

Historical linguistics: Phonology (part 2)**I. Phonology of Old Japanese: Man'yōgana**

- (1) Man'yōgana: kana of the *Man'yōshū* (poetry collection), 759^{CE}
- 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 - also found in the *Kojiki* (712) and the *Nihon shoki* (720), two mytho-historical documents mostly written in Chinese but with poetry, proper names written in Japanese phonetically using man'yōgana
 - see Wikipedia entry for “Man'yōgana” <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Man%27y%C5%8Dgana>>

- (2) 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/manyoshu/>

- (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

- (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 T1 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

- (3) Phoneme inventory
- (a) No word-initial /r/
 - (b) “Voiced” obstruents really prenasalized? Also, not generally found word-initially
- (4) Syllable structure: CV syllables only, except V okay in word-initial position
- Consequence: Syllable=mora

III. How many vowels in Old Japanese?

(5) The *koo/otu* (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?

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

(a) Alternation between /i₂/ and /o(2)/

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'

(7) 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/
- /u + i/ > /i₂/
- /a + i/ > /e₂/

(8) 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/ (Tsuji-mura 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'

(9) 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/ = [yi] /i₂/ = [ɥi]

(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/ = [ye] /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/ = [ö] or [ə]
 - Problems with this, based on typology and vowel inventory:

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