both orthographically and phonetically, I follow GK unless it clearly appears to be an error (for example, in instances where the poem makes no sense with the GK form, but does with the NHB form).

The poems are separated by province, with book 14 poems preceding those in book 20 within each provincial listing. All provincial poems are listed from lowest numbered to highest numbered. Just as in the previous sections of this dissertation, the provinces are listed from North to South and West to East, starting with Sinano province and ending with Kamitupusa province.

Each line of a poem is separated\textsuperscript{360}, with a transliteration provided immediately below. Every reading of a phonogram or semantogram is separated by orthographic white space. Thus, for example, the phonogram 奈 is transliterated as na, while the dissylabic phonogram 信 is transliterated as sina. The semantograms are written in uppercase in the transliteration line, so, for example, 葉 ‘leaf’ is transliterated as PA, while 道 ‘path’ is transliterated as MYITI. Kungana phonograms – which are phonograms whose readings correspond not to the phonetic value of how the character is pronounced in EMC, but rather to the phonetic value of the word in Japanese that corresponds to the meaning of the Chinese character – are written in lowercase italics. For example, the character 江 means ‘estuary’ or ‘inlet’ in Chinese, and is reconstructed as *kǎŋ in EMC. The EOJ

\textsuperscript{360} It should be mentioned that the original poems did not have any orthographic line divisions, as they were written in one uninterrupted line.
word with this meaning is ye. When 江 is used to write a ye syllable of a word that has no relation to the meaning ‘estuary’ or ‘inlet,’ it is being used as a *kunagana* phonogram.

In regard to the small number of phonograms in the corpus that also have quasi-semantographic value (specifically 河 Nka ‘river,’ 楊 ya ‘willow,’ 物 mo ‘thing,’ and 世 se ‘world’), phonographic usage always trumps semantographic usage in my transliterations. For example, when ‘river’ is written as 河泊 Nkapa or ‘willow tree’ is written as 楊奈疑 yanaNkiy, the first character of each can be interpreted as being semantographic, but they are also phonograms for the syllables Nka and ya. Due to this, I do not transliterate the first syllables of these words as if they are semantograms, as I think that they are used primarily as phonograms in such cases. The overlap in meaning is clearly intended as well, and it is indeed a clever exploitation of the orthography, but I do not think it is the primary reason why the character was chosen. I reserve semantographic attestations for those that are truly semantographic – in other words, there is no relationship between the meaning of the Chinese character chosen and its Chinese-based phonographic reading. In addition, true semantographic characters attested in EOJ may be used to signify EOJ words of more than one syllable (e.g. 道 MYITI ‘path’), whereas quasi-semantographic characters are not attested with this usage.

Rarely, characters appear to have been mistakenly written in the reverse order. In such cases I give the the linear reading in { }, with the ‘corrected’ reading following below, as follows:

賀由
{Nka yu}
yu Nka
Only the poems with EOJ features from book 14 are included. All of the EOJ poems from book 20 are included. Poems missing from GK are noted as such below.
14:3352 – Sinano

信濃奈流
sina nwo na ru

須我能安良能尔
su Nka nô a ra nô ni

保登等藝须
po tò tò Nkyi su

奈久許惠気波
na ku kò we kyi key pa

登伎須疑尔家里
tò kyi su Nkiy ni kye ri

14:3398 – Sinano

比等未奈乃
pyi tò miy na nô

許等波多由登毛
kò tò pa ta yu tò mwo

波尔思奈能
pa ni si na nô

伊思井乃手兒我
i si WI nô TE NKWO Nka

許登361奈多延曾祢
kò tò na ta ye sô ne

361 NHB has the homophonic 等 tò.
14:3399 – Sinano

信濃道者
sina nwo NTI PA

伊麻能波里美知
i ma nō pa ri myi ti

可里婆祢尔
ka ri Npa ne ni

安思布麻之牟奈
a si pu ma si mu na

久都波氣和我世
ku tu pa key wa Nka se

14:3400 – Sinano

信濃奈留
sina nwo na ru

知具麻能河泊
ti Nku ma nō Nka pa nō

左射礼思母
sa Nsa re si mö

伎弥之布美弖波
kyi myi si pu myi te pa

多麻等比呂波牟
ta ma tö pyi rō pa mu

---

362 GK has 奈牟 namu, but NHB and all other manuscripts have the opposite order 牟奈 muna (Mizushima 1996: 108). This is an instance where I follow NHB as I believe GK shows a mistake.

363 NHB has the homophonous 流 ru.

364 I use the NHB form here. GK has an obscure homophonic variant 伯 pa that appears to be unattested in WOJ (Omodaka et al 1967: 899). It is likely a mistake for 泊.

365 I follow KB and other later manuscripts here. NHB has an obscure homophonic variant 祢 myi. GK has 祢 ne, which looks like a mistake. This is a rare instance where I follow neither NHB nor GK.

366 NHB has 父 Npa.
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4401 – Sinano

可良己呂武
ka ra kō rō mu

尒等里都伎
su swo ni tö ri tu kyi

奈古
na kwo kwo ra wo

意伎弖曽伎怒
o kyi te sö kyi nwo ya

意母奈志
o mö na si ni si te

---

367 NHB has 茂 mo rather than 武 mu but I follow GK here, as it shows a vowel raising not in WOJ.
368 NHB has 曽 sō.
369 NHB has 苦 ku, but I follow GK as it shows an unraised vowel.
370 GK has 等 tö, which may also mean 'girl,' however, since this is unclear, I follow NHB here.
371 This character is in both GK and RK. NHB and KB have 奴 nu.
372 NHB has the homophonous 之 si.
20:4402 – Sinano

知波夜布

ti pa ya pu ru

賀美乃美佐賀尔

Nka myi nō myi sa Nka ni

奴佐麻都理

nu sa ma tu ri

伊波布伊能知波

i pa pu i nō ti pa

意毛知々可多米

o mwo ti ti ka ta mey

20:4403 – Sinano

意保枳

o po kyi myi nō

美己等可之古美

myi kō tō ka si kwo myi

阿乎久牟

a wo ku mu nō

等能久夜麻乎

tō nō Npyi ku ya ma wo

古与冗伎怒加牟

kwo yö te kyi nwo ka mu

373 I follow NHB here. GK has 美 mi, but I think this is an orthographic mistake.
374 NHB has the homophonous 里 ri.
375 NHB has the homophonous 負 pu.
376 NHB has 我 Nka.
377 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 覚, which is probably a mistake.
378 NHB has 毛 mwo.
379 等能 tōnō is found in GK and RK, which is what I follow here. NHB has 多奈 tana, with 等能 tōnō written to the left of it, indicating 多奈 tana is a mistake.
Töpotuapumi Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3354 – Töpotuapumi

伎倍比等乃
kyi pey pyi tö nö

萬太良夫須麻尔
ma Nta ra Npu su ma ni

和多佐波太
wa ta sa pa Nta

伊利奈麻之母乃
i ri na ma si mō nö

伊毛我乎杼許爾
i mwo Nka wo Ntö kö ni

14:3429 – Töpotuapumi

等保都安布美
tö po tu a pu myi

伊奈佐保曽江乃
i na sa po sō YE nö

水乎都380久思
MYI wo tu ku si

安礼乎多能米弖
a re wo ta nö mey te

安佐麻之物能乎
a sa ma si mo nö wo

---

380 GK has 手 TE, which is probably a mistake.
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4321 – Töpotuapumi

可之古伎夜
ta sī kwo kyi ya

美許等加我布理
myī kō tō ka Nka pu ri

阿須由利也
a su yu ri ya

加曳我牟381 多祢牟382
ka ye Nka mu ta ne mu

伊牟奈之爾志弖
i mu na si ni si te

20:4322 – Töpotuapumi

和我都麻波
wa Nka tu ma pa

伊多久古非383 良之
i ta ku kwo piy ra si

乃牟美豆384 尔
nō mu myī Ntu ni

加其佐倍美曳弖
ka Nkō sa pey myī ye te

余尔和須良礼受
yō ni wa su ra re Nsu

381 NHB and many other manuscripts have a 仄 i above this character (Mizushima 1996: 190).
382 NHB has 平 wo.
383 NHB has 比 pī.
384 I follow NHB here. GK has 川 tu, which looks like it is used quasi-semantographically in this example, as the character means ‘river’ in Chinese. 川 is not used as a phonogram in any other poem in the EOJ corpus.
20:4323 – Töpotuapumi

等伎騰吉乃
tō kyi Ntō kyi nō

波奈波左\(^{385}\)家登母
pa na pa sa kye Ntō mō

奈爾須礼曽
na ni su re sō

波々登布波奈乃
pa pa tō pu pa na nō

佐吉泥己受祁牟
sa kyi Nte kō Nsu kye mu

20:4324 – Töpotuapumi

等倍多保美
tō pey ta po myi

志留波乃伊宗等
si ru pa nō i swo tō

爾閇乃宇良等
ni pey nō u ra tō

安比弓之阿良婆\(^{386}\)
a pyi te si a ra Npa

己等母加由波牟
kō tō mō ka yu pa mu

\(^{385}\) NHB has the homophonous 佐 sa.
\(^{386}\) NHB has 波 pa.
20:4325 – Töpotuapumi

知々波々母
ti ti pa pa mö

波奈尔母我毛夜
pa na ni mö Nka mwo ya

久佐麻久良
ku sa ma ku ra

多妣波由久等母
ta Npyi pa yu ku tö mö

佐々己387弖由加牟
sa sa kō te yu ka mu

20:4326 – Töpotuapumi

父母我
TITI PAPA Nka

等能々志利弊乃
tö nō nō si ri pye nō

母々余具佐
mō mō yö Nku sa

母々与伊弖麻勢
mō mō yö i te ma se

和我伎多流麻弖
wa Nka kyi ta ru ma te

387 I follow NHB here. GK has 良, which is marked as a mistake in the manuscript. The scribe seems to have written sasara ‘little,’ and realized his mistake after the fact.
20:4327 – Töpotuapumi

和我都麻母
wa Nka tu ma mö

畫尔可伎等良无
WE ni ka kyi tö ra mu

伊豆麻母加
i Ntu ma mö ka

多妣由久阿礼波
ta Npyi yu ku a re pa

美都都志努波牟
myi tu tu si nwo pa mu

---

388 NHB has the homophonous 無 mu.
389 NHB has 比 pyí.
390 NHB has 婆 Npa.
391 NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.
Suruga Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3359a – Suruga

駿河能宇美
suru Nka nō u myi

於思敝尔於布流
o si pye ni o pu ru

波麻都豆良
pa ma tu Ntu ra

伊麻思乎多能美
i ma si wo ta nō myi

波播尔多我比奴
pa pa ni ta Nka pyi nu

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4337 – Suruga

美豆等利392乃
myi Ntu tö ri nö

多知能已蘓岐尔
ta ti nö i swo kyi ni

知々波々393尔
ti ti pa pa ni

毛能波須価尔豆
mwo nō pa su kye ni te

已麻叙久夜志伎
i ma Nsö ku ya si kyi

392 NHB has the homophonous 里 ri.
393 The phonographic form 知々波々 titi papa ‘father mother’ is only found in RK, so that is what I use here. GK and NHB have the semantograms 父母 TITI PAPA ‘father mother.’
20:4338 – Suruga

多々美気米
ta ta myi key mey

牟良自加已蘓乃
mu ra Nsi ka i swo nō

波奈利蘓乃
pa na ri swo nō

波々乎波奈例天
pa pa wo pa na re te

由久我加奈之佐
yu ku Nka ka na si sa

20:4339 – Suruga

久尓米具留
ku ni mey Nku ru

阿等利加麻氣利
a tō ri ka ma key ri

由伎米久
yu kyi mey ku ri

加比利久麻弖
ka pyi ri ku ma te ni

已波比弖麻多祢
i pa pyi te ma ta ne

---

394 NHB has the homophonic 弔 te.
395 NHB has 具 Nku.
396 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript, and thus the whole line in GK only has six phonograms rather than the expected seven (Mizushima 1996: 196), which is clearly a mistake.
20:4340 – Suruga

等知波々江
tō ti pa pa ye

已波比豆麻多祢
i pa pyi te ma ta ne

豆久志奈流
Ntu ku si na ru

美豆久白玉
myi Ntu ku SIRA TAMA

等里豆久麻弓尔
tō ri te ku ma te ni

20:4341 – Suruga

多知波奈能
ta ti pa na nō

美袁利乃佐刀尔
myi wo ri nō sa two ni

父乎於伎弓
TITI wo o kyi te

道乃長道波
MYITI nō NANKA TI pa

由伎加豆奴加
yu kyi ka te nu ka mwo

---

397等知 tōti ‘father’ is found in GK and RK. NHB has 知々 titi ‘father’.
398 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript (Mizushima 1996: 198).
20:4342 – Suruga

麻氣婆\(^{399}\)之良
ma key Npa si ra

寶米豆豆久利\(^{400}\)留
po mey te Ntu ku ri ru

等乃能其等
tö nö nö Nkö tö

已麻勢波々刀自
i ma se pa pa two Nsi

於米加波利勢受
o mey ka pa ri se Nsu

20:4343 – Suruga

和呂多比波
wa rö ta pyi pa

多比等於米保等
ta pyi tö o mey po tö

已比尓志弓
i pyi ní si te

古米知夜須良牟
kwo mey ti ya su ra mu

和加美可奈志母
wa ka myi ka na si mó

---

\(^{399}\) NHB has 波 pa.

\(^{400}\) NHB has 礼 re, but I go with GK here because it shows a raised vowel (or contracted diphthong) unattested in WOJ.
20:4344 – Suruga

和須良牟勲⁴⁰¹
wa su ra mu te

努由伎夜麻由伎
nwo yu kyi ya ma yu kyi

和例久礼等
wa re ku re tö

和我知々波々波⁴⁰²
wa Nka ti ti pa pa pa

和須例勢努加毛
wa su re se nwo ka mwo

20:4345 – Suruga

和伎米故等
wa kyi mey kwo tö

不多利和我見之
pu ta ri wa Nka MYI si

字知江須流
u ti ye su ru

々々河乃祢良波
su ru Nka nō ne ra pa

苦不志久米阿流可
ku pu si ku mey a ru ka

⁴⁰¹ I follow NHB here. GK has 豆 Ntu, which looks like a mistake.
⁴⁰² I follow NHB here. GK has the reduplication character 々 here.
知々波々我
ti ti pa pa Nka

可之良加伎奈弖
ka si ra ka kyi na te

佐久阿403例404弖405
sa ku a re te

伊比之氣等婆406是
i pyi si key tō Npa Nse

和須礼加祢豆407流
wa su re ka ne Ntu ru

---

403 NHB has the homophonous 安 a.
404 NHB has the homophonous 礼 re.
405 NHB has the homophonous 天 te.
406 NHB has 波 pa.
407 NHB has the kungana phonogram 津 tu.
Kamitukeno Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3402 – Kamitukeno

比能具礼尔
pyi nó Nku re ni

宇須比乃夜麻乎
u su pyi nó ya ma wo

古由流日波
kwo yu ru PYI pa

勢奈能我素佢母
se na nò Nka swo Nte mö

佐夜尔布良思都
sa ya ni pu ra si tu

14:3404 – Kamitukeno

可美都気努
ka myi tu key nwo

安蘓能麻素武良
a swo nò ma swo mu ra

可伎武太伎
ka kyi mu Nta kyi

奴礼枆408安加奴乎
nu re Ntö a ka nu wo

安枆409加安我世牟
a Ntö ka a Nka se mu

---
408 I follow NHB here. GK has 柵, which looks like a mistake.
409 I follow NHB here. GK has 柵, which looks like a mistake.
14:3405a – Kamitukeno

可美都気努  
ka myi tu key nwo

乎度能多杼  
wo Ntwo nö ta Ntö ri Nka

可波治尔毛  
kapa Nti ni mwo

兒良波安波奈毛  
KWO ra pa a pa na mwo

比等理能未思弖  
pyi tö ri nö miy si te

14:3405b – Kamitukeno

可美都気乃  
ka myi tu key nö

乎野乃多杼  
wo NWO nö ta Ntö ri Nka

安波治尔母  
a pa Nti ni mö

世奈波安波奈母  
se na pa a pa na mö

美流比登奈思尔  
myi ru pyi tö na si ni

410 I follow NHB here. GK has 扌, which looks like a mistake.
411 I follow NHB here. GK has 抜, which looks like a mistake.
412 I follow NHB here. GK has 由 yu, which is looks like a mistake.
14:3406 – Kamitukeno

可美都気野
ka myi tu key NWO

左野乃九久多知
sa NWO nö ku ku ta ti

乎里波夜志
wo ri pa ya si

安礼波麻多牟恵
a re pa ma ta mu we

許登之弥受登母
kö tö si myi Nsu tö mö

14:3408 – Kamitukeno

尓比多夜麻
ni pyi ta ya ma

祢爾波都可奈那
ne ni pa tu ka na na

和尔余曾利
wa ni yö sō ri

波之奈流兒良師
pa si na ru KWO ra si

安夜尓可奈思母
a ya ni ka na si mö

---

I follow RK here. NHB has 許 kö, with a character myi linked to it above the line, indicating 許 kö is a mistake.

NHB has 毛 mwo.
14:3409 – Kamitukeno

伊香保呂尔
i ka po rö ni

安麻久母伊都藝
a ma ku mō i tu Nkyi

可努麻豆久
ka nwo ma Ntu ku

比等登於多波布
pyi tö tō o ta pa pu

伊射祢志米刀羅
i Nsa ne si mey two ra

14:3410 – Kamitukeno

伊香保呂能
i ka po rō nō

薩比乃波里波良
swo pyi nō pa ri pa ra

祢毛己呂尔
ne mwo kō rō ni

於久乎奈加祢曽
o ku wo na ka ne sō

麻左可思余加婆
ma sa ka si yö ka Npa

415 NHB has 奴 nu.
14:3411 – Kamitukeno

多胡能祢尓
ta Nkwo nö ne ni

与西都奈波倍豆
yö se tu na pa pey te

与須礼騰毛
yö su re Ntö mwo

阿尔久夜斯豆久^{416}
a ni ku ya si Ntu ku

曽能可把^{417}与吉尔
sö nö ka po yö kyi ni

14:3412 – Kamitukeno

賀美都家野
Nka myi tu kye NWO

久路保乃祢呂乃
ku rwo po nö ne rö nö

久受葉我多
ku Nsu PA Nka ta

可奈師家児良尓
ka na si kye KWO ra ni

伊夜射可里久母
i ya Nsa ka ri ku mö

---

^{416} NHB has 之 si, which looks like an error.

^{417} I follow NHB here. GK has an interesting error of 於 o, which shows a lenition of intervocalic *p > w > zero before /o/, a sound change that had already been finalized before the GK manuscript was written. Probably an absent-minded mistake from the GK scribe who no longer had /w/ before /ol.
14:3413 – Kamitukeno

刀祢河泊乃
two ne Nka pa nó

可波世毛思良受
ka pa se mwo si ra Ñsu

多太和多里
ta Nta wa ta ri

奈美尔安布能须
na myi ni a pu nó su

安敝流伎美可母
a pye ru kyi myi ka mö

14:3414 – Kamitukeno

伊香保呂能
i ka po rö nó

夜左可能為提尔
ya sa ka nö wi Nte ni

多都努自能
ta tu nwo Ñsi nö

安良波路万代母
a ra pa rwo ma Nte mö

佐祢乎佐祢弖婆
sa ne wo sa ne te Npa

---

418 I use the NHB form here. GK has the homophonic variant 伯 pa that appears to be unattested in WOJ (Omodaka et al 1967: 899). It is likely a mistake for 泊.

419 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 堤.
14:3415 – Kamitukeno

可美都気努
ka myi tu key nwo

伊可保乃奴麻尔
i ka po nō nu ma ni

宇恵古奈宜
u we kwo na Nkyi

賀久古非牟等夜
Nka ku kwo piy mu tô ya

多祢物得米家武
ta ne mo tô mey kye mu

14:3416 – Kamitukeno

可美都気努
ka myi tu key nwo

可保夜我奴麻能
ka po ya Nka nu ma nō

伊波為都良
i pa wi tu ra

比可波奴礼都追
pyi ka pa nu re tu tu

安乎奈多要曾祢
a wo na ta ye sö ne

---

420 NHB has 俟 kyi.
421 NHB has 可 ka.
422 I follow NHB here. GK has 努 nwo, but I think this is a mistake, because in GK the same word numa ‘swamp’ is written with 努 nu in the first syllable in both the preceding poem (3415) and the following poem (3417).
14:3417 – Kamitukeno

可美都気努
ka myi tu key nwo

伊奈良能奴麻乃
i na ra nö nu ma nö

於423保為具左
o po wi Nku sa

与曽尒見之欲波
yō sō ni MYI si ywo pa

伊麻許曽麻左礼
i ma kō sō ma sa re

14:3418 – Kamitukeno

可美都気努421
ka myi tu key nwo

佐野田能倍能
sa NWO TA nö na pey nö

武良奈倍尔
mu ra na pey ni

許登波佐太米都
kō tō pa sa Nta mey tu

伊麻波伊可尒世母
i ma pa i ka ni se mö

421 I follow NHB here. GK has 祢 ne, which looks like a mistake.
422 NHB has 奴 nu.
14:3419 – Kamitukeno

伊可保世欲
i ka po se ywo

奈可中次下
na ka NAKA si SIMO

於毛比度路
o mwo pyi Ntwo rwo

久麻許曽之都等
ku ma kō sō si tu tō

和須礼西奈布母
wa su re se na pu mö

14:3420 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努
ka myi tu key nwo

佐野乃布奈波之
sa NWO nō pu na pa si

登里波奈之
tō ri pa na si

於也波佐425久礼騰
o ya pa sa ku re Ntō

和波左可流賀倍
wa pa sa ka ru Nka pey

425 NHB has the homophonous 左 sa.
14:3423 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努
ka myi tu key nwo

伊可抱\(^{26}\)乃祢呂尔
i ka po nö ne rö ni

布路与伎能
pu rwo yö kyi nö

遊吉須宜可提奴
yu kyi su Nkiy ka Nte nu

伊毛賀伊敝乃安多里
i mwo Nka i pye nö a ta ri

14:3434 – Kamitukeno

可美都家野
ka myi tu kye NWO

安蘓\(^{27}\)夜麻都豆良
a swo ya ma tu Ntu ra

野乎比呂美
NWO wo pyi rö myi

波比尓思物能乎
pa pyi ni si mo nö wo

安是加多延世武
a Nse ka ta ye se mu

---

\(^{26}\) I follow NHB here. GK has an interesting error of 於 o, which shows a lenition of intervocalic \(^*p > w > 0\) zero before /o/, a sound change that had already been finalized before the GK manuscript was written. Probably an absent-minded mistake from the GK scribe who no longer had /w/ before /ol/.

\(^{27}\) I follow NHB here. GK has 號.
14:3435 – Kamitukeno

伊可保呂乃
i ka po rō no

蘓比乃波里波良
swo pyi no pa ri pa ra

和我吉奴尔
wa Nka kyi nu ni

都伎与良志
tu kyi yö ra si mö yö

比
pyi ta pye tö o mwo pye Npa

14:3436 – Kamitukeno

志良登保布
si ra tô po pu

乎尔比多夜麻能
wo ni pyi ta ya ma nō

毛流夜麻乃
mwo ru ya ma nō

宇良賀礼勢奈那
u ra Nka re se na na

登許波尔毛我母
tō kö pa ni mwo Nka mö

---

428 NHB has the homophonous 之 si.
429 This character is in NHB, GK, and RK, but is missing from some later manuscripts (Mizushima 1996: 124)
430 NHB has the homophonous 乃 nō.
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4404 – Kamitukeno

奈尔波治乎
na ni pa Ntī wo

由伎弖久麻弖等
yu kyi te ku ma te tö

和藝毛古賀
wa Nkyi mwo kwo Nka

都氣之非毛我乎
tu key si piy mwo Nka wo

多延尔氣流可毛

20:4405 – Kamitukeno

和我伊母古我
wa Nka i mō kwo Nka

志濃比尔西餘等
si nwo pyi ni se yō tö

都气志非毛
tu key si pyi mwo

伊刀尔奈流等母
i two ni na ru tö mō

和波等可自等余
wa pa tö ka Nsi tö yō

431 NHB has 母 mō.
432 This is the NHB character. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
433 This is the NHB character. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
434 I follow GK here. NHB has 比 piy.
435 I follow NHB here. GK has 目 MEY ‘eye,’ which is clearly a mistake, as it is only used as a semantogram in the MYS, the word ‘eye’ makes no sense in this part of the poem, and it would not be grammatical.
20:4406 – Kamitukeno

和我伊波呂尔
wa Nka i pa rō ni

由加毛比等母我
yu ka mwo pyi tō mō Nka

久佐麻久良
ku sa ma ku ra

多妣波久流之等
ta Npyi pa ku ru si tō

都氣夜良麻久母
tu key ya ra ma ku mō

20:4407 – Kamitukeno

比奈久毛436理
pyi na ku mwo ri

宇須比乃佐可乎
u su pyi nō sa ka wo

古延志太尔
kwo ye si Nta ni

伊毛賀437古比之久
i mwo Nka kwo pyi si ku

和須良438延奴加母
wa su ra ye nu ka mō

---

436 I follow GK here. NHB has 母 mō.
437 I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 駕 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
438 I follow NHB here. GK has 己 kō, which is clearly a mistake.
Muzasi Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3374 – Muzasi

武蔵野尔
mu NSASI NWO ni

宇良敞可多也伎
u ra pye ka ta ya kyi

麻左弖尔毛
ma sa te ni mwo

乃良奴伎美我名
nö ra nu kyi myi Nka NA

宇良尔仏尔家里
u ra ni Nte ni kye ri

14:3375 – Muzasi

武蔵野乃
mu NSASI NWO nö

乎具奇我吉藝志
wo Nku kiy Nka kyi Nkyi si

多知和可礼
ta ti wa ka re

伊尔之与比欲利
i ni si yō pyi ywo ri

世呂尔安波奈布与
se rö ni a pa na pu yō
14:3376 – Muzasi

古非思家波
kwo piy si kye pa

素弖毛布良武乎
swo te mwo pu ra mu wo

牟射志野乃
mu Nsa si NWO nō

字家良我波奈乃
u kye ra Nka pa na nō

伊呂尓豆\(^{439}\)奈由米
i rō ni Ntu na yu mey

14:3378 – Muzasi

伊利麻治能
i ri ma Nti nō

於保屋我波良能
o po YA Nka pa ra nō

伊波為都良
i pa wi tu ra

比可婆奴流奴流\(^{440}\)
pyi ka Npa nu ru nu ru

和尓奈多要曾祢
wa ni na ta ye sō ne

\(^{439}\) GK has a character 伊 i above this character, but the other manuscripts lack the extra character (Mizushima 1996: 98), so I exclude it from my corpus as it unnecessarily creates a hypermetrical line.

\(^{440}\) NHB has the reduplication characters 々々 in place of 奴流 nuru.
14:3379 – Muzasi

和我世故乎
wa Nka se kwo wo

安杼可母伊波武
a N tô ka mō i pa mu

牟射志野乃
mu Nsa si NWO nō

宇家良我波奈乃
u kye ra Nka pa na nō

登吉奈伎母能乎
tō kyi na kyi mō nō wo

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4413 – Muzasi

麻久良多之
ma ku ra ta si

己志尔等里波伎
kö si ni tö ri pa kyi

麻可奈之伎
ma ka na si kyi

西呂我馬伎己无
se rō Nka ma kyi kō mu

都久乃之良奈久
tu ku nō si ra na ku

---

441 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant ‘抒,’ which looks like a mistake.
442 RK and some later manuscripts have 知 ‘ti,’ which looks like a scribal alteration to conform to the WOJ form ‘tati’ ‘sword.’
443 NHB has the homophones 無 ‘mu.’
20:4414 – Muzasi

於保伎美乃
o po kyi myi nö

美己等可之古美
myi kō tō ka si kwo myi

字都久之氣
u tu ku si key

麻古我弖波奈利
ma kwo Nka te pa na ri

之末豆多比由久
si ma Ntu ta pyi yu ku

20:4415 – Muzasi

志良多麻乎
si ra ta ma wo

弖尓刀里母之弖
te ni two ri mō si te

美流乃須母
myi ru nō su mō

伊弊奈流伊母乎
i pye na ru i mō wo

麻多美弖毛母也
ma ta myi te mwo mō ya

---

444 I follow NHB here. GK has this character crossed out, with the character 知 ti to the side.
20:4416 – Muzasi

久佐麻久良
ku sa ma ku ra

多比由苦世奈我
ta pyi yu ku se na Nka

麻流祢世波
ma ru ne se pa

伊波奈流和礼波
i pa na ru wa re pa

比毛等加受祢牟
pyi mwo tö ka Nsu ne mu

20:4417 – Muzasi

阿加胡麻乎
a ka Nkwo ma wo

夜麻努尔波賀志
ya ma nwo ni pa Nka si

刀里加尔弓
two ri ka ni te

多麻能余許夜麻
ta ma nō yō kō ya ma

加志由加也良牟
ka si yu ka ya ra mu

---

445 NHB has 婆 *Npa*.
446 NHB has the homophonous *Nō*. 
20:4418 – Muzasi

和我^{447}可度乃
wa Nka ka Ntwo nó

可多夜麻都婆伎
ka ta ya ma tu Npa kyi

麻己等奈礼
ma kō tō na re

和我弖布礼奈々
wa Nka te pu re na na

都知尔於知母可^{448}毛
tu ti ni o ti mó ka mwo

20:4419 – Muzasi

伊波呂尔波
i pa rō ni pa

安之布多氣度^{449}母
a si pu ta key Ntwo mó

須美与気乎
su myi yō key wo

都久之尔伊多里弖
tu ku si ni i ta ri te

古布志気毛波母
kwo pu si key mwo pa mó

^{447} I follow NHB here. GK is problematic in this case, as it has 氣和 keywa, with a note that it should be 和氣 wakey (Mizushima 1996: 230), but even that form looks erroneous.

^{448} NHB has the homophonous 加 ka.

^{449} NHB has 腾 Ntö.
20:4420 – Muzasi

久左麻久良
ku sa ma ku ra

多妣乃麻流祢乃
ta Npyi nô ma ru ne nô

比毛多要婆
pyi mwo ta ye Npa

安我弖等都気呂
a Nka te tô tu key rö

許礼乃波流母志
kô re nô pa ru mò si

20:4421 – Muzasi

和我由伎乃
wa Nka yu kyi nô

伊伎都久之可婆
i kyi tu ku si ka Npa

安之我良乃
a si Nka ra nô

美祢波保久毛乎
myi ne pa po ku mwo wo

美等登志努波祢
myi tô tô si nwo pa ne

---

450 NHB has the homophonous 佐 sa.
451 I follow NHB here. GK has 祢 ne, which looks like a mistake.
20:4422 – Muzasi

和我世奈乎
wa Nka se na wo

都久之倍夜里弓
tu ku si pey ya ri te

宇都久之美
u tu ku si myi

於毗婆等可奈奈
o Npyi Npa tö ka na na

阿也尔加母祢毛
a ya ni ka mō ne mwo

20:4423 – Muzasi

安之我良乃
a si Nka ra nō

美佐可尔多志弓
myi sa ka ni ta si te

蘓塩布良婆
swo Nte pu ra Npa

伊波奈流伊毛波
i pa na ru i mwo pa

佐夜尔美毛可母
sa ya ni myi mwo ka mō

452 I follow NHB here. GK has 郡, which looks like a mistake.
453 NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.
454 I follow NHB here. GK has 河 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
455 NHB has 波 pa.
20:4424 – Muzasi

伊呂夫可久
i rō Npu ka ku

世奈我許呂母波
se na Nka kō rō mō pa

曽米麻之乎
sō mey ma si wo

美佐可多婆良婆
myi sa ka ta Npa ra Npa

麻佐夜可尔美無
ma sa ya ka ni myi mu
Sagamu Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3361 – Sagamu

安思我良能
asNka ra nö

乎豆毛許乃母尔
wo te mwo kō nö mō ni

佐須和奈乃
sa su wa na nö

可奈流麻之豆美
ka na ru ma si Ntu myi

許呂安礼比毛等久
kō rō a re pyi mwo tō ku

14:3362a – Sagamu

相模祢乃
saNka mu ne nö

乎美祢見所456久思
wo myi ne MYI ka ku si

和須礼久流
wa su re ku ru

伊毛我名欲妣弖
i mwo Nka NA ywo Npyi te

吾乎祢之奈久奈
A wo ne si na ku na

456 This character appears here in all extant manuscripts. It is the only appearance of the character 所 in NHB, and it is probably a mistake for 可 ka (Mizushima 1996: 92), so that is how I transliterate the character here. With that said, it should be noted the character 所 is used in GK in 20:4376.5 in what appears to be a mistake for 叙 Nsō, rather than 可 ka.
14:3362b – Sagamu

武蔵祢能
mu NSASI ne nō

乎美祢見可久思
wo myi ne MYI ka ku si

和須礼遊久
wa su re yu ku

伎美我名可氣弖
kyi myi Nka NA ka key te

安乎祢思奈久流
a wo ne si na ku ru

14:3363 – Sagamu

和我世古乎
wa Nka se kwo wo

夜麻登敝夜利弖
ya ma tō pye ya ri te

麻都之太須
ma tu si Nta su

安思我良夜麻乃
a si Nka ra ya ma nō

須疑乃木能末可
su Nkiy nō KŌ457 nō ma ka

457 Alternatively, it may be KEY ‘tree.’
14:3366 – Sagamu

麻可奈思美
ma ka na si myi

佐祢尓和波由久
sa ne ni wa pa yu ku

可麻久良能
ka ma ku ra nö

美奈能瀬河泊
myi na nö SE Nka pa ni

思保美都奈武賀
si po myi tu na mu ka

14:3368 – Sagamu

阿之我利能
a si Nka ri nö

刀比能可布知
two pyi nö ka pu ti nö

伊豆流湯能
i Ntu ru YU nö

余爾母多欲良
yö ni mö ta ywo ra nö

故呂河伊波奈久
kwo rö Nka i pa na ku nö

458 I follow NHB here. GK and RK have 伯 pa, which looks like a mistake.
14:3369 – Sagamu

阿之我利乃
a si Nka ri nō

麻万能古須氣乃
ma ma nō kwo su key nō

須我麻久良
su Nka ma ku ra

安是加麻可左武
a Nse ka ma ka sa mu

許呂勢多麻久良
kō rō se ta ma ku ra

14:3370 – Sagamu

安思我里乃
a si Nka ri nō

波故祢能祢呂乃
pa kwo ne nō ne rō nō

尒古具佐能
ni kwo Nku sa nō

波奈都豆麻奈礼也
pa na tu Ntu ma na re ya

比母登可受祢牟
pyi mö tö ka Nsu ne mu

459 NHB has the homophonous 麻 ma. I follow GK and RK here.
14:3431 – Sagamu

阿之我里乃
a si Nka ri nō

安伎奈乃夜麻尔
a kyi na nō ya ma ni

比古布祢乃
pyi kwo pu ne nō

斯利比可志母與
si ri pyi ka si mō yō

許己波胡
kō kō pa Nkwo Nka ta ni

14:3432 – Sagamu

阿之賀利乃
a si Nka ri nō

和乎可鷄夜麻能
wa wo ka kye ya ma nō

可頭乃木能
ka Ntu nō KÖ nō

和乎可豆佐祢母
wa wo ka Ntu sa ne mō

可豆佐可受等母
ka Ntu sa ka Nsu tō mō

---

460 NHB has 故 kwo.
461 Alternatively, it may be KEY ‘tree.’
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4328 – Sagamu

於保吉美能
o po kyi myi nö

美許等可之古美
myi kö tō ka si kwo myi

伊蘓尓布理
i swo ni pu ri

宇能波良和多流
u nö pa ra wa ta ru

知々波々乎於伎弖
ti ti pa pa wo o kyi te

20:4329 – Sagamu

夜蘓久尓波
ya swo ku ni pa

奈波爾都度比
na ni pa ni tu Ntwo pyi

布奈可射里
pu na ka Nsa ri

安我世牟比呂乎
a Nka se mu pyi rō wo

美毛比等母我毛
myi mwo pyi tō mō Nka mō

462 NHB has the homophonous 乃 nö.
463 NHB has the homophonous 那 na.
464 NHB has the homophonous 武 mu.
465 I follow NHB here. GK has 以 i, which looks like a mistake.
466 NHB has 母 mō.
20:4330 – Sagamu

奈爾波都尔
na ni pa tu ni

余曽比余曽比弖
yō sö pyi yō sö pyi te

気布能比夜
key pu nō pyi ya

伊田弖麻可良武
i Nte te ma ka ra mu

美流波々奈之尓
myi ru pa pa na si ni

---

467 NHB has the semantogram 日 PYI ‘sun, day.’
Mitinōku Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3426 – Mitinōku

安比豆祢能
a pyi Ntu ne nō

久尔乎佐祢４⁶⁸抱美
ku ni wo sa Ntō po myi

安波奈波婆
a pa na pa Npa

斯努比尔勢毛等
si nwo pyi ni se mwo tō

比毛牟須波４⁶⁹佐祢
pyi mwo mu su pa sa ne

14:3437 – Mitinōku

美知能４⁷⁰久能
myi ti nō ku nō

安太多良末由美
a Nta ta ra ma yu myi

波自伎於伎弓
pa Nsi kyi o kyi te

西良思馬伎４⁷¹那婆
se ra si mye kyi na Npa

都良波可馬可毛
tu ra pa ka mye ka mwo

---

４⁶⁸ I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 抨, which looks like a mistake.

４⁶⁹ NHB has 婆 Npa.

４⁷⁰ NHB has the homophonous 乃 nō.

４⁷¹ This is the NHB character. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
Simotukeno Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3424 – Simotukeno

之母都家野
si mō tu kye NWO

美可母乃夜麻能
myi ka mō nō ya ma nō

許奈良能472
kö na ra nō su

麻具波思兒呂波
ma Nku pa si KWO rō pa

多賀家可母多牟
ta Nka kye ka mō ta mu

14:3425 – Simotukeno

志母都家努
si mō tu kye nwo

安素乃河泊473 良欲474
a swo nō Nka pa ra ywo

伊之布麻努受
i si pu ma Nsu

蘓良由登伎努475
swo ra yu tō kyi nwo yō

奈我己許呂能礼
na Nka kō kō rō nō re

472 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
473 I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 伯 which looks like a mistake.
474 I follow NHB here. GK has the kungana phonogram 夜 ywo, but it looks like a later amendment (Mizushima 1996: 118).
475 NHB has 奴 nu.
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4373 – Simotukeno

祁布与利波
kye pu yō ri pa

可攪理見奈久弓
ka pye ri MYI na ku te

意富伎美乃
o po kyi myi nō

之許乃美多弓等
si kō nō myi ta te tō

伊黷多都和例波
i Nte ta tu wa re pa

20:4374 – Simotukeno

阿米都知乃
a mey tu ti nō

可美乎伊乃里弓
ka myi wo i nō ri te

佐都夜奴伎
sa tu ya nu kyi

都久之乃之麻乎
tu ku si nō si ma wo

佐之弭伊久和例波
sa si te i ku wa re pa

476 I follow NHB here. GK has 都 tu, which looks like a mistake.
477 NHB has the homophonous 里 ri.
478 I follow NHB here. GK has 社, which looks like a mistake.
479 I follow NHB and later manuscripts here. GK is the only manuscript that has 由 yu here (Mizushima 1996: 214), which I think is a mistake (i.e. yuk-u ‘go-ATTR’ instead of ik-u ‘go-ATTR,’ though admittedly both are attested in EOJ).
麻都能気乃
ma tu nó key nó

奈美多流美礼波
na myi ta ru myi re pa

伊波比⁴⁸⁰等乃
i pa pyi tō nó

和例乎美於久流等⁴⁸¹
wa re wo myi o ku ru tō

多々里⁴⁸²之毛⁴⁸³己⁴⁸⁴呂
ta ta ri si mwo kō rō

---
⁴⁸⁰ NHB has 姘 Npyi.
⁴⁸¹ This part of the poem is orthographically troublesome. GK has 与 yō, which could be an emphatic particle, but as NHB and all other extant manuscripts have 等 tō here, which is grammatical, I cautiously follow NHB here.
⁴⁸² NHB has the homophonous 理 ri.
⁴⁸³ NHB has 母 mō.
⁴⁸⁴ I follow NHB here. GK has 良 ra, which looks like a mistake.
20:4376 – Simotukeno

多妣由伎尔
ta Npyi yu kyi ni

由久等485之良受弓
yu ku tō si ra Nsu te

阿486母志志487尔
a mö si si ni

己等麻乎488佐受弓
kō tō ma wo sa Nsu te

伊麻叙489久夜之氣
i ma Nsō ku ya si key

20:4377 – Simotukeno

阿母刀自母
a mö twō Nsi mō

多麻尔毛490賀毛491夜
ta ma ni mwo Nka mwo ya

伊多太伎弓
i ta Nta kyi te

美都良乃奈可尔
myi tu ra nō na ka ni

阿敞麻可麻久毛492
a pye ma ka ma ku mwo

485 I follow NHB here. GK has 尔 ni, which is probably a mistake (copied over from the previous line).
486 I follow NHB here. GK has 河 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
487 NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.
488 I follow NHB here. GK has 宇 u, which looks like a mistake. Unless it is an attempt to show a raised vowel (w)u syllable?
489 I follow NHB here. GK has 所, which looks like a mistake.
490 NHB has 母 mö.
491 NHB has 母 mō.
492 NHB has 母 mō.
20:4378 – Simotukeno

都久比夜波
tu ku pyi ya pa

須具波由氣等毛
su Nku pa yu key tö mwo

阿毛۵۵3志志۵۴可
a mwo si si ka

多麻乃須我多波
ta ma nō su Nka ta pa

和須例西奈布母
wa su re se na pu mö

20:4379 – Simotukeno

之良奈美乃
si ra na myi nō

与曽流波麻倍尔
yō sō ru pa ma pey ni

和可例奈婆۵۴۵
wa ka re na Npa

伊刀۵۶毛須倍奈美
i two mwo su pey na myi

夜多妣蘓弖布流
ya ta Npyi swo te pu ru

۵۳ NHB has 母 mö.
۵۴ NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.
۵۵ NHB has 波 pa.
۵۶ I follow NHB here. GK has 力, which looks like a mistake.
20:4380 – Simotukeno

奈尔婆 nam ni Npa two wo

己岐婆美例婆 ko kyi Nte te myi re Npa

可美佐夫流 ka myi sa Npu ru

伊古麻多可祢尓 i kwo ma ta ka ne ni

久毛 ku mwo sō ta na Npyi ku

---

20:4381 – Simotukeno

久尓具尓 ku ni Nku ni nō

佐岐毛利都度比 sa kyi mwo ri tu Ntwo pyi

布奈能里弖 pu na nō ri te

和可流乎美礼婆 wa ka ru wo myi re Npa

伊刀母須敏奈之 i two mó su pye na si

---

497 NHB has 波 pa.

498 I follow NHB here for the character sequence 久毛 kumwo. GK has the opposite order 毛久 mwoku, which looks like a mistake.

499 In NHB this is written as 貝尔々々 NkuniNkuni.
布多富我美
pu ta po Nka myi

阿志気比等奈里
a si key pyi tö na ri

阿^{500}多由麻比
a ta yu ma pyi

和我須流等伎尔
wa Nka su ru tö kyi ni

佐伎毛^{501}里尔佐酒^{502}
sa kyi mwo ri ni sa su

都乃久尔乃
tu nö ku ni nö

宇美能奈伎佐尔
u myi nö na kyi sa ni

布奈餘曾比
pu na yö sō pyi

多志埿毛等伎尔
ta si Nte mwo tö kyi ni

阿母我米母^{503}我母
a mö Nka mey mö Nka mö

---

^{500} I follow NHB here. GK has 河 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
^{501} NHB has 母 mö.
^{502} I follow GK and other early extant manuscripts here. Only NHB and KB have the homophonous 須 su.
^{503} I follow NHB for the characters 米母，which are written as hiragana めも memo in GK, clearly a later alteration of the text.
14:3350a – Pitati (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

筑波祢乃
tuku pa ne nö

尔比具波麻欲能
ni pyi Nku pa ma ywo nö

伎奴波安礼籽
kyi nu pa a re Ntö

伎美我美家思志
kyi myi Nka myi kye si si

安夜尔伎保思母
a ya ni kyi po si mö

14:3351 – Pitati (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

筑波祢尔
tuku pa ne ni

由伎可母布良留
yu kyi ka mö pu ra ru

伊奈乎可母
i na wo ka mö

加奈思吉兒呂我
ka na si kyi KWO rö Nka

尔努保佐流可母
ni nwo po sa ru ka mö
14:3388 – Pitati

筑波祢乃
tuku pa ne nö

祢呂尔可須美為
ne rö ni ka su myi wi

須宜可提尔
su Nkiy ka Nte ni

伊伎豆久伎美乎
i kyi Ntu ku kyi myi wo

為祢弖夜良佐祢
wi ne te ya ra sa ne

14:3392 – Pitati

筑波祢能504
tuku pa ne nö

伊波毛等杼505呂尔
i pa mwo tö Ntö rö ni

於都留506美豆
o tu ru myi Ntu

代尔毛多由良尔
YÖ ni mwo ta yu ra ni

和我於507毛波奈久仁508
wa Nka o mwo pa na ku ni

504 This character is in GK and RK. NHB has the homophonous 乃 nö.
505 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 窠.
506 NHB has the homophonous 流 ru.
507 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
508 NHB has the homophonous 尔 ni.
14:3394 – Pitati

左其呂毛能
sa Nkö rō mwo nō

乎豆久波祢呂能
wo N̄tu ku pa ne rō nō

夜麻乃佐吉
ya ma nō sa kyi

和須良許婆古曾
wa su ra kō Npa kwo sō

那乎可家奈波賣
na wo ka kye na pa mye

14:3395 – Pitati

乎豆久波乃
wo N̄tu ku pa nō

祢呂尓都久多思
ne rō ni tu ku ta sī

安比太欲波
a pyi Nta ywo pa

佐波太奈利怒乎
sa pa Nta na ri nwo wo

萬多祢天武可聞
ma ta ne te mu ka mo

509 NHB and other later manuscripts have an extra character 延 ye inserted in this part of the line. GK and RK do not have this.

510 I follow NHB here. GK is missing this character.

511 NHB and RK have an extra character 尔 ni inserted here, but GK and KB do not have this. As the extra character makes the line hypermetrical, I follow GK and KB. Mizushima (1996: 106) also excludes this character from his corpus.

512 This character is in GK and RK. NHB has the homophonous 努 n̄wo.
14:3397 – Pitati

比多知奈流
pyi ta ti na ru

奈左可能宇美乃
na sa ka nō u myi nō

多麻毛許曾
ta ma mwo kō sō

飛513気波多延須礼
piy key pa ta ye su re

阿杼可多延世武
a Ntō ka ta ye se mu

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4363 – Pitati

奈尔波都尔
na ni pa tu ni

美布祢於呂須恵
myi pu ne o rō su we

夜蘓加奴伎
ya swo ka nu kyi

伊麻波許伎奴514等
i ma pa kō kyi nu tō

伊母尓都氣許515曾
i mö ni tu key kō sō

513 NHB has 比 pyi.
514 I follow NHB here. GK has 如, which looks like a mistake.
515 I follow NHB here. GK has 弁 ne, which looks like a mistake.
20:4364 – Pitati

佐岐\(^{516}\)牟理尔
sa kyi mu ri ni

多々牟佐和伎尔
ta ta mu sa wa kyi ni

伊敝能伊牟何
i pye nò i mu Nka

奈流敞\(^{517}\)伎己等乎
na ru pye kyi kō tô wo

伊波须伎奴可母
i pa su kyi nu ka mó

20:4365 – Pitati

於之弖流夜
o si te ru ya

奈尔波能都\(^{518}\)由\(^{519}\)利
na ni pa nò tu yu ri

布奈与曽比
pu na yō só pyi

阿例波許藝奴等
a re pa kō Nkyi nu tô

伊母尔都岐許曽
i mö ni tu kyi kō só

\(^{516}\) NHB has the homophonous 伎 kyi.
\(^{517}\) I follow NHB here. GK and RK have the variant 禧.
\(^{518}\) NHB has the semantogram 津 TU.
\(^{519}\) NHB has 与 yö.
20:4366 – Pitati

比多知散思
pyi ta ti sa si

由可牟加里母我
yu ka mu ka ri mö Nka

阿我古比乎
a Nka kwo pyi wo

志留志弖都祁弖
si ru si te tu kye te

伊母専志良世夲
i mö ni si ra se mu

20:4367 – Pitati

阿我母弖能
a Nka mö te nö

和須例母之太波
wa su re mö si Nta pa

都久波尼乎
tu ku pa ne wo

布利佐気美都々
pu ri sa key myi tu tu

伊母波之奴波尼
i mö pa si nu pa ne
20:4368 – Pitati

久520自521我波々
ku Nsi Nka pa pa

佐氣久阿利麻弓522
sa key ku a ri ma te

志富夫祢尔
si po Npu ne ni

麻可知之自奴伎
ma ka ti si Nsi nu kyi

和波可敞里許牟
wa pa ka pye ri kō mu

20:4369 – Pitati

都久波弥乃
tu ku pa ne nō

佐由流能波奈能
sa yu ru nō pa na nō

由等許尔母
yu tö kō ni mō

可奈之家伊母曾
ka na si kye i mō sō

比留毛可奈之祁
pyi ru mwo ka na si kye

520 GK has 人 written in red to the right of this character.
521 I follow NHB here. GK has the semantogram 目 MEY, which looks like a mistake.
522 I follow NHB here. GK has 立, but this is clearly a mistake as this character is not attested as a phonogram in any OJ text, and it makes no sense as a semantogram in this line.
20:4370 – Pitati

阿良例布理
a ra re pu ri

可志麻乃\textsuperscript{523}可美乎
ka si ma nō ka myi wo

伊能利都々
i nō ri tu tu

須米良美久佐尔
su mey ra myi ku sa ni

和礼\textsuperscript{524}波伎尔之乎
wa re pa kyi ni si wo

\textsuperscript{523} NHB has the homophonous 能 nō.
\textsuperscript{524} NHB has the homophonous 例 re.
20:4372 – Pitati

阿之525加良能
a si ka ra nó

美佐加526多麻波理
myi sa ka ta ma pa ri

可問理美須
ka pey ri myi su

阿例波久江由久
a re pa ku ye yu ku

阿良志乎母
a ra si wo mö

多志夜波婆可流
ta si ya pa Npa ka ru

不破乃世伎
pu pa nö se kyi

久江弖和波由久
ku ye te wa pa yu ku

牟麻能都米
mu ma nö tu mey

都久志能佐伎専
tu ku si nö sa kyi ni

知麻利為弖
ti ma ri wi te

阿例波伊波々牟
a re pa i pa pa mu

525 NHB has the homophonous 志 si.
526 NHB has the homophonous 可 ka.
mwo rō mwo rō pa

sa kye ku tō ma wo su

ka pey ri ku ma te ni

---

527 NHB has 母 mō.
528 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from GK.
Simotupusa Province
AZUMA UTA

14:3384 – Simotupusa

可都思加能
ka tu si ka nō

麻末能手兒奈乎
ma ma nō TE NKWO na wo

麻許登賀
ma kō tō Nka mo

和礼尓余須等布
wa re ni yō su tō pu

麻末乃弖胡奈乎
ma ma nō te Nkwo na wo

---

529 NHB has 可 ka.
14:3385 – Simotupusa

可都思加能
ka tu si ka nó

麻萬能手兒奈我
ma ma nó TE NKWO na Nka

安里之可婆
a ri si ka Npa

麻末乃於須比爾
ma ma nó o su pyi ni

奈美毛登杼
na myi mwo tò Ntö rö ni

14:3386 – Simotupusa

尓保杼里能
ni po Ntö ri nó

可豆思加和世乎
ka Ntu si ka wa se wo

尓倍須登毛
ni pey su tò mwo

曽能可奈之伎乎
sö nö ka na si kyi wo

刀尔多弓米也母
two ni ta te mey ya mö

530 NHB has 豆 Ntu.
531 NHB has 賀 Nka.
532 The characters 可婆 kaNpa are written 婆可 Npaka in NHB and many other manuscripts, and 波可 paka in GK and RK. However, neither of these character orders makes much sense in this line of the poem. A few manuscripts (such as the Hosoi-Bon) have the opposite order 可婆, which does make sense, and for this reason Mizushima (1996: 102) follows these manuscripts. I agree with Mizushima here, and this is a rare instance where I follow none of my four primary manuscripts (GK, RK, NHB, KB), as I think they all show a mistake here.
533 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 呼.
534 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 呼.
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4384 – Simotupusa

阿加等伎乃
a ka tö kyi nö

加波多例等枳尔
ka pa ta re tö kyi ni

之麻加枳乎
si ma ka kyi wo

己枳尔之布祢乃
kō kyi ni si pu ne nö

他都枳之良酒
ta tu kyi si ra su mwo

20:4385 – Simotupusa

由古作枳尔
yu kwo sa kyi ni

奈美奈等恵良比
na myi na tö we ra pyi

志流敞尔波
si ru pye ni pa

古乎等都麻乎等
kwo wo tö tu ma wo tö

於枳弖等
o kyi te tö mö kyi nu

535 NHB has the homophonous 須 su.
536 NHB has 母 mō.
537 I follow NHB here. GK has 良 ra, which looks like a mistake.
20:4386 – Simotupusa

和加可和加可都乃
wa ka ka tu nō

以都毛等夜奈栂
i tu mwo tō ya na kyi

以都母以都母
i tu mö i tu mö

於毛加古比須々
o mwo ka kwo pyi su su

奈理麻之都之母
na ri ma si tu si mö

20:4387 – Simotupusa

知波乃奴乃
ti pa nō nu nō

古乃豆加之波能
kwo nō te ka si pa nō

保々麻例等
po po ma re tō

阿夜永加奈之美
a ya ni ka na si myi

於枳弖他加枳奴
o kyi te ta ka kyi nu

538 NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.
539 NHB has 母 mö.
540 NHB has the reduplication characters 々々々 instead of 以都母.
541 NHB has 母 mö.
542 RK has 奈 na.
20:4388 – Simotupusa

多飛 NHB多 NHB多飛 NHB多飛
ta piy tò pye tò

麻多批尔奈理奴
ma ta Npyi ni na ri nu

以弊 NHB以弊 NHB 545乃母加
i pye nò mò ka

枳世之己呂母尒
kyi se si kò rò mò ni

阿可546都枳尔迦理
a ka tu kyi ni ka ri

20:4389 – Simotupusa

志保不尼乃
sì po pu ne nò

弊古祖志良奈美
pye kwo swo si ra na myi

尔波志久母
ni pa si ku mò

於不世他麻保加
o pu se ta ma po ka

於毛547波弊 NHB548奈久尔
o mò pa pye na ku nì

543 NHB has 否 Npyi.
544 NHB has the homophonous 敷 pye.
545 NHB has the homophonous 敷 pye.
546 NHB has the homophonous 加 ka.
547 NHB has 母 mò.
548 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 魅.
20:4390 – Simotupusa

牟浪他麻乃
mu ra ta ma nò

久留尔久枳作之
ku ru ni ku kyi sa si

加多米等之
ka ta mey tō si

以毛[549]加去[550]々里波
i mwo ka kō kō ri pa

阿[551]用久奈米加母
a ywo ku na mey ka mö

20:4391 – Simotupusa

久尓具[552]尔[553]乃
ku ni Nku ni nō

夜之里[554]乃加美尔
ya si ri nō ka myi ni

奴作[555]麻都理
nu sa ma tu ri

阿加古比須奈牟
a ka kwo pyi su na mu

伊母賀加奈志作
i mō Nka ka na si sa

---

549  NHB has 母 mö.
550  I follow NHB here. GK and RK have 志 sī, which looks like a mistake.
551  I follow NHB here. GK has 河 Nka, which looks like a mistake.
552  NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.
553  I follow RK here. GK and NHB have the reduplication character 々 here.
554  NHB has 吕 rō.
555  NHB has the homophonous 佐 sa.
20:4392 – Simotupusa

阿米都之乃
a mey tu si nö

以都例乃可美乎
i tu re nö ka myi wo

以乃良波加
i nö ra pa ka

有都久之波々爾
u tu ku si pa pa ni

麻多己等刀波牟
ma ta kō tō two pa mu

20:4393 – Simotupusa

於保伎美能
o po kyi myi nö

美許等尔作\(^{556}\)例波\(^{557}\)
myi kō tō ni sa re pa

知々波々乎
ti ti pa pa wo

以波比弊\(^{558}\)等於枳弖
i pa pyi pye tō o kyi te

麻為弖枳尔之乎
ma wi te kyi ni si wo

---

\(^{556}\) NHB has the homophones 佐 sa.

\(^{557}\) I follow NHB here. GK has the kungana phonogram 者 pa.

\(^{558}\) NHB has the homophones 敷 pye.
於保伎美乃
o po kyi myi nó

美己等加之古美
myi kō tö ka sī kwo myi

由美乃美他
yu myi nō myi ta

佐尼加和多良牟
sa ne ka wa ta ra mu

奈賀氣己乃用乎
na Nka key kō nō ywo wo

---

559 NHB has the homophonous 能 nō.
560 This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 仁 nî, which looks like a mistake.
14:3382 – Kamitupusa

宇麻具多能
u ma Nku ta nō

祢呂乃佐左葉能
ne ro nō sa sa PA nō

都由思母能
tu yu si mō nō

奴礼弖和伎奈婆
nu re te wa kyi na Npa

汝者故布婆曽母
NA PA kwo pu Npa sō mō

14:3383 – Kamitupusa

宇麻具多能
u ma Nku ta nō

祢呂尔可久里為
ne ro ni ka ku ri wi

可久太尔毛
ka ku Nta ni mwo

久尔乃登保可婆
ku ni nō tō po ka Npa

奈我目保里勢牟
na Nka MEY po ri se mu

---

561 This is the character in GK, RK, and KB. Only NHB has 毛 mwo (Mizushima 1996: 100).
SAKIMORI UTA

20:4347 – Kamitupusa

伊間尔之弖
i pey ni si te

古非都々安良受波
kwo piy tu tu a ra Nsu pa

奈我波気流
na Nka pa key ru

多知尔奈里弖母
ta ti ni na ri te mō

伊波非弖之加母
i pa piy te si ka mō

20:4348 – Kamitupusa

多良知祢乃
ta ra ti ne nō

波々乎和加例弖
pa pa wo wa ka re te

麻許等和例
ma kō tō wa re

多非乃加里保尔
ta piy nō ka ri po ni

夜須久祢牟加母
ya su ku ne mu ka mō
20:4349 – Kamitupusa

毛母久麻能
mwo mō ku ma nō

美知波紀尓志乎
myi ti pa kiy ni si wo

麻多佐良尔
ma ta sa ra ni

夜蘓志麻須義弖
ya swo si ma su Nkiy te

和加例加由可牟
wa ka re ka yu ka mu

20:4350 – Kamitupusa

尓波奈加能
ni pa na ka nō

阿須波乃可美尔
a su pa nō ka myi ni

古志波佐之
kwo si pa sa si

阿例波伊波々牟
a re pa i pa pa mu

加倍理久麻泥562尓
ka pey ri ku ma Nte ni

562 I follow NHB here. GK has 濃.
20:4351 – Kamitupusa

多妣己吕母
ta Npyi kō rō mö

夜倍伎可佐祢豆
ya pey kyi ka sa ne te

伊努礼等母
i nwo re tö mö

奈保波太佐牟之
na po pa Nta sa mu si

伊母尔志阿良祢婆
i mö ni si a ra ne Npa

20:4352 – Kamitupusa

美知乃倍乃
myi ti nö pey nö

宇万良能宇礼尔
u ma ra nö u re ni

波保麻米乃
pa po ma mey nö

可良麻流伎美乎
ka ra ma ru kyi myi wo

波可礼加由加牟
pa ka re ka yu ka mu

\[563\] NHB has 比 pyi.
\[564\] I follow NHB here. GK has 部 Npu, which looks like a mistake.
\[565\] NHB has the homophones 思 si.
\[566\] This character is missing from NHB, but it is in GK and RK.
20:4353 – Kamitupusa

伊倍加是波
i pey ka Nse pa

比尔々々布氣等
pyi ni pyi ni pu key tö

和伎母古賀
wa kyi mö kwo Nka

伊倍其登母遅弓
i pey Nkö tö mö Nti te

久流比等母奈之
ku ru pyi tö mö na si

20:4354 – Kamitupusa

多知許毛乃
ta ti kō mwo nō

多知乃佐和伎尔
ta ti nō sa wa kyi ni

阿比美弓之
a pyi myi te si

伊母加己568呂波
i mö ka kō kō rō pa

和須礼世奴可母
wa su re se nu ka mö

567 This character is missing from GK, so I follow NHB here.
568 NHB has the character reduplication sign々 here.
20:4355 – Kamitupusa

余曽尓能美
yō sō ni nō myi

々豆夜和多良毛
myi te ya wa ta ra mwo

奈尓波我多
na ni pa Nka ta

久毛為尓美由流
ku mwo wi ni myi yu ru

志麻奈良奈久尔
si ma na ra na ku ni

20:4356 – Kamitupusa

和我波々能
wa Nka pa pa nō

蘓豆母知奈弖氐
swo te mō ti na te te

和我可良尔
wa Nka ka ra ni

奈伎之許己吕乎
na kyī si kō kō rō wo

和須良延奴569可毛
wa su ra ye nu ka mwo

---

569 NHB has ㄆㄆ mwo.
20:4357 – Kamitupusa

阿之可伎能
a si ka kyi nö

久麻刀尔多知句
ku ma two ni ta ti te

和藝毛古我
wa Nkyi mwo kwo Nka

藤豆母570志保々尔
swo te mō si po po ni

奈伎志兽母波由
na kyi si sō mō pa yu

570 NHB has 毛 mwo.
20:4359 – Kamitupusa

都久之閇尓
tu ku si pey ni

敝牟加流不571祢乃
pye mu ka ru pu ne nō

伊都之加毛
i tu si ka mwo

都加敝麻572都里弖
tu ka pye ma tu ri te

久尓573閇牟可毛
ku ni ni pey mu ka mwo

571 NHB has the homophonous 布 pu.
572 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 摩 ma.
573 NHB has the reduplication character 々.
UNKNOWN DIALECT POEMS
AZUMA UTA

14:3440a – UD

許乃河泊
kō nō Nka pa ni

安佐菜安良布兒
a sa NA a ra pu KWO

奈礼毛阿
na re mwo a re mwo

余知乎曽母弖流
yō ti wo sō mö te ru

伊凰兒多婆里尔
i Nte KWO ta Npa ri ni

14:3440b – UD (Only line 5 is different from 3440a)

許乃河泊
kō nō Nka pa ni

安佐菜安良布兒
a sa NA a ra pu KWO

奈礼毛阿
na re mwo a re mwo

余知乎曽母弖流
yō ti wo sō mö te ru

麻之毛阿
ma si mwo a re mö

574 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.
575 NHB has the homophonous 安 a.
576 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.
577 NHB has the homophonous 安 a.
578 NHB has the homophonous 安 a.
14:3442 – UD

安豆麻治乃
a Ntu ma Nti nö

手兒乃欲妣左賀
TE NKWO nö ywo Npyi sa Nka

古要我祢弖
kwo ye Nka ne te

夜麻尔可祢牟毛
ya ma ni ka ne mu mwo

夜杼579里波奈之尔
ya Ntö ri pa na si ni

14:3444 – UD

伎波都久能580
kyi pa tu ku nö

乎加能久君美良
wo ka nö ku ku myi ra

和礼都賣杼581
wa re tu mye Ntö

故尔毛乃多奈布
kwo ni mwo nö ta na pu

西奈等都麻佐祢
se na tö tu ma sa ne

579 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 衫.
580 NHB has the homophonous 乃 nö.
581 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 衫.
美奈刀能也
myi na two nò ya

安之我奈可那流
a si Nka na ka na ru

多麻古須気
ta ma kwo su key

可利己和我西古
ka ri kō wa Nka se kwo

等許乃敏太思尔
tō kō nò pye Nta si ni

伊毛奈吕我
i mwo na rō Nka

都可布河582泊583豆乃
tu ka pu Nka pa Ntu nó

佐左良乎疑
sa sa ra wo Nkiy

安志等比登584其等
a si tō pyi tō Nkō tō

加多理与良斯毛
ka ta ri yō ra si mwo

582 I follow NHB here. GK has 阿 a, which looks like a mistake.
583 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.
584 NHB has the homophonous 等 tō.
久佐可氣乃
ku sa ka key nō

安努奈由可武等
a nwo na yu ka mu tō

波里之美知
pa ri si myi ti

阿努波由加受弖
a nwo pa yu ka Nsu te

阿良久佐太知奴
a ra ku sa Nta ti nu

波奈治良布
pa na Nti ra pu

己能牟可都乎乃
kō nō mu ka tu wo nō

乎那能乎能
wo na nō wo nō

比自尔都久麻提
pyi Nsi ni tu ku ma Nte

伎美我与母贺母
kyi myi Nka yō mō Nka mō

---

585 I follow NHB here. GK has 世 se, which looks like a mistake.
思路多倍乃
si rwo ta pey nö

許呂母能素仐乎
kö rö mö nō swo Nte wo

麻久良我欲
ma ku ra Nka ywo

安麻許伎久見由
a ma kö kyi ku MYI yu

奈美多都奈由米
na myi ta tu na yu mey

乎久左586乎等
wo ku sa wo tö

乎具佐受家乎等
wo Nku sa Nsu kye wo tö

斯抱587布祢乃
si po pu ne nö

那良敝豆美礼婆
na ra pye te myi re Npa

乎具佐可利馬利
wo Nku sa ka ti mye ri

---

586 NHB has the homophonous 佐. sa.
587 I follow NHB here. GK has an interesting error of 於 o, which shows a lenition of intervocalic *p > w > zero before /ol/, a sound change that had already been finalized before the GK manuscript was written. Probably an absent-minded mistake from the GK scribe who no longer had /w/ before /ol.
於毛思路伎
o mwo si rwo kyi

野乎婆奈夜吉曽
NWO wo Npa na ya kyi sō

布流久佐尔
pu ru ku sa ni

仁比久佐麻自利
ni pyi ku sa ma Nsi ri

於非波於布流我尔
o piy pa o pu ru Nka ni

可是能等乃
ka Nse nō tō nō

登抱吉和伎母賀
tō po kyi wa kyi mō Nka

吉西斯伎奴
kyi se si kyi nu

多母登乃久太利
ta mō tō nō ku Nta ri

麻欲比伎尔家利
ma ywo pyi kyi ni kye ri

588 NHB has the homophonous ʨ. ɕa.
589 NHB has the homophonous 乃 nō.
590 NHB has the homophonous 能 nō.
591 I follow NHB here. GK has an interesting error of 於 o, which shows a lenition of intervocalic *p > w > zero before /o/, a sound change that had already been finalized before the GK manuscript was written. Probably an absent-minded mistake from the GK scribe who no longer had /w/ before /o/.
14:3454 – UD

尔波尔多都
ni pa ni ta tu

安佐提古夫须麻
a sa Nte kwo Npu su ma

許余比太尔
kō yō pyi Nta ni

都麻余之許西祢
tu ma yō si kō se ne

安佐提古夫须麻
a sa Nte kwo Npu su ma

14:3456 – UD

宇都世美能
u tu se myi nō

夜穂許登能592敎波
ya swo kō tō nō pye pa

思気久等母
si key ku tō mö

安良穂比可祢弖
a ra swo pyi ka ne te

安乎許登奈須那
a wo kō tō na su na

592 NHB has the homophonous 乃 nō.
奈勢能古夜
na se nò kwo ya

等里能
tö ri nò wo ka Nti si

奈可太乎礼
na ka Nta wo re

安乎祢思奈久与
a wo ne si na ku yö

伊久豆君麻弖尓
i ku Ntu ku ma te ni

伊祢都氣波
i ne tu key pa

可加流安我手乎
ka ka ru a Nka TE wo

許余比毛可
kö yö pyi mwo ka

等能乃和久胡我
tö nò nò wa ku Nkwo Nka

等里弖奈氣可武
tö ri te na key ka mu

---

NHB has the homophonous Nò no. 593
14:3460 – UD

多礼曽許能
ta re só kō nō

屋能戸於曽夫流
YA nō TWO o só Npu ru

尔布奈未尔
ni pu na miy ni

和我594世乎夜里弓
wa Nka se wo ya ri te

伊波布許能戸乎
i pa pu kō nō TWO wo

14:3461 – UD

安是登伊敝可
a Nse tō i pye ka

佐宿尔安波奈久尔
sa NE ni a pa na ku ni

真日久礼弓
MA PYI ku re te

与比奈波許奈尔
yō pyi na pa kō na ni

安家努595思太久流
a kye nwo si Nta ku ru

594 NHB has 家 kye, glossed in katakana to be read as ka.
595 NHB has 奴 nu.
麻等保久能
ma tö po ku nō

野尔毛安波奈牟
NWO ni mwo a pa na mu

己許呂奈久
kō kō rō na ku

佐刀乃美奈可尔
sa two nō myi na ka ni

安敞流世奈可毛596
a pye ru se na ka mwo

巨麻尔思吉
kō ma ni si kyi

比毛登伎佐氣弖
pyi mwo tö kyi sa key te

奴流我倍尔
nu ru Nka pey ni

安杼597，世吕登可母
a Ntō se rō tö ka mö

安夜尔可奈之伎
a ya ni ka na si kyi

596 NHB has 母 mō.
597 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 抒.
麻可奈思美
ma ka na si myi

努598礼婆許登尔豆
nwo re Npa kō tō ni Ntu

佐祢奈敞波
sa ne na pye pa

己許呂乃緒呂尔
kō kō rō nō WO rō ni

能里弖可奈思母
nō ri te ka na si mö

夜麻杼599里乃
ya ma Ntö ri nö

乎呂能波都乎尔
wo rō nō pa tu wo ni

可賀美可家
ka Nka myi ka kye

刀奈布倍美許曽
two na pu pey myi kō sō

奈尔与曽利鷗米
na ni yō sō ri kye mey

598 NHB has奴nu.
599 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant抒.
14:3469 – UD

由布気尔毛
yu pu key ni mwo

許余比登乃良路
kō yō pyi tō nō ra rwo

和加⁶⁰⁰西奈波
wa ka se na pa

阿是曾母許与比
a Nse sō mö kō yō pyi

与斯呂伎麻左奴
yō si rō kyi ma sa nu

14:3471 – UD

思麻良久波
si ma ra ku pa

祢都追母安良牟乎
ne tu tu mö a ra mu wo

伊米能未尔
i mey nō miy ni

母登奈見要都追
mō tō na MYI ye tu tu

安乎祢思奈久流
a wo ne si na ku ru

⁶⁰⁰ NHB has 賀 Nka.
比登豆麻等
pyi tō Ntu ma tō

安是可曾乎伊波牟
a Nse ka só wo i pa mu

志可良婆
si ka ra Npa ka

刀奈里乃伎奴乎
two na ri nō kyi nu wo

可里舀伎奈波毛
ka ri te kyi na pa mwo

左努夜麻尔
sa nwo ya ma ni

字都也乎能登乃
u tu ya wo nō tō nō

等抱可騰母
tō po ka Ntō mö

祢毛等可兒呂賀
ne mwo tō ka KWO rō Nka

於由
o yu ni myi ye tu ru

---

601 NHB has 波 pa.
602 The character 由 yu is generally held to be a mistake for 母 mō in this instance (Mizushima 1996: 140), although the fact that 由 appears in all thof the old, extant manuscripts is hard to ignore. Furthermore, there are no other examples of 由 mistakenly used for 母 in the EOJ corpus. For these reasons, I follow the early extant manuscripts here.
宇恵太気能
u we Nta key nö

毛登左倍登与美
mwo tö sa pey tö yö myi

伊仏亜伊奈波
i Nte te i na pa

伊豆思牟伎可
i Ntu si mu kyi te ka

伊毛我奈気可牟
i mwo Nka na key ka mu

宇倍児奈波
u pey KWO na pa

和奴尔故布奈毛
wa nu ni kwo pu na mwo

多刀都久能
ta two tu ku nö

努賀奈敞由家婆
nwo Nka na pye yu kye Npa

故布思可流奈母
kwo pu si ka ru na mö

---

603 NHB has 婆 Npa.
14:3476b – UD (Only lines 4 and 5 differ from 3476a)

宇倍兒奈波
u pey KWO na pa

和奴尔故布奈毛
wa nu ni kwo pu na mwo

多刀都久能
ta two tu ku nö

奴我奈敝由家杼
nu Nka na pye yu kye Ntö

和奴605 賀由606 乃敞波
wa nu {Nka yu} nö pye pa
   yu Nka

14:3477 – UD

安都麻道路
a tu ma MYITI nö

手兒乃欲婢佐可
TE NKWO nö ywo Npyi sa ka

古要弖伊奈波607
kwo ye te i na pa

安礼波古非牟奈
a re pa kwo piy mu na

能知波安比奴登母
nö ti pa a pyi nu tö mö

---

604 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 舒.
605 NHB has 努 mwo.
606 All extant manuscripts have the character order 賀由 Nka yu, but I agree with Mizushima (1996: 141) that this is likely a case of the characters mistakenly written in the reverse order, and thus should be read as yu Nka.
607 NHB has 姆 Npa.
14:3478 – UD

等保斯等布
tō po si tō pu

故奈乃思良祢尔
kwo na nō si ra ne ni

阿抱思太毛
a po si Nta mwo

安波能608敞思太毛
a pa nō pye si Nta mwo

奈尔己曾与佐礼
na ni kō sō yö sa re

14:3480 – UD

於保佐美乃
o po kyi myi nō

美己等可思古美
myi kō tō ka si kwo myi

可奈之伊毛我
ka na si i mwo Nka

多麻久良波奈礼
ta ma ku ra pa na re

欲太知伎努可母
ywo Nta ti kyi nwo ka mö

608 NHB has the homophonous Ḣy nō.
14:3481 – UD

安利伎努
a ri kyi nwo nö

佐惠佐惠之豆美
sa we sa we si Ntu myi

伊敞能伊母尔
i pye nö i mö ni

毛乃伊波受伎尔豆
mwo nö i pa Nsu kyi ni te

於毛比具流之母
o mwo pyi Nku ru si mö

14:3482b – UD

可良己呂母
ka ra kō rõ mö

須素能宇知可比
su swo nö u ti ka pyi

阿波奈敞波
a pa na pye pa

祢奈敞乃可良尔
ne na pye nö ka ra ni

許等多可利都母
kō tö ta ka ri tu mö

---

609 NHB has 奴 nu.
610 NHB has the reduplication characters 々 in place of 佐恵 here. We find 佐恵佐恵 sawe-sawe in GK and RK.
611 NHB has 婆 Npa.
比流等家波
pyi ru tō kye Npa

等家奈敵比毛乃
tō kye na pye pyi mwo nō

和賀西奈尔
wa Nka se na ni

阿飛與流等可毛
a piy yö ru tō ka mwo

欲流等家也須家
ywo ru tō kye ya su kye

安左乎良乎
a sa wo ra wo

遠家爾布須左尔
wo kye ni pu su sa ni

宇麻受登毛
u ma Nsu tō mwo

阿須伎西佐米也
a su kyi se sa mey ya

伊射西乎騰許爾
i Nsa se wo Ntö kö ni

---

612 NHB has 比 pyi.
613 NHB has the homophonous 安 a.
14:3486 – UD

可奈思伊毛乎
ka na si i mwo wo

由豆加奈倍麻伎
yu Ntu ka na pey ma kyi

母許呂乎能
mō kō rō wo nō

許登等思伊波婆
kō tō tō si i pa Npa

伊夜可多麻斯尓
i ya ka ta ma si ni

14:3487 – UD

安豆左由美
a Ntu sa yu myi

須恵尔多麻末吉
su we ni ta ma ma kyi

可久須酒曾
ka ku su su sō

宿莫奈那里尔思
NE NA na na ri ni si

於久乎可奴加奴
o ku wo ka nu ka nu

614 NHB has the homophonous 乃 nō.
615 I follow NHB here. GK has 乃 mwo, which conflicts with the previous kan-u, thus I think the GK character is a mistake.
14:3489 – UD

安豆左由美
a Ntu sa yu myi

欲良能夜麻邊能
ywo ra nō ya ma PYE nō

之牙可久尔
si Nkye ka ku ni

伊毛呂乎多ㄆ天
i mwo rō wo ta te te

左祢度波良布母
sa ne Ntwo pa ra pu mö

14:3492 – UD

乎夜麻田乃
wo ya ma NTA nō

伊気能都迫美尔
i key nō tu tu myi ni

左須楊616奈疑
sa su ya na Nkiy

奈里毛奈良受毛
na ri mwo na ra Nsu mwo

奈等布多里波毛617
na tō pu ta ri pa mwo

---

616 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 揂.
617 NHB has 母 mö.
於曽波夜母
o sō pa ya mö

奈乎許曽麻多賣
na wo kō sō ma ta mye

牟可都乎能
mu ka tu wo nō

四比乃故夜提618能
si pyi nō kwo ya Nte nō

安比波多我619波自
a pyi pa ta Nka pa Nsi

児毛知夜麻
KWO mwo ti ya ma

和可加敝流弓能
wa ka ka pye ru te nō

毛美都麻弓
mwo myi tu ma te

宿毛等和波毛布
NE mwo tō wa pa mwo pu

汝波安杼620可毛布
NA pa a Ntō ka mwo pu

618 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 堤.
619 This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 家 kye.
620 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 抒.
伊波保呂乃
i pa po rō nō

蘓比能和可麻都
swo pyi nō wa ka ma tu

可藝里登也
ka Nkyi ri tō ya

侻美我伎麻左努
kya myi Nka kyi ma sa nwo

宇良毛等奈久文
u ra mwo tō na ku mo

多智婆奈乃
ta ti Npa na nō

古婆乃波奈里我
kwo Npa nō pa na ri Nka

於毛布奈牟
o mwo pu na mu

己許呂宇都久思
kō kō rō u tu ku si

伊弖安礼波伊可奈
i te a re pa i ka na

---

621 NHB has奴 nu.
622 NHB has the homophonous 知 ti.
14:3497 – UD

可波加美能
ka pa ka myi nö

祢自路多可我夜
ne Nsi rwo ta ka Nka ya

安也尔阿夜尔
a ya ni a ya ni

左宿佐寐623両許曾
sa NE sa NE te kō sō

己登尔両尔思可
kō tö ni te ni si ka

14:3498 – UD

宇奈波良乃
u na pa ra nö

根夜波良古須氣
NE ya pa ra kwo su key

安麻多安礼波624
a ma ta a re pa

伎美波和須良酒
kyi myi pa wa su ra su

和礼和須流礼夜
wa re wa su ru re ya

---

623 I follow NHB here. GK has 森, which looks like a mistake.
624 NHB has 婆 Npa.
14:3499 – UD

乎可尓与西
wo ka ni yō se

和我可流加夜能
wa Nka ka ru ka ya nō

佐祢加夜能
sa ne ka ya nō

麻許等奈其夜波
ma kō tō na Nkō ya pa

祢呂等敝奈香母
ne rō tō pye na ka mó

14:3500 – UD

牟良佐伎波
mu ra sa kyi pa

根乎可母乎布流
NE wo ka mó wo pu ru

比等能625児能
pyi tō nō KWO nō

宇良我奈之家乎
u ra Nka na si kye wo

祢乎遠敞奈久尔
ne wo wo pye na ku ni

625 NHB has the homophonous ḫy nō.
14:3501 – UD

安波乎呂能
a pa wo rō nō

乎呂田尔於波流
wo rō TA ni o pa ru

多波美豆良
ta pa myi Ntu ra

比可婆奴流奴留
pyi ka Npa nu ru nu ru

安乎許等奈多延
a wo kō tō na ta ye

14:3502 – UD

和我目豆麻
wa Nka MEY Ntu ma

比等波左久礼杼626
pyi tō pa sa ku re Ntō

安佐我保能
a sa Nka po nō

等思佐倍己其登
tō si sa pey kō Nkō tō

和波佐可流我倍
wa pa sa ka ru Nka pey

---

626 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 抒.
14:3503 – UD

安齊可我多
a Nse ka Nka ta

志保悲乃由多尔
si po piy nö yu ta ni

於毛敝良婆
o mwo pye ra Npa

宇家良我波奈乃
u kye ra Nka pa na nö

伊呂尓豆米也毛
i rö ni te mey ya mwo

14:3504 – UD

波流敝左久
pa ru pye sa ku

布治能宇良葉乃
pu Nti nö u ra PA nö

宇良夜須尔
u ra ya su ni

左奴流夜曾奈伎
sa nu ru YWO sò na kyi

児呂乎之毛倍婆
KWO rö wo si mwo pey Npa

627 NHB has 母 nö.
宇知比佐都
u ti pyi sa tu

美夜能瀬河泊
myi ya nō SE Nka pa nō

可保婆奈能
ka po Npa na nō

孤悲天香眠良武
kwo piy te ka NU ra mu

伎曽母許余比毛
kyi sō mö kō yō pyi mwo

尓比牟路能
ni pyi mu rwo nō

許騰伎尔伊多礼婆
kō Ntö kyi ni i ta re Npa

波太須酒伎
pa Nta su su kyi

穂尓弖之伎美我
PO ni te si kyi myi Nka

見延奴己能許呂
MYI ye nu kō nō kō rō

---

628 In NHB the transliteration for this character in this poem is ス su.
629 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.
14:3507 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

多尓世婆美
ta ni se Npa myi

弥630年尓波比多流
myi ne ni pa pyi ta ru

多麻可豆良
ta ma ka Ntu ra

多延武能已許呂
ta ye mu nö kō kō rō

和我母波奈久尔
wa Nka mō pa na ku ni

14:3508 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

芝付乃
SINPA TUKYI nö

御宇良佐伎奈流
MYI u ra sa kyi na ru

根都古具佐
NE tu kwo Nku sa

安比見受安良婆
a pyi MYI Nsu a ra Npa

安礼古非米夜母
a re kwo piy mey ya mō

630 All other early extant manuscripts with this poem have myi (Mizushima 1996: 154), so I follow them here. NHB has the variant 佨.
14:3509 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

多久夫须麻
ta ku Npu su ma

之良夜麻可是能
si ra ya ma ka Nse nö

宿奈敞柙母
NE na pye Ntö mö

古呂賀於曾伎能
kwo rö Nka o sō kyi nö

安路許曾要志母
a rwo kō sō ye si mö

14:3511 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

安乎祢呂尔
a wo ne rō ni

多奈婢久君母能
ta na Npyi ku ku mö nö

伊佐欲比尔
i sa ywo pyi ni

物能乎曾於毛布
mo nō wo sō o mwo pu

等思乃許能己呂
tō si nō kō nō kō rō
14:3512 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

比登祢呂尓
pyi tö ne rö ni

伊波流毛能可良
i pa ru mwo nö ka ra

安乎祢呂尓
a wo ne rö ni

伊佐欲布久母能
i sa ywo pu ku mō nö

余曽里都麻波母
yō sō ri tu ma pa mō

14:3513 – UD

由布佐礼婆
yu pu sa re Npa

美夜麻乎左良奴
myi ya ma wo sa ra nu

尔努具母能
ni nwo Nku mō nö

安是可多要牟等
a Nse ka ta ye mu tô

伊比之兒呂波631母
i pyi si KWO rō pa mō

631 NHB has 婆 Npa.
多可伎祢尓
ta ka kyi ne ni

久毛能都久能須
ku mwo nö tu ku nö su

和礼左倍尓
wa re sa pey ni

伎美尓都吉奈那
kyi myi ni tu kyi na na

多可祢等毛比乄
ta ka ne tö mwo pyi te

阿我於毛能
a Nka o mwo nö

和須礼牟之太波
wa su re mu si Nta pa

久尓波布利
ku ni pa pu ri

祢尓多都久毛乎
ne ni ta tu ku mwo wo

見都追之努波西
MYI tu tu si nwo pa se

---
632 NHB has the homophonous ḳ nga.
14:3516 – UD

對馬能祢波
tusi ma nö ne pa

之多具毛安良南敷
si ta Nku mwo a ra na pu

可牟能祢尒
ka mu nö ne ni

多奈婢久君毛乎
ta na Npyi ku ku mwo wo

見都追思努波\textsuperscript{633}
MYI tu tu si nwo pa mwo

14:3517 – UD

思良久毛能
si ra ku mwo nö

多要尔之伊毛乎
ta ye ni si i mwo wo

阿是西呂等
a Nse se rö tö

許己呂尔\textsuperscript{634}能里弓
kō kō rō ni nö ri te

許己婆可那之家
kō kō Npa ka na si kye

\textsuperscript{633} This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 婆 Npa.

\textsuperscript{634} The characters 呂尔 are missing from the GK manuscript.
14:3518 – UD

伊波能倍尔
i pa nō pey ni

伊可賀流久毛能
i ka Nka ru ku mwo nō

可努麻豆久
ka nwo ma Ntu ku

比等曾於多波布
pyi tō sō o ta pa pu

伊射祢之賣刀良
i Nsa ne si mye two ra

14:3519 – UD

奈我波伴尔
na Nka pa pa ni

己良例安波由久
kō ra re a pa yu ku

安乎久毛能
a wo ku mwo nō

伊豆来和伎母兒
i te KYI wa kyi mō KWO

安必見而由可武
a pyi MYI TE yu ka mu
於毛可多能
o mwo ka ta nō

和須礼牟之太波
wa su re mu si Nta pa

於抱野呂
o po NWO rō ni

多奈俾久君母乎
ta na Npyi ku ku mö wo

見都追思努波牟
MYI tu tu si nwo pa mu

可良須等布
ka ra su tö pu

於保乎曾杼635里能
o po wo sö Ntō ri nō

麻左尒毛
ma sa Nte ni mwo

伎麻左奴伎美乎
kyi ma sa nu kyi myi wo

許呂久等曽奈久
kō rō ku tö sö na ku

635 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 抒.
麻乎其母能
ma wo Nkō mö nō

布能末知可久弓
pu nō ma ti ka ku te

安波奈敞波
a pa na pye pa

於吉都麻可母能
o kyi tu ma ka mö nō

奈氣伎曽安我須流
na key kyi sō a Nka su ru

636 GK, NHB, RK, KB, and other early extant manuscripts have 末 miy, which looks like I mistake. I follow Mizushima (1996: 160) in using the Hosoi-Bon (which dates from the beginning of the 17th century) form 末 ma here. Also of note is that the Kobaryaku Ruijushō manuscript from the 14th century glosses this末 miy as ma (Mizushima 1996: 160).
永久君野尔
MYI ku ku NWO ni
可母能波抱能須
ka mō nō pa po nō su
兒呂我宇倍尔
KWO rō Nka u pey ni
許等乎呂波敞而
kō tō wo rō pa pye TE
伊麻太宿奈布母
i ma Nta NE na pu mö

奴麻布多都
nu ma pu ta tu
可欲波等里我栂
ka ywo pa tō ri Nka SU
安我己許呂
a Nka kō kō rō
布多由久奈母等
pu ta yu ku na mō tö
奈與母波里曾祢
na yō mō pa ri sō ne
14:3527 – UD (The fourth and fifth lines of this poem are not in GK, and are thus based on NHB)

於吉爾須毛
o kyi ni su mwo

乎加母能毛己呂
wo ka mō nō mwo kō rō

也左可杼利
ya sa ka Ntō ri

伊伎豆久伊毛乎
i kyi Ntu ku i mwo wo

於伎弖伎努可母
o kyi te kyi nwo ka mō

14:3528 – UD

水都等利能
MYI tu tö ri nō

多々武与曽比尔
ta ta mu yō sō pyi ni

伊母能良尔
i mō nō ra ni

毛乃伊波受伎尔弓
mwo nō i pa Nsu kyi ni te

於毛比可祢都毛
o mwo pyi ka ne tu mwo

---

637 NHB has the homophonous 羽 nō.
638 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 仲.
639 NHB has the homophonous 羽 nō.
640 The reduplication character 々 is missing from GK.
641 NHB has 母 mō.
等夜乃野尔
tō ya nō NWO ni

乎佐藝祢良波里
wo sa Nkyi ne ra pa ri

乎佐乎左毛
wo sa wo sa mwo

祢奈敝古由恵尔
ne na pye kwo yu we ni

波伴尔許呂波要
pa pa ni kō rō pa ye

左乎思鹿能
sa wo si KA nō

布須也久草無良
pu su ya ku sa mu ra

見要受等母
MYI ye Nsu tō mō

兒呂我可奈門欲
KWO rō Nka ka na TWO ywo

由可久之要思母
yu ka ku si ye si mō
伊母乎許曽
i mō wo kō sō

安比美尔許思可
a pyi myi ni kō sì ka

麻欲婢吉能
ma ywo Npyi kyi nō

与許夜麻敝呂能
yō kō ya ma pye rō nō

思之奈須於母敝流
si si na su o mó pye ru

14:3532 – UD

波流能野尔
pa ru nō NWO ni

久佐波牟古麻能
ku sa pa mu kwo ma nō

久知夜麻受
ku ti ya ma Nsu

安乎思努布良武
a wo si nwo pu ra mu

伊敝乃兒呂波母
i pye nō KWO rō pa mó
14:3533 – UD

比登乃兒能
pyi tö nö KWO nö

可奈思家之大波
ka na si kye si Nta pa

々麻渚杼
pa ma SU Ntö ri

安奈由古麻能
a na yu mu kwo ma nö

乎之家口母奈思
wo si kye ku mō na si

14:3536 – UD

安加胡麻乎
a ka Nkwo ma wo

宇知弖左乎妣吉
u ti te sa wo Npyi kyi

己許呂妣吉
kō kō rō Npyi kyi

伊可奈流勢奈可
i ka na ru se na ka

和我理許武等伊布
wa Nka ri kō mu tö i pu

642 NHB has the homophonous nö.
643 I follow NHB here. GK has the kungana phonogram pa.
644 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant kyi.
645 This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
久敝故
ku pye kwo si ni

武藝波武古宇馬能
mu Nkyi pa mu kwo u MA nö

波都々々
pa tu pa tu ni

安比見之兒良之
a pyi MYI si KWO ra si

安夜尔可奈思母
a ya ni ka na si mö

宇麻勢胡之
u ma se Nkwo si

牟伎波武古麻能
mu kyi pa mu kwo ma nö

波都波都
pa tu pa tu ni

仁必波太布礼思
ni pyi pa Nta pu re si

古呂之可奈思母
kwo rõ si ka na si mö

---

646 NHB has 胡 Nkwo.
647 I follow NHB for 波都々々 patupatu. GK has 波々都々 papatuta, which looks like an error. A few later manuscripts have 波都波都 patupatu (Mizushima 1996: 166).
648 NHB has the reduplication characters 々々 here.
14:3538b – UD

乎波夜之尔
wo pa ya si ni

古麻乎波左佐気
kwo ma wo pa sa sa key

己許呂能未
kō kō rō nō miy

伊母我理夜里弓
i mö Nka ri ya ri te

和波己許尔思天
wa pa kō kō ni si te

14:3539 – UD

安受乃宇敏尔
a Nsu nō u pye ni

古馬乎都奈伎弓
kwo MA wo tu na kyi te

安夜抱可等
a ya po ka tō

比等豆麻古吕乎
pyi tō Ntu ma kwo rō wo

伊吉尔和我须流
i kyi ni wa Nka su ru
14:3540 – UD

左和多里能
sa wa ta ri nō

手兒尔伊由伎安比
TE NKWO ni i yu kyi a pyi

安可故麻我
a ka kwo ma Nka

安我伎乎波夜美
a Nka kyi wo pa ya myi

許等登波受伎奴
kō tō tō pa Nsu kyi nu

14:3541 – UD

安受倍可良
a Nsu pey ka ra

古麻能⁶⁴⁹ 由胡能⁶⁵⁰ 須
kwo ma nō yu Nkwo nō su

安也波刀文
a ya pa two mo

比登⁶⁵¹ 豆麻古呂乎
pyi tō Ntu ma kwo rō wo

麻由可西良布母
ma yu ka se ra pu mō

⁶⁴⁹ NHB has the homophonous 眉 nō.
⁶⁵⁰ I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.
⁶⁵¹ NHB has the homophonus 等 tō.
14:3542 – UD

佐射礼伊思尔
sa Nsa re i si ni

古馬乎波佐世弖
kwo MA wo pa sa se te

己許呂伊多美
kō kō rō i ta myi

安我毛布伊毛我
a Nka mwo pu i mwo Nka

伊敝能652安多里可聞
i pye nō a ta ri ka mo

14:3543 – UD

武路我夜能653
mu rwo Nka ya nō

都留能都追美能654
tu ru nō tu tu myi nō

那利奴賀尔
na ri nu Nka ni

古呂波伊敝杵655母
kwo rō pa i pye Ntō mö

伊末太年656那久尔
i ma Nta ne na ku ni

---

652 NHB has the homophonous Ḟy nō.
653 NHB has the homophonous Ḟy nō.
654 NHB has the homophonous Ḟy nō.
655 I follow RK here. Both GK and NHB have the variant 抚.
656 This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 羊, which looks like a mistake.
14:3544 – UD

阿須可河泊 657
a su ka Nka pa

之多尔其礼留乎
si ta ni Nkö re ru wo

之良受思天
si ra Nsu si te

勢奈那登布多理
se na na tò pu ta ri

左宿而久也思母
sa NE TE ku ya si mò

14:3545 – UD

安須可河泊 658
a su ka Nka pa

世久登之里世波
se ku tò si ri se pa

安麻多欲母
a ma ta ywo mö

為祢弖己麻思乎
wi ne te kò ma si wo

世久得四里世婆 659
se ku tò si ri se Npa

---

657 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.
658 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.
659 NHB has 波 pa.
安乎楊660木能
a wo YA NKIY nö

波良路可波刀尔
pa ra rwo ka pa two ni

奈乎麻都等
na wo ma tu tö

西美度波久未受
se myi Ntwo pa ku ma Nsu

多知度奈良須母
ta ti Ntwo na ra su mö

奈流世呂661尔
na ru se rö ni

木都能余須奈須
KÖ662 tu nö yō su na su

伊等能伎提
i tö nö kyi Nte

可奈思家世呂尔
ka na si kye se rö ni

比等佐敞余須母
pyi tö sa pye yō su mö

---

660 I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 楕.
661 NHB has 路 rwo.
662 It is possible that this should be read key.
14:3549 – UD

多由比加

多

ta yu pyi ka ta

志保美

知和多流

si po myi ti wa ta ru

伊豆由可母

i Ntu yu ka mò

加奈之伎世呂我

ka na si kyi se rò Nka

和賀利可欲波牟

wa Nka ri ka ywo pa mu

14:3550 – UD

於志弖伊奈等

o si te i na tö

伊祢波都可祢杆

i ne pa tu ka ne Ntö

奈美能

na myi nö po nö

伊多夫良思毛与

i ta Npu ra si mwo yò

伎曽比登里宿而

kyi sò pyi tö ri NE TE

\( ^{663} \) NHB has 我 Nka.

\( ^{664} \) NHB has the homophonous 诱 myi.

\( ^{665} \) I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 舄.

\( ^{666} \) NHB has the homophonous 乃 nö.
阿遲可麻能
a Nti ka ma nō

可多尔左久奈美
ka ta ni sa ku na myi

比良湍尔母
pyi ra SE ni mö

比毛登久毛能可
pyi mwo tö ku mwo nō ka

加奈思家乎於吉弖
ka na si kye wo o kyi te

麻都我宇良尔
ma tu Nka u ra ni

佐和恵宇良太知
sa wa we u ra Nta ti

麻比登667其等
ma pyi tö Nkō tö

於毛抱須奈母呂
o mwo po su na mō rō

和賀母抱能668須毛
wa Nka mō po nō su mwo

667 NHB has the homophonous 等 tö.
668 NHB has the homophonous にん nō.
14:3553 – UD

安治可麻能
a Nti ka ma nö

可家能水奈刀尔
ka kye nö MYI na two ni

伊流思保乃
i ru si po nö

許冗多受久毛可
kō te ta Nsu ku mwo ka

伊里弖祢669麻久母
i ri te ne ma ku mō

14:3555 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

麻久良我乃
ma ku ra ka nö

許我能和多利乃
kō Nka nö wa ta ri nö

可良加治乃
ka ra ka Nti nö

於等太可思母奈
o tō Nta ka si mō na

宿莫敞兒由惠尔
NE NA pye KWO yu we ni

669 I follow NHB here. GK has 許 kō, which is probably a mistake.
14:3556 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

思保夫祢能
si po Npu ne nö

於可礼婆可奈之
o ka re Npa ka na si

左宿都礼婆
sa NE tu re Npa

比登其等思気志
pyi tö Nkö tö si key si

那乎杼可母思武
na wo Ntö ka mö si mu

14:3557 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

奈夜麻思家
na ya ma si kye

比登都麻可母与
pyi tö tu ma ka mö yö

許具布祢能
kō Nku pu ne nö

和須礼波勢奈那
wa su re pa se na na

伊夜母比麻須尔
i ya mö pyi ma su ni
麻可祢布久
ma ka ne pu ku

尔布能麻曽保能
ni pu nö ma sö po nö

伊呂尓払
i rö ni Nte te

伊波奈久能未曽
i pa na ku nö miy sö

安我古布良久波
a Nka kwo pu ra ku pa

可奈刀田乎
ka na two TA wo

安良我伎麻由美
a ra Nka kyi ma yu myi

比賀刀礼婆
pyi Nka two re Npa

阿米乎万刀能須
a mey wo ma two nö su

伎美乎等麻刀母
kyi myi wo tö ma two mö
14:3563 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

比多我多能
pi ta Nka ta nō

伊蘓乃和可米乃
i swo nō wa ka mey nō

多知美太要
ta ti myi Nta ye

和乎可麻都那毛
wa wo ka ma tu na mwo

伎曽毛己余必母
kyi sō mwo kö yö pyi mö

14:3564 – UD

古須氣呂乃
kwo su key rō nō

宇良布久可是能
u ra pu ku ka Nse nō

安騰須酒可673
a Ntō su su ka

可奈之家兒呂乎
ka na si kye KWO rō wo

於毛比須吾左牟
o mwo pyi su Nkwo sa mu

673 NHB has the homophonous 吾 ka.
可能古呂等
ka nō kwo rō tö

宿受夜奈里奈牟
NE Nsu ya na ri na mu

波太須酒伎
pa Nta su su kyi

宇良野能674夜麻尔
u ra NWO nō ya ma ni

都久可多与留母
tu ku ka ta yö ru mö

14:3566 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

和伎毛古尔
wa kyi mwo kwo ni

安我古非思奈婆
a Nka kwo piy si na Npa

曽和敝可毛
sō wa pye ka mwo

加未尔於保世牟
ka miy ni o po se mu

己許呂思良受弖
kō kō rō si ra Nsu te

---

674 NHB has the homophonous ḃỳ nō.
BEGINNING OF SAKIMORI UTA (BOOK 14)

14:3567 – UD

於伎弖伊可婆
o kyi te i ka Npa

伊毛婆麻可奈之
i mwo pa ma ka na si

母知弖由久
mō ti te yu ku

安都佐能由美乃
a Ntu sa nō yu myi nō

由都可尔母我673毛
yu tu ka ni mō Nka mwo

14:3569 – UD

佐伎母理尔
sa kyi mō ri ni

多知之安佐氣乃
ta ti si a sa key nō

可奈刀佰尔
ka na two Nte ni

手婆奈礼乎思美
TA Npa na re wo si myi

奈吉思兒良婆母
na kyi si KWO ra pa mō

END OF SAKIMORI UTA (BOOK 14)

673 I follow NHB here. GK has 家 kye, which looks like a mistake.
14:3572 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

安杼毛敝可
a Ntö mwo pye ka

阿自久麻夜676末乃
a Nsi ku ma ya ma nö

由豆流波乃
yu Ntu ru pa nö

布敷麻677留等伎尔
pu pu ma ru tö kyø ni

可是布可受可母
ka Nse pu ka Nsu ka mō

14:3573 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

安之比竒能
a si pyi kiy nö

夜麻可都良加氣
ya ma ka Ntu ra ka key

麻之波尔母
ma si pa ni mō

衣我多伎可氣乎
e Nka ta kyi ka key wo

於吉夜可良佐武
o kyi ya ka ra sa mu

676 I follow RK here. This character is missing in NHB.
677 I follow RK here. There is an additional character 夜 ya here in NHB, which seems to be the missing 夜 from the second line.
奈波之呂乃
na pa si rō nō

古奈宜我波奈乎
kwo na Nkiy Nka pa na wo

伎奴尔須里
kyi nu ni su ri

奈流留麻尔末仁
na ru ru ma ni ma ni

安是可加奈思家
a Nse ka ka na si kye

678 NHB has 告 kyi.
SAKIMORI UTA (BOOK 20)

20:4425 – UD

佐伎毛利尔
sa kyi mwo ri ni

由久波多我世登
yu ku pa ta Nka se tö

刀布比登乎
two pu pyi tö wo

美流我登毛之佐
myi ru Nka tö mwo si sa

毛乃母比毛世受
mwo nò mö pyi mwo se Nsu

20:4426 – UD

阿米都之乃
a mey tu si nö

可未尔奴佐於伎
ka miy ni nu sa o kyi

伊波比都々
i pa pyi tu tu

伊麻世和我世奈
i ma se wa Nka se na

阿礼乎之毛波婆
a re wo si mwo pa Npa
伊波乃伊毛呂
i pa nö i mwo rö

和乎之乃布良之
wa wo si nö pu ra si

麻由須比爾
ma yu su pyi ni

由須比之比毛乃
yu su pyi si pyi mwo nö

登久良久毛倍婆
tó ku ra ku mwo pey Npa

和我世奈乎
wa Nka se na wo

都久志波夜利乚
tu ku si pa ya ri te

宇都久之美
u tu ku si myi

叡比波登加奈々
ye pyi pa tö ka na na

阿夜尓可毛祢牟
a ya ni ka mwo ne mu
宇麻夜奈流
u ma ya na ru

奈波多都古麻乃
na pa ta tu kwo ma nó

於久流我弁
o ku ru Nka pye

伊毛我伊比之乎
i mo Nka i pyi si wo

於伎
o kyi te ka na si mwo

阿良之乎乃
a ra si wo nô

伊乎佐太波佐美
i wo sa Nta pa sa myi

牟可非
mu ka piy ta ti

可奈流麻之都美
ka na ru ma si tu myi

伊溕豆登阿我久流
i Nte te tō a Nka ku ru

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679 NHB has the homophonous 岐 kyi.
680 NHB has 比 pyi.
20:4431 – UD

佐左681賀波乃
sa sa Nka pa nö

佐也久志毛用尔
sa ya ku si mwo ywo ni

奈々 弁加流
na na pye ka ru

去682呂毛尔麻世683流
kö rö mwo ni ma se ru

古侶賀波太波毛
kwo rö Nka pa Nta pa mwo

20:4432 – UD

佐弁奈弁奴684
sa pye na pye nu

美許登尔阿礼婆
myi kö tö ni a re Npa

可奈之伊毛我
ka na si i mwo Nka

多麻久良波奈礼
ta ma ku ra pa na re

阿夜尓可奈之母685
a ya ni ka na si mö

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681 I follow NHB here. GK has the character reduplication sign 々.
682 I follow NHB here. GK has 故 kwo, which looks like a mistake.
683 I follow NHB here. GK has the hiragana sign を wo here, which is clearly a mistake.
684 I follow NHB here. GK has 好, which looks like a mistake.
685 NHB has 毛 mwo.
夜未乃欲
ya miy nō ywo nō

由久左伎之良受
yu ku sa kyi si ra Nsu

由久和礼乎
yu ku wa re wo

伊都伎麻佐687 兜等688
i tu kyi ma sa mu tö

登比之古良波母
tō pyi si kwo ra pa mö

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686 I follow NHB here. GK has 夜, which looks like it is being used as a semantogram here due to the fact that it means ‘night’ in Chinese. It is also a phonogram often used in the corpus for the syllable ya, but that usage does not fit in this line of the poem.
687 NHB has the homophonous ᴥ ServletException sa.
688 I follow NHB here. This character is missing from GK.
Bibliography


Mizushima, Yoshiharu. 1972. Kōchū Man’yōshū Azuma uta Sakimori uta [Azuma songs
and border guard songs from the *Man’yōshū*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin.


