

Historical linguistics: Phonology (part 2)

I. Phonology of Old Japanese: Man'yōgana

- (1) Man'yōgana: kana of the Man'yōshū (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 - also found in the *Kojiki* (712) and the *Nihon shoki* (720), two mytho-historical documents mostly written in Chinese but with poetry and proper names written in Japanese using man'yōgana
 - 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'yōshū*
Poem #250 (book III)
 Text from Japanese Text Initiative at U. Virginia, linked from “Online course materials”
<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/man'yoshu/>
 - (a) Original text (spacing added for clarity):
 珠藻刈 敏馬乎過 夏草之 野嶋之崎尔 舟近著奴
 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
 - (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; ?
 - 尔 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’yōgana usage:

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

(b) See which kanji were used as man’yōgana for that word/morpheme

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

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

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 /i₂/ and /o₂/

ki₂ ‘tree’ ~ ko₂-no-pa ‘leaf of tree’ | ki₁ ‘wooden pestle’: *no alternation*
 pi₂ ‘fire’ ~ po-naka ‘middle of fire’ | pi₁ ‘day’: *no alternation*

(b) Alternation between /i₂/ and /u/

mi₂ ‘body’ ~ mupakari ‘hostage’ | mi₁ ‘water’: *no alternation*

(c) Alternation between /e₂/ and /a/

ame₂ ‘rain’ ~ amado ‘sliding door (on exterior wall)’
 me₂ ‘eye’ ~ ma-yuge ‘eyebrow’ | me₁ ‘female’: *no alternation*
 sake₂ ‘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 /i₂/ and /e₂/

- /o(2) + i/ > /i₂/ • /a + i/ > /e₂/
- /u + i/ > /i₂/

(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.)
Continuative form	oki ₁	oki ₂ Analysis: < *oko ₂ -i ₁	Analysis: < *oko ₂ -s

- 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) /i₂/ vs. /i₁/

- No contrast after _____ consonants
 - Contrast likely to involve palatalization
- Origin of /i₂/: /u+i/ or /o(2)+i/
- Proposal: /i₁/ = [ji] /i₂/ = [u[⊙]i]

(b) /e₂/ vs. /e₁/

- No contrast after _____ consonants
 - Contrast likely to involve palatalization
- Origin of /e₂/: */a+i/
- Also, origin of /e₁/: */i₁+a/ [evidence not shown above]
- Proposal: /e₁/ = [je] /e₂/ = [e] Note: any /e/ is rare in 1st syllable

(c) /o₁/ vs. /o₂/

- No contrast after _____ consonants
 - Contrast likely to involve (degree of) backness and/or rounding
- Most people propose: /o₁/ = [o] or [wo]
 - /o₂/ = [ø] or [ə]
 - Issues with this, based on typology and vowel inventory:

i	u	• Too many back V contrasts compared to front V?
(e) ø/ə	o	• /o ₂ / more common than /o ₁ / in OJ; unlikely for [ø]?
a		