

WORKING PAPERS
IN
LINGUISTICS

The notes and articles in this series are progress reports on work being carried on by students and faculty in the Department. Because these papers are not finished products, readers are asked not to cite from them without noting their preliminary nature. The authors welcome any comments and suggestions that readers might offer.

Volume 38(7)

2007
(November)

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MĀNOA
HONOLULU 96822

An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS FACULTY

2007

Victoria B. Anderson
Byron W. Bender (Emeritus)
Benjamin Bergen
Derek Bickerton (Emeritus)
Robert A. Blust (Chair)
Robert L. Cheng (Adjunct)
Kenneth W. Cook (Adjunct)
Kamil Deen (Co-Graduate Chair)
Patricia J. Donegan
Emanuel J. Drechsel (Adjunct)
Michael L. Forman
George W. Grace (Emeritus)
John H. Haig (Adjunct)
Roderick A. Jacobs (Emeritus)
Paul Lassetre
P. Gregory Lee
Patricia A. Lee
Howard P. McKaughan (Emeritus)
William O'Grady
Yuko Otsuka
Ann Marie Peters (Emeritus, Co-Graduate Chair)
Kenneth L. Rehg
Lawrence A. Reid (Emeritus)
Amy J. Schafer
Albert J. Schütz, (Emeritus, Editor)
Ho Min Sohn (Adjunct)
David L. Stampe
Laurence C. Thompson (Emeritus)
Andrew Wong

A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF *MWO*, *MŌ*, *MYE*, *MEY*, *PO*, *PYE*, AND *PEY* SYLLABLES IN THE EASTERN OLD JAPANESE DIALECTS*

JOHN KUPCHIK

This paper presents the first comprehensive linguistic study of all phonographically attested examples of *mwo*, *mō*, *mei*, *mye*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ) dialects. I analyze each EOJ province separately, and in doing so I present evidence for a variety of phonemic mergers in specific provinces, including **mā>/mo/*, **māy>*mā>/mo/*, **pāy>*pā>/po/*, **māy>/me/* and **pāy>/pe/*. Importantly, I offer a solution to the puzzle presented by the data from the Suruga and Tōtōmi provinces. I also show how this study is the first step towards a clear understanding of the shared innovations that will help to give us a more accurate picture of the taxonomy of the eastern linguistic area of eighth century Japan.

1. INTRODUCTION. Eastern Old Japanese refers to the group of dialects spoken in Japan during the Nara period (710-794) in the region that stretched from modern Shizuoka and Nagano to Ibaraki, and all areas between them extending southward to the Pacific. Also normally included is the large northeastern area called Mutsu¹ that encompassed modern Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, and Aomori. We know of the EOJ dialects from the 141 poems in Book XIV and 93 poems in Book XX of the *Man'yōshū* that show Eastern linguistic features (Russell 2006:210). 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 89 poems in Book XIV and 14 poems in Book XX of the *Man'yōshū* attributed to Eastern provinces (Vovin 2005:10-12), however these do not show any Eastern linguistic features, and are thus excluded from this study. In addition, we also have the 9 *Hitachi Fudoki* poems. These are also excluded from this study because only two (FK 7 and FK 8) show Eastern linguistic features (Vovin 2005:5) and their history of transmission is quite problematic (Ikier 2006:15-16).

The specific dialects attested in the *Man'yōshū* are situated in twelve provinces, or *kuni* 國: Kazusa 上総, Mutsu 陸奥 (also called Michinoku), Shimotsuke 下野, Hitachi 常陸, Kōzuke 上野, Izu 伊豆, Musashi 武蔵, Sagami 相模, Shimōsa 下総, Shinano 信濃, Tōtōmi 遠江, and Suruga 駿河. There is only one Izu 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 (Kai 甲斐 and Awa 安房); however we have no linguistic material from them. Figure 1 below, based on Russell (2006:208), maps out the three main EOJ dialect regions.

The ultimate goals of this study and related studies to follow are to begin unraveling the phonetic and phonological systems of the EOJ dialects, to gain further knowledge of the internal taxonomy of EOJ, and to define what phonemic mergers took place in what areas. In regard to the subject of phonemic mergers, it should be noted that for Western Old Japanese (WOJ), the distinction between */mo/* and */mō/*, and */po/* and */pō/* has not been consistently maintained since the *Kojiki*, and it seems to have been lost in WOJ dialects by the time of the *Man'yōshū* (early eighth century) with the vowels of both labial-initial syllables merging as [o]² (Vovin 2005:41, Miyake 2003:261–62). As for EOJ, it is clear from the start that the merger of **pō* to */po/* had occurred by the time of the transcription of the poems in the *Man'yōshū*, as only four unique phonographic *pō* syllables are used in the entire corpus—two in Book XIV (保EMC *pāu*^B, LH *pou*^{B,3}; 抱EMC *bāu*^B, LH *bou*^B) and three in Book XX (保EMC *pāu*^B, LH *pou*^B; 富 EMC *pjəu*^C, LH *pu*^C; 寶EMC *pāu*^B, LH *pou*^B)—and all but one are from Early Middle Chinese

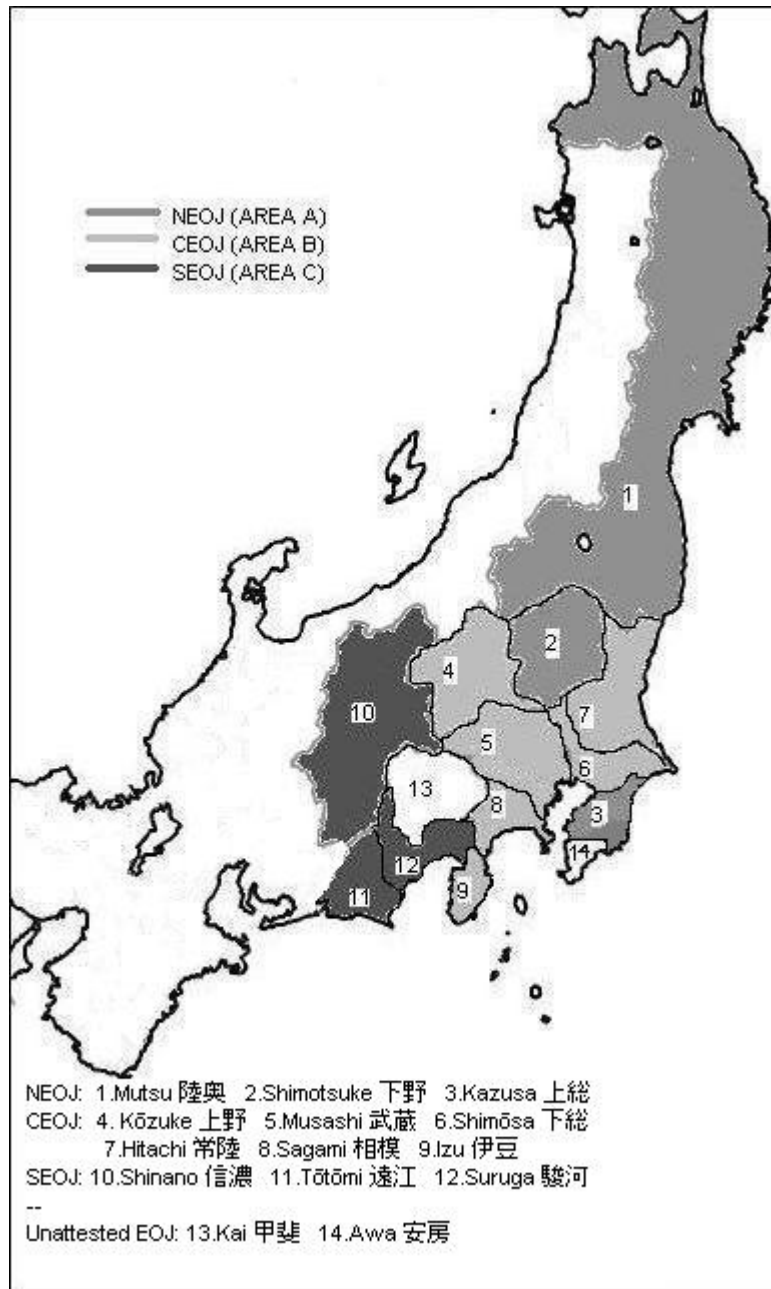
* I would like to thank Professor Alexander Vovin, who offered many helpful comments and suggestions for improving this paper. Any remaining errors are my own.

¹ It is possible this was a separate northern dialect group distinct from the eastern group.

² Alexander Vovin (p.c.) notes that there is statistical maintenance of the contrast between *mwo* and *mō* in Book V of the MYS.

³ I follow Schuessler 2007 for the EMC and LH readings used in this paper.

FIGURE 1. Map of the EOJ dialect regions in the eighth century.



syllables with a rounded vowel diphthong, which are not syllables which would be used to indicate a central vowel sound in EOJ. The one syllable which does have a central vowel in EMC and was used to indicate WOJ /pə/ syllables in the *Kojiki* was the aforementioned 富 EMC p̄jəu^C (Miyake 2003:254). However, this phonogram is only used three times in the entire EOJ corpus, all in Book XX. One of the attested words, 志富 *sipo* ‘tide’ from 20:4368.3,⁴ has an ambiguous vowel in PJ, while another attestation, 布多富我美 *putapoNkamyi* from 20:4382.1, is an unclear part of the poem in which it appears, giving us little help. The third example, 意富 *opo* ‘great’ from 20:4373.3, does indeed have a central vowel in the second syllable in early WOJ, and it is written with the etymologically “correct” syllable in EOJ.

⁴ See section 1.2 for a description of the text citation system used in this study.

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mō*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables
in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

However, it is only one example in the entire corpus, so it is also of no help. *Po* syllables are included in this study for the sole purpose of comparing them with *pey* syllables in order to see if a merger took place between these two syllables.

The merger of **mə* to /*mo*/ in EOJ, on the other hand, is not so straightforward, and requires a full study to be reliably determined across all of the provinces. In the present study, evidence will be presented and tested to see whether or not the **mə*>/*mo*/ merger occurred in EOJ, as well as additional mergers that include **məy*>**mə*>/*mo*/, **pəy*>**pə*>/*po*/, **məy*>/*me*/ and **pəy*>/*pe*/.

Each specific province is treated as a distinct language variety, and each is analyzed separately in order to look for specific provincial mergers and to re-examine the validity of the traditional EOJ dialect areas. As shown in Figure 1 above, I still group the provinces under the headings of Area A, Area B, and Area C, which, following Russell (2006:207), are renamed as North Eastern Old Japanese (NEOJ), Central Eastern Old Japanese (CEOJ), and South Eastern Old Japanese (SEOJ), respectively. The Unknown Eastern Old Japanese (Russell 2006:207) poems are also included in this study and are presented in their own section.

1.1 LITERARY REVIEW. The philological research on EOJ, inclusive of traditional grammar studies, has been quite exhaustive, particularly the important studies by Mizushima (1972, 1984a, 1984b, 2003), Fukuda (1965), and Hōjō (1966). However, relatively little has been done in terms of any true linguistic analysis of these specific dialects. Ikier’s 2006 study of the attributive marking of EOJ is a notable exception, and introduces the first comprehensive translation of the Eastern corpus with a morphological analysis provided for each poem. Unfortunately he does not separate (and discard) the poems attributed to eastern provinces in Book XIV that show no Eastern linguistic features and are written in rather pure Western Old Japanese, and thus his results may be somewhat confounded. Russell (2006:207-437) does discard the Eastern poems written in WOJ in her analysis, focusing purely on those poems with EOJ features, and she presents an extensive overview of the specific problems in the Eastern data from each dialect region. Hino 2003 presents a new reconstruction of Proto-Japonic vowels using EOJ data, as well as revised dialect divisions based on apparent innovations and retentions of vowels seen in the EOJ data. Vovin 2005 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.

Otherwise, very little has been done, particularly in figuring out the phonetic and phonological systems of the EOJ dialects. Scholars agree, however, that with so little done thus far, it is clear that the EOJ data is in dire need of a more advanced, comprehensive linguistic study. For example, Miyake (2003:272) makes a note of it as something he may delve into in future research, and Russell (2006:207-437) similarly mentions many times that the EOJ data need further research to be dealt with properly.

1.2 METHODOLOGY. Due to the comprehensive nature of this paper, special care was taken to ensure no data were overlooked in the analysis. First, all of the Eastern poems in the *Man’yōshū* were digitally encoded into a data file. Next, each province’s poems were cut out and placed into their own separate data file (the Unknown Eastern Old Japanese poems were put into their own large file). After this, each province’s file was electronically searched to ensure no syllables were missed. Each phonographic syllable that came up in the search was inputted into the tables.

The tables throughout the paper are organized by morpheme attestations, so all attestations of a specific morpheme or string of morphemes in a province are grouped together in the table. If all of the morphemes attested in a province are attested only once each, the poems are by default organized from lowest numbered poems to highest numbered poems, though it should be mentioned that the numbering in the *Man’yōshū* is arbitrary and tells us nothing of the chronology of the poems. The data tables all have the following format:

Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
---------	--------------	--------------------	----------------	-----	------

The *Example* column shows a transliteration of the *Phonogram(s)* column. The following transliteration system is used:

Consonants:

p=/p/, *t*=/t/, *k*=/k/, *n*=/n/, *m*=/m/, *Np*=/ᵐb/, *Nt*=/ᵐd/, *Nk*=/ᵍ/, *s*=/s/, *Ns*=/ᵑz/, *r*=/r/, *w*=/w/, *y*=/y/

Vowels:

yi=/i/, *iy*=/i/, *ye*=/e/, *ey*=/əy/, *wo* (syllable-initial)=/wo/, *wo* (following a consonant)=/o/, *ö*=/ə/, *u*=/u/, *a*=/a/, *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*

The *Phonogram(s)* column gives the original Chinese phonograms used in the text to write the syllable(s) in the morpheme(s) in question. For more information on the Chinese pronunciations of these phonograms see Schuessler 2007 and Miyake 2003.

The *Morphemic Gloss* is a morpheme by morpheme gloss (not a translation). When researching the morphemic values I consulted Omodaka 1967, the full translation of the EOJ *Man’yōshū* corpus found in Ikier 2006, Vovin 2005, and my own translations and morphological analyses of the poems. A vowel in brackets indicates it was contracted and not pronounced in the poem but is still there in the underlying representation of the morpheme. A vowel in parentheses indicates that it is in the poem but not represented by a phonogram in the example in the chart.

The *Book:Poem.Line* column shows the specific attestation, down to the line of the poem. For example, 20:4389.2 would mean the poem is from MYS Book XX, poem number 4389, line 2.

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 which are only semantographically attested in the WOJ corpus are not included. The WOJ attestations are either from Omodaka 1967 or my own searches in the *Man’yōshū* and other Nara-period texts. 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.

The *E.C.* column stands for “Etymologically Correct.” There will be a “+”, “-”, or “?” in this column. A “+” sign means the vowel in the EOJ syllable is etymologically correct in terms of an expected reflex from a Proto-Japanese (PJ) form, which is derivable via comparison with the WOJ form. A “-” sign means the vowel is etymologically incorrect, indicating the likeliness that a merger has taken place with another syllable. 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 *m*- or *p*- syllable followed by one of the vowels in question. These are listed in sequential order in the *E.C.* column. A “?” means the original quality of the vowel in question is unknown in PJ, so no conclusion can be made in regard to the “correctness” of the EOJ reflex. Since there is no synchronic contrast between [po] and [pə] in EOJ, I mark all syllables written with a *po* phonogram that are a reflex from a PJ *po or *pə syllable as being etymologically correct so as to not skew the statistical results from each province.

I statistically analyze each province independently, then summarize the results of each traditional EOJ dialect region in the form of Table 1.

TABLE 1

	*mə>/mo/	*məy>*mə>/mo/	*məy>/me/	*pəy>*pə>/po/	*pəy>/pe/
PROVINCE					

If there is evidence for a merger, it will show “Yes;” if there is no evidence it will show “No.” Those mergers that are labelled “Inconclusive” should be taken with caution, as these all have only one example of an etymologically incorrect syllable, and we cannot rule out the possibility that they could be simple misspellings. If there are no data at all for the syllables in question for a particular merger it will show “No data.”

The evidence for a merger lies in the rate of etymologically incorrect syllables used in a specific province. I view a significant number of such syllables as being highly indicative of a merger, as it is in line with the way merged syllables were written in WOJ texts.

2. SOUTH EASTERN OLD JAPANESE. Southern Eastern Old Japanese, also known as Area C, is the term used to refer the dialects of EOJ spoken in the Shinano, Suruga, and Tōtōmi provinces. Two of these dialects (Shinano and Tōtōmi) directly bordered central Western Old Japanese dialects, which makes it probable that they had a significant Western influence. The Suruga dialect did not border any WOJ dialect, and shows at least one striking phonological difference from the other two dialects. Another difference found in Suruga may have been present, to some degree, also in Tōtōmi, which bordered Suruga. There are only twenty-five SEOJ poems in the *Man'yōshū*, making it the most poorly attested of the three major EOJ dialect regions.

2.1 SHINANO DIALECT. The Shinano dialect is represented by seven poems in the *Man'yōshū*, specifically 3352 and 3398-3400 in Book XIV, and 4401-4403 in Book XX.

2.1.1 MWO AND MÖ SYLLABLES. There are two *mwo* syllables and two *mö* syllables attested.

TABLE 2. *Mwo* and *mö* syllables in Shinano.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3398.2	mö	-
2	mö	母	FPT	14:3400.3	mö	+
3	omö	意母	mother	20:4401.5	amo	?
4	omwo	意毛	mother	20:4402.5	amo	?

In (1) we see *mwo* used once to write the focus particle, which is historically **mə*, while in (2) we find *mö* being used once to write the same particle. We find the same situation in examples (3) and (4), where the form *omwo* ‘mother’ appears in the former, and *omö*⁵ in the latter. This is the same situation found in the eighth century WOJ texts, so I conclude that **o* and **ə* merged to /*o*/ after /*m*/ in Shinano.

2.1.2 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There is one attested *mey* syllable. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

TABLE 3. *Mye* and *mey* syllables in Shinano.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	tamey	多米	benefit; for	20:4402.5	tamey	+

This syllable is etymologically correct, and due to the lack of any other data, there is no evidence for a merger here.

2.1.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There is only one *po* syllable phonetically attested in this dialect. There are no phonetically attested *pey* or *pye* syllables.

TABLE 4. *Po* syllables in Shinano.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	potötöNkyisu	保登等藝須	cuckoo.bird	14:3352.3	potötöNkyisu	+

The word *potötöNkyisu* ‘cuckoo’ is written correctly. With such little data there is no way to know which, if any, mergers occurred in this dialect.

⁵ This word is a borrowing from Old Korean **omö* ‘mother’ (Alexander Vovin, p.c.). The native Japonic word for ‘mother’ is **papa*.

2.2 SURUGA DIALECT. The Suruga dialect is represented by eleven poems in the *Man’yōshū*, specifically 3359 in Book XIV, and 4337-4346 in Book XX. Suruga is of special interest, as all examples of etymological *mō* and *mwo* syllables written with a *mey* phonogram in the EOJ corpus are found exclusively in this dialect, and exclusively in Book XX.

2.2.1 MWO, MŌ, MYE, AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are three *mwo* syllables, one *mō* syllable, and nine *mey* syllables attested. There are no attested *mye* syllables. I include the *mey* data with the *mwo* and *mō* data for reasons that will be explained below.

TABLE 5. *Mwo*, *mō*, and *mey* syllables in Suruga.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	wa-Nk-yimey	和伎米	1S-POSS- beloved.girl	20:4345.1	wa-Nk- yimwo	-
2	meyNkur-u	米具留	encircle-ATTR	20:4339.1	meyNkur-	+
3	meyNkur-i	米具利	encircle-INF	20:4339.3	meyNkur-	+
4	omey	於米	face	20:4342.5	omō	-
5	mō	母	FPT	20:4343.5	mō	+
6	mey	米	FPT	20:4345.5	mō	-
7	meyt-i	米知	hold-INF	20:4343.4	mōt-	-
8	pomey-te	寶米豆	honor-GER	20:4342.2	pomey-	+
9	kamwo	加毛	PT	20:4341.5	kamō	-
10	kamwo	加毛	PT	20:4344.5	kamō	-
11	keymey	氣米	straw	20:4338.1	kōmō	-
12	mwonō	毛能	thing	20:4337.4	mōnō	-
13	omeyp-	於米保	think-	20:4343.2	omōp-	-

Of the thirteen word tokens in the data, only four are written correctly from an etymological viewpoint. The Suruga data have been quite a puzzle, with no plausible explanation offered thus far. For example, Russell (2006:340) states “that these vowels are very similar, and that there was no distinction between them in SEOJ. Western scribes, then, simply chose the closest approximation they could and sometimes the result was an /*ě*/⁶ and other times it was an /*ō*/.” While I agree there was no distinction between these vowels in Suruga, this does not explain how the loss of distinction between these vowels came about, and it does not account for some other important points that I will discuss in this section.

After a cursory glance at the data, a number of facts quickly become apparent. First, no etymological *mey* syllable in the data is ever written as *mwo* or *mō* (though note only two roots in the corpus — *meyNkur-* and *pomey-* — have such a syllable). Second, *mwo*, *mō*, and *mey* are all used to transcribe etymological *mō* syllables. A good example of this is the focus particle **mə*, which is written *mō* in (5) and *mey* in (6), while the particle **kamō* is written *mwo* in both (9) and (10). Third, a *mey* syllable is used to write the one etymological *mwo* syllable in the data. The final and perhaps most significant thing these data show is that the phonographic *mey* syllable used in these poems (米 EMC *miei*^B, LH *mei*^{B7}) is used to transcribe etymological **mō*, **mə*, and **məy* syllables.

I believe the explanation here lies in two key factors: one is the merger of mid-central and mid-back vowel phonemes after a labial onset in Suruga, and the second is the Eastern innovation of deleting the

⁶ Russell’s *ě* corresponds to my *ey*.

⁷ Miyake (2003:227) notes that this syllable likely had a rhyme category of **-ay* or **-əy* in Southern EMC, which is closer to the phonetic value used in the Old Japanese texts. For example, compare the modern Cantonese reflex of this syllable, which is [may].

second segment of historical vowel sequences instead of fusionally reducing⁸ them, as is prevalent in the West. With these two features in mind, as well as keeping in mind the vowel *-ey* is a diphthong composed of two segments, I believe the following is the most likely scenario to explain the Suruga data:

1. PJ **məy* has its final segment deleted in Suruga, with the output being a merger with **mə* syllables. In fact, all **əy* vowels merged with **ə* vowels in Suruga (irrespective of the syllable's position in the word), as part of a general process of reducing PJ diphthongs in the dialect.

2. **mə* merges to /*mo*/.

3. Scribes noted the universal lack of an /*əy*/ in Suruga, and used *-ey* and *-ō* syllables interchangeably when transcribing poems from this province. Due to *mwo*, *mō* 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 (it should be mentioned that this occurs in many EOJ dialect regions to various degrees). For example, in 20:4339.4 we find the form 加比利 *kapyir-i* 'to return-INF', which corresponds to WOJ *kapyer-i* 'id.'. The PJ form of this word must have been **kapiar-*, and in the Suruga word we see the deletion of the second vowel in the sequence **-ia-* for the output [i], while in WOJ we see a fusion of this sequence to [e]. A similar example is the word 已比 *ipyi* 'house' in 20:4343.3, which corresponds to WOJ *ipyē* 'id.' and is a reflex from PJ **ipia* 'house'. Once again, we see the second vowel deleted in Suruga rather than fusionally reduced with the preceding vowel.

Evidence for the universal lack of a contrast between *-ey* and *-ō* is found in the initial syllable of example (11) *keymey* 'straw' (from PJ **kəmə*), which is written with a *key* syllable but is etymologically from a **kə* syllable. Another example is 氣等 *keytō* 'words', found in 20:4346.4, which corresponds to WOJ *kōtō* 'id', both forms being reflexes from PJ **kətə* 'word'. Again, the first syllable is written with a *key* syllable, whereas we would expect a *kō* syllable.

Further evidence is found in 20:4337.4 in the word form 價尔弓 *key-n-i-te* come(INF)-PERF-INF-GER 'had come and ...'. The stem in this word form is historically PJ **kə-*. In WOJ we find contraction when the infinitive follows this stem, with the output of *k-yi* 'come-INF'. In Suruga it is most likely that the sequence **kə-i* 'come-INF' was simply reduced via a deletion of the second vowel, leaving the form /*kə*/. The scribe wrote this as *key* because there was no contrast between *key* and *kō* in the dialect.

A final example is 麻氣婆之良 *ma-key-N-pasira* true-tree-GEN-shrine 'shrine of the true tree' in 20:4342.1. Here we see the morpheme "tree" written as *key*. "Tree" is historically from PJ **kəy*, and its WOJ free form is *kīy* while the bound, compounding form is *kō-*. It is clear the morpheme for "tree" in this Suruga word-form is the compounding form, and there is no reason why it would retain its original **-y* when this dialect (and other EOJ dialects) had a clear prohibition against any vowel sequences, choosing to delete the second vowel in the majority of cases. And yet the scribe wrote this word with a *key* character, which stands as strong evidence that there was no contrast between *key* and *kō* syllables in Suruga; both had merged to /*kə*/.

The question remains, if such mergers took place in Suruga, what would motivate the scribes to use a *key* character in place of *kō*, and a *mey* character in place of *mwo* or *mō*? After all, no such transcription method is attested in any WOJ text (not even any misspellings of the kind). Why would they not simply write all of the syllables as *kō* and *mwo/mō*? As Ikier (2006:14) aptly notes, we do not know whether or not the scribes of the *Sakimori-uta* were WOJ speakers, or the border guards themselves. Both are possibilities that cannot be completely dismissed. This transcription method, which appears only in Book XX, and only in Suruga, raises the question as to whether at least some of the poems may have been written down by Suruga speakers. According to this hypothesis, they used the characters freely where there was no phonological contrast, mimicking the free variation of characters used by WOJ scribes after

⁸ I prefer the term "fusional reduction" to the more traditional "monophthongization," for the simple fact that not all of the vowels produced via this reductive process were monophthongs. For example, Russell (2006:235) correctly notes that *-ey* is synchronically a diphthong, but goes on to state that the sequence **-ai* monophthongized into *-ey*, which is a contradiction in terms.

mergers took place in their language. Alternatively, if WOJ scribes did indeed write down these poems, the substitution of *key* for *kō* and *mey* for *mō* or *mwo* may have acted to point out a difference in the Suruga pronunciation of these words in a creative way, which is in line with similar practices employed by the scribes in the *Man'yōshū*.

2.2.2 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are two *po* syllables and one *pye* syllable attested in Suruga. There are no attested *pey* syllables.

TABLE 6. *Po* and *pye* syllables in Suruga.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	pye	𪛗	area; shore	14:3359.2	pye	+
2	pomey-te	寶米𪛗	honor(INF)-GER	20:4342.2	pomey-te	+
3	omeyp-o-Ntō	於米保等	think-EV-CONC	20:4343.2	omöp-ey-Ntō	-

Examples (1) and (2) are written correctly, and there is no sign of any *pye/pey* merger in this dialect. In (3) we see the evidential suffix after a *-p* stem verb root written as *-o-* 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 presented in section 2.2.1, it gives further 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. I offer the following hypothesis:

1. PJ *pəy syllables lose their final vowel segment in Suruga, along with all other *-əy segments in the dialect, merging *pəy to *pə.

2. *pə merges to /po/.

3. *Po* and *pey* phonograms are used interchangeably to write synchronic Suruga /po/ syllables that are etymologically from PJ *pə, *pə, or *pəy.

2.2.3 SUMMARY. The data are scarce, but when the data from both sections above are taken together in the analysis, I believe that the above hypotheses I have presented offer the most logical and plausible explanation. What I have put forth accounts for all of the data in a way that is consistent with what we know of the way vowel sequences were reduced in Suruga and other Eastern dialects, as well the tendency for scribes to maximize their range of characters to write a syllable after a merger has taken place.

2.3 TŌTŌMI DIALECT. The Tōtōmi dialect is represented by seven poems in the *Man'yōshū*, all from Book XX. The poems are 4321-4327.

2.3.1 MWO, MŌ, MYE, AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are ten *mō* syllables and one *mwo* syllable attested. There are no attested *mye* or *mey* syllables.

TABLE 7. *Mwo* and *mō* syllables in Tōtōmi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book.Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	-Ntömō	登母	-CONC	20:4323.2	-Ntömō	+
2	mōNkamwo	母我毛	DES.PT	20:4325.2	mōNkamō	+/-
3	mō	母	FPT	20:4324.5	mō	+
4	mō	母	FPT	20:4325.1	mō	+
5	mō	母	FPT	20:4327.1	mō	+
6	mō	母	FPT	20:4327.3	mō	+

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mō*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

7	mömö	母々	hundred	20:4326.3	mwomwo	--
8	mömö	母々	hundred	20:4326.4	mwomwo	--

Six syllables are etymologically correct, while five are etymologically incorrect. Here we see a more consistent use of *mō* for etymological **mə* syllables (60%) than in the other two dialects, though only slightly. Overall, it seems clear that a merger of *mō* and *mwo* occurred (or was occurring) in Tōtōmi as well.

2.3.2 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are three attested *pey* syllables, one attested *po* syllable, and one attested *pye* syllable.

TABLE 8. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in Tōtōmi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	sapey	佐倍	PT ('even')	20:4322.4	sapey	+
2	tōpey	等倍	far	20:4324.1	tōpo	-
3	tapomyi	多保美	<i>unclear</i>	20:4324.1	–	?
4	nipey	尔閑	PN	20:4324.3	–	?
5	pye	弊	area	20:4326.2	pye	+

The sole *pye* syllable in (5) is written correctly, while the sole *po* syllable in (3) is unknown. Among the three *pey* syllables, one is etymologically correct, one is incorrect, and the other is unknown. Of great interest is example (2). As in section 2.2.1, once again we see an example of an *-ey* syllable being used to write a WOJ *-o* syllable (which in this case is actually a reflex of a PJ *-ə syllable). I believe the most likely explanation for this is that the merger of *po* and *pey* occurred in Tōtōmi as it did in Suruga, so scribes used *pey* and *po* syllables interchangeably. It follows perfectly with the sequence of sound changes I proposed in Suruga, in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, and would give further evidence of a SEOJ innovation of an *-əy>*-ə merger. However, the lack of corroborating *mey* data is unfortunate, and owing to this it is hard to make an absolute conclusion in the case of Tōtōmi. It should also be noted (2) and (3) occur in the same line as *tōpeytapomyi*, and since *tapomyi* is an unknown element, it is possible this whole construction consists of a different root entirely, which would automatically make the hypothesis I am presenting here invalid for Tōtōmi.

2.4 SUMMARY OF SEOJ DATA. Based solely on the linguistic features described above, it is possible that Suruga and Tōtōmi were of the same dialect region, as both show indications of having the merger of *-ə, *-əy, and *-o to /-o/ after a labial initial. Though it should be emphasized that while the Suruga evidence is strong, the Tōtōmi evidence is based on one, slightly dubious example. In addition, we would need more than one shared innovation to confidently group the two provinces into their own dialect. The Shinano speech variety does not share this innovation, so this study offers no linguistic evidence to group it with the other two language varieties. Unfortunately the Shinano corpus is quite small, which makes its comparison with the other two provinces rather difficult.

Table 9 summarizes the mergers found in SEOJ.

TABLE 9. Evidence for mergers in SEOJ provinces.

	* <i>mə</i> >/mo/	* <i>məy</i> >* <i>mə</i> >/mo/	* <i>məy</i> >/me/	* <i>pəy</i> >* <i>pə</i> >/po/	* <i>pəy</i> >/pe/
Shinano	Yes	No	No	No	No data
Suruga	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Tōtōmi	Yes	No	No	Yes (Inconclusive)	No

3. NORTH EASTERN OLD JAPANESE. North Eastern Old Japanese (NEOJ), also known as Region A, was spoken in three provinces: Kazusa, Mutsu, and Shimotsuke. There are a total of thirty NEOJ poems in the *Man'yōshū*.

3.1 KAZUSA. There are fifteen Kazusa poems in the *Man'yōshū*: two from Book XIV (3382 and 3383), and thirteen from Book XX (4347-4359).

3.1.1 MWO AND MÖ SYLLABLES. There are seventeen *mwo* and ten *mö* syllables attested.

TABLE 10. *Mwo*, *mö*, and *mey* syllables in Kazusa.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	wa-Nk-yimö	和伎母	1S-POSS-beloved.girl	20:4353.3	wa-Nk-yimwo	-
2	wa-Nk-yimwo	和藝毛	1S-POSS-beloved.girl	20:4357.3	wa-Nk-yimwo	+
3	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	20:4351.5	imwo	-
4	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	20:4354.4	imwo	-
5	kumwo	久毛	cloud	20:4355.4	kumwo	+
6	-Ntömö	等母	-CONC	20:4351.3	-Ntömö	+
7	watar-am-wo ⁹	和多良毛	cross-TENT-ATTR	20:4355.2	watar-am-u	?
8	sö-m-ö	曾母	do-TENT-ATTR	14:3382.5	se-m-u	?
9	mö	母	FPT	20:4347.4	mö	+
10	mö	母	FPT	20:4353.5	mö	+
11	mö	母	FPT	20:4357.4	mö	+
12	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3383.3	mö	-
13	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4358.5	mö	-
14	simö	思母	frost	14:3382.3	simo	?
15	körömö	己呂母	garment	20:4351.1	körömö	+
16	möt-i	母遲	hold-INF	20:4353.3	möt-i	+
17	möt-i	母知	hold-INF	20:4356.2	möt-i	+
18	mwomö	毛母	hundred	20:4349.1	mwomwo	+ -
19	kamö	加母	PT	20:4347.5	kamö	+
20	kamö	加母	PT	20:4348.5	kamö	+
21	kamö	可母	PT	20:4354.5	kamö	+
22	kamwo	可毛	PT	20:4356.5	kamö	-
23	kamwo	加毛	PT	20:4359.3	kamö	-
24	kamwo	可毛	PT	20:4359.5	kamö	-
25	[o]möp-	母波	think-	20:4357.5	omöp-	+
26	kömwo	許毛	rush.mat	20:4354.1	kömö	-

⁹ Generally it is thought only non initial *-o could raise to /u/ in WOJ, which would tell us the original PJ form of the attributive was *-o, since the corresponding WOJ attributive ends in *-u*. However, as Russell (2006:643) mentions, there is evidence this was originally *-ə, as seen in the WOJ copular attributive form *n-ö* COP-ATTR. In any case, the vowel quality of the PJ attributive is not clear, so in this paper I take a conservative approach and mark all *mwo* and *mö* syllables containing an attributive suffix in EOJ with a “?” in the E.C. column.

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mō*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

Ten of the syllables are etymologically incorrect, fourteen are etymologically correct, and three are unknown. These statistics indicate etymological *mo and *mā syllables were written freely with *mwo* or *mō* characters, which is strong support that there was no contrast between the vowels in these syllables.

3.2.1 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There is one *mey* syllable attested. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

TABLE 11. *Mey* syllables in Kazusa.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	mamey	麻米	bean	20:4352.3	mamey	+

The one etymological *mey* syllable is written *mey* in Kazusa, so there is no evidence to suggest that *mā merged with *mō or *me in this province.

3.2.2 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables are amply attested in Kazusa. There are eight *po* syllables, eight *pey* syllables, and two *pye* syllables in total.

TABLE 12. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in Kazusa.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	-pye	敵	-ALL	20:4359.4	pye	+
2	pey	倍	area	20:4352.1	pye	-
3	pey	閑	area	20:4359.1	pye	-
4	-pey	倍	-CL	20:4350.2	-pye	-
5	pap-o	波保	crawl-ATTR	20:4352.3	pap-u	+
6	por-i	保里	desire-INF	14:3383.5	por-i	+
7	tōpo-	登保	far-	14:3383.4	tōpo-	+
8	opo	於保	great; large	20:4358.1	opo	?
9	ipey	伊閑	house	20:4347.1	ipyē	-
10	ipey	伊倍	house	20:4353.1	ipyē	-
11	ipey	伊倍	house	20:4353.4	ipyē	-
12	karipo	加里保	inn, lodging	20:4348.4	—	?
13	napo	奈保	PT	20:4351.4	napo	+
14	kapeyri	加倍理	return-INF	20:4350.5	kapyer-i	-
15	pye	敵	prow	20:4359.2	pye	+
16	pey	閑	prow	20:4359.5	pye	-
17	sipopo	志保々	soaked	20:4357.4	—	?

The most striking characteristic of the Kazusa data is the repeated use of a *pey* character for an etymological *pye* syllable. All eight attested *pey* syllables are used to write etymological *pye* syllables, while only two of the etymological *pye* syllables in the data are written as *pye*. In 20:4359, we even see the same morpheme written once as *pye* (15) and again as *pey* (16). This gives evidence for a different merger in Kazusa than those found in SEOJ, namely the merger of *pəy to /pe/. Rather than deleting the final vowel in the *pəy syllable, Kazusa instead fused the [əy] sequence to [e], with the palatality of the [y] fronting and raising the [ə].

3.3 MUTSU. There are only two poems from Mutsu in the corpus, both from Book XIV (3426, 3437).

3.3.1 MWO, MÖ, MYE, AND MEY SYLLABLES. Within the two Mutsu poems there are three *mwo* syllables. There are no attested *mö*, *mye* or *mey* syllables.

TABLE 13. *Mwo* syllables in Mutsu.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	se- m-wo	勢毛	do-TENT-ATTR	14:3426.4	se-m-u	?
2	py imwo	比毛	string	14:3426.5	pyimo	?
3	kamwo	可毛	PT	14:3437.5	kamö	-

Here we see (1) is unknown, (2) is unknown, and (3) is incorrect. Since the particle *kamwo* in 3437 is etymologically *kamö*, this looks like it could be evidence for a merger in Mutsu, but since it is only one example we cannot exclude the possibility this was a misspelling. Due to this, we are unable to make a definite conclusion in this province.

3.3.2 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There is only one *po* syllable attested. There are no attested *pye* or *pey* syllables.

TABLE 14. *Po* syllables in Mutsu.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	- töpo ¹⁰	杼抱	be.far	14:3426.2	töpo	+

This syllable is written properly, so there is nothing we can conclude in the way of mergers in Mutsu.

3.4 SHIMOTSUKE. There are thirteen Shimotsuke poems in the *Man'yōshū*: two from Book XIV (3424, 3425) and eleven from Book XX (4373-4383).

3.4.1 MWO, MÖ, AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are seventeen attested examples of *mö* and four attested examples of *mwo*.

TABLE 15. *Mwo* and *mö* syllables in Shimotsuke.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	kumwo	久毛	cloud	20:4380.5	kumwo	+
2	- Ntömwo	等毛	-CONC	20:4378.2	-Ntömö	-
3	möNkamö	母賀母	DES.PT	20:4377.2	möNkamö	++
4	möNkamö	母我母	DES.PT	20:4383.5	möNkamö	++
5	- umö	布母	-EXCL	20:4378.5	-umö	+
6	mö	母	FPT	20:4377.1	mö	+
7	mö	母	FPT	20:4377.5	mö	+
8	mö	母	FPT	20:4381.5	mö	+
9	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4383.4	mö	-
10	mwor-i	毛利	guard-NML	20:4381.2	mwor-i	+
11	mör-i	母里	guard-NML	20:4382.5	mwor-i	-
12	möt-am-u	母多牟	hold-TENT-FIN	14:3424.5	möt-am-u	+
13	amö	阿母	mother	20:4376.3	amo	?
14	amö	阿母	mother	20:4377.1	amo	?
15	amö	阿母	mother	20:4378.3	amo	?

¹⁰ This attested form is prefixed with the locative *saN-*.

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mō*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

16	amō	阿母	mother	20:4383.5	amo	?
17	simōtukye	之母都家	PN	14:3424.1	–	?
18	simōtukye	志母都家	PN	14:3425.1	–	?
19	myikamō	美可母	PN	14:3424.2	–	?
20	mōkōrō	母已呂	similarity (PP)	20:4375.5	mokōrō	+

Twelve syllables are etymologically correct, three are incorrect, and seven are unknown. We see a very high percentage of correctly spelled syllables in Shimotsuke. Overall it is a rather low rate of misspelling, but still enough to make a merger between these syllables likely for this province.

It should be noted that there are four attestations of the Shimotsuke word *amō* ‘mother’, and they are all written exactly the same, as 阿母. Despite the consistency, this is not particularly helpful in determining the quality of the vowel in that word’s final syllable, as while the character 母 has a phonographic usage for *mō*, it also has a semantographic usage for ‘mother’, which was clearly an equally important reason for its usage in these poems.

3.4.2 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are two attested *mey* syllables. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

TABLE 16. *Mey* syllables in Shimotsuke.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	amey	阿米	heaven	20:4374.1	amey	+
2	mey	米	eye	20:4383.5	mey	+

Both of these syllables are written correctly from an etymological standpoint, so there is nothing to conclude here in regard to mergers.

3.4.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are two *po* syllables, two *pye* syllables, and one *pey* syllable attested.

TABLE 17. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in Shimotsuke.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	kapyer-i	可徹里	return-INF	20:4373.2	kapyer-i	+
2	opo	意富	great; large	20:4373.3	opo	+
3	apye-	阿徹	join(INF)	20:4377.5	apey-	-
4	pey	倍	area; direction	20:4379.2	pye	-
5	putapoNkamyi	布多富我美	<i>unclear</i>	20:4382.1	–	?

In (3) we see an etymological *pey* syllable written with a *pye* phonogram, and in (4) we see an etymological *pye* syllable written as *pey*. This seems to be evidence of a *pye/pey* merger in Shimotsuke. Example (5) is an unknown word-form, but the rest of the attested syllables are etymologically correct.

3.5 SUMMARY OF NEOJ DATA. Table 18 summarizes the evidence for various mergers in NEOJ.

TABLE 18. Evidence for mergers in NEOJ provinces.

	*mə>/mo/	*məy>*mə>/mo/	*məy>/me/	*pəy>*pə>/po/	*pəy>/pe/
Kazusa	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Mutsu	Yes	No	No	No	No data
Shimotsuke	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

4. CENTRAL EASTERN OLD JAPANESE. Central Eastern Old Japanese (CEOJ), also known as Area B, was spoken in six provinces: Hitachi, Kōzuke, Izu, Musashi, Sagami, and Shimōsa. There are a total of seventy-eight CEOJ poems in the *Man’yōshū* with Eastern linguistic features (plus the Izu poem and its variant, for a total of eighty in this study), making it the best attested of the three traditional dialect regions.

4.1 HITACHI. The Hitachi province is represented by fifteen poems; five from Book XIV (3351, 3388, 3394, 3395, 3397), and ten from Book XX (4363-4372).

4.1.1 *MWO* AND *MŌ* SYLLABLES. There are six *mwo* syllables and fifteen *mō* syllables attested.

TABLE 19. *Mwo* and *mō* syllables in Hitachi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	mörö-mörö	母呂々々	all	20:4372.13	morö-morö	++
2	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	20:4363.5	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	möNka	母我	DES.PT	20:4366.2	möNka	+
8	möte	母豆	face	20:4367.1	omote	?
9	mö	母	FPT	20:4369.3	mö	+
10	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4369.5	mö	-
11	mö	母	FPT	20:4372.5	mö	+
12	saN-körö mwo	左其呂毛	PRE-garment	14:3394.1	körö mö	-
13	kamwo	可毛	PT	14:3351.2	kamö	-
14	kamö	可母	PT	14:3351.3	kamö	+
15	kamö	可母	PT	14:3351.5	kamö	+
16	kamwo	可聞	PT	14:3395.5	kamö	-
17	kamö	可母	PT	20:4364.5	kamö	-
18	kamwo	可毛	PT	20:4371.5	kamö	-
19	mwo	毛	seaweed	14:3397.3	mo	?
20	-m-ö	母	-TENT-ATTR	20:4367.3	-m-u	?

Among the *mwo* and *mō* syllables seven are etymologically correct, eleven are etymologically incorrect, and three are unknown. Based upon these numbers, it is quite clear that *mwo* and *mō* syllables merged in this dialect.

4.1.2 *MYE* AND *MEY* SYLLABLES. There are three *mey* syllables and one *mye* syllable attested.

TABLE 20. *Mye* and *mey* syllables in Hitachi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	-(a) m-ye	賣	-TENT-EV	14:3394.5	-am-ey	-
2	-(a) m-ey	米	-TENT-EV	20:4371.5	-am-ey	+
3	sumey	須米	PN of deity	20:4370.4	sume	?
4	tumey	都米	nail	20:4372.9	tumey	+

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

Among the three *mey* syllables, all but one are etymologically correct, with (18) *sumey* being a possible exception as the original quality of this vowel is unknown. The one attested *mye* syllable is etymologically incorrect. Once again we are only given one example, so it may have been a simple misspelling. However, the data in section 4.1.3 may give support for this being further evidence for the merger of *-əy>/e/ after a labial onset in Hitachi.

4.1.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are two *pey* syllables, one *pye* syllable, and one *po* syllable attested.

TABLE 21. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in Hitachi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	sipo	志富	tide	20:4368.3	sipo	+
2	kapyer-i	可徹里	return-NML	20:4368.5	kapyer-i	+
3	kapeyr-i	可閑理	return-INF	20:4372.3	kapyer-i	-
4	kapeyr-i	可閑利	return-INF	20:4372.15	kapyer-i	-

There is no overlap between *po* and *pey* syllables here, so any merger like we see in SEOJ varieties is not to be found in Hitachi. Examples (3) and (4) are important because they each contain an etymological *pye* syllable spelled with a *pey* phonogram (note the same root in question, *kapyer-*, is written correctly in (2)). Again, these could be simple misspellings, but since there are two examples (along with the data from 5.1.2), they are likely to be evidence of a merger between *pəy and *pe in Hitachi, and may stand as additional evidence for a general CEOJ innovation of such a merger. The provinces to follow will test whether or not we can claim this merger for all of CEOJ, or just some provinces within the grouping.

4.2 KÖZUKE. There are a total of twenty-two Kōzuke poems, making it the best attested of the CEOJ provinces. The poems are 3402, 3404, 3405, 3408-3410, 3412-3415, 3418-3420, 3422, 3423, and 3434-3436 from Book XIV, and 4404-4407 from Book XX.

4.2.1 MWO AND MÖ SYLLABLES. There are sixteen *mö* syllables and fifteen *mwo* syllables attested.

TABLE 22. *Mwo* and *mö* syllables in Kōzuke.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	wa-Nk-yimwo	和藝毛	1S-POSS-beloved.girl	20:4404.3	wa-Nk-yimwo	+
2	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	20:4407.4	imwo	+
3	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3423.5	imwo	+
4	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	20:4405.1	imwo	-
5	kumö	久母	cloud	14:3409.2	kumwo	-
6	kumöri	久母理	cloudy	20:4407.1	kumwori	-
7	mwoNkamö	毛我母	DES.PT	14:3436.5	möNkamö	-+
8	-umö	久母	-EXCL	14:3412.5	-umö	+
9	-umö	久母	-EXCL	20:4406.5	-umö	+
10	-umö	布母	-EXCL	14:3419.5	-umö	+
11	mö	母	FPT	14:3402.4	mö	+
12	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3405.3	mö	-
13	mö	母	FPT	14:3408.5	mö	+
14	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3413.2	mö	-
15	mö	母	FPT	14:3414.4	mö	+
16	mö	母	FPT	14:3435.4	mö	+

17	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4405.4	mō	-
18	mō	母	FPT	20:4406.2	mō	+
19	nemwokörö	祢毛己呂	cordial	14:3410.3	nemokörö	?
20	mworu	毛流	PN	14:3436.3	-	?
21	kamō	可母	PT	14:3413.5	kamō	+
22	kamō	可母	PT	20:4404.5	kamō	+
23	kamō	加母	PT	20:4407.5	kamō	+
24	piymwo	非毛	string	20:4404.4	pyimo	?
25	piymwo	非毛	string, cord	20:4405.3	pyimo	?
26	-(a)m-wo	毛	-TENT-ATTR	20:4406.2	-(a)m-u	?
27	-m-ō	母	-TENT-ATTR	14:3418.5	-m-u	?
28	-(a)m-wo	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3405.4	-(a)m-u	?
29	omwop-ye	於毛敝	think-EV	14:3435.5	omöp-ey	-
30	omwop-yi	於毛比	think-INF	14:3419.3	omöp-yi	-

Among the *mwo* and *mō* syllables, fifteen are etymologically correct, while nine are etymologically incorrect and seven are unknown. Once again, the merger of *mwo* and *mō* is clear here.

4.2.2 *MYE* AND *MEY* SYLLABLES. There are two attested *mey* syllables. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

TABLE 23. *Mey* syllables in Kōzuke.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C
1	-simey	志米	-CAUS	14:3409.5	-(a)simey	+
2	saNtamey-	佐太米	decide(INF)-	14:3418.4	saNtamey-	+

Both examples are etymologically correct, so there is no evidence of any mergers involving *mey* or *mye* syllables in this dialect.

4.2.3 *PO*, *PYE*, AND *PEY* SYLLABLES. There are nine *po* syllables, four *pye* syllables, and four *pey* syllables attested.

TABLE 24. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in Kōzuke.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	-pye	敝	-CL	14:3435.5	-pye	+
2	ipye	伊敝	house	14:3423.5	ipye	+
3	ap-yer-u	安敝流	meet-PROG-ATTR	14:3413.5	ap-yer-u	+
4	ikapo	伊香保	PN	14:3409.1	-	?
5	ikapo	伊香保	PN	14:3410.1	-	?
6	ikapo	伊香保	PN	14:3414.1	-	?
7	ikapo	伊可保	PN	14:3419.1	-	?
8	ikapo	伊可保	PN	14:3422.1	-	?
9	ikapo	伊可抱	PN	14:3423.2	-	?
10	ikapo	伊可保	PN	14:3435.1	-	?
11	kurwopo	久路保	PN	14:3412.2	-	?
12	Nkapey	賀倍	PT (<i>unclear</i>)	14:3420.5	-	?
13	ip-ey	伊倍	say-EV	14:3422.3	ip-ey	+

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables
in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

14	napey	奈倍	seedling	14:3418.2	napey	+
15	napey	奈倍	seedling	14:3418.3	napey	+
16	omwop-ye-Npa	於毛敝婆	think-EV-COND	14:3435.5	omöp-ey-Npa	-
17	siratöpopu	志良登保布	<i>unclear</i> (MK)	14:3436.1	-	?

Here, nearly half of the data are comprised of eastern place names, which does not allow us to compare the syllables with a WOJ syllable, making their historical quality unknown. Of the syllables which are historically known and comparable with WOJ, only one is written etymologically incorrect, and that is example (16) which shows an etymological *-əy syllable written with a *pye* phonogram. Since it is only one example, we cannot deny that it could be nothing more than a misspelling. So, there is no convincing evidence for any mergers in this dialect.

4.3 IZU. The Izu province is represented by only one poem, though it also has a variant form. This poem is from Book XIV number 3360a and its variant 3360b. It should be noted the Izu poem and its variant have no EOJ linguistic features, and are written in more or less pure WOJ, so this data should be approached with skepticism. I include this data for no reason other than it is our only linguistic attestation of Izu (even though it is likely corrupt).

4.3.1 MWO AND MÖ SYLLABLES. There are three *mwo* syllables and two *mö* syllables attested.

TABLE 25. *Mwo* and *mö* syllables in Izu.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	kumwo	久毛	cloud	14:3360b.2	kumwo	+
2	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3360a.3	mö	-
3	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3360a.4	mö	-
4	mö	母	FPT	14:3360b.3	mö	+
5	[o]möp-ey	母倍	think-EV	14:3360b.4	omöp-ey	+

Here we see two etymologically incorrect syllables, and three etymologically correct syllables. It appears that a merger between the two syllables in question occurred in Izu.

4.3.2 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are three *mey* syllables attested. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

TABLE 26. *Mey* syllables in Izu.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	myiNtare-simey-m-ey	美太礼志米梅	confuse-CAUS-TENT-EV	14:3360a.5	myiNtare-simey-m-ey	++
2	sömey-	曾米	begin(INF)-	14:3360b.5	sömey-	+

All of these syllables are etymologically correct, so there is nothing to conclude in the way of mergers among these syllables in Izu.

4.3.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There is one attested *pey* syllable. There are no attested *pye* syllables.

TABLE 27. *Pey* syllables in Izu.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	[o]möp-ey	母倍	think-EV	14:3360b.4	omöp-ey	+

Once again, this syllable is etymologically correct, so there is nothing to conclude in the way of mergers among these syllables in Izu.

4.4 MUSASHI. There are sixteen Musashi poems, specifically 3374, 3375, 3376, and 3379 from Book XIV, and 4413-4424 from Book XX.

4.4.1 MWO AND MÖ SYLLABLES. There are eleven *mwo* syllables and twelve *mö* syllables attested.

TABLE 28. *Mwo* and *mö* syllables in Musashi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	mönöwo	母能乎	although	14:3379.5	mönöwo	+
2	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	20:4415.4	imwo	-
3	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	20:4423.4	imwo	+
4	kumwo	久毛	cloud	20:4421.4	kumwo	+
5	-Ntömö	騰母	-CONC	20:4419.2	-Ntömö	+
6	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3374.3	mö	-
7	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3376.2	mö	-
8	mö	母	FPT	20:4415.3	mö	+
9	mö	母	FPT	20:4415.5	mö	+
10	mö	母	FPT	20:4420.5	mö	+
11	körömö	許呂母	garment	20:4424.2	körömö	+
12	mös-i-te	母之弓	hold-INF-GER	20:4415.2	möt-i-te	+
13	yumey	由米	NEG.PT	14:3376.5	yumey	+
14	kamö	可母	PT	14:3379.2	kamö	+
15	kamwo	加毛	PT	20:4418.5	kamö	-
16	kamö	加母	PT	20:4422.5	kamö	+
17	kamö	可母	PT	20:4423.5	kamö	+
18	pyimwo	比毛	string	20:4416.5	pyimo	?
19	pyimwo	比毛	string	20:4420.3	pyimo	?
20	-m-wo	毛	-TENT-ATTR	20:4415.5	mö	?
21	-m-ö	母	-TENT-ATTR	20:4418.5	-m-u	?
22	-m-wo	毛	-TENT-ATTR	20:4423.5	-m-u	?
23	-m-wo	毛	-TENT-ATTR	20:4422.5	-m-u	?
24	[o]mwop-am-ö	毛波母	think-TENT-ATTR	20:4419.5	omöp-am-u	-?

Only five of the attested syllables are etymologically incorrect, while thirteen are etymologically correct and seven are unknown. Musashi shows a fairly low rate of misspelling, but it is still enough evidence for a merger between the two syllables in question.

4.4.2 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are two attested *mey* syllables. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mō*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

TABLE 29. *Mey* syllables in Musashi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	yumey	由米	NEG.PT	14:3376.5	yumey	+
2	sōmey-	曾米	dye-	20:4424.3	sōmey-	+

Both syllables are written with etymologically correct phonograms. Once again, no mergers can be seen in this data.

4.4.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are two *po* syllables, two *pye* syllables, and one *pey* syllable attested.

TABLE 30. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in Musashi.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	urapye	宇良敝	divination	14:3374.2	urapye	+
2	opo	於保	great; big	20:4414.1	opo	+
3	ipyē	伊弊	house	20:4415.4	ipyē	+
4	pap-o	波保	crawl-ATTR	20:4421.4	pap-u	+
5	-pey	倍	-ALL	20:4422.2	-pye	-

Both *po* syllables are etymologically correct; however in example (5) we see the attested *pey* syllable is used to write an etymological *pye* syllable. This could be a simple misspelling or it could be additional evidence for a **pəy>/pe/* merger. As we saw before, it is not possible make a definite conclusion with only one example, even though the merger hypothesis fits well with much of the comparative data in CEOJ.

4.5 SAGAMI. There are eleven Sagami poems, specifically 3361, 3363, 3366, 3368-3370, 3431, 3432 from Book XIV, and 4328-4330 from Book XX.

4.5.1 MWO, MŌ, MYE, AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are seven *mō* syllables and four *mwo* syllables attested. There are no attested *mye* or *mey* syllables.

TABLE 31. *Mwo* and *mō* syllables in Sagami.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	mōNkamwo	母我毛	DES.PT	20:4329.5	mōNkamō	+/-
2	mwo	毛	direction	14:3361.2	mo	?
3	mō	母	direction	14:3361.2	mo	?
4	mō	母	FPT	14:3368.4	mō	+
5	mō	母	FPT	14:3431.4	mō	+
6	mō	母	FPT	14:3432.4	mō	+
7	mō	母	FPT	14:3432.5	mō	+
8	pyimwo	比毛	string	14:3361.5	pyimo	?
9	pyimō	比母	string	14:3370.5	pyimo	?
10	-m-wo	毛	-TENT-ATTR	20:4329.5	-m-u	?

Again, there is a high occurrence of syllables written correctly from an etymological viewpoint, with only one syllable in example (1) being incorrect. Five of the syllables are unknown. However, we can see that examples (2) and (3) also show an etymologically incorrect syllable, as the same morpheme in

question is written *mwo* in (2) and *mō* in (3). Overall, it is not as convincing as data from previous provinces, though it is probable a merger of these syllables occurred in Sagami as well.

4.5.2 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are two *po* syllables and one *pye* syllable attested. There are no attested *pey* syllables.

TABLE 32. *Po* and *pye* syllables in Sagami.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	-pye	敵	-ALL	14:3363.2	-pye	+
2	sipo	思保	tide	14:3366.5	sipo	+
3	opo	於保	great	20:4328.1	opo	+

Since all of the syllables are written correctly, nothing can be concluded from this data other than the fact that /po/ and /pe/ syllables existed in Sagami.

4.6 SHIMŌSA. There are fourteen Shimōsa poems, specifically 3349, 3384, 3385 from Book XIV, and 4384-4394 from Book XX.

4.6.1 MWO AND MŌ SYLLABLES. There are two *mwo* syllables and fifteen *mō* syllables attested.

TABLE 33. *Mwo* and *mō* syllables in Shimōsa.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	[i]mō	母	beloved.girl	20:4388.3	imwo	-
2	imō	以母	beloved.girl	20:4390.4	imwo	-
3	imō	伊母	beloved.girl	20:4391.5	imwo	-
4	mōtō	母等	CL	20:4386.2	mōtō	+
5	mō	母	FPT	14:3349.5	mō	+
6	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3385.5	mō	-
7	mō	母	FPT	20:4384.5	mō	+
8	mō	母	FPT	20:4385.5	mō	+
9	mō	母	FPT	20:4386.3	mō	+
10	mō	母	FPT	20:4386.3	mō	+
11	mō	母	FPT	20:4386.5	mō	+
12	mō	母	FPT	20:4389.3	mō	+
13	kōrōmō	己呂母	garment	20:4388.4	kōrōmō	+
14	omō	於母	mother	20:4386.4	amo	?
16	kamwo	可聞	PT	14:3384.3	kamō	-
18	kamō	加母	PT	20:4390.5	kamō	+
19	omōp-	於母波	think-	20:4389.5	omōp-	+

Eleven syllables are etymologically correct, five are etymologically incorrect, and one is unknown. As we saw in other CEOJ provinces, a merger of *mwo* and *mō* is quite clear here.

4.6.2 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are three attested *mey* syllables. There are no attested *mye* syllables.

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

TABLE 34. *Mye* and *mey* syllables in Shimōsa.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	katamey-	加多米	harden-	20:4390.3	katamey-	+
2	-unam-ey	久奈米	-TENT2-EV	20:4390.5	-uram-ey	+
3	amey	阿米	heaven	20:4392.1	amey	+

All of these syllables are etymologically correct, and since there are no attested *mye* syllables we are unable to determine if a merger between *mey* and *mye* occurred in Shimōsa.

4.6.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are six *po* syllables and six *pye* syllables attested. There are no attested *pey* syllables.

TABLE 35. *Po* and *pye* syllables in Shimōsa.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	pye	敝	area	20:4385.3	pye	+
2	pye	弊	proW	20:4389.2	pey	-
3	tō [i]p-ye-Ntō	等弊等	COP say-EV-CONC	20:4388.1	tō ip-ey-Ntō	-
4	opo	於保	great	20:4393.1	opo	+
5	opo	於保	great	20:4394.1	opo	+
6	ipy e	以弊	house	20:4388.3	ipye	+
7	-tamap-o	他麻保	-HON-ATTR	20:4389.4	-tamap-u	+
8	- pye	弊	pot	20:4393.4	pey	-
9	omöp- apye -	於母波弊	think(INF)-dare(INF)	20:4389.5	-	?
10	sipo	志保	tide	20:4389.1	sipo	+
11	popom -	保々麻	to.be.unopened	20:4387.3	-	?

All of the *po* syllables are etymologically correct or unknown. The *pye* syllables, on the other hand, once again show us something very interesting: three of them (examples (2), (3), and (8)) are etymologically incorrect, while only two are etymologically correct and one (example (9)) is unknown. This is good evidence for a *pəy>/pe/ merger in Shimōsa.

4.7 SUMMARY OF CEOJ DATA. Table 36 below summarizes the conclusions which can be made in regard to mergers in the CEOJ provinces. It should be reiterated that the Izu data should not be taken as seriously as the data from other provinces.

TABLE 36. Evidence for mergers in CEOJ.

	*mə>/mo/	*məy>*mə>/mo/	*məy>/me/	*pəy>*pə>/po/	*pəy>/pe/
Hitachi	Yes	No	Yes (Inconclusive)	No	Yes
Kōzuke	Yes	No	No	No	Yes (Inconclusive)
Izu	Yes	No	No	No	No
Musashi	Yes	No	No	No	Yes (Inconclusive)
Sagami	Yes	No	No data	No	No
Shimōsa	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

5. UNKNOWN EASTERN OLD JAPANESE (UEOJ). There are 101 Eastern poems from provinces with an unknown place of origin. From Book XIV the poems include 3442, 3444-3448, 3450, 3452, 3456, 3458, 3460, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3466, 3468, 3469, 3472-3474, 3476-3478, 3480-3485, 3487, 3489, 3493-3496, 3499-3506, 3509, 3511-3518, 3520-3533, 3536, 3537, 3539-3541, 3543, 3544, 3546, 3548, 3549, 3551-3553, 3555-3557, 3561, 3563-3566, 3571, 3572, 3575, and 3576. From Book XX the poems include 4425-4432 and 4436. These data as a whole are of little help in terms of specific provincial and dialectal innovations, as each poem belongs to a specific eastern province but we are not yet able to identify what these provinces are. The only hope in being able to match a poem to a province (or more realistically, a dialect region) would be through a meticulous comparison of dialectal features in the SEOJ, NEOJ and CEOJ poems as compared to those features exhibited in the UEOJ poems. Such a study is beyond the scope of this paper, but for the sake of completeness I present the UEOJ data in full in the sections that follow.

5.1 MWO AND MÖ SYLLABLES. There are eighty-seven *mwo* syllables and sixty-seven *mö* syllables attested. There are also two quasi-phonographic *mo* attestations and one semantographic *MO*¹¹ attestation which I included for the sake of completeness (it is not possible to determine the quality of the vowel in any of these attestations).

TABLE 37. *Mwo* and *mö* syllables in UEOJ.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem. Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	tömwosi-	等毛思	attractive	14:3523.4	tömösi-	-
2	tömwosi-	登毛之	attractive	20:4425.4	tömösi-	-
3	mwotō	毛等	base	14:3495.5	mötō	-
4	wa-Nk-yimwo	和伎毛	1S-POSS- beloved.girl	14:3566.1	wa-Nk- yimwo	+
5	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3446.1	imwo	+
6	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3474.5	imwo	+
7	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3480.3	imwo	+
8	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	14:3481.3	imwo	-
9	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	14:3485.2	imwo	-
10	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3489.4	imwo	+

¹¹ Semantographic attestations are written in capital letters to distinguish them from phonographic attestations.

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables
in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

11	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3517.2	imwo	+
12	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	14:3527.4	imwo	+
13	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	14:3528.3	imwo	-
14	imö	伊母	beloved.girl	14:3531.1	imwo	-
15	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	20:4427.1	imwo	+
16	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	20:4429.4	imwo	+
17	imwo	伊毛	beloved.girl	20:4432.3	imwo	+
18	sakyimwori	佐伎毛利	border.guards	20:4425.1	-	?
19	kumö	君母	cloud	14:3511.2	kumwo	-
20	kumö	久母	cloud	14:3512.4	kumwo	-
21	kumwo	久毛	cloud	14:3514.2	kumwo	+
22	kumwo	久毛	cloud	14:3515.4	kumwo	+
23	kumwo	君毛	cloud	14:3516.4	kumwo	+
24	kumwo	久毛	cloud	14:3517.1	kumwo	+
25	kumwo	久毛	cloud	14:3518.2	kumwo	+
26	kumö	君母	cloud	14:3520.4	kumwo	-
27	kumwo	久毛	cloud	14:3522.3	kumwo	+
28	-Ntömö	杼母	-CONC	14:3543.4	-Ntömö	+
29	N-kumö	具母	COP [-ATTR]- cloud	14:3513.3	kumwo	-
30	möNkamö	母賀母	DES.PT	14:3448.5	möNkamö	+
31	möNkamwo	母我毛	DES.PT	14:3523.5	möNkamö	+/-
32	kamö	可母	duck	14:3524.5	kamwo	-
33	kamö	可母	duck	14:3525.2	kamwo	-
34	kamö	加母	duck	14:3527.2	kamwo	-
35	-ar-unam-ö	可流奈母	-exist-TENT2- ATTR	14:3476.5	-ar-uram-u	?
36	omö	於母	face	14:3473.5	omo	?
37	omwo	於毛	face	14:3515.1	omo	?
38	omwo	於毛	face	14:3520.1	omo	?
39	[o]mwo	毛	face	14:3523.2	omo	?
40	-umö	布母	-EXCL	14:3489.5	-umö	+
41	-umö	都母	-EXCL	14:3482b.5	-umö	+
42	-umö	布母	-EXCL	14:3525.5	-umö	+
43	-umwo	都毛	-EXCL	14:3528.5	-umö	-
44	-umö	布母	-EXCL	14:3541.5	-umö	+
45	-umö	湏母	-EXCL	14:3546.5	-umö	+
46	-umö	須母	-EXCL	14:3548.5	-umö	+
47	-umö	留母	-EXCL	14:3565.5	-umö	+
48	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3442.4	mö	-
49	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3444.4	mö	-
50	mö	母	FPT	14:3446.5	mö	+
51	mö	母	FPT	14:3456.3	mö	+

52	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3463.2	mö	-
53	mö	母	FPT	14:3466.5	mö	+
54	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3469.1	mö	-
55	mö	母	FPT	14:3459.4	mö	+
56	mö	母	FPT	14:3473.3	mö	+
57	mö	母	FPT	14:3477.5	mö	+
58	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3478.3	mö	-
59	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3478.4	mö	-
60	mö	母	FPT	14:3481.5	mö	+
61	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3482a.3	mö	-
62	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3484.3	mö	-
63	mö	母	FPT	14:3493.1	mö	+
64	mo	文	FPT	14:3495.5	mö	?
65	mö	母	FPT	14:3503.5	mö	+
66	mö	母	FPT	14:3505.5	mö	+
67	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3505.5	mö	-
68	mö	母	FPT	14:3509.3	mö	+
69	mö	母	FPT	14:3509.5	mö	+
70	mö	母	FPT	14:3512.5	mö	+
71	mö	母	FPT	14:3513.5	mö	+
72	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3521.3	mö	-
73	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3529.3	mö	-
74	mö	母	FPT	14:3530.3	mö	+
75	mö	母	FPT	14:3530.5	mö	+
76	mö	母	FPT	14:3532.5	mö	+
77	mö	母	FPT	14:3533.5	mö	+
78	mö	母	FPT	14:3537.5	mö	+
79	mo	文	FPT	14:3541.3	mö	?
80	mö	母	FPT	14:3544.5	mö	+
81	mö	母	FPT	14:3551.3	mö	+
82	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3552.5	mö	-
83	mö	母	FPT	14:3553.5	mö	+
84	mö	母	FPT	14:3555.4	mö	+
85	mö	母	FPT	14:3561.5	mö	+
86	mwo	毛	FPT	14:3563.5	mö	-
87	mö	母	FPT	14:3563.5	mö	+
88	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4425.5	mö	-
89	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4429.5	mö	-
90	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4432.5	mö	-
91	mwo	毛	FPT	20:4431.5	mö	-
92	mö	母	FPT	20:4436.5	mö	+
93	simwo	志毛	frost	20:4431.2	simo	?

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables
in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

94	körömwō	許呂毛	garment	14:3482a.1	körömō	-
95	körömwō	去呂毛	garment	20:4431.4	körömō	-
96	-N-kumwō	久毛	-GEN-cloud	14:3516.2	kumwō	+
97	yuk-unam-ō	由久奈母	go-TENT2-ATTR	14:3526.4	yuk-uram-u	?
98	omwoshirwo-kyi	於毛思路伎	interesting-ATTR	14:3452.1	omoshirwo-kyi	?
99	mwomyit-u	毛美都	leaves.turn-ATTR	14:3494.3	momyit-u	?
100	sum-wō	須毛	live-ATTR	14:3527.1	sum-u	?
101	kwop-unam-wō	故布奈毛	love-TENT2-ATTR	14:3476.2	kwop-uram-u	?
102	mwotō	毛登	origin; base	14:3474.2	mōtō	-
103	KWōmwoti	兒毛知	PN	14:3494.1	-	?
104	kamō	可母	PT	14:3463.5	kamō	+
105	kamō	可母	PT	14:3465.4	kamō	+
106	kamō	可母	PT	14:3480.5	kamō	+
107	kamwō	可毛	PT	14:3483.4	kamō	-
108	kamō	香母	PT	14:3499.5	kamō	+
109	kamō	可母	PT	14:3500.2	kamō	+
110	kamō	可母	PT	14:3527.5	kamō	+
111	kamō	可母	PT	14:3549.3	kamō	+
112	kamō	可母	PT	14:3556.5	kamō	+
113	kamō	可母	PT	14:3557.2	kamō	+
114	kamwō	可毛	PT	14:3566.3	kamō	-
115	kamō	可母	PT	14:3572.5	kamō	+
116	kamwō	可毛	PT	20:4428.5	kamō	-
117	-kōmō-	其母	-reed-	14:3524.1	kōmō	+
118	mwokōrō	毛己呂	similarity (PP)	14:3527.2	mokōrō	-
119	pyimwō	比毛	string	14:3465.2	pyimo	?
120	pyimwō	比毛	string	14:3483.2	pyimo	?
121	pyimwō	比毛	string	14:3551.4	pyimo	?
122	pyimwō	比毛	string	20:4427.4	pyimo	?
123	-(a)m-wō	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3516.5	-(a)m-u	?
124	-(a)m-wō	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3472.5	-(a)m-u	?
125	-m-wō	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3473.4	-m-u	?
126	-m-wō	毛	-TENT-ATTR	14:3494.4	-m-u	?
127	mwonō	毛乃	thing	14:3481.4	mōnō	-
128	Mōnō	物能	thing	14:3511.4	mōnō	?
129	mwonō	毛能	thing	14:3512.2	mōnō	-
130	mwonō	毛乃	thing	14:3528.4	mōnō	-
131	mwonō	毛能	thing	14:3551.4	mōnō	-
132	mwonō	毛乃	thing	20:4425.5	mōnō	-

133	[o]mwop-u	毛布	think-ATTR	14:3494.4	(o)möp-u	-
134	[o]mwop-u	毛布	think-ATTR	14:3494.5	(o)möp-u	-
135	omwop-u	於毛布	think-ATTR	14:3511.4	omöp-u	-
136	[o]möp-o-nösu	母抱乃須	think-ATTR- COMP	14:3552.5	omöp-u- nasu	+
137	[o]mwop-aNpa	毛波婆	think-COND	20:4426.5	omöp- aNpa	-
138	[o]mwop-ye	毛敝	think-EV	14:3572.1	omöp-ey	-
139	[o]mwop-ey-Npa	毛倍婆	think-EV- COND	14:3504.5	(o)möp- ey-Npa	-
140	[o]mwop-ey-Npa	毛倍婆	think-EV- COND	20:4427.5	omöp-ey- Npa	-
141	omwop-os-unam-ö	於毛抱須奈母	think-HON- TENT2-ATTR	14:3552.4	omöp-os-	-?
142	omwop-yi	於毛比	think-INF	14:3481.5	omöp-yi	-
143	omwop-yi-	於毛比	think-INF	14:3528.5	omöp-yi	-
144	omwop-yi	於毛比	think-INF	14:3564.5	omöp-yi	-
145	[o]mwop-yi-te	毛比亅	think-INF-GER	14:3514.5	omöp-yi-te	-
146	[o]möp-yi-mas-u	母比麻須	think-INF- increase-FIN	14:3557.5	omöp-yi- mas-u	+
147	[o]mwop-an-aku	毛波奈久	think-NEG- NML	14:3482a.5	omöp-an- aku	-
148	[o]möp-yi	母比	think-NML	20:4425.5	omöp-yi	+
149	omwop-oy-u	於毛保由	think-PASS- FIN	14:3522.5	omöp-oy-u	-
150	omwop-yer-aNpa	於毛敝良婆	think-PROG- COND	14:3503.3	omöp-yer- aNpa	-
151	omöp-yer-u	於母敝流	think-PROG- FIN	14:3531.5	omöp-yer- u	+
152	[o]möp-ar-i	母波里	think-PROG- INF	14:3526.5	omöp-yer- i	+
153	omwop-unam-u	於毛布奈牟	think-TENT2- ATTR	14:3496.3	omöp- uram-u	-
154	kötetaNsukumwo	許亅多受久毛	<i>unclear</i>	14:3553.4	-	?
155	mat-unam-wo	麻都那毛	wait-TENT2- ATTR	14:3563.4	mat-uram- u	?

Sixty-nine syllables are etymologically correct, while sixty-one syllables are etymologically incorrect and twenty-six are unknown. As seen in all of the specific provinces, the merger of *mwo* and *mö* is quite clear in the UEOJ data.

5.2 MYE AND MEY SYLLABLES. There are three *mye* syllables and six *mey* syllables attested.

TABLE 38. *Mye* and *mey* syllables in UEOJ.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	tum-ye-Ntö	都賣杼	pluck-EV- CONC	14:3444.3	tum-ey-Ntö	-
2	kat-imyer-i	可知馬利	win-CONJ-INF	14:3450.5	kat-imyer-i	+

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

3	-ky-em-ey	鷄米	-PAST-TENT-EV	14:3468.5	-ky-em-ey	+
4	-(a)m-ey	米	-TENT-EV	14:3484.4	-(a)m-ey	+
5	-simye	之賣	-CAUS	14:3518.5	-simey	-
6	amey	阿米	rain	14:3561.4	amey	+
7	wakamey	和可米	seaweed	14:3563.2	–	+
8	kömey-te	許米豆	enter(INF)-GER	14:3575.5	–	?
9	amey	阿米	heaven	20:4426.1	amey	+

Five syllables are etymologically correct, while two are etymologically incorrect and one is unknown. Both of the etymologically incorrect syllables involve the usage of a *mye* syllable for an etymological *mey* syllable.

5.3 PO, PYE, AND PEY SYLLABLES. There are twenty-six *po* syllables, thirty-six *pye* syllables, and thirteen *pey* syllables attested. There are also two semantic attestations (one *PO* and one *PE*), which I include for the sake of completeness, since they represent monosyllabic lexemes in EOJ (as mentioned before, it is not possible to determine the quality of the vowel from such attestations).

TABLE 39. *Po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in UEOJ.

	Example	Phonogram(s)	Morphemic Gloss	Book:Poem.Line	WOJ	E.C.
1	söwapye	曾和敵	<i>unclear</i>	14:3566.3	–	?
2	[u]pey	倍	above	14:3465.3	upey	+
3	[u]pey	倍	above	14:3518.1	upey	+
4	upey	宇倍	above	14:3522.3	upey	+
5	upey	宇倍	above	14:3525.3	upey	+
6	upye	宇敵	above	14:3539.1	upey	-
7	PE	邊	area	14:3489.2	pye	?
8	pye	敵	area	14:3504.1	pye	+
9	pye	敵	area	14:3531.4	pye	+
10	pey	倍	area	14:3541.1	pye	-
11	pye	敵	area	14:3575.2	pye	+
12	opose-m-u	於保世牟	blame-TENT-ATTR	14:3566.4	opose-	+
13	ipapo	伊波保	boulder	14:3495.1	ipapo	+
14	-pye	敵	-CL	14:3456.2	-pye	+
15	-pye	弁	-CL	20:4431.3	-pye	+
16	tökye-n-ap-ye	等家奈敵	come.undone-NEG-ITER-? (<i>unclear</i>)	14:3483.2	–	?
17	pap-o	波抱	crawl-ATTR	14:3525.2	pap-u	+
18	ayapo-ka-Ntö	安夜抱可等	dangerous-EV-CONC	14:3539.3	–	+
19	kapo	可保	face	14:3505.3	kapo	+
20	kapo	可保	face	14:3575.3	kapo	+
21	töpo-	等保	far	14:3463.1	töpo-	+

22	tōpo	等保	far	14:3478.1	tōpo	+
23	-tōpo-	登保	far	14:3522.5	tōpo	+
24	kupye	久敵	fence	14:3537a.1	–	?
25	wopye-n-aku	遠敵奈久	finish-NEG-NML	14:3500.5	wopey-n-aku	-
26	nuNkan-ap-ye	奴我奈敵由家杼	flow-ITER-? (unclear)	14:3476b.4	–	?
27	nwoNkan-ap-ye	努賀奈敵	flow-ITER-? (unclear)	14:3476a.4	–	?
28	-N-kapo	我保	-GEN-face	14:3502.3	kapo	+
29	opo	於保	great	14:3480.1	opo	+
30	opo	於抱野呂尔	great	14:3520.3	opo	+
31	opo	於保	great	14:3521.2	opo	+
32	PO	穗	head.of grain	14:3506.4	po	?
33	[i]pye	敵	house	14:3476b.5	ipye	+
34	ipye	伊敵	house	14:3481.3	ipye	+
35	ipye	伊敵	house	14:3532.5	ipye	+
36	kapyerute	加敵流弓	maple	14:3494.2	–	?
37	ap-o	阿抱	meet-ATTR	14:3478.3	ap-u	+
38	ap-an-ōp-ye	安波乃敵	meet-NEG-ITER-?	14:3478.4	–	?
39	ap-an-ap-ye-Npa	阿波奈敵婆	meet-NEG-ITER-EV-COND	14:3482b.3	–	-
40	ap-an-ap-ye-Npa	安波奈敵波	meet-NEG-ITER-EV-COND	14:3524.3	–	-
41	ap-yer-u	安敵流	meet-PROG-ATTR	14:3463.5	ap-yer-u	+
42	opoposi-ku	於保々思久	melancholic-INF	14:3571.3	opoposi-ku	++
43	sapye-n-ap-ye-n-u	佐弁奈弁奴	obstruct-NEG-ITER-?-PERF(?)-FIN(?) (unclear)	20:4432.1	–	??
44	pyeNtas-i	敵太思	partition-INF	14:3445.5	pyeNtate	+
45	apey	阿倍	PN	14:3523.2	–	?
46	sapey	左倍	PT	14:3474.2	sapey	+
47	sapey	佐倍	PT	14:3502.4	sapey	+
48	sapey	左倍	PT	14:3514.3	sapey	+
49	sapey	左倍	PT	14:3523.5	sapey	+
50	sapye	佐敵	PT	14:3548.5	sapey	-
51	Nkapey	我倍	PT (unclear)	14:3502.5	–	?
52	Nkapye	我弁	PT (unclear)	20:4429.3	–	?
53	[i]p-yena	敵奈香	say-? (unclear)	14:3499.5	–	?
54	ip-ye	伊敵	say-EV	14:3461.1	ip-ey	-

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mö*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

55	ip-ye-Ntömö	伊徹杼母	say-EV-COND	14:3543.4	ip-ey-Ntömö	-
56	ne-n-ap-ye	衿奈徹	sleep-NEG-ITER-? (unclear)	14:3529.4	-	?
57	NE-N-Ap-ye	宿莫徹	sleep-NEG-ITER-? (unclear)	14:3555.5	-	?
58	ne-n-ap-ye-nö	衿奈徹乃	sleep-NEG-ITER-ATTR(?)-GEN(?) (unclear)	14:3482b.4	-	?
59	NE-n-ap-ye-Ntömö	宿奈徹杼母	sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-CONC	14:3509.3	-	-
60	ne-n-ap-ye-Npa	佐衿奈徹波	sleep-NEG-ITER-EV-COND	14:3466.3	-	-
61	papye-te	波徹而	stretch-GER	14:3525.4	papey-	-
62	[o]möp-o	母抱	think-ATTR	14:3552.5	omöp-u	+
63	[o]mwop-ye	毛徹	think-EV	14:3572.1	omöp-ey-	-
64	[o]mwop-ey-Npa	毛倍婆	think-EV-COND	14:3504.5	omöp-ey-Npa	-
65	[o]mwop-ey-Npa	毛倍婆	think-EV-COND	20:4427.5	omöp-ey-Npa	+
66	omwop-os-unam-ö	於毛抱須奈母	think-HON-TENT2-ATTR	14:3552.4	omwop-os-	+
67	omwop-oy-u	於毛保由	think-PASS-FIN	14:3522.5	omöp-oy-u	+
68	omöp-yer-u	於母徹流	think-PROG-	14:3531.5	omöp-yer-u	+
69	omwop-yer-aNpa	於毛徹良婆	think-PROG-COND	14:3503.3	omöp-yer-aNpa	+
70	sipo	斯抱	tide	14:3450.3	sipo	+
71	sipo	等抱	tide	14:3473.3	sipo	+
72	sipo	志保	tide	14:3503.2	sipo	+
73	sipo	志保	tide	14:3549.2	sipo	+
74	sipo	思保	tide	14:3553.3	sipo	+
75	sipo	思保	tide	14:3556.1	sipo	+
76	kapey	可倍	unclear	14:3482a.2	-	?

Fourty-six syllables are etymologically correct, thirteen are etymologically incorrect, and eighteen are unknown. All of the etymologically incorrect syllables involve either writing *pye* for a PJ *pəy syllable, or writing *pey* for a PJ *pe syllable. There are no examples of a *po* phonogram being used to write a *pəy or *pe syllable, nor any examples of a *pye* or *pey* phonogram being used to write a *po syllable.

6. CONCLUSION. Table 40 below maps out the mergers presented in this paper across the various provinces.

TABLE 40. Evidence for mergers among the Provinces and UEOJ.

	*mā>/mo/	*māy>*mā>/mo/	*māy>/me/	*pāy>*pā>/po/	*pāy>/pe/
Shinano	Yes	No	No	No	No data
Suruga	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Tōtōmi	Yes	No	No	Yes (Inconclusive)	No
Kazusa	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Mutsu	Yes (Inconclusive)	No	No	No	No data
Shimotsuke	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Hitachi	Yes	No	Yes (Inconclusive)	No	Yes
Kōzuke	Yes	No	No	No	Yes (Inconclusive)
Izu	Yes	No	No	No	No
Musashi	Yes	No	No	No	Yes (Inconclusive)
Sagami	Yes	No	No data	No	No
Shimōsa	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
UEOJ	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

Based on this evidence, Suruga and Tōtōmi might be grouped together as varieties of the same dialect (which I will label Dialect A), which is in line with the traditional SEOJ grouping with which they have previously been linked. Everything else save Shinano, Mutsu, and Sagami shows evidence for the merger of *pāy>/pe/, which might group them together in a different dialect region (which I will label Dialect B). The UEOJ data shows evidence for the mergers found in Dialect B but not those in Dialect A (except *mā>/mo/, which is found in every province), which may be evidence that many of the UEOJ poems come from the provinces in Dialect B.

Obviously one cannot claim these tentatively proposed dialect regions to be conclusive without further research into other shared innovations. The *pāy>/pe/ merger, for example, could be an areal feature and not necessarily a shared innovation. Thus the dialect regions proposed in this paper should not be taken as conclusive, but rather as a starting point towards a complete taxonomy of the EOJ dialects based upon a comprehensive linguistic analysis of the corpus. This analysis will involve a full collection of shared innovations among the provinces, in a similar fashion as presented in the present study. A proper, complete analysis of the phonological and morphological systems of the EOJ dialects is an accompanying element also crucial towards this goal. Such a study is forthcoming by the author.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1S – First Person Singular
 ALL – Allative
 ATTR – Attributive
 CAUS – Causative
 CEOJ – Central Eastern Old Japanese
 CL – Classifier
 CONC – Concessive
 COND – Conditional
 CONJ – Conjunctive
 CONV – Converb

COP – Copula
 DES.PT – Desiderative Particle
 DIM – Diminutive
 EXCL – Exclamatory
 EMC – Early Middle Chinese
 EV – Evidential
 FIN – Final
 FK – Fudoki Kayō
 FPT – Focus Particle
 GEN – Genitive

Kupchik: A comprehensive study of *mwo*, *mō*, *mye*, *mey*, *po*, *pye*, and *pey* syllables
in the Eastern Old Japanese dialects

GER – Gerund	PAST – Past tense
HON – Honorific	PJ – Proto-Japanese
INF– Infinitive	PN – Place Name
ITER – Iterative	POSS – Possessive
LH – Late Han	PP – Postposition
MK – Makura Kotoba	PRE – Prefix
MYS – Man’yōshū	PROG – Progressive
NEG – Negative	PT – Particle
NEG.PT – Negative Particle	SEOJ – South Eastern Old Japanese
NEOJ – North Eastern Old Japanese	TENT – Tentative
NML – Nominalizer	TENT2 – Tentative 2
NOM – Nominative	UEOJ – Unknown Eastern Old Japanese
PASS – Passive	WOJ – Western Old Japanese

REFERENCES

- FUKUDA, YOSHISUKE. 1965. *Nara jidai Azuma hōgen no kenkyū* [A study of Nara period Azuma Dialect]. Tokyo: Kazama shoin.
- HINO, SUKENARI. 2003. Nihon sogo no boin taikai—jōdai Azuma-hōgen shiryō ni yoru saikō [A reconstruction of the Proto-Japanese vowel system on the basis of the data from Eastern Old Japanese]. In *Nihongo keitōron no genzai/Perspectives on the Japanese language origins*, Toshiki Osada and Alexander Vovin (eds.), 511–39. Kyoto: Nichibunken.
- HŌJŌ, TADAO. 1966. *Jōdai tōgoku hōgen no kenkyū* [A study of the dialect of the eastern province of the ancient period]. Tokyo: Maruzen.
- IKIER, STEVEN D. 2006. On the attributive and final predicate forms in Eastern Old Japanese. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa MA thesis.
- MIYAKE, MARC HIDEO. 2003. *Old Japanese: A phonetic reconstruction*. London: Routledge.
- MIZUSHIMA, YOSHIHARU. 1972. *Kōchū Man’yōshū Azuma uta Sakimori uta* [Azuma songs and border guard songs from the *Man’yōshū*]. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin.
- . 1984a. *Man’yōshū Azuma uta no kokugogaku-teki kenkyū* [A linguistic study of the Azuma songs in the *Man’yōshū*]. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin.
- . 1984b. *Man’yōshū Azuma uta honbun kenkyū narabi ni sōsakuin* [Indexes to and research on the original text of Azuma songs in the *Man’yōshū*]. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin.
- . 2003. *Man’yōshū Sakimori uta zenchūshaku* [A complete commentary on the *Man’yōshū* border guard poems]. Tokyo: Kasama Shoin.
- OMODAKA, HISATAKA (ED.) 1967. *Jidai betsu kokugo dai jiten: Jōdai hen* [A dictionary of the Japanese language by periods: Old Japanese volume]. Tokyo: Sanseidō.
- RUSSELL, KERRI. 2006. A reconstruction and morphophonemic analysis of Proto-Japonic verbal morphology. University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa PhD dissertation.
- SCHUESSLER, AXEL. 2007. *ABC etymological dictionary of Old Chinese*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- VOVIN, ALEXANDER. 2005. *A descriptive and comparative grammar of Western Old Japanese – part 1: phonology, script, lexicon, and nominals*. Folkestone: Global Oriental.

kupchik@hawaii.edu