Bjarke Frellesvig and Satoshi Kinsui (Eds.)
Handbook of Historical Japanese Linguistics

Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics

Edited by
Masayoshi Shibatani
Taro Kageyama

Volume 1

Handbook of Historical Japanese Linguistics

Edited by
Bjarke Frellesvig
Satoshi Kinsui

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-61451-401-5
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-61451-285-1
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0061-9
ISSN 2199-2851

Library of Congress Control Number: 2023932655

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Cover image: dnbstudios/iStock/Getty Images Plus
Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

It was with great sadness that we received news of the passing of three dear friends and colleagues in the course of the last stages of the editing of this book. We dedicate this book to their memory.

Alexander (Sasha) Vovin passed away far too young, at the age of 61, in April 2022. Sasha was a towering and inspiring figure within historical Japanese linguistics, as well as many other fields within East Asian linguistics. His contribution to this volume is its first chapter, in the section on *Prehistory and reconstruction*. Those who are familiar with Sasha and his work will know that he published important and influential papers and books of lasting value on subjects spanning all four parts of this book.

Charles J. Quinn passed away in July 2023 at the age of 75. He worked widely on the semantics, syntax and morphology of Old and Early Middle Japanese and was also a pioneer in the teaching of Classical Japanese. His chapter in this volume in the section on *Grammar* is a characteristically insightful study on *kakari-musubi* which will be a lasting contribution to a fuller understanding of this phenomenon.

Elisabeth M. de Boer was taken away by aggressive illness at the young age of 57 in August 2023. Since her doctoral dissertation from Leiden University in 2005, Elisabeth worked tirelessly on substantiating, promoting and particularly developing and fleshing out the alternative hypothesis of the reconstruction and evolution of “accent” in Japanese originally proposed by S. Robert Ramsey in the 1970s and 1980s, and she did far more than anyone to move this hypothesis into the mainstream. Her contribution to this volume in the section on *Phonology* achieves this and it should from now on rightly be referred to as the “Ramsey/de Boer hypothesis”.

In memoriam
Alexander Vovin
Charles J. Quinn
Elisabeth M. de Boer

Preface

The project of compiling a series of comprehensive handbooks covering major fields of Japanese linguistics started in 2011, when Masayoshi Shibatani received a commission to edit such volumes as series editor from De Gruyter Mouton. As the planning progressed, with the volume titles selected and the volume editors assigned, the enormity of the task demanded the addition of a series co-editor. Taro Kageyama, Director-General of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, was invited to join the project as a series co-editor. His participation in the project opened the way to make it a joint venture between NINJAL and De Gruyter Mouton. We are pleased to present the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (*HJLL*) as the first materialization of the agreement of academic cooperation concluded between NINJAL and De Gruyter Mouton.

The HJLL Series is composed of twelve volumes, primarily focusing on Japanese but including volumes on the Ryukyuan and Ainu languages, which are also spoken in Japan, as well as some chapters on Japanese Sign Language in the applied linguistics volume.

- Handbook of Historical Japanese Linguistics
- Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology
- Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation
- Handbook of Japanese Syntax
- Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics
- Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics
- Handbook of Japanese Dialects
- Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics
- Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics
- Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics
- Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages
- Handbook of the Ainu Language

Surpassing all currently available reference works on Japanese in both scope and depth, the *HJLL* series provides a comprehensive survey of nearly the entire field of Japanese linguistics. Each volume includes a balanced selection of articles contributed by established linguists from Japan as well as from outside Japan and is critically edited by volume editors who are leading researchers in their individual fields. Each article reviews milestone achievements in the field, provides an overview of the state of the art, and points to future directions of research. The twelve titles are thus expected individually and collectively to contribute not only to the enhancement of studies on Japanese on the global level but also to the opening up of new perspectives for general linguistic research from both empirical and theoretical standpoints.

The *HJLL* project has been made possible by the active and substantial participation of numerous people including the volume editors and authors of individual chap-

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512851-202

ters. We would like to acknowledge with gratitude the generous support, both financial and logistic, given to this project by NINJAL. We are also grateful to John Haig (retired professor of Japanese linguistics, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa), serving as copy-editor for the series. In the future, more publications are expected to ensue from the NINJAL-Mouton academic cooperation.

Masayoshi Shibatani, Deedee McMurtry Professor of Humanities and Professor of Linguistics, Rice University/Professor Emeritus, Kobe University

Taro Kageyama, Director-General, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL)

Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama

Introduction to the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics*

Comprising twelve substantial volumes, the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (HJLL) series provides a comprehensive survey of practically all the major research areas of Japanese linguistics on an unprecedented scale, together with surveys of the endangered languages spoken in Japan, Ryukyuan and Ainu. What follows are introductions to the individual handbooks, to the general conventions adopted in this series, and an overview of the minimum essentials of contemporary Standard Japanese. Fuller descriptions of the languages of Japan, Japanese grammar, and the history of the Japanese language are available in such general references as Martin (1975), Shibatani (1990), and Frellesvig (2010).

1 Geography, population, and languages of Japan

Japan is situated in the most populous region of the world – Asia, where roughly one half of the world population of seven billion speak a variety of languages, many of which rank in the top tier among languages of the world in terms of number of native speakers. Japanese is spoken by more than 128 million people (as of 2013), who live mostly in Japan but also in Japanese emigrant communities around the world, most notably Hawaii, Brazil, and Peru. In terms of the number of native speakers, Japanese ranks ninth among the world's languages. Due partly to its rich and long literary history, Japanese is one of the most intensely studied languages in the world and has received scrutiny both within the domestic grammatical tradition and in traditions outside Japan such as the Chinese philological tradition, European structural linguistics, and the tradition of generative grammar originating in America. The *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* intend to capture the achievements garnered over the years through analyses of a wide variety of phenomena in a variety of theoretical frameworks.

As seen in Map 1, where Japan is shown graphically superimposed on Continental Europe, the Japanese archipelago has a vast latitudinal extension of approximately 3,000 kilometers ranging from the northernmost island, roughly corresponding in latitude to Stockholm, Sweden, to the southernmost island, roughly corresponding in latitude to Sevilla, Spain.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512851-203

Map 1: Japan as overlaid on Europe.
Source: Shinji Sanada. 2007. *Hōgen wa kimochi o tsutaeru [Dialects convey your heart]*. Tokyo: Iwanami. p. 68

Contrary to popular assumption, Japanese is not the only language native to Japan. The northernmost and southernmost areas of the Japanese archipelago are inhabited by people whose native languages are arguably distinct from Japanese. The southernmost sea area of Okinawa Prefecture is dotted with numerous small islands where Ryukyuan languages are spoken. Until recent years, Japanese scholars tended to treat Ryukyuan language groups as dialects of Japanese based on fairly transparent correspondences in sounds and grammatical categories between those language groups and mainland Japanese, although the two are mutually unintelligible. Another reason that Ryukyuan languages have been treated as Japanese dialects is that the Ryukyuan islands and Japan form a single nation. In terms of nationhood, however, Ryukyu was an independent kingdom until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was forcibly annexed to the feudal domain of Satsuma in southern Kyushu.

A more recent trend is to treat Ryukyuan as forming a branch of its own with the status of a sister language to Japanese, following earlier proposals by Chamberlain (1895) and Miller (1971). Many scholars specializing in Ryukyuan today even confer language status to different language groups within Ryukyuan, such as the Amami language, Okinawan language, Miyako language, etc., which are grammatically distinct to the extent of making them mutually unintelligible. The prevailing view now has Japanese and Ryukyuan forming the Japonic family as daughter languages of Proto-Japonic. HJLL

follows this recent trend of recognizing Ryukyuan as a sister language to Japanese and devotes one full volume to it. The ***Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*** provides the most up-to-date information pertaining to Ryukyuan language structures and use, and the ways in which these languages relate to Ryukyuan society and history. Like all the other handbooks in the series, each chapter delineates the boundaries and research history of the field it addresses, presents the most important and representative information on the state of research in that field, and spells out future research desiderata. This volume also includes a comprehensive bibliography of Ryukyuan linguistics.

The situation with Ainu, another language indigenous to Japan, is much less clear in terms of its genealogical relationship to Japanese. Various suggestions have been made relating Ainu to Paleo-Asiatic, Ural-Altaic, and Malayo-Polynesian or to such individual languages as Gilyak and Eskimo, besides the obvious candidate of Japanese as a sister language. The general consensus, however, points to the view that Ainu is related to Japanese only indirectly, if at all, via the Altaic family with its Japanese-Korean sub-branch (see Miller 1971; Shibatani 1990: 5–7 for an overview). Because Ainu has had northern Japan as its homeland and because HJLL is also concerned with various aspects of Japanese linguistics scholarship in general, we have decided to include a volume devoted to Ainu in this series. The ***Handbook of the Ainu Language*** outlines the history and current state of the Ainu language, offers a comprehensive survey of Ainu linguistics, describes major Ainu dialects in Hokkaido and Sakhalin, and devotes a full section to studies dealing with typological characteristics of the Ainu language such as polysynthesis and incorporation, person marking, plural verb forms, and aspect and evidentials.

2 History

Japan's rich and long literary history dates back to the early seventh century, when the Japanese learned to use Chinese characters in writing Japanese. Because of the availability of abundant philological materials, the history of the Japanese language has been one of the most intensely pursued fields in Japanese linguistics. While several different divisions of Japanese language history have been proposed, Frellesvig (2010) proposes the following four linguistic periods, each embracing the main political epochs in Japanese history.

1.	Old Japanese	700–800	(Nara period, 712–794)
2.	Early Middle Japanese	800–1200	(Heian period, 794–1185)
3.	Late Middle Japanese	1200–1600	(Kamakura period, 1185–1333; Muromachi period, 1333–1573)
4.	Modern Japanese	1600–	(Edo, 1603–1868; Meiji, 1868–1912; Taishô, 1912–1926; Shôwa, 1926–1989; Heisei, 1989–2019; Reiwa 2019–)

This division reflects a major boundary between Pre-modern and Modern Japanese brought about by some radical changes in linguistic structure during the Late Middle Japanese period. Modern Japanese is often further subdivided into Early Modern (Edo, 1603–1868), Modern (Meiji, 1868–1912; Taishô, 1912–1926), and Present-day Japanese (Shôwa, 1926–1989; Heisei, 1989–2019; Reiwa 2019–).

The ***Handbook of Historical Japanese Linguistics*** will present the latest research on better studied topics, such as segmental phonology, accent, morphology, and certain salient syntactic phenomena such as focus constructions. It will also introduce areas of study that have traditionally been underrepresented, ranging from syntax and Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*) materials to historical pragmatics, and demonstrate how these contribute to a fuller understanding of the overall history of Japanese, as well as outlining larger-scale tendencies and directions of change that have taken place within the language over its attested history. Major issues in the reconstruction of prehistoric Japanese and in the individual historical periods from Old Japanese to Modern Japanese are discussed, including writing and the materials available for historical study, influences of Sino-Japanese on Japanese, the histories of different vocabulary strata, the history of honorifics and polite language, generative diachronic syntax, and the development of case marking.

3 Geographic and social variations

Because of the wide geographical spread of the Japanese archipelago from north to south, characterized by high mountain ranges, deep valleys, and wide rivers as well as numerous islands, Japanese has developed a multitude of dialects, many of which differ from each other in a way more or less like current descendants of the Romance language family. Like historical studies, the research tradition of dialect studies has a unique place in Japanese linguistics and has attracted a large number of students and amateur collectors of dialect forms as well as professional linguists. The ***Handbook of Japanese Dialects*** surveys the historical backdrop to theoretical frameworks of contemporary studies in Japanese geolinguistics and includes analyses of prominent research topics in cross-dialectal perspective, such as accentual systems, honorifics, verbs of giving, and nominalizations. The volume also devotes major attention to sketching the grammars of dialects from the northern island of Hokkaido to the southern island of Kyushu, allowing a panoramic view of differences and similarities among representative dialects throughout Japan.

Besides having a physical setting that has fostered geographic variation, the society of Japan has exhibited differing types of social structure over the years, starting from the time of the nobility and court life of the Old and Early Middle Japanese periods, through the caste structure of the feudalistic Late Middle and Early Modern Japanese periods, to the modern democratic society of the Modern and Present-day Japanese periods. These

different social structures have spawned a variety of social dialects, including power- and gender-based varieties of Japanese. The ***Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*** examines a wide array of sociolinguistic topics ranging from the history of Japanese sociolinguistics, including foreign influences and internal innovations, to the central topics of variation due to social stratification, gender differences, and discourse genre. Specific topics include honorifics and women's speech, critical discourse analysis, the pragmatics of political discourse, contact-induced change, emerging new dialects, Japanese language varieties outside Japan, and language policy.

4 Lexicon and phonology

The literary history of Japan began with early contacts with China. Chinese apparently began to enrich the Japanese lexicon even in pre-historic periods, when such deeply assimilated words as *uma* 'horse' and *ume* 'plum' are believed to have entered the language. Starting in the middle of the sixth century, when Buddhism reached Japan, Chinese, at different periods and from different dialect regions, has continuously contributed to Japanese in an immeasurable way affecting all aspects of grammar, but most notably the lexicon and the phonological structure, which have sustained further and continuous influences from European languages from the late Edo period on. Through these foreign contacts, Japanese has developed a complex vocabulary system that is composed of four lexical strata, each with unique lexical, phonological, and grammatical properties: native Japanese, mimetic, Sino-Japanese, and foreign (especially English).

The ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*** presents a comprehensive survey of the Japanese lexicon, word formation processes, and other lexical characteristics seen in the four lexical strata of contemporary Japanese. The agglutinative character of the language, coupled with its intricate system of vocabulary strata, makes it possible for compounding, derivation, conversion, and inflection to be closely intertwined with syntactic structure, giving rise to theoretically intriguing interactions between word formation processes and syntax that are not easily found in inflectional, isolate, or polysynthetic types of languages. Theoretically oriented studies associated with these topics are complemented by ones oriented toward lexical semantics, which also bring to light theoretically challenging issues involving the morphology-syntax interface.

The four lexical strata characterizing the Japanese lexicon are also relevant to Japanese phonology, as each stratum has some characteristic sounds and sound combinations not seen in the other strata. The ***Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology*** describes and analyzes the basic phonetic and phonological structures of modern Japanese with a main focus on standard Tokyo Japanese, relegating the topics of dialect phonetics and phonology to the ***Handbook of Japanese Dialects***. It includes

several chapters dealing with phonological processes unique to the Sino-Japanese and foreign strata as well as to the mimetic stratum. Other topics include word tone/accent, mora-timing, sequential voicing (*rendaku*), consonant geminates, vowel devoicing and diphthongs, and the appearance of new consonant phonemes. Also discussed are phonetic and phonological processes within and beyond the word such as rhythm, intonation, and the syntax-phonology interface, as well as issues bearing on other subfields of linguistics such as historical and corpus linguistics and research on the L2 acquisition of Japanese phonology.

5 Syntax and semantics

Chinese loans have also affected Japanese syntax, though it is unclear to what extent they have affected Japanese semantics beyond the level of lexical semantics. In particular, Chinese loans form two distinct lexical categories in Japanese – verbal nouns, forming a subcategory of the noun class, and adjectival nouns (*keiyō dōshi*), which are recognized by some as forming major independent lexical categories along with noun, verb, and adjective classes. The former denote verbal actions and, unlike regular nouns denoting objects and thing-like entities, can function as verbs by combining with the light verb *suru*, which is obviously related to the verb *suru* 'do'. The nominal-verbal Janus character of verbal nouns results in two widely observed syntactic patterns that are virtually synonymous in meaning; e. g., *benkyoo-suru* (studying-DO) 'to study' and *benkyoo o suru* (studying ACC do) 'do studying'. As described in the ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation***, the lexical category of adjectival noun has been a perennial problem in the analysis of Japanese parts of speech. Property-concept words that fall into this class, such as *kirei* 'pretty' and *kenkoo* 'health/healthy', do not inflect by themselves, unlike native Japanese adjectives, and, like nouns, require the inflecting copula *da* to perform the predication function, hence the label of adjectival noun for this class. However, many of these cannot head noun phrases – the hallmark of the nominal class – and some even yield nouns via *-sa* nominalization, which is not possible with regular nouns.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*** and the ***Handbook of Japanese Syntax*** make up twin volumes because many chapters in the former deal with syntactic phenomena, as the brief discussion above on the two Sino-Japanese lexical categories clearly indicates. The syntax handbook covers a vast landscape of Japanese syntax from three theoretical perspectives: (1) traditional Japanese grammar, known as *kokugogaku* (lit. national-language study), (2) the functional approach, and (3) the generative grammar framework. Broad issues analyzed include sentence types and their interactions with grammatical verbal categories, grammatical relations (topic, subject, etc.), transitivity, nominalizations, grammaticalization, voice (passives and causatives), word order (subject, scrambling, numeral quantifiers, configurationality),

case marking (*ga/no* conversion, morphology and syntax), modification (adjectives, relative clause), and structure and interpretation (modality, negation, prosody, ellipsis). These topics have been pursued vigorously over many years under different theoretical persuasions and have played important roles in the development of general linguistic theory. For example, the long and sustained study of the grammatical relations of subject and topic in Japanese has had a significant impact on the study of grammatical relations in European as well as Austronesian languages. In the study of word order, the analysis of Japanese numeral quantifiers has been used as one of the leading pieces of evidence for the existence of a movement rule in human language. With regard to case marking, the way subjects are case marked in Japanese has played a central role in the study of case marking in the Altaic language family. Recent studies of nominalizations have been central to the analysis of their modification and referential functions in a wide variety of languages from around the globe, with far-reaching implications for past studies of such phenomena as parts of speech, (numeral) classifiers, and relative clauses. And the study of how Japanese prosody plays a crucial role in interpretation has become the basis for some important recent developments in the study of wh-questions.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*** presents a collection of studies on linguistic meaning in Japanese, either as conventionally encoded in linguistic form (the field of semantics) or as generated by the interaction of form with context (the field of pragmatics). The studies are organized around a model that has long currency in traditional Japanese grammar, whereby the linguistic clause consists of a multiply nested structure centered in a propositional core of objective meaning around which forms are deployed that express progressively more subjective meaning as one moves away from the core toward the periphery of the clause. Following this model, the topics treated in this volume range from aspects of meaning associated with the propositional core, including elements of meaning structured in lexical units (lexical semantics), all the way to aspects of meaning that are highly subjective, being most grounded in the context of the speaker. In between these two poles of the semantics-pragmatics continuum are elements of meaning that are defined at the level of propositions as a whole or between different propositions (propositional logic) and forms that situate propositions in time as events and those situating events in various modes of reality including non-actual worlds, e. g., those hoped for (desiderative meaning), denied (negation), hypothesized (conditional meaning), or viewed as ethically or epistemologically possible or necessary (epistemic and deontic modality). Located yet closer to the periphery of the Japanese clause are a rich array of devices for marking propositions according to the degree to which the speaker is committed to their veracity and for marking differing perceptual and cognitive modalities as well as for distinguishing information that is presupposed versus affirmed.

These studies in Japanese syntax and semantics are augmented by cross-linguistic studies that examine various topics in these fields from the perspectives of language universals and the comparative study of Japanese and other languages. The ***Handbook***

of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics sets as its primary goal uncovering principled similarities and differences between Japanese and other languages around the globe and thereby shedding new light on the universal and language-particular properties of Japanese. Topics ranging from inalienable possession to numeral classifiers, from spatial deixis to motion typology, from nominalization to subordination, and other topics closely related to these are taken up within the framework of typological universals. Additionally, various aspects of Japanese such as resultative-progressive polysemy, entailment of event realization, internal-state predicates, topic constructions, and interrogative pronouns, are compared and contrasted with other specific languages, including Ainu, Koryak, Chinese, Korean, Newar, Thai, Burmese, Tagalog, Kapampangan, Lamaholot, Romanian, French, Spanish, German, English, Swahili, Sidaama, and Mayan languages.

6 Psycholinguistics and applied linguistics

HJLL includes two volumes containing topics related to a wider application of Japanese linguistics and to those endeavors seeking grammar-external evidence for the psycho-neurological reality of the structure and organization of grammar. Incorporating recent research on the study of the cognitive processes and brain mechanisms underlying language use, language acquisition, and language disorders, the ***Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics*** presents the current state of scholarly understanding of the mechanisms of language acquisition and language processing. In particular, the volume seeks answers to the question of how Japanese is learned/acquired as a first or second language, and pursues the question of how Japanese sentences are comprehended and produced. The chapters in the acquisition section allow readers to acquaint themselves with issues pertaining to the question of how grammatical features (including pragmatic and discourse features) are acquired and how the language domain of the brain develops, with respect to both language particular and universal features. Specific topics dealt with include Japanese children's perceptual development, the conceptual and grammatical development of nouns, Japanese Specific Language Impairment, narrative development in the L1 cognitive system, and L2 Japanese acquisition and its relation to L1 acquisition. The language processing section focuses on both L1 and L2 Japanese processing, covering topics such as the role of prosodic information in production/comprehension, the processing of complex grammatical structures such as relative clauses, processing issues related to variable word order, and lexical and sentence processing in L2 by speakers of different native languages.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics*** complements the Psycholinguistics volume by examining language acquisition from broader sociocultural perspectives, including language as a means of communication and as a social behavioral system, emphasizing pragmatic development as central to both L1 and L2 acquisition

and to overall human development. Topics approached from these perspectives include the role of caregiver speech in early language development, literacy acquisition, and the acquisition of writing skills. Closely related to L1 and L2 acquisition and development are studies of bilingualism/multilingualism and the teaching and learning of foreign languages, including Japanese as a second language, where topics are discussed such as cross-lingual transfer from L1 to L2, learning errors, and proficiency assessment of second language acquisition. Chapters dealing with topics more squarely falling in the domain of applied linguistics cover issues in corpus/computational linguistics (including discussions of CHILDES for Japanese and the YK corpus, both widely used in research on Japanese as a second language), clinical linguistics (including discussions of language development in children with hearing impairment and other language disorders, Down syndrome, and autism), and translation and interpretation. Technically speaking, Japanese Sign Language is not a variety of Japanese, but in view of the importance of this language in Japanese society and because of the rapid progress in sign language research in Japan and abroad and for what it has to offer to the general theory of language, chapters dealing with Japanese Sign Language are also included in this volume.

7 Grammatical sketch of standard japanese

The following pages offer a brief overview of Japanese grammar as an aid to a quick grasp of the structure of Japanese that may prove useful in studying individual, thematically organized handbooks in this series. One of the difficult problems in describing non-European languages using familiar technical terms derived from the European grammatical tradition concerns mismatches between what the glosses may imply and what grammatical categories they are used to denote in the description. We will try to illustrate this problem below by way of a warning not to take all glosses at their face value. But first some remarks are in order about the conventions of transcription of Japanese, glossing of examples, and their translations used in this series.

7.1 Writing, alphabetic transcription, and pronunciation

Customarily, Japanese is written by using a mixture of Chinese characters (for content words), *hiragana* (for function words such as particles, suffixes, and inflectional endings), *katakana* (for foreign loans and mimetics), and sometimes the Roman alphabet. Because Japanese had no indigenous writing system, it developed two phonogram systems for representing the phonological unit of "mora," namely *hiragana* and *katakana*, by simplifying or abbreviating (parts of) Chinese characters. *Hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries are shown in Table 1, together with the alphabetic transcriptions adopted in the HJLL series.

Table 1: Alphabetic transcriptions adopted in HJLL.

transcription	*a*	*ka*	*sa*	*ta*	*na*	*ha*	*ma*	*ya*	*ra*	*wa*	*n*
hiragana	あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ	ん
katakana	ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ	ン
transcription	*i*	*ki*	*si*	*ti*	*ni*	*hi*	*mi*	–	*ri*	–	
hiragana	い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み	–	り	–	
katakana	イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ	–	リ	–	
transcription	*u*	*ku*	*su*	*tu*	*nu*	*hu*	*mu*	*yu*	*ru*	–	
hiragana	う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る	–	
katakana	ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル	–	
transcription	*e*	*ke*	*se*	*te*	*ne*	*he*	*me*	–	*re*	–	
hiragana	え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め	–	れ	–	
katakana	エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ	–	レ	–	
transcription	*o*	*ko*	*so*	*to*	*no*	*ho*	*mo*	*yo*	*ro*	*o*	
hiragana	お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	を	
katakana	オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	ヲ	

Because of phonological change, the columns indicated by strikethroughs have no letters in contemporary Japanese, although they were filled in with special letters in classical Japanese. If all the strikethroughs were filled, the chart would contain 50 letters for each *hiragana* and *katakana*, so the syllabary chart is traditionally called *Gojū-on zu* (chart of 50 sounds). To these should be added the letter ん or ン representing a moraic nasal [N], on the rightmost column.

The "50-sound chart," however, does not exhaust the *hiragana* and *katakana* letters actually employed in Japanese, because the basic consonant sounds (*k, s, t, h*) have variants. The sound represented by the letter *h* is historically related to the sound represented by *p*, and these voiceless obstruents (*k, s, t,* and *p*) have their respective voiced counterparts (*g, z, d,* and *b*). Table 2 shows letters for these consonants followed by five vowels.

Table 2: Letters for voiced obstruents and bilabial [p].

transcription	*ga*	*za*	*da*	*ba*	*pa*
hiragana	が	ざ	だ	ば	ぱ
katakana	ガ	ザ	ダ	バ	パ
transcription	*gi*	*zi*	*zi*	*bi*	*pi*
hiragana	ぎ	じ	ぢ	び	ぴ
katakana	ギ	ジ	ヂ	ビ	ピ
transcription	*gu*	*zu*	*du*	*bu*	*pu*
hiragana	ぐ	ず	づ	ぶ	ぷ
katakana	グ	ズ	ヅ	ブ	プ

Table 2 (continued)

transcription	*ge*	*ze*	*de*	*be*	*pe*
hiragana	げ	ぜ	で	べ	ぺ
katakana	ゲ	ゼ	デ	ベ	ペ
transcription	*go*	*zo*	*do*	*bo*	*po*
hiragana	ご	ぞ	ど	ぼ	ぽ
katakana	ゴ	ゾ	ド	ボ	ポ

It is important to note that Tables 1 and 2 show the conventional letters and alphabetical transcription adopted in the text of the HJLL series; they are not intended to represent the actual pronunciations of Japanese vowels and consonants. For example, among the vowels, the sound represented as "u" is pronounced as [ɯ] with unrounded lips. Consonants may change articulation according to the vowels that follow. The following will require particular attention.

There are two Romanization systems widely used in Japan. One, known as the Hepburn system, is more widely used in public places throughout Japan such as train stations, street signs, as well as in some textbooks for learners of Japanese. This system is ostensibly easier for foreigners familiar with the English spelling system. Another, the *Kunreishiki* (the cabinet ordinance system), is phonemic in nature and is used by many professional linguists. The essential differences between the two Romanization systems center on palatalized and affricate consonants, as shown in Table 3 below with some representative syllables for which the two Romanization renditions differ:

Table 3: Two systems of Romanization.

Hiragana	**IPA**	**Hepburn**	**Kunreishiki**
し	[ʃi]	shi	si
しゃ	[ʃa]	sha	sya
しゅ	[ʃɯ]	shu	syu
しょ	[ʃo]	sho	syo
じ and ぢ	[ʤi]	ji	zi
じゃ	[ʤa]	ja	zya
じゅ	[ʤɯ]	ju	zyu
じょ	[ʤo]	jo	zyo
ち	[tʃi]	chi	ti
ちゃ	[tʃa]	cha	tya
ちゅ	[tʃɯ]	chu	tyu
ちょ	[tʃo]	cho	tyo
つ	[tsɯ]	tsu	tu
づ and ず	[dzɯ]	zu	zu
ふ	[ɸɯ]	fu	hu

Except for the volumes on Ryukyuan, Ainu, and Japanese dialects, whose phonetics differ from Standard Japanese, HJLL adopts the Kunreishiki system for rendering cited Japanese words and sentences but uses the Hepburn system for rendering conventional forms such as proper nouns and technical linguistic terms in the text and in the translations of examples.

Japanese sentences cited in HJLL look as below, where the first line transliterates a Japanese sentence in Kunreishiki Romanization, the second line contains interlinear glosses largely following the Leipzig abbreviation convention, and the third line is a free translation of the example sentence.

(1)	*Taroo*	*wa*	*Ziroo*	*to*	*Tookyoo*	*e*	*it-te*	*kutusita*	*o*	*kat-ta.*
	Taro	TOP	Jiro	COM	Tokyo	ALL	go-GER	sock	ACC	buy-PST
	'Taro went to Tokyo with Jiro and bought socks.'									

The orthographic convention for rendering Japanese is to represent a sentence with an uninterrupted sequence of Sino-Japanese characters and *katakana* or *hiragana* syllabaries without a space for word segmentation, as in 太郎は次郎と東京へ行って靴下を買った for (1). In line with the general rules of Romanization adopted in books and articles dealing with Japanese, however, HJLL transliterates example sentences by separating word units by spaces. The example in (1) thus has 10 words. Moreover, as in *it-te* (go-GERUND) and *kat-ta* (buy-PAST) in (1), word-internal morphemes are separated by a hyphen whenever necessary, although this practice is not adopted consistently in all of the HJLL volumes. Special attention should be paid to particles like *wa* (topic), *to* 'with' and *e* 'to, toward', which, in the HJLL representation, are separated from the preceding noun or noun phrase by a space (see 7.3). Remember that case and other kinds of particles, though spaced, form phrasal units with their preceding nouns.

7.2 Word order

As seen in (1), Japanese is a verb-final, dependent-marking agglutinative language. It is basically an SOV language which marks nominal dependent arguments by particles (*wa*, *to*, *e*, and *o* above) and whose predicative component consists of a verbal stem with a variety of suffixes, auxiliary verbs, and semi-independent predicate extenders pertaining to the speech act of predication (see section 7.6). While a verb is rigidly fixed in sentence final position, the order of subject and object arguments may vary depending on pragmatic factors such as emphasis, background information, and cohesion. Thus, sentence (2a) with the unmarked order below, in principle may vary in multiple ways as shown by some possibilities in (2b)-(2d).

(2) a. *Taroo ga Hanako ni Ziroo o syookai-si-ta.*
Taro NOM Hanako DAT Jiro ACC introducing-do-PST
'Taro introduced Jiro to Hanako.'
b. *Taroo ga **Ziroo o** Hanako ni syookai-si-ta.*
c. ***Hanako ni** Taroo ga Ziroo o syookai-si-ta.*
d. ***Ziroo o** Taroo ga Hanako ni syookai-si-ta.*

Adverbs, likewise, can be rather freely placed, though each type of adverbs has its own basic position.

(3) a. ***Saiwainimo** Hanako ga gohan o tai-te kure-te i-ta.*
luckily Hanako NOM rice ACC cook-GER GIVE-GER BE-PST
'Luckily Hanako had done the favor of cooking the rice (for us).'
b. *Hanako ga **saiwainimo** gohan o tai-te kure-te i-ta.*
c. *Hanako ga gohan o **saiwainimo** tai-te kure-te i-ta.*

Notice that while the verbal complex in the sentence above is not as tightly organized as a complex involving suffixes, a sentence adverb cannot be placed within the verbal complex, showing that the sequence of *tai-te kure-te i-ta* forms a tighter constituent which, however, permits insertion of the topic particle *wa* after each of the gerund-forms. (See section 7.4 below on the nature of gerund-forms in Japanese.)

As the normal position of sentence adverbs is sentence initial, manner and resultative adverbs have an iconically-motivated position, namely before and after the object noun phrase, respectively, as below, though again these adverbs may move around with varying degrees of naturalness:

(4) *Hanako ga **isoide** gohan o tai-te kure-ta.*
Hanako NOM hurriedly rice ACC cook-GER GIVE-PST
'Hanako hurried did the favor of cooking the rice (for us).'

(5) *Hanako ga gohan o **yawarakaku** tai-te kure-ta.*
Hanako NOM rice ACC softly cook-GER GIVE-PST
'Hanako did the favor of cooking the rice soft (for us).'

The fact that an object noun phrase can be easily separated from the verb, as in (2b.d), and that adverbs can freely intervene between an object and a verb, as in (5), has raised the question whether Japanese has a verb phrase consisting of a verb and an object noun phrase as a tightly integrated constituent parallel to the VP in English (cf. **cook hurriedly the rice* – the asterisk marks ungrammatical forms).

7.3 NP structure

Noun phrases, when they occur as arguments or adjuncts, are marked by case particles or postpositions that are placed after their host nouns. Because case markers can be set off by a pause, a filler, or even longer parenthetic material, it is clear that they are unlike declensional affixes in inflectional languages like German or Russian. Their exact status, however, is controversial; some researchers regard them as clitics and others as (non-independent) words.

Elaboration of Japanese noun phrases is done by prenominal modifiers such as demonstratives, genitive noun phrases, or adjectives, as below, indicating that Japanese is a consistent head-final language at both nominal and clausal levels.

(6) a. *kono Taroo no kaban*
this Taro GEN bag
lit. 'this Taro's bag'

b. *Taroo no kono kaban*
Taro GEN this bag
lit. 'Taro's this bag'

Japanese lacks determiners of the English type that "close off" NP expansion. The literal translations of the Japanese forms above are ungrammatical indicating that English determiners like demonstratives and genitive noun phrases do not allow further expansion of an NP structure. Also seen above is the possibility that prenominal modifiers can be reordered just like dependents at the sentence level. The order of prenominal modifiers, however, is regulated by the iconic principle of placing closer to the head noun those modifiers that have a greater contribution in specifying the nature and type of the referent. Thus, descriptive adjectives tend to be placed closer to a head noun than demonstratives and genitive modifiers of non-descriptive types. Interesting is the pattern of genitive modifiers, some of which are more descriptive and are placed closer to the head noun than others. Genitives of the same semantic type, on the other hand, can be freely reordered. Compare:

(7) a. *Yamada-sensei no kuroi kaban*
Yamada-professor GEN black bag
'Professor Yamada's black bag'

b. **kuroi Yamada-sensei no kaban*
(O.K. with the reading of 'a bag of Professor Yamada who is black')

(8) a. *Yamada-sensei no gengogaku no koogi*
Yamada-professor GEN linguistics GEN lecture
'Professor Yamada's linguistics lecture'

b. **gengogaku no Yamada-sensei no koogi*
(O.K. with the reading of 'a lecture by Professor Yamada of linguistics')

(9) a. *Yamada-sensei no kinoo no koogi*
Yamada-professor GEN yesterday GEN lecture
lit. 'Professor Yamada's yesterday's lecture' 'Yesterday's lecture by Professor Yamada'
b. *Kinoo no Yamada-sensei no koogi*

(10) a. *oomori no sio-azi no raamen*
big.serving GEN salt-tasting GEN *ramen*
lit. 'big-serving salt-tasting *ramen* noodles'
b. *sio-azi no oomori no raamen*

(11) a. *atui sio-azi no raamen*
hot salt-tasting GEN *ramen*
'hot salt-tasting *ramen* noodles'
b. *sio-azi no atui ramen*

Numeral classifiers (CLFs) pattern together with descriptive modifiers so that they tend to occur closer to a head noun than a possessive genitive phrase.

(12) a. *Taroo no san-bon no enpitu*
Taro GEN three-CLF GEN pencil
'Taro's three pencils'
b. **san-bon no Taroo no enpitu*

Numeral classifiers also head an NP, where they play a referential function and where they can be modified by a genitive phrase or an appositive modifier, as in (13a, b). They may also "float" away from the head noun and become adverbial, as in (13c).

(13) a. *Taroo wa gakusei no* ***san-nin*** *o mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student GEN three-CLF ACC see.by.chance-PST
'Taro saw three of the students by chance.'
b. *Taroo wa gakusei* ***san-nin*** *o mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student three-CLF ACC see.by.chance-PST
lit. 'Taro saw student-threes by chance.'
c. *Taroo wa gakusei o* ***san-nin*** *mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student ACC three-CLF see.by.chance-PST
'Taro saw students, three (of them), by chance.'

As in many other SOV languages, so-called relative clauses are also prenominal and are directly placed before their head nouns without the mediation of "relative pronouns" like English *which* or *who* or "complementizers" like *that*. Predicates in relative clauses are finite, taking a variety of tense and aspect. The subject may be replaced by a genitive modifier. Observe (14a).

(14) a. *Boku mo [Taroo ga/no kat-ta] hon o kat-ta.*
I ADVPART Taro NOM/GEN buy-PST book ACC buy-PST
'I also bought the book which Taro bought.'

b. *Boku mo [Taroo ga/no kat-ta] no o kat-ta.*
I ADVPART Taro NOM/GEN buy-PST NM ACC buy-PST
'I also bought the one which Taro bought.'

The structure used as a modifier in the relative clause construction can also head a noun phrase, where it has a referential function denoting an entity concept evoked by the structure. In Standard Japanese such a structure is marked by the nominalization particle *no*, as in (14b).

7.4 Subject and topic

Some of the sentences above have noun phrases marked by the nominative case particle *ga* and some by the topic marker *wa* for what appear to correspond to subject noun phrases in the English translations. This possibility of *ga*- and *wa*-marking is seen below.

(15) a. *Yuki ga siro-i.*
snow NOM white-PRS
'The snow is white.'

b. *Yuki wa siro-i.*
snow TOP white-PRS
'Snow is white.'

As the difference in the English translations indicates, these two sentences are different in meaning. Describing the differences between topic and non-topic sentences has been a major challenge for Japanese grammarians and teachers of Japanese alike. The difference in the English translations above, however, is indicative of how these two sentences might differ in meaning. Sentence (15a) describes a state of affairs involving specific snow just witnessed, whereas (15b) is a generic statement about a property of snow unbounded by time. Thus, while (15a) would be uttered only when the witnessed snow is indeed white, (15b) would be construed true even though we know that there are snow piles that are quite dirty.

A similar difference is seen in verbal sentences as well.

(16) a. *Tori ga tob-u.*
bird NOM fly-NONPST
'A bird is flying/is about to fly.'
b. *Tori wa tob-u.*
bird TOP fly-NONPST
'Birds fly.'

Non-topic sentences like (15a) and (16a) are often uttered with an exclamation accompanying a sudden discovery of a state of affairs unfolding right in front of one's eyes. The nonpast tense forms (*-i* for adjectives and *-(r)u* for verbs) here anchor the time of this discovery to the speech time. The nonpast tense forms in (15a) and (16b), on the other hand, mark a generic tense associated with a universal statement.

These explanations can perhaps be extended to time-bound topic sentences seen in (17b) below.

(17) a. *Taroo ga hasit-ta.*
Taro NOM run-PST
'Taro NOM ran.'
b. *Taroo wa hasit-ta.*
Taro TOP run-PST
'Taro ran.'

That is, while (17a) describes an occurrence of a particular event at a time prior to the speech time, (17b) describes the nature of the topic referent – that Taro was engaged in the running activity – as a universal truth of the referent, but universal only with respect to a specifically bound time marked by the past tense suffix.

Topics need not be subjects, and indeed any major sentence constituent, including adverbs, may be marked as topic in Japanese, as shown below.

(18) a. *Sono hon wa Taroo ga yon-de i-ru.*
that book TOP Taro NOM read-GER be-NONPST
'As for that book, Taro is reading (it).'
b. *Kyoo wa tenki ga yo-i.*
today TOP weather NOM be. good-NONPST
'As for today, the weather is good.'
c. *Sonnani wa hayaku wa hasir-e na-i.*
that.way TOP quickly TOP run-POTEN NEG-NONPST
'That quickly, (I) cannot run.'

7.5 Complex sentences

Like other Altaic languages, compound sentences in Japanese do not involve a coordinate conjunction like English *and*. Instead, clauses are connected by the use of inflected verb forms, as in (19a) below, where the *-i* ending is glossed in the HJLL series as either INF (infinitive) or ADVL (adverbal) following the Japanese term *ren'yō-kei* for the form. While the *-i* ending in the formation of compound sentences is still used today, especially in writing, the more commonly used contemporary form involves a conjunctive particle *-te* following the *-i* infinitive form, as in (19b) below. In HJLL, this combination is glossed as GER (gerund), though the relevant Japanese forms do not have the major nominal use of English gerund-forms.

(19) a. *Hana wa sak-i, tori wa uta-u.*
flower TOP bloom-INF bird TOP sing-NONPST
'Flowers bloom and birds sing.'
b. *Hana wa sa-i.te, tori wa uta-u.*
flower TOP bloom-GER bird TOP sing-NONPST
'Flowers bloom and birds sing.'

Both the *-i* and *-ite* forms play important roles in Japanese grammar. They are also used in clause-chaining constructions for serial events (20a), and in complex sentences (20b)-(20d), as well as in numerous compound verbs (and also in many compound nouns) such as *sak-i hokoru* (bloom-INF boast) 'be in full bloom', *sak-i tuzukeru* (bloom-INF continue) 'continue blooming', *sa.i-te iru* (bloom-GER be) 'is blooming', and *sa.i-te kureru* (bloom-GER GIVE) 'do the favor of blooming (for me/us)'.

(20) a. *Taroo wa [ok-i/ok.i-te], [kao o ara-i/arat-te],*
Taro TOP rise-INF/rise-GER face ACC wash-INF/wash-GER
[gohan o tabe-ta].
meal ACC eat.PST
'Taro got up, washed his face, and ate a meal.'
b. *Taroo wa [sakana o tur-i] ni it-ta.*
Taro TOP fish ACC catch-INF DAT go-PST
'Taro went to catch fish.'
c. *Taroo wa [aruk-i nagara] hon o yon-da.*
Taro TOP walk-INF SIMUL book ACC read-PST
'Taro read a book while walking.'
d. *Taroo wa [Hanako ga ki-ta no] ni awa-na-katta.*
Taro TOP Hanako NOM come-PST NM DAT see-NEG-PST.
'Taro did not see (her), even though Hanako came.'

(20d) has the nominalized clause marked by the particle *no* followed by the dative *ni*, also seen in (20b) marking the purposive form. In modern Japanese the *no-ni* sequence has been reanalyzed as a concessive conjunction.

7.6 Context dependency

The context dependency of sentence structure in Japanese is much more clearly pronounced than in languages like English. Indeed, it is rare that Japanese sentences express all the arguments of a verb such as a subject (or topic) and an object noun phrase included in the sentences used above for illustrative purposes. A typical dialog would take the following form, where what is inferable from the speech context is not expressed.

(21) a. Speaker A: *Tokorode, Murakami Haruki no saisin-saku*
by.the.way Murakami Haruki GEN newest-work
yon-da ka.
read-PST Q
'By the way, have (you) read Haruki Murakami's latest work?'

b. Speaker B: *Un, moo yon-da.*
uh-hu already read-PST
'Uh-hu, (I) have already read (it)'.

In (21a) A's utterance is missing a subject noun phrase referring to the addressee, and B's response in (21b) is missing both subject and object noun phrases. In some frameworks, sentences like these are analyzed as containing zero pronouns or as involving a process of "pro drop," which deletes assumed underlying pronouns. This kind of analysis, however, ignores the role of speech context completely and incorporates information contextually available into sentence structure. In an analysis that takes seriously the dialogic relationship between speech context and sentence structure, the expressions in (21) would be considered full sentences as they are.

7.7 Predicative verbal complexes and extenders

Coding or repeating contextually determinable verb phrases, as in (21b), is less offensive than expressing contextually inferable noun phrases, presumably because verb phrases have the predication function of assertion, and because they also code a wide range of other types of speech acts and of contextual information pertaining to the predication act. Declarative sentences with plain verbal endings like the one in (21b) are usable as "neutral" expressions in newspaper articles and literary works, where

no specific reader is intended. In daily discourse, the plain verbal forms "explicitly" code the speaker's attitude toward the hearer; namely, that the speaker is treating the hearer as his equal or inferior in social standing, determined primarily by age, power, and familiarity. If the addressee were socially superior or if the occasion demanded formality, a polite, addressee honorific form with the suffix *-masu* would be used, as below.

(22) *Hai, moo yom-i-masi-ta.*
yes already read-INF-POL-PST
'Yes, (I have) already read (it).'

Referent honorific forms are used when the speaker wishes to show deference toward the referent of arguments – subject honorific and object honorific (or humbling) forms, depending on the type of argument targeted. If (21b) were to be uttered in reference to a social superior, the following would be more appropriate:

(23) *Un, (Yamada-sensei wa) moo yom-are-ta.*
uh-hu (Yamada-professor TOP) already read-SUB.HON-PST
'Uh-hu, (Professor Yamada has) already read (it).'

This can be combined with the polite ending *-masu*, as below, where the speaker's deference is shown to both the referent of the subject noun phrase and the addressee:

(24) *Hai, (Yamada-sensei wa) moo yom-are-masi-ta.*
Yes (Yamada-professor TOP) already read-HON-POL-PST
'Yes, (Professor Yamada has) already read (it).'

As these examples show, Japanese typically employs agglutinative suffixes in the elaboration of verbal meanings associated with a predication act. The equivalents of English auxiliary verbs are either suffixes or formatives connected to verb stems and suffixed forms in varying degrees of tightness. These are hierarchically structured in a manner that expresses progressively more subjective and interpersonal meaning as one moves away from the verb-stem core toward the periphery. For example, in the following sentence a hyphen marks suffixal elements tightly bonded to the preceding form, an equal sign marks a more loosely connected formative, which permits insertion of certain elements such as the topic particle *wa*, and a space sets off those elements that are independent words following a finite predicate form, which may terminate the utterance.

(25) *(Taroo wa)* *ik-ase-rare-taku=na-katta* *rasi-i* *mitai*
(Taro TOP) go-CAUS-PASS-DESI=NEG-PST CONJEC-NONPST UNCERT
des-u *wa.*
COP.POL-NONPST SFP
'(Taro) appears to seem to not want to have been forced to go, I tell you.'

The final particle *wa* above encodes the information that the speaker is female. A male speaker would use *yo* or *da yo*, the latter a combination of the plain copula and *yo*, instead of *desu wa* above, or combinations such as *da ze* and *da zo* in rough speech.

Non-declarative Japanese sentences, on the other hand, frequently suppress auxiliary verbs, the copula, and the question particle, especially in casual speech, where intonation and tone of voice provide clues in guessing the intended speech act. Casual interrogatives take the form of (26a) with a nominalization marker bearing a rising intonation, marked by the question mark in the transcription, whereas fuller versions have the interrogative particle *ka* or a combination of the polite copula and *ka*, as in (26b).

(26) a. *Moo* *kaer-u* *no?*
already return-NONPST NM
'Going home already?'
b. *Moo* *kaer-u* *no* *(des.u)* *ka.*
already return-NONPST NM (COP.POL-NONPST) Q
'Going home already?'

Requests are made with the aid of an auxiliary-like "supporting" verb *kureru* 'GIVE (ME THE FAVOR OF ...)', its polite form *kudasai*, or its intimate version *tyoodai*, as seen in (27a). Again, these forms are often suppressed in a highly intimate conversation and may result in a form like (27b).

(27) a. *Hayaku* *kaet-te* *kure/kudasai/tyoodai.*
soon return-GER GIVE.IMP/GIVE.POL-IMP/GIVE.INTI
'(Please) come home soon (for me/us).'
b. *Hayaku* *kaet-te* *ne.*
soon return-GER SFP
'(Please) come home soon, won't you?'

The use of dependent forms (e. g., the gerund *-te* form above) as independent sentences is similar to that of subjunctive forms in European languages as independent sentences, as illustrated by the English sentence below.

(28) *If you would give me five thirty-cent stamps.*

Conditionals are used as independent suggestion sentences in Japanese as well. For example, (29a) has a fuller version like (29b) with the copula as a main-clause verb, which can also be suppressed, giving rise to the truncated form (29c).

(29) a. *Hayaku kaet-tara?*
quickly return-COND
lit. 'If return quickly.' 'Why don't you go home quickly?'

b. *Hayaku kaet-tara ikaga des-u ka.*
quickly return-COND how COP.POL-NONPST Q
lit. 'How would it be it if (you) went home quickly?'

c. *Hayaku kaet-tara ikaga?*
quickly return-COND how
'Why don't (you) go home quickly?'

Understanding Japanese utterances requires full recourse to the elements of speech context, such as the nature of the speaker and the hearer and the social relationship between them, the information "in the air" that is readily accessible to the interlocutors, and the formality of the occasion. Indeed, the difficult part of the art of speaking Japanese is knowing how much to leave out from the utterance and how to infer what is left unsaid.

8 Conclusion

Many of the interesting topics in Japanese grammar introduced above are discussed in great detail in the Lexicon-Word Formation volume, the Syntax volume, and the present Semantics and Pragmatics volume of the HJLL series.. The Historical Linguistics volume also traces developments of some of the forms and constructions introduced above. The Sociolinguistics volume gives fuller accounts of sentence variations motivated by context and discourse genre.

Appendix: List of abbreviations for HJLL

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACOP	adjectival copula
ADJ	adjective
AND	adnominal
ADV	adverb(ial(izer))
ADVL	adverbial
ADVPART	adverbial particle
AGR	agreement
AGT	agent
ALL	allative
AN	adjectival noun
ANTIP	antipassive
AP	adverbial particle, adjective phrase
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ASP	aspect
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
AUXV	auxiliary verb
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COHORT	cohortative
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CONC	concessive
CONCL	conclusive
COND	conditional
CONJEC	conjectural
CONJCT	conjunctive
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
D	demonstrative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DESI	desiderative
DIST	distal

DISTR	distributive
DO	direct object
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
ETOP	emphatic topic
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclamatory, exclusive
EXPL	expletive
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund(ive)
H	high (tone or pitch)
HON	honorific
HUM	humble
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INT	intentional
INTERJEC	interjection
INTI	intimate
INTR	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
ITERA	iterative
k-irr	k-irregular (*ka-hen*)
L	low (tone or pitch)
LB	lower bigrade (*shimo nidan*)
LM	lower monograde (*shimo ichidan*)
LOC	locative
MPST	modal past
MVR	mid vowel raising
N	noun
n-irr	n-irregular(*na-hen*)
NCONJ	negative conjectual
NEC	necessitive
NEG	negative
NM	nominalization marker
NMLZ	nominalization/nominalizer
NMNL	nominal
NOM	nominative
NONPST	nonpast
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object

OBL	oblique
OPT	optative
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb, preposition, postposition
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PST	past
PCONJ	present conjectural
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite
POLCOP	polite copula
POSS	possessive
POTEN	potential
PP	prepositional/postpositional phrase
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PRES	presumptive
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROV	provisional
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PSTCONJ	past conjectural
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
Q	question/question particle/question marker
QD	quadrigrade (*yodan*)
QUOT	quotative
r-irr	r-irregular (*ra-hen*)
REAL	realis
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
RESP	respect
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb, sentence
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SFP	sentence final particle
SG	singular
SIMUL	simultaneous
s-irr	s-irregular (*sa-hen*)
SPON	spontaneous
SPST	simple past
STAT	stative
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UB	upper bigrade (*kami-nidan*
UNCERT	uncertain

UM	upper monograde (*kami-ichidan*)
V	verb, vowel
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
VOL	volitional
VP	verb phrase

Languages

ConJ	contemporary Japanese
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese
J-Ch	Japano-Chinese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
JPN	Japanese
MC	Middle Chinese
MJ	Middle Japanese
MK	Middle Korean
ModJ	Modern Japanese
OC	Old Chinese
OJ	Old Japanese
pJ	proto-Japanese
pK	proto-Korean
SJ	Sino-Japanese
Skt	Sanskrit

References

Chamberlain, Basil H. 1895. *Essay in aid of a grammar and dictionary of the Luchuan language*. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japanese, vol. 23 supplement.

Frellesvig, Bjarke.2010. *A history of the Japanese language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, Samuel E. 1975. *A reference grammar of Japanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Miller, Roy A. 1971. *Japanese and the other Altaic languages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1990. *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Contents

Contributors

Valerio Luigi Alberizzi holds a Ph.D. in Japanese Language and Linguistics from the University of Ca' Foscari, Venice (Italy). He is currently Assistant Professor at the Training Center for Foreign Languages and Diction, Tokyo University of the Arts, Tokyo. He has taught courses on modern and classical Japanese language in the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Ca' Foscari, Venice, and in the Department of Modern Foreign Languages and Literatures at the Alma Mater Studiorum University of Bologna. In the last ten years he has also been in charge of the courses in Contrastive Linguistics and Second-language Acquisition at Shirayuri College, Tokyo; from 2012 to 2017 he was the Italian language program coordinator at the Global Education Center, Waseda University, Tokyo. His interests range from historical linguistics to foreign-language teaching using new technologies.

Hirofumi Aoki is Professor at the Kyushu University Faculty of Humanities. He completed his Ph.D. at Kyushu University in 1999. His research interest is in the history of Japanese grammar. He is the author of *Go-keisei kara mita nihongo-bunpō-si* [A historical study of Japanese grammar from the perspective of word formation] (Hituzi Syobo, 2010), *Nihongo rekisi tōgo-ron zyosetu* [An introduction to Japanese historical syntax] (Hituzi Syobo, 2016). He is co-author of *Bunpō-ka, goi-ka, k*ōbun-*ka* [Grammaticalization, Lexicalization, and Constructionalization] (Kaitakusha, 2020).

John R. Bentley received his Ph.D. in Japanese Language from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa in 1999. He currently is Professor of Japanese at Northern Illinois University where he teaches all levels of Japanese, and serves as the Department Chair. He is the author of books and articles on Japanese language history, Ryukyuan linguistics, Japanese early historiography, and Kokugaku. He is the author of *ABC Dictionary of Ancient Japanese Phonograms* (University of Hawaii Press, 2016) and *An Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars: 1690–1868* (Cornell, 2017). His research interests center on the history of Japanese language and its influence on culture.

† **Elisabeth M. de Boer** (1966–2023) was senior lecturer in Japanese linguistics at the Ruhr Universität Bochum. Her research concentrates on historical changes in the Japanese tone systems, on which she published various articles as well as the monograph *The historical development of Japanese tone* (2010, Harrasowitz). She headed a research project funded by the European Research Council on links between dialect diversification in Japanese (concentrating on the Japanese tone systems) and migration routes spreading the Japanese language through Japan. Her book on this topic *What tonal data can tell us about the history of the Japanese language: Concentrating on evidence from the Tokyo type tone systems* will be published by John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Teruhiro Hayata is Professor emeritus, Faculty of Letters, Kyushu University. His research interest encompasses morphology and phonology of Manchu. He is also interested in the phonology and morphology of ancient Japanese. He is the author of "Accusativus subjecti in Manchu" in *Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 32 (Kyushu University, 2011), "A historical overview of the alternation of n ~ 0 in Manchu" in *ALTAI HAKPO / Journal of the Altaic Society of Korea* (Altaic Society of Korea, 2012), and *Jōdai Nihongo no on'in* [*The phonology of Old Japanese*] (Iwanami Shoten, 2017).

Shōju Ikeda is Professor emeritus at Hokkaido University. He is a President of the Society for Research in *Kunten* language. He has been conducting research on linguistic studies of early dictionaries in Japan. He has published articles in anthologies and journals including *Kokugogaku* and *Kuntengo to Kunten-shiryo*.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512851-205

Yoshihiko Ikegami is Professor emeritus at the Department of Language and Information Sciences, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo. Currently, he is also honorary president of the Japanese Cognitive Linguistics Association and honorary member of the Japanese Association for Semiotics. He received his B.A. and M.A. in English at Tokyo University and M.Phil. and Ph.D. in linguistics at Yale University. He was guest professor at Indiana University (semiotics), Universität München (poetics) and Freie Universität Berlin (Japanese linguistics) and lectured at a number of universities mainly in Europe and in China. Among his numerous publications are *Suru to naru no gengogaku: Gengo to bunka no taiporojii e no shiron* (Taishukan, 1981) [*Sprachwissenschaft des Tuns und Werdens: Typologie der Japanischen Sprache und Kultur*, a German translation (2007) available from LIT Verlag, Berlin] and *The Empire of Signs: Semiotic Essays on Japanese Culture* (ed.) (John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1991).

Takashi Inukai received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Tsukuba in 1993. His research interests include grammatology and Old Japanese. He is also a phonetician. He published many books including *Jōdai moji-gengo no kenkyū* [Studies in the written language of Old Japanese] (Kasama-Shoin 1992 revised 2005), *Mokkan ni yoru Nihongo shokishi* [A historical study on the Japanese writing system based on *mokkan*] (Kasama-Shoin 2005 revised 2008) *Gishiki de utau Yamato-uta* [Ancient Japanese ballads sung in ceremonies] (Hanawa-Shobō 2017).

Tomohide Kinuhata is a Professor in the Faculty of Humanities at Fukuoka University. His research interests encompass the history of Japanese grammar, Ryukyuan linguistics, and formal semantics/pragmatics. His publications include "Historical development from subjective to objective meaning: evidence from the Japanese question particle *ka*" (*Journal of Pragmatics* 44(6–7), 2012), "Presupposition and assertion" (in W. Jacobsen and Y. Takubo (eds.), *Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*, Mouton, 2020), "Syntax/Semantics discrepancy in the grammaticalization of resultatives: Evidence from Karimata-Miyako Ryukyuan" (*Glossa* 7(1), 2022), "Scope ambiguity and the loss of NPI feature: Evidence from the history of Japanese scalar particle *dani*" (H. Kishimoto, O. Sawada, and I, Imani (eds.), *Polarity-sensitive expressions: Comparison between Japanese and other languages*, Mouton, to appear).

Teiji Kosukegawa received his M.A. from Hokkaido University in 1986, worked as an assistant professor there from 1987 to 1993, then taught Japanese linguistics at the University of Toyama from 1993 to 2022, and is currently a professor emeritus at the University of Toyama. His fields of research are mainly Japanese linguistics, with special attention to vernacular reading of Classical Chinese text in the Sinosphere (China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam). He is the co-author of the bibliography for volumes 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12 of the *Tōyō Bunko Zenpon Sōsho* [Reproduction series of good books held by the Tōyō Bunko] (Bensei Shuppan, 2014–2015).

Toru Maruyama is Professor emeritus of Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan. His academic interest in general is the study of Jesuit linguistic works published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Africa, Brazil, India and Japan. How Father João Rodrigues described the Japanese language has been his major concern for a long time. In recent years he has also been involved in the analysis of Konkani Christian Doctrine published in India in 1622 and Konkani-Portuguese dictionary manuscripts of that time.

Akiko Matsumori is a professor of linguistics at the Department of English at Japan Women's University. Her research interests focus on synchronic and diachronic phonology (especially accent) of Japanese dialects, and historical tonology of Ryukyuan languages. She is an author and editor of *Nihongo akusento nyūmon* [Introduction to Japanese Accent] (Sanseido, 2012). Her other publications include "On the Reconstruction of the Proto-accentual System of Japanese" Frellesvig, B. and J.Whitman (eds.), *Proto-Japanese: Issues and Prospects* (John Benjamins, 2008) and "A Prosodic Unit, Recursive Structure and Nature of Accent of Miyako Ryukyuan" (*The Linguistic Review.* Vol. 29, No.1, De Gruyter Mouton, 2019).

Marc Hideo Miyake completed his Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 1999. He is the author of *Old Japanese: A Phonetic Reconstruction* (Routledge, 2003) and its sequel, "Philological evidence for *e and *o in Pre-Old Japanese" (Diachronica 20.1 (2003), 83–137). He taught Chinese and Japanese language history and East Asian areal linguistics at the University of Oregon and then taught linguistics and the Japanese language at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. His current research interests focus on the decipherment of extinct Asian languages (Tangut, Jurchen, Khitan, and Pyu). His most recent publications include a decipherment of a Pyu-Sanskrit bilingual inscription (with Arlo Griffiths, Bob Hudson, and Julian K. Wheatley; *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 2017) the first reconstructions of Pyu phonology (*Bulletin of Chinese Linguistics*, 2018; *Language and Linguistics*, 2021) and grammar (*Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 2019).

Takashi Nomura is Professor emeritus at Tokyo University. His research interest is in historical change of Japanese, especially grammar. He is the author of *Nihongo hyōjunkei no rekishi: Hanashikotoba, kakikotoba, hyōki* [The history of Japanese standard form: Spoken, written, inscribed] (Kodansha, 2019) and others.

Tomoko Okazaki (Ph.D., Osaka University, 2004) is Professor at the College of Letters, Ritsumeikan University. Her research is concerned with cohesion, nouns and conjunction, especially the historical changes of Japanese demonstrative pronouns and adverbs. She is the author of *Nihongo shijishi no rekishitekikenkyū* [A historical study of Japanese demonstratives] (Hituzi Syobo, 2010, Kindaichi Award) and *Workbook nihongo no rekishi* [Workbook, A history of the Japanese language] (co-authored with Yūta Mori, Kurosio Publishers, 2016).

Sven Osterkamp is Professor of Japanese Language and Literature at Ruhr University Bochum. His research interests include Japonic historical linguistics, the early history of studies pertaining to East-Asian languages and writing systems in Europe, and the typology of writing systems. His recent publications include "The Last Days of Old Japanese: Early Heian gloss texts and the periodization of Japanese language history" in J. Kupchik et al. (eds.), *Studies in Asian Historical Linguistics, Philology and Beyond* (Brill, 2021) and "<Th>e Ubi<qu>ity of Polygra<ph>y and its Significan<ce> for <th>e Typology of <Wr>iti<ng> Systems" (with Gordian Schreiber) in *Written Language and Literacy* 24.2 (John Benjamins, 2021).

Thomas Pellard is a researcher at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in Paris and teaches linguistics at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO). His research interests focus on the synchronic diversity and the diachronic diversification of the languages of Japan. He has carried out linguistic fieldwork on all Japonic languages and has published widely on the description of the endangered Ryukyuan languages, the historical-comparative reconstruction of Japanese and Ryukyuan, the linguistic archaeology on the Ryukyu Islands, and the phylogeny of the Japonic language family.

† **Charles J. Quinn** (1948–2023) (Ph.D. University of Michigan, 1987) was Associate Professor in East Asian Languages & Literatures at The Ohio State University, where he taught Japanese language, pedagogy, and linguistics. He was visiting researcher at Keio University, Tohoku University, and the National Institute of Multimedia Education, and with Jane M. Bachnik co-authored and edited *Situated Meaning: Inside and Outside in Japanese Self, Society and Language* (Princeton, 1994). His articles on deriving inflected adjectives, and on particles *zo*, *ka* and adnominal-concordant *kakari-musubi* have appeared in *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*. "*Mo* than expected" (in Satoko Suzuki, ed. *Emotive Communication in Japanese*, Benjamins 2006) argues that Old Japanese final/mirative *mo* and inclusive *mo* were cognate. He was lead developer of *Classical Japanese Portal*, a web-based multimedia learning tool.

Fumitoshi Saito is Professor at the Graduate School of Humanities, Nagoya University. He completed his master's degree at the University of Tokyo in 1988, and received his Ph.D, in Japanese Linguistics from Nagoya University in 2011. His research interest is in *Kanbunkundoku* (Japanese readings of Chinese texts) in the Edo and Meiji Period. He is the author of *Kanbun-kundoku to kindai nihongo no keisei* [*Kanbun-kundoku* and the formation of the modern Japanese language] (Bensei Shuppan, 2011).

Yoshiyuki Takayama is Professor at the Faculty of Education, University of Fukui. He completed his Ph.D. at Osaka University in 1999. His research interest is historical development of Japanese syntactic structure and functions of auxiliary verbs. He is the author of *Nihongo Modality no Shi-teki Kenkyu* [A Historical Study of Japanese Modality] (Hituzi Syobo, 2002), *Nihongo Bunposhi no Shikai* [The Perspective of Historical Research on Japanese Grammar] (Hituzi Syobo, 2021).

Masayuki Toyoshima is Professor emeritus at the department of Japanese Literature and Linguistics of the Graduate school for Humanities at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan. His research interest is in the bibliographical and linguistic studies of the Early Christian documents in Japan, especially of the materials produced by the Jesuits in Japan in its early evangelization period (1549 to 1612). Among his publications are (Toyoshima ed.) *Kirishitan to shuppan* [Christian documents and printing] (Yagi shoten, 2012), which was awarded the 35th Japan Society of Publishing Studies Award (2013), *Tōyō Bunko no kirishitan-ban* [Printed Christian documents in the Tōyō Bunko] (Tōyō Bunko, 2021), *Tōyō Bunko no meihin* [Treasures of the Tōyō Bunko], (Yamakawa shuppansha). He has also contributed as an editor in establishing several Japan Industrial Standards (JIS) for the Japanese language, such as JIS X0208:1997 "7-bit and 8-bit double byte coded KANJI sets for information interchange", JIS X4061:1996 "Collation of Japanese characters".

Masayuki Tsukimoto is Professor emeritus at the Graduate School of Humanities and Sociology, the University of Tokyo. His field of expertise is the study of Japanese language history based on *Kunten* materials. He is the author of the following publications: *Kotengo kenkyū no shōten* [The focus of studies of Classical Japanese] (Musashino Shoin, 2010); "Kokunten no kaihen ni tsuite: Fujiwara Yorinaga katen 'Inmyō Ronsho' o megutte [On the reorganization of old *Kunten*: The "Inmyō Ronsho" annotated by Fujiwara Yorinaga]" *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 85-8:1–13, 2008.

J. Marshall Unger chaired departments from 1988 to 2004 at the University of Hawai'i, University of Maryland, and The Ohio State University, where he is emeritus professor. He has been a visiting professor at Kōbe University, Tsukuba University, University of Tōkyō, Minpaku, and NINJAL. He is the recipient of a Guggenheim, a Ford, and two Japan Foundation fellowships. Among his many publications are five books on Japanese linguistics (two translated into Japanese), and two on premodern Japanese mathematics (*wasan*).

† **Alexander Vovin** (1961–2022) obtained his Ph.D. from the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad, in 1987. He held positions in the US, including a long stint at the University of Hawai'i, and was from 2014 until his death in April 2022 professor at L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS). He published widely on Asian linguistics, making important contributions to the synchronic, diachronic and comparative study of many of the languages in the region. His work on Japanese includes important research articles and monographs and reference works such as the two-volume *A descriptive and comparative grammar of Western Old Japanese* (GlobalOriental 2005, 2009, 2nd edition Brill 2020), as well as the majestic, but sadly incomplete translation of and commentary on the Man'yōshū. Among the recognitions he received during his lifetime is the NIHU Prize in Japanese Studies which he was awarded in 2015.

Akira Watanabe received his Ph.D. from MIT in 1993. He is now Professor of Linguistics in the department of English at the University of Tokyo. His major research interests lie in the theory of universal grammar and parametric syntax. He has published articles on wh-in-situ, Case, switch reference, negative concord, models of parameter setting, the structure of DP, phi-feature agreement, syntax of adjectives and adpositions, and diachronic changes in the history of Japanese. He is also the author of *Case Absorption and Wh-Agreement* (Kluwer, 1996). He is currently involved in the project on degree modification.

Shingo Yamamoto is a Professor at the School of Arts and Sciences at Tokyo Woman's Christian University. He completed his Ph.D. at Hiroshima University in 2006. His research interest is the historical study of the style of sentences written by native speakers of Japanese using only kanji. Recently, he has also been interested in the topological study of words used by Japanese speakers to read Chinese classics. He is the author of *Heian-Kamakura-jidai ni okeru hyōhaku, ganmon no buntai no kenkyū* [Research on the style of *hyōhaku* and *ganmon* texts from the Heian and Kamakura periods] (Kyūko Shoin, 2006).

Yuko Yanagida is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Tsukuba. She completed her Ph.D. at Cornell University in 1995. Her research focuses on the historical syntax of Japanese. She applies the insights of linguistic typology and generative syntactic theory to the empirical investigation of changes in the case and pronominal systems, changes in word order and related topics in earlier Japanese. Her recent publications include "The origin of dative subjects and psych predicate constructions in Japanese" (*Journal of Historical Linguistics* 12, 2022), "Two types of Alignment change in nominalizations: Austronesian and Japanese" with Edith Aldridge (*Diachronica* 38, 2021).

Editors

Bjarke Frellesvig is Professor of Japanese Linguistics at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in 2019. He obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Copenhagen in 1993 and has, after a spell at the University of Oslo, been at Oxford since 1999. The main focus of his research has been the attested history and pre-history of the Japanese language, including phonology, morphology and syntax. He is the author of amongst others *A history of the Japanese language* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and is the director and editor-in-chief of the Oxford-NINJAL Corpus of Old Japanese (https://oncoj.ninjal.ac.jp/).

Satoshi Kinsui is the director of Osaka Study Center, The Open University of Japan. He is also a member of the Japan Academy. His research interest is in Japanese historical grammar and a study of role languages and character languages. He is the author of *Nihongo sonzai hyōgen no rekishi* [History of existence expressions in Japanese] (Hituzi Syobo, 2006), *Bācharu nihongo: Yakuwarigo no nazo* [Virtual Japanse: Enigmas of role languages] (Iwanami Shoten, 2003), and *Kore mo Nihongo aru ka: Ijin no kotoba ga umareru toki* [Is this also Japanese?: When an alien's language is born] (Iwanami Shoten, 2014).

Bjarke Frellesvig and Satoshi Kinsui

Introduction

1 Background

The Japanese language has a fairly continuous written history from the beginning of the 8th century AD until the present day. This is conventionally divided into four periods, as also explained in the general introduction by the series editors; the English terms are those generally used in historical linguistics and for Japanese finally established in Martin 1987:[1]

Old Japanese (OJ) (Japanese: *jōdaigo*) 700–800
Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) (*chūkogo*) 800–1200
Late Middle Japanese (LMJ) (*chūseigo*) 1200–1600
Modern Japanese (ModJ) (*kindaigo*, *gendaigo*) 1600–

While certainly reflecting or corresponding to significant periods within the language itself, the beginning and endpoints of these periods have conspicuously been fixed in close correlation with major political periods within Japanese history. Other, finer or cross-cutting, periodizations are of course possible, but this one is used in the chapters in this volume, except where authors explicitly use different periodizations that are more relevant or useful to their subject matter.

The scholarly study of earlier stages of the Japanese language goes back at least to the philological work of the *kokugaku* scholars of the Edo period whose work still informs much traditional scholarship in Japan. With the introduction and spread of modern linguistic theories and methodologies from the late 19th century onwards, Japanese scholars also started applying these methods to investigate earlier forms of Japanese in addition to the philological tradition. From the beginning of the 20th century pioneers such as YAMADA Yoshio (1873–1958), HASHIMOTO Shinkichi (1882–1945), HATTORI Shirō (1908–1995), ARISAKA Hideyo (1908–1952), KINDAICHI Haruhiko (1913–2004), and OHNO Susumu (1919–2008) to name but a few, made great strides in charting and describing the attested history of the Japanese language as well as its reconstructed prehistory. Outside of Japan, early and still influential work was done particularly from the early post-war period by for example Günther Wenck (1916–1992), Roy Andrew Miller (1924–2014), and Samuel Martin (1924–2009).

1 Until Martin (1987), some scholars writing in English used "Late Old Japanese" for EMJ, following the terminology of Miller (1967). The 1993 German translation of Miller (1967) uses the German equivalents of the now current English terminology which is used in this volume.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512851-001

2 Structure of the volume

Following the work of these early scholars, large amounts of scholarship have been conducted on the history and prehistory of Japanese, both inside and outside of Japan. In this book we focus on the attested history of Japanese, with only a few chapters addressing reconstruction and pre-history. Today, most basic facts about earlier attested Japanese are fairly well established, including its script, phonology, morphology, and basic syntax, set out and easily accessible in English in Frellesvig's *A history of the Japanese language* (2010). In this volume we have solicited chapters from experts covering the main areas which either are treated in less detail, or not at all, in Frellesvig (2010), or where little or no consensus exists. The book consists of 27 chapters and is divided into four overall parts as follows:

Prehistory and reconstruction: While this volume mainly is concerned with the attested history of Japanese itself, this short section sets the stage by addressing important aspects of the pre-history, particularly the language family which Japanese belongs to and which also includes the Ryukyuan languages, often referred to as "Japonic" or "Japanese-Ryukyuan". Chapter 1 "Reconstruction of Japonic and para-Japonic based on external sources" by Alexander Vovin addresses contributions to reconstructing Japonic from sources external to this family. Chapters 2 "Ryukyuan and the reconstruction of proto-Japanese-Ryukyuan" by Thomas Pellard and 3 "Towards the prosodic reconstruction of proto-Japanese-Ryukyuan" by Akiko Matsumori both consider the specific role of Ryukyuan material in the reconstruction and the results they yield.

Phonology: The segmental phonology of Japanese and changes over time are in general quite well understood (see section 2 below on transcription). This part of the book addresses a variety of specific issues within the historical phonology of Japanese. In Chapter 4 "Reconstruction of Old Japanese phonology", Teruhiro Hayata gives a detailed reconstruction and interpretation of the phonological system of OJ. Chapter 5 "Old Japanese writing and phonology" by J. Marshall Unger pursues the use of OJ writing, including *kungana*, for a further understanding of the phonology of the time. Chapters 6 "Late Middle Japanese phonology, based on Korean sources" by Sven Osterkamp and 7 "Late Middle Japanese phonology as reflected in early Japanese Christian documents" by Masayuki Toyoshima discuss LMJ phonology on the basis of detailed use of Korean and Christian materials, respectively. Chapter 8 "Sino-Japanese" by Marc Hideo Miyake gives an in-depth description of the phonology of what is loosely termed 'Sino-Japanese. Finally, Chapter 9 "The Ramsey hypothesis" by Elisabeth M. de Boer presents and elaborates on an interpretation of the late EMJ prosodic system which was originally developed by S. Robert Ramsey as an alternative to the traditional interpretation.

Grammar: In studies of pre-modern Japanese grammar, case marking, focus constructions (*kakari-musubi*) and some changes in morphological categories are core areas of recent research and attention. Here, Chapter 10 "Differential argument marking in Old

Japanese: Morphology, semantics, and syntax" by Yuko Yanagida discusses core case marking in OJ. Chapter 11 "The syntax and morphology of Early Middle Japanese" by Yoshiyuki Takayama addresses predicate structure, modality and copula. Chapter 12 "Late Middle Japanese grammar" by Hirofumi Aoki discusses a number of grammatical changes that took place in the period leading up to LMJ. Chapter 13 "The historical changes in the case marking system of Japanese" by Takashi Nomura considers changing in subject marking over time. Chapters 14 "Voicings of *kakari-musubi*: Shifting from cleft construction to referential predicate" by Charles Quinn and 15 "Loss of Wh movement" by Akira Watanabe address the focus construction known as *kakari-musubi* and its changes over time from different perspectives. Chapter 16 "Development of adverbial particles" by Tomohide Kinuhata describes the emergence and development of the so-called adverbial particles from OJ through to ModJ. Chapter 17 "The history of demonstratives" by Tomoko Okazaki explains the historical changes in the use of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs over time. Finally in this section, Chapter 18 "Vision and the verbs of visual perception in *Man'yōshū*: From mirativity to '*mitate*'" by Yoshihiko Ikegami analyses subjective construal in expressions involving verbs of visual perception in OJ from a semiotic perspective.

Lexicon, materials and *kanbun*: The chapters in this section deal with lexicon and various important materials, including annotated *kanbun* (texts written in classical Chinese), which have traditionally been studied and used less than the literary texts in the historical study of Japanese,. In Chapter 19 "The history of basic vocabulary in Japanese", John R. Bentley provides a systematic description of the basic vocabulary of Japanese, particularly OJ, to a large extent based on the earliest available lexicographical materials. Chapter 20 "The Japanese lexicon as reflected in Christian materials" by Toru Maruyama sets out characteristic features of the vocabulary contained in and described in the Christian materials from the end of LMJ. Chapter 21 "What *mokkan* (wooden documents) can tell us about ancient Japanese language" by Takashi Inukai describes the nature and significance of *mokkan* dating from the late 7th to early 9th century which are being excavated in large numbers and which constitute a large and as yet largely untapped wealth of primary sources for OJ language and in particular writing practices. In Chapter 22 "Early Japanese dictionaries", Shoju Ikeda gives a detailed overview of the history of dictionaries of Japanese in Japan.

The final five chapters in the book provide a comprehensive view of the importance for the study of the history of Japanese language and writing of interaction with and annotation of *kanbun*, texts written in Classical Chinese. Chapters 23 "*Kunten* texts of Buddhist provenance (*butten* 仏典): Their characteristics and actuality" by Masayuki Tsukimoto and 24 "*Kunten* texts of secular Chinese origin (*kanseki* 漢籍)" by Teiji Kosukegawa address the two main types of materials with *kunten*, annotations used as aids to *kanbun-kundoku* (translation, or rendition, of Chinese text into Japanese). In Chapter 25, "Japanized written Chinese: Its features and contribution to the history of the Japanese language", Shingo Yamamoto explores what may be learnt about Japanese from

Chinese written by native Japanese speakers and exhibiting some influence from Japanese. Finally, Chapters 26 “Early modern *kanbun* and *kanbun-kundoku*” by Fumitoshi Saito and 27 “The influence of *kanbun-kundoku* vocabulary on the Japanese language” by Valerio Luigi Alberizzi detail the lasting influence on the Japanese language of the practice of *kanbun-kundoku*.

3 Transcription

The basic principle used in transcribing older Japanese words and forms used in this volume is to write them in a time-appropriate phonemic transcription. This may sound obvious, but it is in fact a practice not universally adopted within Japanese historical linguistics. Instead, much scholarship uses a transliterated form of the normative historical kana spelling (*rekishiteki kanazukai*) which may have the advantage of making forms more readily recognizable to readers of Japanese without knowledge of the historical phonology, but which also, first, is unrealistic in that it posits forms that have never been used in Japanese speech, and second, denies Japanese a phonological diachrony and its texts a realistic vocalization. In this volume, words will be transcribed differently depending on the age of the text, or the period, they are cited from. For example, ModJ *mae* ‘front’ is in the normative historical kana spelling written まへ and therefore often for pre-modern texts transliterated *mahe* (or sometimes *mafe*), neither of which, however, have ever been phonemic forms of that word; here it will be transcribed phonemically as *mapye* (pre-800), *mape* (800 – 950), *mawe* (950 – 1100) or *mae* (post-1100), depending on the approximate date of the citation.

We follow the phonemic interpretation of the Old Japanese sound system reflected in what is often called the Frellesvig-Whitman system of transcription. Thus, the earliest OJ had 88 distinct syllables, transcribed as shown in (1). Other transcription systems for OJ have also been used; see for reference (2) which contrasts some of these. Note, however, that both Hayata in Chapter 5 and Unger in Chapter 6 arrive at different phonological analyses and therefore use different transcription conventions for OJ, and further that Vovin in Chapter 1 uses a somewhat different system of transcribing OJ, including the so-called modified Mathias-Miller notation of the *kô-otsu* syllable distinctions, see (2), and explicitation of the feature of pre-nasalisation for the lax stops which Vovin writes as ^{m}b, ^{n}d, ^{ŋ}g, ^{n}z, as opposed to the rest of the volume where they are written *b, d, g, z* and the pre-nasalisation interpreted as being the result of phonetic realization rules (i.e., /b, d, g, z/ => [^{m}b, ^{n}d, ^{ŋ}g, ^{n}z]).

(1) Distinct syllables in the earliest OJ

.a	ka	ga	sa	za	ta	da	na	pa	ba	ma	ya	ra	wa
.i	ki	gi	si	zi	ti	di	ni	pi	bi	mi		ri	wi
	kwi	gwi						pwi	bwi	mwi			
.u	ku	gu	su	zu	tu	du	nu	pu	bu	mu	yu	ru	
.e	ke	ge	se	ze	te	de	ne	pe	be	me	ye	re	we
	kye	gye						pye	bye	mye			
.o	ko	go	so	zo	to	do	no	po	bo	mo	yo	ro	wo
	kwo	gwo	swo	zwo	two	dwo	nwo			mwo	ywo	rwo	

(2) Examples of different transcription systems for OJ for the *kô-otsu* syllable distinctions

Gloss	Frellesvig-Whitman	Neutral index notation	Yale	Modified Mathias-Miller	Ohno
'sun'	pi	pi_1	pyi	pî	pi
'fire'	pwi	pi_2	piy	pï	pï
'blood'	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti
'woman'	mye	me_1	mye	mê	me
'eye'	me	me_2	mey	më	më
'hand'	te	te	te	te	te
'child'	kwo	ko_1	kwo	kô	ko
'this'	ko	ko_2	ko	kö	kö
'ear (of rice)'	po	po	po	po	po

The texts from the OJ period are all written exclusively in Chinese characters, used in a mixture of logographic and phonographic writing, the proportion of which differed widely between different texts. In the citation of examples from OJ, the important distinction between these two modes of writing is shown by use of different types: phonographically written text portions are set in *italics*, whereas logographically written text is set in normal (or, roman) type. For example, in (3), the first three lines from poem 3582 in book 15 of the *Man'yōshū* (MYS), the words *opobune* and *kimi* are written logographically by the characters 大船 and 君, respectively, but all other words and particles are written phonographically, such that the characters 乎安流美爾伊太之伊麻須 all are used phonographically (i.e., as *man'yōgana*).

(3) 大船乎 安流美爾 伊太之 伊麻須 君
opo-bune *wo* *ar-umi* *ni* *idasi* *imasu* kimi
big-boat ACC rough-sea DAT put.out go.RESP my.lord
'you, my lord, who will take your big boat out on the rough sea' (MYS 15.3582)

In this example here, the original script is included for illustration, but in general original script is only included where it is directly relevant to subject matter or argument or is itself under discussion.

The main regular phonemic sound changes that took place since OJ, that is, those which affected the syllables in (1), are few and easy to summarize. See further Frellesvig (2010: 414–415 for a summary and p. 176 for an easy guide to translating the historical kana spelling into a time-appropriate phonemic transcription).

(4) Summary of main regular phonemic sound changes since OJ

Loss of /y/ before /e/

Cye > *Ce* (pre-800)
.ye > *.e* (pre-950)

Loss of /w/ before /i, e, o/ and lenition of /p/

Cwi > *Ci*, *Cwe* > *Ce* (pre-800)
Cwo > *Co* (pre-950)
-pu- > *-u-* (pre-1000)
-p- > *-w-* elsewhere (*-pi* > *-wi*, *-pe* > *-we*, *-pa* > *-wa*, *-po* > *-wo*; pre-1000)
-.wo > *-.o* (around 1000)
-.wi > *-.i*, *-.we* > *.-e* (around 1100) (word non-initial *-.wi*, *-.we*)
.wi > *.i*, *.we* > *.e* (around 1300) (word-initial *.wi*, *.we*)
p- > *f-* (?around 1300) > *h-* (?around 1700)

Of the vowel sequences which arose from some of the changes in (3), /Vi, Vu/ resulted in long syllables with diphthongs, of which /Vu/ were monophthongized perhaps as early as the late 14th century to give long vowels (e.g. 'today' OJ /kyepu/ > EMJ /kepu/ > /keu/ > LMJ /kyoo/), whereas /Ve, Vo/ remained dissyllabic /V.e, V.o/, manifested with an automatic onset glide at the syllable boundary [V^{j}e], [V^{w}o] (e.g. 'front' OJ /mapye/ > EMJ /mape/ > /mawe/ > /ma.e/ [ma^{j}e]; this non-phonemic, automatic onset glide was only lost quite recently (19th, 20th century).

The dating of the phonemic sound changes is largely uncontroversial as they mainly led to mergers which were reflected in changes in writing practice (so that for example 'millet', OJ *apa*, and 'foam', OJ *awa*, after the emergence of the kana letters, would be written differently in kana as あは and あわ until after the change of /-p-/ to /-w-/ when both became *awa* and could be written the same), except for the lenition of initial /p/ > /f/ > /h/ which found no expression in writing but only resulted in novel association of sound values with the kana letters はひふへほ in initial position and where dating is therefore more tentative, as for example 'boat' could be written ふね at any time regardless of whether the phonemic shape at that time was *pune* (?pre-1300), *fune* (?pre-1700) or *hune* (?post-1700).

Acknowledgements: We owe a large debt of gratitude to several colleagues who have provided valuable input and help with this book. John Whitman was involved in an early stage of the book, both in planning its design and scope and also in taking part in early editorial work; thank you, John.

Emi Sakamoto provided invaluable help with content, format and citation of references and bibliographies in all the chapters. George Wollaston did a thorough, detailed final check through all chapters, catching a large number of inconsistencies and mistakes which had been overlooked by everybody else. John Haig translated several chapters originally written in Japanese, as well as early copy-editing and proof-reading. Stephen Horn stepped in at a crucial time to help edit Chapter 12 by Aoki and John A. Bundschuh did the same for Chapter 26 by Saito. Marc Miyake proofread Chapter 1 by Vovin with the dedication, care and philological and linguistic sensitivity of a true former student of Vovin's. Marc also contributed immensely and essentially to checking and correcting the setting and fonts used for East Asian script in the volume.

Finally, the series editors, Matt Shibatani and Taro Kageyama, guided and helped us through the process and gave much valuable input. We are very grateful for all the help we have received along the way; needless to say, all remaining editorial mistakes or infelicities are our responsibility.

References

Frellesvig, Bjarke. 2010. *A history of the Japanese language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Martin, Samuel E. 1987. *The Japanese language through time*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Miller, Roy Andrew. 1967. *The Japanese language.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Miller, Roy Andrew. 1993. *Die japanische Sprache: Geschichte und Struktur*. Translated from Miller 1967 by Jürgen Stalph *et al*. München: Iudicium.

Part I: **Prehistory and reconstruction**

Alexander Vovin

1 Reconstruction of Japonic and para-Japonic based on external sources

1 Prehistorical ethnolinguistic setting and sources

The Japonic language family can be roughly divided into two groups: peninsular Japonic and insular Japonic. Since all peninsular Japonic languages (spoken in antiquity in the south and in the center of the Korean peninsula) are attested only very fragmentarily, the establishment of a taxonomy based on linguistic criteria does not seem possible; therefore, the division into peninsular and insular branches is rather geographic and intuitive (insular languages must have come to Japan from or via the Korean peninsula). There are the following peninsular Japonic languages, which are probably better called para-Japonic:

1) the pseudo-Koguryŏ language, called 'pseudo' in order to differentiate it from the real Koguryŏ language related to Korean, known almost exclusively from place names found in the Hangang river basin.
2) the Paekche Japonic language, poorly known, as only a few Japonic glosses are extant. The evidence is mostly based on ZS, LS, and Japanese NSK.
3) the Silla Japonic language, known mostly from place names in SGSG.
4) the Karak (Mimana) Japonic language, poorly known only on the basis of glosses in SGSG.

The insular Japonic languages are much better known because all of them have texts. They comprise:

1) Japanese, consisting of the following extant varieties:
    a. Central Japanese, including Western Old Japanese and closely related but not completely identical Middle Japanese, from which all later historical and modern varieties of Japanese are derived (except Hachijō).
    b. Eastern Japanese, represented by the Eastern Old Japanese dialect continuum with the Hachijō language (possibly an offshoot of the Suruga dialect of Eastern Old Japanese) as the only modern survivor.
    c. Kyushu Japanese, represented just by one short poem in Kyushu Old Japanese; no modern survivors.
2) Ryukyuan consisting of two subbranches:
    a. Northern Ryukyuan comprising two languages:
        i. Amami Ryukyuan.
        ii. Okinawan. The Old Ryukyuan language (attested from the second half of the fifteenth century) appears to be an ancestor of modern South-Central Okinawan dialects).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512851-002

b. Southern Ryukyuan comprising three languages:
   i. Miyako Ryukyuan.
   ii. Yaeyama Ryukyuan (there is a possibility that there is more than one language here).
   iii. Yonaguni Ryukyuan. Some scholars believe that it should be included in Yaeyama Ryukyuan, but a number of reflexes are strikingly different, and no mutual comprehension is possible.

The position of Tammura (Chejudo) Japonic remains unclear because so far we have only two reliable glosses, although it seems more likely that it belongs to the insular branch. It is possible that the word *kam-* 'deity' speaks in favor of an insular affiliation, since it is not attested in peninsular languages, but given the paucity of the materials on the latter, this might be a case of an absence of evidence rather than a proof of absence.

External sources for the reconstruction of different varieties of Japonic and para-Japonic can be divided into three groups:
(1) Japonic loans in neighboring languages
(2) Foreign transcriptions of different varieties of Japonic
(3) Materials on para-Japonic languages in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean sources

While (1) and (2) are applicable to the reconstruction of Japonic proper, (3) can be used only for the reconstruction of para-Japonic languages related to Japonic. It cannot be used for the reconstruction of the Japonic proper because a reconstruction 'from above' would be a methodological violation.

There are two serious limitations to any reconstruction based on external sources. First and foremost, it is bound to remain fragmentary, because both loanwords and foreign sources can present only partial evidence that is relevant to the reconstruction of selected features but can never be used for the reconstruction of the system as a whole. Second, we should keep in mind that the phonological features presented both in loans and foreign transcriptions are filtered through foreign systems. Thus, by definition, any analysis of loans and foreign transcriptions can play only an auxiliary role in the reconstruction.

2 Japonic loans in neighboring languages

Being located on the eastern fringe of the Eurasian continent, Japonic from the time when it was already *in situ* on the Japanese islands starting from the Yayoi period (3rd or maybe even the 7th century BC) did not have too many neighboring languages. As direct contact with Chinese occurred no earlier than the 3rd century AD, and did not become more or less permanent until the 7th century AD, these languages were limited to Korean

on the Asian mainland and various pre-Japonic local languages in the Japanese islands.[1] Given the fact that the Jōmon culture lasted in the Japanese islands for many millennia, it seems natural to suppose that there were many languages or even language families unrelated to Japonic that existed in the islands (Whitman, p.c.). However, the actual surviving evidence is limited to only two languages: the Ainu language that is historically attested from Tōhoku to Hizen province (肥前國) in north-western Kyushu (Vovin 2009), and not just confined to northern Tōhoku as the traditional point of view holds, and the Hayato language attested in the Ōsumi province (大隅國) in south-western Kyushu. It is also believed that there was another non-Japonic language, Kumaso in Southern Kyushu,[2] but the question is moot because not a single word of the Kumaso language is attested. Other non-Japonic languages disappeared completely or almost completely, probably surviving in place names that cannot be identified either as Japonic or Ainu. Although this situation is strange, I trust that the wide spread of the Ainu language in the Japanese islands may suggest that once upon a time Ainu obliterated other indigenous languages in exactly the same way as Japanese later obliterated Ainu.

2.1 A Japanese loan in the Hayato language

Only two words survive from the Hayato language, and both are recorded in the fragments of Ōsumi Fudoki (大隅國風土記逸文) (Akimoto 1958: 526). They are given in Table 1 below with possible identifications.

Table 1: Hayato words.

gloss	word	spelling	WOJ/EOJ	Ryukyuan	Ainu
comb	kusera	久西良	WOJ kusi	*kusi	–
shoal	pisi	必志	EOJ pî^{n}zi^{3}	*pisi	pís ‘shore’

The first of these words probably means ‘comb’: although the meaning ‘head hair’ was suggested as well, the gloss 髪梳 ‘head.hair comb’ in Ōsumi Fudoki strongly suggests the first meaning. The word probably was not borrowed from WOJ of the Kinki region, but from local Kyushu Old Japanese, as the diminutive suffix *-ra* attached to WOJ *kusi* ‘comb’ indicates: the Kyushu Old Japanese word appears in MYS 3.278, composed by Isikapa-no asomi Kimiko, but in reference to Sika bay on Sika island, which was located

1 Once Ryukyuan moved into the Ryukyuan Islands around the 9th century AD, and reached the Sakishima Islands in the southern part of the Ryukyuan archipelago, the Austronesian languages of Taiwan also became ‘neighbors’, at least technically.

2 There is a strong possibility that Kumaso and Hayato represent the same ethnic group (Hudson 1999: 194).

3 Attested in MYS 14.3448.

in present-day Fukuoka bay. Unfortunately it is spelled logographically as 髪梳, but the meter of the poem indicates that this word must have been trysillabic. Japanese scholars normally read 久西良 as *kusira* (Akimoto 1958: 526), (Omodaka et al. 1967: 258), (Murayama 1975: 252), but the problem is that the phonogram 西 is never used for the syllable /si/ in *man'yōgana*, only for the syllable /se/. Therefore, I read 久西良 as *kusera*. This can potentially indicate that WOJ *kusi* 'comb' underwent vowel raising *e > *i*, and therefore pJR *kuse should be tentatively reconstructed. In spite of superficial reliability, no counterevidence for *kusi rather than *kuse is presented by Ryukyuan cognates: Iejima *kuśi:*, Hirara *fusï*, Ikema *futsï*, Ishigaki *Fusï*, Hateruma *Futsï* (Hirayama 1966: 334), with Sakishima data with the vowel *-ï* indicating *i and not *e. However, the reconstruction of the pJR *e : *i distinction in proto-Ryukyuan after coronals is not viable (see also below on 'island, territory' in the section of Japonic loanwords in Korean), so the Hayato evidence may be our only clue for reconstructing *kuse rather than *kusi.

The second word, *pisi* 'shoal' is probably a native Hayato word, although its relationship with similar forms in Ryukyuan[4] and Ainu opens a host of interesting problems, unless it is accidental. However, these problems fall outside the scope of the present chapter.

2.2 Japanese loans in the Ainu language

Ainu has multiple loans from Japanese, but it seems that there is no detailed study of them except a concise article of mine published in Russian more than a quarter of a century ago (Vovin 1990). There are different chronological layers of these loanwords, ranging from very recent ones from the twentieth century to very old ones going back to Old Japanese and pre-Old Japanese. I am not aware of any Japanese loans in Ainu that have features of Old Japanese not motivated by internal reconstruction within Old Japanese. Since all Ainu language groups that have survived to the point that they were at least somehow documented are found to the north of the Yamato region, it probably would not be an exaggeration to say that the major donors on the Japanese side after the pre-Old Japanese stage and preceding massive Japanese emigration to Hokkaidō starting from the Meiji period can be identified as Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ), as well as Tōhoku dialects in a later period. For the identification of different strata of Japanese loanwords in Ainu, it is useful to keep in mind not only specific phonological features, which, if they are available, can certainly pin down the relative depth of a loan, but also geographical distribution. Thus, for example, Japanese loans found exclusively in the Ainu dialects along the southern shore of Hokkaidō are more than likely recent loans from the Tōhoku dialects, and more

4 Thorpe (1983: 327) suggested that pR *pisi 'shoal' consists of *se 'shoal' and *pi- 'to dry'. If so, *pisi* might be a Ryukyuan loan in Hayato. This might be tempting, especially from the point of view that it would indicate the presence of Ryukyuans in southern Kyushu before their southward migration, but cf. OJ *pï-* 'to dry', which makes Thorpe's etymology unlikely. In any case, no hasty conclusions should be based on just one word.

specifically the Aomori dialect. Ditto for loanwords found in just one modern dialect of Hokkaidō, e.g. Obihiro *huton* 'futon' < ModJ *huton* 'id.' On the other hand, the loans that have found their way to more remote areas of north-eastern Hokkaidō and to even more remote Sakhalin and the Kuriles,[5] are much more likely to be older loanwords, unless they exhibit some peculiar phonological features indicating a later provenance.

In this chapter I survey only the oldest loans and in addition only those that have any bearing on the reconstruction of Japonic. I will start in Table 2 with loanwords that are very suggestive for the reconstruction of pre-Old Japanese or Eastern Old Japanese consonantism. The following system is adopted for rendering pitch accent in Hokkaidō dialects: the diacritic ′ (accent aigu) over a vowel is used to indicate HIGH pitch. The LOW pitch is not marked, because in modern dialects it is pretty much automatic before or after HIGH pitch, unless it appears on the possessive form of a noun, in which case I mark it with the diacritic ` (accent grave). I do not mark pitch accent on monosyllabic nouns if there is no information on the inherent pitch accent, which is revealed only in combination with the following possessive suffix. Among Hokkaidō dialects, Bihoro has lost its pitch accent system, but I do not cite Bihoro forms separately below. Possessive forms, if any, are cited as -CX, with C indicating the last consonant appearing in a possessive form and X indicating the rest of the possessive form.

Table 2: Reflexes of the [pre-]OJ bilabial voiceless stop /p/ in loanwords in Ainu.

gloss	Hokkaidō Ainu	Kuril Ainu	Sakhalin Ainu	EOJ[6]	WOJ
bone	poné	poni	poni	–	pone
skin, fir, bark	kap	kap	kah, -puhu[7]	–	kapa
custom, manner	purí ~ púri	–	puuri	–	pur-i
bag	pukurú ~ pukúru[8]	pukuru	pukuru	–	pukurô
bowl	pátci ~ patcí	–	pahci	–	pati
lid	putá	–	puta	–	puta
chopsticks	pasúy	paśuy	–	–	pasi
hoe	kúpka	–	–	–	kupa
salt	síppo	–	sispo	sipo 'tide'	sipo
barnyard millet	piyapa	–	–	–	pîye
cave	póru		poora		pora

5 The Japanese contact with Sakhalin and Kuril Ainu before the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905 AD) was limited to occasional travel and trade. One should also keep in mind that materials on Kuril Ainu are very fragmentary: they are limited to several Russian and Polish sources from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries and one Japanese source from the early twentieth century. For details on these sources, see Vovin (1993: 3–7).

6 The lack of attestations in EOJ is due to the very limited size of the EOJ corpus.

7 Sakhalin Ainu *-h* in Auslaut and in a preconsonantal position corresponds to Hokkaidō Ainu *-p, -t*, and *-k*, and in the Auslaut position after /i/ this /h/ can materialize as [s], e.g.: Hokkaidō Ainu *sik* 'eye' vs. Sakhalin Ainu *sis* 'id.'

8 *pukurú* is Yakumo accentuation; *pukúru* is found in the rest of Hokkaidō.

On the basis of the data presented in the table above, I trust it is quite safe to say that pre-OJ or EOJ loans in Ainu present undeniable evidence for the initial *p- either in EOJ or pre-OJ. The situation with the Inlaut of the same phoneme is much trickier. The prevalent point of view today is that OJ intervocalic *-p-* was phonetically [-b-] or [-β-] (Frellesvig 2011: 35), going back to Wenck (1959). I personally find this point of view untenable for a variety of reasons (Vovin 2005a: 37–38), but I will limit myself here only to one reason directly connected to the present chapter. Namely, if OJ -p- was really [-b-] or [-β-], why would it be borrowed by Ainu as *-pp-* instead of *-p-* [-b-/-β-]?[9] Unfortunately, there is only one example above that demonstrates this point uncontroversially: OJ *sipo* 'salt' would be borrowed as Ainu *sipo and not *sippo*, if [pre-]OJ intervocalic *-p-* was indeed phonetically [-b-] or [-β-]. Although there are no other uncontroversial examples with Japonic intervocalic labial voiceless consonants reflected as double consonants in Ainu, there is supporting evidence from dentals.

Table 3: Reflexes of the [pre-]OJ bilabial voiceless stop /t/ in loanwords in Ainu.

gloss	Hokkaidō Ainu	Kuril Ainu	Sakhalin Ainu	EOJ	WOJ
sake cup	túki	tuuki	tuuki	–	tuki
sake bottle	tókkuri	–	tohkori		MJ tokkuri
hammer	tútci ~ túci[10]		tuhci	–	tuti
bowl	pátci	–	pahci	–	pati
lid	putá	–	puta	–	puta
whip	mútci ~ múci	–	muhci	–	muti

As we can see from Table 3 above, in most Japanese loanwords attested in both Hokkaidō and Sakhalin branches of the Ainu language family, Japonic intervocalic *-t-* is reflected as pA *-tt-. Although the case of *puta* 'lid' above does not follow this pattern, it is reliably demonstrated in three other cases. Even though there is a variation between *-tt- and -*t- in *tútci ~ túci* 'hammer' and *mútci ~ múci* 'whip', the accent type HL in the cases of both *túci* 'hammer' and *múci* 'whip' demonstrates that they are secondary

9 An anonymous reviewer pointed out that "Ainu itself, at least Hokkaidō Ainu, has intervocalic stop voicing (K. Kindaichi and Chiri 1936: 8, Tamura 1998: 40), so a plain /p/ /t/ /k/ is the expected Ainu reflex for an earlier Japanese medial consonant even if the latter did undergo intersonorant voicing. The *sippo* outcome for 'salt' in Ainu may just show that the J variety that provided the source for the Ainu form blocked intersonorant voicing because of devoicing of the high vowel in the first syllable. Shōgakkan (1974 9: 365) gives such a form, シポ [sipo] for Yamagata". However, there are several problems with the anonymous reviewer's statement. First, Yamagata *sipo* is an irregular form that violates regular correspondences. A form like Iwate *suo* would be a regular Tōhoku reflex of pJR *sipo, therefore Yamagata *sipo* is in all likelihood a back loan from Ainu. Second, devoicing of high vowels in Tōhoku must be a very recent phenomenon, because the Russian materials on eighteenth century Tōhoku do not reflect it. Third, there is no high vowel devoicing in Ainu.

10 The palatalization *ti > *ci* in Ainu is not suggestive of any late Japanese influence of the Muromachi period, since it can be traced all the way back to proto-Ainu, with the lack of distinction between /ci/ and /ti/ recovered only via internal reconstruction (Vovin 1993: 12–16).