Historical linguistics: Phonology (part 2)

I. Phonology of Old Japanese: Man'yoogana

(1) Man'yoogana: kana of the Man'yoosyuu (万葉集) poetry collection, 759ce

- Chinese characters that are used for their **sound** value — a syllabary
- also found in the *Kojiki* (712) and the *Nihon shoki* (720), two mytho-historical documents mostly written in Chinese but with poetry and proper names written in Japanese using man'yoogana
- see also Wikipedia entry on "Man'yōgana" http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Man%27y%C5%8Dgana

(2) Example (Shibatani 1990): Writing the Japanese word *yama* 'mountain'

(a) Write 山 — use the Chinese character that ***means*** 'mountain'

(b) Write 夜麻 — use Chinese characters that mean something else but ***sound like*** [ja], [ma]

(3) A poem from the *Man'yoosyuu*

Poem #250 (book III)

Text from Japanese Text Initiative at U. Virginia, linked from "Online course materials" https://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/texts/AnoMany/

(a) Original text (spacing added for clarity):

珠藻苅	敏馬乎過	夏草之	野嶋之埼尓	舟近著奴

(b) Conversion into hiragana:

たまもかる	みぬめをすぎて	なつくさの	のしまがさきに	ふねちかづきぬ
ta.ma.mo.ka.ru	*mi.nu.me.wo.su.gi.te*	*na.tu.ku.sa.no*	*no.si.ma.ga.sa.ki.ni*	*Hu.ne.ti.ka.du.ki.nu*

(c) "Modern" kanji/kana transcription:

玉藻刈る	敏馬を過ぎて	夏草の	野島が崎に	船近づきぬ

(d) Modern use of crucial kanji (info from JDIC)

- 乎 コ オ か ああ かな や よ を question mark; ?
- 尓 ジ ニ なんじ しかり その のみ you; that
- 奴 ド やつ やっこ ぬ guy; slave; manservant; fellow

(e) Translation, by Akira Miyake <http://miyake.net/english/96-250.html>

Passing through Minume, where seaweed are reaped for offering to the altar,
the ship came near Noshima covered with summer greenery.

II. Some phonological characteristics of Old Japanese

(4) Phoneme inventory

(a) No word-initial /r/

(b) "Voiced" obstruents really prenasalized? Also, not generally found word-initially

(5) Syllable structure: CV syllables only, except V okay in word-initial position
- Consequence: Syllable=mora

III. How many vowels in Old Japanese?

(6) Analysis of patterns of man'yoogana usage:

(a) Find a particular Japanese word/morpheme, such as *ko* child

(b) See which kanji were used as man'yoogana for that word/morpheme

(c) Are all man'yoogana used to 'spell' [ko] syllables the same? —> NO.

(7) The *koo* 甲/*otu* 乙 (A/B, set1/set2) distinction in the man'yoogana

a	pa	ma	wa	ta	na	sa	ra	ya	ka
u	pu	mu	—	tu	nu	su	ru	yu	ku
i	pi_1	mi_1	wi	ti	ni	si	ri	—	ki_1
	pi_2	mi_2							ki_2
e	pe_1	me_1	we	te	ne	se	re	ye	ke_1
	pe_2	me_2							ke_2
o	po	mo	wo	to_1	no_1	so_1	ro_1	yo_1	ko_1
				to_2	no_2	so_2	ro_2	yo_2	ko_2

—> Did Old Japanese have 8 distinct vowels?

(8) Morphemes with alternating vowels I (data from Shibatani 1990; also Martin 1987)

(a) Alternation between /i_2/ and /o($_2$)/

ki_2 'tree' ~ ko_2-no-pa 'leaf of tree' | ki_1 'wooden pestle': *no alternation*

pi_2 'fire' ~ po-naka 'middle of fire' | pi_1 'day': *no alternation*

(b) Alternation between /i_2/ and /u/

mi_2 'body' ~ mupakari 'hostage' | mi_1 'water': *no alternation*

(c) Alternation between /e_2/ and /a/

ame_2 'rain' ~ amado 'sliding door (on exterior wall)'

me_2 'eye' ~ ma-yuge 'eyebrow' | me_1 'female': *no alternation*

$sake_2$ 'rice wine' ~ saka-duki 'cup for rice wine'

(9) Analysis

(a) Why the vowels alternate
- The form that appears with another morpheme is the basic form
- The "final" form had a suffix /-i/ at an earlier stage

(b) Implications for the diachronic origin of /i_2/ and /e_2/
- /o($_2$) + i/ > /i_2/
- /u + i/ > /i_2/
- /a + i/ > /e_2/

(10) Morphemes with alternating vowels II (data from Martin 1987: 51)

Modern verb root	/ok-/ 'put'	/oki-/ 'arise'	/okos-/ 'awaken' (tr.)
Old Japanese root	ok- 'put'	ok- 'arise'	oko$_2$s- 'awaken' (tr.) Analysis: < *oko$_2$-s
Continuative form	ok**i$_1$**	oki$_2$ Analysis: < *oko$_2$-**i$_1$**	

- Modern Japanese intransitive/transitive pairs with /i/ ~ /o/ (Tsujimura Ch 3, +)

oki-	okos-	'arise'	/	'raise, awaken'
oti-	otos-	'fall'	/	'drop'
horobi-	horobos-	'perish'	/	'destroy'
hi-	hos-	'dry out'	/	'dry off' (trans.), 'hang out to dry'

(11) Hypotheses about the phonetic values of these "extra" syllables?

(a) /i_2/ vs. /i_1/
- No contrast after _____ consonants
  - Contrast likely to involve palatalization
- Origin of /i_2/: /u+i/ or /o($_2$)+i/
- Proposal: /i_1/ = [ji] /i_2/ = [u͡i]

(b) /e_2/ vs. /e_1/
- No contrast after _____ consonants
  - Contrast likely to involve palatalization
- Origin of /e_2/: */a+i/
- Also, origin of /e_1/: */i_1+a/ [evidence not shown above]
- Proposal: /e_1/ = [je] /e_2/ = [e] Note: any /e/ is rare in 1st syllable

(c) /o$_1$/ vs. /o$_2$/
- No contrast after _____ consonants
  - Contrast likely to involve (degree of) backness and/or rounding
- Most people propose: /o$_1$/ = [o] or [wo]
  /o$_2$/ = [ø] or [ə]
  - Issues with this, based on typology and vowel inventory:

i u
(e) ø/ə o
a

- Too many back V contrasts compared to front V?
- /o$_2$/ more common than /o$_1$/ in OJ; unlikely for [ø]?