

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 (8<sup>th</sup> 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
- ∅ 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

AVEV	adjectival verb evidential
AVFIN	adjectival verb final
AVGER	adjectival verb gerund
AVINF	adjectival verb infinitive
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
CNJ	conjunction
CNJC	conjunctural mood
COM	comitative case
COMP	comparative case
CONC	concessive gerund
COND	conditional gerund
CONJ	conjunctive gerund
COOR	coordinative gerund
COP	copula
DAT	dative case
DEB	debitive mood
DES	desiderative mood
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive case
DLF	directive-locative focus
DPT	desiderative particle
DUR	durative
DV	defective verb (that means ‘say’ or ‘think’)
EXCL	exclamative
EMP	emphatic
EPT	emphatic particle
EV	evidential
FIN	final
FPT	focus particle
GEN	genitive case
HON	honorific
HUM	humble
IMP	imperative mood
INF	infinitive
INT	intensifier
INTER	interjection
IO	indirect object
IPT	ironic particle
ITER	iterative
LAT	lative case
LOC	locative case
MK	<i>makura kotoba</i> <sup>1</sup>
MOOD	mood marker

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally ‘pillow words,’ it refers to a set epithet in Japanese poetry.

NEG	negative
NML	nominalizer
NOM	nominative case
NPT	negative particle
P	plural (in regard to 1/2/3 person)
PASS	passive
PERF	perfective aspect
PLUR	plural
PN	proper name or place name
POL	polite
POSS	possessive case
POT	potential
PP	perfective-progressive aspect
PROC	proclitic
PRED	predication marker
PREF	prefix
PROG	progressive aspect
PST	past tense
PT	particle
PX	possessive suffix
QPT	question particle
REC	reciprocal
RETR	retrospective
RPT	restrictive particle
S	singular (in regard to 1/2/3 person)
SUB	subordinative gerund
SUBJ	subjunctive mood
SUP	suppositional
TAN	tangible
TENT	tentative mood
TENT2	tentative 2 mood
TERM	terminative case
TPT	topic particle
UNC	unclear

### **Eastern Old Japanese Provinces**

KAK	Kamitukeno Province
KAP	Kamitupusa Province
MI	Mitinöku Province
MU	Muzasi Province
PI	Pitati Province
SA	Sagamu Province
SIK	Simotukeno Province
SIN	Sinano Province
SIP	Simotupusa Province

SU	Suruga Province
TO	Tōpotuapumi Province
UD	Unknown Dialect

### Language varieties

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

### Texts

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

### Primary Manuscripts

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

### Other

Func	function
PhG	phonogram
Trans	transliteration

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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 Mitinōku 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<sup>2</sup> of the *Man'yōshū*<sup>3</sup>. 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 *Pitai Fudoki* poems. These are problematic as only a few poems possibly show EOJ features, and their textual history shows signs of significant corruption<sup>4</sup>, which is not surprising since the earliest extant manuscript dates from the late 17<sup>th</sup> 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*.

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that some poems in Book 20 are WOJ poems, but naturally those poems are not included in this study.

<sup>3</sup> I include all poem variants in these totals.

<sup>4</sup> An example from FK8 is 宇志乎 *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 <sup>5</sup>: Sinano 信濃, Tōpotuapumi 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 8<sup>th</sup> century CE<sup>6</sup>**

<sup>5</sup> 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) and the prenasalized voiced obstruents are written as plain voiced (e.g. /<sup>n</sup>zi/ is written as *zi*). This differs slightly from the WOJ transliteration system used throughout the dissertation.

<sup>6</sup> This map is a modified version of the one presented on [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces\\_of\\_Japan.svg](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<sup>7</sup>. 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.

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<sup>7</sup> A few exceptions can be found. See section 5.9 for a discussion.

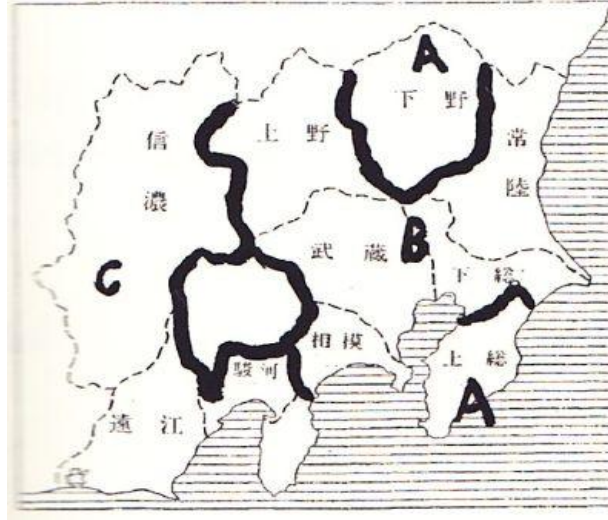
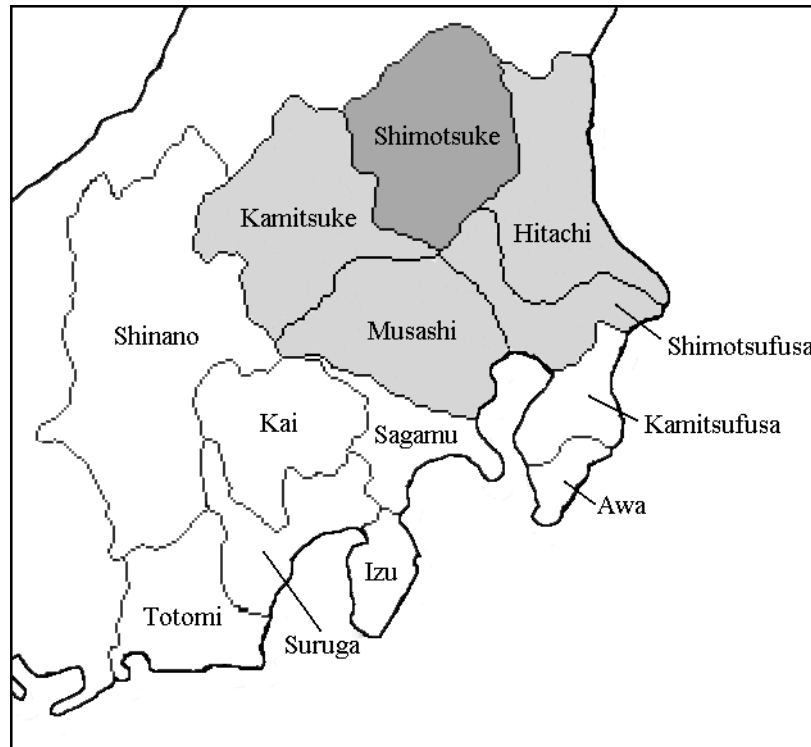


Figure 2: Hino (2003: 197)'s proposed EOJ dialect areas

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<sup>8</sup> 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:

<sup>8</sup> 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.



**Figure 3: Ikier (2006: 64)'s proposed EOJ dialect areas**

Russell (2006: 208) presented a slightly modified version of Hino 2003's dialect divisions, with Mutsu (Mitinöku) 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.

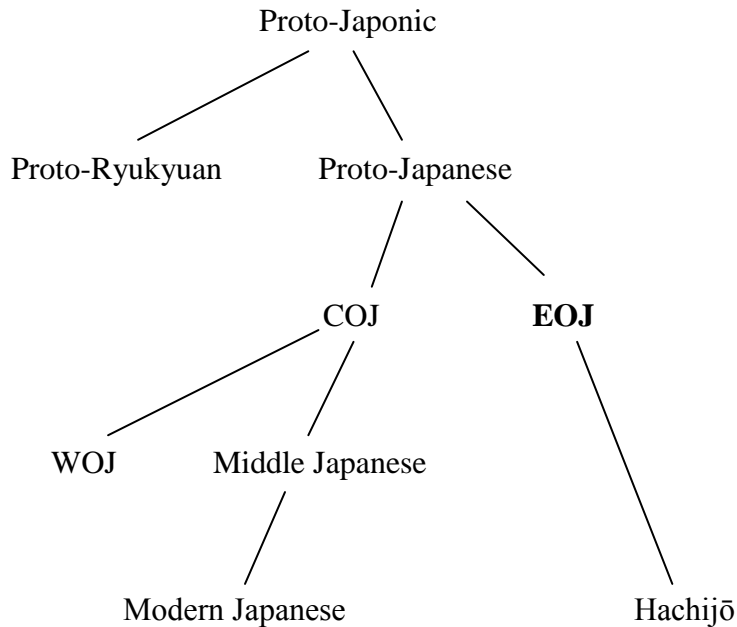


**Figure 4: Russell (2006: 208)’s modified version of Hino’s EOJ dialect areas**

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 8<sup>th</sup> century CE Japan**

In regard to EOJ we must focus our discussion on the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE, and in particular the first half of that century. There were at least three major Japonic language varieties<sup>9</sup> 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 unattested<sup>10</sup>, 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.

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<sup>9</sup> I use the slightly vague term ‘language variety’ as it is still unclear if these were different languages or different dialects.

<sup>10</sup> 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 /<sup>m</sup>b/ 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>11</sup> we have today were written over four hundred years after the first manuscript.

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<sup>11</sup> 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* 元暦校本 (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:

<u>Book:Poem.Line</u>	<u>GK form</u>	<u>NHB form</u>	<u>WOJ form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
20:4403.3	久牟 kumu	久毛 kumwo	kumwo	‘cloud’
20:4342.2	豆久利留 Ntukur-ir-u	豆久礼留 Ntukur-er-u	tukur-er-u <sup>12</sup>	‘make- PROG- ATTR’
20:4401.3	奈古 nak-wo	奈苦 nak-u	nak-u	‘cry-ATTR’
20:4330.3	比 pyi	日 PYI	pyi	‘day’

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

<sup>12</sup> 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)<sup>13</sup>. 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.

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<sup>13</sup> 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 1-1: All poems in the corpus included in or excluded from the present study**

PROVINCE	BOOK 14	BOOK 14 SUM	BOOK 20	BOOK 20 SUM	COMBINED SUM OF BOOKS 14 AND 20	EXCLUDED POEMS	EXCLUDED POEMS SUM
Sinano	3352, 3398, 3399, 3400	4	4401, 4402, 4403	3	7	3401	1
Töpotuapumi	3354, 3429	2	4321, 4322, 4323, 4324, 4325, 4326, 4327	7	9	3353	1
Suruga	3359a	1	4337, 4338, 4339, 4340, 4341, 4342, 4344, 4345, 4346	10	11	3355, 3356, 3357, 3358a, 3358b, 3358c, 3359b, 3430	8
Kamitukeno	3402, 3404, 3405a, 3405b, 3406, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3423, 3434, 3435, 3436	22	4404, 4405, 4406, 4407	4	26	3403, 3407, 3421, 3422	4
Muzasi	3374, 3375, 3376a, 3378, 3379	5	4413, 4414, 4415, 4416, 4417, 4418, 4419, 4420, 4421,	12	17	3373, 3377, 3380, 3381	4

			4422, 4423, 4424				
Sagamu	3361, 3362a, 3362b, 3363, 3366, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3431, 3432	10	4328, 4329, 4330	3	13	3364a, 3364b, 3365, 3367, 3371, 3372, 3433	7
Mitinöku	3426, 3437	2		0	2	3427, 3428	2
Simotukeno	3424, 3425	2	4373, 4374, 4375, 4376, 4377, 4378, 4379, 4380, 4381, 4382, 4383	11	13		0
Pitati	3350, 3351, 3388, 3392, 3394, 3395, 3397	7	4363, 4364, 4365, 4366, 4367, 4368, 4369, 4370, 4371, 4372	10	17		0
Simotupusa	3384, 3385, 3386	3	4384, 4385, 4386, 4387, 4388, 4389, 4390, 4391, 4392, 4393, 4394	11	14	3349, 3387	2
Kamitupusa	3382, 3383	2	4347, 4348, 4349, 4350, 4351, 4352, 4353, 4354, 4355,	13	15	3348	1



			4356, 4357, 4358, 4359				
Idu		0		0	0	3360a, 3360b	2
UD	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,	108	4425, 4426, 4427, 4428, 4429, 4430, 4431, 4432, 4436	9	115	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	33

	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,						
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	3573, 3576						
TOTALS		168		93	<b>261</b>		<b>65</b>

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 hypermetrality.

## 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,’ *titi* ‘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.’), *yökyi* ‘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 *kö-* ‘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 *pupum-* ‘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 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Placenames are the easiest to spot, for example *asiNkara* ~ *asiNkari* looks like a loan from Old Ainu \**áskar-i* ‘pure-place’ (Vovin 2009c: 3), and the province *Muzasi* looks like a loan from Old Ainu \**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 *teNkwo* ‘maiden’ is attested more than once in EOJ, and may be a borrowing of Ainu \**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 *siNta* ‘when,’ a clear borrowing of Ainu *hi-ta* ‘time-LOC’ (Vovin 2009c: 13-6), and possibly also the negative particle *sömö*, 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 \**yaŋ* ‘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*<sup>C</sup> (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<sup>14</sup>: *a, i, u, o, ka, kyi, kiy, ku, kye, key, kwo, kö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, ta, ti, tu, te, two, tö, pa, pyi, piy, pu, pye, pey, po, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ma, myi, miy, mu, mye, mey, mwo, mö, ra, ri, ru, re, rwo, rö, wa, wi, we, wo, ya, yu, ye, ywo, yö, Npa, Npyi, Npu, Npye, Nta, Nti, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, Ntö, Nsa, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nsö, Nka, Nkyi, Nkiy, Nku, Nkye, Nkwo, and Nkö*<sup>15</sup>. 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.

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<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> 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<sup>16</sup> 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 -*nö*), 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, no chart will be presented for that morpheme.

### **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.

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<sup>16</sup> Only suffixes, particles, conjunctions, or auxiliaries are counted. Lexical items are not counted.

### Consonants:

$p = /p/, t = /t/, k = /k/, n = /n/, m = /m/, Np = /<sup>m</sup>b/, Nt = /<sup>n</sup>d/, Nk = /<sup>n</sup>g/, s = /s/, Ns = /<sup>n</sup>z/, r = /r/, w = /w/, y = /y/$

### Vowels:

#### 1) After a consonant

$a = /a/, yi = /i/, iy = /i/, u = /u/, ye = /e/, ey = /əy/, wo = /o/, ö = /ə/, e =$  unknown whether the vowel is  $ey$  or  $ye$ ,  $i =$  unknown whether the vowel is  $iy$  or  $yi$ ,  $o =$  unknown whether the vowel is  $ö$  or  $wo$ .

#### 2) Syllable initial

$a = /a/, i = /i/, u = /u/, o = /ə/, wo = /wo/, ye = /ye/$

### **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<sup>17</sup>. Thus in a section on labial-initial syllable types, we find the order *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.

### 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 *Man'yōshū* is arbitrary and tells us nothing of the chronology of the poems.

### 2.1.2.3 Table structure

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV <sup>18</sup>
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In the sections that follow, I will explain in detail each aspect of the data table format.

<sup>17</sup> In some onset types not all of these syllables are possible. For example, after coronal initials we do not find the syllables *Ciy* or *Cey*.

<sup>18</sup> “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:

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

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:

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>möt-am-u</b>	母多牟	hold-TENT-FIN	14:3424.5	möt-am-u	+

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:

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-m-wo</b>	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3426.4	-m-u	-

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:

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

### 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:

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	saNtamey-	佐太米	<b>decide.INF-</b>	14:3418.4	saNtamey-	+

Multiword English glosses are separated by an underscore:

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sinwop- am-u	志努波牟	<b>long_for-</b> <b>TENT-FIN</b>	20:4327.5	sinwop- am-u	+

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



*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.”<sup>19</sup> 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 likelihood 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 variability 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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<sup>19</sup> 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 *ipyē*), 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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:

	bilabial	coronal	palatal	velar
plosive	p	t		k
fricative		s		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

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<sup>20</sup>.

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.

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<sup>20</sup> 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:

	front	central	back
high	*i		*u
mid	*e	*ə	*o
low			*a *ay

Vowels had phonemic length as well, thus \*a and \*aa were different sequences.

There were also the vowel sequences \*ia and \*ua<sup>21</sup> 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.

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<sup>21</sup> 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.

	bilabial	coronal	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s <sup>n</sup> z		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

### 2.3.2.2 Vowels

The eight vowel phonemes in WOJ are as follows:

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e	ə əy	o
low			a

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<sup>22</sup>
- c) \*oy > i
- d) \*ua > o<sup>23</sup>
- 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<sup>th</sup> century CE.

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<sup>22</sup> 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' > \*tənəyri > tənəri '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).

<sup>23</sup> 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 2-1: Labial initial phonograms**

Phonogram	WOJ transliteration	Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)
波	pa	*pa
泊	pa	*pa
播	pa	*pa
破	pa	*pa
伴	pa	*pa
比	pyi	*pi
非	piy	*pi
悲	piy	*pi
飛	piy	*pi
必	piy	*pi
布	pu	*pu
不	pu	*pu



敷	pu	*pu
弊	pye	*pe
敝	pye	*pe
弁	pye	*pe
倍	pey	*pəy
閉	pey	*pəy
保	po	*po
寶	po	*po
抱	po	*po
富	po	*po
婆	Npa	* <sup>m</sup> ba
妣	Npyi	* <sup>m</sup> bi
婢	Npyi	* <sup>m</sup> bi
夫	Npu	* <sup>m</sup> bu
麻	ma	*ma
萬	ma	*ma
末	ma	*ma
馬	ma	*ma
美	myi	*mi
弥	myi	*mi
未	miy	*m <sup>i</sup>
牟	mu	*mu
武	mu	*mu
模	mu	*mu
無	mu	*mu
无	mu	*mu
馬	mye	*me
賣	mye	*me
米	mey	*məy
毛	mwo	*mo
母	mö	*mə
物	mo	*mo
和	wa	*wa
為	wi	*wi

惠	we	*we
乎	wo	*wo
袁	wo	*wo

**Table 2-2: Coronal initial phonograms**

Phonogram	WOJ transliteration	Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)
多	ta	*ta
他	ta	*ta
知	ti	*ti
都	tu	*tu
追	tu	*tu
弓	te	*te
氏	te	*te
天	te	*te
刀	two	*to
等	tö	*tə
登	tö	*tə
得	tö	*tə
太	Nta	* <sup>n</sup> da
治	Nti	* <sup>n</sup> di
遲	Nti	* <sup>n</sup> di
豆	Ntu	* <sup>n</sup> du
頭	Ntu	* <sup>n</sup> du
泥	Nte	* <sup>n</sup> de
侶	Nte	* <sup>n</sup> de
提	Nte	* <sup>n</sup> de
代	Nte	* <sup>n</sup> de
滌	Nte	* <sup>n</sup> de
田	Nte	* <sup>n</sup> de
度	Ntwo	* <sup>n</sup> do
騰	Ntö	* <sup>n</sup> də

杼	Ntö	* <sup>n</sup> də
左	sa	*sa
佐	sa	*sa
散	sa	*sa
作	sa	*sa
草	sa	*sa
斯	si	*si
志	si	*si
次	si	*si
吹	si	*si
思	si	*si
之	si	*si
師	si	*si
四	si	*si
須	su	*su
酒	su	*su
世	se	*se
勢	se	*se
西	se	*se
宗	swo	*so
蘇	swo	*so
素	swo	*so
祖	swo	*so
曾	sö	*sə
射	Nsa	* <sup>n</sup> za
自	Nsi	* <sup>n</sup> zi
受	Nsu	* <sup>n</sup> zu
是	Nse	* <sup>n</sup> ze
齊	Nse	* <sup>n</sup> ze
叙	Nsö	* <sup>n</sup> zə
奈	na	*na
那	na	*na
尔	ni	*ni
奴	nu	*nu

祢	ne	*ne
尼	ne	*ne
年	ne	*ne
怒	nwo	*no
努	nwo	*no
濃	nwo	*no
能	nö	*nə
乃	nö	*nə
良	ra	*ra
浪	ra	*ra
羅	ra	*ra
里	ri	*ri
理	ri	*ri
利	ri	*ri
流	ru	*ru
留	ru	*ru
礼	re	*re
例	re	*re
路	rwo	*ro
呂	rö	*rə

**Table 2-3: Palatal initial phonograms**

Phonogram	WOJ transliteration	Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)
也	ya	*ya
夜	ya	*ya
楊	ya	*ya
由	yu	*yu
遊	yu	*yu
延	ye	*ye

曳	ye	*ye
要	ye	*ye
衣	ye	*ye
欲	ywo	*yo
用	ywo	*yo
与	yö	*yə
與	yö	*yə
余	yö	*yə
餘	yö	*yə

**Table 2-4: Velar initial phonograms**

Phonogram	WOJ transliteration	Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)
可	ka	*ka
加	ka	*ka
迦	ka	*ka
香	ka	*ka
伎	kyi	*ki
枳	kyi	*ki
吉	kyi	*ki
岐	kyi	*ki
紀	kiy	*ki
奇	kiy	*ki
久	ku	*ku
苦	ku	*ku
九	ku	*ku
口	ku	*ku
家	kye	*ke
價	kye	*ke
祁	kye	*ke

鷄	kye	*ke
氣	key	*kəy
古	kwo	*ko
故	kwo	*ko
己	kö	*kə
許	kö	*kə
去	kö	*kə
賀	Nka	* <sup>n</sup> ga
我	Nka	* <sup>n</sup> ga
河	Nka	* <sup>n</sup> ga
何	Nka	* <sup>n</sup> ga
藝	Nkyi	* <sup>n</sup> gi
疑	Nkiy	* <sup>n</sup> gi
宜	Nkiy	* <sup>n</sup> gi
義	Nkiy	* <sup>n</sup> gi
具	Nku	* <sup>n</sup> gu
牙	Nkye	* <sup>n</sup> ge
胡	Nkwo	* <sup>n</sup> go
吾	Nkwo	* <sup>n</sup> go
其	Nkö	* <sup>n</sup> gə

**Table 2-5: Vowel initial phonograms**

Phonogram	WOJ transliteration	Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)
阿	a	*a
安	a	*a
伊	i	*i
已	i	*i
以	i	*i
宇	u	*u
有	u	*u
意	o	*ə
於	o	*ə

### 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<sup>24</sup>, as we find in the monosyllabic phonograms. I include the reconstructions of the EMC and LH from Schuessler 2009.

**Table 2-6: Dissyllabic phonograms**

Phonogram	EMC	LH	WOJ (transliteration)	Reconstructed WOJ (phonemic)
相	*sjaŋ	*siaŋ	saNka	*sa <sup>ŋ</sup> ga
駿	*tsjwen <sup>C</sup>	*tsuin <sup>C25</sup>	suru	*suru
筑	*tjuk	*tʰuk	tuku	*tuku
信	*sjen <sup>C</sup>	*sin <sup>C</sup>	sina	*sina
對	*twâi <sup>C</sup>	*tuəʂ	tusi	*tusi

### 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

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> 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-ruī* and *Otsu-ruī* distinctions

*Kō-ruī* (甲類) and *otsu-ruī* (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 *kō* /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<sub>1</sub>, which is the *kō-ruī* type, while they referred to WOJ *kō* syllables as こ<sub>2</sub>, which is the *otsu-ruī* type. In addition to the pairs involving /o/ and /ə/ after an onset, there are the WOJ vowel pairs /i/ and /ī/, and /e/ and /əy/ (in both instances the first member of the pair is the *kō-ruī* type, while the second member is the *otsu-ruī* type), as these merged to /i/ and /e/, respectively, in Middle Japanese.

I do not use or reference the terms *kō-ruī* and *otsu-ruī* (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, Tōpotuapumi, Suruga, Kamitukeno, Muzasi, Sagamu, Mitinōku, 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 Tōpotuapumi 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-pa</b>	波 <sup>26</sup>	-COND	14:3400.4	-Npa	-
2	<b>tipayapuru</b>	知波夜布留	MK [UNC]	20:4402.1	tipayapuru	+
3	<b>pyiröp-am-u</b>	比呂波牟	pick_up-TENT-FIN	14:3400.5	pyirip-am-u	+
4	<b>panisina</b>	波尔思奈	PN	14:3398.3	–	?
5	<b>ipap-u</b>	伊波布	pray-ATTR	20:4402.4	ipap-u	+
6	<b>par-i</b>	波里	reclaim_land-INF	14:3399.2	par-i	+
7	<b>Nkapa</b>	河泊	river	14:3400.2	kapa	+
8	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3398.2	pa	+
9	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3399.5	pa	+
10	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4402.4	pa	+
11	<b>pak-ey</b>	波氣	wear-IMP	14:3399.5	pak-ye	+

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.

<sup>26</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 *Npa*, which is invariant.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 等	person	14:3398.1	pyitö	+
2	<b>pyiröp-am-u</b>	<u>比</u> 呂波牟	pick_up-TENT-FIN	14:3400.5	pyirip-am-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.1.3 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tipayap <b>u</b> ru	知波夜 <u>布</u> <sup>27</sup> 留	MK	20:4402.1	tipayaNpuru	-
2	ipap- <b>u</b>	伊波 <u>布</u>	pray-ATTR	20:4402.4	ipap-u	+
3	<b>pum</b> -asim-una	<u>布</u> 麻之牟奈	step-CAUS-NEG.IMP	14:3399.4	pum-asim-una	+
4	<b>pum</b> -yi	<u>布</u> 美	step-INF	14:3400.4	pum-yi	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>potötö</b> Nkyisu	<u>保</u> 登等藝須	cuckoo_bird	14:3352.3	<b>potötö</b> Nkyisu	+

<sup>27</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-Npa</b>	婆	-COND	14:3352.4	-Npa	+
2	<b>N-pane</b>	婆祢	COP.ATTR-stump <sup>28</sup>	14:3399.3	-	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.1.6 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tönö <b>Npyik</b> -u	等能妣久	stream_out-ATTR	20:4403.4	tanaNpyik-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.1.7 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

<sup>28</sup> Japanese commentaries list *pane* as the Sinano word for ‘stump’ or possibly ‘red clay.’ I use the gloss ‘stump.’

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tama	多麻	jewel	14:3400.5	tama	+
2	yama	夜麻	mountain	20:4403.4	yama	+
3	ima	伊麻	now	14:3399.2	ima	+
4	matur-i	麻都理	offer-INF	20:4402.3	matur-i	+
5	tiNkuma	知具麻	PN	14:3400.2	–	?
6	pum-asim-una	布麻之牟奈	step-CAUS-NEG.IMP	14:3399.4	pum-asim-una	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.1.8 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonograms attested are 美 and 弥.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-myi	美	-AVGER	20:4403.2	-myi	+
2	myikötö	美己等	command <sup>29</sup>	20:4403.2	myikötö	+
3	Nkamyi	賀美	deity	20:4402.2	kamiy	-
4	myi-	美	HON-	20:4402.2	myi-	+
5	kyimyi	伎弥 <sup>30</sup>	lord	14:3400.4	kyimyi	+
6	kyimyi	枳美	lord	20:4403.1	kyimyi	+
7	myiti	美知	path	14:3399.2	myiti	+
8	pum-yi	布美	step-INF	14:3400.4	pum-yi	+

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.

<sup>29</sup> Historically analyzable as *myi-kötö* ‘HON-word,’ but synchronically this form was lexicalized as ‘command.’

<sup>30</sup> I follow KB here. NHB has the homophonous variant 旃 *myi* that seems to be unattested in any WOJ text (Omodaka et al. 1967: 901). GK has 祢 *ne*, which looks like a mistake.

### 2.5.1.1.9 *miy* syllables

The *miy* phonogram attested is 未.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>miyna</b>	未奈	all	14:3398.1	miyna	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.1.10 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 牟 and 武.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kumu</b>	久牟 <sup>31</sup>	cloud	20:4403.3	kumwo	-
2	<b>kamu</b>	加牟	EPT	20:4403.5	kamö/ kamu <sup>32</sup>	+
3	<b>körömu</b>	己呂武 <sup>33</sup>	garment	20:4401.1	körömö	-
4	<b>pyiröp-am-u</b>	比呂波牟	pick_up-TENT-FIN	14:3400.5	pyirip-am-u	+
5	<b>pum-asim-una</b>	布麻之牟奈 <sup>34</sup>	step-CAUS-NEG.IMP	14:3399.4	pum-asim-una	+

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

<sup>31</sup> I follow GK here, as it shows a vowel raising not found in WJ. NHB has 毛 *mwo*, which is invariant.

<sup>32</sup> The form *kamu* is attested twice in WJ, in 5:810.5, and 5:813.27.

<sup>33</sup> NHB has 茂 *mo* rather than 武 *mu* but I follow GK here, as it shows a vowel raising not found in WJ.

<sup>34</sup> 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 believe GK shows a mistake.

### 2.5.1.1.11 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tamey</b>	多 <u>米</u>	benefit	20:4402.5	tamey	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.1.12 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mwo</b>	<u>毛</u>	FPT	14:3398.2	mö	-
2	<b>omwo</b>	意 <u>毛</u>	mother	20:4402.5	omö	-

These variances suggest the merger of \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_. These data conflict with the final vowel-raising seen in section 2.5.1.1.10, 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.

### 2.5.1.1.13 *mö* syllables

The *mö* phonogram attested is 母.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	14:3400.3	mö	+
2	<b>omö</b>	意 <u>母</u>	mother	20:4401.5	omö	+

As in the previous section, these data conflict with the final vowel-raising found in section 2.5.1.1.10.

#### 2.5.1.1.14 *wa* syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	14:3399.5	wa	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.1.1.15 *we* syllables

The *we* phonogram attested is 惠.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>köwe</b>	許惠	voice	14:3352.4	köwe	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.1.1.16 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

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

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) \***i** > i
- b) \***o** > u / m\_#
- c) \*<sup>m</sup>**b** > 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, Nswo, Nsö, or rwo* syllables.

#### 2.5.1.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tamey</b>	<u>多</u> 米	benefit	20:4402.5	tamey	+
2	<b>taye</b>	<u>多</u> 延	break.INF	14:3398.5	taye	+
3	<b>tay-u</b>	<u>多</u> 由	break-FIN	14:3398.2	tay-u	+
4	<b>tama</b>	<u>多</u> 麻	jewel	14:3400.5	tama	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>titi</b>	<u>知</u> 々	father	20:4402.5	titi	+
2	<b>inöti</b>	伊能 <u>知</u>	life	20:4402.4	inöti	+
3	<b>tipayapuru</b>	<u>知</u> 波夜布留	MK	20:4402.1	tipayaNpuru	+
4	<b>myiti</b>	美 <u>知</u>	path	14:3399.2	myiti	+
5	<b>tiNkuma</b>	<u>知</u> 具麻	PN	14:3400.2	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>matur-i</b>	麻 <u>都</u> 理	offer-INF	20:4402.3	matur-i	+
2	<b>kutu</b>	久 <u>都</u>	shoes	14:3399.5	kutu	+
3	<b>tuk-yi</b>	<u>都</u> 伎	attach-INF	20:4401.2	tuk-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 𠄎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-te	𠄎	-PERF	14:3400.4	-te	+
2	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4401.4	-te	+
3	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4401.5	-te	+
4	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4403.5	-te	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.5 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 等 and 登.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	myikötö	美己等	command	20:4403.2	myikötö	+
2	tö	登	COP	14:3398.2	tö	+
3	potötöNkyisu	保登等藝須	cuckoo_bird	14:3352.3	potötöNkyisu	++
4	pyitö	比等	person	14:3398.1	pyitö	+
5	tör-i	等里	take-INF	20:4401.2	tör-i	+
6	tö	等	think	14:3400.5	tö	+
7	tökyi	登伎	time	14:3352.5	tökyi	+
8	tönöNpyik-u <sup>35</sup>	等能妣久	stream_out -ATTR	20:4403.4	tanaNpyik-u	-
9	kötö	許等	word	14:3398.2	kötö	+
10	kötö	許登	word	14:3398.5	kötö	+

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

<sup>35</sup> 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 /ə/ 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	saNsare	左射礼	little	14:3400.3	saNsare	+
2	nusa	奴佐	paper_ offering	20:4402.3	nusa	+
3	saNka	佐贺	slope	20:4402.2	saka	+

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*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-si	志	-AVFIN	20:4401.5	-si	+
2	kasikwo	可之古	be.awesome	20:4403.2	kasikwo	+
3	s-i	志	do-INF	20:4401.5	s-i	+
4	si	之	EPT	14:3400.4	si	+
5	asi	安思	foot	14:3399.4	asi	+
6	panisina	波尔思奈	PN	14:3398.3	–	?
7	isiWI	伊思井	PN	14:3398.4	–	?
8	sinanwo	信濃	PN	14:3399.1	sinanwo	+
9	sinanwo	信濃	PN	14:3400.1	sinanwo	+
10	sinanwo	信濃	PN	14:3352.1	sinanwo	+
11	pum-asim-	布麻之牟奈 <sup>36</sup>	step-CAUS-	14:3399.4	pum-asim-	+

<sup>36</sup> I follow NHB here. 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 believe GK shows a mistake.

	una		NEG.IMP		una	
12	[i]si	思	stone	14:3400.3	isi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.1.2.8 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	potötöNkyisu	保登等藝須	cuckoo_bird	14:3352.3	potötöNkyisu	+
2	suswo	須宗	hem	20:4401.2	suswo	+
3	suNkiy	須疑	pass.INF	14:3352.5	suNkiy	+
4	suNka	須我	PN	14:3352.2	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.1.2.9 *se* syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 世.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	se	世	back	14:3399.5	se	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.1.2.10 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 宗.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	suswo <sup>37</sup>	須宗	hem	20:4401.2	suswo	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.1.2.11 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-sö	曾	-do <sup>38</sup>	14:3398.5	-sö	+
2	sö	曾	FPT	20:4401.4	sö	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.1.2.12 *Nsa* syllables

The *Nsa* phonogram attested is 射.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	saNsare	左射礼	little	14:3400.3	saNsare	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.1.2.13 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

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

<sup>38</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>miyna</b>	未奈	all	14:3398.1	miyna	+
2	<b>nak-u</b>	奈久	cry-ATTR	14:3352.4	nak-u	+
3	<b>nak-wo</b>	奈古	cry-ATTR	20:4401.3	nak-u	+
4	<b>-n[i]-ar-u</b>	奈留	-LOC-exist-ATTR	14:3400.1	-n[i]-ar-u	+
5	<b>-n[i]-ar-u</b>	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	14:3352.1	-n[i]-ar-u	+
6	<b>na-</b>	奈	NEG.IMP	14:3398.5	na-	+
7	<b>na</b>	奈	not.exist	20:4401.5	na	+
8	<b>panisina</b>	波尔思奈	PN	14:3398.3	–	?
9	<b>sinanwo</b>	信濃	PN	14:3352.1	sinanwo	+
10	<b>sinanwo</b>	信濃	PN	14:3399.1	sinanwo	+
11	<b>sinanwo</b>	信濃	PN	14:3400.1	sinanwo	+
12	<b>pum-asim-una</b>	布麻之牟奈 <sup>39</sup>	step-CAUS-NEG.IMP	14:3399.4	pum-asim-una	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.1.2.14 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	20:4401.5	n-i	+
2	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3352.2	-ni	+
3	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3399.3	-ni	+
4	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4401.2	-ni	+
5	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4402.2	-ni	+
6	<b>-n-i</b>	尔	-PERF-INF	14:3352.5	-n-i	+
7	<b>panisina</b>	波尔思奈	PN	14:3398.3	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>39</sup> I follow NHB here. 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 believe GK shows a mistake.

### 2.5.1.2.15 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nusa</b>	奴佐	paper_offering	20:4402.3	nusa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.16 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-n-e</b>	祢	-DES-IMP	14:3398.5	-n-e	+
2	<b>N-pane</b>	婆祢	COP.ATTR- stump	14:3399.3	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.17 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonograms attested are 怒 and 濃.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-n-wo</b>	怒	-PERF-ATTR	20:4403.5	-n-u	-
2	<b>-n-wo</b>	怒 <sup>40</sup>	-PERF-ATTR	20:4401.4	-n-u	-
3	<b>sinanwo</b>	信濃	PN	14:3352.1	sinanwo	+
4	<b>sinanwo</b>	信濃	PN	14:3399.1	sinanwo	+
5	<b>sinanwo</b>	信濃	PN	14:3400.1	sinanwo	+

<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 *-o* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nö</b>	能	field	14:3352.2	nwo	-
2	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3352.2	-nö	+
3	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	14:3398.1	-nö	+
4	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3398.3	-nö	+
5	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	14:3398.4	-nö	+
6	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3399.2	-nö	+
7	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3400.2	-nö	+
8	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3400.2	-nö	+
9	<b>-nö</b>	乃美	-GEN	20:4402.2	-nö	+
10	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4403.1	-nö	+
11	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	20:4403.3	-nö	+
12	<b>inöti</b>	伊能知	life	20:4402.4	inöti	+
13	<b>tönöNpyik-u</b> <sup>41</sup>	等能妣久	stream_out-ATTR	20:4403.4	tanaNpyik-u	-

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

<sup>41</sup> 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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.20 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 里 and 理.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.21 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonograms attested are 流 and 留.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.2.22 *re* syllables

The *re* phonogram attested is 礼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	saNsare	左射礼	little	14:3400.3	saNsare	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.2.23 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	körömu	己呂武	garment	20:4401.1	körömö	+
2	pyiröp-am-u	比呂波牟	pick_up-TENT-FIN	14:3400.5	pyirip-am-u	-

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)  $*\text{ə} > o$
- c)  $*a > \text{ə}$  (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  $/a/ > /\text{ə}/$  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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tay-u	多 <u>由</u>	break-FIN	14:3398.2	tay-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.3.3 *ye* syllables

The *ye* phonogram attested is 延.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	taye	多 <u>延</u>	break.INF	14:3398.5	taye	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.3.4 *yö* syllables

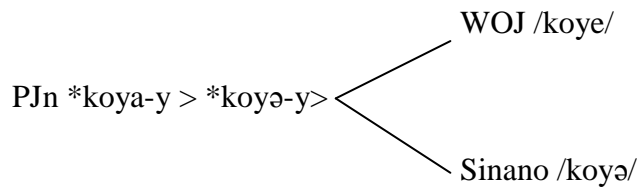
The *yö* phonogram attested is 与.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwoyö	古 <u>与</u>	cross.INF	20:4403.5	kwoye	-

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):



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*, *kö*, *Nka*, *Nkyi*, *Nkiy* and *Nku*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, *Nkwo* or *Nkö* syllables.

### 2.5.1.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 可 and 加.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kasikwo-</b>	<u>可</u> 之古	be.awesome-	20:4403.2	kasikwo-	+
2	<b>kar-i</b>	<u>可</u> 里	cut_down-INF	14:3399.3	kar-i	+
3	<b>kamu</b>	<u>加</u> 牟	EPT	20:4403.5	kamö / kamu	+
4	<b>kara</b>	<u>可</u> 良	PN	20:4401.1	kara	+
5	<b>-ka</b>	<u>可</u> <sup>42</sup>	-POSS	20:4402.5	-Nka	-

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 积.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tuk-yi</b>	都 <u>伎</u>	attach-INF	20:4401.2	tuk-yi	+
2	<b>k-yi</b>	<u>伎</u>	come-INF	20:4401.4	k-yi	+
3	<b>k-yi</b>	<u>伎</u>	come-INF	20:4403.5	k-yi	+
4	<b>kyik-ey</b>	<u>伎</u> 氣	hear-EV	14:3352.4	kyik-ey	+
5	<b>ok-yi</b>	意 <u>伎</u>	leave_behind-INF	20:4401.4	ok-yi	+
6	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎</u> 弥	lord	14:3400.4	kyimyi	+
7	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>积</u> <sup>43</sup> 美	lord	20:4403.1	kyimyi	+
8	<b>tökyi</b>	登 <u>伎</u>	time	14:3352.5	tökyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>42</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 我 *Nka*, which would be invariant.

<sup>43</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has an obscure variant 积 that is probably a mistake.

### 2.5.1.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 家.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-kyer-i</b>	家里	-RETR-INF	14:3352.5	-kyer-i	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.1.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

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

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



### 2.5.1.4.6 *kwo* syllables

The *kwo* phonogram attested is 古.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kasikwo</b>	可之 <u>古</u>	be.awesome	20:4403.3	kasikwo	+
2	<b>kwoyö</b>	<u>古</u> 与	cross.INF	20:4403.5	kwoye	+
3	<b>kwo</b>	<u>古</u> <sup>44</sup>	girl	20:4401.3	kwo	+
4	<b>nak-wo</b>	奈 <u>古</u> <sup>45</sup>	cry-ATTR	20:4401.3	nak-u	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>myikötö</b>	美 <u>己</u> 等	command	20:4403.2	myikötö	+
2	<b>körömu</b>	<u>己</u> 呂武	garment	20:4401.1	körömö	+
3	<b>köwe</b>	<u>許</u> 惠	voice	14:3352.4	köwe	+
4	<b>kötö</b>	<u>許</u> 等	word	14:3398.2	kötö	+
5	<b>kötö</b>	<u>許</u> 登	word	14:3398.5	kötö	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.4.8 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 賀 and 我.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>Nkamyi</b>	<u>賀</u> 美	deity	20:4402.2	kamyi	-

<sup>44</sup> GK has 等 *tö*, but I follow NHB here. *tö* may be another EOJ word for ‘girl,’ but this is unclear. See Chapter 9 for a discussion.

<sup>45</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 苦 *ku*, which would be invariant.

2	su <b>Nka</b>	須我	PN	14:3352.2	–	?
3	- <b>Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3398.4	-Nka	+
4	- <b>Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3399.5	-Nka	+
5	sa <b>Nka</b>	佐賀	slope	20:4402.2	saka	-

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<sup>46</sup>.

#### 2.5.1.4.9 *Nkyi* syllables

The *Nkyi* phonogram attested is 藝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	potötö <b>Nkyisu</b>	保登等藝須	cuckoo_bird	14:3352.3	potötöNkyisu	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.1.4.10 *Nkiy* syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 疑.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	su <b>Nkiy</b>	須疑	pass.INF	14:3352.5	suNkiy	+

<sup>46</sup> There is one exception, the word *Nkötö* ‘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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tiNkuma	知具麻	PN	14:3400.2	–	?

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) \*<sup>ŋ</sup>g > g
- b) \*əy > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>awo</b>	<u>阿</u> 乎	blue	20:4403.3	awo	+
2	<b>asi</b>	<u>安</u> 思	foot	14:3399.4	asi	+
3	<b>ara</b>	<u>安</u> 良	wild	14:3352.2	ara	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonogram attested is 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>inöti</b>	<u>伊</u> 能知	life	20:4402.4	inöti	+
2	<b>ima</b>	<u>伊</u> 麻	now	14:3399.2	ima	+
3	<b>isiWI</b>	<u>伊</u> 思井	PN	14:3398.4	–	?
4	<b>ipap-u</b>	<u>伊</u> 波布	pray-ATTR	20:4402.4	ipap-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.1.5.3 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 意.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>opo</b>	<u>意</u> 保	be.great	20:4403.1	opo	+
2	<b>ok-yi</b>	<u>意</u> 伎	leave_behind-INF	20:4401.4	ok-yi	+
3	<b>omö</b>	<u>意</u> 母	mother	20:4401.5	omö	+
4	<b>omwo</b>	<u>意</u> 毛	mother	20:4402.5	omö	+

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 2-7: Consonant variances and invariances in Sinano**

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

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 /<sup>m</sup>b/ 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 /<sup>n</sup>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 2-8: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Sinano**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s [ <sup>n</sup> z]		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

Surely there were either /<sup>n</sup>d/ and /<sup>n</sup>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**

	front	central	back
high	i	[i]	u
mid		ə [əy]	o
low			a

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 Tōpotuapumi<sup>47</sup>

Tōpotuapumi is represented by nine poems in the *Man'yōshū*: two from Book 14 (3354 and 3429) and seven from Book 20 (4321-4327). Tōpotuapumi 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

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

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<sup>47</sup> I reconstruct this province's name as Tōpotuapumi 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4323.2	pana	+
2	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4323.4	pana	+
3	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4325.2	pana	+
4	kayup-am-u	加由波牟	go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN	20:4324.5	kaywop-am-u	+
5	sinwop-am-u	志努波牟	long_for-TENT-FIN	20:4327.5	sinwop-am-u	+
6	sapaNta	佐波太	many	14:3354.3	sapa	+
7	<b>papa</b>	波々	mother	20:4323.4	papa	+
8	<b>papa</b>	波々	mother	20:4325.1	papa	+
9	sirupa	志留波	PN	20:4324.2	–	?
10	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4322.1	pa	+
11	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4323.2	pa	+
12	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4325.4	pa	+
13	<b>pa</b>	波 <sup>48</sup>	TPT	20:4327.4	pa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

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

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>48</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 *Npa*, which is variant.

### 2.5.2.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 非.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwop <b>iy</b> -	古 <b>非</b> <sup>49</sup>	long_for	20:4322.2	kwopiy-	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.1.4 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	töpotuap <b>umy</b> i	等保都安 <b>布</b> 美	PN	14:3429.1	–	?
2	kaN <b>kapur</b> -i	加我 <b>布</b> 理	put_on-INF	20:4321.2	kaNkapur- i	+
3	[i] <b>p-u</b>	<b>布</b>	say-ATTR	20:4323.4	ip-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.5 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 弊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pye</b>	<b>弊</b>	side	20:4326.2	pye	+

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 閑.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	töpeytapomyi	等倍多保美	PN	20:4324.1	–	?
2	nipey	尔閑	PN	20:4324.3	–	?
3	kyipey	伎倍	PN	14:3354.1	–	?
4	sapey	佐倍	RPT	20:4322.4	sapey	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	töpeytapomyi	等倍多保美	PN	20:4324.1	–	?
2	töpotuapumyi	等保都安布美	PN	14:3429.1	–	?
3	posö	保曾	thin	14:3429.2	poso	+

While there are no known variances in these data in regard to WOJ, both *po* syllables in forms (1) *tōpeytapomyi* /təpotapomi/ and (2) *tōpotuapumyi* /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 *Tōpotuapumi* /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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ar-a <b>Npa</b>	阿良婆 <sup>50</sup>	exist-COND	20:4324.4	ar-aNpa	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.1.8 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	ta <b>Npyi</b>	多妣	journey	20:4325.4	taNpyi	+
2	ta <b>Npyi</b>	多妣 <sup>51</sup>	journey	20:4327.4	taNpyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.9 *Npu* syllables

The *Npu* phonogram attested is 夫.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-pusuma</b>	夫須麻	COP.ATTR-bed_covers	14:3354.2	N-pusuma	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonograms attested are 麻 and 萬.

<sup>50</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 波 *pa*, which is variant.

<sup>51</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*, which is variant.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	as- <b>amasi</b>	安佐 <u>麻</u> 之	be.shallow-SUBJ	14:3429.5	as-amasi	+
2	- <b>mas-e</b>	<u>麻</u> 勢	-HON-IMP	20:4326.4	-mas-e	+
3	iN <b>tuma</b>	伊豆 <u>麻</u>	leisure	20:4327.3	itwoma	+
4	<b>makura</b>	<u>麻</u> 久良	pillow	20:4325.3	makura	+
5	<b>maNtara</b>	<u>萬</u> 太良	speckled	14:3354.2	maNtara	+
6	<b>tuma</b>	都 <u>麻</u>	spouse	20:4322.1	tuma	+
7	<b>tuma</b>	都 <u>麻</u>	spouse	20:4327.1	tuma	+
8	- <b>mate</b>	<u>麻</u> 弓	-TERM	20:4326.5	-maNte	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.1.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.1.12 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 无 and 牟.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imu</b>	伊牟	beloved_girl	20:4321.5	imwo	-
2	<b>nöm-u</b>	乃牟	drink-ATTR	20:4322.3	nöm-u	+

3	kayup- <b>am-u</b>	加由波 <u>牟</u>	go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN	20:4324.5	kaywop-am-u	+
4	yuk- <b>am-u</b>	由加 <u>牟</u>	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4325.5	yuk-am-u	+
5	sinwop- <b>am-u</b>	志努波 <u>牟</u>	long_for-TENT-FIN	20:4327.5	sinwop-am-u	+
6	-ky- <b>em-u</b>	祁 <u>牟</u>	-PAST-TENT-ATTR	20:4323.5	-ky-em-u	+
7	tör- <b>am-u</b>	等良 <u>无</u>	take-TENT-ATTR	20:4327.2	tör-am-u	+
8	- <b>m-u</b>	<u>牟</u> <sup>52</sup>	-TENT-ATTR	20:4321.4	-m-u	+
9	<b>muta</b>	<u>牟</u> <sup>53</sup> 多	together	20:4321.4	muta	+

In form (1), *imu*, we see either vowel raising, or a contracted vowel reflex from 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tanö <b>mey</b>	多能 <u>米</u>	trust.INF	14:3429.4	tanömey	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.1.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imwo</b>	伊 <u>毛</u>	beloved_girl	14:3354.5	imwo	+

<sup>52</sup> I follow GK here. NHB and many other manuscripts have 乎 *wo* (Mizushima 1996: 190).

<sup>53</sup> I follow GK here. NHB and many other manuscripts have a 伊 *i* above this character (Mizushima 1996: 190).

2	möNkamwo	母我毛	DPT	20:4325.2	möNkamö	-
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Only form (2) is variant here.

### 2.5.2.1.15 mö syllables

The mö phonogram attested is 母.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-tömö	登母	-CONC	20:4323.2	-Ntömö	+
2	möNkamwo	母我毛	DPT	20:4325.2	möNkamö	+
3	mö	母	FPT	20:4324.5	mö	+
4	mö	母	FPT	20:4325.1	mö	+
5	mö	母	FPT	20:4327.1	mö	+
6	mö	母	FPT	20:4327.3	mö	+
7	mömö	母々	hundred	20:4326.3	mwomwo	--
8	mömö	母々	hundred	20:4326.4	mwomwo	--
9	mönö	母乃	thing	14:3354.4	mönö	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	wa	和	1.S	20:4322.1	wa	+
2	wa	和	1.S	20:4326.5	wa	+
3	wa	和	1.S	20:4327.1	wa	+
4	wata	和多	cotton	14:3354.3	wata	+
5	wasur-are	和須良礼	forget-PASS	20:4322.5	wasur-are	+



There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.1.17 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-wo	乎	-ACC	14:3429.4	-wo	+
2	-wo	乎	-ACC	14:3429.5	-wo	+
3	wo	乎	cord	14:3429.3	wo	+
4	woN-tökö	乎杼許	DIM-bed	14:3354.5	woN-tökö	+

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) \*o > u / m\_
- b) \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_
- c) \*əy > 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, sö, Nsu, na, ni, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, and re*. There are no phonographically attested *two, Nti, Ntwo, Nsa, Nsi, Nse, Nsö, Nswo, nu, rwo, or rö* syllables.

#### 2.5.2.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

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

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>titi</b>	知々	father	20:4325.1	titi	++

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-tutu</b>	<u>都</u> 都	-COOR	20:4327.5	-tutu	++
2	<b>-tu</b>	都 <sup>54</sup>	-GEN/LOC	14:3429.3	-tu	+
3	töpotuapumyi	等保 <u>都</u> 安布美	PN	14:3429.1	–	?
4	<b>tuma</b>	<u>都</u> 麻	spouse	20:4322.1	tuma	+
5	<b>tuma</b>	<u>都</u> 麻	spouse	20:4327.1	tuma	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 𠂔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-te</b>	<u>𠂔</u>	-SUB	14:3429.4	-te	+
2	<b>-te</b>	<u>𠂔</u>	-SUB	20:4321.5	-te	+
3	<b>-te</b>	<u>𠂔</u>	-SUB	20:4322.4	-te	+
4	<b>-te</b>	<u>𠂔</u>	-SUB	20:4324.4	-te	+
5	<b>-te</b>	<u>𠂔</u>	-SUB	20:4325.5	-te	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.5 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 等 and 登.

<sup>54</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 手 *te*, which is probably a mistake.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-tö	<u>等</u>	-COM	20:4324.2	tö	+
2	-tö	<u>等</u>	-COM	20:4324.3	tö	+
3	myikötö	美許 <u>等</u>	command	20:4321.2	myikötö	+
4	-tömö	<u>登</u> 母	-CONC	20:4323.2	-Ntömö	-
5	tömö	<u>等</u> 母	CON	20:4325.4	tömö	+
6	tö	<u>登</u>	COP	20:4323.4	tö	+
7	tönö	<u>等</u> 能	hall	20:4326.2	tönö	+
8	pyitö	<u>比</u> 等	person	14:3354.1	pyitö	+
9	töpotuapumyi	<u>等</u> 保都安布美	PN	14:3429.1	–	?
10	töpeytapomyi	<u>等</u> 倍多保美	PN	20:4324.1	–	?
11	tör-am-u	<u>等</u> 良无	take-TENT-ATTR	20:4327.2	tör-am-u	+
12	tökyi	<u>等</u> 伎	time	20:4323.1	tökyi	+
13	kötö	<u>己</u> 等	words	20:4324.5	kötö	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	maNtara	萬 <u>太</u> 良	speckled	14:3354.2	maNtara	+
2	sapaNta <sup>55</sup>	佐波 <u>太</u>	many	14:3354.3	-Nta	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>55</sup> Historically this *-Nta* is a collective suffix. Some adverbs in WOJ have this fossilized, such as *kököNta* ‘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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	iNtuma	伊豆麻	leisure	20:4327.3	itwoma	-
2	myiNtu	美豆 <sup>56</sup>	water	20:4322.3	myiNtu	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]Nte-	泥	go_out.INF-	20:4323.5	iNte-	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.2.9 *Ntö* syllables

The *Ntö* phonograms attested are 騰 and 杼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	woN-tökö	乎杼許	DIM-bed	14:3354.5	woN-tökö	+
2	-Ntökyi	騰吉	-REDUP	20:4323.1	-Ntökyi	+

<sup>56</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 川 *tu*, which looks like it is used quasi-semanticographically 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	as-amasi	安 <u>佐</u> 麻之	be.shallow-SUBJ	14:3429.5	as-amasi	+
2	sak-ye	<u>左</u> 家	bloom-EV	20:4323.2	sak-ey	+
3	sak-yi	<u>佐</u> 吉	bloom-INF	20:4323.5	sak-yi	+
4	-N-kusa	具 <u>佐</u>	-GEN-grass	20:4326.3	-N-kusa	+
5	kusa	久 <u>佐</u>	grass	20:4325.3	kusa	+
6	sapaNta	<u>佐</u> 波太	many	14:3354.3	sapa	+
7	inasa	伊奈 <u>佐</u>	PN	14:3429.2	–	?
8	sasakö-	<u>佐</u> 々己	raise.INF	20:4325.5	sasaNkey-	++
9	sapey	<u>佐</u> 倍	RPT	20:4322.4	sapey	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.11 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	siri	<u>志</u> 利	back	20:4326.2	siri	+
2	kasikwo-	可 <u>之</u> 古	be.awesome-	20:4321.1	kasikwo-	+
3	as-amasi	安 <u>佐</u> 麻 <u>之</u>	be.shallow-SUBJ	14:3429.5	as-amasi	+
4	siru	<u>志</u> 留	be.white	20:4324.2	sirwo	+
5	s-i	<u>志</u>	do-INF	20:4321.5	s-i	+
6	si	<u>之</u>	EPT	20:4324.4	si	+
7	-si	<u>之</u>	-FIN	20:4321.5	-si	+
8	sinwop-am-u	<u>志</u> 努波牟	long_for-TENT-FIN	20:4327.5	sinwop-am-u	+
9	-n-amasi	奈麻 <u>之</u>	-PERF-SUBJ	14:3354.4	-n-amasi	+

10	kusi	久思	skewer	14:3429.3	kusi	+
11	-rasi	良之	-SUP	20:4322.2	-rasi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.2.12 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	s-ure	須礼	do-EV	20:4323.3	s-ure	+
2	wasur-are	和須良礼	forget-PASS	20:4322.5	wasur-are	+
3	-N-pusuma	夫須麻	-GEN-bed_clothes	14:3354.2	-N-pusuma	+
4	asu	阿須	tomorrow	20:4321.3	asu	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.2.13 *se* syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 勢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-mas-e	麻勢	-HON-IMP	20:4326.4	-mas-e	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.2.2.14 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 宗.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>iswo</b>	伊宗	rock	20:4324.2	iswo	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.2.2.15 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>posö</b>	保曾	be.thin	14:3429.2	posö	+
2	<b>sö</b>	曾	FPT	20:4323.3	sö	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.2.16 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.2.17 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4323.2	pana	+



2	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4323.4	pana	+
3	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4325.2	pana	+
4	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	20:4321.5	na-	+
5	<b>-n-amasi</b>	奈麻之	-PERF-SUBJ	14:3354.4	-n-amasi	+
5	<b>inasa</b>	伊奈佐	PN	14:3429.2	–	?
6	<b>nani</b>	奈尔	what	20:4323.3	nani	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.18 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	20:4321.5	n-i	+
2	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	20:4325.2	n-i	+
3	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3354.2	-ni	+
4	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3354.5	-ni	+
5	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4322.3	-ni	+
6	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4322.5	-ni	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4327.2	-ni	+
8	<b>nipey</b>	尔閑	PN	20:4324.3	–	?
9	<b>nani</b>	奈尔	what	20:4323.3	nani	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.19 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 衿.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ne-</b>	衿	sleep-	20:4321.4	ne-	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.2.20 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sinwop-am-u	志努波牟	long_fortent-fin	20:4327.5	sinwop-am-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.2.2.21 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.2.22 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ura</b>	宇 <u>良</u>	bay	20:4324.3	ura	+
2	<b>ar-aNpa</b>	阿 <u>良</u> 婆	exist-COND	20:4324.4	ar-aNpa	+
3	<b>wasur-are</b>	和須 <u>良</u> 礼	forget-PASS	20:4322.5	wasur-are	+
4	<b>makura</b>	麻久 <u>良</u>	pillow	20:4325.3	makura	+
5	<b>maNtara</b>	萬太 <u>良</u>	speckled	14:3354.2	maNtara	+
6	<b>-rasi</b>	<u>良</u> 之	-SUP	20:4322.2	-rasi	+
7	<b>tör-am-u</b>	等 <u>良</u> 无	take-TENT-ATTR	20:4327.2	tör-am-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.2.23 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 理 and 利.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-yuri</b>	由 <u>利</u>	-ABL	20:4321.3	-yuri	+
2	<b>siri</b>	志 <u>利</u>	back	20:4326.2	siri	+
3	<b>ir-i</b>	伊 <u>利</u>	enter-INF	14:3354.4	ir-i	+
4	<b>kaNkapur-i</b>	加我布 <u>理</u>	put_on-INF	20:4321.2	kaNkapur-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.2.24 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonograms attested are 留 and 流.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-tar-u</b>	多 <u>流</u>	-PP-ATTR	20:4326.5	-tar-u	+
2	<b>siru</b>	志 <u>留</u>	white	20:4324.2	sirwo	-

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.

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

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) \*<sup>n</sup>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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-yuri</b>	由利	-ABL	20:4321.3	-yuri	+
2	kay <b>up</b> -am-u	加由波牟	go_back_and_forth-TENT-FIN	20:4324.5	kaywop-am-u	-

3	yuk-u	由久	go-ATTR	20:4327.4	yuk-u	+
4	yuk-u	由久	go-FIN	20:4325.4	yuk-u	+
5	yuk-am-u	由加牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4325.5	yuk-am-u	+

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- (< \*kayuap-, 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 曳.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kaye	加曳	reed	20:4321.4	kaya	-
2	myi-ye	美曳	see-PASS	20:4322.4	myi-ye	+

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 fusionaly

reduced all PJn diphthongs in unbound morphs, so if the form were PJn \*kayay, we would expect WOJ *kaye* (< \*kayəy). 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yö</b>	余	generation	20:4326.3	yö	+
2	<b>yö</b>	与	generation	20:4326.4	yö	+
3	<b>yö</b>	余	world	20:4322.5	yö	+

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 / y\_
- b) \*ua > u / y\_
- c) \*a > e / y\_ [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.

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

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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonograms attested are 家 and 祁.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sak-ye	左家	bloom-EV	20:4323.2	sak-ey	-
2	-ky-em-u	袞牟	-PST-TENT-ATTR	20:4323.5	-ky-em-u	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kasikwo-	可之古	be.awesome-	20:4321.1	kasikwo-	+
2	kwopyi	古比	long_for.INF	20:4322.2	kwopiy	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.4.6 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	myikötö	美許等	command	20:4321.2	myikötö	+
2	kö-	己	come-	20:4323.5	kö-	+
3	woN-tökö	乎杼許	DIM-bed	14:3354.1	woN-tökö	+

4	sasakö-	佐々己 <sup>57</sup>	raise.INF	20:4325.5	sasaNkey-	-
5	kötö	己等	word	20:4324.5	kötö	+

The correspondence of Töpotuapumi *kö* : WOJ *key* seen in (4) is indicative of Töpotuapumi contracting the PJn diphthong \*əy into /ə/ via deletion of the second segment.

#### 2.5.2.4.7 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonogram attested is 我.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	möNkamwo	母我毛	DPT	20:4325.2	möNkamö	+
2	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4321.4	-Nka	+
3	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4322.1	-Nka	+
4	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4326.1	-Nka	+
5	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4326.5	-Nka	+
6	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4327.1	-Nka	+
7	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3354.5	-Nka	+
8	kaNkapur-i	加我布理	put_on_head-INF	20:4321.2	kaNkapur-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.4.8 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-kusa	具佐	-GEN-grass	20:4326.3	-N-kusa	+

<sup>57</sup> 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 *Nk*ö syllables

The *Nk*ö phonogram attested is 其.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kaNk <sup>ö</sup>	加其	shadow	20:4322.4	kaNkey	-

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) \*<sup>ŋ</sup>g > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	are	安礼	1.S	14:3429.4	are	+
2	are	阿礼	1.S	20:4327.4	are	+
3	as-amasi	安佐麻之	be.shallow-SUBJ	14:3429.5	as-amasi	+
4	ar-aNpa	阿良婆	exist-COND	20:4324.4	ar-aNpa	+
5	ap-yi	安比	meet-INF	20:4324.4	ap-yi	+
6	töpotuapumyi	等保都安布美	PN	14:3429.1	–	?
7	asu	阿須	tomorrow	20:4321.3	asu	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.2.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonogram attested is 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ita	伊多	be.extreme	20:4322.2	ita	+
2	imu	伊牟	beloved_girl	20:4321.5	imwo	+
3	imwo	伊毛	beloved_girl	14:3354.5	imwo	+
4	ir-i	伊利	enter-INF	14:3354.4	ir-i	+
5	ite	伊弓	go_out.INF	20:4326.4	iNte	+
6	iNtuma	伊豆麻	leisure	20:4327.3	itwoma	+
7	inasa	伊奈佐	PN	14:3429.2	–	?
8	iswo	伊宗	rock	20:4324.2	iswo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.2.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ura</b>	宇良	bay	20:4324.3	ura	+

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**

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

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**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative			s [ʰz]	
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

### 2.5.2.6.3 Vowels

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

**Table 2-12: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Töpotuapumi**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low			a

#### 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 > ə

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 (\*əy > ə)
- 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.

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

<sup>58</sup> This is the RK form. GK and NHB have the semantogram 母 ‘mother.’

6	<b>papa</b>	<u>波々</u>	mother	20:4340.1	papa	++
7	<b>papa</b>	<u>波々</u>	mother	20:4342.4	papa	++
8	<b>papa</b>	<u>波々</u>	mother	20:4344.4	papa	++
9	<b>panare</b>	<u>波奈例</u>	part_from. INF	20:4338.4	panare	+
10	<b>panar[e]- iswo</b>	<u>波奈利蕪</u>	part_from.INF -stone	20:4338.3	panare- [i]swo	+
11	<b>tatipana</b>	多知 <u>波奈</u>	PN	20:4341.1	tatiNpana	-
12	<b>ipap-yi</b>	已 <u>波比</u>	pray-INF	20:4339.5	ipap-yi	+
13	<b>ipap-yi</b>	已 <u>波比</u>	pray-INF	20:4340.2	ipap-yi	+
14	<b>[i]p-as-u</b>	<u>波須</u>	say-NEG-FIN	20:4337.4	ip-aNs-u	+
15	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4341.4	pa	+
16	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4343.1	pa	+
17	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4344.4	pa	+

All *pa* syllables are invariant except for (9), which has a voiceless initial instead of a prenasalized voiced.

### 2.5.3.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem .Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>taNkap-yi</b>	多我 <u>比</u>	differ-INF	14:3359a.5	taNkap-yi	+
2	<b>ipyi</b>	已 <u>比</u>	home	20:4343.3	ipye	-
3	<b>tapyi</b>	多 <u>比</u>	journey	20:4343.1	taNpyi	-
4	<b>tapyi</b>	多 <u>比</u>	journey	20:4343.2	taNpyi	-
5	<b>ipap-yi</b>	已 <u>波比</u>	pray-INF	20:4339.5	ipap-yi	+
6	<b>ipap-yi</b>	已 <u>波比</u>	pray-INF	20:4340.2	ipap-yi	+
7	<b>kapyir-i</b>	加 <u>比利</u>	return-INF	20:4339.4	kapyer-i	-
8	<b>ip-yi</b>	伊 <u>比</u>	say-INF	20:4346.4	ip-yi	+

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 *ipyē* 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 *kapi-r-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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	kupusi-	苦 <u>不</u> 志	be.longing-	20:4345.5	kwopiysi-	-
2	op-uru	於 <u>布</u> 流	grow-ATTR	14:3359a.2	op-uru	+
3	puta	<u>不</u> 多	two	20:4345.2	puta	+

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 /i/. 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 蔽.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pye</b>	<u>蔽</u>	area	14:3359a.2	pye	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.1.5 *po* syllables

The *po* phonograms attested are 寶 and 保.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pomey</b>	寶米	bless.INF	20:4342.2	pomey	+
2	<b>omeyp-o</b>	於米保	think-EV	20:4343.2	omöp-ey	-

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 hypothesis 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 *pəy* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-pasira</b>	婆 <sup>59</sup> 之良	COP.ATTR-pillar	20:4342.1	N-pasira	+
2	keytō <b>Npa</b>	氣等婆 <sup>60</sup>	word	20:4346.4	kōtōNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.7 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

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

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/,

<sup>59</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 波 *pa*, which is variant.

<sup>60</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 波 *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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tatam- <b>yi</b>	多々美	mat-NML	20:4338.1	tatam-yi	+
2	<b>myi</b> wori	美袁利	PN	20:4341.2	–	?
3	<b>umyi</b>	宇美	sea	14:3359a.1	umyi	+
4	<b>myi</b> Ntuk-u <sup>61</sup>	美豆久	submerge_in_water-ATTR	20:4340.4	myiNtuk-u	+
5	tanöm- <b>yi</b>	多能美	trust-NML	14:3359a.4	tanöm-yi	+
6	<b>myi</b> Ntu	美豆	water	20:4337.1	myiNtu	+
7	<b>myi</b>	美	wife	20:4343.5	mye	-

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 牟.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yas-uram- <b>u</b>	夜須良牟	become_	20:4343.4	yas-uram-	+

<sup>61</sup> This is probably a contraction of \*myi-ni tuk-u ‘water-LOC attach-ATTR.’

			emaciated-TENT2-ATTR		u	
2	wasur-am-u	和須良 <u>牟</u>	forget-TENT-FIN	20:4344.1	wasur-am-u	+
3	muraNsi	<u>牟</u> 良自	PN	20:4338.2	-	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.10 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	meyNkur-u	<u>米</u> 具留	encircle-ATTR	20:4339.1	meyNkur-	+
2	meykur-i	<u>米</u> 久利	encircle-INF	20:4339.3	meyNkur-	+
3	omey	於 <u>米</u>	face	20:4342.5	omö	-
4	mey	<u>米</u>	FPT	20:4345.5	mö	-
5	meyt-i	<u>米</u> 知	hold-INF	20:4343.4	möt-	-
6	pomey	寶 <u>米</u>	bless-INF	20:4342.2	pomey	+
7	-Nk[a]-yimey	和伎 <u>米</u>	-POSS-beloved_girl	20:4345.1	-Nk[a]-yimwo	-
8	keymey	氣 <u>米</u>	straw	20:4338.1	kömö	-
9	omeyp-o	於 <u>米</u> 保	think-EV	20:4343.2	omöp-ey	-

Of the nine examples, only three are invariant to their corresponding WJ 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 *\*møy* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kamwo</b>	加毛	EPT	20:4341.5	kamö	-
2	<b>kamwo</b>	加毛	EPT	20:4344.5	kamö	-
3	<b>mwonö</b>	毛能	thing	20:4337.4	mönö	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mö</b>	母	FPT	20:4343.5	mö	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.1.13 *wa* syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.1.14 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonograms attested are 乎 and 袁.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-wo	乎	-ACC	14:3359a.4	-wo	+
2	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4338.4	-wo	+
3	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4341.3	-wo	+
4	myiwori	美袁利	PN	20:4341.2	—	?

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) \*<sup>m</sup>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, sö, Nsa, Nswo, or rwo* syllables.

#### 2.5.3.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ta</b> Nkap-yi	多我比	differ-INF	14:3359a.5	taNkap-yi	+
2	<b>tapyi</b>	多比	journey	20:4343.1	taNpyi	+
3	<b>tapyi</b>	多比	journey	20:4343.2	taNpyi	+
4	<b>tatam</b> -yi	多々美	mat-NML	20:4338.1	tatam-yi	++
5	<b>tatipana</b>	多知波奈	PN	20:4341.1	tatiNpana	+
6	<b>tat</b> -i	多知	rise-NML	20:4337.2	tati-i	+
7	<b>tanöm</b> -yi	多能美	trust-NML	14:3359a.4	tanöm-yi	+
8	<b>puta</b>	不多	two	20:4345.2	puta	+
9	<b>mat-an</b> -e	麻多祢	wait-DES-IMP	20:4339.5	mat-an-e	+
10	<b>mat-an</b> -e	麻多祢	wait-DES-IMP	20:4340.1	mat-an-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.3.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	töti	等 <u>知</u>	father	20:4340.1	titi	+
2	titi	<u>知</u> 々	father	20:4344.4	titi	++
3	titi	<u>知</u> 々 <sup>62</sup>	father	20:4337.3	titi	++
4	titi	<u>知</u> 々	father	20:4346.1	titi	++
5	meyt-i	米 <u>知</u>	hold-INF	20:4343.4	möt-i	+
6	tatipana	多 <u>知</u> 波奈	PN	20:4341.1	tatiNpana	+
7	tat-i	多 <u>知</u>	rise-NML	20:4337.2	tat-i	+
8	ut-i	宇 <u>知</u>	strike-INF	20:4345.3	ut-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuNtura	<u>都</u> 豆良	kudzu	14:3359a.3	tuNtura	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonograms attested are 𠄎, 𠄎, and 天.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	nate	奈 <u>𠄎</u>	caress.INF	20:4346.2	naNte	-
2	te	<u>𠄎</u>	DV	20:4346.3	tö	-
3	te	<u>𠄎</u> <sup>63</sup>	DV	20:4344.1	tö	-
4	-kate	加 <u>𠄎</u>	-POT-	20:4341.5	-kate	+
5	-te	<u>𠄎</u>	-SUB	20:4343.3	-te	+

<sup>62</sup> This is the RK form. GK and NHB have the semantogram 父 *TITI* ‘father.’

<sup>63</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 豆 *Ntu*, which looks like a mistake.

6	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4337.4	-te	+
7	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4341.3	-te	+
8	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4342.2	-te	+
9	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4339.5	-te	+
10	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4340.2	-te	+
11	-te	天	-SUB	20:4338.4	-te	+
12	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4340.5	-te	+
13	-mate	麻𠄎 <sup>64</sup>	-TERM	20:4339.4	-maNte	-
14	-mate	麻𠄎	-TERM	20:4340.5	-maNte	-

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 /<sup>n</sup>de/ 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.

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<sup>64</sup> This character is missing from the GK manuscript where the whole line only has six phonograms rather than the expected seven (Mizushima 1996: 196).

### 2.5.3.2.5 *two* syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	satwo	佐刀	village	20:4341.2	satwo	+
2	twoNsi	刀自	wife	20:4342.4	twoNsi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.6 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonogram attested is 等.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	töri	等利	bird	20:4337.1	töri	+
2	atöri	阿等利	brambling	20:4339.2	atöri	+
3	-tö	等	-COM	20:4345.1	-tö	+
4	-tö	等	-CONC	20:4344.3	-Ntö	-
5	-tö	等	-CONC	20:4343.2	-Ntö	-
6	tö	等	DV	20:4343.2	tö	+
7	töti	等知 <sup>65</sup>	father	20:4340.1	titi	-
8	Nkötö	其等	like	20:4342.3	Nkötö	+
9	tönö	等乃	pavilion	20:4342.3	tönö	+
10	tör-i	等里	take-INF	20:4340.5	tör-i	+
11	keytöNpa	氣等婆	word	20:4346.4	kötöNpa	+

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

<sup>65</sup> 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 *\*<sup>n</sup>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 *titi* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuNtura	都 <u>豆</u> 良	kudzu	14:3359a.3	tuNtura	+
2	Ntukur-ir-u	<u>豆</u> 久利留	make-PROG-ATTR	20:4342.2	tukur-er-u	-
3	-Nt-uru	<u>豆</u> <sup>66</sup> 流	-PERF-ATTR	20:4346.5	-t-uru	-
4	Ntukusi	<u>豆</u> 久志	PN	20:4340.3	tukusi <sup>67</sup>	-
5	myiNtu	美 <u>豆</u>	water	20:4337.1	myiNtu	+
6	myiNtu	美 <u>豆</u>	water	20:4340.4	myiNtu	+

<sup>66</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has the *kungana* phonogram 津 *tu*.

<sup>67</sup> Always attested in WOJ as 筑紫, from EMC *\*trjuwk tsjeX*.



Here we see out of a total of six attestations of 𪛗 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 \*<sup>n</sup>d 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 𪛗 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 宇豆都 *uNtutu* '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-PYITÖ* '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 𪛗 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-sa	佐	-AVNML	20:4338.5	-sa	+
2	sa-	佐	be.safe-	20:4346.3	–	?
3	satwo	佐刀	village	20:4341.2	satwo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.9 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kupusi-	苦不志	be.longing-	20:4345.5	kwopiysi-	+
2	kuyasi-	久夜志	be.regretful-	20:4337.5	kuyasi-	+
3	kanasi-	加奈之	be.sad-	20:4338.5	kanasi-	+
4	kanasi-	可奈志	be.sad-	20:4343.5	kanasi-	+
5	s-i	志	do-INF	20:4343.3	s-i	+
6	N-pasira	婆之良	COP.ATTR-pillar	20:4342.1	N-pasira	+
7	kasira	可之良	head	20:4346.2	kasira	+
8	tukusi	豆久志	PN	20:4340.3	tukusi	+
9	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4346.4	-si	+
10	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4345.2	-si	+
11	osi	於思	rock	14:3359a.2	iswo	-

12	imasi	伊麻思	you	14:3359.4	imasi	+
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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.

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

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 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	se-	勢	do-	20:4342.5	se-	+
2	se-	勢	do-	20:4344.5	se-	+
3	imas-e	已麻勢	exist.HON-IMP	20:4342.4	imas-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.12 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.13 *Nsi* syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	muraNsi	牟良自	PN	20:4338.2	–	?
2	twoNsi	刀自	wife	20:4342.4	twoNsi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.14 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Ns-u	受	-NEG-FIN	20:4342.5	-Ns-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.2.15 *Nse* syllables

The *Nse* phonogram attested is 是.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	Nse	是	FPT	20:4346.4	Nsö	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	Nsö	叙	FPT	20:4337.5	Nsö	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.2.17 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.18 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.19 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-n-u</b>	奴	-PERF-FIN	14:3359a.5	-n-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.3.2.20 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.21 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

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

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-COMP	20:4337.2	-nö	+
2	- <b>nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-COMP	20:4338.3	-nö	+
3	- <b>nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3359a.1	-nö	+
4	- <b>nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	20:4337.1	-nö	+
5	- <b>nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	20:4338.2	-nö	+
6	- <b>nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	20:4341.1	-nö	+
7	- <b>nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	20:4341.2	-nö	+
8	- <b>nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	20:4341.4	-nö	+
9	- <b>nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	20:4342.3	-nö	+
10	- <b>nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	20:4345.4	-nö	+
11	<b>tönö</b>	等 <u>乃</u>	pavilion	20:4342.3	tönö	+
12	<b>mwonö</b>	毛 <u>能</u>	thing	20:4337.4	mönö	+
13	<b>tanöm-yi</b>	多 <u>能</u> 美	trust-INF	14:3359a.4	tanöm-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.23 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yas- <b>uram-u</b>	夜須 <u>良</u> 牟	become_ emaciated-TENT2-ATTR	20:4343.4	yas-uram-u	+
2	wasur- <b>am-u</b>	和須 <u>良</u> 牟	forget-TENT-INF	20:4344.1	wasur-am-u	+
3	N- <b>pasira</b>	婆之 <u>良</u>	COP.ATTR-pillar	20:4342.1	N-pasira	+
4	<b>kasira</b>	可之 <u>良</u>	head	20:4346.2	kasira	+
5	<b>tuNtura</b>	都豆 <u>良</u>	kudzu	14:3359a.3	tuNtura	+
6	- <b>ra</b>	<u>良</u>	-PLUR	20:4345.4	-ra	+



7	muraNsi	牟良自	PN	20:4338.2	–	?
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There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.24 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 利 and 里.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	töri	等利	bird	20:4337.1	töri	+
2	atöri	阿等利	brambling	20:4339.2	atöri	+
3	kapar-i	加波利	change-INF	20:4342.5	kapar-i	+
4	-ri	利	-CL	20:4345.2	-ri	+
5	keyri	氣利	lapwing	20:4339.2	–	?
6	Ntukur-ir-u	豆久利 <sup>68</sup> 留	make-PROG-ATTR	20:4342.2	tukur-er-u	-
7	panar[e]-iswo	波奈利蕪	part_from. INF-stone	20:4338.3	panare-[i]swo	-
8	myiwori	美袁利	PN	20:4341.2	–	?
9	kapyir-i	加比利	return-INF	20:4339.4	kapyer-i	+
10	tör-i	等里	take-INF	20:4340.5	tör-i	+
11	meykur-i	米久利	turn-INF	20:4339.3	meyNkur-i	+

The variance in (7) looks to be the result of a contraction of the sequence /e/ + /i/ > /i/ in Suruga, while the WOI form contracts this sequence of /e/ + /i/ > /e/. See section 2.8.1.2.1 for further discussion of this particular case. The WOI 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).

<sup>68</sup> NHB has 礼 *re*, but I follow GK here because it shows a raised vowel unattested in WOI.

### 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yes- <b>uru</b>	江須流	approach-ATTR	20:4345.3	yös-uru	+
2	meyNkur- <b>u</b>	米具留	encircle-ATTR	20:4339.1	meyNkur-u	+
3	<b>ar-u</b>	阿流	exist-ATTR	20:4345.5	ar-u	+
4	op- <b>uru</b>	於布流	grow-ATTR	14:3359a.2	op-uru	+
5	-n- <b>ar-u</b>	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	20:4340.3	-n-ar-u	+
6	Ntukur-ir- <b>u</b>	豆久利留	make-PROG-ATTR	20:4342.2	tukur-er-u	+
7	-Nt- <b>uru</b>	豆流	-PERF-ATTR	20:4346.5	-t-uru	+
8	<b>suru</b> Nka	駿河	PN	14:3359a.1	suruNka	+
9	<b>suru</b> Nka	須流河	PN	20:4345.4	suruNka	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.26 *re* syllables

The *re* phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	k- <b>ure</b>	久礼	come-EV	20:4344.3	k-ure	+
2	<b>ar-e</b>	阿例	exist-IMP	20:4346.3	ar-e	+
3	wasure	和須礼	forget-INF	20:4346.5	wasure	+
4	wasure	和須例	forget-INF	20:4344.5	wasure	+
5	<b>ware</b>	和例	1.S	20:4344.3	ware	+
6	panare	波奈例	part_from. INF	20:4338.4	panare	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.2.27 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>warö</b>	和呂	1.S	20:4343.1	ware	-

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?<sup>69</sup>)]\_
- b) \*<sup>n</sup>d > d
- c) \*<sup>n</sup>z > 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.

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<sup>69</sup> 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 *ya* and *yu*. There are no phonographically attested *ye*, *ywo* or *yö* syllables.

#### 2.5.3.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonogram attested is 夜.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kuyasi-	久夜志	be.regretful-	20:4337.5	kuyasi-	+
2	yas-uram-u	夜須良牟	become_ emaciated- TENT2- ATTR	20:4343.4	yas-uram-u	+
3	yama	夜麻	mountain	20:4344.2	yama	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.3.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yuk-u	由久	go-ATTR	20:4338.5	yuk-u	+
2	yuk-yi	由伎	go-INF	20:4339.3	yuk-yi	+
3	yuk-yi	由伎	go-INF	20:4341.5	yuk-yi	+
4	yuk-yi	由伎	go-INF	20:4344.2	yuk-yi	+
5	yuk-yi	由伎	go-INF	20:4344.2	yuk-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.3.3 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:

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

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kanasi-</b>	加奈之	be.sad-	20:4338.5	kanasi-	+

2	<b>kanasi-</b>	<u>可</u> 奈志	be.sad	20:4343.5	kanasi-	+
3	<b>kapar-i</b>	<u>加</u> 波利	change-INF	20:4342.5	kapar-i	+
4	<b>kama</b>	<u>加</u> 麻	duck	20:4339.2	kamwo	+
5	<b>kamwo</b>	<u>加</u> 毛	FPT	20:4344.5	kamö	+
6	<b>kasira</b>	<u>可</u> 之良	head	20:4346.2	kasira	+
7	<b>-kane</b>	<u>加</u> 祢	-NEG.POT	20:4346.5	-kane	+
8	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4338.2	-Nka	-
9	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4343.5	-Nka	-
10	<b>-kate</b>	<u>加</u> 弓	-POT-	20:4341.5	-kate	+
11	<b>kamwo</b>	<u>加</u> <sup>70</sup> 毛	PT	20:4341.5	kamö	+
12	<b>ka</b>	<u>可</u>	QPT	20:4345.5	ka	+
13	<b>kapyir-i</b>	<u>加</u> 比利	return-INF	20:4339.4	kapyer-i	+
14	<b>kakyi-</b>	<u>加</u> 伎	TNG-	20:4346.2	Kakyi-	+

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 伎 and 岐.

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

<sup>70</sup> 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.

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

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.

<sup>71</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>k-ye</b>	價	come-INF-	20:4337.4	k-yi	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>keyri</b>	氣利	lapwing	20:4339.2	-	?
2	<b>keymey</b>	氣米	straw	20:4338.1	kömö	-
3	<b>key</b>	氣	tree	20:4342.1	kiy/kö- <sup>72</sup>	-
4	<b>keytöNpa</b>	氣等婆	word	20:4346.4	kötöNpa	-

Once again we find something very peculiar here. Three of the four attested *key* syllables are variant, as they correspond to a WOJ *kö* syllable (the other attestation is not phonographically attested in WOJ). The fact there are no phonographically attested *kö* 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

<sup>72</sup> The free form is *kiy*, while *kö-* occurs before the genitive *-nö*. Both are WOJ reflexes from PJ \**kəy* ‘tree.’



syllables shown above are phonemically /kə/, 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kwo</b>	古	child	20:4343.4	kwo	+
2	<b>kwo</b>	故	child	20:4345.1	kwo	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.3.4.7 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 河.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.3.4.8 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	meyNkur- u	米具留	encircle-ATTR	20:4339.1	meyNkur- u	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.3.4.9 *Nkö* syllables

The *Nkö* phonogram attested is 其.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	Nkötö	其等	like	20:4342.3	Nkötö	+

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) \*<sup>h</sup>g > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	atöri	阿等利	brambling	20:4339.2	atöri	+
2	ar-u	阿流	exist-ATTR	20:4345.5	ar-u	+
3	ar-e	阿例	exist-IMP	20:4346.3	ar-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonograms attested are 已 and 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imasi	伊麻思	2.S	14:3359a.4	imasi	+
2	imas-e	已麻勢	exist.HON-IMP	20:4342.4	imas-e	+
3	ipyi	已比	home	20:4343.3	ipye	+
4	iswok-yi	已蘇岐	hurry-INF	20:4337.2	iswoNk-yi	+
5	ima	已麻	now	20:4337.5	ima	+
6	ipap-yi	已波比	pray-INF	20:4339.5	ipap-yi	+
7	ipap-yi	已波比	pray-INF	20:4340.2	ipap-yi	+
8	ip-yi	伊比	say-INF	20:4346.4	ip-yi	+
9	iswo	已蘇	stone	20:4338.2	iswo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.3.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ut-i</b>	宇知	hit-INF	20:4345.3	ut-i	+
2	<b>umyi</b>	宇美	sea	14:3359a.1	umyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.3.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

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

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 2-13: Variances and invariances among consonants in Suruga**

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

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 denasalization. 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  $*^nd > d$ , 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**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p [ʰb]	t d		k ʰg
fricative		s ʰz		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

### 2.5.3.6.3 Vowels

The following table lists the vowel phonemes attested in Suruga.

**Table 2-15: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Suruga**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low			a

/ə/ only occurs after velars: after labials this merged with /o/ while after coronals and palatals this merged with /e/. Notably absent is /əy/, 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/, patterning with the fronting of /ə/ 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 > ə
- 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) \*<sup>n</sup>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 (\*<sup>n</sup>d > 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, Npey, Npo, or mye* syllables.



### 2.5.4.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonograms attested are 波 and 泊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pari</b>	波里	alder	14:3410.2	pari	+
2	<b>pari</b>	波里	alder	14:3435.2	pari	+
3	arapar-wo	安良波路	appear-ATTR	14:3414.4	arapar-uru	+
4	<b>pasi</b>	波之	be.adorable	14:3408.4	pasi	+
5	<b>pasi</b>	波之	bridge	14:3420.2	pasi	+
6	<b>pap-yi</b>	波比	crawl-INF	14:3434.4	pap-yi	+
7	<b>para</b>	波良	field	14:3435.2	para	+
8	<b>para</b>	波良	field	14:3410.2	para	+
9	-N-kapa	河泊 <sup>73</sup>	-GEN-river	14:3413.1	-N-kapa	+
10	<b>ipa</b>	伊波	home	20:4406.1	ipye	-
11	<b>pa</b>	波	leaf	14:3436.5	pa	+
12	ap-ana-m-wo	安波奈毛	meet-DES-TENT-ATTR	14:3405a.4	ap-ana-m-u	+
13	ap-ana-m-ö	安波奈母	meet-DES-TENT-ATTR	14:3405b.4	ap-ana-m-u	+
14	<b>apa</b>	安波	millet	14:3405b.3	apa	+
15	nanipa	奈尔波	PN	20:4404.1	nanipa	+
16	<b>payas-i</b>	波夜志	prepare-INF	14:3406.3	payas-i	+
17	pyik-apa	比可波	pull-COND	14:3416.4	pyik-aNpa	-
18	<b>kapa</b>	可波治	river	14:3405a.3	kapa	+
19	<b>kapa</b>	可波	river	14:3413.2	kapa	+
20	<b>panas-i</b>	波奈之	separate-NML	14:3420.3	panat-i	+
21	<b>papey</b>	波倍	stretch-INF	14:3411.2	papey	+
22	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3402.3	pa	+
23	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3405a.4	pa	+
24	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3408.2	pa	+
25	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3418.4	pa	+
26	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3418.5	pa	+

<sup>73</sup> 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.

27	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3420.4	pa	+
28	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3420.5	pa	+
29	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4405.5	pa	+
30	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4406.4	pa	+
31	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3406.4	pa	+
32	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3417.4	pa	+
33	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3405b.4	pa	+
34	otapapu	於多 <u>波</u> 布	UNC	14:3409.4	–	?
35	ipawi	伊 <u>波</u> 為	UNC	14:3416.3	–	?

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 Kamitukeno 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* > \**ip<sup>h</sup>a* > *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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwopyisi-	古 <u>比</u> 之	be.longing_ for-	20:4407.4	kwopiysi-	-
2	<b>pyirö-</b>	<u>比</u> 呂	be.wide-	14:3434.3	pyirö-	+
3	swopyi	<u>蘇比</u>	beside	14:3410.2	swopyi	+
4	swopyi	<u>蘇比</u>	beside	14:3435.2	swopyi	+

5	<b>pap-yi</b>	波 <u>比</u>	crawl-INF	14:3434.4	pap-yi	+
6	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 等	one	14:3405a.5	pyitö	+
7	<b>pyita</b>	<u>比</u> 多	one (?)	14:3435.5	pyitö	+
8	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 登	person	14:3405b.5	pyitö	+
9	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 等	person	14:3409.4	pyitö	+
10	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 等	person	20:4406.2	pyitö	+
11	<b>usupy</b>	宇須 <u>比</u>	PN	14:3402.2	–	?
12	<b>usupy</b>	宇須 <u>比</u>	PN	20:4407.2	–	?
13	<b>nipyita</b>	尔 <u>比</u> 多	PN	14:3408.1	–	?
14	<b>nipyita</b>	尔 <u>比</u> 多	PN	14:3436.2	–	?
15	<b>pyik-apa</b>	<u>比</u> 可波	pull-COND	14:3416.4	pyik-aNpa	+
16	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u>	sun	14:3402.1	pyi	+
17	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u>	sun	20:4407.1	pyi	+
18	<b>omwop-yi</b>	於毛 <u>比</u>	think-INF	14:3419.3	omöp-yi	+
19	<b>sinwop-yi</b>	志濃 <u>比</u>	yearn_for-INF	20:4405.2	sinwop-yi	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwop <b>iy</b> -	古 <u>非</u>	long_for-	14:3415.4	kwopiy-	+
2	<b>piymwo</b>	<u>非</u> 毛	string	20:4404.4	pyimo	-
3	<b>piymwo</b>	<u>非</u> <sup>74</sup> 毛	string	20:4405.3	pyimo	-

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

<sup>74</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*, which is invariant.

*pyi* 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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.5 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-pye</b>	敝	-CL	14:3435.5	-pye	+
2	<b>ipye</b>	伊敝	home	14:3423.5	ipye	+
3	<b>ap-yer-u</b>	安敝流	meet-PROG-ATTR	14:3413.5	ap-yer-u	+
4	<b>omwop-ye</b>	於毛敝婆	think-EV	14:3435.5	omöp-ey	-

<sup>75</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>Nkapey</b>	賀倍	IPT	14:3420.5	–	?
2	<b>napey</b>	奈倍	seedling	14:3418.2	napey	+
3	<b>napey</b>	奈倍	seedling	14:3418.3	napey	+
4	<b>papey</b>	波倍	stretch.INF	14:3411.2	papey	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kapo</b>	可把 <sup>76</sup>	face	14:3411.5	kapo	+
2	<b>opo</b>	於保	great	14:3417.3	opo	+
3	siratö <b>popu</b>	志良登保布	MK [UNC]	14:3436.1	–	?
4	<b>ikapo</b>	伊香保	PN	14:3409.1	–	?
5	<b>ikapo</b>	伊香保	PN	14:3410.1	–	?
6	<b>ikapo</b>	伊香保	PN	14:3414.1	–	?
7	<b>ikapo</b>	伊可保	PN	14:3419.1	–	?

<sup>76</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has an error of 於 *o*.

8	ikapo	伊可 <u>抱</u> <sup>77</sup>	PN	14:3423.2	–	?
9	ikapo	伊可 <u>保</u>	PN	14:3435.1	–	?
10	ikapo	伊香 <u>保</u>	PN	14:3415.2	–	?
11	kurwopo	久路 <u>保</u>	PN	14:3412.2	–	?
12	kapoya	可 <u>保</u> 夜	PN	14:3416.2	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.8 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>Npa</b>	<u>婆</u>	-COND	14:3414.5	-Npa	+
2	- <b>Npa</b>	<u>婆</u>	-CONJ	14:3435.5	-Npa	+
3	-k-a <b>Npa</b>	加 <u>婆</u>	-AVATTR-COND	14:3410.5	-kyeNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.9 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ta <b>Npyi</b>	多 <u>妣</u>	journey	20:4406.4	taNpyi	+

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>77</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has an error of 於 *o*.

### 2.5.4.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonograms attested are 麻 and 萬.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.1.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
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1	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	14:3434.3	-myi	+
2	<b>kyimyi</b>	伎美	lord	14:3413.5	kyimyi	+
3	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3404.1	–	?
4	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3405a.1	–	?
5	<b>kamyitukeynö</b>	可美都氣乃	PN	14:3405b.1	–	?
6	<b>NkamyitukyeNWO</b>	賀美都家野	PN	14:3412.1	–	?
7	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3415.1	–	?
8	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3416.1	–	?
9	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3418.1	–	?
10	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3420.1	–	?
11	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3423.1	–	?
12	<b>kamyitukyeNWO</b>	可美都家野	PN	14:3434.1	–	?
13	<b>kamyitukyeNWO</b>	可美都氣野	PN	14:3406.1	–	?
14	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	可美都氣努	PN	14:3417.1	–	?
15	<b>myi-</b>	美	see-	14:3405b.5	myi-	+
16	<b>myi-</b>	弥 <sup>78</sup>	see-	14:3406.5	myi-	+
17	<b>namyi</b>	奈美	wave	14:3413.4	namyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.12 *miy* syllables

The *miy* phonogram attested is 未.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nömyi</b>	能未	RPT	14:3405a.5	nömyi	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.4.1.13 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 武 and 牟.

<sup>78</sup> I follow RK here. NHB has 許 *kö*, with a character 旃 *myi* linked to it above the line, indicating 許 *kö* is a mistake.



	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>muNtak-yi</b>	武太伎	embrace-NML	14:3404.3	muNktak-yi	+
2	<b>mura-</b>	武良	fortunetelling-	14:3418.3	ura-	-
3	<b>mura</b>	武良	group	14:3404.2	mura	+
4	<b>-kyem-u</b>	家武	-PST.TENT-ATTR	14:3415.5	-kyem-u	+
5	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-ATTR	14:3404.5	-m-u	+
6	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-FIN	14:3415.4	-m-u	+
7	<b>-m-u</b>	武	-TENT-FIN	14:3434.5	-m-u	+
8	<b>mat-am-u</b>	麻多牟	wait-TENT-FIN	14:3406.4	mat-am-u	+

Form (2) is of particular interest, as it shows an initial *m-* corresponding to zero in the WOJ form. Vovin (2005a: 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-simey</b>	志米	-CAUS.INF	14:3409.5	-simey	+
2	<b>saNtamey-</b>	佐太米	decide.INF-	14:3418.4	saNtamey-	+
3	<b>motōmey-</b>	物得米	search_for.INF-	14:3415.5	motōmey-	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.15 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
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1	kumwor-i	久 <u>毛</u> <sup>79</sup> 理	become_ cloudy-INF	20:4407.1	kumwor-i	+
2	imwo	伊 <u>毛</u>	beloved_girl	20:4407.4	imwo	+
3	imwo	伊 <u>毛</u>	beloved_girl	14:3423.5	imwo	+
4	-Ntömwo	騰 <u>毛</u>	-CONC	14:3411.3	-Ntömö	-
5	mwoNkamö	<u>毛</u> 我母	DPT	14:3436.5	möNkamö	-
6	kamwo	可 <u>毛</u> <sup>80</sup>	EPT	20:4404.5	kamö	-
7	mwo	<u>毛</u>	FPT	14:3405a.3	mö	-
8	mwo	<u>毛</u>	FPT	14:3413.2	mö	-
9	mwo	<u>毛</u>	FPT	20:4405.4	mö	-
10	yuk-am-wo	由加 <u>毛</u>	go-TENT- ATTR	20:4406.2	yuk-am-u	?
11	nemwokörö	祢 <u>毛</u> 己呂	intimacy	14:3410.3	nemokörö	?
12	mworu	<u>毛</u> 流	PN	14:3436.3	-	?
13	-Nk[a]- yimwo	藝 <u>毛</u>	-POSS- beloved_girl	20:4404.3	-Nk[a]- yimwo	+
14	piymwo	非 <u>毛</u>	string	20:4404.4	pyimo	?
15	piymwo	非 <u>毛</u>	string	20:4405.3	pyimo	?
16	-m-wo	<u>毛</u>	-TENT-ATTR	14:3405a.4	-m-u	?
17	omwop-ye	於 <u>毛</u> 敝	think-EV	14:3435.5	omöp-ey	-
18	omwop-yi	於 <u>毛</u> 比	think-INF	14:3419.3	omöp-yi	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imö	伊 <u>母</u>	beloved_girl	20:4405.1	imwo	-
2	kumö	久 <u>母</u>	cloud	14:3409.2	kumwo	-
3	se-n-ap- umö	西奈布 <u>母</u>	do-NEG- ITER-EXCL	14:3419.5	-umö	+

<sup>79</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 母, which is invariant.

<sup>80</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 母, which is invariant.

4	mwoNkamö	毛我母	DPT	14:3436.5	möNkamö	+
5	kamö	可母	EPT	14:3413.5	kamö	+
6	kamö	加母	EPT	20:4407.5	kamö	+
7	mö	母	FPT	20:4406.5	mö	+
8	mö	母	FPT	14:3402.4	mö	+
9	mö	母	FPT	14:3405b.3	mö	+
10	mö	母	FPT	14:3408.5	mö	+
11	mö	母	FPT	14:3414.4	mö	+
12	mö	母	FPT	14:3435.4	mö	+
13	mö	母	FPT	20:4406.2	mö	+
14	mö	母	FPT	14:3406.2	mö	+
15	mö	母	FPT	14:3406.5	mö	+
16	k-umö	久母	go-EXCL	14:3412.5	k-umö	+
17	-m-ö	母	-TENT-ATTR	14:3405b.4	-m-u	?
18	-m-ö	母	-TENT-ATTR	14:3418.5	-m-u	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	14:3420.5	wa	+
2	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	20:4405.5	wa	+
3	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	14:3408.3	wa	+
4	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	14:3435.3	wa	+
5	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	20:4405.1	wa	+
6	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	20:4406.1	wa	+
7	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	20:4404.3	wa	+
8	<b>watar-i</b>	和多里	cross-INF	14:3413.3	watar-i	+
9	<b>wasure</b>	和須礼	forget.INF	14:3419.5	wasure	+
10	<b>wasur-aye-</b>	和須良延	forget-PASS-	20:4407.5	wasur-aye-	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.18 *wi* syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wiNte</b>	為提	dam	14:3414.2	wiNte	+
2	<b>ipawi</b>	伊波為	UNC	14:3416.3	–	?
3	<b>wiNkusa</b>	為具左	rush_plant	14:3417.3	wiNkusa	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.19 *we* syllables

The *we* phonogram attested is 惠.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>we</b>	惠	EPT	14:3406.4	we	+
2	<b>uwe</b>	宇惠	sow.NML	14:3415.3	uwe	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.1.20 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3402.2	-wo	+
2	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3404.4	-wo	+

3	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3410.4	-wo	+
4	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3414.5	-wo	+
5	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3434.3	-wo	+
6	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3434.4	-wo	+
7	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4404.1	-wo	+
8	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4407.2	-wo	+
9	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3416.5	-wo	+
10	wor-i	<u>乎</u> 里	break_off-INF	14:3406.3	wor-i	+
11	wo	<u>乎</u>	cord	20:4404.4	wo	+
12	wo-	<u>乎</u>	DIM-	14:3436.2	wo-	+
13	woNtö	<u>乎</u> 度	PN	14:3405a.2	-	?
14	woNWO	<u>乎</u> 野	PN	14:3405b.2	-	?

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) \*i > i
- b) \*ia > a
- c) \*<sup>m</sup>b > 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 > \*ip<sup>h</sup>a > 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, tö, Nta, Nti, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, Ntö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsa, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nsö, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, rwo, and rö*. There are no phonographically attested *Nswo* or *Nsö* syllables.

### 2.5.4.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>taye-</b>	多延	break-	14:3434.5	taye-	+
2	<b>taye</b>	多延	break.INF	20:4404.5	taye	+
3	<b>taye</b>	多要	break.INF	14:3416.5	taye	+
4	<b>watar-i</b>	和多里	cross-INF	14:3413.3	watar-i	+
5	<b>taNta</b>	多太	direct	14:3413.3	taNta	+
6	<b>-N-kata</b>	我多	-GEN-vine	14:3412.3	–	?
7	<b>taNpyi</b>	多妣	journey	20:4406.4	taNpyi	+
8	<b>pyita</b>	比多	one (?)	14:3435.5	pyitō	-
9	<b>taNtōri</b>	多杼里	PN	14:3405a.2	–	?
10	<b>nipyita</b>	尔比多	PN	14:3408.1	–	?
11	<b>nipyita</b>	尔比多	PN	14:3436.2	–	?
12	<b>taNtōri</b>	多杼里	PN	14:3405b.2	–	?
13	<b>taNkwo</b>	多胡	PN	14:3411.1	–	?
14	<b>tat-u</b>	多都	rise-ATTR	14:3414.3	tat-u	+
15	<b>tat-i</b>	多知	rise-NML	14:3406.2	tat-i	+
16	<b>tane</b>	多祢	seed	14:3415.5	tane	+
17	<b>otapapu</b>	於多波布	UNC	14:3409.4	–	?
18	<b>mat-am-u</b>	麻多牟	wait-TENT-FIN	14:3406.4	mat-am-u	+
19	<b>atari</b>	安多里	vicinity	14:3423.5	atari	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic	Book:Poem.	WOJ	INV
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			Gloss	Line		
1	tat-i	多 <u>知</u>	rise-NML	14:3406.2	tat-i	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.4.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuk-yi	都 <u>伎</u>	attach-INF	14:3435.4	tuk-yi	+
2	tukey	都 <u>氣</u>	be. attached. INF	20:4404.4	tukey	+
3	tukey	都 <u>氣</u>	be. attached. INF	20:4405.3	tukey	+
4	tuNk-yi	都 <u>藝</u>	continue-INF	14:3409.2	tuNk-yi	+
5	-tutu	都 <u>追</u>	-COOR	14:3416.4	-tutu	++
6	tuNtura	都 <u>豆良</u>	kudzu	14:3434.2	tuNtura	+
7	-t-u	都	-PERF-FIN	14:3402.5	-t-u	+
8	-t-u	都	-PERF-FIN	14:3418.4	-t-u	+
9	-t-u	都	-PERF-FIN	14:3419.4	-t-u	+
10	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3404.1	—	?
11	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3405a.1	—	?
12	NkamyitukyeNWO	賀美都 <u>家野</u>	PN	14:3412.1	—	?
13	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3415.1	—	?
14	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3418.1	—	?
15	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3420.1	—	?
16	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3423.1	—	?
17	kamyitukyeNWO	可美都 <u>家野</u>	PN	14:3434.1	—	?
18	kamyitukeynö	可美都 <u>氣</u> 乃	PN	14:3405b.1	—	?
19	kamyitukeyNWO	可美都 <u>氣野</u>	PN	14:3406.1	—	?
20	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3416.1	—	?
21	kamyitukeynwo	可美都 <u>氣</u> 努	PN	14:3417.1	—	?



22	tat-u	多都	rise-ATTR	14:3414.3	tat-u	+
23	tuna	都奈	rope	14:3411.2	tuna	+
24	tukey	都氣	tell.INF	20:4406.5	tuNkey	+
25	tuk-ana	都可奈那	touch-DES	14:3408.2	tuk-ana	+
26	tura	都良	vine	14:3416.3	tura	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 𠄎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-te	𠄎	-SUB	14:3405a.5	-te	+
2	-te	𠄎	-SUB	14:3414.5	-te	+
3	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4404.2	-te	+
4	-te	𠄎	-SUB	14:3411.2	-te	+
5	-mate	麻𠄎	-TERM	20:4404.2	-maNte	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	twone	刀衤	PN	14:3413.1	–	?
2	itwo	伊刀	thread	20:4405.4	itwo	+
3	two	刀	UNC (girl?)	14:3409.5	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.6 *tö* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tömö</b>	<u>等</u> 母	CNJ	20:4405.4	tö	+
2	<b>tömö</b>	<u>登</u> 母	CNJ	14:3406.5	tö	+
3	<b>tökö</b>	<u>登</u> 許	constant	14:3436.5	tökö	+
4	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	COP	20:4404.2	tö	+
5	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	14:3415.4	tö	+
6	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	14:3419.4	tö	+
7	<b>tö</b>	<u>登</u>	DV	14:3435.5	tö	+
8	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4405.2	tö	+
9	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4405.5	tö	+
10	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4406.4	tö	+
11	<b>tö</b>	<u>登</u>	DV <sup>81</sup>	14:3409.4	tö	+
12	<b>kötö</b>	許 <u>登</u>	matter	14:3418.4	kötö	+
13	siratöpopu	志良 <u>登</u> 保布	MK [UNC]	14:3436.1	–	?
14	<b>pyitö</b>	比 <u>等</u>	one	14:3405a.5	pyitö	+
15	<b>pyitö</b>	比 <u>等</u>	person	14:3409.4	pyitö	+
16	<b>pyitö</b>	比 <u>等</u>	person	20:4406.2	pyitö	+
17	<b>pyitö</b>	比 <u>登</u>	person	14:3405b.5	pyitö	+
18	<b>motömey</b>	物 <u>得</u> 米	search_for. INF	14:3415.5	motömey	+
20	<b>tör-i</b>	<u>登</u> 里	take-INF	14:3420.3	tör-i	+
21	<b>tök-aNsi</b>	<u>等</u> 可自	undo- NEG.TENT	20:4405.5	tök-aNsi	+
22	<b>tösi</b>	<u>登</u> 之	year	14:3406.5	tösi	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>81</sup> It 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	si <b>Nta</b>	志太	CNJ	20:4407.3	–	?
2	sa <b>Ntamey</b>	佐太米	determine.INF	14:3418.4	saNtamey	+
3	ta <b>Nta</b>	多太	direct	14:3413.3	taNta	+
4	mu <b>Ntak-yi</b>	武太伎	embrace-NML	14:3404.3	muNtak-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.8 *Nti* syllables

The *Nti* phonogram attested is 治.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.9 *Ntu* syllables

The *Ntu* phonogram attested is 豆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tu <b>Ntura</b>	都豆良	kudzu	14:3434.2	tuNtura	+
2	kanwoma <b>Ntuku</b>	可努麻豆久	UNC	14:3409.3	–	?
3	anikuyasi <b>Ntuku</b>	阿尔久夜斯 豆久	UNC	14:3411.4	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.10 *Nte* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	wiNte	為提 <sup>82</sup>	dam	14:3414.2	wiNte	+
2	-kaNte-	可提	-POT-	14:3423.4	-kate-	-
3	swoNte	素但	sleeve	14:3402.4	swoNte	+
4	-maNte	萬代	-TERM	14:3414.4	-maNte	+

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

### 2.5.4.2.11 *Ntwo* syllables

The *Ntwo* phonogram attested is 度.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Nt-worwo	度路	-go_out-ATTR	14:3419.3	-Nt-uru	-
2	woNtwo	乎度	PN	14:3405a.2	-	?

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 杼 and 騰.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Ntömwo	騰毛	-CONC	14:3411.3	-Ntömö	+
2	-Ntö	杼 <sup>83</sup>	-CONJ	14:3404.4	-Ntö	+
3	-Ntö	騰	-CONJ	14:3420.4	-Ntö	+
4	taNtöri	多杼 <sup>84</sup> 里	PN	14:3405a.2	–	?
5	taNtöri	多杼 <sup>85</sup> 里	PN	14:3405b.2	–	?
6	aNtö	安杼 <sup>86</sup>	what	14:3404.5	naNtö	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.13 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

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

<sup>83</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>84</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>85</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>86</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

12	saNWO	佐野	PN	14:3406.2	–	?
13	masaka	麻左可	present	14:3410.5	masaka	+
14	wiNkusa	為具左	rush_plant	14:3417.3	wiNkusa	+
15	saka	佐可	slope	20:4407.2	saka	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yör-asi	与良志	approach-ADJ	14:3435.4	yör-asi	+
2	-si	思	-AVFIN	14:3405b.5	-si	+
3	kanasi-	可奈師	be.adorable-	14:3412.4	kanasi-	+
4	pasi	波之	be.adorable. AVFIN	14:3408.4	pasi	+
5	kanasi	可奈思	be.adorable. AVFIN	14:3408.5	kanasi	+
6	kwopyisi-	古比之	be.longing_for-	20:4407.4	kwopiysi-	+
7	kurusi	久流之	be.painful. AVFIN	20:4406.4	kurusi	+
8	pasi	波之	bridge	14:3420.2	pasi	+
9	-simey	志米	-CAUS.INF	14:3409.5	-simey	+
10	siNta	志太	CNJ	20:4407.3	–	?
11	s-i	之都	do-INF	14:3419.4	s-i	+
12	s-i	思	do-INF	14:3405a.5	s-i	+
13	si	師	EPT	14:3408.4	si	+
14	si	思	EPT	14:3410.5	si	+
15	sir-aNs-u	思良受	know-NEG-FIN	14:3413.2	sir-aNs-u	+
16	sinwop-yi	志濃比	long_for-INF	20:4405.2	sinwop-yi	+
17	siratöpopu	志良登保布	MK [UNC]	14:3436.1	–	?
18	payas-i	波夜志	prepare-INF	14:3406.3	payas-i	+
19	-si	思	-PST.ATTR	14:3434.4	-si	+
20	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4404.4	-si	+

21	-si	志	-PST.ATTR	20:4405.3	-si	+
22	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	14:3417.4	-si	+
23	panas-i	波奈之	separate-NML	14:3420.3	panas-i	+
24	anikuyasi Ntuku	阿尔久夜斯 豆久	UNC	14:3411.4	–	?
25	siSIMO <sup>87</sup>	吹 <sup>88</sup> 下	UNC	14:3419.2	–	?
26	pur-as-i	布良思	wave-HON-INF	14:3402.5	pur-as-i	+
27	tösi	登之	year	14:3406.5	tösi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.15 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.16 *se* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 9 for a discussion of this unclear form.

<sup>88</sup> I follow GK and RK here. NHB has 次 *si*.

1	se	勢	beloved_man	14:3402.4	se	+
2	se	世	beloved_man	14:3405b.4	se	+
3	-se-	世	-CAUS	14:3434.5	-se-	+
4	se-	世	do-	14:3404.5	se-	+
5	se-	世	do-	14:3418.5	se-	+
6	se-	西	do-	14:3419.5	se-	+
7	se-	勢	do-	14:3436.4	se-	+
8	se-	西	do-	20:4405.2	se-	+
9	se	世	rapids	14:3413.2	se	+
10	se	世	UNC (beloved_man?)	14:3419.1	-	?
11	yöse	与西	approach.INF	14:3411.2	yöse	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.17 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonograms attested are 蘇 and 素.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>swo</b>	素	hemp	14:3404.2	swo	+
2	<b>aswo</b>	安蘇	PN	14:3404.2	-	?
3	<b>aswo</b>	安蘇 <sup>89</sup>	PN	14:3434.2	-	?
4	<b>swopyi</b>	蘇比	side	14:3410.2	-	?
5	<b>swopyi</b>	蘇比	side	14:3435.2	-	?
6	<b>swoNte</b>	素佢	sleeve	14:3402.4	swoNte	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.18 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic	Book:Poem.	WOJ	INV
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<sup>89</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 處.



			Gloss	Line		
1	yösör-i	余 <u>曾</u> 利	be.drawn_to- INF	14:3408.3	yösör-i	+
2	-sö	<u>曾</u>	-do	14:3410.4	-sö	+
3	-sö	<u>曾</u>	-do	14:3416.5	-sö	+
4	kösö	許 <u>曾</u>	FPT	14:3419.4	kösö	+
5	kösö	許 <u>曾</u>	FPT	14:3417.5	kösö	+
6	yösö	与 <u>曾</u>	other.place	14:3417.4	yösö	+
7	sönö	<u>曾</u> 能	that	14:3411.5	sönö	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.19 Nsa syllables

The *Nsa* phonogram attested is 射.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	N-sakar-i	<u>射</u> 可里	COP.INF- be.far_from- INF	14:3412.5	N-sakar-i	+
2	iNsa	伊 <u>射</u>	INTER (‘well’)	14:3409.5	iNsa	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.20 Nsi syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	nwoNsi	努 <u>自</u>	rainbow	14:3414.3	–	?
2	tök-aNsi	等可 <u>自</u> <sup>90</sup>	undo- NEG.TENT	20:4405.5	tök-aNsi	+

<sup>90</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sir-aNs-u	思良受	know-NEG-FIN	14:3413.2	sir-aNs-u	+
2	kuNsu	久受	kudzu	14:3412.3	kuNsu	+
3	-Ns-u	受	-NEG-FIN	14:3406.5	-Ns-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.22 *Nse* syllables

The *Nse* phonogram attested is 是.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	aNse	安是	why	14:3434.5	naNse	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.4.2.23 *na* syllables

The *na* phonograms attested are 奈 and 那.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuk-ana	都可奈	attach-DES	14:3408.2	tuk-ana	+
2	kanasi-	可奈師	be.adorable-	14:3412.4	kanasi-	+
3	kanasi	可奈思	be.adorable. AVFIN	14:3408.5	kanasi	+
4	nar-u	奈流	become-FIN	20:4405.4	nar-u	+

5	<b>puna-</b>	布奈	boat-	14:3420.2	puna-	+
6	<b>nar-u</b>	奈流	COP-ATTR	14:3408.4	nar-u	+
7	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DIM	14:3402.4	–	?
8	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DIM	14:3405b.4	–	?
9	<b>se-n-ana</b>	勢奈那	do-NEG-DES	14:3436.4	se-n-ana	++
10	<b>-na</b>	奈	-LOC	20:4407.1	–	? <sup>91</sup>
11	<b>na</b>	那	EPT	14:3408.2	–	?
12	<b>ap-ana-</b>	安波奈	meet-DES	14:3405b.4	ap-ana-	+
13	<b>ap-an-am-wo</b>	安波奈毛	meet-NEG-TENT-ATTR	14:3405a.4	ap-an-am-u	+
14	<b>na-</b>	奈	NEG.IMP-	14:3410.4	na-	+
15	<b>na-</b>	奈	NEG.IMP-	14:3416.5	na-	+
16	<b>-n-ap-umö</b>	奈布母	-NEG-ITER-EXCL	14:3419.5	–	+ <sup>92</sup>
17	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	14:3405b.5	na	+
18	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4404.1	nanipa	+
19	<b>inara</b>	伊奈良	PN	14:3417.2	–	?
20	<b>tuna</b>	都奈	rope	14:3411.2	tuna	+
21	<b>napey</b>	奈倍	seedling	14:3418.2	napey	+
22	<b>napey</b>	奈倍	seedling	14:3418.3	napey	+
23	<b>panas-i</b>	波奈之	separate-NML	14:3420.3	panas-i	+
24	<b>naka</b> <sup>93</sup>	奈可	UNC	14:3419.2	–	?
25	<b>na</b> <sup>94</sup>	奈	water	14:3415.3	na-	+
26	<b>namyi</b>	奈美	wave	14:3413.4	namyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.24 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic	Book:Poem.	WOJ	INV
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<sup>91</sup> This is may be related to WOJ /naka/ ‘inside,’ ‘in,’ in which case it would be invariant.

<sup>92</sup> 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-*.

<sup>93</sup> 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.

<sup>94</sup> This appears in the form *kwo-na-N-kiy* ‘DIM-water-GEN-leek.’ This form also appears once in WOJ (MYS 3:407.3).

			Gloss	Line		
1	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	14:3402.5	n-i	+
2	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	14:3408.5	n-i	+
3	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	14:3418.5	n-i	+
4	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	14:3436.5	n-i	+
5	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4405.2	n-i	+
6	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4405.4	n-i	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	14:3408.3	ni	+
8	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	14:3412.4	-ni	+
9	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	14:3418.3	-ni	+
10	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3402.1	-ni	+
11	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3405a.3	ni	+
12	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3408.2	-ni	+
13	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3409.1	-ni	+
14	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3410.3	-ni	+
15	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3413.4	-ni	+
16	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3414.2	-ni	+
17	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3415.2	-ni	+
18	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3423.2	-ni	+
19	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3435.3	-ni	+
20	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4406.1	-ni	+
21	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4407.3	-ni	+
22	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3405b.5	-ni	+
23	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3405b.3	-ni	+
24	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3411.1	-ni	+
25	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3411.5	-ni	+
26	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3417.4	-ni	+
27	<b>-n-i-</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	14:3434.4	-n-i-	+
28	<b>-n-i-</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	20:4404.5	-n-i-	+
29	<b>nipyita</b>	<u>尔</u> 比多	PN	14:3408.1	–	?
30	<b>nipyita</b>	<u>尔</u> 比多	PN	14:3436.2	–	?
31	<b>nanipa</b>	奈 <u>尔</u> 波	PN	20:4404.1	nanipa	+
32	<b>anikuyasi</b> Ntuku	阿 <u>尔</u> 久夜斯 豆久	UNC	14:3411.4	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.25 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ak-an-u	安加奴	be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR	14:3404.4	ak-an-u	+
2	kyinu	吉奴	garment	14:3435.3	kyinu	+
3	-n-u	奴	-NEG-ATTR	20:4407.5	-n-u	+
4	-n-u	奴	-NEG-ATTR	14:3423.4	-n-u	+
5	n-ure	奴礼	sleep-EV	14:3404.4	n-ure	+
6	numa	奴麻	swamp	14:3415.2	numa	+
7	numa	奴 <sup>95</sup> 麻	swamp	14:3416.2	numa	+
8	numa	奴麻	swamp	14:3417.2	numa	+
9	nure-	奴礼	untangle-	14:3416.4	nure-	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.26 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 衤.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kane	加衤	consider.INF	14:3410.4	kane	+
2	-n-e	衤	-DES-IMP	14:3416.5	-n-e	+
3	nemwokörö	衤毛己呂	intimacy	14:3410.3	nemwokörö	+
4	ne	衤	peak	14:3408.2	ne	+
5	ne	衤	peak	14:3412.2	ne	+
6	ne	衤	peak	14:3423.2	ne	+
7	ne	衤	peak	14:3411.1	ne	+
8	twone	刀衤	PN	14:3413.1	–	?

<sup>95</sup> 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.

9	tane	多祢	seed	14:3415.5	tane	+
10	ne-	祢	sleep-	14:3409.5	ne-	+
11	ne	祢	sleep.INF	14:3414.5b	ne	+
12	ne	祢	sleep.NML	14:3414.5a	ne	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.27 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonograms attested are 濃 and 努.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sinwop-yi	志濃比	long_for-INF	20:4405.2	sinwop-yi	+
2	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3404.1	–	?
3	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3405a.1	–	?
4	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3415.1	–	?
5	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3416.1	–	?
6	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3417.1	–	?
7	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努 <sup>96</sup>	PN	14:3418.1	–	?
8	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3420.1	–	?
9	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3423.1	–	?
10	nwoNsi <sup>97</sup>	努自	rainbow	14:3414.3	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.28 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

<sup>96</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*, which would be variant.

<sup>97</sup> 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<sup>n</sup>zi, involving a regressive vowel assimilation.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	monöwo	物 <u>能</u> 乎	CNJ	14:3434.4	mönöwo	+
2	-nösu	<u>能</u> 須	-COMP	14:3413.4	-nasu	-
3	-nö	<u>能</u>	-COMP	14:3423.3	-nö	+
4	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3402.1	-nö	+
5	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3402.2	-nö	+
6	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3404.2	-nö	+
7	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3405a.2	-nö	+
8	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3410.1	-nö	+
9	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3410.2	-nö	+
10	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3412.2	-nö	+
11	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3412.2	-nö	+
12	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3413.1	-nö	+
13	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3414.1	-nö	+
14	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3414.2	-nö	+
15	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3414.3	-nö	+
16	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3415.2	-nö	+
17	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3418.2	-nö	+
18	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3418.2	-nö	+
19	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3420.2	-nö	+
20	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3423.2	-nö	+
21	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3423.5	-nö	+
22	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3435.1	-nö	+
23	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3435.2	-nö	+
24	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3436.2	-nö	+
25	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3436.3	-nö	+
26	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	20:4407.2	-nö	+
27	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3405b.2	-nö	+
28	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3406.2	-nö	+
29	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3411.1	-nö	+
30	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3416.2	-nö	+
31	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3417.2	-nö	+
32	-nö	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3417.2	-nö	+
33	-nö	<u>能</u>	-GEN(?)	14:3402.4	-nö	+
34	kamyitukey nö	可美都氣 <u>乃</u>	PN	14:3405b.1	-	?
35	nömiy	<u>能</u> 未	RPT	14:3405a.5	nömiy	+
36	sönö	曾 <u>能</u>	that	14:3411.5	sönö	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	arapar-wo	安良波路	appear-ATTR	14:3414.4	arapar-uru	+
2	yör-asi	与良之	approach-ADJ	14:3435.4	yör-asi	+
3	-ra	良	-DIM	14:3405a.4	-ra	+
4	-ra	良	-DIM	14:3408.4	-ra	+
5	-ra	良	-DIM	14:3412.4	-ra	+
6	para	波良	field	14:3410.2	para	+
7	para	波良	field	14:3435.2	para	+
8	wasur-aye-	和須良 <sup>98</sup> 延	forget-PASS-	20:4407.5	wasur-aye	+
9	mura	武良	fortune_telling	14:3418.3	mura	+
10	mura	武良	group	14:3404.2	mura	+
11	sir-aNs-u	思良受	know-NEG-FIN	14:3413.2	sir-aNs-u	+
12	tuNtura	都豆良	kudzu	14:3434.2	tuNtura	+
13	siratöpopu	志良登保布	MK [UNC]	14:3436.1	–	?
14	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4406.3	makura	+
15	-ra	羅	-PLUR(?)	14:3409.5	-ra	+
16	inara	伊奈良	PN	14:3417.2	–	?
17	yar-am-aku	夜良麻久	send-TENT-NML	20:4406.5	yar-am-aku	+
18	ura	宇良	tip	14:3436.4	ura	+

<sup>98</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 己 *kō*, which looks like a mistake.



19	<b>tura</b>	都良	vine	14:3416.3	tura	+
20	<b>pur-as-i</b>	布良思	wave-HON-INF	14:3402.5	pur-as-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.30 *ri* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pari</b>	波里	alder	14:3410.2	pari	+
2	<b>pari</b>	波里	alder	14:3435.2	pari	+
3	<b>yösör-i</b>	余曾利	be.drawn_to-INF	14:3408.3	yösör-i	+
4	<b>kumwor-i</b>	久毛理	become_ cloudy-INF	20:4407.1	kumör-i	+
5	<b>wor-i</b>	乎里	break_off-INF	14:3406.3	wor-i	+
6	<b>-ri</b>	理	-CL	14:3405a.5	-ri	+
7	<b>N-sakar-i</b>	射可里	COP.INF- be.far_from-INF	14:3412.5	N-sakar- i	+
8	<b>watar-i</b>	和多里	cross-INF	14:3413.3	watar-i	+
9	<b>taNtöri</b>	多杼里	PN	14:3405a.2	–	?
10	<b>taNtöri</b>	多杼里 <sup>99</sup>	PN	14:3405b.2	–	?
11	<b>tör-i</b>	登里	take-INF	14:3420.3	tör-i	+
12	<b>atari</b>	安多里	vicinity	14:3423.5	atari	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.2.31 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonogram attested is 流.

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

<sup>99</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 由 *yu*, which looks like a mistake.

2	sakar- <b>u</b>	左可 <u>流</u>	be.far_from-ATTR	14:3420.5	sakar-u	+
3	kurusi	久 <u>流</u> 之	be.painful.FIN	20:4406.4	kurusi	+
4	nar- <b>u</b>	奈 <u>流</u>	become-FIN	20:4405.4	nar-u	+
5	nar- <b>u</b>	奈 <u>流</u>	COP-ATTR	14:3408.4	nar-u	+
6	kwoy- <b>uru</b>	古由 <u>流</u>	cross-ATTR	14:3402.3	kwoy-uru	+
7	ap- <b>yer-u</b>	安敞 <u>流</u>	meet-PROG-ATTR	14:3413.5	ap-yer-u	+
8	mworu	毛 <u>流</u>	PN	14:3436.3	–	?
9	- <b>keyr-u</b>	氣 <u>流</u>	-RETR-ATTR	20:4404.5	-kyer-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.32 *re* syllables

The *re* phonogram attested is 礼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>are</b>	安 <u>礼</u>	1.S	14:3406.4	are	+
2	Nkure	具 <u>礼</u>	darken.NML	14:3402.1	kure	+
3	wasure	和須 <u>礼</u>	forget.INF	14:3419.5	wasure	+
4	-N-kare	贺 <u>礼</u>	-GEN-wither.INF	14:3436.4	-N-kare	+
5	sak- <b>ure</b>	左久 <u>礼</u>	keep_apart-EV	14:3420.4	-ure	+
6	n- <b>ure</b>	奴 <u>礼</u>	sleep-EV	14:3404.4	n-ure	+
7	yös- <b>ure</b>	与须 <u>礼</u>	approach-EV	14:3411.3	yos-ure	+
8	nure-	奴 <u>礼</u>	untangle-	14:3416.4	nure-	+
9	mas- <b>ar-e</b>	麻左 <u>礼</u>	be.superior-PROG-EV	14:3417.5	mas-er-e	-

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.2.33 *rwo* syllables

The *rwo* phonogram attested is 路.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	arapar- <b>wo</b>	安良波 <u>路</u>	appear-ATTR	14:3414.4	arapar-uru	-
2	pur- <b>wo</b>	布 <u>路</u>	fall-ATTR	14:3423.3	pur-u	+
3	-Nt-wor <b>wo</b>	度 <u>路</u>	-go_out-ATTR	14:3419.3	-Nt-uru	-
4	kur <b>wopo</b>	久 <u>路</u> 保	PN	14:3412.2	-	?

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*)<sup>100</sup>. 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 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	pyir <b>ö</b> -	比 <u>呂</u>	be.wide-	14:3434.3	pyir <b>ö</b> -	+
2	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	14:3409.1	-r <b>ö</b>	+
3	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	14:3410.1	-r <b>ö</b>	+
4	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	14:3412.2	-r <b>ö</b>	+
5	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	14:3414.1	-r <b>ö</b>	+
6	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	14:3423.2	-r <b>ö</b>	+
7	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	14:3435.1	-r <b>ö</b>	+
8	- <b>rö</b>	<u>呂</u>	-DIM	20:4406.1	-r <b>ö</b>	+
9	nemwok <b>örö</b>	衤毛己 <u>呂</u>	intimacy	14:3410.3	nemwok <b>örö</b>	+

<sup>100</sup> 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) \*<sup>n</sup>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 *yö*.

#### 2.5.4.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonograms attested are 夜 and 也.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonograms attested are 由 and 遊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kwoy-uru</b>	古 <u>由</u> 流	cross-ATTR	14:3402.3	kwoy-uru	+
2	<b>yuk-yi</b>	<u>遊</u> 吉	go-INF	14:3423.4	yuk-yi	+
3	<b>yuk-yi</b>	<u>由</u> 伎	go-INF	20:4404.2	yuk-yi	+
4	<b>yuk-am-wo</b>	<u>由</u> 加毛	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4406.2	yuk-am-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.3.3 *ye* syllables

The *ye* phonograms attested are 延 and 要.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>taye-</b>	多 <u>延</u>	break-	14:3434.5	taye-	+
2	<b>taye</b>	多 <u>延</u>	break.INF	20:4404.5	taye	+
3	<b>taye</b>	多 <u>要</u>	break.INF	14:3416.5	taye	+
4	<b>kwoye</b>	古 <u>延</u>	cross.INF	20:4407.3	kwoye	+
5	<b>wasur-aye</b>	和須良 <u>延</u>	forget-PASS	20:4407.5	wasur-aye	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.3.4 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 欲.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ywo</b>	<u>欲</u>	-ABL	14:3417.4	-ywo	+
2	<b>ywo</b>	<u>欲</u>	UNC (EPT?)	14:3419.1	-	?

Example (2) may be a cognate of the WOJ emphatic particle *yö*, and if so, it would show a variability. There are several problems with this, however<sup>101</sup>. Unfortunately the line it appears in is unclear, so I cannot make a confident judgment as to this syllable's invariability.

#### 2.5.4.3.5 *yö* syllables

The *yö* phonograms attested are 余, 与, and 餘.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yöse</b>	与西	approach.INF	14:3411.2	yöse	+
2	<b>yör-asi</b>	与良之	approach-ADJ	14:3435.4	yör-asi	+
3	<b>yös-ure</b>	与須礼	approach-EV	14:3411.3	yös-ure	+
4	<b>yösör-i</b>	余曾利	be.drawn_to-INF	14:3408.3	yösör-i	+
5	<b>yö-</b>	余	be.good-	14:3410.5	yö-	+
6	<b>yö-</b>	与	be.good-	14:3411.5	yö-	+
7	<b>yö</b>	与	EPT	14:3435.4	yö	+
8	<b>yö</b>	余	EPT	20:4405.5	yö	+
9	<b>-yö</b>	餘 <sup>102</sup>	-IMP	20:4405.2	-yö	+
10	<b>yösö</b>	与曾	other.place	14:3417.4	yösö	+
11	<b>yökyi</b>	与伎	snow	14:3423.3	yukyi	-

The variance in example (11) is quite telling, in that there is a *yö* 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

<sup>101</sup> See Chapter 9 for a discussion.

<sup>102</sup> 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 *yökyi* ‘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*, *kö*, *Nka*, *Nkyi*, *Nkiy*, *Nku*, and *Nkwo*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, or *Nkö* syllables.

##### 2.5.4.4.1 *ka* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>k-a</b> Npa	加婆	-AVATTR-COND	14:3410.5	-kyeNpa	-
2	<b>kanasi-</b>	可奈師	be.adorable-	14:3412.4	kanasi-	+
3	<b>kanasi</b>	可奈思	be.adorable. AVFIN	14:3408.5	kanasi	+
4	<b>sakar-u</b>	左可流	be.far_from-ATTR	14:3420.5	sakar-u	+
5	<b>ak-an-u</b>	安加奴	be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR	14:3404.4	ak-an-u	+
6	N- <b>sakar-i</b>	射可里	COP.INF-be.far_from-INF	14:3412.5	N-sakar-i	+



7	<b>kamö</b>	<u>可</u> 母	EPT	14:3413.5	kamö	+
8	<b>kamö</b>	<u>可</u> 母	EPT	20:4404.5	kamö	+
9	<b>kamö</b>	<u>加</u> 母	EPT	20:4407.5	kamö	+
10	<b>kapo</b>	<u>可</u> 把	face	14:3411.5	kapo	+
11	yuk-am-wo	由 <u>加</u> 毛	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4406.2	yuk-am-u	+
12	<b>ika</b>	伊 <u>可</u>	how	14:3418.5	ika	+
13	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>可</u> 保	PN	14:3415.2	–	?
14	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>可</u> 保	PN	14:3419.1	–	?
15	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>可</u> 抱	PN	14:3423.2	–	?
16	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>可</u> 保	PN	14:3435.1	–	?
17	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>香</u> 保	PN	14:3409.1	–	?
18	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>香</u> 保	PN	14:3410.1	–	?
19	<b>ikapo</b>	伊 <u>香</u> 保	PN	14:3414.1	–	?
20	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3404.1	–	?
21	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3405a.1	–	?
22	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3415.1	–	?
23	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3418.1	–	?
24	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3420.1	–	?
25	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3423.1	–	?
26	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣野	PN	14:3406.1	–	?
27	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3416.1	–	?
28	<b>kamyitukeynwo</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣努	PN	14:3417.1	–	?
29	<b>kamyitukeynö</b>	<u>可</u> 美都氣乃	PN	14:3405b.1	–	?
30	<b>kamyitukyeNWO</b>	<u>可</u> 美都家野	PN	14:3434.1	–	?
31	<b>kapoya</b>	<u>可</u> 保夜	PN	14:3416.2	–	?
32	<b>yasaka</b>	夜左 <u>可</u>	PN	14:3414.2	–	?
33	<b>-kaNte</b>	<u>可</u> 提	-POT	14:3423.4	-kate	+
34	<b>masaka</b>	麻左 <u>可</u>	present	14:3410.5	masaka	+
35	<b>pyik-apa</b>	比 <u>可</u> 波	pull-COND	14:3416.4	pyik-aNpa	+
36	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	14:3404.5	ka	+
37	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	14:3434.5	ka	+
38	<b>kapa</b>	<u>可</u> 波	river	14:3405a.3	kapa	+
39	<b>kapa</b>	<u>可</u> 波	river	14:3413.2	kapa	+
40	<b>saka</b>	佐 <u>可</u>	slope	20:4407.2	saka	+
41	<b>kakyi-</b>	<u>可</u> 伎	TAN-	14:3404.3	kakyi-	+
42	<b>kane</b>	奈 <u>加</u> 祢	think_ahead .INF	14:3410.4	kane	+
43	<b>tuk-ana</b>	都 <u>可</u> 奈	touch-DES	14:3408.2	tuk-ana	+
44	<b>kanwomaNtuku</b>	<u>可</u> 努麻豆久	UNC	14:3409.3	–	?

45	naka <sup>103</sup>	奈可	UNC	14:3419.2	–	?
46	tök-aNsi	等可自	undo- NEG.TENT	20:4405.5	tök-aNsi	+

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*.

#### 2.5.4.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎 and 吉.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuk-yi	都伎	attach-INF	14:3435.4	tuk-yi	+
2	-kyi	吉	-AVATTR	14:3411.5	-kyi	+
3	muNtak-yi	武太伎	embrace- NML	14:3404.3	muNtak-yi	+
4	yuk-yi	遊吉	go-INF	14:3423.4	yuk-yi	+
5	yuk-yi	由伎	go-INF	20:4404.2	yuk-yi	+
6	kyimyi	伎美	lord	14:3413.5	kyimyi	+
7	kyinu	吉奴	robes	14:3435.3	kyinu	+
8	yökyi	与伎	snow	14:3423.3	yukyi	+
9	kakyi-	可伎	TAN-	14:3404.3	kakyi-	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonograms attested are 久 and 九.

<sup>103</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	14:3415.4	-ku	+
2	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	20:4407.4	-ku	+
3	<b>kurusi</b>	久流之	be.painful. FIN	20:4406.4	kurusi	+
4	<b>kumwor-i</b>	久毛理	become_ cloudy-INF	20:4407.1	kumwor -i	+
5	<b>kumö</b>	久母	cloud	14:3409.2	kumwo	+
6	<b>k-u</b>	久	come- ATTR	20:4404.2	k-uru	+
7	<b>oku</b>	於久	future	14:3410.4	oku	+
8	[i]k-umö	久母	go-EXCL	14:3412.5	yuk- umö	+
9	<b>kusa</b>	久佐	grass	20:4406.3	kusa	+
10	<b>kuma</b>	久麻	hidden_ place	14:3419.4	kuma	+
11	<b>sak-ure</b>	左久礼	keep_apart- EV	14:3420.4	–	?
12	<b>kuNsu</b>	久受	kudzu	14:3412.3	kuNsu	+
13	<b>makura</b>	麻久良	pillow	20:4406.3	makura	+
14	<b>kurwopo</b>	久路保	PN	14:3412.2	–	?
15	<b>yar-am-aku</b>	夜良麻久	send-TENT- NML	20:4406.5	yar-am- aku	+
16	<b>kuku</b>	九久	stem	14:3406.2	kukiy	+-
17	kanwomaNtu <b>ku</b>	可努麻豆久	UNC	14:3409.3	–	?
18	anikuyasiNtu <b>ku</b>	阿尔久夜斯豆 久	UNC	14:3411.4	–	??

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 /i/.

#### 2.5.4.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 家.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-kye</b>	家	-AVATTR	14:3412.4	-kyi	-
2	NkamyitukyeNO	賀美都家野	PN	14:3412.1	–	?
3	kamyitukyeNWO	可美都家野	PN	14:3434.1	–	?
4	<b>-kyem-u</b>	家武	-PST. TENT-ATTR	14:3415.5	-kyem-u	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tukey</b>	都氣	be.attached. INF	20:4404.4	tukey	+
2	<b>tukey</b>	都氣	be.attached. INF	20:4405.3	tukey	+
3	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3404.1	–	?
4	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3405a.1	–	?
5	kamyitukeynō	可美都氣乃	PN	14:3405b.1	–	?
6	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3415.1	–	?
7	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3418.1	–	?
8	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3420.1	–	?
9	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3423.1	–	?
10	kamyitukeyNWO	可美都氣野	PN	14:3406.1	–	?
11	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3416.1	–	?
12	kamyitukeynwo	可美都氣努	PN	14:3417.1	–	?
13	<b>-keyr-u</b>	氣流	-RETR-ATTR	20:4404.5	-kyer-u	-

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 *kamyitukyenwo ~ kamyitukeynwo*. Here we find eight examples where it is 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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.4.7 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tökö</b>	登許	constant	14:3436.5	tökö	+
2	<b>kösö</b>	許曾	FPT	14:3419.4	kösö	+
3	<b>kösö</b>	許曾	FPT	14:3417.5	kösö	+
4	<b>nemwokörö</b>	衤毛己呂	intimacy	14:3410.3	nemwokörö	+
5	<b>kötö</b>	許登	matter	14:3418.4	kötö	+
6	<b>kö</b>	許	this	14:3406.5	kö	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.4.8 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>Nka-</b>	賀 <sup>104</sup>	be.thus-	14:3415.4	ka-	-
2	mwo <b>Nkamö</b>	毛我母	DPT	14:3436.5	mönkamö	+
3	<b>-N-kata</b>	我多	-GEN-vine	14:3412.3	-N-kata	+
4	<b>-N-kare</b>	宇良賀礼	-GEN-wither.INF	14:3436.4	-N-kare	+
5	<b>Nkapey</b>	賀倍	IPT	14:3420.5	-	?
6	<b>NkamytukyeNWO</b>	賀美都家野	PN	14:3412.1	-	?
7	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3402.4	-Nka	+
8	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3404.5	-Nka	+
9	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3405a.2	-Nka	+
10	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3405b.2	-Nka	+
11	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3423.5	-Nka	+
12	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3435.3	-Nka	+
13	<b>-Nka</b>	賀	-POSS	20:4404.3	-Nka	+
14	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	20:4404.4	-Nka	+
15	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	20:4405.1	-Nka	+
16	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	20:4405.1	-Nka	+
17	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	20:4406.1	-Nka	+
18	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	20:4406.2	-Nka	+
19	<b>-Nka</b>	賀	-POSS	20:4407.4	-Nka	+
20	<b>-Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3416.2	-Nka	+

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

<sup>104</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tu <b>Nk</b> -yi	都 <b>藝</b>	continue-INF	14:3409.2	tuNk-yi	+
2	- <b>Nk</b> [a]-yimwo	<b>藝</b> 毛	-POSS- beloved_girl	20:4404.3	-Nk[a]- yimwo	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.4.10 *Nkiy* syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 宜.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>N</b> -kiy	<u>宜</u> <sup>105</sup>	-GEN-leeek	14:3415.3	-N-kiy	+
2	su <b>Nkiy</b>	須 <u>宜</u>	pass.INF	14:3423.4	suNkiy	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.4.4.11 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>Nkure</b>	<u>具</u> 礼	darken.NML	14:3402.1	kure	-
2	wi <b>Nkusa</b>	為 <u>具</u> 左	rush_plant	14:3417.3	wiNkusa	+

<sup>105</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 伎 *kyi*.

In the variance in (1) we see a Kamitukeno *Nku* syllable corresponding to a WOJ *ku* syllable.

#### 2.5.4.4.12 *Nkwo* syllables

The *Nkwo* phonogram attested is 胡.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ta <b>Nkwo</b>	多胡	PN	14:3411.1	–	?

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) \*<sup>n</sup>g > g
- b) \*uy > u
- c) \*əy > e

Change (a) is supported by only one attestation, and due to the large number of attested, invariant *k*- and *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 *kamyitukyewo*, as



eight attestations use the phonogram *key* but two use the phonogram *kye*. Thus with this evidence in mind, a merger of \*əy > e becomes more apparent, at least after velar initials.

In summary, I accept the following changes:

- a) \*uy > u
- b) \*əy > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>a</b>	安	1.S	14:3404.5	a	+
2	<b>a</b>	安	1.S	14:3416.5	a	+
3	<b>are</b>	安礼	1.S	14:3406.4	are	+
4	<b>arapar-wo</b>	安良波路	appear-ATTR	14:3414.4	arapar-uru	+
5	<b>ak-an-u</b>	安加奴	be.satisfied-NEG-ATTR	14:3404.4	ak-an-u	+
6	<b>aya</b>	安夜	extreme	14:3408.5	aya	+
7	<b>ama-</b>	安麻	heaven	14:3409.2	ama-	+
8	<b>ap-u</b>	安布	meet-ATTR	14:3413.4	ap-u	+
9	<b>ap-ana</b>	安波奈	meet-DES	14:3405a.4	ap-ana	+
10	<b>ap-ana</b>	安波奈	meet-DES	14:3405b.4	ap-ana	+
11	<b>apa</b>	安波	millet	14:3405b.3	apa	+
12	<b>aswo</b>	安蘇	PN	14:3404.2	–	?
13	<b>aswo</b>	安蘇	PN	14:3434.2	–	?
14	<b>anikuyasi Ntuku</b>	阿尔久夜斯 豆久	UNC	14:3411.4	–	?
15	<b>atari</b>	安多里	vicinity	14:3423.5	atari	+
16	<b>aNtö</b>	安杼	what	14:3404.5	naNtö	-
17	<b>aNse</b>	安是	why	14:3434.5	naNse	-

The variances seen in (16) and (17) are due to a different morphological development<sup>106</sup>, and not a phonological change in Kamitukeno.

### 2.5.4.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonogram attested is 伊.

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

<sup>106</sup> I reconstruct the PJn word for 'what' as \*n-anuy based on Vovin (2005: 335), who reconstructs it as PJn \*n-anu or \*n-ani. Vovin posits a suffix \*-Ci to account for WOJ *nani* 'what,' and while PJn \*n-anu-Ci would develop into WOJ *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.

21	ipawi	伊波為	UNC	14:3416.3	–	?
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There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	usupyi	宇須比	PN	14:3402.2	–	?
2	usupyi	宇須比	PN	20:4407.2	–	?
3	uwe	宇惠	sow.NML	14:3415.3	uwe	+
4	ura	宇良	tip	14:3436.4	ura	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.4.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	oku	於久	future	14:3410.4	oku	+
2	opo	於 <sup>107</sup> 保	great	14:3417.3	opo	+
3	oya	於也	parents	14:3420.4	oya	+
4	omwop-ye-	於毛敝	think-EV-	14:3435.5	omöp-ey-	+
5	omwop-yi	於毛比	think-INF	14:3419.3	omöp-yi	+
6	otapapu	於多波布	UNC	14:3409.4	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>107</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 祢 *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 2-16: Consonant variances and invariances in Kamitukeno**

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

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 *t*- 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 2-17: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Kamitukeno**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s <sup>n</sup> z		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

#### 2.5.4.6.3 Vowels

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

**Table 2-18: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Kamitukeno**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

##### 2.5.4.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

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

##### 2.5.4.6.4 Summary of phonological innovations

I accept the following innovations for Kamitukeno:

- a) \*ia > a
- b) \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_
- c) \*a > ə (only occurs in the comparative suffix *-nösu*)
- d) \*uy > u
- e) \*o > u (only occurs in the attributive suffix *-u*)
- f) \*əy > e
- g) \*i > i

#### 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 *yökyi* ‘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, \*əy > 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 \*Ciy syllables (*kwopiy*- ‘long for,’ *kwopyisi*- ‘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-<sup>108</sup>, *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

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<sup>108</sup> 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*, *pyi*, *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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-pa</b>	波	-COND	14:3376a.1	-Npa	-
2	<b>-pa</b>	波 <sup>109</sup>	-COND	20:4416.3	-Npa	+
3	<b>pap-o</b>	波保	crawl-ATTR	20:4421.4	pap-u	+
4	<b>para</b>	波良	field	14:3378.2	para	+
5	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	14:3376a.4	pana	+
6	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	14:3379.4	pana	+
7	<b>ipa</b>	伊波	home	20:4416.4	ipye	-
8	<b>ipa</b>	伊波呂	home	20:4419.1	ipye	-
9	<b>ipa</b>	伊波	home	20:4423.4	ipye	-
10	<b>paNkas-i</b>	波賀志	let_go-INF	20:4417.2	–	?
11	<b>sinwop-an-e</b>	志努波祢	long_for-DES-IMP	20:4421.5	sinwop-an-e	+
12	<b>ap-an-ap-u</b>	安波奈布	meet-NEG-ITER-FIN	14:3375.5	–	+
13	<b>paru</b>	波流	needle	20:4420.5	pari	+
14	<b>ip-am-u</b>	伊波武	say-TENT-ATTR	14:3379.2	ip-am-u	+
15	<b>panar-i</b>	波奈利	separate_from-INF	20:4414.4	panare	+
16	<b>[o]mwop-</b>	毛波母	think-TENT-	20:4419.5	omöp-am-	+

<sup>109</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 *-Npa*, which is invariant.



	am-ö		ATTR		u	
17	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4416.4	pa	+
18	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4419.1	pa	+
19	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4422.4	pa	+
20	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4423.4	pa	+
21	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4424.2	pa	+
22	<b>ipawi</b>	伊 <u>波</u> 為	UNC	14:3378.3	–	?
23	<b>pak-yi</b>	<u>波</u> 伎	wear-INF	20:4413.2	pak-yi	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yöpyi</b>	与 <u>比</u>	evening	14:3375.4	yöpyi	+
2	<b>tapyi</b>	多 <u>比</u>	journey	20:4416.2	taNpyi	-
3	-N-tutap- <b>yi</b>	豆多 <u>比</u>	-LOC-transmit-INF	20:4414.5	-N-tutap-yi	+
4	<b>pyik-aNpa</b>	<u>比</u> 可婆	pull-COND	14:3378.4	pyik-aNpa	+
5	<b>pyimwo</b>	<u>比</u> 毛	string	20:4416.5	pyimo	+
6	<b>pyimwo</b>	<u>比</u> 毛	string	20:4420.3	pyimo	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwopiysi-	古 <u>非</u> 思	be.longing_for-	14:3376a.1	kwopiysi-	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.1.4 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwopusi-	古 <u>布</u> 志	be.longing_for-	20:4419.5	kwopiysi-	-
2	<b>-pu</b>	<u>布</u>	fire	20:4419.2	piy	-
3	ap-an- <b>ap-u</b>	安波奈 <u>布</u>	meet-NEG-ITER-FIN	14:3375.5	-ap-u	+
4	<b>pure-</b>	<u>布</u> 礼	touch-	20:4418.4	pure-	+
5	<b>pur-aNpa</b>	<u>布</u> 良婆	wave-COND	20:4423.3	pur-aNpa	+
6	<b>pur-am-u</b>	<u>布</u> 良武	wave-TENT-ATTR	14:3376a.2	pur-am-u	+

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<sup>110</sup> 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

<sup>110</sup> The existence of the Muzasi form *kwopiysi-* ‘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 *piy* in WOJ, the PJn form was most likely \*pøy. 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 敝 and 弊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	urapye	宇良敝	divination	14:3374.2	–	?
2	ipyē	伊弊	home	20:4415.4	ipyē	+

There are no variances in these data.

**2.5.5.1.6 pey syllables**

The *pey* phonogram attested is 倍.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-pey	倍	-ALL	20:4422.2	-pye	-

The variance here may be evidence that \*əy merged with /e/.

### 2.5.5.1.7 *po* syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 保.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pap-o</b>	波保	crawl-ATTR	20:4421.4	pap-u	+
2	<b>opo</b>	於保	great	20:4414.1	opo	+
3	<b>opoYA</b>	於保屋	PN	14:3378.2	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.8 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tu <b>Np</b> akyi	都婆伎	camellia	20:4418.2	tuNpaki	+
2	- <b>Npa</b>	婆	-COND	20:4420.3	-Npa	+
3	-k-a <b>Npa</b>	可婆	-PST-COND	20:4421.2	-kyeNpa	+
4	pyik-a <b>Npa</b>	比可婆	pull-COND	14:3378.4	pyik-aNpa	+
5	ta <b>Npar</b> -a <b>Npa</b>	多婆良婆	receive.HUM-COND	20:4424.4	taNpar-aNpa	++
6	pur-a <b>Npa</b>	布良婆 <sup>111</sup>	wave-COND	20:4423.3	pur-aNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.9 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

<sup>111</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 波 *pa*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	taNpyi	多妣	journey	20:4420.2	taNpyi	+
2	oNpyi	於妣	sash	20:4422.4	oNpyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.10 *Npu* syllables

The *Npu* phonogram attested is 夫.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-puka	夫可	-GEN- be.deep	20:4424.1	-N-puka	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.1.11 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	麻多	again	20:4415.5	mata	+
2	<b>masate</b>	麻左豆	certain	14:3374.3	masa <sup>112</sup>	+
3	<b>maru</b>	麻流	circle	20:4416.3	maru	+
4	<b>maru</b>	麻流	circle	20:4420.2	maru	+
5	[u] <b>ma</b>	麻	horse	20:4417.1	uma	+
6	<b>ma-</b>	麻	INT-	20:4418.3	ma-	+
7	<b>sima</b>	之末	island	20:4414.5	sima	+
8	<b>tama</b>	多麻	jewel	20:4415.1	tama	+
9	<b>mak-yi</b>	馬伎	leave-INF	20:4413.4	–	?
10	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	20:4417.2	yama	+

<sup>112</sup> 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.

11	yama	夜麻	mountain	20:4417.4	yama	+
12	yama	夜麻	mountain	20:4418.2	yama	+
13	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4413.1	makura	+
14	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4416.1	makura	+
15	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4420.1	makura	+
16	tama	多麻	PN	20:4417.4	–	?
17	irima	伊利麻	PN	14:3378.1	–	?
18	ma	麻	really	20:4413.3	ma	+
19	ma	麻	really	20:4424.5	ma	+
20	-masi	麻之	-SUBJ.ATTR	20:4424.3	-masi	+
21	ma	麻古	true	20:4414.4	ma	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.1.12 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

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

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.13 *mu* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mu</b> NSASI	武藏	PN	14:3374.1	–	?
2	<b>mu</b> NSASI	武藏	PN	14:3375.1	–	?
3	<b>mu</b> Nsasi	牟射志	PN	14:3376a.3	–	?
4	<b>mu</b> Nsasi	牟射志	PN	14:3379.3	–	?
5	ip- <b>am-u</b>	伊波武	say-TENT-ATTR	14:3379.2	ip-am-u	+
6	yar- <b>am-u</b>	也良牟	send-TENT-ATTR	20:4417.5	yar-am-u	+
7	pur- <b>am-u</b>	布良武	-TENT-ATTR	14:3376a.2	pur-am-u	+
8	- <b>m-u</b>	无	-TENT-ATTR	20:4413.4	-m-u	+
9	- <b>m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-FIN	20:4416.5	-m-u	+
10	- <b>m-u</b>	无	-TENT-FIN	20:4424.5	-m-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.14 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yumey	由米	at_all	14:3376a.5	yumey	+
2	sömey-	曾米	dye-	20:4424.3	sömey-	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.15 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imwo</b>	伊 <u>毛</u>	beloved_girl	20:4423.4	imwo	+
2	<b>kumwo</b>	久 <u>毛</u>	cloud	20:4421.4	kumwo	+
3	<b>mwo</b>	<u>毛</u>	FPT	14:3374.3	mö	-
4	<b>mwo</b>	<u>毛</u>	FPT	14:3376a.2	mö	-
5	<b>kamwo</b>	可 <u>毛</u>	EPT	20:4418.5	kamö	-
6	<b>pyimwo</b>	比 <u>毛</u>	string	20:4416.5	pyimo	?
7	<b>pyimwo</b>	比 <u>毛</u>	string	20:4420.3	pyimo	?
8	<b>-m-wo</b>	<u>毛</u>	-TENT-ATTR	20:4415.5	-m-u	-
9	<b>-m-wo</b>	<u>毛</u>	-TENT-ATTR	20:4423.5	-m-u	-
10	<b>-m-wo</b>	<u>毛</u>	-TENT-ATTR	20:4422.5	-m-u	-
11	[o]mwop- am-ö	<u>毛</u> 波母	think-TENT-ATTR	20:4419.5	omöp- am-u	-

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.

### 2.5.5.1.16 mö syllables

The mö phonogram attested is 母.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imö</b>	伊 <u>母</u>	beloved_girl	20:4415.4	imwo	-
2	<b>mönöwo</b>	<u>母</u> 能乎	CNJ	14:3379.5	mönöwo	+
3	<b>-Ntwomö</b>	度 <u>母</u>	-CONC	20:4419.2	-Ntömö	+
4	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	EPT	20:4415.5	mö	+
5	<b>kamö</b>	可 <u>母</u>	EPT	14:3379.2	kamö	+
6	<b>kamö</b>	加 <u>母</u>	EPT	20:4422.5	kamö	+
7	<b>kamö</b>	可 <u>母</u>	EPT	20:4423.5	kamö	+
8	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4415.3	mö	+
9	<b>körömö</b>	許呂 <u>母</u>	garment	20:4424.2	körömö	+
10	<b>mös-i</b>	<u>母</u> 志	hold-INF	20:4420.5	möt-i	+
11	<b>mös-i</b>	<u>母</u> 之	hold-INF	20:4415.2	möt-i	+
12	<b>-m-ö</b>	<u>母</u>	-TENT-ATTR	20:4418.5	-m-u	-
13	[o]mwop-	毛波 <u>母</u>	think-TENT-	20:4419.5	omöp-	-



	<b>am-ö</b>		ATTR		am-u	
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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 *mö* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wakare</b>	<u>和</u> 可礼	separate.INF	14:3375.3	wakare	+
2	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3379.1	wa	+
3	<b>ware</b>	<u>和</u> 礼	1.S	20:4416.4	ware	+
4	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4418.1	wa	+
5	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4418.4	wa	+
6	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4421.1	wa	+
7	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4422.1	wa	+
8	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3378.5	wa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.1.18 *wi* syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ipawi</b>	伊波 <u>為</u>	UNC	14:3378.3	—	?

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.1.19 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

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

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) \*<sup>m</sup>b > b
- b) \*ia > a
- c) \*uy > u
- d) \*əy > e
- e) \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_

I do not find there to be sufficient evidence for change (a), as *Np*- syllables are amply attested and completely invariant. We also only find three examples of a lack of prenasalization in the *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 *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 *Nta, Nsi, Nse, Nswo, Nsö, or rwo* syllables.

#### 2.5.5.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	麻多	again	20:4415.5	mata	+
2	<b>itar-i</b>	伊多里	arrive-INF	20:4419.4	itar-i	+
3	<b>taye-</b>	多要	break-	20:4420.3	taye-	+
4	<b>taye</b>	多要	break-INF	14:3378.5	taye	+
5	<b>tak-ey</b>	多氣	burn-EV	20:4419.2	tak-ey	+

6	<b>tat-i</b>	<u>多</u> 知	depart-INF	14:3375.3	tat-i	+
7	<b>tama</b>	<u>多</u> 麻	jewel	20:4415.1	tama	+
8	<b>tapyi</b>	<u>多</u> 比	journey	20:4416.2	taNpyi	+
9	<b>taNpyi</b>	<u>多</u> 妣	journey	20:4420.2	taNpyi	+
10	-N-tutap-yi	豆 <u>多</u> 比	-LOC-transmit-INF	20:4414.5	-N-tutap-yi	+
11	<b>kata</b>	可 <u>多</u>	one	20:4418.2	kata	+
12	<b>tama</b>	<u>多</u> 麻	PN	20:4417.4	–	?
13	<b>taNpar-aNpa</b>	<u>多</u> 婆良婆	receive.HUM-COND	20:4424.4	taNpar-aNpa	+
14	<b>kata</b>	可 <u>多</u>	shoulder	14:3374.2	kata	+
15	<b>tas-i</b>	<u>多</u> 志	stand-INF	20:4423.2	tat-i	+
16	<b>tasi</b>	<u>多</u> 之	sword	20:4413.1	tati	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tat-i</b>	<u>多</u> 知	depart-INF	14:3375.3	tat-i	+
2	<b>oti-</b>	於 <u>知</u>	fall-	20:4418.5	oti-	+
3	<b>tuti</b>	都 <u>知</u>	land	20:4418.5	tuti	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tukey-</b>	都氣	be.attached-	20:4420.4	tukey-	+
2	<b>utukusi-</b>	宇都久之	be.beloved-	20:4414.3	utukusi-	+
3	<b>utukusi-</b>	宇都久之	be.beloved-	20:4422.3	utukusi-	+
4	<b>tuNpakyi</b>	都婆伎	camellia	20:4418.2	tuNpakyi	+
5	<b>tukus-i</b>	都久之	exhaust-INF	20:4421.2	tukus-i	+
6	<b>tuti</b>	都知	land	20:4418.5	tuti	+
7	<b>tuku</b>	都久	moon	20:4413.5	tukiy	+
8	<b>tukusi</b>	都久之	PN	20:4419.4	tukusi	+
9	<b>tukusi</b>	都 <sup>113</sup> 久之	PN	20:4422.2	tukusi	+
10	<b>tura</b>	都良	vine	14:3378.3	tura	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 𠂇.

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

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

<sup>113</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>twor-i</b>	刀里	take-INF	20:4415.2	tör-i	-
2	<b>twor-i</b>	刀里	hold-INF	20:4417.3	twor-i	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-tö</b>	等	-COM	20:4420.4	-tö	+
2	<b>myikötö</b>	美己等	command	20:4414.2	myikötö	+
3	<b>-tötö</b>	一等登	-COOR	20:4421.5	-tutu	+
4	<b>tör-i</b>	等里	take-INF	20:4413.2	tör-i	+
5	<b>tökyi</b>	登吉	time	14:3379.5	tökyi	+
6	<b>tök-an-ana</b>	等可奈奈	untie-NEG-DES	20:4422.4	tök-an-ana	+
7	<b>tök-aNs-u</b>	等加受	untie-NEG-INF	20:4416.5	tök-aNs-u	+
8	<b>kötö</b>	己等	word	20:4418.3	kötö	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.7 *Nti* syllables

The *Nti* phonogram attested is 治.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-ti	迨	-GEN-road	14:3378.1	-N-ti	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.8 *Ntu* syllables

The *Ntu* phonogram attested is 豆.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.9 *Nte* syllables

The *Nte* phonograms attested are 佢 and 渥.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]Nte	佢	go_out.INF	14:3374.5	iNte	+
2	swoNte	蘇渥	sleeve	20:4423.3	swoNte	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.10 *Ntwo* syllables

The *Ntwo* phonogram attested is 度.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kaNtwo	可 <u>度</u>	gate	20:4418.1	kaNtwo	+
2	-Ntwomö	<u>度</u> <sup>114</sup> 母	-CONC	20:4419.2	-Ntömö	-

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 杼 and 騰.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	aNtö	安 <u>杼</u>	what	14:3379.2	naNtö	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.2.12 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	masate	麻 <u>左</u> 弓	certain	14:3374.3	masa	+
2	saya	<u>佐</u> 夜	clear	20:4423.5	saya	+
3	sayaka	<u>佐</u> 夜可	clear	20:4424.5	saka	+
4	kusa	久 <u>佐</u>	grass	20:4416.1	kusa	+
5	kusa	久 <u>左</u>	grass	20:4420.1	kusa	+
6	saka	<u>佐</u> 可	slope	20:4423.2	saka	+
7	saka	<u>佐</u> 可	slope	20:4424.4	saka	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>114</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 騰 *Ntö*, which is invariant.



### 2.5.5.2.13 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kanasi-	可奈 <u>之</u>	be.adorable-	20:4413.3	kanasi-	+
2	kasikwo-	可 <u>之</u> 古	be.awesome-	20:4414.2	kasikwo-	+
3	utukusi-	宇都久 <u>之</u>	be.beloved-	20:4414.3	utukusi-	+
4	utukusi-	宇都久 <u>之</u>	be.beloved-	20:4422.3	utukusi-	+
5	kwopiysi-	古非 <u>思</u>	be.longing_ for-	14:3376a.1	kwopiysi-	+
6	kwopusi-	古布 <u>志</u>	be.longing_ for-	20:4419.5	kwopiysi-	+
7	tukus-i	都久 <u>之</u>	exhaust-INF	20:4421.2	tukus-i	+
8	mös-i	母 <u>之</u>	hold-INF	20:4415.2	möt-i	-
9	mös-i	母 <u>志</u>	hold-INF	20:4420.5	möt-i	-
10	sima	<u>之</u> 末	island	20:4414.5	sima	+
11	sir-an-aku	<u>之</u> 良奈久	know- NEG.ATTR- NML	20:4413.5	sir-an-aku	+
12	paNkas-i	波賀 <u>志</u>	let_go-INF	20:4417.2	–	?
13	sinwop-an-e	<u>志</u> 努波祢	long_for- DES-IMP	20:4421.5	sinwop- an-e	+
14	kyiNkyisi	吉藝 <u>志</u>	pheasant	14:3375.2	kyiNkyisi	+
15	muNsasi	牟射 <u>志</u>	PN	14:3376a.3	–	?
16	muNsasi	牟射 <u>志</u>	PN	14:3379.3	–	?
17	tukusi	都久 <u>之</u>	PN	20:4419.4	tukusi	+
18	asiNkara	安 <u>之</u> 我良	PN	20:4421.3	asiNkara	+
19	tukusi	都久 <u>之</u>	PN	20:4422.2	tukusi	+
20	asiNkara	安 <u>之</u> 我良	PN	20:4423.1	asiNkara	+
21	-si	<u>之</u>	-PST.ATTR	14:3375.4	-si	+
22	asi	安 <u>之</u>	reed	20:4419.2	asi	+
23	tas-i	多 <u>志</u>	stand-INF	20:4423.2	tat-i	-
24	-masi	麻 <u>之</u>	-SUBJ	20:4424.3	-masi	+
25	tasi	多 <u>之</u> <sup>115</sup>	sword	20:4413.1	tati	-
26	kösi	己 <u>志</u>	waist	20:4413.2	kösi	+

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

27	<b>kasi</b>	加志	walking	20:4417.5	—	- <sup>116</sup>
28	<b>sira</b>	志良	white	20:4415.1	sira	+

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<sup>117</sup>.

### 2.5.5.2.14 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-nös <u>u</u>	乃須	-COMP	20:4415.3	-nasu	+
2	<b>sum-yi</b>	須美	live-INF	20:4419.3	sum-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.15 *se* syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 世 and 西.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>se</b>	世	beloved_man	14:3375.5	se	+

<sup>116</sup> 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.

<sup>117</sup> Ikiei (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.

2	se	世	beloved_man	14:3379.1	se	+
3	se	西	beloved_man	20:4413.4	se	+
4	se	世	beloved_man	20:4416.2	se	+
5	se	世	beloved_man	20:4422.1	se	+
6	se	世	beloved_man	20:4424.2	se	+
7	se-	世	do-	20:4416.3	se-	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.16 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonograms attested are 素 and 蘇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	swote	素弓	sleeve	14:3376a.2	swoNte	+
2	swoNte	蘇涅	sleeve	20:4423.3	swoNte	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.17 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-sö	曾	-do	14:3378.5	-sö	+
2	sömey-	曾米	dye-	20:4424.3	sömey-	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.18 *Nsa* syllables

The *Nsa* phonogram attested is 射.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	muNsasi	牟射志	PN	14:3376a.3	–	?
2	muNsasi	牟射志	PN	14:3379.3	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.19 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tök-aNs-u	等加受	untie-NEG-INF	20:4416.5	tök-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.20 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nare</b>	奈礼	2.S	20:4418.3	nare	+
2	kanasi-	可奈之	be.adorable-	20:4413.3	kanasi-	+
3	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DES	20:4418.4	-na	+
4	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DIM	20:4416.2	–	?
5	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DIM	20:4422.1	–	?
6	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DIM	20:4424.2	–	?
7	{na} <b>na</b>	{奈} 々	EPT	20:4418.4	na	+
8	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	14:3376a.4	pana	+
9	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	14:3379.4	pana	+
10	[i]Nt- <b>una</b>	豆奈	go_out-NEG.DES	14:3376a.5	iNt-una	+
11	sir-an- <b>aku</b>	之良奈久	know-NEG-NML	20:4413.5	sir-an-aku	+
12	<b>-n[i]-ar-u</b>	奈流	-LOC-exist-	20:4415.4	-n[i]-ar-	+

			ATTR		u	
13	-n[i]-ar-u	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	20:4416.4	-n[i]-ar-u	+
14	-n[i]-ar-u	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	20:4423.4	-n[i]-ar-u	+
15	ap-an-ap-u	安波奈布	meet-NEG-ITER-FIN	14:3375.5	–	+
16	na-	奈	NEG.IMP	14:3378.5	na-	+
17	na-	奈	not.exist-	14:3379.5	na-	+
18	panar-i	波奈利	part_from-INF	20:4414.4	panare	+
19	tök-an-ana	等可奈奈	untie-NEG-DES	20:4422.4	tök-an-ana	++

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.21 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	n-i	尔	COP-INF	14:3374.3	n-i	+
2	n-i	尔	COP-INF	20:4422.5	n-i	+
3	n-i	尔	COP-INF	20:4423.5	n-i	+
4	n-i	尔	COP-INF	20:4424.5	n-i	+
5	ni	尔	-DAT	14:3374.5	-ni	+
6	-ni	尔	-DAT	14:3375.5	-ni	+
7	-ni	尔	-DAT	14:3378.5	-ni	+
8	in-i	伊尔	depart-INF	14:3375.4	in-i	+
9	-ni	尔	-LOC	14:3374.1	-ni	+
10	-ni	尔	-LOC	14:3376a.5	-ni	+
11	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4413.2	-ni	+
12	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4415.2	-ni	+
13	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4417.2	-ni	+
14	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4418.5	-ni	+
15	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4419.1	-ni	+
16	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4419.4	-ni	+
17	-ni	尔	-LOC	20:4423.2	-ni	+
18	-kani	加尔	-POT	20:4417.3	-kane	-

The variance in (18) appears to be an example of the raising of \*e > i in Muzasi.

#### 2.5.5.2.22 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	nör-an-u	乃良奴	tell-NEG-ATTR	14:3374.4	nör-an-u	+
2	nur-u nur-u	奴流々々	untangle-FIN untangle-FIN	14:3378.4	nur-u nur-u	++

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.23 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-n-e	祢	-DES-IMP	14:3378.5	-n-e	+
2	sinwop-an-e	志努波祢	long_for-DES-IMP	20:4421.5	sinwop-an-e	+
3	ne	祢	peak	20:4421.4	ne	+
4	ne-	祢	sleep-	20:4416.5	ne-	+
5	ne-	祢	sleep-	20:4422.5	ne-	+
6	ne	祢	sleep-INF	20:4416.3	ne	+
7	ne	祢	sleep.NML	20:4420.2	ne	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.24 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nwo</b>	<u>努</u>	field	20:4417.2	nwo	+
2	sinwop-an-e	志 <u>努</u> 波祢	long_for-DES-IMP	20:4421.5	sinwop-an-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.2.25 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

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

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.

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

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-ywo <i>ri</i>	欲 <u>利</u>	-ABL	14:3375.4	-ywo <i>ri</i>	+
2	ita <i>ri</i>	伊多 <u>里</u>	arrive-INF	20:4419.4	ita <i>ri</i>	+
3	two <i>ri</i>	刀 <u>里</u>	hold-INF	20:4417.3	two <i>ri</i>	+
4	irima	伊 <u>利</u> 麻	PN	14:3378.1	–	?
5	-kye <i>ri</i>	家 <u>里</u>	-RETR-FIN	14:3374.5	-kye <i>ri</i>	+
6	ya <i>ri</i>	夜 <u>里</u>	send-INF	20:4422.2	ya <i>ri</i>	+
7	pana <i>ri</i>	波奈 <u>利</u>	part_from-INF	20:4414.4	panare	-
8	tö <i>ri</i>	等 <u>里</u>	take-INF	20:4413.2	tö <i>ri</i>	+
9	two <i>ri</i>	刀 <u>里</u>	take-INF	20:4415.2	tö <i>ri</i>	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>ru</b>	<u>流</u>	-ATTR	20:4415.3	-ru	+
2	ma <b>ru</b>	麻 <u>流</u>	circle	20:4416.3	maru	+
3	ma <b>ru</b>	麻 <u>流</u>	circle	20:4420.2	maru	+
4	-n[i]-a <b>ru</b>	奈 <u>流</u>	-LOC-exist-ATTR	20:4415.4	-n[i]-a <b>ru</b> u	+

5	-n[i]-ar-u	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	20:4416.4	-n[i]-ar-u	+
6	-n[i]-ar-u	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	20:4423.4	-n[i]-ar-u	+
7	paru	波流	needle	20:4420.5	pari	-
8	nur-u nur-u	奴流々々	untangle-FIN untangle-FIN	14:3378.4	nur-u nur-u	++

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ware	和礼	1.S	20:4416.4	ware	+
2	nare	奈礼	2.S	20:4418.3	nare	+
3	wakare	和可礼	separate.INF	14:3375.3	wakare	+
4	köre	許礼	this	20:4420.5	köre	+
5	pure-	布礼	touch-	20:4418.4	pure-	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.2.30 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	irö	伊呂	color	14:3376a.5	irö	+
2	irö	伊呂	color	20:4424.1	irö	+
3	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3375.5	-rö	+
4	-rö	呂	-DIM	20:4413.4	-rö	+

5	-rö	呂	-DIM	20:4419.1	-rö	+
6	körömö	許呂母	garment	20:4424.2	körömö	+
7	-rö	呂	-IMP	20:4420.4	—	?

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 > ə [sporadic]
- d) \*e > i [conditioned to the potential suffix]
- e) \*ə > o
- f) \*<sup>n</sup>d > 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 *yö* syllables.

#### 2.5.5.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonograms attested are 也 and 夜.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yak-yi</b>	<u>也</u> 伎	burn-NML	14:3374.2	yak-yi	+
2	<b>saya</b>	佐 <u>夜</u>	clear	20:4423.5	saya	+
3	<b>sayaka</b>	佐 <u>夜</u> 可	clear	20:4424.5	saya	+
4	<b>ya</b>	<u>也</u>	EPT	20:4415.5	ya	+
5	<b>yama</b>	<u>夜</u> 麻	mountain	20:4417.2	yama	+
6	<b>yama</b>	<u>夜</u> 麻	mountain	20:4417.4	yama	+
7	<b>yama</b>	<u>夜</u> 麻	mountain	20:4418.2	yama	+
8	<b>yar-i</b>	<u>夜</u> 里	send-INF	20:4422.2	yar-i	+
9	<b>yar-am-u</b>	<u>也</u> 良牟	send-TENT-ATTR	20:4417.5	yar-am-u	+
10	<b>aya</b>	阿 <u>也</u>	strange	20:4422.5	aya	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>yu</b>	由	-ABL	20:4417.5	-yu	+
2	<b>yumey</b>	由米	at_all	14:3376a.5	yumey	+
3	<b>yuk-u</b>	由苦	go-ATTR	20:4416.2	yuk-u	+
4	<b>yuk-u</b>	由久	go-FIN	20:4414.5	yuk-u	+
5	<b>yuk-yi</b>	由伎	walk-NML	20:4421.1	yuk-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.3.3 *ye* syllables

The *ye* phonogram attested is 要.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>taye-</b>	多要	break-	20:4420.3	taye-	+
2	<b>taye</b>	多要	break.INF	14:3378.5	taye	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.3.4 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 欲.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>ywori</b>	欲利	-ABL	14:3375.4	-ywori	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.5.3.5 yō syllables

The yō phonogram attested is 与.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yōpyi	与比	evening	14:3375.4	yōpyi	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kanasi-	可奈之	be.adorable-	20:4413.3	kanasi-	+
2	kasikwo-	可之古	be.awesome-	20:4414.2	kasikwo-	+
3	sayaka	佐夜可	clear	20:4424.5	–	+ <sup>118</sup>
4	kamō	可母	EPT	14:3379.2	kamō	+
5	kamwo	可毛	EPT	20:4418.5	kamō	+
6	kamō	加母	EPT	20:4422.5	kamō	+
7	kamō	可母	EPT	20:4423.5	kamō	+

<sup>118</sup> 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.

8	<b>kaNtwo</b>	<u>可</u> 度	gate	20:4418.1	kaNtwo	+
9	<b>-N-puka-</b>	夫 <u>可</u>	-GEN- be.deep-	20:4424.1	-N-puka-	+
10	<b>kata</b>	<u>可</u> 多	one	20:4418.2	kata	+
11	<b>-kani</b>	<u>加</u> 尔	-POT	20:4417.3	-kane	+
12	<b>-k-aNpa</b>	<u>可</u> 婆	-PST-COND	20:4421.2	-kyeNpa	-
13	<b>pyik-aNpa</b>	比 <u>可</u> 婆	pull-COND	14:3378.4	pyik-aNpa	+
14	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	20:4417.5	ka	+
15	<b>aka</b>	阿 <u>加</u>	red	20:4417.1	aka	+
16	<b>wakare</b>	和 <u>可</u> 礼	separate.INF	14:3375.3	wakare	+
17	<b>kata</b>	<u>可</u> 多	shoulder	14:3374.2	kata	+
18	<b>saka</b>	佐 <u>可</u>	slope	20:4423.2	saka	+
19	<b>saka</b>	佐 <u>可</u>	slope	20:4424.4	saka	+
20	<b>tök-an-ana</b>	等 <u>可</u> 奈奈	untie-NEG- DES	20:4422.4	tök-an-ana	+
21	<b>tök-aNs-u</b>	等 <u>加</u> 受	untie-NEG- INF	20:4416.5	tök-aNs-u	+
22	<b>kasi</b>	<u>加</u> 志	walking	20:4417.5	-	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-kyi</b>	<u>伎</u>	-AVATTR	14:3379.5	-kyi	+
2	<b>-kyi</b>	<u>伎</u>	-AVATTR	20:4413.3	-kyi	+
3	<b>ikiyi</b>	伊 <u>伎</u>	breath	20:4421.2	ikiyi	+
4	<b>yak-yi</b>	也 <u>伎</u>	burn-NML	14:3374.2	yak-yi	+
5	<b>tuNpakyi</b>	都婆 <u>伎</u>	camellia	20:4418.2	tuNpakyi	+
6	<b>yuk-yi</b>	由 <u>伎</u>	go-NML	20:4421.1	yuk-yi	+
7	<b>mak-yi</b>	馬 <u>伎</u>	leave-INF	20:4413.4	-	?
8	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎</u> 美	lord	14:3374.4	kyimyi	+
9	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎</u> 美	lord	20:4414.1	kyimyi	+
10	<b>kyiNkyisi</b>	<u>吉</u> 藝志	pheasant	14:3375.2	kyiNkyisi	+

11	tökyi	登吉	time	14:3379.5	tökyi	+
12	pak-yi	波伎	wear-INF	20:4413.2	pak-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.4.3 *kiy* syllables

The *kiy* phonogram attested is 奇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	woN-kukiy	乎具奇	DIM-cave	14:3375.2	woN-kukyi	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-ku	久	-AVINF	20:4424.1	-ku	+
2	utukusi-	宇都久之	be.beloved-	20:4414.3	utukusi-	+
3	utukusi-	宇都久之	be.beloved-	20:4422.3	utukusi-	+
4	kumwo	久毛	cloud	20:4421.4	kumwo	+
5	tukus-i	都久之	exhaust-INF	20:4421.2	tukus-i	+
6	yuk-u	由苦	go-ATTR	20:4416.2	yuk-u	+
7	yuk-u	由久	go-FIN	20:4414.5	yuk-u	+
8	kusa	久佐	grass	20:4416.1	kusa	+
9	kusa	久左	grass	20:4420.1	kusa	+
10	sir-an-aku	之良奈久	know-NEG-NML	20:4413.5	sir-an-aku	+
11	tuku	都久	moon	20:4413.5	tukiy	-
12	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4413.1	makura	+
13	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4416.1	makura	+
14	makura	麻久良	pillow	20:4420.1	makura	+



15	tukusi	都久之	PN	20:4419.4	tukusi	+
16	tukusi	都久之	PN	20:4422.2	tukusi	+

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 \*tukuy (< PJ \*tukoy<sup>119</sup>). 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.

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

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.4.6 key syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-key	氣	-AVATTR	20:4414.3	-kyi	-
2	-key	氣	-AVATTR	20:4419.3	-kyi	-
3	-key	氣	-AVATTR	20:4419.5	-kyi	-
4	tukey-	都氣	be.attached-	20:4420.4	tukey-	+
5	tak-ey	多氣	burn-EV	20:4419.2	tak-ey	+

<sup>119</sup> 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 P<sub>Jn</sub> \*-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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kasikwo-	可之 <u>古</u>	be.awesome-	20:4414.2	kasikwo-	+
2	kwopiysi-	<u>古</u> 非思	be.longing_ for-	14:3376a.1	kwopiysi-	+
3	kwopusi-	<u>古</u> 布志	be.longing_ for-	20:4419.5	kwopiysi-	+
4	-kwo	<u>故</u>	-DIM	14:3379.1	-kwo	+
5	kwo	<u>古</u>	girl	20:4414.4	kwo	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.4.8 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 己 and 許.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kö-	<u>己</u>	come-	20:4413.4	kö-	+
2	myikötö	美 <u>己</u> 等	command	20:4414.2	myikötö	+
3	körömö	<u>許</u> 呂母	garment	20:4424.2	körömö	+
4	yökö	余 <u>許</u>	horizontal	20:4417.4	yökö	+
5	köre	<u>許</u> <sup>120</sup> 礼	this	20:4420.5	köre	+
6	kösi	<u>己</u> 志	waist	20:4413.2	kösi	+
7	kötö	<u>己</u> 等	word	20:4418.3	kötö	+

<sup>120</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 衿 *ne*, which looks like a mistake.

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.4.9 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	paNkas-i	波賀志	let_go-INF	20:4417.2	–	?
2	asiNkara	安之我良	PN	20:4421.3	asiNkara	+
3	asiNkara	安之我良	PN	20:4423.1	asiNkara	+
4	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3374.4	-Nka	+
5	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3375.2	-Nka	+
6	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3376a.4	-Nka	+
7	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3379.1	-Nka	+
8	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3379.4	-Nka	+
9	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4413.4	-Nka	+
10	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4414.4	-Nka	+
11	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4416.2	-Nka	+
12	-Nka	我 <sup>121</sup>	-POSS	20:4418.1	-Nka	+
13	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4418.4	-Nka	+
14	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4420.4	-Nka	+
15	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4421.1	-Nka	+
16	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4422.1	-Nka	+
17	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4424.2	-Nka	+
18	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3378.2	-Nka	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.4.10 *Nkyi* syllables

The *Nkyi* phonogram attested is 藝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kyiNkyisi	吉藝志	pheasant	14:3375.2	kyiNkyisi	+

<sup>121</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	woN- <b>kukiy</b>	乎具奇	DIM-cave	14:3375.2	woN- kukyi	?

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.5.4.12 *Nkwo* syllables

The *Nkwo* phonogram attested is 胡.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-kwo-</b>	胡	COP.ATTR- DIM-	20:4417.1	N-kwo-	+

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) \*əy > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>a</b>	安	1.S	20:4420.4	a	+
2	<b>ap-an-ap-u</b>	安波奈布	meet-NEG-ITER-FIN	14:3375.5	ap-	+
3	<b>asiNkara</b>	安之我良	PN	20:4421.3	asiNkara	+
4	<b>asiNkara</b>	安之我良	PN	20:4423.1	asiNkara	+
5	<b>aka</b>	阿加	red	20:4417.1	aka	+
6	<b>asi</b>	安之	reed	20:4419.2	asi	+
7	<b>aya</b>	阿也	strange	20:4422.5	aya	+
8	<b>aNtö</b>	安杼	what	14:3379.2	naNtö	-

The variance in (8) is not due to a phonological change but rather a different historical morphology in Muzasi and WOJ.

### 2.5.5.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonogram attested is 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	itar-i	伊多里	arrive-INF	20:4419.4	itar-i	+
2	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4415.4	imwo	+
3	imwo	伊毛	beloved_girl	20:4423.4	imwo	+
4	ikyī	伊伎	breath	20:4421.2	ikyī	+
5	irö	伊呂	color	14:3376a.5	irö	+
6	irö	伊呂	color	20:4424.1	irö	+
7	in-i	伊尔	depart-INF	14:3375.4	in-i	+
8	ipyē	伊弊	home	20:4415.4	ipyē	+
9	ipa	伊波	home	20:4416.4	ipyē	+
10	ipa	伊波	home	20:4419.1	ipyē	+
11	ipa	伊波	home	20:4423.4	ipyē	+
12	irima	伊利麻	PN	14:3378.1	–	?
13	ip-am-u	伊波武	say-TENT-ATTR	14:3379.2	ip-am-u	+
14	ipawi	伊波為	UNC	14:3378.3	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.5.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ukyera	宇家良	<i>Atractylodes Japonica</i>	14:3376a.4	–	?
2	ukyera	宇家良	<i>Atractylodes Japonica</i>	14:3379.4	–	?
3	utukusi-	宇都久之	be.beloved-	20:4414.3	utukusi-	+
4	utukusi-	宇都久之	be.beloved-	20:4422.3	utukusi-	+
5	urapyē	宇良敝	divination	14:3374.2	ura	+
6	ura	宇良	divination	14:3374.5	ura	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	opo	於保	be.great	20:4414.1	opo	+
2	oti-	於知	fall-	20:4418.5	oti-	+
3	opoYA	於保屋	PN	14:3378.2	–	?
4	oNpyi	於妣	sash	20:4422.4	oNpyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.5.5.5 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<sup>122</sup> (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.

<sup>122</sup> 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**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	35	2	4
Np-	10	0	0
t-	48	1	2
Nt-	8	0	0
s-	45	0	3
Ns-	1	0	2
k-	69	0	3
Nk-	20	0	1
TOTALS	236	3	15

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**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s [ʰz]		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

#### 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**

	front	central	back
high	i	[i̯]	u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

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

- d) \*a > ə (sporadic)
- e) \*e > i (morphologically conditioned to the potential suffix)
- f) \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_
- g) \*i > a (progressive vowel assimilation in one place name)

#### 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*, *Npa*, *Npiy*, *Npu*, *Npye*, *Npey*, *Npo*, *miy*, *mye*, *mey*, *wi*, or *we* syllables.

#### 2.5.6.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonograms attested are 波 and 泊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kököpa</b>	許己 <u>波</u>	extremely	14:3431.5	kököNpa, kököpa <sup>123</sup>	?
2	<b>pana</b>	<u>波</u> 奈都	flower	14:3370.4	pana	+
3	<b>papa</b>	<u>波々</u>	mother	20:4328.5	papa	++
4	<b>papa</b>	<u>波々</u>	mother	20:4330.5	papa	++
5	<b>para</b>	<u>波</u> 良	field	20:4328.4	para	+
6	<b>pakwone</b>	<u>波</u> 故祢	PN	14:3370.2	–	?
7	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔 <u>波</u>	PN	20:4329.2	nanipa	+
8	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔 <u>波</u>	PN	20:4330.1	nanipa	+
9	<b>Nkapa</b>	河 <u>泊</u> <sup>124</sup>	river	14:3366.4	kapa	+
10	<b>ip-an-aku</b>	伊 <u>波</u> 奈久	say-NEG-NML	14:3368.5	ip-an-aku	+
11	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3366.2	pa	+
12	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4329.1	pa	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>123</sup> This is attested in WOJ once as *kököNpa* and once as *kököpa*, so it is difficult to discern which form is original and which is secondary.

<sup>124</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u>	day	20:4329.4	pyi	+
2	tuNtwop- <b>yi</b>	都度 <u>比</u>	gather-INF	20:4329.2	tuNtwop- yi	+
3	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> <sup>125</sup> 等	person	20:4329.5	pyitö	+
4	twopyi	刀 <u>比</u>	PN	14:3368.2	–	?
5	<b>yösöp-yi</b>	余曾 <u>比</u>	prepare-INF	20:4330.2[1]	yösöp-yi	+
6	<b>yösöp-yi</b>	余曾 <u>比</u>	prepare-INF	20:4330.2[2]	yösöp-yi	+
7	<b>pyik-asi</b>	<u>比</u> 可志	pull-SUP	14:3431.4	pyik-asi	+
8	<b>pyik-wo</b>	<u>比</u> 古	pull-ATTR	14:3431.3	pyik-u	+
9	<b>pyimwo</b>	<u>比</u> 毛	string	14:3361.5	pyimo	+
10	<b>pyimö</b>	<u>比</u> 母	string	14:3370.5	pyimo	+
11	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u> <sup>126</sup>	day	20:4330.3	pyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.3 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pune</b>	<u>布</u> 衲	boat	14:3431.3	pune	+
2	<b>puna-</b>	<u>布</u> 奈	boat-	20:4329.3	puna-	+
3	kap[a]- <b>uti</b>	可 <u>布</u> 知	river- inner_part	14:3368.2	kap[a]-uti	+
4	key <b>pu</b>	氣 <u>布</u>	today	20:4330.3	kyepu	+
5	<b>pur-i</b>	<u>布</u> 理	touch-INF	20:4328.3	pur-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>125</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 以 *yi*, which is clearly a mistake.

<sup>126</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has the semantogram 日 *PYI* ‘sun, day.’

#### 2.5.6.1.4 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonogram attested is 敝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-pye</b>	敝	-ALL	14:3363.2	-pye	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.1.5 *po* syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 保.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>opo</b>	於保	great	20:4328.1	opo	+
2	<b>sipo</b>	思保	tide	14:3366.5	sipo	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.6.1.6 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	ywo <b>Np-yi</b>	欲妣	call-INF	14:3362a.4	ywoNp-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.1.7 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mama</b>	麻万	cliff	14:3369.2	–	??
2	<b>makar-am-u</b>	麻可良武	depart-TENT-FIN	20:4330.4	makar-am-u	+
3	<b>ma</b>	末	interval	14:3363.5	ma	+
4	<b>ma</b>	麻	interval	14:3361.4	ma	+
5	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3363.4	yama	+
6	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3431.2	yama	+
7	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3432.2	yama	+
8	<b>makura</b>	麻久良	pillow	14:3369.3	makura	+
9	<b>makura</b>	麻久良	pillow	14:3369.5	makura	+
10	<b>mak-as-am-u</b>	麻可左武	pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR	14:3369.4	mak-as-am-u	+
11	<b>yamatō</b>	夜麻登	PN	14:3363.2	yamatō	+
12	<b>kamakura</b>	可麻久良	PN	14:3366.3	–	?
13	<b>ma</b>	麻	really	14:3366.1	ma	+
14	<b>Ntuma</b>	豆麻	spouse	14:3370.4	tuma	+
15	<b>mat-u</b>	麻都	wait-ATTR	14:3363.3	mat-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.8 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	14:3366.1	-myi	+
2	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	20:4328.2	-myi	+
3	<b>siNtum-yi</b>	之豆美	become_quiet -INF	14:3361.4	siNtum-yi	+
4	<b>myikötō</b>	美許等	command	20:4328.2	myikötō	+
5	<b>myit-unam-u</b>	美都奈武	fill-TENT2-ATTR	14:3366.5	myit-uram-u	+
6	<b>myi-</b>	美	HON-	14:3362a.2	myi-	+
7	<b>myi-</b>	美	HON-	14:3362b.2	myi-	+
8	<b>kyimyi</b>	伎美	lord	14:3362b.4	kyimyi	+
9	<b>kyimyi</b>	吉美	lord	20:4328.1	kyimyi	+

10	<b>myinanöSE</b>	美奈能瀬	PN	14:3366.4	–	+ <sup>127</sup>
11	<b>myi-</b>	美	see-	20:4329.5	myi-	+
12	<b>myi-</b>	美	see-	20:4330.5	myi-	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.9 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 牟, 武, and 模.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>myit-unam-u</b>	美都奈武	fill-TENT2-ATTR	14:3366.5	myit-uram-u	+
2	<b>makar-am-u</b>	麻可良武	depart-TENT-ATTR	20:4330.4	makar-am-u	+
3	<b>mak-as-am-u</b>	麻可左武	pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR	14:3369.4	mak-as-am-u	+
4	<b>saNkamu</b>	相模	PN	14:3362a.1	saNkamu	+
5	<b>muNSASI</b>	武蔵	PN	14:3362b.1	–	?
6	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-ATTR	14:3370.5	-m-u	+
7	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-ATTR	20:4329.4	-m-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.10 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mwo</b>	毛	direction	14:3361.2	mo	?
2	<b>mönkamwo</b>	母我毛	DPT	20:4329.5	mönkamö	-
3	<b>pyimwo</b>	比毛	string	14:3361.5	pyimo	?

<sup>127</sup> While this placename is not attested in WOJ, we can see the *myi* syllable is invariant as the etymology is quite transparent: *myina-nö se* water-GEN rapids ‘water rapids.’

4	-m-wo	<u>毛</u>	-TENT-ATTR	20:4329.5	-m-u	-
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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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	direction	14:3361.2	mo	?
2	<b>möNkamwo</b>	<u>母</u> 我毛	DPT	20:4329.5	möNkamö	+
3	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	14:3368.4	mö	+
4	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	14:3431.4	mö	+
5	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	14:3432.4	mö	+
6	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	14:3432.5	mö	+
7	<b>pyimö</b>	比 <u>母</u>	string	14:3370.5	pyimo	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3363.1	wa	+
2	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3366.2	wa	+
3	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3432.2	wa	+
4	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3432.4	wa	+
5	<b>watar-u</b>	<u>和</u> 多流	cross-FIN	20:4328.4	watar-u	+
6	<b>wasure</b>	<u>和</u> 須礼	forget.INF	14:3362a.3	wasure	+



7	<b>wasure</b>	和須礼	forget.INF	14:3362b.3	wasure	+
8	<b>wana</b>	和奈	trap	14:3361.3	wana	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.1.13 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3362a.5	-wo	+
2	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3362b.5	-wo	+
3	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3363.1	-wo	+
4	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3432.2	-wo	+
5	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	14:3432.4	-wo	+
6	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	20:4328.5	-wo	+
7	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ACC	20:4329.4	-wo	+
8	<b>wo-</b>	乎	DIM-	14:3362a.2	wo-	+
9	<b>wo-</b>	乎	DIM-	14:3362b.2	wo-	+
10	<b>wote</b>	乎弓	there	14:3361.2	wote	+

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 > o / 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, tö, Nta, Ntu, Nte, Ntwo, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsa, Nsu, Nse, na, ni, ne, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö*. There are no phonographically attested *Nti, Ntö, Nsi, Nswo, Nsö, nu, nwo*, or *rwo* syllables.

#### 2.5.6.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-kata <sup>128</sup>	賀多	-GEN-hard	14:3431.5	-N-kata	+
2	watar-u	和多流	cross-FIN	20:4328.4	watar-u	+
3	ta-	多	hand-	14:3369.5	ta-	+
4	taywora	多欲良	shaking	14:3368.4	—	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.6.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	titi	知々	father	20:4328.5	titi	++
2	kap[a]-uti	可布知	river-inner_part	14:3368.2	kap[a]-uti	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>128</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>t-u</b>	都	COP-ATTR	14:3370.4	t-u	+
2	myit-unam-u	美都奈武	fill-TENT2-ATTR	14:3366.5	myit-uram-u	+
3	tuNtwop-yi	都度比	gather-INF	20:4329.2	tuNtwop-yi	+
4	<b>tu</b>	都	port	20:4330.1	tu	+
5	<b>mat-u</b>	麻都	wait-ATTR	14:3363.3	mat-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 𠃉.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-te</b>	𠃉	-SUB	14:3362a.4	-te	+
2	<b>-te</b>	𠃉	-SUB	14:3362b.4	-te	+
3	<b>-te</b>	𠃉	-SUB	14:3363.2	-te	+
4	<b>-te</b>	𠃉	-SUB	20:4328.5	-te	+
5	<b>-te</b>	𠃉	-SUB	20:4330.2	-te	+
6	<b>-te</b>	𠃉	-SUB	20:4330.4	-te	+
7	wote	乎𠃉	there	14:3361.2	wote	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.5 *two* syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>twopyi</b>	刀比	PN	14:3368.2	–	?

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.2.6 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 等 and 登.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>myikötö</b>	美許等	command	20:4328.2	myikötö	+
2	<b>tö</b>	等	COP	14:3432.5	tö	+
3	<b>pyitö</b>	比等	person	20:4329.5	pyitö	+
4	<b>yamatö</b>	夜麻登	PN	14:3363.2	yamatö	+
5	<b>tök-u</b>	等久	untie-FIN	14:3361.5	tök-u	+
6	<b>tök-aNs-u</b>	登可受	untie-NEG-INF	14:3370.5	tök-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.6.2.7 *Nta* syllables

The *Nta* phonogram attested is 太.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>siNta</b>	之太	CNJ	14:3363.3	–	?

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.2.8 *Ntu* syllables

The *Ntu* phonograms attested are 豆 and 頭.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	siNt <sup>u</sup> m-yi	之 <u>豆</u> 美	become_ quiet-INF	14:3361.4	siNt <sup>u</sup> m-yi	+
2	iNt <sup>u</sup> -uru	伊 <u>豆</u> 流	go_out-ATTR	14:3368.3	iNt <sup>u</sup> -uru	+
3	kaNt <sup>u</sup> s-an-e	可 <u>豆</u> 佐祢	entice-DES-IMP	14:3432.4	–	?
4	kaNt <sup>u</sup>	可 <u>頭</u>	mulberry	14:3432.3	–	?
5	kaNt <sup>u</sup>	可 <u>豆</u>	mulberry	14:3432.5	–	?
6	Nt <sup>u</sup> ma	<u>豆</u> 麻	spouse	14:3370.4	tuma	-

The variance in (6) shows a prenasalized onset phonogram to write a syllable that corresponds to a voiceless onset in WOJ. As the P<sub>J</sub>n 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	iNt <sup>e</sup>	伊 <u>田</u>	go_out.INF	20:4330.4	iNt <sup>e</sup>	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.2.10 *Ntwo* syllables

The *Ntwo* phonogram attested is 度.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuNt <sup>w</sup> op-yi	都 <u>度</u> 比	gather-INF	20:4329.2	tuNt <sup>w</sup> op-yi	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	N-kusa	具 <u>佐</u>	COP.ATTR-grass	14:3370.3	N-kusa	+
2	kaNtus-an-e	可豆 <u>佐</u> 祢	entice-DES-IMP	14:3432.4	–	?
3	sak-aNs-u	<u>佐</u> 可受	keep_apart-NEG-INF	14:3432.5	sak-aNs-u	+
4	sa-	<u>佐</u>	LOC-	14:3366.2	sa-	+
5	mak-as-am-u	麻可 <u>左</u> 武	pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR	14:3369.4	mak-as-am-u	+
6	saNkamu	相模	PN	14:3362a.1	saNkamu	+
7	sas-u	<u>佐</u> 須	thrust-ATTR	14:3361.3	sas-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.12 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-si	<u>之</u>	-AVFIN	20:4330.5	-si	+
2	kanasi-	可奈 <u>思</u>	be.adorable-	14:3366.1	kanasi-	+
3	kasikwo-	可 <u>之</u> 古	be.awesome-	20:4328.2	kasikwo-	+
4	siNtum-yi	<u>之</u> 豆美	become_quiet-INF	14:3361.4	siNtum-yi	+
5	siri	<u>斯</u> 利	behind	14:3431.4	siri	+
6	siNta	<u>之</u> 太	CNJ	14:3363.3	–	?
7	si	<u>之</u>	EPT	14:3362a.5	si	+
8	si	<u>思</u>	EPT	14:3362b.5	si	+
9	kakus-i	所久 <u>思</u>	hide-INF	14:3362a.2	kakus-i	+

10	kakus-i	可久 <u>思</u>	hide-INF	14:3362b.2	kakus-i	+
11	asiNkara	安 <u>思</u> 我良	PN	14:3361.1	asiNkara	+
12	asiNkara	安 <u>思</u> 我良	PN	14:3363.4	asiNkara	+
13	asiNkari	阿 <u>之</u> 我利	PN	14:3368.1	asiNkara	+
14	asiNkari	阿 <u>之</u> 我利	PN	14:3369.1	asiNkara	+
15	asiNkari	安 <u>思</u> 我里	PN	14:3370.1	asiNkara	+
16	asiNkari	阿 <u>之</u> 我里	PN	14.3431.1	asiNkara	+
17	asiNkari	阿 <u>之</u> 賀利	PN	14.3432.1	asiNkara	+
18	pyik-asi	比可 <u>志</u>	pull-SUP	14:3431.4	pyik-asi	+
19	sipo	<u>思</u> 保	tide	14:3366.5	sipo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.13 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>su</b>	<u>須</u>	again	14:3363.3	–	?
2	<b>suNkiy</b>	<u>須</u> 疑	cedar	14:3363.5	suNkiy	+
3	<b>wasure</b>	和 <u>須</u> 礼	forget.INF	14:3362a.3	wasure	+
4	<b>wasure</b>	和 <u>須</u> 礼	forget.INF	14:3362b.3	wasure	+
5	<b>sukey</b>	<u>須</u> 氣	sedge	14:3369.2	suNkey	+
6	<b>suNka-</b>	<u>須</u> 我	sedge-	14:3369.3	suNka-	+
7	<b>sas-u</b>	佐 <u>須</u>	thrust-ATTR	14:3361.3	sas-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.14 *se* syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 世 and 勢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>se</b>	<u>世</u>	beloved_man	14:3363.1	se	+
2	<b>se-</b>	<u>世</u>	do-	20:4329.4	se-	+

3	se	勢	do.IMP	14:3369.5	se	+
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There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.15 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	iswo	伊蘇	rock	20:4328.3	iswo	+
2	-swo	蘇	-ten	20:4329.1	-swo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.16 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yösöp-yi	余曾比	prepare-INF	20:4330.2[1]	yösöp-yi	+
2	yösöp-yi	余曾比	prepare-INF	20:4330.2[2]	yösöp-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.17 *Nsa* syllables

The *Nsa* phonogram attested is 射.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kaNsar-i	可射里	decorate-NML	20:4329.3	kaNsar-i	+



There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.18 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sak-aNs-u	佐可受	keep_apart-NEG-INF	14:3432.5	sak-aNs-u	+
2	tök-aNs-u	登可受	untie-NEG-INF	14:3370.5	tök-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.19 *Nse* syllables

The *Nse* phonogram attested is 是.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	aNse	安是	why	14:3369.4	naNse	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.2.20 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kanasi-	可奈思	be.adorable-	14:3366.1	kanasi-	+
2	nar-e	奈礼	become-EV	14:3370.4	nar-e	+
3	puna-	布奈	boat-	20:4329.3	puna-	+
4	myit-unam-u	美都奈武	fill-TENT2-ATTR	14:3366.5	myit-uram-u	-
5	pana	波奈	flower	14:3370.4	pana	+

6	<b>nak-uru</b>	奈久流	make.cry-ATTR	14:3362b.5	nak-uru	+
7	<b>nak-una</b>	奈久奈	make.cry-NEG.IMP	14:3362a.5	nak-una	+
8	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	20:4330.5	na-	+
9	<b>myinanöSE</b>	美奈能瀬	PN	14:3366.4	–	+
10	<b>akyina</b>	安伎奈	PN	14:3431.2	–	?
11	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4329.2	nanipa	+
12	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4330.1	nanipa	+
13	<b>ip-an-aku</b>	伊波奈久	say-NEG-NML	14:3368.5	ip-an-aku	+
14	<b>nar-u</b>	奈流	sound-ATTR	14:3361.4	nar-u	+
15	<b>wana</b>	和奈	trap	14:3361.3	wana	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3368.4[2]	n-i	+
2	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3368.5	n-i	+
3	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3431.5	n-i	+
4	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3361.2	-ni	+
5	<b>ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3366.2	-ni	+
6	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3366.4	-ni	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3368.2	-ni	+
8	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3368.4[1]	-ni	+
9	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3431.2	-ni	+
10	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4328.3	-ni	+
11	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4329.2	-ni	+
12	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4330.1	-ni	+
13	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4330.5	-ni	+
14	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4329.2	nanipa	+
15	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4330.1	nanipa	+

16	<b>kuni</b>	久尔	province	20:4329.1	kuni	+
17	<b>nikwo</b>	尔古	soft	14:3370.3	nikwo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.22 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pune</b>	布祢	boat	14:3431.3	pune	+
2	kaNtus-an-e	可豆佐祢	entice-DES-IMP	14:3432.4	–	?
3	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3362a.1	ne	+
4	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3362a.2	ne	+
5	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3362b.1	ne	+
6	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3362b.2	ne	+
7	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3370.2	ne	+
8	<b>pakwone</b>	波故祢	PN	14:3370.2	–	?
9	<b>ne-</b>	祢	sleep-	14:3370.5	ne-	+
10	<b>ne</b>	祢	sleep.NML	14:3366.2	ne	+
11	<b>ne</b>	祢	sound	14:3362a.5	ne	+
12	<b>ne</b>	祢	sound	14:3362b.5	ne	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.23 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-COMP	14:3361.3	-nö	+
2	<b>-nö</b>	能	-COMP	14:3368.3	-nö	+
3	<b>-nö</b>	能	-COMP	14:3370.3	-nö	+
4	<b>-nö</b>	能	-COMP	14:3432.3	-nö	+

5	n- <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	COP-ATTR	14:3363.5	n- <u>ö</u>	+
6	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3361.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
7	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3361.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
8	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3362a.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
9	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3362b.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
10	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3363.4	-n <u>ö</u>	+
11	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3363.5	-n <u>ö</u>	+
12	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3366.3	-n <u>ö</u>	+
13	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3368.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
14	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3368.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
15	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3369.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
16	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3369.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
17	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3369.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
18	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3370.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
19	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3370.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
20	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3370.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
21	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3431.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
22	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3431.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
23	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3432.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
24	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3432.2	-n <u>ö</u>	+
25	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3432.3	-n <u>ö</u>	+
26	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	20:4328.1	-n <u>ö</u>	+
27	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	20:4330.3	-n <u>ö</u>	+
28	-n <u>ö</u>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN/- COMP <sup>129</sup>	14:3431.3	-n <u>ö</u>	+
29	myinan <u>ö</u> SE	美奈 <u>能</u> 瀬	PN	14:3366.4	-	+
30	un <u>ö</u> -	宇 <u>能</u>	sea-	20:4328.4	una-	-

The variance in (30) is one we have seen a few times in previous EOJ provinces, it involves the correspondence of Sagamu *ö* 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 PIn form was \**unay* ‘sea.’ As only the compounding form is attested in WOJ, it is natural that we only see the

<sup>129</sup> 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:

PJn \*unay > Pre-Sagamu \*unəy > Sagamu /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<sup>130</sup>.

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	makar-am-u	麻可良武	depart-TENT-ATTR	20:4330.4	makar-am-u	+
2	makura	麻久良	pillow	14:3369.3	makura	+
3	makura	麻久良	pillow	14:3369.5	makura	+
4	para	波良	field	20:4328.4	para	+
5	asiNkara	安思我良	PN	14:3361.1	asiNkara	+
6	asiNkara	安思我良	PN	14:3363.4	asiNkara	+

<sup>130</sup> 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.

7	kamakura	可麻久良	PN	14:3366.3	–	?
8	taywora	多欲良	shaking	14:3368.4	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.25 *ri* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	siri	斯利	behind	14:3431.4	siri	+
2	kaNsar-i	可射里	decorate-NML	20:4329.3	kaNsar-i	+
3	asiNkari	阿之我利	PN	14:3368.1	asiNkara	-
4	asiNkari	阿之我利	PN	14:3369.1	asiNkara	-
5	asiNkari	安思我里	PN	14:3370.1	asiNkara	-
6	asiNkari	阿之我里	PN	14:3431.1	asiNkara	-
7	asiNkari	阿之賀利	PN	14:3432.1	asiNkara	-
8	yar-i	夜利	send-INF	14:3363.2	yar-i	+
9	pur-i	布理	touch-INF	20:4328.3	pur-i	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ru</b>	流	-ATTR	20:4330.5	-ru	+
2	<b>k-uru</b>	久流	come-ATTR	14:3362a.3	k-uru	+
3	<b>watar-u</b>	和多流	cross-FIN	20:4328.4	watar-u	+
4	<b>nak-uru</b>	奈久流	make.cry-ATTR	14:3362b.5	nak-uru	+
5	<b>iNt-uru</b>	伊豆流	go_out-ATTR	14:3368.3	iNt-uru	+
6	<b>nar-u</b>	奈流	sound-ATTR	14:3361.4	nar-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.6.2.27 *re* syllables

The *re* phonogram attested is 礼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>are</b>	安礼	1.S	14:3361.5	are	+
2	<b>nar-e</b>	奈礼	become-EV	14:3370.4	nar-e	+
3	<b>wasure</b>	和須礼	forget.INF	14:3362a.3	wasure	+
4	<b>wasure</b>	和須礼	forget.INF	14:3362b.3	wasure	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.2.28 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3361.5	-rö	+
2	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3368.5	-rö	+
3	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3369.5	-rö	+
4	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3370.2	-rö	+
5	-rö	呂	-DIM	20:4329.4	-rö	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ya</b>	夜	eight	20:4329.1	ya	+
2	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3363.4	yama	+
3	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3431.2	yama	+
4	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3432.2	yama	+
5	<b>yamatö</b>	夜麻登	PN	14:3363.2	yamatö	+
6	<b>ya</b>	夜	QPT	20:4330.3	ya	+
7	<b>ya</b>	也	QPT	14:3370.4	ya	+
8	<b>yar-i</b>	夜利	send-INF	14:3363.2	yar-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonograms attested are 遊 and 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yuk-u</b>	遊久	go-ATTR	14:3362b.3	yuk-u	+
2	<b>yuk-u</b>	由久	go-ATTR	14:3366.2	yuk-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.3.3 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 欲.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ywoNp-yi</b>	欲妣	call-INF	14:3362a.4	ywoNp-yi	+
2	<b>taywora</b>	多欲良	shaking	14:3368.4	–	?

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 *yö* syllables

The *yö* phonograms attested are 余 and 與.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yö</b>	與	EPT	14:3431.4	yö	+
2	<b>yösöp-yi</b>	余曾比	prepare-INF	20:4330.2	yösöp-yi	+
3	<b>yösöp-yi</b>	余曾比	prepare-INF	20:4330.2	yösöp-yi	+
4	<b>yö</b>	余	world	14:3368.4	yö	+

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*, *Nkyi*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, or *Nkö* syllables.

#### 2.5.6.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 可 and 加.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kanasi-</b>	<u>可</u> 奈思	be.adorable-	14:3366.1	kanasi-	+
2	<b>kasikwo-</b>	<u>可</u> 之古	be.awesome -	20:4328.2	kasikwo-	+
3	<b>akey</b>	<u>可</u> 氣	call.INF	14:3362b.4	akey	+
4	<b>kaNsar-i</b>	<u>可</u> 射里	decorate-NML	20:4329.3	kaNsar-i	+
5	<b>makar-am-u</b>	麻 <u>可</u> 良武	depart-TENT-ATTR	20:4330.4	makar-am-u	+
6	<b>kaNtus-an-e</b>	<u>可</u> 豆佐祢	entice-DES-IMP	14:3432.4	–	?
7	<b>kakus-i</b>	<u>可</u> 久思	hide-INF	14:3362b.2	kakus-i	+
8	<b>kakus-i</b>	<u>所</u> <sup>131</sup> 久思	hide-INF	14:3362a.2	kakus-i	+
9	<b>sak-aNs-u</b>	佐 <u>可</u> 受	keep_apart-NEG-INF	14:3432.5	sak-aNs-u	+
10	<b>kaNtu</b>	<u>可</u> 頭	mulberry	14:3432.3	–	?
11	<b>kaNtu</b>	<u>可</u> 豆	mulberry	14:3432.5	–	?
12	<b>mak-as-am-u</b>	麻 <u>可</u> 左武	pillow-HON-TENT-ATTR	14:3369.4	mak-as-am-u	+
13	<b>kamakura</b>	<u>可</u> 麻久良	PN	14:3366.3	–	?
14	<b>wawokakye</b>	和乎 <u>可</u> 鷄	PN	14:3432.2	–	?
15	<b>ka-</b>	<u>可</u>	PREF-	14:3361.4	ka-	+
16	<b>pyik-asi</b>	比 <u>可</u> 志	pull-SUP	14:3431.4	pyik-asi	+
17	<b>ka</b>	<u>可</u>	QPT	14:3363.5	ka	+
18	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	14:3369.4	ka	+
19	<b>kap[a]-uti</b>	<u>可</u> 布知	river-inner_part	14:3368.2	kap[a]-uti	+
20	<b>tök-aNs-u</b>	登 <u>可</u> 受	untie-NEG-INF	14:3370.5	tök-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>131</sup> 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 力 *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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ok-yi</b>	於 <u>伎</u>	leave_behind-INF	20:4328.5	ok-yi	+
2	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎</u> 美	lord	14:3362b.4	kyimyi	+
3	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>吉</u> 美	lord	20:4328.1	kyimyi	+
4	<b>akyina</b>	安 <u>伎</u> 奈	PN	14:3431.2	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.6.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>k-uru</b>	<u>久</u> 流	come-ATTR	14:3362a.3	k-uru	+
2	<b>yuk-u</b>	遊 <u>久</u>	go-ATTR	14:3362b.3	yuk-u	+
3	<b>yuk-u</b>	由 <u>久</u>	go-ATTR	14:3366.2	yuk-u	+
4	<b>kakus-i</b>	所 <u>久</u> 思	hide-INF	14:3362a.2	kakus-i	+
5	<b>kakus-i</b>	可 <u>久</u> 思	hide-INF	14:3362b.2	kakus-i	+
6	<b>nak-uru</b>	奈 <u>久</u> 流	make_cry-ATTR	14:3362b.5	nak-uru	+
7	<b>nak-una</b>	奈 <u>久</u> 奈	make_cry-NEG.IMP	14:3362a.5	nak-una	+
8	<b>makura</b>	麻 <u>久</u> 良	pillow	14:3369.3	makura	+
9	<b>makura</b>	麻 <u>久</u> 良	pillow	14:3369.5	makura	+
10	<b>kamakura</b>	可麻 <u>久</u> 良	PN	14:3366.3	–	?
11	<b>kuni</b>	<u>久</u> 尔	province	20:4329.1	kuni	+
12	<b>ip-an-aku</b>	伊波奈 <u>久</u>	say-NEG-NML	14:3368.5	ip-an-aku	+
13	<b>tök-u</b>	等 <u>久</u>	untie-FIN	14:3361.5	tök-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.6.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonogram attested is 鷄.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	wawokakye	和乎可鷄	PN	14:3432.2	–	?

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kakey	可氣	call.INF	14:3362b.4	kakey	+
2	sukey	須氣	sedge	14:3369.2	suNkey	-
3	keypu	氣布	today	20:4330.3	kyepu	-

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 (\*<sup>h</sup>g > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kasikwo-	可之古	be.awesome-	20:4328.2	kasikwo-	+
2	-kwo	古	-DIM	14:3363.1	-kwo	+
3	kwo-	古	DIM-	14:3369.2	kwo-	+
4	kwo	故	girl	14:3368.5	kwo	+

5	<b>pakwone</b>	波故祢	PN	14:3370.2	–	?
6	<b>pyik-wo</b>	比古	pull-ATTR	14:3431.3	pik-u	-
7	<b>nikwo</b>	尔古	soft	14:3370.3	nikwo	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>myikötö</b>	美許等	command	20:4328.2	myikötö	+
2	<b>kököpa</b>	許己波	extremely	14:3431.5	kököNpa	++
3	<b>kö</b>	許	girl	14:3361.5	kwo	-
4	<b>kö</b>	許	girl	14:3369.5	kwo	-
5	<b>kö-</b>	許	this-	14:3361.2	kö-	+

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*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>möNkamwo</b>	母我毛	DPT	20:4329.5	möNkamö	+
2	<b>-N-kata</b>	賀多	-GEN-hard	14:3431.5	-N-kata	+
3	<b>asiNkara</b>	安思我良	PN	14:3361.1	asiNkara	+
4	<b>saNkamu</b>	相模	PN	14:3362a.1	saNkamu	+
5	<b>asiNkara</b>	安思我良	PN	14:3363.4	asiNkara	+

6	asiNkari	阿之 <u>我</u> 利	PN	14:3368.1	asiNkara	+
7	asiNkari	阿之 <u>我</u> 利	PN	14:3369.1	asiNkara	+
8	asiNkari	安思 <u>我</u> 里	PN	14:3370.1	asiNkara	+
9	asiNkari	阿之 <u>我</u> 里	PN	14:3431.1	asiNkara	+
10	asiNkari	阿之 <u>賀</u> 利	PN	14:3432.1	asiNkara	+
11	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	14:3362a.4	-Nka	+
12	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	14:3362b.4	-Nka	+
13	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	14:3363.1	-Nka	+
14	-Nka	<u>河</u>	-POSS	14:3368.5	-Nka	+
15	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4329.4	-Nka	+
16	Nka	<u>賀</u>	QPT	14:3366.5	ka	-
17	Nkapa	<u>河</u> 泊	river	14:3366.4	kapa	-
18	suNka-	<u>須</u> <u>我</u>	sedge-	14:3369.3	suNka-	+

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 \*<sup>h</sup>g > g occurred.

#### 2.5.6.4.9 *Nkiy* syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 疑.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	suNkiy	<u>須</u> 疑	cedar	14:3363.5	suNkiy	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.4.10 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-kusa	<u>具</u> 佐	-COP.ATTR-	14:3370.3	-N-kusa	+

			grass			
--	--	--	-------	--	--	--

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.6.4.10 *Nkwo* syllables

The *Nkwo* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>Nkwo</b> <sup>132</sup>	胡 <sup>133</sup>	come-	14:3431.5	kö-	-

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  $*^{\eta}g > g$ . 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  $*^{\eta}g > g$ , 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)  $*^{\eta}g > g$
- b)  $*\text{ə} > o$
- c)  $*\text{əy} > e$

<sup>132</sup> 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.

<sup>133</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 故 *kwo*.



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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	are	安礼	1.S	14:3361.5	are	+
2	a	安	1.S	14:3362b.5	a	+
3	a	安	1.S	20:4329.4	a	+
4	asiNkara	安思我良	PN	14:3361.1	asiNkara	+
5	asiNkara	安思我良	PN	14:3363.4	asiNkara	+
6	asiNkari	阿之我利	PN	14:3368.1	asiNkara	+
7	asiNkari	阿之我利	PN	14:3369.1	asiNkara	+
8	asiNkari	安思我里	PN	14:3370.1	asiNkara	+
9	asiNkari	阿之我里	PN	14:3431.1	asiNkara	+
10	asiNkari	阿之贺利	PN	14:3432.1	asiNkara	+
11	akyina	安伎奈	PN	14:3431.2	–	?
12	aNse	安是	why	14:3369.4	naNse	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imwo	伊毛	beloved_girl	14:3362a.4	imwo	+
2	iNte	伊田	go_out.INF	20:4330.4	iNte	+
3	iNt-uru	伊豆流	go_out-ATTR	14:3368.3	iNt-uru	+
4	iswo	伊蘇	rock	20:4328.3	iswo	+
5	ip-an-aku	伊波奈久	say-NEG-NML	14:3368.5	ip-an-aku	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.6.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	unö-	宇能	sea-	20:4328.4	una-	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.6.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	opo	於保	great	20:4328.1	opo	+
2	ok-yi	於伎	leave_ behind-INF	20:4328.5	ok-yi	+

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 2-22: Consonant variances and invariances in Sagamu**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	30	0	3
Np-	1	0	0
t-	25	0	1
Nt-	5	<b>1</b>	3
s-	37	0	3
Ns-	4	0	0
k-	45	<b>1</b>	8
Nk-	18	<b>3</b>	0
TOTALS	165	<b>5</b>	18

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**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p [ᵐb]	t ᵐd		k ᵐg
fricative		s ᵐz		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

### 2.5.6.6.3 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**

	front	central	back
high	i	[i]	u
mid	e	ə əy	o
low		a	

#### 2.5.6.6.3.1 Phonotactic restrictions

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

#### 2.5.6.6.4 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ap-an-ap-a</b> Npa	安波奈波婆	meet-NEG-ITER-COND	14:3426.3	ap-ap-an-aNpa	++
2	<b>pa</b> Nsik-yi	波自伎	remove_a_string-INF	14:3437.3	paNsik-yi	+
3	<b>pak-am-ye</b>	波可馬	string-TENT-EV	14:3437.5	pak-am-ey	+
4	<b>musup-as-an-e</b>	牟須波 <sup>134</sup> 佐祢	tie-HON-DES-IMP	14:3426.5	musuNp-as-an-e	-

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 \*<sup>m</sup>b > /b/, or a simple misspelling.

#### 2.5.7.1.2 *pyi* syllables

The *pyi* phonogram attested is 比.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sinwop-yi</b>	斯努比	long_for-	14:3426.4	sinwop-yi	+

<sup>134</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 婆 *Npa*, which is invariant.

			NML			
2	<b>apyiN</b> tune	安比豆祢	PN	14:3426.1	–	?
3	<b>pyimwo</b>	比毛	string	14:3426.5	pyimo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.1.3 *po* syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 抱.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-töpo-</b>	杼抱	COP.INF-be.far-	14:3426.2	N-töpo-	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.1.4 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ap-an-ap-a <b>Npa</b>	安波奈波婆	meet-NEG-ITER-COND	14:3426.3	ap-ap-an-aNpa	+
2	-n-a <b>Npa</b>	伎那婆	-PERF-COND	14:3437.4	-n-aNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.1.5 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 末.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ma</b>	末	true	14:3437.2	ma	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.1.6 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	14:3426.2	-myi	+
2	yumyi	由美	bow	14:3437.2	yumyi	+
3	<b>myitinöku</b>	美知能久	PN	14:3437.1	myitinöku	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.1.7 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonogram attested is 牟.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>musup-as-an-e</b>	牟須波佐祢	tie-HON-DES-IMP	14:3426.5	musuNp-as-an-e	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.1.8 *mye* syllables

The *mye* phonogram attested is 馬.



	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ser- <b>asimye</b>	西良思馬	deviate-CAUS.INF	14:3437.4	-asimey <sup>135</sup>	-
2	pak- <b>am-ye</b>	波可馬	string-TENT-EV	14:3437.5	pak-am-ey	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kamwo</b>	可毛	EPT	14:3437.5	kamö	-
2	<b>pyimwo</b>	比毛	string	14:3426.5	pyimo	?
3	<b>-m-wo</b>	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3426.4	-m-u	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-wo</b>	乎	-ABS	14:3426.2	-wo	+

<sup>135</sup> The root *ser-* ‘deviate’ is unattested in WOJ, but the causative suffix *-asimey* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	aNtatara	安太 <u>多</u> 良	PN	14:3437.2	aNtatara	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	myit <u>i</u> nōku	美 <u>知</u> 能久	PN	14:3437.1	myitinōku	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tura</b>	<u>都</u> 良	bow_string	14:3437.5	tura	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 弓.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-te</b>	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	14:3437.3	-te	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.5 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonogram attested is 等.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tö</b>	等	COP	14:3426.4	tö	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.6 *Nta* syllables

The *Nta* phonogram attested is 太.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	a <b>Nt</b> atara	安 <b>太</b> 多良	PN	14:3437.2	aNtatara	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.7 *Ntu* syllables

The *Ntu* phonogram attested is 豆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	apyi <b>Nt</b> une	安比 <b>豆</b> 祢	PN	14:3426.1	–	?

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.8 *Ntö* syllables

The *Ntö* phonogram attested is 杼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-töpo-</b>	杼 <sup>136</sup> 抱	COP.INF-be.far-	14:3426.2	<b>N-töpo-</b>	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.9 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonogram attested is 佐.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sa</b>	佐	thus	14:3426.2	sa	+
2	musup-as-an-e	牟須波佐祢	tie-HON-DES-IMP	14:3426.5	musuNp-as-an-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.10 *si* syllables

The *si* phonograms attested are 斯 and 思.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sinwop-yi</b>	斯努比	long_for-NML	14:3426.4	sinwop-yi	+
2	ser-asimye	西良思馬	deviate-CAUS.INF	14:3437.4	-asimey	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>136</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 杼, which looks like a mistake.

### 2.5.7.2.11 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	musup-as-an-e	牟須波佐祢	tie-HON-DES-IMP	14:3426.5	musuNp-as-an-e	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.12 *se* syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 勢 and 西.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ser-asimye	西良思馬	deviate-CAUS-INF	14:3437.4	-asimey <sup>137</sup>	?
2	se-	勢	do	14:3426.4	se-	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.13 *Nsi* syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	paNsik-yi	波自伎	remove_a_string-INF	14:3437.3	paNsik-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>137</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ap-an-ap-aNpa	安波奈波婆	meet-NEG-ITER-COND	14:3426.3	–	+
2	-n-aNpa	那婆	-PERF-COND	14:3437.4	-n-aNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.15 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	n-i	尔	COP-INF	14:3426.4	n-i	+
2	kuni	久尔	province	14:3426.2	kuni	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.16 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	apyiNtune	安比豆祢	PN	14:3426.1	–	?
2	musup-as-an-e	牟須波佐祢	tie-HON-DES-IMP	14:3426.5	musuNp-as-an-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.17 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sinwop-yi	斯努比	long_for-NML	14:3426.4	sinwop-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.7.2.18 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonogram attested is 能.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-nö	能	-GEN	14:3426.1	-nö	+
2	-nö	能	-GEN	14:3437.1	-nö	+
3	myitinöku	美知能久	PN	14:3437.1	myitinöku	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.7.2.19 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tura	都良	bow_string	14:3437.5	tura	+
2	ser-asimye	西良思馬	deviate-CAUS.INF	14:3437.4	–	?
3	aNtatara	安太多良	PN	14:3437.2	aNtatara	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yumyi	<u>由</u> 美	bow	14:3437.2	yumyi	+

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*, *kö*, *Nka*, *Nkyi*, *Nkiy*, *Nku*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, *Nkwo*, or *Nkö* syllables.

#### 2.5.7.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonogram attested is 可.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kamwo</b>	<u>可</u> 毛	EPT	14:3437.5	kamö	+
2	<b>pak-am-ye</b>	波 <u>可</u> 馬	string-TENT-EV	14:3437.5	pak-am-ey	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.7.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonogram attested is 伎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>k-yi</b>	<u>伎</u> <sup>138</sup>	come-INF	14:3437.4	k-yi	+
2	<b>ok-yi</b>	於 <u>伎</u>	leave-behind-INF	14:3437.3	ok-yi	+
3	<b>paNsik-yi</b>	波自 <u>伎</u>	remove_a_string-INF	14:3437.3	paNsik-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.7.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>myitinöku</b>	美知能 <u>久</u>	PN	14:3437.1	myitinöku	+
2	<b>kuni</b>	<u>久</u> 尔	province	14:3426.2	kuni	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>138</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ap-an-ap-aNpa	安波奈波婆	meet-NEG-ITER-COND	14:3426.3	ap-	+
2	apyiNtune	安比豆祢	PN	14:3426.1	–	?
3	aNtatara	安太多良	PN	14:3437.2	aNtatara	+

There are no variances in these data.

##### 2.5.7.5.2 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ok-yi	於伎	leave_behind-INF	14:3437.3	ok-yi	+

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 2-25: Consonant variances and invariances in Mitinöku**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	7	1	1
Np-	2	0	0
t-	5	0	0
Nt-	1	0	2
s-	6	0	1
Ns-	1	0	0
k-	7	0	0
Nk-	NA	NA	NA
TOTALS	29	1	4

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**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k
fricative		s [ʰz]		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

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**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

There are no attested /ɨ/ vowels, and the evidence suggests \*əy merged with /e/.

#### 2.5.7.6.3.1 Phonotactic 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 Mitinöku:

- 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 Mitinöku 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	N-kupasi	具波思	COP.INF-be.beautiful. AVFIN	14:3424.4	N-kupasi	+
2	<b>ipa</b>	伊波	home	20:4375.3	ipye	-
3	Nkapara	河泊 <sup>139</sup> 良	riverbank	14:3425.2	kapara	+
4	<b>pama</b>	波麻	shore	20:4379.2	pama	+
5	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	14:3424.4	pa	+
6	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4373.1	pa	+
7	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4373.5	pa	+
8	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4374.5	pa	+
9	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4378.1	pa	+
10	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4378.2	pa	+
11	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4378.4	pa	+

The variance found in (2) is one we have already seen in other provinces. I analyze this as a different development from PJn \*ipia, where Simotukeno deletes the first part of the diphthong while WOJ fusionally reduces it to /e/.

<sup>139</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yum- <b>ap-yi</b>	由麻 <u>比</u>	be.sick-ITER-NML	20:4382.3	-ap-yi	+
2	tuNtwop- <b>yi</b>	都度 <u>比</u>	gather-INF	20:4381.2	tuNtwop-yi	+
3	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> <sup>140</sup> 等	person	20:4375.3	pyitö	+
4	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 等	person	20:4382.2	pyitö	+
5	yösöp- <b>yi</b>	餘曾 <u>比</u>	prepare-INF	20:4383.3	yösöp-yi	+
6	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u>	sun	20:4378.1	pyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.3 *pu* syllables

The *pu* phonogram attested is 布.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>puna-</b>	<u>布</u> 奈	boat-	20:4381.3	puna-	+
2	<b>puna-</b>	<u>布</u> 奈	boat-	20:4383.3	puna-	+
3	-n- <b>ap-umö</b>	奈 <u>布</u> 母	-NEG-ITER-EXCL	20:4378.5	-ap-aNs-umö	+ <sup>141</sup>
4	<b>pum-aNs-u</b>	<u>布</u> 麻受	step-NEG-FIN	14:3425.3	pum-aNs-u	+
5	kyepu	祁 <u>布</u>	today	20:4373.1	kyepu	+
6	<b>putapoNkamyi</b>	<u>布</u> 多富我美	UNC <sup>142</sup>	20:4382.1	–	?
7	<b>pur-u</b>	<u>布</u> 流	wave-FIN	20:4379.5	pur-u	+

<sup>140</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 妣 *Npyi*.

<sup>141</sup> While the ordering of morphemes is different in WOJ, based on paradigmatic forms we can conclude the Simotukeno and WOJ forms are invariant.

<sup>142</sup> Omodaka, et al. (1967: 636) suggest this could be a contracted form of *puta opo n-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 敝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>apye-</b>	阿敝	join.INF	20:4377.5	apey-	-
2	<b>kapyer-i</b>	可敝理	return-INF	20:4373.2	kapyer-i	+
3	<b>supye</b>	須敝	way_of_doing	20:4381.5	suNpye	-

Here we find two variances. The first, seen in example (1), involves a Simotukeno *pye* phonogram corresponding to a WOJ *pey* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pey</b>	倍	area; direction	20:4379.2	pye	-
2	<b>supey</b>	須倍	way_of_doing	20:4379.4	suNpye	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>opo</b>	意富	great	20:4373.3	opo	+
2	putap <b>o</b> Nkamyi	布多富我美	UNC	20:4382.1	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.7 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-Npa</b>	婆	-CONJ	20:4375.2	-Npa	+
2	<b>-Npa</b>	婆	-CONJ	20:4380.2	-Npa	+
3	<b>-Npa</b>	婆	-CONJ	20:4381.4	-Npa	+
4	<b>-n-aNpa</b>	奈婆 <sup>143</sup>	-PERF-COND	20:4379.3	-n-aNpa	+
5	nani <b>Npa</b>	奈尔婆 <sup>144</sup>	PN	20:4380.1	nanipa	-

The variance in (5) shows an onset in Simotukeno that is prenasalized, while in WOI it is voiceless.

### 2.5.8.1.8 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

<sup>143</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 波 *pa*.

<sup>144</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 波 *pa*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-taNpyi	多妣	-CL	20:4379.5	-taNpyi	+
2	taNpyi	多u	journey	20:4376.1	taNpyi	+
3	tanaNpyik-u	多奈妣久	stream_out-ATTR	20:4380.5	tanaNpyik-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.9 *Npu* syllables

The *Npu* phonogram attested is 夫.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	saNp-uru	佐夫流	behave_like-ATTR	20:4380.3	saNp-uru	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yum-ap-yi	由麻比	be.sick-ITER-INF	20:4382.3	–	?
2	sima	之麻	island	20:4374.4	sima	+
3	tama	多麻	jewel	20:4377.2	tama	+
4	tama	多麻	jewel	20:4378.4	tama	+
5	yama	夜麻	mountain	14:3424.2	yama	+
6	ima	伊麻	now	20:4376.5	ima	+
7	matu	麻都	pine_tree	20:4375.1	matu	+
8	ikwoma	伊古麻	PN	20:4380.4	ikwoma	+
9	mawos-aNs-u	麻乎佐受	say.HUM-NEG-INF	20:4376.4	mawos-aNs-u	+
10	pama	波麻	shore	20:4379.2	pama	+

11	pum-aNs-u	布 <u>麻</u> 受	step-NEG-FIN	14:3425.3	pum-aNs-u	+
12	ma	<u>麻</u>	true	14:3424.4	ma	+
13	mak-am-aku	<u>麻</u> 可 <u>麻</u> 久	wrap-TENT-NML	20:4377.5	mak-am-aku	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>myi</b>	<u>美</u>	-AVGER	20:4379.4	-myi	+
2	nam- <b>yi</b>	奈 <u>美</u>	be.lined_up-INF	20:4375.2	nam-yi	+
3	kam <b>yi</b>	可 <u>美</u>	deity	20:4374.2	kamiy	-
4	kam <b>yi</b>	可 <u>美</u>	deity	20:4380.3	kamiy	-
5	<b>myi</b> -	<u>美</u>	HON-	20:4373.4	myi-	+
6	kyim <b>yi</b>	伎 <u>美</u>	lord	20:4373.3	kyimyi	+
7	myit <b>ura</b>	<u>美</u> 都良	male_hair_style	20:4377.4	myiNtura	+
8	myikam <b>ö</b>	<u>美</u> 可母	PN	14:3424.2	-	?
9	um <b>yi</b>	宇 <u>美</u>	sea	20:4383.2	umyi	+
10	<b>myi</b>	<u>美</u>	see	20:4375.2	myi	+
11	<b>myi</b>	<u>美</u>	see	20:4380.2	myi	+
12	<b>myi</b>	<u>美</u>	see	20:4381.4	myi	+
13	<b>myi</b>	<u>美</u>	see.INF	20:4375.4	myi	+
14	putapoNkam <b>yi</b>	布多富我 <u>美</u>	UNC	20:4382.1	-	?
15	nam <b>yi</b>	奈 <u>美</u>	wave	20:4379.1	namyi	+

The variances in (3) and (4) show a Simotukeno *myi* phonogram corresponding to a WOJ *miy* syllable. As this root, *kamiy* ‘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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	möt- <b>am-u</b>	母多牟	hold-TENT-FIN	14:3424.5	möt-am-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.1.13 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>amey</b>	阿米	heaven	20:4374.1	amey	+
2	<b>mey</b>	米 <sup>145</sup>	eye	20:4383.5	mey	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sakyim <b>wori</b>	佐伎毛 <sup>146</sup> 里	border. guard	20:4382.5	sakyimöri	-
2	<b>kumwo</b>	久毛	cloud	20:4380.5	kumwo	+
3	- <b>tömwo</b>	等毛	-CONC	20:4378.2	-Ntömö	-
4	<b>mwoNkamwo</b>	毛 <sup>147</sup> 賀毛 <sup>148</sup>	DPT	20:4377.2	möNkamö	--

<sup>145</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the *hiragana* symbol め *me* here, which is obviously a later alteration or mistake as the *hiragana* syllabary was created long after the MYS was compiled.

<sup>146</sup> I follow GR here. NHB has 母 *mö*, which is invariant.

<sup>147</sup> I follow GR here. NHB has 母 *mö*, which is invariant.

<sup>148</sup> I follow GR here. NHB has 母 *mö*, which is invariant.

5	<b>mwo</b>	<u>毛</u>	FPT	20:4383.4	mö	-
6	<b>mwo</b>	<u>毛</u> <sup>149</sup>	FPT	20:4377.5	mö	-
7	<b>mwo</b>	<u>毛</u>	FPT	20:4379.4	mö	-
8	<b>mwor-i</b>	<u>毛利</u>	guard-NML	20:4381.2	mwor-i	+
9	<b>amwo</b>	<u>阿毛</u> <sup>150</sup>	mother	20:4378.3	amo	?
10	<b>mwökörö</b>	<u>毛</u> <sup>151</sup> 己呂	similarity	20:4375.5	mökörö	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>möNkamö</b>	<u>母</u> <sup>152</sup> 我母	DPT	20:4383.5	möNkamö	++
2	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4377.1	mö	+
3	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4377.5	mö	+
4	<b>möt-am-u</b>	<u>母</u> 多牟	hold-TENT-FIN	14:3424.5	möt-am-u	+
5	<b>amö</b>	<u>阿母</u>	mother	20:4376.3	amö	+
6	<b>amö</b>	<u>阿母</u>	mother	20:4377.1	amö	+
7	<b>amö</b>	<u>阿母</u>	mother	20:4383.5	amö	+
8	<b>-n-ap-umö</b>	奈布 <u>母</u>	-NEG-ITER-EXCL	20:4378.5	-umö	+
9	<b>simötukyeNWO</b>	之 <u>母</u> 都家野	PN	14:3424.1	-	?
10	<b>simötukyenwo</b>	志 <u>母</u> 都家努	PN	14:3425.1	-	?
11	<b>myikamö</b>	美可 <u>母</u>	PN	14:3424.2	-	?
12	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4381.5	mö	+

<sup>149</sup> I follow GR here. NHB has 母 *mö*, which is invariant.

<sup>150</sup> I follow GR here. NHB has 母 *mö*, which is invariant.

<sup>151</sup> I follow GR here. NHB has 母 *mö*, which is invariant.

<sup>152</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the *hiragana* symbol も *mo* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ware</b>	<u>和</u> 例	1.S	20:4373.5	ware	+
2	<b>ware</b>	<u>和</u> 例	1.S	20:4374.5	ware	+
3	<b>ware</b>	<u>和</u> 例	1.S	20:4375.4	ware	+
4	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4382.4	wa	+
5	<b>wasure</b>	<u>和</u> 須例	forget.INF	20:4378.5	wasure	+
6	<b>wakare</b>	<u>和</u> 可例	separate.INF	20:4379.3	wakare	+
7	<b>wakar-u</b>	<u>和</u> 可流	separate-ATTR	20:4381.4	wakar-uru	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.1.17 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4374.2	-wo	+
2	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4374.4	-wo	+
3	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4375.4	-wo	+
4	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4380.1	-wo	+
5	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4381.4	-wo	+
6	<b>mawos-aNs-u</b>	麻 <u>乎</u> <sup>153</sup> 佐受	say.HUM-NEG-INF	20:4376.4	mawos-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>153</sup> 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?

### 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, sö, Nsi, Nsu, Nsö, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö*. There are no phonographically attested *Nti, Ntu, Ntö, Nsa, Nse, Nswo, or rwo* syllables.

#### 2.5.8.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	suNkata	須我多	appearance	20:4378.4	suNkata	+
2	-taNpyi	多妣	-CL	20:4379.5	-taNpyi	+
3	taka	多可	high	20:4380.4	taka	+
4	möt-am-u	母多牟	hold-TENT-ATTR	14:3424.5	möt-am-u	+
5	tama	多麻	jewel	20:4377.2	tama	+
6	tama	多麻	jewel	20:4378.4	tama	+



7	<b>taNpyi</b>	<u>多</u> 妣	journey	20:4376.1	taNpyi	+
8	<b>itaNtak-yi</b>	伊 <u>多</u> 太伎	place_on_head-INF	20:4377.3	itaNtak-yi	+
9	<b>-tar-u</b>	<u>多</u> 流	-PP-ATTR	20:4375.2	-tar-u	+
10	<b>tate</b>	<u>多</u> 弓	shield	20:4373.4	tate	+
11	<b>tat-u</b>	<u>多</u> 都	stand-ATTR	20:4373.5	tat-u	+
12	<b>tas-i</b>	<u>多</u> 志	stand-INF	20:4383.4	tat-i	+
13	<b>tat-ar-i</b>	<u>多</u> 々里	stand-PROG-INF	20:4375.5	tat-er-i	+/-
14	<b>tanaNpyik-u</b>	<u>多</u> 奈妣久	stream_out-FIN	20:4380.5	tanaNpyik-u	+
15	<b>ata-</b>	阿 <u>多</u>	UNC	20:4382.3	–	?
16	<b>putapoNkamyi</b>	布 <u>多</u> 富我美	UNC	20:4382.1	–	?
17	<b>ta</b>	<u>多</u>	who	14:3424.5	ta	+

The variance seen in the second syllable in example (13) is due to a different morphological development in each language. In Simotukeno (and other EJO 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tuti</b>	都 <u>知</u>	earth	20:4374.1	tuti	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tuti</b>	阿米 <u>都</u> 知	earth	20:4374.1	tuti	+
2	<b>tuNtwop-yi</b>	<u>都</u> 度比	gather-INF	20:4381.2	tuNtwop-yi	+
3	<b>tu</b>	<u>都</u>	harbor	20:4383.1	tu	+
4	<b>satu-</b>	佐 <u>都</u>	hunting-	20:4374.3	satu-	+
5	<b>myitura</b>	美 <u>都</u> 良	male_hair_style	20:4377.4	myiNtura	-
6	<b>tuku</b>	<u>都</u> 久	moon	20:4378.1	tukiy	+
7	<b>matu</b>	麻 <u>都</u>	pine_tree	20:4375.1	matu	+
8	simötukyeNWO	之母 <u>都</u> 家野	PN	14:3424.1	–	?
9	simötukyenwo	志母 <u>都</u> 家努	PN	14:3425.1	–	?
10	<b>tukusi</b>	<u>都</u> 久之	PN	20:4374.4	tukusi	+
11	<b>tat-u</b>	多 <u>都</u>	stand-ATTR	20:4373.5	tat-u	+

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 𠂔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tate</b>	多 <sub>二</sub> 弓 <sub>一</sub>	shield	20:4373.4	tate	+
2	<b>swote</b>	蘇 <sub>二</sub> 弓 <sub>一</sub>	sleeve	20:4379.5	swoNte	-
3	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4373.2	-te	+
4	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4374.2	-te	+
5	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4374.5	-te	+
6	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4376.2	-te	+
7	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4376.4	-te	+
8	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4377.3	-te	+
9	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4380.2	-te	+
10	<b>-te</b>	弓 <sub>二</sub>	-SUB	20:4381.3	-te	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>two</b>	刀 <sub>二</sub>	door	20:4380.1	two	+
2	<b>itwo</b>	伊 <sub>二</sub> 刀 <sub>一</sub> <sup>154</sup>	utterly	20:4379.4	ito	?
3	<b>itwo</b>	伊 <sub>二</sub> 刀 <sub>一</sub>	utterly	20:4381.5	ito	?
4	<b>twoNsi</b>	刀 <sub>二</sub> 自 <sub>一</sub>	wife	20:4377.1	twoNsi	+

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.

<sup>154</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 力, which looks like a mistake.

### 2.5.8.2.6 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>tömwo</b>	<u>等</u> 毛	-CONC	20:4378.2	-Ntömwo	-
2	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	COP	20:4373.4	tö	+
3	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u> <sup>155</sup>	DV	20:4376.2	tö	+
4	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u> <sup>156</sup>	DV	20:4375.4	tö	+
5	<b>tö</b>	<u>登</u>	FPT	14:3425.4	[N]sö <sup>157</sup>	-
6	pyitö	比 <u>等</u>	person	20:4375.3	pyitö	+
7	pyitö	比 <u>等</u>	person	20:4382.2	pyitö	+
8	tökyi	<u>等</u> 伎	time	20:4382.4	tökyi	+
9	tökyi	<u>等</u> 伎	time	20:4383.4	tökyi	+
10	kötö	己 <u>等</u>	word	20:4376.4	kötö	+

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 /<sup>n</sup>sə/ is a later fortition (i.e. only the form zo (< \*<sup>n</sup>sə) survives in Middle Japanese and beyond). This same focus particle is also attested once in this province as *Nsö* (and once as *sö*). Thus, the change we are looking at is most likely an additional fortition of /<sup>n</sup>sə/ to /tə/, which I will mark as <sup>n</sup>z > /t/, noting that it is sporadic, solely occurring in this focus particle.

<sup>155</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 尔 *ni*, which is probably a mistake (copied over from the previous line).

<sup>156</sup> This part of the poem is orthographically troublesome. GK has 与 *yö*, 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.

<sup>157</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	itaNtak-yi	伊多 <u>太</u> 伎	put_on_head-INF	20:4377.3	itaNtak-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.2.8 *Nte* syllables

The *Nte* phonogram attested is 漚.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]Nte-	<u>漚</u>	go_out-	20:4383.4	[i]Nte-	+
2	iNte	伊 <u>漚</u>	go_out.INF	20:4373.5	iNte	+
3	[i]Nte	<u>漚</u>	go_out.INF	20:4380.2	[i]Nte	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.9 *Ntwo* syllables

The *Ntwo* phonogram attested is 度.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuNtwop-yi	都 <u>度</u> 比	gather-INF	20:4381.2	tuNtwop-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.2.10 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonogram attested is 佐.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sas-u</b>	佐酒	appoint-FIN	20:4382.5	sas-u	+
2	<b>saNp-uru</b>	佐夫流	behave_like-ATTR	20:4380.3	saNp-uru	+
3	<b>sakyimwori</b>	佐岐毛利	border.guard	20:4381.2	sakyimöri	+
4	<b>sakyimwori</b>	佐伎毛里	border.guard	20:4382.5	sakyimöri	+
5	<b>satu-</b>	佐都	hunting-	20:4374.3	satu-	+
6	<b>sas-i</b>	佐之	point_toward-INF	20:4374.5	sas-i	+
7	<b>mawos-aNs-u</b>	麻乎佐受	say.HUM-NEG-INF	20:4376.4	mawos-aNs-u	+
8	<b>nakyisa</b>	奈岐佐	waterfront	20:4383.2	naNkyisa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.11 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-si</b>	奈之	-AVFIN	20:4381.5	-si	+
2	<b>asi</b>	阿志	be.bad	20:4382.2	asi	+
3	<b>kuyasi-</b>	久夜之	be.regretful-	20:4376.5	kuyasi-	+
4	<b>N-kupasi</b>	具波思	COP.ATTR -be.beautiful	14:3424.4	N-kupasi	+
5	<b>sikö</b>	之許	despicable	20:4373.4	sikö	+
6	<b>sis</b>	志志	father	20:4376.3	titi	--
7	<b>sis</b>	志志	father	20:4378.3	titi	--
8	<b>sima</b>	之麻	island	20:4374.4	sima	+
9	<b>sir-aNs-u</b>	之良受	know-NEG-INF	20:4376.2	sir-aNs-u	+
10	<b>simötukyeNWO</b>	之母都家野	PN	14:3424.1	–	?
11	<b>simötukyenwo</b>	志母都家努	PN	14:3425.1	–	?
12	<b>tukusi</b>	都久之	PN	20:4374.4	tukusi	+

13	<b>sas-i</b>	佐之	point_ toward-INF	20:4374.5	sas-i	+
14	<b>-si</b>	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4375.5	-si	+
15	<b>tas-i</b>	多志	stand-INF	20:4383.4	tat-i	-
16	<b>isi</b>	伊之	stone	14:3425.3	isi	+
17	<b>sira</b>	之良	white	20:4379.1	sira	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>suNkata</b>	須我多	appearance	20:4378.4	suNkata	+
2	<b>sas-u</b>	佐酒	appoint-FIN	20:4382.5	sas-u	+
3	<b>-nösu</b>	能須	-COMP	14:3424.3	-nasu	+
4	<b>s-uru</b>	須流	do-ATTR	20:4382.4	s-uru	+
5	<b>wasure</b>	和須例	forget-INF	20:4378.5	wasure	+
8	<b>suNk-u</b>	須具	pass-FIN	20:4378.2	suNk-u	+
6	<b>supey</b>	須倍	way_of_doing	20:4379.4	suNpey	+
7	<b>supye</b>	須敝	way_of_doing	20:4381.5	suNpey	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.13 *se* syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 西.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>se-</b>	西	do-	20:4378.5	se-	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.8.2.14 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonograms attested are 素 and 蘇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	aswo	安素	PN	14:3425.2	–	?
2	swora	蘇良	sky	14:3425.4	swora	+
3	swote	蘇弓	sleeve	20:4379.5	swoNte	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.8.2.15 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yösör-u	与曾流	be.drawn_to-INF	20:4379.2	yösör-u	+
2	sö	曾	FPT	20:4380.5	sö	+
3	yösöp-yi	餘曾比	prepare-INF	20:4383.3	yösöp-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.8.2.16 *Nsi* syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	twoNsi	刀自	wife	20:4377.1	twoNsi	+

There are no variances in this example.



### 2.5.8.2.17 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sir-aNs-u	之良受	know-NEG-INF	20:4376.2	sir-aNs-u	+
2	mawos-aNs-u	麻乎佐受	say.HUM-NEG-INF	20:4376.4	mawos-aNs-u	+
3	pum-aNs-u	布麻受	step-NEG-INF	14:3425.3	pum-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.18 *Nsö* syllables

The *Nsö* phonogram attested is 叙.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>Nsö</b>	叙 <sup>158</sup>	FPT	20:4376.5	Nsö	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.2.19 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>na</b>	奈	2.S	14:3425.5	na	+
2	nam-yi	奈美	be.lined_up-INF	20:4375.2	nam-yi	+
3	puna-	布奈	boat-	20:4381.3	puna-	+
4	puna-	布奈	boat-	20:4383.3	puna-	+
5	nar-i	奈里	COP-FIN	20:4382.2	nar-i	+

<sup>158</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 所, which looks like a mistake.

6	<b>naka</b>	奈可	inside	20:4377.4	naka	+
7	<b>-n-ap-umö</b>	奈布母	-NEG-ITER-EXCL	20:4378.5	-	+
8	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	20:4373.2	na-	+
9	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	20:4379.4	na-	+
10	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	20:4381.5	na-	+
11	<b>nara</b>	奈良	oak_tree	14:3424.3	nara	+
12	<b>-n-aNpa</b>	奈婆	-PERF-COND	20:4379.3	-n-aNpa	+
13	<b>naniNpa</b>	奈尔婆	PN	20:4380.1	nanipa	+
14	<b>tanaNpyik</b> -u	多奈妣久	stream_out-ATTR	20:4380.5	tanaNpyik -u	+
15	<b>nakyisa</b>	奈岐佐	waterfront	20:4383.2	naNkyisa	+
16	<b>namyi</b>	奈美	wave	20:4379.1	namyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.20 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	20:4377.2	n-i	+
2	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-DAT	20:4376.3	-ni	+
3	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4376.1	-ni	+
4	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4377.4	-ni	+
5	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4379.2	-ni	+
6	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4380.4	-ni	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4382.4	-ni	+
8	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4382.5	-ni	+
9	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4383.2	-ni	+
10	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4383.4	-ni	+
11	<b>naniNpa</b>	奈尔婆	PN	20:4380.1	nanipa	+
12	<b>kuni</b>	久尔	province	20:4383.1	kuni	+
13	<b>kuni-Nkuni</b>	久尔具尔 <sup>159</sup>	province-REDUP	20:4381.1	kuni-Nkuni	++

<sup>159</sup> I follow GK here. In NHB this is written as 具尔々々 *NkuniNkuni*.

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.21 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nuk-yi</b>	奴伎	pull_out-INF	20:4374.3	nuk-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.2.22 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 祢.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	20:4380.4	ne	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.2.23 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-n-wo</b>	伎努 <sup>160</sup>	-PERF-ATTR	14:3425.4	-n-u	-
2	simötukyenwo	志母都家努	PN	14:3425.1	-	?

The variance in (1) shows a retention of the verbal attributive *-o* in Simotukeno.

<sup>160</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 奴 *nu*, which is invariant.

### 2.5.8.2.24 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 乃 and 能.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-nös <u>u</u>	能 <sup>161</sup> 須	-COMP	14:3424.3	-nasu	+
2	n- <u>ö</u>	乃	COP-ATTR	20:4373.4	n-ö	+
3	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	14:3424.2	-nö	+
4	-n <u>ö</u>	能	-GEN	14:3424.2	-nö	+
5	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	14:3425.2	-nö	+
6	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4373.3	-nö	+
7	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4374.1	-nö	+
8	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4374.4	-nö	+
9	-n <u>ö</u>	能	-GEN	20:4375.1	-nö	+
10	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4375.1	-nö	+
11	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4375.3	-nö	+
12	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4377.4	-nö	+
13	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4378.4	-nö	+
14	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4379.1	-nö	+
15	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4381.1	-nö	+
16	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4383.1[1]	-nö	+
17	-n <u>ö</u>	乃	-GEN	20:4383.1[2]	-nö	+
18	-n <u>ö</u>	能	-GEN	20:4383.2	-nö	+
19	inör-i	伊乃里	pray-INF	20:4374.2	inör-i	+
20	nör-i	能里	ride-INF	20:4381.3	nör-i	+
21	nör-e	能礼	tell-IMP	14:3425.5	nör-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.25 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	myit <u>ura</u>	美都良	male_hair_	20:4377.4	myiNtura	+

<sup>161</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

			style			
2	<b>sir-aNs-u</b>	之 <u>良</u> 受	know-NEG- INF	20:4376.2	sir-aNs-u	+
3	<b>nara</b>	奈 <u>良</u>	oak_tree	14:3424.3	nara	+
4	<b>Nkapara</b>	河泊 <u>良</u>	riverbank	14:3425.2	kapara	+
5	<b>swora</b>	蘇 <u>良</u>	sky	14:3425.4	swora	+
6	<b>sira</b>	之 <u>良</u>	white	20:4379.1	sira	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.26 *ri* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-yöri</b>	与 <u>利</u>	-ABL	20:4373.1	-yöri	+
2	<b>sakyimwori</b>	佐岐毛 <u>利</u>	border.guard	20:4381.2	sakyimöri	+
3	<b>sakyimwori</b>	佐伎毛 <u>里</u>	border.guard	20:4382.5	sakyimöri	+
4	<b>nar-i</b>	奈 <u>里</u>	COP-FIN	20:4382.2	nar-i	+
5	<b>inör-i</b>	伊乃 <u>里</u>	pray-INF	20:4374.2	inör-i	+
6	<b>kapyer-i</b>	可敝 <u>理</u>	return-INF	20:4373.2	kapyer-i	+
7	<b>nör-i</b>	能 <u>里</u>	ride-INF	20:4381.3	nör-i	+
8	<b>tat-ar-i</b>	多々 <u>里</u>	stand-PROG- INF	20:4375.5	tat-er-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.27 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonogram attested is 流.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yösör-u</b>	与曾 <u>流</u>	be.drawn_to- INF	20:4379.2	yösör-u	+
2	<b>saNp-uru</b>	佐夫 <u>流</u>	behave_like- ATTR	20:4380.3	saNp-uru	+

3	s-uru	須流	do-ATTR	20:4382.4	s-uru	+
4	-tar-u	多流	-PP-ATTR	20:4375.2	-tar-u	+
5	okur-u	於久流	send_off-FIN	20:4375.4	okur-u	+
6	wakar-u	和可流	separate-ATTR	20:4381.4	wakar-u	+
7	pur-u	布流	wave-FIN	20:4379.5	pur-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.28 *re* syllables

The *re* phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ware	和例 <sup>162</sup>	1.S	20:4373.5	ware	+
2	ware	和例	1.S	20:4374.5	ware	+
3	ware	和例	1.S	20:4375.4	ware	+
4	-re	礼	-EV	20:4375.2	-re	+
5	-re	例	-EV	20:4380.2	-re	+
6	-re	礼	-EV	20:4381.4	-re	+
7	wasure	和須例	forget.INF	20:4378.5	wasure	+
8	wakare	和可例	separate.INF	20:4379.3	wakare	+
9	nör-e	能礼	tell-IMP	14:3425.5	nör-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.2.29 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3424.4	-rö	+
2	kökörö	己許呂	heart	14:3425.5	kökörö	+

<sup>162</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 社, which looks like a mistake.

3	mwokörö	毛己呂	similarity	20:4375.5	mökörö	+
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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) \*<sup>n</sup>d > d
- b) \*<sup>n</sup>z > t
- c) \*t > s / \_i

As only three examples of a) exist, and none involving the use of a *Ntwo* or *Ntö* phonogram to write a *tö* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ya</b>	夜	arrow	20:4374.3	ya	+

2	kuyasi-	久夜之	be.regretful-	20:4376.5	kuyasi-	+
3	ya-	夜	eight-	20:4379.5	ya-	+
4	ya	夜	EPT	20:4377.2	ya	+
5	ya	夜	EPT	20:4378.1	ya	+
6	yama	夜麻	mountain	14:3424.2	yama	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>yu</b>	由	-ABL	14:3425.4	-yu	+
2	<b>yum</b> -ap-yi	由麻比	be.sick-ITER-NML	20:4382.3	yam-ap-yi	-
3	<b>yuk</b> -ey	由氣	go-EV	20:4378.2	yuk-ey	+
4	<b>yuk</b> -u	由久	go-FIN	20:4376.2	yuk-u	+
5	<b>yuk</b> -yi	由岐	go-INF	20:4376.1	yuk-yi	+

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<sup>163</sup> 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-Ntö* ‘flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONC’ from 14:3476b.1. This form has a root *nuNkan-* ‘flow’ corresponding to WOJ *naNkar-*<sup>164</sup> ‘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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ywo</b>	欲 <sup>165</sup>	-ABL	14:3425.2	-ywo	+

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>163</sup> One cannot help but wonder if this is a Simotukeno poem.

<sup>164</sup> The final *-n* in the UD form is likely the result of progressive nasal assimilation from the previous two nasals in the root.

<sup>165</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <i>yöri</i>	与利	-ABL	20:4373.1	-yworì	-
2	<i>yösör-u</i>	与曾流	be.drawn_to-INF	20:4379.2	yösör-u	+
3	<i>yö</i>	与	FPT	14:3425.4	yö	+
4	<i>yösöp-yi</i>	餘曾比	prepare-INF	20:4383.3	yösöp-yi	+

The variance in (1) is an example of a Simotukeno *yö* phonogram corresponding to a WOI *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*, *kö*, *Nka*, and *Nku*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy*, *Nkyi*, *Nkiy*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, *Nkwo*, or *Nkö* syllables.

### 2.5.8.4.1 *ka* syllables

The *ka* phonogram attested is 可.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>naka</b>	奈 <u>可</u>	center	20:4377.4	naka	+
2	<b>kamyi</b>	<u>可</u> 美	deity	20:4374.2	kamiy	+
4	<b>kamyi</b>	<u>可</u> 美	deity	20:4380.3	kamiy	+
5	<b>taka</b>	多 <u>可</u>	high	20:4380.4	taka	+
6	myikamö	美 <u>可</u> 母	PN	14:3424.2	–	?
7	<b>-ka</b>	<u>可</u>	-POSS	20:4378.3	-Nka	-
8	<b>ka</b>	<u>可</u>	QPT	14:3424.5	ka	+
9	<b>kapyer-i</b>	<u>可</u> 敝理	return-INF	20:4373.2	kapyer-i	+
10	<b>wakare</b>	和 <u>可</u> 例	separate-INF	20:4379.3	wakare	+
11	<b>wakar-u</b>	和 <u>可</u> 流	separate-ATTR	20:4381.4	wakar-uru	+
12	<b>mak-am-aku</b>	麻 <u>可</u> 麻久	wrap-TENT-NML	20:4377.5	mak-am-aku	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sakyimwori</b>	佐 <u>岐</u> 毛利	border.guard	20:4381.2	sakyimöri	+
2	<b>sakyimwori</b>	佐 <u>伎</u> 毛里	border.guard	20:4382.5	sakyimöri	+
3	<b>k-yi</b>	<u>伎</u>	come-INF	14:3425.4	k-yi	+
4	<b>yuk-yi</b>	由 <u>岐</u>	go-NML	20:4376.1	yuk-yi	+
5	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎</u> 美	lord	20:4373.3	kyimyi	+
6	<b>nuk-yi</b>	奴 <u>伎</u>	pull_out-INF	20:4374.3	nuk-yi	+
7	<b>itaNtak-yi</b>	伊多太 <u>伎</u>	put_on_head-INF	20:4377.3	itaNtak-yi	+

8	<b>kök-yi</b>	己岐	row-INF	20:4380.2	köNk-yi	-
9	<b>tökyi</b>	等伎	time	20:4382.4	tökyi	+
10	<b>tökyi</b>	等伎	time	20:4383.4	tökyi	+
11	<b>nakyisa</b>	奈岐佐	waterfront	20:4383.2	naNkyisa	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	20:4373.2	-ku	+
2	<b>kuyasi-</b>	久夜之	be.regretful-	20:4376.5	kuyasi-	+
3	<b>kumwo</b>	久毛	cloud	20:4380.5	kumwo	+
4	<b>ik-u</b>	伊久	go-ATTR	20:4374.5	ik-u	+
5	<b>yuk-u</b>	由久	go-FIN	20:4376.2	yuk-u	+
6	<b>tuku</b>	都久	moon	20:4378.1	tukiy	-
7	<b>tukusi</b>	都久之	PN	20:4374.4	tukusi	+
8	<b>kuni</b>	久尔	province	20:4383.1	kuni	+
9	<b>kuni-Nkuni</b>	久尔具尔	province-REDUP	20:4381.1	kuni-Nkuni	+
10	<b>okur-u</b>	於久流	send-FIN	20:4375.4	okur-u	+
11	<b>tanaNpyik-u</b>	多奈妣久	stream_out-ATTR	20:4380.5	tanaNpyik-u	+
12	<b>mak-am-aku</b>	麻可麻久	wrap-TENT-NML	20:4377.5	mak-am-aku	+

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 /i/.

#### 2.5.8.4.4 *kye* syllables

The *kye* phonograms attested are 家 and 祁.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kye</b>	家	container	14:3424.5	key	-
2	simötukyeNWO	之母都家野	PN	14:3424.1	–	?
3	simötukyenwo	志母都家努	PN	14:3425.1	–	?
4	<b>kyepu</b>	祁 <sup>166</sup> 布	today	20:4373.1	kyepu	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-key</b>	氣	-AVATTR	20:4376.5	-kyi	-
2	<b>-key</b>	氣	-AVATTR	20:4382.2	-kyi	-
3	yuk-ey	由氣	go-EV	20:4378.2	yuk-ey	+
4	<b>key</b>	氣	tree	20:4375.1	kiy	-

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 WOI 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 WOI

<sup>166</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 都 *tu*, which looks like a mistake.

form)<sup>167</sup>. 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ikwoma</b>	伊古麻	PN	20:4380.4	–	?

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.8.4.7 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sikö</b>	之許	despicable	20:4373.4	sikö	+
2	<b>kö-</b>	許奈良	DIM-	14:3424.3	kwo-	-
3	<b>kökörö</b>	己許呂	heart	14:3425.5	kökörö	++
4	<b>kök-yi</b>	己岐	row-INF	20:4380.2	köNk-yi	+
5	<b>mwökörö</b>	毛己 <sup>168</sup> 呂	similarity	20:4375.5	mökörö	+
6	<b>kötö</b>	己等	word	20:4376.4	kötö	+

The variance in (2) involves a Simotukeno *kö* 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.

<sup>167</sup> This is because the WOJ form is derived from PjN \*kəy, which also happens to be the literal pronunciation of a *key* phonogram.

<sup>168</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	su <b>Nkata</b>	須 <u>我</u> 多	appearance	20:4378.4	suNkata	+
2	mwo <b>Nkamwo</b>	毛 <u>賀</u> 毛	DPT	20:4377.2	möNkamö	+
3	mö <b>Nkamö</b>	母 <u>我</u> 母	DPT	20:4383.5	möNkamö	+
4	- <b>Nka</b>	<u>賀</u>	-POSS	14:3424.5	-Nka	+
5	- <b>Nka</b>	<u>我</u>	-POSS	14:3425.5	-Nka	+
6	- <b>Nka</b>	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4382.4	-Nka	+
7	- <b>Nka</b>	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4383.5	-Nka	+
8	<b>Nkapara</b>	<u>河</u> 泊良	riverbank	14:3425.2	kapara	-
9	putapo <b>Nkamyi</b>	布多富 <u>我</u> 美	UNC	20:4382.1	–	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-kupasi-</b>	<u>具</u> 波思	COP.ATTR-be.beautiful-	14:3424.4	N-kupasi-	+

2	suNk-u	須具	pass-FIN <sup>169</sup>	20:4378.2	suNk-u	+
3	kuni-Nkuni	久尔具尔	province-REDUP	20:4381.1	kuni-Nkuni	+

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) \*<sup>ŋ</sup>g > 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.

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<sup>169</sup> The final form is morphosyntactically problematic for this example, though phonologically it works well. See section 5.5.2.2.1 for more discussion.



	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	asi-	阿志	be.bad-	20:4382.2	asi-	+
2	amey	阿米	heaven	20:4374.1	amey	+
3	apey	阿敝	join.INF	20:4377.5	apey	+
4	amö	阿 <sup>170</sup> 母	mother	20:4376.3	amö	+
5	amö	阿母	mother	20:4377.1	amö	+
6	amwo	阿毛	mother	20:4378.3	amö	+
7	amö	阿母	mother	20:4383.5	amö	+
8	aswo	安素	PN	14:3425.2	–	?
9	ata-	阿 <sup>171</sup> 多	UNC	20:4382.3	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.8.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonogram attested is 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	iNte	伊渥	go_out.INF	20:4373.5	iNte	+
2	ik-u	伊 <sup>172</sup> 久	go-ATTR	20:4374.5	ik-u	+
3	ipa	伊波	home	20:4375.3	ipye	+
4	ima	伊麻	now	20:4376.5	ima	+
5	ikwoma	伊古麻	PN	20:4380.4	–	?
6	inör-i	伊乃里	pray-INF	20:4374.2	inör-i	+
7	itaNtak-yi	伊多太伎	put_on_head	20:4377.3	itaNtak-yi	+
8	isi	伊之	stone	14:3425.3	isi	+
9	itwo	伊刀	utterly	20:4379.4	ito	+
10	itwo	伊刀	utterly	20:4381.5	ito	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>170</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>171</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>172</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	umyi	宇美	sea	20:4383.2	umyi	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.8.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonograms attested are 意 and 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	opo	意富	great	20:4373.3	opo	+
2	okur-u	於久流	send-FIN	20:4375.4	okur-u	+

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<sup>173</sup> (these refer strictly to the consonant

<sup>173</sup> 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**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	27	<b>2</b>	2
Np-	8	<b>1</b>	0
t-	47	<b>3</b>	4
Nt-	5	0	0
s-	38	0	3
Ns-	5	0	0
k-	44	<b>3</b>	4
Nk-	10	<b>1</b>	1
<b>TOTALS</b>	184	<b>10</b>	14

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**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s <sup>n</sup> z		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

### 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 2-30: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Simotukeno**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low			a

### 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) \*<sup>n</sup>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 (\*<sup>n</sup>s > t)
- b) Labialization (\*ə > o / C[+labial]\_, \*a > u (/ \_m?))
- c) Spirantization (\*t > s / \_i)
- d) Palatalization (\*əy > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-pa</b>	波	-COND	14:3397.4	-Npa	-
2	N-kupa	具波	COP.ATTR -mulberry	14:3350a.2	–	?
3	woN-tukupa	乎豆久波	DIM-PN	14:3394.2	woN-tukupa	+
4	woN-tukupa	乎豆久波	DIM-PN	14:3395.1	woN-tukupa	+
5	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4369.2	pana	+
6	-N-kupasi-	具波志	-GEN- be.lovely-	20:4371.3	-N-kupasi-	+
7	-N-kapa	我波	-GEN-river	20:4368.1	-N-kapa	+
8	paNpakaru	波婆可流	hesitate-FIN	20:4372.6	paNpakaru	+
9	sinup-an-e	之奴波尼	long_for- DES-IMP	20:4367.5	sinwop-an-e	+
10	tatipana	多知波奈	mandarin_ orange	20:4371.1	tatiNpana	-
11	sapaNta	佐波太	many	14:3395.4	sapa <sup>174</sup>	+
12	-n-ap-am-ye	奈波賣	-NEG-ITER- TENT-EV	14:3394.5	-ap-am-ey	+
13	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3351.1	tukupa	+
14	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3388.1	tukupa	+
15	nanipa	奈尔波	PN	20:4363.1	nanipa	+
16	nanipa	奈尔波	PN	20:4365.2	nanipa	+
17	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4367.3	tukupa	+
18	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4369.1	tukupa	+
19	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4371.4	tukupa	+
20	pupa	不破	PN	20:4372.7	pupa	+
21	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3350a.1	tukupa	+
22	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3392.1	tukupa	+
23	ipap-am-u	伊波々牟	pray-TENT- ATTR	20:4372.12	ipap-am-u	++
24	tamapar-i	多麻波理	receive.HUM- INF	20:4372.2	tamapar-i	+
25	ipa	伊波	rock	14:3392.2	ipa	+

<sup>174</sup> 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.

26	<b>ip-as-u</b>	伊 <u>波</u> 須	say-NEG-INF	20:4364.5	ip-aNs-u	+
27	<b>omwop-an-aku</b>	於毛 <u>波</u> 奈久	think-NEG-NML	14:3392.2	omöp-an-aku	+
28	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3395.3	pa	+
29	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4363.4	pa	+
30	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4365.4	pa	+
31	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4367.2	pa	+
32	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4367.5	pa	+
33	{pa} <b>pa</b>	{ <u>波</u> } <u>々</u>	TPT	20:4368.1	pa	+
34	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4368.5	pa	+
35	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4370.5	pa	+
36	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4372.4	pa	+
37	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4372.8	pa	+
38	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4372.12	pa	+
39	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4372.13	pa	+
40	<b>pa</b>	<u>波</u>	TPT	14:3350a.3	pa	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pyiru</b>	<u>比</u> 留	daytime	20:4369.5	pyiru	+
2	<b>apyiNta</b>	安 <u>比</u> 太	interval	14:3395.3	apyiNta	+
3	<b>kwopyi</b>	古 <u>比</u>	long_for.INF	20:4371.5	kwopiy	-
4	<b>kwopyi</b>	古 <u>比</u>	long_for.NML	20:4366.3	kwopiy	-
5	<b>nipyi</b>	尔 <u>比</u>	new	14:3350a.2	nipyi	+
6	<b>pyitati</b>	<u>比</u> 多知	PN	14:3397.1	–	?
7	<b>pyitati</b>	<u>比</u> 多知	PN	20:4366.1	–	?
8	<b>yösöp-yi</b>	与曾 <u>比</u>	prepare-INF	20:4365.3	yösöp-yi	+

The variances in (3) and (4) may be indicative of a merger of \**i* > *i* in this province.

### 2.5.9.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 飛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>piyk-ey</b>	飛 <sup>175</sup> 氣	pull-EV	14:3397.4	pyik-ey	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>puk-u</b>	布久	blow-ATTR	20:4371.2	puk-u	+
2	<b>pune</b>	布衲	boat	20:4363.2	pune	+
3	<b>puna-</b>	布奈	boat-	20:4365.3	puna-	+
4	<b>pur-i</b>	布理	fall-INF	20:4370.1	pur-i	+
5	<b>pur-ar-u</b>	布良留	fall-PROG-ATTR	14:3351.2	pur-er-u	+
6	<b>pupa</b>	不破	PN	20:4372.7	pupa	+
7	<b>pur-i</b>	布利	swing-INF	20:4367.4	pur-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.5 *pye* syllables

The *pye* phonograms attested are 敝 and 弊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ipye</b>	伊敝	home	20:4364.3	ipye	+
2	<b>nar-upye</b>	奈流弊 <sup>176</sup>	make_a_living-	20:4364.4	nar-	-

<sup>175</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*, which is invariant.

<sup>176</sup> This example was erroneously omitted from Kupchik 2007.



			DEB		uNpey	
3	kapyer-i	可敝里	return-NML	20:4368.5	kapyer-i	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kapeyr-i	可閑理	return-INF	20:4372.3	kapyer-i	-
2	kapeyr-i	可閑理	return-INF	20:4372.15	kapyer-i	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	posi-	保思	be.desired-	14:3350a.5	posi-	+
2	sipo	志富	tide	20:4368.3	sipo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.8 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Npa	婆	-COND	14:3394.4	-Npa	+
2	paNpakar-u	夜波婆可流	hesitate-FIN	20:4372.6	paNpakar-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.9 *Npu* syllables

The *Npu* phonogram attested is 夫.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-pune	夫衿	-GEN-boat	20:4368.3	-N-pune	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonograms attested are 麻 and 萬.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	萬多	again	14:3395.5	mata	+
2	<b>muma</b>	牟麻	horse	20:4372.9	uma	+
3	<b>ma-</b>	麻	INT-	20:4368.4	ma-	+
4	<b>tama</b>	多麻	jewel	14:3397.3	tama	+
5	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3394.3	yama	+
6	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	20:4371.4	yama	+
7	<b>ima</b>	伊麻	now	20:4363.4	ima	+
8	<b>kasima</b>	可志麻	PN	20:4370.2	–	?
9	<b>tamapar-i</b>	多麻波理	receive.HUM-INF	20:4372.2	tamapar-i	+
10	<b>mawos-u</b>	麻乎須	say.HUM-FIN	20:4372.14	mawos-u	+
11	<b>maywo</b>	麻欲	silkworm_cocoon	14:3350a.2	–	?
12	<b>timar-i</b>	知麻利	stay-INF	20:4372.11	tömar-i	+

13	-mate	麻 <sub>マ</sub> 弓	-TERM	20:4372.15	-maNte	+
14	mat-e	麻 <sub>マ</sub> 弓	wait-EV	20:4368.2	mat-e	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kamiy	可 <sub>カ</sub> 美 <sub>ミ</sub>	deity	20:4370.2	kamiy	-
2	myi-	美 <sub>ミ</sub>	HON-	20:4363.2	myi-	+
3	myi	美 <sub>ミ</sub>	HON-	20:4370.4	myi-	+
4	myi	美 <sub>ミ</sub>	HON-	20:4372.2	myi-	+
5	myi-	美 <sub>ミ</sub>	HON-	14:3350a.4	myi-	+
6	kyimyi	伎 <sub>キ</sub> 美 <sub>ミ</sub>	lord	14:3388.4	kyimyi	+
7	kyimyi	伎 <sub>キ</sub> 美 <sub>ミ</sub>	lord	14:3350a.4	kyimyi	+
8	kasumyi	可 <sub>カ</sub> 須 <sub>ス</sub> 美 <sub>ミ</sub>	mist	14:3388.2	kasumyi	+
9	umyi	宇 <sub>ウ</sub> 美 <sub>ミ</sub>	sea	14:3397.2	umyi	+
10	myi	美 <sub>ミ</sub>	see.INF	20:4367.4	myi	+
11	myi	美 <sub>ミ</sub>	see.INF	20:4372.3	myi	+
12	myiNtu	美 <sub>ミ</sub> 豆 <sub>ト</sub>	water	14:3392.3	myiNtu	+

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 \**i* > *i* in this province.

### 2.5.9.1.12 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonograms attested are 牟 and 武.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imu	伊 <sub>イ</sub> 牟 <sub>ム</sub>	beloved_girl	20:4364.3	imwo	-
2	sakyimuri	佐 <sub>サ</sub> 岐 <sub>キ</sub> 牟 <sub>ム</sub> 理 <sub>リ</sub>	border.guard	20:4364.1	sakyimōri	-
3	yuk-am-u	由 <sub>ユ</sub> 可 <sub>カ</sub> 牟 <sub>ム</sub>	go-TENT-	20:4366.2	yuk-am-u	+

			ATTR			
4	<b>muma</b>	牟麻	horse	20:4372.9	uma	-
5	<b>ipap-am-u</b>	伊波々牟	pray-TENT-ATTR	20:4372.12	ipap-am-u	+
6	<b>tat-am-u</b>	多々牟	stand-TENT-ATTR	20:4364.2	tat-am-u	+
7	<b>-m-u</b>	武	-TENT-ATTR	14:3397.5	-m-u	+
8	<b>-m-u</b>	武	-TENT-ATTR	14:3395.5	-m-u	+
9	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-FIN	20:4366.5	-m-u	+
10	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-FIN	20:4368.5	-m-u	+

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 *sakymuri* in example (2), which is internally variant within EOJ, as other EOJ provinces show the orthographic form *sakymwori* or *sakymöri*. The attested WOJ form is *sakymöri*.

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 賣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-n-ap-am-ye</b>	奈波賣	-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV	14:3394.5	-am-ey	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sumeyra	須米良	emperor	20:4370.4	sumyera	-
2	ar-am-ey	安良米	exist-TENT-EV	20:4371.5	ar-am-ey	+
3	tumey	都米	hoof	20:4372.9	tumey	+

The variance in (1) is another example suggesting \*əy merged with /e/ in Pitati, though the root in question is somewhat problematic<sup>177</sup>.

### 2.5.9.1.15 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kamwo	可毛	EPT	14:3351.2	kamö	-
2	kamwo	可聞	EPT	14:3395.5	kamö	-
3	kamwo	可毛	EPT	20:4371.5	kamö	-
4	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4369.5	mö	-
5	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3392.4	mö	-
6	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3392.2	mö	-
7	-N-körömwö	其呂毛	-GEN-garment	14:3394.1	-N-körömö	-
8	mwörö-	毛呂々々	many-REDUP	20:4372.13	mörö-	--

<sup>177</sup> 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 *súm-* ‘to be hidden, to retire from the world.’

	<b>mworö</b>				mörö	
9	<b>mwo</b>	毛	seaweed	14:3397.3	mo	?
10	<b>omwop-an-aku</b>	於毛波奈久	think-NEG-NML	14:3392.2	omöp-an-aku	-

Excluding the unknown syllable in (8), all other syllables are variant, which strongly suggests the merger of \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_ in Pitati.

### 2.5.9.1.16 mö syllables

The *mö* phonogram attested is 母.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4363.5	imwo	-
2	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4365.5	imwo	-
3	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4366.5	imwo	-
4	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4367.5	imwo	-
5	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4369.4	imwo	-
6	<b>möNka</b>	母我	DPT	20:4366.2	möNka	+
7	[o]möte	母弓	face	20:4367.1	omote	?
8	<b>mö</b>	母	FPT	20:4369.3	mö	+
9	<b>mö</b>	母	FPT	20:4372.5	mö	+
10	<b>mö</b>	母	FPT	14:3350a.5	mö	+
11	<b>kamö</b>	可母	EPT	14:3351.3	kamö	+
12	<b>kamö</b>	可母	EPT	14:3351.5	kamö	+
13	<b>kamö</b>	可母	EPT	20:4364.5	kamö	-
14	<b>-m-ö</b>	母	-TENT-ATTR	20:4367.3	-m-u	?

The variances here further strengthen the hypothesis of the merger \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_ in this province.

### 2.5.9.1.17 wa syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	20:4368.5	wa	+
2	<b>ware</b>	和礼	1.S	20:4370.5	ware	+
3	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	20:4372.8	wa	+
4	<b>wa</b>	和	1.S	14:3392.5	wa	+
5	<b>wasura-</b>	和須良	forget-	14:3394.4	wasure-	+
6	<b>wasure-</b>	和須例	forget-	20:4367.2	wasure-	+
7	<b>sawak-yi</b>	佐和伎	make_noise-NML	20:4364.2	sawak-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.18 *wi* syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wi</b>	為	sit.INF	14:3388.2	wi	+
2	<b>wi</b>	為	bring.INF	14:3388.5	wi	+
3	<b>wi</b>	為	reside.INF	20:4372.11	wi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.1.19 *we* syllables

The *we* phonogram attested is 惠.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>suwe</b>	須惠	place. INF	20:4363.2	suwe	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.1.20 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-wo	乎	-ACC	14:3388.4	-wo	+
2	-wo	乎	-ACC	14:3394.5	-wo	+
3	-wo	乎	-ACC	14:3395.4	-wo	+
4	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4364.4	-wo	+
5	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4366.3	-wo	+
6	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4367.3	-wo	+
7	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4370.2	-wo	+
8	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4370.5	-wo	+
9	-wo	乎	-ACC	20:4371.4	-wo	+
10	woN-tukupa	乎豆久波	DIM-PN	14:3394.2	woN-tukupa	+
11	woN-tukupa	乎豆久波	DIM-PN	14:3395.1	woN-tukupa	+
12	wo	乎	man	20:4372.5	wo	+
13	mawos-u	麻乎須	say.HUM-FIN	20:4372.14	mawos-u	+
14	wo	乎	yes	14:3351.3	–	?

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 *Ciy* syllable. Thus, I accept it.

### 2.5.9.2 Coronal initial syllables

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are *ta, ti, tu, te, tö, Nta, Ntu, Nte, Ntö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsi, Nse, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö.*

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	萬多	again	14:3395.5	mata	+
2	<b>sita</b>	之多	below	20:4371.2	sita	+
3	<b>taye</b>	多延	break.INF	14:3397.4	taye	+
4	<b>taye</b>	多延	break.INF	14:3397.5	taye	+
5	<b>tama</b>	多麻	jewel	14:3397.3	tama	+
6	<b>tatipana</b>	多知波奈	mandarin_ orange	20:4371.1	tatiNpana	+
7	<b>pyitati</b>	比多知	PN	14:3397.1	–	?
8	<b>pyitati</b>	比多知	PN	20:4366.1	–	?
9	<b>tamapar-i</b>	多麻波理	receive.HUM. -INF	20:4372.2	tamapar-i	+
10	<b>tas-i</b>	多思	rise-INF	14:3395.2	tat-i	+
11	<b>tayura</b>	多由良	shaking	14:3392.4	–	?
12	<b>tas-i</b>	多志	stand-INF	20:4372.6	tat-i	+
13	<b>tat-am-u</b>	多々牟	stand-TENT-ATTR	20:4364.2	tat-am-u	++

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tati <u>pana</u>	多 <u>知</u> 波奈	mandarin_ orange	20:4371.1	tatiNpana	+
2	pyit <u>ati</u>	比多 <u>知</u>	PN	14:3397.1	–	?
3	pyit <u>ati</u>	比多 <u>知</u>	PN	20:4366.1	–	?
4	k <u>ati</u>	可 <u>知</u>	rudder	20:4368.4	kaNti	-
5	t <u>imar</u> -i	<u>知</u> 麻利	stay-INF	20:4372.11	tömar-i	-

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 dissyllabic phonogram 筑 *tuku* attested which is included here.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuk <u>ye</u>	都 <u>祁</u>	be.attached. INF	20:4366.4	tukey	+
2	-t <u>utu</u>	都 <u>々</u>	-COOR	20:4367.4	-tutu	++
3	-t <u>utu</u>	都 <u>々</u>	-COOR	20:4370.3	-tutu	++
4	ot- <u>uru</u>	於 <u>都</u> 留	fall-ATTR	14:3392.3	ot-uru	+

5	tumey	都米	hoof	20:4372.9	tumey	+
6	tuku	都久	moon	14:3395.2	tukiy	+
7	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3351.1	tukupa	+
8	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3388.1	tukupa	+
9	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4367.3	tukupa	+
10	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4369.1	tukupa	+
11	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4371.4	tukupa	+
12	tukusi	都久志	PN	20:4372.10	tukusi	+
13	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3350a.1	tukupa	+
14	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3392.1	tukupa	+
15	tu	都	port	20:4363.1	tu	+
16	tu	都 <sup>178</sup>	port	20:4365.2	tu	+
17	tukey	都氣	tell-INF	20:4363.5	tuNkey	+
18	tuk-yi	都岐	tell-INF	20:4365.5	tuNkey	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonograms attested are 𠂇 and 天.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[o]möte	母𠂇	face	20:4367.1	omöte	+
2	ositeru	於之𠂇流	MK [UNC]	20:4365.1	ositeru	+
3	-te-	天	-PERF	14:3395.5	-te-	+
4	-te	𠂇	-SUB	14:3388.5	-te	+
5	-te	𠂇	-SUB	20:4366.4	-te	+
6	-te	𠂇	-SUB	20:4366.4	-te	+
7	-te	𠂇	-SUB	20:4372.8	-te	+
8	-te	𠂇	-SUB	20:4372.11	-te	+
9	-mate	麻𠂇	-TERM	20:4372.15	-maNte	-
10	mat-e	麻𠂇 <sup>179</sup>	wait-EV	20:4368.2	mat-e	+

<sup>178</sup> NHB has the semantogram 津 *TU* here, but thankfully we have a phonogram in the GK manuscript.

<sup>179</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tökö</b>	<u>等</u> 許	bed	20:4369.3	tökö	+
2	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4363.4	tö	+
3	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4365.4	tö	+
4	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4372.14	tö	+
5	<b>töNtörö</b>	<u>等</u> 杼呂	thunderous	14:3392.2	töNtörö	+
6	<b>kötö</b>	己 <u>等</u>	word	20:4364.4	kötö	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.6 *Nta* syllables

The *Nta* phonogram attested is 太.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>siNta</b>	之 <u>太</u>	CNJ	20:4367.2	–	?
2	<b>apyiNta</b>	安比 <u>太</u>	interval	14:3395.3	apyiNta	+
3	<b>sapaNta</b>	佐波 <u>太</u>	many	14:3395.4	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.7 *Ntu* syllables

The *Ntu* phonogram attested is 豆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>woN-</b>	乎 <u>豆</u> 久波	DIM-PN	14:3394.2	woN-	+

	<b>tukupa</b>				tukupa	
2	woN- tukupa	乎 <u>豆</u> 久波	DIM-PN	14:3395.1	woN- tukupa	+
3	-N-tuk-u	<u>豆</u> 久	-GEN- breathe- ATTR	14:3388.4	-N-tuk-u	+
4	myiNtu	美 <u>豆</u>	water	14:3392.3	myiNtu	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.8 *Nte* syllables

The *Nte* phonogram attested is 提.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-kaNte	可 <u>提</u>	-POT	14:3388.3	-kate	-

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 杼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Ntö	<u>杼</u>	-CONC	14:3350a.3	-Ntö	+
2	töNtörö	等 <u>杼</u> <sup>180</sup> 呂	thunderous	14:3392.2	töNtörö	+
3	aNtö	阿 <u>杼</u>	what	14:3397.5	naNtö	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>180</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

### 2.5.9.2.10 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 佐, 左, and 散.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]kusa	久佐	army	20:4370.4	ikusa	+
2	sakey-	佐氣	be.safe-	20:4368.2	sakyi-	+
3	sakye-	佐 <sup>181</sup> 祁	be.safe-	20:4372.14	sakyi-	+
4	sakyimuri	佐岐牟理	border.guard	20:4364.1	sakyimōri	+
5	pos-ar-u	保佐流	dry-PROG-ATTR	14:3351.5	pos-er-u	-
6	sa-	左	fifth_month-	14:3394.1	sa-	+
7	sa-	佐	LOC-	20:4369.2	sa-	+
8	sawak-yi	佐和伎	make_noise-INF	20:4364.2	sawak-yi	+
9	sapaNta	佐波太	many	14:3395.4	sapa	+
10	nasaka	奈左可	PN	14:3397.2	–	?
11	sas-i	散思	point_toward-INF	20:4366.1	sas-i	+
12	sakyi	佐伎	promontory	20:4372.10	sakyi	+
13	sakyi	佐吉	promontory	14:3394.3	sakyi	+
14	yar-as-an-e	夜良佐祢	send-HON-DES-IMP	14:3388.5	yar-as-an-e	+
15	sakey	佐氣	shun.INF	20:4367.4	sakey	+
16	saka	佐加	slope	20:4372.2	saka	+

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.

<sup>181</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from GK.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-si</b>	<u>志</u>	-AVFIN	20:4372.5	-si	+
2	<b>kanasi-</b>	加 <u>奈思</u>	be.adorable-	14:3351.4	kanasi-	+
3	<b>kanasi-</b>	可 <u>奈之</u>	be.adorable-	20:4369.4	kanasi-	+
4	<b>kanasi-</b>	可 <u>奈之</u>	be.adorable-	20:4369.5	kanasi-	+
5	<b>posi-</b>	保 <u>思</u>	be.desired-	14:3350a.5	posi-	+
6	<b>sita</b>	<u>之多</u>	below	20:4371.2	sita	+
7	<b>siNta</b>	<u>之太</u>	CNJ	20:4367.2	–	?
8	<b>siNsi</b>	<u>之自</u>	constantly	20:4368.4	siNsi	+
9	<b>si</b>	<u>志</u>	EPT	14:3350a.4	si	+
10	<b>kyesi</b>	家 <u>思</u>	garment	14:3350a.4	kyesi	+
11	<b>-N-kupasi-</b>	具波 <u>志</u>	-GEN- be.lovely-	20:4371.3	-N-kupasi-	+
12	<b>sir-ase-m-u</b>	<u>志</u> 良世牟	know-CAUS- TENT-FIN	20:4366.5	sir-ase-m- u	+
13	<b>sinup-an-e</b>	<u>之</u> 奴波尼	long_for- DES-IMP	20:4367.5	sinwop- an-e	+
14	<b>ositeru</b>	於 <u>之</u> 弓流	MK [UNC]	20:4365.1	ositeru	+
15	<b>kasima</b>	可 <u>志</u> 麻	PN	20:4370.2	–	?
16	<b>asikara</b>	阿 <u>之</u> 加良	PN	20:4372.1	asiNkara	+
17	<b>tukusi</b>	都久 <u>志</u>	PN	20:4372.10	tukusi	+
18	<b>sas-i</b>	散 <u>思</u>	point_toward- INF	20:4366.1	sas-i	+
19	<b>-si</b>	<u>之</u>	-PST.ATTR	20:4370.5	-si	+
20	<b>sirus-i</b>	<u>志</u> 留 <u>志</u>	record-INF	20:4366.4	sirus-i	++
21	<b>tas-i</b>	多 <u>思</u>	rise-INF	14:3395.2	tat-i	-
22	<b>tas-i</b>	多 <u>志</u>	rise-INF	20:4372.6	tat-i	-
23	<b>sipo</b>	<u>志</u> 富	tide	20:4368.3	sipo	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-s-ure	須礼	-CAUS-EV	14:3397.4	-s-ure	+
2	sumeyra	須米良	emperor	20:4370.4	sumyera	+
3	wasura-	和須良	forget-	14:3394.4	wasure-	+
4	wasure-	和須例	forget-	20:4367.2	wasure-	+
5	kasumyi	可須美	mist	14:3388.2	kasumyi	+
6	-s-u	須	-NEG-INF	20:4371.5	-Ns-u	-
7	-s-u	須	-NEG-INF	20:4372.3	-Ns-u	-
8	suNkiy	須宜	pass.INF	14:3388.3	suNkiy	+
9	suwe	須惠	place. INF	20:4363.2	suwe	+
10	mawos-u	麻乎須	say.HUM-FIN	20:4372.14	mawos-u	+
11	ip-as-u	伊波須	say-NEG-INF	20:4364.5	ip-aNs-u	-

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 \*<sup>n</sup>z > z occurred in this province.

### 2.5.9.2.13 *se* syllables

The *se* phonogram attested is 世.



	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-se-	世	-CAUS-	14:3397.5	-se-	+
2	sir-ase	志良世	know-CAUS	20:4366.5	sir-ase	+
3	sekyi	世伎	barrier	20:4372.7	sekyi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.9.2.14 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-swo	蘇	-ten	20:4363.3	-swo	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.9.2.15 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-kös-ö	許曾	-BEN-IMP	20:4365.5	-kös-ö	+
2	-kös-ö	許曾	-BEN-IMP	20:4363.5	-kös-ö	+
3	kwosö	古曾	FPT	14:3394.4	kösö	+
4	kösö	許曾	FPT	14:3397.3	kösö	+
5	sö	曾	FPT	20:4369.4	sö	+
6	yösöp-yi	与曾比	prepare-INF	20:4365.3	yösöp-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.16 *Nsi* syllables

The *Nsi* phonogram attested is 自.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	siNsi	之自	constantly	20:4368.4	siNsi	+
2	kuNsi	久自 <sup>182</sup>	PN	20:4368.1	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.17 *Nse* syllables

The *Nse* phonogram attested is 是.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kaNse	可是	wind	20:4371.2	kaNse	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.2.18 *na* syllables

The *na* phonograms attested are 奈 and 那.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>na</b>	那	2.S	14:3394.5	na	+
2	kanasi-	加奈思	be.adorable-	14:3351.4	kanasi-	+
3	kanasi-	可奈之	be.adorable-	20:4369.4	kanasi-	+
4	kanasi-	可奈之	be.adorable-	20:4369.5	kanasi-	+
5	<b>nar-i</b>	奈利	become-INF	14:3395.4	nar-i	+
6	<b>puna-</b>	布奈	boat-	20:4365.3	puna-	+
8	<b>pana</b>	波奈	flower	20:4369.2	pana	+
9	<b>-n-ar-u</b>	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	14:3397.1	-n-ar-u	+

<sup>182</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the semantogram 目 *MEY*, which looks like a mistake.

10	<b>nar-upye</b>	奈流敝	make_a_ living- DEB	20:4364.4	nar-uNpey	+
11	<b>tatipana</b>	多知波奈	mandarin_ orange	20:4371.1	tatiNpana	+
12	<b>-n-ap-am- ye</b>	奈波賣	-NEG-ITER- TENT-EV	14:3394.5	–	+
13	<b>ina</b>	伊奈	no	14:3351.3	ina	+
14	<b>nasaka</b>	奈左可	PN	14:3397.2	–	?
15	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4363.1	nanipa	+
16	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4365.2	nanipa	+
17	<b>omwop- an-aku</b>	於毛波奈久	think-NEG- NML	14:3392.5	omöp-an- aku	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.19 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonograms attested are 尔 and 仁.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ninwo</b>	尔努	cloth	14:3351.5	–	?
2	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3350a.5	n-i	+
3	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3350a.5	n-i	+
4	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3392.2	n-i	+
5	<b>n-i</b>	尔	COP-INF	14:3392.4[2]	n-i	+
6	<b>n-i</b>	仁	COP-INF	14:3392.5	n-i	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-DAT	20:4363.5	-ni	+
8	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-DAT	20:4365.5	-ni	+
9	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-DAT	20:4366.5	-ni	+
10	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3351.1	-ni	+
11	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3388.2	-ni	+
12	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	14:3395.2	-ni	+
13	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4363.1	-ni	+
14	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4364.1	-ni	+
15	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4364.2	-ni	+
16	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4368.3	-ni	+
17	<b>-ni</b>	尔	-LOC	20:4369.3	-ni	+

18	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4370.4	-ni	+
19	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4372.10	-ni	+
20	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4372.15	-ni	+
21	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3392.4[1]	-ni	+
22	<b>-n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	-NEG-INF	14:3388.3	-n-i	+
23	<b>nipyi</b>	<u>尔比</u>	new	14:3350a.2	nipyi	+
24	<b>-n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	20:4370.5	-n-i	+
25	<b>nanipa</b>	奈 <u>尔</u> 波	PN	20:4363.1	nanipa	+
26	<b>nanipa</b>	奈 <u>尔</u> 波	PN	20:4365.2	nanipa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.20 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kyinu</b>	<u>伎奴</u>	garment	14:3350a.3	kyinu	+
2	<b>sinup-an-e</b>	之 <u>奴</u> 波尼	long_for-DES-IMP	20:4367.5	sinwop-an-e	- <sup>183</sup>
3	<b>-n-u</b>	<u>奴</u> <sup>184</sup>	-PERF-FIN	20:4363.4	-n-u	+
4	<b>-n-u</b>	<u>奴</u>	-PERF-FIN	20:4364.5	-n-u	+
5	<b>-n-u</b>	<u>奴</u>	-PERF-FIN	20:4365.4	-n-u	+
6	<b>nuk-yi</b>	<u>奴</u> 伎	pierce-INF	20:4363.3	nuk-yi	+
7	<b>nuk-yi</b>	<u>奴</u> 伎	pierce-INF	20:4368.4	nuk-yi	+

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

<sup>183</sup> 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.

<sup>184</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pune</b>	布祢	boat	20:4363.2	pune	+
2	<b>-N-pune</b>	夫祢	-GEN-boat	20:4368.3	-N-pune	+
3	<b>sinup-an-e</b>	之奴波尼	long_for-DES-IMP	20:4367.5	sinwop-an-e	+
4	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3351.1	ne	+
5	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3388.1	ne	+
6	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3388.2	ne	+
7	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3394.2	ne	+
8	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3395.2	ne	+
9	<b>ne</b>	尼	peak	20:4367.3	ne	+
10	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	20:4369.1	ne	+
11	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3350a.1	ne	+
12	<b>ne</b>	祢	peak	14:3392.1	ne	+
13	<b>yar-as-an-e</b>	夜良佐祢	send-HON-DES-IMP	14:3388.5	yar-as-an-e	+
14	<b>ne</b>	祢	sleep	14:3395.5	ne	+
15	<b>ne</b>	祢	sleep.INF	14:3388.5	ne	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.22 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonograms attested are 努 and 怒.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ninwo</b>	尔努	cloth	14:3351.5	–	?
2	<b>-n-wo</b>	怒	-PERF-ATTR	14:3395.4	-n-u	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-nö</b>	能	-COMP	20:4369.2[2]	-nö	+
2	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	14:3388.1	-nö	+
3	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3394.1	-nö	+
4	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3394.2	-nö	+
5	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	14:3394.3	-nö	+
6	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	14:3395.1	-nö	+
7	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	14:3397.2	-nö	+
8	<b>nö</b>	乃	-GEN	14:3397.2	-nö	+
9	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4364.3	-nö	+
10	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4365.2	-nö	+
11	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4367.1	-nö	+
12	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	20:4369.1	-nö	+
13	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4369.2[1]	-nö	+
14	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	20:4370.2	-nö	+
15	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	20:4371.1	-nö	+
16	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	20:4371.2	-nö	+
17	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4371.4	-nö	+
18	<b>-nö</b>	能	-GEN	20:4372.1	-nö	+
19	<b>-nö</b>	乃	-GEN	20:4372.7	-nö	+

20	-nō	能	-GEN	20:4372.9	-nō	+
21	-nō	能	-GEN	20:4372.10	-nō	+
22	-nō	乃	-GEN	14:3350a.1	-nō	+
23	-nō	能	-GEN	14:3392.1	-nō	+
24	-nō	能	-GEN	14:3350a.2	-nō	+
25	inör-i	伊能利	pray-INF	20:4370.3	inör-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.24 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ara-	阿良	be.rough-	20:4372.5	ara-	+
2	sumeyra	須米良	emperor	20:4370.4	sumyera	+
3	ar-am-ey	安良米	exist-TENT-EV	20:4371.5	ar-am-ey	+
4	pur-ar-u	布良留	fall-PROG-ATTR	14:3351.2	pur-er-u	-
5	wasura-	和須良	forget-	14:3394.4	wasure-	-
6	arare	阿良例	hail	20:4370.1	arare	+
7	sir-ase-m-u	志良世牟	know-CAUS-TENT-FIN	20:4366.5	sir-ase-m-u	+
8	asikara	阿之加良	PN	20:4372.1	asiNkara	+
9	yar-as-an-e	夜良佐祢	send-HON-DES-IMP	14:3388.5	yar-as-an-e	+
10	tayura	多由良	shaking	14:3392.4	-	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-yuri	由利	-ABL	20:4365.2	-yuri	+
2	nar-i	奈利	become-INF	14:3395.4	nar-i	+
3	sakyimuri	佐岐牟理	border.guard	20:4364.1	sakyimöri	+
4	ari-	阿利	DUR-	20:4368.2	ari-	+
5	pur- i	布理	fall-INF	20:4370.1	pur- i	+
6	inör- i	伊能利	pray-INF	20:4370.3	inör- i	+
7	tamapar-i	多麻波理	receive.HUM-INF	20:4372.2	tamapar-i	+
8	kapyer- i	可敝里	return-INF	20:4368.5	kapyer- i	+
9	kapeyr-i	可閑理	return-INF	20:4372.3	kapyer-i	+
10	kapeyr-i	可閑理	return-INF	20:4372.15	kapyer-i	+
11	timar-i	知麻利	stay-INF	20:4372.11	tömar-i	+
12	pur- i	布利	swing-INF	20:4367.4	pur-i	+
13	kari	加里	wild_goose	20:4366.2	kari	+

There are no variances in these data.



### 2.5.9.2.26 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonograms attested are 留 and 流.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	pyiru	比留	daytime	20:4369.5	pyiru	+
2	pos-ar-u	保佐流	dry-PROG-ATTR	14:3351.5	pos-er-u	+
3	ot-uru	於都留	fall-ATTR	14:3392.3	ot-uru	+
4	pur-ar-u	布良留	fall-PROG-ATTR	14:3351.2	pur-er-u	+
5	paNpakar-u	波婆可流	hesitate-FIN	20:4372.6	paNpakar-u	+
6	yuru	由流	lily	20:4369.2	yuri	-
7	-n[i]-ar-u	奈流	-LOC-exist-ATTR	14:3397.1	-n[i]-ar-u	+
8	nar-upye	奈流敝	make_a_living-DEB	20:4364.4	nar-uNpey	+
9	ositeru	於之弓流	MK [UNC]	20:4365.1	ositeru	+
10	sirus-i	志留志	record-INF	20:4366.4	sirus-i	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	are	阿例	1.S	20:4365.4	are	+
2	ware	和礼	1.S	20:4370.5	ware	+
3	are	阿例	1.S	20:4372.4	are	+
4	are	阿例	1.S	20:4372.12	are	+
5	-s-ure	須礼	-CAUS-EV	14:3397.4	-s-ure	+
6	ar-e	安礼	exist-EV	14:3350a.3	ar-e	+

7	wasure-	和須例	forget-	20:4367.2	wasure-	+
8	arare	阿良例	hail	20:4370.1	arare	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.2.28 rö syllables

The rö phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3351.4	-rö	+
2	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3388.2	-rö	+
3	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3394.2	-rö	+
4	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3395.2	-rö	+
5	-N- körömwō	其呂毛	-GEN- garment	14:3394.1	-N- körömo	+
6	orö-	於呂	lower-	20:4363.2	ori-	-
7	mworö- mworö	毛呂々々	many- REDUP	20:4372.13	mörö- mörö	++
8	töNtörö	等杼呂	thunderous	14:3392.2	töNtörö	+

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- > \*əri- > 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) \*<sup>n</sup>z > z
- d) \*<sup>n</sup>d > d
- e) \*ua > u
- f) \*o > u (sporadic)
- g) \*t > s / \_i
- h) \*əy > ə
- i) \*ə > i / t\_Ca (sporadic)
- j) \*i > 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 *yö*.

#### 2.5.9.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonogram attested is 夜.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ya</b>	夜	eight	20:4363.3	ya	+
2	<b>ya</b>	夜	EPT	20:4365.1	ya	+
3	<b>ya</b>	夜	EPT	20:4372.6	ya	+
4	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	14:3394.3	yama	+
5	<b>yama</b>	夜麻	mountain	20:4371.4	yama	+
6	<b>yar-as-an-e</b>	夜良佐祢	send-CAUS-DES-IMP	14:3388.5	yar-as-an-e	+
7	<b>aya</b>	安夜	strange	14:3350a.5	aya	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.9.3.2 *ye* syllables

The *ye* phonogram attested is 延.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>taye</b>	多延	break.INF	14:3397.4	taye	+
2	<b>taye</b>	多延	break.INF	14:3397.5	taye	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.3.3 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-yuri	由 <sup>185</sup> 利	-ABL	20:4365.2	-yuri	+
2	yuk-u	由久	go-FIN	20:4372.4	yuk-u	+
3	yuk-u	由久	go-FIN	20:4372.8	yuk-u	+
4	yuk-am-u	由可牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4366.2	yuk-am-u	+
5	yuru	由流	lily	20:4369.2	yuri	+
6	yu	由	night	20:4369.3	ywo	-
7	tayura	多由良	shaking	14:3392.4	-	?
8	yukyi	由伎	snow	14:3351.2	yukyi	+

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.

<sup>185</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 与 *yö*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ywo</b>	欲	night	14:3395.3	ywo	+
2	<b>maywo</b>	麻欲	silkworm_ cocoon	14:3350a.2	–	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yösöp-yi</b>	与曾比	prepare-INF	20:4365.3	yösöp-yi	+

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*, *kö*, *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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kanasi-</b>	加奈思	be.adorable-	14:3351.4	kanasi-	+
2	<b>kanasi-</b>	可奈之	be.adorable-	20:4369.4	kanasi-	+
3	<b>kanasi-</b>	可奈之	be.adorable-	20:4369.5	kanasi-	+
4	<b>kakye-</b>	可家	call_out-	14:3394.5	kakey-	+
5	<b>kamiy</b>	可美	deity	20:4370.2	kamiy	+
6	<b>kamwo</b>	可毛	EPT	14:3351.2	kamö	+
7	<b>kamö</b>	可母	EPT	14:3351.3	kamö	+
8	<b>kamö</b>	可母	EPT	14:3351.5	kamö	+
9	<b>kamo</b>	可聞	EPT	14:3395.5	kamö	+
10	<b>kamö</b>	可母	EPT	20:4364.5	kamö	+
11	<b>kamwo</b>	可毛	EPT	20:4371.5	kamö	+
12	<b>yuk-am-u</b>	由可牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4366.2	yuk-am-u	+
13	<b>paNpakar-u</b>	波婆可流	hesitate-FIN	20:4372.6	paNpakar-u	+
14	<b>kasumyi</b>	可須美	mist	14:3388.2	kasumyi	+
15	<b>ka</b>	加	oar	20:4363.3	–	?
16	<b>nasaka</b>	奈左可	PN	14:3397.2	–	?
17	<b>kasima</b>	可志麻	PN	20:4370.2	–	?
18	<b>asikara</b>	阿之加良	PN	20:4372.1	asiNkara	+
19	<b>-kaNte</b>	可提	-POT	14:3388.3	-kate	+
20	<b>ka</b>	可	QPT	14:3397.5	ka	+
21	<b>kapyer-i</b>	可敝里	return-INF	20:4368.5	kapyer-i	+
22	<b>kapeyr-i</b>	可閑理	return-INF	20:4372.3	kapyer-i	+
23	<b>kapeyr-i</b>	可閑利	return-INF	20:4372.15	kapyer-i	+
24	<b>kati</b>	可知	rudder	20:4368.4	kaNti	+

25	<b>ka</b>	<u>可</u>	scent	20:4371.3	ka	+
26	<b>saka</b>	<u>佐加</u>	slope	20:4372.2	saka	+
27	<b>kari</b>	<u>加里</u>	wild_goose	20:4366.2	kari	+
28	<b>kaNse</b>	<u>可是</u>	wind	20:4371.2	kaNse	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.9.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonograms attested are 伎, 岐, and 吉.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-kyi</b>	<u>吉</u>	-AVATTR	14:3351.4	-kyi	+
2	<b>-kyi</b>	<u>伎</u>	-AVATTR	20:4364.4	-kyi	+
3	<b>-kyi</b>	<u>伎</u>	-AVATTR	20:4371.3	-kyi	+
4	<b>sekyi</b>	<u>世伎</u>	barrier	20:4372.7	sekyi	+
5	<b>sakyimuri</b>	<u>佐岐</u> 牟理	border.guard	20:4364.1	sakyimöri	+
6	<b>ikiyi</b>	<u>伊伎</u>	breath	14:3388.4	ikiyi	+
7	<b>k-yi</b>	<u>伎</u>	come-INF	20:4364.5	k-yi	+
8	<b>k-yi</b>	<u>伎</u>	come-INF	20:4370.5	k-yi	+
9	<b>kyinu</b>	<u>伎奴</u>	garment	14:3350a.3	kyinu	+
10	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎美</u>	lord	14:3388.4	kyimyi	+
11	<b>kyimyi</b>	<u>伎美</u>	lord	14:3350a.4	kyimyi	+
12	<b>sawak-yi</b>	<u>佐和伎</u>	make_noise-NML	20:4364.2	sawak-yi	+
13	<b>nuk-yi</b>	<u>奴伎</u>	pierce-INF	20:4363.3	nuk-yi	+
14	<b>nuk-yi</b>	<u>奴伎</u>	pierce-INF	20:4368.4	nuk-yi	+
15	<b>sakyi</b>	<u>佐伎</u>	promontory	20:4372.10	sakyi	+
16	<b>sakyi</b>	<u>佐吉</u>	promontory	14:3394.3	sakyi	+
17	<b>kök-yi</b>	<u>許伎</u>	row-INF	20:4363.4	köNk-yi	-
18	<b>yukyi</b>	<u>由伎</u>	snow	14:3351.2	yukyi	+
19	<b>tuk-yi</b>	<u>都岐</u>	tell-INF	20:4365.5	tuNkey	-
20	<b>kyi</b>	<u>伎</u>	wear.NML	14:3350a.5	kyi	+

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 dissyllabic phonogram 筑 *tuku* attested which is included here.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]kusa	久佐	army	20:4370.4	ikusa	+
2	-ku	久	-AVINF	20:4368.2	-ku	+
3	-ku	久	-AVINF	20:4372.14	-ku	+
4	puk-u	布久	blow-ATTR	20:4371.2	puk-u	+
5	-N-tuk-u	豆久	breathe-ATTR	14:3388.4	tuk-u	+
6	k-u	久	come-ATTR	20:4372.15	k-uru	+
7	kuye	久江	cross.INF	20:4372.4	kwoye	-
8	kuye	久江	cross.INF	20:4372.8	kwoye	-
9	woN-tukupa	乎豆久波	DIM-PN	14:3394.2	woN-tukupa	+
10	woN-tukupa	乎豆久波	DIM-PN	14:3395.1	woN-tukupa	+
11	yuk-u	由久	go-FIN	20:4372.4	yuk-u	+
12	yuk-u	由久	go-FIN	20:4372.8	yuk-u	+
13	tuku	都久	moon	14:3395.2	tukiy	-
14	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3350a.1	tukupa	+
15	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3392.1	tukupa	+
16	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3388.1	tukupa	+
17	tukupa	筑波	PN	14:3351.1	tukupa	+
18	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4367.3	tukupa	+
19	kuNsi	久自	PN	20:4368.1	—	?
20	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4369.1	tukupa	+
21	tukupa	都久波	PN	20:4371.4	tukupa	+
22	tukusi	都久志	PN	20:4372.10	tukusi	+
23	omwop-an-aku	於毛波奈久	think-NEG-NML	14:3392.5	omöp-an-aku	+

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 祁.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-kye	家	-AVATTR	20:4369.4	-kyi	-
2	-kye	祁	-AVATTR	20:4369.5	-kyi	-
3	tukye	都祁	be.attached. INF	20:4366.4	tukey	-
4	sakye-	佐祁	be.safe-	20:4372.14	sakyi-	-
5	kakye-	可家	call_out-	14:3394.5	kakey-	-
6	kyesi	家思	garment	14:3350a.4	kyesi	+

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 \*əy 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sakey-	佐氣	be.happy-	20:4368.2	sakyi-	-
2	piyk-ey	飛氣	pull-EV	14:3397.4	pyik-ey	+
3	sakey	佐氣	shun.INF	20:4367.4	sakey	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwosö	古 <sup>186</sup> 曾	FPT	14:3394.4	kösö	-
2	kwopyi-	古比	long_for-	20:4371.5	kwopyi-	+
3	kwopyi	古比	long_for. NML	20:4366.3	kwopyi	+

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.

<sup>186</sup> I follow NHB here. GK is missing this character.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tökö	等許	bed	20:4369.3	tökö	+
2	-kös-ö	許 <sup>187</sup> 曾	-BEN-IMP	20:4363.5	kösö	+
3	-kös-ö	許曾	-BEN-IMP	20:4365.5	-kös-ö	+
4	kö-	許	come-	14:3394.4	kö-	+
5	kö-	許	come-	20:4368.5	kö-	+
6	kösö	許曾	FPT	14:3397.3	kösö	+
7	kök-yi	許伎	row-INF	20:4363.4	köNk-yi	+
8	köNk-yi	許藝	row-INF	20:4365.4	köNk-yi	+
9	kötö	己等	word	20:4364.4	kötö	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-kapa	我波	-GEN-river	20:4368.1	-N-kapa	+
2	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3351.4	-Nka	+
3	-Nka	何	-POSS	20:4364.3	-Nka	+
4	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4366.2	-Nka	+
5	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4366.3	-Nka	+
6	-Nka	我	-POSS	20:4367.1	-Nka	+
7	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3350a.4	-Nka	+
8	-Nka	我	-POSS	14:3392.4	-Nka	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>187</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	köNk-yi	許藝	row-INF	20:4365.4	köNk-yi	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.9.4.10 *Nkiy* syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 宜.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	suNkiy	須宜	pass.INF	14:3388.3	suNkiy	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.9.4.11 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	N-kupa	具波	COP.ATTR- mulberry	14:3350a.2	–	?
2	-N-kupasi	具波志	-GEN- be.lovely	20:4371.3	-N-kupasi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.9.4.12 *Nkö* syllables

The *Nkö* phonogram attested is 其.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N- körömwō	其呂毛	-GEN- garment	14:3394.1	-N- körömo	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	a	阿	1.S	20:4366.3	a	+
2	a	阿	1.S	20:4367.1	a	+
3	are	阿例	1.S	20:4365.4	are	+
4	are	阿例	1.S	20:4372.4	are	+
5	are	阿例	1.S	20:4372.12	are	+
6	ara-	阿良	be.rough-	20:4372.5	ara-	+
7	ari-	阿利	DUR-	20:4368.2	ari-	+
8	ar-e	安礼	exist-EV	14:3350a.3	ar-e	+
9	ar-am-ey	安良米	exist-TENT-EV	20:4371.5	ar-am-ey	+
10	arare	阿良例	hail	20:4370.1	arare	+
11	apyiNta	安比太	interval	14:3395.3	apyiNta	+
12	asikara	阿之加良	PN	20:4372.1	asiNkara	+
13	aya	安夜	strange	14:3350a.5	aya	+
14	aNtö	阿杼	what	14:3397.5	naNtö	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4363.5	imwo	+
2	imu	伊牟	beloved_girl	20:4364.3	imwo	+
3	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4365.5	imwo	+
4	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4366.5	imwo	+
5	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4367.5	imwo	+
6	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4369.4	imwo	+
7	ikyi	伊伎	breath	14:3388.4	ikyi	+

8	ipyē	伊敝	home	20:4364.3	ipyē	+
9	ina	伊奈	no	14:3351.3	ina	+
10	ima	伊麻	now	20:4363.4	ima	+
11	inör-i	伊能利	pray-INF	20:4370.3	inör-i	+
12	ipap-am-u	伊波々牟	pray-TENT-ATTR	20:4372.12	ipap-am-u	+
13	ipa	伊波	rock	14:3392.2	ipa	+
14	ip-as-u	伊波須	say-NEG-INF	20:4364.5	ip-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.9.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	umyi	宇美	sea	14:3397.2	umyi	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.9.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ot-uru	於都留	fall-ATTR	14:3392.3	ot-uru	+
2	orö-	於呂	lower	20:4363.2	ori-	+
3	ositeru	於之弓流	MK [UNC]	20:4365.1	ositeru	?
4	omwop-an-aku	於 <sup>188</sup> 毛波奈久	think-NEG-NML	14:3392.5	omöp-an-aku	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>188</sup> 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<sup>189</sup> (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 2-31: Consonant variances and invariances in Pitati**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	59	<b>2</b>	3
Np-	3	0	0
t-	48	<b>2</b>	5
Nt-	8	<b>1</b>	2
s-	55	<b>3</b>	3
Ns-	2	0	1
k-	86	<b>2</b>	4
Nk-	12	0	1
TOTALS	273	<b>10</b>	19

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 *t-* and *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.

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<sup>189</sup> In Table 2-31, I do not mark as variant the examples in the Pitati data that were shown to support the change of \*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 2-32: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Pitati**

	Bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t <sup>n</sup> d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s <sup>n</sup> z		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

#### 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 2-33: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Pitati**

	Front	central	back
high	i	[ɨ]	u
mid	e	ə	o
low			a

\*əy 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

/ə/ 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	twop-am-u	刀 <u>波</u> 牟	ask-TENT-FIN	20:4392.5	twop-am-u	+
2	nipasi-	尔 <u>波</u> 志	be.sudden-	20:4389.3	nipaka-	+ <sup>190</sup>
3	-pa	<u>波</u> <sup>191</sup>	-CONJ	20:4393.2	-Npa	-
4	papa	<u>波</u> 々	mother	20:4392.4	papa	++
5	papa	<u>波</u> 々	mother	20:4393.3	papa	++
6	kasipa	加之 <u>波</u>	oak	20:4387.2	-	?
7	tipa	知 <u>波</u>	PN	20:4387.1	-	?
8	inör-apa	以乃良 <u>波</u>	pray-COND	20:4392.3	inör-aNpa	-
9	ipap-yi	以 <u>波</u> 比	pray-INF	20:4393.4	ipap-yi	+
10	omwop-apey-	於毛 <u>波</u> 弊	think-ITER-	20:4389.5	omöp-apey-	+
11	pa	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4384.2	pa	+
12	pa	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4385.3	pa	+
13	pa	<u>波</u>	TPT	20:4390.4	pa	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem .Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwopyi	古 <u>比</u>	long_for. INF	20:4386.4	kwopiy	-
2	kwop-yi	古 <u>比</u>	pray_for. NML	20:4391.4	köp-yi	+

<sup>190</sup> 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.

<sup>191</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the *kungana* phonogram 者 *pa*.

3	<b>ipap-yi</b>	以波 <u>比</u>	pray-INF	20:4393.4	ipap-yi	+
4	<b>töwerap-yi</b>	等惠良 <u>比</u>	shake-NML	20:4385.2	töworap-yi	+
5	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u>	shore	14:3385.4	pye	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tapiy</b>	多 <u>飛</u>	journey	20:4388.1	taNpyi	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>opuse</b>	於 <u>不</u> 世	assign.INF	20:4389.4	opose	-
2	<b>pune</b>	<u>布</u> 祢	boat	20:4384.4	pune	+
3	<b>pune</b>	<u>不</u> 尼	boat	20:4389.1	pune	+
4	<b>[i]p-u</b>	<u>布</u>	say-FIN	14:3384.4	ip-u	+

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 弊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pye</b>	<u>敝</u>	area	20:4385.3	pye	+
2	<b>ipye</b>	以 <u>弊</u>	home	20:4388.3	ipye	+
3	<b>pye</b>	<u>弊</u>	pot	20:4393.4	pey	-
4	<b>pye</b>	<u>弊</u>	prow	20:4389.2	pey	-
5	<b>[i]p-ye</b>	<u>弊</u>	say-EV	20:4388.1	ip-ey	-
6	omwop- apye-	於毛波 <u>弊</u>	think-ITER	20:4389.5	omöp- apey-	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem .Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nipey</b>	尔 <u>倍</u>	food_offering	14:3386.3	nipey	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.10.1.7 *po* syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 保.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>popom-ar-e</b>	保々麻例	be.unopened-PROG-EV	20:4387.3	pupum-er-e	--
2	<b>opo</b>	於保	great	20:4393.1	opo	+
3	<b>opo</b>	於保	great	20:4394.1	opo	+
4	<b>nipo</b>	尔保	grebe	14:3386.1	nipo	+
5	<b>-tamap-o</b>	他麻保	-HON-ATTR	20:4389.4	-tamap-u	-
6	<b>sipo</b>	志保	tide	20:4389.1	sipo	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-Npa</b>	婆	-CONJ	14:3385.3	-Npa	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.10.1.9 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* syllable attested is 妣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>taNpyi</b>	多妣	journey	20:4388.2	taNpyi	+

There are no variances in this example.



### 2.5.10.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonograms attested are 麻, 萬, and 末.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	麻多	again	20:4392.5	mata	+
2	popom-ar-e	保々麻例	be.unopened-PROG-EV	20:4387.3	pupum-er-e	-
3	<b>mama</b>	麻末	cliff	14:3384.2	–	??
4	<b>mama</b>	麻末	cliff	14:3384.5	–	??
5	<b>mama</b>	麻萬	cliff	14:3385.2	–	??
6	<b>mama</b>	麻末	cliff	14:3385.4	–	??
7	<b>mawi</b>	麻為	come.HUM. INF	20:4393.5	mawi	+
8	-tamap-o	他麻保	-HON-ATTR	20:4389.4	-tamap-u	+
9	-mas-i	麻之	-HON-INF	20:4386.5	-mas-i	+
10	<b>ma-</b>	麻	INT-	14:3384.3	ma-	+
11	<b>ma-</b>	麻	INT-	20:4388.2	ma-	+
12	<b>sima</b>	之麻	island	20:4384.3	sima	+
13	<b>tama</b>	他麻	jewel	20:4390.1	tama	+
14	<b>matur-i</b>	麻都理	offer-INF	20:4391.3	matur-i	+
15	<b>tuma</b>	都麻	spouse	20:4385.4	tuma	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	20:4387.4	-myi	+
2	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	20:4394.2	-myi	+

3	yumyi	由美	bow	20:4394.3	yumyi	+
4	myikötö	美許等	command	20:4393.2	myikötö	+
5	myikötö	美己等	command	20:4394.2	myikötö	+
6	kamyi	加美	deity	20:4391.2	kamiy	-
7	kamyi	可美	deity	20:4392.2	kamiy	-
8	kyimyi	伎美	lord	20:4393.1	kyimyi	+
9	kyimyi	伎美	lord	20:4394.1	kyimyi	+
10	myita	美他	together_with	20:4394.3	muta	-
11	namyi	奈美	wave	14:3385.5	namyi	+
12	namyi	奈美	wave	20:4385.2	namyi	+
13	namyi	奈美	wave	20:4389.2	namyi	+

The variances in (6) and (7) further support the merger of \*i > /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 牟.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	mura	牟浪	many	20:4390.1	mura	+
2	watar-am-u	和多良牟	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4394.4	watar-am-u	+
3	s-unam-u	須奈牟	do-TENT2-ATTR	20:4391.4	s-uram-u	+
4	twop-am-u	刀波牟	ask-TENT-ATTR	20:4392.5	twop-am-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.1.13 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	katamey	加多 <u>米</u>	harden.INF	20:4390.3	katamey	+
2	amey	阿 <u>米</u>	heaven	20:4392.1	amey	+
3	aywok-unam-ey	阿用久奈 <u>米</u>	shake-TENT2-EV	20:4390.5	-uram-ey	+
4	-m-ey	<u>米</u>	-TENT-EV	14:3386.5	-m-ey	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.1.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imwo	以 <u>毛</u> <sup>192</sup>	beloved_girl	20:4390.4	imwo	+
2	-mwotö	<u>毛</u> 等	-CL	20:4386.2	-mötö	-
3	tömwo	登 <u>毛</u>	CNJ	14:3386.3	tömö	-
4	mwo	<u>毛</u>	FPT	14:3385.5	mö	-
5	sir-as-umwo	之良酒 <u>毛</u> <sup>193</sup>	know-NEG.ATTR-EXCL	20:4384.5	sir-aNs-umö	-
6	omwo	於 <u>毛</u> <sup>194</sup>	mother	20:4386.4	amö	-
7	omwop-apey-	於 <u>毛</u> <sup>195</sup> 波弊	think-ITER-	20:4389.5	omöp-apey-	-

These six variances seen here are indicative of the merger \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_.

### 2.5.10.1.15 *mö* syllables

The *mö* phonogram attested is 母.

<sup>192</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>193</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>194</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>195</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	beloved_girl	20:4388.3	imwo	-
2	im <sup>ö</sup>	伊 <u>母</u>	beloved_girl	20:4391.5	imwo	-
3	m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	EPT	20:4385.5	mö	+
4	m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	EPT	14:3386.5	mö	+
5	kam <sup>ö</sup>	加 <u>母</u>	EPT	20:4390.5	kamö	+
6	m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4386.3[1]	mö	+
7	m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4386.3[2]	mö	+
8	m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4386.5	mö	+
9	m <sup>ö</sup>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4389.3	mö	+
10	körö <sup>m</sup> <sub>ö</sub>	己呂 <u>母</u>	garment	20:4388.4	körömö	+

These variances are further evidence of the merger \*ə > o / [+labial]\_.

#### 2.5.10.1.16 wa syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ware	<u>和</u> 礼	1.S	14:3384.4	ware	+
2	wa	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4386.1	wa	+
3	watar-am-u	<u>和</u> 多良牟	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4394.4	watar-am-u	+
4	wase	<u>和</u> 世	early_rice	14:3386.2	-	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.10.1.17 we syllables

The *we* phonogram attested is 惠.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	töwerap-yi	等 <u>惠</u> 良比	shake-NML	20:4385.2	töworap-yi	-

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 /wə/ syllable. As such a syllable did not exist in contemporaneous WOJ, *we* was the closest approximation. This would indicate the Simotupusa form was phonetically [təwərap], 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	maw <i><b>i</b></i>	麻為	come.HUM. INF	20:4393.5	maw <i>i</i>	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.10.1.19 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3384.2	-wo	+
2	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3384.5	-wo	+
3	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4384.3	-wo	+
4	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4385.4	-wo	+
5	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4385.4	-wo	+
6	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4392.2	-wo	+
7	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4393.3	-wo	+
8	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4393.5	-wo	+
9	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4394.5	-wo	+
10	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3386.2	-wo	+
11	-wo	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	14:3386.4	-wo	+

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, Ntu, Ntö, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsa, Nsi, Nsu, Nse, Nswo, Nsö, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö*. 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	麻多	again	20:4392.5	mata	+
2	<b>tatukyi</b>	他都枳	clue	20:4384.5	tatukyi	+
3	<b>watar-am-u</b>	和多良牟	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4394.4	watar-am-u	+
4	<b>katamey</b>	加多米	harden.INF	20:4390.3	katamey	+
5	<b>-tamap-o</b>	他麻保	-HON-ATTR	20:4389.4	-tamap-u	+
6	<b>tama</b>	他麻	jewel	20:4390.1	tama	+
7	<b>tapiy</b>	多飛	journey	20:4388.1	taNpyi	+
8	<b>taNpyi</b>	多妣	journey	20:4388.2	taNpyi	+
9	<b>tate-</b>	多弓	make.stand-	14:3386.5	tate-	+
10	<b>myita</b>	美他 <sup>196</sup>	together_with	20:4394.3	muta	+
11	<b>ta</b>	他	who	20:4387.5	ta	+
12	<b>tare</b>	多例	who	20:4384.2	tare	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.10.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

<sup>196</sup> This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 仁 *ni*, which looks like a mistake.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>titi</b>	知々	father	20:4393.3	titi	++
2	<b>tipa</b>	知波	PN	20:4387.1	–	?

The paucity of *ti* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tuk-yi</b>	都枳	attach-INF	20:4388.5	tuk-yi	+
2	<b>utukusi</b>	有都久之	beloved	20:4392.4	utukusi	+
3	<b>tatukyi</b>	他都枳	clue	20:4384.5	tatukyi	+
4	<b>-tusi</b>	都之	-COOR	20:4386.5	-tutu	+
5	<b>tusi</b>	都之	earth	20:4392.1	tuti	+
5	<b>itu</b>	以都	five	20:4386.2	itu	+
6	<b>katu</b>	可都	gate	20:4386.1	kaNtu	-
7	<b>matur-i</b>	麻都理	offer-INF	20:4391.3	matur-i	+
8	<b>katusika</b>	可都思加	PN	14:3384.1	–	?
9	<b>katusika</b>	可都 <sup>197</sup> 思加	PN	14:3385.1	–	?
10	<b>tuma</b>	都麻	spouse	20:4385.4	tuma	+
11	<b>itu</b>	以都	when	20:4386.3	itu	+
12	<b>itu</b>	以都	when	20:4386.3	itu	+
13	<b>iture</b>	以都例	which	20:4392.2	iNture	-

The variances in (6) and (12) both involve a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa forms.

<sup>197</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 豆 *Ntu*.



### 2.5.10.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonogram attested is 𠄎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	[i]te	𠄎	go_out.INF	20:4393.5	iNte	-
2	te	𠄎	hand	20:4387.2	te	+
3	teNkwo	𠄎胡	maiden	14:3384.5	-	?
4	tate-	多𠄎	make.stand-	14:3386.5	tate-	+
5	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4385.5	-te	+
6	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4387.5	-te	+
7	-te	𠄎	-SUB	20:4393.4	-te	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	twop-am-u	刀波牟	ask-TENT-ATTR	20:4392.5	twop-am-u	+
2	two	刀	outside	14:3386.5	two	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.6 *tö* syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-mwotö	毛等	-CL	20:4386.2	-mötö	+
2	tömwo	登毛	CNJ	14:3386.3	tömö	+
3	-tö	等	-COM	20:4385.4[1]	-tö	+

4	<b>-tö</b>	<u>等</u>	-COM	20:4385.4[2]	-tö	+
5	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	-COM	20:4393.4	tö	+
6	<b>myikötö</b>	美 <u>許</u> <u>等</u>	command	20:4393.2	myikötö	+
7	<b>myikötö</b>	美 <u>己</u> <u>等</u>	command	20:4394.2	myikötö	+
8	<b>-tö</b>	<u>等</u>	-CONC	20:4387.3	-Ntö	-
9	<b>-tö</b>	<u>等</u>	-CONC	20:4388.1	-Ntö	-
10	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	14:3384.4	tö	+
11	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u>	DV	20:4388.1	tö	+
12	<b>tö</b>	<u>等</u> <sup>198</sup>	FPT	20:4385.5	Nsö	-
13	<b>-tö-</b>	<u>等</u>	-PERF-	20:4390.3	-te-	-
14	<b>töwerap-yi</b>	<u>等</u> 惠良比	shake-NML	20:4385.2	töworap-yi	+
15	<b>töNtörö</b>	<u>登</u> 杼呂	thunderous	14:3385.5	töNtörö	+
16	<b>tökyi</b>	<u>等</u> 伎	time	20:4384.1	tökyi	+
17	<b>tökyi</b>	<u>等</u> 枳	time	20:4384.2	tökyi	+
18	<b>kötö</b>	<u>許</u> <u>登</u>	word	14:3384.3	kötö	+
19	<b>kötö</b>	<u>己</u> <u>等</u>	word	20:4392.5	kötö	+

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 /<sup>n</sup>z/ 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 /tə/. 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

<sup>198</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 良 *ra*, which looks like a mistake.

*Man'yōgana* orthography arose), the Simotupusa form could be [təy], and a *tö* 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ka <b>N</b> tusika	可豆思加	PN	14:3386.2	–	?

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.10.2.8 *Ntö* syllables

The *Ntö* phonogram attested is 杼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>N-tö</b> ri	杼 <sup>199</sup> 里	COP.ATTR-bird	14:3386.1	N-töri	+
2	tö <b>N</b> törö	登杼 <sup>200</sup> 呂	thunderous	14:3385.5	töNtörö	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.9 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 作 and 佐.

<sup>199</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>200</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sakyi	作枳	ahead	20:4385.1	sakyi	+
2	-sa	作	-AVNML	20:4391.5	-sa	+
3	s[i]-ar-e	作例	EPT-exist-EV	20:4393.2	s[i]-ar-e	+
4	sa-	佐	LOC-	20:4394.4	sa-	+
5	nusa	奴作	paper_ offering	20:4391.3	nusa	+
6	sas-i	作之	thrust-INF	20:4390.2	sas-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.10 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kanasi-	加奈 <u>之</u>	be.adorable-	20:4387.4	kanasi-	+
2	kanasi-	加奈 <u>志</u>	be.adorable-	20:4391.5	kanasi-	+
3	kanasi-	可奈 <u>之</u>	be.adorable-	14:3386.4	kanasi-	+
4	kasikwo-	加 <u>之</u> 古	be.awesome-	20:4394.2	kasikwo-	+
5	nipasi-	尔波 <u>志</u>	be.sudden-	20:4389.3	—	?
6	siru	<u>志</u> 流	behind	20:4385.3	siri	+
7	utukusi	有都久 <u>之</u>	beloved	20:4392.4	utukusi	+
8	-tusi	都 <u>之</u>	-COOR	20:4386.5	-tutu	-
9	tusi	都 <u>之</u>	earth	20:4392.1	tuti	-
10	-mas-i	麻 <u>之</u>	-HON-INF	20:4386.5	-mas-i	+
11	sima	<u>之</u> 麻	island	20:4384.3	sima	+
12	sir-as-umwo	<u>之</u> 良酒毛	know-NEG-EXCL	20:4384.5	sir-aNs-umö	+
13	kasipa	加 <u>之</u> 波	oak	20:4387.2	—	?
14	katusika	可都 <u>思</u> 加	PN	14:3384.1	—	?
15	katusika	可都 <u>思</u> 加	PN	14:3385.1	—	?
16	kaNtusika	可豆 <u>思</u> 加	PN	14:3386.2	—	?
17	-si	<u>之</u>	-PST.ATTR	20:4384.4	-si	+
18	-si	<u>之</u>	-PST.ATTR	20:4388.4	-si	+
19	-si	<u>之</u>	-PST.ATTR	20:4390.3	-si	+
20	-si	<u>之</u>	-PST.ATTR	20:4393.5	-si	+

21	-sika	之可	-PST.EV	14:3385.3	-sika	+
22	yasiri	夜之里	shrine	20:4391.2	yasirö	+
23	sas-i	作之	thrust-INF	20:4390.2	sas-i	+
24	sipo	志保	tide	20:4389.1	sipo	+
25	sira	志良	white	20:4389.2	sira	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>su</b>	須	again	20:4386.4	–	+
2	{su} <b>su</b>	{須}々	again	20:4386.4	–	+
3	yös- <b>u</b>	余須	approach-ATTR	14:3384.4	yös-u	+
4	<b>s-u</b>	須	do-FIN	14:3386.3	s-u	+
5	<b>s-unam-u</b>	須奈牟	do-TENT2-ATTR	20:4391.4	s-uram-u	+
6	sir- <b>as-umwo</b>	之良酒毛	know-NEG-EXCL	20:4384.5	sir-aNs-umö	-
7	<b>osu</b>	於須	rock	14:3385.4	iswo	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	opuse	於不 <u>世</u>	assign.INF	20:4389.4	opose	+
2	-se	<u>世</u>	-CAUS	20:4388.4	-se	+
3	wase	和 <u>世</u>	early_rice	14:3386.2	—	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.13 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 祖.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwos- <b>wo</b>	古 <u>祖</u>	cross-ATTR	20:4389.2	kwos-u	-

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 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sö</b>	<u>曾</u>	that	14:3386.4	sö	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.10.2.15 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kanasi-	加奈之	be.adorable-	20:4387.4	kanasi-	+
2	kanasi-	加奈志	be.adorable-	20:4391.5	kanasi-	+
3	kanasi-	可奈之	be.adorable-	14:3386.4	kanasi-	+
4	naNka-	奈賀	be.long-	20:4394.5	naNka-	+
5	nar-i	奈理	become-INF	20:4388.2	nar-i	+
6	-na	奈	-DIM	14:3384.2	–	?
7	-na	奈	-DIM	14:3384.5	–	?
8	-na	奈	-DIM	14:3385.2	–	?
9	s-unam-u	須奈牟	do-TENT2-ATTR	20:4391.4	s-uram-u	-
10	nar-i	奈理	make_a_living-INF	20:4386.5	nar-i	+
11	-n-aku	奈久	-NEG.ATTR-NML	20:4389.5	-n-aku	+
12	na-	奈	NEG.IMP-	20:4385.2	na-	+
13	awok-unam-ey	阿用久奈米	shake-TENT2-EV	20:4390.5	-uram-ey	-
14	namyi	奈美	wave	14:3385.5	namyi	+
15	namyi	奈美	wave	20:4385.2	namyi	+
16	namyi	奈美	wave	20:4389.2	namyi	+
17	yanakyi	夜奈枳	willow	20:4386.2	yanaNkiy	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nipasi-</b>	<u>尔</u> 波志	be.sudden-	20:4389.3	nipaka-	+
2	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	14:3385.5	n-i	+
3	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4387.4	n-i	+
4	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4388.2	n-i	+
5	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4389.5	n-i	+
6	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4393.2	-ni	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	14:3384.4	-ni	+
8	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	20:4391.2	-ni	+
9	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	20:4392.4	-ni	+
10	<b>nipey</b>	<u>尔</u> 倍	food_offering	14:3386.3	nipey	+
11	<b>nipo</b>	<u>尔</u> 保	grebe	14:3386.1	nipo	+
12	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3385.4	-ni	+
13	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4384.2	-ni	+
14	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4385.1	-ni	+
15	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4385.3	-ni	+
16	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4388.4	-ni	+
17	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4390.2	-ni	+
18	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3386.5	-ni	+
19	<b>-n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	20:4384.4	-n-i	+
20	<b>-n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	20:4388.5	-n-i	+
21	<b>-n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	20:4393.5	-n-i	+
22	<b>kuni-Nkuni</b>	久 <u>尔</u> 具 <u>尔</u>	province-REDUP	20:4391.1	kuni-Nkuni	++

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.17 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nu</b>	<u>奴</u>	field	20:4387.1	nwo	-
2	<b>nusa</b>	<u>奴</u> 作	paper_offering	20:4391.3	nusa	+
3	<b>-n-u</b>	<u>奴</u>	-PERF-FIN	20:4385.5	-n-u	+



4	<b>-n-u</b>	<u>奴</u>	-PERF-FIN	20:4387.5	-n-u	+
5	<b>-n-u</b>	<u>奴</u>	-PERF-FIN	20:4388.2	-n-u	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pune</b>	布 <u>祢</u>	boat	20:4384.4	pune	+
2	<b>pune</b>	不 <u>尼</u>	boat	20:4389.1	pune	+
3	<b>ne</b>	<u>尼</u>	sleep.NML	20:4394.4	ne	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.10.2.19 *nö* syllables

The *nö* phonograms attested are 能 and 乃.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-COMP	20:4387.2	-nö	+
2	<b>-nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-COMP	20:4390.1	-nö	+
3	<b>-nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3384.1	-nö	+
4	<b>-nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3384.2	-nö	+
5	<b>-nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3384.5	-nö	+
6	<b>-nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3385.1	-nö	+
7	<b>-nö</b>	<u>能</u>	-GEN	14:3385.2	-nö	+
8	<b>-nö</b>	<u>乃</u>	-GEN	14:3385.4	-nö	+

9	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4384.1	-nō	+
10	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4384.4	-nō	+
11	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4386.1	-nō	+
12	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4387.1[1]	-nō	+
13	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4387.1[2]	-nō	+
14	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4387.2	-nō	+
15	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4388.3	-nō	+
16	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4389.1	-nō	+
17	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4391.1	-nō	+
18	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4391.2	-nō	+
19	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4392.1	-nō	+
20	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4392.2	-nō	+
21	-nō	能	-GEN	20:4393.1	-nō	+
22	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4394.1	-nō	+
23	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4394.3	-nō	+
24	-nō	乃	-GEN	20:4394.5	-nō	+
25	-nō	能	-GEN	14:3386.1	nō	+
26	-nō	能	-GEN	14:3386.4	nō	+
27	inör-apa	以乃良波	pray-COND	20:4392.3	inör-aNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.20 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonograms attested are 良 and 浪.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	watar-am-u	和多良牟	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4394.4	watar-am-u	+
2	sir-as-umwo	之良酒毛	know-NEG-EXCL	20:4384.5	sir-aNs-umō	+
3	mura	牟浪	many	20:4390.1	mura	+
4	inör-apa	以乃良波	pray-COND	20:4392.3	inör-aNpa	+
5	töwerap-yi	等惠良比	shake-NML	20:4385.2	töworap-yi	+
6	sira	志良	white	20:4389.2	sira	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.21 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 里 and 理.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nar-i</b>	奈 <u>理</u>	become-INF	20:4388.2	nar-i	+
2	<b>N-töri</b>	杼 <u>里</u>	COP.ATTR-bird	14:3386.1	N-töri	+
3	<b>ar-i</b>	安 <u>里</u>	exist-INF	14:3385.3	ar-i	+
4	<b>kököri</b>	去々 <u>里</u>	heart	20:4390.4	kökörö	-
5	<b>nar-i</b>	奈 <u>理</u>	make_a_living-INF	20:4386.5	nar-i	+
6	<b>matur-i</b>	麻都 <u>理</u>	offer-INF	20:4391.3	matur-i	+
7	<b>-kar-i</b>	迦 <u>理</u>	-RETR-FIN	20:4388.5	-kyer-i	+
8	<b>yasiri</b>	夜之 <u>里</u> <sup>201</sup>	shrine	20:4391.2	yasirö	-

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

<sup>201</sup> NHB has 呂 *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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	siru	志流	behind	20:4385.3	siri	-
2	kuru	久留	pivot	20:4390.2	–	?

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ware	和礼	1.S	14:3384.4	ware	+
2	popom-ar-e	保々麻例	be.unopened-PROG-EV	20:4387.3	pupum-er-e	+
3	s[i]-ar-e	作例	EPT-exist-EV	20:4393.2	s[i]-ar-e	+
4	iture	以都例	which	20:4392.2	iNture	+
5	tare	多例	who	20:4384.2	tare	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.2.24 *rö* syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	körömö	己呂母	garment	20:4388.4	körömö	+
2	töNtörö	登杼呂	thunderous	14:3385.5	töNtörö	+

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 *yö*. There are no phonographically attested *ye* syllables.

#### 2.5.10.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonograms attested are 夜 and 也.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ya</b>	<u>也</u>	QPT	14:3386.5	ya	+
2	<b>yasiri</b>	<u>夜</u> 之里	shrine	20:4391.2	yasirö	+
3	<b>aya</b>	阿 <u>夜</u>	strange	20:4387.4	aya	+
4	<b>yanakyi</b>	<u>夜</u> 奈枳	willow	20:4386.2	yanaNkiy	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.10.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yumyi</b>	<u>由</u> 美	bow	20:4394.3	yumyi	+
2	<b>yuk-wo</b>	<u>由</u> 古	go-ATTR	20:4385.1	yuk-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.10.3.3 *ywo* syllables

The *ywo* phonogram attested is 用.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ywo</b>	用	night	20:4394.5	ywo	+
2	<b>ayok-unam-ey</b>	阿用久奈米	shake-TENT2-EV	20:4390.5	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.10.3.4 yō syllables

The yō phonogram attested is 余.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yōs-u</b>	余須	approach-ATTR	14:3384.4	yōs-u	+

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*, *kō*, *Nka*, *Nku*, and *Nkwo*. There are no phonographically attested *kiy*, *kye*, *Nkyi*, *Nkiy*, *Nkye*, *Nkey*, or *Nkō* syllables.

#### 2.5.10.4.1 ka syllables

The *ka* phonograms attested are 可, 迦, and 加.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kanasi-</b>	<u>加</u> 奈之	be.adorable-	20:4387.4	kanasi-	+
2	<b>kanasi-</b>	<u>加</u> 奈志	be.adorable-	20:4391.5	kanasi-	+
3	<b>kanasi-</b>	<u>可</u> 奈之	be.adorable-	14:3386.4	kanasi-	+
4	<b>kasikwo-</b>	<u>加</u> 之古	be.awesome-	20:4394.2	kasikwo-	+
5	<b>aka</b>	阿 <u>加</u>	bright	20:4384.1	aka	+
6	<b>kamyi</b>	<u>加</u> 美	deity	20:4391.2	kamiy	+
7	<b>kamyi</b>	<u>可</u> 美	deity	20:4392.2	kamiy	+
8	<b>aka</b>	阿 <u>可</u>	dirt	20:4388.5	aka	+
9	<b>kamö</b>	<u>加</u> 母	EPT	20:4390.5	kamö	+
10	<b>katu</b>	<u>可</u> 都	gate	20:4386.1	kaNtwo	+
11	<b>katamey</b>	<u>加</u> 多米	harden.INF	20:4390.3	katamey	+
12	<b>kasipa</b>	<u>加</u> 之波	oak	20:4387.2	–	?
13	<b>katusika</b>	<u>可</u> 都思 <u>加</u>	PN	14:3384.1	–	??
14	<b>katusika</b>	<u>可</u> 都思 <u>加</u> <sup>202</sup>	PN	14:3385.1	–	??
15	<b>kaNtusika</b>	<u>可</u> 豆思 <u>加</u>	PN	14:3386.2	–	??
16	<b>-ka</b>	他 <u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4387.5	-ka	+
17	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4386.1	-Nka	-
18	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4386.4	-Nka	-
19	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4388.3	-Nka	-
20	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4390.4	-Nka	-
21	<b>-ka</b>	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4391.4	-Nka	-
22	<b>-sika</b>	之 <u>可</u>	-PST.EV	14:3385.3	-sika	+
23	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	20:4389.4	ka	+
24	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	20:4392.3	ka	+
25	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	QPT	20:4394.4	ka	+
26	<b>-kar-i</b>	<u>迦</u> 理	-RETR-FIN	20:4388.5	-kyer-i	-
27	<b>kakyi</b>	<u>加</u> 枳	shadow	20:4384.3	kaNkey	+
28	<b>ka</b>	<u>加</u>	that	20:4384.2	ka	+

The variances in (17) - (21) all involve a lack of prenasalization in the Simotupusa form.

This may indicate a shift of \*<sup>h</sup>g > 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-

<sup>202</sup> 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 枳.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sak <i>yi</i>	作 <u>枳</u>	ahead	20:4385.1	sak <i>yi</i>	+
2	tuk- <i>yi</i>	都 <u>枳</u>	attach-INF	20:4388.5	tuk- <i>yi</i>	+
3	- <i>kyi</i>	<u>伎</u>	-AVATTR	14:3386.2	- <i>kyi</i>	+
4	tatuk <i>yi</i>	他都 <u>枳</u>	clue	20:4384.5	tatuk <i>yi</i>	+
5	k- <i>yi</i>	<u>枳</u>	come-INF	20:4385.5	k- <i>yi</i>	+
6	k- <i>yi</i>	<u>枳</u>	come-INF	20:4387.5	k- <i>yi</i>	+
7	k- <i>yi</i>	<u>枳</u>	come-INF	20:4393.5	k- <i>yi</i>	+
8	ok- <i>yi</i>	於 <u>枳</u>	leave_behind-INF	20:4385.5	ok- <i>yi</i>	+
9	ok- <i>yi</i>	於 <u>枳</u>	leave_behind-INF	20:4387.5	ok- <i>yi</i>	+
10	ok- <i>yi</i>	於 <u>枳</u>	leave_behind-INF	20:4393.4	ok- <i>yi</i>	+
11	kyim <i>yi</i>	<u>伎</u> 美	lord	20:4393.1	kyim <i>yi</i>	+
12	kyim <i>yi</i>	<u>伎</u> 美	lord	20:4394.1	kyim <i>yi</i>	+
13	kuk <i>yi</i>	久 <u>枳</u>	nail	20:4390.2	-	?
14	kök- <i>yi</i>	己 <u>枳</u>	row-INF	20:4384.4	köNk- <i>yi</i>	-
15	kak <i>yi</i>	加 <u>枳</u>	shadow	20:4384.3	kaNkey	-
16	tök <i>yi</i>	等 <u>伎</u>	time	20:4384.1	tök <i>yi</i>	+
17	tök <i>yi</i>	等 <u>枳</u>	time	20:4384.2	tök <i>yi</i>	+
18	kyi-	<u>枳</u>	wear-	20:4388.4	kyi-	+
19	yanak <i>yi</i>	夜奈 <u>枳</u>	willow	20:4386.2	yanaNkiy	-

Once again we see variances in (14), (15), and (19) where the Simotupusa form lacks prenasalization. This is further evidence for a shift of \*<sup>h</sup>g > g.

### 2.5.10.4.3 *ku* syllables

The *ku* phonogram attested is 久.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	20:4389.3	-ku	+
2	utukusi	有都久之	beloved	20:4392.4	utukusi	+
3	<b>kukyi</b>	久枳	nail	20:4390.2	–	?
4	<b>-n-aku</b>	奈久	-NEG.ATTR-NML	20:4389.5	-n-aku	+
5	<b>kuru</b>	久留	pivot	20:4390.2	–	?
6	<b>kuni-Nkuni</b>	久尔具尔	province-REDUP	20:4391.1	kuni-Nkuni	+
7	<b>aywok-unam-ey</b>	阿用久奈米	shake-TENT2-EV	20:4390.5	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.4.4 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-key</b>	氣	-AVATTR	20:4394.5	-kyi	-

This variance (Simotupusa *key* : WOJ *kyi*) 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kasikwo-</b>	加之 <u>古</u>	be.awesome-	20:4394.2	kasikwo-	+
2	<b>kwo</b>	<u>古</u>	child	20:4385.4	kwo	+
3	<b>kwo</b>	<u>古</u>	child	20:4387.2	kwo	+
4	<b>yuk-wo</b>	由 <u>古</u>	go-ATTR	20:4385.1	yuk-u	-
5	<b>kwopyi</b>	<u>古</u> 比	long_for. INF	20:4386.4	kwopyi	+
6	<b>kwop-yi</b>	<u>古</u> 比	pray_for- NML	20:4391.4	köp-yi	-
7	<b>kwos-wo</b>	<u>古</u> 祖	surpass- ATTR	20:4389.2	kwos-u	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>makötö</b>	麻 <u>許</u> 登	command	14:3384.3	makötö	+
2	<b>myikötö</b>	美 <u>許</u> 等	command	20:4393.2	myikötö	+
3	<b>myikötö</b>	美 <u>己</u> 等	command	20:4394.2	myikötö	+
4	<b>körömö</b>	<u>己</u> 呂母	garment	20:4388.4	körömö	+
5	<b>kököri</b>	<u>去</u> <sup>203</sup> 々里	heart	20:4390.4	kökörö	++
6	<b>kök-yi</b>	<u>己</u> 枳	row	20:4384.4	kök-yi	+
7	<b>kö</b>	<u>己</u>	this	20:4394.5	kö	+
8	<b>kötö</b>	<u>己</u> 等	words	20:4392.5	kötö	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>203</sup> I follow NHB here. GK and RK have 志 *si*, which looks like a mistake.

#### 2.5.10.4.7 *Nka* syllables

The *Nka* phonograms attested are 我 and 賀.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	na <b>Nka</b> -	奈賀	be.long-	20:4394.5	naNka-	+
2	<b>Nkamo</b>	賀 <sup>204</sup> 聞	EPT	14:3384.3	kamö	-
3	- <b>Nka</b>	我	-POSS	14:3385.2	-Nka	+
4	- <b>Nka</b>	賀	-POSS	20:4391.5	-Nka	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kuni- <b>Nkuni</b>	久尔具尔	province-REDUP	20:4391.1	kuni-Nkuni	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.10.4.9 *Nkwo* syllables

The *Nkwo* phonogram attested is 胡.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	te <b>Nkwo</b>	弓胡	maiden	14:3384.5	-	?

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>204</sup> 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) \*<sup>h</sup>g > g
- b) \*ə > o
- c) \*əy > 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>a</b>	阿	1.S	20:4391.4	a	+
2	<b>aka</b>	阿加	bright	20:4384.1	aka	+
3	<b>aka</b>	阿可	dirt	20:4388.5	aka	+
4	<b>ar-i</b>	安里	exist-INF	14:3385.3	ar-i	+
5	<b>amey</b>	阿米	heaven	20:4392.1	amey	+

6	aywok-unam-ey	阿 <sup>205</sup> 用久奈 米	shake-TENT2-EV	20:4390.5	–	?
7	aya	阿夜	strange	20:4387.4	aya	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonograms attested are 以 and 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	imwo	以毛	beloved_girl	20:4390.4	imwo	+
2	imö	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4391.5	imwo	+
3	itu	以都	five	20:4386.2	itu	+
4	ipye	以弊	home	20:4388.3	ipye	+
5	inör-apa	以乃良波	pray-COND	20:4392.3	inor-aNpa	+
6	ipap-yi	以波比	pray-INF	20:4393.4	ipap-yi	+
7	itu	以都	when	20:4386.3[1]	itu	+
8	itu	以都	when	20:4386.3[2]	itu	+
9	iture	以都例	which	20:4392.2	iNture	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.10.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 有.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	utukusi	有都久之	beloved	20:4392.4	utukusi	+

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>205</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

#### 2.5.10.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	opuse	於不世	assign.INF	20:4389.4	opose	+
2	opo	於保	great	20:4393.1	opo	+
3	opo	於保	great	20:4394.1	opo	+
4	ok-yi	於枳	leave_behind-INF	20:4385.5	ok-yi	+
5	ok-yi	於枳	leave_behind-INF	20:4387.5	ok-yi	+
6	ok-yi	於枳	leave_behind-INF	20:4393.4	ok-yi	+
7	omwo	於毛	mother	20:4386.4	amö	-
8	osu	於須	rock	14:3385.4	iswo	-
9	omwop- apey-	於毛波弊	think-ITER	20:4389.5	omöp- apey-	+

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<sup>206</sup> (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 2-34: Consonant variances and invariances in Simotupusa**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	34	<b>3</b>	2
Np-	2	0	0
t-	47	<b>5</b>	4
Nt-	2	0	1
s-	36	<b>1</b>	6
Ns-	NA	NA	NA
k-	55	<b>8[+1]</b>	11
Nk-	4	<b>1</b>	1
TOTALS	180	<b>18[+1]</b>	25

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 *Np-* series), which is not good evidence for denasalization. Similarly, the *s-* series show only one variance out of 37 syllables (excluding unknowns). There are no attested *Ns-* phonograms. Thus, there is no convincing evidence for denasalization.

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<sup>206</sup> 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/Nt-* series is a borderline case, as they show five variances out of 53 syllables (excluding unknowns), but none in the *Nt-* series (granted, only two *Nt-* 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 2-35: Consonant phonemes reconstructed for Simotupusa**

	Bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t d		k g
fricative		s		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

Unfortunately /<sup>n</sup>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**

	Front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

### 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) \*əy > e
- h) \*u > i / m\_t
- i) \*r > n /\_Vm (sporadic, only found in the tentative 2 suffix)
- j) \*o > u (sporadic)
- g) \*<sup>n</sup>z (or \*s) > t (sporadic, only found in a FPT)
- h) \*<sup>ŋ</sup>g > g
- i) \*<sup>n</sup>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 (\*<sup>ŋ</sup>g > g, \*<sup>n</sup>d > d)
- d) Fortification (\*<sup>n</sup>s > t)
- e) Centralization (\*a > ə, \*e > ə/#\_C)
- f) Palatalization (\*əy > 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.

#### 2.5.11.1.1 *pa* syllables

The *pa* phonogram attested is 波.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pakare</b>	波可礼	be.separated. NML	20:4352.5	wakare	-
2	<b>sipa</b>	志波	bush	20:4350.3	siNpa	-
3	<b>pap-o</b>	波保	crawl-ATTR	20:4352.3	pap-u	+
4	<b>nipa</b>	尔波	garden	20:4350.1	nipa	+
5	<b>papa</b>	波々	mother	20:4348.2	papa	+
6	<b>papa</b>	波々	mother	20:4356.1	papa	+
7	<b>asupa</b>	阿須波	PN	20:4350.2	-	?
8	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4355.3	nanipa	+
9	<b>ipap-iy</b>	伊波非	pray-INF	20:4347.5	ipap-yi	+
10	<b>ipap-am-u</b>	伊波々牟	pray-TENT-FIN	20:4350.4	ipap-am-u	+
11	<b>paNta</b>	波太	skin	20:4351.4	paNta	+
12	<b>[o]möp-ay-u</b>	母波由	think-PASS-FIN	20:4357.5	omöp-ay-u	+
13	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4347.2	pa	+
14	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4349.2	pa	+
15	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4350.4	pa	+
16	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4353.1	pa	+
17	<b>pa</b>	波	TPT	20:4354.4	pa	+
18	<b>pak-eyr-u</b>	波氣流	wear-PROG-ATTR	20:4347.3	pak-yer-u	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pyi</b>	<u>比</u>	day	20:4353.2	pyi	+
2	{ <i>pyi-ni</i> } <b>pyi-ni</b>	{比尔} <u>々々</u>	day-LOC	20:4353.2	pyi-ni	+
3	<b>ap-yi</b>	阿 <u>比</u>	meet-INF	20:4354.3	ap-yi	+
4	<b>pyitö</b>	<u>比</u> 等	person	20:4353.5	pyitö	+
5	<b>ip-yi</b>	伊 <u>比</u>	say-INF	20:4358.5	ip-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.1.3 *piy* syllables

The *piy* phonogram attested is 非.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem .Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tapiy</b>	多 <u>非</u>	journey	20:4348.4	taNpyi	-
2	<b>kwopiy</b>	古 <u>非</u>	long_for.INF	20:4347.2	kwopiy	+
3	<b>ipap-iy</b>	伊波 <u>非</u>	pray-INF	20:4347.5	ipap-yi	-

The variances involving the vowel in both (1) and (3) may suggest a merger of \*i > /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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>puk-ey</b>	<u>布</u> 氣	blow-EV	20:4353.2	puk-ey	+
2	<b>pune</b>	<u>不</u> 祢	boat	20:4359.2	pune	+
3	<b>kwopu-</b>	故 <u>布</u>	long_for-	14:3382.5	kwopiy-	-

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 敝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-pye</b>	<u>敝</u>	-ALL	20:4359.4	pye	+

2	<b>pye</b>	敝	prow	20:4359.2	pye	+
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There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.1.6 *pey* syllables

The *pey* phonograms attested are 倍 and 閑.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pey</b>	倍	area	20:4352.1	pye	-
2	<b>pey</b>	閑	area	20:4359.1	pye	-
3	<b>-pey</b>	倍 <sup>207</sup>	-CL	20:4351.2	-pye	-
4	<b>ipey</b>	伊閑	home	20:4347.1	ipye	-
5	<b>ipey</b>	伊倍	home	20:4353.1	ipye	-
6	<b>ipey</b>	伊倍	home	20:4353.4	ipye	-
7	<b>kapeyr-i</b>	加倍理	return-INF	20:4350.5	kapyer-i	-
8	<b>pey</b>	閑	prow	20:4359.5	pye	-

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.

### 2.5.11.1.7 *po* syllables

The *po* phonogram attested is 保.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>töpo-</b>	登保	be.far-	14:3383.4	töpo-	+
2	<b>pap-o</b>	波保	crawl-ATTR	20:4352.3	pap-u	+
3	<b>por-i</b>	保里	desire-INF	14:3383.5	por-i	+
4	<b>opo</b>	於保	great	20:4358.1	opo	+

<sup>207</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 部 *Npu*, which looks like a mistake.

5	[i]po	保	hut	20:4348.4	ipo	+
6	sipopo	志保々	soaked	20:4357.4	–	??
7	napo	奈保	still	20:4351.4	napo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.1.8 *Npa* syllables

The *Npa* phonogram attested is 婆.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Npa	婆	-COND	14:3382.5	-Npa	+
2	-Npa	婆	-COND	20:4351.5	-Npa	+
3	-Npa	婆	-COND	20:4358.3	-Npa	+
4	-n-aNpa	奈婆	-PERF-COND	14:3382.4	-n-aNpa	+
5	-k-aNpa	可婆	-AVATTR-COND	14:3383.4	-kyeNpa	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.1.9 *Npyi* syllables

The *Npyi* phonogram attested is 妣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	taNpyi	多妣 <sup>208</sup>	journey	20:4351.1	taNpyi	+

There are no variances in this example.

<sup>208</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*.



### 2.5.11.1.10 *ma* syllables

The *ma* phonogram attested is 麻.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	麻多	again	20:4349.3	mata	+
2	<b>mamey</b>	麻米	bean	20:4352.3	mamey	+
3	<b>kuma</b>	久麻	bend_in_a_road	20:4349.1	kuma	+
4	<b>umara</b>	宇万良	briar	20:4352.2	UNpara <sup>209</sup>	-
5	<b>kuma</b>	久麻	corner	20:4357.2	kuma	+
6	<b>-matur-i</b>	麻都里	-HUM-INF	20:4359.4	-matur-i	+
7	<b>ma-</b>	麻	INT-	20:4348.3	ma-	+
8	<b>sima</b>	志麻	island	20:4349.4	sima	+
9	<b>sima</b>	志麻	island	20:4355.5	sima	+
10	<b>umaNkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3382.1	-	?
11	<b>umaNkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3383.1	-	?
12	<b>-maNte</b>	麻泥	-TERM	20:4350.5	-maNte	+
13	<b>karam-ar-u</b>	可良麻流	wrap_around-PROG-ATTR	20:4352.4	karam-er-u	-

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.’

### 2.5.11.1.11 *myi* syllables

The *myi* phonogram attested is 美.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-myi</b>	美	-AVGER	20:4358.2	-myi	+

<sup>209</sup> 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.

2	<b>myikötö</b>	美許等	command	20:4358.2	myikötö	+
3	<b>kamiy</b>	可美	deity	20:4350.2	kamiy	-
4	<b>kyimyi</b>	伎美	lord	20:4352.4	kyimyi	+
5	<b>kyimyi</b>	伎美	lord	20:4358.1	kyimyi	+
6	<b>myiti</b>	美知	road	20:4349.2	myiti	+
7	<b>myiti</b>	美知	road	20:4352.1	myiti	+
8	<b>nömyi</b>	能美	RPT	20:4355.1	nömyi	-
9	<b>myi</b>	美	see.INF	20:4354.3	myi	+
10	<b>myi</b>	美	see.INF	20:4355.2	myi	+
11	<b>myi</b>	美	see.INF	20:4355.4	myi	+

The variances in (2) and (5) both offer further evidence for the merger of \*i > /i/

presented in section 2.5.11.1.3.

#### 2.5.11.1.12 *mu* syllables

The *mu* phonogram attested is 牟.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>samu-</b>	佐牟	be.cold-	20:4351.4	samu-	+
2	<b>muk-ar-u</b>	牟加流	face-PROG-ATTR	20:4359.2	muk- <i>yer</i> -u	+
3	<b>muk-am-wo</b>	牟可毛	face-TENT-ATTR	20:4359.5	muk-am-u	+
4	<b>yuk-am-u</b>	由可牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4349.5	yuk-am-u	+
5	<b>yuk-am-u</b>	由可牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4352.5	yuk-am-u	+
6	<b>ipap-am-u</b>	伊波々牟	pray-TENT-FIN	20:4350.4	ipap-am-u	+
7	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-ATTR	20:4348.5	-m-u	+
8	<b>-m-u</b>	牟	-TENT-FIN	14:3383.5	-m-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.1.13 *mey* syllables

The *mey* phonogram attested is 米.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	mamey	麻米	bean	20:4352.3	mamey	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.1.14 *mwo* syllables

The *mwo* phonogram attested is 毛.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kumwo	久毛	cloud	20:4355.4	kumwo	+
2	watar-am-wo	和多良毛	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4355.2	watar-am-u	-
3	kömwo	許毛	duck	20:4354.1	kamö	-
4	mwo	毛	EPT	20:4358.5	mö	-
5	kamwo	可毛	EPT	20:4356.5	kamö	-
6	kamwo	加毛	EPT	20:4359.3	kamö	-
7	muk-am-wo	牟可毛	face-TENT-ATTR	20:4359.5	muk-am-u	-
8	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3383.3	mö	-
9	mwomö	毛母	hundred	20:4349.1	mwomwo	+
10	-Nk[a]-yimwo	藝毛	-POSS-beloved_girl	20:4357.3	-Nk[a]-yimwo	+

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]\_.

### 2.5.11.1.15 *mö* syllables

The *mö* phonogram attested is 母.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imö</b>	伊 <u>母</u>	beloved_girl	20:4351.5	imwo	-
2	<b>imö</b>	伊 <u>母</u>	beloved_girl	20:4354.4	imwo	-
3	<b>-tömö</b>	等 <u>母</u>	-CONC	20:4351.3	-Ntömö	+
4	<b>kamö</b>	加 <u>母</u>	EPT	20:4347.5	kamö	+
5	<b>kamö</b>	加 <u>母</u>	EPT	20:4348.5	kamö	+
6	<b>kamö</b>	可 <u>母</u>	EPT	20:4354.5	kamö	+
7	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4347.4	mö	+
8	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u>	FPT	20:4353.5	mö	+
9	<b>mö</b>	<u>母</u> <sup>210</sup>	FPT	20:4357.4	mö	+
10	<b>simö</b>	思 <u>母</u>	frost	14:3382.3	simo	? <sup>211</sup>
11	<b>körömö</b>	己呂 <u>母</u>	garment	20:4351.1	körömö	+
12	<b>möNt-i</b>	<u>母</u> 遲	hold-INF	20:4353.3	möt-i	+
13	<b>möt-i</b>	<u>母</u> 知	hold-INF	20:4356.2	möt-i	+
14	<b>mwomö</b>	毛 <u>母</u>	hundred	20:4349.1	mwomwo	-
15	<b>sömö</b>	曾 <u>母</u> <sup>212</sup>	NPT?	14:3382.5	-	?
16	<b>-k[a]-yimö</b>	伎 <u>母</u>	-POSS-beloved_girl	20:4353.3	-Nk[a]-yimwo	-
17	<b>[o]möp-ay-u</b>	<u>母</u> 波由	think-PASS-FIN	20:4357.5	omöp-ay-u	+

The four variances above further support the merger of \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_.

### 2.5.11.1.16 *wa* syllables

The *wa* phonogram attested is 和.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	14:3382.4	wa	+
2	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4356.1	wa	+
3	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4356.3	wa	+
4	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4357.3	wa	+

<sup>210</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 毛 *mwo*, which is variant.

<sup>211</sup> The original WOJ form was probably *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.

<sup>212</sup> This is the character in GK, RK, and KB. Only NHB has 毛 *mwo* (Mizushima 1996: 100).

5	<b>wa</b>	<u>和</u>	1.S	20:4353.3	wa	+
6	<b>wanwo</b>	<u>和努</u>	1.S	20:4358.4	ware	+
7	<b>ware</b>	<u>和例</u>	1.S	20:4348.3	ware	+
8	<b>wakare</b>	<u>和加例</u>	be.separated. INF	20:4348.2	wakare	+
9	<b>wakare</b>	<u>和加例</u>	be.separated. INF	20:4349.5	wakare	+
10	<b>watar-am- wo</b>	<u>和多良毛</u>	cross-TENT- ATTR	20:4355.2	watar-am- u	+
11	<b>wasure</b>	<u>和須礼</u>	forget.INF	20:4354.5	wasure	+
12	<b>wasur-aye</b>	<u>和須良延</u>	forget-PASS	20:4356.5	wasur-aye	+
13	<b>sawak-yi</b>	佐 <u>和</u> 伎	make_noise- NML	20:4354.2	sawak-yi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.1.17 *wi* syllables

The *wi* phonogram attested is 為.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wi</b>	<u>為</u>	sit.NML	14:3383.2	wi	+
2	<b>wi</b>	<u>為</u>	sit.NML	20:4355.4	wi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.1.18 *wo* syllables

The *wo* phonogram attested is 乎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4348.2	-wo	+
2	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4349.2	-wo	+
3	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4352.4	-wo	+
4	<b>-wo</b>	<u>乎</u>	-ACC	20:4356.4	-wo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.1.19 Summary of labial-initial syllables

Evidence for the following possible sound changes was found:

- a) \*ə > o / C[+labial]\_
- b) \*i > i
- c) \*əy > 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

The coronal initial phonographic syllables attested are *ta, ti, tu, te, two, tö, Nta, Nti, Nte, sa, si, su, se, swo, sö, Nsu, Nse, na, ni, nu, ne, nwo, nö, ra, ri, ru, re, and rö*.

There are no phonographically attested *Ntu, Ntwo, Ntö, Nsa, Nsi, Nswo, Nsö* or *rwo* syllables.

#### 2.5.11.2.1 *ta* syllables

The *ta* phonogram attested is 多.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>mata</b>	麻多	again	20:4349.3	mata	+
2	<b>watar-am-wo</b>	和多良毛	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4355.2	watar-am-u	+
3	<b>tat-i</b>	多知	depart-NML	20:4354.2	tat-i	+
4	<b>-N-kata</b>	我多	-GEN-lagoon	20:4355.3	-N-kata	+
5	<b>tapiy</b>	多非	journey	20:4348.4	taNpyi	+
6	<b>taNpyi</b>	多妣	journey	20:4351.1	taNpyi	+
7	<b>tati</b>	多知	long.sword	20:4347.4	tati	+
8	<b>taratine</b>	多良知祢	MK [UNC]	20:4348.1	taratine	+
9	<b>umaNkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3382.1	–	?
10	<b>umaNkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3383.1	–	?
11	<b>tat-i</b>	多知許毛	rise-INF	20:4354.1	tat-i	+
12	<b>tat-i</b>	多知	stand-INF	20:4357.2	tat-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.2.2 *ti* syllables

The *ti* phonogram attested is 知.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tat-i</b>	多知	depart-NML	20:4354.2	tat-i	+

2	möt-i	母 <u>知</u>	hold-INF	20:4356.2	möt-i	+
3	tati	多 <u>知</u>	long.sword	20:4347.4	tati	+
4	taratine	多良 <u>知</u> 祢	MK [UNC]	20:4348.1	taratine	+
5	myiti	美 <u>知</u>	path	20:4349.2	myiti	+
6	myiti	美 <u>知</u>	path	20:4352.1	myiti	+
7	tat-i	多 <u>知</u>	rise-INF	20:4354.1	tat-i	+
8	tat-i	多 <u>知</u>	stand-INF	20:4357.2	tat-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.3 *tu* syllables

The *tu* phonogram attested is 都.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	tuk-yi	都 <u>伎</u>	attach-INF	20:4358.4	tuk-yi	+
2	-tutu	都 <u>々</u>	-COOR	20:4347.2	-tutu	+
3	tuyu	都 <u>由</u>	dew	14:3382.3	tuyu	+
4	-matur-i	麻 <u>都</u> 里	-HUM-INF	20:4359.4	-matur-i	+
5	tukusi	都 <u>久</u> 之	PN	20:4359.1	tukusi	+
6	tukapye	都 <u>加</u> 敝	serve.INF	20:4359.4	tukapey	+
7	itu	伊 <u>都</u>	when	20:4359.3	itu	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.4 *te* syllables

The *te* phonograms attested are 𠂇, 天, and 氏.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	nate	奈 <u>𠂇</u>	caress.INF	20:4356.2	naNte	-
2	ite	伊 <u>𠂇</u>	go_out.INF	20:4358.3	iNte	-
3	swote	蘇 <u>天</u>	sleeve	20:4356.2	swoNte	-
4	swote	蘇 <u>𠂇</u>	sleeve	20:4357.4	swoNte	-
5	-te	<u>𠂇</u>	-SUB	14:3382.4	-te	+



6	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4347.1	-te	+
7	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4347.4	-te	+
8	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4347.5	-te	+
9	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4348.2	-te	+
10	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4349.4	-te	+
11	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4351.2	-te	+
12	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4353.4	-te	+
13	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4354.3	-te	+
14	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4355.2	-te	+
15	-te	<u>氏</u>	-SUB	20:4356.2	-te	+
16	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4357.2	-te	+
17	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4358.4	-te	+
18	-te	<u>弓</u>	-SUB	20:4359.4	-te	+

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 \*<sup>n</sup>d > d.

### 2.5.11.2.5 two syllables

The *two* phonogram attested is 刀.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>two</b>	<u>刀</u>	place	20:4357.2	two	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.2.6 tö syllables

The *tö* phonograms attested are 登 and 等.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>töpo-</b>	<u>登</u> 保	be.far-	14:3383.4	töpo-	+
2	<b>myikötö</b>	美 <u>許</u> 等	command	20:4358.2	myikötö	+
3	<b>-tömö</b>	等 <u>母</u>	-CONC	20:4351.3	-Ntömö	-

4	-tö	等	-CONC	20:4353.2	-Ntö	-
5	-N-kötö	其登	-GEN-word	20:4353.4	-N-kötö	+
6	pyitö	比等	person	20:4353.5	pyitö	+
7	tör-i	等里	take-INF	20:4358.4	tör-i	+
8	kötö	許等	word	20:4348.3	kötö	+

Both variances seen above in (3) and (4) may be supporting evidence for the shift \*<sup>n</sup>d > d.

### 2.5.11.2.7 Nta syllables

The *Nta* phonogram attested is 太.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	Ntani	太尔	RPT	14:3383.3	Ntani	+
2	paNta	波太	skin	20:4351.4	paNta	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.8 Nti syllables

The *Nti* phonogram attested is 遲.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	möNt-i	母遲	hold-INF	20:4353.4	möt-i	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-maNte	麻泥 <sup>213</sup>	-TERM	20:4350.5	-maNte	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.2.10 *sa* syllables

The *sa* phonograms attested are 左 and 佐.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>sasa</b>	佐左	bamboo_grass	14:3382.2	sasa	++
2	<b>samu-</b>	佐牟	be.cold-	20:4351.4	samu-	+
3	<b>sawak-yi</b>	佐和伎	make_noise-INF	20:4354.2	sawak-yi	+
4	<b>sara</b>	佐良	more	20:4349.3	sara	+
5	<b>kasane</b>	可佐衲	pile_up.INF	20:4351.2	kasane	+
6	<b>sas-i</b>	佐之	thrust-INF	20:4350.3	sas-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.11 *si* syllables

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

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-si</b>	之	-AVFIN	20:4351.4	-si	+
2	<b>-si</b>	之	-AVFIN	20:4353.5	-si	+
3	<b>kasikwo-</b>	加志古	be.awesome-	20:4358.2	kasikwo-	+
4	<b>sipa</b>	志波	bush	20:4350.3	siNpa	+
5	<b>s-i</b>	之	do-INF	20:4347.1	s-i	+
6	<b>si</b>	之	EPT	20:4347.5	si	+
7	<b>si</b>	志	EPT	20:4351.5	si	+

<sup>213</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 沈.

8	si	之	EPT	20:4354.3	si	+
9	si	之	EPT	20:4359.3	si	+
10	simö	思母	frost	14:3382.3	simo	+
11	sima	志麻	island	20:4349.4	sima	+
12	sima	志麻	island	20:4355.5	sima	+
13	tukusi	都久之	PN	20:4359.1	tukusi	+
14	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4349.2	-si	+
15	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4356.4	-si	+
16	-si	志	-PST.ATTR	20:4357.5	-si	+
17	-si	之	-PST.ATTR	20:4358.5	-si	+
18	asi	阿之	reed	20:4357.1	asi	+
19	sipopo	志保々	soaked	20:4357.4	–	?
20	sas-i	佐之	thrust-INF	20:4350.3	sas-i	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.2.12 *su* syllables

The *su* phonogram attested is 須.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yasu-	夜須	be.easy-	20:4348.5	yasu-	+
2	wasure	和須礼	forget.INF	20:4354.5	wasure	+
3	wasur-aye	和須良延	forget-PASS	20:4356.5	wasur-aye	+
4	suNkiy	須義	pass.INF	20:4349.4	suNkiy	+
5	asupa	阿須波	PN	20:4350.2	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.2.13 *se* syllables

The *se* phonograms attested are 勢 and 世.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	se-	勢	do-	14:3383.5	se-	+

2	se-	世	do-	20:4354.5	se-	+
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There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.2.14 *swo* syllables

The *swo* phonogram attested is 蘇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	swote	蘇天	sleeve	20:4356.2	swoNte	+
2	swote	蘇弓	sleeve	20:4357.4	swoNte	+
3	-swo	蘇	-ten	20:4349.4	-swo	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.2.15 *sö* syllables

The *sö* phonogram attested is 曾.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	sö	曾	FPT	20:4357.5	sö	+
2	sömö	曾母	NPT [UNC]	14:3382.5	–	?
3	yösö <sup>214</sup>	余曾	other_place	20:4355.1	yösö	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.2.16 *Nsu* syllables

The *Nsu* phonogram attested is 受.

<sup>214</sup> Ikier (2006: 168) suggests this is *yö-sö* ‘other-place,’ but there is little evidence for segmenting either of those proposed morphemes.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	ar-aNs-u	安良受	exist-NEG-FIN	20:4347.2	ar-aNs-u	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.2.17 *Nse* syllables

The *Nse* phonogram attested is 是.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kaNse	加是	wind	20:4353.1	kaNse	+

There are no variances in this example.

### 2.5.11.2.18 *na* syllables

The *na* phonogram attested is 奈.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>na</b>	奈	2.S	14:3383.5	na	+
2	<b>na</b>	奈	2.S	20:4347.3	na	+
3	<b>nar-i</b>	奈里	become-INF	20:4347.4	nar-i	+
4	<b>nak-yi</b>	奈伎	cry-INF	20:4356.4	nak-yi	+
5	<b>nak-yi</b>	奈伎	cry-INF	20:4357.5	nak-yi	+
6	<b>-na</b>	奈	-DIM	20:4358.5	—	?
7	<b>nar-an-aku</b>	奈良奈久	exist-NEG-NML	20:4355.5	nar-an-aku	++
8	<b>naka</b>	奈加	middle	20:4350.1	naka	+
9	<b>na-</b>	奈	not.exist-	20:4353.5	na-	+
10	<b>-n-aNpa</b>	奈婆	-PERF-COND	14:3382.4	-n-aNpa	+
11	<b>nanipa</b>	奈尔波	PN	20:4355.3	nanipa	+
12	<b>nate</b>	奈弓	caress-INF	20:4356.2	naNte	+
13	<b>napo</b>	奈保	still	20:4351.4	napo	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.19 *ni* syllables

The *ni* phonogram attested is 尔.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	karani	可良 <u>尔</u>	because_of	20:4356.3	karani	+
2	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4347.4	n-i	+
3	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4349.3	n-i	+
4	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4355.5	n-i	+
5	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4357.4	n-i	+
6	<b>n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	COP-INF	20:4351.5	n-i	+
7	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-DAT	20:4350.2	-ni	+
8	nipa	<u>尔</u> 波	garden	20:4350.1	nipa	+
9	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	14:3383.2	-ni	+
10	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4347.1	-ni	+
11	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4348.4	-ni	+
12	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4350.5	-ni	+
13	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4352.2	-ni	+
14	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4353.2	-ni	+
14	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4354.2	-ni	+
15	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4355.1	-ni	+
16	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4355.4	-ni	+
17	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4357.2	-ni	+
18	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4359.1	-ni	+
19	<b>-ni</b>	<u>尔</u>	-LOC	20:4359.5	-ni	+
20	{ni pyi}- <b>ni</b>	{尔々}々	-LOC	20:4353.2	-ni	+
21	<b>-n-i</b>	<u>尔</u>	-PERF-INF	20:4349.2	-n-i	+
22	nanipa	奈 <u>尔</u> 波	PN	20:4355.3	nanipa	+
23	kuni	久 <u>尔</u>	province	14:3383.4	kuni	+
24	kuni	久 <u>尔</u>	province	20:4359.5	kuni	+
25	Ntani	太 <u>尔</u>	RPT	14:3383.3	Ntani	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.20 *nu* syllables

The *nu* phonogram attested is 奴.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nure</b>	奴礼	be.wet.INF	14:3382.4	nure	+
2	<b>-n-u</b>	奴	-NEG-ATTR	20:4354.5	-n-u	+
3	<b>-n-u</b>	奴 <sup>215</sup>	-NEG-ATTR	20:4356.5	-n-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.21 *ne* syllables

The *ne* phonogram attested is 衿.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pune</b>	不衿	boat	20:4359.2	pune	+
2	<b>ar-an-e</b>	阿良衿	exist-NEG-EV	20:4351.5	ar-an-e	+
3	<b>taratine</b>	多良知衿	MK [UNC]	20:4348.1	taratine	+
4	<b>ne</b>	衿	peak	14:3382.2	ne	+
5	<b>ne</b>	衿	peak	14:3383.2	ne	+
6	<b>kasane</b>	可佐衿	pile_up.INF	20:4351.2	kasane	+
7	<b>ne-</b>	衿	sleep-	20:4348.5	ne-	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.22 *nwo* syllables

The *nwo* phonogram attested is 努.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>n-wore</b>	努礼	sleep-EV	20:4351.3	n-ure	-

<sup>215</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 努 *nwo*, which is variant.



2	wanwo	和努	1.S	20:4358.4	–	?
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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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-nö	乃	-COMP	20:4352.3	-nö	+
2	-nö	乃	-COMP	20:4354.1	-nö	+
3	-nö	乃	-COMP/GEN <sup>216</sup>	20:4359.2	-nö	+
4	-nö	能	-GEN	14:3382.1	-nö	+
5	-nö	乃	-GEN	14:3382.2	-nö	+
6	-nö	能	-GEN	14:3382.2	-nö	+
7	-nö	能	-GEN	14:3382.3	-nö	+
8	-nö	能	-GEN	14:3383.1	-nö	+
9	-nö	乃	-GEN	14:3383.4	-nö	+
10	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4348.1	-nö	+
11	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4348.4	-nö	+
12	-nö	能	-GEN	20:4349.1	-nö	+
13	-nö	能	-GEN	20:4350.1	-nö	+
14	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4350.2	-nö	+
15	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4352.1[1]	-nö	+
16	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4352.1[2]	-nö	+
17	-nö	能	-GEN	20:4352.2	-nö	+
18	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4354.2	-nö	+
19	-nö	能	-GEN	20:4356.1	-nö	+
20	-nö	能	-GEN	20:4357.1	-nö	+
21	-nö	乃	-GEN	20:4358.1	-nö	+
22	nömyi	能美	RPT	20:4355.1	nömiy	+

There are no variances in these data.

<sup>216</sup> This can be interpreted as either morpheme.

### 2.5.11.2.24 *ra* syllables

The *ra* phonogram attested is 良.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	karani	可良尔	because_of	20:4356.3	karani	+
2	umara	宇万良	briar	20:4352.2	UNpara <sup>217</sup>	+
3	nar-an-aku	奈良奈久	COP-NEG-NML	20:4355.5	nar-an-aku	+
4	watar-am-wo	和多良毛	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4355.2	watar-am-u	+
5	ar-an-e	阿良祢	exist-NEG-EV	20:4351.5	ar-an-e	+
6	ar-aNs-u	安良受	exist-NEG-FIN	20:4347.2	ar-aNs-u	+
7	wasur-aye	和須良延	forget-PASS	20:4356.5	wasur-aye	+
8	taratine	多良知祢	MK [UNC]	20:4348.1	taratine	+
9	sara	佐良	more	20:4349.3	sara	+
10	karam-ar-u	可良麻流	wrap_around-PROG-ATTR	20:4352.4	karam-ar-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.25 *ri* syllables

The *ri* phonograms attested are 里 and 理.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	nar-i	奈里	become-INF	20:4347.4	nar-i	+
2	kar-i-[i]po	加里保	borrow-NML-hut	20:4348.4	kar-i-[i]po	+
3	por-i	保里	desire-INF	14:3383.5	por-i	+
4	kakur-i	可久里	hide-INF	14:3383.2	kakur-i	+
5	-matur-i	麻都里	-HUM-INF	20:4359.4	-matur-i	+
6	kapeyr-i	加倍理	return-INF	20:4350.5	kapyer-i	+

<sup>217</sup> 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.

7	tör-i	等 <u>里</u>	take-INF	20:4358.4	tör-i	+
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There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.26 *ru* syllables

The *ru* phonogram attested is 流.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	k- <b>uru</b>	久 <u>流</u>	come-ATTR	20:4353.5	k-uru	+
2	myi-y- <b>uru</b>	美由 <u>流</u>	see-PASS-ATTR	20:4355.4	myi-y-uru	+
3	muk-ar- <b>u</b>	牟加 <u>流</u>	face-PROG-ATTR	20:4359.2	muk-yer-u	+
4	pak-eyr- <b>u</b>	波氣 <u>流</u>	wear-PROG-ATTR	20:4347.3	pak-yer-u	+
5	karam-ar- <b>u</b>	可良麻 <u>流</u>	wrap_around-PROG-ATTR	20:4352.4	karam-er-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.27 *re* syllables

The *re* phonograms attested are 礼 and 例.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ware</b>	和 <u>例</u>	1.S	20:4348.3	ware	+
2	<b>are</b>	阿 <u>例</u>	1.S	20:4350.4	are	+
3	wakare	和加 <u>例</u>	be.separated. INF	20:4348.2	wakare	+
4	wakare	和加 <u>例</u>	be.separated. INF	20:4349.5	wakare	+
5	pakare	波可 <u>礼</u>	be.separated. NML	20:4352.5	wakare	+
6	nure-	奴 <u>礼</u>	be.wet-	14:3382.4	nure-	+
7	k- <b>ure</b>	久 <u>礼</u>	come-EV	20:4358.3	k-ure	+

8	wasure	和須 <sub>礼</sub>	forget.INF	20:4354.5	wasure	+
9	n-wore	努 <sub>礼</sub>	sleep-EV	20:4351.3	n-ure	+
10	ure	宇 <sub>礼</sub>	tip	20:4352.2	ure	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.2.28 rö syllables

The *rö* phonogram attested is 呂.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3382.2	-rö	+
2	-rö	呂	-DIM	14:3383.2	-rö	+
3	körömö	己呂母	garment	20:4351.1	körömö	+
4	kökörö	己己呂	heart	20:4354.4	kökörö	+
5	kökörö	許己呂	heart	20:4356.4	kökörö	+

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) \*<sup>n</sup>d > d

As the evidence is substantial and occurs in both *t*- and *Nt*- 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 *yö*. There are no phonographically attested *ywo* syllables.

### 2.5.11.3.1 *ya* syllables

The *ya* phonogram attested is 夜.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yasu-</b>	夜須	be.easy-	20:4348.5	yasu-	+
2	<b>ya</b>	夜	eight	20:4349.5	ya	+
3	<b>ya</b>	夜	eight	20:4351.2	ya	+
4	<b>ya</b>	夜	QPT	20:4355.2	ya	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.3.2 *yu* syllables

The *yu* phonogram attested is 由.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tuyu</b>	都由	dew	14:3382.3	tuyu	+
2	<b>yuk-am-u</b>	由可牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4349.5	yuk-am-u	+
3	<b>yuk-am-u</b>	由可牟	go-TENT-ATTR	20:4352.5	yuk-am-u	+
4	<b>myi-y-uru</b>	美由流	see-PASS-ATTR	20:4355.4	myi-y-uru	+
5	[o]möp- ay-u	母波由	think-PASS-FIN	20:4357.5	[o]möp- ay-u	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.3.3 *ye* syllables

The *ye* phonogram attested is 延.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>wasur-aye</b>	和須良延	forget-PASS	20:4356.5	wasur-aye	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.11.3.4 yō syllables

The yō phonogram attested is 余.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yösō	余曾	other_place	20:4355.1	yösō	+

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 *Nkō*. 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-k-aNpa	可婆	-AVATTR- COND	14:3383.4	-kyeNpa	-
2	kasikwo-	加志古	be.awesome-	20:4358.2	kasikwo-	+
3	wakare	和加例	be.separated.	20:4348.2	wakare	+

			INF			
4	wakare	和 <u>加</u> 例	be.separated. INF	20:4349.5	wakare	+
5	pakare	波 <u>可</u> 礼	be.separated. INF	20:4352.5	wakare	+
6	ka-	<u>可</u>	be.thus-	14:3383.3	ka-	+
7	karani	<u>可</u> 良尔	because_of	20:4356.3	karani	+
8	kar-i-[i]po	<u>加</u> 里保	borrow-NML- hut	20:4348.4	kar-i-[i]po	+
9	kamyi	<u>可</u> 美	deity	20:4350.2	kamiy	+
10	kamö	<u>加</u> 母	EPT	20:4347.5	kamö	+
11	kamö	<u>加</u> 母	EPT	20:4348.5	kamö	+
12	kamö	<u>可</u> 母	EPT	20:4354.5	kamö	+
13	kamwo	<u>可</u> 毛	EPT	20:4356.5	kamö	+
14	kamwo	<u>加</u> 毛	EPT	20:4359.3	kamö	+
15	kamwo	<u>可</u> 毛	EPT	20:4359.5	kamö	+
16	muk-ar-u	牟 <u>加</u> 流	face-PROG- ATTR	20:4359.2	muk- <i>yer</i> -u	+
17	kakyi	<u>可</u> 伎	fence	20:4357.1	kakyi	+
18	yuk-am-u	由 <u>可</u> 牟	go-TENT- ATTR	20:4349.5	yukamu	+
19	yuk-am-u	由 <u>加</u> 牟	go-TENT- ATTR	20:4352.5	yuk-am-u	+
20	kakur-i	<u>可</u> 久里	hide-INF	14:3383.2	kakur-i	+
21	naka	奈 <u>加</u>	middle	20:4350.1	naka	+
22	kasane	<u>可</u> 佐祢	pile_up.INF	20:4351.2	kasane	+
23	-ka	<u>加</u>	-POSS	20:4354.4	-Nka	-
24	ka	<u>加</u>	QPT	20:4349.5	ka	+
25	ka	<u>加</u>	QPT	20:4352.5	ka	+
26	kapeyr-i	<u>加</u> 倍理	return-INF	20:4350.5	kapyer-i	+
27	tukapye	都 <u>加</u> 敞	serve.INF	20:4359.4	tukapey	+
28	kaNse	<u>加</u> 是	wind	20:4353.1	kaNse	+
29	karam-ar-u	<u>可</u> 良麻流	wrap_around- PROG-ATTR	20:4352.4	karam- <i>yer</i> -u	+

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 [ka<sup>m</sup>ba], while WOJ fusionally reduced the sequence for the output [ke<sup>m</sup>ba].

#### 2.5.11.4.2 *kyi* syllables

The *kyi* phonogram attested is 伎.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>tuk-yi</b>	都伎	attach-INF	20:4358.4	tuk-yi	+
2	<b>k-yi</b>	伎	come-INF	14:3382.4	k-yi	+
3	<b>nak-yi</b>	奈伎	cry-INF	20:4356.4	nak-yi	+
4	<b>nak-yi</b>	奈伎	cry-INF	20:4357.5	nak-yi	+
5	<b>kakyi</b>	可伎	fence	20:4357.1	kakyi	+
6	<b>kyimyi</b>	伎美	lord	20:4352.4	kyimyi	+
7	<b>kyimyi</b>	伎美	lord	20:4358.1	kyimyi	+
8	<b>sawak-yi</b>	佐和伎	make_noise-NML	20:4354.2	sawak-yi	+
9	<b>-k[a]-yimwo</b>	伎母	-POSS-beloved_girl	20:4353.3	-Nk[a]-yimwo	-
10	<b>kyi</b>	伎	wear-INF	20:4351.2	kyi	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>k-iy</b>	紀	come-INF	20:4349.2	k-yi	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	14:3383.3	-ku	+
2	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	20:4348.5	-ku	+
3	<b>-ku</b>	久	-AVINF	20:4355.5	-ku	+
4	<b>kuma</b>	久麻	bend_in_a_road	20:4349.1	kuma	+
5	<b>kumwo</b>	久毛	cloud	20:4355.4	kumwo	+
6	<b>k-u</b> <sup>218</sup>	久	come-ATTR	20:4350.5	k-uru	+
7	<b>k-uru</b>	久流	come-ATTR	20:4353.5	k-uru	+
8	<b>k-ure</b>	久礼	come-EV	20:4358.3	k-ure	+
9	<b>kakur-i</b>	可久里	hide-INF	14:3383.2	kakur-i	+
10	<b>kumatwo</b>	久麻刀	PN	20:4357.2	–	?
11	<b>tukusi</b>	都久之	PN	20:4359.1	tukusi	+
12	<b>kuni</b>	久尔	province	14:3383.4	kuni	+
13	<b>kuni</b>	久尔	province	20:4359.5	kuni	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.4.5 *key* syllables

The *key* phonogram attested is 氣.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pak-eyr-u</b>	波氣流	wear-PROG-ATTR	20:4347.3	pak-yer-u	-
2	<b>puk-ey</b>	布氣	blow-EV	20:4353.2	puk-ey	+

The variance in (1) may suggest a merger of \*əy > e in this province.

<sup>218</sup> 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kasikwo-	加志 <u>古</u>	be.awesome-	20:4358.2	kasikwo-	+
2	<b>kwo-</b>	<u>古</u>	DIM-	20:4350.3	kwo-	+
3	<b>kwo</b>	<u>古</u>	girl	20:4353.3	kwo	+
4	<b>kwo</b>	<u>古</u>	girl	20:4357.3	kwo	+
5	<b>kwo</b>	<u>古</u>	girl	20:4358.5	kwo	+
6	kwopu-	<u>故</u> 布	long_for-	14:3382.5	kwopiy-	+
7	kwopiy	<u>古</u> 非	long_for.INF	20:4347.2	kwopiy	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.4.7 *kö* syllables

The *kö* phonograms attested are 許 and 己.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	myikötö	美 <u>許</u> 等	command	20:4358.2	myikötö	+
2	<b>kömwo</b>	<u>許</u> 毛	duck	20:4354.1	kamwo	-
3	<b>kökörö</b>	<u>己</u> <u>己</u> 呂	heart	20:4354.4	kökörö	++
4	<b>kökörö</b>	<u>許</u> <u>己</u> 呂	heart	20:4356.4	kökörö	++
5	<b>körömö</b>	<u>己</u> 呂母	garment	20:4351.1	körömö	+
6	<b>kötö</b>	<u>許</u> 等	word	20:4348.3	kötö	+

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-N-kata	<u>我</u> 多	-GEN-lagoon	20:4355.3	–	?
2	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	14:3383.5	-Nka	+
3	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4347.3	-Nka	+
4	-Nka	<u>賀</u>	-POSS	20:4353.3	-Nka	+
5	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4356.1	-Nka	+
6	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4356.3	-Nka	+
7	-Nka	<u>我</u>	-POSS	20:4357.3	-Nka	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.4.9 *Nkyi* syllables

The *Nkyi* phonogram attested is 藝.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	-Nk[a]-yimwo	<u>藝</u> 毛	-POSS-beloved_girl	20:4357.3	-Nk[a]-yimwo	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.11.4.10 *Nkiy* syllables

The *Nkiy* phonogram attested is 義.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	suNkiy	須 <u>義</u>	pass.INF	20:4349.4	suNkiy	+

There are no variances in this example.

#### 2.5.11.4.11 *Nku* syllables

The *Nku* phonogram attested is 具.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	uma <b>Nkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3382.1	–	?
2	uma <b>Nkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3383.1	–	?

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.4.12 *Nkö* syllables

The *Nkö* phonogram attested is 其.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	- <b>N-kötö</b>	其登	-GEN-word	20:4353.4	-N-kötö	+

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) \*<sup>ŋ</sup>g > g
- b) \*əy > e
- c) \*a > ə (sporadic, phonologically conditioned?)
- d) \*i > 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 2.5.11.1.3 and 2.5.11.1.11 (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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	are	阿例	1.S	20:4350.4	are	+
2	ar-an-e	阿良祢	exist-NEG-EV	20:4351.5	ar-an-e	+
3	ar-aNs-u	安良受	exist-NEG-FIN	20:4347.2	ar-aNs-u	+
4	ap-yi	阿比	meet-INF	20:4354.3	ap-yi	+
5	asupa	阿須波	PN	20:4350.2	–	?
6	asi	阿之	reed	20:4357.1	asi	+

There are no variances in these data.

#### 2.5.11.5.2 *i* syllables

The *i* phonogram attested is 伊.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4351.5	imwo	+
2	<b>imö</b>	伊母	beloved_girl	20:4354.4	imwo	+
3	<b>ite</b>	伊弓	go_out.INF	20:4358.3	iNte	+
4	<b>ipey</b>	伊閑	home	20:4347.1	ipye	+
5	<b>ipey</b>	伊倍	home	20:4353.1	ipye	+
6	<b>ipey</b>	伊倍	home	20:4353.4	ipye	+
7	<b>ipap-iy</b>	伊波非	pray-INF	20:4347.5	ipap-yi	+
8	<b>ipap-am-u</b>	伊波々牟	pray-TENT-FIN	20:4350.4	ipap-am-u	+
9	<b>ip-yi</b>	伊比	say-INF	20:4358.5	ip-yi	+
10	<b>i-</b>	伊	sleep-	20:4351.3	i-	+
11	<b>itu</b>	伊都	when	20:4359.3	itu	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.5.3 *u* syllables

The *u* phonogram attested is 宇.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>umara</b>	宇万良	briar	20:4352.2	–	? <sup>219</sup>
2	<b>umaNkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3382.1	–	?
3	<b>umaNkuta</b>	宇麻具多	PN	14:3383.1	–	?
4	<b>ure</b>	宇礼	tip	20:4352.2	ure	+

There are no variances in these data.

### 2.5.11.5.4 *o* syllables

The *o* phonogram attested is 於.

<sup>219</sup> Refer to section 2.5.11.1.10 for a discussion of the WOJ form.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	opo	於保	great	20:4358.1	opo	+

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**

Onset	Invariances	Variances	Unknown
p-	42	<b>2</b>	3
Np-	6	0	0
t-	46	<b>6</b>	2
Nt-	3	<b>1</b>	0
s-	37	0	3
Ns-	2	0	0
k-	68	0	2
Nk-	9	0	3
TOTALS	213	<b>9</b>	13

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-/Ns-* 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 2-38: Reconstructed consonant phonemes for Kamitupusa**

	Bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar
plosive	p <sup>m</sup> b	t d		k <sup>ŋ</sup> g
fricative		s [ʒ <sup>n</sup> ]		
nasal	m	n		
liquid		r		
glide	w		y	

### 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 2-39: Reconstructed vowel phonemes for Kamitupusa**

	Front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low			a



### 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) \*<sup>n</sup>d > 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 (\*<sup>n</sup>d > 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  $*^n g > g$ ,  $*^n d > d$ ,  $*^n z > z$ , or  $*^m b > b$ ) 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>-n-i</b>	尔	-PERF-IMP	14:3440a.5	-n-e	-
2	<b>si-</b>	思	do-	14:3556.5	se-	-

#### 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*.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>kuku</b>	久君	stem	14:3444.2	kukiy	-
2	<b>tuku</b>	都久	moon	14:3476.3	tukiy	-
3	<b>tuku</b>	都久	moon	14:3565.5	tukiy	-

### 2.5.12.1.3 \*t > s / \_i

The change \*t > s / \_i occurs just once in UD, shown below.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pyeNtas-i</b>	敞太思	partition-INF	14:3445.5	pyeNtat-i	-

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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	nuNkan- apye	奴我奈敝	flow- ITER.INF	14:3476b.4	naNkar-	-
2	nwoNkan- apye	努賀奈敝	flow- ITER.INF	14:3476a.4	naNkar-	-

### 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	kwop- <b>unam</b> -wo	故布奈毛	long_for- TENT2- ATTR	14:3476a.2	kwop- uram-u	-
2	kwopusi- k[u]-ar- <b>unam</b> -ö	故布思可流 奈母	be.longing_ for-AVIN- exist-TENT2- ATTR	14:3476a.5	kwopiysi- k[u]-ar- uram-u	-
3	omwop- <b>unam</b> -u	於毛布奈牟	think-TENT2- ATTR	14:3496.3	omöp- uram-u	-
4	yuk- <b>unam</b> - ö	由久奈母	go-TENT2- ATTR	14:3526.4	yuk-uram- u	-
5	omwop-os- <b>unam</b> -ö	於毛抱須奈 母	think-HON- TENT2- ATTR	14:3552.4	omöp-os- uram-u	-
6	mat- <b>unam</b> - wo	麻都那毛	wait-TENT2- ATTR	14:3563.4	mat-uram- u	-

### 2.5.12.1.8 \*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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pye</b>	𪗇	leaf	14:3456.2	pa	-

### 2.5.12.1.9 \*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/.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>ipa</b>	伊波	home	20:4427.1	ipye	-

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.

### 2.5.12.1.10 \*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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>iku</b>	伊久	breath	14:3458.5	ikyī	-
2	<b>nipu</b>	尔布	new	14:3460.3	nipyī	-

### 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>twor-e</b>	<u>刀</u> 礼	shine-EV	14:3561.3	ter-e	-

### 2.5.12.1.12 Metathesis

Metathesis is attested just once, in the example below.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yaNte</b>	夜 <u>提</u>	branch	14:3493a.5	yeNda	-

### 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 /nə/ : 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>nöt-an-ap-u</b>	乃多奈布	fill_up-NEG-ITER-FIN	14:3444.4	myit-an-ap-u	-

### 2.5.12.2.2 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>yusup-yi</b>	由湏比	tie-NML	20:4427.3	musuNp-yi	-

### 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 *myiNtaye-* ‘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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>myiNtaye-</b>	美太要	confuse-	14:3563.3	myiNtare-	-



#### 2.5.12.2.4 UD /mi/ : WOJ /pa/, /pəy/

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.’

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>namiy</b>	奈末	seedling	14:3460.3	napa, napey	-

There is one other possibility worth considering: there are clear cases in the MYS where the phonogram 末 *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 末 *miy* in this form.

#### 2.5.12.2.5 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.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	<b>pyiNsi</b>	比自	sandbank	14:3448.4	pyisi	-

#### 2.5.12.2.6 UD /ye/ : WOJ /o/

This correspondence occurs just once, shown below.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yepyi	叡比	sash	20:4428.4	oNpyi	-

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[N]*-. I was unable to find this contraction attested in WOJ.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	INV
1	yuN-tuka	由豆加	bow-grip	14:3486.2	yumyi-tuka	-
2	yu-	由	bow	14:3567.5	yumyi	-

## 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<sup>220</sup>

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

<sup>220</sup> 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:

<u><i>Kojiki</i></u> (circa 712)		<u><i>Man'yōshū</i></u> (circa 759)
毛 /mo/	→	*ə > o / C[+labial]_ → /mo/ 母、毛
母 /mə/		

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 *mö* 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 *mwo* and *mö* 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 *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. *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.

### **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 /<sup>m</sup>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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 2-40: Labial initial phonograms**

WOJ trans	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP
pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa	pa
pyi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi	pi
piy	pɿ	?	?	pi	pɿ	pɿ	pɿ	pi	pi	pɿ	pi
pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu	pu
pye	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe
pey	pəy	po	po	pe	pe	pəy	pe	pe	pe	pe	pe
po	po	po	po	po	po	po	po	po	po	po	po
Npa	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba	<sup>m</sup> ba
Npyi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi	<sup>m</sup> bi

Npu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu	<sup>m</sup> bu
ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma	ma
myi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
miy	mi	?	?	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu	mu
mye	me	me	me	me	me	me	me	me	me	me	me
mey	məy	mo	mo	me	me	məy	me	me	me	me	me
mwo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo
mö	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo	mo
wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa	wa
wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi	wi
we	we	we	we	we	we	we	we	we	we	we, wə	we
wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo	wo

**Table 2-41: Coronal initial phonograms**

WOJ trans	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP
ta	ta	ta	ta, da	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta, da	ta, da
ti	ti	ti	ti, di	ti	si	ti	ti	si	si	si, di	ti, di
tu	tu	tu	tu, du	tu	tu	tu	tu	tu	tu	tu, du	tu, du
te	te	te	te	te	te	te	te	te	te	te	te
two	to	to	to	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə
tö	tə	tə	te	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə	tə
Nta	<sup>n</sup> da	<sup>n</sup> da	da, ta	<sup>n</sup> da	<sup>n</sup> da	<sup>n</sup> da	<sup>n</sup> da	<sup>n</sup> da	<sup>n</sup> da	da, ta	da, ta
Nti	<sup>n</sup> di	<sup>n</sup> di	di, ti	<sup>n</sup> di	<sup>n</sup> di	<sup>n</sup> di	<sup>n</sup> di	<sup>n</sup> di	<sup>n</sup> di	di, ti	di, ti
Ntu	<sup>n</sup> du	<sup>n</sup> du	du, tu	<sup>n</sup> du	<sup>n</sup> du	<sup>n</sup> du	<sup>n</sup> du	<sup>n</sup> du	<sup>n</sup> du	du, tu	du, tu
Nte	<sup>n</sup> de	<sup>n</sup> de	de, te	<sup>n</sup> de	<sup>n</sup> de	<sup>n</sup> de	<sup>n</sup> de	<sup>n</sup> de	<sup>n</sup> de	de, te	de, te
Ntwo	<sup>n</sup> do	<sup>n</sup> do	do, to	<sup>n</sup> do	<sup>n</sup> do	<sup>n</sup> do	<sup>n</sup> do	<sup>n</sup> do	<sup>n</sup> do	do, to	do, to
Ntö	<sup>n</sup> də	<sup>n</sup> də	de, te	<sup>n</sup> də	<sup>n</sup> də	<sup>n</sup> də	<sup>n</sup> də	<sup>n</sup> də	<sup>n</sup> də	də, tə	də, tə
sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa
si	si	si	si	si	si	si	si	si	si	si	si
su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su	su
se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se	se
swo	so	so	so	so	so	so	so	so	so	so	so
sö	sə	sə	se	sə	sə	sə	sə	sə	sə	sə	sə
Nsa	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za	<sup>n</sup> za
Nsi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi	<sup>n</sup> zi
Nsu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu	<sup>n</sup> zu
Nse	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> ze
Nsö	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> ze	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə	<sup>n</sup> zə
na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni	ni
nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu

ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne
nwo	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
nö	nə	nə	ne	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə	nə
ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra
ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri	ri
ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru	ru
re	re	re	re	re	re	re	re	re	re	re	re
rwo	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro	ro
rö	rə	rə	re	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə	rə

**Table 2-42: Palatal initial phonograms**

WOJ trans	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP
ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya	ya
yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu	yu
ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye
ywo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo	yo
yö	yə	yə	ye	yə	yə	yə	yə	yə	yə	yə	yə

**Table 2-43: Velar initial phonograms**

WOJ trans	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP
ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka	ka, ga	ka
kyi	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki	ki, gi	ki
kiy	kɨ	?	?	ki	kɨ	kɨ	kɨ	ki	ki	ki, gɨ	ki
ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku	ku, gu	ku
kye	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke, ge	ke
key	kəy	kəy	kə	ke	ke	kəy	ke	ke	ke	ke, ge	ke
kwo	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ	kɔ, gɔ	kɔ
kö	kə	kə	kə	kə	kə	kə	kə	kə	kə	kə, gə	kə
Nka	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ᵑga	ga, ka	ᵑga
Nkyi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	gi, ki	ᵑgi
Nkiy	ᵑgɨ	?	?	ᵑgi	ᵑgɨ	ᵑgɨ	ᵑgɨ	ᵑgi	ᵑgi	gɨ, kɨ	ᵑgi
Nku	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	ᵑgu	gu, ku	ᵑgu
Nkwo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	ᵑgo	go, ko	ᵑgo
Nkö	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	ᵑgə	gə, kə	ᵑgə



**Table 2-44: Vowel initial phonograms**

WOJ trans	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
o	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə	ə

## 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<sup>221</sup>, 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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<sup>221</sup> 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 ( $V1 + V2 \rightarrow V1$ , and  $V1 + V2 \rightarrow V2$ ).

### 2.8.1.1 $V1 + V2 \rightarrow V1$ (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.

#### 2.8.1.1.1 /ə/ + /i/ $\rightarrow$ /ə/

- (1)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}u \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}u$  登布 [20:4323.4, Töpotuapumi]  
'DV' + 'say-ATTR'
- (2)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}u \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}u$  等布 [14:3384.4, Simotupusa]  
'DV' + 'say-ATTR'
- (3)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}u \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}u$  等布 [14:3478.1, UD]  
'DV' + 'say-ATTR'
- (4)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}u \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}u$  等布 [14:3521.1, UD]  
'DV' + 'say-ATTR'
- (5)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}ye \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}ye$  等弊 [20:4388.1, Simotupusa]  
'DV' + 'say-EV'
- (6)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}ye \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}ye$  等敝 [14:3499.5, UD]  
'DV' + 'say-EV'
- (7)  $\underline{t}\ddot{o} + \underline{i}p\text{-}aN\text{s-}u \rightarrow \underline{t}\ddot{o} p\text{-}aN\text{s-}u$  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).

(8) *mwonö + ip-as-u* → *mwonö p-as-u* 毛能波須 [20:4337.4, Suruga]  
‘thing’ + ‘say-NEG-INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(9) *-nö + imö* → *nö mö* 乃母 [20:4388.3, Simotupusa]  
‘-GEN’ + ‘beloved girl’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(10) *yuNk-an-ö + ipye* → *yuNk-an-ö pye* 賀由<sup>222</sup>乃敝 [14:3476b.5, UD]  
‘go-NEG-ATTR’ + ‘house’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(11) *kötö + ita-* → *kötö 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) *-nö + upye* → *-nö pey* 能倍 [14:3518.1, UD]  
‘-GEN’ + ‘above’

This also appears uncontracted in UD in 14:3522.3 and 14:3539.1 (as *-nö upye*). Both examples have six syllables in the line instead of the expected five.

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<sup>222</sup> The characters 賀由 *Nkayu* are most likely mistakenly reversed in the manuscripts, so I transliterate them in the opposite order of *yuNka*.

### 2.8.1.1.3 /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 MA<sup>223</sup> 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 故麻 [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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<sup>223</sup> 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 古字馬 *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.

#### 2.8.1.1.4 /e/ + /ə/ → /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.

#### 2.8.1.1.5 /a/ + /ə/ → /a/

- (25) -Nka + ömöte → -Nka mote 我母豆 [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 + ömöp-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 + ömöp-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)  $\underline{pa} + \underline{omwop-u} \rightarrow \underline{pa} \text{ mwop-u}$  波毛布 [14:3494.4, UD]  
‘TPT’ + ‘think-FIN’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(30)  $\underline{ka} + \underline{omwop-u} \rightarrow \underline{ka} \text{ mwop-u}$  可毛布 [14:3494.5, UD]  
‘QPT’ + ‘think-ATTR’

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

(31)  $\underline{iya} + \underline{omöp-yi} \rightarrow \underline{iya} \text{ möp-yi}$  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)  $\underline{-Nka} + \underline{u\text{pey}} \rightarrow \underline{-Nka} \text{ pey}$  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/ + /ə/ → /i/

(33)  $\underline{si} + \underline{omwop-ey} \rightarrow \underline{si} \text{ mwop-ey}$  之毛倍 [14:3504.5, UD]  
‘EPT’ + ‘think-EV’

(34)  $\underline{si} + \underline{omwop-aNpa} \rightarrow \underline{si} \text{ mwop-aNpa}$  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.

### 2.8.1.1.8 /o/ + /a/ → /o/

(35) -w<sub>o</sub> + aNtö → -w<sub>o</sub> Ntö 乎杼 [14:3556.5, UD]  
'-ACC' + 'what'

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

### 2.8.1.1.9 /o/ + /i/ → /o/

(36) t<sub>w</sub>o + iNte → t<sub>w</sub>o Nte 刀佢 [14:3569.3, UD]  
'door' + 'go\_out.NML'

This example does not occur in the corpus uncontracted.

### 2.8.1.1.10 /u/ + /ə/ → /u/

(37) t<sub>ö</sub>k-ur-aku + omwop-ey → t<sub>ö</sub>k-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.

### 2.8.1.1.11 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.

**Table 2-45: Distribution of V2 contractions across the provinces**

TYPE	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP	UD
/ə/ + /i/ → /ə/	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	6
/ə/ + /u/ → /ə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
/o/ + /u/ → /o/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
/e/ + /ə/ → /e/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
/a/ + /ə/ → /a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
/a/ + /u/ → /a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
/i/ + /ə/ → /i/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
/o/ + /a/ → /o/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
/o/ + /i/ → /o/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
/u/ + /ə/ → /u/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

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).



**Table 2-46: Comparison of V2 contracted outputs with uncontracted metrical and hypermetrical attestations**

VS	OP	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP	UD
ə + i	/ə/	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	6
	/əi/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/əi/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
ə + u	/ə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	/əu/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/əu/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
o + u	/o/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
	/ou/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/ou/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
e + ə	/e/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/eə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/eə/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a + ə	/a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
	/aə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/aə/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
a + u	/a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	/au/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/au/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
i + ə	/i/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	/iə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/iə/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
o + a	/o/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	/oa/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/oa/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
o + i	/o/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	/oi/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/oi/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
u + ə	/u/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	/uə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/uə/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Key: VS = vowel sequence, OP=output, H=hypermetrical

Only Pitati province has a V2 contraction and a hypermetrical uncontracted form in the same vowel sequence [a + ə], 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) saNsare + isi → saNsar isi 左射礼思 [14:3400.3, Sinano]  
'little' + 'stone'

This example appears uncontracted in UD, in 14:3542.1.

- (39) panare + iswo → panar iswo 波奈利蕪 [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 + uti → kap uti<sup>224</sup> 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'

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<sup>224</sup> 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).

(42) -ku + ar-i → -k ar-i 可利 [14:3482b.5, UD]  
'-AVINF' + 'exist-INF'

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/

(43) si + ar-e → s ar-e 作例 [20:4393.2, Simotupusa]  
'EPT' + 'exist-EV'

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'

(44) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4340.3, Suruga]  
'-LOC' + 'exist-ATTR'

(45) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4415.4, Muzasi]  
'-LOC' + 'exist-ATTR'

(46) -ni + ar-u → n ar-u 奈流 [20:4416.4, 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 /a/ + /i/ → /i/

(52) *wa-ka + imö* → *wa-kyimö* 和伎母 [20:4353.3, Kamitupusa]  
‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(53) *wa-Nka + imwo* → *wa-Nkyimwo* 和藝毛 [20:4357.3, Kamitupusa]  
‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(54) *wa-ka + imö* → *wa-kyimö* 和伎母 [14:3453.2, UD]  
‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(55) *wa-ka + imö* → *wa-kyimö* 和伎母 [14:3419.4, UD]  
‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

(56) *wa-ka + imwo* → *wa-kyimwo* 和伎毛 [14:3566.1, UD]  
‘1.S-POSS’ + ‘beloved girl’

As this contraction only occurs in the underlying phrase *wa-[N]ka imo* ‘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**

TYPE	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP	UD
/e/ + /i/ → /i/	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
/a/ + /u/ → /u/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
/u/ + /a/ → /a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
/i/ + /a/ → /a/	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
/a/ + /i/ → /i/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3

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**

VS	OP	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP	UD
<b>e + i</b>	/i/	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/ei/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/ei/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>a + u</b>	/u/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/au/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/au/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>u + a</b>	/a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	/ua/	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/ua/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>i + a</b>	/a/	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
	/ia/	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	/ia/ H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>a + i</b>	/i/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
	/ai/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	/ai/ H	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

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 hypermetricity.

## 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-yi + iNte → sak-yi 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-i + ik-u → N-sakar-i 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) -ni + iNte → -ni Nte 尔佷 [14:3374.5, Muzasi]  
 ‘-LOC’ + ‘go\_out.INF’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(60) -ni + iNte- → -ni Nte- 尔佷 [14:3560.3, UD]  
 ‘-LOC’ + ‘go\_out-’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (61) -ni + iNt-una → -ni Nt-una 尔豆奈 [14:3376a.5, Muzasi]  
'-LOC' + 'go\_out-NEG.IMP'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (62) kök-yi + iNte → kök-yi Nte 己岐滬 [20:4380.2, Simotukeno]  
'row-INF' + 'go\_out.INF'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (63) tas-i + iNte → tas-i Nte 多志滬 [20:4380.2, Simotukeno]  
'rise-INF' + 'go\_out'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (64) myi- + ikusa → myi kusa 美久佐 [20:4370.4, Pitati]  
'HON-' + 'army'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (65) maw-i + ite → maw-i te 麻為弓 [20:4393.5, Simotupusa]  
'come.HUM.INF' + 'go\_out.INF'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (66) kari- + ipo → kari- ipo 加里保 [20:4348.4, Kamitupusa]  
'borrow.NML' + 'hut'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (67) -ni + iNt-u → -ni Nt-u 尔豆 [14:3466.2, UD]  
'-LOC' + 'go\_out -FIN'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (68) -ni + ite → -ni te 尔豆 [14:3503.5, UD]  
'-LOC' + 'go\_out'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

- (69) -ni + ite → -ni te 尔豆 [14:3506.4, UD]  
'-LOC' + 'go\_out.INF'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(70) kök-yi + ik-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 /ə/ + /ə/ → /ə/

(71) -nö + otö → nö tö 能等 [14:3453.1, UD]  
'-GEN' + 'sound'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(72) wotö + otö → wotö tö 乎能登 [14:3473.2, UD]  
'axe' + 'sound'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(73) sö + ömöp-ay-u → sö möp-ay-u 曾母波由 [20:4357.5, Kamitupusa]  
'FPT' + 'think-PASS-ATTR'

This example appears unelided in UD [14:3511.4].

(74) tö + omwop-yi → tö 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) aNtö + omwop-ye → aNtö mwop-ye 安杼毛敝 [14:3572.1, UD]  
'what' + 'think-EV'

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.



(76) mwonö + omöp-yi → mwonö möp-yi 毛乃母比 [20:4425.1, UD]  
 ‘thing’ + ‘think-NML’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

### 2.8.2.3 /a/ + /a/ → /a/

(77) sika + ar-aNpa → sika r-aNpa 志可良婆 [14:3472.3, UD]  
 ‘thus’ + ‘exist-COND’

This example does not occur in the corpus unelided.

(78) asa + akey → asa key 安佐氣 [14:3569.2, UD]  
 ‘morning’ + ‘brighten.NML’

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 2-49: Distribution of vowel elisions by type across the provinces**

TYPE	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP	UD
/i/ + /i/ → /i/	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	1	1	5
/ə/ + /ə/ → /ə/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
/a/ + /a/ → /a/	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

### 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 2-50: Comparison of contractions and elision across the provinces**

Type	SIN	TO	SU	KAK	MU	SA	MI	SIK	PI	SIP	KAP	UD
V2	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	29
V1	2	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	1	1	2	8
Elision	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	1	2	12

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 Mitinöku, 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 hypermetrality 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 hypermetrality (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:

PREF-root-DIM[1]-DIM[2]-PLUR-CASE[1]-CASE[2]

The prefix slot can contain a diminutive (*woN-* or *kwo-*), a locative (*saN-*), an intensifier (*ma-*) or an honorific (*myi-*). Examples:

1. 14:3464.3-4 – UD  
麻乎其母能 / 於夜自麻久良波  
ma **woN-kömö**-nö / oyaNsi makura pa  
really **DIM-reed**-GEN / same pillow TPT  
‘[Your] same pillow, [made] of really **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<sup>225</sup> show three different suffixes in one word-form, and they combine in the order root-DIM-PLUR-CASE:

2. 14:3528.3-4 – UD  
 伊母能良尔 / 毛乃伊波受伎尔弓  
**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 / 於枳豆等母枳奴  
 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[N]te* can be followed by the locative case marker *-ni*:

<sup>225</sup> 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.

**Table 3-1: Maximal nominal declension of *imo* 'beloved girl'**

Case	Word-form	Possible contracted forms
NOM	imo	
POSS	imo-[N]ka	imo-[N]k
ACC/ABS	imo-wo	
GEN	imo-nö	imo-N
DAT/LOC	imo-ni	imo-N
LOC/LAT	imo-na	imo-N
ABL	imo-yöri ~ imo-yuri ~ imo-ywo ~ imo-yu	
ALL	imo-pe, imo-pa	
TERM	imo-ma[N]te	
COM	imo-tö	
COMP	imo-nösu ~ imo-nasu ~ imo-nö	imo-N
DIR	imo-Nkari	

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

許呂安礼比毛等久

**kō-rō are** pyimwo tök-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 / 弊古祖志良奈美 / 尔波志久母

**sipo pune-nö / pye kwos-wo sira namyi / 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 lose its final vowel, creating the allomorph *-[N]k-*. However, this only occurs in the set phrase *wa-Nk-yimo* 1.S-POSS-beloved<sub>girl</sub> ‘my beloved girl.’

#### 3.3.1.2.1 Possessive function

The possessive function may occur with animate or inanimate nouns.



### 3.3.1.2.1.1 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 Isiwil!’
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  
伊毛我乎杼許尔  
**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 / 伊毛我名欲妣弓 /  
wasure-k-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  
 宿奈敞杼母 / 古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母  
 NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö / **kwo-rö-Nka** osökyi-nö / 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!’

### 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 / 伊牟奈之尔志弓  
**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  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-POSS / be.attached.INF-PST.ATTR **string-POSS**  
 cord / break.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR EPT  
 ‘[I] wonder, will the **string’s cord** that my darling girl tied [over my robes]  
 break?’
20. 14:3375.1-3 – Muzasi  
 武藏野乃 / 乎具奇我吉藝志 / 多知和可礼  
 muNSASI NWO-nö / **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 kö 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 / 可波治尔毛  
 woNtwo-nö taNtöri-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]**’
24. 20:4425.3-4 – UD  
 刀布比登乎 / 美流我登毛之佐  
 twop-u pyitö-wo / myi-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 tö  
 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 möt-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-kö-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-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**’
29. 20:4364.3-5 – Pitati  
 伊能伊牟何 / 奈流敞伎己等乎 / 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] 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-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...’
31. 20:4347.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
 奈我波氣流 / 多知尔奈里弓母 / 伊波非弓之加母  
**na-Nka** pak-eyr-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mö / ipap-iy-te-si kamö  
**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].’

32. 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 robe / 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.’

The second possessive in example (32) is used to mark a nominative, while the first is  
 used in a purely possessive function.

33. 14:3539 – UD  
 比等豆麻古吕乎 / 伊吉尔和我須流  
 pyitö-N-tuma kwo-rö-wo / ikyi-ni **wa-Nka** s-uru  
 person-GEN-spouse girl-DIM-ACC / breath-LOC **1.S-POSS** do-ATTR  
 ‘I sigh [lit. *do in a breath*] for a girl [who is] another man’s wife.’

In example (34) below, the possessive precedes a verb in the subordinative gerund form  
 as well as a verb in the attributive form.

34. 14:3459.2-5 – UD  
 可加流安我手乎 / 許余比毛可 / 等能乃和久胡我 / 等里豆奈氣可武  
 kakar-u a-Nka TE-wo / kö yöpyi mwo ka / tönö-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?’

**Table 3-2: Distribution of the possessive -Nka across the provinces**

Func	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
POSS	3	5	6	10	13	4	0	4	4	4	8	34
NOM	0	1	1	4	2	2	0	1	2	4	1	19

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 / 古与弓伎怒加牟  
awo kumu-nö / tönöNpyik-u **yama-wo** / kwoyö-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 / 安礼乎多能米弓  
töpotuapumyi / inasa posö-YE-nö / MYI-wo-tu kusi / **are-wo** tanömey-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** 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.’

38. 20:4341.1-3 – Suruga  
 多知波奈能 / 美袁利乃佐刀尔 / 父乎於伎弓  
 tatipana-nö / miwori-nö 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 Tachibana.’
39. 14:3402.1-3 – Kamitukeno  
 比能具礼尔 / 宇須比乃夜麻乎 / 古由流日波  
 pyi-nö Nkure-ni / **usupyi-nö 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  
 和我世故乎 / 安杼可母伊波武  
 wa-Nka **se-kwo-wo** / aNtö kamö ip-am-u  
 1.S-POSS man-DIM-ACC / what EPT say-TENT-ATTR  
 ‘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  
知々波々乎於伎弓  
**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 / 可美乎伊乃里弓  
 amey tuti-nö / **kamyi-wo** inör-i-te  
 heaven earth-GEN / deity-ACC pray-INF-SUB  
 ‘Praying to **the gods** of heaven and earth.’
44. 14:3394.4-5 – Pitati  
 和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
 wasura-kö-Npa kwosö / **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 / 麻未能手兒奈乎 / 麻許登賀聞 / 和礼尔余須等布 / 麻末  
 乃弓胡奈乎

- katusika-nö / mama-nö **TENKWO-na-wo** / ma-kötö Nkamo / ware-ni yös-u tö  
 [i]p-u / mama-nö **teNkwo-na-wo**  
 PN-GEN / cliff-GEN **maiden-DIM-ACC** / INT-word EPT / 1.S-DAT approach-  
 ATTR DV say-FIN / cliff-GEN **maiden-DIM-ACC**  
 ‘[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 / 余知乎曾母弓流  
 nare mwo are mwo / **yöti-wo** sö 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.**’
47. 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 [about] **me.**’
48. 14:3539.1-2 – UD  
 安受乃宇敞尔 / 古馬乎都奈伎弓  
 aNsu-nö 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 Absolute 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** pyirö-myi  
**field-ABS** be.wide-AVGER  
 ‘Because **the field** is wide...’
50. 14:3426.1-2 – Mitinöku  
 安比豆祢能 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美  
 apyiNtu ne-nö / **kuni-wo** sa N-töpo-myi  
 PN peak-GEN **land-ABS** thus COP.INF-be.far-AVGER  
 ‘Because the **land of the ApiNtu peaks** is so far...’
51. 20:4348.2 – Kamitupusa  
波々乎和加例弓



**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 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.’

### 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 / 素弓毛布良武乎 / 伊吕尔豆奈由米  
 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 / 之多尔其礼留乎 / 之良受思天  
 asuka-N-kapa / sita **niNkör-er-u-wo** / sir-aNs-u s-i-te

PN-GEN-river / below **make\_dirty-PROG-ATTR-ACC** / know-NEG-NML do-  
INF-SUB

‘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**奈夜吉曾  
 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/absolute *-wo* across the provinces**

Func	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
ACC	2	2	3	8	10	6	0	5	9	11	4	56
ABS	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

The accusative function is widely attested in every province except Mitinöku. On the other hand, absolute 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 / 伊麻能波里美知  
**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 – Tōpotuapumi  
 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 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.’
60. 20:4323.1-3 – Tōpotuapumi  
 等伎騰吉乃 / 波奈波左家登母 / 奈尔須礼曾  
**tōkyi-Ntōkyi-nō** / pana pa sak-ye-Ntömō / nani s-ure sö  
**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 / 於思敝尔於布流 / 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 / 父乎於伎亘  
**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 / 安蘊能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎  
 kamyitukeynwo / **aswo-nō** ma-swo mura / kakyi-muNtak-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 / 由伎亘久麻亘等  
**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.**’
65. 14:3378.1-3 – Muzasi  
 伊利麻治能 / 於保屋我波良能 / 伊波為都良  
 irima-N-ti-nö / opoYA-Nka para-nö / ipawi tura  
 PN-GEN-road-GEN / PN-POSS field-GEN / UNC vine  
 ‘The *ipawi* vines on the field of Opoya, **of the road of Irima.**’
66. 14:3361.1-3 – Sagamu  
 安思我良能 / 乎弓毛許乃母尔 / 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 the traps that thrust [about] on this and that side **of Asigara.**’
67. 20:4330.1-4 – Sagamu  
 奈尔波都尔 / 余曾比余曾比弓 / 氣布能比夜 / 伊田弓麻可良武  
 nanipa tu-ni / yösöp-yi yösöp-yi-te / **keypu-nö** pyi ya / iNte-te makar-am-u  
 PN harbor-LOC / prepare-INF prepare-INF-SUB / **today-GEN** day QPT  
 go\_out-INF-SUB depart-TENT-ATTR  
 ‘Preparing [and] preparing [the boats] in Nanipa harbor, [will it be] **today** that  
 [we] go out and depart?’
68. 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 / aNtatara ma yumyi / paNsik-yi-ok-yi-te  
 PN-GEN / PN true bow / loosen\_a\_string-INF-put-INF-SUB  
 ‘Loosening [the string from my] true bow of Adatara **from Mitinöku.**’
69. 14:3425.1-4 – Simotukeno  
 志母都家努 / 安素乃河泊良欲 / 伊之布麻努受 / 蘓良由登伎努与  
 simötukyenwo / **aswo-nö** Nkapara-ywo / isi pum-aNs-u / swora-yu tö k-yi-n-wo  
 yö  
 PN / PN-GEN river\_bank-ABL / stone step-NEG-INF / sky-ABL FPT come-  
 INF-PERF-ATTR EPT  
 ‘From the riverbank **of Aso** in Simotukeno, without stepping [on] the stones, [I]  
 came from the sky!’
70. 14:3388.1-2 – Pitati  
 筑波祢乃 / 祢吕尔可須美為  
 tukupa ne-nö / ne-rö-ni kasumyi wi  
 PN peak-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC mist sit-INF  
 ‘A mist sits on the little peak **of Mt. Tukupa.**’
71. 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...**’

72. 20:4388.3-5 – Simotupusa  
 以弊乃母加 / 枳世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都枳尔迦理  
**ipyé-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 **of [my] home** had [me] wear.’
73. 20:4353.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
 和伎母古賀 / 伊倍其登母遲弓 / 久流比等母奈之  
 wa-k[a]-yimö-kwo-Nka / **ipey-N-kötö** möNt-i-te / k-uru pyitö 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 / 和礼都賣杼 / 故尔毛乃多奈布 /  
**kyipatuku-nö / woka-nö** kuku-myira / ware tum-ye-Ntö / kwo-ni mwo nöt-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  
**töri-nö woka-N-ti** si / **naka-N-tawore** / a-wo ne si nak-u yö  
**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-sirö-nö** / 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].’

77. 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.’

### 3.3.1.4.2 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.

78. 20:4413.5 – Muzasi  
 都久乃之良奈久  
**tuku-nö** sir-an-aku  
**moon-GEN** know-NEG-NML  
 ‘[I] do not know **the month** [when...].’
79. 20:4375 – Simotukeno  
 麻都能氣乃 / 奈美多流美礼波 / 伊波比等乃 / 和例乎美於久流等 / 多々里之毛己呂  
**matu-nö key-nö** / nam-yi-tar-u myi-re-pa / **ipa-pyitö-nö** / ware-wo myi-okur-u tö / tat-ar-i-si mwokörö  
**pine-GEN tree-GEN** / be.lined\_up-INF-PP-ATTR see-EV-CONJ / **home-person-GEN** / 1.S-ACC see-INF-send\_off-FIN COP / stand-PROG-INF-PST.ATTR similarity  
 ‘When [I] see **pine trees** lined up, it is similar to how the people **of** [my] **home** were standing, being [there] to see and **send me off**.’
80. 20:4367.1-2 – Pitati  
 阿我母弓能 / 和須例母之太波  
 a-Nka [o]**möte-nö** / wasure-m-ö siNta pa  
 1.S-POSS **face-GEN** / be.forgetten-TENT-ATTR CNJ TPT  
 ‘When **my face** shall be forgotten...’
81. 14:3382.1-4 – Kamitupusa  
 宇麻具多能 / 祢呂乃佐左葉能 / 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 of the leaves of the bamboo grass of the peaks of Umaguta**...’

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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
12	11	8	38	16	24	2	20	28	24	20	161

### 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  
 左努夜麻尔 / 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  
 尔波尔多都 / 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  
 伊古麻多可祢尔 / 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,’

‘at,’ or ‘to’<sup>226</sup>). 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. 14:3359a.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-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 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
*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  
多妣由伎尔 / 由久等之良受弓 / 阿母志志尔 / 己等麻乎佐受弓  
*taNpyi yuk-yi-ni / yuk-u tö sir-aNs-u-te / aMÖ sisi-ni / köto 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*

<sup>226</sup> ‘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 / 保登等藝須  
**sinanwo-n[i] ar-u / suNka-nö ara nö-ni / potötöNkyisu**  
**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 / 意伎弓曾伎怒也  
 kara körömu / **suswo-ni** tör-i-tuk-yi / nak-wo kwo-ra-wo / ok-yi-te sö 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], [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  
 kyihey 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.’
92. 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** / 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  
 ‘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  
 kamyitukeynwo / woNtwo-nö taNtöri-Nka / **kapa-N-ti-ni** mwo / KWO-ra pa ap-  
 ana-m-wo  
 PN / PN-GEN PN-POSS / **river-GEN-road-LOC** FPT / girl-DIM TPT meet-  
 DES-TENT-ATTR

‘[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  
和我伊波吕尔 / 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**.’
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  
夜蕪久尔波 / 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 provinces gather **in Nanipa**.’
97. 14:3351.1-2 – Pitati  
筑波祢尔 / 由伎可母布良留  
tukupa **ne-ni** / yukyi kamö 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 / 奈美毛登杼吕尔  
mama-nö osu **pyi-ni** / nanyi 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 / 奈美奈等惠良比 / 志流敝尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳  
豆等母枳奴  
yuk-wo **sakyi-ni** / nanyi na-töwerap-yi / siru **pye-ni** pa / kwo-wo-tö tuma-wo-tö /  
ok-yi-te tö mö k-yi-n-u  
go-ATTR **ahead-LOC** / wave NEG.IMP-shake-INF / behind **area-LOC** TPT /  
child-ACC-COM spouse-ACC-COM / leave\_behind-INF-SUB FPT EPT come-  
INF-PERF-FIN  
‘**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  
 宇麻具多能 / 祢吕尔可久里為  
 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  
 余曾尔能美 / 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 / 佐祢尔和波由久  
 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  
 佐宿尔安波奈久尔  
**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-ku-nö / **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 / 去吕毛尔麻世流 / 古侶  
 賀波太波毛  
 sasa-Nka pa-nö / sayak-u simwo **ywo-ni** / nana-pye k-ar-u / **körömwō-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 / 加比利久麻弓尔 / 已波比弓麻多祢  
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  
曾能可抱与吉尔  
sönö kapo **yö-kyi-ni**  
that face **be.good-AVATTR-LOC**  
‘Since that face is beautiful...’
108. 20:4330.3-5 – Sagamu  
氣布能比夜 / 伊田弓麻可良武 / 美流波々奈之尔  
keypu-nö pyi ya / iNte-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-AVFIN-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 **not.exist-AVFIN-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 3-5: Distribution of the locative *-ni* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
4	5	8	22	13	10	0	10	15	11	15	90

### 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  
 比奈久毛理 / 宇須比乃佐可乎 / 古延志太尔  
**pyi-na** kumwor-i / usupyi-nö 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<sup>227</sup> n-i  
**evening-LOC** TPT come-NEG.ATTR-NML COP-INF  
 ‘Being that [you] didn’t come **in the evening.**’

<sup>227</sup> 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

### 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 / 己能牟可都乎乃  
 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.**’

115. 14:3524.4-5 – UD

於吉都麻可母能 / 奈氣伎曾安我須流

**okyi-tu** ma-kamö-nö / nakeyk-yi sö a-Nka s-uru

**offing-GEN.LOC** INT-duck-COMP / lament-NML FPT 1.S-POSS do-ATTR

‘Like the ducks **in the offing**, [I] lament (lit. *do lamentations*).’

**Table 3-7: Distribution of the genitive-locative -tu across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

### 3.3.1.8 Ablative case markers -yöri ~ -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: *-yöri*, *-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 *-yöri* 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 *-yori* is attested twice.

116. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi  
伊尔之与比欲利 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
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  
‘**From [that] evening** [when] he left, [I] have continuously not met [my] beloved.’
117. 20:4373.1-2 – Simotukeno  
祁布与利波 / 可敝理見奈久豆  
**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 / 加曳我伊牟多祢牟  
**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<sup>228</sup> / 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.’

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<sup>228</sup> 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  
与曾尔見之欲波 / 伊麻許曾麻左礼  
yösö-ni **MYI-si-ywo** pa / ima kösö 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  
simötukyenwo / 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-INF-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<sup>229</sup>  
伊之布麻努受 / 蘿良由登伎努与  
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 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-nö yökö yama / **kasi-yu** ka yar-am-u  
PN-GEN horizontal mountain / **walking-ABL** QPT send-TENT-ATTR

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<sup>229</sup> 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 3-8: Distribution of the ablatives -yori ~ -yuri ~ -ywo ~ -yu across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-yöri	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
-yuri	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
-ywo	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
-yu	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3

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 / 都久之倍夜里弓  
 wa-Nka se-na-wo / **tukusi-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 / 夜麻登敝夜利弓  
 wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / **yamatö-pye** yar-i-te  
 1.S-POSS beloved\_man-DIM-ACC / **PN-ALL** send-INF-SUB  
 ‘Sending my darling beloved **to Yamato.**’

127. 20:4428.1-2 – UD  
 和我世奈乎 / 都久志波夜利弓  
 wa-Nka se-na-wo / **tukusi-pa** yar-i-te  
 1.S-POSS beloved\_man-DIM-ACC / **PN-ALL** send-INF-SUB  
 ‘Sending my darling beloved **to Tukusi.**’

**Table 3-9: Distribution of the allative *-pe ~ -pa* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

### 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 3-10: Attestations of *-mate* and *-maNte* in WOJ presented by Vovin (2005a: 195-8)**

Form	MYS 5	MYS 15	Mys 17	NK	BS	SM	Totals
<i>-mate</i>	1	2	1	0	1	0	<b>5</b>
<i>-maNte</i>	2	1	1	1	1	1	<b>7</b>

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 /ma<sup>n</sup>de/. See sections 2.5 and 2.6 for the

phonological data underlying these conclusions, as well as which provinces have /d/ or /<sup>h</sup>d/ 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  
乎佐祢弓婆  
ikapo-rö-nö / yasaka-nö wiNte-ni / tat-u nwoNsi-nö / **arapar-wo-maNte** mö / sa-  
ne-wo sa-ne-te-Npa  
PN-DIM-GEN / PN-GEN dam-LOC / rise-ATTR rainbow-GEN / **appear-ATTR-  
TERM FPT** / LOC-sleep.NML-ACC LOC-sleep-INF-PERF-COND  
‘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  
奈尔波治乎 / 由伎弓久麻弓等  
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  
可閑利久麻弓尔  
**kapeyr-i-k-u-mate-ni**  
**return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC**  
‘Until [I] return.’
133. 20:4350.5 – Kamitupusa  
加倍理久麻泥尔  
**kapeyr-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-nö wo-nö / pyiNsi-ni **tuk-u-maNte** / kyimyi-Nka yö möNkamö  
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 / 伊久豆君麻弓尔  
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 / 和可加敝流弓能 / 毛美都麻弓  
KWomwoti yama / waka kapyerute-nö / **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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3

### 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 / 尔閑乃宇良等 / 安比豆之阿良婆 / 己  
 等母加由波牟  
 töpeytapomyi / 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  
**1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-COM** / **two-CL** 1.S-POSS see-INF-PST.ATTR  
 PREF-approach-ATTR / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT  
 ‘The peaks of Suruga that I, **with my darling girl**, saw and approached.’
139. 20:4420.4-5 – Muzasi  
 安我豆等都氣呂 / 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  
 志流敝尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於枳豆等母枳奴  
 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 **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!**’

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 / 那良敝弓美礼婆  
**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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	7

### 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 / yökö 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 **yös-u-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 *-nösu*

The comparative suffix *-nösu* is exclusive to EOJ<sup>230</sup>. 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-nösu** / ap-yer-u kyimyi kamö  
wave-DAT **meet-ATTR-COMP** / meet-PROG-ATTR lord EPT  
‘Oh, [my] lord, whom [I] am meeting **like meeting** with the waves!’

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<sup>230</sup> 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.



148. 20:4415.1-3 – Muzasi  
 志良多麻乎 / 弓尔刀里母之弓 / 美流乃須母  
 sira tama-wo / te-ni twor-i-mös-i-te / **myi-ru-nösu** mö  
 white pearl-ACC / hand-LOC take-INF-hold-INF-GER / **see-ATTR-COMP** FPT  
 ‘**Like gazing** at the pearls [I] have taken up in [my] hands.’
149. 14:3424.1-4 – Simotukeno  
 之母都家野 / 美可母乃夜麻能 / 許奈良能須 / 麻具波思兒呂波  
 simötukyeNWO / myikamö-nö yama-nö / **kö-nara-nösu** / ma N-kupasi KWO-rö  
 pa  
 PN / PN-GEN mountain-GEN / **DIM-oak-COMP** / true COP.INF-be.beautiful  
 girl-DIM TPT  
 ‘[This] truly beautiful, darling girl [who is] **like a little oak** on the mountain of  
 Mikamo in Simotukeno.’
- This is the only example in the corpus where *-nösu* is attached to a noun root, rather than  
 the attributive form of a verb.
150. 14:3514.1-4 – UD  
 多可伎祢尔 / 久毛能都久能須 / 和礼左倍尔 / 伎美尔都吉奈那  
 taka-kyi ne-ni / kumwo-nö **tuk-u-nösu** / ware sapey n-i / kyimyi-ni tuk-yi-n-ana  
 be.high-AVATTR peak-LOC / cloud-GEN **reach-ATTR-COMP** / 1.S RPT  
 COP-INF / lord-LOC attach-INF-PERF-DES  
 ‘**Like [how]** clouds **reach** the high mountain peaks, even I have wanted to be  
 with [you, my] lord.’
151. 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-nö **yuNk-wo-nösu** / 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] stallion from the edge of  
 crumbling cliffs.**’
152. 14:3561.4-5 – 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<sup>231</sup> / amey-wo **mat-wo-nösu** / kyimyi-wo tö mat-wo mö  
 sun-POSS shine-EV-CONJ / rain-ACC **wait-ATTR-COMP** / lord-ACC FPT  
 wait-ATTR EPT  
 ‘[I] will wait for [you, my] lord, **like waiting** for the rain when the sun is  
 shining!’

<sup>231</sup> 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 / 多知能已蘓岐尔  
myiNtu töri-nö / **tat-i-nö** 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 / 遊吉須宜可提奴  
kamyitukeynwo / ikapo-nö ne-rö-ni / pur-wo **yökyi-nö** / 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-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!'
156. 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 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 / 可奈之家伊母曾 / 比留  
毛可奈之祢  
tukupa ne-nö / sa-yuru-nö **pana-nö** / yu tökö-ni mö / kanasi-kye imö sö / pyiru  
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<sup>亓</sup>加之波能 / 保々麻例等  
tipa-nö nu-nö / kwonöte **kasipa-nö** / popom-ar-e-tö  
PN-GEN field-GEN / PN **oak-COMP** / be.unopened-PROG-EV-CONC  
‘Although [she] is unopened, **like** the [buds of flowers on the] *konöte* **oaks** of the fields of Tipa.’
159. 20:4352 – Kamitupusa  
美知乃倍乃 / 宇万良能宇礼尔 / 波保<sup>麻米乃</sup> / 可良麻流伎美乎 / 波可礼加由加牟  
myiti-nö pey-nö / umara-nö ure-ni / pap-o **mamey-nö** / karam-ar-u kyimyi-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<sup>等乃</sup> / 登抱吉和伎母贺  
kaNse-nö [o]tö-nö / töpo-kyi wa-k[a]-yimö-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  
左努夜麻尔 / 宇都也乎能<sup>登乃</sup>  
sanwo yama-ni / ut-u ya wonö [o]tö-nö  
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<sup>故夜提能</sup>  
osö paya mö / na-wo kösö mat-am-ye / muka-tu wo-nö / sipyi-nö **kwo-yaNte-nö**  
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**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-nasu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
-nösu	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
-nö	0	0	2	1	2	5	0	0	1	2	3	34

### 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 / 伊波毛等杼呂尔 / 於都留美豆 / 代尔毛多由良尔 / 和我於毛  
波奈久尔

**tukupu 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. Tukupu**, 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 / 和我理許武等伊布  
 ika nar-u se-na ka / **wa-Nkari** kö-m-u tö 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 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 darling beloved come **toward me**?’
167. 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 nömiy / **imö-Nkari** yar-i-te / wa pa kökö 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 3-14: Distribution of directive *-Nkari* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

### 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-nö yuNk-wo-nösu / 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 sö 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}<sup>232</sup> / 々々河乃祢良波 / 苦不志久米阿流可  
{suru} / suruNka-nö **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 / 遠家尔布須左尔  
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?)**

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<sup>232</sup> 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6

### 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 semantographically with the character 兒, 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  
**1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-COM** / two-CL 1.S-POSS see.INF-PST.ATTR  
 PREF-approach-ATTR / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT

‘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 / 志濃比爾西餘等

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 **dearly beloved** said ‘be longing for [me]!’.’

176. 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] call my **darling man**?’
177. 14:3363.1-2 – Sagamu  
和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敝夜利弓  
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.’
178. 20:4357.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
和藝毛古我 / 蕪弓母志保々尔 / 奈伎志曾母波由  
**wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo**-Nka / swote mö sipopo n-i / nak-yi-si sö [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] 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 / 多麻古須氣 / 可利己和我西古  
myinatwo-nö 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 / 伊弓来和伎母兒 / 安必見而由可武  
awo kumwo-nö / ite-K-YI **wa-Nk[a]-yimö-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-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

**wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-ni / a-Nka kwopiy sin-aNpa**  
**1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-DAT / 1.S-POSS long\_for.NML die-COND**  
 ‘If I die from longing for my **darling girl**...’

### 3.3.3.2 Diminutive *-na*

The diminutive *-na* attaches to the following roots: *se* ‘beloved man,’ *teNkwo* ‘maiden,’ *kwo* ‘girl,’ and *imo* ‘beloved girl.’ It is most commonly found attached to *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 *-kwo*, it only has a meaning of endearment. The diminutive *-na* is notable because all examples of double diminutive marking in the corpus contain the diminutive *-na* as the first diminutive in the sequence. Why this is so is a mystery for which I have no answer.

182. 14:3402.4-5 – Kamitukeno  
 勢奈能我素佻母 / 佐夜尔布良思都  
**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 (182) shows a double diminutive suffixation on the root *se* ‘beloved man.’

183. 20:4424.1-3 – Muzasi  
 伊呂夫可久 / 世奈我許呂母波 / 曾米麻之乎  
 irö-N-puka-ku / **se-na-Nka** körömö pa / sömey-masi-wo  
 color-LOC-be.deep-INF / **beloved\_man-DIM-POSS** garment TPT / dye-SUBJ.ATTR-ACC  
 ‘[I] should like to dye my **darling man**’s garment deep with colors.’
184. 14:3384.1-4 – Simotupusa  
 可都思加能 / 麻末能手兒奈乎 / 麻許登賀聞 / 和礼尔余須等布  
 katusika-nö / mama-nö **TENKWO-na-wo** / ma-kötö Nkamo / ware-ni yös-u tö  
 [i]p-u  
 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.’

185. 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 says she clings to me?’
186. 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 beloved girl** uses.’

Example (186) once again shows two different diminutive suffixes attached to the same root, for an apparent emphatic meaning.

187. 14:3463.3-5 – UD  
 己許呂奈久 / 佐刀乃美奈可尔 / 安敞流世奈可毛  
 kökörö na-ku / satwo-nö 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 beloved**, [with] whom [I] am unintentionally meeting in the great center of the village!’
188. 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 / PREF-sleep-INF-SUB  
 be.regretful.AVFIN-EXCL  
 ‘[I] slept together with my **dear, darling beloved**, [and now I] regret it!’

Example (188) is another example that shows two diminutives attached in succession, for an apparent emphatic meaning.

189. 20:4428.1-2 – UD  
 和我世奈乎 / 都久志波夜利弓  
 wa-Nka **se-na**-wo / tukusi-pa yar-i-te  
 1.S-POSS **beloved\_man-DIM-ACC** / PN-ALL make.go-INF-SUB  
 ‘[I] sent my **darling beloved** to Tukusi.’

### 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  
和尔余曾利 / 波之奈流兒良師 / 安夜尔可奈思母  
wa-ni yösör-i / pasi nar-u **KWO-ra** si / aya n-i kanasi-mö  
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  
可奈師家兒良尔 / 伊夜射可里久母  
kanasi-kye **KWO-ra**-ni / iya N-sakar-i-k-u-mö  
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. 14:3537a.4-5 – UD  
安比見之兒良之 / 安夜尔可奈思母  
ap-yi-MYI-si **KWO-ra** si / aya n-i kanasi-mö  
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 EPT  
‘Oh, [my] **dear girl** who wept because [she] regretted parting from [me].’
194. 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  
‘[My] **dear girl** who asked me ‘when will you come back?’
195. 14:3528.3-4 – UD  
伊母能良尔 / 毛乃伊波受伎尔弓  
**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 word to my darling **girls**.’

196. 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 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-ö* ‘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  
 kamyitukyeNWO / 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 / 蕪比能和可麻都  
**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  
 伊尔之与比欲利 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
 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 that evening when [he] departed, [I] have continuously not met [my]  
**darling beloved!**’
203. 20:4419 – Muzasi  
伊波吕尔波 / 安之布多氣度母 / 須美与氣乎 / 都久之尔伊多里豆 / 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-am-ö  
**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  
故吕河伊波奈久尔  
**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 / 安我世牟比吕乎 / 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.’
206. 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-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  
伊毛奈吕我 / 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  
 古須氣呂乃 / 宇良布久可是能  
**kwosuke****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  
 勢奈能我素佢母 / 佐夜尔布良思都  
**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 / 毛乃伊波受伎尔弓  
**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 3-16: Distribution of all diminutive suffixes across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-kwo	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3*
-na	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	10
-ra	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
-rö	0	0	0	7	3	5	0	1	4	0	2	33
-nö	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

\*One attestation (14:3519.4) is semantographic.

These data show the most commonly and widely attested diminutive is *-rö*, with 55 attestations. The diminutive *-nö*, 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  
尔波尔多都 / 安佐提古夫須麻  
*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.

### 3.4.1.1.2 Diminutive function

The diminutive function is well-attested.

213. 20:4417.1-2 – Muzasi  
阿加胡麻乎 / 夜麻努尔波賀志  
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  
之母都家野 / 美可母乃夜麻能 / 許奈良能須  
simötukyeNWO / myikamö-nö yama-nö / **kö-nara**-nösu  
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  
myinatwo-nö 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-nö / sipyi-nö **kwo-yaNte**-nö  
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  
宇奈波良乃 / 根夜波良古須氣  
una-para-nö / 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 / 伎奴尔須里 / 奈流留麻尔末仁  
napa-sirö-nö / **kwo-na-N-kiy**-Nka pana-wo / kyinu-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**-nö / 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]?’

**Table 3-17: Distribution of diminutive *kwo-* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	16

### 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  
 伊射西乎騰許尔  
 iNsa se **woN-tökö**-ni  
 ‘well’ do.IMP **DIM-bed**-LOC  
 ‘Well, do [it], in [my] **dear bed**.’

### 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 / 布能未知可久弓 / 安波奈敝波  
 ma **woN-kömö**-nö / pu-nö ma tika-ku-te / ap-an-ap-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  
 於吉尔須毛 / 乎加母能毛己呂 / 也左可杼利  
 okyi-ni sum-wo / **wo-kamö**-nö mwokörö / yasaka-N-töri  
 offspring-LOC live-ATTR / **DIM-duck**-GEN similarity / PN-GEN-bird  
 ‘The birds of Yasaka [are] similar to **little ducks** that live in the offspring.’
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 3-18: Distribution of diminutive *wo[N]-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5

### 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 / 佐祢尔和波由久  
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**<sup>233</sup> **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 / 佐由流能波奈能  
tukupa ne-nö / **sa-yuru-nö pana-nö**  
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-nö 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-AVATTR this night-ACC  
‘Shall [I] **sleep there** through this long night together with [my] bow?’

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<sup>233</sup> Literally ‘slept a sleep.’

229. 14:3497.3-4 – UD  
 安也尔阿夜尔 / 左宿佐寐弓許曾  
 aya n-i aya n-i / **sa-NE sa-NE-te** kösö  
 extreme COP-INF extreme COP-INF / **LOC-sleep.NML LOC-sleep.INF-SUB**  
 FPT  
 ‘[I] really, really want **to sleep there** with you.’
230. 14:3530.1-2 – UD  
 左乎思鹿能 / 布須也久草無良  
**sa-wo-siKA-nö** / pus-u ya kusa mura  
**LOC-male-deer-GEN** / lie.down-ATTR EPT grass group  
 ‘A patch of grass where a **stag there** lies down.’
231. 14:3536.1-4 – UD  
 安加胡麻乎 / 宇知弓左乎妣吉 / 己許呂妣吉  
 aka-N-kwo-[u]ma-wo / ut-i-te **sa-wo-N-pyik-yi** / kökörü-N-pyik-yi  
 red-COP.ATTR-DIM-horse-ACC / strike-INF-SUB **LOC-string-GEN-pull-NML**  
 / heart-GEN-pull-INF  
 ‘Just as [he] whips [his] red stallion and tugs on the **reins there**, [he] tugs on [my] heart.’

Table 3-19: Distribution of locative *sa-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	6

### 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.’

232. 20:4403.1-2 – Sinano  
 意保枳美能 / 美己等可之古美  
 opo kyimyi-nö / **myi-kötö** kasikwo-myi  
 great lord-GEN / **HON-word** be.awesome-AVGER  
 ‘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 / 美佐可尔多志弓 / 蕪渥布良婆  
 asiNkara-nö / **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-nö / **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 / 伊渥多都和例波  
 opo kyimyi-nö / sikö n-ö **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-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!**’

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** orö-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-nö / **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 / 佐刀乃美奈可尔 / 安敞流世奈可毛  
 kökörö na-ku / satwo-nö **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-nö / **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-kumö-nö  
 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-kötö-ni** ar-e-Npa  
**HON-word-LOC** exist-EV-CONJ  
 ‘Since [these] are the **commands** [of my sovereign]...’

Table 3-20: Distribution of honorific *myi-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
2	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	5

### 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<sup>234</sup>, the prefix *ma-* should not be confused with the adverb *ma* ‘so, really.’ While the intensifying prefix *ma-* attaches directly to a noun, the adverb *ma* may appear before other prefixes. See section 6.15 for a discussion of the adverb *ma*.

247. 20:4342.1-3 – Suruga  
 麻氣婆之良 / 寶米豆豆久利留 / 等乃能其等  
**ma-key** N-pasira / pomey-te Ntukur-ir-u / tönö-nö Nkötö  
**INT-tree** COP.ATTR-pillar / bless.INF-SUB make-PROG-ATTR / pavilion-GEN  
 like  
 ‘Like the **wooden** pillars we blessed as [we] were building the pavilion.’
248. 14:3404.1-3 – Kamitukeno  
 可美都氣努 / 安蘊能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎  
 kamyitukeynwo / aswo-nö **ma-swo** mura / kak-yi-muNtak-yi  
 PN / PN-GEN **INT-hemp** group / touch.with.hands-INF-embrace-NML  
 ‘Holding in both arms a bundle of **hemp** from the fields of Aso [in] Kamitsukeno.’
249. 20:4368.3-4 – Pitati  
 志富夫祢尔 / 麻可知之自奴伎  
 sipo-N-pune-ni / **ma-kati** siNsi nuk-yi  
 tide-GEN-boat-LOC / **INT-rudder** constantly pierce-INF  
 ‘Constantly thrusting the **rudder** on the tide boat.’

The *ma-* in example (249) indicates the rudders undergo an intensive action (in this case, ‘thrusting’).

250. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa  
 多飛等弊等 / 麻多妣尔奈理奴  
 tapiy tö [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 **such a journey**.’
251. 14:3463.1-2 – UD  
 麻等保久能 / 野尔毛安波奈牟  
**ma-töpo-ku** n-ö / NWO-ni mwo ap-ana-m-u  
**INT-be.distant-NML** COP-ATTR / field-LOC FPT meet-DES-TENT-FIN  
 ‘[I] should like meeting you in the fields that are **quite a distance [away]**.’

<sup>234</sup> 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  
 真日久礼豆 / 与比奈波許奈尔  
**ma-PYI** kure-te / yöpyi-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  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-COM / two-CL 1.S-POSS see-INF-PST.ATTR  
**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 / 美夜能瀬河泊能 / 可保婆奈能  
**uti-pyi** sat-u / miyanöSE KApa-nö / kapo-N-pana-nö  
**PREF-sun** shine\_upon-ATTR / PN river-GEN / face-GEN-flower-COMP  
 ‘Like the morning-glories on the Miyanosé 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1*

\*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.**’

### 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  
 安利伎努乃 / 佐惠佐惠之豆美  
 arikyinwo-nö / **sawe-sawe** siNtum-yi  
 MK-GEN? / **rustle-REDUP** become\_quiet-NML  
 ‘The **rustling** of arikyinwo<sup>235</sup> 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  
乎佐乎左毛 / 祢奈敞古由惠尔 / 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-nö / 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].’

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<sup>235</sup> 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 / 奈尔須礼曾  
**tökyi-Ntökyi-nö** / pana pa sak-ye-Ntömö / nani s-ure sö  
**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  
久尔具尔乃 / 佐岐毛利都度比 / 布奈能里弓  
**kuni-Nkuni-nö** / 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  
久尔具尔乃 / 夜之里乃加美尔 / 奴作麻都理  
**kuni-Nkuni-nö** / yasiri-nö 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 / 毛呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎須  
are pa ipap-am-u / **mworö-mworö** pa / sakye-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 3-23: Attested pronouns of the EOJ dialects**

	First person	Second Person
Singular	<i>wa ~ ware,</i> <i>a ~ are</i>	<i>na ~ nare,</i> <i>imasi ~ masi</i>
Reflexive		<i>a</i>

### 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.

### 3.6.1.1.1.1 *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-mö  
**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 Nkapey  
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** 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 told [me] to be longing for [her].'
259. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi  
和尔奈多要曾祢  
**wa-ni** na-taye-sö-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 tuNpaki  
 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 / 佐伎毛里尔佐酒  
 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-NML COP-INF  
 ‘**I** do not think that [I’ll] ever waver [in my love] in this world.’
264. 20:4368 – Pitati  
 和波可敞里許牟  
 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  
 宇麻具多能 / 祢呂乃佐左葉能 / 都由思母能 / 奴礼弓和我伎奈婆  
 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 kökörü-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-tö / pyitö-N-tuma kwo-rö-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 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  
 ‘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 / kysisö mwo kö yöpyi 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?’
270. 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**.’

### 3.6.1.1.1.2 *ware* ~ *warö*

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 *warö* 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.

### 3.6.1.1.1.2.1 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 tök-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 / 佐之弓伊久和例波  
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  
須米良美久佐尔 / 和礼波伎尔之乎  
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 / 乎加能久君美良 / 和礼都賣杼 / 故尔毛乃多奈布  
kyipatuku-nö / woka-nö kuku-myira / **ware** tum-ye-Ntö / kwo-ni mwo nöt-an-ap-  
u / se-na-tö tum-as-an-e  
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  
kyimyi 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  
'Even I have wanted to be with [you, my] lord.'

### 3.6.1.1.1.2.2 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 / 多非乃加里保尔 / 夜須久祢牟加母  
 ma-kötö **ware** / tapiy-nö kari-[i]po-ni / yasu-ku ne-m-u kamö  
 INT-word 1.S / journey-GEN borrow.NML-hut-LOC / be.easy-AVINP 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**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
wa	1	1	3	5	2	2	0	1	3	0	4	18
ware	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	3
warö	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 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<sup>236</sup> in WOJ, Ikier (2006: 86-7) convincingly argues that it is only used to write the syllable *nwo* in EOJ<sup>237</sup>. 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  
 和努等里都伎豆 / 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**!’
281. 14:3476b.5 – UD  
 和奴賀由乃敝波  
**wanu** yuNk-an-ö<sup>238</sup> [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.

**Table 3-25: Distribution of the first person pronoun *wanwo* ~*wanu* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2

<sup>236</sup> Which are phonemically distinct in both WOJ and EOJ.

<sup>237</sup> 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 *nu*, and is never used to write the syllable *nwo* in EOJ.

<sup>238</sup> As written it is *Nkayunö*, but I view this as a scribal error, with the first two phonograms erroneously switched.

### 3.6.1.1.3 *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.

#### 3.6.1.1.3.1 *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 3.7.1.1.4.1.1 below.

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 / 伊毛我名欲妣弓 / 吾乎祢之奈久奈

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.

284. 20:4329.3-5 – Sagamu

布奈可射里 / 安我世牟比吕乎 / 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.’

285. 20:4366.3-5 – Pitati  
 阿我古比乎 / 志留志弓都祁弓 / 伊母尔志良世牟  
 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].’
286. 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 / imö-Nka kanasi-sa  
 1.S-POSS pray\_for.NML do-TENT2-ATTR / beloved\_girl-POSS be.adorable-  
 ADJNML  
 ‘The adorableness of [my] beloved for whom **I** shall pray.’
287. 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**!’
288. 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, [my] dear girl at home who must be longing for **me**.’
289. 14:3566.1-2 – UD  
 和伎毛古尔 / 安我古非思奈婆  
 wa-k[a]-yimwo-kwo-ni / a-Nka kwopiy sin-aNpa  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-DAT / 1.S-POSS long\_for.NML die-COND  
 ‘If **I** die from longing for my darling girl...’
- 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.
290. 20:4430.5 – UD  
 伊壙弓登阿我久流  
 iNte-te tö a-Nka k-uru  
 go\_out.INF-SUB FPT 1.S-POSS come-ATTR  
 ‘Going out, **I** will come.’
291. 14:3519.1-2 – UD  
 奈我波伴尔 / 己良例安波由久  
 na-Nka papa-ni / kör-are a pa yuk-u

2.S-POSS mother-DAT / scold-PASS.INF **1.S TOP** go-FIN  
'Scolded by your mother, I went [away].'

### 3.6.1.1.3.1.1 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  
安我弓等都氣呂 / 許礼乃波流母志  
**a-Nka** te-tö tukey-rö / köre n-ö paru mös-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).

### 3.6.1.1.3.2 *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  
安礼乎多能米弓 / 安佐麻之物能乎  
**are-wo** tanömey-te / as-amasi **MONöwo**  
**1.S-ACC** trust.INF-SUBJ / 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  
tapyi yuk-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  
 安礼波麻多牟惠  
**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 / 伊母尔都岐許曾  
**are pa** köNk-yi-n-u tö / imö-ni tuk-yi-kös-ö  
**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 / 余知乎曾母弓流  
 nare mwo **are** mwo / yöti-wo sö 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.’
- Example (299) shows *are* used as a syntactic nominative.
300. 14:3496.5 – UD  
 伊弓安礼波伊可奈  
 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 3-26: Distribution of the first person pronoun *a ~ are* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
a	0	0	0	3*	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	14
are	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	5

\*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 3-27: Attested morphological forms of the first person pronouns**

PRONOUN	Possessive <i>-Nka</i>	Accusative <i>-wo</i>	Dative <i>-ni</i>	Directive <i>-Nkari</i>
wa	wa-Nka	wa-wo	wa-ni	wa-Nkari
a	a-Nka	a-wo	[a-ni?*	–
ware	–	–	–	–
are	–	are-wo	–	–
wanwo ~ wanu	–	–	wanu-ni	–

\*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.

**Table 3-28: First person pronouns attested topicalized**

PRONOUN	Topic particle <i>pa</i>
wa	wa pa
a	a pa
ware	ware pa
are	are pa
wanwo ~ wanu	—

We find the following pronouns attested with the function of a syntactic nominative.

**Table 3-29: First person pronouns attested as a syntactic nominative**

PRONOUN	Syntactic nominative
wa	—
a	—
ware	+
are	+
wanwo ~ wanu	+

### 3.6.1.2 Second person pronouns

The second person pronouns include *na ~ nare*, and *imasi ~ 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.

### 3.6.1.2.1.1 *na*

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.

303. 14:3425.5 – Simotukeno  
奈我己許呂能礼  
**na-Nka** kökörös nör-e  
**2.S-POSS** heart tell-IMP  
‘Tell [me] **your** feelings.’
304. 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** 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 call out for **you** again and again!’
305. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa  
久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟  
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  
‘Because the province is far, [I] desire [to see] **your** eyes.’
306. 20:4347.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
奈我波氣流 / 多知尔奈里弓母 / 伊波非弓之加母  
**na-Nka** pak-eyr-u / tati n-i nar-i-te mö / ipap-iy-te-si 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].’
307. 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**.’
308. 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**?’

309. 14:3494.4-5 – UD  
 宿毛等和波毛布 / 汝波安杼可毛布  
 NE-m-wo tö wa pa [o]mwop-u / **NA pa** aNtö ka [o]mwop-u  
 sleep-TENT-ATTR COP 1.S TPT think-FIN / **2.S TPT** what QPT think-ATTR  
 ‘I think we should sleep [together]. What do **you** think?’

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.

310. 20:4418.3-4 – Muzasi  
 麻己等奈礼 / 和我亓布礼奈々  
 ma-kötö **nare** / wa-Nka te pure-na na  
 INT-word **2.S** / 1.S-POSS hand touch-DES EPT  
 ‘Oh [I] want **you** to touch my hand!’
311. 14:3440a.3-4 – UD  
 奈礼毛阿礼毛 / 余知乎曾母亓流  
**nare** mwo are mwo / yöti-wo sö 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.’

**Table 3-30: Distribution of the second person pronoun *na* ~ *nare* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
na	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	6
nare	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

### 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 / 余知乎曾母互流  
**masi** mwo are mö / yöti-wo sö 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.

**Table 3-31: Distribution of the second person pronoun *imasi* ~ *masi* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

### 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**

PRONOUN	Possessive <i>-Nka</i>	Accusative <i>-wo</i>	Dative <i>-ni</i>	Directive <i>-Nkari</i>
na	na-Nka	na-wo	na-ni	–
nare	–	–	–	–
imasi ~ masi	–	imasi-wo	–	–

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**

PRONOUN	Topic particle <i>pa</i>
na	na pa
nare	–
imasi ~ masi	–

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**

PRONOUN	Syntactic nominative
na	–
nare	+
imasi ~ masi	+

### 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**

	Pronominal	Modifying	Locational
Proximal	<i>köre</i> ‘this’	<i>kö ~ könö</i> ‘this’	<i>kökö</i> ‘here’
Mesial	<i>sö</i> ‘that’	<i>sönö</i> ‘that’	–
Distal	<i>ka</i> ‘that (over there)’	<i>kanö</i> ‘that (over there)’  <i>wote</i> ‘that (over there)’	–

### 3.6.2.1 Proximal pronouns

The proximal pronouns include *kö ~ könö ~ köre* ‘this’ and *kökö* ‘here.’

#### 3.6.2.1.1 *kö ~ könö ~ köre* ‘this’

Unlike in later forms of Japanese, there does not appear to be any speaker/addressee relation to the proximal pronoun *kö* ‘this,’ instead it simply refers to something near (Vovin 2005: 272). The proximal *kö* ‘this’ is always attested before the word *yöpyi* ‘night.’ While there are many attestations of *kö yöpyi* ‘this night’ in the corpus, I only provide one in the examples below. The modifying form *könö* appears before all other nouns. An extended form *köre* ‘this’ is attested once, in isolation before the attributive copula *n-ö* 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  
 安思我良能 / 乎弓毛許乃母尔 / 佐須和奈乃  
 asiNkara-nö / wote mwo **könö** mö-ni / sas-u wana-nö  
 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  
 安我弓等都氣呂 / 許礼乃波流母志  
 a-Nka te-tö tukey-rö / **köre** n-ö 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 / 佐尼加和多良牟 / 奈賀氣己乃用乎  
 yumyi-nö 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-  
 AVATTR **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** yöpyi mwo ka  
**this** evening FPT QPT  
 ‘**This** evening, too?’
318. 14:3460.1-2 – UD  
 多礼曾許能 / 屋能戸於曾夫流  
 tare sö **könö** / YA-nö TWO osö-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**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
kö	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
könö	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	6
köre	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 3.6.2.1.2 *kökö* ‘here’

The proximal *kökö* ‘here’ is attested only once. It is not a reduplicated form of the pronoun *kö* ‘this,’ rather it is historically from \**kö kö*<sup>239</sup> ‘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 nömiy / imö-Nkari yar-i-te / wa pa kökö 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 yö-kyi-ni*  
**that** face be.good-AVATTR-LOC  
‘Since **that** face is good [looking]...’
322. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa  
曾能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尔多弓米也母  
*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]’

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<sup>239</sup> Or \**kö kwo*, with progressive vowel assimilation.

323. 14:3472.1-2 – UD  
 比登豆麻等 / 安是可曾乎伊波牟  
 pyitō-N-tuma tö / aNse ka **sö-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 *sö* ~ *sönö* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

### 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* ~ *kanö*

The distal *ka* ‘that (over there)’ is attested once, and its modifying form *kanö* 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 / 加波多例等枳尔  
 aka tökyi-nö / **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  
**kanö** kwo-rö-tö / 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* ~ *kanö* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

### 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 / 乎弓毛許乃母尔 / 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 3-39: Attested interrogative pronouns of the EOJ dialects

	Pronoun
who	<i>ta- ~ tare</i>
what	<i>aNtö, nani, aNse*</i>
why	<i>aNse</i>
where	<i>iNtu</i>
when	<i>itu</i>
which	<i>iture, iNtusi</i>
how	<i>ika</i>

\*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  
 於枳弓他加枳奴  
 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 / 加波多例等枳尔  
 aka tökyi-nö / 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  
 多礼曾許能 / 屋能戸於曾夫流  
**tare** sö könö / YA-nö TWO osö-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

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
ta-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
tare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

### 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  
 奈尔須礼曾 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟  
**nani** s-ure sö / papa tö [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 / kö-rö 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** sö mö kö-yöpyi / yös-i-rö-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  
 pyitö-N-tuma tö / **aNse** ka sö-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  
 安是 可多要牟等 / 伊比之兒呂波母  
 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  
 多要尔之伊毛乎 / 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  
 安是 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5

### 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  
 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?’
341. 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-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  
 安杼世呂登可母  
 aNtö se-rö tö kamö  
 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  
 那乎杼可母思武  
 na-wo [a]Ntö kamö 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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	4

### 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  
 kötö 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 / 和我理許武等伊布  
**ika** nar-u se-na ka / wa-Nkari kö-m-u tö 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?’

**Table 3-43: Distribution of the interrogative pronoun *ika* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

### 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

伊何互伊奈波 / 伊豆思牟伎互可 / 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 \*<sup>n</sup>d > /d/ denasalization, so the spelling *iture* could have been used to write /idure/.

350. 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** n-ö kamyi-wo / inör-apa ka / utukusi papa-ni / mata kötö  
 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).

351. 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.

352. 20:4359.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
伊都之加毛 / 都加敝麻都里弓 / 久尔尔閑牟可毛  
**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?’
353. 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?’’

**Table 3-44: Distribution of the interrogative pronoun *itu* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1

### 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.

354. 14:3398 – Sinano

比等未奈乃 / 許等波多由登毛 / 波尔思奈能 / 伊思井乃手兒我 / 許登  
 奈多延曾祢

pyitö **miyna**-nö / kötö pa tay-u tömwo / panisina-nö / isiWI-nö TENKWO-Nka /  
 kötö na-taye-sö-n-e

people **all**-GEN / word TPT break-FIN CNJ / PN-GEN / PN-GEN maiden-POSS /  
 word NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP

‘Even if the words of **all** people break off, do not break off the words of the  
 maiden of Isiwi in Panisina!’

#### 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.

355. 20:4372.12-15 – Pitati  
 阿例波伊波々牟 / 毛呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎須 / 可閑利久麻弓尔  
 are pa ipap-am-u / **mworö-mworö** pa / sakye-ku tö mawos-u / kapeyr-i-k-u-mate-  
 ni  
 1.S TPT pray-TENT-ATTR / **many-REDUP** TPT / be.happy-INF DV say.HUM-  
 FIN / return-INF-come-ATTR-TERM-LOC  
 ‘As for the **many, many** [people] that I will pray [for], I will happily say [the  
 prayers], until [I] return [home].’

### 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.

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  
比多敵登於毛敵婆  
**pyita-pye** tö omwop-ye-Npa  
**one-CL** DV think-EV-CONJ  
 ‘Since [I] thought it was **one layer**...’
358. 14:3526.3-5 – UD  
 安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曾祢  
 a-Nka kökörö / **puta** yuk-unam-ö tö / na-yö-[o]möp-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 / 以都毛等夜奈枳  
 wa-ka katu-nö / **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 / körömwō-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**.’

361. 20:4379.5 – Simotukeno

夜多妣蕪弓布流

**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 *tōwo* (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

夜蕪久尔波 / 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

夜蕪加奴伎

**ya-swo** ka nuk-yi

**eight-ten** oar pierce-INF

‘**Many (lit. eighty)** oars pierce [into the waves].’

364. 20:4349.4 – Kamitupusa  
 夜蘓志麻須義弓  
**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 / 夜蘓許登能敵波 / 思氣久等母 / 安良蘓比可祢弓  
 utusemyi-nö / **ya-swo** kötö-nö pye pa / siNkey-ku tömö / araswop-yi-kane-te  
 the\_world-GEN / **eight-ten** word-GEN leaves TPT / be.lush-AVIN 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].’

Table 3-45: Distribution of the bound root *-swo* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1

### 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  
夜多妣蕪豆布流  
**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  
1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-COM / **two-CL** 1.S-POSS see.INF-PST.ATTR /  
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**.’
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 / 伎曾比登里宿而  
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.

**Table 3-46: Distribution of the classifier *-ri* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

### 3.7.3.3 Classifier *-mötö*

The numeral classifier *-mötö* 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 / 以都毛等夜奈枳  
 wa-ka katu-nö / **itu-mwotö** 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-wo<sup>240</sup> pa töri-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.’

<sup>240</sup> See section 5.5.2.2.2.5 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

比多敝登於毛敝婆

**pyita-pye** tö 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 / 去呂毛尔麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛

**nana-pye** k-ar-u / körömwo-ni mas-er-u / kwo-rö-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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

## 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  
 登許波尔毛我母  
*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 / 蘓比能和可麻都  
*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  
 多可祢等毛比豆  
*taka ne tö [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 / 伊豆来和伎母兒 / 安必見而由可武  
*awo kumwo-nö / ite-K-YI 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-yi-wo paya-myi / kötö tö [i]p-aNs-u k-yi-n-u  
 red DIM-horse-POSS / foot-GEN-scrape-NML-ABS be.fast-AVGGER / 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 / 由伎加弓奴加毛  
 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 / 与曾流波麻倍尔  
 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  
 於曾波夜母  
 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  
 ‘The **great rushes** of the Inara swamp [in] Kamitukeno.’
13. 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-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 / 欲太知伎努可母  
**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 / aNtatara **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-ö* (or its contracted portmanteau form *N-*) or *nar-u*<sup>241</sup> 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  
 波之奈流兒良師  
**pasi nar-u KWO-ra si**  
**beautiful 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  
 之許乃美多弓等  
**sikö n-ö myi-tate tö**  
**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 / 等里弓奈氣可武  
 kakar-u a-Nka TE-wo / kö-yöpyi mwo ka / tönö-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?’

<sup>241</sup> This is historically a contraction of *n-i ar-u* ‘COP-INF exist-ATTR.’

21. 14:3497.1-2 – UD  
 可波加美能 / 祢自路多可我夜  
 kapa kamyi-nö / 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.’
22. 14:3536.1-3 – UD  
 安加胡麻乎 / 宇知弓左乎妣吉 / 己許呂妣吉  
**aka N-kwo-[u]ma-wo** / ut-i-te sa-wo-N-pyik-yi / kökörü-N-pyik-yi  
**red COP.ATTR-DIM-horse-ACC** / strike-INF-SUB LOC-string-GEN-pull-  
 NML / heart-GEN-pull-INF  
 ‘Just as [he] whips his **red stallion** and tugs on the reins there, so [he] tugs on  
 [my] heart.’
23. 14:3354.1-3 – Töpotuapumi  
 伎倍比等乃 / 萬太良夫須麻尔 / 和多佐波太  
 kyihey 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.’

#### 4.2.3 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-nö / 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  
 麻左但尔毛 / 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 / körö 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-yi-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 4-1: Example paradigm for each class of adjectival verb**

	<i>töpo-</i> ‘be.far’ (CLASS 1)	<i>kuyasi-</i> ‘be.regretful’ (CLASS 2)
AVINF <i>-ku</i>	<i>töpo-ku</i>	<i>kuyasi-ku</i>
AVFIN <i>-si</i>	<i>töpo-si</i>	<i>kuyasi</i>
AVATTR <i>-kyi/-ke</i>	<i>töpo-kyi ~ töpo-ke</i>	<i>kuyasi-kyi ~ kuyasi-ke</i>
AVEV <i>-ka-</i>	<i>töpo-ka</i> <sup>242</sup>	<i>kuyasi-ka-</i>
AVGER <i>-myi</i>	<i>töpo-myi</i>	<i>kuyasi-myi</i>

### 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.

<sup>242</sup> 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 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]?’
30. 20:4424.1-3 – Muzasi  
伊呂夫可久 / 世奈我許呂母波 / 曾米麻之乎  
irö-N-**puka-ku** / se-na-Nka körömö pa / sömey-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 / 可敝理見奈久豆  
kyepu-yöri pa / kapyer-i-MYI **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-AVINF**-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-AVINF** long\_for-SUP  
 ‘It seems my spouse **very much** longs for [me].’
36. 20:4346.1-3 - Suruga  
 知々波々我 / 可之良加伎奈弓 / 佐久阿例弓  
 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!**.’’
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 tö ya / tane motömey-kyem-u  
**be.thus-AVINF** 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] Kuzi river!’
39. 20:4389.3-4 – Simotupusa  
尔波志久母 / 於不世他麻保加  
**nipasi-ku** mö / opuse-tamap-o ka  
**be.sudden-AVINF** 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 kamö  
**be.easy-AVINF** sleep-TENT-ATTR EPT  
 ‘[I] wonder, shall [I] sleep **easily?**’
41. 14:3463.3-5 – UD  
己許呂奈久 / 佐刀乃美奈可尔 / 安敞流世奈可毛

**kökörö na-ku** / satwo-nö myi-naka-ni / ap-yer-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 sö / 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**.’

Table 4-2: Distribution of the infinitive *-ku* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	2	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	2	8

#### 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  
 麻等保久能 / 野尔毛安波奈牟  
**ma-töpo-ku** n-ö / 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  
伊刀母須敝奈之  
itwo mö 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 / 故奈乃思良祢尔  
**töpo-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  
 兒呂我可奈門欲 / 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  
 於等太可思母奈  
 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  
 意母奈志尔志亓  
 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  
 伊牟奈之尔志亓  
 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**

Func	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
AVFIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	6
AVATTR	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2

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  
 於伎弓伊可婆 / 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-nö / tökyi **na-kyi** mönö-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-rö-Nka mak-yi-kö-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  
 加奈思吉兒呂我 / 尔努保佐流可母  
**kanasi-kyi** KWO-rö-Nka / ninwo pos-ar-u kamö  
**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-nö / sita puk-u kaNse-nö / ka-N-**kupasi-kyi** / tukupa-nö 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 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曾  
**omwosirwo-kyi** / NWO-woNpa na-yak-yi-sö  
**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-nö [o]tö-nö / **töpo-kyi** wa-k[a]-yimö-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 - Töpotuapumi

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 Nsö **kuyasi-kyi**  
 now FPT **be.regretful-AVATTR**  
 ‘[I] am so **regretful** now!’

68. 14:3504.3-4 – UD

宇良夜須尔 / 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.’

#### 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 / 刀尔多弓米也母  
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]’

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  
sönö kapo **yö-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  
可奈師家兒良尔 / 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 / 阿志氣比等奈里

putapoNkamyi / **asi-key** pyitö nar-i  
PN / **be.bad-AVATTR** person COP-FIN  
'Putapogami is a **bad** person.'

73. 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-nö myita / sa-ne ka watar-am-u / **naNka-key** könö ywo-wo  
bow-GEN together\_with / PREF-sleep.NML QPT cross-TENT-ATTR / be.long-  
**AVATTR** this night-ACC  
'Shall I sleep across this **long** night together with [my] bow?'
74. 14:3557.1-2 – UD  
奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与  
**nayam-asi-kye** / pyitö-tuma kamö yö  
**distress-ADJ-AVATTR** / person-spouse FPT EPT  
'[Another] man's wife who **is distressing** [me]!'

#### 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  
可奈之家伊母曾 / 比留毛可奈之祁  
kanasi-kye imö sö / 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 tökye-**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  
 須美与氣乎 / 都久之尔伊多里弓 / 古布志氣毛波母  
 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-GER /  
 be.longing\_for-AVNML think-TENT-ATTR  
 ‘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  
 比等能兒能 / 宇良我奈之家乎  
 pyitö-nö KWO-nö / ura-N-**kanasi-kye**-wo  
 person-GEN girl-GEN / feelings-GEN-**be.sad-AVATTR-ACC**  
 ‘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  
 於久乎奈加祢曾 / 麻左可思余加婆  
 oku-wo na-kane-sö / 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**.’

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  
 之牙可久尔 / 伊毛呂乎多弓天  
 siNkye-**k-aku**-ni / imwo-rö-wo tate-te  
**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.’

**Table 4-4: Distribution of the attributive *-kyi* ~ *-ke* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD	Totals
-kyi	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	8	17
-ke	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	14
UNC	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4

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 *\*-kyi 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 *\*-kyi 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  
 久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里势牟  
 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  
 ‘**Because** the province **is far**, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’
82. 14:3473.3-5 – UD  
 等抱可騰母 / 衲毛等可兒呂賀 / 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.’

83. 14:3539.3 – UD  
安夜抱可等 /安夜抱可等 / 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 / breath-LOC  
 1.S-POSS do-ATTR  
 ‘**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.

84. 14:3376a.1-2;5 – Muzasi  
古非思家波 /素弓毛布良武乎 /伊呂尔豆奈由米  
**kwopiysi-kye-pa** / swote mwo pur-am-u-wo / irö-ni [i]Nt-una yumey  
**be.longing\_for-AVEV-CONJ** / sleeve FPT wave-TENT-ATTR-ACC / color-  
 LOC go\_out-NEG.IMP at\_all  
 ‘Because [I] love [you], **even though** [I] will wave [my] sleeve [when we part],  
 do not reveal [your true] colors at all!’

Table 4-5: Distribution of the evidential *-ka* ~ *-kye* across the provinces

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-ka	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
-kye	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

#### 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.

85. 20:4403.1-2 - Sinano  
意保枳美能 / 美己等可之古美  
 opo kyimyi-nö / myi-kötö **kasikwo-myi**  
 great lord-GEN / HON-word **be.awesome-AVGER**  
 ‘**Because** [my] sovereign’s command **is awesome**.’
86. 14:3434.3 – Kamitukeno  
野乎比呂美  
 NWO-wo **pyirö-myi**  
 field-ABS **be.wide-AVGER**



‘Because the field is wide...’

87. 20:4422.3-4 – Muzasi  
宇都久之美 / 於妣婆等可奈々  
**utukusi-myi** / oNpyi Npa tök-an-ana  
**be.beloved-AVGER** / sash TPT undo-NEG-DES  
‘Because [he] is beloved, [I] do not want to untie [my] sash.’
88. 14:3366.1-2 – Sagamu  
麻可奈思美 / 佐祢尔和波由久  
**ma kanasi-myi** / sa-ne-ni wa pa yuk-u  
**really be.adorable-AVGER** / LOC-sleep.NML-LOC 1.S TPT go-ATTR  
‘Because [you] are so adorable, [I] go to sleep there [with you].’
89. 20:4328.1-2 – Sagamu  
於保吉美能 / 美許等可之古美  
opo kyimyi-nö / myi-kötö **kasikwo-myi**  
great lord-GEN / HON-word **be.awesome-AVGER**  
‘Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome.’
90. 14:3426.1-3 – Mitinöku  
安比豆祢能 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美 / 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...’
91. 20:4379.4-5 – Simotukeno  
伊刀毛須倍奈美 / 夜多妣蕪弓布流  
itwo mwo supey **na-myi** / ya-taNpyi swote pur-u  
utterly FPT way **not.exist-AVGER** / eight-CL sleeve wave-FIN  
‘Because there is nothing to do about it, [I] shall wave [my] sleeve many times.’
92. 20:4387.4-5 – Simotupusa  
阿夜尔加奈之美 / 於枳弓他加枳奴  
aya n-i **kanasi-myi** / ok-yi-te ta-ka k-yi-n-u  
extreme COP-INF **be.adorable-AVGER** / leave\_behind-INF-SUB who-POSS  
come-INF-PERF-FIN  
‘Because [she] is extremely adorable, who has come, leaving [her] behind?’
93. 20:4358.1-2 – Kamitupusa  
於保伎美乃 / 美許等加志古美  
opo kyimyi-nö / myikötö **kasikwo-myi**  
great lord-GEN / command **be.awesome-AVGER**  
‘Because [my] sovereign’s command is awesome.’

94. 14:3468.4-5 – UD  
 刀奈布倍美許曾 / 奈尔与曾利鷄米  
**twonap-upey-myi** kösö / na-ni yösör-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.’

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  
 多尔世婆美 / 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	0	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-sö / masaka si **yö-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 / 伊吕尔豆奈由米  
**kwopiysi-kye-pa** / 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!’
100. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa  
 久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里势牟  
 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  
 ‘**Because** the province **is far**, [I] desire [to see] your eyes.’

Table 4-7: Distribution of the conjunctive gerund *-Npa* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

#### 4.3.1.9 Concessive gerund *-Ntö[mo]*

The concessive gerund *-Ntö[mo]* creates a concessive clause (i.e. ‘although...’).

Like the conditional *-aNpa* and the conjunctive gerund *-Npa*, it attaches to both verb and adjectival verb stems. When attaching to an adjectival verb stem, it follows the adjectival verb evidential suffix *-ka*.

101. 14:3473.3-5 – UD

等抱可騰母 / 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 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.’

102. 14:3539.3 – UD

安夜抱可等 / 安夜抱可等 / 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 / breath-LOC 1.S-POSS do-ATTR

‘**Although it is dangerous**, still I sigh for a dear girl [who is another] man’s wife.’

Table 4-8: Distribution of the concessive gerund *-Ntö* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

#### 4.3.1.10 Nominalizer *-aku*

The nominalizer *-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 *-ni*. It is only attested twice with an adjectival verb.

103. 14:3489.3-4 – UD

之牙可久尔 / 伊毛呂乎多弓天

**siNkye-k-aku-ni** / imwo-rö-wo tate-te

**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-nō / **wosi-kye-ku** mö 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.

**Table 4-9: Distribution of the nominalizer -aku across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

#### 4.3.1.11 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 / 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.’
107. 20:4425.1-4 – UD  
 佐伎毛利尔 / 由久波多我世登 / 刀布比登乎 / 美流我登毛之佐  
 sakyimwori n-i / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se tö / twop-u pyitö-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 4-10: Distribution of the nominalizer *-sa* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

#### 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*<sup>243</sup>, 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

須美与氣乎 / 都久之尔伊多里弓 / 古布志氣毛波母

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 /

**be.longing\_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!’

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<sup>243</sup> I am thankful to Alexander Vovin (p.c.) for this suggestion.

110. 14:3408.4-5 – Kamitukeno  
 波之奈流兒良師 / 安夜尔可奈思母  
 pasi nar-u KWO-ra si / aya n-i **kanasi-mö**  
 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-mö**  
 think-NML-GEN-**be.painful.AVFIN-EXCL**  
 ‘Oh, it **is painful** to think [about]!’
112. 14:3509.3-5– UD  
 宿奈敝杼母 / 古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母  
 NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö / kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö / 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!’
113. 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 / 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-nö / otö-N-**taka-si-mö** 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  
 於伎弓可奈之毛  
 ok-yi-te **kanasi-mwo**  
 leave\_behind-INF-SUB **be.sad.AVFIN-EXCL**  
 ‘Leaving [her] behind, **oh**, [I] **am sad!**’

Table 4-11: Distribution of the exclamative *-mo* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10



### 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 / 可敝理見奈久弓 / 意富伎美乃 / 之許乃美多弓等 / 伊漚多都和例波  
 kyepu-yōri pa / kapyer-i-MYI **na-ku-te** / opo kyimyi-nō / sikō n-ō myi-tate tō / 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 / 布能未知可久弓 / 安波奈敝波  
 ma woN-kōmō-nō / pu-nō ma **tika-ku-te** / ap-an-ap-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.’

**Table 4-12: Distribution of the subordinative gerund *-te* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

## **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 *-Ntö*. 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<sup>244</sup>]-[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:

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<sup>244</sup> 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  
 和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
 wasura-kö-Npa kwosö / na-wo **kakye-n-ap-am-ye**  
 forget-come-COND<sup>245</sup> 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  
 pyitö-N-tuma kwo-rö-wo / ma **yuk-as-er-ap-umö**  
 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 tö [i]p-u pana-nö / **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-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.**’

## 5.4 Verbal classes

There are three main verbal classes: consonant-final stems, vowel-final stems, and irregular stems.

<sup>245</sup> 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 5-1: The basic inflectional paradigm for the verbs *ap-* ‘meet’ and *tat-* ‘rise’**

	<i>ap-</i> ‘meet’	<i>tat-</i> ‘rise’
INF	ap-yi	tat-i
IMP	ap-ye	tat-e
FIN	ap-u	tat-u
ATTR	ap-u ~ ap-o	tat-u ~ tat-o
NEG	ap-an-	tat-an-
EV	ap-ey	tat-e
TENT	ap-am-	tat-am-

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 5-2: The basic inflectional paradigm for the verb *wasure-* ‘forget’**

	<i>wasure-</i> ‘meet’
INF	<i>wasure</i>
IMP	<i>wasure</i>
FIN	<i>wasur-u</i>
ATTR	<i>wasur-uru</i>
NEG	<i>wasure-n-</i>
EV	<i>wasur-ure</i>
TENT	<i>wasur-am-</i>



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’), *kö-* ‘come,’ *se- ~ si- ~ -sö* ‘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<sup>246</sup>: *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.

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<sup>246</sup> 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’**

	<i>myi-</i> ‘see’
INF	<i>myi</i>
IMP	[ <i>myi</i> ; <i>myi-yö</i> ] <sup>247</sup>
FIN	[ <i>myi</i> ]
ATTR	<i>myi-ru</i>
NEG	[ <i>myi-n-</i> ] ~ <i>myi-Ns-</i>
EV	<i>myi-re</i>
TENT	<i>myi-m-</i>

#### 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):

<sup>247</sup> The forms in brackets are not attested in EOJ, but are attested in WOJ.

4. 20:4350.5 – Kamitupusa  
 加倍理久麻泥尔  
 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  
 和礼由伎弓 / 可敝里久流未佶  
 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 *kö-* two times: once as *kö-Ns-* ‘come-NEG-’ (in 20:4323.5), but also once as *kö-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 kö-**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<sup>248</sup>, 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’**

	<i>kö-</i> ‘come’
INF	k-yi
IMP	kö
FIN	k-u
ATTR	k-uru ~ k-u
NEG	kö-Ns- ~ kö-n-
EV	k-ure
TENT	kö-m-

### 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

<sup>248</sup> It is helpful to note that /k/ deletes in Middle Japanese verbal morphology in the sequence /aku/, 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 *-sö* 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’**

	<i>se-</i> ‘do’
INF	<i>s-i</i>
IMP	<i>se ~ -sö</i>
FIN	<i>s-u</i>
ATTR	<i>s-uru</i>
NEG	<i>se-n-</i>
EV	<i>s-ure</i>
TENT	<i>se-m- ~ si-m-</i>

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  
 那乎杼可母思武  
*na-wo* [a]Ntö kamö **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’**

	<i>ar-</i> ‘exist’
INF	ar-i
IMP	ar-e
FIN	ar-i
ATTR	ar-u ~ ar-wo
NEG	ar-an-
EV	ar-e
TENT	ar-am-

### 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~~亓~~  
 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  
 勢奈能我素侶母 / 佐夜尔布良思都  
 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.’

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 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 said: ‘**Be longing for** [me].’
11. 14:3374.3-4 – Muzasi  
 麻左弓尔毛 / 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 / 斯努比尔勢毛等  
 ap-an-ap-aNpa / **sinwop-yi n-i** se-m-wo tö  
 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] **really** want to wear [my] lord’s garment.’
14. 14:3385.4-5 – Simotupusa  
 麻末乃於須比尔 / 奈美毛登杼吕尔  
 mama-nö 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.’

15. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa  
 多飛等弊等 / 麻多妣尔奈理奴  
 tapiy tö [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 come **to be** a true journey.’
16. 20:4349.1-3 – Kamitupusa  
 毛母久麻能 / 美知波紀尔志乎 / 麻多佐良尔  
 mwomö kuma-nö / 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 / 阿夜尔可毛祢牟  
 yeNpyi pa tök-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-nö / **suNkiy n-ö KÖ-nö** 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 / 之許乃美多弓等  
 opo kyimyi-nö / **sikö 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 / 乎呂田尔於波流 / 多波美豆良  
**apa wo-rö n-ö / wo-rö** 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 *tapami*<sup>249</sup> 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  
**kiyipey 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.’
23. 14:3426.1-3 – Mitinöku  
 安比豆祢能 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美 / 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] 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-kakyi ma-yu myi**  
 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.

<sup>249</sup> This appears to be a term for a specific type of vine.

25. 14:3400.3-5 - Sinano  
 左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美弓波 / 多麻等比吕波牟  
 saNsare [i]si mö / kyimyi 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 have stepped on a little stone, [I] shall pick up it up **as** a jewel.’
26. 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**  
 PN-GEN-road-ACC / go-INF-SUB come-ATTR-TERM **COP**  
 ‘**Being** until [I] go and come [back] on the road to Nanipa.’
27. 20:4373.4– Simotukeno  
 之許乃美多弓等  
 sikö n-ö myi-tate **tö**  
 despicable COP-ATTR HON-shield **COP**  
 ‘**Being** a despicable soldier.’

#### 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  
 麻都我宇良尔 / 佐和惠宇良太知 / 麻比登其等 / 於毛抱須奈母呂  
 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  
 阿是曾母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴  
 aNse sö mö kö yöpyi / yös-i-rö-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 *tö*

The defective verb *tö*, 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 *nör-* ‘tell.’ In these instances *tö* functions as a quotative marker. Additionally, *tö* 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 **tö** [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-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  
和須良牟<sub>碼</sub>  
wasur-am-u **te**  
try\_to\_forget-TENT-FIN **DV**  
‘[I] **said** [I] would try to forget [them].’
33. 20:4406.3-5 – Kamitukeno  
久佐麻久良 / 多妣波久流之<sub>等</sub> / 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.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  
伊麻波許伎奴<sub>等</sub> / 伊母尔都氣許曾  
ima pa kök-yi-n-u **tö** / 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  
和例乎美於久流<sub>等</sub> / 多々里之毛己呂  
ware-wo myi-okur-u **tö** / tat-ar-i-si mwoköro  
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  
可都思加能 / 麻末能手兒奈乎 / 麻許登賀聞 / 和礼尔余須<sub>等</sub>布  
katusika-nö / mama-nö TENKWO-na-wo / ma-kötö Nkamo / ware-ni yös-u **tö**  
[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  
多飛<sub>等</sub>弊等 / 麻多妣尔奈理奴  
tapiy **tö** [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  
佐左良乎疑 / 安志<sub>等</sub>比登其等 / 加多理与良斯毛  
sasara woNkiy / asi **tö** pyitö-N-kötö / katar-i-yör-asi-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 / 安夜尔可奈之伎  
 aNtö se-rö **tö** kamö / aya n-i kanasi-kyi  
 what do-IMP **DV** EPT / extreme COP-INF be.adorable-AVATTR  
 ‘[I] wonder, what would [you] **say** [I] do? [You] are extremely adorable.’
40. 14:3469.1-2 – UD  
 由布氣尔毛 / 許余比登乃良路  
 yupu key-ni mwo / kö yöpyi **tö** 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  
 佐伎毛利尔 / 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  
 sakyimwori n-i / yuk-u pa ta-Nka se **tö** / twop-u pyitö-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 / 多比等於米保等  
 warö tapyi pa / tapyi **tö** omeyp-o-tö  
 1.S journey TPT / journey **DV** think-EV-CONC  
 ‘[I] **think** my journey [is] a journey, but...’
43. 14:3435.5 – Kamitukeno  
 比多敝登於毛敝婆  
 pyita-pye **tö** 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 / 安努奈由可武等  
 kusa kakey-nö / anwo-na yuk-am-u **tö**  
 grass shade-GEN / PN-LOC go-TENT-FIN **DV**  
 ‘[I] **thought** [I] would go to ‘grass-shade’ Ano.’
45. 14:3473.4-5 – UD  
 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於由尔美要都留  
 ne-m-wo **tö** ka KWO-rö-Nka / oy-u-ni myi-ye-t-uru

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 / 佐氣久阿利麻豆

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 / 可之良加伎奈豆 / 佐久阿例豆  
 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 / 安蘊能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎  
 kamyitukeynwo / 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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 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<sup>250</sup>. 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.

<sup>250</sup> 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-sö*, described in the next section.

50. 20:4385.1-2 – Simotupusa  
 由古作枳尔 / 奈美奈等惠良比  
 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-sö*

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 *-sö* ‘do’ as a suffix because it attaches to the infinitive form of the verb, and not the verbal root<sup>251</sup>. 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 *-sö*. 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 *-sö* ‘do’ is that it allows the addition of further affixation in the form of an

<sup>251</sup> It should be noted that in WOJ with the verb *se-* ‘do,’ the negative-imperative construction *na- -sö* 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 *-sö* ‘do’ is a dummy auxiliary like the auxiliary *-ar-* described in section 5.7.2.3.1.

52. 14:3398.4-5 - Sinano  
 伊思井乃手兒我 / 許登奈多延曾祢  
 isiWI-nö TENKWO-Nka / kötö **na-taye-sö-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  
 於久乎奈加祢曾 / 麻左可思余加婆  
 oku-wo **na-kane-sö** / 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.’
54. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi  
 和尔奈多要曾祢  
 wa-ni **na-taye-sö-n-e**  
 1.S-DAT NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP  
 ‘**Don’t break up** with me.’
55. 14:3452.1-2 – UD  
 於毛思路伎 / 野乎婆奈夜吉曾  
 omwosirwo-kyi / NWO-woNpa **na-yak-yi-sö**  
 be.attractive-AVATTR / moor-ACC.EMPH NEG.IMP-burn-INF-do  
 ‘**Do not burn** the attractive fields!’
56. 14:3526 – UD  
 安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曾祢  
 a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tö / **na-yö-[o]möp-ar-i-sö-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]mop-* ‘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 epenthetical *-y-*, rather than a morpheme. While he may be right, I hesitate to accept

this due to no other examples of an epethetical -y- in the entire EOJ corpus. Due to the problems involved, I simply gloss the *yö* in this form as ‘UNC.’

**Table 5-8: Comparison of the distribution of the negative-imperative *na-* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
<i>na-</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
<i>na-V-sö</i>	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

#### 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  
 伊香保呂尔 / 安麻久母伊都藝  
 ikapo-rö-ni / ama-kumö **i-tuNk-yi**  
 PN-DIM-LOC / rain-cloud **DLF-stetch\_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-nö [u]pey-ni / **i-kaNkar-u** kumwo-nö  
 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 / 手兒尔伊由伎安比  
 sawatari-nö / 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

### 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-nö / **ka-nar-u** ma siNtum-yi / kö-rö are pyimwo tök-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 / 伊壱弓登阿我久流  
**ka-nar-u** ma situm-yi / iNte-te tö 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

## 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]tö[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 pronominal 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 5.5.2.1.1.1.4. 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.

### 5.5.2.1.1.1.1 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  
 tökyi 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 / 伊毛我乎杼許尔  
 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 / 由伎加豆奴加毛  
 MYITI-nö NANKA-TI pa / yuk-yi-kate-n-u kamwo  
 road-GEN long-road TPT / **go-INF-POT-NEG-ATTR EPT**  
 ‘[I] wonder, **can [I] make it** on this long road...’
66. 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 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  
 伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弓毛母也  
 ipye-n[i] ar-u imö-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  
 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?’
69. 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 / 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 [made of wood from] Adatara in Mitinöku.’
70. 14:3425.4-5 – Simotukeno  
 蕪良由登伎努与 / 奈我已許呂能礼  
 swora-yu tö **k-yi**-n-wo yö / na-Nka kökörö nör-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-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...’
72. 14:3460.3-5 – UD  
 尔布奈未尔 / 和我世乎夜里弓 / 伊波布許能戸乎  
 nipu-namiy-ni / wa-Nka se-wo **yar-i**-te / ipap-u könö 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.’

### 5.5.2.1.1.1.2 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 / 意伎弓曾伎怒也  
 suswo-ni **tör-i-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. 20:4321.2-4 - Töpotuapumi  
 美許等加我布理 / 阿須由利也 / 加曳我伊牟多祢乎<sup>252</sup>  
 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 / 伊尔之与比欲利 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
 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!’
76. 14:3362b.3-5 – Sagamu  
和須礼遊久 / 伎美我名可氣弓 / 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 / 可美乎伊乃里弓 / 佐都夜奴伎  
 amey tuti-nö / kamyi-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 / 祢吕尔都久多思  
 woN-tukupa-nö / ne-rö-ni tuku **tas-i**

<sup>252</sup> 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  
 奈尔波都尔 / 美布祢於呂須惠 / 夜蘓加奴伎  
 nanipa tu-ni / myi-pune **orö-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  
 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.INF**  
 ‘[You] **are hiding** in the small peak of Umaguta.’
81. 20:4350.1-4 – Kamitupusa  
 尔波奈加能 / 阿須波乃可美尔 / 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** kö wa-Nka se-  
 kwo  
 harbor-GEN EPT / reed-POSS middle-LOC exist-ATTR / jewel-DIM-sedge /  
**chop\_down-IMP** 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-IMP** / pray-IMP-COOR  
 ‘**Leaving** paper offerings to the deities of heaven and earth while praying.’

### 5.5.2.1.1.1.3 Adnominal function

In these examples the infinitive is used in an attributive function, modifying the following noun.



84. 14:3411.1-3 – Kamitukeno  
 多胡能祢尔 / 与西都奈波倍弓 / 与須礼騰毛  
 taNkwo-nö ne-ni / **yöse tuna** papey-te / yös-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 / usupyi-nö 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 / 以波比弊等於枳弓 / 麻為弓枳尔之乎  
 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** 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-nö** 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 / 手兒乃欲妣左賀 / 古要我祢弓  
 aNtuma-N-ti-nö / TENKWO-nö **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  
 安乎祢吕尔 / 伊佐欲布久母能 / 余曾里都麻波母  
 awo ne-rö-ni / isaywop-u kumö-nö / **yösör-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**?’

#### 5.5.2.1.1.1.4 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 / 佐吉泥己受祢牟  
 papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-yi-[i]Nte-**kö-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.’
91. 20:4337.3-4 - Suruga  
 知々波々尔 / 毛能波須價尔弓  
 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  
 simötukyenwo / 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 / 古比須安良米可毛  
 tukupa-nö 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-nö imö-ni / mwonö **ip-aNs-u** k-yi-n-i-te / omwop-yi-N-kurusi-mö  
 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 kwopiy-m-ey ya mö  
**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 / 由久左伎之良受 / 由久和礼乎  
 yamiy n-ö ywo-nö / 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  
 多妣由伎尔 / 由久等之良受弓  
 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 / 毛能波須價尔弓  
titi papa-ni / mwonö [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]tö[mo]*.

#### 5.5.2.1.2.1 Conditional gerund *-a[N]pa* ~ *-[N]pa*

The conditional gerund *-a[N]pa* introduces a conditional clause, with the meaning of ‘if X.’ It has two allomorphs: *-a[N]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 *-a[N]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 / 尔閑乃宇良等 / 安比弓之阿良婆  
töpeytapomyi / sirupa-nö iswo-tö / nipey-nö ura-tö / 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  
 佐祢乎佐祢弓婆  
 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 / 美佐可尔多志弓 / 蕪渥布良婆  
 asiNkara-nö / 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 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美 / 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.’
107. 20:4379.1-3 – Simotukeno  
 之良奈美乃 / 与曾流波麻倍尔 / 和可例奈婆  
 sira namyi-nö / yösör-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  
 和須良許婆古曾  
wasura-kö-Npa<sup>253</sup> kwosö  
**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

<sup>253</sup> This reverse compounding is discussed in section 5.9.

amey tusi-nö / iture-nö kamyi-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 / 祢呂乃佐左葉能 / 都由思母能 / 奴礼豆和伎奈婆  
 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-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  
 於伎豆伊可婆 / 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**  
 pray-INF-COOR / exist.HON-IMP 1.S-POSS beloved\_man-DIM / 1.S-ACC EPT  
**think-COND**  
 ‘My dearly beloved, **if** [you] **long for** me, then keep praying.’

### 5.5.2.1.2.1.1 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 / 伎弥之布美豆波 / 多麻等比吕波牟  
 saNsare [i]si mö / kyimyi 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 **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 / 古要弓伊奈波 / 安礼波古非牟奈  
 TENKWO-nö ywoNp-yi saka / kwoye-te **in-apa** / are pa **kwopiy-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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	1	0	2	6	0	2	1	1	1	2	12

### 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  
保登等藝須 / 奈久許惠伎氣波  
potötöNkyisu / nak-u köwe **kyik-ey-pa**  
cuckoo / cry-ATTR voice **hear-EV-CONJ**  
‘**Because** [I] **hear** the crying voice [of] the cuckoo...’
117. 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...’
118. 20:4351.5 – Kamitupusa  
伊母尔志阿良祢婆  
imö 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-nö / 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-nö / tök-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  
 麻都能氣乃 / 奈美多流美礼波  
 matu-nö key-nö / 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 / 多麻毛許曾 / 飛氣波多延須礼  
 pyitati-n[i] ar-u / nasaka-nö umyi-nö / tama mwo kösö / **piyk-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’ line up [their] tide-  
 boats...’
124. 14:3476a.3-4 - UD  
 多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敝由家婆  
 tat-wo tuku-nö / **nwoNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Npa**  
 rise-ATTR moon-GEN / **flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONJ**  
 ‘**When** the moon that rises **continues to flow away**...’

Table 5-12: Distribution of the conjunctive gerund *-[N]pa* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	1	2	15

### 5.5.2.1.2.3 Concessive gerund *-[N]tö[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  
 於也波佐久礼騰  
 oya pa **sak-ure-Ntö**  
 parents TPT **keep\_apart-EV-CONC**  
 ‘**Although** [our] parents **split** [us] **apart**...’
127. 20:4419.1-2 – Muzasi  
 伊波呂尔波 / 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 / 麻多妣尔奈理奴  
 tapiy tö [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** [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-tö  
 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-nö / woka-nö kuku-myira / ware tum-ye-Ntö  
 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  
 宿奈敝杼母 / 古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母  
 NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö / kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö / 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-Ntö  
 rice\_plant TPT pound-NEG-EV-CONC  
 ‘**Though** [I] **did not pound** the rice plants...’

Table 5-13: Distribution of the concessive gerund *-[N]tö[mo]* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	2	3	1	0	0	1	1	2	2	7

### 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  
可里婆祢尔 / 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] stump.'
136. 20:4337.1-2 - Suruga  
美豆等利乃 / 多知能已蘓岐尔  
myiNtu töri-nö / **tat-i-nö 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  
可美都氣努 / 安蘓能麻素武良 / 可伎武太伎  
kamyitukeynwo / aswo-nö 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 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].’
139. 14:3374.1-2 – Muzasi  
 武蔵野尔 / 宇良敞可多也伎  
 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-nö** / 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**.’
142. 14:3426.4 – Mitinöku  
 斯努比尔勢毛等  
**sinwop-yi** n-i se-m-wo tö  
**long\_for**-NML COP-INF do-TENT-ATTR DV  
 ‘[I] think [you] should be **longing for** [me].’
143. 20:4376.1-2 – Simotukeno  
 多妣由伎尔 / 由久等之良受弓  
 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*].’
144. 20:4364.1-2 – Pitati  
 佐岐牟理尔 / 多々牟佐和伎尔  
 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  
 阿加古比須奈牟 / 伊母賀加奈志作  
 a-ka **kwop-yi** s-unam-u / imö-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  
 多知乃佐和伎尔 / 阿比美弓之  
**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-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** tö 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.’

### 5.5.2.1.3.1.1 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  
 伊閑尔之弓 / 古非都々 安良受波  
 ipey n-i s-i-te / kwopiy-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  
 PN-GEN-river / below make\_dirty-PROG-ATTR-ACC / **know-NEG-NML** do-  
 INF-SUB / beloved\_man-DIM-DIM-COM two-CL / PREF-sleep.INF-SUB  
 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-tö / **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 5-14: Distribution of the nominalizer *-i* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
2	0	2	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	24

### 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  
 和我伊波吕尔 / 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-rö-ni / yuk-am-wo pyitö möNka / **kusa makura** / taNpyi pa kurusi  
**tö / 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-rö-Nka mak-yi-kö-m-u / tuku-nö **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  
 麻由須比爾 / 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 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  
 余尔母多欲良尔 / 故吕河伊波奈久尔  
 yö-ni mö taywora n-i / kwo-rö-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  
 伊多太伎弓 / 美都良乃奈可尔 / 阿敝麻可麻久毛  
 itaNtak-yi-te / **myitura-nö 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  
 奈尔波我多 / 久毛為尔美由流 / 志麻奈良奈久尔  
**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  
 比等能兒能 / 宇良我奈之家乎 / 祢乎遠徹奈久尔  
 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  
 兒呂我可奈門欲 / 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  
 古呂波伊徹杼母 / 伊末太年那久尔  
 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 5-15: Distribution of the nominalizer *-aku* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	10 <sup>254</sup>

<sup>254</sup> 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 Mitinöku.

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 / 多妣波由久等母 / 佐々己亘由加牟  
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 [them] up and go.'
169. 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-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  
勢奈能我素亘母 / 佐夜尔布良思都  
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.’

172. 20:4405.3-5 – Kamitukeno  
都氣志非毛 / 伊刀尔奈流等母 / 和波等可自等余  
tukey-si piymwo / itwo n-i **nar-u** tömö / wa pa tök-aNsi tö 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 / pyik-aNpa **nur-u nur-u**  
UNC vine / pull-COND **untangle-FIN untangle-FIN**  
‘The *ipawi* vines **untangle** if [they’re] pulled [up].’
174. 20:4424.4-5 – Muzasi  
美佐可多婆良婆 / 麻佐夜可尔美无  
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.’
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 / kö-rö are pyimwo **tök-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  
伊蘓尔布理 / 宇能波良和多流  
iswo-ni pur-i / unö-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-pyitö-nö / ware-wo **myi-okur-u** tö / tat-ar-i-si mwoköro  
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. 20:4372.3-4 – Pitati  
 可閑理美須 / 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. 14:3386.2-3 – 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] **made an offering** of some new rice from Kadusika...’
180. 20:4388.1-2 – Simotupusa  
 多飛等弊等 / 麻多妣尔奈理奴  
 tapiy tö [i]p-ye-Ntö / ma-taNpyi n-i **nar-i-n-u**  
 journey COP 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.’
181. 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.’
182. 20:4357.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
 和藝毛古我 / 藕豆母志保々尔 / 奈伎志曾母波由  
 wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-Nka / swote mö sipopo n-i / nak-yi-si sö [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] **remember** how my darling cried [so much for me], even her sleeves were  
 soaking wet.’
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 **kö-m-u** tö 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  
 tayupyi kata / sipo **myit-i-watar-u**  
 PN lagoon / tide **fill-INF-cross-FIN**  
 ‘The tide **fills up** Tayupi lagoon.’

185. 14:3572.2-5 – UD  
 阿自久麻夜末乃 / 由豆流波乃 / 布敷麻留等伎尔 / 可是布可受可母  
 aNsikuma yama-nö / yuNturupa-nö / pupum-ar-u tökyi-ni / kaNse **puk-aNs-u**  
 kamö  
 PN mountain-GEN / *daphniphyllum\_macropodum* -GEN / be.unopened-PROG-  
 ATTR time-LOC / wind **blow-NEG-FIN** EPT  
 ‘[I] wonder, **won’t** the winds **blow** when the *daphniphyllum macropodum*<sup>255</sup>  
 [buds] are [still] unopened, on Mt. Azikuma?’
186. 20:4425.5 – 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.’

There is one peculiar example that looks like it is a final form of a verb, shown below, that deserves some discussion.

187. 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  
 ‘The moon and sun, [they] **pass**, and although [they] go away...’

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 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.

<sup>255</sup> Also called a ‘false daphne.’

### 5.5.2.2.1.1 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 / 奈久許惠伎氣波 / 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 / 宇良尔佶尔家里  
 nö-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  
 putapoNkamyi / asi-key pyitö **nar-i**  
 PN / be.bad-AVATTR 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 / 阿可都枳尔迦理  
 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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
3	4	3	7	7	3	0	6	7	5	4	39

### 5.5.2.2.2 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.’

193. 14:3359a.1-3 - Suruga  
駿河能宇美 / 於思徹尔於布流 / 波麻都豆良  
suruNka-nö 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.’

#### Example of *-oro*

194. 14:3419.3 – Kamitukeno  
於毛比度路  
**omwop-yi-[i]Nt-worwo**  
**think-INF-go\_out-ATTR**  
‘[I] **think** [about it].’

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 / 弓尔刀里母之弓 / 美流乃須母  
sira tama-wo / te-ni twor-i-mös-i-te / **myi-ru**-nösu 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  
斯努比尔勢毛等 / 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** (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-n[i] **ar-u** / suNka-nö ara nö-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.

198. 20:4373.4 – Simotukeno  
 之許乃美多弓等  
 sikö **n-ö** myi-tate tö  
 despicable **COP-ATTR HON-shield COP**  
 ‘Being soldier **who is** despicable.’

Below are further examples of the the allomorphy of the attributive suffix, illustrating each function of this morpheme.

#### 5.5.2.2.2.1 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  
 wa-k-yimey-kwo-tö / puta-ri wa-Nka MYI-si / **uti-yes-uru** / suruNka-nö ne-ra pa  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-COM / two-CL we-POSS see.INF-PST.ATTR /  
 **PREF-approach-ATTR** / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT  
 ‘The peaks of Suruga, which my darling girl and I see and **approach** together.’
200. 14:3402.1-3 – Kamitukeno  
 比能具礼尔 / 宇須比乃夜麻乎 / 古由流日波  
 pyi-nö Nkure-ni / usupyi-nö 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  
 和我伊波吕尔 / 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. 14:3362a.3-5 – Sagamu  
 和須礼久流 / 伊毛我名欲妣弓 / 吾乎祢之奈久奈  
**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 out!’
203. 20:4380.3-5 – Simotukeno  
可美佐夫流 / 伊古麻多可祢尔 / 久毛曾多奈妣久  
**kami 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 / 伊波毛等杼吕尔 / 於都留美豆  
 tukupa ne-nö / ipa mwo töNtörö 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  
由古作枳尔 / 奈美奈等惠良比  
**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].’
207. 20:4355.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
 奈尔波我多 / 久毛為尔美由流 / 志麻奈良奈久尔  
 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  
 宇良夜須尔 / 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  
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.’
211. 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.’
212. 14:3465.3-4 – UD  
奴流我倍尔 / 安杼世呂登可母  
**n-uru**-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  
古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母  
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 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?’’

### 5.5.2.2.2.3 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. 20:4403.3-5 - Sinano  
阿乎久牟乃 / 等能妣久夜麻乎 / 古与弓伎怒加牟  
awo kumu-nö / tönöNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyö-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 / 加曳我伊牟多祢牟  
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 / aNtö kamö **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 / 伊田弓麻可良武  
keypu-nö pyi 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-beautiful girl-DIM TPT / who-POSS container QPT **hold-TENT-ATTR**  
‘Whose container **shall** the truly beautiful girl **hold**?’

220. 20:4355.1-2 – Kamitupusa  
 余曾尔能美 / 々弓夜和多良毛  
 yösö-ni nömyi / 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?’
221. 14:3500.1-2 – UD  
 牟良佐伎波 / 根乎可母乎布流  
 murasakyi pa / NE-wo kamö **wop-uru**  
 gromwell TPT / root-ACC EPT **finish-ATTR**  
 ‘As for the gromwell grass, [I’ve] **finished** [using all the] roots.’

#### 5.5.2.2.2.4 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  
 斯努比尔勢毛等 / 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.

### 5.5.2.2.2.5 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<sup>256</sup> 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*-<sup>257</sup> ‘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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<sup>256</sup> Mizushima (1972: 150) analyzed *kaywopa* as the attributive form of ‘come and go’ long before.

<sup>257</sup> 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.

225. 14:3526.1-2 – UD

奴麻布多都 / 可欲波等里我栖

numa puta-tu / **kay-wo** pa töri-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.’

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 either equally plausible or more plausible.

**Table 5-17: Distribution of the attributive suffix allomorphs across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-uru	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	5
-oro	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-ru	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
-o	2	0	1	6	6	2	1	2	2	3	4	25
-u	5	8	10	12	9	10	0	7	11	4	10	90
-ö*	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	6

\*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 Mitinöku 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/, /r/), 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 / 奈久許惠伎氣波  
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 / 奈尔須礼曾  
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  
伊麻許曾麻左礼

ima kösö **mas-ar-e**  
now FPT **be.superior-PROG-EV**  
'Now is indeed better.'

230. 20:4419.1-2 – Muzasi  
伊波呂爾波 / 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...'

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 / 伊刀母須敝奈之  
wakar-u-wo **myi-re-Npa** / itwo mö supye na-si  
separate-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 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
wasura-kö-Npa kwosö / na-wo **kakye-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  
 都久波能夜麻乎 / 古比須安良米可毛  
 tukupa-nö yama-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  
 曾能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尔多弓米也母  
 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]’
237. 20:4393.1-2 – Simotupusa  
 於保伎美能 / 美許等尔作例波  
 opo kyimyi-nö / 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  
 多妣己呂母 / 夜倍伎可佐祢弓 / 伊努礼等母  
 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  
 麻可奈思美 / 努礼婆許登尔豆 / 佐祢奈敝波 / 己許呂乃緒呂尔 / 能里  
 弓可奈思母  
 ma-kanasi-myi / **n-wore-Npa** kötö-ni [i]Nt-u / **sa-ne-n-ap-ye-pa** / kökörü-nö  
 WO-rö-ni / nö-r-i-te kanasi-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  
 多刀都久能 / 努賀奈敝由家婆 / 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 rising moon **continues to flow away**, [she] will be longing for [me].’

241. 14:3550.1-2 – UD  
 於志弓伊奈等 / 伊祢波都可祢杼  
 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. 14:3572.1 – 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. 20:4427.3-5 - 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[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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	2	2	5	1	1	1	4	5	5	4	32

#### 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 *-yö*. This is discussed in section 5.5.2.2.4.1 below.

244. 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.’

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 / 和我伎多流麻弓  
 mömö-yö **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 / 已波比弓麻多祢  
 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  
 安乎奈多要曾祢  
 a-wo **na-taye-sö-n-e**  
 1.S-ACC **NEG.IMP-break.INF-do-DES-IMP**  
 ‘**Don’t break** [up] with me.’
248. 14:3378.5 – Muzasi  
 和尔奈多要曾祢  
 wa-ni **na-taye-sö-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-nö / myi-ne pap-o kumwo-wo / myi-tötö **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** mö  
 1.S-ACC **entice-DES-IMP** EPT  
 ‘Please **entice** me!’
251. 14:3426.5 – Mitinöku  
 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  
 奈我已許呂能礼  
 na-Nka kökörö **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 / 為祢豆夜良佐祢  
 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 / 伊母尔都氣許曾  
 ima pa kök-yi-n-u tö / imö-ni **tukey-kös-ö**  
 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  
 伊侶兒多婆里尔  
 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-tö **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  
 kö yöpyi Ntani / tuma **yös-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  
 奈与母波里曾祢  
 na-yö-[o]möp-ar-i-sö-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-wo si [o]mwop-aNpa  
**exist.HON-IMP** 1.S-POSS beloved\_man-DIM / 1.S-ACC EPT think-COND  
 ‘If [you] love<sup>258</sup> me, [then] exist, my dearly beloved!’

<sup>258</sup> 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**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-[y]e	2	1	4	1	2	1	1	1	3	0	0	5
-i	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
-ö	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

#### 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  
 多麻古須氣 / 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**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-Ø	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
-yö	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 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

安我弓等都氣呂 / 許礼乃波流母志

a-Nka te-tö **tukey-rö** / köre n-ö paru mös-i

own-POSS hand-COM **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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

### 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  
可里婆祢尔 / 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 / 伊吕尔豆奈由米  
muNsasi NWO-nö / ukyera-Nka pana-nö / irö-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  
奈美多都奈由米  
namyi **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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2

### 5.5.2.2.7 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  
 波尔思奈能 / 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 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]!’
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 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] **would want to meet**, [when she’s] all by [her]self.’
274. 14:3436.3-5 – Kamitukeno  
 毛流夜麻乃 / 宇良賀礼勢奈那 / 登許波尔毛我母  
 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  
 和尔奈多要曾祢  
 wa-ni **na-taye-sö-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-nö / myi-ne pap-o kumwo-wo / myi-tötö **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 – Mitinöku  
 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].’
280. 20:4367. 5 – Pitati  
 伊母波之奴波尼  
 imö 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  
 許余比太尔 / 都麻余之許西祢  
 kö yöpyi Ntani / tuma **yös-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  
 伊弓安礼波伊可奈  
 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 / kyimiyi-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 **tök-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 5-23: Distribution of the desiderative *-ana* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	0	2	5	4	1	1	0	2	0	0	10

### 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  
 和波等可自等余  
 wa pa **tök-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:**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

### 5.5.2.2.9 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  
 奈曾許己波 / 伊能祢良要奴毛  
 naNsö kökōNpa / 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 P<sub>Jn</sub> 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!’
289. 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  
伎美我美家思志 / 安夜尔伎保思母  
kyimy-i Nka myi-kyesi si / 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.’
291. 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 / 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  
己枳尔之布祢乃 / 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  
 伊毛呂乎多亓天 / 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 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  
 西美度波久未受 / 多知度奈良須母  
 se myiNtwo pa kum-aNs-u / tat-i-N-two **naras-umö**  
 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  
 宇良野能夜麻尔 / 都久可多与留母  
 uraNWO yama-ni / tuku **kata-yör-umö**  
 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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	10

#### 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-tökö-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 tanömey-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 / 曾米麻之乎  
 irö-N-puka-ku / se-na-Nka körömö pa / **sömey-masi-wo**  
 color-GEN-be.deep-AVINFIN / 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  
 為祢弓己麻思乎 / 世久得四里世婆  
 wi-ne-te **kö-masi-wo** / sek-u tö 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

#### 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

-*urasi*/*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 / 蘓比乃波里波良 / 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  
 安伎奈乃夜麻尔 / 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**  
 ‘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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2

#### 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. 14:3557.1-2 – UD  
 奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与  
**nayam-asi**-kye / pyitö-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’**

SUFFIX \ STEM	Attributive	Infinitive	Final	Evidential
<i>ip-an-</i> ‘say-NEG-’	<i>ip-an-u</i>	<i>ip-aNs-u</i>	<i>ip-aNs-u</i>	<i>ip-an-e</i>
<i>wasure-n-</i> ‘forget-NEG-’	<i>wasure-n-u</i>	<i>wasure-Ns-u</i>	<i>wasure-Ns-u</i>	<i>wasure-n-e</i>

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<sup>259</sup>, 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 / 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**  
 ‘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

<sup>259</sup> 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  
奴礼杼安加奴乎 / 安杼加安我世牟  
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  
伊毛贺古比之久 / 和須良延奴加母  
imwo-Nka kwopyisi-ku / **wasur-aye-n-u** kamö  
beloved\_girl-POSS be.longing\_for-AVINFIN / **forget-PASS-NEG-ATTR EPT**  
‘‘[My] beloved is longing for [me], [I] wonder, **can [I] not forget** [her]?’
312. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi  
伊尔之与比欲利 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
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**  
‘From the evening when [he] departed, [I] **have continuously not met** [my] dear  
beloved!’
313. 20:4413.4-5 – Muzasi  
西吕我馬伎已无 / 都久乃之良奈久  
se-rö-Nka mak-yi-kö-m-u / tuku-nö **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  
故吕河伊波奈久尔  
kwo-rö-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 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美 / 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.’

316. 14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno  
 伊之布麻受 / 蕪良由登伎努与  
 isi **pum-aNs-u** / swora-yu tö k-yi-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!’
317. 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 / 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 / 祢呂尔可須美為 / 須宜可提尔  
 tukupa ne-nö / ne-rö-ni kasumyi wi / **suNkiy-kaNte-n-i**  
 PN peak-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC mist sit.INF / **pass.INF-POT-NEG-INF**  
 ‘**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  
 tukupa-nö yama-wo / **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 / 伊母尔志阿良祢婆  
 napo paNta samu-si / imö n-i si **ar-an-e-Npa**  
 still skin be.cold-FIN / beloved \_girl COP-INF EPT **exist-NEG-EV-CONJ**  
 ‘Still [my] skin is cold, because it **is not** [my] beloved [who will warm me up].’
321. 14:3532.1-3 – UD  
 波流能野尔 / 久佐波牟古麻能 / 久知夜麻受  
 paru-nö NWO-ni / kusa pam-u kwo-[u]ma-nö / 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  
 西美度波久未受 / 多知度奈良須母  
 se myiNtwo pa **kum-aNs-u** / tat-i-N-two naras-umö  
 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!’

323. 14:3565.1-2 – UD  
 可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈牟  
 kanö kwo-rö-tö / **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  
 yamiy n-ö ywo-nö / yuk-u sakyi **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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	2	4	7	4	3	1	4	6	2	5	47

### 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 *-kV-*, the two fuse into the portmanteau form *-kyem-*, shown in example (326) below.

325. 14:3400.3-5 - Sinano  
 左射礼思母 / 伎弥之布美豆波 / 多麻等比呂波牟  
 saNsare [i]si mö / kyimyi 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 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟  
 papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-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  
 和須良牟碼  
 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 / 美流比登奈思尔  
 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 / 都氣夜良麻久母  
 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  
 1.S-POSS man-DIM-ACC / what EPT say-TENT-ATTR  
 ‘What **should** [I] **call** my beloved?’
331. 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 / 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  
 斯努比尔勢毛等  
 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-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  
多志溼毛等伎尔 / 阿母我米母我母  
**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  
 和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
 wasura-kö-Npa<sup>260</sup> kwosö / na-wo **kakye-n-ap-am-ye**  
 forget-come-COND FPT / you-ACC **call\_out-NEG-ITER-TENT-EV**  
 ‘If [you] forget to come, [I] **shall not call out** for you **again and again!**’
338. 20:4372.12-14 – Pitati  
 阿例波伊波々牟 / 毛呂々々波 / 佐祁久等麻乎須  
 are pa **ipap-am-u** / mworö-mworö pa / sakye-ku tö mawos-u  
 1.S TPT **pray-TENT-ATTR** / many-REDUP TPT / be.safe-AVINFIN 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 / 刀尔多弓米也母  
 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]’
340. 20:4392 – Simotupusa  
 有都久之波々尔 / 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.’

<sup>260</sup> This unusual morpheme order is discussed in section 5.9.

341. 14:3383.4-5 – Kamitupusa  
 久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里勢牟  
 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  
 夜蘓志麻須義弓 / 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 / 野尔毛安波奈牟  
 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 / 可里弓伎奈波毛  
 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  
 伊佶弓伊奈波 / 伊豆思牟伎弓可 / 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 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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	6	1	10	11	5	2	3	10	3	7	36

### 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.<sup>261</sup>

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  
已比尔志弓 / 古米知夜須良牟 / 和加美可奈志母  
ipyi n-i s-i-te / kwo meyt-i **yas-uram-u** / wa-ka myi 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  
美夜能瀬河泊能 / 可保婆奈能 / 孤悲天香眠良武 / 伎曾母許余比毛  
myiyanöSE Nkapa-nö / kapo-N-pana-nö / kwopiy-te ka **N-Uram-u** / kyisö mö kö  
yöpyi mwo

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<sup>261</sup> Historically this appears to contain a non-past suffix *\*-ur-*.

PN river-GEN / face-GEN-blossom-COMP / long\_for.INF-SUB QPT **sleep-TENT2-ATTR** / last\_night FPT this evening FPT  
 ‘Longing for [you] is like morning glories on Miyanöse river. **Will** [we] **sleep** [together] this evening, [as we did] last night?’

349. 14:3532.4-5 – UD  
 安乎思努布良武 / 伊敝乃兒呂波母  
 a-wo **sinwop-uram-u** / ipye-nö KWO-rö pa mö  
 1.S-ACC **long\_for-TENT2-ATTR** / home-GEN girl-DIM TPT EPT  
 ‘[My] darling girl back home, who **must be longing** for me.’

### 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 / 思保美都奈武賀  
 myinanöse KApā-ni / 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 kökōri 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  
 阿加古比須奈牟 / 伊母賀加奈志作  
 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**  
**be.longing\_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 / kwoNpa-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**<sup>262</sup> [me].’

355. 14:3526.3-5 – UD

安我已許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曾祢

a-Nka kökөрө / puta **yuk-unam-ö** tö / na-yö-[o]möp-ar-i-sö-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. *for two women*]!’

356. 14:3552.1-4 – UD

麻都我宇良尔 / 佐和惠宇良太知 / 麻比登其等 / 於毛抱須奈母呂

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-GEN-word / **think-  
HON-TENT2-ATTR** COP

‘[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 / 伎曾毛己余必母

wa-wo ka **mat-unam-wo** / kysisö mwo kö 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 5-31: Distribution of the tentative 2 suffix -*uram-* ~ -*unam-* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-uram-	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
-unam-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	6

#### 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

<sup>262</sup> *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<sup>263</sup>. 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

和須礼西奈布母

**wasure se-n-ap-umö**

**forget.NML do-NEG-ITER-FIN-EXCL**

‘[I] **will not forget!**’

359. 14:3375.4-5 – Muzasi

伊尔之与比欲利 / 世吕尔安波奈布与

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 / 久尔乎佐杼抱美 / 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...’

<sup>263</sup> 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-nö 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  
 和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
 wasura-kö-Npa kwosö / 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 **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  
 kypatuku-nö / woka-nö kuku-myira / ware tum-ye-Ntö / kwo-ni mwo **nöt-an-ap-u**  
 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.’
364. 14:3448.1-2 – UD  
 波奈治良布 / 己能牟可都乎乃  
 pana-**N-tir-ap-u** / könö muka-tu wo n-ö  
 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-rö 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  
 波伴尔許呂波要  
 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	11

#### 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*<sup>264</sup>. 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

<sup>264</sup> 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 *ö*.

#### 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 / 努賀奈敝由家婆 / 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 rising moon **continues to flow** away, [she] will be longing for [me]!’

370. 14:3476b.4-5 – UD  
 奴我奈敝由家杼 / 和奴賀由乃敝波  
 nuNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Ntö / wanu yuNk-an-ö [i]pye pa  
 flow-ITER.INF-go-EV-CONC / 1.S go-NEG-ATTR house TPT  
 ‘Although [the moon] **continues to flow away**, the house I will not go to [is hers].’
371. 20:4432.1-2 – UD  
 佐弁奈弁奴 / 美許登尔阿礼婆  
 sapye-n-apye-n-u / myi-kötö n-i-ar-e-Npa  
 obstruct-NEG-ITER.INF-PERF-FIN / HON-word COP-INF-exist-EV-CONJ  
 ‘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.

372. 14:3483.1-3 – UD  
 比流等家波 / 等家奈敝比毛乃 / 和賀西奈尔  
 pyiru tök-ye-pa / **tökye-n-apye** pyimwo-nö / wa-Nka se-na-ni  
 daytime undo-EV-CONJ / **come\_undone-NEG-ITER.INF** string-GEN / 1.S-  
 POSS beloved\_man-DIM-DAT  
 ‘For my darling beloved, [his] cords **do not come undone** if [I] try to undo them in the daytime.’
373. 14:3529.4-5 – UD  
 祢奈敝古由惠尔 / 波伴尔許呂波要  
**ne-n-apye** kwo yuwe n-i / papa-ni kör-öp-aye  
 sleep-NEG-ITER.INF girl reason COP-INF / mother-DAT scold-ITER-  
 PASS-INF  
 ‘[I] was scolded by [my] mother because of a girl with whom [I] **was not sleeping**.’
374. 14:3555.5 – UD  
 宿莫敝兒由惠尔  
 NE-N-Apye KWO yuwe n-i  
 sleep-NEG-ITER.INF girl reason COP-INF

‘Because of a girl with whom [I] **am not sleeping**.’

375. 14:3478.3-5 – UD

阿抱思太毛 / 安波能敝思太毛 / 奈尔己曾与佐礼

ap-o siNta mwo / **ap-an-öpye** siNta mwo / na-ni kösö yös-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

衲奈敝乃可良尔 / 許等多可利都母

**ne-n-apye**-nö karani / kötö [i]ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-umö

**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 -apye across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8

### 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  
 和我可良尔 / 奈伎之許己呂乎 / 和須良延奴可毛  
 wa-Nka karani / nak-yi-si kökörü-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 / 穗尔弓之伎美我 / 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** tömö / KWO-rö-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.

381. 14:3529.5 – UD  
波伴尔許呂波要  
papa-ni **kör-öp-aye**  
mother-DAT **scold-ITER-PASS-INF**  
‘[I] **was scolded again and again** by [my] mother.’

### 5.5.2.3.5.3 Spontaneous action function

The function of *-aye-* indicating a spontaneous action is well-attested.

382. 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 / 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  
‘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 / 蕪弓母志保々尔 / 奈伎志曾母波由  
wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-Nka / swote mö sipopo n-i / nak-yi-si sö [o]**möp-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  
麻登保久於毛保由  
ma-töpo-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  
 伊米能未尔 / 母登奈見要都追 / 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 voice EPT  
 make.cry-ATTR  
 ‘[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 kök-yi-[i]k-u **MYI-y-u**  
 fisherman row-INF-go-ATTR **see-PASS-FIN**  
 ‘[I] **see** the fishermen rowing out.’

**Table 5-34: Distribution of the passive suffix *-aye* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7

### 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  
 加其佐倍美曳弓 / 余尔和須良礼受  
 kaNkö sapey myi-ye-te / yö-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  
 奈我波伴尔 / 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].’

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.

Table 5-35: Distribution of the passive suffix *-are-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

### 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  
 勢奈能我素佁母 / 佐夜尔布良思都  
 se-na-nö-Nka swoNte mö / 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 – Mitinöku  
 比毛牟須波佐祢  
 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-rö 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].’
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  
 ‘Will [you] make [me] **wear** [it] tomorrow? [no, you won’t]’
394. 14:3498.4-5 – UD  
 伎美波和須良酒 / 和礼和須流礼夜  
 kyimyi 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  
 祢尔多都久毛乎 / 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!’

Table 5-36: Distribution of the honorific suffix *-as-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	4

### 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 morpho-phonological rules of the language).

396. 14:3399.3-4 - Sinano  
 可里婆祢尔 / 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**...’

Table 5-37: Distribution of the causative suffix *-asime-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

### 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-*<sup>265</sup> 'CAUS-TENT.' Perhaps this was a dialect difference, or perhaps, (possibly) like the interative -*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 / 志留志亓都祁亓 / 伊母尔志良世牟  
 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**

<sup>265</sup> 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 / 枳世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都枳尔迦理  
 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**.’
404. 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**  
 ‘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 / tamötö-nö kuNtar-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 won’t]’
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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	5

### 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 / 奈流敝伎已等乎 / 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** kösö / na-ni yösör-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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

### 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 *ipyē* ‘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  
伊麻許曾麻左礼  
ima kōsō **mas-ar-e**  
now FPT **be.superior-PROG-EV**  
‘Now **is** even **better**.’

412. 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 tö / **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.’
413. 14:3351.1-2 – Pitati  
 筑波祢尔 / 由伎可母布良留  
 tukupa ne-ni / yukyi kamö **pur-ar-u**  
 PN peak-LOC / snow EPT **fall-PROG-ATTR**  
 ‘[I] wonder, is snow **be falling** on Mt. Tukupa?’
414. 20:4387.1-3 – Simotupusa  
 知波乃奴乃 / 古乃弓加之波能 / 保々麻例等  
 tipa-nō nu-nō / kwonöte 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...’
415. 20:4352.4-5 – Kamitupusa  
可良麻流伎美乎 / 波可礼加由加牟  
**karam-ar-u** kyimyi-wo / pakare ka yuk-am-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**?’
416. 14:3469.1-2 – UD  
 由布氣尔毛 / 許余比登乃良路  
 yupu key-ni mwo / kö yöpyi tö **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.’
417. 14:3546.1-3 – UD  
 安乎楊木能 / 波良路可波刀尔 / 奈乎麻都等  
 awo yaNKIY-nō / **par-ar-wo** kapa two-ni / na-wo mat-u tö  
 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.’
418. 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** tökyi-ni / kaNse puk-aNs-u kamö

*daphniphyllum\_macropodum*-GEN / **be.unopened-PROG-ATTR** time-LOC /  
wind blow-NEG-FIN EPT  
‘[I] wonder, won’t the winds blow when the *daphniphyllum macropodum* [buds]  
**are still unopened?**’

419. 20:4431.3-5 - UD  
奈々弁加流 / 去呂毛尔麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛  
nana-pye **k-ar-u** / körömwo-ni mas-er-u / kwo-rö-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 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  
奈美尔安布能須 / 安敵流伎美可母  
namyi-ni ap-u-nösu / **ap-yer-u** kyimiyi kamö  
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 / 多知尔奈里弓母  
na-Nka **pak-eyr-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 / 安敵流世奈可毛  
satwo-nö myi-naka-ni / **ap-yer-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 / 於毛敵良婆  
aNseka-N-kata / sipo piy-nö yuta n-i / **omwop-yer-aNpa**  
PN-GEN-lagoon / tide ebb.NML-COMP leisure COP-INF / **think-PROG-COND**



‘When [I] **am thinking**<sup>266</sup> leisurely, like the ebb of the tide in the lagoon of Azeka.’

424. 14:3544.1-3 – UD  
 阿須可河泊 / 之多尔其礼留乎 / 之良受思天  
 asuka-N-kapa / sita **niNkör-er-u-wo** / sir-aNs-u s-i-te  
 PN-GEN-river / below **make\_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 / 去呂毛尔麻世流 / 古侶賀波太波毛  
 nana-pye k-ar-u / körömwo-ni **mas-er-u** / kwo-rö-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 *-ar-* progressive and an *-er-* progressive.

### 5.5.2.3.11.3 *-ir-* form

The progressive *-ir-* is only attested in Suruga province.

426. 20:4342.1-3 - Suruga  
 麻氣婆之良 / 寶米弓豆久利留 / 等乃能其等  
 ma-key N-pasira / pomey-te **Ntukur-ir-u** / tönö-nö 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.’

**Table 5-40: Distribution of the progressive suffixes *-ar-*, *-er-*, and *-ir-* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD	TOTAL
<i>-ar-</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	10	16
<i>-er-</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	8
<i>-ir-</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

<sup>266</sup> 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 provenience.

## 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 ~ -tötö*, past tense *-kV*<sup>267</sup>, 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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<sup>267</sup> 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.

### 5.7.1.1.1 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 / 等能妣久夜麻乎 / 古与豆伎怒加牟  
awo kumu-nö / tönöNpyik-u yama-wo / **kwoyö-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  
安礼乎多能米豆 / 安佐麻之物能乎  
are-wo **tanömey-te** / as-amasi MOnöwo  
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  
已波比豆麻多祢  
**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 / 与須礼騰毛  
taNkwo-nö ne-ni / yöse tuna **papey-te** / yös-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 / 由伎豆久麻豆等  
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  
刀里加尔弓 / 多麻能余許夜麻 / 加志由加也良牟  
**twor-i-kani-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 / 夜麻登敞夜利弓  
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  
奈尔波都尔 / 余曾比余曾比弓  
nanipa tu-ni / yösöp-yi-**yösöp-yi-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 / 波自伎於伎弓  
myitinöku-nö / aNtatarä 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 / 己等麻乎佐受弓 / 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 / 為祢弓夜良佐祢  
iky-i-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 / 志留志弓都祁弓 / 伊母尔志良世牟  
 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 / 以波比弊等於枳弓  
 titi papa-wo / ipap-yi pye-tö **ok-yi-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 / 奴礼弓和伎奈婆  
 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 / 藕天母知奈弓氏  
 wa-Nka papa-nö / swote **möt-i-nate-te**  
 1.S-POSS mother-GEN / sleeve **hold-INF-caress.INF-SUB**  
 ‘[I] **held and caressed** my mother’s sleeve.’
443. 14:3489.4-5 – UD  
 伊毛吕乎多弓天 / 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  
 比良湍尔母 / 比毛登久毛能可 / 加奈思家乎於吉弓  
 pyira se n-i mö / pyimwo tök-u mwonö ka / kanasi-kye-wo **ok-yi-te**  
 average lover<sup>268</sup> 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  
 於伎弓伊可婆 / 伊毛婆麻可奈之  
**ok-yi-te** ik-aNpa / imwo pa ma kanasi

<sup>268</sup> This is a play on words, as *pyira SE* may also mean ‘flat rapids.’

**put-INF-SUB** go-COND / beloved\_girl TPT so be.sad.AVFIN  
 ‘If [I] go, **leaving** [her] **behind**, [my] beloved will be so sad.’

446. 20:4428.1-2 – UD

和我世奈乎 / 都久志波夜利弓

wa-Nka se-na-wo / tukusi-pa **yar-i-te**

1.S-POSS beloved\_man-DIM-ACC / PN-ALL **send-INF-SUB**

‘Sending my darling beloved **to Tukusi**.’

**Table 5-41: Distribution of the subordinative gerund *-te* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
2	4	8	2	5	5	1	8	5	3	14	39

### 5.7.1.1.2 Coordinative gerund *-tutu* ~ *-tusi* ~ *-tötö*

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.

447. 20:4327 - Töpotuapumi

和我都麻母 / 晝尔可伎等良无 / 伊豆麻母加 / 多比由久阿礼波 / 美都都志努波牟

wa-Nka tuma mö / WE-ni kak-yi-tör-am-u / iNtuma möka / tapyi yuk-u are pa / **myi-tutu** sinwop-am-u

1.S-POSS spouse FPT / picture-LOC draw-INF-take-TENT-ATTR / spare\_time DPT / journey go-ATTR 1.S TPT / **see-INF-COOR** long\_for-TENT-FIN

‘[I] wish for the spare time to draw my spouse in a picture. I, who am going on a journey, would then long for [her] **while looking** [at it].’

448. 14:3416.3-4 – Kamitukeno

伊波為都良 / 比可波奴礼都追

ipawi tura / pyik-aNpa **nure-tutu**

UNC vine / pull-COND **untangle.INF-COOR**

‘If [one] pulls up the *ipawi* vines **while untangled**...’

449. 20:4367.3-5 – Pitati

都久波尼乎 / 布利佐氣美都々 / 伊母波之奴波尼

tukupu ne-wo / **pur-i-sakey-myi-tutu** / imö pa sinup-an-e

- PN peak-ACC / **swing-INF-shun.INF-see.INF-COOR** / beloved\_girl TPT  
 long\_for-DES-IMP  
 ‘[I] want [my] beloved to long for [me], **while gazing out** (lit. *seeing to swing and shun*) over the peaks of Tukupa.’
450. 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-nö kamyi-wo / **inör-i-tutu**  
 hail fall-INF / PN-GEN deity-ACC / **pray-INF-COOR**  
 ‘**While praying** to the god of hail-falling Kasima...’
451. 20:4347.1-2 – Kamitupusa  
 伊閑尔之亘 / 古非都々安良受波  
 ipey n-i s-i-te / **kwopiy-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].’
452. 14:3471.1-2 – UD  
 思麻良久波 / 祢都追母安良牟乎  
 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...’
453. 14:3515.4-5 – UD  
 祢尔多都久毛乎 / 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 watching** the clouds that rise over the peaks!’
454. 14:3520.3-5 – UD  
 於抱野呂尔 / 多奈婢久君母乎 / 見都追思努波牟  
 opo NWO-rö-ni / tanaNpyik-u kumö-wo / **MYI-tutu** sinwop-am-u  
 great plain-DIM-LOC / stream\_out-ATTR cloud-ACC / **see.INF-COOR**  
 long\_for-TENT-FIN  
 ‘[I] shall long for [you] **while watching** clouds that stream out over the great plains.’
455. 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 leave-INF / **pray-INF-COOR**  
 ‘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 Simotupusa province.

456. 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.’

### 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**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-tutu	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	6
-tusi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
-tötö	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 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 *-kyi*, but there is not a single example in the EOJ corpus that shows us the vowel in this morpheme. Thus, considering it to be *-kyi* 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’<sup>269</sup> 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 / 佐吉泥已受祁牟  
 papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-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 / 多祢物得米家武  
 Nka-ku kwopiy-m-u tö ya / tane **motömey-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-nö / 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.

<sup>269</sup> 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.

461. 14:3468.5 – UD  
 奈尔与曾利鷄米  
 na-ni yösör-i-kyem-ey  
 2.S-DAT be.drawn\_to-INF-PST.TENT-EV  
 ‘[I] was indeed drawn to you.’

Table 5-43: Distribution of the past-attributive *-si* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

#### 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 *-kV* 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 *-kV* 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).

462. 20:4346.4-5 - Suruga  
 伊比之氣等婆是 / 和須礼加祢豆流  
 ip-yi-si keytöNpa 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**.’
463. 14:3417.4-5 – Kamitukeno  
 与曾尔見之欲波 / 伊麻許曾麻左礼  
 yösö-ni **MYI-si**-ywo pa / ima kösö 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  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-POSS / **affix.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  
伊尔之与比欲利 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
**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 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-pyitö-nö / ware-wo myi-okur-u tö / **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  
 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.’
468. 20:4388.3-5 – Simotupusa  
 以弊乃母加 / 积世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都积尔迦理  
 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**.’
469. 20:4358.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
 伊弓久礼婆 / 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  
 穗尔弓之伎美我 / 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 / 伊都伎麻佐牟等 / **登比之**古良波母  
 yuk-u ware-wo / itu k-yi-mas-am-u tö / **töp-yi-si** kwo-ra pa mö  
 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	2	4	1	0	0	1	1	4	4	15

### 5.7.1.1.5 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<sup>270</sup>. 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  
伎曾許曾波 / 兒呂等左宿之香  
kyisö 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.’

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<sup>270</sup> 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  
 伊母乎許曾 / 安比美尔許思可  
 imö-wo kösö / 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  
 已登尔弓尔思可  
 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].’

**Table 5-45: Distribution of the past-evidential -sika across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3

### 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  
 登伎須疑尔家里  
 tökyi **suNkiy-n-i-kyer-i**  
 time **pass.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**  
 ‘Time **has past by.**’

479. 20:4403.3-5 – Sinano  
 阿乎久牟乃 / 等能妣久夜麻乎 / 古与弓伎怒加牟  
 awo kumu-nö / tönöNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyö-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 / 伊毛我乎杼許尔  
**ir-i-n-amasi** mönö / imwo-Nka woN-tökö-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 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.’
482. 20:4337.3-4 – Suruga  
 知々波々尔 / 毛能波須價尔弓  
 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] **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** MOnöwo / 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 / 多延尔氣流可毛  
 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 / 宇良尔佶尔家里  
 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.’



486. 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?’
487. 14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno  
 伊之布麻努受 / 蕪良由登伎努与  
 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 / 与曾流波麻倍尔 / 和可例奈婆  
 sira namyi-nö / yösör-u pama-pey-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 / 祢吕尔都久多思 / 安比太欲波 / 佐波太奈利怒乎  
 woN-tukupa-nö / ne-rö-ni tuku tas-i / apyiNta ywo pa / sapaNta nar-i-n-wo-wo  
 DIM-PN-GEN / peak-DIM-LOC moon rise-INF / 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  
 阿例波許藝奴等 / 伊母尔都岐許曾  
 are pa köNk-yi-n-u tö / imö-ni tuk-yi-kös-ö  
 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  
 己枳尔之布祢乃 / 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 boat that has rowed [out]!’
492. 20:4388 – Simotupusa  
 多飛等弊等 / 麻多妣尔奈理奴 / 以弊乃母加 / 枳世之己呂母尔 / 阿可都枳尔迦理  
 tapiy tö [i]p-ye-tö / ma-taNpyi n-i nar-i-n-u / ipye-nö [i]mö-ka / kyi-se-si  
 körömö-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.’
493. 14:3382.3-4 – Kamitupusa  
都由思母能 / 奴礼亅和伎奈婆  
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...’
494. 20:4349.1-3 – Kamitupusa  
毛母久麻能 / 美知波紀尔志乎 / 麻多佐良尔  
mwomö kuma-nö / 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** / 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  
阿努波由加受亅 / 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 / wild grass-**GEN-rise-INF-PERF-FIN**  
‘Without reaching Ano, wild grasses **have risen up**.’
496. 14:3461.5 – UD  
安家努思太久流  
**akye-n-wo** siNta k-uru  
**brighten-INF-PERF-ATTR** CNJ come-ATTR  
‘When **it dawns**, [he] will come.’
497. 14:3472.4-5 – UD  
刀奈里乃伎奴乎 / 可里亅伎奈波毛  
twonari-nö kyinu-wo / kar-i-te **kyi-n-ap-am-wo**  
neighbor-GEN garment-ACC / borrow-INF-SUB **wear-INF-PERF-ITER-**  
**TENT-ATTR**  
‘[I] will borrow [my] neighbor’s garment and **wear it again and again**.’
498. 20:4432.1-2 - UD  
佐弁奈弁奴 / 美許登尔阿礼婆  
**sapye-n-apye-n-u** / myi-kötö n-i-ar-e-Npa  
**obstruct-NEG-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN** / HON-word COP-INF-exist-EV-CONJ  
‘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 / 伎弥之布美弓波  
sinanwo-n[i] ar-u / tiNkuma-nö KApā-nö / saNsare [i]si mö / kyimyi 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  
武良奈倍尔 / 許登波佐太米都  
mura-napey-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.’

502. 20:4415.4-5 – Muzasi  
 伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弓毛母也  
 ipye-n[i] ar-u imö-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!’
503. 14:3395.5 – Pitati  
 萬多祢天武可聞  
 mata **ne-te-m-u** kamo  
 again **sleep.INF-PERF-TENT-ATTR** EPT  
 ‘[I] wonder if [I] **shall sleep** [with her] again.’
504. 20:4390.1-3 – Simotupusa  
 牟浪他麻乃 / 久留尔久积作之 / 加多米等之  
 mura-tama-nö / kuru-ni kukyi sas-i / **katamey-tö-si**  
 many-jewel-COMP / pivot-LOC nail thrust-INF / **harden.INF-PERF.INF-**  
**PST.ATTR**  
 ‘Thrusting a nail into the jewel-like pivot, it **hardened**.’

In this example the perfective form is *-tö-*, which is difficult to explain, but I offer a discussion of some possibilities in section 2.5.10.2.6. In addition, it must contain a phonologically null infinitive since the past-attributive *-si* that follows it only attaches to infinitive forms.

505. 14:3473.4-5 – UD  
 祢毛等可兒呂賀 / 於由尔美要都留  
 ne-m-wo tö ka KWO-rö-Nka / oy-u-ni<sup>271</sup> **myi-ye-t-uru**  
 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.’
506. 14:3482b.4-5 – UD  
 祢奈敞乃可良尔 / 許等多可利都母  
 ne-n-apye-nö karani / kötö [i]ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-umö  
 sleep-NEG-ITER.NML-GEN because\_of / word **be.painful-INF-exist-INF-**  
**PERF-EXCL**  
 ‘Because of [our] not sleeping [together], the rumors **have been painful!**’

<sup>271</sup> 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 / 比登其等思氣志  
**sa-NE-t-ure-Npa** / pyitö-N-kötö 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*].’

**Table 5-46: Distribution of the perfective morpheme across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
<i>-n-</i>	4	1	2	2	1	0	1	2	4	6	2	22
<i>-te-</i>	1	0	1	4*	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	4

\*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  
 和我伎多流麻豆  
**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-nö key-nö / 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**...’

510. 14:3507.1-3 – UD  
 多尔世婆美 / 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 **crawl-INF-PP-ATTR** / jade vine  
 ‘Because the valley is narrow, the the jade[-like] vines **have crawled** over the  
 peak.’

**Table 5-47: Distribution of the perfective-progressive *-tar-* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

### 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.

511. 14:3352.5 - Sinano  
 登伎須疑尔家里  
 tökyi suNkiy-n-i-kyer-i  
 time **pass.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-FIN**  
 ‘[I know that] time **has past by.**’
512. 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  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-POSS / affix.INF-PST.ATTR cord-POSS string /  
**break.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR EPT**  
 ‘[I] wonder, **will** the cord that my darling girl tied [over my robes] **break?**’

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 / 宇良尔佶尔家里  
 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 / 登抱吉和伎母贺 / 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 / kyise-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 / 枳世之己吕母尔 / 阿可都枳尔迦理  
 ipye-nö [i]mö-ka / kyise-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.’

**Table 5-48: Distribution of the retrospective auxiliary across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
-ker-	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
-kar-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

#### 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 / 由伎加豆奴加毛  
 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?’
517. 14:3423.1-4 – Kamitukeno  
 可美都氣努 / 伊可抱乃祢呂尔 / 布路与伎能 / 遊吉須宜可提奴  
 kamyitukeynwo / ikapo-nö ne-rö-ni / pur-wo yökyi-nö / **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].**’

Table 5-49: Distribution of the potential auxiliary *-kate-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

#### 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  
 伊比之氣等婆是 / 和須礼加祢豆流  
 ip-yi-si keytōNpa 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 / 刀里加尔弓  
 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 / 古要我祢弓  
 aNtuma-N-ti-nō / TENKWO-nō 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.’

522. 14:3456.1-4 – UD  
 宇都世美能 / 夜蘓許登能敵波 / 思氣久等母 / 安良蘓比可祢弓  
 utusemyi-nö<sup>272</sup> / ya-swo kötö-nö pye pa / siNkey-ku tömō / **araswop-yi-kane-te**  
 the\_world-GEN / eight-ten word-GEN leaves TPT / be.lush-AVINFIN CON/ **resist-**  
**INF-NEG.POT.INF-SUB**  
 ‘Even though rumors abound [lit. *the leaves of many words are lush*] in the world,  
 [I] **cannot resist** [them].’
523. 14:3528.5 – UD  
於毛比可祢都毛  
**omwop-yi-kane-t-umwo**  
**think-INF-NEG.POT.INF-PERF-EXCL**  
 ‘[I] **cannot think** [of them]!’

Table 5-50: Distribution of the negative-potential-infinitive *-kane-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

### 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.

524. 20:4363.4-5 – Pitati  
 伊麻波許伎奴等 / 伊母尔都氣許曾  
 ima pa kök-yi-n-u tö / 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!’
525. 20:4365.4-5 – Pitati  
 阿例波許藝奴等 / 伊母尔都岐許曾  
 are pa köNk-yi-n-u tö / imö-ni **tuk-yi-kös-ö**  
 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’m rowing!’
526. 14:3454.3-4 – UD  
 許余比太尔 / 都麻余之許西祢  
 kö yöpyi Ntani / tuma **yös-i-köse-n-e**

<sup>272</sup> *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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1

### 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  
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 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  
父母我 / 等能々志利弊乃 / 母々余具佐 / 母々与伊弓麻勢  
TITI PAPA-Nka / tönö-nö siri pye-nö / mömö-yö-N-kusa / mömö-yö **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  
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.’
531. 14:3469.4-5 – UD  
阿是曾母許与比 / 与斯呂伎麻左奴

aNse sö mö kö yöpyi / yös-i-rö-**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  
 伎美我伎麻左努 / 宇良毛等奈久文  
 kyimyi-Nka **k-yi-mas-an-wo** / ura mwotö 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 / 許呂久等曾奈久  
**k-yi-mas-an-u** kyimyi-wo / körö k-u tö sö 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**.’

Table 5-52: Distribution of the honorific auxiliary *-[i]mas-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3

### 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  
 都加敝麻都里弓 / 久尔尔閑牟可毛  
**tukapye-matur-i-te** / kuni-ni pey muk-am-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. These include the dummy auxiliary *-ar-*, the resultative auxiliary *-ok-*, the auxiliary of difficulty *-N-kata-*, and the directive auxiliaries *-kö-*, *-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-nö 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 / 努賀奈敞由家婆 / 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].’

538. 14:3482b.4-5 – UD  
 衲奈敞乃可良尔 / 許等多可利都母  
 ne-n-apye-nö karani / kötö [i]ta-k[u]-ar-i-t-umö  
 sleep-NEG-ITER.NML-GEN because\_of / word **be.painful-INF-exist-INF-PERF-EXCL**  
 ‘Because of [our] not sleeping [together], the rumors **have been painful!**’
539. 20:4432.1-2 – UD  
 佐弁奈弁奴 / 美許登尔阿礼婆  
 sapye-n-apye-n-u / myi-kötö **n-i-ar-e-Npa**  
 obstruct-NEG-ITER-INF-PERF-FIN / HON-word **COP-INF-exist-EV-CONJ**  
 ‘**Since there** are commands [from the emperor] [I] will not be interfering with [them].’

Example (539) shows a syntactic inversion.

Table 5-53: Distribution of the auxiliary *-ar-* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4

### 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.

540. 14:3437.3-4 – Mitinöku  
 波自伎於伎弓 / 西良思馬伎那婆  
 paNsik-yi-ok-yi-te / ser-asimye-k-yi-n-aNpa  
**loosen-INF-put-INF-SUB** / deviate-CAUS-INF-come-INF-PERF-COND  
 ‘**Loosening** the [string], and when it becomes warped...’

### 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 *-nö* 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  
 許己波胡賀多尔  
 kököpa **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 **akey-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?’

**Table 5-54: Distribution of the auxiliary *-N-kata-* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

Unlike in WOJ, there are also two additional constructions 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.



543. 14:3481.5 – UD  
 於毛比具流之母  
 omwop-yi-N-kurusi-mö  
 think-NML-GEN-be.painful.AVFIN-EXCL  
 ‘Oh, it is **painful** to think [about that]!’

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 **tökye-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 *-kö-*

The directive auxiliary *-kö-*, which is a grammaticalization from the verb *kö-* ‘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 - Töpotuapumi  
 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟  
 papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / **sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-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 – Mitinöku  
 波自伎於伎弓 / 西良思馬伎那婆  
 paNsik-yi-ok-yi-te / **ser-asimye-k-yi-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 / 和波可敝里許牟  
 ma-kati siNsi nuk-yi / wa pa **kapyer-i-kö-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  
 知々波々乎 / 以波比弊等於枳弓 / 麻為弓枳尔之乎  
 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**  
 ‘[I] left [my] father and mother with a praying pot, and **came out here.**’
549. 20:4358.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
伊弓久礼婆 / 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]?’
550. 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 [of my robe] **has become frayed.**’
551. 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 sö mö kö yöpyi / **yös-i-rö-k-yi-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?’

**Table 5-55: Distribution of the directive auxiliary *-kö-* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	2

#### 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  
 可奈師家兒良尔 / 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  
 可閑理美須 / 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**  
 ‘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 / 努賀奈敵由家婆 / 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 / 奴我奈敝由家杼 / 和奴賀由乃敝波  
 tat-wo tuku-nö / **nuNkan-apye-yuk-ye-Ntö** / wanu yuNk-an-ö [i]pye pa  
 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3

#### 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 / 佐吉泥已受祁牟  
 papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / **sak-yi-Nte-kö-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 / 己岐滬弓美例婆  
 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

#### 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 / 比多敝登於毛敝婆  
 wa-Nka kyinu-ni / **tuk-yi-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 pyitö-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 tökye-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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

#### 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 / 意伎亓曾伎怒也  
 kara körömu / suswo-ni **tör-i-tuk-yi** / nak-wo kwo-ra-wo / ok-yi-te sö 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 [my] crying children, who **clung to** the hem of [my] Kara  
garment, [I] have come here!’

564. 20:4358.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
伊弓久礼婆 / 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]?’

**Table 5-59: Distribution of the directive auxiliary *-tuk-* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

## 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  
麻氣婆之良 / 寶米弓豆久利留 / 等乃能其等 / 已麻勢波々刀自  
ma-key N-pasira / pomey-te Ntukur-ir-u / tönö-nö 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.’

566. 20:4426.1-4 – UD  
 阿米都之乃 / 可未尔奴佐於伎 / 伊波比都々 / 伊麻世和我世奈  
 amey tusi-nö / kamiy-ni nusa ok-yi / ipap-yi-tutu / **imas-e** wa-Nka se-na  
 heaven earth-GEN / deity-LOC paper\_offering leave-INF / pray-INF-COOR /  
**go.HON-IMP** 1.S-POSS beloved\_man-DIM  
 ‘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 / 可閑理美須 / 阿例波久江由久  
 asikara-nö / 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-go-FIN  
 ‘**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 / 麻佐夜可尔美无  
 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  
 余知乎曾母弓流 / 伊鳳兒多婆里尔  
 yöti-wo sö 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 / 己等麻乎佐受弓 / 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] **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 / 可閑利久麻弓尔  
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-AVINFIN 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 *kö-* ‘come.’ It is attested just once.

572. 20:4393.3-5 – Simotupusa  
知々波々乎 / 以波比弊等於枳弓 / 麻為弓枳尔之乎  
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 **orö-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  
 和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
**wasura-kö-Npa** kwosö / 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] will not call out for you over and over!’
575. 14:3460.1-2 – UD  
 多礼曾許能 / 屋能戸於曾夫流  
 tare sö könö / YA-nö TWO **osö-Npur-u**<sup>273</sup>  
 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.

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<sup>273</sup> *osö-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  
 奈尔波都尔 / 余曾比余曾比豆  
 nanipa tu-ni / **yösöp-yi-yösöp-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  
 可久須酒曾 / 宿莫奈那里尔思 / 於久乎可奴加奴  
 ka-ku su su sö / 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 kötö 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,’ *kökö[N]pa* ‘extremely,’ *sapaNta* ‘many,’ *mata* ‘again,’ *iya* ‘plentifully,’ *napo* ‘still,’ *imaNta* ‘yet,’ *mötöna* ‘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 / 夜多妣蘓弓布流  
**itwo** mwo supey na-myi / ya-taNpyi swote pur-u  
**utterly** FPT way not.exist-AVGGER / 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 / 伊刀母須敝奈之  
wakar-u-wo myi-re-Npa / **itwo** mö supye na-si

separate-ATTR-ACC see-EV-CONJ / **utterly** FPT way not.exist-FIN  
‘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 / 比等佐敝余須母  
**itō** nökyiNte / kanasi-kye se-rö-ni / pyitō sapye yös-umö  
**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 *kökö[N]pa* ‘extremely’

The adverb *kökö[N]pa* ‘extremely’ is a cognate of WOJ *kököNpa* ‘id.’ (attested just once, also attested once as *kököNpaku*) and it seems that it shares a root *kökö-* with the WOJ adverbs *kököNta* ‘id.’ and *kököNtaku* ‘id.’ (Vovin 2009a: 1107).

4. 14:3431.5 – Sagamu  
許已波胡賀多尔  
**kököpa** Nkwo-N-kata n-i  
**extremely** come.NML-GEN-difficult COP-INF  
‘It’s **extremely** difficult to come.’
5. 14:3517.4-5 – UD  
許己呂尔能里弓 / 許已婆可那之家  
*kökörö-ni* nö-r-i-te / **kököNpa** kanasi-kye  
heart-LOC ride-INF-SUB / **extremely** be.adorable-AVATTR  
‘[She] is **extremely** adorable, riding on [my] heart.’

### 6.3 *sapaNta* ‘many’

While EOJ *sapaNta* ‘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 - Töpotuapumi  
和多佐波太 / 伊利奈麻之母乃  
wata **sapaNta** / ir-i-n-amasi mönō  
cotton **many** / enter-INF-PERF-SUBJ CNJ  
‘Though [there] is **much** cotton.’

7. 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 [our meetings] 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 / 麻多美弓毛母也  
 ipye-n[i] ar-u imö-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!**’
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  
 有都久之波々尔 / 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  
 mwomö 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  
伊夜可多麻斯尔  
**iya** kat-amasi-ni  
**plentifully** win-SUBJ-LOC  
‘There is **no doubt** [I] will win.’
13. 14:3557.5 – UD  
伊夜母比麻須尔  
**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  
奈保波太佐牟之  
**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  
伊麻太宿奈布母  
**imaNta** NE-n-ap-umö  
**still** sleep-NEG-ITER-EXCL  
‘[We] **still** haven’t slept [together]!’
16. 14:3543.4-5 – UD  
古呂波伊敞杼母 / 伊末太年那久尔  
kwo-rö pa ip-ye-Ntömö / **imaNta** ne-n-aku n-i  
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 / 母登奈見要都追 / 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 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 / 衣我多伎可氣乎  
ma **sipa** n-i mö / 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-nö / 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 *nökyiNte* ‘extremely’

The adverb *nökyiNte* ‘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 / 比等佐敝余須母  
itö **nökyiNte** / kanasi-kye se-rö-ni / pyitö sapye yös-umö  
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 *siNsi* ‘constantly’

The adverb *siNsi* ‘constantly,’ is only attested once.

21. 20:4368.4-5 – Pitati  
麻可知之自奴伎 / 和波可敝里許牟  
ma-kati **siNsi** nuk-yi / wa pa kapyer-i-kö-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 / 祢都追母安良牟乎  
**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 / 佐祢尔和波由久  
**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 / 布能未知可久豆 / 安波奈敝波  
**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  
於伎豆伊可婆 / 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. 14:3476a.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-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 / 伊吕尔豆奈**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!**’

30. 14:3449.5 – UD  
 奈美多都奈由米  
 namyi tat-una **yumey**  
 wave rise-NEG.IMP **at\_all**  
 ‘Waves, don’t rise up **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  
 和我世古乎 / 夜麻登敝夜利弓 / 麻都之太須 / 安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑  
 乃木能末可  
 wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatö-pye yar-i-te / mat-u siNta **su** / asiNkara yama-nö /  
 suNkiy n-ö KÖ-nö 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  
 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.**’
33. 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** sö / 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.’

34. 14:3564 – UD

古須氣呂乃 / 宇良布久可是能 / 安騰須酒可 / 可奈之家兒呂乎 / 於毛  
比須吾左牟

kwosukey-rö-nö / ura puk-u kaNse-nö / aNtö **su** s-u ka / kanasi-kye KWO-rö-wo /  
omwop-yi suNkwos-am-u

PN-DIM-GEN / bay blow-ATTR wind-COMP / what **again** do-FIN QPT /  
be.adorable-AVATTR girl-DIM-ACC / think-NML pass-TENT-ATTR

‘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  
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...’
2. 20:4325.3-5 - Töpotuapumi  
久佐麻久良 / 多妣波由久等母 / 佐々己弓由加牟  
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 / 伊刀尔奈流等母 / 和波等可自等余  
tukey-si piymwo / itwo n-i nar-u **tömö** / wa pa tök-aNsi tö 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 / nöti 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 / 夜蕪許登能敵波 / 思氣久等母 / 安良蕪比可祢弓

utusemyi-nö / ya-swo kötö-nö pye pa / siNkey-ku **tömö** / 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

MYI-ye-Ns-u **tömö** / KWO-rö-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!’

**Table 7-1: Total attestations of the conjunction *tömo* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4

## 7.2 *monö* ~ *monöwo* ‘although, but’

The conjunction *monö* ~ *monöwo* (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-amasi **mönö** / imwo-Nka woN-tökö-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  
 波比尔思物能乎 / 安是加多延世武  
 pap-yi-n-i-si **MO**nöwo / 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?’

**Table 7-2: Total attestations of the conjunction *monö* ~ *monöwo* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 7.3 *monökara* ‘although’

This conjunction follows the attributive form of verbs. It is only attested once.

11. 14:3512.1-2 – UD  
 比登祢吕尔 / 伊波流毛能可良  
 pyitö ne-rö-ni / ip-ar-u **mwonökara**  
 person peak-DIM-LOC / 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 / nipyi 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 / 古延志太尔  
 pyi-na kumwor-i / usupyi-nö 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  
 阿我母弓能 / 和須例母之太波  
 a-Nka [o]möte-nö / wasure-m-ö **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 / 安波能敝思太毛 / 奈尔己曾与佐礼  
 ap-o **siNta** mwo / ap-an-öpye **siNta** mwo / na-ni köso yös-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 / 和須礼牟之太波  
 a-Nka omwo-nö / 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 / 和須礼牟之太波  
 omwo kata-nö / 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 / 可奈思家之太波  
 pyitö-nö KWO-nö / 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 / 夜麻登敝夜利弓 / 麻都之太須 / 安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑  
 乃木能未可  
 wa-Nka se-kwo-wo / yamatö-pye yar-i-te / mat-u **siNta** su / asiNkara yama-nö /  
 suNkiy n-ö KÖ-nö 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 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  
 akye-n-wo **siNta** k-uru  
 brighten.INF-PERF-ATTR **CNJ** come-ATTR  
 ‘**When** it dawns, [he will] come.’

**Table 7-3: Total attestations of the conjunction *siNta* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	6

## 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~Nse~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 *kösö* 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*, *sö~Nsö~Nse~tö*, and *kösö*.

### 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  
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**.'
2. 20:4402.4-5 - Sinano  
伊波布伊能知波 / 意毛知々可多米  
ipap-u inöti **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 - 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-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  
warö tapyi **pa** / tapyi tö omeyp-o-tö  
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 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!**’
7. 20:4422.4 – Muzasi  
於妣婆等可奈々  
oNpyi **Npa** 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 / 佐祢尔和波由久  
ma-kanasi-myi / sa-ne-ni wa **pa** yuk-u  
INT-be.adorable-AVGGER / 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  
夜蘿久尔波 / 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 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<sup>波</sup> / 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

須米良美久佐尔 / 和礼<sup>波</sup>伎尔之乎

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<sup>波</sup> / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於积弓等母积奴

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, [I] **left behind** [my] **wife and child** and [I] came [here].’

15. 14:3382.5 – Kamitupusa

汝<sup>者</sup>故布婆曾母

NA **PA** kwopu-Npa sömö

2.S **TPT** love-UNC NPT

‘Will you **love** [me], or not?’<sup>274</sup>

Example (15) is a semantographic attestation of the topic particle *pa*.

16. 20:4349.1-3 – Kamitupusa

毛母久麻能 / 美知<sup>波</sup>紀尔志乎 / 麻多佐良尔

mwomö kuma-nö / 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]...’

<sup>274</sup> 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!**’
18. 14:3494.1-4 – UD  
 兒毛知夜麻 / 和可加敝流弓能 / 毛美都麻弓 / 宿毛等和波毛布  
 KWomwoti 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  
 奈我波伴尔 / 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  
 佐伎毛利尔 / 由久波多我世登  
 sakyimwori n-i / 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

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
3	4	4	12	5	2	0	7	13	3	7	40

### 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 / 多麻等比吕波牟  
**saNsare [i]si mö** / kyimyi si pum-yi-te-pa / tama tö pyiröp-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 mö** / pana n-i möNkamwo ya  
**father mother FPT** / blossom COP-INF DPT EPT  
 ‘[I] want [my] **father and mother** to be flowers!’
23. 20:4345.4-5 – Suruga  
 {須流} / 々々河乃祢良波 / 苦不志久米阿流可  
 {suru} / suruNka-nö ne-ra pa / **kupusi-ku mey** ar-u ka  
 {----} / PN-GEN peak-PLUR TPT / **be.longing-INF FPT** exist-ATTR QPT  
 ‘The peaks of Suruga, **will** [I not] **long for** [them]?’

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  
勢奈能我素佞母 / 佐夜尔布良思都  
**se-na-nö-Nka swoNte mö** / 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 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  
 麻左弓尔毛 / 乃良奴伎美我名 / 宇良尔佞尔家里  
 masate n-i **mwo** / nör-an-u kyimyi-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 / 弓尔刀里母之弓 / 美流乃須母  
 sira tama-wo / te-ni twor-i-mös-i-te / **myi-ru-nösu 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  
 余尔母多欲良尔 / 故吕河伊波奈久尔  
**yö-ni mö** taywora n-i / kwo-rö-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 / 多麻尔毛贺毛夜  
**aMÖ twoNsi mö** / tama n-i mwoNkamwo ya  
**mother wife FPT** / jade COP-INF DPT FPT  
 ‘Oh, [I] wish [my] **mother and wife** were jewels!’
30. 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-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 / 由等許尔母 / 可奈之家伊母曾  
 tukupa ne-nö / sa-yuru-nö pana-nö / **yu tökö-ni mö** / kanasi-kye imö 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  
 麻末乃於須比尔 / 奈美毛登杼吕尔  
 mama-nö osu pyi-ni / **namyi 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 / 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.’

34. 14:3383.3-5 – Kamitupusa  
 可久太尔毛 / 久尔乃登保可婆 / 奈我目保里势牟  
**ka-ku Ntani mwo** / kuni-nö töpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u  
**be.thus-AVINF RPT FPT** / province-GEN be.far-AVEV-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  
 奈我波氣流 / 多知尔奈里豆母 / 伊波非豆之加母  
 na-Nka pak-eyr-u / **tati n-i nar-i-te mö** / ipap-iy-te-si kamö  
 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 / 余知乎曾母豆流  
**nare mwo are mwo** / yöti-wo sö möt-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  
**kö-yöpyi mwo ka**  
**this-evening FPT QPT**  
 ‘Tonight as well?’
38. 14:3478.3-5 – UD  
 阿抱思太毛 / 安波能敝思太毛 / 奈尔己曾与佐礼  
**ap-o siNta mwo** / **ap-an-öp-ye siNta mwo** / na-ni kösö yös-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  
 比贺刀礼婆 / 阿米乎万刀能須 / 伎美乎等麻刀母  
 pyi-Nka twor-e-Npa / amey-wo mat-wo-nösu / **kyimyi-wo tö 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.’
40. 20:4425.5 – 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.’

**Table 8-2: Total attestations of the focus particle *mo* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	2	1	6	3	2	0	2	4	5	4	25

### 8.2.3 Focus particle *sö* (and its variants *Nsö* ~ *Nse* ~ *tö*)

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 *sö* combines with both the topic particle *pa* and the focus particle *mo*, and thus he concludes the focus particle *sö* must have indicated some other type of focus different from those two particles.

The focus particle *sö* 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 / 意伎弓曾伎怒也  
 kara körömu / suswo-ni tör-i-tuk-yi / **nak-wo kwo-ra-wo** / **ok-yi-te sö** 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  
 奈尔須礼曾 / 波々登布波奈乃 / 佐吉泥己受祁牟  
**nani s-ure sö** / papa tö [i]p-u pana-nö / sak-yi-[i]Nte-kö-Ns-u-kyem-u  
**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 / 伊古麻多可祢尔 / 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  
 ‘**Clouds** stream out over the high peak of Mt. Ikoma that behaves like a deity.’
44. 20:4369.4-5 – Pitati  
可奈之家伊母曾 / 比留毛可奈之祁  
**kanasi-kye imö sö** / 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 / 蕪弓母志保々尔 / 奈伎志曾母波由  
 wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-Nka / swote mö sipopo n-i / **nak-yi-si sö** [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  
多礼曾許能 / 屋能戸於曾夫流  
**tare sö** könö / YA-nö TWO osö-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  
 宇良夜須尔 / 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 with [my] heart at ease.’
48. 14:3511.4-5 – UD  
物能乎曾於毛布 / 等思乃許能己呂  
**monö-wo sö** omwop-u / tösi-nö könö körö  
**thing-ACC FPT** think-ATTR / year-GEN this time  
 ‘[I] ponder [many] **things** this time of year.’

### 8.2.3.1 Variant *Nsö*

I view the variant form *Nsö* as the result of a fortition from *sö* > *Nsö*.

49. 20:4376.3-5 – Simotukeno  
 阿母志志尔 / 己等麻乎佐受弓 / 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!’

### 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 / 毛能波須價尔弓 / 已麻叙久夜志伎  
 titi papa-ni / mwonö [i]p-as-u k-ye-n-i-te / **ima Nsö** kuyasi-kyi  
 father mother-DAT / thing say-NEG-INF come-INF-PERF-INF-SUB / **now FPT**  
 be.regretful-AVATTR  
 ‘**Now** [I] regret that [I] came without saying anything to [my] father or mother!’

While written *Nsö*, I view this Suruga form as being phonemically /<sup>n</sup>ze/. 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  
伊比之氣等婆是 / 和須礼加祢豆流  
**ip-yi-si keytöNpa Nse** / wasure-kane-Nt-uru  
**say-INF-PST.ATTR word FPT** / forget-NEG.POT-PERF-ATTR  
 ‘[I] cannot forget the **words that [they] said.**’

### 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 / 蘿良由登伎努与  
 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!**’

53. 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-ATTR  
 ‘In the area behind, [I] **left behind** [my] wife and child and [I] came [here].’
54. 20:4430.5 UD  
 伊壟豆登阿我久流  
**iNte-te tö** 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 / 阿米乎万刀能須 / 伎美乎等麻刀母  
 pyi-Nka twor-e-Npa / amey-wo mat-wo-nösu / **kyimyi-wo tö** 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 *sö* ~ *Nsö* ~ *Nse* ~ *tö* across the provinces**

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
<i>sö</i>	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	10
<i>Nsö</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Nse</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>tö</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2

These data show *sö* is by far the most common, while the fortified variants *Nsö* ~ *Nse* ~ *tö* are comparatively rare, and restricted to a few provinces.

### 8.2.2 Focus particle *kösö*

The focus particle *kösö*, like the focus particles *mo* and *sö*, 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  
 与曾尔見之欲波 / 伊麻許曾麻左礼  
 yösö-ni MYI-si-ywo pa / **ima kösö** 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  
 和須良延許婆古曾 / 那乎可家奈波賣  
**wasura-kö-Npa kwosö** / 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 call out for you again and again!’
58. 14:3493a.1-2 – UD  
 於曾波夜母 / 奈乎許曾麻多賣  
 osö paya mö / **na-wo kösö** 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  
 宿奈敝杼母 / 古呂賀於曾伎能 / 安路許曾要志母  
 NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö / kwo-rö-Nka osökyi-nö / **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!’
60. 14:3531.1-2 – UD  
 伊母乎許曾 / 安比美尔許思可  
**imö-wo kösö** / 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**.’

Table 8-4: Total attestations of the focus particle *kösö* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	2*	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	7

\*One attestation (14:3419.4) is unclear.

### 8.3 Emphatic particles

The emphatic particles include *kamo*, *si*, *mo*, *ya*, *yö*, *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 / 等能妣久夜麻乎 / 古与弓伎怒加牟  
awo kumu-nö / tönöNpyik-u yama-wo / kwoyö-te k-yi-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  
奈美尔安布能須 / 安敞流伎美可母  
namyi-ni ap-u-nösu / ap-yer-u kyimyi **kamö**  
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  
筑波祢尔 / 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 **kamö** pur-ar-u / ina wo **kamö** / kanasi-kyi KWO-rö-Nka /  
ninwo pos-ar-u **kamö**  
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  
 imö-ka kökörö pa / wasure se-n-u **kamö**  
 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 / 佐刀乃美奈可尔 / 安敝流世奈可毛  
 kökörö na-ku / satwo-nö 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] 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 / 於伎彳伎努可母  
 ikyi-N-tuk-u imwo-wo / ok-yi-te k-yi-n-wo **kamö**  
 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 / 伊敝乃安多里可聞  
 a-Nka [o]mwop-u imwo-Nka / ipye-nö 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 / 由伎加彳奴加毛  
 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?’

69. 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**  
 1.S-POSS-beloved\_girl-DIM-POSS / attach.INF-PST.ATTR cord-POSS string /  
 break.INF-PERF-INF-RETR-ATTR **EPT**  
 ‘[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 / 佐夜尔美毛可母  
 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 – Mitinöku  
 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  
 伊能伊牟何 / 奈流能伎己等乎 / 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-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 / 和礼尔余須等布  
 ma-kötö **Nkamö** / ware-ni yös-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 kökōri 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 tök-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 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 8-5: Total attestations of the emphatic particle *kamo* ~ *kamu* across the provinces

Form	Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
kamo	0	0	2	3	4	0	1	0	6	2	5	14
kamu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

### 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 / 多麻等比吕波牟  
 saNsare [i]si mö / kyimyi **si** pum-yi-te-pa / tama tö pyiröp-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 / 尔閑乃宇良等 / 安比弓之阿良婆 / 己等母加由波牟  
 töpeytapomyi / 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 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 **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.’
81. 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!’
82. 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] 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 / nipyi paNta pure-si / kwo-rö **si** 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  
 兒呂乎之毛倍婆  
 KWO-rö-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  
 兒呂我可奈門欲 / 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 **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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	1	0	3*	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	9

\*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***

	<i>ya</i> ‘EPT’	<i>ya</i> ‘QPT’	<i>pa</i> ‘TPT’	<i>[N]sö</i> ‘FPT’
<i>mo</i> ‘FPT’	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A <sup>275</sup>
<i>mo</i> ‘EPT’	<i>mo ya</i>	<i>ya mo</i>	<i>pa mo</i>	<i>[N]sö mo ~ tö mo</i>

Examples:

87. 20:4415.4-5 – Muzasi  
 伊弊奈流伊母乎 / 麻多美弓毛母也  
 ipye-n[i] ar-u imö-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!’
88. 14:3386.4-5 – Simotupusa  
 曾能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尔多弓米也母  
 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!]’
89. 20:4385.3-5 – Simotupusa  
 志流敞尔波 / 古乎等都麻乎等 / 於积弓等母积奴  
 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-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**  
 ‘Oh, [what about] that girl clung to me and said [all those things]?’
91. 14:3469.3-5 – UD  
 和加西奈波 / 阿是曾母許与比 / 与斯吕伎麻左奴  
 wa-ka se-na pa / aNse sö **mö** kö yöpyi / yös-i-rö-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?’

<sup>275</sup> The combination of these particles is not attested in EOJ, but it is attested in WOJ as *mo Nsö* (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]?’’

Table 8-8: Total attestations of the emphatic particle *mo* across the provinces

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	7

### 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***

	Preceding morphs when sentence final	Preceding morphs when sentence non-final	Predicate verb morphology when particle is moved to a preverbal position
<i>ya</i> ‘EPT’	-FIN, DPT	Noun root, -ATTR, -AVATTR	-FIN
<i>ya</i> ‘QPT’	-FIN, -EV, DV	-NML, -SUB	-ATTR

Examples:

95. 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 sö 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 / 波奈尔母我毛夜  
 titi 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 mö / 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 / 多麻尔毛贺毛夜  
 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  
 奈势能古夜  
 na se n-ö kwo **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-nö / 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  
 左努夜麻尔 / 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.’

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!’

**Table 8-10: Total attestations of the emphatic particle *ya* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	4

### 8.3.5 Emphatic particle *yö*

The emphatic particle *yö* expresses exclamation (Vovin 2009a: 1267). This particle follows the emphatic particle *kamö* and the focus particle *mö* and is always attested sentence-final.

103. 14:3435.1-4 – Kamitukeno  
伊可保呂乃 / 蘓比乃波里波良 / 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!’
104. 20:4405.5 – Kamitukeno  
和波等可自等余  
wa pa tök-aNsi tö **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 / 世吕尔安波奈布与  
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 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 Asigara!’
107. 14:3425.3-4 – Simotukeno  
伊之布麻努受 / 蘓良由登伎努与  
isi pum-aNs-u / swora-yu tö k-yi-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  
安乎祢思奈久与  
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

伊多夫良思毛与

itaNpur-asi-mwo **yö**

tremble-SUP-EXCL **EPT**

‘Oh, it seems [I] am trembling!’

110. 14:3557.1-2 – UD

奈夜麻思家 / 比登都麻可母与

nayam-asi-kye / pyitö tuma kamö **yö**

distress-ADJ-AVATTR / person spouse EPT **EPT**

‘Another man’s wife who is so distressing [me]!’

111. 14:3526.3-5 – UD

安我己許呂 / 布多由久奈母等 / 奈与母波里曾祢

a-Nka kökörö / puta yuk-unam-ö tö / na-**yö**-[o]möp-ar-i-sö-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.<sup>276</sup> Thus, it may be a different particle.<sup>277</sup>

**Table 8-11: Total attestations of the emphatic particle *yö* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	4*

\*one example (from 14:3526.5) is unclear

<sup>276</sup> 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.

<sup>277</sup> Alexander Vovin (p.c.) has suggested it may simply be an epethetical *-y-*. I hesitate to accept this due to no other examples of an epethetical *-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  
等知波々江 / 已波比弓麻多祢  
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  
安礼波麻多牟惠  
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 / 祢尔波都可奈那  
 nipyita 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 / 和我弓布礼奈々  
 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  
 安礼波古非牟奈 / 能知波安比奴登母  
 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 / 於等太可思母奈  
 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  
 和須礼波勢奈那 / 伊夜母比麻須尔  
 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  
 祢吕等敝奈香母  
 ne-rö tö [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.

**Table 8-12: Total attestations of the emphatic particle *na* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4*

\*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 / 加曳我伊牟多祢牟  
**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  
 宇惠古奈宜 / 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  
 氣布能比夜 / 伊田弓麻可良武  
 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  
 余曾尔能美 / 々弓夜和多良毛  
 yösö-ni nömyi / 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?’
124. 14:3495 - UD  
 伊波保呂乃 / 蘓比能和可麻都 / 可藝里登也  
 ipapo-rö-nö / swopyi-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]?’

125. 14:3565.1-2 – UD  
 可能古呂等 / 宿受夜奈里奈牟  
 kanö kwo-rö-tö / 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?’

#### 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.

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 / 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  
 曾能可奈之伎乎 / 刀尔多豆米也母  
 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 / 伊呂尔豆米也毛  
 ukyera-Nka pana-nö / irö-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!]’



130. 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** FPT  
 ‘If [I] do not meet and see [you], **will** you long for me? [**no, you will not!**]’

**Table 8-13: Total attestations of the yes/no question particle *ya* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	6

#### 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  
 aNtö **ka** a-Nka 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-nö yökö 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  
 麻都之太須 / 安思我良夜麻乃 / 須疑乃木能末可  
 mat-u siNta su / asiNkara yama-nö / suNkiy n-ö KÖ-nö 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  
 夜蘓志麻須義弓 / 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-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  
 比良湍尔母 / 比毛登久毛能可  
 pyira se n-i mö / pyimwo tök-u mwonö **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  
 和乎可麻都那毛 / 伎曾毛己余必母  
 wa-wo **ka** mat-unam-wo / kyisö mwo kö yöpyi 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 8-14: Total attestations of the question particle *ka* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	1	3	2	18

## 8.5 Restrictive particles

The restrictive particles include *nömi*, *Ntani*, and *sape*.

### 8.5.1 Restrictive particle *nömi*

The restrictive particle *nömi* has a meaning of ‘only’ or ‘just.’ It has a meaning of plain restriction (Vovin 2009a: 1274). The restrictive particle *nömi* 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, *nömi* follows the case marker *-ni* (see example (143) below), as expected of a true particle. The restrictive particle *nömi* precedes the focus particle *sö* when the two occur in the same line. All attested examples follow below.

142. 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] **just** by herself.’
143. 20:4355.1-2 – Kamitupusa  
 余曾尔能美 / 々弓夜和多良毛  
 yösö-ni **nömyi** / 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 / 母登奈見要都追 / 安乎祢思奈久流  
 imey **nōmiy** n-i / mötōna 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 **nōmiy** / imö-Nkari yar-i-te  
 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 **nōmiy** sö / 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 8-15: Total attestations of the restrictive particle *nōmi* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3

### 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 töpo-ka-Npa / na-Nka MEY por-i se-m-u  
 be.thus-AVINF **RPT** FPT / province-GEN be.far-AVEV-CONJ / 2.S-POSS eye  
 desire-NML do-TENT-FIN  
 ‘Because the province is **just** so far, [I] want [to see] your eyes.’

148. 14:3454.3-4 – UD  
 許余比太尔 / 都麻余之許西祢  
 kö yöpyi **Ntani** / tuma yös-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.’

**Table 8-16: Total attestations of the restrictive particle *Ntani* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

### 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.

149. 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 / 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  
 宇惠太氣能 / 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** köNkötö / 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 / kyimyi-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  
 可奈思家世吕尔 / 比等佐敝余須母  
 kanasi-kye se-rö-ni / pyitö **sapye** yös-umö  
 be.adorable-AVATTR beloved\_man-DIM-DAT / person **RPT** approach-EXCL  
 ‘**Even** [other] people approach [my] adorable, darling beloved!’

**Table 8-17: Total attestations of the restrictive particle *sape* across the provinces**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4

### 8.6 Desiderative particle *moNka[mo]*

The desiderative particle *moNkamo* and its shortened variant *moNka*<sup>278</sup> 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 / 波奈尔母我毛夜  
 titi papa mö / pana n-i **möNkamwo** ya  
 father mother FPT / blossom COP-INF **DPT** EPT  
 ‘[I] **want** [my] father and mother to be flowers!’
155. 14:3436.5 – Kamitukeno  
 登許波尔毛我母  
 tökö-pa n-i **mwoNkamö**  
 constant-leaf COP-INF **DPT**  
 ‘[I] **want** [there] to be eternal leaves.’
156. 20:4406.1-2 – Kamitukeno  
 和我伊波吕尔 / 由加毛比等母我  
 wa-Nka ipa-rö-ni / yuk-am-wo pyitö **möNka**  
 1.S-POSS home-DIM-LOC / go-TENT-ATTR person **DPT**  
 ‘[I] **want** someone who would go to my dear home.’

<sup>278</sup> The term ‘shortened variant’ is strictly in a synchronic sense. Historically, *moNkamo* is the variant, and it is an extended one.

157. 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.’
158. 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.’
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 **möNka**  
 PN point\_toward-INF / go-TENT-ATTR wild\_goose **DPT**  
 ‘[I] **wish** there were wild geese that would go toward Pitati!’
160. 14:3448.3-5 – UD  
 乎那能乎能 / 比自尔都久麻提 / 伎美我与母賀母  
 wona-nö wo-nö / pyiNsi-ni tuk-u-maNte / kyimyi-Nka yö **möNkamö**  
 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-nö yumyi-nö / 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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	2

### 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  
汝者故布婆曾母  
NA PA kwopu-Npa **sömö**  
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-Ntö / 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

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.**.]’

165. 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-nö / okur-u **Nkapey**

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**

Sin	To	Su	Kak	Mu	Sa	Mi	Sik	Pi	Sip	Kap	UD
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

## 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)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
<i>kanumaNtuku</i>	可奴麻豆久	–	14:3409.3	Kak

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.

(2)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
<i>twora</i>	刀羅 刀良	–	14:3409.5 14:3518.5	Kak UD

The form *twora* is attested twice, and may include the plural or diminutive *-ra*, but the element *two* is obscure – it is possibly a word for ‘girl’<sup>279</sup> (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.

(3)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
<i>otapapu</i>	於多波布	–	14:3409.4	Kak

This almost certainly contains a verb root, as it precedes *pyitō tö* [person COP/DV/FPT/ -COM] in the line and appears to end in the attributive *-u*. One possibility is that it is *otapap-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.’

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<sup>279</sup> Also cf. 20:4401.3 from Sinano, where the word *kwo-ra* ‘girl-DIM’ in NHB is written *tōra* in GK.

(4)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
<i>anikuyasiNtuku</i>	阿尔久夜斯 豆久 <sup>280</sup>	–	14:3411.4	Kak

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.

(5)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
<i>ipawi</i>	伊波為 伊波為	–	14:3414.4 14:3378.3	Kak Mu

<sup>280</sup> This is the GK character. NHB has 之 *si*.

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)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
<i>ikapo seywo</i>	伊可保世欲	–	14:3419.1	Kak

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.

(7)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
<i>nakanakasisimo</i>	奈可中吹下	–	14:3419.2	Kak

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.

(8)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
<i>kumakösö situtö</i>	久麻許曾之都等	–	14:3419.4	Kak

Mizushima (1996: 116) proposes this is *kuma kösö situto* ‘crossing the hidden place [in the mountains].’ Below, I offer a possible morphemic analysis of Mizushima’s proposal:

*kuma kös-ö s-i-tutö*  
hidden.place cross-ATTR do-INF-COOR

In this case the attributive *-o* on *kös-* ‘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)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
<i>tapamyi-N-tura</i>	<u>多波美豆良</u>	UNC-GEN/COP. ATTR-vine	14:3501.3	UD

*Tapamyi* may just be the name of a type of vine, but it is unclear.

(10)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
<b>köN</b> -tökyi-ni	<u>許騰</u> 伎尔	UNC-time-LOC	14:3506.2	UD

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 / **köN**-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)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
<i>netukwo</i> - N-kusa	根都古具佐	UNC- GEN?/COP. ATTR?- grass	14:3508.3	UD

The form *netukwo* may be the name of a type of grass, but it is unclear.

(12)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
<i>kötetaNsu</i> <i>kumwoka</i>	許豆多受久毛 可	–	14:3553.4	UD

I am unable to offer any plausible analysis for the line *kötetaNsukumwoka*. 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.



(13)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
söwapye	曾和敝	–	14:3566.3	UD

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<sup>281</sup>. 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

和伎毛古尔 / 安我古非思奈婆 / 曾和敝可毛 / 加未尔於保世牟 / 已許  
呂思良受弓

wa-Nk[a]-yimwo-kwo-ni / a-Nka kwopiy-sin-aNpa / **söwap-ye** kamwo / kamiy-ni  
opose-m-u / kökörö sir-aNs-u-te

1.S-POSS-darling-DIM-DAT / 1.S-POSS long\_for.INF-die-COND / **UNC-EV**  
EPT / deity-DAT blame-TENT-ATTR / heart know-NEG-INF-SUB

‘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.

14)

Example	Attestation			
	Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
kwopuNpa	故布婆	–	14:3382.5	Kap

The full line in which this appears is:

<sup>281</sup> This is a feature of EOJ grammar unattested in WOJ. See section 8.3.1 for more discussion.

14:3382.5 – Kamitupusa  
汝者故布婆曾母  
NA PA kwopu-**Npa** sômö  
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, Tōpo-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 Tōpo-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 *körömu* ‘garment’ (compare WOJ *körömö* ‘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 \*ə > /o/ 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 Tōpo-Suruga dialect

The Tōpo-Suruga (TS) dialect, as the name suggests, consists of the language attested in the poems of Tōpotuapumi and Suruga provinces. This dialect has an important innovation not found in WOJ, COJ, or t-EOJ: the contraction of \*əy > /ə/<sup>282</sup>. 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*<sup>283</sup>. The latter of the two is the product of an innovative raising of PJn \*o > /u/. Similarly innovative is the attested adjectival verb attributive *-kyi*, 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 Tōpo-Suruga group.

The word for ‘what’ is attested as *nani* in Tōpotuapumi. This is the same as the WOJ form, and it is attested in no other EOJ province.

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<sup>282</sup> 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.

<sup>283</sup> 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 \*<sup>n</sup>d > /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<sup>284</sup>) 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 \*əy (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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<sup>284</sup> 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 *-nösu* is attested in t-EOJ dialects (Kamitukeno, Muzasi, and Simotukeno), but nowhere else. The diminutive *-rö* 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, Mitinöku, 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 *aNtö* ‘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 *unö-* (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  $*^n z$  (or  $*s$ )  $> /t/$  in a focus particle. Simotupusa also shows the denasalizations of  $*^n d > /d/$  and  $*^n g > /g/$ , 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 *-rö* (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 *\*<sup>n</sup>d* > /d/. 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:



Figure 5: Proposed dialect areas of Azuma Japan in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE<sup>285</sup>

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.

<sup>285</sup> This map is a modified version of the one presented on [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces\\_of\\_Japan.svg](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).

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ nominal roots

#	Example	Attestation			
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem.Line	Provinces
1	(N) kupa	具波	mulberry	14:3350a.2	Pi
2	aNsu	安受 安受	crumbling_ cliffs	14:3539.1 14:3541.1	UD UD
3	asaNte <sup>286</sup>	安佐提	hemp	14:3454.2	UD
4	ka	加	oar	20:4363.3	Pi
5	akey <sup>287</sup>	加氣 可氣	vine	14:3573.2 14:3573.4	UD
6	kaNtu	可頭 可豆	mulberry	14:3432.3 14:3432.5	Sa Sa
7	kapyerute	加敞流弓	maple_tree	14:3494.2	UD
8	karasu	可良湏	crow	14:3521.1	UD
9	kasi <sup>288</sup>	加志	walking	20:4417.5	Mu
10	kukyi	久积	nail	20:4390.2	Sip

<sup>286</sup> There is one purely *kungana* attestation of this in WOJ in MYS 16:3791.43.

<sup>287</sup> 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.

<sup>288</sup> MJ form is *kati* 'id.'

11	kuru	久留	pivot	20:4390.2	Sip
12	muNkyi	武藝	grain	14:3537.2	UD
13	ninwo <sup>289</sup>	尔努 尔努	cloth	14:3351.5 14:3513.3	Pi UD
14	nwoNsi	努自	rainbow	14:3414.2	Kak
15	pane	婆祢	stump (?) <sup>290</sup>	14:3399.3	Sin
16	swopyi	蘓比	adjacent (side)	14:3435.2	Kak
17	söpo	曾保	red.soil	14:3560.2	UD
18	tapamyi	多波美	UNC <sup>291</sup>	14:3501.3	UD
19	teNkwo <sup>292</sup>	豆胡	maiden	14:3384.5	Sip
20	ukyera	宇家良 宇家良 宇家良	<i>Atractylodes</i> <i>_japonica</i>	14:3376a.4 14:3379.4 14:3503.4	Mu Mu UD
21	wase	和世	early_rice	14:3386.2	Sip
22	woNkiy <sup>293</sup>	乎疑	Amur_silver _grass	14:3446.3	UD

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ verb roots

	Example	Attestation			
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
1	atayum-(a) <sup>294</sup>	阿多由麻	be.ill-	20:4382.3	Sik
2	itaNpur-(a)	伊多夫良	tremble-	14:3550.4	UD
3	kakar-(u)	可加流	get_ chapped-	14:3459.2	UD
4	kaNtus-(a)	可豆佐	entice-	14:3432.4	Sa
5	maywop-(yi) <sup>295</sup>	麻欲比	fray-	14:3453.5	UD
6	niNkör-(e)	尔其礼	be.dirty-	14:3544.2	UD
7	nöt-(a) <sup>296</sup>	乃多	fill_up-	14:3444.4	UD
8	otapap-(u) <sup>297</sup>	於多波布	UNC-	14:3518.4	UD

<sup>289</sup> MJ form is *nuno* ‘cloth.’

<sup>290</sup> The meaning is somewhat unclear, and it is a *hapax legomenon*. It may include the root *ne* ‘root.’

<sup>291</sup> May be the name of a type of vine, or the name of a place from which such a vine originates.

<sup>292</sup> May be a borrowing of Ainu *tek-o* ‘embraced-person.’ Alternatively, it could be a contraction of Japonic \**te-nö kwo* ‘hand-GEN girl.’

<sup>293</sup> Contraction of \**wo-na-N-kiy* ‘DIM-water-GEN-leek.’ Also cf. EOJ *kwonaNkiy* ‘water plants.’

<sup>294</sup> May be *ata-yum-* with a prefix *ata-* and a root *yum-* that corresponds to WOJ *yam-* ‘be.ill.’

<sup>295</sup> There is one *kungana* attestation of *mayup-* ‘fray’ in WOJ (in 11:2609.2), which shows a raised vowel.

<sup>296</sup> Might be related to WOJ *mit-* ‘id.’

<sup>297</sup> May contain Ainu *ota* ‘sandy beach.’

9	paNkas-(i)	波賀志	let_go-	20:4417.2	Mu
10	pasasakey-	波左佐氣	let.run_ free-	14:3538b.2	UD
11	pasase-	波佐世	make.run-	14:3542.2	UD
12	sak-(u)	左久	keep_apart-	14:3420.4	Kak
13	sek-(u)	世久 世久	dam-	14:3545.2 14:3545.5	UD UD
14	ser-(a)	西良	deviate-	14:3437.4	Mi
15	tunak-(yi)	都奈伎	tie_up-	14:3539.2	UD

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ adjective and adjectival verb roots

	Example	Attestation			
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
1	ayapa	安也波	dangerous	14:3541.3	UD
2	ayapo-	安夜抱	be. Dangerous-	14:3539.3	UD
3	masaNte <sup>298</sup>	麻左侶	certain	14:3521.3	UD
4	pususa	布湏左	many	14:3484.2	UD
5	seNpa- <sup>299</sup>	世婆	be.narrow-	14:3507.1	UD
6	sipopo	志保々	soaked	20:4357.4	Kap
7	tayura	多由良	shaking	14:3392.4	Pi
8	taywora	多欲良	shaking	14:3368.4	Sa
9	yapara	夜波良	soft	14:3498.2	UD

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ adverbs

	Example	Attestation			
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
1	köNkötö	己其登	greatly	14:3502.4	UD
2	sapaNta <sup>300</sup>	佐波太 佐波太	many	14:3354.3 14:3395.4	To
3	simaraku <sup>301</sup>	思麻良久	for_awhile	14:3471.1	UD
4	su <sup>302</sup>	須	again	14:3363.3	Sa

<sup>298</sup> cf. WOJ *masa* 'id.'

<sup>299</sup> MJ form is *sema-* 'id.'

<sup>300</sup> cf. WOJ *sapa* 'id.'

<sup>301</sup> cf. WOJ *simasi* 'id.'

<sup>302</sup> From Ainu *suy* 'again.'

		須 々 須 酒 須		20:4386.4 20:4386.4 14:3487.3 14:3487.3 14:3564.3	Sip Sip UD UD UD
5	upey	宇倍	surely	14:3476a.1	UD

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ particles

	Example	Attestation			
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
1	Nkapey	我倍	IPT	14:3502.5	UD
2	sömö <sup>303</sup>	曾母	NPT? <sup>304</sup>	14:3382.5	Kap
3	we	惠	EPT	14:3406.4	Kak

### Phonographically exclusive EOJ conjunctions

	Example	Attestation			
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces
1	siNta <sup>305</sup>	志太 之太 思太 思太 之太 之太 之太 之太 之太 思太	CNJ (‘when’)	20:4407.3 20:4367.2 14:3478.3 14:3478.4 14:3515.2 14:3520.2 14:3533.2 14:3363.3 14:3461.5	Kak Pi UD UD UD UD UD Sa UD

<sup>303</sup> From Ainu *somo* ‘not’?

<sup>304</sup> This form is unclear, and indeed, it may not be a NPT.

<sup>305</sup> 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

#	Example	Attestation				WOJ form
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem .Line	Provinces	
1	iku	伊久	breath	14:3458.5	UD	iky <sup>306</sup>
2	imu	伊牟 伊牟	beloved_ girl	20:4321.5 20:4364.4	To Pi	imwo <sup>307</sup>
3	iNtuma	伊豆麻	leisure	20:4327.3	To	itwoma
4	ipa	伊波 伊波 伊波 伊波 伊波 伊波	home	20:4375.3 20:4427.1 20:4406.1 20:4416.4 20:4419.1 20:4423.4	Sik UD Kak Mu Mu Mu	ipye <sup>308</sup>
5	kakyi	加枳	shade	20:4384.3	Sip	kaNkey
6	kama	加麻	duck	20:4339.2	Su	kamwo <sup>309</sup>
7	kaNkö	加其	shadow	20:4322.4	To	kaNkey
8	yuru	由流	lily	20:4369.2	Pi	yuri
9	katu	加都	gate	20:4386.1	Sip	kaNtwo <sup>310</sup>
10	kaye	加曳	reed	20:4321.4	To	kaya <sup>311</sup>
11	key	氣 氣	tree	20:4342.1 20:4375.1	Su Sik	kö-, kiy
12	kököri	去々里	heart	20:4390.4	Sip	kökörö <sup>312</sup>
13	kömwo	許毛	duck	20:4354.1	Kap	kamwo
14	kuku	九久 久君	stem	14:3406.2 14:3444.2	Kak UD	kukiy
15	kumu	久牟	cloud	20:4403.3	Sin	kumwo <sup>313</sup>
16	yu	由	night	20:4369.3	Pi	ywo <sup>314</sup>
17	yökyi	与伎	snow	14:3421.3	Kak	yukyi <sup>315</sup>
18	yepyi	叡比	sash	20:4428.4	UD	oNpyi <sup>316</sup>
19	maywo	麻欲	silkworm_	14:3350a.2	Pi	mayu

<sup>306</sup> The form *iky* ‘breath’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>307</sup> The form *imo* ‘beloved girl’ is also attested multiple times in EOJ.

<sup>308</sup> The form *ipye* ‘home’ is also attested multiple times in EOJ.

<sup>309</sup> The form *kamo* ‘duck’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>310</sup> The form *kaNtwo* ‘gate’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>311</sup> The form *kaya* ‘reed’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>312</sup> The form *kökörö* ‘heart’ is also attested many times in EOJ.

<sup>313</sup> The form *kumo* ‘cloud’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>314</sup> The form *ywo* ‘night’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>315</sup> The form *yukyi* ‘snow’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>316</sup> The form *oNpyi* ‘sash’ is also attested in EOJ.

			cocoon			
20	myiNtwo	美度	water	14:3546.4	UD	myiNtu <sup>317</sup>
21	muma	牟麻	horse	20:4372.9	Pi	uma <sup>318</sup>
22	mura	武良	fortunetelling	14:3418.3	Kak	ura <sup>319</sup>
23	myi	美	wife	20:4343.5	Su	mye
24	myita	美他	together_ with	20:4394.3	Sip	muta <sup>320</sup>
25	namiy	奈未	seedling	14:3460.3	UD	napa, napey <sup>321</sup>
26	yasiri	夜之里	shrine	20:4391.2	Sip	yasirö
27	nu	奴	field	20:4387.1	Sip	nwo <sup>322</sup>
28	omwo omwo omö	於毛 意毛 意母	mother	20:4386.4 20:4402.5 20:4401.5	Sip Sin Sin	amö <sup>323</sup>
29	osi	於思	rock	14:3359a.2	Su	iswo <sup>324</sup>
30	osu	於湏	rock	14:3385.4	Sip	iswo
31	paru	波流	needle	20:4420.5	Mu	pari
32	pu	布	fire	20:4419.2	Mu	piy, pö-
33	pye	蔽	leaf	14:3456.2	UD	pa <sup>325</sup>
34	pyi	比	shore	14:3385.4	Sip	pye
35	pyiNsi	比自	sandbank	14:3448.4	UD	pyisi <sup>326</sup>
36	pyita	比多	one	14:3435.5	Kak	pyitö <sup>327</sup>
37	sakymuri	佐岐牟	border.guard	20:4364.1	Pi	sakymöri <sub>328</sub>
38	siru	志流	behind	20:4385.3	Sip	siri <sup>329</sup>
39	tasi <sup>330</sup>	多之	long.sword	20:4413.1	Mu	tati <sup>331</sup>
40	töti <sup>332</sup>	等知	father	20:4340.1	Su	titi <sup>333</sup>
41	tuku	都久 都久 都久	moon	20:4413.5 14:3395.2 14:3476.3	Mu Pi UD	tukiy

<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 *pyitö* ‘one; person’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>328</sup> The form *sakymori* ‘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> The form *tati* ‘long.sword’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>332</sup> I view this word’s phonemic form to be /teti/.

<sup>333</sup> The form *titi* ‘father’ is also attested numerous times in EOJ.

		都久		14:3565.5	UD	
42	tusi <sup>334</sup>	都之 都之	earth	20:4392.1 20:4426.1	Sip UD	tuti <sup>335</sup>
43	umara	宇万良	briar	20:4352.2	Kap	uNpara <sup>336</sup>
44	unö	宇能	sea	20:4328.4	Sa	una <sup>337</sup>
45	wosaNkyi	乎佐藝	hare	14:3529.2	UD	usaNkyi
46	yaNte	夜提	branch	14:3493a.5	UD	yeNda
47	yuN-(tu) <sup>338</sup> yu-	由豆 由 <sup>339</sup>	bow	14:3486.2 14:3567.5	UD	yumyi <sup>340</sup>

### Phonologically different EOJ verb roots

#	Example	Attestation				WOJ form
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces	
1	aywok-(u)	阿用久	shake-	20:4390.5	Sip	aywo <sup>341</sup>
2	isaywop-(yi/u)	伊佐欲比 伊佐欲布	hesitate-	14:3511.3 14:3512.4	UD UD	isayup-
3	kapyir-(i)	加比利	return-	20:4339.4	Su	kapyer- <sup>342</sup>
4	kayup-(a)	加由波	go_back_and_forth-	20:4324.5	To	kaywop- <sup>343</sup>
5	kuye-	久江 久江	cross-	20:4372.4 20:4372.8	Pi Pi	kwoye- <sup>344</sup>
6	kwopu-	故布	long_for-	14:3382.5	Kap	kwopiy- <sup>345</sup>
7	kwoyö-	古与	cross-	20:4403.5	Sin	kwoye-
8	panas-(i) <sup>346</sup>	波奈之	separate-	14:3420.3	Kak	panat-
9	mös-(i) <sup>347</sup>	母之	hold-	20:4415.2	Mu	möt- <sup>348</sup>
10	nuNkan-(a)	奴我奈	flow-	14:3476b.4	UD	naNkar-

<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 *kwopiy-* ‘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 *möt-* ‘hold’ is also attested in EOJ.

	nwoNkan-(a)	努賀奈		14:3476a.4	UD	
11	opuse-	於不世	give_ responsibility .HON-	20:4389.4	Sip	opose-
12	orö-	於呂	lower-	20:4363.2	Pi	ori-
13	pakare-	波可礼	be.separated-	20:4352.5	Kap	wakare- <sup>349</sup>
14	popom-(a)	保々麻例	be. unopened-	20:4387.3	Sip	pupum- <sup>350</sup>
15	pyeNtas-(i) <sub>351</sub>	敝太思	partition-	14:3445.5	Kap	pyeNtat-
16	pyiröp-(a)	比呂波	pick_up-	14:3400.5	Sin	pyirip-
17	sasakö-	佐々己	raise-	20:4325.5	To	sasaNkey-
18	suNkwos-(a)	湏吾左	pass-	14:3564.5	UD	suNkus-
19	tas-(i) <sup>352</sup>	多志 多思	rise-	20:4383.4 14:3395.2	Sik Pi	tat- <sup>353</sup>
20	timar-(i)	知麻利	stay-	20:4372.10	Pi	tömar-
21	tönöNpyik-(u)	等能妣久	stream_out-	20:4403.4	Sin	tanaNpyik- <sub>354</sub>
22	töwerap-	等惠良比	shake-	20:4385.2	Sip	töworap-
23	tuk-(yi)	都岐	tell-	20:4365.5	Pi	tuNkey- <sup>355</sup>
24	twor-(e)	刀礼	shine-	14:3561.3	UD	ter-
25	wasura-	和湏良	forget-	14:3394.4	Pi	wasure- <sup>356</sup>
26	yusup-(yi)	由湏比	tie-	20:4427.3	UD	musuNp- <sup>357</sup>
27	myiNtaye-	美太要	confuse	14:3563.3	UD	myiNtare-

<sup>349</sup> The form *wakare-* ‘be.separated’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>350</sup> The form *pupum-* ‘be unopened’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>351</sup> This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of \*t > s / \_i.

<sup>352</sup> This form is the result of a phonologically conditioned palatalization of \*t > s / \_i.

<sup>353</sup> The form *tat-* ‘rise’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>354</sup> The form *tanaNpyik-* ‘stream out’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>355</sup> The form *tukey-* ‘tell’ is attested in EOJ.

<sup>356</sup> The form *wasure-* ‘forget’ is also attested in EOJ.

<sup>357</sup> 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**

#	Example	Attestation				WOJ form
		Phonograms	Morphemic gloss	Book:Poem. Line	Provinces	
1	kupusi-	苦不志	be.longing_ for-	20:4345.5	Su	kwopiysi- 358
2	kwopusi-	古布志	be.longing_ for-	20:4419.5	Mu	kwopiysi-
3	nipu	尔布	new	14:3460.3	UD	nipyi <sup>359</sup>
4	sa-	佐	be.safe-	20:4346.3	Su	sakyi-
5	sakey- sakye-	佐氣 佐祁	be.safe-	20:4368.2 20:4372.14	Pi Pi	sakyi-

<sup>358</sup> The form *kwopiysi-* ‘be longing for’ is also attested in EOJ (once).

<sup>359</sup> 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 copious 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<sup>360</sup>, 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 dissyllabic 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 \*kãŋ in EMC. The EOJ

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<sup>360</sup> 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-semantic value (specifically 河 *Nka* ‘river,’ 楊 *ya* ‘willow,’ 物 *mo* ‘thing,’ and 世 *se* ‘world’), phonographic usage always trumps semantic 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 semantic, 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 semantic, 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 semantic attestations for those that are truly semantic – in other words, there is no relationship between the meaning of the Chinese character chosen and its Chinese-based phonographic reading. In addition, true semantic characters attested in EOJ may be used to signify EOJ words of more than one syllable (e.g. 道 *MYITI* ‘path’), whereas quasi-semantic 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.

**Sinano Province**  
**AZUMA UTA**

14:3352 – Sinano

信濃奈流  
sina nwo na ru

須我能安良能尔  
su Nka nö a ra nö ni

保登等藝須  
po tö tö Nkyi su

奈久許惠伎氣波  
na ku kö we kyi key pa

登伎須疑尔家里  
tö kyi su Nkiy ni kye ri

14:3398 – Sinano

比等未奈乃  
pyi tö miy na nö

許等波多由登毛  
kö tö pa ta yu tö mwo

波尔思奈能  
pa ni si na nö

伊思井乃手兒我  
i si WI nö TE NKWO Nka

許登<sup>361</sup>奈多延曾祢  
kö tö na ta ye sö ne

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<sup>361</sup> NHB has the homophonous 等 tö.

14:3399 – Sinano

信濃道者  
sina nwo NTI PA

伊麻能波里美知  
i ma nö pa ri myi ti

可里婆祢尔  
ka ri Npa ne ni

安思布麻之牟奈<sup>362</sup>  
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<sup>363</sup>  
sina nwo na ru

知具麻能河泊<sup>364</sup>能  
ti Nku ma nö Nka pa nö

左射礼思母  
sa Nsa re si mö

伎弥<sup>365</sup>之布美豆波<sup>366</sup>  
kyi myi si pu myi te pa

多麻等比呂波牟  
ta ma tö pyi rö pa mu

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<sup>362</sup> GK has 牟奈 *namu*, but NHB and all other manuscripts have the opposite order 奈牟 *muna* (Mizushima 1996: 108). This is an instance where I follow NHB as I believe GK shows a mistake.

<sup>363</sup> NHB has the homophonous 流 *ru*.

<sup>364</sup> 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.

<sup>365</sup> I follow KB and other later manuscripts here. NHB has an obscure homophonous variant 旃 *myi*. GK has 祢 *ne*, which looks like a mistake. This is a rare instance where I follow neither NHB nor GK.

<sup>366</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4401 – Sinano

可良己呂武<sup>367</sup>

ka ra kö rö mu

須宗<sup>368</sup>尔等里都伎

su swo ni tö ri tu kyi

奈古<sup>369</sup>古<sup>370</sup>良乎

na kwo kwo ra wo

意伎亓曾伎怒<sup>371</sup>也

o kyi te sö kyi nwo ya

意母奈志<sup>372</sup>尔志亓

o mö na si ni si te

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<sup>367</sup> NHB has 茂 *mo* rather than 武 *mu* but I follow GK here, as it shows a vowel raising not in WOJ.

<sup>368</sup> NHB has 曾 *sö*.

<sup>369</sup> NHB has 苦 *ku*, but I follow GK as it shows an unraised vowel.

<sup>370</sup> GK has 等 *tö*, which may also mean ‘girl,’ however, since this is unclear, I follow NHB here.

<sup>371</sup> This character is in both GK and RK. NHB and KB have 奴 *nu*.

<sup>372</sup> NHB has the homophonous 之 *si*.

20:4402 – Sinano

知波夜布<sup>373</sup>留  
ti pa ya pu ru

賀美乃美佐賀尔  
Nka myi nö myi sa Nka ni

奴佐麻都理<sup>374</sup>  
nu sa ma tu ri

伊波布<sup>375</sup>伊能知波  
i pa pu i nö ti pa

意毛知々可<sup>376</sup>多米  
o mwo ti ti ka ta mey

20:4403 – Sinano

意保枳<sup>377</sup>美能  
o po kyi myi nö

美己等可之古美  
myi kö tö ka si kwo myi

阿乎久牟<sup>378</sup>乃  
a wo ku mu nö

等能<sup>379</sup>妣久夜麻乎  
tö nö Npyi ku ya ma wo

古与亓伎怒加牟  
kwo yö te kyi nwo ka mu

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<sup>373</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 美 *myi*, but I think this is an orthographic mistake.

<sup>374</sup> NHB has the homophonous 里 *ri*.

<sup>375</sup> NHB has the homophonous 負 *pu*.

<sup>376</sup> NHB has 我 *Nka*.

<sup>377</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 枳, which is probably a mistake.

<sup>378</sup> NHB has 毛 *mwo*.

<sup>379</sup> 等能 *tönö* is found in GK and RK, which is what I follow here. NHB has 多奈 *tana*, with 等能 *tönö* written to the left of it, indicating 多奈 *tana* is a mistake.

**Tōpotuapumi Province**  
**AZUMA UTA**

14:3354 – Tōpotuapumi

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 mö nö

伊毛我乎杼許尔  
i mwo Nka wo Ntö kö ni

14:3429 – Tōpotuapumi

等保都安布美  
tö po tu a pu myi

伊奈佐保曾江乃  
i na sa po sö YE nö

水乎都<sup>380</sup>久思  
MYI wo tu ku si

安礼乎多能米弓  
a re wo ta nö mey te

安佐麻之物能乎  
a sa ma si mo nö wo

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<sup>380</sup> GK has 手 *TE*, which is probably a mistake.

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4321 – Tōpotuapumi

可之古伎夜  
ka si kwo kyi ya

美許等加我布理  
myi kō tō ka Nka pu ri

阿須由利也  
a su yu ri ya

加曳我牟<sup>381</sup>多祢牟<sup>382</sup>  
ka ye Nka mu ta ne mu

伊牟奈之尔志弓  
i mu na si ni si te

20:4322 – Tōpotuapumi

和我都麻波  
wa Nka tu ma pa

伊多久古非<sup>383</sup>良之  
i ta ku kwo piy ra si

乃牟美豆<sup>384</sup>尔  
nō mu myi Ntu ni

加其佐倍美曳弓  
ka Nkō sa pey myi ye te

余尔和須良礼受  
yō ni wa su ra re Nsu

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<sup>381</sup> NHB and many other manuscripts have a 伊 *i* above this character (Mizushima 1996: 190).

<sup>382</sup> NHB has 乎 *wo*.

<sup>383</sup> NHB has 比 *pyi*.

<sup>384</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 川 *tu*, which looks like it is used quasi-semanticographically 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  
tö kyi Ntö kyi nö

波奈波左<sup>385</sup>家登母  
pa na pa sa kye Ntö mö

奈尔須礼曾  
na ni su re sö

波々登布波奈乃  
pa pa tö pu pa na nö

佐吉泥己受祁牟  
sa kyi Nte kö Nsu kye mu

20:4324 – Töpotuapumi

等倍多保美  
tö pey ta po myi

志留波乃伊宗等  
si ru pa nö i swo tö

尔閑乃宇良等  
ni pey nö u ra tö

安比豆之阿良婆<sup>386</sup>  
a pyi te si a ra Npa

己等母加由波牟  
kö tö mö ka yu pa mu

---

<sup>385</sup> NHB has the homophonous 佐 *sa*.

<sup>386</sup> 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<sup>387</sup>弓由加牟  
sa sa kö te yu ka mu

20:4326 – Töpotuapumi

父母我  
TITI PAPA Nka

等能々志利弊乃  
tö nö nö si ri pye nö

母々余具佐  
mö mö yö Nku sa

母々与伊弓麻勢  
mö mö yö i te ma se

和我伎多流麻弓  
wa Nka kyi ta ru ma te

---

<sup>387</sup> 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<sup>388</sup>  
WE ni ka kyi tö ra mu

伊豆麻母加  
i Ntu ma mö ka

多妣<sup>389</sup>由久阿礼波<sup>390</sup>  
ta Npyi yu ku a re pa

美都都<sup>391</sup>志努波牟  
myi tu tu si nwo pa mu

---

<sup>388</sup> NHB has the homophonous 無 *mu*.

<sup>389</sup> NHB has 比 *pyi*.

<sup>390</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

<sup>391</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

Suruga Province  
AZUMA UTA

14:3359a – Suruga

駿河能宇美  
suru Nka nö 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 nö myi

波播尔多我比奴  
pa pa ni ta Nka pyi nu

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4337 – Suruga

美豆等利<sup>392</sup>乃  
myi Ntu tö ri nö

多知能已蘓岐尔  
ta ti nö i swo kyi ni

知々波々<sup>393</sup>尔  
ti ti pa pa ni

毛能波須價尔豆  
mwo nö pa su kye ni te

已麻叙久夜志伎  
i ma Nsö ku ya si kyi

---

<sup>392</sup> NHB has the homophonous 里 *ri*.

<sup>393</sup> 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

多々美氣米  
ta ta myi key mey

牟良自加已蘓乃  
mu ra Nsi ka i swo nö

波奈利蘓乃  
pa na ri swo nö

波々乎波奈例天<sup>394</sup>  
pa pa wo pa na re te

由久我加奈之佐  
yu ku Nka ka na si sa

20:4339 – Suruga

久尔米具留  
ku ni mey Nku ru

阿等利加麻氣利  
a tö ri ka ma key ri

由伎米久<sup>395</sup>利  
yu kyi mey ku ri

加比利久麻<sup>396</sup>尔  
ka pyi ri ku ma te ni

已波比<sup>396</sup>麻多祢  
i pa pyi te ma ta ne

---

<sup>394</sup> NHB has the homophonous 亘 *te*.

<sup>395</sup> NHB has 具 *Nku*.

<sup>396</sup> 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<sup>397</sup>波々江  
tō ti pa pa ye

已波比弓麻多祢  
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

等里弓久麻弓尔  
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

由伎加弓奴加<sup>398</sup>毛  
yu kyi ka te nu ka mwo

---

<sup>397</sup>等知 *tōti* ‘father’ is found in GK and RK. NHB has 知々 *titi* ‘father’.

<sup>398</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript (Mizushima 1996: 198).

20:4342 – Suruga

麻氣婆<sup>399</sup>之良  
ma key Npa si ra

寶米豆久利<sup>400</sup>留  
po mey te Ntu ku ri ru

等乃能其等  
tō nō nō Nkō tō

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 rō ta pyi pa

多比等於米保等  
ta pyi tō o mey po tō

已比尔志豆  
i pyi ni 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 mö

---

<sup>399</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

<sup>400</sup> 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

和須良牟碓<sup>401</sup>  
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<sup>402</sup>  
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

宇知江須流  
u ti ye su ru

々々河乃祢良波  
su ru Nka nö ne ra pa

苦不志久米阿流可  
ku pu si ku mey a ru ka

---

<sup>401</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 豆 *Ntu*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>402</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the reduplication character 々 here.

20:4346 – Suruga

知々波々我  
ti ti pa pa Nka

可之良加伎奈弓  
ka si ra ka kyī na te

佐久阿<sup>403</sup>例<sup>404</sup>弓<sup>405</sup>  
sa ku a re te

伊比之氣等婆<sup>406</sup>是  
i pyi si key tö Npa Nse

和須礼加祢豆<sup>407</sup>流  
wa su re ka ne Ntu ru

---

<sup>403</sup> NHB has the homophonous 安 *a*.

<sup>404</sup> NHB has the homophonous 礼 *re*.

<sup>405</sup> NHB has the homophonous 天 *te*.

<sup>406</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

<sup>407</sup> NHB has the *kungana* phonogram 津 *tu*.



**Kamitukeno Province**  
**AZUMA UTA**

14:3402 – Kamitukeno

比能具礼尔  
pyi nö Nku re ni

宇須比乃夜麻乎  
u su pyi nö ya ma wo

古由流日波  
kwo yu ru PYI pa

勢奈能我素佴母  
se na nö Nka swo Nte mö

佐夜尔布良思都  
sa ya ni pu ra si tu

14:3404 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努  
ka myi tu key nwo

安蘓能麻素武良  
a swo nö ma swo mu ra

可伎武太伎  
ka kyi mu Nta kyi

奴礼杼<sup>408</sup>安加奴乎  
nu re Ntö a ka nu wo

安杼<sup>409</sup>加安我世牟  
a Ntö ka a Nka se mu

---

<sup>408</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>409</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

14:3405a – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努  
ka myi tu key nwo

乎度能多杼<sup>410</sup>里我  
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

比等理能未思彳  
pyi tö ri nö miy si te

14:3405b – Kamitukeno

可美都氣乃  
ka myi tu key nö

乎野乃多杼<sup>411</sup>里<sup>412</sup>我  
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

---

<sup>410</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>411</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>412</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 由 *yu*, which is looks like a mistake.

14:3406 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣野  
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

安礼波麻多牟惠  
a re pa ma ta mu we

許登之弥<sup>413</sup>受登母  
kö tö si myi Nsu tö mö

14:3408 – Kamitukeno

尔比多夜麻  
ni pyi ta ya ma

祢尔波都可奈那  
ne ni pa tu ka na na

和尔余曾利  
wa ni yö sö ri

波之奈流兒良師  
pa si na ru KWO ra si

安夜尔可奈思母<sup>414</sup>  
a ya ni ka na si mö

---

<sup>413</sup> I follow RK here. NHB has 許 *kö*, with a character 旃 *myi* linked to it above the line, indicating 許 *kö* is a mistake.

<sup>414</sup> NHB has 毛 *mwo*.

14:3409 – Kamitukeno

伊香保呂爾  
i ka po rö ni

安麻久母伊都藝  
a ma ku mö i tu Nkyi

可努<sup>415</sup>麻豆久  
ka nwo ma Ntu ku

比等登於多波布  
pyi tö tö 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 rö nö

蘓比乃波里波良  
swo pyi nö pa ri pa ra

祢毛己呂爾  
ne mwo kö rö ni

於久乎奈加祢曾  
o ku wo na ka ne sö

麻左可思余加婆  
ma sa ka si yö ka Npa

---

<sup>415</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*.

14:3411 – Kamitukeno

多胡能祢尔  
ta Nkwo nö ne ni

与西都奈波倍弓  
yö se tu na pa pey te

与須礼騰毛  
yö su re Ntö mwo

阿尔久夜斯豆久<sup>416</sup>  
a ni ku ya si Ntu ku

曾能可把<sup>417</sup>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

可奈師家兒良尔  
ka na si kye KWO ra ni

伊夜射可里久母  
i ya Nsa ka ri ku mö

---

<sup>416</sup> NHB has 之 *si*, which looks like an error.

<sup>417</sup> 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/.

14:3413 – Kamitukeno

刀祢河泊<sup>418</sup>乃  
two ne Nka pa nö

可波世毛思良受  
ka pa se mwo si ra Nsu

多太和多里  
ta Nta wa ta ri

奈美尔安布能須  
na myi ni a pu nö su

安敞流伎美可母  
a pye ru kyi myi ka mö

14:3414 – Kamitukeno

伊香保呂能  
i ka po rö nö

夜左可能為提<sup>419</sup>尔  
ya sa ka nö wi Nte ni

多都努自能  
ta tu nwo Nsi nö

安良波路萬代母  
a ra pa rwo ma Nte mö

佐祢乎佐祢弓婆  
sa ne wo sa ne te Npa

---

<sup>418</sup> I use the NHB form here. GK has the homophonous variant 伯 *pa* that appears to be unattested in WOJ (Omodaka et al 1967: 899). It is likely a mistake for 泊.

<sup>419</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 堤.

14:3415 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努  
ka myi tu key nwo

伊可保乃奴麻尔  
i ka po nö nu ma ni

宇惠古奈宜<sup>420</sup>  
u we kwo na Nkyi

賀<sup>421</sup>久古非牟等夜  
Nka ku kwo piy mu tö ya

多祢物得米家武  
ta ne mo tö mey kye mu

14:3416 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努  
ka myi tu key nwo

可保夜我奴<sup>422</sup>麻能  
ka po ya Nka nu ma nö

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

---

<sup>420</sup> NHB has 伎 *kyi*.

<sup>421</sup> NHB has 可 *ka*.

<sup>422</sup> 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 poem (3417).

14:3417 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努  
ka myi tu key nwo

伊奈良能奴麻乃  
i na ra nö nu ma nö

於<sup>423</sup>保為具左  
o po wi Nku sa

与曾尔見之欲波  
yö sö ni MYI si ywo pa

伊麻許曾麻左礼  
i ma kö sö ma sa re

14:3418 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努<sup>424</sup>  
ka myi tu key nwo

佐野田能奈倍能  
sa NWO TA nö na pey nö

武良奈倍尔  
mu ra na pey ni

許登波佐太米都  
kö tö pa sa Nta mey tu

伊麻波伊可尔世母  
i ma pa i ka ni se mö

---

<sup>423</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 祢 *ne*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>424</sup> 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

久麻許曾之都等  
ku ma kö sö si tu tö

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 nö pu na pa si

登里波奈之  
tö ri pa na si

於也波佐<sup>425</sup>久礼騰  
o ya pa sa ku re Ntö

和波左可流賀倍  
wa pa sa ka ru Nka pey

---

<sup>425</sup> NHB has the homophonous 左 *sa*.

14:3423 – Kamitukeno

可美都氣努  
ka myi tu key nwo

伊可抱<sup>426</sup>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

安蘊<sup>427</sup>夜麻都豆良  
a swo ya ma tu Ntu ra

野乎比呂美  
NWO wo pyi rö myi

波比尔思物能乎  
pa pyi ni si mo nö wo

安是加多延世武  
a Nse ka ta ye se mu

---

<sup>426</sup> 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/.

<sup>427</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 處.

14:3435 – Kamitukeno

伊可保呂乃  
i ka po rö nö

蘓比乃波里波良  
swo pyi nö pa ri pa ra

和我吉奴尔  
wa Nka kyi nu ni

都伎与良志<sup>428</sup>母与  
tu kyi yö ra si mö yö

比<sup>429</sup>多敝登於毛敝婆  
pyi ta pye tö o mwo pye Npa

14:3436 – Kamitukeno

志良登保布  
si ra tö po pu

乎尔比多夜麻能<sup>430</sup>  
wo ni pyi ta ya ma nö

毛流夜麻乃  
mwo ru ya ma nö

宇良賀礼勢奈那  
u ra Nka re se na na

登許波尔毛我母  
tö kö pa ni mwo Nka mö

---

<sup>428</sup> NHB has the homophonous 之 *si*.

<sup>429</sup> This character is in NHB, GK, and RK, but is missing from some later manuscripts (Mizushima 1996: 124)

<sup>430</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

SAKIMORI UTA

20:4404 – Kamitukeno

奈尔波治乎  
na ni pa Nti wo

由伎亓久麻亓等  
yu kyi te ku ma te tō

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<sup>431</sup>  
ta ye ni key ru ka mwo

20:4405 – Kamitukeno

和我伊母古我  
wa Nka i mö kwo Nka

志濃比尔西餘<sup>432</sup>等  
si nwo pyi ni se yō tō

都<sup>433</sup>氣志非<sup>434</sup>毛  
tu key si pyi mwo

伊刀尔奈流等母  
i two ni na ru tō mö

和波等可自<sup>435</sup>等余  
wa pa tō ka Nsi tō yō

---

<sup>431</sup> NHB has 母 *mō*.

<sup>432</sup> This is the NHB character. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

<sup>433</sup> This is the NHB character. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

<sup>434</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 比 *pyi*.

<sup>435</sup> 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

和我伊波吕尔  
wa Nka i pa rö ni

由加毛比等母我  
yu ka mwo pyi tö mö Nka

久佐麻久良  
ku sa ma ku ra

多妣波久流之等  
ta Npyi pa ku ru si tö

都氣夜良麻久母  
tu key ya ra ma ku mö

20:4407 – Kamitukeno

比奈久毛<sup>436</sup>理  
pyi na ku mwo ri

宇須比乃佐可乎  
u su pyi nö sa ka wo

古延志太尔  
kwo ye si Nta ni

伊毛賀<sup>437</sup>古比之久  
i mwo Nka kwo pyi si ku

和須良<sup>438</sup>延奴加母  
wa su ra ye nu ka mö

---

<sup>436</sup> I follow GK here. NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>437</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 駕 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>438</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 己 *kö*, 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

麻左弓尔毛  
ma sa te ni mwo

乃良奴伎美我名  
nö ra nu kyi myi Nka NA

宇良尔尔家里  
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 yö pyi ywo ri

世吕尔安波奈布与  
se rö ni a pa na pu yö

14:3376a – Muzasi

古非思家波  
kwo piy si kye pa

素弓毛布良武乎  
swo te mwo pu ra mu wo

牟射志野乃  
mu Nsa si NWO nö

宇家良我波奈乃  
u kye ra Nka pa na nö

伊吕尔豆<sup>439</sup>奈由米  
i rö ni Ntu na yu mey

14:3378 – Muzasi

伊利麻治能  
i ri ma Nti nö

於保屋我波良能  
o po YA Nka pa ra nö

伊波為都良  
i pa wi tu ra

比可婆奴流奴流<sup>440</sup>  
pyi ka Npa nu ru nu ru

和尔奈多要曾祢  
wa ni na ta ye sö ne

---

<sup>439</sup> 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.

<sup>440</sup> 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<sup>441</sup>可母伊波武  
a Ntö ka mö i pa mu

牟射志野乃  
mu Nsa si NWO nö

宇家良我波奈乃  
u kye ra Nka pa na nö

登吉奈伎母能乎  
tö kyi na kyi mö nö wo

### SAKIMORI UTA

20:4413 – Muzasi

麻久良多之<sup>442</sup>  
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<sup>443</sup>  
se rö Nka ma kyi kö mu

都久乃之良奈久  
tu ku nö si ra na ku

---

<sup>441</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼, which looks like a mistake

<sup>442</sup> RK and some later manuscripts have 知 *ti*, which looks like a scribal alternation to conform to the WOJ form *tati* ‘sword.’

<sup>443</sup> NHB has the homophonous 無 *mu*.



20:4414 – Muzasi

於保伎美乃  
o po kyi myi nō

美己等可之古美  
myi kō tō ka si kwo myi

宇都久之氣  
u tu ku si key

麻古我弓波奈利  
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

弓尔刀里母之<sup>444</sup>弓  
te ni two ri mö si te

美流乃須母  
myi ru nō su mö

伊弊奈流伊母乎  
i pye na ru i mö wo

麻多美弓毛母也  
ma ta myi te mwo mö ya

---

<sup>444</sup> 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<sup>445</sup>  
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

夜麻努尔波贺志  
ya ma nwo ni pa Nka si

刀里加尔弓  
two ri ka ni te

多麻能<sup>446</sup>余许夜麻  
ta ma nö yö kö ya ma

加志由加也良牟  
ka si yu ka ya ra mu

---

<sup>445</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

<sup>446</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

20:4418 – Muzasi

和我<sup>447</sup>可度乃  
wa Nka ka Ntwo nö

可多夜麻都婆伎  
ka ta ya ma tu Npa kyi

麻己等奈礼  
ma kö tö na re

和我弓布礼奈々  
wa Nka te pu re na na

都知尔於知母可<sup>448</sup>毛  
tu ti ni o ti mö ka mwo

20:4419 – Muzasi

伊波吕尔波  
i pa rö ni pa

安之布多氣度<sup>449</sup>母  
a si pu ta key Ntwo mö

須美与氣乎  
su myi yö key wo

都久之尔伊多里弓  
tu ku si ni i ta ri te

古布志氣毛波母  
kwo pu si key mwo pa mö

---

<sup>447</sup> 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.

<sup>448</sup> NHB has the homophonous 加 *ka*.

<sup>449</sup> NHB has 騰 *Ntö*.

20:4420 – Muzasi

久左<sup>450</sup>麻久良  
ku sa ma ku ra

多妣乃麻流祢乃  
ta Npyi nö ma ru ne nö

比毛多要婆  
pyi mwo ta ye Npa

安我弓等都氣呂  
a Nka te tö tu key rö

許<sup>451</sup>礼乃波流母志  
kö re nö pa ru mö si

20:4421 – Muzasi

和我由伎乃  
wa Nka yu kyi nö

伊伎都久之可婆  
i kyi tu ku si ka Npa

安之我良乃  
a si Nka ra nö

美祢波保久毛乎  
myi ne pa po ku mwo wo

美等登志努波祢  
myi tö tö si nwo pa ne

---

<sup>450</sup> NHB has the homophonous 佐 *sa*.

<sup>451</sup> 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<sup>452</sup>久之倍夜里弓  
tu ku si pey ya ri te

宇都久之美  
u tu ku si myi

於妣婆等可奈奈<sup>453</sup>  
o Npyi Npa tö ka na na

阿<sup>454</sup>也尔加母祢毛  
a ya ni ka mö ne mwo

20:4423 – Muzasi

安之我良乃  
a si Nka ra nö

美佐可尔多志弓  
myi sa ka ni ta si te

蘓渥布良婆<sup>455</sup>  
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 mö

---

<sup>452</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 郡, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>453</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>454</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>455</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

20:4424 – Muzasi

伊呂夫可久  
i rö Npu ka ku

世奈我許呂母波  
se na Nka kö rö mö pa

曾米麻之乎  
sö 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  
a si Nka ra nö

乎弓毛許乃母尔  
wo te mwo kö nö mö 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  
kö rö a re pyi mwo tö ku

14:3362a – Sagamu

相模祢乃  
saNka mu ne nö

乎美祢見所<sup>456</sup>久思  
wo myi ne MYI ka ku si

和須礼久流  
wa su re ku ru

伊毛我名欲妣弓  
i mwo Nka NA ywo Npyi te

吾乎祢之奈久奈  
A wo ne si na ku na

---

<sup>456</sup> 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 *Nsö*, rather than 可 *ka*.

14:3362b – Sagamu

武藏祢能  
mu NSASI ne nö

乎美祢見可久思  
wo myi ne MYI ka ku si

和須礼遊久  
wa su re yu ku

伎美我名可氣豆  
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

夜麻登敝夜利豆  
ya ma tö 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 nö

須疑乃木能末可  
su Nkiy nö KÖ<sup>457</sup> nö ma ka

---

<sup>457</sup> Alternatively, it may be KEY ‘tree.’



14:3366 – Sagamu

麻可奈思美  
ma ka na si myi

佐祢尔和波由久  
sa ne ni wa pa yu ku

可麻久良能  
ka ma ku ra nö

美奈能瀬河泊<sup>458</sup>尔  
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

刀比能可布知尔  
two pyi nö ka pu ti ni

伊豆流湯能  
i Ntu ru YU nö

余尔母多欲良尔  
yö ni mö ta ywo ra ni

故呂河伊波奈久尔  
kwo rö Nka i pa na ku ni

---

<sup>458</sup> 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 nö

麻万<sup>459</sup>能古須氣乃  
ma ma nö kwo su key nö

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  
kö rö se ta ma ku ra

14:3370 – Sagamu

安思我里乃  
a si Nka ri nö

波故祢能祢呂乃  
pa kwo ne nö ne rö nö

尔古具佐能  
ni kwo Nku sa nö

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

---

<sup>459</sup> NHB has the homophonous 萬 *ma*. I follow GK and RK here.

14:3431 – Sagamu

阿之我里乃  
a si Nka ri nö

安伎奈乃夜麻尔  
a kyi na nö ya ma ni

比古布祢乃  
pyi kwo pu ne nö

斯利比可志母與  
si ri pyi ka si mö yö

許己波胡<sup>460</sup>賀多尔  
kö kö pa Nkwo Nka ta ni

14:3432 – Sagamu

阿之賀利乃  
a si Nka ri nö

和乎可鷄夜麻能  
wa wo ka kye ya ma nö

可頭乃木能  
ka Ntu nö KÖ<sup>461</sup> nö

和乎可豆佐祢母  
wa wo ka Ntu sa ne mö

可豆佐可受等母  
ka Ntu sa ka Nsu tö mö

---

<sup>460</sup> NHB has 故 *kwo*.

<sup>461</sup> 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 tö ka si kwo myi

伊蘓尔布理  
i swo ni pu ri

宇能<sup>462</sup>波良和多流  
u nö pa ra wa ta ru

知々波々乎於伎豆  
ti ti pa pa wo o kyi te

20:4329 – Sagamu

夜蘓久尔波  
ya swo ku ni pa

奈<sup>463</sup>尔波尔都度比  
na ni pa ni tu Ntwo pyi

布奈可射里  
pu na ka Nsa ri

安我世牟<sup>464</sup>比吕乎  
a Nka se mu pyi rö wo

美毛比<sup>465</sup>等母我毛<sup>466</sup>  
myi mwo pyi tö mö Nka mö

---

<sup>462</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>463</sup> NHB has the homophonous 那 *na*.

<sup>464</sup> NHB has the homophonous 武 *mu*.

<sup>465</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 以 *i*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>466</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

20:4330 – Sagamu

奈尔波都尔  
na ni pa tu ni

余曾比余曾比弓  
yö sö pyi yö sö pyi te

氣布能比<sup>467</sup>夜  
key pu nö pyi ya

伊田弓麻可良武  
i Nte te ma ka ra mu

美流波々奈之尔  
myi ru pa pa na si ni

---

<sup>467</sup> NHB has the semantogram 日 PYI ‘sun, day.’

Mitinöku Province  
AZUMA UTA

14:3426 – Mitinöku

安比豆祢能  
a pyi Ntu ne nö

久尔乎佐杼<sup>468</sup>抱美  
ku ni wo sa Ntö 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 tö

比毛牟須波<sup>469</sup>佐祢  
pyi mwo mu su pa sa ne

14:3437 – Mitinöku

美知能<sup>470</sup>久能  
myi ti nö ku nö

安太多良末由美  
a Nta ta ra ma yu myi

波自伎於伎豆  
pa Nsi kyi o kyi te

西良思馬伎<sup>471</sup>那婆  
se ra si mye kyi na Npa

都良波可馬可毛  
tu ra pa ka mye ka mwo

---

<sup>468</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 杼, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>469</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

<sup>470</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>471</sup> 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 mö tu kye NWO

美可母乃夜麻能  
myi ka mö nö ya ma nö

許奈良能<sup>472</sup>須  
kö na ra nö su

麻具波思兒呂波  
ma Nku pa si KWO rö pa

多賀家可母多牟  
ta Nka kye ka mö ta mu

14:3425 – Simotukeno

志母都家努  
si mö tu kye nwo

安素乃河泊<sup>473</sup>良欲<sup>474</sup>  
a swo nö Nka pa ra ywo

伊之布麻努受  
i si pu ma Nsu

蘓良由登伎努<sup>475</sup>与  
swo ra yu tö kyi nwo yö

奈我已許呂能礼  
na Nka kö kö rö nö re

---

<sup>472</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

<sup>473</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has a variant 伯 which looks like a mistake.

<sup>474</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the *kungana* phonogram 夜 *ywo*, but it looks like a later amendment (Mizushima 1996: 118).

<sup>475</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*.

## SAKIMORI UTA

### 20:4373 – Simotukeno

祁<sup>476</sup>布与利波  
kye pu yö ri pa

可敞理<sup>477</sup>見奈久弓  
ka pye ri MYI na ku te

意富伎美乃  
o po kyi myi nö

之許乃美多弓等  
si kö nö myi ta te tö

伊渥多都和例<sup>478</sup>波  
i Nte ta tu wa re pa

### 20:4374 – Simotukeno

阿米都知乃  
a mey tu ti nö

可美乎伊乃里弓  
ka myi wo i nö ri te

佐都夜奴伎  
sa tu ya nu kyi

都久之乃之麻乎  
tu ku si nö si ma wo

佐之弓伊<sup>479</sup>久和例波  
sa si te i ku wa re pa

---

<sup>476</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 都 *tu*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>477</sup> NHB has the homophonous 里 *ri*.

<sup>478</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 社, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>479</sup> 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).



20:4375 – Simotukeno

麻都能氣乃  
ma tu nö key nö

奈美多流美礼波  
na myi ta ru myi re pa

伊波比<sup>480</sup>等乃  
i pa pyi tö nö

和例乎美於久流等<sup>481</sup>  
wa re wo myi o ku ru tö

多々里<sup>482</sup>之毛<sup>483</sup>已<sup>484</sup>呂  
ta ta ri si mwo kö rö

---

<sup>480</sup> NHB has 妣 *Npyi*.

<sup>481</sup> This part of the poem is orthographically troublesome. GK has 与 *yö*, 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.

<sup>482</sup> NHB has the homophonous 理 *ri*.

<sup>483</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>484</sup> 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<sup>485</sup>之良受弓  
yu ku tö si ra Nsu te

阿<sup>486</sup>母志志<sup>487</sup>尔  
a mö si si ni

己等麻乎<sup>488</sup>佐受弓  
kö tö ma wo sa Nsu te

伊麻叙<sup>489</sup>久夜之氣  
i ma Nsö ku ya si key

20:4377 – Simotukeno

阿母刀自母  
a mö two Nsi mö

多麻尔毛<sup>490</sup>賀毛<sup>491</sup>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 nö na ka ni

阿敞麻可麻久毛<sup>492</sup>  
a pye ma ka ma ku mwo

---

<sup>485</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 尔 *ni*, which is probably a mistake (copied over from the previous line).

<sup>486</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>487</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>488</sup> 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?

<sup>489</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 所, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>490</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>491</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>492</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

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<sup>493</sup>志志<sup>494</sup>可  
a mwo si si ka

多麻乃須我多波  
ta ma nö 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 nö

与曾流波麻倍尔  
yö sö ru pa ma pey ni

和可例奈婆<sup>495</sup>  
wa ka re na Npa

伊刀<sup>496</sup>毛須倍奈美  
i two mwo su pey na myi

夜多妣蘓弓布流  
ya ta Npyi swo te pu ru

---

<sup>493</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>494</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>495</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

<sup>496</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 力, which looks like a mistake.

20:4380 – Simotukeno

奈尔婆<sup>497</sup>刀乎  
na ni Npa two wo

己岐涅弓美例婆  
kö kyi Nte te myi re Npa

可美佐夫流  
ka myi sa Npu ru

伊古麻多可祢尔  
i kwo ma ta ka ne ni

久毛<sup>498</sup>曾多奈妣久  
ku mwo sö ta na Npyi ku

20:4381 – Simotukeno

久尔具尔<sup>499</sup>乃  
ku ni Nku ni nö

佐岐毛利都度比  
sa kyi mwo ri tu Ntwo pyi

布奈能里弓  
pu na nö ri te

和可流乎美礼婆  
wa ka ru wo myi re Npa

伊刀母須敝奈之  
i two mö su pye na si

---

<sup>497</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

<sup>498</sup> I follow NHB here for the character sequence 久毛 *kumwo*. GK has the opposite order 毛久 *mwoku*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>499</sup> In NHB this is written as 具尔々々 *NkuniNkuni*.

20:4382 – Simotukeno

布多富我美  
pu ta po Nka myi

阿志氣比等奈里  
a si key pyi tö na ri

阿<sup>500</sup>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<sup>501</sup>里尔佐酒<sup>502</sup>  
sa kyi mwo ri ni sa su

20:4383 – Simotukeno

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 sö pyi

多志涅毛等伎尔  
ta si Nte mwo tö kyi ni

阿母我米母<sup>503</sup>我母  
a mö Nka mey mö Nka mö

---

<sup>500</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>501</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>502</sup> I follow GK and other early extant manuscripts here. Only NHB and KB have the homophonous 須 *su*.

<sup>503</sup> 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.

**Pitati Province**  
**AZUMA UTA**

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

伎奴波安礼杼  
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

祢吕尔可須美為  
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

為祢亘夜良佐祢  
wi ne te ya ra sa ne

14:3392 – Pitati

筑波祢能<sup>504</sup>  
tuku pa ne nö

伊波毛等杼<sup>505</sup>吕尔  
i pa mwo tö Ntö rö ni

於都留<sup>506</sup>美豆  
o tu ru myi Ntu

代尔毛多由良尔  
YÖ ni mwo ta yu ra ni

和我於<sup>507</sup>毛波奈久仁<sup>508</sup>  
wa Nka o mwo pa na ku ni

---

<sup>504</sup> This character is in GK and RK. NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>505</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>506</sup> NHB has the homophonous 流 *ru*.

<sup>507</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

<sup>508</sup> NHB has the homophonous 尔 *ni*.

14:3394 – Pitati

左其呂毛能  
sa Nkō rō mwo nō

乎豆久波祢呂能  
wo Ntu ku pa ne rō nō

夜麻乃佐吉  
ya ma nō sa kyi

和須良<sup>509</sup>許婆古<sup>510</sup>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 Ntu ku pa nō

祢呂尔都久多思  
ne rō ni tu ku ta si

安比太欲波  
a pyi Nta ywo pa

佐波太<sup>511</sup>奈利怒<sup>512</sup>乎  
sa pa Nta na ri nwo wo

萬多祢天武可聞  
ma ta ne te mu ka mo

---

<sup>509</sup> 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.

<sup>510</sup> I follow NHB here. GK is missing this character.

<sup>511</sup> 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.

<sup>512</sup> This character is in GK and RK. NHB has the homophonous 努 *nwo*.



14:3397 – Pitati

比多知奈流  
pyi ta ti na ru

奈左可能宇美乃  
na sa ka nö u myi nö

多麻毛許曾  
ta ma mwo kö sö

飛<sup>513</sup>氣波多延須礼  
piy key pa ta ye su re

阿杼可多延世武  
a Ntö ka ta ye se mu

### SAKIMORI UTA

20:4363 – Pitati

奈尔波都尔  
na ni pa tu ni

美布祢於呂須惠  
myi pu ne o rö su we

夜蘓加奴伎  
ya swo ka nu kyi

伊麻波許伎奴<sup>514</sup>等  
i ma pa kö kyi nu tö

伊母尔都氣許<sup>515</sup>曾  
i mö ni tu key kö sö

---

<sup>513</sup> NHB has 比 *pyi*.

<sup>514</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 如, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>515</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 祢 *ne*, which looks like a mistake.

20:4364 – Pitati

佐岐<sup>516</sup>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 nö i mu Nka

奈流敝<sup>517</sup>伎己等乎  
na ru pye kyi kö tö wo

伊波須伎奴可母  
i pa su kyi nu ka mö

20:4365 – Pitati

於之亘流夜  
o si te ru ya

奈尔波能都<sup>518</sup>由<sup>519</sup>利  
na ni pa nö tu yu ri

布奈与曾比  
pu na yö sö pyi

阿例波許藝奴等  
a re pa kö Nkyi nu tö

伊母尔都岐許曾  
i mö ni tu kyi kö sö

---

<sup>516</sup> NHB has the homophonous 伎 *kyi*.

<sup>517</sup> I follow NHB here. GK and RK have the variant 弊.

<sup>518</sup> NHB has the semantogram 津 TU.

<sup>519</sup> 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

志留志豆都祁豆  
si ru si te tu kye te

伊母尔志良世牟  
i mö ni si ra se mu

20:4367 – Pitati

阿我母豆能  
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

布利佐氣美都々  
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<sup>520</sup>自<sup>521</sup>我波々  
ku Nsi Nka pa pa

佐氣久阿利麻豆<sup>522</sup>  
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 kö mu

20:4369 – Pitati

都久波祢乃  
tu ku pa ne nö

佐由流能波奈能  
sa yu ru nö pa na nö

由等許尔母  
yu tö kö ni mö

可奈之家伊母曾  
ka na si kye i mö sö

比留毛可奈之祁  
pyi ru mwo ka na si kye

---

<sup>520</sup> GK has 人 written in red to the right of this character.

<sup>521</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the semantogram 目 MEY, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>522</sup> 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<sup>523</sup>可美乎  
ka si ma nö ka myi wo

伊能利都々  
i nö ri tu tu

須米良美久佐尔  
su mey ra myi ku sa ni

和礼<sup>524</sup>波伎尔之乎  
wa re pa kyi ni si wo

20:4371 – Pitati

多知波奈乃  
ta ti pa na nö

之多布久可是乃  
si ta pu ku ka Nse nö

可具波志伎  
ka Nku pa si kyi

都久波能夜麻乎  
tu ku pa nö ya ma wo

古比須安良米可毛  
kwo pyi Nsu a ra mey ka mwo

---

<sup>523</sup> NHB has the homophonous 能 *nö*.

<sup>524</sup> NHB has the homophonous 例 *re*.

20:4372 – Pitati

阿之<sup>525</sup>加良能  
a si ka ra nō

美佐加<sup>526</sup>多麻波理  
myi sa ka ta ma pa ri

可閑理美須  
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 nō se kyi

久江弓和波由久  
ku ye te wa pa yu ku

牟麻能都米  
mu ma nō tu mey

都久志能佐伎尔  
tu ku si nō sa kyi ni

知麻利為弓  
ti ma ri wi te

阿例波伊波々牟  
a re pa i pa pa mu

---

<sup>525</sup> NHB has the homophonous 志 *si*.

<sup>526</sup> NHB has the homophonous 可 *ka*.

毛<sup>527</sup> 呂々々波  
mwo rō mwo rō pa

佐<sup>528</sup> 祁久等麻乎須  
sa kye ku tō ma wo su

可閑利久麻亘尔  
ka pey ri ku ma te ni

---

<sup>527</sup> NHB has 母 *mō*.

<sup>528</sup> 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 nö

麻末能手兒奈乎  
ma ma nö TE NKWO na wo

麻許登賀<sup>529</sup>聞  
ma kö tö Nka mo

和礼尔余須等布  
wa re ni yö su tö pu

麻末乃弓胡奈乎  
ma ma nö te Nkwo na wo

---

<sup>529</sup> NHB has 可 *ka*.



14:3385 – Simotupusa

可都<sup>530</sup>思加<sup>531</sup>能  
ka tu si ka nö

麻萬能手兒奈我  
ma ma nö TE NKWO na Nka

安里之可婆<sup>532</sup>  
a ri si ka Npa

麻末乃於須比尔  
ma ma nö o su pyi ni

奈美毛登杼<sup>533</sup>吕尔  
na myi mwo tö Ntö rö ni

14:3386 – Simotupusa

尔保杼<sup>534</sup>里能  
ni po Ntö ri nö

可豆思加和世乎  
ka Ntu si ka wa se wo

尔倍須登毛  
ni pey su tö mwo

曾能可奈之伎乎  
sö nö ka na si kyi wo

刀尔多亘米也母  
two ni ta te mey ya mö

---

<sup>530</sup> NHB has 豆 *Ntu*.

<sup>531</sup> NHB has 賀 *Nka*.

<sup>532</sup> 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.

<sup>533</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>534</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

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  
kö kyi ni si pu ne nö

他都枳之良酒<sup>535</sup>毛<sup>536</sup>  
ta tu kyi si ra su mwo

20:4385 – Simotupusa

由古作枳尔  
yu kwo sa kyi ni

奈美奈等惠良比  
na myi na tö we ra pyi

志流敝尔波  
si ru pye ni pa

古乎等都麻乎等  
kwo wo tö tu ma wo tö

於枳豆等<sup>537</sup>母枳奴  
o kyi te tö mö kyi nu

---

<sup>535</sup> NHB has the homophonous 須 *su*.

<sup>536</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>537</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 良 *ra*, which looks like a mistake.

20:4386 – Simotupusa

和加可<sup>538</sup>都乃  
wa ka ka tu nö

以都毛<sup>539</sup>等夜奈枳  
i tu mwo tö ya na kyi

以都母以都母<sup>540</sup>  
i tu mö i tu mö

於毛<sup>541</sup>加古比須々<sup>542</sup>  
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 nö nu nö

古乃弓加之波能  
kwo nö te ka si pa nö

保々麻例等  
po po ma re tö

阿夜尔加奈之美  
a ya ni ka na si myi

於枳弓他加枳奴  
o kyi te ta ka kyi nu

---

<sup>538</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>539</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>540</sup> NHB has the reduplication characters 々々々 instead of 以都母.

<sup>541</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>542</sup> RK has 奈 *na*.

20:4388 – Simotupusa

多飛<sup>543</sup>等弊<sup>544</sup>等  
ta piy tö pye tö

麻多妣尔奈理奴  
ma ta Npyi ni na ri nu

以弊<sup>545</sup>乃母加  
i pye nö mö ka

枳世之己吕母尔  
kyi se si kö rö mö ni

阿可<sup>546</sup>都枳尔迦理  
a ka tu kyi ni ka ri

20:4389 – Simotupusa

志保不尼乃  
si po pu ne nö

弊古祖志良奈美  
pye kwo swo si ra na myi

尔波志久母  
ni pa si ku mö

於不世他麻保加  
o pu se ta ma po ka

於毛<sup>547</sup>波弊<sup>548</sup>奈久尔  
o mö pa pye na ku ni

---

<sup>543</sup> NHB has 妣 *Npyi*.

<sup>544</sup> NHB has the homophonous 敝 *pye*.

<sup>545</sup> NHB has the homophonous 敝 *pye*.

<sup>546</sup> NHB has the homophonous 加 *ka*.

<sup>547</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>548</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 蟹.

20:4390 – Simotupusa

牟浪他麻乃  
mu ra ta ma nö

久留尔久积作之  
ku ru ni ku kyi sa si

加多米等之  
ka ta mey tö si

以毛<sup>549</sup>加去<sup>550</sup>々里波  
i mwo ka kö kö ri pa

阿<sup>551</sup>用久奈米加母  
a ywo ku na mey ka mö

20:4391 – Simotupusa

久尔具<sup>552</sup>尔<sup>553</sup>乃  
ku ni Nku ni nö

夜之里<sup>554</sup>乃加美尔  
ya si ri nö ka myi ni

奴作<sup>555</sup>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 mö Nka ka na si sa

---

<sup>549</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>550</sup> I follow NHB here. GK and RK have 志 *si*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>551</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 河 *Nka*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>552</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>553</sup> I follow RK here. GK and NHB have the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>554</sup> NHB has 呂 *rö*.

<sup>555</sup> 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

有都久之波々尔  
u tu ku si pa pa ni

麻多己等刀波牟  
ma ta kö tö two pa mu

20:4393 – Simotupusa

於保伎美能  
o po kyi myi nö

美許等尔作<sup>556</sup>例波<sup>557</sup>  
myi kö tö ni sa re pa

知々波々乎  
ti ti pa pa wo

以波比弊<sup>558</sup>等於枳弓  
i pa pyi pye tö o kyi te

麻為弓枳尔之乎  
ma wi te kyi ni si wo

---

<sup>556</sup> NHB has the homophonous 佐 *sa*.

<sup>557</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the *kungana* phonogram 者 *pa*.

<sup>558</sup> NHB has the homophonous 敝 *pye*.

20:4394 – Simotupusa

於保伎美乃<sup>559</sup>  
o po kyi myi nö

美己等加之古美  
myi kö tö ka si kwo myi

由美乃美他<sup>560</sup>  
yu myi nö 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 kö nö ywo wo

---

<sup>559</sup> NHB has the homophonous 能 *nö*.

<sup>560</sup> This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 仁 *ni*, which looks like a mistake.

**Kamitupusa Province**  
**AZUMA UTA**

14:3382 – Kamitupusa

宇麻具多能  
u ma Nku ta nö

祢呂乃佐左葉能  
ne rö nö sa sa PA nö

都由思母能  
tu yu si mö nö

奴礼亘和伎奈婆  
nu re te wa kyi na Npa

汝者故布婆曾母<sup>561</sup>  
NA PA kwo pu Npa sö mö

14:3383 – Kamitupusa

宇麻具多能  
u ma Nku ta nö

祢呂尔可久里為  
ne rö ni ka ku ri wi

可久太尔毛  
ka ku Nta ni mwo

久尔乃登保可婆  
ku ni nö tö po ka Npa

奈我目保里勢牟  
na Nka MEY po ri se mu

---

<sup>561</sup> This is the character in GK, RK, and KB. Only NHB has 毛 *mwo* (Mizushima 1996: 100).



**SAKIMORI UTA**

20:4347 – Kamitupusa

伊閑尔之弓  
i pey ni si te

古非都々安良受波  
kwo piy tu tu a ra Nsu pa

奈我波氣流  
na Nka pa key ru

多知尔奈里弓母  
ta ti ni na ri te mö

伊波非弓之加母  
i pa piy te si ka mö

20:4348 – Kamitupusa

多良知祢乃  
ta ra ti ne nö

波々乎和加例弓  
pa pa wo wa ka re te

麻許等和例  
ma kö tö wa re

多非乃加里保尔  
ta piy nö ka ri po ni

夜須久祢牟加母  
ya su ku ne mu ka mö

20:4349 – Kamitupusa

毛母久麻能  
mwo mö ku ma nö

美知波紀尔志乎  
myi ti pa kiy ni si wo

麻多佐良尔  
ma ta sa ra ni

夜蘓志麻須義弓  
ya swo si ma su Nkiy te

和加例加由可牟  
wa ka re ka yu ka mu

20:4350 – Kamitupusa

尔波奈加能  
ni pa na ka nö

阿須波乃可美尔  
a su pa nö 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<sup>562</sup>尔  
ka pey ri ku ma Nte ni

---

<sup>562</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 沈.

20:4351 – Kamitupusa

多妣<sup>563</sup>己呂母  
ta Npyi kō rō mö

夜倍<sup>564</sup>伎可佐祢弓  
ya pey kyi ka sa ne te

伊努礼等母  
i nwo re tō mö

奈保波太佐牟之<sup>565</sup>  
na po pa Nta sa mu si

伊母尔志<sup>566</sup>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

---

<sup>563</sup> NHB has 比 *pyi*.

<sup>564</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 部 *Npu*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>565</sup> NHB has the homophonous 志 *si*.

<sup>566</sup> 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

伊倍其登母遲弓  
i pey Nkö tö mö Nti te

久流比<sup>567</sup>等母奈之  
ku ru pyi tö mö na si

20:4354 – Kamitupusa

多知許毛乃  
ta ti kö mwo nö

多知乃佐和伎尔  
ta ti nö sa wa kyi ni

阿比美弓之  
a pyi myi te si

伊母加己己<sup>568</sup>呂波  
i mö ka kö kö rö pa

和須礼世奴可母  
wa su re se nu ka mö

---

<sup>567</sup> This character is missing from GK, so I follow NHB here.

<sup>568</sup> NHB has the character reduplication sign々 here.

20:4355 – Kamitupusa

余曾尔能美  
yö sö ni nö myi

々弓夜和多良毛  
myi te ya wa ta ra mwo

奈尔波我多  
na ni pa Nka ta

久毛為尔美由流  
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 nö

蘓弓母知奈弓氏  
swo te mö ti na te te

和我可良尔  
wa Nka ka ra ni

奈伎之許己呂乎  
na kyi si kö kö rö wo

和須良延奴<sup>569</sup>可毛  
wa su ra ye nu ka mwo

---

<sup>569</sup> NHB has 努 *nwo*.

20:4357 – Kamitupusa

阿之可伎能  
a si ka kyi nö

久麻刀尔多知弓  
ku ma two ni ta ti te

和藝毛古我  
wa Nkyi mwo kwo Nka

蘓弓母<sup>570</sup>志保々尔  
swo te mö si po po ni

奈伎志曾母波由  
na kyi si sö mö pa yu

20:4358 – Kamitupusa

於保伎美乃  
o po kyi myi nö

美許等加志古美  
myi kö tö ka si kwo myi

伊弓久礼婆  
i te ku re Npa

和努等里都伎弓  
wa nwo tö ri tu kyi te

伊比之古奈波毛  
i pyi si kwo na pa mwo

---

<sup>570</sup> NHB has 毛 *mwo*.

20:4359 – Kamitupusa

都久之閑尔  
tu ku si pey ni

敝牟加流不<sup>571</sup>祢乃  
pye mu ka ru pu ne nö

伊都之加毛  
i tu si ka mwo

都加敝麻<sup>572</sup>都里豆  
tu ka pye ma tu ri te

久尔尔<sup>573</sup>閑牟可毛  
ku ni ni pey mu ka mwo

---

<sup>571</sup> NHB has the homophonous 布 *pu*.

<sup>572</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 摩 *ma*.

<sup>573</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々.

UNKNOWN DIALECT POEMS  
AZUMA UTA

14:3440a – UD

許乃河泊<sup>574</sup>尔  
kö nö Nka pa ni

安佐菜安良布兒  
a sa NA a ra pu KWO

奈礼毛阿<sup>575</sup>礼毛  
na re mwo a re mwo

余知乎曾母亘流  
yö ti wo sö mö te ru

伊鳳兒多婆里尔  
i Nte KWO ta Npa ri ni

14:3440b – UD (Only line 5 is different from 3440a)

許乃河泊<sup>576</sup>尔  
kö nö Nka pa ni

安佐菜安良布兒  
a sa NA a ra pu KWO

奈礼毛阿<sup>577</sup>礼毛  
na re mwo a re mwo

余知乎曾母亘流  
yö ti wo sö mö te ru

麻之毛阿<sup>578</sup>礼母  
ma si mwo a re mö

---

<sup>574</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.

<sup>575</sup> NHB has the homophonous 安 *a*.

<sup>576</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.

<sup>577</sup> NHB has the homophonous 安 *a*.

<sup>578</sup> 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

古要我祢亓  
kwo ye Nka ne te

夜麻尔可祢牟毛  
ya ma ni ka ne mu mwo

夜杼<sup>579</sup>里波奈之尔  
ya Ntö ri pa na si ni

14:3444 – UD

伎波都久能<sup>580</sup>  
kyi pa tu ku nö

乎加能久君美良  
wo ka nö ku ku myi ra

和礼都賣杼<sup>581</sup>  
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

---

<sup>579</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>580</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>581</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

14:3445 – UD

美奈刀能也  
myi na two nō ya

安之我奈可那流  
a si Nka na ka na ru

多麻古須氣  
ta ma kwo su key

可利己和我西古  
ka ri kö wa Nka se kwo

等許乃敝太思尔  
tō kö nō pye Nta si ni

14:3446 – UD

伊毛奈呂我  
i mwo na rō Nka

都可布河<sup>582</sup>泊<sup>583</sup>豆乃  
tu ka pu Nka pa Ntu nō

佐左良乎疑  
sa sa ra wo Nkiy

安志等比登<sup>584</sup>其等  
a si tō pyi tō Nkō tō

加多理与良斯毛  
ka ta ri yō ra si mwo

---

<sup>582</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 阿 *a*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>583</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.

<sup>584</sup> NHB has the homophonous 等 *tō*.

14:3447 – UD

久佐可氣乃  
ku sa ka key nō

安努奈由可武等  
a nwo na yu ka mu tö

波里之美知  
pa ri si myi ti

阿努波由加受弓  
a nwo pa yu ka Nsu te

阿良久佐太知奴  
a ra ku sa Nta ti nu

14:3448 – UD

波奈治良布  
pa na Nti ra pu

己能牟可都乎乃  
kö 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<sup>585</sup>賀母  
kyi myi Nka yō mö Nka mö

---

<sup>585</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 世 *se*, which looks like a mistake.

14:3449 – UD

思路多倍乃  
si rwo ta pey nö

許呂母能素佢乎  
kö rö mö nö 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

14:3450 – UD

乎久左<sup>586</sup>乎等  
wo ku sa wo tö

乎具佐受家乎等  
wo Nku sa Nsu kye wo tö

斯抱<sup>587</sup>布祢乃  
si po pu ne nö

那良敝弓美礼婆  
na ra pye te myi re Npa

乎具佐可利馬利  
wo Nku sa ka ti mye ri

---

<sup>586</sup> NHB has the homophonous 佐 *sa*.

<sup>587</sup> 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/.

14:3452 – UD

於毛思路伎  
o mwo si rwo kyi

野乎婆奈夜吉曾  
NWO wo Npa na ya kyi sö

布流久佐<sup>588</sup>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

14:3453 – UD

可是能<sup>589</sup>等乃<sup>590</sup>  
ka Nse nö tö nö

登抱<sup>591</sup>吉和伎母贺  
tö po kyi wa kyi mö Nka

吉西斯伎奴  
kyi se si kyi nu

多母登乃久太利  
ta mö tö nö ku Nta ri

麻欲比伎尔家利  
ma ywo pyi kyi ni kye ri

---

<sup>588</sup> NHB has the homophonous 左 *sa*.

<sup>589</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>590</sup> NHB has the homophonous 能 *nö*.

<sup>591</sup> 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

安佐提古夫須麻  
a sa Nte kwo Npu su ma

許余比太尔  
kö yö pyi Nta ni

都麻余之許西祢  
tu ma yö si kö se ne

安佐提古夫須麻  
a sa Nte kwo Npu su ma

14:3456 – UD

宇都世美能  
u tu se myi nö

夜蘓許登能<sup>592</sup>敝波  
ya swo kö tö nö pye pa

思氣久等母  
si key ku tö mö

安良蘓比可祢亓  
a ra swo pyi ka ne te

安乎許登奈須那  
a wo kö tö na su na

---

<sup>592</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

14:3458 – UD

奈勢能古夜  
na se nö kwo ya

等里能<sup>593</sup>乎加恥志  
tö ri nö 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

伊久豆君麻亘尔  
i ku Ntu ku ma te ni

14:3459 – UD

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 nö nö wa ku Nkwo Nka

等里亘奈氣可武  
tö ri te na key ka mu

---

<sup>593</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

14:3460 – UD

多礼曾許能  
ta re sö kö nö

屋能戸於曾夫流  
YA nö TWO o sö Npu ru

尔布奈未尔  
ni pu na miy ni

和我<sup>594</sup>世乎夜里弓  
wa Nka se wo ya ri te

伊波布許能戸乎  
i pa pu kö nö TWO wo

14:3461 – UD

安是登伊敞可  
a Nse tö 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  
yö pyi na pa kö na ni

安家努<sup>595</sup>思太久流  
a kye nwo si Nta ku ru

---

<sup>594</sup> NHB has 家 *kye*, glossed in *katakana* to be read as *ka*.

<sup>595</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*.



14:3463 – UD

麻等保久能  
ma tö po ku nö

野尔毛安波奈牟  
NWO ni mwo a pa na mu

己許呂奈久  
kö kö rö na ku

佐刀乃美奈可尔  
sa two nö myi na ka ni

安敞流世奈可毛<sup>596</sup>  
a pye ru se na ka mwo

14:3465 – UD

巨麻尔思吉  
kö ma ni si kyi

比毛登伎佐氣豆  
pyi mwo tö kyi sa key te

奴流我倍尔  
nu ru Nka pey ni

安杼<sup>597</sup>世呂登可母  
a Ntö se rö tö ka mö

安夜尔可奈之伎  
a ya ni ka na si kyi

---

<sup>596</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

<sup>597</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

14:3466 – UD

麻可奈思美  
ma ka na si myi

努<sup>598</sup>礼婆许登尔豆  
nwo re Npa kö tö ni Ntu

佐祢奈敝波  
sa ne na pye pa

己许吕乃绪吕尔  
kö kö rö nö WO rö ni

能里亓可奈思母  
nö ri te ka na si mö

14:3468 – UD

夜麻杼<sup>599</sup>里乃  
ya ma Ntö ri nö

乎吕能波都乎尔  
wo rö nö pa tu wo ni

可贺美可家  
ka Nka myi ka kye

刀奈布倍美许曾  
two na pu pey myi kö sö

奈尔与曾利鷄米  
na ni yö sö ri kye mey

---

<sup>598</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*.

<sup>599</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

14:3469 – UD

由布氣尔毛  
yu pu key ni mwo

許余比登乃良路  
kö yö pyi tö nö ra rwo

和加<sup>600</sup>西奈波  
wa ka se na pa

阿是曾母許与比  
a Nse sö mö kö yö pyi

与斯呂伎麻左奴  
yö si rö 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 nö miy ni

母登奈見要都追  
mö tö na MYI ye tu tu

安乎祢思奈久流  
a wo ne si na ku ru

---

<sup>600</sup> NHB has 賀 *Nka*.

14:3472 – UD

比登豆麻等  
pyi tö Ntu ma tö

安是可曾乎伊波牟  
a Nse ka sö wo i pa mu

志可良婆<sup>601</sup>加  
si ka ra Npa ka

刀奈里乃伎奴乎  
two na ri nö kyi nu wo

可里弓伎奈波毛  
ka ri te kyi na pa mwo

14:3473 – UD

左努夜麻尔  
sa nwo ya ma ni

宇都也乎能登乃  
u tu ya wo nö tö nö

等抱可騰母  
tö po ka Ntö mö

衿毛等可兒呂賀  
ne mwo tö ka KWO rö Nka

於由<sup>602</sup>尔美要都留  
o yu ni myi ye tu ru

---

<sup>601</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

<sup>602</sup> The character 由 *yu* is generally held to be a mistake for 母 *mö* 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.

14:3474 – UD

宇惠太氣能  
u we Nta key nö

毛登左倍登与美  
mwo tö sa pey tö yö myi

伊佶豆伊奈波<sup>603</sup>  
i Nte te i na pa

伊豆思牟伎豆可  
i Ntu si mu kyi te ka

伊毛我奈氣可牟  
i mwo Nka na key ka mu

14:3476a – UD

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

努賀奈敝由家婆  
nwo Nka na pye yu kye Npa

故布思可流奈母  
kwo pu si ka ru na mö

---

<sup>603</sup> 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<sup>604</sup>  
nu Nka na pye yu kye Ntö

和奴<sup>605</sup>賀由<sup>606</sup>乃敝波  
wa nu {Nka yu} nö pye pa  
yu Nka

14:3477 – UD

安都麻道乃  
a tu ma MYITI nö

手兒乃欲婢佐可  
TE NKWO nö ywo Npyi sa ka

古要亘伊奈波<sup>607</sup>  
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

---

<sup>604</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>605</sup> NHB has 努 *nwo*.

<sup>606</sup> 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*.

<sup>607</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

14:3478 – UD

等保斯等布  
tö po si tö pu

故奈乃思良祢尔  
kwo na nö si ra ne ni

阿抱思太毛  
a po si Nta mwo

安波能<sup>608</sup>敝思太毛  
a pa nö pye si Nta mwo

奈尔己曾与佐礼  
na ni kö sö yö sa re

14:3480 – UD

於保伎美乃  
o po kyi myi nö

美己等可思古美  
myi kö tö 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

---

<sup>608</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

14:3481 – UD

安利伎努<sup>609</sup>乃  
a ri kyi nwo nö

佐惠佐惠<sup>610</sup>之豆美  
sa we sa we si Ntu myi

伊敝能伊母尔  
i pye nö i mö ni

毛乃伊波受伎尔亘  
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 kö rö mö

須素能宇知可比  
su swo nö u ti ka pyi

阿波奈敝波<sup>611</sup>  
a pa na pye pa

祢奈敝乃可良尔  
ne na pye nö ka ra ni

許等多可利都母  
kö tö ta ka ri tu mö

---

<sup>609</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*.

<sup>610</sup> NHB has the reduplication characters 々々 in place of 佐惠 here. We find 佐惠佐惠 *sawe-sawe* in GK and RK.

<sup>611</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.



14:3483 – UD

比流等家波  
pyi ru tö kye Npa

等家奈敝比毛乃  
tö kye na pye pyi mwo nö

和賀西奈尔  
wa Nka se na ni

阿飛<sup>612</sup>与流等可毛  
a piy yö ru tö ka mwo

欲流等家也須家  
ywo ru tö kye ya su kye

14:3484 – UD

安左乎良乎  
a sa wo ra wo

遠家尔布須左尔  
wo kye ni pu su sa ni

宇麻受登毛  
u ma Nsu tö mwo

阿<sup>613</sup>須伎西佐米也  
a su kyi se sa mey ya

伊射西乎騰許尔  
i Nsa se wo Ntö kö ni

---

<sup>612</sup> NHB has 比 *pyi*.

<sup>613</sup> 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<sup>614</sup>  
mō kö rö wo nö

許登等思伊波婆  
kö tö tö si i pa Npa

伊夜可多麻斯尔  
i ya ka ta ma si ni

14:3487 – UD

安豆左由美  
a Ntu sa yu myi

須惠尔多麻末吉  
su we ni ta ma ma kyi

可久須酒曾  
ka ku su su sö

宿莫奈那里尔思  
NE NA na na ri ni si

於久乎可奴加奴<sup>615</sup>  
o ku wo ka nu ka nu

---

<sup>614</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>615</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 努 *nwo*, 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 nö ya ma PYE nö

之牙可久尔  
si Nkye ka ku ni

伊毛呂乎多弓天  
i mwo rö 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 nö

伊氣能都追美尔  
i key nö tu tu myi ni

左須楊<sup>616</sup>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<sup>617</sup>  
na tö pu ta ri pa mwo

---

<sup>616</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 揚.

<sup>617</sup> NHB has 母 mö.

14:3493a – UD

於曾波夜母  
o sö pa ya mö

奈乎許曾麻多賣  
na wo kö sö ma ta mye

牟可都乎能  
mu ka tu wo nö

四比乃故夜提<sup>618</sup>能  
si pyi nö kwo ya Nte nö

安比波多我<sup>619</sup>波自  
a pyi pa ta Nka pa Nsi

14:3494 – UD

兒毛知夜麻  
KWO mwo ti ya ma

和可加敝流亘能  
wa ka ka pye ru te nö

毛美都麻亘  
mwo myi tu ma te

宿毛等和波毛布  
NE mwo tö wa pa mwo pu

汝波安杼<sup>620</sup>可毛布  
NA pa a Ntö ka mwo pu

---

<sup>618</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 堤.

<sup>619</sup> This is the character 家 in GK and RK. NHB has 家 *kye*.

<sup>620</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

14:3495 – UD

伊波保呂乃  
i pa po rö nö

蘓比能和可麻都  
swo pyi nö wa ka ma tu

可藝里登也  
ka Nkyi ri tö ya

伎美我伎麻左努<sup>621</sup>  
kyi myi Nka kyi ma sa nwo

宇良毛等奈久文  
u ra mwo tö na ku mo

14:3496 – UD

多智<sup>622</sup>婆奈乃  
ta ti Npa na nö

古婆乃波奈里我  
kwo Npa nö pa na ri Nka

於毛布奈牟  
o mwo pu na mu

己許呂宇都久思  
kö kö rö u tu ku si

伊亓安礼波伊可奈  
i te a re pa i ka na

---

<sup>621</sup> NHB has 奴 *nu*.

<sup>622</sup> 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<sup>623</sup> 亓許曾  
sa NE sa NE te kö sö

己登尔亓尔思可  
kö 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<sup>624</sup>  
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

---

<sup>623</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 寐, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>624</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

14:3499 – UD

乎可尔与西  
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 kö tō na Nkō ya pa

祢呂等敝奈香母  
ne rō tō pye na ka mö

14:3500 – UD

牟良佐伎波  
mu ra sa kyi pa

根乎可母乎布流  
NE wo ka mö wo pu ru

比等能<sup>625</sup>兒能  
pyi tō nō KWO nō

宇良我奈之家乎  
u ra Nka na si kye wo

祢乎遠敝奈久尔  
ne wo wo pye na ku ni

---

<sup>625</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *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<sup>626</sup>  
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

---

<sup>626</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.



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

伊呂尔亘米也毛<sup>627</sup>  
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 sö na kyi

兒呂乎之毛倍婆  
KWO rö wo si mwo pey Npa

---

<sup>627</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

14:3505 – UD

宇知比佐都<sup>628</sup>  
u ti pyi sa tu

美夜能瀬河泊<sup>629</sup>能  
myi ya nö SE Nka pa nö

可保婆奈能  
ka po Npa na nö

孤悲天香眠良武  
kwo piy te ka NU ra mu

伎曾母許余比毛  
kyi sö mö kö yö pyi mwo

14:3506 – UD

尔比牟路能  
ni pyi mu rwo nö

許騰伎尔伊多礼婆  
kö Ntö kyi ni i ta re Npa

波太須酒伎  
pa Nta su su kyi

穗尔弓之伎美我  
PO ni te si kyi myi Nka

見延奴己能許呂  
MYI ye nu kö nö kö rö

---

<sup>628</sup> In NHB the transliteration for this character in this poem is ス *su*.

<sup>629</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.

14:3507 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

多尔世婆美  
ta ni se Npa myi

弥<sup>630</sup>年尔波比多流  
myi ne ni pa pyi ta ru

多麻可豆良  
ta ma ka Ntu ra

多延武能己許呂  
ta ye mu nö kö kö rö

和我母波奈久尔  
wa Nka mö 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 mö

---

<sup>630</sup> All other early extant manuscripts with this poem have *myi* (Mizushima 1996: 154), so I follow them here. NHB has the variant 旂.

14:3509 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

多久夫須麻  
ta ku Npu su ma

之良夜麻可是能  
si ra ya ma ka Nse nö

宿奈敞杼母  
NE na pye Ntö mö

古呂賀於曾伎能  
kwo rö Nka o sö kyi nö

安路許曾要志母  
a rwo kö sö ye si mö

14:3511 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

安乎祢呂尔  
a wo ne rö 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 nö wo sö o mwo pu

等思乃許能己呂  
tō si nö kö nö kö rö

14:3512 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

比登祢吕尔  
pyi tō ne rō ni

伊波流毛能可良  
i pa ru mwo nō ka ra

安乎祢吕尔  
a wo ne rō ni

伊佐欲布久母能  
i sa ywo pu ku mō nō

余曾里都麻波母  
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 nō

安是可多要牟等  
a Nse ka ta ye mu tō

伊比之兒吕波<sup>631</sup>母  
i pyi si KWO rō pa mō

---

<sup>631</sup> NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

14:3514 – UD

多可伎祢尔  
ta ka kyi ne ni

久毛能都久能須  
ku mwo nö tu ku nö su

和礼左倍尔  
wa re sa pey ni

伎美尔都吉奈那  
kyi myi ni tu kyi na na

多可祢等毛比亓  
ta ka ne tö mwo pyi te

14:3515 – UD

阿我於毛能<sup>632</sup>  
a Nka o mwo nö

和須礼牟之太波  
wa su re mu si Nta pa

久尔波布利  
ku ni pa pu ri

祢尔多都久毛乎  
ne ni ta tu ku mwo wo

見都追之努波西  
MYI tu tu si nwo pa se

---

<sup>632</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

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

可牟能祢尔  
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<sup>633</sup>毛  
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<sup>634</sup>能里弓  
kö kö rö ni nö ri te

許己婆可那之家  
kö kö Npa ka na si kye

---

<sup>633</sup> This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 婆 *Npa*.

<sup>634</sup> The characters 呂尔 are missing from the GK manuscript.

14:3518 – UD

伊波能倍尔  
i pa nö pey ni

伊可賀流久毛能  
i ka Nka ru ku mwo nö

可努麻豆久  
ka nwo ma Ntu ku

比等曾於多波布  
pyi tö sö 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  
kö ra re a pa yu ku

安乎久毛能  
a wo ku mwo nö

伊亘来和伎母兒  
i te KYI wa kyi mö KWO

安必見而由可武  
a pyi MYI TE yu ka mu



14:3520 – UD

於毛可多能  
o mwo ka ta nō

和須礼牟之太波  
wa su re mu si Nta pa

於抱野吕尔  
o po NWO rō ni

多奈婢久君母乎  
ta na Npyi ku ku mö wo

見都追思努波牟  
MYI tu tu si nwo pa mu

14:3521 – UD

可良須等布  
ka ra su tö pu

於保乎曾杼<sup>635</sup>里能  
o po wo sö Ntö ri nō

麻左佖尔毛  
ma sa Nte ni mwo

伎麻左奴伎美乎  
kyi ma sa nu kyi myi wo

許呂久等曾奈久  
kö rō ku tö sö na ku

---

<sup>635</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

14:3522 – UD

伎曾許曾波  
kyi sö kö sö pa

兒呂等左宿之香  
KWO rö tö sa NE si ka

久毛能宇倍由  
ku mwo nö u pey yu

奈伎由久多豆乃  
na kyi yu ku ta Ntu nö

麻登保久於毛保由  
ma tö po ku o mwo po yu

14:3524 – UD

麻乎其母能  
ma wo Nkö mö nö

布能末<sup>636</sup>知可久豆  
pu nö ma ti ka ku te

安波奈敝波  
a pa na pye pa

於吉都麻可母能  
o kyi tu ma ka mö nö

奈氣伎曾安我須流  
na key kyi sö a Nka su ru

---

<sup>636</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> century) form 末 *ma* here. Also of note is that the *Kobaryaku Ruijushō* manuscript from the 14<sup>th</sup> century glosses this 末 *miy* as *ma* (Mizushima 1996: 160).

14:3525 – UD

水久君野尔  
MYI ku ku NWO ni

可母能波抱能須  
ka mö nö pa po nö su

兒呂我宇倍尔  
KWO rö Nka u pey ni

許等乎呂波敝而  
kö tö wo rö pa pye TE

伊麻太宿奈布母  
i ma Nta NE na pu mö

14:3526 – UD

奴麻布多都  
nu ma pu ta tu

可欲波等里我栖  
ka ywo pa tö ri Nka SU

安我已許呂  
a Nka kö kö rö

布多由久奈母等  
pu ta yu ku na mö tö

奈与母波里曾祢  
na yö mö pa ri sö ne

14:3527 – UD (The fourth and fifth lines of this poem are not in GK, and are thus based on NHB)

於吉尔須毛  
o kyi ni su mwo

乎加母能<sup>637</sup>毛己呂  
wo ka mö nö mwo kö rö

也左可杼<sup>638</sup>利  
ya sa ka Ntö ri

伊伎豆久伊毛乎  
i kyi Ntu ku i mwo wo

於伎彳伎努可母  
o kyi te kyi nwo ka mö

14:3528 – UD

水都等利能<sup>639</sup>  
MYI tu tö ri nö

多々<sup>640</sup>武与曾比尔  
ta ta mu yö sö pyi ni

伊母能良尔  
i mö nö ra ni

毛乃伊波受伎尔彳  
mwo nö i pa Nsu kyi ni te

於毛比可祢都毛<sup>641</sup>  
o mwo pyi ka ne tu mwo

---

<sup>637</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>638</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>639</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>640</sup> The reduplication character 々 is missing from GK.

<sup>641</sup> NHB has 母 *mö*.

14:3529 – UD

等夜乃野尔  
tö ya nö 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

祢奈敞古由惠尔  
ne na pye kwo yu we ni

波伴尔許呂波要  
pa pa ni kö rö pa ye

14:3530 – UD

左乎思鹿能  
sa wo si KA nö

布須也久草無良  
pu su ya ku sa mu ra

見要受等母  
MYI ye Nsu tö mö

兒呂我可奈門欲  
KWO rö Nka ka na TWO ywo

由可久之要思母  
yu ka ku si ye si mö

14:3531 – UD

伊母乎許曾  
i mö wo kö sö

安比美尔許思可  
a pyi myi ni kö si ka

麻欲婢吉能  
ma ywo Npyi kyi nö

与許夜麻敝呂能  
yö kö ya ma pye rö nö

思之奈須於母敝流  
si si na su o mö pye ru

14:3532 – UD

波流能野尔  
pa ru nö NWO ni

久佐波牟古麻能  
ku sa pa mu kwo ma nö

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 nö KWO rö pa mö

14:3533 – UD

比登乃兒能<sup>642</sup>  
pyi tö nö KWO nö

可奈思家之太波  
ka na si kye si Nta pa

々<sup>643</sup>麻渚杼<sup>644</sup>里  
pa ma SU Ntö ri

安奈由牟古麻能  
a na yu mu kwo ma nö

乎之<sup>645</sup>家口母奈思  
wo si kye ku mö na si

14:3536 – UD

安加胡麻乎  
a ka Nkwo ma wo

宇知弓左乎妣吉  
u ti te sa wo Npyi kyi

己許呂妣吉  
kö kö rö 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 kö mu tö i pu

---

<sup>642</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>643</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the *kungana* phonogram 者 *pa*.

<sup>644</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>645</sup> This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

14:3537a – UD

久敝故<sup>646</sup>之尔  
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<sup>647</sup>尔  
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

14:3537b – UD

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<sup>648</sup>尔  
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 rö si ka na si mö

---

<sup>646</sup> NHB has 胡 *Nkwo*.

<sup>647</sup> I follow NHB for 波都々々 *patupatu*. GK has 波々都々 *papatutu*, which looks like an error. A few later manuscripts have 波都波都 *patupatu* (Mizushima 1996: 166).

<sup>648</sup> NHB has the reduplication characters 々々 here.



14:3538b – UD

乎波夜之尔  
wo pa ya si ni

古麻乎波左佐氣  
kwo ma wo pa sa sa key

己許呂能未  
kö kö rö nö miy

伊母我理夜里亘  
i mö Nka ri ya ri te

和波己許尔思天  
wa pa kö kö ni si te

14:3539 – UD

安受乃宇敞尔  
a Nsu nö u pye ni

古馬乎都奈伎亘  
kwo MA wo tu na kyi te

安夜抱可等  
a ya po ka tö

比等豆麻古呂乎  
pyi tö Ntu ma kwo rö wo

伊吉尔和我須流  
i kyi ni wa Nka su ru

14:3540 – UD

左和多里能  
sa wa ta ri nö

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  
kö tö tö pa Nsu kyi nu

14:3541 – UD

安受倍可良  
a Nsu pey ka ra

古麻能<sup>649</sup>由胡能<sup>650</sup>須  
kwo ma nö yu Nkwo nö su

安也波刀文  
a ya pa two mo

比登<sup>651</sup>豆麻古呂乎  
pyi tö Ntu ma kwo rö wo

麻由可西良布母  
ma yu ka se ra pu mö

---

<sup>649</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>650</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from the GK manuscript.

<sup>651</sup> NHB has the homophonous 等 *tö*.

14:3542 – UD

佐射礼伊思尔  
sa Nsa re i si ni

古馬乎波佐世亓  
kwo MA wo pa sa se te

己許呂伊多美  
kö kö rö i ta myi

安我毛布伊毛我  
a Nka mwo pu i mwo Nka

伊敝能<sup>652</sup>安多里可聞  
i pye nö a ta ri ka mo

14:3543 – UD

武路我夜能<sup>653</sup>  
mu rwo Nka ya nö

都留能都追美能<sup>654</sup>  
tu ru nö tu tu myi nö

那利奴賀尔  
na ri nu Nka ni

古呂波伊敝杼<sup>655</sup>母  
kwo rö pa i pye Ntö mö

伊末太年<sup>656</sup>那久尔  
i ma Nta ne na ku ni

---

<sup>652</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>653</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>654</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>655</sup> I follow RK here. Both GK and NHB have the variant 杼.

<sup>656</sup> This is the character in GK and RK. NHB has 羊, which looks like a mistake.

14:3544 – UD

阿須可河泊<sup>657</sup>  
a su ka Nka pa

之多尔其礼留乎  
si ta ni Nkō re ru wo

之良受思天  
si ra Nsu si te

勢奈那登布多理  
se na na tö pu ta ri

左宿而久也思母  
sa NE TE ku ya si mö

14:3545 – UD

安須可河泊<sup>658</sup>  
a su ka Nka pa

世久登之里世波  
se ku tö si ri se pa

安麻多欲母  
a ma ta ywo mö

為祢亓己麻思乎  
wi ne te kö ma si wo

世久得四里世婆<sup>659</sup>  
se ku tö si ri se Npa

---

<sup>657</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.

<sup>658</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 伯.

<sup>659</sup> NHB has 波 *pa*.

14:3546 – UD

安乎楊<sup>660</sup>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

14:3548 – UD

奈流世呂<sup>661</sup>尔  
na ru se rö ni

木都能余須奈須  
KÖ<sup>662</sup> tu nö yö 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

比等佐敝余須母  
pyi tö sa pye yö su mö

---

<sup>660</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 揚.

<sup>661</sup> NHB has 路 *rwo*.

<sup>662</sup> It is possible that this should be read *key*.

14:3549 – UD

多由比加<sup>663</sup>多  
ta yu pyi ka ta

志保美<sup>664</sup>知和多流  
si po myi ti wa ta ru

伊豆由可母  
i Ntu yu ka mö

加奈之伎世呂我  
ka na si kyi se rö Nka

和賀利可欲波牟  
wa Nka ri ka ywo pa mu

14:3550 – UD

於志豆伊奈等  
o si te i na tö

伊祢波都可祢杼<sup>665</sup>  
i ne pa tu ka ne Ntö

奈美能<sup>666</sup>保能  
na myi nö po nö

伊多夫良思毛与  
i ta Npu ra si mwo yö

伎曾比登里宿而  
kyi sö pyi tö ri NE TE

---

<sup>663</sup> NHB has 我 *Nka*.

<sup>664</sup> NHB has the homophonous 弥 *myi*.

<sup>665</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the variant 杼.

<sup>666</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

14:3551 – UD

阿遲可麻能  
a Nti ka ma nö

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 nö ka

加奈思家乎於吉亓  
ka na si kye wo o kyi te

14:3552 – UD

麻都我宇良尔  
ma tu Nka u ra ni

佐和惠宇良太知  
sa wa we u ra Nta ti

麻比登<sup>667</sup>其等  
ma pyi tö Nkö tö

於毛抱須奈母呂  
o mwo po su na mö rö

和賀母抱能<sup>668</sup>須毛  
wa Nka mö po nö su mwo

---

<sup>667</sup> NHB has the homophonous 等 *tö*.

<sup>668</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

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

許豆多受久毛可  
kö te ta Nsu ku mwo ka

伊里豆祢<sup>669</sup>麻久母  
i ri te ne ma ku mö

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  
kö Nka nö wa ta ri nö

可良加治乃  
ka ra ka Nti nö

於等太可思母奈  
o tö Nta ka si mö na

宿莫敝兒由惠尔  
NE NA pye KWO yu we ni

---

<sup>669</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 許 *kö*, 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

比登其等思氣志  
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  
kö 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

14:3560 – UD

麻可祢布久  
ma ka ne pu ku

尔布能麻曾保能<sup>670</sup>  
ni pu nö ma sö po nö

伊吕尔佶豆<sup>671</sup>  
i rö ni Nte te

伊波奈久能未曾  
i pa na ku nö miy sö

安我古布良久波  
a Nka kwo pu ra ku pa

14:3561 – UD

可奈刀田乎  
ka na two TA wo

安良我伎<sup>672</sup>麻由美  
a ra Nka kyi ma yu myi

比贺刀礼婆  
pyi Nka two re Npa

阿米乎万刀能须  
a mey wo ma two nö su

伎美乎等麻刀母  
kyi myi wo tö ma two mö

---

<sup>670</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

<sup>671</sup> NHB has the reduplication character 々 here.

<sup>672</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 波 *pa*, which looks like a mistake.

14:3563 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

比多我多能  
pi ta Nka ta nö

伊蘓乃和可米乃  
i swo nö wa ka mey nö

多知美太要  
ta ti myi Nta ye

和乎可麻都那毛  
wa wo ka ma tu na mwo

伎曾毛己余必母  
kyi sö mwo kö yö pyi mö

14:3564 – UD

古須氣呂乃  
kwo su key rö nö

宇良布久可是能  
u ra pu ku ka Nse nö

安騰須酒可<sup>673</sup>  
a Ntö su su ka

可奈之家兒呂乎  
ka na si kye KWO rö wo

於毛比須吾左牟  
o mwo pyi su Nkwo sa mu

---

<sup>673</sup> NHB has the homophonous 香 *ka*.

14:3565 – UD

可能古呂等  
ka nö kwo rö 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<sup>674</sup>夜麻尔  
u ra NWO nö 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

曾和敞可毛  
sö wa pye ka mwo

加未尔於保世牟  
ka miy ni o po se mu

己許呂思良受弓  
kö kö rö si ra Nsu te

---

<sup>674</sup> NHB has the homophonous 乃 *nö*.

**BEGINNING OF SAKIMORI UTA (BOOK 14)**

14:3567 – UD

於伎亓伊可婆  
o kyi te i ka Npa

伊毛婆麻可奈之  
i mwo pa ma ka na si

母知亓由久  
mō ti te yu ku

安都佐能由美乃  
a Ntu sa nö yu myi nö

由都可尔母我<sup>675</sup>毛  
yu tu ka ni mö Nka mwo

14:3569 – UD

佐伎母理尔  
sa kyi mö ri ni

多知之安佐氣乃  
ta ti si a sa key nö

可奈刀俚尔  
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 mö

**END OF SAKIMORI UTA (BOOK 14)**

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<sup>675</sup> 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<sup>676</sup>末乃  
a Nsi ku ma ya ma nö

由豆流波乃  
yu Ntu ru pa nö

布敷麻<sup>677</sup>留等伎尔  
pu pu ma ru tö kyi ni

可是布可受可母  
ka Nse pu ka Nsu ka mö

14:3573 – UD (This poem is missing from GK, so I follow NHB)

安之比奇能  
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 mö

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

---

<sup>676</sup> I follow RK here. This character is missing in NHB.

<sup>677</sup> 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.

14:3576 – UD

奈波之呂乃  
na pa si rō nō

古<sup>678</sup>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

---

<sup>678</sup> 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 nö 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



20:4427 – UD

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  
tö ku ra ku mwo pey Npa

20:4428 – UD

和我世奈乎  
wa Nka se na wo

都久志波夜利亘  
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

阿夜尔可毛祢牟  
a ya ni ka mwo ne mu

20:4429 – UD

宇麻夜奈流  
u ma ya na ru

奈波多都古麻乃  
na pa ta tu kwo ma nö

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<sup>679</sup> 亓可奈之毛  
o kyi te ka na si mwo

20:4430 – UD

阿良之乎乃  
a ra si wo nö

伊乎佐太波佐美  
i wo sa Nta pa sa myi

牟可非<sup>680</sup>多知  
mu ka piy ta ti

可奈流麻之都美  
ka na ru ma si tu myi

伊壘亓登阿我久流  
i Nte te tö a Nka ku ru

---

<sup>679</sup> NHB has the homophonous 岐 *kyi*.

<sup>680</sup> NHB has 比 *pyi*.

20:4431 – UD

佐左<sup>681</sup>賀波乃  
sa sa Nka pa nō

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<sup>682</sup>呂毛尔麻世<sup>683</sup>流  
kō rō mwo ni ma se ru

古侶賀波太波毛  
kwo rō Nka pa Nta pa mwo

20:4432 – UD

佐弁奈弁奴<sup>684</sup>  
sa pye na pye nu

美許登尔阿礼婆  
myi kō tō 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

阿夜尔可奈之母<sup>685</sup>  
a ya ni ka na si mö

---

<sup>681</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the character reduplication sign 々.

<sup>682</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 故 *kwo*, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>683</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has the hiragana sign を *wo* here, which is clearly a mistake.

<sup>684</sup> I follow NHB here. GK has 好, which looks like a mistake.

<sup>685</sup> NHB has 毛 *mwo*.

20:4436 – UD

夜未乃欲<sup>686</sup>能  
ya miy nö ywo nö

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<sup>687</sup>牟等<sup>688</sup>  
i tu kyi ma sa mu tö

登比之古良波母  
tö pyi si kwo ra pa mö

---

<sup>686</sup> 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.

<sup>687</sup> NHB has the homophonous 左 *sa*.

<sup>688</sup> I follow NHB here. This character is missing from GK.

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